

Solidarity Imbalances After Racism and Sexism: Black Americans Are Expected to Express High Solidarity but Anticipate Lower Solidarity From Racial/Ethnic Outgroups

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Abstract

Because claiming discrimination is not always taken seriously, marginalized groups may consider cues about whom to trust in providing support and solidarity. Black, Hispanic, and Asian participants (Study 1; $N = 931$) and women (Study 2; $N = 1,207$) from the United States imagined someone made a discriminatory comment to them and rated the likelihood of being supported by an individual who varied in identity and past solidarity-related behavior. Participants anticipated more support from their own racial/ethnic group for racism and from women for sexism, and then anticipated support by the following groups: Black > Hispanic > Asian $\geq$ White and women > men. Past behavior boosted anticipated support, especially from outgroups. Strikingly, we found solidarity imbalances; groups consistently anticipated that Black people would support them, yet Black people anticipated lower support from racial/ethnic outgroups.

Keywords

solidarity, discrimination, race, ethnicity, gender

Discrimination is a pervasive problem associated with negative mental and physical health (Swim et al., 2001; Triana et al., 2015). Being treated unfairly based on race or gender is stressful (Berger & Sarnyai, 2015; Townsend et al., 2011) yet common (Pew Research Center, 2021). Although a frequent response to stress is seeking social support (Cutrona, 1986), little is known about how people facing discrimination determine who will provide support. We use the term “solidarity perceptions” to describe when an individual perceives someone would support them on matters of discrimination or social injustice.

Because claiming discrimination carries interpersonal costs, marginalized groups need to consider who might support them. People who attribute negative experiences to discrimination can face negative judgment (e.g., viewed as “complainers,” Kaiser & Miller, 2001, 2003). However, having allies who confront bias can buffer against the negative impacts of racism and sexism (Hildebrand et al., 2020). For example, women who envisioned a male coworker who supported gender equality in a male-dominated STEM team anticipated more respect than women without allies (Moser & Branscombe, 2022). Receiving support after discrimination is specifically important for well-being. Among Black women, racism-specific social support, but not general social support, predicted lower depression (Seawell et al.,

2014). In addition, among women in romantic relationships with men, sexism-specific support predicted greater relationship satisfaction (Maimon & Sanchez, 2022). Therefore, targets of discrimination may use discretion in determining who will be supportive. We propose that race/ethnicity, gender, and the past behavior of potential supporters are cues that people use to anticipate who may support them. Perceptions of support from others may also depend on targets’ identities, whether the potential supporter shares stigmatized identities, and the type of bias encountered.

What Influences Anticipated Support After Discrimination?

Targets may use group stereotypes when considering whether someone might support them (Petsko & Bodenhausen, 2020). Stigmatized groups are typically

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viewed as supporting social justice initiatives more than advantaged groups, given their perceived history of challenging injustice (Saguy et al., 2020). People may also consider cultural norms of different racial/ethnic groups, including the tendency for Black individuals to respond more directly to racism than Asian individuals (Lee et al., 2012). Moreover, people view Black applicants as more prototypical victims of hiring discrimination, as compared with Asian, Latino, and White applicants (O'Brien et al., 2023). If people associate Black individuals most with racial discrimination, they may expect Black people to be more sympathetic to discrimination experiences. In addition, because women are viewed as more empathetic than men (Christov-Moore et al., 2014; Löffler & Greitemeyer, 2023), and women provide more social support (Taylor, 2011; Taylor et al., 2000), people may expect women to be more supportive than men. If people rely on stereotypes for support expectations, this could lead to imbalances where some groups may not receive the support they need, while others are expected to provide more support than they can.

Given the robust tendency for people to favor members of their own group (based on Social Identity Theory; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), people likely anticipate more support from ingroup members than outgroup members, which would not necessarily lead to imbalanced support expectations. For example, Black college students expect better racism-specific support from other Black people than non-Black people (Marshburn & Campos, 2022), and female professionals expect senior women to assist them in career advancement in a male-dominated field (O'Neil et al., 2018). These expectations are often based on the notion that people with a shared identity better understand each other's experiences. If stigmatized groups primarily rely on ingroups for support after discrimination, this could lead to lower burden for groups who are stereotyped as supportive.

A sense of shared identity may extend to similar outgroups as well. The Stigma-Based Solidarity Model proposes that stigmatized groups will be more likely to support *other* stigmatized groups when they view the group as facing similar discrimination (Craig & Richeson, 2016). Therefore, marginalized groups may anticipate reciprocal support from other groups who have a shared experience of stigmatization. For example, an Asian American experiencing foreignness-related stereotypes may expect support from Hispanic or Latinx Americans who also encounter foreignness-related stereotypes (consistent with the Racial Position Model; Zou & Cheryan, 2017). Facing either racism or sexism may also shift targeted individuals' expectations of who will provide support, considering race/ethnicity would be a relevant shared stigmatized identity for racism and shared gender would be relevant for sexism (Craig & Richeson, 2016).

Because people anticipate others' future behavior based on their past behavior (Frith & Frith, 2006), targets may consider whether someone demonstrated support for

stigmatized groups previously when anticipating future solidarity. For example, LGBT+ participants viewed outgroup individuals as allies when they had acted against LGBT+ discrimination and expressed anti-prejudiced views (Chen et al., 2023). Although ingroup members may be perceived as supportive due to shared stigmatization, outgroup members may be scrutinized more closely based on their past actions. As non-stigmatized groups may be less expected to challenge injustice (Saguy et al., 2020), demonstrating a history of solidarity may serve as an expectancy violation that prompts greater anticipated support (Burgoon, 2015).

The Present Research

We examined whether the race/ethnicity, gender, and past behavior of potential supporters influenced solidarity perceptions. In Study 1, we investigated racial minorities' anticipated support from acquaintances when they imagined encountering racism, while in Study 2, we investigated women's anticipated support after sexism. In both preregistered studies, participants read vignettes that manipulated acquaintances' race/ethnicity, gender, and past behavior. After each vignette, participants rated the likelihood that the acquaintance would be supportive.

Participants' solidarity perceptions were assessed by measuring perceptions that acquaintances would become angry on their behalf and take action to support them after they experienced racism or sexism. Anger about injustice and taking action to address injustice are theoretically and empirically linked (Gill & Matheson, 2006; Leach et al., 2006; Radke et al., 2020); theories of allyship identify anger as associated with action to support disadvantaged groups (De Souza & Schmader, 2024; Radke et al., 2020; Selvanathan et al., 2020). Given that, we expected both measures to operate similarly as operationalizations of solidarity perceptions.

Transparency and Openness

We report all data exclusions, manipulations, measures, and sample size determinations. Decisions to stop collecting data did not depend on results. All data, analysis scripts, survey materials, and a Supplement are available online (https://osf.io/9wz87/?view_only=3db37e5cd3d44261a67f461d34b52115).

Study 1

In Study 1, we tested whether participants anticipated different levels of support based on their own race/ethnicity and gender. We also tested whether anticipated support was influenced by the acquaintance's race/ethnicity and gender, shared stigmatization (shared race/ethnicity), or past solidarity behavior. We preregistered research

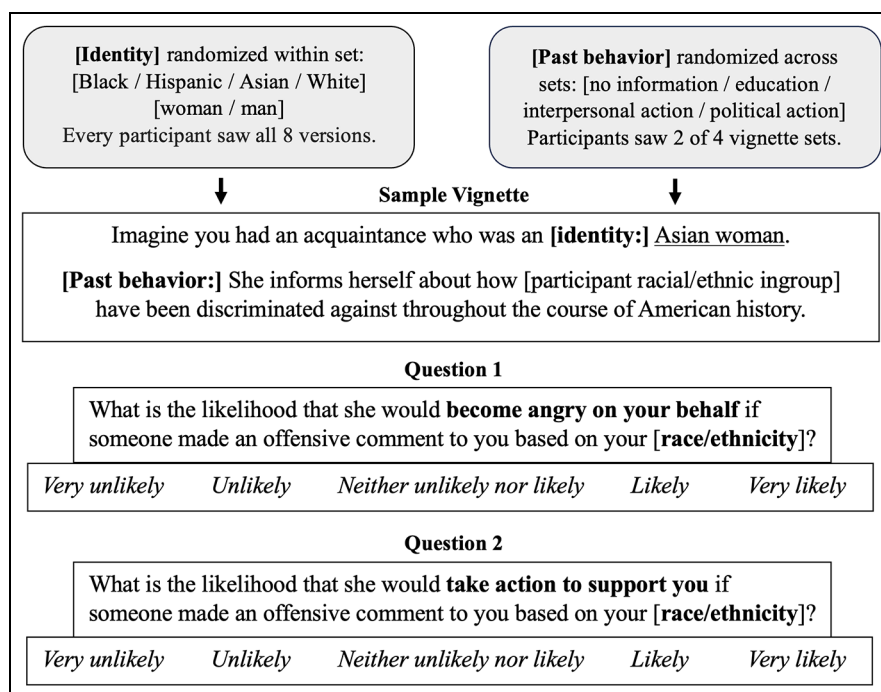


Figure 1. Sample Vignette and Anticipated Support Questions for Study 1

Note. Participants were randomly assigned to two sets of vignettes, with each vignette set describing acquaintances with different past behavior. Some acquaintances had no information about past behavior mentioned, whereas others had self-educated about discrimination (shown above), taken part in interpersonal action, or taken part in political action (four possible vignette sets). Within each of these vignette sets, acquaintance identities were randomized within participants, such that all participants saw all eight possible identities (4 race/ethnicity $\times$ 2 gender) in each vignette set. Within each set except *no information*, participants saw two examples of the past behavior, doubling the number of vignettes for those sets. For Black and Asian participants, the questions said “. . .based on your race?” while for Hispanic participants, the questions said “. . .based on your ethnicity?”

questions and analyses without specific directional hypotheses as we had rival hypotheses derived from competing theoretical accounts for patterns of anticipated support (e.g., group-based stereotypes, ingroup preference based on Social Identity Theory, shared stigmatization based on Stigma-Based Solidarity Model).

Method

Participants

Participants were volunteers from Project Implicit (<https://implicit.harvard.edu>). We aimed to recruit 900 participants for 300 responses from three racial/ethnic groups.¹ Participants were 18 years or older, identified as U.S. residents/citizens, and as monoracial/ethnic Black, Hispanic, or Asian. We collected 1,225 participants and excluded 287 participants for incomplete data and 7 participants for technological issues.

The final sample ($N = 931$) identified as Black or African American (33.9%), Hispanic, Latino or Spanish Origin (33.4%), or Asian (32.7%). The sample was 66.2% female, 30.7% male, and 2.1% other gender identities. Mean age was 34.2 ($SD = 13.9$) years. Ideologically,

53.2% were liberal, 28.1% were moderate, and 14.6% were conservative.

Procedure

Participants read vignettes where they imagined an acquaintance who varied according to a 4 (race/ethnicity: Black, Hispanic, Asian, White) $\times$ 2 (gender: man, woman) $\times$ 4 (past solidarity behavior: *no information*, *education*, *interpersonal action*, *political action*) randomized mixed design (Figure 1). The within- and between-subjects mixed design allowed for higher statistical power than fully between-subjects designs (Brysbaert, 2019).

Each participant was randomly assigned to read two of four possible vignette sets. Within each vignette set, acquaintance identities were fully randomized within subjects, such that every participant saw all eight possible combinations of race/ethnicity and gender. The four vignette sets differed only by the acquaintance's past behavior, with one set representing each of the four past solidarity behavior conditions. Because each participant was assigned to two of four possible vignette sets, each participant read about all combinations of acquaintance identities for two out of four different past behavior conditions. After

Table 1. Model Predicted Means for Anticipated Support by Participant Race/Ethnicity for Study 1

Participant race/ethnicity	M	SE	Lower 95% CI	Upper 95% CI
Hispanic participants	0.81	0.03	0.75	0.88
Asian participants	0.76	0.03	0.69	0.82
Black participants	0.66	0.03	0.59	0.72

reading each vignette, participants rated the likelihood that the acquaintance would support them. Then, participants completed exploratory measures and were debriefed.

Materials

Potential Supporter Vignettes. In each vignette, participants were asked to imagine that they had an acquaintance described as Black, Hispanic, Asian, or White and as a woman or man. Their imagined acquaintance had previously taken part in past behavior including either *education*, *interpersonal action*, or *political action*, or was described without mentioning past behavior (i.e., *no information*). These vignettes were developed based on Salter and Migliaccio (2019), who identified these forms of behavior as three realms of effective allyship. The past behaviors described also varied in engagement level, with political action requiring the most engagement and commitment, followed by interpersonal action and education. In each vignette set involving a past behavior, participants responded to two different examples of that past behavior to minimize any stimulus-specific effects.² The *education* vignettes described the acquaintance as educating themselves about racial discrimination in the past or present. The *interpersonal action* vignettes noted the acquaintance participates in discussions about inclusivity or confronts offensive comments. The *political action* vignettes described how the acquaintance attends, protests, or donates their time/money to organizations.

Dependent Measures

Anticipated Support. After each vignette, participants reported the likelihood that each person would support them on a five-point scale if they were to experience racism. To assess anticipated emotional support, we asked “What is the likelihood that [she/he] would become angry on your behalf if someone made an offensive comment to you based on your [race/ethnicity]?” To assess anticipated action-oriented support, we asked “What is the likelihood that [she/he] would take action to support you if someone made an offensive comment to you based on your [race/ethnicity]?” Responses to these two questions were averaged to form the anticipated support outcome variable ($\omega = .90$).

Exploratory Measures. For exploratory purposes, participants completed the Race Implicit Association Test, the Modified Everyday Discrimination Scale (EDS), and

demographic questions. For measure descriptions and analyses including the modified EDS, see the Supplemental Online Materials (SOM, pp. 5–15).

Results

Analysis Plan

We conducted analyses in R (R Core Team, 2021). Although analyses were preregistered as ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions (<https://doi.org/10.17605/OSF.IO/8BR4P>), we realized that linear multilevel models with maximum likelihood estimation would be more appropriate for the multilevel data structure ($ICC = .364$).³ We not only report the multilevel models in the main text but also report the original preregistered OLS regressions in the SOM. Results were largely robust to model specification. We conducted likelihood ratio tests to compare hypothesized and reduced models (Brown, 2021). Although there are not commonly agreed on methods for calculating effect sizes for multilevel models with random slopes (Lorah, 2018), we reported R^2 values in the SOM (pp. 51–86) using recommendations by P. C. D. Johnson (2014). For post hoc tests, we used Holm adjustments for multiple tests. Predictors were tested one at a time in separate models (unless otherwise noted), and main effect predictors were always tested before interactions were entered. See SOM for tables reporting multilevel analyses for all preregistered models, analyses including preregistered linear regressions, analyses with the two outcome items separated, and analyses controlling for past behavior vignette set order.

Do Participant Identities Predict Anticipated Support?

Participants' race/ethnicity (dummy-coded)⁴ predicted anticipated support, $\chi^2(2) = 11.99$, $p = .002$ (Table 1). Hispanic participants anticipated higher support than Black participants ($M_D = 0.16$, $SE = 0.05$, $z = 3.42$, $p = .002$), while Asian participants were not significantly different than either groups ($ps > .054$). Men and women did not significantly differ in anticipated support, $\chi^2(1) = 0.57$, $p = .45$.

Do Group-Specific Stereotypes Predict Anticipated Support?

Acquaintance race/ethnicity influenced anticipated support, $\chi^2(3) = 426.05$, $p < .001$. Participants anticipated

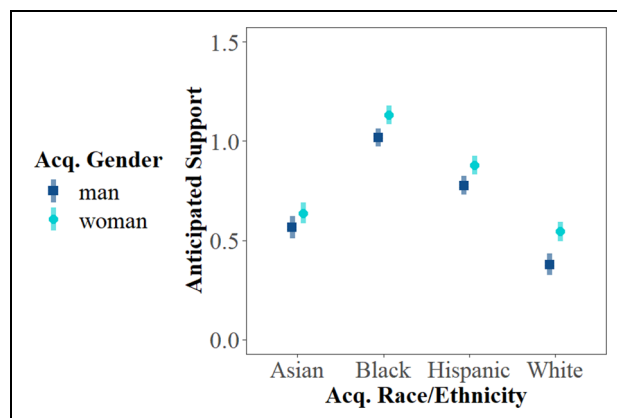


Figure 2. Anticipated Support Predicted by Acquaintance Race/Ethnicity and Gender Interaction for Study 1

Note. Anticipated Support scale ($-3 = \text{Extremely unlikely}$ to $3 = \text{Extremely likely}$). Points represent means with 95% confidence intervals. Acq.: Acquaintance.

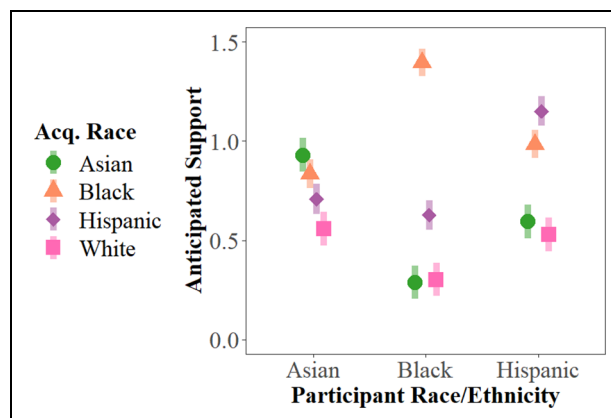


Figure 3. Anticipated Support Predicted by Participant Race/Ethnicity and Acquaintance Race/Ethnicity Interaction for Study 1

Note. Anticipated Support scale ($-2 = \text{Extremely unlikely}$ to $2 = \text{Extremely likely}$). Points represent means with 95% confidence intervals. Acq.: Acquaintance.

the most support from Black people, $M = 1.08$, $SE = 0.02$, 95% CI: [1.03, 1.12], followed by Hispanic, $M = 0.83$, $SE = 0.02$, 95% CI: [0.78, 0.87], Asian, $M = 0.60$, $SE = 0.03$, 95% CI: [0.55, 0.65], and White people, $M = 0.46$, $SE = 0.03$, CI: [0.41, 0.51]; $ps < .001$. Participants also anticipated more support from women, $M = 0.80$, $SE = 0.02$, 95% CI: [0.76, 0.84], than men, $M = 0.69$, $SE = 0.02$, 95% CI: [0.65, 0.73]; $\chi^2(1) = 144.58$, $p < .001$.

We then found an interaction of acquaintance race/ethnicity and gender, $\chi^2(3) = 22.49$, $p < .001$ (Figure 2). Women of all racial/ethnic groups were perceived as more supportive than their male counterparts ($ps < .001$), although the gender difference was greater for White acquaintances than all other groups ($ps < .03$). Participants anticipated the most support from Black women and the least support from White men. All simple contrasts were significant ($ps < .001$) except between Asian men and White women ($p = .37$).

Does Shared Stigmatization Predict Anticipated Support?

We then tested whether participants anticipated different support from people of their same race/ethnicity, other people of color, and White people. Participants perceived racial/ethnic ingroups as most supportive, $M = 1.16$, $SE = 0.02$, 95% CI: [1.12, 1.21], followed by other acquaintances of color, $M = 0.67$, $SE = 0.02$, 95% CI: [0.63, 0.71], and White acquaintances, $M = 0.46$, $SE = 0.03$, 95% CI: [0.41, 0.51]; $\chi^2(2) = 475.42$, $p < .001$. All group differences were significant ($ps < .001$).

Anticipated support based on acquaintance race/ethnicity also depended on participants' race/ethnicity, interaction: $\chi^2(6) = 641.44$, $p < .001$ (Figure 3). Participants

perceived racial/ethnic ingroups as most supportive ($ps < .019$), and perceptions then followed the overall pattern of Black > Hispanic > Asian $\geq$ White. Anticipated support differences between Asian and White acquaintances were not significantly different among Black participants ($p = .72$) or Hispanic participants ($p = .07$). See SOM (p. 9) for exploratory shared gender analyses.

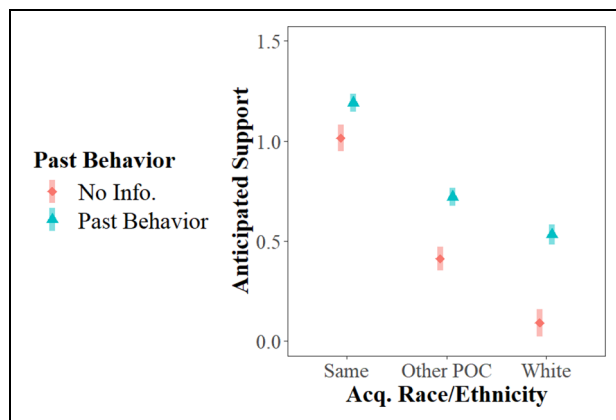
Does Past Behavior Predict Anticipated Support?

Participants viewed acquaintances who had taken part in *political action* as most supportive, followed by *interpersonal action*, *education*, and *no information*, $\chi^2(3) = 203.14$, $p < .001$ (Table 2). All differences were significant ($ps < .001$). Anticipated support based on past behavior was not moderated by participant race/ethnicity, interaction: $\chi^2(6) = 7.37$, $p = .29$.

Finally, we tested whether an interaction between acquaintance race/ethnicity (coded as same race/ethnicity, other person of color, or White) and past behavior (coded as any behavior or *no information*) predicted anticipated support. The interaction was significant, $\chi^2(2) = 64.90$, $p < .001$ (Figure 4), as were all follow-up tests comparing differences between specific groups ($ps < .001$). The boost in anticipated support attributable to past behavior was larger for other acquaintances of color and White acquaintances than racial/ethnic ingroups (other POC-same race/ethnicity: estimate = 0.13, $SE = 0.03$, $z = 4.62$, $p < .001$; White-same race/ethnicity: estimate = 0.26, $SE = 0.03$, $z = 8.06$, $p < .001$). The past behavior boost was also larger for White acquaintances than other acquaintances of color (White-other POC: estimate = 0.13, $SE = 0.03$, $z = 4.79$, $p < .001$). This demonstrated that past supportive

Table 2. Model Predicted Means for Anticipated Support from Acquaintance Past Behavior for Study 1

Past behavior	<i>N</i> _{observations}	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	Lower 95% CI	Upper 95% CI
No information	3,648	0.49	0.03	0.43	0.54
Education	7,110	0.65	0.03	0.61	0.70
Interpersonal action	7,451	0.79	0.03	0.74	0.84
Political action	7,649	0.92	0.03	0.87	0.98

**Figure 4.** Anticipated Support Predicted by Acquaintance Race/Ethnicity and Past Behavior Interaction for Study 1

Note. Anticipated Support scale ($-2 = \text{Extremely unlikely}$ to $2 = \text{Extremely likely}$). Points represent means with 95% confidence intervals. Acq.: Acquaintance.

behavior was a stronger cue of anticipated support when evaluating racial/ethnic outgroups.

Study 2

In Study 1, we found differences in anticipated support based on a person's race/ethnicity and gender. However, the reasons for the differences were not clear. Did participants stereotype specific groups as generally more or less supportive? Or were expectations of support based exclusively on a history of shared stigmatization? By testing whether Study 1's patterns replicate when participants imagined encountering sexism, we can address these questions in Study 2. If results remained consistent, group-specific stereotypes may drive perceptions regardless of the bias type encountered. However, if experiencing sexism increases the importance of shared gender in solidarity perceptions and decreases the relative importance of shared race/ethnicity, this pattern would suggest shared stigmatization also drives support perceptions.

In Study 2, we investigated who Black, Hispanic, Asian, and White women anticipated support from when faced with sexism. We again tested whether acquaintance identities, shared identities, and past behavior influenced anticipated support. We hypothesized that participants would

anticipate more support from women than men and that participants would view *political action* as the most supportive past behavior (consistent with Study 1). Similar to Study 1, we also hypothesized that past solidarity behavior would be a stronger cue of anticipated support from male acquaintances (outgroup) than female acquaintances.

Method

Participants

Participants were recruited using the same method as Study 1 except that we recruited just women, and White women were included. We aimed to recruit approximately 300 participants from each eligible racial/ethnic group (Black, Hispanic, Asian, and White). We collected 1,758 participants and excluded 462 participants for incomplete data, 25 due to technological errors, and 64 who failed the manipulation check.

The final sample ($N = 1,207$) identified as 24.8% Black, 25.0% Hispanic, 22.7% Asian, and 25.6% White. All participants identified as women and U.S. residents (age: $M = 33.6$ years, $SD = 14.8$). Ideologically, the sample was 50.1% liberal, 30.4% moderate, and 16.1% conservative.

Procedure and Materials

The procedure was similar to Study 1, but past behaviors referred to *anti-sexist* behavior instead of anti-racist behavior. Participants also rated anticipated support from acquaintances after envisioning they encountered *sexism* (e.g., "What is the likelihood that [she/he] would become angry on your behalf if someone made an offensive comment to you based on your gender?"), measured on a seven-point scale (*Very unlikely* to *Very likely*), a slight change from Study 1. Reliability between the anticipated anger and action questions was high ($\omega = .92$). See SOM (pp. 37–43) for additional measures including an experiences of sexism measure and results.

Results

As with Study 1, we conducted linear multilevel models fit with maximum likelihood estimation and used the same analytical approaches. For multilevel model tables, see SOM (pp. 51–86). Analyses were preregistered at <https://doi.org/10.17605/OSF.IO/8MNKV>.

Table 3. Model Predicted Means for Anticipated Support by Participant Race/Ethnicity for Study 2

Participant race/ethnicity	M	SE	Lower 95% CI	Upper 95% CI
Asian women	1.35	0.05	1.24	1.46
White women	1.34	0.05	1.23	1.44
Hispanic women	1.22	0.05	1.11	1.32
Black women	1.08	0.05	0.97	1.18

Does Participant Race/Ethnicity Predict Anticipated Support?

We found that participant race/ethnicity predicted anticipated support, $\chi^2(3) = 16.57, p < .001$. Asian women and White women anticipated receiving the most support followed by Hispanic women and Black women (Table 3). Asian women and White women had significantly higher ratings than Black women (Asian-Black: $M_D = 0.27, SE = 0.08, z = 3.58, p = .002$; White-Black: $M_D = 0.26, SE = 0.08, z = 3.42, p = .003$). No other group differences were significant ($ps > .27$).

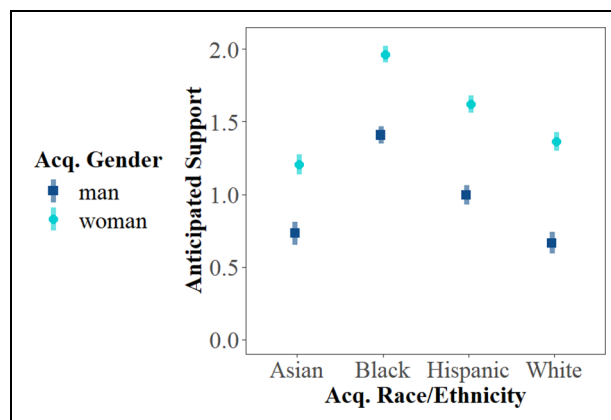
Do Group-Specific Stereotypes Predict Anticipated Support?

As predicted, participants anticipated more support from women, $M = 1.54, SE = 0.03, 95\% CI: [1.49, 1.59]$, than men, $M = 0.95, SE = 0.03, 95\% CI: [0.89, 1.01]$; $\chi^2(1) = 643.68, p < .001$. When adding acquaintance race/ethnicity to the model, acquaintance gender remained significant, and race/ethnicity also influenced perceived support, $\chi^2(1) = 527.27, p < .001$. Follow-up tests for race/ethnicity revealed a similar pattern from Study 1: Black > Hispanic > Asian $\approx$ White, except that no differences emerged between White and Asian acquaintances ($p = .07$). All other contrasts were significant ($ps < .001$).

The interaction between acquaintance gender and acquaintance race/ethnicity was also significant, $\chi^2(3) = 73.44, p < .001$ (Figure 5). Gender differences were significant for all racial/ethnic groups ($ps < .001$), although it was greatest for White acquaintances followed by Hispanic, Black, and Asian acquaintances. As in Study 1, participants anticipated the highest support from Black women and the least support from White men. All simple contrasts were significant ($ps < .038$) except between Black men and White women ($p = .17$).

Does Shared Stigmatization Predict Anticipated Support?

To assess the influence of shared race/ethnicity, we first added shared (vs. unshared) race/ethnicity to a model with acquaintance gender, finding an effect of shared race/ethnicity, $\chi^2(1) = 138.60, p < .001$, with acquaintance gender remaining significant. On average, participants anticipated

**Figure 5.** Anticipated Support Predicted by Acquaintance Gender and Acquaintance Race/Ethnicity Interaction for Study 2

Note. Anticipated Support scale ($-3 = \text{Extremely unlikely}$ to $3 = \text{Extremely likely}$). Points represent means with 95% confidence intervals. Acq.: Acquaintance.

greater support from racial/ethnic ingroups, $M = 1.48, SE = 0.03, 95\% CI: [1.42, 1.53]$, than racial/ethnic outgroups, $M = 1.17, SE = 0.03, 95\% CI: [1.11, 1.22]$.

The interaction of acquaintance gender and shared race/ethnicity was also significant, $\chi^2(1) = 19.38, p < .001$. The effect of shared race/ethnicity was larger for ratings of women than it was for ratings of men (slope difference estimate = $0.11, SE = 0.02, z = 4.40, p < .001$). Participants anticipated the most support from women of shared race/ethnicity, $M = 1.82, SE = 1.81, 95\% CI: [1.75, 1.87]$, followed by women of racial/ethnic outgroups, $M = 1.45, SE = 0.03, 95\% CI: [1.39, 1.50]$, men of shared race/ethnicity, $M = 1.14, SE = 0.03, 95\% CI: [1.08, 1.21]$, and men of racial/ethnic outgroups, $M = 0.89, SE = 0.03, 95\% CI: [0.82, 0.95]$.

We then tested whether the effect of shared race/ethnicity varied by participant race/ethnicity. The interaction was significant, $\chi^2(3) = 450.78, p < .001$. For Black and Hispanic participants, racial/ethnic ingroups were viewed as more supportive than racial/ethnic outgroups, Black: $M_D = 1.13, SE = 0.04, z = 26.34, p < .001$; Hispanic: $M_D = 0.32, SE = 0.04, z = 7.44, p < .001$. However, Asian participants rated Asian people as less supportive than racial/ethnic outgroups, $M_D = -0.13, SE = 0.04, z = -2.97, p = .003$, and White participants rated no differences between their ingroup and others ($p = .13$), suggesting these perceptions do not simply reflect ingroup preferences.

We then found an interaction of participant race/ethnicity and acquaintance race/ethnicity, $\chi^2(9) = 282.22, p < .001$ (Figure 6). Although perceptions of support generally followed a Black > Hispanic > White $\approx$ Asian pattern, Asian and White participants did not view Hispanic people as significantly more supportive than their ingroup (Asian participants: Asian-Hispanic: $p = .18$; White participants:

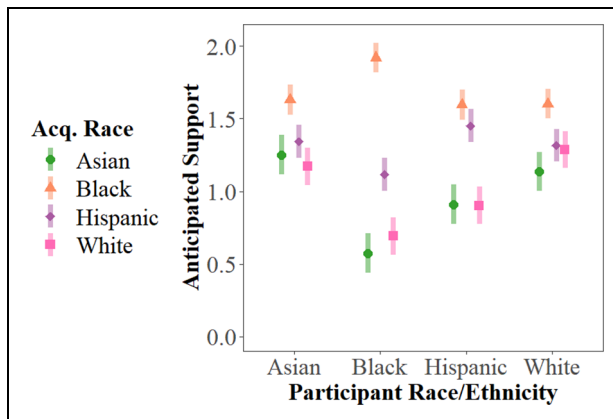


Figure 6. Anticipated Support Predicted by Participant Race/Ethnicity and Acquaintance Race/Ethnicity Interaction for Study 2

Note. Anticipated Support scale ($-3 = \text{Extremely unlikely}$ to $3 = \text{Extremely likely}$). Points represent means with 95% confidence intervals. Acq.: Acquaintance.

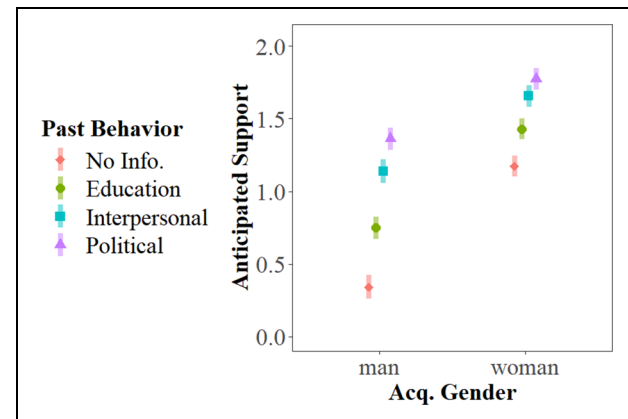


Figure 7. Anticipated Support Predicted by Acquaintance Gender by Past Behavior Interaction for Study 2

Note. Anticipated Support scale ($-3 = \text{Extremely unlikely}$ to $3 = \text{Extremely likely}$). Points represent means with 95% confidence intervals. Acq.: Acquaintance.

Table 4. Model Predicted Means of Anticipated Support From Acquaintance Past Behavior for Study 2

Past behavior	<i>N</i> _{observations}	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	Lower 95% CI	Upper 95% CI
No information	5,057	0.76	0.04	0.67	0.85
Education	9,474	1.09	0.04	1.00	1.18
Interpersonal action	9,291	1.39	0.04	1.30	1.49
Political action	9,427	1.57	0.04	1.48	1.66

White-Hispanic: $p = .91$). All groups viewed Black people as most supportive. All groups except White participants reported no significant differences between Asian and White groups, consistent with the overall pattern.

Does Past Behavior Predict Anticipated Support?

As hypothesized, participants anticipated the most support from acquaintances who had engaged in *political action*, followed by *interpersonal action*, *education*, and *no information*, $\chi^2(3) = 348.65$, $p < .001$ (Table 4). All differences were significant ($p < .001$).

As hypothesized, the interaction of acquaintance gender and past behavior was significant, $\chi^2(3) = 161.96$, $p < .001$ (Figure 7). There were greater differences between past behavior ratings for male acquaintances than female acquaintances (*political-no information* gender interaction: estimate = -0.42 , $SE = 0.04$, $z = -11.66$, $p < .001$), indicating that past behavior was a stronger cue of anticipated support from men than women.

General Discussion

In two studies, we investigated who racial/ethnic minorities and women expected would support them after discrimination. Our studies considered the race/ethnicity and gender

of both participants and acquaintances, and acquaintance's past behavior. Expectations of solidarity followed two supporter identities rules: Black > Hispanic > Asian $\geq$ White and women > men. Critically, these patterns were qualified by interactions between participant and supporter identities, such that participants anticipated the most support from racial/ethnic ingroups for racism and from women for sexism. Past behavior influenced anticipated support, with participants consistently viewing acquaintances with past solidarity behavior as more supportive than those without. Past behavior was a stronger cue for outgroup supporters than ingroup supporters. Considering participant identities, Black participants anticipated the lowest average support in both studies. Black participants anticipated lower support than Hispanic participants for racism and Black women anticipated lower support than Asian and White women for sexism.

Although race/ethnicity and gender were cues of anticipated support, their relative importance fluctuated based on the targeted identity. Women were seen as more supportive than men in both studies, but the gender difference was 10 times larger when the participants imagined experiencing sexism ($R^2 = .043$) rather than racism ($R^2 = .004$; see SOM for analyses). Racial/ethnic ingroups were perceived as more supportive after racism, but not necessarily after experiencing sexism. Because of these fluctuations, we

rule out the possibility that targets simply assumed their own groups would be supportive due to ingroup favoritism (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). If solidarity perceptions were driven primarily by ingroup favoritism, anticipated support would not change based on the identity dimension being targeted (race vs. gender). Even considering that facing racism or sexism could make one aspect of a person's identity more salient and therefore increase focus on that group membership (Branscombe et al., 1999), this possibility does not explain nuanced findings; some participants perceived racial outgroups more favorably than ingroups for sexism support. Participants expecting support from others who face similar *forms* of discrimination (other people of color for racism) is consistent with the Stigma-Based Solidarity Model's emphasis on perceived similarity as critical for coalitional attitudes (Craig & Richeson, 2016).

Strikingly, participants anticipated high support from Black people for both racism and sexism. Black people expecting high ingroup support is consistent with previous work and theorizing that shared experiences allow one's ingroup to uniquely provide support (I. R. Johnson et al., 2019; Marshburn & Campos, 2022). However, stereotypes associating Black people with anger about social injustice and challenging injustice (Burrows et al., 2021; Saguy et al., 2020) may help explain why all groups expected high support. The specific stereotypes that people consider when anticipating support could be explored in future work.

Our data reveal solidarity imbalances for Black individuals and for Black women in particular, who are viewed as most supportive for both racism and sexism. These expectations may result in identity taxation, uniquely disadvantaging Black women (Joseph & Hirshfield, 2023; Lawrence et al., 2021). Critically, stereotypes that link particular groups with challenging injustice more than others could create unequal support expectations and imbalances in who receives support. This may have negative consequences at scale given that people who provide more social support than they receive tend to have lower psychological well-being (Gallagher et al., 2022; Wang & Gruenewald, 2019).

For past solidarity behavior, more active and involved behaviors were viewed most indicative of future support. This is likely because more time-consuming and costly actions are perceived as more genuine efforts to reduce inequality (Kutlaca & Radke, 2023). Past solidarity behavior also mattered more for outgroups than ingroups. For acquaintances from different racial/ethnic groups (Study 1) or men (Study 2), past behavior produced larger effects, perhaps due to an expectancy violation (Burgoon, 2015). This suggests that although ingroups are generally perceived as most supportive, outgroups can signal allyship by taking action to reduce inequality. Practically, our findings suggest allies who engage in solidarity behavior could enhance stigmatized individuals' felt support at work (Moser & Branscombe, 2022). If stigmatized groups can rely on coworkers to provide effective support after

discrimination, that social support may buffer against stress and burnout (Greenglass et al., 1994).

Future research can address limitations of this work. Samples included only U.S. residents and just four racial/ethnic groups, so findings should be generalized with caution. In everyday life, solidarity perceptions are embedded within pre-existing social networks that are ripe for deeper study. Moving beyond anticipated support to support-seeking, we may find that targets of bias will seek support from different people depending on the situation and type of support they need. Our research lays the foundation for examining these dynamics in real-world settings.

Conclusion

Targets of racism and sexism anticipate support from people who also experience stigmatization and people who have a record of past supportive behavior. Our findings highlight imbalances in solidarity expectations. Black individuals, and Black women especially, are expected to support other racial/ethnic groups, yet anticipate little intergroup support in return. This suggests that non-Black allies need to step up their antiracist and antisexist action to effectively signal support to Black women. More broadly, our results suggest that diversity and inclusion efforts that increase the representation of stigmatized groups and promote allyship behaviors could lead people of color and women to feel more supported when facing discrimination.

Author Contributions

In Study 1, R.G.D. and C.K.L. contributed to conceptualization and methodology; in Study 2, R.G.D., C.L.W., and C.K.L. contributed to conceptualization and methodology. R.G.D. contributed to the analyses and writing—original draft. R.G.D., C.L.W., and C.K.L. participated in writing—review and editing.

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Supplemental Material

The supplemental material is available in the online version of the article.

Notes

1. This was based on our preregistration for 80% power to detect an effect size of $f^2 = .00874$ for a single regression coefficient in a linear multiple regression with 15 predictors. After preregistering, we realized that multilevel models were more appropriate for our data structure, so our primary analyses report multilevel models (See Analysis Plan).
2. The three vignette sets with past behavior included 16 vignettes (2 examples $\times$ 8 acquaintance identities), while the *no information* vignette set had 8 vignettes. Therefore, participants read 24 or 32 vignettes depending on whether they were randomly assigned to see the *no-information* vignette set.
3. Responses are nested within participants in all models. We included a random intercept of participant, and when including within-subjects manipulated predictors in models (i.e., acquaintance race/ethnicity, gender, or past behavior), we also included a random slope of participant by the within-subject predictor. If models did not converge with all random slopes entered, we followed recommendations in the work by Brown (2021).
4. All predictors were dummy-coded. See SOM (pp. 51–86) for details.

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