

Strength-Based Solidarity: Shared Strengths as a Novel Pathway Toward Holistic and Sustained Intraminority Solidarity

Personality and Social Psychology Review

1–27

© 2025 by the Society for Personality

and Social Psychology, Inc.

Article reuse guidelines:

sagepub.com/journals-permissions

DOI: 10.1177/10888683251392766

pspr.sagepub.com

Minh Duc Pham¹, Kimberly E. Chaney², and Alexandra Garr-Schultz³

Abstract

Research on intraminority solidarity has primarily relied on the stigma-based solidarity framework, which uses commonalities based on discrimination to foster systemically marginalized people's activism for one another. Shifting from a deficit-based to a critical strength-based approach, we propose strength-based solidarity, where marginalized people recognize their shared, identity-conscious (i.e., conscious of sociohistorical, cultural, and political contexts) strengths and thus work to optimize each other's lived experiences. We argue that strength-based solidarity can cultivate holistic and sustained intraminority solidarity. Integrating the literature on intraminority relations with collective action and strength-based research, we present holistic perception, efficacy, positive emotions, reduced competitive victimhood and less burnout, as mechanisms by which strength-based solidarity can facilitate intraminority solidarity. We discuss the proposed framework's intersections with stigma-based solidarity and intersectionality. Research on strength-based solidarity can provide education, political organizing, and clinical applications to cultivate positive intraminority relations.

Public Abstract

What makes people from different marginalized communities show up and advocate for each other? Psychologists and lay audiences alike often focus on experiencing similar discrimination as a reason marginalized groups may come together, but are marginalized people solely bonded through discrimination? We introduce a new way to look at solidarity between different marginalized groups: strength-based solidarity. We suggest that people from different marginalized groups share similar strengths in their day-to-day lives, such as resilience, cultural diversity, and community strength. Recognizing such common strengths has the potential to increase intraminority solidarity that can nurture marginalized people's strengths (such as celebrating talents and cultivating joys) and can last longer. Given the increasingly repressive U.S. climate, relying on shared strengths is especially instrumental to bring people together in all realms of society.

Keywords

intraminority relations, solidarity, strength, marginalization, collective action

All this time I told myself we were born from war—but I was wrong, Ma. We were born from beauty. Let no one mistake us for the fruit of violence—but that violence, having passed through the fruit, failed to spoil it.

In his excerpt of *On Earth We're Briefly Gorgeous* (Vuong, 2019, p. 231), Ocean Vuong captures a recognition of his livelihood as “born from beauty,” not from war. While these words describe the positionality of Vietnamese Americans as a result of American violence and imperialism, they also apply to numerous groups of people who are marginalized by one or more intersecting forces of oppression in the United States (U.S.). Namely, cultural discourses and research on systemically marginalized communities¹ usually

portray marginalized group members as mainly and sometimes merely a product of oppression, overshadowing their “beauty”—the strengths and positive characteristics of marginalized people such as their resilience and community connectedness (e.g., Abreu et al., 2023; Vollhardt & Nair, 2018).

¹Columbia University, New York, NY, USA

²University at Buffalo, The State University of New York, USA

³University of Connecticut, Storrs, USA

Corresponding Author:

Minh Duc Pham, School of Social Work, Columbia University, 1255

Amsterdam Avenue, New York, NY 10027, USA.

Email: minhduc.pham@uconn.edu

When examining the lived experiences of systemically marginalized people, social psychology often centers issues of prejudice and discrimination (e.g., Rogers & Way, 2018; Silverman et al., 2023). While such a focus on discrimination may ultimately aim to promote equity for marginalized people, it can inadvertently limit our understanding of the multi-faceted nature of marginalized people's psychology (e.g., Rogers et al., 2024; Silverman et al., 2023). Not an exception, the literature on intraminority relations (i.e., how people between different marginalized social groups perceive and interact with each other) has heavily relied on stigma-based solidarity, a phenomenon where people of different marginalized groups, once reminded of commonly faced discrimination, are more likely to work together in solidarity to achieve each other's goals and improve each other's lived experiences (e.g., Burson & Godfrey, 2020; M. A. Craig & Richeson, 2016). Despite its demonstrated benefits for positive intraminority relations (e.g., Cortland et al., 2017; Pham et al., 2023), this stigma-based framework risks portraying marginalized people as singularly defined by stigma and discrimination (Rogers et al., 2024).

All the while, social movements have historically leveraged common strengths between different marginalized groups to forge cross-group coalitions. In an effort to advance emancipatory theorizing on intraminority solidarity via this historical legacy, we incorporate strength-based theory (e.g., hooks, 2000; Selvanathan & Salter, 2025) to propose the strength-based solidarity framework: beyond sharing similar discrimination experiences, marginalized people share similar identity-conscious strengths, the recognition of which we propose can help cultivate holistic and sustained intraminority solidarity. In this paper, we refer to intraminority solidarity as members of different marginalized groups engaging in activism to advance social equalities and improve each other's lived experiences. Such expressions of intraminority solidarity, whether in the form of individual or collective action, ultimately aim to benefit marginalized groups as a collective (rather than select individuals). As later argued, we intentionally aim for a broad conceptualization to go beyond the typical focus on activism to reduce discrimination and promote equity, to include activism that nurtures and uplifts marginalized people's strengths and holistic humanity.

Importantly, we aim this manuscript to be a theoretical roadmap for future research. The strength-based solidarity framework draws from the strength-based literature that is nascent in social psychology and has only been empirically applied to examine strengths of oneself and one's ingroup, rarely in intergroup contexts (see Bauer et al., 2025; Silverman et al., 2023). However, recent work on collective memory has suggested the promise of the strength-based framework to impact activism (e.g., Jeong, Twali, & Vollhardt, 2025; Selvanathan & Salter, 2025). Thus, we combine the empirical evidence on strength-based theory with intergroup relations theories to develop the strength-based solidarity framework. Given the relationship between strengths and discrimination in

the literature (e.g., Selvanathan et al., 2023; Selvanathan & Salter, 2025), we position strength-based solidarity as a parallel mechanism that offers unique benefits and at the same time complements stigma-based solidarity. To contextualize the theorizing of strength-based solidarity, we will first review the current state of intraminority relations in real-life and psychology, followed by the stigma-based solidarity framework and its potential pitfalls.

Author Positionality

First author: I identify as a Vietnamese cisgender gay man, first-generation immigrant scholar-activist who is racialized as Asian in the U.S.. My research examines activism and solidarity through a critical lens, while I organize with abolitionist, decolonizing groups to challenge intersecting systems of oppression in and outside of academia. I have again and again found oppressed people's strengths as a powerful catalyst that keeps the fight alive. I recognize academia as an ivory tower that often overlooks and sometimes at times worsen the struggles of people on the ground, and psychological science as a site of struggle and liberation.

Second author: I identify as a queer White woman citizen of the U.S.. My scholarship aims to center lay people whose lived experiences offer a humanizing lens to understand prejudice and discrimination, and the fight against oppression, that can be obfuscated by social psychological theories. In integrating these two axes of knowledge (lay theories, social psychological theories) my research seeks to uplift marginalized communities in their efforts to thrive in, and dismantle, oppressive systems.

Third author: I am a biracial, Black, queer woman from the U.S.. I intentionally work with and center the experiences of individuals from marginalized backgrounds in my research, which examines the complex interplay between personal identities, social structures, and systemic inequality. Mirroring my own familial history and past as a community organizer, my scholarship both acknowledges struggle and aims to empower us all to build the world we need to thrive.

Intraminority Relations

Solidarity or Derogation?

Solidarity between different marginalized groups plays a significant role in social movements throughout history. The 1968 Third World Liberation Front, for instance, was a coalition of organizations led by students of color (e.g., Black, Latinx, Chinese, Mexican, Native American students) who were unified by a common desire to establish a college curriculum that acknowledges their histories and cultures (Maeda, 2009). This movement was built on practices that recognized the common strengths across marginalized groups such as collectivity and community (e.g., Z. J. Delgado, 2016; Rojas, 2010). Going beyond single-issue struggles, Fred Hampton created

the multi-ethnic Rainbow Coalition to unite against the class struggle. Notable was the free breakfast program that leveraged the strengths and resources of their own coalition and several groups focused on women's struggles, such as the Young Lordettes and Mothers and Others (Serrato, 2019). The LGBTQ+ community has also been vocal in advocating for fellow marginalized communities. In the wake of the 2020 police killings of Black people, the Reclaim Pride Coalition dedicated their Pride Month programming, which typically celebrates the strengths of LGBTQ+ people, to uplift the cause of Black Americans (Fretz, 2020). Intraminoity solidarity exists beyond the U.S. border. At the start of the Israeli genocide of the Palestinian people (e.g., International Association of Genocide Scholars, 2025; International Court of Justice, 2024), oppressed people globally vocalized their pro-Palestinian solidarity in a digital movement "I'm not Palestinian," invoking various shared strengths with the Palestinian people as their motivation: ancestral resilience, connection to land and nature, and historical resistance (Pham et al., 2025). In sum, intraminoity solidarity throughout history leverages both experiences of oppression and strengths that are shared across groups.

In line with this tradition of intraminoity solidarity, psychological research on intraminoity relations shows that marginalized people, for example, people of color (POC), women, and LGBTQ+ people, compared with their privileged counterparts, generally indicate greater political support for other marginalized groups (e.g., Burson & Godfrey, 2018; Jun et al., 2023). For instance, non-Indigenous POC (vs. White people) in Canada expressed greater support for reparations for Indigenous peoples partly because they felt a sense of solidarity (Starzyk et al., 2019). During COVID-19, Asian Americans expressed interracial solidarity for Black Americans when they recognized the racially biased experiences related to the pandemic (Lieng et al., 2025). Furthermore, prior research has considered other axes of power such as gender and sexual orientation. Specifically, sexual minority people (vs. heterosexual people) displayed more positive attitudes toward POC and greater support for affirmative action (Burson & Godfrey, 2018); heterosexual women who identified more strongly as feminist were more willing to participate in collective action for LGBTQ+ people (Uysal et al., 2022). Notably, research has simultaneously taken into account three identity dimensions: gender, race/ethnicity, and sexual orientation. People who hold multiple (vs. zero or one) marginalized identities such as queer POC and women of color were more likely to express policy support for people with low socioeconomic status (SES; Pham et al., 2023; see also Falco & Radke, 2025).

However, solidarity coexists with indifference and derogation (Pham & Chaney, 2025a). People from different marginalized groups sometimes show a lack of support for each other (e.g., Bowleg, 2013; Burson & Godfrey, 2020; Cox, 2023). For instance, only 39% of Hispanic Americans and 33% of Asian Americans supported reparations for slave descendants in the forms of land or money (Blazina & Cox, 2022). Such a lack of solidarity is particularly likely among

groups marginalized along different identity dimensions: e.g., 68% of Black Americans believed that gender is determined by sex assigned at birth, and 26% believed that our society has gone too far in accepting transgender people (Cox, 2023). Solidarity between marginalized people across geographical borders is also tenuous: during the start of the 2023 Israeli genocide of Palestinian people, only 28% of Black Americans supported the U.S. to call for an immediate ceasefire in Gaza (Shell, 2023).

Beyond lack of solidarity, people from different marginalized groups sometimes express discrimination against each other. For instance, POC experience discrimination from people from other racially marginalized groups (e.g., Literte, 2011; Wang & Santos, 2023); White women discriminate against POC (M. A. Craig & Richeson, 2012). Beyond interpersonal discrimination, intraminoity discrimination sometimes escalates such as in major historical events (e.g., 1992 Los Angeles riot involving Korean and Black Americans, a series of nationwide racial strife between Black and Latino students in 2005; Buchanan, 2005). In sum, people from different marginalized groups in many cases do not support each other's efforts toward equity and may even enact discrimination against each other.

Barriers to Solidarity

Several factors can facilitate a lack of positive relations or solidarity between marginalized groups. Informed by realistic group conflict theory (Sherif & Sherif, 1953), perceived competition over material resources (e.g., jobs, educational opportunities) can promote negative attitudes toward other marginalized groups (e.g., Sanchez, 2008; Sherif & Sherif, 1953). Relatedly, the perception that the success of one marginalized group is earned at the expense of other marginalized groups, or a zero-sum mindset, may facilitate intraminoity discrimination (see M. A. Craig & Richeson, 2016). Indeed, the growth in Latinx population caused non-Latino POC to endorse conservative policies, directed at both Latinx people (e.g., a border wall) and other marginalized groups (e.g., a ban on same-sex marriage; M. A. Craig & Richeson, 2018).

Perceptions of competition occur not only over (limited) material resources but also over victim status (i.e., competitive victimhood). That is, due to a sense of victimization, marginalized people may feel a need to make a case that their group experiences *more or worse* discrimination than other marginalized groups (Noor et al., 2012). For instance, Jewish Israelis in Israel/Palestine who perceived greater competitive victimhood with Palestinians justified direct and structural violence against Palestinians under conditions of both low and high threat (Halabi et al., 2025). Competitive victimhood also leads to reduced empathy and greater discrimination with other marginalized groups (e.g., Noor et al., 2008, 2017), marginalized people (e.g., White sexual minorities, upper-class POC) reported facing greater discrimination after being reminded of inequalities against other marginalized groups (Brown & Craig, 2021).

Importantly, racist, neoliberal systems perpetuate the conditions contributing to intraminority conflicts (e.g., Burson & Godfrey, 2020; Gampa & Sawyer, 2024). Competition over victim status, perceptions of limited resources, and zero-sum thinking are rooted in the “scarcity” principle of a capitalistic culture that is inextricably linked with White supremacy and the exploitation of POC (Laster Pirtle, 2020; Laster Pirtle & Wright, 2021). As such, ideologies about intergroup competition are exploited by U.S. socioeconomic systems to divide marginalized groups (e.g., Cummings & Lambert, 1997; Taylor & Schroeder, 2010). In addition, perceptions of competition are worsened by the internalization of certain stereotypes among marginalized groups, such as the model minority myth (C. J. Kim, 1999; James, 2022; Yi & Todd, 2021). That is, because Black people are stereotyped as inferior and lazy, the model minority myth forges a fixed image of an ideal minority that deserves better than other minorities, affording greater social status to non-Black POC so that they may become complicit in anti-Black racism (e.g., Chen & Buell, 2018; Literte, 2011). Therefore, oppressive systems create intraminority competition to prevent intraminority solidarity that can challenge the status quo.

Stigma-Based Solidarity

Extant Research

Seeking to understand intraminority discrimination and (the lack of) intraminority solidarity, the stigma-based solidarity framework suggests members of marginalized groups may respond to ingroup discrimination via one of two identified paths: derogation against (e.g., expressing prejudice toward) or coalition with (e.g., standing in solidarity) other marginalized groups (Allport, 1954; M. A. Craig & Richeson, 2012, 2016). Existing work has shown that while coalition is more likely among groups marginalized along the same identity dimension, derogation is more likely for groups marginalized along different identity dimensions. For example, Black and Latinx people reminded of racial discrimination against their ingroup members reported more prejudice toward, and less support for, sexual minorities (M. A. Craig & Richeson, 2014). Similarly, White women exposed to sexism expressed greater racial biases toward Black and Latinx Americans (M. A. Craig et al., 2012). These studies are rooted in social identity threat theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), such that, after experiencing ingroup discrimination, marginalized people desire to regain their power and protect their ingroup image, and thus express negative attitudes toward other marginalized groups (M. A. Craig & Richeson, 2016).

While ingroup discrimination may prompt discrimination against other marginalized groups, experiencing discrimination may also activate a shared oppression perspective that encourages intraminority solidarity (i.e., stigma-based solidarity; M. A. Craig & Richeson, 2016). Specifically, after exposure to discrimination against their own group, marginalized people may

recognize similarities in discrimination experiences with other marginalized groups. In doing so, marginalized people become more amenable to working together toward equity (M. A. Craig & Richeson, 2016). This perspective is grounded in the common ingroup identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner et al., 1993): perceiving shared oppression prompts marginalized people to re-categorize a marginalized outgroup as part of a now more broadly defined marginalized ingroup, resulting in more positive attitudes toward this marginalized group (Hindriks et al., 2014). Asian and Latinx Americans who witnessed racism against their ingroup members recognized common oppression experiences and demonstrated greater positivity for other racial minoritized groups compared to their counterparts who were not exposed to racism (M. A. Craig & Richeson, 2012). These favorable attitudes and solidarity efforts persist in the face of discrimination from fellow marginalized people (Pham & Chaney, 2025a).

As shared discrimination experiences are at times not salient, coalitional attitudes can be facilitated with a reminder of shared discrimination (M. A. Craig & Richeson, 2016; Glasford & Calcagno, 2012). Black people were less likely to support increased border patrols along the U.S.–Mexico border when reminded of shared discrimination with Latinx people, and Latinx people were more likely to support the #BlackLivesMatter movement when reminded of shared discrimination with Black people (Pérez et al., 2024). This shared discrimination reminder is particularly important for groups marginalized on different identity dimensions, where similarities may be less likely to be activated spontaneously. For instance, Black and Asian Americans reminded of similar struggles with LGBTQ+ people reported more similar discrimination with LGBTQ+ people and hence showed more positive attitudes and greater support for LGBTQ+ rights (Cortland et al., 2017). Notably, research has shown that perception of facing a common perpetrator can increase perceived common discrimination experiences and in turn intraminority solidarity (e.g., Chaney & Forbes, 2023; Pham et al., 2023; Pham, Chaney, & Lin, 2024). However, we argue this stigma-based solidarity framework falls prey to the deficit-based approach in psychological science and may thus limit research on intraminority solidarity.

Deficit-Based Approach

Psychological research has historically employed a deficit-based lens in examining the lived experiences of marginalized communities (see Silverman et al., 2023 for a review). At the end of the 18th century, psychologists attempted to study biological differences between marginalized versus privileged people to justify violence against marginalized groups (e.g., André, 2018; Richards, 2003). Deficit-based ideas then mutated into more subtle forms, such as attributing inequities to the weaknesses of marginalized people and their communities (vs. structural oppression and systemic factors; Sharma, 2018; Valencia, 1993). A common manifestation of this deficit approach in modern psychology focuses on individual (as opposed to structural) factors to account for

societal disparities encountered by marginalized people (e.g., Gampa & Sawyer, 2024; Rogers et al., 2024). Even among psychological research that does attend to structural racism, marginalized people are frequently framed as passive victims of discrimination and oppression, rather than active agents who oppose it (e.g., Acar et al., 2025; Hernandez et al., 2021; Rogers & Way, 2018; Spencer, 2001).

Overlooking the myriad ways in which marginalized people have historically resisted injustices undercuts psychology's ability to identify and advance transformative changes for marginalized people (Rogers & Way, 2018, 2021). When psychological research does focus on resistance and activism (i.e., presenting marginalized groups as active agents), it may still fail to capture the complexity of marginalized people's lived experiences (Way et al., 2018). That is, research on marginalized people's activism sometimes focuses solely on the implications of oppression without a concerted effort to consider broader experiences of marginalized people that are not directly associated with discrimination (e.g., Freire, 1986; Silverman et al., 2023). In doing so, the rich experiences of marginalized people outside of marginalization narratives are often made invisible, thus "obscuring the humanity of people who contend with systemic marginalization" (p. 257; Silverman et al., 2023).

How Is Stigma-Based Solidarity Deficit-Based?

The stigma-based solidarity literature thus far is deficit-based in that, although it focuses on marginalized people's collective strength: (a) this solidarity is conceptualized as fueled solely by common discrimination experiences that are dictated and perpetuated by various oppressive systems; and (b) the solidarity examined is mostly related to oppression, often centering discrimination and attitudes toward policies that reduce discrimination against the target marginalized group. Thus, the stigma-based solidarity framework may present empirical and theoretical setbacks for intraminority solidarity.

First, stigma-based solidarity may be limited to promoting intraminority activities directly related to discrimination. That is, highlighting common discrimination may not facilitate intraminority activities that are not *directly* related to discrimination such as supporting the target marginalized group's (pursuits of) joys, successes, and cultures (e.g., Pereira & Banerjee, 2021; Turner, 2022). These intraminority activities include but are not limited to uplifting each other's arts and music, hair and clothing, and language (Selvanathan & Salter, 2025). Given the prevalence of these everyday, non-discrimination goals of marginalized people, these intraminority activities outside of the discrimination framework require attention to improve the quality of life of marginalized individuals. We propose the stigma-based solidarity perspective may fail to encourage marginalized people to work together on non-discrimination-related activities such as uplifting each other's joy, achievements, and growth.

Second, in focusing on shared discrimination to facilitate intraminority solidarity, psychological research promotes a

myopic view of different marginalized groups, overlooking their rich lived experiences beyond discrimination (Way et al., 2018). Indeed, the collective victimization literature suggests that experiencing oppression can facilitate a shared identity with similarly victimized outgroup members, but this identity is a *victim* identity (e.g., Vollhardt, 2012, 2015). This shared victimized identity eclipses other positive aspects of their identities that people from different marginalized groups may share (e.g., Acar et al., 2025; Selvanathan & Salter, 2025). In other words, within the stigma-based solidarity framework, progress may come at the cost of marginalized people's myopic views of each other through a mere oppression lens. Notably, this myopic view is in contrast to marginalized people's own views, in which they refuse to be defined by solely the experiences of discrimination and stigma associated with their marginalized identities (e.g., Case & Hunter, 2012; Goodyear et al., 2023; Vollhardt et al., 2023).

Third, thinking about discrimination can negatively impact marginalized people's well-being (e.g., Chaney et al., 2021; Pham & Borton, 2024). Specifically, relying on shared discrimination for intraminority solidarity runs the risk of unintentionally making marginalized people become vigilant for discrimination against them (Pinel, 1999). This awareness or perception of discrimination and stigmatization can negatively affect health directly or indirectly (e.g., decreased internal locus of control beliefs, increased anticipation of discrimination, increased drug use; e.g., James, 2022; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Pinel, 1999). Such potential for detrimental effects on marginalized health makes evident the need for approaches going beyond stigma-based commonalities to facilitate intraminority solidarity.

To summarize, the current stigma-based solidarity framework is rooted in a deficit-based approach that limits marginalized people's humanity and the ability to understand and improve marginalized people's lived experiences. This approach disregards other commonalities marginalized groups may share that could strengthen intraminority solidarity in a diversity of domains beyond merely discrimination-centered domains. We propose that integrating a strength-based approach in connecting marginalized people's experiences may help strengthen intraminority solidarity and confer benefits in various domains of marginalized people's lives.

Strength-Based Solidarity

Strength-Based Approach

The proposed strength-based solidarity advances the current theory of intraminority solidarity via a strength-based approach. Based on the interdisciplinary work of critical theorists (e.g., Fanon, 1963; Freire, 1986; hooks, 2000), a strength-based approach recognizes how marginalized people's identities and lived experiences benefit themselves and societies (Bauer et al., 2025). Strength-based research can be categorized into three main approaches: universal

strengths, difference-as-strength, and identity-specific strengths (see Silverman et al., 2023). The strength-based solidarity framework draws specifically from the identity-specific approach that addresses the pitfalls of universal strengths and difference-as-strength approaches. The identity-specific strengths approach recognizes that systemically marginalized people derive strengths, such as skills and perspectives, directly from their marginalized backgrounds and pertinent lived experiences, independently of how they may differ from the experiences of privileged groups (Hernandez et al., 2021; Silverman et al., 2023). Rooted in this approach, the background-specific strengths (e.g., strengths that marginalized people acquire thanks to their marginalized backgrounds) literature has shown downstream benefits for marginalized people: positive feelings about their identities, feelings of empowerment, and academic engagement and persistence (e.g., Bauer et al., 2021, 2024; Hernandez et al., 2021).

Research has also demonstrated the utility of a strength-based approach in understanding collective identities, revealing the previously understudied manifestations of collective resilience in the context of victimization (see Acar et al., 2025). For example, research on people in violent conflicts has identified several pitfalls of collective victimization and advocated to transcend this dominant pathologizing approach to consider collective resilience and agency (Krause, 2018; Norris & Stevens, 2007). For instance, conspicuous in the historical narratives of people with experiences of oppression are resilience and strength that transcend suffering, loss, and struggle (e.g., Jeong & Vollhardt, 2021; Selvanathan et al., 2023). Reflecting on lessons drawn from surviving genocide, participants who survived the Holocaust, the Rwandan Genocide, and the Nanjing Massacre highlighted strengths associated with their culture/nations, physical strength, and pride of one's group (Vollhardt et al., 2024). Indeed, people exposed to victimization rejected the narrative of being identified as a victim (Vollhardt et al., 2023).

In the realm of health, the strength-based approach demonstrated distinct benefits from the dominant minority stress model that solely focuses on stressors (e.g., discrimination, stigma) that damages marginalized people's health (Meyer, 2003; Perrin et al., 2020). Accounting for identity-specific strength factors, Perrin et al. (2020) provided empirical evidence for the minority strengths model in LGBTQ+ people, wherein identity-conscious strengths such as community consciousness and identity pride contribute to positive psychosocial and well-being outcomes (see also Cipollina et al., 2024). Such results speak to the role of personal and collective strengths in marginalized people's health. Thus, research to date has demonstrated that a strength-based approach affords unique, positive insights into marginalized groups across domains, including motivation, collective identity, and health, necessitating a strength-based perspective in the intraminality solidarity literature (see Bauer et al., 2025).

Conceptualization of Strength-Based Solidarity

Integrating a critical strength-based approach into intraminality solidarity, we propose strength-based solidarity as a novel framework to cultivate holistic and sustained intraminality solidarity between different marginalized groups. Specifically, strength-based solidarity refers to the phenomenon in which members of different marginalized groups recognize their similar identity-conscious positive characteristics or strengths, and work to help each other achieve their various goals, including equity, liberation, and optimal lived experiences (i.e., these goals may or may not be directly related to discrimination and oppression).

Strength-based solidarity is rooted in the identity-specific strength-based approach such that it recognizes that marginalized people possess and can leverage positive characteristics from their systemically marginalized identities and associated lived experiences to benefit themselves and society, specifically regarding social change (e.g., Fanon, 1963; Freire, 1986; Silverman et al., 2023). Given that society is culturally built to reward and uplift the strengths of privileged people (Stephens et al., 2014), attending to common strengths of marginalized people is an act of resistance (Rogers et al., 2024). This strength-based framework challenges the historical deficit-based approach in psychological research and intergroup relations specifically (Silverman et al., 2023), approaching the study of marginalized people in a manner that prioritizes their holistic humanity.

Indeed, to holistically and effectively improve marginalized people's lived experiences, strength-based solidarity draws from multiple strength-based theories. Notably, integrating principles of *survivance* theories in Native American studies (Vizenor, 1999, 2008), strength-based solidarity prioritizes marginalized people's cultural strengths over cultural stigma imposed on them, rejects the mere victim narrative, and focuses on actively seeking strength-based commonalities rather than passively reacting to commonalities due to oppression. Like survivance theories, strength-based solidarity does not disregard the discrimination and struggle for justice of marginalized people; rather, consciousness of oppression informs the need to shift the focus to embrace marginalized people's subjectivity (Vizenor, 1999, 2008). Furthermore, in line with liberation psychology, strength-based solidarity leverages the virtues of oppressed communities to create the necessary tools and energy for liberation (Burton & Guzzo, 2020; Torres Rivera, 2020).

Applying these strength-based theories into the intraminality relations context, strength-based solidarity proposes that marginalized people possess shared identity-conscious strengths that can motivate intraminality solidarity. In the proposed framework, these strengths are identity-conscious in that they are embedded in the sociohistorical and cultural contexts of marginalized people's lived experiences, including the interlocking systems of racism, heteropatriarchy, colonialism, and the like (e.g., Fanon, 1963; Freire, 1986;

Rogers et al., 2024). This identity-conscious specification responds to critiques of strength-based (mis)applications as unaware of oppression; for instance, cultural narratives on marginalized people's strengths, including in public Black history commemorations, have evaded historical and contemporary discrimination (Selvanathan & Salter, 2025). Thus, the strengths included in the strength-based solidarity framework emerge and operate in a landscape where racism is systemic, endemic to the United States, and operates with other types of oppression in the United States and beyond (e.g., Crenshaw, 1991; R. Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). In sum, although these common identity-conscious strengths may differ in their proximity to systemic discrimination, strength-based solidarity recognizes systemic oppression as an important aspect of marginalized people's lived experiences, but moves beyond this myopic focus.

As these strengths are those marginalized people actively develop from their lived experiences and recognize in each other, the strength-based solidarity framework is positioned to leverage those strengths to optimize intramorality relations and lived experiences (Selvanathan & Salter, 2025; Silverman et al., 2023). Materially, by focusing on strengths rooted in marginalized backgrounds and critical of oppressive systems, strength-based solidarity follows the tradition of coalitional movements being built on identity-related experiences (e.g., Estes, 2019; Gelderloos, 2013) and thus prevents people with wholly privileged social identities from co-opting their strengths to claim similarity.

The critical, novel nature of strength-based solidarity is most apparent when compared to similar solidarity mechanisms (see Figure 1). First, like critical consciousness, shared strengths merits the benefits afforded by a critical framework (see Burson & Godfrey, 2020) but is distinguished by its explicit focus on strengths and use of a commonality frame like stigma-based solidarity. However, strength-based solidarity extends stigma-based solidarity (M. A. Craig & Richeson, 2016) to shift from a sole focus on discrimination to embrace similar identity-conscious strengths such as resilience. Furthermore, compared with shared values, strength-based solidarity goes beyond recognizing similarities in a race-neutral or colorblind manner (e.g., Burson & Godfrey, 2018; Glasford & Calcagno, 2012) to acknowledge identity-conscious strengths such as power and community connectedness. Similarly, while the benefit-finding literature proposes that marginalized people draw benefit from their suffering to engage in activism for other marginalized groups (e.g., Branscombe et al., 2015; Warner et al., 2014), this approach utilizes a colorblind lens that ignores the systemic nature of marginalization and focuses on marginalized individuals rather than systems of oppression (Rogers et al., 2024; Rogers & Way, 2021). Finally, while linked fate (i.e., a belief that one's well-being or one's own group's well-being is dependent on another group's well-being) and shared strengths both tap into commonalities of marginalized

groups (e.g., Dawson, 1995; Matos & Sanbonmatsu, 2024), linked fate does not center aspects about marginalized people that are specific to their lived experiences and conscious of systems of power as in shared strengths. Taken together, the shared-strengths framework differs from other frameworks for its unique combination of three principles: a critical lens on the systemically marginalized experiences, a similarity frame, an explicit focus on the strengths of marginalized groups.

Identity-Conscious Strengths

Previous work has taken numerous approaches to examine a diversity of strengths held by different marginalized groups (i.e., strengths marginalized people recognize among themselves and their ingroups). Consistent with our framework, the below strengths are embedded in the historical, cultural, and sociopolitical experiences of systemically marginalized people. For instance, people from different marginalized communities, including POC, women, immigrants, low-SES people, have consistently demonstrated resilience, or the ability to survive, carry on goal pursuits, and thrive, in the face of social injustices and other adversities (Brodsky et al., 2022; Carlo et al., 2022; Folta et al., 2012; Saeed & Yasin, 2017). Going beyond mere resilience, many marginalized communities such as POC, low-SES people and disabled people are cognizant of their power, or tendencies to empower themselves and others to improve society (e.g., Evans, 2022; K. D. Hudson & Romanelli, 2020; Roy et al., 2019). Taking pride in one's marginalized identity (e.g., racial pride) is another common strength (e.g., Sackett & Dogan, 2019; Sellers et al., 1997). For instance, people with disabilities acknowledge their disability as a socially marginalized quality and claim it with pride (e.g., Dunn & Burcaw, 2013; Putnam, 2005), while LGBTQ+ people embrace pride and authentic selves as their core values (Abreu et al., 2023; Parmenter et al., 2020). Identity pride goes hand in hand with community connectedness, or strong connections between people and their communities and efforts to sustain and grow such connections (French et al., 2023; A. J. Kim et al., 2021; Yosso, 2005). While a crucial part of disability identity is feeling connected with and uplifting people in the community (Dunn & Burcaw, 2013), sexual minorities often report feeling a connection to a community and value forging chosen family (e.g., Riggle et al., 2014; Rostosky et al., 2010). Many other recognized strengths include, but are not limited to, cultural diversity (e.g., Almario et al., 2013; Erakat et al., 2024), radical imagination (e.g., Kwon, 2013; Mosley et al., 2020), and self-awareness (e.g., Riggle et al., 2008; Treichler et al., 2022).

To establish the theoretical foundation for our framework, we center the voices of marginalized people in recognizing their own strengths as the starting point (see Pham & Chaney, 2025b; Salter & Adams, 2013). However, in line with strength-based approach (Rogers et al., 2024), we acknowledge a full (i.e., unrestricted) breadth of strengths marginalized people

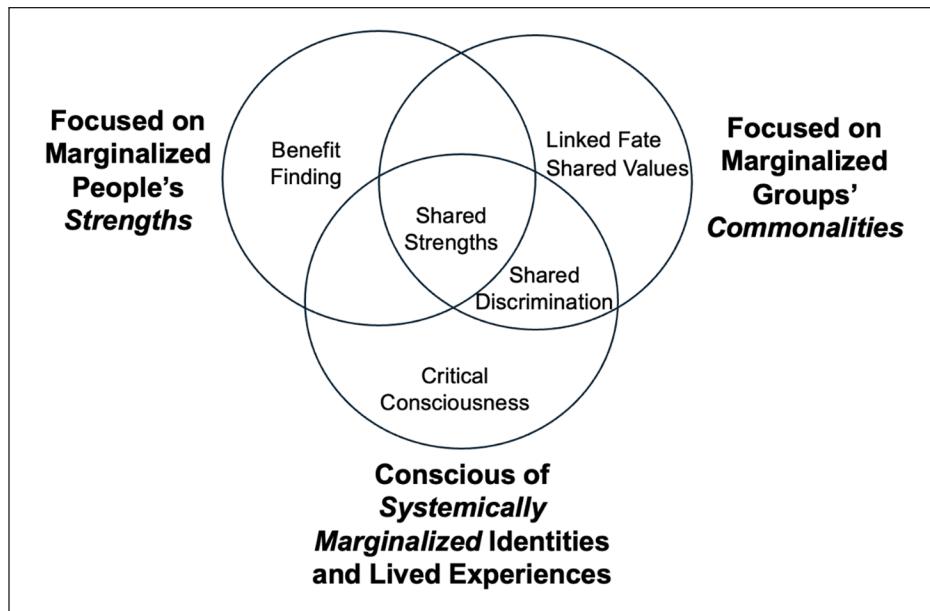


Figure 1. Comparisons of Strength-Based Solidarity With Previous Mechanisms of Intraminority Solidarity.

may hold and we encourage research on strength-based solidarity to not subscribe to a limited view of marginalized people's strengths. Furthermore, these strengths are interconnected and may shape each other. For example, engaging in activism provides opportunities for community connectedness and pride (Riggle et al., 2011). Finally, just as discrimination against a racially marginalized group can target status versus foreignness (Zou & Cheryan, 2017), identity-conscious strengths can vary along multiple dimensions: for example, (a) focus on the individual (i.e., developed and possessed by individuals) versus group (i.e., created by and in communities; e.g., self-awareness is more individual, while community connectedness is more group-level, and identity pride is a hybrid of both), and (b) proximity to discrimination and oppression (e.g., self-awareness is not directly related to discrimination, while power is directly related to discrimination). Such intersections underscore the common cultural, historical, and sociopolitical landscapes that marginalized people's strengths emerge from. Translating these ingroup identity-conscious strengths into the intraminority relations literature, we argue that people from different marginalized groups can recognize such common identity-conscious strength, forging strength-based solidarity.

Benefits of Strength-Based Solidarity

People from different marginalized groups not only share identity-conscious strengths but also reap positive outcomes recognizing such shared strengths. While research is warranted to determine how readily marginalized groups spontaneously recognize these shared strengths across identity dimensions, we contend that experimental manipulations can be utilized to make these shared strengths salient. Similarly to stigma-based solidarity, we contend that recognizing

shared strengths can help marginalized people re-categorize outgroup marginalized members as ingroup members (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). This recategorization can create a superordinate identity that results in positive intraminority relations (see M. A. Craig & Richeson, 2016). That is, informed by the common ingroup identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner et al., 1993), highlighting shared strengths should promote positive outcomes identified in previous research, such as positive attitudes, reduced expressions of discrimination, and greater willingness to support other marginalized people on discrimination-related issues (e.g., Cortland et al., 2017; Pérez et al., 2024). Specifically, we contend that recognizing shared-strengths may offer an alternative pathway to perceived similarity and intraminority solidarity outcomes identified in the stigma-based solidarity literature.

Going beyond these outcomes, we argue that strength-based solidarity can afford unique cognitive, emotional, and behavioral benefits associated with shared strengths. These benefits respond to many of the deficits of the stigma-based solidarity model presented above and include novel outcomes to demonstrate the various pathways to holistic and sustained intraminority solidarity. This theorizing draws from psychological theories on activism, intergroup relations, and marginalized experiences broadly. Following the experimental tradition of stigma-based solidarity research (Cortland et al., 2017; M. A. Craig & Richeson, 2016), below we discuss the effects of primes of shared strengths that successfully increase people's recognition of shared strengths. In this paper, we focus on a target (rather than perceiver) perspective; that is, the proposed benefits apply to marginalized people who engage in solidarity with other marginalized groups, rather than people who perceive such intraminority solidarity efforts. See Figure 2 for a

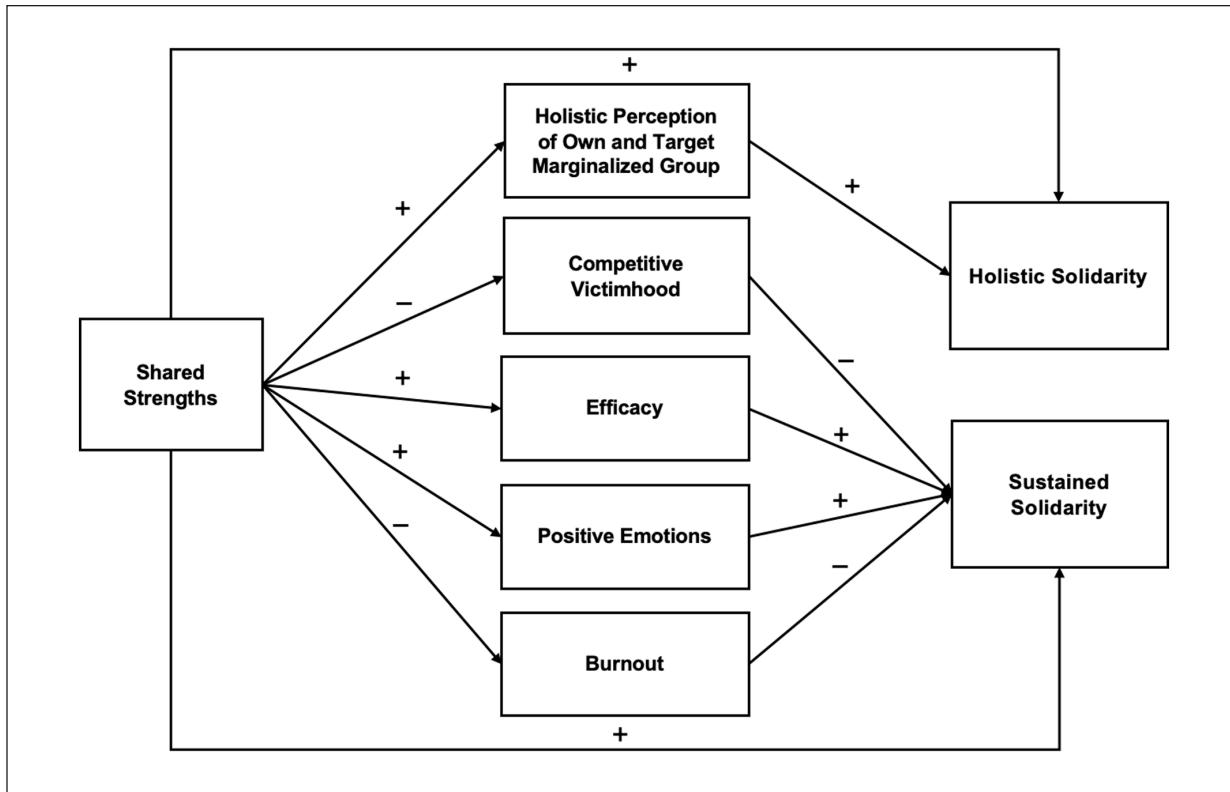


Figure 2. A Working Model of the Unique Benefits of Strength-Based Solidarity

Note. Focusing on shared identity-conscious strengths increases marginalized people's engagement in holistic and sustained intramminority solidarity. These solidarity benefits are mediated by holistic perception, competitive victimhood beliefs, efficacy beliefs, positive emotions, and burnout. Burnout applies only to people who have engaged in activism.

working summary model and Table 1 for outcome description and hypotheses. Below, we organize outcomes by the most distal outcomes, holistic solidarity and sustained solidarity, and the mechanisms through which shared-strengths may facilitate these distal outcomes.

Holistic Solidarity

Holistic Goals Beyond Discrimination. Most research on intramminority relations, and stigma-based solidarity specifically, has focused on activism that directly reduces discrimination for marginalized groups. However, reducing discrimination against a marginalized group does not necessarily mean, and is in fact only a component of, improving the marginalized group's lived experiences (see Pham & Chaney, 2025b). That is, marginalized people have goals outside of the discrimination and oppression framework, such as pursuing a desired education and career, resting, and engaging with one's own cultures (e.g., Carey, 2022; Pereira & Banerjee, 2021; Turner, 2022). While endorsed by individuals, these goals are common and reflect the needs of a marginalized group as a collective (e.g., Wurm et al., 2024). For example, in their respective communities, POC have desires to preserve their respective historical memories and to celebrate their own diversity and unity (e.g., Salter & Adams, 2016; Stewart, 2021).

Further demonstrating the group's goals, anti-racism organizations, which are led by and represent the vision of people belonging to the marginalized groups, center their mission on strength-building goals such as facilitating Black joy, creating space for Black imagination, and elevating the image of Black women (e.g., Black Lives Matter, 2023; Pham & Chaney, 2025b; Win With Black Women, 2025). Similarly, U.S. national organizations representing LGBTQ+ communities work toward increasing LGBTQ+ authenticity and celebrating trans joy and visibility (e.g., Keller, 2024). Notably, some work has argued everyday aspects of marginalized people's lives as acts of resistance, including restoration, hair and clothing, and language (e.g., Hersey, 2022; Selvanathan & Salter, 2025), revealing strength-building activism as an understudied area in the literatures on activism and intramminority solidarity.

We consider the above to be strength-building activism, that is, activism that nurtures and promotes the strengths of the target marginalized group, and is collective to the extent that it facilitates a holistic flourishing of *all* people belonging to the target marginalized group. In pursuing this strength-building activism, it is important for marginalized people to receive support from people around them (Turner, 2022). Given the significance of intramminority relationships (e.g., Richeson & Craig, 2011; Visintin et al., 2016), support coming from those

Table 1. Hypothesized Effects of Shared Strengths on Intraminority Solidarity Outcomes.

Outcome	Description	Hypotheses
Strength-Building Activism	Activities that sustain and nurtures target marginalized group's strengths	Increases strength-building activism via motive-goal congruency (Thrash et al., 2012; Yau et al., 2022).
Holistic Perception	Unrestricted perception of own and target marginalized group that affords a full breadth of humanity	Increases holistic perception, via repeated framing and heuristic thinking (Krosnick et al., 1993; Lecheler et al., 2015).
Sustained Activism	Continuous activism for target marginalized group over time, despite failure and repression	Increases sustained activism (Bauer et al., 2021; Selvanathan et al., 2023).
Competitive Victimhood	Belief that one's ingroup members had suffered and/or suffer more than the target outgroup members	Decreases competitive victimhood beliefs, via self-affirmation (Persson & Hostler, 2021; Steele et al., 1993) and increased agency (Gray & Wegner, 2009; SimanTov-Nachlieli et al., 2013).
Coalitional Efficacy	Belief in own and target marginalized group working together to achieve desired goals	Increases coalitional efficacy, via increased agency and cognitive alternatives (Bleh et al., 2025; Jeong et al., 2025; Silverman et al., 2023).
Self-Efficacy	Belief about one's own ability to successfully conduct activism actions for target marginalized group	Increases self-efficacy, via interpretation of difficulty (Bauer et al., 2024; Bauer & Walton, 2023; Hernandez et al., 2021)
Positive Emotions	Positive affective responses in relation to target marginalized group's cause	Increases hope, gratitude, and awe (Oguni & Ishii, 2024; Parmenter et al., 2025; Yan et al., 2024).
Burnout	Physical, emotional, and/or mental exhaustion while engaging in activism for target marginalized group	Decreases activist burnout (Adams-Bass & Chapman-Hilliard, 2021; Hope et al., 2018).
Politicized Identity	Identification with target marginalized group's cause	Increases politicized identity via common ingroup identity (Louis et al., 2020; Thomas et al., 2022).
Linked Fate	Belief that own group's well-being and target marginalized group's well-being are co-dependent	Increases linked fate beliefs via common ingroup identity (Chan & Jasso, 2023; M. A. Craig & Richeson, 2012)

similarly marginalized may be doubly beneficial. For example, past research has shown that POC sought to work together to advance their ingroup interests with an outgroup person of color (versus a White person) who previously expressed a prejudiced comment (Pham & Chaney, 2025a).

In this landscape, we argue that shared strengths, as opposed to shared discrimination, are uniquely equipped to provide a pathway to increase marginalized people's engagement in strength-building activism for each other. This theorizing is supported by the literature on motive-goal congruency, defined as an alignment between explicit goals and implicit motives (Thrash et al., 2012). Specifically, motive-goal congruency is associated with greater engagement in pursuing the set goal (Yau et al., 2022) as well as greater goal persistence and commitment (e.g., Schultheiss & Brunstein, 1999). This literature also shows that continued effort to strive for a goal is associated with self-efficacy in that *specific* domain related to the goal (Messersmith & Schulenberg, 2010). These results suggest that if the highlighted commonalities between marginalized groups are broader and include identity-conscious strengths, marginalized people will be more likely to support each other by engaging in activism that both directly challenges oppression and builds strengths (i.e., strength-building activism). Concurrently, we argue that this holistic solidarity is

in part facilitated by marginalized people's holistic perception of one another.

Marginalized People's Holistic Perceptions of Each Other. We propose reminding marginalized people of their shared strengths can promote a holistic view of their own group *and* of the target marginalized group (i.e., a perception that affords a full breadth of humanity). On the contrary, a frame of shared discrimination may unintentionally increase a myopic view of marginalized people as mere victims of discrimination that may in turn influence how marginalized people engage in intraminority solidarity (see Rogers & Way, 2018). Specifically, when members of a marginalized group seek to form coalitions or engage in activism to uplift another marginalized group, repeated exposure to a framing of their own group and the target marginalized group as sharing commonalities of oppression could contribute to persistent framing effects, such as discrimination-related information being integrated into long-term memory pertinent to the beneficiary marginalized group (Krosnick et al., 1993; Lecheler et al., 2015; Price et al., 1997). Heuristic thinking plays a role in this cycle; with repeated framing, a cognitive shortcut may be created between beneficiary marginalized groups and discrimination, overlooking other important aspects of their lived experiences (Marewski & Gigerenzer, 2012).

In contrast, a shared-strength frame can help marginalized people include other positive narratives about themselves, their group, and other marginalized groups, including a strength focus as active agents against discrimination rather than passive victims (e.g., Jeong et al., 2025; Vollhardt et al., 2023). Focusing on common strengths to promote solidarity engagement can leverage repeated framing and heuristic thinking for marginalized people to nurture a view of themselves and other groups that affords a full humanity (i.e., a view that does not singly associate marginalized people with fixed ideas). Flipping the script, information integrated into long-term memory would be positive aspects of their communities that could help marginalized people avoid victimizing themselves and others (e.g., Krosnick et al., 1993; Lecheler et al., 2015). In turn, we contend that such a holistic perception is a step toward engaging in holistic intraminority solidarity.

Sustained Solidarity

Reminders of shared strengths may positively impact not only *what* solidarity activities marginalized people engage in, but also *how* they engage in such actions. Specifically, a shared-strength prime can help increase the sustained nature of intraminority solidarity, or sustained activism for other marginalized groups over time (e.g., Louis et al., 2020; Thomas et al., 2019). Expanding on the dominant conceptualization of past frequency or future intentions in the activism literature (e.g., Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021; Cortland et al., 2017), research has begun to examine this sustainability of engaging in activism. Most notably, the DIME model (Louis et al., 2020) proposes that in response to a failed action of an activist group, activists within that group can Disengage (i.e., exit the group) or *sustain* by choosing to Innovate (i.e., change tactics from conventional to radical), or Moralize and Energize (i.e., increase sense of moral urgency about the cause and double the efforts toward the cause). Thus, we argue that, with a strength frame, marginalized people will not only engage in intraminority solidarity more frequently but may also maintain their solidarity over an extended period of time.

Evidence that shared-strengths may support more sustained solidarity come from the academic goal pursuit and activism literatures. Prior strength-based research has shown that positioning marginalized people as strong and agentic enhanced their goal pursuits in academic settings (e.g., Bauer et al., 2021; Bauer & Walton, 2023), suggesting strength-frames could also increase goal pursuit in solidarity behaviors. In the specific context of activism, historical collective resilience (i.e., perception of ingroup history's ability to withstand, challenge, and demonstrate strength in the face of oppression), but not collective victimization, significantly predicted Black Americans' greater engagement in the Black Lives Matter movement (Selvanathan et al., 2023). Furthermore, when POC think of themselves as part of their ancestry, a strength afforded by their marginalized backgrounds, they engage in anti-racism activism for one's own ingroup and other marginalized outgroups not

only more frequently, but also more tenaciously (Pham & Garr-Schultz, 2024). Translating these benefits of recognizing ingroup strengths into intraminority relations, we propose shared strengths can directly allow for a sustained pursuit of intraminority solidarity. Simultaneously, we outline below four indirect pathways from shared strengths toward sustained solidarity: reduced competitive victimhood, increased efficacy, increased positive emotion, and less burnout. While efficacy and emotion are two main predictors of collective action in the Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA; for example, van Zomeren et al., 2008, 2018), competitive victimhood is a major deterrent of intraminority solidarity (e.g., Brown & Craig, 2021; Burson & Godfrey, 2020).

Competitive Victimhood. Beliefs about intergroup competition such as competitive victimhood (i.e., belief that one's ingroup members had suffered and/or suffer more than outgroup members) detriment intraminority relations (e.g., Vollhardt, 2012; Warner et al., 2014). That is, past research has shown that making discrimination of two groups salient may encourage marginalized individuals to compare their own discrimination with the highlighted marginalized group (e.g., Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015; Wenzel et al., 2007). Competitive victimhood impedes marginalized people's tendencies to help alleviate the adversity of marginalized outgroup members (e.g., M. A. Craig & Richeson, 2016; Warner et al., 2014).

On the other hand, reminding marginalized group members of shared strengths should not increase and may even reduce competitive victimhood. We leverage the optimal distinctiveness theory to argue that competitive victimhood occurs partly due to marginalized people's sense of distinctiveness being threatened (e.g., Brewer, 1991; Leonardi et al., 2010). That is, when shared discrimination experiences are salient, marginalized people's needs for differentiation are not met (Ufkes et al., 2016). Although both strength-based and stigma-based solidarity framework rely on the mechanism of a common ingroup identity, it is likely that people may feel more distinctive with their strengths because they own them, as opposed to discrimination, which is imposed on them. Therefore, strengths may be less likely than discrimination to be perceived as "limited" or to be competed over to ensure uniqueness. In sum, we propose that a focus on shared strengths (vs. shared discrimination) will create less derogation in intraminority relations because it is more likely to leave optimal distinctiveness needs intact. In addition, the self-affirmation literature demonstrates that having people focus on their positive attributes (shared strengths in this case) after experiencing a threat to their self-integrity can restore people's self-esteem, resulting in less defensive responses in politics (e.g., Persson & Hostler, 2021; Steele et al., 1993; Stone et al., 2011). Based on this logic, a shared strength approach may also result in lower defensiveness that is critical to sustained solidarity.

Finally, because a strength (vs. stigma) frame could reduce marginalized people's victimization of themselves

and other marginalized groups, this decreased victim perception can increase perceptions of their own and other marginalized groups' agency (e.g., Gray & Wegner, 2009; SimanTov-Nachlieli & Shnabel, 2014). This increased agency alleviates the need for marginalized people to restore power through power-seeking behaviors such as engaging in competition narratives (e.g., Foster & Rusbult, 1999; Shnabel & Nadler, 2008). For marginalized groups that are often stereotyped as model minority such as Asian people, restoration of power afforded by shared strengths can reduce internalized model minority myth that prevents Asian people's intramajority solidarity with other groups (Yi & Todd, 2021). Furthermore, greater agency could also afford greater internal, autonomous motivation (i.e., being motivated by an autonomy-oriented desire to improve lives of targeted marginalized group) to engage in solidarity (e.g., Ryan & Deci, 2000; Yip et al., 2024). Thus, with the agency afforded by their own strengths, marginalized people are more likely to not only recognize but also challenge competitive victimhood, leading to more sustained solidarity.

Efficacy

Coalitional Efficacy. Group efficacy, or beliefs about group's ability to create desired change, is a well-established antecedent of collective action in the SIMCA (e.g., Cohen-Chen & Van Zomeren, 2018; van Zomeren et al., 2008). However, efficacy has not been integrated into the intramajority relations literature. Prior work has shown that participative efficacy, or a belief about protest's ability to build a movement, was a strong predictor of collective action (Ayanian et al., 2021), suggesting the importance of cultivating meaningful connections in intramajority solidarity. Bridging across different marginalized groups is especially important because marginalized people sometimes prefer to work exclusively with their ingroup, potentially due to mistrust with other marginalized groups (e.g., Forno & Graziano, 2014; Krogstad & Cox, 2023). We thus propose coalitional efficacy, a belief in the efficacy of two or more marginalized groups working together to achieve desired goals, as a unique benefit of shared strengths.

Importantly, highlighting common strengths between two marginalized groups involves making salient a commonality that signals positive relations between the two groups (Andriguetto et al., 2012). Specifically, past research has found a belief that marginalized students have background-specific strengths to benefit themselves and society (e.g., Hernandez et al., 2021) was endorsed not only by marginalized students, but also people who work with them (e.g., their teachers; Silverman et al., 2023). When educators were exposed to these background-specific strength beliefs about their students, low-SES students demonstrated greater academic persistence due to their own belief about their background-specific strengths (Silverman et al., 2023), suggesting the power of groups believing in each other to achieve a goal. We aim to extend these findings to intramajority relations

and argue that shared strengths may nurture a belief that intramajority coalition will be efficacious at creating desired change. Indeed, recent research found that Black U.S. participants who perceived greater ingroup strengths such as collective resilience and power demonstrated greater collective efficacy, or a belief about Black people's ability to achieve their goals (Jeong, Twali, & Vollhardt, 2025).

In contrast, making salient common discrimination experiences as in stigma-based solidarity may elicit historical collective victimization that dampens coalitional efficacy (e.g., Schori-Eyal et al., 2014). Specifically, a perceived victim status can decrease the felt agency of marginalized groups and therefore coalitional efficacy (e.g., Smith-Appelson et al., 2023). This is in contrast to cognitive alternatives, or the mental accessibility of desirable alternatives to the status quo, that we contend can be uniquely cultivated by a focus on shared strengths (e.g., Mosley et al., 2020; Wright et al., 2020). Cognitive alternatives were associated with collective efficacy beliefs and thus engagement in high-cost activist behaviors for climate justice (Bleh et al., 2025). Taken together, we argue that highlighting common strengths between two marginalized groups can facilitate sustained solidarity efforts via coalitional efficacy.

Self-Efficacy

In addition to group efficacy, prior collective action research has integrated the role of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997), or a belief about one's own ability to successfully conduct activism actions (e.g., Matthieu & Carbone, 2020; Tagkaloglu & Kasser, 2018). In the context of environmental justice, self-efficacy was associated with greater pro-environmental behaviors (Hamann & Reese, 2020). In the proposed framework, we assert that with a shared-strength frame, marginalized people may develop greater self-efficacy in engaging in solidarity (Bauer & Walton, 2023).

The literature on identity-based strengths points to the promising role of shared strengths in increasing activism self-efficacy and thus sustained solidarity. For instance, low-SES students and students of color who were asked to reflect on strengths that they derived from their backgrounds believed that they were assets to society, thus demonstrating greater persistence in the face of academic challenges (Hernandez et al., 2021; Silverman et al., 2022). This research aligns with the growing evidence that understanding and engaging with one's own history, which encompasses ingroup strengths, is instrumental for POC to recognize and combat racism (e.g., Mosley et al., 2020, 2021). Identity-reframing interventions that position marginalized people as strong and agentic improved their goal pursuits and academic performance (Bauer et al., 2024; Bauer & Walton, 2023) and may therefore facilitate sustained solidarity.

In the activism context, POC who perceived themselves as part of their ancestral heritage reported greater activism self-efficacy (Pham & Garr-Schultz, 2024). This activism

self-efficacy was in turn associated with greater frequency and tenacity in engaging activism to promote equality and liberation for POC in the U.S. and for the Palestinian people. Research on identity-based motivation suggests that this self-efficacy in activism can be facilitated by adaptive interpretation of difficulty during activism (Oyserman & Destin, 2010). Empirical work has demonstrated that a strength-based frame in academics could help students interpret difficulties as important to their academic growth, and not impossible to overcome (Hernandez et al., 2021). Thus, we postulate that, empowered with these shared strength beliefs, marginalized people may be more likely to interpret challenges during solidarity efforts as important and possible to overcome.

Positive Emotions. Emotions are one of the key predictors of collective action (e.g., Green et al., 2023; Landmann & Rohmann, 2020) and are yet to be integrated into intraminority solidarity. Given the positivity afforded by the strength-based framework (Silverman et al., 2023), we argue recognition of shared strengths will increase positive emotions, which contributes to sustained solidarity. Research has found the impact of positive emotions such as hope, pride, and joy, on engagement in activism (e.g., Sabucedo & Vilas, 2014; C. Zúñiga et al., 2023). For instance, hope, a discrete emotion directed toward an envisioned future that is more positive than current state, promotes collective action, both one-time and over time (e.g., Cohen-Chen & Van Zomeren, 2018; Yip et al., 2024). In the 2022 Balfour protest demanding the resignation of the Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu, Israelis who perceived closer distance to the desired change were more likely to engage in sustained collective action (Cohen-Eick et al., 2023).

Translating these findings to marginalized people's solidarity with each other, we propose that hope could be more readily achieved when marginalized people focus on strengths, rather than discrimination, as a basis of commonality. That is, recognizing common strengths (e.g., resilience, commitment to social justice) may provide marginalized people with greater hope and a perception that social change is closer on the horizon (Cohen-Chen & Pliskin, 2024; Cohen-Chen & Van Zomeren, 2018). Prior strength-based research has demonstrated that self-reported community resilience was associated with greater hope among LGBTQ+ people (Parmenter et al., 2025). Strengths such as agency and community helped increase sexual minority women's hope during challenging times such as the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election (Riggle et al., 2018).

Broadly, research has demonstrated the positive impact of being affirmed, such as when being reminded of common strengths, on positive emotions in intergroup contexts (e.g., Chung & Pechenkina, 2023; Zapata, 2020). We thus argue that a reminder of shared strengths can boost not only hope but other positive emotions such as gratitude and awe (e.g., Kaplan et al., 2014; Tausch & Becker, 2013). Prior work has shown that POC who think of themselves as part of their ancestral lineage more strongly report greater gratitude and

hope (Pham & Garr-Schultz, 2025). Gratitude is associated with prosocial behaviors even when such actions are costly or in uncertain circumstances (e.g., Bartlett & DeSteno, 2006; Oguni & Ishii, 2024). In addition, feeling awe (i.e., feelings of amazement and wonder in response to a vast, physically or psychologically, object) promoted pro-environmental behaviors (e.g., Yan et al., 2024). Taken together, focusing on shared strengths may cultivate sustained engagement in intraminority solidarity partly by inducing positive emotions.

Less Burnout. Finally, shared strengths can facilitate sustained engagement in intraminority solidarity by alleviating burnout for people who have engaged in activism. While definitions vary across disciplines, burnout is a common phenomenon in activism and we refer to activism burnout as a prolonged and debilitating physical, emotional, and/or mental exhaustion due to activism-related stressors experienced by people who engage in activism (e.g., Maslach & Jackson, 1981; Tavarez, 2024). Qualitative work has highlighted burnout as a major cause of movement unsustainability (e.g., Eaton & Warner, 2021; Gorski & Erakat, 2019). Activists who experienced more emotional exhaustion were less likely to engage in sustained collective action to demand Netanyahu's resignation in Israel (Cohen-Eick et al., 2023). Similarly, increases in tendencies to experience burnout was associated with less collective action against the Israeli occupation over time among Palestinians (Vandermeulen et al., 2022). Guarding against burnout is thus important for sustained intraminority solidarity.

While a critical side effect of perceiving similar discrimination experiences is the debilitating impact of anticipating discrimination on marginalized people's physical and mental health (e.g., Chaney et al., 2021; Pham & Borton, 2024; Pinel, 1999), we contend that recognizing shared strengths across marginalized groups may lead to less burnout during intraminority solidarity. Indeed, various identity-conscious strengths such as resilience and identity pride are associated with positive psychosocial and well-being outcomes (e.g., better adjustment and less depression; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Scandurra et al., 2017). Specifically, past research has illustrated the positive effects of embracing Black history, a source of Black people's strength, for Black people's well-being and self-concepts (e.g., Adams-Bass & Chapman-Hilliard, 2021; Chapman-Hilliard & Adams-Bass, 2016). Such strengths can at times serve a protective role in the relationship between discrimination and health (e.g., Hope et al., 2019; Scandurra et al., 2017). More concretely, strategies that allow marginalized people to focus on their strengths, such as a strength-based program providing an affirmative environment for discussion of LGBTQ+ identity issues, help foster positive well-being (e.g., S. L. Craig et al., 2022; S. L. Craig & Furman, 2018). Given the well-being benefits of the strength-based framework, we propose that shared strengths as a catalyst for intraminority solidarity will lead to less burnout compared to shared discrimination.

The Relationship Between Strength-Based and Stigma-Based Solidarity

While we have thus far presented a variety of unique benefits of shared strengths over shared discrimination, we argue that both mechanisms are instrumental to creating and sustaining intraminority solidarity in different contexts. We first reiterate that both frameworks acknowledge discrimination experienced by systemically marginalized people; the difference, then, is the focus on the shared discrimination itself or the shared strengths that emerge in this oppressive landscape. Accordingly, we argue these frameworks are related, but distinct (i.e., not two sides of the same coin), for the following reasons (see Table 2).

Prior research on collective victimization and history revealed that marginalized people who recognize shared strengths may also recognize shared discrimination, and vice versa (e.g., Selvanathan & Salter, 2025; Vollhardt et al., 2023). Simultaneously, research on anti-racism organization shows that Black people perceived combating discrimination and uplifting marginalized people's strengths as two *distinct* but related goals (Pham & Chaney, 2025b). Therefore, experimentally prompting one mechanism (e.g., shared strengths) may also increase salience of another (e.g., shared discrimination) due to a common ingroup identity being forged, but one mechanism is *not* a prerequisite for the other. In other words, a person does *not* necessarily have to recognize shared discrimination to recognize shared strengths, and vice versa.

Second, shared strengths and shared discrimination may both be effective at achieving certain benefits. Particularly, because both mechanisms rely on forging a common ingroup identity (e.g., Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), both may benefit from the perceived similarity and positivity that results from the previously outgroup marginalized members being reclassified as ingroup members (Gaertner et al., 1993). For example, the common ingroup identity alleviates marginalized people's tendency to derogate against target marginalized groups (e.g., Burson & Godfrey, 2020; Cortland et al., 2017). Furthermore, this common ingroup identity could facilitate a sense of linked fate that could also contribute to solidarity efforts (Chan & Jasso, 2023; M. A. Craig & Richeson, 2012). Moreover, both mechanisms could empower a politicized identity, or identification with the cause (in this case the target marginalized group's equality and liberation; e.g., van Zomeren et al., 2018). Empirical evidence demonstrated greater identification with activists of a particular cause as a predictor of sustained engagement in collective action (e.g., Louis et al., 2020; Thomas et al., 2022; Yip et al., 2024). It is possible that the common ingroup identity forged by both mechanisms can lead to greater identification with the target marginalized group's cause (Pérez et al., 2024).

Third, shared strengths and shared discrimination may have unique effects for intraminority solidarity. While we have previously argued that coalitional efficacy and self-efficacy are more

readily achieved by shared strengths, shared discrimination is more likely to increase other predictors of intraminority solidarity in the collective action literature. For example, shared discrimination can uniquely trigger anger by elevating injustice appraisals (e.g., Landmann & Rohmann, 2020; van Zomeren et al., 2018). Furthermore, research has shown that perception of injustice was associated with greater moral obligation, or a motivational force to engage in activism to comply with one's own values and principles (Sabucedo et al., 2018). Thus, in relation to shared strengths, shared discrimination may facilitate a stronger moral obligation to engage in solidarity for the target marginalized group (e.g., Uysal et al., 2022; Vilas & Sabucedo, 2012). Thus, shared discrimination and shared strengths may activate different pathways for a marginalized person to engage in intraminority solidarity. Importantly, these different pathways can work in tandem, such that efficacy is shaped by morality and identity (e.g., Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021; C. Zúñiga et al., 2023). In addition, amid political repression, efficacy must go hand in hand with anger and moral obligation to promote collective action (Ayanian et al., 2021), speaking to the need to incorporate both shared strengths and shared discrimination as mobilizing strategies in certain contexts.

Finally, despite their benefits, both mechanisms may create distinctiveness threat, specifically in how marginalized people's sense of positive uniqueness associated with their own group is compromised (e.g., Ball & Branscombe, 2019; Tajfel & Turner, 2004). Distinctiveness threats can have negative implications such as distancing oneself from other groups and more negative attitudes toward other marginalized groups (Wohl et al., 2011). Despite the conceptualization of strengths that are specific to marginalized people's unique lived experiences, strength-based solidarity may risk homogenizing marginalized experiences by relying on similarities. That is, people with relatively privileged positions may equate their lived experiences with those subject to a greater number of oppressive systems (Brown & Craig, 2021). In one study, only highlighting common group identity led to lower collective action intention than did highlighting both common group identity and distinctive group identity (Ufkes et al., 2016). Therefore, future research should examine how people of different marginalized groups may recognize and leverage both different and similar strengths and discrimination.

Based on this analysis, we contend that shared strength may and should be leveraged in tandem with shared discrimination in the psychological study and the practical application of intraminority solidarity. Mirroring the prior literature examining multiple antecedents of collective action simultaneously (e.g., Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021; van Zomeren et al., 2018), we encourage researchers to evaluate these two mechanisms as complementary (rather than oppositional), while identifying techniques to manipulate one mechanism but not the other. In doing so, future research at the initial stage must qualitatively examine marginalized people's lay knowledge about what specific strengths and discrimination experiences marginalized people recognize among each other (see Pham, Chaney, &

Table 2. Comparisons of Strength-Based Versus Stigma-Based Solidarity.

Framework	Strength-based solidarity	Stigma-based solidarity
Theoretical bases	Common Ingroup Identity Model and Critical Strength-Based Theories	Common Ingroup Identity Model
Role of discrimination	Acknowledges discrimination as the context but focuses on shared strengths that persist despite such discrimination	Focused solely on discrimination and shared discrimination as mechanism for solidarity
Role of strengths	Focuses on strengths as mechanism for solidarity	Disregards strengths
Similar effects	Recategorization of outgroup marginalized members as ingroups \Rightarrow superordinate identity \Rightarrow positive intraminority relations (e.g., positive attitudes, shared fate beliefs, reduced biases, support for discrimination-reduction policies, politicized identity)	
Unique effects	See Figure 2	Injustice appraisals, anger, moral obligation

Ramírez-Esparza, 2024). For instance, LGBTQ+ people in the U.S. may find identity pride, resilience, and potentially cultural diversity as salient common strengths with the Palestinian people (e.g., Abreu et al., 2021; Erakat et al., 2024). Furthermore, bi/multilingualism, familialism, and spirituality are strengths that are especially salient among communities of color (e.g., Choi & Hastings, 2019; Germán et al., 2009; Jeglic et al., 2016).

On the ground, activists and organizers can assess a movement's needs at a specific time point to determine the suitable mobilizing strategy. For instance, if efficacy and hope seem low among members of a coalitional organization, reminding them of shared strengths across marginalized groups may be warranted. On the contrary, if a sense of urgency is a priority, perhaps shared discrimination is more fitting to create moral obligation to act. To provide concrete insights for these efforts, researchers can go beyond a target perspective presented in this manuscript to a perceiver lens, specifically to examine perceptions of individuals and organizations who express these similarity frames (e.g., Chaney et al., 2024; Dietze & Craig, 2021). For instance, prior research has shown that White women who claim solidarity with Black people by highlighting common discrimination between White women and Black people are perceived by Black people as less genuine allies (Chaney et al., 2024). Furthermore, Black and White people engage with anti-racism organization differently when they claim to target discrimination versus strengths (Pham & Chaney, 2025b). Integrating a multi-perspective approach is a necessary step toward examining and promoting strength-based solidarity.

Intersectional Concerns

Importantly, the strength-based solidarity framework discussed in this paper has yet to recognize the hierarchy of oppression that is central to intersectionality. Specifically, according to intersectional theory, various axes of power and oppression operate in tandem to shape people's lived experiences (Crenshaw, 1991; Crenshaw et al., 2000). Thus, people who are subject to a greater number of oppressive systems (i.e., hold a greater number of systemically marginalized identities) may experience discrimination more frequently

and distinct forms of oppression (e.g., Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Remedios & Snyder, 2015). For instance, women of color and LGBTQ+ POC (compared with White women and White LGBTQ+ people) experience a distinct form of oppression called intersectional invisibility (i.e., womanhood and queerness are equated with Whiteness and hence those who fall out of these prototypes are made invisible; Remedios & Snyder, 2018).

While both stigma-based solidarity and strength-based solidarity draw on similarities between different marginalized groups without recognizing the intersectional nature of oppression, we contend that strength-based solidarity is less likely to run the risk of erasing hierarchies and nuances of oppression. Specifically, by focusing on shared discrimination, nuances in discrimination experiences between different marginalized groups are minimized. For instance, Asian people may equate their distinct discrimination experiences with slavery, murder, and dispossession that are imposed on Black and Indigenous people (Wang & Santos, 2023). This tendency may lead to ineffective efforts to uplift people whose experiences are made invisible and challenge the hierarchies of oppression (Pham & Chaney, 2024). Particularly, people who are relatively less oppressed may falsely equate their experiences with those who are more oppressed, which may create frictions in solidarity (e.g., Chaney et al., 2024; Mathew et al., 2023). Such tendencies can lead to movement co-optation by outgroup marginalized allies (Gorski & Erakat, 2019; Mathew et al., 2023). This co-optation rooted in equalizing discrimination experiences may negatively impact people belonging to a group whom activism is meant to serve.

While strength-based solidarity does not equate discrimination experiences and is thus less likely to produce co-optation as a result, strength-based solidarity also does not inherently center intersectionality theory. However, there are several routes to integrate intersectionality into strength-based solidarity. First, just as inhabiting an intersectional set of identities is associated with unique challenges (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008), different sets of identities may also lead to perceiving a unique set of identity-based strengths. Exploring these nuanced distinctions will be critical for tailoring the strongest coalitions between specific combinations of marginalized groups. Second, prior

work has shown that when a White woman sacrifices a speaking opportunity to uplift women of color, the White woman is seen as a more trustworthy ally, which increases women of color's sense of identity safety in an organization (Pham & Chaney, 2024). Integrating this work with a strength-based lens, future research can examine how highlighting the strengths of people who hold multiple marginalized identities could increase people's engagement in activities to support those who hold multiple marginalized identities. This direction can ultimately help bridge intersectional disparities, such as income disparities between Black versus White women.

Third, research on strength-based solidarity must consider how people may hold both marginalized and privileged identities (e.g., Chaney & Forbes, 2023; Pham & Chaney, 2024). For example, reminding White women of Black people's strength (vs. discrimination experiences) may prompt White women to recognize common strengths between women and Black people. This is as opposed to a defensive response where White women claimed discrimination against their own group in response to a reminder of anti-Black racism (Brown & Craig, 2021). Hence, empowered with a common-strength perspective, White women may experience less identity threat and therefore may be more likely to dismantle (rather than deny or distance themselves from) White privilege (Knowles et al., 2014). On the other hand, despite the specification of strengths being conscious of marginalization in the current framework, a focus on shared strengths (as opposed to shared discrimination) may have unintentional effects for conservative White LGBTQ+ people, or those who strongly identify with a White identity (Bonam et al., 2019; Bonilla-Silva et al., 2006). For example, a shared-strength frame could strengthen their beliefs in colorblindness or meritocracy, leading to reduced support for racism-reducing policies (e.g., Selvanathan & Salter, 2025; Zimmerman & Reyna, 2013).

Finally, future research should leverage the experiential knowledge of people who hold multiple marginalized identities, which is often treated as a compass in intersectional research (e.g., Bell, 1992; Uluğ et al., 2023). For instance, LGBTQ+ POC may have unique insights about common strengths of the multiple marginalized communities they belong to (e.g., Abreu et al., 2021; Bowleg, 2013). Furthermore, as people who hold a greater number of marginalized identities are more likely to recognize common perpetrators and common discrimination experiences across different marginalized groups (Pham et al., 2023), they may also recognize more common strengths and are more likely to engage in holistic and sustained solidarity as argued above.

Applications

The strength-based solidarity framework has the potential to inform social change in education, activism, and clinical work. First, this framework will inform efforts to educate marginalized children and youth about their own and other marginalized groups. That is, if empirical research indicates

that highlighting common identity-conscious strengths can foster positive intramimicry relations, institutional support (e.g., via financial resources, laws, and legislations) for training programs that help children attune to common strengths between marginalized groups should be implemented. This transformation would require intentional, substantial restructuring given that the histories exposed to marginalized children early in their lives tend to focus on marginalized people's suffering and victim status (Vollhardt, 2015). For instance, the curricula designed by Facing History and Ourselves, while highlighting parallels between marginalized groups, mainly present their victim narratives (Facing History, n.d.). Therefore, early interventions (re)orienting children to marginalized strengths would play a key role in facilitating long-lasting, strong intramimicry solidarity (e.g., McLoughlin & Over, 2019; Reimer et al., 2022).

These strength-based education efforts could also apply to adults. For instance, discussion about common strengths between marginalized groups could be integrated as one of the foundational tenets for intergroup dialogues, a program that brings people from various backgrounds to work with each other through sustained conversations toward social justice goals (X. Zúñiga et al., 2007). The strategy of highlighting common strengths could work in other contexts such as political education sessions and classrooms of various educational levels. While there are panels that highlight the experiences of survivors from different backgrounds such as the website Witness.org (n.d.), forums for marginalized people to come together and find common strengths are rare. Integrating this space into different media programs and platforms (e.g., Jubilee—a YouTube channel bringing people together to facilitate conversation to foster mutual understanding and connection) would potentially have a great impact on changing people's mindsets on a larger scale (see Pietri et al., 2024). Investing in education and discussion initiatives for various demographic groups at different fronts would begin to nurture a culture of elevating common identity-conscious strengths between marginalized people.

Importantly, this framework can inform activism strategies in various contexts (e.g., organization, classroom, on the streets) to mobilize marginalized people to stand in solidarity with each other. For instance, activism posters could raise awareness of common strengths so that they could bring about the promising benefits as presented above. Political events (e.g., teach-ins, reading groups) could include open discussion between community members about common strengths as well as critical readings on this topic. Informed by prior work on lay theories of activism (Pham, Chaney, & Ramírez-Esparza, 2024), these efforts should target community members at a mass level while at the same time affording individuals with opportunities to engage in deep study with those around them and collectively develop and sharpen their skills and knowledge. Broadly, this line of work would advocate for a need to integrate a strength-based approach into the strategies and principles of organizations aiming to promote collective liberation.

Finally, research on strength-based solidarity could be applied in clinical contexts to resolve conflicts and strengthen connections among individuals from different marginalized groups, and ultimately promote marginalized clients' well-being (e.g., Pachankis et al., 2020; Sherman et al., 2017). For example, if positive outcomes were found with perceiving common strengths across groups, psychologists can consider developing exercises for marginalized clients to recognize and embrace identity-conscious strengths shared with people of diverse backgrounds. For example, a client can be recommended to keep a daily diary of strengths they discern among others and themselves and develop specific step-by-step plans to leverage such commonalities to develop positive intergroup relations in daily lives (e.g., Miller & Kelley, 1994). Such exercises could be helpful for marginalized clients who struggle with relationships with those from a different marginalized group, especially as it relates to power dynamics. These proposals hold great promise given the positive outcomes associated with strength-based approaches in counseling and clinical contexts (e.g., Flückiger et al., 2023; Yuen et al., 2020). Theoretically, integrating this framework into clinical practice responsibly responds to the increasing call to move away from the deficit-based toward a strength-based approach in promoting marginalized people's well-being (Perrin et al., 2020).

Constraints of Generality Statement

Research on intramimority solidarity has mostly been examined in North America and Europe, hence requiring future research on strength-based solidarity to study more diverse populations including the Global Majority countries. This gap is noteworthy considering geopolitical power imbalances that prioritize the struggles of people in the Global North over the Global South (Pillay, 2022). Furthermore, partly due to sampling convenience, the literature has focused on certain axes of oppression such as race/ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation, overlooking other important dimensions such as social class and disability (e.g., Gampa & Sawyer, 2024). Finally, theories are often tested via laboratory experiments, but field studies would be necessary to establish if the observed effects in controlled environments will generalize to material effects within existing social movements or campaigns. In a similar vein, samples generally include mostly non-activists, necessitating a push to actively recruit and collaborate with activists to nuance theory-building to maximize generalizability of strength-based solidarity on the ground (see Uluğ et al., 2023).

Citations Statement

Given the global and intergenerational nature of activism and solidarity, the present review draws from the work of people from diverse backgrounds and contexts, and across different eras. While the literature on stigma-based solidarity was predominantly conducted on U.S. participants, we intentionally cite work from the Global Majority, including Palestine and

Chile, in theorizing strength-based solidarity (see Teo, 2015). Even among the research performed in the U.S., we center the perspectives of scholars who have lived experiences with one or more intersecting systems of oppression, especially those who are historically silenced or made invisible in the U.S. (e.g., Roberts et al., 2020; Smith & Garrett-Scott, 2021). Given that strength-based solidarity follows in the footsteps of social movements on the ground, this paper interweaves the work of psychologists and people from various fields, such as sociology, critical race theory, and history. Moreover, we leverage the work of not only scholars but also organizations and activists who organize with community members to effect social change.

Conclusion

“The master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s house” (Audre Lorde, 1984). The current paper proposes going beyond “the master’s tools”—the historical deficit-based approach in social psychology—to adopt a strength-based approach to examine and build the foundation for intramimority solidarity. Integrating literatures on intramimority relations and collective action, this review proposes a strength-based solidarity framework, where shared identity-conscious strengths among systemically marginalized people serve as a novel, empowering mechanism to cultivate holistic and sustained intramimority solidarity. We consider the intersections of strength-based solidarity with stigma-based solidarity and intersectionality. Findings of this research program can contribute to practical efforts in education, activism, clinical practice to mobilize people from diverse backgrounds to collectively build a culture of embracing marginalized strengths and work together to bring about transformative changes in the lives of all marginalized people.

ORCID IDs

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

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

Alexandra Garr-Schultz  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0515-7985>

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.

Note

1. We use the term “systemically marginalized” to center the systemic, structural, and institutional (as opposed to interpersonal) level of marginalization against people who are subject to marginalization.

References

Abreu, R. L., Gonzalez, K. A., Arora, S., Sostre, J. P., Lockett, G. M., & Mosley, D. V. (2023). "Coming together after tragedy reaffirms the strong sense of community and pride we have": LGBTQ people find strength in community and cultural values during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, 10(1), 140–149. <https://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000516>

Abreu, R. L., Gonzalez, K. A., Capielo Rosario, C., Lindley, L., & Lockett, G. M. (2021). "What American dream is this?": The effect of Trump's presidency on immigrant Latinx transgender people. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 68(6), 657–669. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000541>

Acar, Y. G., Kellezi, B., & Penić, S. (Eds.). (2025). *The power of collective resilience against political violence and repression* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781032708492>

Adams-Bass, V. N., & Chapman-Hilliard, C. (2021). Better to have than to have not: An investigation of black history knowledge, identity, academic achievement, and educational aspirations. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 90(4), 524–538. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48679127>

Agostini, M., & van Zomeren, M. (2021). Toward a comprehensive and potentially cross-cultural model of why people engage in collective action: A quantitative research synthesis of four motivations and structural constraints. *Psychological Bulletin*, 147(7), 667–700. <https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000256>

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Addison-Wesley.

Almario, M., Riggle, E. D. B., Rostosky, S. S., & Alcalde, M. C. (2013). Positive themes in LGBT self-identities in Spanish-speaking countries. *International Perspectives in Psychology: Research, Practice, Consultation*, 2(1), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0031055>

André, C. (2018). Phrenology and the Rwandan genocide. *Arquivos de neuro-psiquiatria*, 76, 277–282.

Andrighetto, L., Mari, S., Volpato, C., & Behluli, B. (2012). Reducing competitive victimhood in Kosovo: The role of extended contact and common ingroup identity. *Political Psychology*, 33(4), 513–529. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2012.00887.x>

Ayanian, A. H., Tausch, N., Acar, Y. G., Chayinska, M., Cheung, W. Y., & Lukyanova, Y. (2021). Resistance in repressive contexts: A comprehensive test of psychological predictors. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 120(4), 912–939. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000285>

Ball, T. C., & Branscombe, N. R. (2019). When do groups with a victimized past feel solidarity with other victimized groups? In R. K. Mallett & M. J. Monteith (Eds.), *Confronting prejudice and discrimination: The science of changing minds and behaviors* (pp. 73–92). Elsevier Academic Press. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-814715-3.00004-7>

Bandura, A. (1997). *Self-efficacy: The exercise of control*. W H Freeman/Times Books/Henry Holt & Co.

Bartlett, M. Y., & DeSteno, D. (2006). Gratitude and prosocial behavior: Helping when it costs you. *Psychological Science*, 17(4), 319–325. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2006.01705.x>

Bauer, C. A., Boemelburg, R., & Walton, G. M. (2021). Resourceful actors, not weak victims: Reframing refugees' stigmatized identity enhances long-term academic engagement. *Psychological Science*, 32(12), 1896–1906. <https://doi.org/10.1177/09567976211028978>

Bauer, C. A., Miller-Cotto, D., Silverman, D. M., & Frankenhuys, W. E. (2025). Recognizing people's agency amidst disadvantage: How to study inequality using a holistic approach that is accurate and non-stigmatizing. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 19(2), Article e70035. <https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.70035>

Bauer, C. A., Walton, G., Job, V., & Stephens, N. (2024). The strengths of people in low-SES positions: An identity-reframing intervention improves low-SES students' achievement over one semester. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 16(1), 45–55. <https://doi.org/10.1177/19485506241284806>

Bauer, C. A., & Walton, G. M. (2023). Identity-reframing interventions: How to effectively highlight individuals' background-specific strengths. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 18(1), e12830.

Bell, D. (1992). *Face at the bottom of the well: The permanence of racism*. Basic Books.

Black Lives Matter. (2023, June 30). *About Black Lives Matter*. <https://blacklivesmatter.com/about/#vision>

Blazina, C., & Cox, K. (2022, November 28). *Black and White Americans are far apart in their views of reparations for slavery*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2022/11/28/black-and-white-americans-are-far-apart-in-their-views-of-reparations-for-slavery/>

Bleh, J., Masson, T., Köhler, S., & Fritsche, I. (2025). From imagination to activism: Cognitive alternatives motivate commitment to activism through identification with social movements and collective efficacy. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 64(1), Article e12811. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12811>

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 Psychological and Personality Science*, 10(2), 257–265. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550617751583>

Bonilla-Silva, E., Goar, C., & Embrick, D. G. (2006). When whites flock together: The social psychology of white habitus. *Critical Sociology*, 32(2–3), 229–253.

Bowleg, L. (2013). "Once you've blended the cake, you can't take the parts back to the main ingredients": Black gay and bisexual men's descriptions and experiences of intersectionality. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, 68(11–12), 754–767. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-012-0152-4>

Branscombe, N. R., Warner, R. H., Klar, Y., & Fernández, S. (2015). Historical group victimization entails moral obligations for descendants. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 59, 118–129. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2015.04.003>

Brewer, M. B. (1991). The social self: On being the same and different at the same time. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 17(5), 475–482. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167291175001>

Brodsky, A., Buckingham, S., Fedi, A., Gattino, S., Rochira, A., Altal, D., & Mannarini, T. (2022). Resilience and empowerment in immigrant experiences: A look through the trans-conceptual model of empowerment and resilience. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 92(5), 564–577. <https://doi.org/10.1037/ort0000634>

Brown, R. M., & Craig, M. A. (2021). 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>

Buchanan, S. (2005, July 27). *Tensions mounting between Blacks and Latinos nationwide*. SPL Center. <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2005/tensions-mounting-between-blacks-and-latinos-nationwide>

Burson, E., & Godfrey, E. B. (2018). The state of the union: Contemporary interminority attitudes in the United States. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 40*(6), 396–413. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01973533.2018.1520106>

Burson, E., & Godfrey, E. B. (2020). Intramiority solidarity: The role of critical consciousness. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 50*(6), 1362–1377. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2679>

Burton, M., & Guzzo, R. (2020). Liberation psychology: Origins and development. In L. Comas-Díaz & E. Torres Rivera (Eds.), *Liberation psychology: Theory, method, practice, and social justice* (pp. 17–40). American Psychological Association. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0000198-002>

Carey, R. L. (2022). “Whatever you become, just be proud of it.” Uncovering the ways families influence Black and Latino adolescent boys’ postsecondary future selves. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 37*(1), 59–97. <https://doi.org/10.1177/07435584211018450>

Carlo, G., Murry, V. M., Davis, A. N., Gonzalez, C. M., & Debreaux, M. L. (2022). Culture-related adaptive mechanisms to race-related trauma among African American and US Latinx Youth. *Adversity and Resilience Science, 3*(3), 247–259. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s42844-022-00065-x>

Case, A. D., & Hunter, C. D. (2012). Counterspaces: A unit of analysis for understanding the role of settings in marginalized individuals’ adaptive responses to oppression. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 50*(1–2), 257–270. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-012-9497-7>

Chan, N. K. M., & Jasso, F. (2023). From inter-racial solidarity to action: Minority linked fate and African American, Latina/o, and Asian American political participation. *Political Behavior, 45*(3), 1097–1119. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-021-09750-6>

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., & Forbes, M. (2023). We stand in solidarity with you (if it helps our ingroup). *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 26*(2), 304–320. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13684302211067143>

Chaney, K. E., Sanchez, D. T., Himmelstein, M. S., & Manuel, S. K. (2021). Lay theory of generalized prejudice moderates cardiovascular stress responses to racism for White women. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 24*(6), 998–1015. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430220929078>

Chapman-Hilliard, C., & Adams-Bass, V. (2016). A conceptual framework for utilizing Black history knowledge as a path to psychological liberation for Black youth. *Journal of Black Psychology, 42*(6), 479–507. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798415597840>

Chen, G. A., & Buell, J. Y. (2018). Of models and myths: Asian(Americans) in STEM and the neoliberal racial project. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 21*(5), 607–625. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2017.1377170>

Choi, S. A., & Hastings, J. F. (2019). Religion, spirituality, coping, and resilience among African Americans with diabetes. *Journal of Religion & Spirituality in Social Work: Social Thought, 38*(1), 93–114. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15426432.2018.1524735>

Chung, E., & Pechenkina, A. O. (2023). Testing the effects of group-affirmation in active conflict: Ukrainians’ trust toward Russia. *PLoS ONE, 18*(5), Article e0270266. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0270266>

Cipollina, R., Ruben, M., Fu, C., Maroney, M., Bettergarcia, J., Fogwell, N., Gonzalez Lopez, A., & Levitt, H. (2024). The damaging legacy of damage-centered LGBTQ+ research: Applications in healthcare and implications on LGBTQ+ health. *Journal of Social Issues, 80*(3), 973–999. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12641>

Cohen-Chen, S., & Pliskin, R. (2024). Hope: The experience and functions of a seemingly-positive group-based emotion. *European Review of Social Psychology, 36*(1), 35–70. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2024.2347815>

Cohen-Chen, S., & Van Zomeren, M. (2018). Yes we can? Group efficacy beliefs predict collective action, but only when hope is high. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 77*, 50–59. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2018.03.016>

Cohen-Eick, N., Shuman, E., Van Zomeren, M., & Halperin, E. (2023). Should I stay or should I go? Motives and barriers for sustained collective action toward social change. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 51*(6), 910–927. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672231206638>

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>

Cox, K. (2023, February 16). *Black Americans firmly support gender equality but are split on transgender and nonbinary issues*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/2023/02/16/black-americans-views-on-transgender-and-nonbinary-issues/>

Craig, M. A., DeHart, T., Richeson, J. A., & Fiedorowicz, L. (2012). Do unto others as others have done unto you? Perceiving sexism influences women’s evaluations of stigmatized racial groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 38*(9), 1107–1119. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167212445210>

Craig, M. A., & Richeson, J. A. (2012). Coalition or derogation? How perceived discrimination influences intramiority intergroup relations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 102*(4), 759–777. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0026481>

Craig, M. A., & Richeson, J. A. (2014). Discrimination divides across identity dimensions: Perceived racism reduces support for gay rights and increases anti-gay bias. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 55*, 169–174. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2014.07.008>

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., & Richeson, J. A. (2018). Hispanic population growth engenders conservative shift among non-Hispanic racial minorities. *Social Psychological and Personality Science, 9*(4), 383–392. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550617712029>

Craig, S. L., & Furman, E. (2018). Do marginalized youth experience strengths in strengths-based interventions? Unpacking program acceptability through two interventions for sexual and gender minority youth. *Journal of Social Service Research*, 44(2), 168–179. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01488376.2018.1436631>

Craig, S. L., Iacono, G., McInroy, L., Kirkland, A., Pascoe, R., & Kourgiantakis, T. (2022). Demonstrating LGBTQ+ affirmative practice in groups: Developing competence through simulation-based learning. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 50(3), 297–307. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-022-00850-2>

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241–1299. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039>

Crenshaw, K., Gotanda, N., Peller, G., & Thomas, K. (2000). *Critical race theory: The key writings that formed the movement*. The New York Press.

Cummings, S., & Lambert, T. (1997). Anti-Hispanic and anti-Asian sentiments among African Americans. *Social Science Quarterly*, 78(2), 338–353.

Dawson, M. C. (1995). *Behind the mule: Race and class in African-American politics*. Princeton University Press.

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2001). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. New York University Press.

Delgado, Z. J. (2016). *The Longue Durée of ethnic studies: Race, education and the struggle for self-determination* (ProQuest ID: Delgado_berkeley_0028E_16227. Merritt ID: ark:/13030/m5j724r1). UC Berkeley. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/84n3f8kh>

Dietze, P., & Craig, M. A. (2021). Framing economic inequality and policy as group disadvantages (versus group advantages) spurs support for action. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 5(3), 349–360. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-020-00988-4>

Dunn, D. S., & Burcaw, S. (2013). Disability identity: Exploring narrative accounts of disability. *Rehabilitation Psychology*, 58(2), 148–157. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0031691>

Eaton, A., & Warner, L. R. (2021). Social justice burnout: Engaging in self-care while doing diversity work. In M. E. Kite, K. A. Case, & W. R. Williams (Eds.), *Navigating difficult moments in teaching diversity and social justice* (pp. 31–43). American Psychological Association. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0000216-003>

Erakat, M., Moor, A., Hindi, N., El-Kurd, M., & Al-Arian, L. (2024, January 25). What does it mean to be Palestinian now? *The Nation*. <https://www.thenation.com/article/world/what-does-it-mean-to-be-palestinian-now/>

Estes, N. (2019). *Our history is the future: Standing Rock versus the Dakota Access Pipeline, and the long tradition of Indigenous resistance*. Verso Books.

Evans, E. (2022). Political intersectionality and disability activism: Approaching and understanding difference and unity. *The Sociological Review*, 70(5), 986–1004. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026122111231>

Facing History. (n.d.). *Why facing history*. <https://www.facinghistory.org/why-facing-history>

Falco, B. A., & Radke, H. R. M. (2025). Investigating the role of multiple disadvantaged groups and intersectional awareness in promoting intramorality solidarity. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 13(1), 155–173. <https://doi.org/10.5964/jssp.15013>

Fanon, F. (1963). *The wretched of the earth*. Grove Press.

Flückiger, C., Munder, T., Del Re, A. C., & Solomonov, N. (2023). Strength-based methods—A narrative review and comparative multilevel meta-analysis of positive interventions in clinical settings. *Psychotherapy Research*, 33(7), 856–872. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10503307.2023.2181718>

Folta, S. C., Seguin, R. A., Ackerman, J., & Nelson, M. E. (2012). A qualitative study of leadership characteristics among women who catalyze positive community change. *BMC Public Health*, 12(1), 383. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2458-12-383>

Forno, F., & Graziano, P. R. (2014). Sustainable community movement organisations. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 14(2), 139–157. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540514526225>

Foster, C. A., & Rusbult, C. E. (1999). Injustice and powerseeking. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 25(7), 834–849. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167299025007006>

Freire, P. (1986). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Continuum.

French, B. H., Neville, H. A., Lewis, J. A., Mosley, D. V., Adames, H. Y., & Chavez-Dueñas, N. Y. (2023). “We can create a better world for ourselves”: Radical hope in communities of color. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 70(4), 327–340. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000670>

Fretz, E. (2020, July 21). Reclaim Pride marches for Black lives in New York City. *Marx21*. <https://marx21us.org/2020/07/21/reclaim-pride-marches-for-black-lives-in-new-york-city/>

Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (2000). *Reducing intergroup bias: The common ingroup identity model*. Psychology Press.

Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., Anastasio, P. A., Bachman, B. A., & Rust, M. C. (1993). The common ingroup identity model: Recategorization and the reduction of intergroup bias. In W. Stroebe & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *European review of social psychology* (Vol. 2, pp. 247–278). Wiley.

Gampa, A., & Sawyer, J. (2024). Transforming neoliberal social psychology into an emancipatory science: A call to abolish the police. *Annual Review of Critical Psychology*, 18, 1260–1297. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4496927>

Gelderloos, P. (2013). *The failure of nonviolence: From the Arab spring to Occupy*. Left Bank Books.

Germán, M., Gonzales, N. A., & Dumka, L. (2009). Familism values as a protective factor for Mexican-origin adolescents exposed to deviant peers. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, 29(1), 16–42. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0272431608324475>

Glasford, D. E., & Calcagno, J. (2012). The conflict of harmony: Intergroup contact, commonality and political solidarity between minority groups. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 48, 323–328. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2011.10.001>

Goodyear, T., Ferlatte, O., Fast, D., Salway, T., Jenkins, E., Robinson, S., & Knight, R. (2023). Using photovoice to understand experiences of opioid use among sexual and gender minority youth in Vancouver, Canada. *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, 25(5), 599–616. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2022.2079153>

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>

Gray, K., & Wegner, D. M. (2009). Moral typecasting: Divergent perceptions of moral agents and moral patients. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 96(3), 505–520. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0013748>

Green, D. J., Duker, A., Onyeador, I. N., & Richeson, J. A. (2023). Solidarity-based collective action among third parties: The role of emotion regulation and moral outrage. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 23(3), 694–723. <https://doi.org/10.1111/asap.12368>

Halabi, S., Masi, N., & Dovidio, J. F. (2025). Replicating what motivates conflicting groups to engage in competitive victimhood: The roles of need for power and need for morality. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 55(2), 75–86. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.13078>

Hamann, K. R. S., & Reese, G. (2020). My influence on the world (of others): Goal efficacy beliefs and efficacy affect predict private, public, and activist pro-environmental behavior. *Journal of Social Issues*, 76(1), 35–53. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12369>

Hernandez, I. A., Silverman, D. M., & Destin, M. (2021). From deficit to benefit: Highlighting lower SES students' background-specific strengths reinforces their academic persistence. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 92, 104080.

Hersey, T. (2022). *Rest is resistance: A manifesto* (1st ed.). Little, Brown Spark.

Hindriks, P., Verkuyten, M., & Coenders, M. (2014). Interminority attitudes: The roles of ethnic and national identification, contact, and multiculturalism. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 77(1), 54–74. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0190272513511469>

hooks, b. (2000). *Feminist theory: From margin to center*. Pluto Press.

Hope, E. C., Gugwori, R., Riddick, K. N., & Pender, K. N. (2019). Engaged against the machine: Institutional and cultural racial discrimination and racial identity as predictors of activism orientation among Black youth. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 63(1–2), 61–72. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12303>

Hope, E. C., Velez, G., Offidani-Bertrand, C., Keels, M., & Durkee, M. I. (2018). Political activism and mental health among Black and Latinx college students. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 24(1), 26–39. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000144>

Hudson, K. D., & Romanelli, M. (2020). "We are powerful people": Health-promoting strengths of LGBTQ communities of color. *Qualitative Health Research*, 30(8), 1156–1170. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732319837572>

International Association of Genocide Scholars. (2025, August 31). *LAGS resolution on the situation in Gaza*. United States Department of Health & Human Services. <https://www.nih.gov/health/speech-and-language>

International Court of Justice. (2024). South Africa v. Israel, Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the Gaza Strip. <https://www.icj-cij.org/node/203447>

James, D. (2022). An initial framework for the study of internalized racism and health: Internalized racism as a racism-induced identity threat response. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 16(11), e12712. <https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12712>

Jeglic, E. L., Miranda, R., & Polanco-Roman, L. (2016). Positive psychology in the context of race and ethnicity. In E. C. Chang, C. A. Downey, J. K. Hirsch, & N. J. Lin (Eds.), *Positive psychology in racial and ethnic groups: Theory, research, and practice* (pp. 13–33). American Psychological Association. <https://doi.org/10.1037/14799-002>

Jeong, H. Y., Twali, M. S., & Vollhardt, J. R. (2025). Beyond vulnerability: Collective victimization beliefs that are linked to collective resilience. In Y. Acar, B. Kellezi, & S. Penic (Eds.), *The power of collective resilience against political violence and repression* (pp. 207–226). Routledge.

Jeong, H. Y., & Vollhardt, J. R. (2021). Koreans' collective victim beliefs about Japanese colonization. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 27(4), 629–641. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000496>

Jeong, H. Y., Vollhardt, J. R., & Twali, M. S. (2025). Power and resistance: Black Americans' multifaceted perceptions of ingroup strengths and their effects on collective efficacy and resistance. *The British Journal of Social Psychology*, 64(3), e12904. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12904>

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*, 105, 225–248.

Kaplan, S., Bradley-Geist, J. C., Ahmad, A., Anderson, A., Hargrove, A. K., & Lindsey, A. (2014). A test of two positive psychology interventions to increase employee well-being. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 29(3), 367–380. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10869-013-9319-4>

Keller, J. (2024). *Human Rights Campaign celebrates trans joy on trans day of visibility 2024*. <https://www.hrc.org/press-releases/human-rights-campaign-celebrates-trans-joy-on-trans-day-of-visibility-2024>

Kim, A. J., Jones-Bynes, J., Botchwey, N., & Conway, T. L. (2021). How youth of color create communities of hope: Connecting advocacy, activity, and neighborhood change. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 18(6), 3133. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph18063133>

Kim, C. J. (1999). The racial triangulation of Asian Americans. *Politics & Society*, 27(1), 105–138. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329299027001005>

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>

Krause, J. (2018). *Resilient communities: Non-violence and civilian agency in communal war*. Cambridge University Press.

Krogstad, J. M., & Cox, K. (2023, January 20). *For Black History Month, a look at what Black Americans say is needed to overcome racial inequality*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2023/01/20/for-black-history-month-a-look-at-what-black-americans-say-is-needed-to-overcome-racial-inequality/>

Krosnick, J. A., Boninger, D. S., Chuang, Y. C., Berent, M. K., & Carnot, C. G. (1993). Attitude strength: One construct or many related constructs? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 65(6), 1132–1151. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.65.6.1132>

Kwon, P. (2013). Resilience in lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 17(4), 371–383. <https://doi.org/10.1177/108886831349024>

Landmann, H., & Rohmann, A. (2020). Being moved by protest: Collective efficacy beliefs and injustice appraisals enhance collective action intentions for forest protection via positive and negative emotions. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 71, Article 101491. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2020.101491>

Laster Pirtle, W. N. (2020). Racial capitalism: A fundamental cause of novel Coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic inequities in the

United States. *Health Education & Behavior*, 47(4), 504–508. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1090198120922942>

Laster Pirtle, W. N., & Wright, T. (2021). Structural gendered racism revealed in pandemic times: Intersectional approaches to understanding race and gender health inequities in COVID-19. *Gender & Society*, 35(2), 168–179. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08912432211001302>

Lecheler, S., Keer, M., Schuck, A. R. T., & Häggli, R. (2015). The effects of repetitive news framing on political opinions over time. *Communication Monographs*, 82(3), 339–358. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03637751.2014.994646>

Leonardelli, G. J., Pickett, C. L., & Brewer, M. B. (2010). Optimal distinctiveness theory: A framework for social identity, social cognition, and intergroup relations. In M. P. Zanna & J. M. Olson (Eds.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 43, pp. 63–113). Academic Press. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601\(10\)43002-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(10)43002-6)

Lieng, N., Atkin, A. L., Kim, A. Y., & Wu, C. S. (2025). Are Asian Americans BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, and People of Color)? Internalization of the model minority stereotype and COVID-19 racial bias on interracial solidarity toward Black Americans. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 31(4), 660–670. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000698>

Literte, P. E. (2011). Competition, conflict, and coalitions: Black-Latino/a relations within institutions of higher education. *Journal of Negro Education*, 80(4), 477–490. <https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/806883>

Lorde, A. (1984). The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. In A. Lorde (Ed.), *Sister outsider: Essays and speeches* (pp. 110–114). Crossing Press.

Louis, W., Thomas, E., McGarty, C., Lizzio-Wilson, M., Amiot, C., & Moghaddam, F. (2020). The volatility of collective action: Theoretical analysis and empirical data. *Political Psychology*, 41(Suppl. 1), 35–74. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12671>

Maeda, D. J. (2009). *Chains of Babylon: The rise of Asian America*. University of Minnesota Press.

Marewski, J. N., & Gigerenzer, G. (2012). Heuristic decision making in medicine. *Dialogues in Clinical Neuroscience*, 14(1), 77–89. <https://doi.org/10.31887/DCNS.2012.14.1/jmarewski>

Maslach, C., & Jackson, S. E. (1981). The measurement of experienced burnout. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 2, 99–113. <https://doi.org/10.1002/job.4030020205>

Mathew, A. C., Risdon, S. N., Ash, A., Cha, J., & Jun, A. (2023). The complexity of working with white racial allies: Challenges for diversity educators of color in higher education. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 16(1), 88–96. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000310>

Matos, Y., & Sanbonmatsu, K. (2024). Men of color, linked fate, and support for women of color candidates. *The Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*, 9(3), 600–619. <https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2024.10>

Matthieu, M. M., & Carbone, J. T. (2020). Collective action among US veterans: Understanding the importance of self-efficacy, collective efficacy, and social support. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 48(6), 1985–1996. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22397>

McLoughlin, N., & Over, H. (2019). Encouraging children to mentalise about a perceived outgroup increases prosocial behaviour towards outgroup members. *Developmental Science*, 22(3), Article e12774. <https://doi.org/10.1111/desc.12774>

Messersmith, E. E., & Schulenberg, J. E. (2010). Goal attainment, goal striving, and well-being during the transition to adulthood: A ten-year U.S. national longitudinal study: Life goal completion. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development*, 2010(130), 27–40. <https://doi.org/10.1002/cd.279>

Meyer, I. H. (2003). Prejudice, social stress, and mental health in lesbian, gay, and bisexual populations: Conceptual issues and research evidence. *Psychological Bulletin*, 129(5), 674–697. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.129.5.674>

Miller, D. L., & Kelley, M. L. (1994). The use of goal setting and contingency contracting for improving children's homework performance. *Journal of Applied Behavior Analysis*, 27(1), 73–84. <https://doi.org/10.1901/jaba.1994.27-73>

Mosley, D. V., Hargons, C. N., Meiller, C., Angyal, B., Wheeler, P., Davis, C., & Stevens-Watkins, D. (2021). Critical consciousness of anti-Black racism: A practical model to prevent and resist racial trauma. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 68(1), 1–16.

Mosley, D. V., Neville, H. A., Chavez-Dueñas, N. Y., Adames, H. Y., Lewis, J. A., & French, B. H. (2020). Radical hope in revolting times: Proposing a culturally relevant psychological framework. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 14(1), Article e12512. <https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12512>

Noor, M., Brown, R., Gonzalez, R., Manzi, J., & Lewis, C. A. (2008). On positive psychological outcomes: What helps groups with a history of conflict to forgive and reconcile with each other? *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 34(6), 819–832. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167208315555>

Noor, M., Shnabel, N., Halabi, S., & Nadler, A. (2012). When suffering begets suffering: The psychology of competitive victimhood between adversarial groups in violent conflicts. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 16(4), 351–374. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868312440048>

Noor, M., Vollhardt, J. R., Mari, S., & Nadler, A. (2017). The social psychology of collective victimhood. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 47(2), 121–134. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2300>

Norris, F. H., & Stevens, S. P. (2007). Community resilience and the principles of mass trauma intervention. *Psychiatry: Interpersonal and Biological Processes*, 70(4), 320–328. <https://doi.org/10.1521/psyc.2007.70.4.320>

Oguni, R., & Ishii, C. (2024). Gratitude promotes prosocial behavior even in uncertain situations. *Scientific Reports*, 14(1), 14379. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-024-65460-z>

Oyserman, D., & Destin, M. (2010). Identity-based motivation: Implications for intervention. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 38(7), 1001–1043. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000010374775>

Pachankis, J. E., Clark, K. A., Burton, C. L., Hughto, J. M. W., Bränström, R., & Keene, D. E. (2020). Sex, status, competition, and exclusion: Intramorality stress from within the gay community and gay and bisexual men's mental health. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 119(3), 713–740. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspp0000282>

Parmenter, J. G., Galliher, R. V., & Maughan, A. D. A. (2020). An exploration of LGBTQ+ community members' positive perceptions of LGBTQ+ culture. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 48(7), 1016–1047. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000020933188>

Parmenter, J. G., Winter, S. D., Clements, Z. A., Alexander, K., & Taylor, H. (2025). How community and individual strengths "fill our cup": A preliminary strengths-based psychological

mediation framework for LGBTQIA+ communities. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 72(5), 614–626. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000807>

Pascoe, E. A., & Smart Richman, L. (2009). Perceived discrimination and health: A meta-analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin*, 135(4), 531–554. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016059>

Pereira, H., & Banerjee, D. (2021). Successful aging among older LGBTQIA+ people: Future research and implications. *Frontiers in Psychiatry*, 12, 756649. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsy.2021.756649>

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>

Perrin, P. B., Sutter, M. E., Trujillo, M. A., Henry, R. S., & Pugh, M., Jr (2020). The minority strengths model: Development and initial path analytic validation in racially/ethnically diverse LGBTQ individuals. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 76(1), 118–136. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jclp.22850>

Persson, S., & Hostler, T. J. (2021). When men who dislike feminists feel proud: Can self-affirmation and perspective-taking increase men's empathy toward feminists? *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 45(3), 372–386. <https://doi.org/10.1177/03616843211017472>

Pham, M. D., Acevedo, J.*, & Sarmal, A.* (2025, September). *Integrating historical-materialism to examine solidarity motivations in pro-Palestine movement "I'm Not Palestinian"*. Talk presented at the 2025 Collective Action Network Conference, Online.

Pham, M. D., & Borton, J. L. S. (2024). "Are you a homophobic racist?": Applying lay theory of generalized prejudice to the discrimination-distress link. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 30(2), 273–283. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000576>

Pham, M. D., & Chaney, K. E. (2024). 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>

Pham, M. D., & Chaney, K. E. (2025a). Seeing beyond your prejudice: Effects of perpetrator identity on willingness to ally with perpetrators of racism. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672251358519>

Pham, M. D., & Chaney, K. E. (2025b). White power on trial: Perceptions of antiracism organizations focusing on power versus discrimination. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13684302251357864>

Pham, M. D., Chaney, K. E., & Lin, M. (2024). "Our wars are the same": (Horizontal) collectivism is associated with lay theory of generalized prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672241273274>

Pham, M. D., Chaney, K. E., & Ramírez-Esparza, N. (2024). What are we fighting for? Lay theories about the goals and motivations of anti-racism activism. *Race and Social Problems*, 16(1), 65–85. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12552-023-09393-8>

Pham, M. D., Chaney, K. E., & Sanchez, D. T. (2023). "I am (oppressed), therefore I see": Multiple stigmatized identities predict beliefs in generalized prejudice and intramimority coalition. *Self and Identity*, 22(6), 1000–1026. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15298868.2023.2216941>

Pham, M. D., & Garr-Schultz, A. (2024). *Self as part of ancestry: Implications for activism and solidarity*. Talk presented at the 2024 Society of Personality and Social Psychology Conference, Denver, CO.

Pham, M. D., & Garr-Schultz, A. (2025). I am the dream and the hope of the slave: Effects of self as part of ancestry on gratitude, life meaning, and hope [Manuscript submitted for publication]. Department of Psychological Sciences, University of Connecticut.

Pietri, E. S., Weigold, A., Munoz, L. M. P., & Moss-Racusin, C. A. (2024). Examining how a documentary film can serve as an intervention to shift attitudes and behaviours around sexism in STEM. *Scientific Reports*, 14(1), 21844. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-024-72395-y>

Pillay, S. R. (2022). Where do Black lives matter? Coloniality, police violence, and epistemic injustices during the COVID-19 pandemic in South Africa and the U.S. *Psychology of Violence*, 12(4), 293–303. <https://doi.org/10.1037/vio0000419>

Pinel, E. C. (1999). Stigma consciousness: The psychological legacy of social stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 76(1), 114–128. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.76.1.114>

Price, V., Tewksbury, D., & Powers, E. (1997). Switching trains of thought: The impact of news frames on readers' cognitive responses. *Communication Research*, 24(5), 481–506. <https://doi.org/10.1177/009365097024005002>

Purdie-Vaughns, V., & Eibach, R. P. (2008). Intersectional invisibility: The distinctive advantages and disadvantages of multiple subordinate-group identities. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, 59(5–6), 377–391. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-008-9424-4>

Putnam, M. (2005). Conceptualizing disability: Developing a framework for political disability identity. *Journal of Disability Policy Studies*, 16(3), 188–198. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10442073050160030601>

Reimer, N. K., Hughes, J., Blaylock, D., Donnelly, C., Wölfer, R., & Hewstone, M. (2022). Shared education as a contact-based intervention to improve intergroup relations among adolescents in postconflict Northern Ireland. *Developmental Psychology*, 58(1), 193–208. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0001274>

Remedios, J. D., & Snyder, S. H. (2015). How women of color detect and respond to multiple forms of prejudice. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, 73(9–10), 371–383. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0453-5>

Remedios, J. D., & Snyder, S. H. (2018). Intersectional oppression: Multiple stigmatized identities and perceptions of invisibility, discrimination, and stereotyping. *Journal of Social Issues*, 74(2), 265–281. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12268>

Richards, G. (2003). *Race, racism and psychology: Towards a reflexive history*. Routledge.

Richeson, J. A., & Craig, M. A. (2011). Intra-minority intergroup relations in the twenty-first century. *Daedalus*, 140(2), 166–175. https://doi.org/10.1162/DAED_a_00085

Riggle, E. D. B., Mohr, J. J., Rostosky, S. S., Fingerhut, A. W., & Balsam, K. F. (2014). A multifactor Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Positive Identity Measure (LGB-PIM). *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, 1(4), 398–411. <https://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000057>

Riggle, E. D. B., Rostosky, S. S., Drabble, L., Veldhuis, C. B., & Hughes, T. L. (2018). Sexual minority women's and gender-diverse individuals' hope and empowerment responses

to the 2016 presidential election. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, 14(1–2), 152–173. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1550428X.2017.1420853>

Riggle, E. D. B., Rostosky, S. S., McCants, L. E., & Pascale-Hague, D. (2011). The positive aspects of a transgender self-identification. *Psychology and Sexuality*, 2(2), 147–158. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19419899.2010.534490>

Riggle, E. D. B., Whitman, J. S., Olson, A., Rostosky, S. S., & Strong, S. (2008). The positive aspects of being a lesbian or gay man. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, 39(2), 210–217. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0735-7028.39.2.210>

Rivas-Drake, D., Seaton, E. K., Markstrom, C., Quintana, S., Syed, M., Lee, R. M., Schwartz, S. J., Umaña-Taylor, A. J., French, S., & Yip, T., & Ethnic and Racial Identity in the 21st Century Study Group. (2014). Ethnic and racial identity in adolescence: Implications for psychosocial, academic, and health outcomes. *Child Development*, 85(1), 40–57. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12200>

Roberts, S. O., Bareket-Shavit, C., Dollins, F. A., Goldie, P. D., & Mortenson, E. (2020). Racial inequality in psychological research: Trends of the past and recommendations for the future. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 15(6), 1295–1309. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691620927709>

Rogers, L. O., Moffitt, U., McLean, K. C., & Syed, M. (2024). Research as resistance: Naming and dismantling the master narrative of “good” science. *American Psychologist*, 79(4), 484–496. <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0001246>

Rogers, L. O., & Way, N. (2018). Reimagining social and emotional development: Accommodation and resistance to dominant ideologies in the identities and friendships of boys of color. *Human Development*, 61(6), 311–331.

Rogers, L. O., & Way, N. (2021). Child development in an ideological context: Through the lens of resistance and accommodation. *Child Development Perspectives*, 15(4), 242–248.

Rojas, F. (2010). *From Black power to Black studies: How a radical social movement became an academic discipline*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Rostosky, S. S., Riggle, E. D. B., Pascale-Hague, D., & McCants, L. E. (2010). The positive aspects of a bisexual self-identification. *Psychology & Sexuality*, 1, 131–144. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19419899.2010.48459>

Roy, A. L., Raver, C. C., Masucci, M. D., & DeJoseph, M. (2019). “If they focus on giving us a chance in life we can actually do something in this world”: Poverty, inequality, and youths’ critical consciousness. *Developmental Psychology*, 55(3), 550–561. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000586>

Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2000). Self-determination theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development, and well-being. *The American Psychologist*, 55(1), 68–78. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066x.55.1.68>

Sabucedo, J. M., Dono, M., Alzate, M., & Seoane, G. (2018). The importance of protesters’ morals: Moral obligation as a key variable to understand collective action. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 9, 418. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.00418>

Sabucedo, J. M., & Vilas, X. (2014). Anger and positive emotions in political protest. *Universitas Psychologica*, 13(3), 829–838.

Sackett, C. R., & Dogan, J. N. (2019). An exploration of Black teens’ experiences of their own racial identity through photo-voice: Implications for counselors. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 47(3), 172–189. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jmc.12140>

Saeed, A., & Yasin, S. A. (2017). Resilience and meaning of life among Pakistani slum dwellers. *Journal of the Indian Academy of Applied Psychology*, 43(4), 85–97.

Salter, P. S., & Adams, G. (2013). Toward a critical race psychology. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 7(11), 781–793. <https://doi.org/10.1111/spc.12068>

Salter, P. S., & Adams, G. (2016). On the intentionality of cultural products: Representations of Black History as psychological affordances. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 7, 1166. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2016.01166>

Sanchez, G. R. (2008). Latino group consciousness and perceptions of commonality with African Americans. *Social Science Quarterly*, 89, 428–444. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6237.2008.00540.x>

Scandurra, C., Amodeo, A. L., Valerio, P., Bochicchio, V., & Frost, D. M. (2017). Minority stress, resilience, and mental health: A study of Italian transgender people. *Journal of Social Issues*, 73(3), 563–585. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12232>

Schori-Eyal, N., Halperin, E., & Bar-Tal, D. (2014). Three layers of collective victimhood: Effects of multilevel victimhood on intergroup conflicts in the Israeli–Arab context. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 44(12), 778–794. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12268>

Schultheiss, O. C., & Brunstein, J. C. (1999). Goal imagery: Bridging the gap between implicit motives and explicit goals. *Journal of Personality*, 67(1), 1–38. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-6494.00046>

Sellers, R. M., Rowley, S. A. J., Chavous, T. M., Shelton, J. N., & Smith, M. A. (1997). Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73(4), 805–815. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.73.4.805>

Selvanathan, H. P., Jetten, J., & Umeh, A. (2023). A history of collective resilience and collective victimhood: Two sides of the same coin that explain Black Americans’ present-day responses to oppression. *The British Journal of Social Psychology*, 62(1), 136–160. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12562>

Selvanathan, H. P., & Salter, P. S. (2025). The power of Black resilience. In Y. Acar, B. Kellezi, & S. Penic (Eds.), *The power of collective resilience against political violence and repression* (pp. 124–144). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781032708492-10>

Serrato, J. (2019, September 27). Fifty years of Fred Hampton’s rainbow coalition. *South Side Weekly*. <https://southsideweekly.com/fifty-years-fred-hampton-rainbow-coalition-young-lords-black-panthers/>

Sharma, M. (2018). Seeping deficit thinking assumptions maintain the neoliberal education agenda: Exploring three conceptual frameworks of deficit thinking in inner-city schools. *Education and Urban Society*, 50(2), 136–154. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001312451668230>

Shell, C. (2023, December 13). *Black Americans’ opinions on the Israeli–Palestinian conflict*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2023/12/13/black-americans-opinions-on-israeli-palestinian-conflict-pub-91230>

Sherif, M., & Sherif, C. W. (1953). *Groups in harmony and tension: an integration of studies of intergroup relations*. Harper & Brothers.

Sherman, D. K., Brookfield, J., & Ortosky, L. (2017). Intergroup conflict and barriers to common ground: A self-affirmation perspective. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 11(12), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12364>

Shnabel, N., & Nadler, A. (2008). A needs-based model of reconciliation: Satisfying the differential emotional needs of victim and perpetrator as a key to promoting reconciliation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 94(1), 116–132. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.94.1.116>

Silverman, D. M., Hernandez, I. A., & Destin, M. (2022). Educators' beliefs about students' socioeconomic backgrounds as a pathway for supporting motivation. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 49(2), 215–232. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672211061945>

Silverman, D. M., Rosario, R. J., Hernandez, I. A., & Destin, M. (2023). The ongoing development of strength-based approaches to people who hold systemically marginalized identities. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 27(3), 255–271. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10888683221145243>

SimanTov-Nachlieli, I., & Shnabel, N. (2014). Feeling both victim and perpetrator: Investigating duality within the needs-based model. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 40(3), 301–314.

SimanTov-Nachlieli, I., Shnabel, N., & Nadler, A. (2013). Individuals' and groups' motivation to restore their impaired identity dimensions following conflicts: Evidence and implications. *Social Psychology*, 44(2), 129–137. <https://doi.org/10.1027/1864-9335/a000148>

Smith, C. A., & Garrett-Scott, D. (2021). "We are not named": Black women and the politics of citation in anthropology. *Feminist Anthropology*, 2(1), 18–37. <https://doi.org/10.1002/fea2.12038>

Smith-Appelson, J., Belgrade, A., Saleem, N., Ali, A., Seff, I., & Stark, L. (2023). "Hope for a better tomorrow": Using photovoice to understand how Arab adolescents enact critical consciousness. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 51(7), 2537–2562. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.23031>

Spencer, M. B. (2001). Identity, achievement orientation and race: "Lessons learned" about the normative developmental experiences of African American males. In W. H. Watkins, J. H. Lewis, & V. Chou (Eds.), *Race and education: The roles of history and society in educating African American students* (pp. 100–127). Allyn & Bacon.

Starzyk, K. B., Neufeld, K. H. S., El-Gabalawy, R. M., & Boese, G. D. B. (2019). The case for and causes of intraminoity solidarity in support for reparations: Evidence from community and student samples in Canada. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 7(1), 620–650. <https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v7i1.673>

Steele, C. M., Spencer, S. J., & Lynch, M. (1993). Self-image resilience and dissonance: The role of affirmational resources. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 64(6), 885–896. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.64.6.885>

Stephens, N. M., Markus, H. R., & Phillips, L. T. (2014). Social class culture cycles: How three gateway contexts shape selves and fuel inequality. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 65, 611–634. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-010213-115143>

Stewart, L. (2021). *The politics of black joy: Zora Neale Hurston and neo-abolitionism*. Northwestern University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1wd02rr>

Stone, J., Whitehead, J., Schmader, T., & Focella, E. (2011). Thanks for asking: Self-affirming questions reduce backlash when stigmatized targets confront prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 47(3), 589–598. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2010.12.016>

Tagkaloglou, S., & Kasser, T. (2018). Increasing collaborative, pro-environmental activism: The roles of Motivational Interviewing, self-determined motivation, and self-efficacy. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 58, 86–92. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2018.06.004>

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33–37). Brooks/Cole.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (2004). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In J. T. Jost & J. Sidanius (Eds.), *Political psychology: Key readings* (pp. 276–293). Psychology Press. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203505984-16>

Tausch, N., & Becker, J. C. (2013). Emotional reactions to success and failure of collective action as predictors of future action intentions: A longitudinal investigation in the context of student protests in Germany. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 52(3), 525–542. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.2012.02109.x>

Tavarez, J. (2024). "There's people out there doing more than me. . .": Activist burnout among bisexual college students within LGBTQ campus spaces. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 17(4), 588–597. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000442>

Taylor, M. C., & Schroeder, M. B. (2010). The impact of Hispanic population growth on the outlook of African Americans. *Social Science Research*, 39(3), 491–505. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2010.01.003>

Teo, T. (2015). Critical psychology: A geography of intellectual engagement and resistance. *American Psychologist*, 70(3), 243–254. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0038727>

Thomas, E. F., McGarty, C., Louis, W. R., Wenzel, M., Bury, S., & Woodyatt, L. (2022). It's about time! Identifying and explaining unique trajectories of solidarity-based collective action to support people in developing countries. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 48(10), 1451–1464. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672211047083>

Thomas, E. F., Zubilevitch, E., Sibley, C. G., & Osborne, D. (2019). Testing the social identity model of collective action longitudinally and across structurally disadvantaged and advantaged groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 46(6), 823–838. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167219879111>

Thrash, T. M., Maruskin, L. A., & Martin, C. C. (2012). Implicit-explicit motive congruence. In R. M. Ryan (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of human motivation* (pp. 141–156). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195399820.013.0009>

Torres Rivera, E. (2020). Concepts of liberation psychology. In L. Comas-Díaz & E. Torres Rivera (Eds.), *Liberation psychology: Theory, method, practice, and social justice* (pp. 41–51). American Psychological Association. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0000198-003>

Treichler, E. B. H., Palmer, B. W., Wu, T.-C., Thomas, M. L., Tu, X. M., Daly, R., Lee, E. E., & Jeste, D. V. (2022). Women and men differ in relative strengths in wisdom profiles: A study of 659 adults across the lifespan. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 12, 769294. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.769294>

Turner, J. D. (2022). Freedom to aspire: Black children's career dreams, perceived aspirational supports, and Africentric values. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 25(1), 128–153.

Ufkes, E. G., Calcagno, J., Glasford, D. E., & Dovidio, J. F. (2016). Understanding how common ingroup identity undermines collective action among disadvantaged-group members. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 63, 26–35. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2015.11.006>

Uluğ, Ö. M., Zoodsma, M., Sandbakken, E. M., Figueiredo, A., Rocha, C., Sagherian-Dickey, T., Acar, Y. G., Moss, S. M., Saab, R., & Woo, Y. T. (2023). How can social psychologists become more participatory in their research? A reflection on working “with” communities and participants rather than “on” them. *Social Psychological Review*, 25(1), 9–14. <https://doi.org/10.53841/bpsspr.2023.25.1.9>

Uysal, M. S., Uluğ, Ö. M., Kanik, B., & Aydemir, A. (2022). “The liberation of LGBTQ+ will also liberate heterosexuals”: Heterosexual feminist women’s participation in solidarity-based collective action for LGBTQ+ rights. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 52(2), 377–390. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2799>

Valencia, R. R. (1993). *Chicano school failure and success: Research and policy agendas for the 1990s*. Falmer Press.

Vandermeulen, D., Hasan Aslih, S., Shuman, E., & Halperin, E. (2022). Protected by the emotions of the group: Perceived emotional fit and disadvantaged group members’ activist burnout. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 49(7), 1086–1096. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167221092853>

van Zomeren, M., Kutlaca, M., & Turner-Zwinkels, F. (2018). Integrating who “we” are with what “we” (will not) stand for: A further extension of the Social Identity Model of Collective Action. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 29(1), 122–160. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2018.1479347>

van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (2008). Toward an integrative social identity model of collective action: A quantitative research synthesis of three socio-psychological perspectives. *Psychological Bulletin*, 134(4), 504–535. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.134.4.504>

Vilas, X., & Sabucedo, J.-M. (2012). Moral obligation: A forgotten dimension in the analysis of collective action. *Revista de Psicología Social*, 27(3), 369–375. <https://doi.org/10.1174/021347412802845577>

Visintin, E. P., Brylka, A., Green, E. G. T., Mähönen, T. A., & Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2016). The dynamics of interminority extended contact: The role of affective and cognitive mediators. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 22(4), 467–478. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000089>

Vizenor, G. (1999). *Manifest manners: Narratives on Postindian survivance*. Bison Books.

Vizenor, G. (2008). *Survivance: Narrative of native presence*. University of Nebraska Press.

Vollhardt, J. R. (2012). Collective victimization. In L. R. Tropp (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of intergroup conflict* (1st ed., pp.136–157). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199747672.013.0009>

Vollhardt, J. R. (2015). Inclusive victim consciousness in advocacy, social movements, and intergroup relations: Promises and pitfalls. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 9(1), 89–120. <https://doi.org/10.1111/sipr.12011>

Vollhardt, J. R., & Bilali, R. (2015). The role of inclusive and exclusive victim consciousness in predicting intergroup attitudes: Findings from Rwanda, Burundi, and DRC. *Political Psychology*, 36(5), 489–506. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12174>

Vollhardt, J. R., Konushevci, T., Macedonci, A., & Lee, H. (2024). Never again: Lessons of genocide in survivor testimonies from the Holocaust, Nanjing massacre and Rwandan genocide. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 54(7), 1577–1592. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.3108>

Vollhardt, J. R., & Nair, R. (2018). The two-sided nature of individual and intragroup experiences in the aftermath of collective victimization: Findings from four diaspora groups. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 48(4), 412–432.

Vollhardt, J. R., Ünal, H., & Nair, R. (2023). “You don’t compare horrors, you just don’t do that”: Examining assumptions and extending the scope of comparative victim beliefs. *The British Journal of Social Psychology*, 62(1), 393–413. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12554>

Vuong, O. (2019). *On Earth we’re briefly gorgeous: A novel*. Random House Large Print.

Wang, S. C., & Santos, B. M. C. (2023). At the intersection of the model minority myth and antiblackness: From Asian American triangulation to recommendations for solidarity. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 70(4), 352–366. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000662>

Warner, R. H., Wohl, M. J. A., & Branscombe, N. R. (2014). When do victim group members feel a moral obligation to help suffering others? *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 44(3), 231–241. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2010>

Way, N., Ali, A., Gilligan, C., & Noguera, P. (Eds.). (2018). *The crisis of connection: Roots, consequences, and solutions*. New York University Press.

Wenzel, M., Mummendey, A., & Waldzus, S. (2007). Superordinate identities and intergroup conflict: The ingroup projection model. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 18, 331–372. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10463280701728302>

Win With Black Women. (2025, July 15). *About #WinWithBlack Women*. <https://www.winwithblackwomen.org/about>

Witness.org (n.d.). *Witness: See it, film it, change it*. <https://www.witness.org>

Wohl, M. J. A., Giguère, B., Branscombe, N. R., & McVicar, D. N. (2011). One day we might be no more: Collective angst and protective action from potential distinctiveness loss. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 41(3), 289–300. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.773>

Wright, J. D., Schmitt, M. T., Mackay, C. M. L., & Neufeld, S. D. (2020). Imagining a sustainable world: Measuring cognitive alternatives to the environmental status quo. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 72, Article 101523. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2020.101523>

Wurm, M., Lundberg, T., Nihlén, T. M., & Malmquist, A. (2024). Minority joy, minority growth, and minority peace: Transgender and gender diverse people’s varied positive lived experiences. *International Journal of Transgender Health*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1080/26895269.2024.2445094>

Yan, L., Keh, H. T., & Murray, K. B. (2024). Feeling the values: How pride and awe differentially enhance consumers’ sustainable behavioral intentions. *Journal of the Academy of*

Marketing Science, 52(1), 75–96. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11747-023-00928-4>

Yau, P. S., Cho, Y., Kay, J., & Heckhausen, J. (2022). The effect of motive-goal congruence on adolescents' academic goal engagement and disengagement. *Motivation and Emotion*, 46(4), 447–460. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11031-022-09946-1>

Yi, J., & Todd, N. R. (2021). Internalized model minority myth among Asian Americans: Links to anti-Black attitudes and opposition to affirmative action. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 27(4), 569–578. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000448>

Yip, L., Thomas, E. F., Amiot, C., Louis, W. R., & McGarty, C. (2024). Autonomous motives foster sustained commitment to action: Integrating self-determination theory and the social identity approach. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 50(5), 750–765. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672221148396>

Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 8(1), 69–91. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1361332052000341006>

Yuen, E., Sadhu, J., Pfeffer, C., Sarvet, B., Daily, R. S., Dowben, J., Jackson, K., Schowalter, J., Shapiro, T., & Stubbe, D. (2020). Accentuate the positive: Strengths-based therapy for adolescents. *Adolescent Psychiatry*, 10(3), 166–171. <https://doi.org/10.2174/2210676610666200225105529>

Zapata, M. A. (2020). Disability affirmation and acceptance predict hope among adults with physical disabilities. *Rehabilitation Psychology*, 65(3), 291–298. <https://doi.org/10.1037/rep0000364>

Zimmerman, J. L., & Reyna, C. (2013). The meaning and role of ideology in system justification and resistance for high- and low-status people. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 105(1), 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0032967>

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>

Zúñiga, C., Asún, R., & Louis, W. (2023). Normative and non-normative collective action facing repression in a democratic context: A mixed study in a Chilean social movement. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 11(1), 362–382. <https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.7973>

Zúñiga, X., Nagda, B. (Ratnesh) A., Chesler, M., & Cytron-Walker, A. (2007). Intergroup dialogue in higher education: Meaningful learning about social justice. *ASHE Higher Education Report*, 32(4), 1–128.