

Autochthony and investment beliefs as bases for territorial ownership and compensation in settler societies: The case of Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups in Chile

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ABSTRACT

We examined how autochthony belief (entitlements from first arrival) and investment belief (entitlements from working the land) guide attitudes towards territorial compensation of Indigenous groups in settler societies. We expected autochthony and investment beliefs to be respectively related to more and less territorial compensation, via higher and lower perceptions of Indigenous ownership. We tested this in Chile among non-Indigenous Chileans and Indigenous Mapuche. In Study 1 among non-Indigenous Chilean students ($N = 611$) we found that autochthony belief was related to a greater support for territorial compensation of the first inhabitants, the Mapuche, whereas investment belief was related to a lesser support for territorial compensation. In Study 2 we contrasted self-identified non-Indigenous Chileans ($N = 121$) with self-identified Indigenous Mapuche ($N = 226$) and found that for both groups autochthony belief was related to greater support for territorial compensation via higher recognition of Indigenous territorial ownership. Interestingly, for non-Indigenous Chileans, investment belief was related to less willingness to compensate, whereas for Mapuche it was related to more claims for compensation via stronger perceptions of Indigenous ownership. Together, these findings show that endorsement of autochthony belief is an argument that validates Indigenous ownership among both groups, whereas different dimensions of the investment belief can be used by both groups to claim more positive outcomes for their own in-group.

Availability of data and material & Code availability: The data and analysis code are publicly available at <https://osf.io/gw96d/>

Conflicts over the ownership of territory have shaped intergroup relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups in settler societies (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Bravo, 1996). Settler societies are countries that were colonized by predominantly European settlers, where the settler population has largely supplanted the original inhabitants, who now often find themselves in the minority position. Previous research on relations between Indigenous Peoples and settlers¹ has focused on various factors that shape

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¹ The terms 'settler' and 'non-Indigenous' are used interchangeably throughout this paper.

processes of reconciliation, such as the role of representations of history (Attwood, 2005; Figueiredo et al., 2019), and ethnic and national identity (Gerber et al., 2016; Halloran, 2007; Moran, 2002; Pehrson et al., 2011). However, despite the central role that territory plays in conflicts between Indigenous Peoples and settlers, there is a lack of research on how perceptions of territorial ownership inform people's opinions about territorial compensation, that is, the restitution of Indigenous lands and the rights associated with the land.

Collective psychological ownership of territories—a sense that a territory belongs to a group—shapes the way people relate to and interact with that territory (Brylka et al., 2015; Pierce et al., 2001; Toruńczyk-Ruiz & Martinović, 2019). Recent research in (post-) conflict settings has shown that when groups are engaged in a territorial conflict, the feeling that a territory belongs to the ingroup can inhibit the willingness to forgive the rival group or to promote good relations between the groups (Storz, Martinović, Verkuyten, Žeželj, Roccas & Psaltis, 2020). We add to this emergent literature by focusing on group ownership and intergroup relations in three ways.

First, we consider the context of settler societies and examine how perceptions of who is the rightful owner of the territory—settlers or Indigenous Peoples—matter for people's attitudes towards territorial compensation of the Indigenous groups. Thereby we look at support for actual changes in territorial ownership, as calls for territorial restitution or increased autonomy are central to the demands of many Indigenous Peoples (Richards & Gardner, 2013; Yashar, 1999).

Second, we consider the role of two general beliefs that people tend to rely on when inferring ownership of objects and places, and that might be particularly relevant in the context of territorial disputes in settler societies: entitlements derived from primo-occupancy (autochthony) and from historically investing in and developing the land (investment) (Beggan & Brown, 1994; Geschiere, 2009). Autochthony belief has a particularly exclusive character since, in any situation, there could always be only one true first comer, and thus one owner ('group A arrived before group B'). In contrast, investment belief is not by definition as exclusive as multiple groups could have, throughout the history, invested in a territory. Due to these differences, we propose that autochthony and investment beliefs can differently inform ownership inferences in concrete territorial disputes. While previous theoretical work has distinguished between autochthony and investment beliefs (Verkuyten & Martinović, 2017), to our knowledge, there is no empirical research exploring the outcomes of autochthony and investment beliefs in settler societies.

Third, most of the research on territorial compensation focuses on the demands made by Indigenous Peoples and the response of the State (e.g. Yashar, 1999), and there is a lack of research into the perspectives of Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups, and a particular lack of research comparing these perspectives. We aim to fill these gaps by examining for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups how their endorsement of autochthony and investment beliefs relate to their perceptions of who is the rightful owner of the territory, and via ownership perceptions, to support for territorially compensating the Indigenous groups. We draw evidence from Chile by examining both the perspective of non-Indigenous majority and of the Indigenous Mapuche participants.

Perceptions of group ownership and territorial compensation

As demonstrated by the ongoing struggles of many Indigenous Peoples regarding the recognition of their territorial ownership claims (Haughney, 2012), people can feel that certain places belong to them in the absence of legal recognition. This sense of ownership is distinct from legal ownership in that people can feel like they own something regardless of whether they legally own it (Pierce et al., 2003). A sense of ownership thus concerns the *perception* that a certain object, place, or idea belongs to an individual or a group (Pierce & Jussila, 2010; Shaw et al., 2012; Snare, 1972), e.g., "my car", "my job" (Pierce et al., 2001), "our neighbourhood" (Toruńczyk-Ruiz & Martinović, 2019), or "our land" (Verkuyten & Martinović, 2017).

Perceptions of group ownership, or collective psychological ownership, have important consequences for intergroup relations, as ownership not only prescribes how people should relate to objects, but also influences how they relate to each other (Blumenthal, 2010). Ownership implies the right to use the object, the right to transfer ownership, and the right to exclude others from using the object (Merrill, 1998; Snare, 1972). Many societies have institutionalized ownership, and as such, the legal owner of a territory decides who can access or use it and for what purposes. However, the consequences of ownership also extend beyond legal ownership. For example, research shows that people claim ownership over objects or places that they do not legally own to justify the exclusion of outgroup members, e.g., 'this is our beach' (Due & Riggs, 2008).

Importantly, people do not only have an awareness of what belongs to them or their group but can also recognise other people or groups as owners. Research shows that the recognition of other's ownership develops at a young age (Kanngiesser, Rossano, Frickel, Tamm & Tomasello, 2020), and that children spontaneously reference ownership to explain why it is or is not acceptable for someone to use an object (Nancekivell & Friedman, 2017). Furthermore, there are both social and legal norms about what are acceptable justifications for the transference of ownership and taking someone's property without permission is generally considered theft. We therefore expect that when people feel that the group that should own the territory in fact does not have legal rights over that territory, they will desire changes in land ownership and entitlements in order to resolve this conflict. Therefore, for both Mapuche and non-Indigenous Chileans in Chile we expect that when they perceive a territory as rightfully belonging more to the Mapuche, they will be more supportive of territorial compensation for the Mapuche.

Autochthony belief

One of the most pervasive, and in some ways the most basic, ways of inferring ownership is first-possession (of objects) or first-occupancy (of places). Research shows that in the absence of additional information people assume that the first person to possess an object is its owner (Friedman, 2013; Friedman, Van de Vondervoort, Defeyter & Neary, 2013), and entitlements derived from

first-occupancy of a place are often perceived as self-evident and even ‘natural’ (Geschiere, 2009). Furthermore, experimental research has shown that children also infer territorial ownership from first arrival (Verkuyten, Sierksma, & Martinović, 2015; Verkuyten, Sierksma, & Thijs, 2015). Ownership based on first arrival is referred to in the literature as *autochthony* (Geschiere, 2009).

We examine the impact of Indigenous and non-Indigenous endorsement of *autochthony* as a general belief that those who were first to inhabit any territory should be entitled to own it (Martinović & Verkuyten, 2013). We propose that the more one endorses *autochthony* belief (regardless of whether one is a member of the first-occupant group or a group that arrived later), the more one should consider the first occupants of a given territory as its rightful owners, regardless of the context or groups in question. Because first-occupancy is not a transient characteristic and later comers will have for ever arrived later than those who were somewhere first, *autochthony* belief may, for those who adhere to it, create a particularly sharp distinction between those who are seen as relatively more entitled (first-comers) and those who are not (later-comers).

Support for *autochthony* belief by first-occupants therefore means that they should see their own group as relatively more entitled to ownership over the territory and the accompanying rights, and this rhetoric is indeed used in various contexts. For example, in settler societies, anthropological research has shown that ownership claims based on first-occupancy have been used by Indigenous Peoples to resist and challenge occupation (Gagné & Salaün, 2012). At the same time, other research has shown that *autochthony* is used to claim rights for the first-occupant group, e.g. in Côte D’Ivoire and Cameroon *autochthony* is used to exclude from political participation ethnic groups that allegedly arrived later (Ceuppens & Geschiere, 2005), in Belgium it is utilized by the Flemish far-right to exclude francophone Belgians from the benefits of the welfare state (Ceuppens, 2011), and support for *autochthony* belief by majority members is associated with negative attitudes towards newcomers in the Netherlands (Martinović & Verkuyten, 2013) and with support for movements defending the status quo in Malaysia (Selvanathan et al., 2021).

In contrast, support for *autochthony* belief by later-comers undermines the territorial ownership claims of their ingroup. Even though support for *autochthony* belief may not be in the best interests of their group, experimental research in the Netherlands has shown that people recognize first arrival as a valid argument for ownership not only when their own group arrived somewhere first but also when a rival outgroup is presented as the first occupant (Martinović, Verkuyten, Jetten, Bobowik & Kros, 2020). Furthermore, recent research in Australia has shown that support for *autochthony* belief among the non-Indigenous majority was relatively high, and that it was related to stronger support for institutional apologies and instrumental reparations (e.g., financial compensation) for Aborigines (Nootgedagt, Martinović, Verkuyten & Jetten, 2021), and higher support for the Invasion Day protests, which are aimed at ending the celebration of the foundation date of modern Australia (Selvanathan et al., 2021). We therefore expect that, both for Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous Chileans in Chile, endorsement of *autochthony* belief will relate to perceiving the Indigenous Peoples as more rightful owners of the disputed territory, and consequently to stronger support for territorially compensating the Indigenous group.

Investment belief

Creating an object or investing effort into changing it is also used as an argument for claiming ownership, and experimental research has shown that people indeed judge that the creator of an object owns it (Beggan & Brown, 1994; Levene et al., 2015). Past investment into a territory or contribution to the development of the territory can similarly be used to claim ownership of the territory (Banner, 2005) or recognize another group as a rightful owner. Thus, parallel to the role of *autochthony* belief, we examine the impact of Indigenous and non-Indigenous endorsement of *investment belief*: the general belief that investing in a territory makes one its owner. When one supports *investment belief*, one should think that the ones who have historically invested most in a territory are relatively more entitled to own it, regardless of the context or groups in question.

People may perceive the past investment in a territory by the non-Indigenous majority as legitimate grounds for challenging first inhabitants’ territorial ownership. Historically, claims of ownership through investment have been utilized to justify colonization, such as in Australia, where the usurpation of Aboriginal lands was long justified with the assertion that it was *terra nullius*, “nobody’s land”. This was based on the argument that ownership of land originated from working the land, and hence the colonizers argued that Aboriginal peoples could not own the land, because the colonizers claimed they did not work it (Short, 2016). In line with this argumentation, experimental research has found that when they were the ones investing, children perceived investment into an object as a legitimate reason for the transference of ownership from the first-possessor to the one who invested (Kanngiesser et al., 2010). Furthermore, other experimental research (Kanngiesser et al., 2014) has shown that when asked to judge in a conflict between investor and first-possessor, most people assigned ownership to the one who invested (but for contrasting findings, see Hook, 1993). However, as far as we are aware, there has been no quantitative research that has examined whether first-occupants judge investment to be a valid reason for recognizing the group that has invested more as owning the territory more.²

Furthermore, whereas first arrival is usually presented as an historical fact that creates a binary division between those who were first and those who were not (Geschiere, 2009), investment into a territory could be actively claimed by multiple groups in a multitude of ways and to different degrees, and the degree of investment could increase or decrease over time. Consequently, there is a greater possibility of contrasting narratives and differing views on the degree that groups have invested into a territory than on the

² Selvanathan et al. (2021) come closest, by examining the link between the endorsement of founder ownership and support for reactionary counter-movements defending the status quo. However, while founder ownership is theoretically similar to investment belief, it differs from investment belief in that it neither theoretically nor empirically distinguishes between investment as a general principle of ownership and perceptions of actual ingroup/outgroup territorial ownership.

first-occupancy of that territory, and it is possible that investment as a general belief will not relate to concrete territorial ownership inferences and compensation in the same way for non-Indigenous and Indigenous Peoples. Thus, those who see investment as an important basis for assigning ownership might, in a range of settings, recognize multiple groups as rightful owners ('both group A and group B invested in this territory'). At the same time, who invested and to what degree can be more easily contested ('group A did not invest as much as group B did'), whereas it is more difficult to deny a group's first occupancy, especially in the context of settler societies where the non-Indigenous majority have clearly arrived later.

Indeed, in different parts of the world, the investment principle has been utilized by different groups in different ways. For example, in Brazil, the Sem Terra (Without Land) Movement has claimed rights to the occupation and use of land by poor farmer families living in rural areas. In this context, since the transition to democracy in the 1980s, thousands of rural workers started occupying land that was not being used and that was owned by big companies or *latifundia* across the country and started to make a living out of traditional farming practices in this land (Chaguaceda & Brancalone, 2010). In this case, given that these peasants did not bear rights to access the land because they were not autochthonous, we can see how the principle of investment has been used to claim territory for poor marginalized communities and generate social change in terms of power imbalances between poor communities and richer people and businesses.

Nevertheless, investment can also be seen as a principle that mostly defends the rights of majority groups and settler endeavors in different parts of the world. It is reasonable to assume that non-Indigenous people who settled in the region feel that they have invested more in the territory. After the independence of Chile, the occupation of Mapuche territory involved the government giving away or selling Mapuche lands to people with mostly European descent as a means to improve agricultural practices and, later on, from the first part of the 20th century onwards to develop the national forestry industry (Flores Chávez, 2012). We therefore expect that non-Indigenous Chileans who think that past investment is an important basis for ownership claims will perceive their own group as relatively more entitled to ownership over the territory in question, and consequently show less support for territorially compensating the Mapuche.

For the Indigenous group, two contrasting expectations need to be considered. According to system justification theory, both majorities and minorities are motivated to justify the status quo (Jost & Banaji, 2004), and it is therefore possible that some Mapuche people may 'buy into' the notion that settlers have invested more into the territory in order to rationalize the status quo. In line with this reasoning, we can expect that for Indigenous people endorsement of investment belief also relates to perceiving the settlers as relatively more entitled to own the territory, and indirectly to lower support for territorial compensation for the Indigenous group. However, Mapuche people and settlers may also have different understandings of investment. For instance, the Mapuche might consider nature preservation as a form of investment, and industrialization as a form of destruction. Thus, in contrast to the above, if Indigenous Peoples have this different understanding of investment, we can expect that investment belief will for them relate to perceiving their own group as relatively more entitled to own the territory, and this would indirectly be related to *more* support for territorial compensation.

The present research

We draw evidence from Chile by examining both the perspective of non-Indigenous majority as well as that of Indigenous Mapuche participants. The Mapuche (literally: "people of the land") are the largest Indigenous group, comprising roughly 10% of the total Chilean population (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, 2017). They resisted colonization by the Spanish between the 16th and 19th century, and their lands were only fully conquered during the military occupation of Araucanía that occurred between 1861 and 1883 (Marimán, Caniqueo, Millalén & Levil, 2006). During the dictatorship, Pinochet revoked all rights to communal property of the land, thus violating principles of the Mapuche way of living and organizing within the territory they still held. This led to increased impoverishment and further disintegration of Mapuche communities. In fact, for Mapuche, territorial and cultural loss are the main narrative that connects past and present and fuels the current territorial demands of the Mapuche (Figueiredo et al., 2019). Araucanía has been the focal point of this ongoing struggle between the Mapuche and the Chilean state over the ownership of the land. At present, Mapuche communities have the right to reclaim lost ancestral territory through proposals made to CONADI, an agency of the Chilean state that deals with Indigenous rights and, among other activities, launches different application processes for territorial claims.

However, the Mapuche ancestral territory falls within an area of the country that has seen large-scale hydroelectrical and forestry projects developed mainly during the Pinochet dictatorship and afterwards. In practice, when Indigenous demands clash with industrial interests, state agencies have perpetuated the dictatorship-era patterns of siding with the interests of private companies rather than those of Indigenous communities (Rodríguez & Carruthers, 2008). The conflict over territory has recently intensified after massive protests that broke out in Chile in 2019 due to increasing delegitimation of the current political system (by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people), which propelled a process of constitutional change. In this process, a new Constitution is being drawn and 17 seats have been reserved for representatives of indigenous groups, of which 7 belong to Mapuche people. If accepted, these constitutional changes may improve Indigenous rights and lead to their full constitutional recognition. Even though eventual changes must be implemented at the State level, it is important to examine people's opinions, as evidenced by the current process of constitutional change in Chile, and by research which has shown that public opinion has a substantive impact on public policy (Burstein, 2016). We therefore analyse claims of ownership regarding the region of Araucanía, and address these from the perspectives of both Mapuche and non-Indigenous Chilean participants.

For both groups, we expected that autochthony belief would be associated with more support for territorial compensation, and that higher perceptions of Indigenous ownership (relative to non-Indigenous ownership) would mediate this positive relationship. In contrast, we expected investment belief among non-Indigenous Chileans to be associated with less support for territorial compensation

via lower relative Indigenous ownership. We thought we might find the same for the Mapuche, but we also considered an alternative hypothesis whereby investment belief would be related to more support for territorial compensation via relatively higher perceptions of Indigenous ownership. The data and analysis code are available at <https://osf.io/gw96d/>.

Study 1

Sample

Participants for Study 1 were Chilean students from three universities in Santiago and three in Temuco ($N = 934$). These cities were chosen because the conflict over the ancestral Mapuche territory is likely more salient there than in other cities: Santiago is the city with the largest population of Mapuche and Mapuche descendants, and Temuco is the capital of Araucanía, the main city within ancestral Mapuche territory. The survey was administered in 2018 in Spanish, Chile's sole official language. No incentives were provided. Participants were not pre-selected based on their ethnicity but were asked whether they had (at least) one family member of Mapuche descent. While having Mapuche family does not necessarily mean that the participants are or consider themselves to be Mapuche, we can be fairly confident that participants without Mapuche family are non-Indigenous Chileans. We therefore excluded participants with Mapuche family ($N = 300$)³ and participants who did not report whether they had Mapuche family ($N = 23$), which left a remaining sample of 611 participants. The sample comprised of 68.5% women, with ages ranging between 18 and 54, and an average age of 21.24 ($SD = 3.17$).

Measures

All items were measured using a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *totally disagree* to 7 = *totally agree*, unless otherwise indicated.

Autochthony belief was measured with 4 items previously used in the Netherlands (Martinović & Verkuyten, 2013) and Australia (Nooitgedagt et al., 2021). In order to capture support for autochthony as a general belief, these items were formulated as general statements not referring to particular groups, conflicts, or contexts: "The first inhabitants of a territory have more rights than those who arrived later to decide on important territorial issues.", "Each territory belongs mainly to its first inhabitants.", "We were here first is an important principle to determine who decides what happens in a territory.", and "Those who were first can be considered legitimate owners of the land, more than those who arrived later".

Investment belief was also measured with 4 general items designed for this study: "We built this country is an important principle to determine who decides what happens in a region.", "Those who have contributed most to the development of a region have more right to define it.", "A specific territory belongs mainly to those inhabitants who have invested the most effort to build it.", and "The group that has invested the most in a territory has more right than the first inhabitants to decide on important territorial issues".

Territorial compensation was measured with 2 items: "The State must return to the Mapuche the territories plundered by Chilean society since the pacification of Araucanía." and "The Chilean State should allow the self-determination and self-management of the Mapuche people in their territory".

We controlled for *age* (measured in years), *sex* (0 = 'male', 1 = female), and *political orientation* (1 = 'extremely left' to 7 = 'extremely right' Jost, 2006). We also controlled for *Chilean identification*, because in-group identification is associated with autochthony (Martinović & Verkuyten, 2013) and support for compensation or reconciliation (Storz et al., 2020). We used one item: "To what extent do you feel Chilean", measured on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *not at all* to 7 = *totally*.

Results

Measurement model

All analyses were conducted in Mplus version 8, using robust Maximum Likelihood estimation (MLR). Missing values were dealt with using Full Information Maximum Likelihood (Little, Jorgensen, Lang & Moore, 2014). We performed a Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA), with autochthony and investment as 4-item latent factors, and territorial compensation as a 2-item latent factor. The tests showed that the model fit well (χ^2 (32, $N = 611$) = 85.07, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .052 [90% C.I.039.066], CFI/TLI = .978 /.970, SRMR = .035). All alternative factor structures had a worse fit, confirming that autochthony, investment, and territorial compensation are separate constructs (see Table A2, Appendix A).

Descriptive findings

Bivariate correlations and descriptive statistics, including scale reliabilities, are presented in Table 1. The reliability of latent variables was assessed using composite reliability (ρ , see Raykov, 2017), which is superior to Cronbach's alpha because it does not assume equal factor loadings of all items. Participants on average showed moderate support for autochthony (the mean score was not significantly different from the neutral midpoint of the scale), while average support for investment was rather low (below the neutral midpoint, see Table 1). However, they were on average in favour of territorial compensation, with a mean score higher than the neutral midpoint. Autochthony and investment belief were not significantly correlated, confirming the assumption that these beliefs can be

³ As a robustness check we also performed the analysis for this group, see Table A1 in Appendix A for the results. The results for the two groups of participants were not substantively different.

Table 1Bivariate correlations, descriptive statistics, and composite reliability scores for the variables used in the analysis, Study 1 ($N = 611$).

		01.		02.		03.		04.		05.		06.		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>	Wald (1)	ρ
01.	<i>Autochthony belief</i>	—												4.05	(1.95)	611	0.35	.93
02.	<i>Investment belief</i>	-.08		—										3.82	(1.62)	608	7.49	.87
03.	<i>Territorial compensation</i>	.57	***	-.22	***	—								4.69	(1.95)	609	74.94	.85
04.	Chilean identification	-.10	*	.11	*	-.24	***	—						5.61	(1.66)	607	564.87	
05.	Gender (0 = male)	.05		-.01		.14	**	-.01		—				.69		609		
06.	Age	.18	***	-.14	**	.18	***	-.10	*	-.08		—		21.24	(3.17)	611		
07.	Political left-right orientation	-.27	***	.25	***	-.58	***	.31	***	-.06		-.16	*	3.99	(1.35)	578	0.03	

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (2-tailed). Latent variable names are italicized. The Wald tests test whether the mean is significantly different from the neutral midpoint of the scale (0.95 probability critical value = 3.841).

Table 2Structural equation model predicting support for territorial compensation, Study 1 ($N = 611$).

	Without control variables			With control variables		
	<i>B</i>		<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>		<i>SE</i>
Autochthony belief	.62	***	(.05)	.48	***	(.05)
Investment belief	-.27	***	(.06)	-.11		(.06)
<i>Control variables</i>						
Gender (0 = male)				.36	**	(.14)
Age				.02		(.02)
Left-right orientation				-.59	***	(.05)
Chilean identification				-.06		(.04)

Note. ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (2-tailed). Reported coefficients are unstandardized.

held independently. Furthermore, autochthony correlated positively and investment negatively with territorial compensation.

Explaining support for territorial compensation

We first ran a structural equation model regressing support for territorial compensation on autochthony and investment without considering the control variables (see Table 2). Autochthony was positively associated with territorial compensation, in line with our expectation, whereas investment belief was negatively associated.

The addition of the control variables did not substantively change the relationship between autochthony and territorial compensation. However, while the negative relationship between investment and territorial compensation remained in the same direction, it was no longer significant ($p = .059$). Furthermore, women and people oriented more toward the political right showed less support for territorial compensation.

Discussion

We found that non-Indigenous participants who endorsed autochthony belief more, were more positive about territorial compensation for the Mapuche, and this relationship also held while controlling for age, gender, political orientation, and Chilean identification. However, endorsement of investment belief, though showing a negative association in a simpler model, was not significantly related to territorial compensation when control variables were included in the analysis.

In Study 2 we expanded upon these findings in two ways. First, we recruited self-identified Mapuche participants alongside self-identified non-Indigenous Chilean participants. Second, we examined whether autochthony and investment beliefs were indirectly related to compensation via perceptions of Indigenous ownership of Araucanía.

Study 2

Sample

We collected data in Santiago and the Araucanía region among non-Indigenous Chileans and Mapuche participants between October 2017 and August 2018. The survey was administered in Spanish, Chile's sole official language. Most Mapuche speak Spanish as a first language, and virtually all speakers of Mapudungun are bilingual in Spanish (Sadowsky, Painequeo, Salamanca & Avelino, 2013). Participants were recruited through invitations made towards different Mapuche organizations, snowballing, and personal contact networks, and were given the equivalent of 3 dollars and 50 cents (in Chilean pesos) for participation. Most participants completed the questionnaire in paper and pencil format, and some completed it digitally. Participants were coded as non-Indigenous Chilean when both of their parents were of non-Indigenous Chilean descent ($N = 121$), and as Mapuche when they indicated that both of their parents ($N = 135$) or at least one of their parents ($N = 91$) were of Mapuche descent. The final sample consisted of 226 Mapuche, aged 18–85 ($M = 43.4$, $SD = 16.7$), of which 67% were women, and 121 non-Indigenous Chilean participants, with ages ranging 18–83 ($M = 38.3$, $SD = 18.3$), 63% of which were women.

Measures

Unless otherwise indicated, all items were measured on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *totally disagree* to 5 = *totally agree*.

Autochthony and investment beliefs were measured using similar items as in Study 1. Given the high reliability of these measures in Study 1, and the limited space for questions in the survey of Study 2, the number of items was reduced to three by dropping the fourth item. Furthermore, to cover more concrete aspects of investment, including the administrative role, the third item of *investment belief*, which in Study 1 overlapped substantially with the second item, was changed to: "Those who administered the territory in recent years have more right to decide what to do with it."

Perceptions of Indigenous ownership was measured as a single item "In your opinion, the territory of Araucanía should belong ..." (1 = Totally to the Mapuche, 2 = More to the Mapuche than to non-Indigenous Chileans, 3 = To both groups equally, 4 = More to non-Indigenous Chileans than to the Mapuche, 5 = Totally to non-Indigenous Chileans). We reversed and centred the variable on 3, so

Table 3Descriptive statistics and composite reliability scores for non-Indigenous Chileans ($N = 121$) and Mapuche ($N = 226$), Study 2.

	Non-Indigenous Chileans					Mapuche				
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>	Wald (1)	ρ	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>	Wald (1)	ρ
<i>Autochthony belief</i>	3.57	(1.23)	121	25.79	.90	4.13	(1.08)	225	244.16	.87
<i>Investment belief</i>	2.68	(0.97)	121	13.27	.80	2.89	(1.06)	225	2.52	.68
<i>Territorial compensation</i>	3.53	(0.99)	120	34.57	.89	4.11	(0.76)	224	477.52	.79
Perceived Indigenous ownership	0.50	(0.77)	115	48.93		1.23	(1.11)	202	447.22	
Gender (0 = male)	.64		118			.67		224		
Age	38.26	(18.25)	116			43.45	(16.71)	219		
Political left-right orientation	4.52	(1.95)	113	28.52		4.62	(1.87)	201	44.91	
Educational attainment	2.37	(1.14)	119			1.85	(1.32)	214		
Chilean identification	3.89	(0.94)	119	106.67	.84	3.48	(1.04)	223	47.90	.85
Mapuche identification	3.22	(1.17)	119	4.16	.91	4.44	(0.77)	223	778.66	.90

Note. Indicated mean for gender is the proportion. Latent variable names are italicized. The Wald tests test whether the mean is significantly different from the neutral midpoint of the scale (0.95 probability critical value = 3.84).

that -2 stands for totally belonging to non-Indigenous Chileans and 2 for totally belonging to the Mapuche.

Territorial compensation was measured with four items designed for this study. We designed the items to be relevant to both Mapuche and non-Indigenous participants and based them on discussions in the political arena and civil society. The items which were introduced with the text “What kind of initiatives, measures and/or policies do you think could help solve the problems that the Mapuche people face today?”: “The recognition of Mapuche territorial autonomy in Araucanía”, “The political self-determination of the Mapuche people”, “The total return of Mapuche lands in the Araucanía”, and “The recognition of the self-determination of the Mapuche people”.

We controlled for the same variables as in the previous study, and additionally included *educational attainment* and *Mapuche identification*. *Gender* (0 = male, 1 = female), *age* (in years), *educational attainment* (0 = none, 1 = basic, 2 = medium, 3 = higher non-university, 4 = university/postgraduate),⁴ *political left-right orientation* (1 = far left, 10 = far right), and *Chilean and Mapuche identification*. *Chilean and Mapuche identification* were measured with four items each: “I feel like I have a link with [Chile/Mapuche people].”, “I feel committed to other [Chileans/Mapuche].”, “I have a lot in common with [other Chileans/Mapuche people].”, and “I like to think of myself as a [Chilean/Mapuche].” These were treated as latent constructs for the purpose of the measurement invariance test but were collapsed to mean scores for the structural model to ensure sufficient power.

Measurement model

We performed a confirmatory factor analysis and tested for measurement invariance with autochthony, investment, territorial compensation, and Chilean and Mapuche identification. The fit was acceptable at the metric level, indicating the same factor structure and loadings in both groups (χ^2 (263, $N = 347$) = 464.21, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .066 [90% C.I.056.076], CFI/TLI = .919/.906, SRMR = .075). All alternative factor structures had a worse fit, confirming that autochthony, investment, territorial compensation, and Chilean and Mapuche identification are separate constructs (see Table A3, Appendix A).

Results

Descriptive findings

The descriptive statistics and reliabilities (Table 3) and the bivariate correlations (Table 4) are displayed per group. The reliability of all latent variables was high, with the exception of the investment factor in the Mapuche sample, which was suboptimal ($\rho = .68$) and substantively lower than in the non-Indigenous sample ($\rho = .80$).

Inspecting the mean scores against the midpoint of the respective scales, we found that on average, both non-Indigenous Chilean and Mapuche participants perceived Araucanía as belonging more to the Mapuche than to the non-Indigenous Chileans, and average support for territorial compensation was also relatively high in both groups (see Table 3). However, comparisons of means across groups showed that Mapuche participants endorsed both Indigenous ownership and territorial compensation more strongly than non-Indigenous Chileans (Wald(1) = 61.07, $p < .001$; 31.42, $p < .001$, respectively). On average both groups endorsed autochthony, but the Mapuche group did so more than the non-Indigenous group (Wald(1) = 17.76, $p < .001$). Finally, average endorsement of investment was slightly lower than the neutral midpoint in both groups, but not significantly so in the Mapuche group, and the means did not differ between the two groups (Wald(1) = 3.42, $p = .064$).

Most of the correlations were significant and in the expected direction. Notably, the correlation between investment and territorial compensation was not significant for the Mapuche group, whereas the correlation between investment and perceived Indigenous

⁴ The original scale also included ‘incomplete’ versions of each level of education attainment. Participants who indicated an incomplete level of education as their educational attainment were coded as having one lower level of educational attainment, e.g. ‘university (incomplete)’ was recoded to ‘higher non-university’.

Table 4Bivariate correlations for non-Indigenous Chileans (below the diagonal, $N = 121$) and Mapuche (above the diagonal, $N = 226$), Study 2.

		01.	02.	03.	04.	05.	06.	07.	08.	09.	10.
01.	<i>Autochthony belief</i>	—	.25 **	.25 **	-.17 *	.29 **	.31 ***	.10	.18 *	-.16	-.15 *
02.	<i>Investment belief</i>	.15	—	.06	.09	.13	.15	.15 *	.12	.04	-.30 ***
03.	<i>Territorial compensation</i>	.39 ***	-.26 *	—	-.28 ***	.40 ***	.44 ***	-.05	.21 **	-.14	-.26 ***
04.	<i>Chilean identification</i>	-.19	.31 **	-.30 *	—	.01	-.25 ***	-.14 *	-.05	.14 *	.18 *
05.	<i>Mapuche identification</i>	.39 ***	.13	.29 **	.20	—	.38 ***	-.04	.25 ***	-.03	-.21 **
06.	Perceived Indigenous ownership	.40 ***	-.01	.53 ***	-.24 *	.28 **	—	.00	.30 ***	-.15 *	-.27 ***
07.	Gender (0 = male)	-.08	-.02	.02	-.16	-.15	-.03	—	-.09	-.11	-.07
08.	Age	.13	.26 **	-.06	.28 **	.37 ***	.11	-.20 *	—	.06	-.50 ***
09.	Political left-right orientation	-.21	.25 **	-.37 ***	.28 **	-.19	-.16	-.08	.12	—	.08
10.	Educational attainment	-.14	-.18	-.05	-.05	-.06	-.05	.12	-.46 ***	.17	—

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (2-tailed). Latent variable names are italicized.

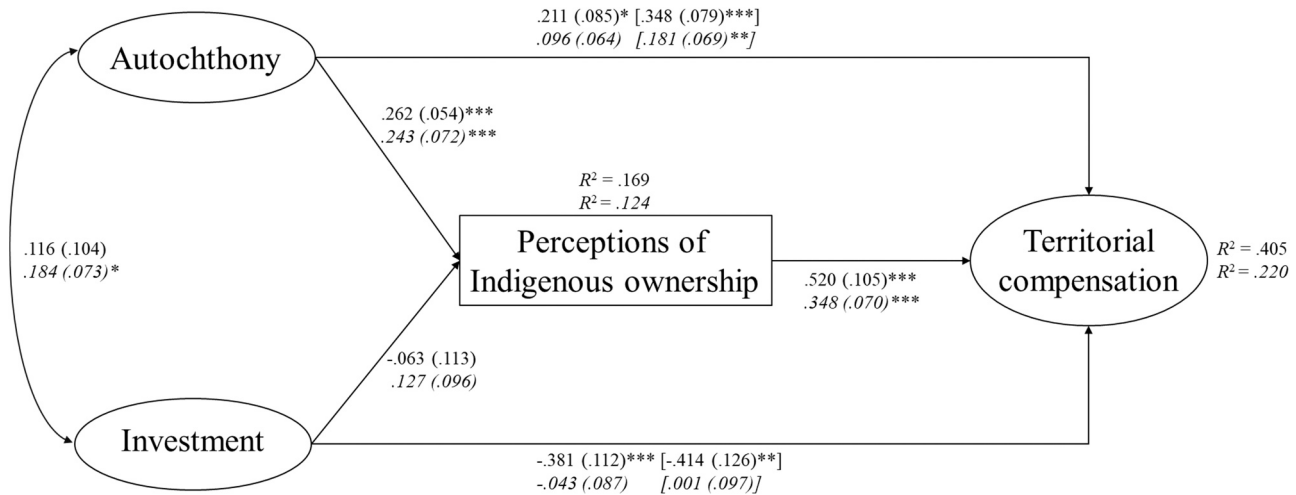


Fig. 1. Structural equation model without control variables, comparing non-Indigenous Chileans ($N = 121$) with Mapuche, ($N = 226$), Study 2. *Note.* Unstandardized coefficients with standard errors in brackets, and total effects between square brackets. Results for the Mapuche group are indicated in italics. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (2-tailed).

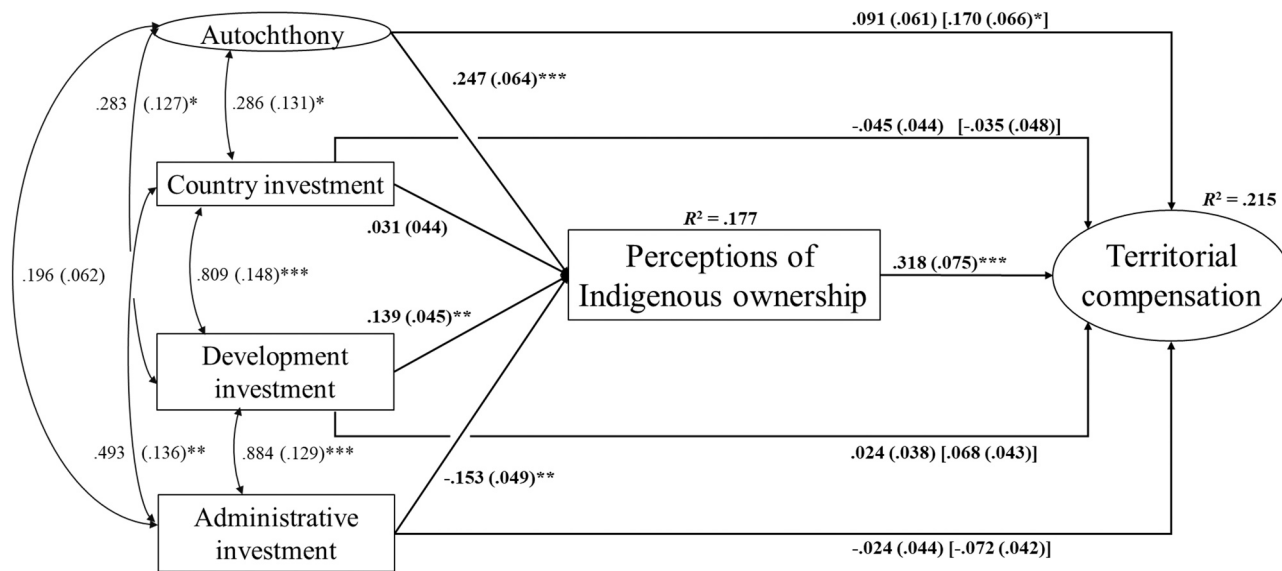


Fig. 2. Structural equation model without control variables for Mapuche, Study 2 (N = 226). *Note.* Unstandardized coefficients with standard errors in brackets, and total effects between square brackets. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (2-tailed).

ownership was not significant for the non-Indigenous Chilean group.

Explaining support for territorial compensation

We ran a multi-group structural equation model regressing support for territorial compensation on perceived Indigenous ownership, autochthony, and investment, and regressing ownership on autochthony and investment. In a second model we controlled for gender, age, political orientation, educational attainment, and Chilean and Mapuche identification.

In the model without control variables (see Fig. 1), endorsement of autochthony belief was related to believing that Araucanía belongs relatively more to Mapuche than to non-Indigenous Chileans, for both groups. Perceived Indigenous ownership was in turn associated with more support for territorial compensation, both in line with our expectations. Furthermore, in both groups, endorsement of investment belief was not significantly related to ownership perceptions, though in the non-Indigenous Chilean group it was directly negatively related to territorial compensation.

While the patterns of the results remained similar after the addition of the control variables, for Mapuche the relationship of autochthony belief with perceived Indigenous ownership was no longer significant ($B = .11, p = .082$; see Table A4, Appendix A). Furthermore, for both groups, greater Chilean identification was associated with a weaker perception that the territory belonged to the Mapuche. For Mapuche, Chilean identification was also associated with lower support for territorial compensation. Finally, for Mapuche, identifying more strongly as Mapuche was strongly associated with believing that the territory belonged relatively more to the Mapuche, and with higher support for territorial compensation.

Examining the effects of different types of investment

Due to the suboptimal reliability of the investment belief factor in the Mapuche sample, we considered an alternative model for Mapuche. In this model we separately examined our three investment belief items, that we now respectively labelled country investment, development investment, and administrative investment.

First we considered a model without the control variables (see Fig. 2). Interestingly, support for the notion that people who have contributed most to the development of a territory should be the ones most entitled to it, was associated with believing that the territory should belong more to Mapuche ($B = .14, p = .002$), and through perceived Indigenous ownership also indirectly with greater support for territorial compensation ($B = .04, p = .017$). At the same time, believing that administering a territory makes one more entitled was associated with believing the territory should belong less to Mapuche and more to the non-Indigenous Chileans ($B = -.15, p = .002$), and indirectly with lower support for territorial compensation ($B = -.05, p = .011$). Country level investment did not play any role. These results largely held after the introduction of the control variables (see Table A5, Appendix A), though the relationships became less strong, and the indirect effects were no longer significant.

Discussion

In line with our expectations, we again found a positive relationship between autochthony belief and territorial compensation. Furthermore, we found for both groups that believing that the territory belonged more to the Mapuche than the non-Indigenous Chileans was associated with greater support for territorial compensation on behalf of the Mapuche, and this sense of territorial ownership largely explained the relationship between autochthony belief and territorial compensation.

The findings for investment were more equivocal. Whereas non-Indigenous Chileans who endorsed investment belief more were less supportive of territorial compensation, this was not explained by territorial ownership perceptions. Furthermore, Mapuche who endorsed investment belief in terms of administrative efforts saw the land as belonging relatively less to their ingroup and thus more to non-Indigenous Chileans, in line with one version of our hypothesis. However, to the extent that they endorsed the development aspect of investment, they perceived the territory to belong more to them than to non-Indigenous Chileans. This is in line with our alternative hypothesis about a positive relation between investment belief and Mapuche territorial ownership for the Mapuche participants and suggests that the Mapuche see themselves as the ones who have developed the territory of Araucanía.

General Discussion

In the present research we examined Indigenous and non-Indigenous people's attitudes towards territorial compensation of the Indigenous group. We focused on the role of two specific general beliefs that people often rely on to infer ownership of places, and that might be particularly relevant in the context of territorial disputes in settler societies: autochthony belief (entitlements for first comers) and investment belief (entitlements for those who have invested in the land) (see Beggan & Brown, 1994; Geschiere, 2009). We furthermore examined whether the associations between these general beliefs and support for territorial compensation could be explained by perceptions of who is the rightful owner of a territory, namely the Indigenous or non-Indigenous group. We examined this in the Chilean context from the perspective of both non-Indigenous Chileans as well as the indigenous Mapuche and in relation to the region of Araucanía that is considered to be Mapuche ancestral territory.

Using samples of university students without Mapuche family (Study 1), and self-identified Mapuche and non-Indigenous Chilean participants (Study 2) we first showed that endorsement of autochthony belief was consistently—across studies and groups—related to higher support for territorial compensation on behalf of the Mapuche. This was in line with our expectations, and with initial evidence among White Australians linking autochthony belief to support for institutional apology and financial compensation of Aborigines (Nooitgedagt et al., 2021). In Study 2 we additionally found that, for both groups, greater endorsement of autochthony belief was related to greater recognition of Mapuche territorial ownership relative to non-Indigenous Chilean ownership, and via these ownership

perceptions, to higher support for territorial compensation. This suggests that in settler societies, endorsement of autochthony as a general belief indeed implies support for the primacy of Indigenous ownership. This finding is in line with previous experimental research among children showing that they infer ownership from first possession or first occupancy (Friedman et al., 2013; Verkuyten, Sierksma, & Martinović, 2015). Importantly, we have provided first evidence that perceptions of Indigenous ownership go hand in hand with the request to return the territory to the Indigenous group, and that this holds for the Mapuche as well as non-Indigenous Chileans.

The findings for investment were more equivocal. We found that for university students without Mapuche family (Study 1), and non-Indigenous Chileans (Study 2) endorsement of investment belief was related to less support for territorial compensation on behalf of the Mapuche. However, while we expected that this opposition to territorial compensation would be the result of greater perceived non-Indigenous ownership, we did not find support for a mediation of investment through perceived territorial ownership. In turn, for Mapuche participants, there was no overall relation of investment with territorial compensation.

However, given that the measure of investment belief was not very reliable for the Mapuche group (Study 2), in addition to analysing overall endorsement, we separately investigated three different aspects of investment belief: country investment (“building the country”), development investment (“developing the territory”), and administrative investment (“administering the territory”). Our results indicate that Mapuche perceived a clear difference between investing by administering and investing by developing a territory. When Mapuche participants endorsed administrative investment more, they more strongly perceived Araucanía as belonging to non-Indigenous Chileans rather than Mapuche, which was in turn related to lower support for territorial compensation. The reverse was true for Mapuche endorsement of development investment which was associated with feeling that Araucanía belonged more to Mapuche than to non-Indigenous Chileans, and indirectly with stronger support for territorial compensation on behalf of the Mapuche.

Across both studies and groups, we found that endorsement of autochthony belief more strongly and consistently related to support for territorial compensation than endorsement of investment belief. These findings may be due to the inherent difference between autochthony and investment beliefs: whereas there is only one way to be autochthonous (be there first), there are many ways to invest into a territory. This suggests that autochthony belief might be a more relevant guiding belief than investment belief, especially in contexts such as settler societies, where the first arrival of Indigenous groups is generally not contested.

Theoretical and practical implications

In this article, we aimed to compare Mapuche and non-Indigenous Chileans endorsement of different beliefs about territorial ownership. Due to the challenges associated with collecting data among Indigenous participants, we used existing data in the first study, where we only selected non-Indigenous participants for analysis. For the second study we managed to collect samples of non-Indigenous Chilean participants and Mapuche participants, both in Araucanía and in Santiago. It is much more difficult to collect data among Mapuche participants than among non-Indigenous participants for several reasons. Formal contact between researchers and Mapuche communities needs to be established, and research teams need to spend a significant amount of time in the communities in order to obtain the data. Moreover, the current situation surrounding Mapuche communities in the south of Chile creates high levels of distrust towards actors that are not part of the communities. Furthermore, Study 2 was part of a research project financed by a state agency and this further decreased intentions of participation among Mapuche people, due to distrust regarding who will have access to the data and people’s opinions of the Chilean state. Even though we explained that the research team does not provide the State (or any such entity) with access to the data, there were still many potential participants who rejected to participate. For a detailed description of this issue, please see Figueiredo et al. (2020). Despite the challenges of the data collection, the diverging findings across the two groups highlight the added value of collecting data amongst Indigenous communities.

Our research may have consequences for policies and strategies aimed at resolving territorial conflicts. Considering the significant economic interests in the region due to forestry and hydroelectrical projects (Meza-Lopehandía, 2019), the difficulties of either having the legal documents or economic means to formalize a judicial case provide a bleak scenario for the possibility of the Mapuche to recover their ancestral territory without significant popular support among both non-Indigenous and Indigenous Chileans. Our results indicate that strategies that help further emphasize the first-occupancy or territorial investment of Indigenous Peoples are likely to broadly increase support for territorial compensation. Such strategies could include (increased) attention to Indigenous history in education, or the official constitutional recognition of Indigenous Peoples. While many countries have recognized Indigenous Peoples in their constitutions, Chile remains the only country in South America where Indigenous Peoples have not received constitutional recognition. Given the process of constitutional change that is now occurring in Chile, it will be interesting to see whether the rights and demands of the Mapuche people will be consecrated in the new constitution and how this recognition may play a role in the dynamics of territorial ownership over Araucanía.

Limitations and directions for future research

Our findings on the different aspects of investment belief raise many interesting questions for future research, which could be further examined in two ways. First, people can feel that both groups involved in a territorial conflict have invested in the territory, and therefore their endorsement of investment belief would lead them to feel that both groups are entitled to the territory. This may explain why we did not find a relationship between non-Indigenous Chileans’ endorsement of investment belief and their perceptions of territorial ownership. If they believed that both Mapuche and non-Indigenous Chileans have invested in the territory, they would feel that both groups are entitled to the territory. In other words, endorsement of investment would be related to higher perceived ingroup and outgroup ownership, which cannot be captured with a single item difference score. Our measurement of perceptions of territorial

ownership with a single difference item (non-Indigenous Chilean ownership versus Mapuche ownership) means that we could not examine this in more detail in this study. Our findings provide a first indication of the importance of perceptions on territorial ownership in settler societies, and future research could investigate perceptions of ingroup and outgroup ownership separately to examine this further.

Second, to examine the differences in the dimensions of investment further, future research could consider the dimensions and interpretations of investment belief examined here in more detail and measure them with multiple items and using qualitative methods. In addition to these, future research could also examine investment through taking care of the land (e.g., guardianship, or *kaitiakitanga*, see [Kawharu, 2000](#)), and investment through different ways of utilizing the land (e.g., utilitarian usage vs. social identity use of the land). The effects of different types of investment belief might be stronger when they are measured in more detail, which would also make it possible to compare these dimensions of investment more thoroughly to the effect of autochthony belief.

Our findings show that Chilean and Mapuche identification were differently associated with perceived Indigenous ownership and support for territorial compensation in both groups. This finding is similar to previous research which found a negative association between ethnic identification and intentions to reconcile with the outgroup ([Storz et al., 2020](#)). Future research could investigate the role of ethnic identification in more depth by examining whether it could moderate the relationships between the principles of ownership and perceived territorial ownership. Furthermore, the direction of this moderation may differ for Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups. For example, consider our finding that both groups perceive more Indigenous ownership as a result of more strongly supporting autochthony beliefs: for the Indigenous group it may be that only those who highly identify with their ethnic group would show this link, while for non-Indigenous groups it would instead be low-identifiers.

Future research could also examine possible mediators and moderators that can help further examine the links between the principles of ownership and perceived territorial ownership and support for compensation. Based on our findings and previous research, two directions seem particularly relevant. First, previous research in Australia has found that for White Australians, higher support for autochthony was related to perceiving more collective guilt and shame, which was in turn related to greater support for compensating Indigenous Australians ([Nooitgedagt et al., 2021](#)). This research suggests that when non-Indigenous people perceiving more Indigenous ownership of land, they may perceive the appropriation of Indigenous lands as having been illegitimate. Consequently, collective guilt and shame may mediate between perceived territorial ownership and support for compensation for Indigenous peoples.

Second, our findings show that Chilean and Mapuche identification were differently associated with perceived Indigenous ownership and support for territorial compensation in both groups. This finding is similar to previous research which found a negative association between ethnic identification and intentions to reconcile with the outgroup ([Storz et al., 2020](#)). Future research could investigate the role of ethnic identification in more depth by examining whether it could moderate the relationships between the principles of ownership and perceived territorial ownership. Furthermore, the direction of this moderation may differ for Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups. For example, considering that both groups perceive more Indigenous ownership as a result of more strongly supporting autochthony beliefs, we can expect that, for the Indigenous group, it may be that only those who highly identify with their ethnic group would show this link, while for non-Indigenous groups it would instead be low-identifiers.

Finally, we have shown the importance of autochthony and investment as general beliefs. Future research could also consider people's perceptions of which group(s) arrived first and which invested more (and in what way) and examine interactions between these perceptions and the general beliefs. It could be the case that autochthony and investment beliefs particularly guide territorial ownership inferences in relation to target groups who are seen as, respectively, having arrived first, and having invested more. Whereas first-arrival is less debatable in settler societies than a group's investment, there have been incidents of a denial of Indigenous Peoples' first arrival, such as by the Australian senator Leyonhjelm ([Yaxley, 2015](#)), who has claimed that Australia's Aboriginal peoples might not descend from the original group that first arrived in Australia. Furthermore, there are other contexts where first arrival is more contested. For example, both Albanians and Serbs claim Kosovo by right of first occupancy, while simultaneously denying the other group's claim ([Daskalovski, 2004](#)).

Conclusion

With the present research we have provided first evidence that first occupancy (i.e., autochthony) and investment beliefs, as general beliefs, can inform territorial ownership perceptions and, indirectly, support for territorial compensation in settler societies. Whereas endorsement of autochthony belief was consistently related to greater support for territorial compensation among both Mapuche and non-Indigenous Chileans, endorsement of investment belief was related to less support for territorial compensation among non-Indigenous Chileans, and, depending on the type of investment, with either more or less support for territorial compensation among Mapuche. These findings show that endorsement of autochthony belief is an argument that validates Indigenous ownership among both groups, whereas different dimensions of the investment belief can be used by both groups to claim more positive outcomes for their own in-group.

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Declaration of Competing Interest

The authors have no conflicts of interest to declare.

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Appendix A

See [Tables A1–A5](#).

Table A1

Structural equation model predicting support for territorial compensation for participants without ($N = 611$) and with ($N = 300$) Mapuche family, Study 1.

	Without control variables						With control variables					
	No Mapuche family			With Mapuche family			No Mapuche family			With Mapuche family		
	<i>B</i>		<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>		<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>		<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>		<i>SE</i>
Autochthony belief	.62	***	(.05)	.72	***	(.06)	.48	***	(.05)	.59	***	(.06)
Investment belief	-.27	***	(.06)	-.18	*	(.09)	-.11		(.06)	-.05		(.09)
<i>Control variables</i>												
Gender (0 = male)							.36	**	(.14)	-.03		(.18)
Age							.02		(.02)	-.02		(.02)
Left-right orientation							-.59	***	(.05)	-.40	***	(.08)
Chilean identification							-.06		(.04)	-.07		(.05)

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (2-tailed). Reported coefficients are unstandardized.

Table A2

Comparison of different factor models, Study 1 ($N = 611$).

	χ^2	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i> - 2 <i>s</i>	RMSEA	CFI	TLI	SRMR	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δdf
1. Autochthony; investment; territorial compensation	85.07	(32)	***	.052	[.039, .066]	.978	.970	.035	
2. Autochthony + investment	890.22	(34)	***	.203	[.192, .215]	.652	.539	.192	348.91 (2) ***
3. Autochthony + territorial compensation	344.14	(34)	***	.122	[.111, .134]	.874	.833	.081	207.81 (2) ***
4. Investment + territorial compensation	549.72	(34)	***	.158	[.146, .169]	.790	.722	.168	410.06 (2) ***

Note. Model 1 is the main model, all other models are compared to model 1. The Chi-square difference tests are Satorra-Bentler scaled Chi-Square tests.

Table A3

Confirmatory factor models at the metric level, for non-Indigenous Chilean ($N = 121$) and the Mapuche ($N = 226$), Study 2.

	χ^2	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i> - 2 <i>s</i>	RMSEA	CFI	TLI	SRMR	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δdf
1. Main model, 5 factors	464.21	(263)	***	.066	[.056, .076]	.919	.906	.075	
2. Autochthony + investment	672.45	(272)	***	.092	[.083, .101]	.839	.819	.104	166.86 (9) ***
3. Autochthony + territorial compensation	913.99	(272)	***	.117	[.108, .125]	.743	.710	.126	323.78 (9) ***
4. Investment + territorial compensation	685.97	(272)	***	.094	[.085, .102]	.834	.813	.106	169.47 (9) ***
5. Chilean + Mapuche identification	1282.31	(272)	***	.146	[.138, .154]	.595	.544	.172	455.43 (9) ***

Note. Model 1 is the main model; all other models are compared to model 1. Each other model forces the two stated factors to load as one factor. The Chi-square difference tests are Satorra-Bentler scaled Chi-Square tests.

Table A4

Structural equation model predicting support for territorial compensation for non-Indigenous Chileans ($N = 121$) and the Mapuche ($N = 226$), with control variables included, Study 2.

	Non-Indigenous Chileans				Mapuche			
	Perceived Indigenous ownership		Territorial compensation		Perceived Indigenous ownership		Territorial compensation	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
<i>Total effect</i>								
Autochthony belief			.25 ** (.08)				.07 (.06)	
Investment belief			-.31 * (.12)				-.01 (.09)	
<i>Indirect effects</i>								
Autochthony belief → P.I.O. →			.09 ** (.03)				.02 (.02)	
Investment belief → P.I.O. →			-.01 (.05)				.02 (.02)	
<i>Direct effects</i>								
Autochthony belief	.19 ** (.06)		.15 (.08)		.11 (.06)		.05 (.06)	
Investment belief	-.03 (.11)		-.30 ** (.11)		.08 (.09)		-.03 (.09)	
Perceived Indigenous ownership			.48 *** (.09)				.20 ** (.07)	
<i>Control variables</i>								
Gender (0 = male)	.00 (.14)		.07 (.15)		-.07 (.11)		-.10 (.11)	
Age	.00 (.01)		-.01 (.01)		.01 * (.00)		.00 (.00)	
Left-right orientation	-.01 (.04)		-.07 (.05)		-.05 (.03)		-.02 (.03)	
Educational level	.03 (.06)		-.06 (.10)		-.04 (.05)		-.06 (.04)	
Chilean identification	-.17 * (.07)		-.04 (.09)		-.16 ** (.06)		-.14 ** (.05)	
Mapuche identification	.11 (.07)		.12 (.08)		.28 *** (.07)		.24 ** (.09)	

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (2-tailed). Reported coefficients are unstandardized.

Table A5

Structural equation model predicting support for territorial compensation by autochthony, country, development, and administrative investment, mediated by perceived Indigenous ownership; Mapuche participants ($N = 226$), with control variables included, Study 2.

	Perceived Indigenous ownership		Territorial compensation	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
<i>Total effect</i>				
Autochthony belief			.07 (.06)	
Country investment belief			-.03 (.04)	
Development investment belief			.03 (.04)	
Administrative investment belief			-.02 (.04)	
<i>Indirect effects</i>				
Autochthony belief → P.I.O. →			.02 (.02)	
Country investment → P.I.O. →			.01 (.01)	
Development investment → P.I.O. →			.02 (.01)	
Administrative investment → P.I.O. →			-.02 (.01)	
<i>Direct effects</i>				
Autochthony belief	.13 * (.06)		.04 (.05)	
Country investment belief	.03 (.04)		-.04 (.04)	
Development investment belief	.09 * (.04)		.01 (.04)	
Administrative investment belief	-.11 * (.05)		.00 (.04)	
Perceived Indigenous ownership			.18 ** (.07)	
<i>Control variables</i>				
Gender (0 = male)	-.07 (.11)		-.11 (.11)	
Age	.01 * (.00)		.00 (.00)	
Left-right orientation	-.05 (.03)		-.03 (.02)	
Educational level	-.05 (.05)		-.05 (.04)	
Chilean identification	-.13 * (.06)		-.13 ** (.05)	
Mapuche identification	.24 ** (.08)		.23 ** (.08)	

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (2-tailed). Reported coefficients are unstandardized.

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