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We stand in solidarity with you (if it helps our ingroup)

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Abstract

Intraminority solidarity research has previously focused on how similarities in discrimination experiences can facilitate stigma-based solidarity. Yet, research on a lay theory of generalized prejudice has demonstrated that people tend to perceive attitudes towards stigmatized social groups as co-occurring. Integrating these lines of research, the present studies sought to examine if the extent to which prejudices are perceived to co-occur can facilitate stigma-based solidarity for marginalized social groups, and in turn promote interest in coalitional justice. Recruiting heterosexual Black Americans (Study 1), White women (Studies 2–3), and White men (Study 4), the present research demonstrates that perceiving prejudices as co-occurring increases stigma-based solidarity that in turn produces greater interest in coalitional justice efforts that include the ingroup. The present findings demonstrate the importance of focusing on beliefs about perpetrators' attitudes when examining intraminority solidarity and highlight the limitations of a lay theory of generalized prejudice to fight prejudices broadly.

Keywords

coalitions, generalized prejudice, intraminority solidarity, lay theories

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In 2020, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act (Civil Rights Act, 1964) prohibits discrimination against LGBT+ employees (Totenberg, 2020). As such, the same piece of legislation that protected heterosexual and cisgender people of color and White women now also protect people of color and White women who do not identify as heterosexual or cisgender. In doing so, this ruling helped bring into clarity the ways in which systems of oppression against various stigmatized social groups intersect (i.e., intersectionality; Crenshaw, 1989), and how intraminority solidarity might be of particular importance in the fight against these interrelated prejudices. The present research sought to examine if the belief that prejudices co-occur could be harnessed to promote stigma-based solidarity and increase coalition interest.

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Lay Theory of Generalized Prejudice

Supporting early theorizing (Allport, 1954), research has demonstrated that prejudices towards similarly stigmatized social groups co-occur and stem from a similar underlying ideology (i.e., generalized prejudice; Duckitt & Sibley, 2007, 2010). People's attitudes towards derogated social groups are positively, significantly correlated and stem from an endorsement of social hierarchies and inequality (Asbrock et al., 2010; Duckitt & Sibley, 2007, 2010). Lay individuals are aware of the ways in which prejudices are interrelated such that they perceive attitudes towards women, Black Americans, and other derogated social groups as co-occurring (Albuja et al., 2021; Chaney, 2020; Chaney et al., 2018; Chaney et al., 2021; Chaney, Sanchez, & Remedios, 2021; Sanchez et al., 2017, 2018). Demonstrating a lay theory of generalized prejudice (LTGP), Black men and women expected that a sexist White man would also endorse anti-Black attitudes, and a racist White man would endorse sexist attitudes (Chaney, Sanchez, & Remedios, 2021; Sanchez et al., 2017).

LTGP applies not only to perceptions of another individual's attitudes, but also to perceptions of an organization's ideology (Chaney & Sanchez, 2018; Chaney et al., 2016, 2019), and likely one's own attitudes (Chaney et al., 2021). Specifically, White American participants confronted for using a female gender role stereotype demonstrated greater self-regulation of their use of negative Black and Latinx stereotypes 24–72 hours later compared to participants who had not been confronted (Chaney et al., 2021). This demonstrates that efforts to self-regulate one form of bias (i.e., gender role stereotypes) resulted in efforts to self-regulate other biases and may suggest an intuition that reducing one form of prejudice may reduce other forms of prejudice. Together, past research on LTGP suggests a lay belief that prejudices co-occur and that reducing one type of bias might reduce other biases.

Yet, endorsement of LTGP varies across individuals. For example, only White women who strongly endorsed LTGP demonstrated cardiovascular stress responses to an anticipated evaluation with a racist White man (Chaney et al., 2021; see also Sanchez et al., 2018). While some people endorse LTGP more than others, previous research has never manipulated LTGP to increase (or decrease) perceptions of prejudices as co-occurring. Further, research on LTGP has not yet examined how perceptions of prejudices as co-occurring might facilitate psychological closeness or solidarity with members of other similarly stigmatized social groups.

Stigma-Based Solidarity

Stigma-based solidarity is a perception that members of stigmatized social groups share a "common fate" (Schmitt et al., 2003) and thus should work together and support one another in efforts towards equality (Chaney et al., 2018; Craig & Richeson, 2016; Subašić et al., 2011). While discriminatory systems vary across social groups (Nair & Vollhardt, 2019), members of stigmatized groups may nevertheless perceive commonalities (Craig & Richeson, 2016; Sellers et al., 1997; Vollhardt, 2015), forming a common ingroup identity (Gaertner et al., 1993). Stigma-based solidarity may be greater between social groups when similarities between discrimination are made salient (e.g., paralleling the fight for interracial marriages to the fight for same-sex marriages; Cortland et al., 2017) or when groups are stigmatized along the same identity dimension (Craig et al., 2012; Craig & Richeson, 2012, 2014b, 2016).

Critically, these previous analyses of stigma-based solidarity have focused on similarity of experiences, not on prejudices towards both groups coming from the same perpetrators. Arguments that zero-sum beliefs may thwart stigma-based solidarity if one group is seen as "progressing" more than another (Craig & Richeson, 2016; Gay, 2006) even suggest perceptions of biases as isolated and independent, not co-occurring and stemming from a common source. Yet, adopting a belief that prejudices co-occur (i.e., LTGP) could create an alternative

pathway to stigma-based solidarity. For example, cisgender heterosexual Black Americans could experience stigma-based solidarity with White LGBT+ individuals because they believe that the same people and structures that endorse heterosexism also endorse anti-Black attitudes, which could in turn boost psychological closeness and perceived similarities between these groups. Thus, an aim of the present research is to demonstrate that endorsement of LTGP can increase stigma-based solidarity among marginalized social groups.

Greater stigma-based solidarity is believed to motivate individuals to engage in efforts on behalf of other groups (e.g., signing petitions, protests, donations; Vollhardt et al., 2016). Yet, intraminority research has overwhelmingly focused on the valence of attitudes towards other stigmatized social groups and policies (e.g., feeling thermometers, support for same-sex marriage; Cortland et al., 2017; Craig et al., 2012). Fewer studies have considered if stigma-based solidarity translates to (intended) action on behalf of the outgroup. However, in one study, Latinx Americans reminded of the "common disadvantage" faced by Black and Latinx Americans indicated greater willingness to engage in collective action on behalf of Black Americans (e.g., "participate in a demonstration on behalf of Blacks"; Glasford & Calcagno, 2012). As such, we proposed manipulating greater LTGP endorsement may lead to greater stigma-based solidarity, and in turn increase members of stigmatized social groups' interest in engaging in coalitions with other stigmatized social groups to reduce prejudices.

Solidarity or Action on Behalf of the Ingroup

Critically, LTGP affords a more ego-focused motivation to engage in collective action on behalf of, or with, other social groups beyond psychological closeness. Given that past research suggests that inclusion of one stigmatized group signals inclusion of another stigmatized group (e.g., Chaney & Sanchez, 2018), and that individuals confronted for one form of bias self-regulated biases towards other social groups in the future (Chaney et al., 2021), members of stigmatized social groups may also believe that reducing prejudice towards one group could reduce prejudice towards their own group. While theoretical models of intraminority relationships have argued that stigma-based solidarity leads to action on behalf of the outgroup (Craig et al., 2020), the present research argues that through a lens of LTGP, what is perceived as solidarity may actually be ego-motivated action on behalf of the ingroup. Specifically, while LTGP endorsement may increase stigma-based solidarity, we propose it will only translate into ingroup-focused coalitions, not support for coalition efforts among two other similarly stigmatized social groups. Supporting this ego-focused motivation, past research has found that people were more supportive of other marginalized groups when their own group's unique suffering was still acknowledged (Vollhardt, 2013). As such, the present research proposes that stigma-based solidarity due to LTGP will prioritize ingroup-relevant activism.

Current Research

The present studies integrate previous research on LTGP and stigma-based solidarity to determine if greater endorsement of LTGP is associated with greater stigma-based solidarity and, in turn, greater interest in coalitions with other stigmatized social groups.[1] Extending past research that has focused on similarity mindsets to promote stigma-based solidarity, the present research seeks to determine if the belief that prejudices co-occur is an alternative pathway to forging stigma-based solidarity. This research also seeks to determine the extent to which intraminority solidarity translates into action on behalf of only an outgroup versus ego-motivated solidarity with the intent of benefitting the ingroup. Study 1 recruits a sample of cisgender heterosexual Black Americans, Studies 2–3 recruit samples of cisgender heterosexual White women, and Study 4 examines cisgender heterosexual White men's

beliefs about stigma-based solidarity among stigmatized social groups.

Study 1

Study 1 sought to manipulate endorsement of LTGP among a sample of cisgender heterosexual Black participants by having them either first read an article that indicated attitudes (not social group attitudes specifically) tend to overlap within topics or read an article that indicated attitudes do not tend to overlap. It was hypothesized that the attitude overlap article would increase LTGP relative to the no attitude overlap article. By increasing LTGP endorsement, it was hypothesized that stigma-based solidarity would increase, in turn leading to greater desired donations to a coalition group relative to a single social issue organization, a hypothesis tested through mediation analyses. Data and materials for all studies can be found on the Open Science Framework (https://osf.io/m2crg/).

Methods

Participants. An a priori power analysis in G*Power (Faul et al., 2007) to detect a medium–large effect ($d = 0.60$) for a two-cell ANOVA with 80% power indicated a desired sample size of 90 participants, which was set as the desired sample size. In total, 98 participants were recruited from Amazon Mechanical Turk in exchange for compensation. Six participants were excluded for attempting the survey multiple times with different demographic information and two participants were excluded for failing two attention check items (i.e., "Select strongly disagree"). The final sample included 90 participants who identified as cisgender heterosexual Black Americans (43 women, 47 men; $M_{age} = 36.28$, $SD = 10.68$, range: 22–70).

Procedure. After completing questions to screen for bots, demographic questions, and consenting, participants learned they would be asked to read and complete questions about two news articles. A screen was presented indicating a news article was randomly being selected. All participants were first presented with a neutral article about left- versus right-handedness (Craig et al., 2012), and completed questions about the content. Next, participants were randomly assigned to receive one of two articles. Half of the participants were presented with an article titled, "Recent Findings Suggest Evidence of Lateral Attitude Changes," which indicated that "attempts to change a person's evaluation of a focal attitude object *can* produce changed evaluations of related attitude objects, an effect called 'lateral attitude change.'" The article went on to indicate that changing a person's attitude towards people from Eritrea, resulted in similar changes in people's attitudes towards people from Mauritania (for neutral, unfamiliar countries, see Bahns, 2017). In contrast, the other half of participants read an article titled, "Recent Findings Suggest No Evidence of Lateral Attitude Changes," which indicated changing "a person's evaluation of a focal attitude object *cannot* produce changed evaluations of related attitude objects, suggesting that attitudes are specialized." Simple manipulation checks were then completed (e.g., "Did research find that lateral attitude changes occur?").[2]

Next, participants were told they would complete an unrelated survey. Participants then completed measures of LTGP endorsement (Chaney et al., 2021; Sanchez et al., 2018) and stigma-based solidarity (Chaney et al., 2019). Lastly, participants were told that the researchers would be making donations to organizations and would distribute donations based on participants' input. Three organizations were presented, and participants were asked to indicate how the researchers should divide $200 between three organizations: National Black Justice Organization, National Organization for LGBT+ Justice, and Coalition for LGBT+ and Black Americans' Rights.[3] Next, participants were probed for suspicion and debriefed.

Materials

LTGP. Participants completed a three-item measure of LTGP (Chaney et al., 2021; Sanchez et al., 2018). On a scale from 1 (*very untrue*) to 7 (*very true*), participants completed items such as, "When someone is prejudiced against one group

of people, he/she is prejudiced against many other groups of people" ($\alpha = .95$).

Stigma-based solidarity. Participants completed an eight-item measure of stigma-based solidarity ($\alpha = .90$) on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). These items were based on the Oppressed Minority Subscale of the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (Sellers et al., 1997), but were adapted to talk about oppressed social groups broadly. For example, participants responded to items such as, "Although specific experiences with discrimination may differ, members of oppressed groups share a commonality."

Donations. As the last question in the survey, participants were informed that the researchers would be making a donation of $200, and that the donation would be divided between groups based on participants' input. Participants were asked how they would like the $200 to be donated between the following groups: National Black American Justice Organization, National Organization for LGBT+ Justice, and Coalition for LGBT+ and Black Americans' Rights.

Results

For all studies, correlations between measures are reported in the supplemental material.

LTGP. Demonstrating successful manipulation, there was a significant effect of condition on endorsement of LTGP, $F(1, 88) = 11.66$, $p = .001$, $d = 0.73$. Participants in the high LTGP prime condition endorsed LTGP more strongly ($M = 5.41$, $SD = 1.27$) than participants in the low LTGP prime condition ($M = 4.29$, $SD = 1.80$).

Stigma-based solidarity. Participants in the high LTGP prime condition endorsed stigma-based solidarity ($M = 5.44$, $SD = 0.97$) more than participants in the low LTGP prime condition ($M = 4.88$, $SD = 1.34$), $F(1, 88) = 5.32$, $p = .023$, $d = 0.49$.

Donation. A 2 (condition) x 3 (donation group) mixed ANOVA revealed no main effect of condition, $F(1, 88) = 0.39$, $p = .536$, $d = 0.13$, and a main effect of donation group, $F(2, 176) = 32.35$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.22$. This main effect was qualified by a significant Condition x Donation Group interaction, $F(2, 176) = 6.42$, $p = .002$, $d = 0.54$.

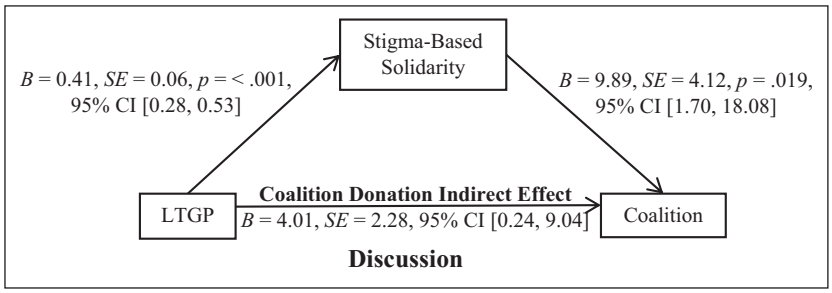
Simple effect analyses were conducted as planned-comparison independent t tests for each donation by condition, revealing significant effects of condition for donation to the Black justice group, $t(88) = 2.42$, $p = .018$, $d = 0.51$, such that participants indicated they would want less money donated to this group in the high LTGP prime condition ($M = 87.37$, $SD = 48.40$) than in the low LTGP prime condition ($M = 114.75$, $SD = 58.76$). In line with hypotheses, participants indicated they wanted more money donated to the Black–LGBT+ justice organization in the high LTGP prime condition ($M = 65.15$, $SD = 41.77$) compared to the low LTGP prime condition ($M = 37.41$, $SD = 34.10$), $t(88) = 3.44$, $p = .001$, $d = 0.74$. There was no effect of condition on donation to the LGBT+ justice group, $t(88) = 0.29$, $p = .774$, $d = 0.06$ (low LTGP prime: $M = 43.30$, $SD = 40.95$; high LTGP prime: $M = 45.30$, $SD = 23.05$).

Mediation. A mediation analysis was conducted in PROCESS Version 3.5 (Hayes, 2012) with 10,000 bootstrapped samples, it was conducted examining the effect of self-reported LTGP on coalition donation via stigma-based solidarity.[4] As presented in Figure 1, greater LTGP endorsement was associated with significantly greater stigma-based solidarity, which was in turn associated with greater coalition donations. The direct effect of LTGP on coalition donation was no longer significant, $B = 2.37$, $SE = 2.98$, 95% CI [−3.56, 8.30].

Discussion

In a sample of cisgender, heterosexual Black Americans, Study 1 demonstrated that greater perceptions of prejudice overlap were associated

Figure 1. Study 1 mediation.



with greater stigma-based solidarity, which was in turn associated with greater donations to Black–LGBT+ coalitions. Yet, participants did not show greater LGBT+ only donations. LTGP only increased interest in self-interested donations (singular Black rights organizations or Black–LGBT+ coalitions). Additionally, while past research has focused on how greater LTGP endorsement may be associated with greater anticipated bias from someone who endorsed prejudice towards other social groups (Chaney et al., 2021; Sanchez et al., 2018), the present research suggests greater endorsement of LTGP may also be associated with greater efforts to achieve equality by working with other social groups.

Study 2a

Study 2a recruited a sample of cisgender heterosexual White women to explore the effects of LTGP endorsement on coalition intentions. While Study 1 demonstrated that LTGP could be successfully manipulated via an article prime, it was unclear the direction of movement as it included a high and low LTGP prime. Thus, Study 2a included a control condition to better discern directionality of the prime. Lastly, Study 2a sought to examine if LTGP and stigma-based solidarity increase interest in all coalitions, or only coalitions which include the ingroup. As such, donations to a Black–LGBT+ justice coalition were also assessed—two social groups of which cisgender heterosexual White women are not members.

Methods

Participants. An a priori power analysis in G*Power (Faul et al., 2007) to detect a medium–large effect ($d = 0.50$) for a three-cell ANOVA with 80% power indicated a desired sample size of 159 participants, which was set as the desired sample size. Utilizing CloudResearch (Litman et al., 2017), 170 participants who identified as cisgender heterosexual White women were recruited. Fourteen participants were ultimately removed from analyses due to failing three or more attentional bias checks, leaving a final analytic sample of 156 ($M_{age} = 41.42$, $SD = 11.72$).

Procedure. Study 2a was identical in procedures to Study 1 except for the following changes. First, participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: high LTGP prime, low LTGP prime, or a control condition. The control condition was novel to the present study and included having participants read two neutral articles. Additionally, the donation measure from Study 1 was adjusted, as described in what follows.

Materials. Participants completed the same measure of LTGP ($\alpha = .96$) and stigma-based solidarity ($\alpha = .92$) from Study 1. The donation measure was adjusted such that participants were asked to divide $300 between four groups: National Group for Women's Justice, Coalition for Women's and Black Americans' Equality, Coalition for Women and LGBT+ Justice, and Coalition for LGBT+ and Black Americans' Freedom.

Table 1. Effects of condition and descriptive statistics: Study 2a.

	Low LTGP *M* (*SD*)	Control *M* (*SD*)	High LTGP *M* (*SD*)	*F*	*p*	*d*
LTGP	$3.92\ (1.74)_a$	$4.74\ (1.14)_b$	$5.45\ (0.97)_c$	16.26	< .001	0.92
Stigma-based solidarity	$4.50\ (1.28)_a$	$5.04\ (1.07)_b$	$5.68\ (0.80)_c$	13.76	< .001	0.85
National Group for Women's Justice Donation	$154.25\ (11.16)_a$	$136.79\ (93.87)_a$	$78.51\ (63.42)_b$	8.92	< .001	0.70
Coalition for Women's and Black American's Equality Donation	$50.19\ (54.62)_a$	$57.68\ (47.15)_a$	$78.19\ (55.95)_b$	3.73	.026	0.44
Coalition for Women and LGBT+ Justice Donation	$46.04\ (43.79)_a$	$57.77\ (45.53)_a$	$83.40\ (63.00)_b$	6.89	.001	0.60
Coalition for LGBT+ and Black American's Freedom Donation	$47.77\ (52.10)_a$	$49.52\ (58.86)_a$	$60.96\ (50.62)_a$	0.87	.422	0.21

Note. LTGP = lay theory of generalized prejudice. Cells not sharing a common subscript significantly differed, $p < .05$.

Results

Descriptive statistics and main effects for all measures are reported in Table 1.

LTGP. There was a significant main effect of condition on LTGP. Participants indicated greater endorsement of LTGP in the high LTGP prime condition than in the control condition, $p = .008$, $d = 0.67$, and compared to the low LTGP prime condition, $p < .001$, $d = 1.07$. Additionally, participants endorsed LTGP less in the low LTGP prime condition than in the control condition, $p = .002$, $d = 0.56$.

Stigma-based solidarity. There was a significant main effect of condition on stigma-based solidarity. Participants reported greater stigma-based solidarity in the high LTGP prime condition than in the control condition, $p = .005$, $d = 0.67$, and the low LTGP prime condition, $p < .001$, $d = 1.09$. Moreover, participants reported less stigma-based solidarity in the low LTGP condition than in the control condition, $p = .010$, $d = 0.46$.

Donations. A 3 (condition) x 4 (donation group) mixed ANOVA was conducted. Analyses revealed no main effect of condition, $F(2, 152) = 1.15$, $p = .319$, $d = 0.25$, and a significant main effect of donation group, $F(3, 456) = 28.70$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.87$. This main effect was qualified by a significant interaction, $F(6, 456) = 6.37$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.58$. Simple effect analyses were then conducted to examine the effect of condition on donation to each group, reported in Table 1.

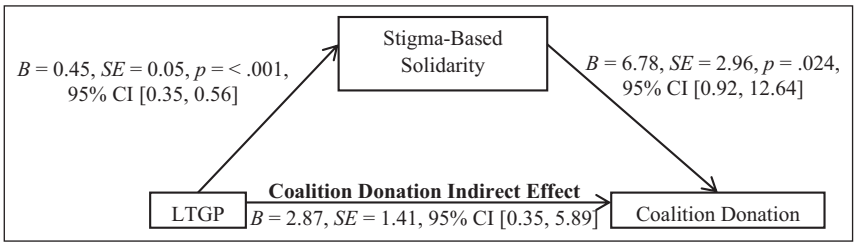
There were significant effects of condition on donations to the women's justice organization, the women–LGBT+ coalition, and the women–Black coalition. Participants indicated a smaller donation to the women's justice organization in the high LTGP condition compared to the control condition, $p = .020$, $d = 0.72$, and the low LTGP condition, $p < .001$, $d = 1.71$. There was no significant difference in donation to the women's justice organization in the low LTGP condition and the control condition, $p = .331$, $d = 0.26$.

Participants indicated a greater donation to the women–LGBT+ justice coalition organization in the high LTGP condition than in the control condition, $p = .012$, $d = 0.48$, and the low LTGP condition, $p < .001$, $d = 0.70$. There was no significant difference between the control and low LTGP condition, $p = .234$, $d = 0.26$.

Participants indicated marginally greater donations to the women–Black justice coalition in the high LTGP condition than participants in the control condition, $p = .050$, $d = 0.40$, and significantly greater donations compared to the low LTGP condition, $p = .009$, $d = 0.51$. There was no significant difference between the control and the low LTGP condition, $p = .460$, $d = 0.15$.

Lastly, there was no main effect of condition on donation to a Black–LGBT+ coalition justice organization. Participants generally indicated they would like less than 20% donated to the Black–LGBT+ coalition.

Figure 2. Study 2a mediation.



Mediation. Following Study 1 analyses, a mediation model was conducted to examine the effect of self-reported LTGP on women-included coalition donations via stigma-based solidarity. Coalition donation measure was calculated by averaging across the women–Black and women–LGBT+ justice coalitions donation amounts. The mediation, presented in Figure 2, demonstrated that greater LTGP endorsement was associated with greater stigma-based solidarity, which was in turn associated with greater donation to women-included coalitions. The direct effect of LTGP on ingroup-included coalition donations remained significant, $B = 6.09$, $SE = 2.33$, $p = .011$, 95% CI [1.49, 10.69].

Discussion

Study 2a manipulated cisgender heterosexual White women's endorsement of LTGP, which in turn influenced stigma-based solidarity and donations. Yet, the present study indicated that increases in LTGP, and in turn stigma-based solidarity, only increased heterosexual White women's interest in coalitions which included their own self-interests (i.e., coalitions addressing the rights of women). Participants showed no effects of condition on Black–LGBT+ donations. These findings support the hypotheses that what is reported as solidarity may actually be ego-motivated action on behalf of the ingroup, as greater LTGP only translated into ingroup-focused coalitions.

Study 2b

To demonstrate findings were not due to demand effects caused by first completing self-report measures of LTGP and stigma-based solidarity, Study 2b was a minimized version of Study 2a.

Method

Participants. Participant recruitment followed the same a priori power analysis as Study 1 given the two-cell, between-subjects design. In all, 90 participants were recruited from CloudResearch's MTurk Toolkit (Litman et al., 2017), who were to be heterosexual White cisgender women. However, three ultimately did not identify as White or as a woman, leaving an analytic sample of 87 ($M_{age} = 41.41$, $SD = 13.06$; range: 22–75).

Procedure. Participants were randomly assigned to complete either the high or low LTGP manipulation from Study 1 and then immediately completed a donation measure. The donation measure included $200 to be split among three groups: a women's justice organization, a women–Black justice coalition, and a Black–LGBT+ coalition. Participants did not complete measures of LTGP or stigma-based solidarity.

Results

A 3 (condition) x 3 (donation group) mixed ANOVA was conducted. Analyses revealed no main effect of condition, $F(1, 85) < 0.01$, $p = .999$, $d < 0.01$, and a significant main effect of donation group, $F(2, 170) = 10.90$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.72$. This main effect was qualified by a significant interaction, $F(2, 170) = 4.59$, $p = .011$, $d = 0.46$. Simple effect analyses were then conducted to examine the effect of condition on donation to each group.

Participants indicated a smaller donation to the women's justice organization in the high LTGP condition ($M = 75.57$, $SD = 52.31$) compared to the low LTGP condition ($M = 98.39$, $SD = 53.79$),

$F(1, 85) = 4.06$, $p = .047$, $d = 0.44$. Further, participants indicated a greater donation to the women–Black justice coalition in the high LTGP condition ($M = 75.00$, $SD = 42.16$) than in the low LTGP condition ($M = 49.99$, $SD = 30.06$), $F(1, 85) = 8.30$, $p = .005$, $d = 0.63$. Lastly, there was no main effect of condition on donation to a Black–LGBT+ coalition, $F(1, 85) = 0.09$, $p = .763$, $d = 0.06$. Participants generally indicated they would like about 25% to be donated to the Black–LGBT+ coalition (low LTGP: $M = 51.62$, $SD = 29.82$; high LTGP: $M = 49.55$, $SD = 34.09$).

Discussion

Study 2b demonstrated that a high LTGP manipulation was directly related to changes in donation patterns such that cisgender heterosexual White women opted to make more donations to an ingroup-relevant coalition compared to those in the low LTGP manipulation. However, there was no effect of LTGP manipulation on outgroup coalitions.

Study 3

Study 3 sought to replicate findings in Study 2 that White women's increase in LTGP was only related to greater support for ingroup-focused coalitions. In further exploration of this effect, an additional mediator was included: cross-group prejudice reduction. Specifically, Study 3 examined if White women's interest in coalitions was ingroup-centered under the endorsement of LTGP, such that they endorsed a belief that reducing an outgroup prejudice would inherently reduce sexism. Thus, Study 3 assessed if stigma-based solidarity was not inherently prosocial, but rather focused on reducing ingroup directed prejudice.

Method

Participants. Based on the medium–large effect sizes in Studies 1–2, an a priori power analysis was conducted in G*Power to detect a medium–large effect ($d = 0.60$) for a three-cell ANOVA with 80% power, which revealed a desired sample size of 138 participants. In all, 145 participants who identified as cisgender heterosexual White women were recruited through CloudResaerch (Litman et al., 2017) in exchange for a monetary payment. One participant was excluded for failing all instructional attention checks and one participant was excluded for identifying as nonbinary at the end of the survey, leaving an analytic sample of 143 ($M_{age} = 44.28$, $SD = 12.77$; range: 18–70).

Measures. Participants completed the same measures of LTGP ($\alpha = .97$) and stigma-based solidarity ($\alpha = .90$)[5] from Studies 1–2a. Participants also completed a three-item measure of cross-group prejudice reduction ($\alpha = .98$): (a) "Decreasing prejudice against Black and LGBT+ Americans will decrease prejudice against White women," (b) "White women would face less sexism if prejudices towards Black and LGBT+ Americans were decreased," (c) "Fighting prejudice against Black Americans and LGBT+ people will inherently decrease prejudice against White women." Items were completed on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Lastly, the donation measure included $200 to be split among three groups as in Study 2b.

Results

Descriptive statistics and main effects are reported in Table 2 for all outcomes.

LTGP. There was a significant main effect of condition on LTGP endorsement. Participants indicated greater endorsement of LTGP in the high LTGP condition than in the control condition, $p = .011$, $d = 0.56$, and compared to the low LTGP condition, $p < .001$, $d = 1.09$. Additionally, participants endorsed LTGP less in the low LTGP condition than in the control condition, $p = .009$, $d = 0.52$.

Cross-group bias reduction. There was a significant main effect of condition on cross-group bias reduction. Participants reported greater cross-group bias reduction in the high LTGP condition than in the control condition, $p = .007$, $d = 0.52$,

Table 2. Effects of condition and descriptive statistics: Study 3.

	Low LTGP *M* (*SD*)	Control *M* (*SD*)	High LTGP *M* (*SD*)	*F*(2, 139)	*p*	*d*
LTGP	4.07 (1.62)$_a$	4.89 (1.54)$_b$	5.66 (1.32)$_c$	11.83	< .001	0.82
Cross-group bias reduction	2.88 (1.67)$_a$	2.90 (1.69)$_a$	3.85 (1.96)$_b$	4.54	.012	0.51
Stigma-based solidarity	4.31 (0.93)$_a$	4.85 (0.90)$_b$	5.42 (1.32)$_c$	11.73	< .001	0.82
National Group for Women's Justice	117.62 (58.62)$_a$	91.93 (64.49)$_b$	68.41 (49.25)$_c$	7.52	.001	0.66
Coalition for Women's and Black American's Equality	45.03 (32.20)$_a$	54.77 (40.42)$_a$	77.37 (36.27)$_b$	8.82	< .001	0.71
Coalition for LGBT+ and Black American's Freedom	37.36 (33.05)$_a$	53.30 (46.53)$_a$	54.22 (34.06)$_a$	2.45	.090	0.38

Note. LTGP = lay theory of generalized prejudice. Cells not sharing a common subscript significantly differed, $p < .05$.

and the low LTGP condition, $p = .013$, $d = 0.54$. There was no significant difference between participants in the control and low LTGP overlap conditions, $p = .965$, $d = 0.01$.

Stigma-based solidarity. There was a significant main effect of condition on stigma-based solidarity. Participants reported greater stigma-based solidarity in the high LTGP condition than in the control condition, $p = .007$, $d = 0.52$, and the low LTGP condition, $p < .001$, $d = 0.96$. Moreover, participants reported less stigma-based solidarity in the low LTGP condition than in the control condition, $p = .015$, $d = 0.59$.

Donations. A 3 (condition) x 3 (donation group) mixed ANOVA was conducted. Analyses revealed no main effect of condition, $F(2, 139) < 0.01$, $p = .999$, $d < 0.01$, and a significant main effect of donation group, $F(2, 278) = 23.51$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.82$. This main effect was qualified by a significant interaction, $F(4, 278) = 6.56$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.61$. Simple effect analyses were then conducted to examine the effect of condition on donation to each group, reported in Table 2.

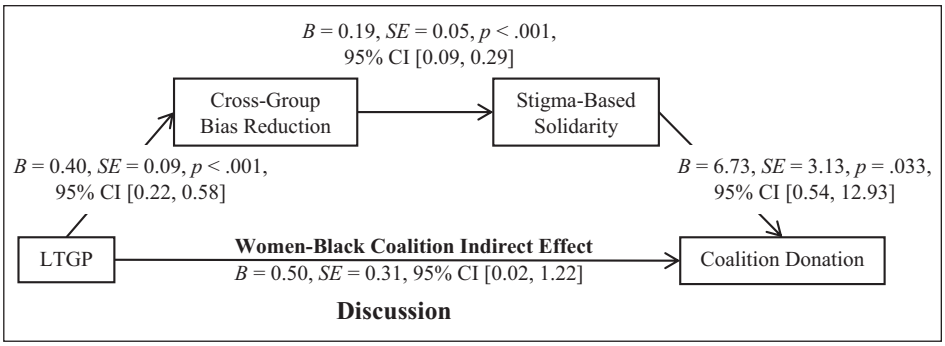
ANOVAs indicated a significant main effect of condition on donation to a women's justice organization and the women–Black coalition. Participants indicated a smaller donation to the women's justice organization in the high LTGP condition compared to the control condition, $p = .044$, $d = 0.40$, and the low LTGP condition, $p < .001$, $d = 0.92$. Participants also indicated a smaller donation to the women's justice organization in the low LTGP condition compared to the control condition, $p = .036$, $d = 0.41$. Further, participants indicated a greater donation to the women–Black justice coalition in the high LTGP condition than in the control condition, $p = .002$, $d = 0.59$, and compared to low LTGP condition, $p < .001$, $d = 0.94$. There was no significant difference between the control and low LTGP conditions, $p = .207$, $d = 0.26$. Lastly, there was no main effect of condition on donation to a Black–LGBT+ coalition. Participants generally indicated they would like about 25% to be donated to the Black–LGBT+ coalition.

Mediation. A serial mediation model was conducted in PROCESS to examine the effect of self-reported LTGP on participants' coalition donation via cross-group bias reduction and stigma-based solidarity. The serial mediation for the women–Black justice coalition donation, presented in Figure 3, demonstrated that greater LTGP endorsement was associated with greater cross-group bias reduction, and in turn greater stigma-based solidarity, and ultimately greater donation to a women–Black justice coalition. The direct effect of LTGP on women–Black coalition donation was no longer significant, $B = 6.25$, $SE = 2.19$, $p = .776$, 95% CI [−3.71, 4.96].

Discussion

In line with hypotheses, cisgender heterosexual White women who more strongly endorsed LTGP were more likely to believe that reducing

Figure 3. Study 3 serial mediation.



racism and heterosexism would decrease sexism, resulting in greater stigma-based solidarity and interest in ingroup-included coalitions only. These findings point to the limitations of LTGP as a lay theory that can facilitate positive intergroup coalitions among cisgender heterosexual White women.

Study 4

Study 4 replicated Study 3 but with a sample of cisgender heterosexual White men. As the previous studies demonstrated that greater LTGP was associated with greater interest in only ingroup-relevant coalitions and collective action, the present study was a strict test of findings. Specifically, if ingroup-relevance is critical, cisgender heterosexual White men should show no effect of LTGP on aiding Black, LGBT+, or women's organizations or coalitions. Thus, our primary hypothesis was a null effect of condition on donations.

Lastly, to our knowledge, past research has not explored the effects of cisgender heterosexual White men's endorsement of stigma-based solidarity on support for social justice efforts. While recent research has suggested that White Americans may be threatened by intraminority coalitions (Knowles et al., in press), it is unclear the extent to which they believe stigmatized social groups should work together to achieve equality, and if that belief translates to their own efforts for equality. Nevertheless, past research has found that White men do perceive prejudices as co-occurring (e.g., Sanchez et al., 2017), and we hypothesized that the manipulations would again significantly shift self-reported LTGP. Due to our hypothesized causal relationship between LTGP, cross-group bias reduction, and stigma-based solidarity, we expected manipulation of LTGP would again affect cross-group bias reduction and stigma-based solidarity. Yet, our primary hypothesis remained that due to ego motivations, which make progress of marginalized social groups against the status interests of cisgender heterosexual White men, LTGP manipulation would not affect behavior, as indicated by donations.

Method

Participants. Following the same a priori power analysis from Study 3, a desired sample size of 138 participants was set. In all, 152 participants who identified as cisgender heterosexual White men were recruited through CloudResearch in exchange for monetary compensation. One participant was excluded for failing instructional attention checks, leaving an analytic sample of 151 cisgender heterosexual White men (M_{age} = 42.15, *SD* = 12.86; range: 23–77). The sample was relatively politically moderate (1 = *liberal*, 10 = *conservative; M* = 4.62, *SD* = 2.62; range: 1–10).

Measures. The study was identical to Study 3. The measures of LTGP (α = .96), cross-group prejudice reduction (α = .96), and stigma-based solidarity (α = .92) were all reliable.

Table 3. Effects of condition and descriptive statistics: Study 4.

	Low LTGP *M* (*SD*)	Control *M* (*SD*)	High LTGP *M* (*SD*)	*F*(2, 148)	*p*	*d*
LTGP	$3.72\ (1.48)_a$	$4.70\ (1.14)_b$	$5.28\ (1.16)_c$	19.92	< .001	1.04
Cross-group bias reduction	$2.53\ (1.64)_a$	$3.16\ (1.38)_b$	$4.04\ (1.54)_c$	12.87	< .001	0.83
Stigma-based solidarity	$4.40\ (1.21)_a$	$4.88\ (1.11)_b$	$5.29\ (1.32)_c$	7.03	.001	0.62

Note. LTGP = lay theory of generalized prejudice. Cells not sharing a common subscript significantly differed, $p < .05$.

Results

Descriptive statistics and main effects are reported in Table 3.

LTGP. The ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of condition on LTGP endorsement. Participants indicated greater endorsement of LTGP in the high LTGP condition than in the control condition, $p = .028$, $d = 0.50$, and compared to the low LTGP condition, $p < .001$, $d = 1.17$. Additionally, participants endorsed LTGP less in the low LTGP condition than in the control condition, $p < .001$, $d = 0.73$.

Cross-group bias reduction. There was a significant main effect of condition on cross-group bias reduction. Participants reported greater cross-group bias reduction in the high LTGP condition than in the control condition, $p = .005$, $d = 0.60$, and the low LTGP condition, $p < .001$, $d = 0.95$. Additionally, participants endorsed greater cross-group bias reduction in the control condition than in the low LTGP condition, $p = .048$, $d = 0.41$.

Stigma-based solidarity. There was a significant main effect of condition on stigma-based solidarity. Participants did not report greater stigma-based solidarity in the high LTGP condition than in the control condition, $p = .102$, $d = 0.33$, but did report greater stigma-based solidarity than participants in the low LTGP condition, $p < .001$, $d = 0.70$. Moreover, participants reported marginally less stigma-based solidarity in the low LTGP condition than in the control condition, $p = .054$, $d = 0.41$.

Donations. A 3 (condition) x 3 (donation group) mixed ANOVA was conducted. Analyses revealed a significant main effect of donation group, $F(2, 296) = 7.96$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.46$, no main effect of condition, $F(2, 148) = 0.19$, $p = .825$, $d = 0.11$, and no significant interaction, $F(4, 296) = 0.61$, $p = .653$, $d = 0.18$. Post hoc tests of the significant main effect of donation group revealed participants indicated greater donations to the women's justice organization ($M = 79.55$, $SD = 56.27$) than the Black–LGBT+ justice coalition ($M = 53.80$, $SD = 37.16$), $p < .001$, $d = 0.46$, and less to the Black–LGBT+ justice coalition than to the women–Black coalition ($M = 66.65$, $SD = 42.84$), $p = .006$, $d = 0.30$. There was no significant difference between donations to the women's justice organization and the women–Black justice organization, $p = .089$, $d = 0.30$.

Discussion

Despite beliefs that prejudices are interrelated, that reducing one form of bias would reduce other biases, and that stigmatized social groups should work together to fight inequality, cisgender heterosexual White men reported no greater interest in supporting coalitions of similarly stigmatized social groups than an organization supporting just women. Instead, cisgender heterosexual White men preferred donations that were only focused on one marginalized social group, regardless of manipulated LTGP endorsement. These findings may again suggest an ego-motivated donation pattern despite successful LTGP manipulation. While the present null effect of condition on donations supported hypothesized findings, we note a

cautious interpretation of these findings and encourage future replication of this null effect.

General Discussion

Past research on intraminority relations has primarily focused on harnessing stigma-based solidarity, often defined as a perceived "common fate" or similarity with other marginalized social groups (Craig & Richeson, 2016; Schmitt et al., 2003; Subašić et al., 2011), to shift one marginalized social group's attitude towards other marginalized social groups (Cortland et al., 2017). Yet, stigma-based solidarity also includes a belief that stigmatized social groups should work together to fight injustice. We proposed that one way to increase coalitional intentions is through the perception that prejudices co-occur, such that believing that reducing one type of bias will reduce another type of bias should motivate greater stigma-based solidarity and coalition support among stigmatized social groups.

In Study 1, cisgender heterosexual Black participants indicated greater donations to a Black–LGBT+ coalition, but not to a LGBT+ justice organization when they were primed to more strongly endorse LTGP, due in part to greater stigma-based solidarity. In Studies 2–3, cisgender heterosexual White women who were primed to endorse LTGP more strongly indicated greater interest in a women's rights and Black Americans' rights coalition (Studies 2–3) and a LGBT+ rights and women's rights coalition (Study 2a), but not a Black–LGBT+ coalition (Studies 2–3). Cisgender heterosexual White women primed to endorse LTGP more strongly endorsed stigma-based solidarity and the belief that reducing anti-Black racism and heterosexism would reduce sexism but demonstrated interest only in coalitions that included their ingroup (Studies 2–3). Lastly, despite successfully manipulating LTGP endorsement and in turn influencing stigma-based solidarity beliefs, cisgender heterosexual White men did not support coalitions for women, LGBT+, and Black Americans (Study 4). Together, these findings demonstrate for the first time that manipulating LTGP was associated with greater interest in ingroup-included coalitions for social groups that were stigmatized across different identity dimensions (e.g., heterosexual Black Americans support for a Black–LGBT+ coalition), and are the first to demonstrate stigma-based solidarity could be promoted by focusing on similarities of perpetrators, not similarity of experiences of discrimination.

The present research successfully manipulated LTGP for the first time, identifying ways to increase *or* decrease LTGP, and in turn demonstrated that believing prejudices do not co-occur, but are independent of one another, significantly *decreased* participants' stigma-based solidarity and interests in coalitions. While past research that has sought to increase stigma-based solidarity has focused on highlighting the similarities in discrimination experiences between social groups (e.g., Cortland et al., 2017), the present research focused on manipulating beliefs about perpetrators, specifically the ways in which their attitudes are organized and interrelated. This focus on others' attitudes may be particularly effective at motivating action against prejudice, such as coalition intentions, while manipulations that focus on similar experiences of discrimination may be more effective at cultivating goodwill and empathy between social groups (Cortland et al., 2017; Craig et al., 2020). These two focuses need not be independent, and we encourage future research to consider how these two aspects of stigma-based solidarity may be combined to promote positive intraminority attitudes and motivated behavior to reduce prejudices.

Notably, the present research suggested that greater LTGP endorsement may only promote interest in ingroup-relevant coalitions. This lack of support for non-ingroup-related coalitions does not appear to simply be a product of the zero-sum nature of the donation paradigm. In Studies 1–2a, measures of activism on behalf of different social groups and coalitions were assessed (reported in the supplemental material). These items were assessed independently, meaning participants could indicate they would be highly likely to engage in activism on behalf of all, some, or none of the groups. Nevertheless,

participants who were primed to endorse LTGP continued to only demonstrate greater interest in ingroup-focused coalitions and ingroup-only organizations, mirroring the effects found in the donations. Specifically, even though a premise of LTGP may be that reducing racism or heterosexism could work to ultimately reduce sexism (Study 3, cross-group bias reduction), heterosexual White women did not demonstrate greater support for Black–LGBT+ coalitions under high LTGP endorsement. The apparent continued ingroup-focused effort of participants is worth caution when considering the "on the ground" relationships of stigmatized social groups who aim to forge coalitions and who express solidarity. Critically, we do not believe the present findings indicate that true stigma-based solidarity cannot be cultivated. Rather, the present findings suggest that when stigma-based solidarity is a product of believing prejudices co-occur, people's interest in solidarity may be reliant, in part, on aiming to reduce prejudice towards their own group (Studies 1–3). Further, endorsement of LTGP may be ineffective at recruiting high-status allies (Study 4) who may believe they do not directly benefit from coalitions among marginalized social groups. It will be important for future research to consider this limitation, identifying strategies that may afford interest in promoting true solidarity (Craig et al., 2020).

The present findings suggest that harnessing LTGP may be important in promoting coalition behavior among stigmatized social groups. Yet, it is important to note that when participants more strongly endorsed LTGP and indicated greater donations to ingroup-relevant coalitions, this came at the cost of donations to the single-focused ingroup organization. For example, in Study 1, heterosexual Black participants' greater donations to a Black–LGBT+ coalition when they strongly endorsed LTGP came at the cost of donations to the Black justice organization, though participants continued to indicate high interest in activism for the Black justice group when high in LTGP (see supplemental material). Nevertheless, it is worth considering implications of the lost donations to the Black justice organization, including when coalitions may be more (or less) effective. Single-issue justice groups (e.g., Black Lives Matter) can be highly effective, and if they adopt an intersectional perspective may better serve the targeted group(s). Of note, the present research primarily examined individuals who were stigmatized along one identity dimension (Studies 2–3, cisgender heterosexual White women), or did not consider their multiple stigmatized identities (e.g., for Black women, Study 1). Intraminority research will be strengthened by adopting an intersectional framework to consider how the intersections of identities and systems of oppression can be harnessed to promote solidarity.

Further, past research on intraminority solidarity has primarily discussed coalitional attitudes, with a focus on supporting outgroup policies or reporting more positive attitudes towards the similarly stigmatized outgroup. Yet, the present research focused on support for coalition justice groups. Future research should consider lay beliefs about the utility of coalitions. Specifically, whether coalitions are believed to create "power in numbers," such that coalitions may be more capable of fighting structural discrimination with the help of others, or if coalitions are believed to develop "privileged allies," such that gay White men can use their White male privilege to help fight anti-Black racism. Research on White Americans suggests a perception of coalitions as creating strength in numbers. For example, many White Americans fear the growing percentage of people of color in the US (Craig & Richeson, 2014a; Craig et al., 2018) and are threatened by coalitions of stigmatized social groups (Knowles et al., in press). The present research demonstrated for the first time that heterosexual White men may endorse stigma-based solidarity, and that this endorsement is greater when prejudices are believed to co-occur, but that this did not translate to support for coalitions. Rather, heterosexual White men supported a single-group organization when forced to pick in a zero-sum design, providing additional support for the body of literature suggesting White Americans aversion to intraminority coalitions.

Lastly, we note that the present manipulation of LTGP may not be organic, as it included reading about scientific research on attitude overlap, specifically regarding attitudes towards people from other countries. While we attempted to demonstrate findings of LTGP manipulations on donations were not due to demand effects caused by completing measures of LTGP and stigma-based solidarity (Study 2b), such demand effects could have arisen from the article manipulations. Yet, we believe the evidence of the null effects on donations in Study 4 and the demonstration of ego-motivated donations across studies suggest the present findings do not merely reflect demand effects. Nevertheless, we encourage future research to continue exploring how people might come to endorse (or not endorse) LTGP on their own.

Conclusion

Stigma-based solidarity research has, to date, primarily focused on similarities of experiences of marginalized social groups, and the contextual factors that may lead to coalitional or derogatory attitudes between marginalized social groups. Yet, the present research proposes that integrating a perspective that focuses on the attitudes of perpetrators, specifically the ways in which prejudices co-occur, can promote stigma-based solidarity and interest in coalitions. Across four studies, the present research demonstrates that greater endorsement of LTGP is associated with greater stigma-based solidarity and interest in ingroup-relevant coalitions for stigmatized social groups. This research suggests the power of lay theories to influence intraminority relations, and highlights areas of interest for future research.

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Supplemental material

Supplemental material for this article is available online.

Notes

1. See supplemental material for two preliminary correlational studies of the positive relationship between LTGP and stigma-based solidarity for Black and White men and women.
2. Articles are included in the supplemental material.
3. Participants also completed measures of intended activism in Studies 1–2a for different social groups and coalitions. Results are reported in the supplemental material and largely mirror donation outcomes.
4. Across all studies, results do not significantly change if we conduct mediations including the effect of condition on LTGP. Results are reported in the supplemental material.
5. One item was dropped in Studies 3–4: "The struggle for equality of oppressed groups in America should be closely related to the struggle for rights of other oppressed groups."

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