

Seeing Beyond Whose Prejudice? Effects of Perpetrator Race on People of Color's Willingness to Engage in Solidarity Efforts With Perpetrators of Racism

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Minh Duc Pham¹  and Kimberly E. Chaney² 

Abstract

Applying the stigma-based solidarity framework in an interpersonal context, the current research examined the role of perpetrator race/ethnicity in people of color's willingness to engage with outgroup perpetrators of racism in anti-racism solidarity. Five experiments ($N = 1,957$) demonstrated that Asian, Latinx, and Black U.S. participants were more willing to discuss race, educate about ingroup-relevant racism, and work together to combat ingroup-relevant racism with perpetrators of color than with White perpetrators. This intraminority solidarity was explained by perceived greater shared discrimination experiences and anticipated greater comfort discussing discrimination with perpetrators of color. Current findings advance a nuanced understanding of intraminority relations.

Keywords

intraminority, stigma-based solidarity, intergroup relations, discrimination, identity

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“Where are you from?” the [Black] eschatological muscle said.

If a white person had asked me that question, I would have said, From my mother. But because we shared a widespread sub-equatorial condition called “colonization,” which only afflicted nonwhite people, I said, Vietnam.” (Nguyen, 2021, p. 103)

In this excerpt, the Vietnamese protagonist presents two different approaches to the potentially prejudiced question “Where are you from?” depending on the inquirer's race. Namely, the protagonist seems more willing to engage with the “nonwhite” inquirer due to a recognition that people of color (POC) experience similar oppression such as colonization. This example also highlights the significance of intraminority prejudice (i.e., prejudice expressed by marginalized people) in understanding intraminority relations (i.e., relations between different marginalized groups; Bowleg, 2013; Wang & Santos, 2023). Yet, research has not examined how marginalized group members may respond to intraminority prejudice. The current research integrates the stigma-based solidarity framework to investigate how Asian, Latinx, and Black people may work with racist perpetrators of different racial/ethnic identities to address racism.

Stigma-Based Solidarity

Stigma-based solidarity occurs when systemically marginalized people, under certain circumstances, recognize their

common experiences of oppression and work together in solidarity toward equity (Craig & Richeson, 2014, 2016). This phenomenon is rooted in the common ingroup identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner et al., 1993), such that shared oppression experiences help create a super-ordinate identity. In turn, marginalized people may re-categorize people from other marginalized groups as part of their ingroup, resulting in positive attitudes toward such outgroup (now ingroup) members (Craig & Richeson, 2016).

Stigma-based solidarity is more easily achieved among groups marginalized along the same (vs. different) identity dimension due to their substantial commonality in discrimination experiences (Craig et al., 2012; Craig & Richeson, 2014, 2016). For instance, when reminded of ingroup oppression, Latinx and Asian Americans expressed more positive attitudes toward Black Americans because they perceived greater similarity in systemic disadvantage between their own group and Black Americans (Craig & Richeson, 2012). Stigma-based solidarity can extend beyond a single identity dimension (Chaney & Forbes, 2023; Cortland et al., 2017).

¹University of Connecticut, Storrs, USA

²University of Buffalo, State University of New York, Storrs, CT, USA

Corresponding Author:

Minh Duc Pham, Department of Psychological Sciences, UCONN,
406 Babbidge Rd, Unit 1020, Storrs, CT 06269, USA.

Email: duc.pham@uconn.edu

That is, although marginalized people (e.g., White women, straight Black Americans) tend to express prejudice and lack of solidarity toward groups marginalized along other identity dimensions (e.g., POC, LGBTQ+ people, respectively) in response to ingroup discrimination, reminders of common struggles facilitate a shift toward solidarity. Specifically, Asian and Black Americans who were reminded of shared discrimination experiences with LGBTQ+ people demonstrated greater support for same-sex marriage and less bias toward LGBTQ+ people (Cortland et al., 2017). In sum, members of different marginalized groups may stand in solidarity with each other due to a shared discrimination recognition (Pham et al., 2023).

Notably, past research on stigma-based solidarity has overwhelmingly focused on when marginalized groups may espouse prejudice against versus engage in activism for other marginalized groups *in response to societal-level discrimination against the ingroup*. That is, (a) ingroup discrimination was at a broad, societal level, not integrated into an interpersonal context; (b) the perpetrator of discrimination was not specified; (c) discrimination versus solidarity were framed as mutually exclusive outcomes, failing to consider how discrimination and solidarity can co-exist; (d) solidarity was conceptualized as engaging in activism for fellow marginalized groups, not engaging fellow marginalized groups in ingroup-relevant activism.

We argue it is important to test the stigma-based solidarity hypothesis in interpersonal contexts. According to the Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA; van Zomeren et al., 2008), recognizing injustice against ingroup increases POC's engagement in activism. However, group- and personal-level discrimination may lead to different intraminority outcomes (e.g., Craig & Richeson, 2014, 2016). Specifically, POC who perceived greater personal discrimination reported less anti-gay bias, whereas those who perceived greater group-level discrimination reported greater anti-gay bias (Craig & Richeson, 2014). Integrating the role of efficacy in promoting activism (van Zomeren et al., 2008), POC may feel more efficacy challenging a personal-level (vs. group-level) instance of discrimination. Thus, a stigma-based solidarity response is likely to occur when POC personally experience racism in an interpersonal context. Second, by contextualizing stigma-based solidarity in interpersonal interactions, we novelly examine how perpetrator identity may impact solidarity intentions, advancing the SIMCA by evaluating the identity of *perpetrator* instead of the participants themselves as antecedent of activism (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Simultaneously, evaluating perpetrator race affords a nuanced understanding of when experiencing injustice promotes activism (Wang & Santos, 2023). Third, discrimination and solidarity are inextricably linked in the histories of marginalized communities (e.g., Demsas & Ramirez, 2021), so we challenge the dominant derogation-solidarity dichotomy by examining solidarity efforts with prejudiced individuals. Finally, most research

on intraminority solidarity involves members of one marginalized group engaging in activities for other marginalized groups (Cortland et al., 2017), but solidarity is bidirectional and involves marginalized groups working together in dynamic ways (e.g., teaching each other skills/tactics) to achieve their common and distinctive goals toward liberating their communities (e.g., Bhardwaj, 2021; Erakat & Hill, 2019). Thus, the current research focuses on solidarity as efforts to engage people from marginalized and privileged groups in activism for one's *own* group.

In this research, we specifically focus on how POC may engage in anti-racism solidarity efforts with perpetrators. We conceptualize anti-racism activities based on prior research on perceived goals of anti-racism activism: raising awareness of racism, reducing interpersonal racial biases, and promoting racial equity (Pham et al., 2024). We thus sought to understand POC's willingness to (a) discuss issues related to race (Meyers et al., 2022; Sullivan et al., 2022), (b) educate others about racism (Chaney & Sanchez, 2022; Foster, 2013), and (c) work together to combat racism (Hope et al., 2020; Wei et al., 2010) with perpetrators of racism. These three solidarity behaviors are intended to account for individual differences in how POC may engage with a perpetrator (Brown & Ostrove, 2013).

These acts of solidarity in the present framework can be considered forms of prejudice confrontations (Monteith et al., 2022). In confronting prejudice, POC may discuss race and educate others about racism (Chaney & Sanchez, 2022). However, this literature has primarily focused on ingroup and advantaged outgroup members as confronters, rather than marginalized outgroup members (Ball & Branscombe, 2019). Relatedly, research on prejudice confrontations primarily considers advantage-group perpetrators rather than marginalized perpetrators (e.g., Chu & Ashburn-Nardo, 2022; Hildebrand et al., 2020). Advancing research on prejudice confrontations using the stigma-based solidarity framework (see Louis et al., 2019), we examined whether POC would be more willing to engage in solidarity with an outgroup POC perpetrator than a White perpetrator of interpersonal racism. We argue that this tendency is not only because of perceived shared discrimination with the perpetrator of color but also anticipated comfort discussing discrimination with the perpetrator of color.

Comfort Discussing Discrimination

Research suggests that POC are generally more comfortable talking about race and racism than are White people, particularly in interracial interactions (e.g., Avery et al., 2009; Olson et al., 2018). Furthermore, POC are often aware of White people's discomfort talking about race and of the potential costs for confronting White people (Alt et al., 2019). Similarly, POC may hold the belief that they do not have racial shared reality with White people (i.e., their own understanding of race is distinct from White people's; Yantis

et al., 2025). Consequently, POC may anticipate less efficacy discussing discrimination with White people (vs. outgroup POC; Rattan & Dweck, 2010). Hence, we argue that POC would anticipate more comfort discussing discrimination with outgroup POC than with White people. Specifically, recognition of shared discrimination between POC (than between a POC and White person) should facilitate greater comfort discussing discrimination. That is, the positivity resulting from a common marginalized identity should cultivate greater comfort discussing discrimination with each other for POC (e.g., Cortland et al., 2017; Kirby et al., 2023), and in turn, greater interest in engaging with that person in ingroup-relevant activism.

Indeed, people generally like others who have similar attitudes and backgrounds, including those specific to race (Conley et al., 2010). Specific to solidarity, perceiving similar discrimination experiences between marginalized groups is associated with greater efforts to engage in activism for fellow marginalized groups (Pham et al., in press; Pham et al., 2023). More generally, perceived similarity contributes to more positive outcomes in interracial encounters, such as positive perceptions of cultural appropriation (Kirby et al., 2023). Thus, we contend that perceived shared discrimination promotes greater anticipated comfort discussing discrimination with an individual, and in turn facilitates POC's willingness to engage with that individual after they expressed prejudice.

Current Research

Moving research on stigma-based solidarity into an interpersonal context, the present research examined the role of perpetrator race/ethnicity in POC's willingness to work with perpetrators in anti-racism solidarity efforts. Five experiments tested whether POC would be more willing to discuss race, educate about ingroup-relevant racism, and work together to combat ingroup-relevant racism, with perpetrators of color than with White perpetrators. In addition, we examined perceptions of similar discrimination experiences and anticipated comfort discussing discrimination as mechanisms by which perpetrator race may impact solidarity intentions. These hypotheses were tested in Asian (Studies 1 and 2), Latinx (Studies 3 and 5), and Black Americans (Studies 4 and 5) to generalize findings and move beyond the overwhelming Black–White racial hierarchy in psychological studies of racism and interracial relations (Muramatsu & Chin, 2022; Wang & Santos, 2023). Data and materials are available: https://osf.io/7mzxu/?view_only=d8f31866e8ef4069b14a11851b58987c. All studies, conditions, measures, and exclusions are reported. Studies 3 to 5 were pre-registered.

Study 1

Study 1 aimed to investigate the effects of perpetrator race (White, Black, Latino) on Asian people's willingness to

engage in solidarity with perpetrators of an anti-Asian microaggression. We hypothesized Asian participants would be more willing to engage with Black and Latino perpetrators than with White perpetrators, due to perceptions of shared discrimination experiences and consequently anticipated comfort discussing discrimination with perpetrators of color prior to the microaggression.

Method

Participants

An *a priori* power analysis assuming a medium effect size ($d = 0.50$) and 90% power indicated a desired sample size of 338 for a 3-cell ANCOVA (G*Power; Faul et al., 2017). Hence, 357 Asian U.S. participants were recruited from Prolific. Four participants did not identify as Asian in the survey, and five missed the attention check (i.e., did not indicate “strongly agree” when instructed to), leaving an analytic sample of $N = 348$. See Table 1 for demographic summary across studies.

Procedure

Participants were informed the study aimed to develop a communication training. Upon consent, participants provided demographic information (race/ethnicity, gender, and age) and, to maintain the cover story, other information (number of siblings, height, favorite color, introversion/extroversion; see Appendices). Then, participants read the profile of their ostensible interaction partner, whom participants believed they were paired with online (but actually did not exist¹) and whom they would communicate with later in the study. This interaction partner, based on random assignment, was either a White, Black, or Latino man (age 23). The ostensible partner information was identical across conditions except for photographs (taken from the highly racially prototypical faces from the Chicago Face Database 3.0; Ma et al., 2015), names, and race/ethnicity which were manipulated to indicate racial/ethnic identity. After reviewing the ostensible partner's profile, participants wrote a self-introduction message to their partner. While waiting for their partner's response, participants completed measures of perceived similar discrimination experiences and anticipated comfort discussing discrimination with their partner, among filler items (six for similarity and five for comfort; e.g., “X has a passion for nature”) to minimize priming effects. After, participants received their partner's message, which included an anti-Asian microaggression comment (Sue et al., 2007): “Oh by the way your English is so good! Where are you from?” Then, participants indicated their willingness to discuss race issues and work with their partner (now perpetrator) to combat anti-Asian racism² before debriefing.

Table 1. Demographic Summary.

Demographic characteristic	Study 1 <i>n</i> (%)	Study 2 <i>n</i> (%)	Study 3 <i>n</i> (%)	Study 4 <i>n</i> (%)	Study 5 <i>n</i> (%)
Age (<i>M</i> , <i>SD</i>)	29.00 (9.69)	26.75 (8.05)	30.17 (9.58)	34.42 (12.03)	30.17 (9.58)
Gender					
Cisgender women	224 (64.4)	188 (47.7)	175 (44.9)	204 (52.8)	175 (44.9)
Cisgender men	113 (32.5)	180 (45.7)	195 (50.0)	145 (37.6)	195 (50.0)
Transgender men	3 (0.9)	2 (0.5)	3 (0.8)	7 (1.8)	3 (0.8)
Transgender women	0 (0.0)	1 (0.3)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.5)	0 (0.0)
Non-binary/genderqueer	5 (1.4)	17 (4.3)	10 (2.6)	14 (3.6)	10 (2.6)
Not listed	1 (0.3)	3 (0.8)	6 (1.5)	8 (2.1)	6 (1.5)
Missing	2 (0.6)	3 (0.8)	1 (0.3)	6 (1.6)	1 (0.3)
Race/ethnicity					
Monoracial	339 (97.4)	382 (97.00)	369 (94.6)	360 (93.3)	369 (94.6)
Bi/multiracial	9 (2.6)	12 (3.0)	21 (5.4)	26 (6.7)	21 (5.4)
U.S. Citizenship				N/A	N/A
Yes	337 (96.8)	389 (98.5)	387 (99.2)	—	—
No	11 (3.2)	5 (0.8)	3 (0.8)	—	—
U.S. born				N/A	N/A
Yes	252 (72.4)	305 (77.4)	354 (93.3)	—	—
No	96 (27.6)	89 (22.6)	36 (6.7)	—	—

Table 2. Study 1 ANCOVA Results and Descriptive Statistics by Condition.

Outcome	Condition effect			White (<i>n</i> = 117)	Latino (<i>n</i> = 118)	Black (<i>n</i> = 113)
	<i>F</i> (2, 343)	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>M</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SE</i>)
Similarity	110.12	<.001	1.60	2.25 (0.11)	4.40 (0.11)	4.09 (0.11)
Comfort	37.37	<.001	0.93	3.38 (0.11)	4.32 (0.11)	4.65 (0.11)
Discuss race	2.27	.104	0.23	3.35 (0.10)	3.44 (0.10)	3.65 (0.10)
Combat anti-Asian racism	5.51	.004	0.36	3.21 (0.10)	3.46 (0.10)	3.68 (0.10)

Measures

Perceived Similar Discrimination. Participants completed a three-item scale measuring perception of similar discrimination experiences with their partner (e.g., “The discrimination experiences by people like [perpetrator name] are similar to what I experience”; adapted from Chaney et al., 2018), on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale.³

Anticipated Comfort Discussing Discrimination. Participants completed a three-item scale (e.g., “I would feel comfortable sharing my discrimination experiences with [perpetrator]”) on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale.

Discuss Race Issues. On a scale from 1 (*very unwilling*) to 5 (*very willing*), participants reported their interest in engaging in a discussion on “race/ethnicity” with the perpetrator.

Combat Anti-Asian Racism. Participants indicated their interest in developing a list of action items with the perpetrator for a project called “Decrease anti-Asian hate in public places” on a 1 (*very unwilling*) to 5 (*very willing*) scale.

Results

As the anti-Asian prejudice targeted assumptions of foreignness among Asian people, a series of three-cell ANCOVAs were conducted controlling for whether participants were born in the United States and a U.S. citizen (e.g., Kulkarni & Hu, 2014; Nicholson et al., 2025; Sue et al., 2007).⁴ Least Significant Difference (LSD) post hoc tests were employed as needed. See Tables S2 to S6 for descriptive statistics and correlations of each study.

The ANCOVA on perceived similar discrimination experiences revealed a significant effect of partner (later perpetrator) identity (see Tables 2 and 3).⁵ As hypothesized, participants perceived the Latino and Black partner as sharing more similar discrimination with themselves than the White partner. Further, participants perceived greater similarity with the Latino partner than the Black partner. The ANCOVA on anticipated comfort discussing discrimination revealed a significant effect of partner/perpetrator identity. Participants anticipated feeling more comfortable discussing discrimination with both the Latino and Black partner than with the White partner. No other significant differences emerged.

Table 3. Post hoc Analyses of the Perpetrator Identity on Solidarity Outcomes, Studies 1, 3, and 4.

Post hoc comparison	Perceived similar discrimination			Anticipated comfort			Discuss race issues			Educate about ingroup-relevant racism			Combat ingroup-related racism		
	<i>d</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI	<i>d</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI	<i>d</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI	<i>d</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI	<i>d</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI
Study 1															
L vs. W	1.78	<.001	[1.89, 2.51]	0.80	<.001	[0.68, 1.29]	0.08	.382	[-0.15, 0.40]	—	—	—	0.22	.066	[-0.02, 0.55]
B vs. W	1.54	<.001	[1.53, 2.15]	1.14	<.001	[0.98, 1.59]	0.30	.034	[0.02, 0.57]	—	—	—	0.45	.001	[0.19, 0.76]
B vs. L	0.25	.027	[0.04, 0.67]	0.27	.062	[-0.60, 0.02]	0.19	.219	[-0.45, 0.10]	—	—	—	0.20	.150	[-0.50, 0.08]
Study 3															
A vs. W	1.54	<.001	[1.58, 2.20]	0.96	<.001	[0.92, 1.53]	0.44	<.001	[0.39, 1.29]	0.44	<.001	[0.39, 1.30]	0.40	<.001	[0.36, 1.38]
B vs. W	1.21	<.001	[1.33, 1.96]	0.86	<.001	[0.76, 1.39]	0.27	.032	[0.04, 0.97]	0.30	.013	[0.12, 1.05]	0.40	<.001	[0.33, 1.38]
B vs. A	0.21	.134	[-0.56, 0.08]	0.12	.134	[-0.46, 0.16]	0.17	.162	[-0.80, 0.13]	0.14	.277	[-0.73, 0.21]	0.00	.946	[-0.54, 0.51]
Study 4															
A vs. W	1.72	<.001	[1.85, 2.41]	0.65	<.001	[0.55, 1.17]	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.22	.081	[-0.06, 1.10]
L vs. W	2.25	<.001	[2.32, 2.89]	1.01	<.001	[0.97, 1.59]	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.26	.047	[0.01, 1.18]
L vs. A	0.40	.001	[0.20, 0.75]	0.34	.007	[0.11, 0.72]	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.03	.792	[-0.50, 0.65]

Note. 95% CI refers to confidence interval of mean difference. L = Latino; W = White; B = Black; A = Asian.

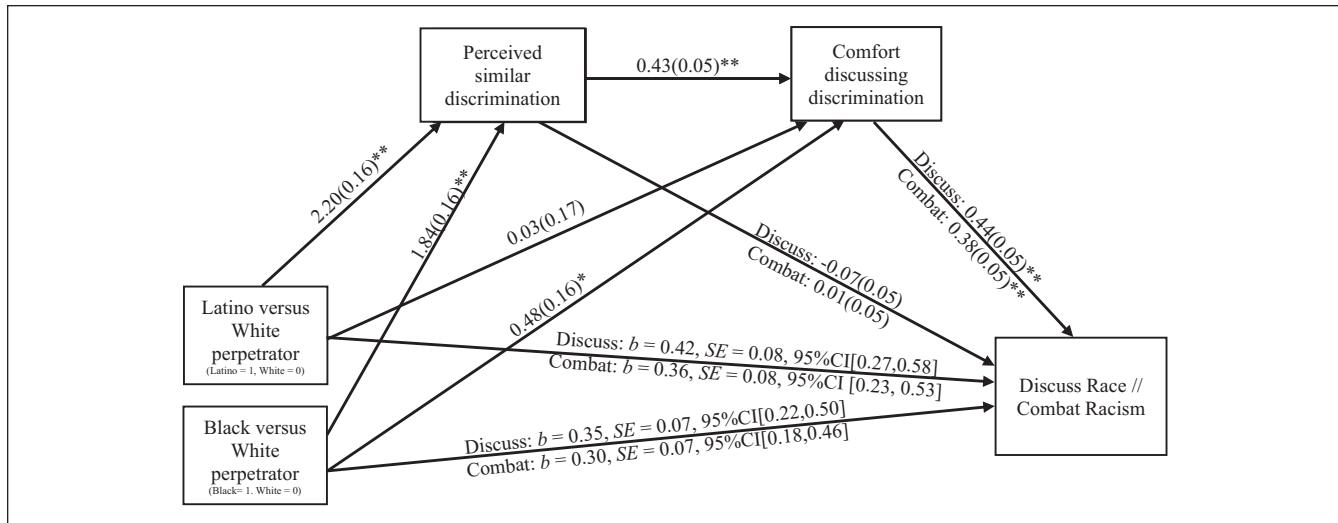


Figure 1. Study 1 mediation model.

Note. Regression coefficients and standard errors (in parentheses) are presented simultaneously for two separate models corresponding to two different outcomes. Results presented from conditions to solidarity outcomes are indirect effects from the serial mediation pathway (see Table S9 for direct and simple mediation effects).

* $p < .01$. ** $p < .001$.

The effect on willingness to discuss race issues was trending, so we proceeded to probe pairwise differences and found that participants were more willing to discuss race issues with the Black perpetrator than with the White perpetrator. No other significant differences emerged. Finally, the ANCOVA on willingness to work together to combat anti-Asian racism was significant. As hypothesized, participants were more willing to work with the Black than the White perpetrator. However, although trending in the hypothesized direction, the difference between the Latino and the White perpetrator was not significant. There was no significant difference between the Latino and Black perpetrators.

Mediation

To test the hypothesized serial mediation models, we employed Model 6 of PROCESS Macro 4.1 (5,000 bootstrapped samples; Hayes, 2018) separately for each solidarity outcome. Perpetrator race was entered as a multicategorical variable, where contrasts compared the White perpetrator with the Latino and Black perpetrators.

As predicted, participants perceived the Latino and Black partners (later perpetrators) as sharing more similar discrimination experiences with themselves than the White partner. In turn, greater perceived similar discrimination was associated with greater anticipated comfort discussing discrimination, which was consequently associated with greater willingness to discuss race issues and work to combat anti-Asian racism with the perpetrators. The indirect effects of perpetrator identity on solidarity outcomes were serially mediated via perceived similar discrimination and comfort discussing discrimination (Figure 1).

Discussion

Study 1 provided initial evidence that POC's willingness to engage perpetrators in solidarity efforts was significantly impacted by perpetrator race. Consistent with the stigma-based solidarity framework (Craig & Richeson, 2016), Asian participants reported sharing more similar discrimination experiences with the Latino and Black partner/perpetrator than with the White partner/perpetrator, and in turn anticipated greater comfort discussing racism with the Latino and Black perpetrator than the White perpetrator. This anticipated comfort predicted greater willingness to engage with the perpetrator.

For solidarity outcomes, a significant main effect of perpetrator identity only emerged on willingness to work together to combat anti-Asian racism, with Asian participants indicating more willingness to work with a Black perpetrator than with a White perpetrator. Asian participants also seemed more willing to discuss race with a Black perpetrator than with a White perpetrator. Perhaps due to the perceived prototypicality of Black individuals as the targets of racism that is rooted in the inherent anti-Black nature of U.S. history, Asian people perceived Black individuals as more of experts in anti-racism work (Duckitt, 1992; Wallace et al., 2024). Finally, the non-significant condition effect on the discussion measure was perhaps due to the measure's broad, single-item nature and/or the effects were smaller than what the current sample size could capture.⁶

Study 2

Study 2 aimed to replicate Study 1 with a larger Asian sample and adjust the discussion measure. In addition, to increase

generalizability and afford a stricter test on willingness to engage with perpetrators of racism, Study 2 featured a perpetrator who made either a subtle (as in Study 1) or an overt expression of prejudice. Simultaneously, we opted to examine only a Latino or White partner/perpetrator to conserve statistical power. As Latinx and Asian Americans are similarly stereotyped as foreign in the United States (Zou et al., 2017), we anticipated that a Latino partner/perpetrator would be most likely to be perceived as sharing similar discrimination experiences to Asian participants, as in Study 1. Thus, Study 2 employed a 2 (Perpetrator Race: Latino, White) $\times$ 2 (Prejudice Type: Subtle, Overt) between-subjects design. We hypothesized that Asian participants would show greater willingness to discuss race and work to combat anti-Asian racism with a Latino perpetrator than with a White perpetrator, regardless of prejudice type.

Method

Participants

An *a priori* power analysis for a 2 $\times$ 2 design to detect an effect of $d = 0.28$ (based on Study 1 effects) and 80% power, indicated a desired sample size of 403. We recruited 416 Asian U.S. participants from Prolific, but 15 participants missed the attention check, 7 did not identify as Asian, and 1 did not complete the critical items; thus, the final sample was 394.

Procedure and Measures

The procedure was similar to Study 1, except for two changes. First, participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: Latino or White partner/perpetrator. Second, participants were randomly assigned to receive either the Study 1 subtly prejudiced comment or a novel overtly prejudiced comment (“Oh by the way your English is so good! But I bet you still talk with an accent, you can’t hide that you’re not American, can you?”).⁷

Measures and measure order mirrored Study 1, except for the discussion measure, which included Study 1 item (willingness to discuss “race/ethnicity”) and an additional item of willingness to discuss an article titled “Exploring ways to navigate racial microaggressions and conversations about identity.”

Results

As in Study 1, we controlled for U.S.-born status and U.S. citizenship in 2 (Perpetrator Race) $\times$ 2 (Prejudice Type) between-subjects ANCOVAs (Table 4).

As hypothesized, the main effects of partner/perpetrator race on perceived similar discrimination and anticipated comfort discussing discrimination were statistically significant. Asian participants perceived more similar discrimination

experiences and anticipated greater comfort discussing discrimination with the Latino partner (later perpetrator) than the White partner. There was no significant effect of prejudice type, nor significant interaction on either outcome.

Significant main effects of perpetrator race emerged for both solidarity outcomes. Participants were more willing to discuss race and combat anti-Asian racism with the Latino perpetrator than the White perpetrator. In addition, a significant main effect of prejudice type emerged for combatting anti-Asian racism; participants were more willing to work with the perpetrator who expressed subtle than overt prejudice. The interaction was non-significant for either outcome.

Mediation

Given the non-significant Perpetrator Race $\times$ Prejudice type interactions, we tested Study 1’s serial mediation models, controlling for prejudice type (in addition to participants’ U.S. citizenship and birth). Replicating Study 1, the indirect effects of perpetrator race on solidarity efforts were serially mediated by perceived shared discrimination and anticipated comfort discussing discrimination (Figure 2).

Discussion

Study 2 demonstrated that Asian Americans were more willing to engage in solidarity efforts with Latino perpetrators than with White perpetrators, which was again serially mediated by Asian participants’ perceptions of Latino (vs. White) perpetrators as sharing more similar discrimination and anticipated greater comfort discussing discrimination with them prior to the prejudiced comment. Importantly, prejudice type did not significantly interact with perpetrator race in influencing solidarity, suggesting that POC are more likely to work with perpetrators of color (than White perpetrators) for both subtle (as in Study 1) and overt forms of prejudice.

Notably, prejudice type did not significantly affect intentions to discuss race with perpetrators regardless of perpetrator race. This finding reflects two opposing forces: confrontation intentions are higher when prejudice is more blatant (e.g., Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008; Brown et al., 2021), while marginalized people who are targeted by blatant prejudice distance themselves from perpetrators (Krolikowski et al., 2016). We suggest that when marginalized people are both targets and confronters of prejudice, a highly blatant prejudice can reduce prejudice confrontations, though this effect can be alleviated by recognition of stigma-based solidarity.

Study 3

Study 3 was pre-registered (<https://osf.io/43dcx>) and aimed to generalize findings to Latinx individuals. Study 3 included three conditions: White, Asian, and Black perpetrators and

Table 4. Study 2 ANCOVA Results and Descriptive Statistics by Condition.

Outcome	Perpetrator identity effect		White (<i>n</i> = 193)		Latino (<i>n</i> = 201)		Prejudice type effect		Subtle (<i>n</i> = 198)		Overt (<i>n</i> = 196)		Interaction effect	
	<i>F</i> (1, 388)	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>M</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>F</i> (1, 388)	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>M</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>F</i> (1, 388)	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
Similarity	466.67	<.001	2.19	2.17 (1.13)	4.53 (1.01)	0.31	.580	0.06	3.32 (0.08)	3.38 (0.08)	3.38 (0.08)	1.40	.238	0.13
Comfort	74.19	<.001	0.91	3.39 (1.20)	4.47 (1.23)	3.85	.050	0.20	3.81 (0.09)	4.05 (0.09)	4.05 (0.09)	0.01	.943	0.00
Discuss	14.14	<.001	0.38	3.17 (1.14)	3.58 (1.02)	0.19	.660	0.06	3.35 (0.08)	3.40 (0.08)	3.40 (0.08)	0.41	.521	0.06
Combat anti-Asian racism	17.25	<.001	0.42	3.01 (1.30)	3.50 (1.17)	22.78	<.001	0.48	3.54 (0.09)	2.97 (0.09)	2.97 (0.09)	2.10	.148	0.14

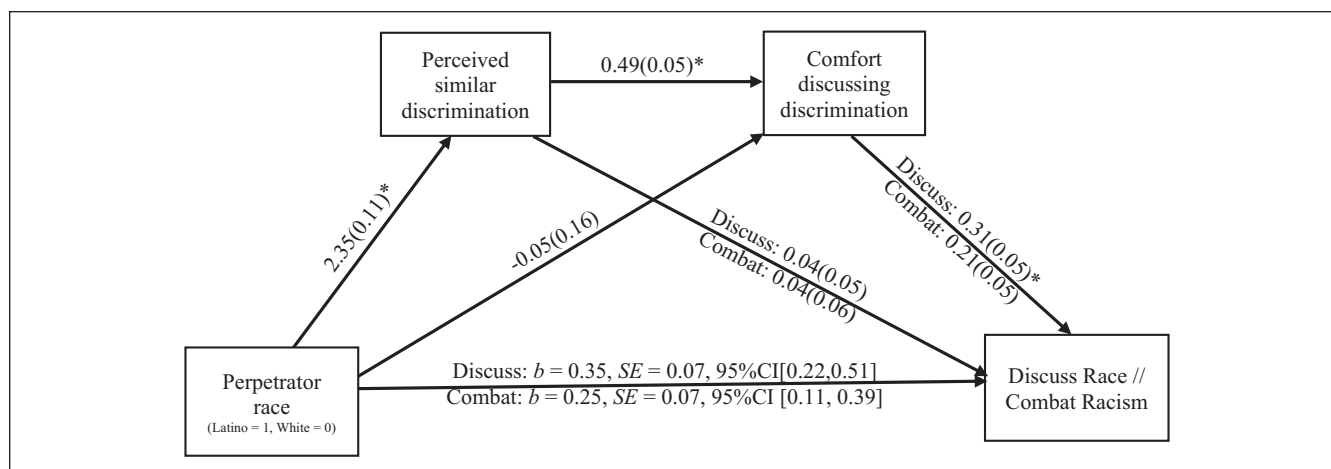


Figure 2. Study 2 mediation model.

Note. Regression coefficients and standard errors (in parentheses) are presented simultaneously for two separate models responding to two different outcomes. Results presented from conditions to solidarity outcomes are indirect effects from the serial mediation pathway (see Table S9 for direct and simple mediation effects).

* $p < .001$.

focused solely on overt interpersonal prejudice as a stricter test of solidarity with perpetrators of different races. Novel to Study 3, we evaluated Latinx people's willingness to educate perpetrators specifically about anti-Latino discrimination as our third solidarity outcome. This new measure, unlike Studies 1 and 2 discussion measure, was (a) a one-way transfer of information from participant to perpetrator and (b) specifically about the ingroup: anti-Latino racism. Hypotheses mirrored Studies 1 and 2.

Method

Participants

An *a priori* power analysis indicated a desired sample size of 380 for a 3-cell between-subjects design, assuming $d = 0.32$ (based on Studies 1 and 2) and 80% power. We recruited 455 Latinx/Hispanic U.S. participants from Prolific. Six participants failed at least one attention check, 56 participants identified as White, and 11 participants did not identify as Latinx/Hispanic, leaving 390 non-White Latinx/Hispanic participants.

Procedure and Measures

The procedure was identical to Study 2 with five differences. First, participants were randomly assigned to White, Asian, or Black perpetrator condition. Second, the prejudiced comment was overt (as in Study 2) for all participants. Third, the article's title in the discussion measure was adjusted to "Exploring ways to navigate racial *discrimination* (instead of *microaggressions*) and conversations about identity." Fourth, participants completed three items to report willingness to educate the perpetrator about anti-Latino racism (e.g., help perpetrator learn about "his prejudiced attitudes toward

Hispanic/Latinx people"). All solidarity measures were on a scale from 1 (*very unwilling*) to 7 (*very willing*).

Results

As the prejudice targeted foreignness stereotypes, we conducted 3-cell between-subjects ANCOVAs controlling for, as pre-registered, number of years living in the United States⁸ ($M_{\text{years}} = 29.00$, $SD = 9.20$) and U.S. citizenship and birth. ANCOVAs revealed significant effects of partner/perpetrator identity on all outcomes, which were probed with LSD tests (Tables 3 and 5).

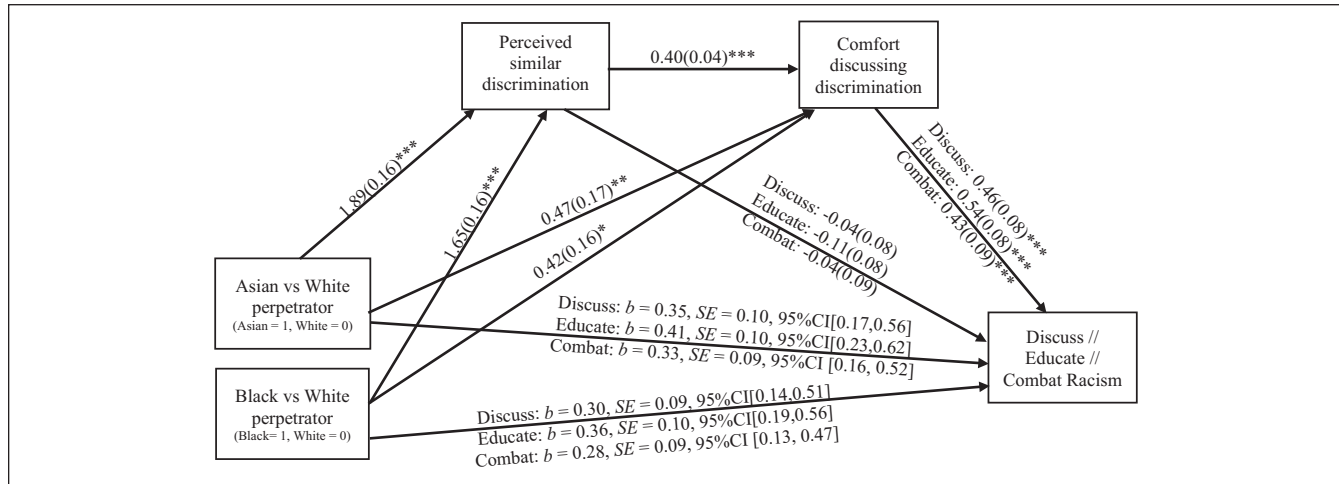
Latinx participants reported more similar discrimination experiences with the Asian and Black partners/perpetrators than the White partner/perpetrator. Similarly, participants anticipated greater comfort discussing discrimination with the Asian and Black partners/perpetrators than the White partner/perpetrator. There was no significant difference between Black and Asian partner/perpetrator for either outcome. Importantly, participants were more willing to discuss race issues, educate about anti-Latino racism, and work together to combat anti-Latino racism with the Asian and Black perpetrators than the White perpetrator. No significant differences emerged between the Black and Asian perpetrators.⁹ Replicating Studies 1 and 2, the indirect effects of perpetrator race on willingness to engage with perpetrators were serially mediated via perceived similar experiences and anticipated comfort discussing discrimination (Figure 3).

Discussion

Study 3 demonstrated that non-White Latinx people were more willing to discuss race, educate about anti-Latino racism, and work to combat anti-Latino racism with overt perpetrators who were Black and Asian (vs. White) perpetrators,

Table 5. Study 3 ANCOVA Results and Descriptive Statistics by Condition.

Outcome	Condition effect			White (n = 135)	Asian (n = 134)	Black (n = 121)
	F(2,384)	p	d	M (SE)	M (SE)	M (SE)
Similarity	84.94	<.001	1.33	2.39 (0.11)	4.28 (0.11)	4.04 (0.12)
Comfort	37.17	<.001	0.88	3.48 (0.11)	4.71 (0.11)	4.56 (0.12)
Discuss race	6.82	.001	0.38	3.92 (0.16)	4.76 (0.16)	4.43 (0.17)
Educate	7.09	<.001	0.39	4.40 (0.16)	5.25 (0.16)	4.99 (0.17)
Combat anti-Latino racism	14.16	<.001	0.39	3.67 (0.18)	4.54 (0.18)	4.52 (0.19)

**Figure 3.** Study 3 mediation model.

Note. Regression coefficients and standard errors (in parentheses) are presented simultaneously for three separate models responding to three different outcomes. Results presented from conditions to solidarity outcomes are indirect effects from the serial mediation pathway (see Table S9 for direct and simple mediation effects).

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

again due to greater shared discrimination perception and anticipated comfort discussing discrimination before the prejudiced comment.

Study 4

Study 4 was pre-registered (<https://osf.io/9bkwf>) and aimed to examine Black people's solidarity efforts with anti-Black perpetrators of different races: White, Asian, and Latino. Novel to Study 4, the discrimination expressed by the perpetrator included structural (in addition to interpersonal) aspects of anti-Black racism, mirroring prior work (Brown et al., 2021).¹⁰ Specifically, Study 4 perpetrators endorsed anti-Black policies, targeting Black Americans broadly. Hypotheses mirrored Study 3.

Method

Participants

An *a priori* power analysis, assuming $d = 0.32$ and 80% power, indicated a desired sample size of 380 (Faul et al., 2017). We recruit 413 participants from Prolific, but 20

participants missed at least one attention check and 7 others did not identify as Black, leaving the analytic sample size of 386.

Procedure and Measures

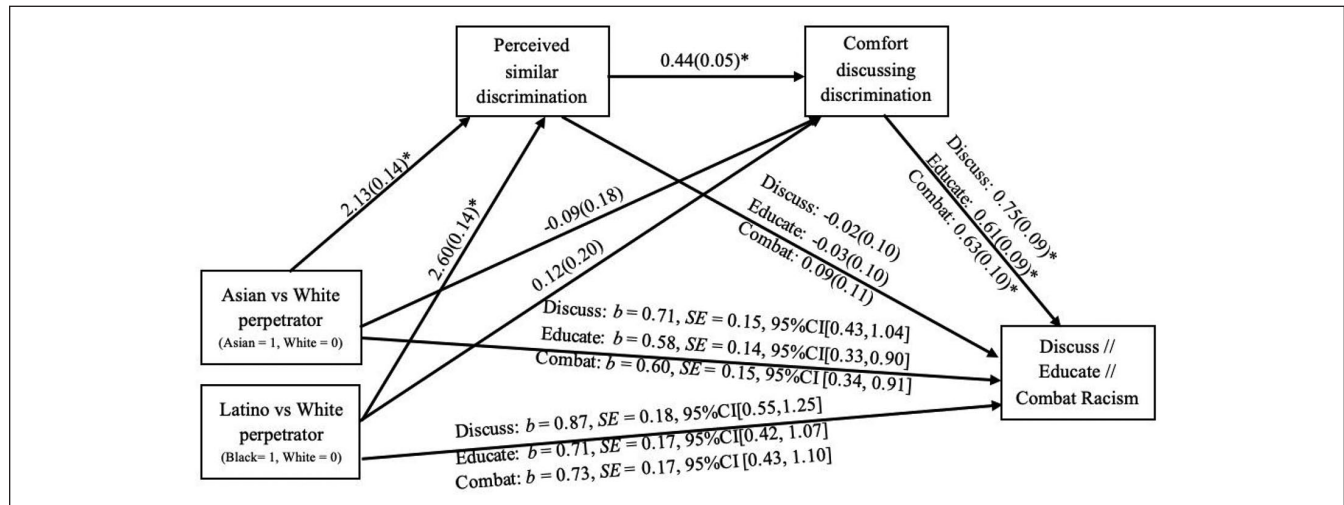
The procedure was similar to Study 3 with two differences. First, the conditions were White, Asian, and Latino perpetrators. Second, instead of writing a self-introduction to their partner and receiving a prejudiced comment from their partner/perpetrator, participants were told that they would be working with their partner on a policy task. In all conditions, the ostensible partner indicated strong agreement with three anti-Black policies (e.g., "Prohibit schools from teaching slavery and Black history"). Like previous studies, participants completed measures of similar discrimination and comfort before the policy task, and solidarity measures after the task.

Results

Following pre-registration, analyses were conducted as 3-cell ANOVAs. See Tables 3 and 6 for ANOVA results and

Table 6. Study 4 ANOVA Results and Descriptive Statistics by Condition.

Outcome	<i>F</i> (1,383)	Condition effect		White (<i>n</i> = 135)	Asian (<i>n</i> = 134)	Latino (<i>n</i> = 121)
		<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)
Similarity	181.99	<.001	1.95	2.36 (1.34)	4.49 (1.14)	4.96 (0.95)
Comfort	33.39	<.001	0.83	3.52 (1.37)	4.38 (1.27)	4.79 (1.14)
Discuss race	1.71	.181	0.19	3.70 (2.23)	4.05 (2.28)	4.20 (2.08)
Educate	1.17	.311	0.16	4.35 (2.38)	4.71 (2.17)	4.74 (2.23)
Combat anti-Black racism	2.34	.098	0.22	3.22 (2.32)	3.74 (2.43)	3.82 (2.33)

**Figure 4.** Study 4 mediation model.

Note. Regression coefficients and standard errors (in parentheses) are presented simultaneously for three separate models responding to three different outcomes. Results presented from conditions to solidarity outcomes are indirect effects from the serial mediation pathway (see Table S9 for direct and simple mediation effects).

**p* < .001.

LSD post hoc statistics. Perpetrator race had a significant effect on perceived similar discrimination and anticipated comfort discussing discrimination. Participants perceived greater similar discrimination and anticipated greater comfort discussing discrimination with the Asian and Latino perpetrators than with the White perpetrator. Participants also perceived more shared discrimination and anticipated greater comfort discussing discrimination with the Latino perpetrator than the Asian perpetrator.

There were no significant effects of perpetrator race on discussing race issues and educating the perpetrator about anti-Black racism. Black participants were neutral about discussing race issues with perpetrators (*M* = 3.99, *SD* = 2.20) and moderately willing to educate perpetrators about anti-Black racism (*M* = 4.61, *SD* = 2.23).

Finally, the main effect on combating anti-Black racism together was trending toward significance, so we opted to probe this effect. Black participants were significantly more willing to combat anti-Black racism with the Latino perpetrator than the White perpetrator. Black participants also seemed more willing to work with the Asian perpetrator

than the White perpetrator, but not significantly so. There was no significant difference between the Asian and Latino perpetrators.

Given the consistent mediation effects in Studies 1 to 3, we proceeded to test the hypothesized serial mediation models and found support for the indirect effects of perpetrator race across all solidarity outcomes (Figure 4).

Discussion

Building on Studies 1 to 3, indirect effects revealed Black Americans were more willing to discuss race, educate about anti-Black racism, and work together to combat anti-Black racism with Latino and Asian perpetrators, but only because of the shared discrimination and anticipated comfort discussing discrimination with perpetrators of color prior to the anti-Black expression. Regarding condition effects, only the effects on combating anti-Black racism were approaching significance. As Black people share more discrimination experiences with Latinx people (than Asian people and White people; Zou & Cheryan, 2017), Black participants

Table 7. Study 5 ANOVA Results and Descriptive Statistics by Condition.

Outcome	Perpetrator race effect			Asian (<i>n</i> = 208)	White (<i>n</i> = 201)	Participant race effect			Black (<i>n</i> = 205)	Latinx (<i>n</i> = 204)	Interaction effect		
	<i>F</i> (1, 405)	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>F</i> (1, 405)	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>F</i> (1, 405)	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
Similarity	137.34	<.001	1.16	4.53(1.15)	2.99(1.50)	3.29	.071	0.18	3.88(1.60)	3.67(1.48)	0.03	.860	0.00
Comfort	57.17	<.001	0.75	4.82(1.19)	3.84(1.42)	3.10	.079	0.18	4.44(1.45)	4.23(1.34)	0.31	.580	0.06
Discuss	4.48	.035	0.21	4.36(1.89)	3.98(1.98)	13.91	<.001	0.37	4.52(1.91)	3.82(1.91)	0.00	.962	0.00
Educate	8.80	.003	0.29	5.11(2.02)	4.50(2.20)	5.01	.026	0.22	5.04(2.12)	4.59(2.11)	0.11	.736	0.00
Combat	5.00	.026	0.22	4.50(2.05)	4.04(2.19)	2.36	.126	0.16	4.42(2.13)	4.12(2.12)	0.50	.479	0.06

demonstrated greater willingness to work with the Latino perpetrator than with the White perpetrator to combat anti-Black racism. Indeed, Black participants felt more similar and more comfortable discussing discrimination with Latino perpetrators than both White and Asian perpetrators.

We propose three explanations for these weakened stigma-based solidarity effects. First, unlike Studies 1 to 3, the Study 4 prejudice was on a group-level (vs. personal-level) and targeted Black Americans broadly (vs. participants directly). Past research demonstrated that, among POC, greater perceived personal discrimination was associated with less anti-gay bias, while greater perceived group-level discrimination was associated with greater anti-gay bias (Craig & Richeson, 2014). Hence, the group-level discrimination in Study 4 may have increased bias and more negative attitudes toward Latinx and Asian perpetrators. Second, the stigma-based solidarity response in reaction to discrimination may be weaker for Black Americans because Black (vs. Asian and Latinx) people are more politically active and interested in engaging with racist perpetrators regardless of their race (e.g., Auxier et al., 2020; Macías Mejía, 2023). Finally, findings may reveal Black people's decreasing trust for non-Black POC allies, especially Asian allies. For example, approximately 25% of Asian and Latinx people strongly supported the Black Lives Matter movement in 2023 (Hatfield, 2023), and 23% and 16% of Black people thought Asian and Latinx people (respectively) would *not* make good allies for Black people (Krogstad & Cox, 2023). The particularly tenuous Asian-Black relations may be attributed to their different discrimination experiences and model minority myth that pits them against each other (Wang & Santos, 2023; Zou & Cheryan, 2017).

Study 5

In the pre-registered Study 5 (<https://osf.io/wy9nv>), we reverted to Studies 1 to 3 prejudice that is strictly interpersonal to evaluate if the stigma-based solidarity response to intraminority *interpersonal* discrimination generalizes to Black Americans. Additionally, we opted to directly compare Black and Latinx people's solidarity intentions with an Asian (vs. White) perpetrator to further investigate Study 4 findings. Mirroring Studies 1 to 3, we hypothesized Black and

Latinx participants would be more willing to engage in solidarity efforts with the Asian perpetrator than the White perpetrator.

Method

Participants

Following pre-registration, an *a priori* power analysis for a 2×2 between-subjects two-way ANOVA ($d = 0.30$, based on the average effects of past studies; 85% power) indicated a minimum sample size of 401. We recruited 452 Black/African-American and Hispanic/Latinx Americans from Prolific, but 39 participants did not identify as either Black/African-American or Hispanic/Latinx in the survey and four participants missed both attention checks, leaving the final sample of 205 Black/African-American and 204 Hispanic/Latinx participants.

Procedure

The procedure resembled Study 3 with three differences. First, participants were randomly assigned to either the Asian or White perpetrator condition. Second, the (overt) prejudiced comment was adjusted to apply to both Black and Latinx people: "*Oh by the way you articulate yourself so well! But I bet your criminal record is probably pretty bad, isn't it?*" Third, all measures of discussion, education (additional article: "The prevalence of racism in every day lives"), and combatting racism (additional projects: e.g., "Raise awareness of anti-Black/anti-Latino racism in the modern world") included three items.¹¹

Results

All 2×2 between-subjects ANOVAs supported our hypotheses (see Table 7). There were significant effects of perpetrator race on perceived similar discrimination and comfort discussing discrimination. All participants perceived greater similar discrimination and anticipated greater comfort discussing discrimination with the Asian partner/perpetrator than with the White partner/perpetrator. There were no significant effects of perpetrator race and no significant interactions.

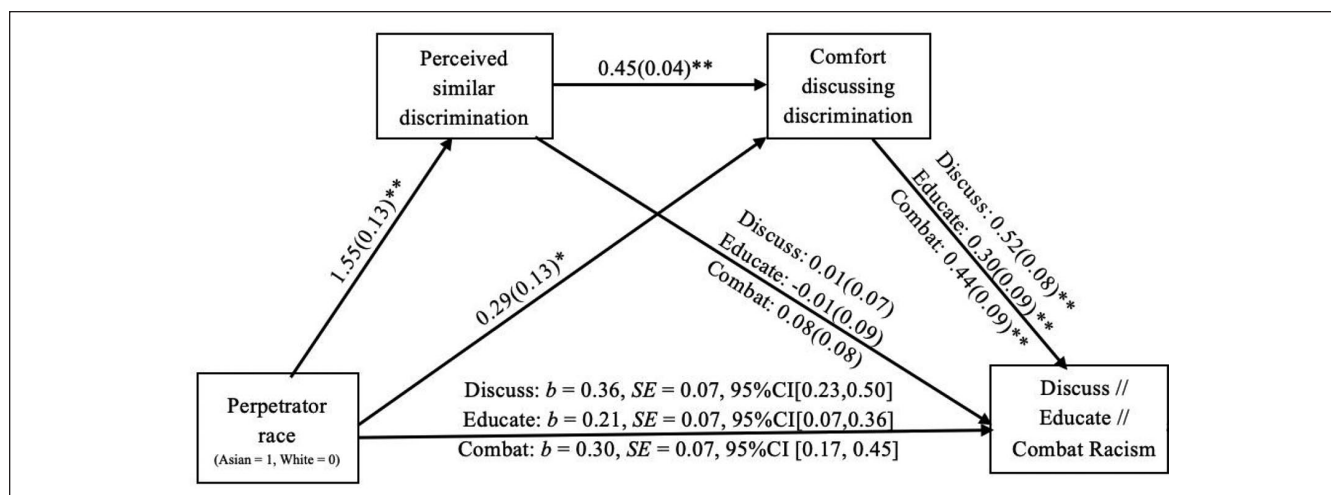


Figure 5. Study 5 mediation model.

Note. Regression coefficients and standard errors (in parentheses) are presented simultaneously for three separate models responding to three different outcomes. Results presented from conditions to solidarity outcomes are indirect effects from the serial mediation pathway (see Table S9 for direct and simple mediation effects).

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .001$.

Next, significant effects of perpetrator race emerged for all solidarity outcomes. Participants expressed greater willingness to discuss race issues, educate the perpetrator about ingroup-relevant racism, and combat ingroup-relevant racism with the Asian perpetrator than the White perpetrator. Significant effects of participant race/ethnicity also emerged for discussion and education. Black participants were more willing to discuss race issues and educate the perpetrator than were Latinx participants. There were no significant interactions.

Mediation

Mediations were tested controlling for participant race/ethnicity given its non-significant interaction with perpetrator race. Mirroring Studies 1 to 4, participants recognized greater similar discrimination with the Asian (vs. White) partner/perpetrator, which was consequently associated with greater anticipated comfort discussing discrimination, and ultimately stronger willingness to engage in solidarity efforts with the Asian perpetrator (Figure 5).

Discussion

Replicating Studies 1 to 3, Study 5 demonstrated stigma-based solidarity effects in response to interpersonal discrimination in both Black and Latinx Americans. Black and Latinx Americans were more willing to engage Asian perpetrators than White perpetrators in solidarity efforts. These effects, again, were mediated by greater perceived similar discrimination and anticipated comfort discussing discrimination with Asian compared to White perpetrators, prior to the prejudiced comment. These findings suggest that Study 4's

weakened effects were likely because perpetrators in Study 4 expressed racism *indirectly* through endorsing anti-Black policies and thus toward Black people as a group, whereas perpetrators in Study 5 (like in Studies 1–3) expressed racism *directly* at participants personally. Therefore, we argue the stigma-based solidarity response to intraminority prejudice may be stronger when the perpetration was (a) on a personal-rather than group-level and (b) more interpersonal than structural (Craig & Richeson, 2014).

Concurrently, Study 5 revealed that Black Americans, compared with Latinx Americans, were *more* willing to discuss race and educate perpetrators about ingroup-relevant racism regardless of perpetrator race. Perhaps because Black (vs. Asian and Latinx) Americans are more integrated in American politics and racialized as more American, Black Americans engage in political activism more actively and have more familiarity navigating White-POC interactions (e.g., Auxier et al., 2020; Kim, 1999; Young et al., 2021). Thus, Black people may be willing to engage with perpetrators regardless of their identity and thus the stigma-based solidarity response to discrimination may not be as strong for Black Americans. We encourage future research to further evaluate racial differences, contextualized in the sociopolitical and historical lived experiences and relationships of and between different racial groups.

General Discussion

Across five experiments, POC's efforts to engage perpetrators in anti-racism solidarity were influenced by perpetrator race/ethnicity. Specifically, perceptions of shared discrimination experiences, a cornerstone of stigma-based solidarity (Craig & Richeson, 2016), facilitated intraminority efforts

to discuss racism, educate about racism, and work together to combat racism following POC experiencing prejudice from an outgroup POC. That is, Asian, Latinx, and Black people reported greater willingness to discuss race issues with perpetrators who were outgroup POC (e.g., Latino and Black perpetrators for Asian participants) and educate perpetrators of color about ingroup-relevant racism (anti-Asian and anti-Latino racism, respectively), and work with perpetrators of color to combat ingroup-relevant discrimination compared to White perpetrators. Novelty, these effects occurred partly because prior to the prejudiced expression, participants perceived POC perpetrators as sharing more similar discrimination *and* thus anticipated greater comfort discussing discrimination with them.

Critically, findings generalize across Asian (Studies 1 and 2), Latinx (Studies 3 and 5), and Black (Studies 4 and 5) participants, with both subtle (Studies 1 and 2) and overt prejudice (Studies 2, 3, 5). Effects seemed stronger when the discrimination was on a personal level and targeted participants personally than when it was on a group level and targeted participants' racial group broadly (Studies 4 and 5). Given this research's online nature, future work should evaluate the extent to which the observed effects may generalize to in-person, behavioral outcomes. Considering the different oppression experiences across communities of color, future research should expand to other POC groups that are central to the racist history of the United States such as Indigenous people.

While past work on intraminority relations has examined when ingroup discrimination may trigger discrimination versus solidarity with other marginalized groups (e.g., Craig & Richeson, 2012, 2014, 2016), the current work novelly examines a marginalized target (not perpetrator) and considers intraminority discrimination, consequently harnessing stigma-based solidarity to see beyond this prejudice to engage with the perpetrator in anti-racism solidarity. Notably, while research on intraminority solidarity mostly examines activism for *other* marginalized groups (e.g., Cortland et al., 2017; Pham et al., 2023), the current work examines solidarity in the form of garnering support for one's own group. Thus, present findings enrich the theoretical conceptualization of intraminority solidarity and offer evidence on interracial solidarity via a unique perspective. While the present paradigm compares POC's responses to POC versus White perpetrators, future research may focus explicitly on intraminority relations and examine activism for *the perpetrator's* marginalized group.

Importantly, while we focused on perceptions of similar discrimination and anticipated comfort as mechanisms, future research should explore alternative mechanisms. For instance, White people are often perceived as prototypical perpetrators of racism (Inman & Baron, 1996; O'Brien & Merritt, 2022) and therefore mistrusted by POC. Thus, due to the non-prototypical

nature of perpetrators of color, POC may experience cognitive dissonance that requires working with perpetrators of color to regain cognitive balance (Aronson, 2019; Heitland & Bohner, 2010). Alternatively, POC may engage more with perpetrators of color because they anticipate greater effectiveness at producing positive change (Brown et al., 2021; Rattan & Dweck, 2010).¹² Finally, POC may anticipate less backlash when engaging with perpetrators of color than White perpetrators (Dover et al., 2020).

Furthermore, future work can explore group and individual differences as boundary conditions. For example, the difference between Black and Latinx Americans in Study 5 and Study 4 suggests that the effects of perpetrator race may be weaker for people who are highly interested in educating others about race. Furthermore, POC who hold positive attitudes toward White people may be equally willing to engage with White people (see Supplemental Study 5). Understanding these processes will better elucidate the psychology of marginalized people during experiences of intraminority discrimination.

Notably, in the current paradigm, we sought to determine the effects of perceived similar discrimination and comfort at baseline and hence measured these mediators before the prejudiced comment. We contend that these mediator measures did not bias participants because they were interspersed among filler items and believe that measuring mediators after the prejudiced comment would yield similar effects. Specifically, while the effects on mediators may be weakened by asking them after the prejudiced comment, the closer distance to solidarity measures may lead to stronger effects of mediators on solidarity. However, we encourage future research to explore the potential timing effect of these mechanisms. Relatedly, while we focused on the aftermath of experiencing intraminority discrimination, future work can explicitly investigate solidarity with non-prejudiced individuals of varying identities.

The present findings advance the confrontation literature in two main ways. First, we focus on marginalized people as not only confronters but also perpetrators to investigate an understudied phenomenon of marginalized people's solidarity with marginalized perpetrators (Hildebrand et al., 2020). Second, we novelly extend the operationalization of confrontation to go beyond interpersonal responses to solely the prejudiced instance (Monteith et al., 2022) to include broader efforts to engage with perpetrators to advance equity for their own ingroup. Reframing prejudice confrontations as an approach to developing solidarity aligns with recent research finding that confronted White perpetrators are more likely to become confronters themselves in the future than non-confronted perpetrators (Chaney et al., 2025).

Across five experiments, POC consistently anticipated more comfort discussing discrimination with outgroup POC than White people, mediated by greater perceptions of

discrimination similarity. This robust effect suggests the promise of using stigma-based solidarity to investigate issues regarding speaking about discrimination experiences with others (Pham & Chaney, *in press*). Importantly, with comfort discussing discrimination reliably predicting solidarity efforts with perpetrators across prejudice types and POC samples, we propose comfort discussing discrimination as an integral, sustainable pathway to building coalitions for social justice (Kutner et al., 2020, 2022). Future research should manipulate marginalized people's comfort discussing discrimination to establish causality discussing on downstream consequences (Fiedler et al., 2018; Spencer et al., 2005).

Limitations and Implications

We acknowledge our solidarity outcomes being intentions rather than behaviors is a limitation. Research has documented a discrepancy between intended and actual behaviors, such that, for example, confrontation intentions do not necessarily translate into behaviors (e.g., Chaney & Wedell, 2022; Kawakami et al., 2009). Thus, we encourage readers to interpret our findings as evidence of intention rather than action of stigma-based solidarity, and we encourage future work to further investigate behavioral outcomes of activism and solidarity. In addition, the present research did not consider that people hold multiple identities, both privileged and marginalized (Brown & Craig, 2020; Pham et al., 2023). That is, we focused on perpetrator's race/ethnicity, but other social identities such as gender, sexual orientation, and social class may qualify the effects of perpetrator race on solidarity. For instance, because people who hold multiple marginalized identities engage with intraminority coalitions more actively (Pham et al., 2023), how would, for example, Black people engage differently with a perpetrator who is a gay versus straight Asian man? Central to such questions are the concealable versus visible nature of perpetrator's identities and the role of identity disclosure in stigma-based solidarity (Ballinger et al., 2022; Lyons et al., 2020).

The current research highlights the complexity among communities of color that are typically overlooked in studies of intergroup relations. First, by examining intraminority discrimination, the present experiments elucidate the lived experiences of POC and their own efforts to reduce racism and, therefore, challenge the White-centric nature of interracial relations research (Mathew et al., 2021; Özkan et al., 2024). In addition, prior research on stigma-based solidarity tends to frame discrimination and solidarity as two mutually exclusive outcomes. This perspective fails to consider the possibility that both discrimination and solidarity can co-exist within a person or a community. The present studies suggest that such co-existence is indeed possible by showing that a marginalized person who expresses prejudice against another marginalized group can be mobilized to become an ally, or perceived as a potential ally, for that target

marginalized group. This speaks to the resilience of intraminority relationships as a mechanism to foster solidarity.

Conclusion

Across five experiments, Asian, Latinx, and Black Americans demonstrated greater engagement with perpetrators of color than White perpetrators in anti-racism solidarity. Such intraminority solidarity is serially mediated by POC's perception of perpetrators of color as sharing discrimination experiences and anticipated comfort discussing discrimination prior to the prejudiced expression. Current findings advance the stigma-based solidarity literature in meaningful ways and provide helpful insights into the complexity of intraminority relations.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

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ORCID iDs

Minh Duc Pham  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4339-1473>

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

Supplemental Material

Supplemental material is available online with this article.

Notes

1. In each of Studies 1 and 2, only four participants reported potential suspicion about their "interaction partner" in open-ended messages to their partner. Results did not significantly change without these participants.
2. See Supplement for supplemental outcomes.
3. $\alpha s > .80$ across all studies (see Table S1).
4. For all studies, effects do not significantly change from those reported here (a) with participants' mono/multiracial status additionally controlled for and (b) without any covariates.
5. Throughout, the use of "partner" versus "perpetrator" is intentional; we use "partner" for perceived similar discrimination and anticipated comfort discussing discrimination because these constructs were measured before the prejudiced expression. For the sake of concision, however, we use "perpetrator identity" throughout the paper when describing the effects on solidarity.
6. While the microaggression was selected to increase realism and variability in solidarity engagement with perpetrators, Asian participants perceived the microaggression comment as slightly malicious ($M = 4.60$; $SD = 1.36$ on a malice scale from 1—*not at all* to 7—*very much*). Prior research has extensively documented that complimenting an

Asian person's English and inquiring about their origins is anti-Asian prejudice, especially considering data collection occurred in Spring 2022 when anti-Asian sentiment was on the rise due to COVID-19 (e.g., Sue et al., 2007; Wang & Santos, 2022). Yet, we recognized a need to test more overt prejudice in Studies 2 to 5.

7. As expected, participants perceived the overtly prejudiced comment ($M = 5.74$, $SE = 0.08$) as more malicious than the subtly prejudiced comment ($M = 4.12$, $SE = 0.08$). Importantly, participants perceived the comments delivered by both the Latino ($M = 4.82$, $SE = 0.08$) and White perpetrator ($M = 5.04$, $SE = 0.08$) as malicious (see Supplemental Material), suggesting that the prejudiced comments in Study 2 were consistently perceived as expressions of prejudice across perpetrator's racial/ethnic identities.
8. Those who lived longer in the United States are more fluent in English (Kulkarni & Hu, 2018; Zhang et al., 2012).
9. Perceived curious motive of perpetrator was also pre-registered as a primary outcome (see Supplemental Material).
10. Before Study 4, Study S1 was conducted with Black Americans and mostly resembled Study 4 results (see Supplemental Material).
11. Participants also reported attitude toward perpetrator, perceived curiosity and malice of perpetrator's comment, perceived racialized equity labor, ally suspicion, and attitudes toward Asian and White Americans as exploratory variables.
12. In Studies 1 and 2, Asian participants anticipated greater effectiveness from educating the Black perpetrator (Study 1) and the Latino perpetrator (Study 2) than from educating the White perpetrator (see Supplement).

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