

Black People Perceive a White Gay Man's Call for Solidarity as More Disingenuous than His Call for Allyship

Izilda Pereira-Jorge¹  and Kim E. Chaney¹ 

Abstract

Four studies ($N = 1643$) assessed Black people's perceptions of a White gay target calling for Black allyship or Black-gay solidarity in social media posts (Studies 1a–1b) and interactions with a Black colleague who discloses facing discrimination (Studies 2–3). Generally, Black-gay solidarity calls elicited perceptions of more disingenuous motives (Studies 1–3) compared to allyship calls. Novel to allyship perception research, Black people anticipated greater *identity-credentialing* from White gay targets who espoused solidarity compared to allyship calls, an expectation that gay targets would use their marginalized gay identity to buffer against claims of being racist (Studies 2–3). Further, calls for allyship and solidarity acknowledging interpersonal versus structural discrimination inconsistently impacted perceptions (Studies 1–2). White gay men were evaluated less favorably as allies than Black gay men, with no effects of target race on calls for solidarity versus allyship (Study 3).

Keywords

allyship perceptions, solidarity perceptions, racial allyship, solidarity, cross-group solidarity

Received: 12 May 2025; accepted: 23 July 2026

Introduction

We sometimes think that because I'm oppressed in one way, then I understand every form of oppression. But how can I understand your struggle as a white gay man, when I'm not? And what makes you think you can understand my struggle as a trans black man, if you're not? . . . (Kylar Broadus, *The Book of Pride: LGBTQ Heroes Who Changed the World*, pp. 60–61).

Research often examines the psychological processes and motivations behind people's actions to

support equality for a marginalized group (i.e., allyship efforts, e.g., Louis et al., 2019; Radke et al., 2020; Selvanathan et al., 2020). Calls for allyship here are defined as explicit statements of support for a marginalized outgroup without invoking one's own experiences of inequality

¹SUNY University at Buffalo, USA

Corresponding Author:

Izilda Pereira-Jorge, SUNY University at Buffalo, 204 Park Hall, North Campus, Buffalo, NY 14260-1660, USA.

Email: izildape@buffalo.edu

(e.g., Radke et al., 2020, 2022). Despite their seemingly positive intentions, *calls* for allyship can signal varied motivations to perceivers, including, at times, an unwillingness to center the core plights that the marginalized group seeks to upend. Past research has demonstrated that marginalized people's trust and suspicion of people calling for allyship may stem from perceived motives of such allyship (e.g., Park et al., 2022; Radke et al., 2022).

While past research has attended to varied perceptions of how people call for allyship, this research has not considered calls for solidarity. Just as allyship calls can signal varied motives, so too can calls for solidarity. Solidarity is when members of marginalized groups support the equality of members of a separate marginalized group, often motivated from a sense of shared discrimination experiences (Craig & Richeson, 2016; Pérez et al., 2022, 2024, 2025). People who call for solidarity, by invoking the discrimination experiences of their own ingroup to the outgroup they may advocate for, may inadvertently indicate support of joint-liberation that diverts attention away from the outgroup they seek to support (Droogendyk et al., 2016; Gorski & Erakat, 2019; Pietri et al., 2024). Kylar Broadus, legal pioneer and a Black transgender man, reflects in the opening quote that people who call for solidarity may not intimately understand the needs of an outgroup. Further, such calls may falsely equate two unique forms of inequality, thus minimizing the specific challenges and experiences that vary across members of the outgroup.

Despite the dearth of research on when and why people engage in solidarity (Craig & Richeson, 2016; Orhan & Craig, 2025; Pérez et al., 2022, 2024, 2025), research on *perceptions* of those who call for solidarity, however, is limited (see Chaney et al., 2024). Here, we examine Black people's perceptions of LGBTQ+ people who call for allyship versus solidarity with Black people. We consider perceptions of calls for LGBTQ+-Black solidarity due, in part, to historical solidarity between members of these marginalized social groups and research demonstrating that a sense

of shared discrimination experiences between LGBTQ+ and Black Americans is a critical mechanism for engagement in solidarity (e.g., Cortland et al., 2017; Johnson & Pietri, 2025).

In the present research, we assess if making salient shared discrimination experiences in one's call for solidarity conveys a "conditional" or superfluous support for Black equality when compared to a call for allyship that does not invoke one's ingroup. That is, we examine whether calls for solidarity that emphasize an identified mechanism for solidarity engagement (i.e., shared discrimination experiences) are perceived as less genuinely motivated by a desire for Black equality, and in turn associated with anticipation of less supportive behaviors toward one's racial group. We also examine how the type of discrimination, interpersonal or structural, acknowledged in a call for allyship or solidarity influences perceptions of motivations and supportive behaviors. Finally, in recognition of people's multiple identities, we consider whether calls for solidarity are differentially perceived when made by a White, Black, or Latino gay man.

In assessing perceptions of calls for solidarity and allyship, the present research further examines a novel outcome: expectations of identity-credentialing. Anticipated identity-credentialing refers to expectations that LGBTQ+ people, and in particular White LGBTQ+ people, would deny their anti-Black racism because of their own marginalized (gay) identity. By examining expectations of identity-credentialing in calls for solidarity versus allyship from LGBTQ+ people, we document the ways in which solidarity calls may signal engagement in less self-sacrificing racial support compared to calls centering the outgroup (i.e., allyship).

Consequences of Solidarity Calls

People who engage in allyship for a marginalized outgroup may do so for varied reasons. Such support may be genuinely motivated by a desire for intergroup equality or may stem from more personal self-enhancing (e.g., Kutlaca & Radke, 2023; Louis et al., 2019; Radke et al., 2020; Selvanathan

et al., 2020). For example, White people may be motivated to engage in racial allyship to *appear* virtuous and moral (Droogendyk et al., 2016; Kutlaca & Radke, 2023; Radke et al., 2020; Selvanathan et al., 2020), a behavior sometimes referred to as reputation-signaling (e.g., Kodipady et al., 2023). Relatedly, ego-motives reflect a desire to satisfy one's needs over the needs of others (e.g., egosystem, Crocker & Canevello, 2015). Importantly, marginalized perceivers recognize such varied motives in the seemingly egalitarian behavior of advantaged people (Major et al., 2013; 2016). Perceived motives underlying such statements and behaviors are critical in determining whether marginalized group members trust these individuals' engagement in allyship (e.g., Moser & Wiley, 2025; Pietri et al., 2024). For example, White women who called for solidarity by emphasizing that racism and sexism share common perpetrators (e.g., that those who are racist are also sexist) were perceived as more ego-motivated, i.e., opposing racial bias primarily to advance the fight against sexism, than White women who expressed support for Black people without invoking sexism (Chaney et al., 2024). We propose that people who call for solidarity because of shared discrimination may be similarly perceived as higher in reputation and ego-signaling motives compared to targets who call for allyship since solidarity calls invoke one's own status. Thus, we contend that those who call for solidarity by emphasizing shared experiences of discrimination—the documented mechanism through which actual solidarity occurs (Craig & Richeson, 2016; Pérez et al., 2022, 2024, 2025)—will be perceived as more disingenuously motivated in fighting racial inequality (i.e., high reputation-signaling and ego-motives) compared to those who call for Black allyship.

Beyond motivations, White people, in virtue of their racial privilege, may engage in surface-level behaviors to support racial equality (e.g., reading books about racism), without deeper engagement to dismantle racism (e.g., not acknowledging their own racial privilege or racial bias, e.g., Gorski & Erakat, 2019). Socially advantaged group members may even detract from the

focus of racial equality by seeking to find commonalities in experiences to feel “included” within a movement (Droogendyk et al., 2016; Radke et al., 2020; Selvanathan et al., 2020). As such, solidarity calls, in virtue of emphasizing discrimination similarities, may elicit less expectations of self-sacrificing racial support compared to allyship calls that center racial equality. Consequently, we examine perceptions of self-sacrificing racial support—the extent to which targets are perceived to engage in interpersonally costly forms of support to promote racial justice (e.g., Collier-Spruel & Ryan, 2024; Pietri et al., 2024; Thai & Nylund, 2024).

We also examine how gay men of color, who have lived intersectional experiences of racism and heterosexism, may be evaluated more favorably than White gay men when calling for solidarity. Thus, we sought to examine whether calls for solidarity that explicitly highlight the similarities of gay and Black discrimination experiences are perceived as more disingenuous when made by a racially privileged target (i.e., White gay man) compared to a target who shares the same racial identity as both the perceiver and the group they express solidarity with (i.e., Black gay man), or by another racially marginalized target (i.e., Latino gay man, Fiske et al., 2002; Zou & Cheryan, 2017).

Unique Consequences of Calls for Solidarity from Outgroups: Anticipated Identity-Credentialing. Calls for solidarity or allyship with Black Americans likely make salient one's own racial identity. White people engage in different identity-management strategies when their White privilege is made salient, including denying their White racial privilege (Knowles et al., 2014; Phillips & Lowery, 2018; Shuman et al., 2025). Consequently, when reading information about US racial inequality, compared to reading non-equality information, White people were more likely to highlight their own personal experiences of discrimination from their non-racial identities (i.e., gender, sexual orientation, religion, Brown & Craig, 2020). Such responses emerge due to moral image concerns from their privileged identity; that is, perceiving one's accomplishments as not derived from personal merit

(e.g., Brown & Craig, 2020; Phillips & Lowery, 2020).

We argue that when a White gay target highlights similarities among anti-gay and anti-Black discrimination, such as in a call for solidarity, Black perceivers are likely to anticipate White gay targets would deny their racial bias due to possessing a similarly marginalized gay identity. Thus, we explore Black people's perceptions of a gay person's likelihood of engaging in *identity-credentialing*, wherein a gay target may "use" their marginalized gay identity and personal experiences of discrimination to deny the existence of their own racial bias. This research seeks to investigate how identity-credentialing expectations may be more likely to emerge from calls for solidarity, compared to calls for allyship that only focus on the Black community.

Type of Discrimination Centered in Calls for Solidarity and Allyship. How discrimination is acknowledged may have critical implications when calling for solidarity or allyship. For example, believing discrimination stems from structural inequalities elicits higher bias recognition and behavioral commitments to combatting bias relative to beliefs that discrimination stems from interpersonal sources (e.g., Adams et al., 2008; Efimoff & Starzyk, 2023; Miller et al., 2021; Rucker et al., 2024). But how are such beliefs perceived? We contend that targets who make allyship calls that acknowledge structural racism, as opposed to interpersonal racism, may elicit perceptions of more genuine motives and greater anticipated allyship behaviors, as acknowledgment of structural racism may signal greater awareness of inequalities.

Yet, solidarity calls that explicate similarities in gay and Black people's experiences of discrimination may not differ when comparing structural or interpersonal discrimination similarities. When a White gay target notes similarity in gay and Black discrimination experiences, this may signal to Black people that the target does not align with, or understand, their lived experiences and views on the nature of race and racism in the US (Yantis et al., 2025). This means that Black people may

perceive gay targets who make calls for solidarity, compared to allyship, as less likely to share their racial reality, which may elicit greater expectations of disingenuous allyship motives and self-sacrificing racial support. Consequently, Black people may perceive gay targets who note similarities in discrimination experiences with Black people as failing to recognize their White privilege (e.g., Knowles et al., 2014; Pietri et al., 2024; Yantis, 2024), and consequently more likely to use their gay identity to deny being accountable for any racial bias (i.e., identity-credentialing).

The Present Studies

The present research sought to examine how calls for allyship and solidarity inform perceived motives and anticipated racial support from LGBTQ+ people (specifically, gay men). Studies 1a–b examined perceptions of calls for allyship versus solidarity in a social media context. Study 2 contextualized calls for allyship and solidarity in an organizational scenario, where a White gay man makes a solidarity or allyship call in response to a Black colleague's experience of racism. We also examined how type of bias acknowledged (i.e., interpersonal or structural) in allyship or solidarity calls may impact perceptions of the White gay target (Studies 1–2).

Study 3 examined the role of the target's racial identity by examining either a White, Latino, or Black gay target who claimed solidarity or allyship. Black-Latino solidarity has been demonstrated (i.e., within racial identity, Pérez et al., 2022, 2024, 2025) and theorized as more likely to occur than solidarity across identity dimensions (e.g., race and sexual orientation, Craig & Richeson, 2016). The hypotheses are outlined below.

For White gay men, we anticipated that calls for solidarity will elicit greater perceptions of disingenuous motivations for a White gay target (i.e., higher ego-motives, reputation-signaling) and less self-sacrificing racial support, compared to calls for Black allyship (Studies 1–2). Further, White gay targets will be perceived as higher in ego-motives and reputation-signaling than Latino or Black gay targets, with Latino gay targets

perceived as higher in these motives than Black gay targets (Study 3)—although we expected this pattern of effects to be stronger in solidarity call conditions than Black allyship conditions. Generally, we anticipated White targets would be perceived as having less self-sacrificing racial support compared to Latino and Black targets.

In addition to differences between those who call for solidarity and for Black allyship, we propose differences in perceptions of those who call for Black allyship. White gay targets who espouse racial allyship calls that describe structural racism, compared to interpersonal racism, will be perceived as more engaged in self-sacrificing racial support and having fewer disingenuous motives (Studies 1–2). We did not anticipate discrimination type to influence perceptions of solidarity calls.¹ Finally, White gay targets who make solidarity calls, compared to Black allyship calls, will elicit greater expectations of identity-credentialing (Study 2). White gay targets will be perceived as more likely to identity-credential than Black or Latino gay targets in solidarity calls only (Study 3).

Data is available for all studies (https://osf.io/dhbgx/overview?view_only=1f938459b5a740058bbd4cb29e8e359f). Only Study 3 was preregistered (https://osf.io/8cdfm/?view_only=379a3832d8814f8c8151e1f394c7944c). Across all studies, all measures, manipulations, and exclusions are reported in both the manuscript and supplemental material. The method of determining each final sample size is reported across all studies; data collection was not continued after data analyses. The research was approved by the Institutional Review Board at the University of Connecticut – Storrs. Participants indicated consent before participation in each study and were granted monetary compensation.

Study 1

Studies 1a–1b examined Black perceptions of calls for allyship or solidarity from a White gay man on social media. We hypothesized that Black people would perceive solidarity calls as more motivated by self-serving interests, captured via perceived ego-motives and reputation-signaling

(e.g., Chaney et al., 2024; Kodipady et al., 2023), and less likely to engage in self-sacrificing racial support compared to allyship calls. We did not have strong a priori predictions for type of discrimination referenced in calls for solidarity, as such calls may signal a lack of shared racial reality between the White gay target and Black participants (e.g., Yantis et al., 2025). Yet, we hypothesized that calls for allyship that focused on structural, rather than interpersonal, discrimination would be perceived as more genuine and associated with greater self-sacrificing support. Study 1b replicated Study 1a with a separate online sample of Black people. Both studies employed a 2(Call Type: Solidarity, Black allyship) $\times$ 2(Discrimination Type: Interpersonal, Structural) between-subjects design.

Method

Study 1a Participants. An a priori power analysis (G*Power, Faul et al., 2007) for a 2x2 between-subjects ANOVA was conducted to determine the desired sample size with 80% power to detect a small-to-medium effect ($d = 0.30$). This revealed a desired sample size of 351. We oversampled with 463 participants to account for data quality issues. Participants who identified as Black and residing in the US were recruited via Prolific. Of those who did not identify as Black or African ($n = 60$), 41 also failed two out of two instructional attention checks.² This resulted in a final sample size of 403 participants. Data was collected during May 2023. See Table 1 for full demographics across studies.

Study 1b Participants. Recruitment mirrored Study 1a. Of the 449 participants recruited, those who did not identify as Black or African ($n = 37$) and those who failed two out of three instructional attention check questions ($n = 33$) were excluded. This resulted in a final sample size of 406 participants. Data were collected during July 2023.

Procedure. Upon providing consent, participants were informed they would evaluate a random social media user and be asked to form impressions.

Table 1. Demographic Summary.

Demographic Identity	Study 1a <i>n</i> (%)	Study 1b <i>n</i> (%)	Study 2 <i>n</i> (%)	Study 3 <i>n</i> (%)
Gender				
Women (cisgender and transgender, Studies 1a–1b)	201 (49.4%)	206 (50.7%)	206 (51.2%)	295 (68.3%)
Men (cisgender and transgender, Studies 1a–1b)	183 (45.9%)	162 (39.9%)	196 (48.8%)	137 (31.7%)
Non-binary/Genderqueer	5 (1.2%)	16 (3.9%)	-	-
Transgender identifying	8 (2.0%)	12 (3.0%)	-	-
Questions/Don't Know	4 (1.0%)	11 (2.7%)	-	-
Self-identified	7 (1.7%)	9 (2.2%)	-	-
Race/ethnicity				
Black or African	400 (99.3%)	395 (97.3%)	400 (99.5%)	428 (99.1%)
Biracial/Multiracial/More than one race/ethnicity	3 (0.7%)	11 (2.7%)	2 (0.5%)	4 (0.9%)
Sexual orientation				
Lesbian/gay	30 (7.4%)	37 (9.1%)	-	-
Bisexual	63 (15.6%)	59 (14.5%)	-	-
Pansexual	6 (1.5%)	18 (4.4%)	-	-
Queer	1 (0.2%)	3 (0.7%)	-	-
Questioning/not sure	4 (1.0%)	3 (0.7%)	-	-
Asexual	2 (0.5%)	4 (1.0%)	-	-
Heterosexual	294 (73.0%)	281 (69.2%)	402 (100%)	432 (100%)
Self-identified	7 (1.7%)	1 (0.2%)	-	-
	Study 1a <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Study 1b <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Study 2 <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Study 3 <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)
Age (in years)	38.58 (13.08)	38.33 (13.33)	41.11 (23.24)	39.58 (12.17)
Political orientation (1 = <i>strongly conservative</i> , 7 = <i>strongly liberal</i>)	5.03 (1.60)	5.12 (1.55)	4.67 (1.61)	4.61 (1.60)

Across all conditions, participants read a fictitious social media profile of a White gay man. His gay identity was made evident by his social media profile biography (i.e., “. . . Out and proud gay man”, see Figure 1). After reading his social media biography, participants were randomly assigned to see either a Black–gay solidarity or Black allyship call in a social media post that highlighted either the structural (i.e., “systems of oppression”) or interpersonal nature of discrimination (i.e., “discrimination in everyday lives”).

In the *Call for solidarity* condition, the White gay man indicated solidarity by highlighting shared experiences of Black and gay discrimination and calling for solidarity to overcome such struggles. In the *Call for Black allyship* condition, the White gay man indicated allyship by highlighting Black people’s discrimination and

supporting the Black community. See Figure 2 for full manipulations. Participants completed multiple-choice reading checks after condition materials and attention checks throughout the survey. Participants then completed the measures outlined below, along with other secondary measures (see supplemental material).³ Participants completed demographic questions before being debriefed and thanked.

The critical reading check question assessed the content of the call across both Discrimination Type condition and Call condition in a multiple-choice format, i.e., “In general, what was the content of the tweets? . . . e.g., Supporting Black Americans, who have similar discrimination experiences to gay Americans.” (For full text, see condition materials in the supplemental material.) If participants failed the critical reading check question (Study 1a:



Figure 1. *Note.* Social media profile, consistent across conditions.

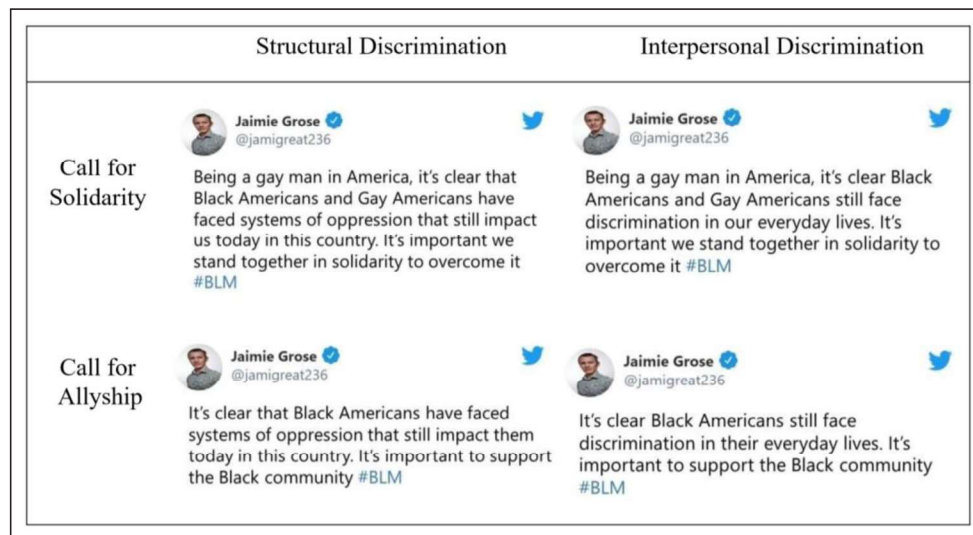


Figure 2. Study 1 Condition Materials.

Note. Target calls varied by Call condition and Discrimination condition: Solidarity + Interpersonal Discrimination, Solidarity + Structural Discrimination, Allyship + Interpersonal Discrimination, and Allyship + Structural Discrimination.

$n=109$, Study 1b: $n=154$),⁴ they were presented with the same condition materials and reading check questions before completing the rest of

the survey. Participants did not have to answer the reading check question correctly on the second viewing of condition materials.

Measures

Manipulation Check (Perceived Target Solidarity Endorsement). Three PI-created items assess the extent to which participants perceived the target from the social media post as endorsing a belief in similarity of discrimination experiences among marginalized groups (e.g., “To what extent does the individual from the Twitter profile agree or disagree with. . . marginalized groups have similar experiences with prejudice and discrimination”) on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*; Studies 1a–1b: α s > .83).

Perceived Ego-Motives. Four items assessed perceptions that the target advocates for racial minority rights to benefit sexual minority rights (e.g., “. . . fights racism because they believe it will promote LGBTQ+ rights”, α s > .87; adapted from Chaney et al., 2024) on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all likely*, 7 = *very likely*).

Perceived Reputation-Signaling. Three items assessed perceptions that the target was motivated to share his social media post to gain status or portray himself favorably (e.g., “He wants to make others think highly of himself,” adapted from Kodipady et al., 2023, α s > .86). Items were ranked on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*).

Anticipated Self-Sacrificing Racial Support. Four items assessed the extent to which participants perceived the target would promote racial equity at the cost of personal losses (adapted from Chaney et al., 2024). A sample item includes, “How likely is the person from the materials you read likely to do the following? . . . Lose a friendship to promote racial equality,” α s > .74). Items were ranked on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all likely*, 7 = *very likely*).

Results

Internal Meta-Analysis of Studies 1a–1b. As study designs and participant recruitment were identical across studies, here we report an internal meta-analysis across these studies. As only two significant

interactions emerged (self-sacrificing racial support in Study 1a and ego-motives in Study 1b⁵), here we report just effects by condition. To test the robustness of conditional effects in Studies 1a–1b, we conducted an internal meta-analysis (see Chaney et al., 2016; Phillips & Lowery, 2015; for similar procedure), comparing perceived ego-motives, perceived reputation-signaling, and self-sacrificing racial support between the Solidarity and Black Allyship conditions ($N=809$), and between Interpersonal and Structural Discrimination conditions ($N=809$). The aforementioned outcomes were first χ^2 -scored within each experiment. Data from the two studies were then combined.⁶ Individual study results are reported in the supplemental material.

Independent samples t -tests and an inverse invariance meta-analytic approach using χ^2 -tests (see Table 2) confirmed successful manipulation, such that targets who called for solidarity ($n=410$) were perceived as endorsing solidarity to a greater extent than targets who called for allyship ($n=399$). See Table 3 for χ^2 -scored descriptive statistics by condition. Analyses further revealed that when calling for solidarity, the target was perceived as higher in ego-motives ($n=410$) and reputation signaling ($n=410$) compared to when calling for Black allyship (ego-motives: $n=399$, reputation-signaling: $n=398$).

Further, both tests confirmed that acknowledging interpersonal discrimination ($n=407$) was associated with less reputation-signaling perceptions than referencing structural discrimination ($n=401$). However, while the independent t -test did not reach significance for perceived ego-motives and solidarity endorsement, by discrimination type, the χ^2 -tests did. Acknowledging structural discrimination ($n=401$) was associated with lower ego-motives and greater perceived solidarity endorsement than referencing interpersonal discrimination ($n=408$).⁷

Finally, across both tests, no differences emerged in perceptions of engaging in self-sacrificing racial support across call type (solidarity: $n=410$, Black allyship: $n=399$) or when comparing interpersonal ($n=408$) and structural discrimination acknowledgment ($n=401$) for self-sacrificing racial support.

Table 2. Inverse-Variance Meta-Analytic Results of Outcomes, Studies 1a–1b.

Condition	Outcome	<i>t</i> -test				ζ -test			
		<i>t(df)</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	95% CI [LL, UL]	ζ -score	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	95% CI [LL, UL]
Call Type	Perceived Solidarity	−3.42 (804.06)	<.001	−0.24	−0.38, −0.10	10.97	<.001	0.84	0.20, 0.29
	Ego-Motives	−7.17 (807.00)	<.001	−0.50	−0.62, −0.36	22.75	<.001	2.67	0.46, 0.55
	Rep.-Signal	−2.83 (806.00)	.005	−0.20	−0.34, −0.06	11.37	<.001	0.87	0.18, 0.25
	Self-Sacrificing	−0.51 (788.92)	.611	−0.04	−0.17, 0.10	1.27	.204	0.09	−0.01, 0.06
Discrimination Type	Perceived Solidarity	−1.14 (807.00)	.256	−0.08	−0.22, 0.06	3.84	<.001	0.27	0.03, 0.10
	Ego-Motives	0.73 (807.00)	.456	0.05	−0.09, 0.19	3.93	<.001	0.28	0.04, 0.11
	Rep.-Signal	−2.07 (806.00)	.038	0.15	−0.28, −0.01	8.75	<.001	0.65	0.13, 0.20
	Self-Sacrificing Support	0.21 (807.00)	.835	0.02	−0.12, 0.15	0.00	.999	0.00	−0.03, 0.03

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics by Condition, ζ -scored, Studies 1a–1b.

Outcome	Call Type		Discrimination Type	
	Solidarity	Black Allyship	Structural	Interpersonal
	<i>M</i> <i>SD (SE)</i>	<i>M</i> <i>SD (SE)</i>	<i>M</i> <i>SD (SE)</i>	<i>M</i> <i>SD (SE)</i>
Perceived Solidarity	0.12 1.03 (0.05)	−0.12 0.95 (0.05)	−0.04 1.04 (0.05)	0.04 0.96 (0.05)
Ego-Motives	0.24 0.91 (0.05)	−0.25 1.03 (0.05)	−0.03 1.00 (0.05)	0.03 1.00 (0.05)
Rep.-Signal	0.10 1.02 (0.05)	−0.10 0.97 (0.05)	0.07 1.01 (0.05)	−0.07 0.99 (0.05)
Self-Sacrificing Support	0.02 1.08 (0.05)	−0.02 0.91 (0.05)	−0.01 0.97 (0.05)	0.01 1.03 (0.05)

Discussion

Studies 1a–1b demonstrated initial evidence that inferred racial support behaviors and perceived motives of White gay men who call for support for Black Americans are dependent on how they express their support. First, the manipulation check on perceived solidarity endorsement indicated success in our manipulation of solidarity versus allyship. Further, White gay men who called for

solidarity, compared to Black allyship, were perceived as higher in both ego and reputation-signaling motives. That is, calls for solidarity that referenced shared discrimination experiences were perceived as disingenuously motivated, consistent with other undesired forms of allyship (e.g., Droogendyk et al., 2016; Gorski & Erakat, 2019). Our hypotheses were not supported with the outcome of self-sacrificing racial support, nor were there any interaction effects with discrimination

type. This may have been due to limitations of our reading check question, which did not allow us to determine if the target's endorsement of discrimination type was successfully manipulated. Thus, our findings with discrimination type should be taken with caution and considered exploratory. However, the current effects with perceptions of the target's motives and null effects for expected racial support may be due, in part, to the context of a lone social media post that was not situated in an interpersonal interaction.

Study 2

Study 2 expanded upon target perceptions by contextualizing the statements in a scenario where calls for solidarity or allyship may signal more meaningful information related to identity-based treatment—an organizational context (Collier-Spruel & Ryan, 2024; Emerson & Murphy, 2014). We examined perceptions of a White gay target responding to a Black coworker's experience of racism. Our hypotheses mirrored Study 1: compared to allyship calls, solidarity calls would be perceived as more disingenuously motivated (i.e., higher perceived ego-motives and reputation-signaling) and targets would be expected to engage in less self-sacrificing racial support. Further, White gay targets who describe structural forms of bias, compared to interpersonal forms in their Black allyship calls, would be evaluated more favorably.

Novel to Study 2, we examined perceptions of *identity-credentialing*, the process in which, if the target engaged in a racist act, they would default to their marginalized identity (i.e., gay identity) to buffer against claims of being biased. We anticipated that White gay targets who made solidarity calls, compared to calls for Black allyship, would be perceived as more likely to engage in identity-credentialing.

Method

Participants. Participants who identified as Black cisgender-heterosexual people⁸ residing in the US were recruited via Prolific. An *a priori* power

analysis for a 2×2 between-subjects ANOVA was conducted to determine the desired sample size with 80% power to detect a small-to-medium effect ($d=0.30$), revealing a desired sample size of 351. We oversampled with 473 in case of exclusions.

Those who did not identify as Black or African ($n=36$), did not identify as cisgender ($n=21$) or heterosexual ($n=8$), and failed two out of three instructional attention check questions ($n=46$) were excluded. This resulted in a final sample size of 402. Data was collected during September–October 2023. For demographics, see Table 1.

Procedure. Participants were informed they would evaluate workplace interactions and be asked to form impressions. The study was a 2(Call Type: Solidarity, Black allyship) $\times$ 2(Discrimination Type: Structural, Interpersonal) between-subjects design. Across all conditions, participants read a vignette depicting a White gay man interacting with a Black man (no sexual orientation mentioned), who was discussing an instance of either structural (i.e., “They released a new demographic report for Fortune 500 companies and they’re like 90% White. No different in ordinary companies too. I hardly ever see Black people in high power positions”) or interpersonal racism (i.e., “One of the new hires asked if I’ve been to any rap concerts lately. He’s probably going to ask if I play basketball next. I swear you’d think it’s the first time he’s ever interacted with a Black person”).

Participants then read that, in response, a White gay colleague acknowledged that Black people faced “systems of oppression” in the workplace (i.e., *Structural Discrimination* condition) or Black people “continue to face discrimination” in the workplace (i.e., *Interpersonal Discrimination* condition) in his solidarity and allyship calls, identical to the condition materials in Studies 1a–1b. As in Study 1, solidarity was manipulated by having the target note the shared discrimination between Black and gay people, noting “we can work together to support each other”, while allyship was manipulated by having the target only discuss and support Black Americans (e.g., “I’m here to support you”). See Figure 3 for White gay

	Structural Discrimination	Interpersonal Discrimination
Call for Solidarity	“That’s unbelievable. It’s clear that Black Americans continue to face systems of oppression in the workplace. And it’s the same thing with gay people too. Seems like a Black man like you or a gay man like me won’t be climbing up the ranks here anytime soon. It’s important we stand together in solidarity. We can work together to support each other.”	“That’s unbelievable. It’s clear that Black Americans continue to face discrimination in the workplace. That reminds me of when Henry said I couldn’t ‘really be gay’ because I sound masculine. Seems like people still say prejudiced stuff to a Black man like you or a gay man like me. It’s important we stand together in solidarity. We can work together to support each other
Call for Allyship	“That’s unbelievable. It’s clear that Black Americans continue to face systems of oppression in the workplace. It’s important we do more to support Black employees. I’m here to support you.”	“That’s unbelievable. It’s clear that Black Americans continue to face discrimination in the workplace. It’s important we do more to support Black employees. I’m here to support you.

Figure 3. Study 3 Condition Materials.

Note. Target calls varied by Call condition and Discrimination condition: Solidarity + Interpersonal Discrimination, Solidarity + Structural Discrimination, Allyship + Interpersonal Discrimination, and Allyship + Structural Discrimination.

target responses; for full condition materials, see supplemental material.

Participants completed reading checks following condition materials and attention checks throughout the survey. Those who failed the critical reading check ($n = 120$) were provided with condition materials and reading check questions again before proceeding with the rest of the survey. Participants then completed Study 1 measures of perceived solidarity endorsement and perceived motives (ego-motives, reputation-signaling). Next, participants completed Study 1 measures of the target’s likelihood of engaging in self-sacrificing racial support as well as the new measure of identity-credentialing, among other measures (see supplemental material). Reliabilities of all measures were again sufficient ($\alpha s > .76$). Participants completed demographic questions before being debriefed.

Perceived Identity-Credentialing. Participants were asked to imagine that someone “informed John, the White gay man from the scenario you read about, that John had said or done something racist.” Then, participants assessed the likelihood that the target would use his marginalized gay

identity to diffuse accusations of racism with six PI-developed items ($\alpha = .94$). Sample items include “How likely is it that John would. . . claim that being gay prevents him from being racist” and “claim his own experiences of discrimination prevent him from discriminating against others” on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all likely*, 7 = *very likely*).

Results

Analyses were conducted as 2(Call Type: Solidarity, Black Allyship) $\times$ 2(Discrimination Type: Structural, Interpersonal) between-subject ANOVAs. See Table 4 for ANOVA statistics and Table 5 for descriptive statistics.

Manipulation Check. Confirming manipulation of solidarity, there was a main effect of Call Type on perceived solidarity endorsement, such that participants perceived the White gay man who called for solidarity as higher in solidarity endorsement than the target who called for Black allyship. There was also a significant main effect of Discrimination Type, such that the White gay man who acknowledged structural discrimination,

Table 4. ANOVA Results, Study 2.

Outcomes	Call Type Main Effect			Discrimination Type Main Effect			Call x Discrimination Type Interaction		
	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
Perceived Solidarity	16.77	<.001	0.41	7.78	.006	0.28	0.52	.470	0.06
Ego-Motives	18.56	<.001	0.43	0.89	.345	0.09	0.04	.842	0.00
Reputation- Signaling	4.46	.035	0.21	2.37	.125	0.16	0.04	.846	0.00
Self-Sacrificing Support	6.57	.011	0.26	7.16	.008	0.27	1.73	.189	0.13
Identity-Credentialing	23.09	<.001	0.48	0.86	.770	0.00	1.49	.224	0.13

Note. *F*(1,398) for all except Perceived Solidarity, *F*(1,397).

Table 5. Descriptive Statistics, Study 2.

Outcome	Call Type		Discrimination Type	
	Solidarity <i>M (SE)</i>	Black Allyship <i>M (SE)</i>	Structural <i>M (SE)</i>	Interpersonal <i>M (SE)</i>
Perceived Solidarity	5.71 (0.09)	5.23 (0.08)	5.30 (0.08)	5.63 (0.09)
Ego-Motives	5.19 (0.10)	4.58 (0.10)	4.82 (0.10)	4.95 (0.10)
Reputation-Signaling	3.23 (0.11)	2.90 (0.11)	3.19 (0.11)	2.95 (0.11)
Self-Sacrificing Support	3.66 (0.09)	3.98 (0.09)	3.65 (0.09)	3.99 (0.09)
Identity-Credentialing	4.45 (0.12)	3.66 (0.11)	4.02 (0.11)	4.07 (0.12)

compared to interpersonal discrimination, was perceived as less likely to endorse solidarity.

Perceived Target Motives. There were significant main effects of Call Type on perceived ego-motives and reputation-signaling. Participants perceived the target who called for solidarity as higher in ego-motives and reputation-signaling compared to targets who called for Black allyship. There were no main effects of Discrimination Type nor a significant interaction.

Anticipated Target Self-Sacrificing Racial Support. Significant main effects of Call Type and Discrimination Type emerged for anticipated self-sacrificing allyship. The target who called for solidarity or acknowledged structural discrimination was perceived as less likely to engage in self-sacrificing support compared to the target who called for Black allyship or acknowledged interpersonal discrimination. No interaction emerged.

Anticipated Identity-Credentialing. Only a significant main effect of Call Type emerged. If the target were to be confronted for being racist, participants anticipated that the target would employ greater identity-credentialing when he previously called for solidarity compared to Black allyship.

Discussion

Study 2 replicated and extended Study 1 findings among Black cisgender-heterosexual participants when evaluating calls for solidarity or allyship from a White gay man in response to a Black colleague who discussed racism. Replicating Studies 1a–1b, a White gay man was perceived as having greater disingenuous motives when calling for Black–gay solidarity compared to Black allyship. Further, counter to initial hypotheses and Study 1 null effect, the White gay man was perceived as engaging in more self-sacrificing support for Black people in the interpersonal, compared to structural, condition.

Novel to Study 2, participants perceived the White gay man who invoked shared discrimination by calling for Black–gay solidarity, compared to allyship, as more likely to use his marginalized gay identity to buffer against evidence of his own racial bias. Black people’s suspicion towards an ally leveraging Black–gay solidarity, especially an ally of a privileged racial identity, may fuel greater skepticism of anticipated genuine engagement with Black allyship, consistent with previous work on solidarity expressions (e.g., Chaney et al., 2024). Study 3 thus sought to examine how manipulating the racial identity of a gay man calling for solidarity may impact perceptions.

Study 3

Study 3 extended Studies 1–2 by varying the racial identity of the target. We assessed Black people’s perceptions of a White, Latino, or Black gay man who called for Black allyship or Black–gay solidarity. In doing so, we sought to determine if the present effects were specific to solidarity calls that come from someone who is not marginalized along the same identity dimension as the perceiver group (e.g., Black people), or solidarity calls more broadly. We included a Latino gay target, since Latine people are stereotyped similarly to Black people in the US (Fiske et al., 2002; Zou & Cheryan, 2017) and may share more similar experiences of racial stigma, compared to White gay allies. We also examined perceptions of a Black gay target making Black–gay solidarity or Black allyship calls to assess whether Black people report greater expectations of egalitarian-seeking behaviors from a racial ingroup member, even if they are currently highlighting another identity (i.e., LGBTQ+ status). Notably, given a general lack of effect on calls acknowledging interpersonal versus structural discrimination in Studies 1–2, we dropped this manipulation from Study 3.

Study 3 hypotheses were preregistered (https://osf.io/8cdfm/?view_only=379a3832d8814f8c8151e1f394c7944c). Hypotheses for the White gay target who leveraged allyship or solidarity mirrored Studies 1–2, with less favorable

perceptions when calling for solidarity compared to allyship.⁹ Novel to Study 3, we hypothesized this effect of call type would be more pronounced for White gay targets compared to either Latino or Black gay targets, in part due to Latino and Black targets likely being perceived as more genuinely sharing discrimination experiences with the Black target (see Pérez et al., 2024, 2025 for Latine-Black solidarity). We anticipated a similar pattern of differences for White, Black, and Latino gay targets who made Black allyship calls, though we hypothesized significantly smaller effects compared to solidarity calls. We further hypothesized that the Black gay target would be viewed more favorably across outcomes than the Latino gay target due to shared racial identity with the Black man sharing his discrimination experience in the vignette.

However, we note that ego-motives, referring to supporting racial minority rights to also benefit LGBT+ rights, may be interpreted differently for gay men of color. That is, compared to prior findings with perceived ego-motives that emphasized selfish motives of White targets calling for solidarity, a Black or Latino gay target may be perceived as less selfish—instead, perceived as having greater intersectional recognition of how combatting and experiencing racial and sexual minority stigma is an interconnected battle for Latino and Black gay individuals (e.g., intersectional experiences of discrimination, Bowleg, 2008; Cole, 2009). Perceptions of gay men of color’s ego-motives, compared to White men’s, may actually tap into perceptions of an intersectional awareness of overlapping systems of discrimination for targets marginalized along racial and sexual identity dimensions.

Method

Participants. Participants who identified as Black cisgender-heterosexual people residing in the US were recruited via Prolific in December 2023. An *a priori* power analysis (Faul et al., 2007) for a 2x3 between-subjects ANOVA was conducted to determine the desired sample size with 80% power to detect a small-to-medium effect ($d=0.30$) and

Table 6. ANOVA Results, Study 3.

Outcome	Call Type Main Effect			Target Race Main Effect			Call Type x Target Race Interaction		
	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
Perceived Solidarity	9.99	.002	0.31	2.13	.120	0.20	0.01	.995	0.00
Ego-Motives	12.77	<.001	0.35	4.89	.008	0.31	0.23	.794	0.06
Reputation-Signaling	1.74	.188	0.13	5.11	.006	0.32	2.98	.052	0.24
Self-Sacrificing Support	1.28	.258	0.11	14.46	<.001	0.52	1.83	.163	0.19
Identity-Credentialing	6.49	.011	0.25	9.96	<.001	0.43	0.27	.765	0.06

Note. $F(1,424)$ for Call Type condition, $F(2,424)$ for Target Race condition and Interaction.

Table 7. Descriptive Statistics, Study 3.

Outcome	Call Type		Target Race		
	Solidarity <i>M (SE)</i>	Black Allyship <i>M (SE)</i>	White <i>M (SE)</i>	Latino <i>M (SE)</i>	Black <i>M (SE)</i>
Perceived Solidarity	5.84 (0.07)	5.53 (0.07)	5.58 (0.09)	5.82 (0.09)	5.64 (0.08)
Ego-Motives	5.27 (0.10)	4.78 (0.10)	4.77 (0.12)	5.02 (0.12)	5.29 (0.12)
Reputation-Signaling	2.80 (0.11)	2.61 (0.10)	2.94 (0.13)	2.78 (0.13)	2.39 (0.13)
Self-Sacrificing Support	4.03 (0.09)	4.18 (0.09)	3.74 (0.11)	4.01 (0.11)	4.56 (0.11)
Identity-Credentialing	4.36 (0.12)	3.94 (0.12)	4.52 (0.14)	4.28 (0.15)	3.66 (0.14)

revealed a desired sample size of 432. We oversampled with 516 in case of exclusions. Those who did not identify as Black or African ($n = 32$), cisgender ($n = 29$), or heterosexual ($n = 8$), and who failed two out of three instructional attention check questions ($n = 39$) were excluded. This resulted in a final sample size of 432.

Procedure. The vignette mirrored the interpersonal discrimination condition used in Study 2, with participants randomly assigned to view either the solidarity or Black allyship call attributed to a White, Black, or Latino gay man. The racial identity of the targets was made salient with prototypical names (e.g., Latino Ally condition, target named Carlos) and referencing the racial identities in the vignette, as done in Study 2. Participants completed reading checks and content checks. Participants who failed the critical reading check question ($n = 143$) were presented with the same condition and reading check questions

again. After viewing condition materials, participants then completed the same measures as Study 2. Reliabilities of all measures were high ($\alpha s > .76$). See supplemental material for full condition materials.

Results

Analyses were conducted as 2(Call: Solidarity, Black allyship) $\times$ 3(Target Race: White, Latino, Black) between-subject ANOVAs. LSD post-hoc tests were employed. See Table 6 for ANOVA statistics, Table 7 for descriptive statistics, and Table 8 for post-hoc analyses.¹⁰

Manipulation Check. Indicating the call manipulation was successful, participants perceived the solidarity call target as significantly higher in solidarity endorsement than the Black allyship call target. There was no main effect of Target Race and no significant interaction.

Table 8. Target Race LSD Post Hoc Comparisons, Study 3.

Outcome	Comparisons	<i>d</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI _{meandiff}
Ego-Motives	White vs. Black	0.36	.002	[-0.84, -0.19]
	White vs. Latino	0.17	.088	[-0.58, 0.09]
	Black vs. Latino	0.20	.106	[-0.06, 0.61]
Reputation-Signaling	White vs. Black	0.37	.002	[0.20, 0.91]
	White vs. Latino	0.10	.379	[-0.20, 0.52]
	Black vs. Latino	0.26	.030	[-0.75, -0.04]
Self-Sacrificing Support	White vs. Black	0.64	<.001	[-1.12, -0.51]
	White vs. Latino	0.20	.095	[-0.57, 0.05]
	Black vs. Latino	0.42	<.001	[0.24, 0.86]
Identity-Credentialing	White vs. Black	0.50	<.001	[0.47, 1.26]
	White vs. Latino	0.17	.229	[-0.16, 0.65]
	Black vs. Latino	0.33	.022	[-1.02, -0.22]

Note. Comparisons are between White, Black, or Latino gay man targets.

Perceived Ego-Motives. Significant main effects of Call and Target Race emerged; there was no significant interaction. As hypothesized, participants viewed a target who called for solidarity as higher in ego-motives compared to a target who called for Black allyship. Post-hoc tests revealed participants perceived the White target as having lower ego-motives compared to the Black target, but similar ego-motives to the Latino target. The Latino target was perceived as having similar ego-motives to the Black target.

Perceived Reputation-Signaling. Only a significant main effect of Target Race emerged. Participants perceived the White target as reputation-signaling more than the Black, but not Latino, target. Further, participants perceived the Black target as reputational-signaling less than the Latino target.

Anticipated Self-Sacrificing Racial Support. Only a significant main effect of Target Race emerged. The White target was perceived as less likely to engage in self-sacrificing support than the Black, but not Latino, target. The Black target was perceived as likely to engage in more self-sacrificing support than the Latino target.

Anticipated Identity-Credentialing. Significant main effects of Call and Target Race emerged; there was no significant interaction. As hypothesized,

participants viewed a target who called for solidarity as more likely to engage in identity-credentialing compared to a target who called for Black allyship. Participants perceived the White target as more likely to identity-credential than the Black, but not Latino, target. Participants anticipated less identity-credentialing from the Black target compared to the Latino target.

Discussion

Study 3 demonstrated that gay targets were evaluated as having greater ego-motives and being more likely to engage in identity-credentialing when calling for solidarity compared to Black allyship, replicating the findings of Studies 1–2 and in line with the hypotheses. Main effects of target race generally emerged in the hypothesized pattern across all outcomes, though no interactions emerged, diverging from hypotheses. Generally, the White gay target was perceived as engaging in less self-sacrificing support for Black people, greater identity-credentialing, and having greater reputation-signaling motives than the Black gay target, but often not the Latino target; the Black gay target was evaluated more favorably on these outcomes than the Latino gay target. These findings suggest that Black people generally expected the least support from a White or Latino target, and that Studies 1–2 effects may

not be dependent just on a White person calling for solidarity with Black Americans.

Notably, however, White gay targets were perceived as having *fewer* ego-motives than Black gay targets, and Black and Latino gay targets were perceived with similar ego-motives, inconsistent with predictions. This pattern is in contrast with reputation-signaling motives, where White and Latino targets were perceived as engaging in reputation-signaling more than Black targets. Thus, higher perceived ego-motives for the Black and Latino gay targets should be interpreted, we propose, as a recognition of the intersectional nature of discrimination that gay men of color would experience, in virtue of holding both racially marginalized and sexual minority identities, relative to White gay men. Thus, we reiterate that perceived ego-motives for White targets of racial justice making calls for solidarity still elicits less favorable perceptions of allyship (e.g., Chaney et al., 2024).

General Discussion

The current work examined Black people's perceptions of LGBTQ+ people calling for equality for Black Americans via solidarity or allyship. Across four studies ($N=1,643$), we examined how Black people's perceptions of racially advantaged White targets who possess a marginalized sexual minority identity may shift when calling for solidarity or Black allyship (Studies 1–3), including when such targets discuss the interpersonal or structural nature of discrimination (Studies 1–2) in a social media post (Studies 1a–1b) or hypothetical organizational environment (Studies 2–3). Calls for solidarity specifically referenced the gay target's shared discrimination experiences, a mechanism that underlies engagement in solidarity amongst marginalized groups (e.g., Craig & Richeson, 2016; Jun et al., 2023; Pérez et al., 2024, 2025). Across studies, targets who called for solidarity were rated as more likely to believe that members of different oppressed groups share similar discrimination experiences. Our condition manipulation mirrors how stigma-based solidarity is activated. Yet, these solidarity

calls consistently resulted in perceptions that the targets were less genuinely motivated (Studies 1–3). Black people evaluated White gay targets who made solidarity calls as more motivated to advocate for racial minority rights to advance their ingroup sexual minority rights (i.e., ego-motives, Studies 1–3) and for a reputation boost (Studies 1–2), compared to White gay targets who made Black allyship calls. While call type rarely impacted self-sacrificing racial support expectations (i.e., null effects via Studies 1a–1b, Study 3), gay targets were perceived as more likely to identity-credential, that is, use their gay identity to deny claims of being racially biased, when calling for solidarity compared to allyship (Studies 2–3). The type of discrimination the gay target referenced in his calls for solidarity or allyship largely did not shape perceptions (Studies 1–2), though this may be a limitation of the vague language in condition materials used to describe structural or interpersonal discrimination.

When manipulating the gay target's race, call type only impacted perceived ego-motives and anticipated identity-credentialing (Study 3). Moreover, White and Latino gay men were perceived as less likely to engage in self-sacrificing racial support, more likely to identity-credential, and more motivated to reputation-signal, compared to Black gay men (Study 3). Study 3's findings with target race may suggest skepticism of racially privileged outgroup members. This is consistent with research highlighting that Black people report the fewest expectations of allyship from racial outgroups when experiencing discrimination, though Black people are expected to provide the most allyship for Hispanic, Asian, and White individuals (Drake et al., 2025).

Overall, these findings demonstrate that despite highlighting shared discrimination experiences as an effective strategy to elicit solidarity (Cortland et al., 2017), lay people making this salient are perceived more negatively than simple calls for allyship. Our findings for perceptions of solidarity calls are consistent with perceptions of disingenuous displays of support for racial equity, which stems from perceptions of self-interested motives that threaten to hinder the goals of Black

equality (e.g., Droogendyk et al., 2016; Louis et al., 2019; Pietri et al., 2024; Radke et al., 2020; Selvanathan et al., 2020). These findings are also in line with past research that found solidarity calls that invoked the overlapping nature of prejudices were evaluated more negatively than allyship calls (Chaney et al., 2024). However, our examination of solidarity and Black allyship calls did not include a control statement, absent of any support indicated to Black inequality. Thus, we encourage future work to examine whether calls for solidarity that reference the target's ingroup are preferred relative to identity-absent statements. That is, we recognize that solidarity is an important vehicle for social change and thus identifying *how* solidarity can be effectively communicated is critical for facilitating social change.

Expectations of Identity-Credentialing and Target Racial Identity

The present research posits a novel outcome of identity-credentialing, which we defined as highlighting one's marginalized sexual orientation identity to deny claims of being racially biased. This novel construct suggests perceptions that the target will 1) ignore, 2) not take accountability for their bias (e.g., Gorski & Erakat, 2019), or 3) defensively brush off the confrontation (e.g., Brown & Craig, 2020; Knowles et al., 2014), by suggesting their own experiences with discrimination make them immune to bias. Black people expected greater identity-credentialing from White (Study 2) or Latino (Studies 2–3) gay men who called for solidarity rather than allyship. Despite the target not explicitly engaging in racist actions, Black people expected that a target calling for solidarity, rather than allyship, would be less accountable for his racism in the future. Though Hispanic and Black targets are similarly perceived as more “effective” racial allies than White targets (Radke et al., 2022), the explicit connection of solidarity between gay and Black people may have fueled suspicion toward Latino targets in the present research. Thus, solidarity calls that emphasize shared experiences between marginalized groups may signal a centering of

one's identities that detracts from the overarching focus of Black people's equality (e.g., Droogendyk et al., 2016; Radke et al., 2020). As participants reported moderate expectations of targets engaging in identity-credentialing, future work should qualitatively examine Black people's experiences with individuals who use their non-racially marginalized identity to avoid claims of being racist.

Calls for Solidarity and the Role of Shared Interpersonal or Structural Discrimination

As manipulated, a gay target recognizing the interpersonal versus structural nature of discrimination when making a statement of support for Black Americans did not consistently predict Black people's perceived motives, expectations of self-sacrificing support, or identity-credentialing. We operationalized targets who express Black allyship similar to previous allyship perception research (Radke et al., 2022), by noting the discrimination that Black Americans face. However, we did not provide behavioral evidence that the target had engaged in allyship, as has been done in some previous research (Radke et al., 2022). Thus, our manipulations may have simply not been successful in conveying the target's knowledge of structural or interpersonal conceptions of racism, which is perhaps a limitation of the non-immersive elements of our paradigm.

Yet, past research demonstrates that people who have awareness of structural racial inequities, compared to those who hold interpersonal conceptions about racism, often have greater bias recognition and behavioral commitments to combatting bias (e.g., Bonam et al., 2019; Miller et al., 2021; Nelson et al., 2013; Rucker et al., 2024; Rucker & Richeson, 2021). We encourage future research to further consider perceptions of the awareness and knowledge demonstrated by those who make calls for solidarity or allyship. For example, future research could examine how an individual is perceived when they attribute someone else's experiences of discrimination to either structural processes or the prejudice of a single individual (e.g., Daumeyer et al., 2019). Such future investigations should consider how the target's

own racial identity may shape these perceptions. That is, in Study 3, we found that Black people perceived Black gay targets as uniquely likely to engage in self-sacrificing racial support compared to White and Latino targets. Such effects may similarly emerge when the target is attributing someone else's discrimination to interpersonal discrimination, but perhaps not structural discrimination. Further, future research may explore whether perceived ally tenacity and genuineness of motivation to allyship serve as critical mechanisms that facilitate positive ally evaluations (e.g., Derricks et al., 2025; Thai & Nylund, 2024).

Limitations and Future Directions

The current findings relied on social media posts (Study 1) and hypothetical vignettes describing workplace interactions (Studies 2–3), which may have limited the ecological validity, and stakes, of interacting with targets in such artificial environments. Future work would benefit from retrospective qualitative accounts, and in-lab manipulations, to see how solidarity calls elicit expectations of support. That is, in a face-to-face interaction, Black people, perhaps especially those high in suspicion of motives (Major et al., 2013, 2016), may be more attuned to cues of disingenuous motives.

Critically, we assessed only gay men targets, and thus we cannot say if our findings would generalize to other LGBTQ+ folks who call for solidarity with Black Americans. Yet, given that one's perceptions of racial privilege may be driving effects of how genuine the White target is perceived to be (Study 3), it is possible that such findings would generalize across any White LGBTQ+ target. However, Black LGBTQ+ individuals may be even more suspicious of White gay allies than Black cisgender-heterosexual individuals, given the history of White gay allies dominating LGBTQ+ issues and failing to advocate for the unique needs of racial minority LGBTQ+ individuals (e.g., Johnson et al., 2019; Logie & Rwigema, 2014; Robinson, 2021; Tseng, 2021). Thus, future research is warranted to further understand how groups can successfully call for solidarity while being perceived as genuine, self-sacrificing supporters of a marginalized outgroup.

Finally, we examine perceptions of calls for allyship and solidarity as an isolated action, using just a single snapshot. However, perceptions of disingenuous motives from solidarity calls may be attenuated when the target also demonstrates behavioral evidence that aligns with such calls. Marginalized individuals report greater trust in people who are action-oriented (Collier-Spruel & Ryan, 2024; Pietri et al., 2024) and demonstrate costly and authentic allyship (e.g., Ponce de Leon et al., 2024; Moser & Wiley, 2025; Thai & Nylund, 2024).

Importantly, we are not discouraging solidarity processes among marginalized individuals, nor disavowing the collective action from intra-minority coalitions that may arise from stigma-based solidarity (e.g., Craig, Badaan, & Brown, 2020; Craig, Rucker, & Brown, 2020; Pérez et al., 2024, 2025). Rather, we highlight that solidarity calls emphasizing shared experiences of discrimination may be insufficient for cultivating intra-minority coalitions unless they also acknowledge the historical and structural overlap in systems of oppression affecting marginalized groups (e.g., critical race theory interventions, Adams et al., 2008; Bonam et al., 2019; Salter et al., 2018) and directing action on how to make systemic change (e.g., Droogendyk et al., 2016; Gorski & Erakat, 2019). Further, calls expressing support for coalitions to which the target does not belong to may not elicit perceptions of ego-motivated allyship. For example, individuals may perceive a White gay man endorsing stigma-based solidarity among Latine and Black people as being aware of systemic discrimination and not merely understanding racism through his experiences of heterosexism (e.g., Chaney et al., 2024; Pietri et al., 2024). Thus, future research is necessary to examine how the content of solidarity calls may influence perceptions among racially privileged targets to support racially marginalized groups.

Conclusion

The current work examined how calls for solidarity or allyship inform Black people's expectations of allyship motives and behaviors, consistent with existing theoretical frameworks

(e.g., Moser & Wiley, 2025; Pietri et al., 2024) and qualitative reports of what constitutes effective allyship (e.g., Brown & Ostrove, 2013; Collier-Spruel & Ryan, 2024; Droogendyk et al., 2016). In four studies, we examined how calls for solidarity by a White gay man may elicit perceptions of less genuinely motivated support for Black Americans. Effects of solidarity or allyship calls from non-Black targets may be ameliorated when concrete behavioral evidence suggests the racially advantaged target is consistently dedicated to the cause (e.g., Pham & Chaney, 2025; Thai & Nylund, 2024).

Author's Note

The institution where research was conducted was University of Connecticut, Department of Psychological Sciences, U-1020, University of Connecticut, 406 Babbidge Road, Storrs, CT 06269.

ORCID iDs

Izilda Pereira-Jorge  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4798-8779>

Kim E. Chaney  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6450-9488>

Ethical Considerations

All participants in this research were treated in accordance with APA guidelines on ethical treatment of human subjects and the studies were approved by the University of Connecticut's Institutional Review Board.

Consent to Participate and Consent for Publication

All participants indicated informed consent before participating in our studies, including consent that their data would be de-identified and shared for conferences and publications.

Funding

The authors received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Data Availability Statement

All data and materials are available via OSF (https://osf.io/dhbgx/overview?view_only=1f938459b5a740058bbd4cb29e8e359f).

Supplemental Material

Supplemental material for this article is available online.

Notes

1. Type of discrimination was not manipulated with White, Latino, and Black gay men in calls for solidarity and allyship (Study 3). Thus, no hypotheses were formed.
2. Across studies, some participants were excluded for more than one reason, hence the indicated number of participants excluded across reasons may not sum to, but rather exceeds, the total number of excluded participants in each study.
3. All studies included measures of the target's anticipated collective or interpersonal forms of racial allyship, which are presented in the supplemental material. Significant effects were found in Study 1a, where White gay targets were perceived as more likely to engage in collective and interpersonal racial allyship behaviors when making Black allyship calls, relative to Solidarity calls (means were moderate-high across conditions). Significant effects were not found in Study 1b or Study 2. In Study 3, significant effects were found in Target Race condition only. Such that, Participants perceived White gay targets as being less likely to engage in collective and interpersonal racial allyship, compared to Black and Latino gay targets. Further, Black gay targets were perceived as being more likely to engage in collective and interpersonal allyship behaviors than Latino gay targets.
4. Though we did not require participants to correctly answer the reading check question a second time, most participants had selected the correct response upon their second viewing of materials (Study 1a: 82.60%, Study 1b: 67.10%, Study 2: 86.67%, Study 3: 71.53%).
5. Study 1a: there was a significant interaction for self-sacrificing allyship. Simple effects by Discrimination Type revealed an effect of Call condition for interpersonal discrimination, $F(1,395) = 4.88$, $p = .028$, $d = 0.22$, but not structural discrimination, $F(1,395) = 1.25$, $p = .263$, $d = 0.11$ (Allyship: $M = 4.15$, $SE = 0.13$; Solidarity: $M = 3.94$, $SE = 0.13$). When the post focused on

- interpersonal discrimination, participants rated the White gay man as engaging in more self-sacrificing allyship in the Solidarity condition ($M = 4.26$, $SE = 0.13$) than in the Black allyship condition ($M = 3.86$, $SE = 0.13$). Study 1b: A significant Call $\times$ Discrimination Type interaction emerged only for perceived ego-motives. Probing the interaction by Discrimination Type revealed no simple effect of Call type in the structural discrimination condition, $F(1,393) = 3.46$, $p = .064$, $d = 0.19$ (Solidarity: $M = 5.12$, $SE = 0.13$; Black allyship: $M = 4.87$, $SE = 0.13$) but a significant simple effect in the interpersonal discrimination condition, $F(1,393) = 30.33$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.56$. When discussing interpersonal forms of discrimination, the White gay man was perceived as higher in ego-motives when making calling for solidarity ($M = 5.50$, $SE = 0.13$) than when calling for Black allyship ($M = 4.49$, $SE = 0.13$).
6. Notably, while Studies 1a–1b did not exclude LGBTQ+ identified participants, controlling for this status did not significantly change effects (see supplemental material). To examine how mechanisms of privilege awareness and perceived motives inform expectations of the ally's action-oriented allyship behaviors (i.e., Pietri et al., 2024), across studies, we conducted exploratory mediation analyses examining if perceived ego-motives and White privilege acknowledgement mediated perceptions of the gay targets' self-sacrificing racial support. Our results did not reveal consistent mechanism across studies. Results of the mediation analyses are reported in the supplemental material given their exploratory nature.
 7. We note the discrepancies between the significances of t -test and κ -test results because the weighted average of effect sizes used to conduct the inverse variance meta-analytic approach, in addition to robust sample sizes, may amplify marginal conditional effects that our t -tests may not reveal (e.g., Lee et al., 2016).
 8. While there was no effect of LGBTQ+ status in Study 1, we opted for a more conservative test of the hypothesized effects by limiting the sample to cisgender, heterosexual people.
 9. Preregistered analyses indicated perceived color-blind ideology endorsement as a primary outcome variable. We report this in the supplemental material for brevity. Colorblindness was hypothesized as having the same directionality as ego-motives and reputation signaling. However, only a main effect of Target Race was significant. See supplemental material for full findings.
 10. Preregistered analyses included a measure of the target's belief that racism and heterosexism are similar and perceived allyship suspicion. These measures are reported in the supplemental material for brevity.

References

- Adams, G., Edkins, V., Lacka, D., Pickett, K. M., & Cheryan, S. (2008). Teaching about racism: Pernicious implications of the standard portrayal. *Basic Applied Social Psychology*, 30(4), 349–361. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01973530802502309>
- Bonam, C. M., Nair Das, V., Coleman, B. R., & Salter, P. (2019). Ignoring history, denying racism: Mounting evidence for the Marley hypothesis and epistemologies of ignorance. *Social Psychology Personality Science*, 10(2), 257–265. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550617751583>
- Bowleg, L. (2008). When Black + lesbian + woman $\neq$ Black lesbian woman: The methodological challenges of qualitative and quantitative intersectionality research. *Sex Roles*, 59, 312–325. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-008-9400-z>
- Broadus, K., & Funk, M. (2019). Kylar Broadus: Transgender Legal Pioneer, Washington, DC. In M. Funk (Eds.), *The book of pride: LGBTQ heroes who changed the world* (pp. 71–79). HarperCollins Publishers.
- Brown, K. T., & Ostrove, J. M. (2013). What does it mean to be an ally?: The perception of allies from the perspective of people of color. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 43(11), 2211–2222. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12172>
- Brown, R. M., & Craig, M. A. (2020). Intergroup inequality heightens reports of discrimination along alternative identity dimensions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 46(6), 869–884. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167219880186>
- Chaney, K. E., Cipollina, R., & Sanchez, D. T. (2024). Perceptions of White women's stigma-based solidarity claims and disingenuous allyship. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 15(5), 509–518. <https://doi.org/10.1177/19485506231188757>
- Chaney, K. E., Sanchez, D. T., & Remedios, J. D. (2016). Organizational identity safety cue transfers. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin*, 42(11), 1564–1576. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167216665096>

- Cole, E. R. (2009). Intersectionality and research in psychology. *American Psychologist*, 64(3), 170–180. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0014564>
- Collier-Spruel, L. A., & Ryan, A. M. (2024). Are all allyship attempts helpful? An investigation of effective and ineffective allyship. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 39(1), 83–108. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10869-022-09861-9>
- Cortland, C. I., Craig, M. A., Shapiro, J. R., Richeson, J. A., Neel, R., & Goldstein, N. J. (2017). Solidarity through shared disadvantage: Highlighting shared experiences of discrimination improves relations between stigmatized groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 113(4), 547–567. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000100>
- Craig, M. A., Badaan, V., & Brown, R. M. (2020). Acting for whom, against what? Group membership and multiple paths to engagement in social change. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 35, 41–48. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2020.03.002>
- Craig, M. A., & Richeson, J. A. (2016). Stigma-based solidarity: Understanding the psychological foundations of conflict and coalition among members of different stigmatized groups. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 25(1), 21–27. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721415611252>
- Craig, M. A., Rucker, J., & Brown, R. M. (2020). *Structural solidarity: Lay theories of discrimination and coalitional attitudes among stigmatized groups*. PsyArXiv. <https://doi.org/10.31234/osf.io/u9sf6>
- Crocker, J., & Canevello, A. (2015). Relationships and the self: Egosystem and ecosystem. In M. Mikulincer, P. R. Shaver, J. A. Simpson & J. F. Dovidio (Eds.), *APA handbook of personality and social psychology, Vol. 3. Interpersonal relations* (pp. 93–116). American Psychological Association. <https://doi.org/10.1037/14344-004>
- Daumeyer, N. M., Onyeador, I. N., Brown, X., & Richeson, J. A. (2019). Consequences of attributing discrimination to implicit vs. explicit bias. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 84, 103812. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2019.04.010>
- Derricks, V., Pietri, E. S., Dinh, T., & Johnson, I. R. (2025). Examining the context and content of organizational solidarity statements on black americans' expectations of identity safety. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin*, 51(6), 984–1006. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672231208508>
- Drake, R. G., Wilkins, C. L., & Lai, C. K. (2025). Solidarity imbalances after racism and sexism: Black americans are expected to express high solidarity but anticipate lower solidarity from racial/ethnic outgroups. *Social Psychological & Personality Science*, 16(8), 895–906. <https://doi.org/10.1177/19485506241303792>
- Droogendyk, L., Wright, S. C., Lubensky, M., & Louis, W. R. (2016). Acting in solidarity: Cross-group contact between disadvantaged group members and advantaged group allies. *Journal of Social Issues*, 72(2), 315–334. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12168>
- Efimoff, I. H., & Starzyk, K. B. (2023). The impact of education about historical and current injustices, individual racism and systemic racism on anti-Indigenous racism. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 53(7), 1542–1562. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2987>
- Emerson, K. T., & Murphy, M. C. (2014). Identity threat at work: How social identity threat and situational cues contribute to racial and ethnic disparities in the workplace. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 20(4), 508–520. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0035403>
- Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Lang, A. G., & Buchner, A. (2007). G* Power 3: A flexible statistical power analysis program for the social, behavioral, and biomedical sciences. *Behavior Research Methods*, 39(2), 175–191. <https://doi.org/10.3758/bf03193146>
- Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82(6), 878–902. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.82.6.878>
- Gorski, P. C., & Erakat, N. (2019). Racism, whiteness, and burnout in antiracism movements: How white racial justice activists elevate burnout in racial justice activists of color in the United States. *Ethnicities*, 19(5), 784–808. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796819833871>
- Johnson, I. R., & Pietri, E. S. (2025). Signaling safety and fostering fairness: Exploring the psychological processes underlying (in)congruent cues among Black women. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 129(2), 313–340. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000466>
- Johnson, I. R., Pietri, E. S., Fullilove, F., & Mowrer, S. (2019). Exploring identity-safety cues and allyship among Black women students in STEM environments. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 43(2), 131–150. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684319830926>

- Jun, S., Phillips, L. T., & Foster-Gimbel, O. A. (2023). The missing middle: Asian employees' experience of workplace discrimination and pro-black allyship. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 108*(2), 225–248. <https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0001068>
- Knowles, E. D., Lowery, B. S., Chow, R. M., & Unzueta, M. M. (2014). Deny, distance, or dismantle? How white Americans manage a privileged identity. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 9*(6), 594–609. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691614554658>
- Kodipady, A., Kraft-Todd, G., Sparkman, G., Hu, B., & Young, L. (2023). Beyond virtue signaling: Perceived motivations for pronoun sharing. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 53*(7), 582–599. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12937>
- Kutlaca, M., & Radke, H. R. (2023). Towards an understanding of performative allyship: Definition, antecedents and consequences. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass, 17*(2), e12724. <https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12724>
- Lee, C. H., Cook, S., Lee, J. S., & Han, B. (2016). Comparison of two meta-analysis methods: Inverse-variance-weighted average and weighted sum of Z-scores. *Genomics & informatics, 14*(4), 173–180. <https://doi.org/10.5808/GI.2016.14.4.173>
- Logie, C. H., & Rwigema, M. J. (2014). “The normative idea of queer is a white person”: Understanding perceptions of white privilege among lesbian, bisexual, and queer women of color in Toronto, Canada. *Journal of Lesbian Studies, 18*(2), 174–191. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10894160.2014.849165>
- Louis, W. R., Thomas, E., Chapman, C. M., Achia, T., Wibisono, S., Mirnajafi, Z., & Droogendyk, L. (2019). Emerging research on intergroup prosociality: Group members' charitable giving, positive contact, allyship, and solidarity with others. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass, 13*(3), e12436. <https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12436>
- Major, B., Kunstman, J. W., Malta, B. D., Sawyer, P. J., Townsend, S. S., & Mendes, W. B. (2016). Suspicion of motives predicts minorities' responses to positive feedback in interracial interactions. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 62*, 75–88. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2015.10.007>
- Major, B., Sawyer, P. J., & Kunstman, J. W. (2013). Minority perceptions of Whites' motives for responding without prejudice: The perceived internal and external motivation to avoid prejudice scales. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 39*(3), 401–414. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167213475367>
- Miller, S. S., O'Dea, C. J., & Saucier, D. A. (2021). “I can't breathe”: Lay conceptualizations of racism predict support for Black Lives Matter. *Personality and Individual Differences, 173*, 110625. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2020.110625>
- Moser, C. E., & Wiley, S. (2025). “My aim is true”: An attribution-identity model of ally sincerity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 29*(3), 293–313. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10888683241273354>
- Nelson, J. C., Adams, G., & Salter, P. S. (2013). The Marley hypothesis: Denial of racism reflects ignorance of history. *Psychological Science, 24*(2), 213–218. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797612451466>
- Orhan, I., & Craig, M. A. (2025). A relational approach to coalitions: Pragmatic and communal interracial coalitions. *Social Issues and Policy Review, 19*(1), e70001. <https://doi.org/10.1111/sipr.70001>
- Park, J. W., Vani, P., Saint-Hilaire, S., & Kraus, M. W. (2022). Disadvantaged group activists' attitudes toward advantaged group allies in social movements. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 98*, 104226. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2021.104226>
- Pérez, E., Goldman, S. K., Huo, Y. J., Nteta, T., & Tropp, L. R. (2025). Are solidarity and identification as people of color distinct? Validating new measures across Asian, Black, Latino, and Multiracial Americans. *Political Science Research and Methods, 13*(4), 962–978. <https://doi.org/10.1017/psrm.2024.61>
- Pérez, E. O., Ramos, A., & Vicuña, B. V. (2022). Does affirming Black and Latino people as American weaken racial solidarity? A surprising “no” from two pre-registered experiments. *Research & Politics, 9*(4), 20531680221130695. <https://doi.org/10.1177/20531680221130695>
- Pérez, E., Vicuña, B., & Ramos, A. (2024). Shared status, shared politics? Evaluating a new pathway to Black solidarity with other people of color. *Political Behavior, 46*(2), 1151–1170. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-023-09863-0>
- Pham, M. D., & Chaney, K. E. (2025). Passing down the mic signals trustworthy intersectional allyship and promotes organizational identity-safety. *Social Psychological and Personality Science, 16*(6), 634–645. <https://doi.org/10.1177/19485506241287974>
- Phillips, L. T., & Lowery, B. S. (2015). The hard-knock life? Whites claim hardships in response to racial inequity. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 61*, 12–18. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2015.06.008>
- Phillips, L. T., & Lowery, B. S. (2018). Herd invisibility: The psychology of racial privilege. *Current*

- Directions in Psychological Science*, 27(3), 156–162. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721417753600>
- Phillips, L. T., & Lowery, B. S. (2020). I ain't no fortunate one: On the motivated denial of class privilege. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 119(6), 1403–1422. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000240>
- Pietri, E. S., Moser, C. E., Derricks, V., & Johnson, I. R. (2024). A framework for understanding effective allyship. *Nature Reviews Psychology*, 3, 686–700. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s44159-024-00359-0>
- Ponce de Leon, R., Carter, J. T., & Rosette, A. S. (2024). Sincere solidarity or performative pretense? Evaluations of organizational allyship. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 180, 104296. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2023.104296>
- Radke, H. R., Kutlaca, M., & Becker, J. C. (2022). Disadvantaged group members' evaluations and support for allies: Investigating the role of communication style and group membership. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 25(6), 1437–1456. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13684302211010932>
- Radke, H. R., Kutlaca, M., Siem, B., Wright, S. C., & Becker, J. C. (2020). Beyond allyship: Motivations for advantaged group members to engage in action for disadvantaged groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 24(4), 291–315. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868320918698>
- Robinson, R. K. (2021). Mayor Pete, Obergefell gays, and White male privilege. *Buffalo Law Review*, 69(2), 295–374. <https://digitalcommons.law.buffalo.edu/buffalolawreview/vol69/iss2/2>
- Rucker, J. M., Duker, A., & Richeson, J. A. (2024). Structurally unjust: How lay beliefs about racism relate to responses to racial inequality in the criminal legal system. *Frontiers in Social Psychology*, 2, 1332527. <https://doi.org/10.3389/frsps.2024.1332527>
- Rucker, J. M., & Richeson, J. A. (2021). Toward an understanding of structural racism: Implications for criminal justice. *Science*, 374(6565), 286–290. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.abj7779>
- Salter, P. S., Adams, G., & Perez, M. J. (2018). Racism in the structure of everyday worlds: A cultural-psychological perspective. *Current Directions in Psychology Science*, 27(3), 150–155. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721417724239>
- Selvanathan, H. P., Lickel, B., & Dasgupta, N. (2020). An integrative framework on the impact of allies: How identity-based needs influence intergroup solidarity and social movements. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 50(6), 1344–1361. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2697>
- Shuman, E., van Zomeren, M., Saguy, T., Knowles, E., & Halperin, E. (2025). Defend, deny, distance, and dismantle: A new measure of advantaged identity management. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 51(8), 1490–1518. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672231216769>
- Thai, M., & Nylund, J. L. (2024). What are they in it for? Marginalised group members' perceptions of allies differ depending on the costs and rewards associated with their allyship. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 63(1), 131–152. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12670>
- Tseng, C. (2021, September 5). We must confront white privilege in LGBTQ+ spaces. *The Varsity*. <https://thevarsity.ca/2021/09/05/white-privilege-lgbtq-spaces/>
- Yantis, C. (2024). The role of White identity in anti-racist allyship. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 18(9), e70005. <https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.70005>
- Yantis, C., Green, D. J., Marshburn, C. K., Johnson, I. R., & Taylor, V. J. (2025). The racial shared reality scale: Capturing Black Americans' perceived consensus with White Americans about race and racism. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 154(5), 1368–1387. <https://doi.org/10.1037/xge0001736>
- Zou, L. X., & Cheryan, S. (2017). Two axes of subordination: A new model of racial position. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 112(5), 696–717. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspa0000080>