

REVIEW ARTICLE

The Complicit, the Invisible, and the Forgotten: Critically Integrating Intersectionality Into the Psychology of Intraminority Solidarity

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ABSTRACT

The present article integrates intersectionality theory, which affords a unique lens to interrogate the intersecting structures of power (e.g., racism, sexism, capitalism), into the psychology of intraminority solidarity (i.e., activism of members of a marginalized group for other marginalized groups). We propose three intersectionality principles: interrogating privilege and oppression within marginalized communities, challenging the hierarchical nature of power structures, and incorporating historical-materialism. For each principle, we suggest two example strategies followed by research directions. This framework will help intraminority solidarity effectively address the roots of oppression in theory and practice.

We often find it difficult to separate race from class from sex oppression because in our lives they are most often experienced simultaneously [...] the liberation of all oppressed peoples necessitates the destruction of the political-economic systems of capitalism and imperialism as well as patriarchy.

(365, 366)

The Combahee River Collective (1977), a Black feminist organization that pioneered intersectionality, highlights in their manifesto the importance of targeting intersecting structures of power (i.e., intersectionality) to advance the liberation of marginalized peoples. Integrating intersectionality into the study of solidarity between different marginalized groups (i.e., intraminority solidarity), the present article advances three principles to combat the roots of oppression: interrogating *privilege and oppression* in marginalized people, challenging *hierarchical* oppression, and centering a *historical-material* analysis. We first review the

literatures on intraminority solidarity and intersectionality, then present these principles tailored for intraminority solidarity.

1 | Intraminority Solidarity

Intraminority solidarity examines how, when, and why members of different marginalized groups engage in activism to advance each other's lived experiences, and the consequences of solidarity efforts. This research recognizes that intraminority relationships involve unique psychological processes compared to the relationships between privileged and marginalized groups (Richeson and Craig 2011). Solidarity with a marginalized outgroup has been examined as allyship behaviors in a workplace (Jun et al. 2023), collective action (E. O. Pérez et al. 2022; Zou and Ngum 2025), and support for policies advancing outgroup rights (E. Pérez, Goldman, et al. 2024; E. Pérez, Vicuña, et al. 2024). This literature has primarily focused on mechanisms (Craig and Richeson 2016; Pham, Chaney, and Lin 2026), perceptions (Chaney et al. 2024; Craig et al. 2022), and expressions (Pham and Chaney 2024) of intraminority solidarity.

Rooted in the Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner and Dovidio 2000), intraminority solidarity occurs when a common ingroup identity is perceived with the marginalized outgroup (Burson and Godfrey 2018; Hindriks et al. 2014). For example, people of color (POC) endorse a coalition of POC when they identify with outgroups who similarly experience racial oppression (E. O. Pérez et al. 2022). Solidarity may also be elicited through beliefs about linked fate (e.g., what happens to the outgroup happens to one's own group; Kiang et al. 2022) or a shared oppressor (Chaney and Forbes 2023; Pham et al. 2023). Unifying these literatures, the stigma-based solidarity framework demonstrates that marginalized people engage in intraminority solidarity when similar experiences of discrimination are recognized (Craig and Richeson 2016).

Importantly, marginalized people are more likely to stand in solidarity with groups marginalized along the same (vs. different) identity dimension because of a greater recognition of similar discrimination. When reminded of discrimination against their ingroup, POC showed greater political support for other POC groups (e.g., Black people's support for less U.S.-Mexico Border Patrol agents; E. Pérez, Vicuña, et al. 2024). Further, perceived racism toward one's own group engendered less support for pro-sexual minorities policies among Black and Latinx people (Craig and Richeson 2014). However, explicitly highlighting common discrimination, such as marriage discrimination experienced by Asian and sexual minorities, increased Asian people's solidarity with sexual minorities (Cortland et al. 2017). While prior work has distinguished within-dimension versus cross-dimension solidarity based on social categories (e.g., race, sexual orientation), group boundaries are malleable, allowing people to flexibly recategorize a previously outgroup marginalized person as ingroup (Gaertner and Dovidio 2000). Together, this research examines collective efforts toward equity based on how different forms of oppression intersect. Yet, there is no theoretical framework to integrate intersectionality into this literature.

2 | Intersectionality

Intersectionality refers to the intersecting structures and systems of power that shape people's lives, including experiences of privilege and oppression. Intersectionality has its roots in Black feminist activism and can be credited to activists such as Sojourner Truth, Anna Julia Cooper, and bell hooks, who condemned single-axis politics that solely focused on race in civil rights movements and gender in women's movements (King 1988). Unifying this legacy of intersectional activism into a framework, Crenshaw (1991, 149) argued Black women “experience double discrimination—the combined effects of practices which discrimination the basis of race, and on the basis of sex. And sometimes, they experience discrimination as Black women—not the sum of race and sex discrimination, but as Black women.” Crenshaw's framework amplified other Black women scholar-activists' calls to avoid isolating different identities and abstracting identities from their cultural, sociopolitical, and historical contexts in understanding oppression (Collins 1996). While originating from the experiences of Black (queer) women, intersectionality has expanded to capture and dismantle various oppressive structures in and outside the U.S. (e.g., Bowleg 2013; Bonu Rosenkranz 2024). These axes of power, including racism,

sexism, heterosexism, classism, and colonialism, operate in tandem to facilitate psychological processes and outcomes (Hudson et al. 2024).

Despite its unique ability to represent the texture and breadth of people's experiences (Moradi and Grzanka 2017), intersectionality has traditionally been excluded from mainstream psychology as a form of epistemic exclusion (Rosenthal 2016; Settles et al. 2021) and is facing attacks by governments and public policy (Grzanka 2025). Rectifying this issue, psychologists have shifted to position intersectionality as central, rather than peripheral, to psychological research (Hudson et al. 2024). For instance, intersectionality clarifies how people use different lenses to develop representations of social categories and perceive multiple marginalized identities (Petsko et al. 2022; Remedios and Vinluan 2024). Black women (vs. White women) were perceived as being less similar to “women” due to perceptual mechanisms such as hair cues (Coles and Pasek 2020; Lei et al. 2024). Going beyond perception, intersectional research investigates how people navigate their social identities and experience discrimination (Albuja et al. 2020; Azmitia et al. 2023; Lewis and Grzanka 2016). For example, people who hold a greater number of marginalized identities experience greater stereotyping and invisibility (Remedios and Snyder 2018). Particularly pertinent to combating oppression and moving toward interventions (Hudson et al. 2026), intersectionality has proved useful for understanding prejudice confrontations (Remedios and Akhtar 2019), ally behaviors (Case et al. 2020; Van Cong et al. 2025), and activism for social equality (Curtin et al. 2015; Wiley 2012). Continuing this lineage, we propose a framework to integrate intersectionality into intraminority solidarity.

3 | Intersectionality as the Mandatory Next Step for Intraminority Solidarity

Intersectionality shares commonalities with intraminority solidarity, most notably the goal of eliminating oppression and improving marginalized people's lived experiences (Orhan and Craig 2025). Intersectionality is both an analytic strategy and a social justice praxis, offering dynamic ways to interrogate people's interactions with social inequalities and transform their material conditions (Collins 2015; Hudson et al. 2024). Without intersectionality, research on intraminority solidarity risks treating social justice as a single-axis issue and overlooking the underlying power structures (Combahee River Collective 1977). Further, intersectionality positions oppressed people as agents of change whose unique perspectives have explanatory power and liberatory potential for intraminority solidarity (Collins 2019; Gampa and Sawyer 2024). Indeed, early intersectional theorist-activists utilized the interdependence of various social inequalities in coalition politics (Collins 1996; Combahee River Collective 1977; hooks 1992). Cole (2009), centering the coalitional work of feminist activists, argues that intersectionality can both reveal points of similarity and tackle power differentials that are crucial to building and sustaining solidarity relationships. This tradition continues with contemporary activist groups who connect struggles across groups to build intraminority coalitions (e.g., Within Our Lifetime 2024). The practice of intraminority solidarity has long been rooted in an intersectional practice.

However, intersectionality has only been sporadically employed in intraminority solidarity research (Nair and Vollhardt 2019; Van Cong et al. 2025). For instance, interviews of Dalits and Muslims in Delhi revealed that beliefs about commonalities and differences associated with intersectional experiences can motivate intraminority solidarity (Nair and Vollhardt 2020). Further, people who hold a greater number of marginalized identities perceive greater belief that marginalized groups share similar oppressors and oppression experiences, thus motivating solidarity (Pham et al. 2023). Without a unified framework, this literature will struggle to identify critical intersectional gaps to understand optimal intraminority relations.

In the proposed framework below, we first synthesize findings from the intersectionality literature related to activism (e.g., Beale 1970; Moradi 2017), to propose three intersectionality principles for intraminority solidarity: (1) interrogating *privilege and oppression* in marginalized communities (Brown and Craig 2020; Pham and Chaney *in press*), (2) challenging the *hierarchical* nature of power structures (Pham and Chaney 2024; Remedios and Snyder 2015), and (3) centering *historical-materialism* (Gampa and Sawyer 2024; Hakim et al. 2023). These principles respond to three forms of intraminority solidarity. Principle 1 addresses solidarity within a social category (e.g., race: Black people's solidarity with Latinx people; E. Pérez, Vicuña, et al. 2024) and solidarity across two social categories (e.g., race vs. sexual orientation: Asian people's solidarity with LGBTQ+ people; Cortland et al. 2017), while Principle 2 addresses solidarity across combinations of two social categories (e.g., race and gender: White women's solidarity with women of color; Greenwood and Christian 2008; Pham and Chaney 2024). Principle 3 serves as a lens to interrogate all three solidarity forms and facilitate transnational solidarity (see "Unique angles" in Table 1). To achieve each principle, we suggest two strategies with example directions (see Figure 1), integrating existing research on intraminority solidarity (Table 1).

4 | Integrating Intersectionality Into Intraminority Solidarity

4.1 | Principle 1: Interrogate Privilege and Oppression Within Marginalized Communities

Principles 1 requires interrogating how axes of power simultaneously create unique sets of privilege and oppression. Particular to intraminority relations, when White women were reminded of sexism (vs. counterparts who were not), they reported more pro-White attitudes (Craig et al. 2012). Here, to mitigate the gender-based identity-threat of sexism, White women de-centered their oppressed gender identity and centered their privileged racial identity. Similarly, White people claimed to experience more discrimination due to non-race marginalized identities (i.e., gender, sexual orientation) after exposure to racial inequality information compared to non-inequality information (Brown and Craig 2020), thus de-centering their privileged racial identity to highlight their experiences of oppression. Even worse, members of marginalized groups may derogate other marginalized groups in response to ingroup discrimination (e.g., Craig et al. 2012). These findings show that privilege and oppression are not

mutually exclusive (Pham and Chaney *in press*); people may uniquely and advantageously harness either their oppressed or privileged identities in response to threats to either identity. That is, people marginalized along one identity dimension may be privileged along others and thus are "complicit" in the oppression of other marginalized groups. As experiencing identity threats may impede solidarity or facilitate derogation (Craig et al. 2012; Craig and Richeson 2014), identifying methods to overcome these barriers to solidarity is paramount (Shackleford et al. 2026). While similar oppression is primarily conceptualized as the basis of intraminority solidarity (Cortland et al. 2017; Craig and Richeson 2016), we argue for a broader strategy to recognize the dialectic between privilege and oppression within a marginalized individual. Importantly, privilege exists within an identity dimension and manifests in the form of exemption from a particular type of oppression; for example, Asian people have the privilege of not being targeted by police violence (Wang and Santos 2023). Below are two example strategies:

1a. As privilege and oppression create variations in discrimination experiences, one strategy for intraminority solidarity is to investigate different marginalized groups' *heterogeneous* struggles and goals for equality. The two axes of subordination model, which introduces status and foreignness as two dimensions of racial discrimination in the U.S. due to racialized histories, suggests different equality goals across POC groups (Zou and Cheryan 2017). Equality for Black people may focus on reducing second-class citizenship; equality for Asian and Middle Eastern people may seek to advance their recognition as American; Latinx people may work toward both goals (Eidgahy and Pérez 2023; Zou and Ngum 2025). Even within the aggregated "Asian" category, Middle Eastern people may be stereotyped as terrorists or dangerous, whereas certain Southeast Asian groups (e.g., Laotian, Burmese, Filipinos) experience more severe income inequalities, which would shape different equality goals (Song 2025; Vinluan and Kraus 2026). In recognizing these heterogeneous goals, marginalized groups may form varying expectations about what causes other marginalized groups would support, with implications for their coalition-building intentions (Craig et al. 2022; Craig and Lee 2022).

Recognizing the heterogeneity of marginalized experiences can activate intraminority solidarity that overcomes the threatened sense of distinctiveness caused by similarity-framing (Brewer 1991). That is, people have a need to balance a sense of belonging via similarity and a sense of uniqueness from others (i.e., optimal distinctive theory; Leonardelli et al. 2010). Thus, the nuances afforded by a combination of similar and distinct struggles and goals may reduce marginalized people's identity distinctiveness threat (Ufkes et al. 2016), in turn increasing their solidarity engagement. Concurrently, highlighting similar and distinct struggles could reduce competitive victimhood (i.e., a belief that own's ingroup sufferings are greater than or worse than another marginalized group), a deterrent of intraminority solidarity (Noor et al. 2012; Vollhardt and Bilali 2015). For example, when Black people learn about similar experiences of police violence with transgender people along with a reminder of distinct struggles (e.g., history of slavery), Black people may be more inclined to engage in pro-transgender solidarity, compared with only one

TABLE 1 | Description and rationale for the proposed intersectionality principles.

Principle	Unique angles	Key rationale for proposed principle and strategies	Select references
1. Interrogate <i>privilege</i> and <i>oppression</i> within marginalized communities	Acknowledges that power structures operate and are sustained via experiences of privilege and oppression as a function of intersecting systems (e.g., relative to Black people, Asian Americans are oppressed regarding perceived foreignness but privileged regarding status)	Privilege and oppression are <i>not</i> mutually exclusive; people harness their oppressed/privileged identities differently in response to identity threats 1a. marginalized groups, in virtue of how they are oppressed, may have different goals for equality 1b. System-justifying beliefs, which help maintain marginalized people's privilege, can hinder solidarity	Brown and Craig (2020) and Roccas and Brewer (2002) Craig et al. (2022) and Zou and Cheryan (2017) E. Pérez et al. (2025) and Wang and Santos (2023)
2. Challenge the <i>hierarchical</i> nature of intersecting oppression	Addresses the <i>hierarchy</i> of oppression that exists within members of a (traditionally considered) marginalized group (e.g., Black women are disadvantaged relative to Black men)	People with multiple (vs. single) marginalized identities experience greater discrimination, invisibility, and worse psychosocial outcomes 2a. It is beneficial for singly marginalized people to center multiply marginalized members' needs 2b. People at the bottom of social hierarchies have a unique standpoint that has explanatory power for psychological science	Beale (1970), Cummings and Braboy Jackson (2008), and Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach (2008) Pham and Chaney (2024) and Pietri et al. (2024) Collins (1996), Cooper (1892), and Holloway et al. (2023)
3. Integrate <i>historical-material</i> analyses of intersecting power structures	Centers the <i>lineage</i> , including historical, structural, and material roots and manifestations, of oppression (e.g., racism's intersection with colonialism and capitalism in the U.S. foundation)	Critical intersectionality interrogates oppression via a historical lens that prioritizes material conditions 3a. Historical-material socio-political-economic systems (e.g., capitalism, settler-colonialism) intersect with identity-based oppression 3b. Extant research overlooks how intersectionality manifests in the historical-material struggles of marginalized communities	Overstreet et al. (2020) and Gampa and Sawyer (2024) Bettache (2024), Gelderloos (2013), and Harvey (2007) Collins (2019), Hakim et al. (2023), and Moradi and Grzanka (2017)

Note: These principles can also be understood as intersecting, such that, for example, the hierarchical nature of oppression is shaped, in part, by the historical-material production of oppression (Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach 2008; Sabik and Versey 2024).

reminder alone, due to reduced competitive victimhood and distinctiveness threat. For two groups whose identities historically formulated a country's racialized/colonized dynamics (e.g., White women and Black people in the U.S., LGBTQ+ Jews and Palestinians in Israel/Palestine), the advantaged group members' relationship with their privileged identity may matter (Brown et al. 2026; Knowles et al. 2014). For instance, highlighting heterogenous struggles may be more effective at increasing White women's solidarity with Black people for those who are inclined to dismantle (rather than deny or distance themselves from) Whiteness (Knowles et al. 2014).

Finally, harnessing Principle 1 includes seeking to reduce co-optation (i.e., one group imposing their own goals on the marginalized outgroup's activism) within intraminority solidarity, which can be achieved by centering heterogenous struggles. Black Americans perceive White women and White gay men who claim solidarity based on similar oppression with Black people (vs. support for Black people without invoking similarity), as motivated by a desire to advance their *own* ingroup's cause and as more likely to use their oppressed gay identity to deny their own racism (Chaney et al. 2024; Pereira-Jorge and Chaney *in press*). Such concerns about co-optation

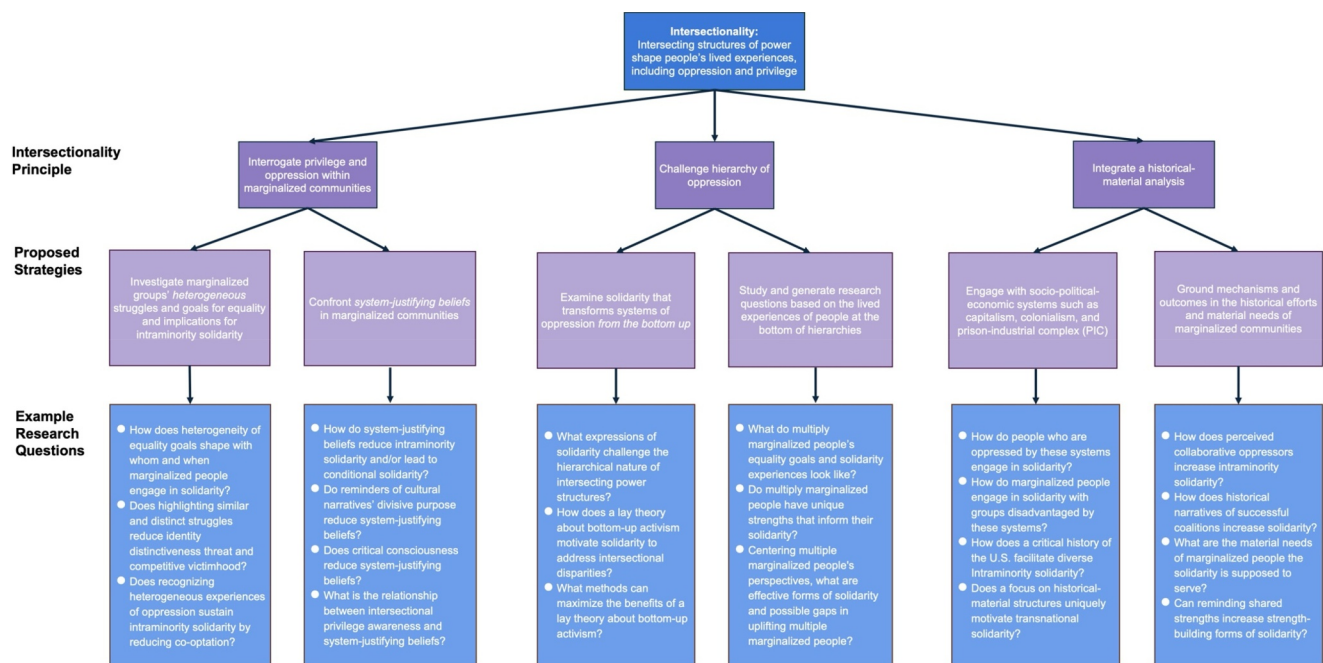


FIGURE 1 | Roadmap for integrating intersectionality into the psychology of intraminority solidarity. Intersectionality theory informs the proposed intersectionality principles, which can be addressed via the proposed strategies. These strategies help generate example research questions. The proposed strategies and directions are illustrative rather than prescriptive.

may result from Black people's perceptions of transactional norms of solidarity from more racially privileged group members implied in similarity frames (Orhan and Craig 2025). We propose that recognizing heterogeneous experiences of oppression across groups may serve as an antidote to co-optation. If White gay men recognize the nuances in their experiences relative to Black people's, they may be more likely to engage in costly solidarity actions (Brown and Craig 2020; Thai and Nylund 2024). From a perceiver lens, solidarity that acknowledges both similar and different experiences of oppression may signal lower co-optation concerns and reduce anticipated transactional norms of solidarity. Consequently, such efforts may contribute to long-lasting intraminority solidarity (Orhan and Craig 2025).

1b. As a second strategy, psychologists are equipped to help understand how marginalized people's *system-justifying beliefs* hinder intraminority solidarity given their roles in maintaining marginalized people's privilege (Wang and Santos 2023) and the unique power of intraminority (vs. majority-minority) coalitions in advancing equity (Alt et al. 2026; Richeson and Craig 2011). Specifically, intraminority solidarity can be hindered by pervasive beliefs that sustain and legitimize the status quo, such as system justification, model minority myth, meritocracy, and social dominance orientation (i.e., individual preference for group-based hierarchies; J. Jost and Hunyady 2003; O'Brien and Major 2005). Marginalized people can endorse system justification, a motive to maintain the status quo, to "cope" with social disadvantages (J. T. Jost 2020; J. Jost and Hunyady 2003). POC high in system justification perceive racial inequalities as just and express greater opposition to equality for marginalized racial outgroups (Napier et al. 2020; E. Pérez et al. 2025). System justification is symptomatic of cultural narratives such as the

model minority myth (i.e., minorities can succeed in society by being law-abiding and hard-working citizens) that work to divide marginalized groups (Alt et al. 2026; Tran and Curtin 2017). Indeed, Asian people who internalize the model minority myth engage less in activism for Black rights (Lieng et al. 2025; Rajagopal and Durkee 2024). Similarly, meritocracy prompts people to justify inequalities, even when the inequalities are imposed on their ingroup (McCoy and Major 2007). Thus, we propose that system-justifying beliefs can deter intraminority solidarity (Craig and Richeson 2016) by making marginalized people *condition their solidarity*, or limit their solidarity with subgroups of a marginalized outgroup who do not threaten the status quo. For instance, higher endorsement of system justification may motivate LGBTQ+ U.S. citizens to express solidarity with only documented, but not undocumented, immigrants in the U.S.

Undoing system-justifying beliefs among marginalized people is a necessary step to cultivating holistic solidarity. For example, an informational intervention about divisive cultural narratives (Callaghan et al. 2021) may reduce system-justifying beliefs and thus increase intraminority solidarity. Longer-term effects can emerge from improving critical consciousness, a recognition of the intersecting power structures designed to maintain the status quo (Bonam et al. 2019; Coleman et al. 2019). A critical focus on structural forces, rather than individuals, can help marginalized people challenge system-justifying beliefs (Burson and Godfrey 2020). With reduced legitimizing ideologies, marginalized people may develop awareness of intersectional privilege, or their social advantages relative to other marginalized groups (Burson and Godfrey 2020; Nair and Vollhardt 2019), which enhances intraminority attitudes (e.g., Greenwood and Christian 2008; Uysal et al. 2022). Together, addressing system-justifying beliefs is

confronting the internalized oppressor within the oppressed to advance collective liberation (Freire 1986).

4.2 | Principle 2: Challenge the Hierarchical Nature of Intersecting Oppression

A second principle of intersectionality for intraminority solidarity research is to confront the social hierarchies created by the intersecting power structures where, within any given marginalized group, people marginalized by a greater number of axes of power are relegated more to the bottom of the hierarchies. Uprooting these intersecting systems requires centering the lived experiences of those at the bottom. Hence, whereas Principle 1 addresses solidarity with groups marginalized by a single dimension (e.g., Black people), Principle 2 focuses on solidarity with people who hold *multiple* marginalized identities (e.g., Black women).

The double jeopardy perspective posits that people who hold multiple marginalized identities experience more discrimination than those with fewer marginalized identities (Beale 1970; King 1988). Black women, for example, experience both sexism and racism, while uniquely facing gendered racism and anticipating one form of discrimination from experiences of another (Chaney et al. 2021). These layered experiences of oppression are not experienced by White women or men of color (Remedios and Snyder 2015, 2018). LGBTQ+ POC experience discrimination due to both their race/ethnicity and LGBTQ+ status that negatively impacts their mental health (beyond White LGBTQ+ people; Pham and Borton 2024; Rubin-McGregor et al. 2025). In sum, people subjected to a greater number of oppressive systems experience worse health (Cummings and Braboy Jackson 2008; Warner and Brown 2011), greater homelessness (The Trevor Project 2024), and greater fatal violence (Halliwell et al. 2025).

Intersecting power structures also impose intersectional invisibility on people at the bottom of social hierarchies (Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach 2008). Androcentrism, ethnocentrism, and heterocentrism prescribe the prototypical person as male, White, and heterosexual, respectively (Coles and Pasek 2020). Thus, people subjugated to multiple axes of power like LGBTQ+ POC or women of color exist outside of these prototypes (Lei et al. 2020; Sesko and Biernat 2010). Indeed, multiply marginalized people, relative to their counterparts with one stigmatized identity, experience more invisibility and greater unfair treatment (Remedios and Snyder 2018). Invisibility and discrimination work in tandem to keep people subjugated to more oppressive systems at the bottom of the social hierarchies, a position that intersecting systems were designed to place them in the first place, perpetuating a hierarchy of oppression. We present this cycle as one of many symptoms of the *inherently hierarchical* nature of the interlocking power structures. Our intention is *not* to disregard the qualitative differences in different intersectional groups' experiences; what we argue for is a shift from a flattening of all axes of power to a careful consideration of the *hierarchical* nature of oppression manifested in multiply marginalized people's experiences, with the following two strategies:

2a. The hierarchical nature of oppression manifested in multiply marginalized people's experiences can be confronted by

examining solidarity that transforms systems of oppression *from the bottom up* (vs. *top down*). One way this strategy can be enacted is through "passing down the mic" (PDtM, Pham and Chaney 2024). PDtM is theorized as a generalized strategy to uplift marginalized people from the bottom up, where the relatively most oppressed people have a platform to combat intersecting power structures. PDtM aims to address both intersectional discrimination and invisibility. For example, White women are often given the platform to speak on women's equality, making invisible Black women's experiences. Interrupting this cycle, such as when a White woman passes her speaking opportunity to a woman of color to address women of color's rights, facilitates perceptions of genuine allyship and boosts feelings of trust for women of color (Pham and Chaney 2024). We encourage research to develop solidarity strategies to transform the systems from the bottom-up (e.g., centering Black trans women's experiences of inequality when highlighting Black and LGBTQ+ solidarity).

This approach, we argue, may confer benefits beyond the stigma-based solidarity framework (Craig and Richeson 2016) to advance solidarity that advocates for the most marginalized communities. Integrating the lay theories literature (e.g., Chaney and Forbes 2023), lay theories about the bottom-up (vs. top-down) nature of activism afford an avenue to center the multiply marginalized. Concretely, a lay theory of bottom-up activism (i.e., effects of supporting marginalized people subject to more oppressive structures "trickles up" to those who are relatively less oppressed) may motivate singly marginalized people (e.g., White LGBTQ+ men) to engage in solidarity with multiply marginalized people. While identity threats may arise for singly marginalized people when asked to consider their more marginalized counterparts (Brown and Craig 2020), we argue that activating a lay theory of bottom-up activism may *not* activate a threat because of its ego-centric nature (i.e., equality for women of color also advances equality for White women; Chaney and Forbes 2023).

2b. As intersectionality acknowledges the unique standpoint of people at the bottom of social hierarchies (Collins 1996; Cooper 1892), we propose to *study and generate research questions based on their lived experiences*. For instance, people with a greater number of marginalized identities (i.e., race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender) are more willing to participate in solidarity to advance other marginalized groups' cause. This is due in part to their recognition of common oppressors (Pham et al. 2023) and intersectional awareness (Falco and Radke 2025). This research highlights the unique strengths of people with multiple marginalized identities for social justice (Silverman et al. 2023; Selvanathan and Salter 2025). For example, multiply marginalized people may endorse a belief in background-specific strengths (i.e., belief that they derive unique skills and knowledge from marginalized experiences; Hernandez et al. 2021), which may increase solidarity intentions. Notably, we caution against treating this categorical approach as inherently intersectional; instead, we position multiply marginalized people's experiences as one proxy to confront the intersecting power structures. Thus, qualitative research to clarify the solidarity preferences and experiences of multiply marginalized people is warranted (Van Cong et al. 2025).

In unveiling multiply marginalized people's activism experiences, it is important to *prioritize* their perspectives, which may

be unique from those of singly marginalized people, to determine effective forms of intersectional solidarity (Pietri et al. 2024; Torres Rivera 2020). Research shows efforts to increase inclusion of women and LGBTQ+ people broadly do not necessarily work for women or LGBTQ+ POC (Holloway et al. 2023; Pietri et al. 2018, 2019). Researchers can identify the gaps in how people may fall short in their solidarity with multiply marginalized people, integrating research showing discrepancies in activism between privileged allies and marginalized people (e.g., Adams et al. 2006; Laiduc et al. 2024). Just as White people fail to recognize the need to target White power in anti-racism activism as perceived by Black people (Pham and Chaney 2025), singly marginalized people may be ignorant of certain targets that advance equality for multiply marginalized people.

4.3 | Principle 3: Integrate Historical-Material Analyses of Structural Oppression

The final principle of intersectionality we recommend is to integrate a *historical-material* perspective in interrogating intersecting oppression, which transcends the focus on an immediate situation to account for historical-material contexts and outcomes. Intersectionality at its roots centers structural critiques of social inequalities (Cole 2009; Collins 2015). However, applications of intersectionality in psychology are often stripped of this structural focus, running the risk of “being coopted, depoliticized, and diluted, serving only as shorthand for “multiple identities” or “within group diversity”” (Moradi and Grzanka 2017, 501). To move toward an emancipatory psychology, psychologists’ calls for critical intersectional approaches (e.g., Gampa and Sawyer 2024; Sabik and Versey 2024) center historical-materialism to resist mainstream neoliberal psychology that is often ahistorical and abstracted from material reality (e.g., Adams et al. 2019; Ratner 2015) and treats oppression as a problem “in the head” (Salter et al. 2017; Trawalter et al. 2020). Therefore, Principle 3 highlights historical oppression through material concerns like land, wealth, work conditions, and broadly, resources for survival and well-being, thus demanding attention to usually “forgotten” socio-political-economic systems such as capitalism (i.e., a sociopolitical system that is defined by the private ownership of production means and pursuit of profit accumulation) and settler-colonialism (i.e., a colonial project to eliminate and replace a Native population with a settler population; Blustein et al. 2025).

3a. Historical-materialism requires explicitly engaging with historical socio-political-economic systems such as capitalism, settler-colonialism, and the prison industrial complex (PIC; Ratner 2019) in intraminority solidarity research, going beyond identity-based power structures (e.g., racism, sexism, heterosexism). Intersectionality recognizes that racism in the U.S. was created in service of settler-colonialism and capitalism (Gampa and Sawyer 2024). That is, colonialism represents a “forgotten” dimension of social inequity that addresses the material underpinnings of racism (Bettache 2024; Gaztambide et al. 2024). Further, women, POC, and lower-class people were relegated to undesirable jobs partly due to segregated labor markets, demonstrating deep ties between capitalism and identity-based oppression (Du Bois 1935; Harvey 2007). As a contemporary form of colonialism that operates with capitalism, the PIC, which includes surveillance, policing, and imprisonment, was

borne out of an institutional need to oppress marginalized groups (Kaba 2021; Oswald and Pham 2024) and repress activism against the status quo (Gelderloos 2013; Vitale 2017).

While some work has considered solidarity with people impacted by the class struggle (Pham et al. 2023), intraminority solidarity research should incorporate people who are oppressed by capitalism, colonialism, the PIC, and expand targets of solidarity. For instance, research can examine solidarity between POC in the U.S. and colonized people globally, while considering geopolitical power imbalances between Global North and Global South (Pillay 2022). Further, integrating these historical-material systems into stigma-based solidarity (e.g., Craig and Richeson 2016), capitalism and the PIC may afford a common form of oppression that motivates solidarity. Indeed, in the “I’m Not Palestinian But” action where people globally invoked pro-Palestine solidarity statements, their motivations included similar experiences of hegemony (e.g., colonization, Western imperialism) and state violence with Palestinians (Pham, Acevedo, and Sarmal 2026). Highlighting common experiences of historical-material power structures may uniquely facilitate solidarity with several marginalized groups simultaneously, while unifying two issues that are typically perceived as separate. For example, highlighting the shared discrimination by the PIC (e.g., police violence against Black people and the violence of Immigration and Customs Enforcement against immigrants; Oswald et al. 2024) can motivate Black people’s solidarity with non-Black U.S. immigrants.

Expanding the Marley hypothesis, which posits historical knowledge about racism as an antecedent of perceiving contemporary racism (Nelson et al. 2013; Rojas Melo Silva et al. 2025), knowledge about historical-material power structures can help people recognize their interconnectedness with identity-based oppression such as racism and sexism. We thus propose that a critical history of the U.S., which informs people about the U.S. foundations on slavery, colonialism, and capitalism, can increase critical consciousness, and consequently perceived similar structurally rooted struggles (Burson and Godfrey 2020; Salter et al. 2024). Finally, the global nature of structures such as the PIC and capitalism (Goudarzi and García Ferrés 2025; Pillay 2022) can infuse a transnational lens into the solidarity literature. For instance, African institutions disregarded the police killing of Collins Khosa, a Black man in South Africa, until George Floyd’s murder exposed police brutality (Pillay 2022). Focusing on historical-material structures can connect struggles and strengthen intraminority solidarity across borders.

3b. Research conscious of historical-materialism must center the historical-material conditions of marginalized communities to theorize mechanisms and outcomes of intraminority solidarity (Collins 2019; Moradi and Grzanka 2017). The participatory action research framework (Uluğ et al. 2023) positions marginalized people’s struggles as a basis to theorize mechanisms of intraminority solidarity. For instance, marginalized groups in different nations may be oppressed by different oppressors who collaborate with each other (i.e., without common oppression or oppressor). For example, various capitalist corporations such as Bayer and Amazon collaborate while imposing different forms of oppression (e.g., environmental vs. work discrimination) on different POC

communities (Global Justice Now, n.d.; Grain 2025). Recognizing collaborative oppressors, marginalized people may develop linked fate beliefs, which empower intraminority solidarity (Chan and Jasso 2023; Matos and Sanbonmatsu 2024). Flipping the focus on the oppressed, historical narratives of successful movements can mobilize collective action (Freel and Bilali 2022). Therefore, marginalized groups' successful historical solidarity can increase intraminority solidarity, potentially due to collective efficacy beliefs (i.e., belief of two groups effectively collaborating to achieve desired goals; Landmann and Rohmann 2020).

Not only the mechanisms, the outcomes of solidarity should also be conceptualized based on the material conditions of marginalized communities. Notably, two thirds of the outcomes in experimental psychology on the Israel-Palestine "conflict" did not consider the material conditions of the Palestinian people (e.g., living under occupation without right of return to historic Palestine; Hakim et al. 2023; Pappé 2007). Given the oppression-legitimizing consequences of conceptualizing outcomes that are abstracted from material struggles, we urge researchers to incorporate the *material* demands of the beneficiary marginalized group. Drawing from the literature on historical collective resilience and resistance (Rosales and Langhout 2020), for example, solidarity with Black people should include activism to uplift their historical-material strength-building acts of resistance such as disobedience and preserving culture (e.g., hair, clothing, music; Johnson et al. 2025; Selvanathan and Salter 2025). Similarly, outcomes of solidarity with Kurds should incorporate Kurdish understandings of their collective resistance and power, including armed resistance, cultural resistance, and community bonds

(Coşkan and Şen 2025; Coşkan and Ünal 2025). To effectively encourage marginalized people to engage in such strength-building forms of solidarity, people can be reminded of their common strengths rooted in their historical and sociopolitical lived experiences (e.g., resilience, cultural diversity; Pham et al. *in press*). Developed in collaboration with community organizers, who possess historical and local knowledge (Uluğ et al. 2023), these directions will advance intraminority solidarity research toward a praxis of culturally adaptive tactics and social movements.

4.4 | Relationships Between Principles

While separated for ease of presentation, the proposed principles are interconnected and complementary and thus should be used as such. For instance, a historical-material lens is beneficial to identify theoretical gaps to advance Principle 1 and Principle 2. Specifically, acknowledging PIC and colonialism suggests abolitionist ideology as a potential antecedent to solidarity with incarcerated people and encourages research to understand how POC in the U.S. may engage in solidarity with POC living under colonization around the world (see Figure 2).

Additionally, we offer an example of employing three intersectionality principles simultaneously to study solidarity with and by Black Americans. In examining Asian people's solidarity with Black people, Principle 1 reveals their similarities (e.g., police brutality) and differences (e.g., immigration vs. slavery) in discrimination experiences that may be important to create solidarity that reduces Asian people's competitive victimhood and

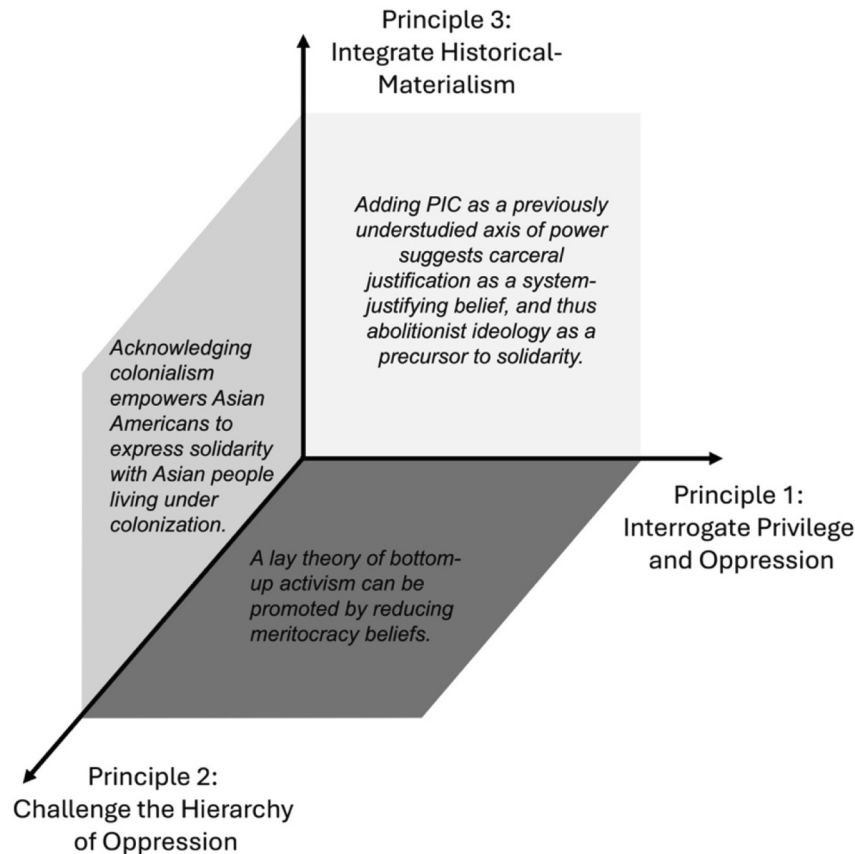


FIGURE 2 | Example research questions at the intersections of the proposed principles.

racial privilege. Principle 2 helps evaluate, for example, Black cisgender people's solidarity with Black transgender people, while amplifying the needs of Black communities with multiple marginalized identities. Finally, to apply Principle 3, incorporating colonialism can cultivate Black Americans' transnational solidarity with colonized peoples such as Palestinians and Puerto Ricans (Makkawi 2015; Rivera Pichardo et al. 2022). Together, the proposed three-dimensional model aims toward solidarity with the often-overlooked marginalized communities, while grappling with the privilege marginalized people can leverage to build collective power.

5 | Conclusion

Continuing the tradition of responsible stewardship of intersectional research (Cole 2009), we view this framework as a collective endeavor and encourage social psychologists to use it as a springboard to reflexively generate critical intersectional research. The proposed framework and its ensuing findings can help community leaders, policymakers, and activists better advocate for and unite marginalized groups while effectively confronting the intersecting power structures (Alt et al. 2026; Hudson et al. 2026).

Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

Data Availability Statement

Data sharing not applicable to this article as no datasets were generated or analyzed during the current study.

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