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Solidarity Through Shared Disadvantage: Highlighting Shared Experiences of Discrimination Improves Relations Between Stigmatized Groups

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Intergroup relations research has largely focused on relations between members of dominant groups and members of disadvantaged groups. The small body of work examining intraminority intergroup relations, or relations between members of different disadvantaged groups, reveals that salient experiences of ingroup discrimination promote positive relations between groups that share a dimension of identity (e.g., 2 different racial minority groups) and negative relations between groups that do not share a dimension of identity (e.g., a racial minority group and a sexual minority group). In the present work, we propose that shared experiences of discrimination between groups that do not share an identity dimension can be used as a lever to facilitate positive intraminority intergroup relations. Five experiments examining relations among 4 different disadvantaged groups supported this hypothesis. Both blatant (Experiments 1 and 3) and subtle (Experiments 2, 3, and 4) connections to shared experiences of discrimination, or inducing a similarity-seeking mindset in the context of discrimination faced by one's ingroup (Experiment 5), increased support for policies benefiting the outgroup (Experiments 1, 2, and 4) and reduced intergroup bias (Experiments 3, 4, and 5). Taken together, these experiments provide converging evidence that highlighting shared experiences of discrimination can improve intergroup outcomes between stigmatized groups across dimensions of social identity. Implications of these findings for intraminority intergroup relations are discussed.

Keywords: intraminority intergroup relations, interminority relations, stigma-based solidarity, perceived similarity, prejudice/stereotyping

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I fought too hard and too long against discrimination based on race and color not to stand up—and speak up—against discrimination against our gay and lesbian brothers and sisters. I see the right to marry as a civil rights issue.

—John Lewis, Georgia Congressman (2014)

And I believe that spirit is there, that true force inside each of us. . . . It's there . . . when the interracial couple connects the pain of a gay couple who were discriminated against and understands it as their own. That's where courage comes from, when we turn not from each other or on each other but toward one another, and we find that we do not walk alone.

—President Barack Obama's Commemoration Speech of the 50th Anniversary of the March on Washington (2013)

In a 2014 campaign video, John Lewis, a Black congressman from Georgia, referred to gay men and lesbians as his "brothers

and sisters" immersed in a civil rights struggle similar to that fought by Black Americans. In a speech to thousands of Americans commemorating the 50th anniversary of the March on Washington calling for civil and economic rights for Black Americans, President Barack Obama echoed the opinion that when it comes to intergroup relations between members of two different disadvantaged groups (i.e., intraminority intergroup relations), we should expect positive relations. Furthermore, almost 60 years earlier, Gordon Allport (1954) expressed a similar intuition: Although one's own victimization can, at times, elicit bias toward other disadvantaged groups, for many victims of prejudice, "their own trials and suffering . . . make for understanding. . . . With insight, [they] will say, 'These people are victims exactly as I am a victim. Better stand with them, not against them'" (pp. 154–155).

These quotes from Lewis, Obama, and Allport highlight a widespread belief or expectation about how stigmatized groups will relate to one another; that is, intraminority intergroup relations will be characterized by solidarity and positivity (Warner & Branscombe, 2012). Despite this popular belief, relations between different disadvantaged groups are not that simple. As Allport (1954) noted, often the opposite occurs, with members from different disadvantaged groups engaging in the same antagonistic attitudes and behaviors toward other disadvantaged groups as are often seen from advantaged groups (e.g., Craig, DeHart, Richeson, & Fiedorowicz, 2012; Craig & Richeson, 2014; Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008).

Indeed, historical accounts and the media are replete with examples. For example, New York in the early 1800s was home to violent conflict between members of English, Irish, and German immigrant groups (Howell & Moore, 2010). More recent examples include the violent confrontations between Black Americans and Koreans/Korean Americans in the Los Angeles protests of 1992 (Kim, 2012) and between Black American and Orthodox Jewish residents in Brooklyn, New York during the 1991 racial unrest in Crown Heights (E. Shapiro, 2006). Likewise, there are documented hostilities between gay men and lesbians in the United States (Curry, 2014; Geoghegan, 2009).

These examples illustrate our limited understanding of relations between different disadvantaged groups. This is in part because very little empirical research examines members of stigmatized groups as anything other than passive victims of discrimination (Shelton, 2000, 2003). Indeed, the limited research that has explored disadvantaged group members as active agents in intergroup relations reveals that the processes and outcomes that are typically found within majority group members do not always generalize to members of frequently stigmatized groups (e.g., Craig & Richeson, 2012; Shapiro, Mistler, & Neuberg, 2010; Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008). As a result, researchers continue to call for empirical work to fill this gap in the intergroup relations literature—to treat members of disadvantaged groups as active participants in intergroup relations (Craig & Richeson, 2016; Major & Vick, 2005; Richeson & Craig, 2011; Shelton, 2000). The present research helps to address this gap.

Turning Toward Each Other: Evidence for Positive Intraminority Intergroup Relations

There is some evidence that the experiences associated with being a member of a disadvantaged group can lead to positive relations between members of different negatively stereotyped groups. The bulk of this evidence draws on the common ingroup identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993), which argues that the activation of an inclusive, superordinate group identity encourages the recategorization of members of outgroups as members of one's ingroup, which then facilitates the treatment of these outgroup members more positively. For example, Whites at a university sporting event complied at higher rates to requests coming from Black students wearing a hat with a home team (ingroup) insignia compared with those wearing a hat with an away team (outgroup) insignia (Gaertner, Dovidio, & Bachman, 1996; Nier et al., 2001; see also Scroggins, Mackie, Allen, & Sherman, 2016).

Consistent with this research, Craig and Richeson (2012) considered whether making salient one's own group's experiences as a target of prejudice and discrimination might invoke a common, superordinate identity with other groups that experience prejudice and discrimination and examined this question among groups stigmatized in the same dimension of identity. For example, making salient the prejudice and discrimination experienced by one's racial ingroup might activate a superordinate "racial minority" identity, and as a result, facilitate positive relations among members of different racial minority groups. Across several studies, Asian American and Latino American participants who read about anti-Asian and anti-Latino discrimination, respectively (e.g., on the basis of pervasive income disparities and increased mental health risks), reported more positive explicit attitudes toward Black Americans, compared with those who read a control article. Further, the relationship between salient experiences of discrimination and positive explicit attitudes was mediated by feelings of similarity with Black Americans. Salient anti-Asian discrimination also led Asian Americans to express less automatic anti-Black/pro-Asian bias (measured using the implicit associations task; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). Thus, Craig and Richeson's (2012) findings offer evidence that salient ingroup disadvantage can heighten perceptions of group similarity toward members of a different disadvantaged group who share a common superordinate identity and engender more positive attitudes toward this outgroup.

Turning Away From Each Other: Evidence for Negative Intraminority Intergroup Relations

Although there is evidence that the experience of discrimination can lead to more positive relations with members of other disadvantaged groups, this does not always occur. A long history of research on social identity threat (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999) argues that the experience of discrimination is threatening—it threatens the value of one's social identity (e.g., Jetten, Branscombe, Schmitt, & Spears, 2001). Importantly, this work finds that when social identity threat is triggered, it often elicits a defensive form of intergroup bias to enhance one's own group's relative standing and one's own self-esteem (Sedikides & Gregg, 2008; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). Therefore, the same kinds of salient experiences of ingroup discrimination that can bring groups together, as reviewed in the preceding text, can also yield increased outgroup derogation.

For example, in one study, straight Black and Latino participants read a newspaper article about pervasive anti-Black or anti-Latino (respectively) discrimination in the United States, or a

control article, and then reported their attitudes toward gay men and lesbians and their support for civil rights for gay men and lesbians (e.g., adoption rights; Craig & Richeson, 2014). Results revealed that reading about discrimination toward their respective racial ingroups (a prime that facilitated more positive attitudes toward a different racial minority group in Craig & Richeson, 2012) led straight Black and Latino participants to express more negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbians and less support for policies that would benefit sexual minorities, compared with participants who read a control passage.

Reminding White women about pervasive sexism in the United States seems to have similar deleterious effects on their evaluations of racial/ethnic minorities (Craig et al., 2012). Specifically, exposing White female college students to information about the sexism experienced by female alumnae and current undergraduates (e.g., income disparities, men's sexist attitudes, sexual harassment) resulted in the expression of greater anti-racial minority (Black and Latino) and/or pro-White bias on both explicit and more automatic measures, compared with White female college students who were exposed to control information. Taken together, this work suggests that exposure to discrimination faced by the ingroup does not always (or, perhaps, even typically) activate a common superordinate identity that will buffer individuals' social identity threat. In other words, salient ingroup discrimination can result in the expression of *greater* bias toward members of disadvantaged outgroups.

Turning Toward Versus Turning Away: Reconciling Divergent Findings

What can explain, then, the tendency for salient experiences of discrimination to facilitate positive intraminority intergroup relations on some occasions yet at other times facilitate negative intraminority intergroup relations? Of course, there are likely to be multiple moderators of the effects of salient ingroup discrimination on relations with members of stigmatized outgroups (see Craig & Richeson, 2016); however, one clear possible moderator is whether the relevant ingroup and outgroup share a dimension of stigmatization. Specifically, the research conducted thus far suggests that salient ingroup experiences of discrimination are likely to have a positive effect on evaluations of outgroups that share disadvantaged societal status within the same identity dimension as the ingroup (e.g., to be discriminated against on the basis of race/ethnicity, as in the case of Asian Americans and Black Americans). Conversely, salient ingroup discrimination seems to have a negative effect on evaluations of outgroups that are disadvantaged on an identity dimension that differs from the ingroup (e.g., to be discriminated against on the basis of sexual identity vs. race/ethnicity, as in the case of White sexual minorities and straight Black Americans; Craig & Richeson, 2014).

Indeed, analyses from a nationally representative sample of Latinos revealed that Latino Americans who attributed the discrimination they face to their race/ethnicity, rather than their gender or age, reported having greater common fate with Black Americans (Craig & Richeson, 2012). Similarly, Muslim minority groups in the Netherlands—people who are Turkish or Moroccan—reported more positive attitudes toward Muslim minority outgroups (e.g., Turkish attitudes toward Moroccan targets, Moroccan attitudes toward Turkish targets) than toward non-Muslim

minority outgroups (e.g., Turkish/Moroccan attitudes toward the Surinamese or Antilleans; Hindriks, Verkuyten, & Coenders, 2014). Together, and consistent with the common ingroup identity model, these studies support the idea that sharing an identity dimension may facilitate positive intraminority intergroup relations.

Why, then, might sharing disadvantaged status in the same, rather than a different, dimension of social identity lead to positive intergroup relations when ingroup discrimination is made salient? One likely factor is the role that a shared dimension of disadvantage plays in creating a basis for perceived similarity when ingroup discrimination is salient. Indeed, recall that making ingroup discrimination salient among Asian Americans led to more positive attitudes toward Black Americans (compared with when ingroup bias was not salient) because it also increased participants' perceptions of similarity between Asian Americans and Black Americans (Craig & Richeson, 2012).

Thus, groups that share disadvantaged status in the same dimension of identity (e.g., different racial minorities) are better positioned to perceive similarity among one another when ingroup discrimination is salient than are groups that are disadvantaged in different dimensions of identity (e.g., White sexual minorities and straight Black Americans). Members of different racial minority groups, for instance, may have an easily accessible superordinate category label—racial minority—that is often used to refer to the potentially shared experiences of members of these distinct racial groups. These shared experiences could include facing similar stereotypes (e.g., lower intelligence), prejudiced attitudes (e.g., fear), and/or discriminatory behaviors (e.g., education and housing discrimination) from others, and/or experiencing discrimination from similar perpetrator groups. These factors (among others) may increase the likelihood that members of groups that share disadvantaged status in the same identity dimension will, as in Allport's words, see one another as "victims exactly as I am a victim" and, as a result, "stand with them" (Allport, 1954, pp. 154–155). This suggests that if one can increase the extent to which members of one stigmatized group feel their experiences with discrimination are shared with other disadvantaged groups, even across dimensions of identity, one should observe more perceived similarity and more positive relations between these different groups. The primary purpose of the present work is to test this possibility.

Turning Toward Each Other Across Different Identity Dimensions: The Role of Shared Experiences

Although a salient experience of ingroup discrimination is unlikely to spontaneously elicit perceptions of similarity with outgroups stigmatized along a different dimension of identity (Craig et al., 2012), members of different stigmatized groups may nevertheless often have a *potential* basis for perceiving their experiences as shared, given their shared status as culturally devalued. For example, straight Black Americans may generally express more negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbians when their own experiences of racial discrimination are made salient (Craig & Richeson, 2014). However, reminding Black Americans of historic struggles that they have in common with gay men and lesbians (i.e., shared experiences with discrimination), for instance in the domain of marriage rights, could offer a potential avenue for Black Americans to perceive gay men and lesbians as more similar to

their own group, and thus express more positive attitudes when ingroup discrimination is salient.

Extant theoretical and empirical research suggests that these common experiences could be harnessed to facilitate perceptions of similarity between groups that cross identity dimensions and, thus, could result in more positive intraminority intergroup relations in the face of salient ingroup bias. First, a long history of research finds that similarity is the leading antecedent of liking and prosocial outcomes (e.g., Byrne, 1971, 1997; Davis, 1994; Goldstein & Cialdini, 2007; Krebs, 1975; Maner et al., 2002; Sole, Marton, & Hornstein, 1975). Indeed, Heider (1958) argued that sharing something in common with another party creates a grouping with the other party that is characterized by increased liking and desire for affiliation. This is consistent with work revealing that the longer immigrants from racial minority groups have lived in the United States, and experienced racial discrimination in the United States, the more they perceive commonality and identification with similarly situated others (e.g., identifying panethnically as Latino instead of as Mexican, or perceiving commonality with other disadvantaged racial minority groups; see Itzigsohn & Dore-Cabral, 2000; Jones-Correa & Leal, 1996; Masuoka, 2008; Waters, 1999).

Further, believing that one has shared another person's experiences increases the extent to which one feels empathy or compassion for that person, likes that person, and engages in prosocial behaviors toward that person (e.g., Hodges, Kiel, Kramer, Veach, & Villanueva, 2010; for recent reviews, see Galinsky, Ku, & Wang, 2005; Hodges, Clark, & Myers, 2011). Moreover, the benefits of shared experiences tend to generalize beyond the individual with whom one shares this experience, leading to a reduction in prejudice and stereotyping of this person's group as a whole (e.g., Batson, Early, & Salvarani, 1997; Broockman & Kalla, 2016; Galinsky & Ku, 2004; Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000; Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci, 2003).

Additionally, shared subjective experiences (e.g., preferring to listen to the same music, observing the same sunset) are found to be more powerful than shared objective experiences (e.g., similar hometowns) in facilitating liking (Pinel & Long, 2012; Pinel, Long, Landau, Alexander, & Pyszczynski, 2006). All else equal, in other words, sharing a subjective experience (e.g., observing the same sunset) with someone who is objectively dissimilar (different hometown) can lead to greater liking than sharing something objectively similar (shared hometown) but failing to share some subjective experience (e.g., not observing the same sunset). Consistent with this work, recent research finds that believing another person has taken one's own perspective increases liking and prosocial behavior toward that person in part because it induces the belief that the person has shared one's experiences and is therefore more similar than someone who has not taken one's perspective (Goldstein, Vezich, & Shapiro, 2014). These findings suggest that the subjective experience of sharing a specific form of discrimination may at times be a more powerful way to facilitate liking than the objective experience of sharing a group membership.

Thus, decades of social psychological research suggest that members of groups that are stigmatized across different dimensions of identity may nevertheless come to perceive themselves as quite similar, if made aware of their shared experiences with marginalization and/or discrimination in society. Indeed, there is some initial evidence that such shared experiences, regardless of

shared identity dimension, can shape more positive intraminority intergroup relations when ingroup bias is salient. Specifically, Galanis and Jones (1986) studied Black American participants' endorsement of stereotypes about a person (race unspecified) with a mental illness. Some participants first read about a case with a Black defendant whose attorney cited the defendant's experience with racial oppression as cause for an insanity plea—directly linking experiences with racism to mental illness and thereby creating a possible shared experience with a person with mental illness. These participants were subsequently less likely to endorse negative stereotypes of the person with a mental illness compared to Black participants in a control condition. This suggests that it is possible to cultivate positivity between disadvantaged groups across different identity dimensions (e.g., race and mental illness) if shared experiences with discrimination or disadvantage between the groups are made explicit.

Overview of Current Research

The present work aims both to broaden and reconcile research on the factors that shape relatively positive, rather than negative, intraminority intergroup relations (e.g., Craig & Richeson, 2012). We argue that framing the discrimination that other disadvantaged groups face in ways that highlight a shared connection with the experiences of one's own disadvantaged group will yield relatively positive evaluations of those disadvantaged outgroups, even when those outgroups cross a dimension of identity.

Across five experiments and four different stigmatized groups, we test the hypothesis that shared experiences of discrimination can engender positive relations between stigmatized groups from different identity dimensions. All five experiments examine relations between groups that do not share a stigmatized identity dimension. Shared experiences of discrimination are made salient using both explicit (Experiments 1 and 3) and subtle (Experiments 2, 3, and 4) connections. In addition, we examine the effects of salient shared discrimination experiences on the endorsement of policies that benefit a stigmatized outgroup (Experiments 1, 2, and 4) and attitudes toward a stigmatized outgroup (Experiments 3, 4, and 5).

Furthermore, we propose that highlighting shared experiences of discrimination will lead to positive intergroup outcomes by increasing perceptions of intergroup similarity. Therefore, to provide direct tests of perceived similarity as the mechanism underlying these positive intraminority intergroup outcomes between members of groups that do not share an identity dimension, we measure the presence of a psychological response that tends to be reserved for others with similar experiences (empathy; Experiment 2), measure the mediating effect of perceived similarity (Experiment 4), and experimentally manipulate similarity-seeking mindsets prior to exposure to ingroup discrimination (Experiment 5). Thus, across these five experiments, we test the important role of salient shared discrimination experiences in fostering positive intraminority intergroup relations.

Experiment 1

The purpose of Experiment 1 is to provide a test of whether salient shared experiences of discrimination engender more positive intergroup relations between members of different stigmatized

groups. Although people hold multiple, intersecting identities and may face discrimination in multiple identity dimensions (e.g., sexuality and race), for the purposes of the present research, we explicitly selected participants who did not share a common stigmatized identity with the focal target group. Particularly, Experiment 1 explored straight Black Americans' support for same-sex marriage. The specific disadvantaged groups involved in this study (straight Black Americans and gay men/lesbians) were selected for two reasons. First, we were interested in investigating whether salient shared experiences of discrimination would predict positive outcomes between two disadvantaged groups that do not share a clear identity dimension or superordinate ingroup (i.e., between a racial minority and sexual minority group). Second, Black Americans and sexual minorities both have experiences with discrimination that can be framed in the common context of civil rights. Thus, on the basis of the research reviewed previously, we predicted that if same-sex marriage was described as similar to the civil rights struggles of Black Americans, then straight Black Americans would be more supportive of same-sex marriage, compared to if this similarity was not referenced.

Method

Participants. Forty-eight straight Black participants (31 women, age range: 18–44, $M_{age} = 20$, $SD_{age} = 3.82$) were recruited from a paid subject pool maintained by the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) and participated in a 10-min online survey in exchange for $3. Sample size was determined by the number of eligible students in the subject pool. Studies recruiting Black participants from UCLA's subject pool typically recruit approximately 40 participants per year; therefore, we aimed to recruit 40 participants for this experiment. Data were collected between December 2012 and March 2013.

Materials and measures.

Shared experience with discrimination manipulation. In the shared experience with discrimination condition, participants read (italics added here to highlight the differences between the two conditions):

> In this study we are interested in a *civil rights issue*. This issue has received a lot of attention lately *and is exactly like what happened to Black Americans during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s*. The *civil rights issue* that we will be focusing on is gay marriage.

In the control condition, participants read: "In this study we are interested in a *gay rights issue*. The *gay rights issue* that we will be focusing on today is one that has received a lot of attention lately: gay marriage."

Support for same-sex marriage. Support for same-sex marriage was measured using the average of the following six items (all assessed on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 = *not at all* to 7 = *a great deal*): To what extent do you . . . (1) believe that gay men and lesbians have the right to be married? (2) believe that gay men and lesbians have the right to have a civil union? (3) think you would vote to extend marriage rights to gay men and lesbians? (4) believe that the government should void the marriages of gay men and lesbians who were married in California when it was legal? (reverse-scored), (5) think banning gay marriage is a form of

discrimination? (6) think a marriage must be between a man and a woman? (reverse-scored; $\alpha = .91$).[1]

Procedure. After providing informed consent, participants were randomly assigned to receive the shared experience with discrimination or control instructions. Participants then responded to the focal dependent variables (items measuring support for same-sex marriage). Finally, demographic information was collected. Included in the demographic questions was a question asking about the participant's sexual orientation, with response options of heterosexual (straight), bisexual, homosexual (gay, lesbian), and other. All participants responded with "heterosexual (straight)." Finally, participants were debriefed and compensated.

Results and Discussion

In all studies reported in this article, values more extreme than 1.5 times the interquartile range (IQR) on any given dependent variable were considered outliers and excluded from analyses (Tukey, 1977). That is, outliers were observations with values less than $1.5 \times$ IQR subtracted from the value of the first quartile or values more than $1.5 \times$ IQR added to the third quartile. In this experiment, one outlier was removed from the analysis.[2] Thus, 47 participants were included in the final sample: 26 in the shared experience condition, and 21 in the control condition.

Furthermore, in all studies reported in this article, analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were used to explore differences between conditions on focal dependent variables. For all dependent variables in which the assumption of homogeneity of variance was violated (e.g., Levene's test of homogeneity of variance was found to be significant), results from the Brown-Forsythe test and its corresponding degrees of freedom correction are reported. The Brown-Forsythe test produces a test statistic similar to a standard ANOVA (e.g., t or F), but it provides robustness against violations of equal variances and normality while retaining statistical power (Brown & Forsythe, 1974).

Black participants' support for same-sex marriage was examined as a function of whether or not same-sex marriage was framed as similar to the experience of discrimination of Black Americans. Because the assumption of homogeneity of variance was violated (Levene's test: $F = 17.96$, $p < .001$), we report results from the Brown-Forsythe test. Consistent with the hypothesis that highlighting shared experiences of discrimination between two groups will improve outgroup support, Black participants' support for same-sex marriage was somewhat higher when it was framed as a civil rights issue and similar to the experiences of Black Americans ($M = 5.74$, $SD = 1.06$) compared with when it was framed as a gay rights issue ($M = 4.82$, $SD = 2.09$), Brown-Forsythe $t(28.22) = 1.83$, $p = .078$, $d = 0.57$.

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[1] These data were collected a few years after Proposition 8 (2008) was passed in the state of California, effectively banning same-sex marriage in California, but before the Supreme Court ruling overturned Proposition 8 and ruled that same-sex marriage was legal in California in June 2013.

[2] Including outliers does not change the pattern of the data or the significance level in Experiments 1 and 2. In Experiment 3, including outliers does not change the pattern of the data, but the effect does not reach conventional levels of significance (all ps between .14 and .19). In Experiment 4, including outliers does not change the pattern of the data, but results become nonsignificant (all ps across the focal dependent variables between .05 and .09). No outliers were identified in Experiment 5.

Thus, the results of Experiment 1 provide support for the hypothesis that positive intraminority intergroup relations are possible between negatively stereotyped groups that do not share an identity dimension when their shared experiences of discrimination are made salient. Black participants tended to report more support for same-sex marriage when they were presented with information that the marriage equality struggle for sexual minorities is similar to the historical civil rights struggles of Black Americans. One limitation of this experiment is that the explicit nature of the shared experience framing could have presented as demand characteristics for some participants, accounting for our results. One way to reduce potential demand characteristics is to communicate the similarity more subtly. Consequently, Experiment 2 addresses this limitation by including a condition with a subtler framing of shared experiences between groups.

Experiment 2

Experiment 1 offers some evidence that highlighting shared discrimination experiences between two disadvantaged groups that do not share an identity dimension can result in positive intraminority intergroup relations. Experiment 2 aims to conceptually replicate the first study, focusing again on Black participants' support of same-sex marriage. Rather than draw an explicit connection between racial civil rights and gay rights, however, in Experiment 2 we consider whether a more subtle manipulation of shared experiences with discrimination may also be effective. Thus, the present experiment frames same-sex marriage simply as a civil rights issue (shared experience) or a gay rights issue (control).

Experiment 2 also includes an additional dependent variable of interest—empathy for same-sex couples—to provide supporting evidence that perceiving a shared experience of discrimination promotes positive intraminority intergroup relations across identity dimensions in part because it increases perceptions of intergroup similarity. Specifically, empathy is a psychological response that is reserved for those who share one's interests, backgrounds, and experiences (e.g., Batson, Turk, Shaw, & Klein, 1995; Davis, 1994; Heinke & Louis, 2009; Krebs, 1975; Nelson & Baumgarte, 2004). If framing same-sex marriage as a civil rights issue elicits greater perceived similarity toward gay men and lesbians (vs. framing it as a gay rights issue), then Black participants in the "civil rights" framing condition should also express greater empathy toward gay men and lesbians.

Method

Participants.   Similar to Experiment 1, we aimed to recruit all available eligible participants typically recruited each academic year into UCLA's subject pool; therefore, we aimed to recruit 40 participants for this experiment. Data were collected between September 2011 and October 2011. Thirty-seven straight Black participants (29 women, age range: 17–59, $M_{age} = 23.67$, $SD_{age} = 9.53$) were recruited from a subject pool maintained by UCLA and participated in a 10-min online survey in exchange for $3.

Materials and measures.

Shared experience with discrimination manipulation.   In the shared experience with discrimination condition, the instructions read: "In this study we are interested in a civil rights issue. The

civil rights issue that we will be focusing on today is one that has received some attention lately: gay marriage." In the control condition, the instructions read: "In this study we are interested in a gay rights issue. The gay rights issue that we will be focusing on today is one that has received some attention lately: gay marriage."

Support for same-sex marriage.   Support for same-sex marriage was measured using the same composite of six items used in Experiment 1 ($\alpha = .92$).

Empathy for same-sex couples.   Empathy was measured using a composite of the following two items (on a 7-point scale ranging from $1 = not\ at\ all$ to $7 = a\ great\ deal$): To what extent do you (1) feel sympathy for gay and lesbian couples who cannot get married? (2) feel bad for gay and lesbian couples who cannot get married? ($r = .99$). These items were constructed to tap the *empathic concern* facet of empathy, which focuses on feelings of sympathy and concern for others (Davis, 1980, 1983).

Procedure.   After providing informed consent, participants were randomly assigned to receive the shared experience with discrimination or control instructions. Participants then responded to the focal dependent variables (support for same-sex marriage, empathy for same-sex couples). Finally, demographic information was collected (including the same question used in Experiment 1 regarding sexual orientation) and participants were debriefed and compensated.

Results and Discussion

Support for same-sex marriage.   Two outliers were removed from analyses, leaving 35 participants in the final sample: 15 in the shared experience condition and 20 in the control condition. Additionally, the assumption of homogeneity of variance was violated for both dependent measures (Levene's test for Support for same-sex marriage: $F = 43.01$, $p < .001$; Levene's test for Empathy: $F = 7.71$, $p < .01$), and thus, similar to Experiment 1, we report results from the Brown-Forsythe test. As predicted, and replicating results from Experiment 1, Black participants in the shared experience with discrimination condition (framing gay marriage as a "civil rights issue") expressed more support for same-sex marriage ($M = 6.01$, $SD = 0.66$) compared with participants in the control condition (framing gay marriage as a "gay rights issue"; $M = 4.13$, $SD = 2.14$), Brown-Forsythe $t(23.65) = 3.72$, $p = .001$, $d = 1.12$.

Empathy.   Consistent with predictions, Black participants in the shared experience with discrimination condition reported greater empathy for same-sex couples ($M = 5.70$, $SD = 1.33$) than did participants in the control condition ($M = 4.03$, $SD = 2.28$), Brown-Forsythe $t(31.42) = 2.72$, $p = .010$, $d = 0.86$.[3]

Consistent with Experiment 1, Experiment 2 found that highlighting a shared experience of discrimination between two different disadvantaged groups led to more positive intraminority intergroup relations: Black participants were more likely to support gay marriage and express more empathy for same-sex couples if gay marriage was

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[3] Given that empathy is greatly facilitated by our proposed mechanism—similarity—we tested the role of empathy as a mediator. Indeed, empathy mediated the relationship between shared experiences of discrimination and support for same-sex marriage. Preacher and Hayes (2008) mediated effect = 1.10, $SE = 0.46$, 99% CI = [−2.47, −0.08], Sobel $z = 2.34$, $p = .02$. However, we interpret this finding with caution because empathy and support for same-sex marriage were highly correlated ($r = .81$) and empathy was measured after support for same-sex marriage.

framed as a civil rights issue (compared with a gay rights issue). Importantly, and unlike Experiment 1, the manipulation in the present study was very subtle, and yet, this subtle highlighting of shared experiences with discrimination led to significant changes in intergroup attitudes toward policy support. Furthermore, when discrimination against gay men and lesbians was framed as a civil rights issue, Black participants reported more empathy for same-sex couples, a psychological process that tends to be reserved for others who have had similar experiences. This suggests that participants may have perceived more similarity with gay men and lesbians when their experiences with discrimination were framed as overlapping.

Experiment 3

Experiments 1 and 2 reveal that highlighting the connection between another group's experiences with discrimination (gay marriage) and the ingroup's experiences with discrimination (Black American civil rights) can elicit support for this outgroup. Although these findings are consistent with our hypotheses regarding the important role of shared experiences in engendering more positive intraminority intergroup relations, they emerged in relatively psychologically benign contexts. That is, although Experiments 1 and 2 mentioned the Black civil rights movement, neither study made anti-ingroup bias (i.e., anti-Black bias) particularly salient for participants prior to assessing attitudes toward sexual minorities and/or gay marriage. Previous research suggests, however, that it is in the wake of salient ingroup bias that members of one disadvantaged group are more likely to express negative attitudes toward stigmatized outgroups (i.e., Craig et al., 2012; Craig & Richeson, 2014). Hence, it is important to discern whether highlighting shared experiences of discrimination—be it subtly or blatantly—can engender positive outgroup attitudes even when bias against one's ingroup is explicitly made salient. The primary purpose of Experiment 3 is to directly test this question.

In addition, Experiment 3 explores the effects of salient shared discrimination experiences on evaluations of sexual minorities among a different stigmatized racial group: Asian Americans. Recall that previous research has found that Asian Americans' attitudes toward homosexuality are more negative when discrimination against Asian Americans is perceived to be a major problem in America (Craig & Richeson, 2014). We anticipated, however, that when Asian American participants are reminded of the shared struggles experienced by Asian Americans and gay men and lesbians regarding marriage rights, Asian Americans will report more positive attitudes toward gay men and lesbians compared to a control condition in which no information about these similarities is provided.

Method

Participants. Sixty-seven Asian American participants from Northwestern University took part in the experiment for partial course credit. All participants (40 women, age range: 18–21, M_{age} = 18.85, SD_{age} = 0.93) identified as a 0 or 1 on the Kinsey Scale of sexual orientation (0 = *exclusively heterosexual*, 6 = *exclusively homosexual*; Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948). Data were collected between October 2013 and May 2014 (prior to the national legalization of same-sex marriage in June 2015). For this study, sample size was determined by the number of eligible students in the subject pool, aiming for a minimum of 20 participants per cell. Studies recruiting Asian participants from Northwestern University's participant pool typically recruit approximately 60 participants per year; therefore, we aimed to recruit 60 participants for this experiment.

Materials and measures.

Shared experience with discrimination manipulation. Shared experiences with discrimination between groups was manipulated using a set of newspaper articles (Craig & Richeson, 2012; Major, Kaiser, O'Brien, & McCoy, 2007; see Appendix A). All participants read three newspaper articles. The first two filler articles described a lawsuit against McDonald's and an op-ed about plagiarism. In the final article, participants were randomly assigned to read one of three articles: (a) an article that blatantly articulated the parallels between the current (at the time) same-sex marriage debate and the debate over interracial marriage in the 1960s (blatant shared experience prime), (b) an article that subtly articulated the parallels between the current (at the time) same-sex marriage debate and the debate over interracial marriage in the 1960s (subtle shared experience prime), or (c) an article describing risk factors for lupus, noting the higher incidence and severity of the disease among Asian Americans (control). In all three conditions, participants read information about their racial ingroup.

Importantly, unlike Experiments 1 and 2, both the subtle and blatant shared experience with discrimination articles made anti-ingroup bias salient, highlighting that Asian Americans were affected by bans on interracial marriage. In addition, in both of the shared experience with discrimination conditions (blatant and subtle), the arguments against interracial marriage were similar in tone to the arguments made against same-sex marriage (e.g., New York Times, 2003). In the blatant shared experience condition, like Experiment 1, the parallels between the arguments for denying marriage rights to same-sex couples and interracial couples are made explicit. In the subtle shared experience condition, similar to Experiment 2, these explicit connections are removed, but what remains is the subtle connection created by the description of the experience of discrimination: Asian American participants are reminded that marriages between Whites and non-Whites were once considered immoral and unnatural, which is a common characterization of same-sex marriage made in present day by its opponents.

An excerpt from the articles priming shared experience follows. Italicized text indicates information included in the blatant shared experience prime, but not the subtle shared experience prime (italics were not included in the actual study materials):

> In many states, antimiscegenation laws also criminalized cohabitation and sex between Whites and non-Whites (e.g., Asian Americans). *Today, same-sex couples, no matter how long they have been together, are unable to enter into civil marriages in certain states. The parallels between the two are striking.* At one point, 40 states in this country forbade the marriage of a White person to a non-White person. In other words, people could not marry a person of the "wrong" race. Marriages between Whites and non-Whites were decried as "immoral" and "unnatural."

Thus, Asian American participants in both of the shared experience with discrimination conditions read information about historical discrimination against their racial group, but whether that

discrimination was explicitly linked to discrimination faced by sexual minorities differed across conditions. Because of the subtle nature of the similarity prime, we opted to not ask an explicit manipulation check after the articles so as to not inadvertently make the comparison between same-sex marriage and interracial marriage explicit in the subtle condition by virtue of asking the question. However, an open-ended question asking participants to report the purpose of the article revealed that the vast majority (89%) of participants in the blatant condition mentioned same-sex marriage, whereas no participants in the subtle condition mentioned sexual minorities or same-sex marriage in describing the purpose of the article.

Attitudes toward sexual minorities. The Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale (Herek, 1988) assessed attitudes toward lesbians (10 items) and gay men (10 items). Participants indicated their agreement with statements (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*) such as, "Lesbians just can't fit into our society" and "I think gay men are disgusting." We recoded items such that higher numbers indicate more positive attitudes expressed toward lesbians (α = .92) and gay men (α = .88).

Procedure. Participants came into the lab individually and were met by an Asian American experimenter. After providing informed consent, participants read the two filler articles and were then randomly assigned to read one of three articles: (a) the blatantly articulated parallels between the same-sex marriage debate and the debate over interracial marriage in the 1960s, (b) the subtly articulated parallels between the same-sex marriage debate and the debate over interracial marriage in the 1960s, or (c) the prevalence of lupus in Asian Americans (control). Participants then responded to the focal dependent variable (attitudes toward sexual minorities). Finally, participants were thanked and debriefed.

Results and Discussion

One participant who accidentally skipped past (and, thus, did not read) the experimental manipulation article, and 3 participants with outlying responses were removed from the analyses, leaving 63 participants in the final sample: 19 in the blatant similarity condition, 22 in the subtle similarity condition, and 22 in the control condition.

We first conducted ANOVAs with participants' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men as the dependent variables and the experimental condition (blatant shared experience, subtle shared experience, control) as the independent variable. Again, the assumption of homogeneity of variance was violated (Levene's test for attitudes toward lesbians: F = 9.15, p < .001; Levene's test for attitudes toward gay men: F = 5.25, p < .01), so, as in Experiments 1 and 2, we report results of tests that are robust to violations of equal variances for the omnibus test (Brown & Forsythe, 1974) as well as for post hoc analyses of simple effects (Games-Howell post hoc test; Games & Howell, 1976). An effect of experimental condition emerged for attitudes toward lesbians, Brown-Forsythe F(2, 46.63) = 3.76, p = .031, and gay men, Brown-Forsythe F(2, 50.20) = 4.29, p = .019.[4]

Consistent with predictions, Games-Howell post hoc analyses revealed that compared with participants in the control condition (M = 5.71, SD = 1.14), participants in the blatant shared experience condition expressed somewhat more positive attitudes toward lesbians (M = 6.34, SD = 0.53, p = .070, d = 0.69).[5] Similarly, participants in the blatant shared experience condition expressed more positive attitudes toward gay men (M = 5.97, SD = 0.71) than participants in the control condition (M = 5.40, SD = 1.13), although this effect was unreliable (p = .140, d = 0.59). Further, compared with participants in the control condition, participants in the subtle shared experience condition expressed more positive attitudes toward gay men (M = 6.14, SD = 0.69, p = .036, d = 0.78) and more positive attitudes toward lesbians (M = 6.30, SD = 0.75), although this effect was unreliable (p = .120, d = 0.61). Participants' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men in the blatant and subtle conditions did not differ from one another (p = .982 for lesbians, p = .742 for gay men).

The present data suggest that making salient the shared experiences of discrimination faced by one's own group and another group, either in a blatant or subtle manner, can promote positive attitudes between groups. Although the patterns of results were in the predicted directions, not all simple effects comparisons reached conventional levels of significance. For attitudes toward gay men, the subtle (but not blatant) framing elicited more positive attitudes from Asian American participants, compared with control information. This pattern of results was reversed for attitudes toward lesbians: The blatant (but not subtle) framing elicited more positive attitudes toward lesbians from Asian American participants. This suggests that either blatant or subtle framing may be effective in improving intergroup relations, perhaps depending on the evaluative target—a question that is beyond the scope of the current results, but may benefit from future research.

Additionally, it is notable that all three conditions in Experiment 3 referenced the racial ingroup: The two experimental conditions referenced Asian American marriage rights, and the control condition highlighted the disproportionate negative effects of lupus for Asian Americans. By including a control condition that explicitly highlighted ingroup struggles, this rules out the alternative explanation that any ingroup struggle will increase compassion toward another disadvantaged group.

Taken together, Experiments 1 through 3 provide support for the proposition that making salient the shared experiences of discrimination faced by two stigmatized groups that do not share an identity dimension can result in positive intraminority intergroup relations. That is, subtly or blatantly highlighting parallels in the experiences of discrimination between these different groups resulted in the support of policies that benefited the outgroup and in more positive attitudes toward the outgroup. It is important to acknowledge the relatively small sample sizes present in Experiments 1 through 3, which were largely due to the underrepresentation of the focal minority populations in each research context. Indeed, the small sample size of Experiment 3 may contribute to the somewhat ambiguous results revealed in the analyses. To address this limitation, in Experiment 4 we conduct a higher powered conceptual replication of the effects revealed in Experiments 1 through 3. Furthermore, although Experiment 2 offers initial evidence that perceived similarity facilitates these positive intraminority intergroup outcomes by revealing that empathy

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[4] No effect size (η_p^2) of the Brown-Forsythe F test can be reported.
[5] Cohen's ds reported here were calculated from the condition means and standard deviations.

emerges for outgroups when shared experiences of discrimination are made salient, Experiments 1 through 3 do not directly test the proposed mechanism. Experiments 4 and 5 will address this limitation.

Experiment 4

Experiments 1 through 3 reveal that highlighting experiences with discrimination that are shared between the ingroup and an outgroup can elicit support for the outgroup. Although these findings are consistent with our hypotheses regarding the important role of perceiving similarity with an outgroup as a result of making salient the shared discrimination experiences between one's ingroup and an outgroup, the mediating role of perceived similarity was not explicitly tested in Experiments 1 through 3. Thus, the aims of Experiment 4 were to conduct a higher powered conceptual replication of Experiments 1 through 3 and to directly test perceived similarity as the mechanism driving the effect of salient shared discrimination experiences on intraminority intergroup relations.

Similar to Experiment 3, Experiment 4 investigates the effects of shared discrimination experiences on Asian Americans' evaluations of sexual minorities. In Experiment 4, however, the salient shared experiences of discrimination between Asian Americans and gay men and lesbians refer to housing discrimination, employment discrimination, and historical marriage discrimination. Data were collected in May 2016, after the national legalization of same-sex marriage in June 2015, precluding the use of the same manipulation in Experiment 3. Thus, we used new experimental stimuli to manipulate shared discrimination experiences in Experiment 4. Consistent with the results of Experiments 1 through 3, we predicted that if Asian American participants were reminded of the shared struggles experienced by Asian Americans and gay men and lesbians, Asian Americans would report more positive attitudes toward gay men and lesbians and greater support for civil rights issues affecting gay men and lesbians, compared with a control condition.

New to this experiment, further, is a direct assessment of perceived similarity. We anticipated that when reminded of the shared struggles experienced by Asian Americans and gay men and lesbians, Asian Americans would report greater perceived similarity with gay men and lesbians and that perceived similarity would mediate the effect of shared discrimination experiences on intergroup attitudes and support for policy issues.

Method

Participants. To determine the sample size for Experiment 4, we used the pooled effect size of Experiments 1 through 3 (pooled Cohen's $d = .76$). This analysis suggested a total sample size of 74 for a power level of .90 through the use of a two-group between-subjects design. Thus, we sought to collect a minimum of 74 participants, but with a goal of 100 participants. Asian American ($N = 106$) participants were recruited in May 2016 from a participant pool maintained by UCLA and participated in a 15-min online survey in exchange for $3. All participants (87 women; age range: 17–24, $M_{age} = 19.85$, $SD_{age} = 1.28$) identified as a 0 on the Kinsey scale of sexual orientation (0 = *Eexclusively heterosexual*, 6 *exclusively homosexual*; Kinsey et al., 1948).

Materials and measures.

Shared experience with discrimination manipulation. Shared experiences of discrimination between groups were manipulated using newspaper articles. Participants were randomly assigned to read one of two articles: (a) an article that articulated the discrimination faced by racial minorities, including references specifically highlighting Asian Americans' experiences, in the arenas of housing, employment, and marriage (shared experience condition; see Appendix B for article) or (b) an article describing risk factors for lupus, noting the higher incidence and severity of the disease among Asian Americans (control condition; same article as was used in Experiment 3). Importantly, just as in Experiment 3, participants in both conditions read information about their racial ingroup (Asian Americans).

In the shared experience with discrimination condition, the description of job, housing, and marriage discrimination against racial minorities was similar in tone to the rhetoric often used when describing same-sex civil rights issues (e.g., Eckholm, 2015; Seufert, 2015). For example, the article included information about legislation supporting employment, housing, and marriage discrimination against racial minorities (including Asian Americans) proposed by people who feel these laws protect their religious liberties. This language has recently been used by proponents of legislation that would make the denial of services to sexual minorities legal in certain circumstances (e.g., Li, 2016). Thus, Asian American participants in the shared experience with discrimination condition read information about discrimination against their racial group framed in a way that is parallel to recent arguments seeking to permit discrimination on the basis sexual orientation.

Perceived similarity. Two items assessed participants' perceptions of similarity with gay men and lesbians (Craig & Richeson, 2012) on a scale ranging from 1 = *not at all* to 7 = *a great deal*: (1) I think I'm very similar to most gay/lesbian people, and (2) I have a lot in common with the average gay/lesbian person. Responses to the two items were averaged to create a similarity score ($r = .91$), with higher numbers corresponding with greater perceived similarity.

Attitudes toward sexual minorities. The same Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale (Herek, 1988) used in Experiment 3 assessed attitudes toward lesbians (10 items) and gay men (10 items). Items were recoded such that higher numbers indicate more positive attitudes expressed toward lesbians ($\alpha = .85$) and gay men ($\alpha = .91$).

Support for gay civil rights. Seven items assessed participants' support of gay civil rights issues. Participants indicated their agreement with the following statements, adapted from the Support for Gay and Lesbian Civil Rights Scale (Brown & Henriquez, 2011; 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*): (1) Gay men and lesbians should be allowed to marry, (2) A landlord should not be allowed to refuse to rent a house or an apartment to somebody who is gay or lesbian, (3) A person's homosexuality should not be a cause for housing discrimination in any situation, (4) Gay men and lesbians endanger the institution of the family (reverse scored), (5) The increasing acceptance of gay men and lesbians in our society is aiding in the deterioration of morals (reverse scored), (6) People shouldn't be forced to serve gay men or lesbians in their establishments if doing so would compromise their religious be-

liefs (reverse scored), and (7) A person's homosexuality should not be a cause for job discrimination in any situation ($\alpha = .80$).

Procedure. After providing informed consent, participants were randomly assigned to read the shared experience article or the control article. Participants then responded to the perceived similarity items (i.e., the proposed mediator) followed by the focal dependent variables of attitudes toward sexual minorities and support for gay civil rights. Finally, demographic information was collected and participants were debriefed, thanked, and compensated for their participation.

Results and Discussion

Four participants with outlying responses were removed from analyses. Thus, 102 participants were included in the final sample: 51 in the shared experience condition and 51 in the control condition. Participants' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men were examined as a function of whether a shared experience with discrimination was made salient (parallel experiences with job, housing, and marriage discrimination). Because the assumption of homogeneity of variance was violated for the measures of attitudes toward lesbians (Levene's test: $F = 5.15$, $p = .025$), attitudes toward gay men (Levene's test: $F = 5.43$, $p = .022$), and support for gay civil rights (Levene's test: $F = 5.92$, $p = .017$), we report the results of the Brown-Forsythe test for these three outcomes.

As shown in Table 1 and consistent with predictions, Asian American participants in the shared experience with discrimination condition expressed more perceived similarity with gay/lesbian people compared with those in the control condition, $t(100) = 2.20$, $p = .030$, $d = 0.43$ (see Table 1). Furthermore, conceptually replicating Experiment 3, Asian American participants in the shared experience with discrimination condition expressed more positive attitudes toward lesbians compared with those in the control condition, Brown-Forsythe $t(90.57) = 2.44$, $p = .017$, $d = 0.48$. In addition, Asian American participants in the shared experience with discrimination condition expressed more positive attitudes toward gay men compared to those in the control condition, Brown-Forsythe $t(92.53) = 2.52$, $p = .014$, $d = 0.50$. Finally, Asian American participants in the shared experience with discrimination condition expressed more support for gay and lesbian civil rights compared to those in the control condition, Brown-Forsythe $t(90.84) = 2.09$, $p = .040$, $d = 0.41$.

Mediation analysis. To test for the significance of the indirect pathway from shared experiences of discrimination (operationalized with article manipulation: shared discrimination experience vs. control) to positive attitudes toward gay men and lesbians as well as more support for gay and lesbian civil rights through the mediator of perceived similarity to gay and lesbian individuals, we used the Preacher and Hayes (2008) approach of calculating standard errors and 95% confidence intervals. This method uses bootstrapping (10,000 resamples) to estimate the bias-corrected and accelerated confidence intervals. As shown in Table 2, results were consistent with our hypotheses: Perceived similarity with gay and lesbian individuals significantly mediated the relationship between shared discrimination experience salience and (a) positive attitudes toward gay men, (b) positive attitudes toward lesbians, and (c) more support for gay and lesbian civil rights (see Table 2 for path coefficients and confidence intervals). Thus, these results suggest that perceived similarity serves as a significant statistical mediator of the effect of shared experiences of discrimination on positive intraminority intergroup attitudes and policy support.

We also examined the reverse mediational pathway, testing whether shared experiences of discrimination influenced perceived similarity with gay and lesbian individuals indirectly via positive attitudes toward/support for civil rights for gay men and lesbians. This analysis also revealed significant statistical mediation, highlighting one potential limitation of making causal claims from cross-sectional mediational analyses such as this and served as an impetus of Experiment 5's aim to directly manipulate the proposed mediator (perceived similarity).

Meta-Analysis of Experiments 1 Through 4

Taken together, Experiments 1 through 4 find that drawing connections between the experiences of discrimination faced by two marginalized groups that do not share an identity dimension can increase positive intraminority intergroup relations. Because of the relatively small sample sizes and some unreliable results in Experiments 1 through 3, however, we sought to calculate the overall effect size associated with making these shared experiences with discrimination salient on the expression of positive attitudes/ beliefs/support for the relevant stigmatized outgroups (Goh, Hall, & Rosenthal, 2016). This is consistent with recent recommendations to include meta-analyses following a set of replications in a single paper, especially when there are small samples, as is often the case with research on minority populations (Braver, Thoemmes, & Rosenthal, 2014; Maner, 2014; Maxwell, Lau, & Howard, 2015).

This meta-analysis used fixed effects in which the mean effect size (i.e., mean correlation) was weighted by the sample size. As shown in Table 3, included in this meta-analysis were each of the following four effect sizes: (1) Experiment 1—the effect of framing same-sex marriage as a civil rights issue (vs. a gay rights issue) on Black participants' support for same-sex marriage ($d = 0.57$);

Table 1

Experiment 4: Descriptive Statistics for Focal Dependent Measures by Condition

Dependent measure	Control condition		Shared experience condition	
	M	SD	M	SD
Perceived similarity with sexual minorities	3.10	1.34	3.73	1.54
Positive attitudes toward lesbians	6.05	.99	6.46	.71
Positive attitudes toward gay men	5.76	1.18	6.28	.88
Support for gay civil rights	5.82	1.12	6.22	.81

Table 2
Experiment 4: Path Coefficients and Confidence Intervals of Mediational Models (N = 102)

	Positive attitudes toward gay men	Positive attitudes toward lesbians	Support for gay and lesbian civil rights
a	.628[*] (.286)	.628[*] (.286)	.628[*] (.286)
b	.280[***] (.067)	.216[***] (.056)	.286[***] (.062)
c	.517[*] (.205)	.415[*] (.170)	.403[*] (.193)
c'	.341 (.195)	.280 (.163)	.224 (.180)
95% CI of the indirect effect	CI [.032, .379]	CI [.027, .294]	CI [.027, .379]

Note. a denotes the path of the effect of shared discrimination experience salience on perceived similarity with gay and lesbian individuals. b denotes the path of perceived similarity's effect on the dependent variable. c' denotes the direct effect of shared discrimination experience salience on the dependent variable. c denotes the total effect of shared discrimination experience salience on the dependent variable. Standard errors are in parentheses.
[*] $p < .05$. [***] $p < .001$.

(2) Experiment 2—the effect of framing same-sex marriage as a civil rights issue (vs. a gay rights issue) on Black participants' support for same-sex marriage ($d = 1.12$); (3) Experiment 3—the effect of reading about the subtle shared experience between interracial and same-sex marriage discrimination (vs. control) on Asian participants' attitudes toward sexual minorities ($d = 0.72$, averaged across all 20 items from the attitudes toward lesbians and gay men scale)[6]; and (4) Experiment 4—the effect of reading about the shared experience of discrimination between racial minorities and sexual minorities (vs. control) on Asian participants' attitudes toward sexual minorities ($d = 0.50$, averaged across all 20 items from the attitudes toward lesbians and gay men scale).

All Cohen's d effect sizes were converted into Pearson's correlations. These correlation coefficients were Fisher's z transformed for analyses, and then converted back to Pearson correlations for ease of reporting. Overall, the effect across all four studies was significant ($M_r = 0.31$, $p < .001$, two-tailed), such that providing information about or even a cue to shared discrimination experiences between two marginalized groups that do not share an identity dimension results in more positive intraminority intergroup relations (see Table 3).[7]

Experiment 5

Thus far, we have found consistent evidence that highlighting experiences of discrimination that are shared with or similar to those suffered by disadvantaged outgroups leads to greater support

Table 3
Meta-Analysis of Experiments 1 Through 4

	Cohen's d	95% CI		r
Experiment 1 ($N = 47$)	.57	−.01	1.16	.27
Experiment 2 ($N = 35$)	1.12	.40	1.84	.49
Experiment 3 ($N = 44$)	.72	.11	1.33	.34
Experiment 4 ($N = 102$)	.50	.10	.89	.24
M_{r_z}	.64	.37	.91	.32
M_r				.31
Combined Z				4.69[†]

Note. Positive Cohen's d and positive correlation coefficients indicate that shared experiences with discrimination lead to more positive intraminority intergroup relations.
[†] $p < .001$, two-tailed.

for policies that benefit the outgroup and more positive attitudes toward the outgroup. These experiments, in other words, offer converging evidence that making ingroup discrimination salient and framing it in such a way that it parallels the discrimination faced by a differently stigmatized outgroup can foster positive intraminority intergroup relations by offering a basis for greater perceived intergroup similarity.

Experiments 2 and 4 provide initial evidence that perceived similarity is the likely mechanism underlying the observed effects of making common experiences of discrimination salient on intraminority intergroup relations between groups that are not discriminated against along the same dimension of identity. First, Experiment 2 revealed that framing the experiences of discrimination of a different minority group in ways that mirror the discriminatory experiences of one's own group increases empathy for the relevant outgroup—a psychological process that tends to be reserved for similar others. Experiment 4 offered a more direct, albeit correlational, test of this mechanism, revealing that perceived similarity statistically mediated the relationship between the salience of ingroup discrimination that is shared with a stigmatized outgroup and increased positivity toward the outgroup. These studies suggest, in other words, that increasing perceptions of similarity with outgroups that are stigmatized in different dimensions of identity—in this case by highlighting shared experiences with discrimination—may be a particularly effective salve for the normally negative cascade of responses that members of one stigmatized group direct toward other stigmatized groups across different dimensions of identity when ingroup discrimination is salient (Craig et al., 2012; Craig & Richeson, 2014; i.e., in the absence of cues to suggest the discrimination may be shared).

There are, however, limits to what one can discern regarding causality from statistical tests of mediation (see Bullock, Green, & Ha, 2010; Spencer, Zanna, & Fong, 2005; Smith, 2012). Specifically, there could be factors other than perceived similarity that were not measured in Experiment 4 and that affect both the

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[6] Including the blatant shared experience instead of the subtle shared experience condition in the meta-analysis does not change the statistical significance of the results of the analysis.

[7] A fully random effects test of the overall effect was also significant, as indicated by a one-sample t test of the mean effect size against zero ($M_r = 0.35$), $t(3) = 5.30$, $p = .013$, two-tailed.

proposed mediator and the dependent measures. Furthermore, the possibility of reverse causation precludes the ability to make a strong causal argument following statistical tests of mediation. In Experiment 4, as predicted, perceived similarity statistically mediated the effect of shared experiences on attitudes toward and support for policies affecting gay men and lesbians; however, tests of the reverse causal effect revealed that attitudes and policy support were also significant mediators of the effect of shared experiences on perceived similarity. Thus, without experimentally manipulating the proposed mediator, the causal pathway through which shared experiences with discrimination shape intraminority intergroup relations remains unclear and subject to any number of alternatives. We attempt to address these limitations by experimentally manipulating the proposed mediator—perceived similarity— in Experiment 5.

If making connections between discrimination experienced by the ingroup and a stigmatized outgroup increases perceived intergroup similarity so as to improve attitudes toward the outgroup—despite also making ingroup discrimination salient—then theoretically, priming similarity more generically may also be effective in reducing the extent to which stigmatized group members engage in outgroup derogation in the wake of salient ingroup discrimination (e.g., Craig et al., 2012). Experiment 5 sought to test this possibility. In Experiments 1 through 4, highlighting shared experiences with discrimination had the effect of simultaneously priming ingroup discrimination as well as commonality with the target outgroup (both subtly by using descriptions/frames of discrimination experiences that echo those faced by other groups as well as explicitly by noting similarities between groups' discrimination experiences). Experiment 5, however, used a different strategy in order to isolate the effect of the proposed mediator—perceived similarity.

Specifically, Experiment 5 separately manipulated (a) whether participants held a mindset to seek out similarities (or not) and (b) whether ingroup discrimination was salient (or not). If perceived similarity is responsible for the effects in Experiments 1 through 4, then manipulating a similarity-seeking mindset in the context of salient ingroup discrimination should reduce the likelihood of derogating other stigmatized groups across dimensions of social identity. Given that a mindset prime to facilitate similarity-seeking is a subtle manipulation and that there is a robust established derogatory effect of salient ingroup discrimination on intraminority intergroup attitudes across identity dimensions (e.g., Craig et al., 2012; Craig & Richeson, 2014), we anticipated that the outgroup derogation that is elicited by salient ingroup discrimination would be reduced by the similarity-seeking manipulation. We were, however, agnostic as to whether we would find a complete attitude reversal—that if a similarity-seeking mindset is primed, salient ingroup discrimination will elicit greater outgroup positivity compared to when ingroup discrimination is not primed.

In Experiment 5, straight White female participants were first randomly assigned to either a similarity-seeking or neutral mindset and then reminded of pervasive sexism in U.S. society (or control information). Participants then reported their attitudes regarding a different outgroup than was examined in Experiments 1 through 4, but is still stigmatized in a different dimension of identity— namely, Black Americans. Consistent with previous research that has found derogation between groups who do not share an identity dimension when ingroup disadvantage is salient, we expect women

in a neutral mindset to express more negative attitudes toward Black Americans when sexism is salient, compared with when sexism is not salient (Craig et al., 2012; Craig & Richeson, 2014). If highlighting shared experiences of discrimination offers protection from intraminority intergroup derogation, as suggested by Experiments 1 through 4, then a similarity-seeking mindset should buffer against this defensive form of intergroup bias when sexism is salient.[8] In other words, we expect a similarity-seeking mindset to attenuate the derogation of disadvantaged outgroup members stigmatized along different identity dimensions that typically results from making ingroup discrimination salient.

Method

Participants.   White women from the Ohio State University ($N = 201$; age range: 18–45, $M_{age} = 19.01$, $SD_{age} = 2.39$) participated in exchange for partial course credit. For this study, sample size was determined by the number of eligible (White women) students in the subject pool recruited in an academic year. Data were collected between September 2014 and May 2015. All participants identified as a 0 or 1 on the Kinsey Scale of sexual orientation (0 = *exclusively heterosexual*, 6 = *exclusively homosexual*; Kinsey et al., 1948).

Materials and measures.

Similarity-seeking mindset manipulation.   Participants completed an alleged pilot-testing activity in which they were randomly assigned to either (a) report on the similarities between a series of landscapes (similarity-seeking mindset) or (b) describe the landscapes (neutral mindset; Mussweiler, 2001; Todd, Hanko, Galinsky, & Mussweiler, 2011). Specifically, in the similarity-seeking mindset condition, participants saw four pairs of illustrated landscapes with the instructions to list three ways in which the pictures were similar to each other. Participants in the neutral mindset condition saw one of the illustrated landscapes on each page (four pages in total) and the instructions were to list three attributes that could be used to describe each picture.

Pervasive sexism manipulation.   Consistent with previous research, in Experiment 5, the ingroup's experience of discrimination was manipulated using an article that described pervasive sexism (Craig et al., 2012). All participants first read a filler article about a lawsuit against McDonald's. In the sexism salient condition, the second article described an alleged research study that revealed pervasive sexism faced by women in the form of men's attitudes, sexual harassment, and disparities in political representation. In the control condition, the second article described an alleged study examining left-handedness and brain function (and did not refer to gender or sexism). Furthermore, distinct from Experiments 1 through 4, the sexism article only referred to discrimination faced by women and did not refer to similarities between sexism and other forms of discrimination.

Racial bias.   Participants completed the Anti-Black Scale (Katz & Hass, 1988), a self-report measure of bias against Black Americans. Participants indicated their agreement (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*) to 10 statements such as, "One of the

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[8] We found preliminary evidence in support of these hypotheses in a pilot study ($n = 70$, across the 2×2 design); see the online supplemental materials for a full description of this pilot study's design and results.

biggest problems for a lot of Blacks is their lack of self-respect." Higher numbers indicate more anti-Black bias ($\alpha = .88$).

Procedure. Participants in Experiment 5 came into the lab and were met by an experimenter who informed them that the goal of the study was to examine reading and memory skills. After providing informed consent, participants completed the alleged pilot test materials that provided the mindset manipulation. Participants were then randomly assigned to read either the sexism salient or the control article. Next, participants completed the focal dependent variable measuring anti-Black bias. Finally, participants were probed for suspicion regarding the hypotheses before being thanked and debriefed.

Results and Discussion

Thirteen participants who had incorrectly responded to an attention check item asking for a particular response (e.g., asking participants to select *somewhat agree*) were removed from analyses. Thus, 188 participants were included in the final sample: 48 in the neutral mindset + control condition, 57 in the neutral mindset + sexism salient condition, 37 in the similarity-seeking mindset + control condition, and 46 in the similarity-seeking mindset + sexism salient condition.

We conducted a 2 (mindset: similarity-seeking, neutral) × 2 (pervasive sexism: sexism salient, control) between-subjects ANOVA on participants' anti-Black bias scores, revealing the predicted Pervasive Sexism × Mindset interaction, $F(1, 184) = 5.55$, $p = .020$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. No main effects emerged (mindset: $F(1, 184) < 1$, $p = .365$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$; pervasive sexism: $F(1, 184) < 1$, $p = .751$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$). As seen in Figure 1 and consistent with predictions and prior research (Craig et al., 2012), among participants who described the series of landscapes in the neutral mindset condition, salient sexism led to greater anti-Black bias compared with the control condition (salient sexism article: $M = 3.63$, $SD = 1.09$; control article: $M = 3.21$, $SD = 1.08$), $F(1, 184) = 4.06$, $p = .045$, $d = 0.39$, 95% CI = [0.01, 0.78]; see Figure 1). Furthermore, consistent with our prediction that manipulating a similarity-seeking mindset in the context of salient ingroup discrimination should reduce bias, among White women for whom sexism was made salient, inducing a similarity-seeking mindset ($M = 3.12$, $SD = 1.07$) led to less expressed anti-Black bias compared with inducing a neutral mindset, $F(1, 184) = 5.91$, $p =$

.016, $d = 0.48$, 95% CI = [0.09, 0.87]. Among participants for whom a similarity-seeking mindset was primed, there was no difference in anti-Black bias between the salient sexism article condition and the control article condition ($M = 3.44$, $SD = 1.00$), $F(1, 184) = 1.86$, $p = .175$, $d = 0.30$, 95% CI = [−0.13, 0.73]. Finally, the expressed anti-Black bias of participants who described landscapes and read the control article did not differ from the expressed anti-Black bias of participants in the similarity-seeking mindset condition who read about sexism, $F(1, 184) < 1$, $p = .673$, $d = 0.09$, 95% CI = [−0.32, 0.49].

Overall, Experiment 5 found consistent evidence that inducing a similarity-seeking mindset can reduce stigmatized group members' expression of bias toward another stigmatized group when experiences of ingroup discrimination are salient. Specifically, when ingroup discrimination was salient, a similarity-seeking mindset protected against the bias that emerged in the neutral mindset condition—buffering against or ameliorating the bias found in previous research. Thus, the findings from Experiment 5 provide experimental evidence of similarity as the mediating mechanism accounting for the relationship between shared experiences of discrimination and positive intraminority intergroup relations found in Experiments 1 through 4.

It is important to note that in the present experiment we did not find a complete attitude reversal pattern. That is, the similarity-seeking mindset eliminated the outgroup bias that emerged as a function of salient experiences of ingroup discrimination found in previous research, but did not increase positivity felt toward the outgroup above what is felt in the neutral mindset condition (with no salient ingroup discrimination). This hints at a potential boundary condition. The similarity-seeking mindset was a very subtle manipulation; indeed, it was entirely nonsocial (i.e., writing about similarities between landscapes), and no connection was highlighted between women's experiences with discrimination in the United States and Black Americans' experiences with discrimination. This suggests that there may be some threshold of explicitness in highlighting a shared discrimination experience that should be met in order to observe greater positivity (as in Experiments 1 through 4) rather than solely reducing outgroup derogation. Regardless, these results suggest that a similarity-seeking mindset, relative to a control/neutral mindset, may present more opportunities for members of one disadvantaged group to perceive a connection with another stigmatized group by recognizing shared experiences of discrimination, even between groups stigmatized across different dimensions of identity.

General Discussion

Five experiments tested whether highlighting shared experiences of discrimination between one's own group and an outgroup stigmatized along a different identity dimension can improve relations between these two groups. Indeed, our results suggest that it can. The findings of the present research emerged over a number of different experimental manipulations: Shared experiences were explicitly (Experiments 1 and 3) and subtly (Experiments 2 through 4) communicated to participants or a similarity-seeking mindset was primed prior to salient information about ingroup discrimination (Experiment 5). We observed these effects on several intergroup outcomes, including policy support (Experiments 1, 2, and 4) and biased attitudes toward another group (Experi-
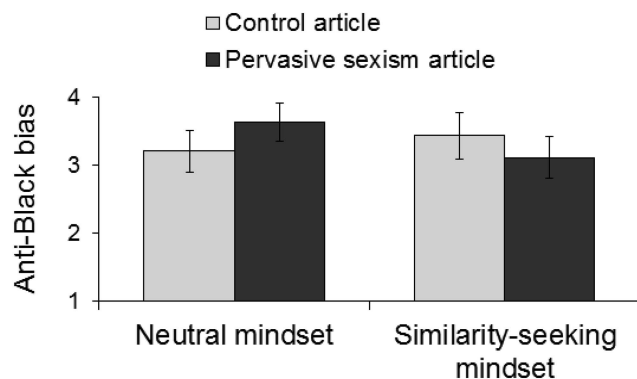

Figure 1. Anti-Black bias by experimental condition. Error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals. (Experiment 5).

ments 3, 4, and 5). In addition, we examined these effects in the context of intergroup relations between several different stigmatized groups as participants and targets, including Black Americans (Experiments 1, 2, and 5), Asian Americans (Experiments 3 and 4), straight White women (Experiment 5), and sexual minorities (Experiments 1 through 4). Taken together, the present experiments reveal that highlighting shared experiences of discrimination between groups can foster positive intraminority intergroup relations, even across different identity dimensions.

The findings reported in the present research are particularly compelling given that previous research has found that highlighting one's ingroup's experiences with discrimination leads to *increased* prejudice expression toward another group stigmatized along a different dimension of identity (Craig et al., 2012; Craig & Richeson, 2014). The current research identified a method for attenuating and, even, reversing this effect, highlighting an important psychological mechanism through which solidarity among groups stigmatized along different dimensions of social identity may operate: making salient the ways in which other groups' struggles with discrimination and prejudice may be experienced similarly to one's own. Thus, these findings contribute to the growing literature on intraminority intergroup relations and further our understanding of how intraminority coalitions may develop among groups who do not share a stigmatized identity dimension.

By examining relations between members of different stigmatized groups, the present research also helps to counter the historical imbalance in the intergroup relations literature that has largely focused on how members of high-status groups think, feel, and respond to members of lower status groups. We now know much about dominant group members' experiences, but research conducted on, and from the perspective of, dominant majority group members does not always generalize to members of lower-status, disadvantaged minority groups (e.g., Craig & Richeson, 2016; Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2007; Shapiro et al., 2010; Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008). It is essential for social psychological research to incorporate research participants and frameworks that better reflect the broad diversity of human social behavior, attitudes, and cognition.

The current research helps to address this gap in the intergroup relations literature. By focusing squarely on the experiences of members of stigmatized groups (and, thus, not on experiences that are part of dominant group psychology), the present research was able to uncover the powerful role of shared experiences with discrimination in promoting positive intraminority intergroup relations. Thus, the present work has the potential to influence broader efforts aimed at improving intergroup relations, especially among different disadvantaged groups. Understanding how and when different groups might perceive similarities between their own experiences with stigma and discrimination and those of others could open up a new category of potential intervention efforts.

Limitations

It is important to acknowledge some clear limitations of the current research and, particularly, one that is common to research accessing minority or underrepresented populations—inadequate power and sample size. The psychological research community's best practices are evolving regarding power, sample size, and replication (e.g., Funder et al., 2014; Miller & Ulrich, 2016; Nosek & Bar-Anan, 2012; Simmons, Nelson, & Simonsohn, 2011). When one's study popula-

tions are large in number, replenish regularly, and participate for small monetary compensation, it may be relatively straightforward to increase sample size and conduct replications. Researchers studying the experiences of socioculturally devalued minority groups, however, seek populations that are, by definition, a minority of the population. Studying such groups can pose challenges, including: smaller recruitment pools; larger financial incentives for participation; and greater difficulty, expense, and time required to identify eligible participants (see also Finkel, Eastwick, & Reis, 2015).

Given these constraints, how can researchers who study underrepresented and minority populations be responsive to the emerging best practices to produce replicable research? In the present research, we attempted to address this in several ways.[9] First, we tolerated somewhat smaller sample sizes for studies that enrolled participants from groups that are severely numerically underrepresented in our populations (e.g., Black participants in Experiments 1 and 2). Second, we supplemented these studies with higher-powered replications using more readily available participant populations that should be susceptible to similar psychological processes under investigation in the present work (e.g., Asian Americans and White women in Experiments 4 and 5). However, it is essential to note that this will not always be possible for some research questions involving minority, stigmatized, and/or underrepresented populations—some research questions will focus on a psychological process that may only be present within groups that are severely underrepresented and, perhaps, have a particular history of underrepresentation and/or discrimination.

Third, we included conceptual replications and a mini meta-analysis of the central effect. The meta-analysis provides a more precise effect-size estimate than any one study alone, especially when studies are likely to be underpowered (Braver et al., 2014; Fabrigar & Wegener, 2016). Last, we capitalized on the fact that the set of authors of this work are from two research teams that were independently testing similar hypotheses. This increased our confidence that the results from any one study were unlikely to be due to artifacts associated with one specific paradigm, participant pool, geographic area, or research lab, and, further, allowed us to coordinate the development of replication studies.

Although statistical power is a critically important value in research, studying and including the experiences of diverse populations is also a critical value to research and society as a whole. Because of constraints like those outlined above, researchers may need to consider difficult tradeoffs between these two essential scientific values. We invite the field, especially researchers with interests that require difficult-to-recruit samples, to engage in more public conversations, collaborations, and partnerships, and, perhaps, to develop resources to assist and support research teams in an effort to enable the production of research on these vitally important questions without sacrificing best practices.

Future Directions for Research on Intraminority Intergroup Relations

Because the present research contributes to a nascent body of work that seeks to understand relations among stigmatized groups, the findings offer a number of implications for intraminority intergroup

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[9] We greatly thank Cheryl Kaiser, the associate editor of this article, for her guidance regarding how to approach this important issue.

relations and suggest interesting and fruitful avenues for future research.

One question that arises is how explicit the connections need to be between the disadvantages experienced by two groups in efforts to build cross-category coalitions. The results of the present work suggest that regardless of whether a connection was made salient relatively subtly or quite blatantly, it resulted in positive intraminority intergroup outcomes, at least for racial minorities when evaluating sexual minorities. There is reason to be cautious, however, in inferring that all methods of inducing perceived similarity between different stigmatized groups in the context of salient ingroup discrimination will lead to positive intraminority intergroup relations. In fact, some research suggests that highlighting shared experiences between different groups in a subtle manner might be more beneficial to intergroup outcomes than doing so blatantly.

Specifically, framing experiences of discrimination as similar in a very explicit or blatant manner may lead individuals to perceive these as efforts to homogenize their own group's experiences with those of other groups (Branscombe et al., 1999), and as a result, trigger attempts to differentiate one's own group from the other groups (see Martinez, 1993; Noor, Brown, & Prentice, 2008). Research finds, for instance, that devalued groups sometimes engage in what has been termed competitive victimhood, or an ingroup-legitimizing attempt to establish that one's own group has suffered more as a result of disadvantages or stigmatization compared to another disadvantaged group (e.g., Noor et al., 2008). Although the empirical research examining competitive victimhood has largely been conducted with groups embroiled in intractable, and at times violent, conflicts (e.g., Northern Ireland or Israel; Noor et al., 2008), competitive victimhood processes can occur among less adversarial groups (e.g., among men and women portrayed as victimized in society; Sullivan, Landau, Branscombe, & Rothschild, 2012). Thus, making similarities between different groups' discrimination experiences salient in a very explicit way could, under some circumstances, increase an individual's need to feel distinct from other groups (Brewer, 1991; Leonardelli, Pickett, & Brewer, 2010) and, as a result, could backfire. Although we did not find evidence of this backlash across Experiments 1 and 2, or with a direct test of a blatant versus subtle manipulation of shared experiences in Experiment 3, we think that this is an important avenue for future research, especially when investigating relations among groups that are not readily perceived to have common struggles.

A second question that arises from the present research is what boundary conditions limit the extent to which similar experiences of discrimination or stigmatization will facilitate the positive intraminority processes found across the present studies. For example, it is possible that members of one stigmatized group will sometimes reject efforts to frame the discrimination that their group experiences as similar to that experienced by members of a different stigmatized group, depending on any number of contextual factors (e.g., power and/or status relations between the groups, the actual history of stigmatization of the two groups, the salience of the discrimination currently facing one or both groups, etc.). Indeed, we have some preliminary evidence bearing on these latter two conditions.

In 2012 and then again in the months leading up to the 2016 presidential election, we conducted experiments wherein we described people living with mental illness as "foreigners" in American society—thereby using a prevalent stereotype associated with Latino Americans, but not typically associated with people living with mental illnesses. That is, Latino American participants either

read about people with mental illness—a stigmatized outgroup—as being stereotyped as foreign or they did not receive this common-stereotype information, prior to evaluating people with mental illness much like in the studies reported in this article.[10] Interestingly, in our initial 2012 attempt, we found that describing people with mental illness as "foreign" and, thus, similar to Latino Americans in this way, led Latino participants to express more positive attitudes toward people with mental illness in general, compared with a control condition. In the 2016 effort, however, attitudes expressed toward the stigmatized outgroup were either not affected by the common-stereotype framing, or, in some cases, increased stigmatization. This is perhaps not surprising given (a) we attempted to manufacture a connection that did not actually exist and (b) the national conversation regarding immigration between 2012 and 2016 shifted, including a heightening of public and political discourse around harsh deportation and anti-amnesty laws targeting Mexican immigrants (e.g., González, 2016). Indeed, this change in the national tone regarding immigration could have led the Latino participants in these studies to be especially sensitive to stereotypes about being perceived as foreign and, further, increased their scrutiny of attempts to apply such a salient stereotype seemingly inappropriately (i.e., to another stigmatized group not currently being directly targeted by similar national rhetoric). Of course, this explanation is purely speculative, but it is likely that some efforts to frame connections between groups—be they veridical or manufactured—will be unsuccessful and, further, that highly salient contemporary ingroup experiences of discrimination are likely to moderate the efficacy of any attempts to draw such connections between different experiences of discrimination between groups. Future work might seek to further identify and disambiguate boundary conditions such as these.

Future research could also examine how the source of the information conveying shared experiences might influence the size or even direction of the effects we observed in our experiments. In the current work, the source of the information intended to convey the similarity between the participants' ingroup and the other stigmatized outgroup's experiences was either the researchers or an ostensibly credentialed newspaper article. It would be interesting to examine how these outcomes might differ as a function of whether the source of the information is someone other than a presumed neutral party. For example, if a relatively trustworthy ingroup member makes statements highlighting the perception of similarity with a stigmatized outgroup, the positive effects observed in the current work might be even stronger. On the other hand, if members of the relevant stigmatized outgroup make statements about the two stigmatized groups' commonality, it is pos-

[10] These experiments were initially intended to examine whether the basic effect of priming similar discriminatory experiences on cross-group attitudes could be achieved even without the groups having an actual history of similar discrimination. That is, we tested whether it was possible to manufacture a discriminatory and/or stereotypical connection between two stigmatized groups that does not already exist (from the media, historical accounts, etc.) and, yet, still observe the benefits found when groups are primed with actual common experiences of stigmatization. Consequently, we did not include the results of these experiments in the meta-analysis reported in the article, as these studies reflect an adjacent, yet distinct phenomenon from the basic effect size we attempted to estimate in the meta-analysis (on the basis of the findings from Experiments 1 through 4).

sible that these comparisons could be seen as less genuine, or as motivated by personal gain. As a result, such proclamations might be ineffective or even cause backlash. These possibilities are certainly worthy of investigation.

Finally, the present research contributes to an area of psychological science that considers the meaning and consequences of multiple categories of social group membership (see Cole, 2009; Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Sesko & Biernat, 2010; Thomas, Dovidio, & West, 2014). The present research contributes to this body of work by considering how marginality on one dimension of identity can be leveraged to yield empathy toward outgroup members marginalized along a different dimension (see also Rosette & Tost, 2013). However, future research would benefit from even greater attention to intersectionality, or how the intersections of individuals' social identities inseparably influence their experiences (e.g., Cole, 2009; Remedios & Snyder, 2015), within intraminority intergroup relations. For example, in the present research we focused on the effects of perceived discrimination in a single dimension of identity—such as a person's racial/ethnic group membership. However, in reality people who have racial/ethnic minority identities hold many other social identities, some marginalized and others that are dominant in the culture (e.g., gender, sexual minority identity, socioeconomic status). Future research will benefit from considering how holding multiple marginalized identities, each with different histories of discrimination, functions to facilitate or inhibit positive intraminority intergroup relations.

Conclusion

In the epigraph to this paper, Barack Obama argued that "when we turn not from each other or on each other but towards one another . . . we find that we do not walk alone." The implication is that members of different disadvantaged groups often share experiences of discrimination, and that, if embraced, these shared experiences will lead to positive relations between different stigmatized groups. The present research supports this possibility. Making salient an experience with discrimination that is shared with another group can lead to positive intraminority intergroup relations. This research, then, extends current theory on intraminority intergroup relations by identifying one condition under which experiences with discrimination on one dimension of identity can be leveraged to promote more positive reactions to members of groups that are stigmatized in a different dimension of identity. In so doing, the present work underscores the power of shared experiences to overcome the threat of ingroup discrimination, and perhaps, as Congressman Lewis proclaimed in the quote at the start of this paper, to pave the way for members of different stigmatized groups to stand up and speak up in solidarity against the prejudice and discrimination that is experienced across multiple groups.

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Appendix A

News Article Primes (Experiment 3)

Blatant Shared Experience Prime (Experiment 3)

History Repeating Itself? Interracial Marriage and Same-Sex Marriage in the United States

Interracial couples were not permitted to marry in some states until as late as 1967. In many states, anti-miscegenation laws also criminalized cohabitation and sex between Whites and non-Whites (e.g., Asian Americans). Today, same-sex couples, no matter how long they have been together, are unable to enter into civil marriages in certain states. The parallels between the two are striking.

At one point, 40 states in this country forbade the marriage of a White person to a non-White person. In other words, people could not marry a person of the "wrong" race. Marriages between Whites and non-Whites were decried as "immoral" and "unnatural." Overwhelming numbers of Americans agreed. A Virginia Judge upheld that State's ban on interracial marriages saying, in a language with the same rhetorical tone as used against gay people today,

> Almighty God created the races white, black, yellow, malay and red, and he placed them on separate continents. And for the interference with his arrangement there would be no cause for such marriages. The fact that he separated the races shows that he did not intend for the races to mix.

In the landmark 1967 Supreme Court case, *Loving v. Virginia*, the state of Virginia presented an argument in support of its interracial marriage ban that echoes arguments made by opponents of same-sex marriage today. They argued that interracial marriages were uniquely prone to divorce and placed undue psychological stress on children. Virginia's attorney general, who argued the point, said, "Children of intermarried parents are referred to not merely as the children of intermarried parents but as the 'victims' of intermarried parents and as the 'martyrs' of intermarried parents."

In *Loving*, Virginia's Supreme Court justified a ban on interracial marriages by citing religious beliefs. And Bob Jones University, which prohibited interracial dating as recently as 2000, offered this reasoning: "God has made people different one from another and intends those differences to remain. [Interracial marriage] . . . breaks down the barriers God has established."

The Bible is one of the first sources to be brought up on the "anti" side of the same-sex marriage debate, too. "The fact is, Jesus said in Matthew 19 that God's plan for marriage was one man with one woman for life," said one senior pastor, ". . . it is our Christian faith that requires us to uphold the biblical definition of marriage as a sacred union between one man and one woman."

(Appendices continue)

In the end, the *Loving v. Virginia* decision overturned state laws that banned interracial marriage. The Supreme Court declared, "There can be no doubt that restricting the freedom to marry solely because of racial classifications violates the central meaning of the equal protection clause."

Although South Carolina and Alabama's constitutional bans on interracial marriage couldn't be enforced after the *Loving* decision, those laws weren't removed by constitutional amendment until 1998 and 2000, respectively. As of 2011, 46% of Mississippi Republicans supported a ban on interracial marriage, whereas only 40% thought it should be legal.

The analogies are clear. Restricting who can marry whom on the basis of their sex and sexual orientation is the same as restricting who can marry whom on the basis of their skin color—it's discrimination. Creating a civil institution that is available to all consenting committed adults is essential for the happiness of everyone.

Subtle Shared Experience Prime (Experiment 3)

A Brief History of Interracial Marriage in the United States

Interracial couples were not permitted to marry in some states until as late as 1967. In many states, anti-miscegenation laws also criminalized cohabitation and sex between Whites and non-Whites (e.g., Asian Americans). At one point, 40 states in this country forbade the marriage of a White person to a non-White person. In other words, people could not marry a person of the "wrong" race. Marriages between Whites and non-Whites were decried as "immoral" and "unnatural." Overwhelming numbers of Americans agreed. A Virginia Judge upheld that State's ban on interracial marriages, saying,

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It is clear that restricting who can marry whom on the basis of their skin color is discrimination. Creating a civil institution that is available to all consenting committed adults is essential for the happiness of everyone.

Control Article (Experiments 3 and 4)

Study Explores Lupus Risk Factors and Treatment

Recent data collected by the Illinois Research Consortium (IRC) has found new risk factors and current treatments for lupus, an autoimmune disease. The IRC study is based on 6 years of data from lupus patients. Lupus, also known as systemic lupus erythematosus, is a chronic inflammatory disease that often affects the joints, kidneys, blood and nervous system, and is now known to strike some ethnic groups more than others. The severity of lupus can range from mild to fatal.

About Lupus

Estimates indicate that roughly 1.5 million in the United States live with lupus. Lupus causes the body's immune system to attack its own tissues, causing inflammation and damage. No two cases are alike, experts say. In fact, there are four types of the illness, ranging from mild to severe. Before effective therapies were developed, the disease was fatal more often, usually from overwhelming infection and kidney failure.

The Lupus Foundation estimates that more than 16,000 new cases develop every year.

Lupus Symptoms and Risk Factors

Often lupus patients encounter stiff and achy joint pain, caused by inflammation brought on by the disease. In addition to swollen joints, the other symptoms include fatigue, facial rash, fever, chest pain, swollen glands, and sores in the mouth and nose.

(*Appendices continue*)

Not only does lupus tend to run in families, but a person may be more susceptible if a relative has other autoimmune diseases such as multiple sclerosis. Age is another risk factor; lupus is most often diagnosed between the ages of 15 and 45.

Additionally, the IRC study found that racial minority group members—including Asian Americans—are at higher risk of lupus. The reason for this is unknown, but the trend is seen around the world and archival data suggests this has been the case for many generations. Lupus also seems to appear in a more aggressive form among Asian Americans compared to other groups. On average, Asian Americans with lupus experience more frequent flare-ups as well as greater damage to the skin and kidneys. The study found that symptoms also tend to occur at an earlier age for Asian Americans.

Final Thoughts on Treating Lupus

The lead researcher from the IRC study suggests that symptoms are more controllable today, saying that "the prognosis for lupus today is very good. The survival rate is usually over 90 percent in 5 to 10 years of having the disease. In the 1950s it was probably 50 percent."

Part of the reason for the improved success has to do with better treatment in managing the condition. Over-the-counter nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drugs such as aspirin, naproxen, and ibuprofen offer relief to some patients. Additionally, corticosteroids can be prescribed to treat flare-ups.

In short, the IRC study demonstrated that although new risk factors are emerging, the treatment and prognosis of the disease are looking better and better for patients.

Appendix B

News Article Prime (Experiment 4)

Shared Experience Prime (Experiment 4)

A Brief History of Housing, Employment, and Marriage Discrimination in the United States

You don't have to look too far in American history to find cases of businesses, landlords, and lawmakers voicing different reasons to legitimize discriminatory practices against racial minorities. For example, in some states throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, lawmakers argued for more municipal and federal regulation of racial minority communities (e.g., areas with high numbers of Asian Americans in San Francisco, California), claiming that these communities fostered filth, disease, and immorality. "They were trying to paint a picture of Asian culture as depraved," historian David Rumsey said. "It's pretty frightening to learn about today because the practices were so discriminatory." City supervisors essentially pushed for regulation of specific communities in order to push certain racial minority groups out of the city.

In other states, laws and tactics under the guise of "religious freedom" have been used to legitimize discriminatory acts, arguing that mandating religious people and institutions to serve and assist people from certain groups forces them to violate their beliefs and values. Individuals argued that their religious values required them to deny services to racial minorities (e.g., providing housing for racial minorities or interracial couples, providing services for interracial weddings, employing racial minorities, etc.), with whom alliances and relationships were considered "morally impure" and "unnatural."

Indeed, in many states throughout the 20th century, antimiscegenation laws criminalized cohabitation and sex between whites and racial minorities. At one point, 40 states in this country forbade the marriage of a white person to a non-white person. In other words, people could not marry a person of the "wrong" race. Marriages between whites and racial minorities were decried as "immoral" and "unnatural." Overwhelming numbers of Americans agreed. A Virginia judge upheld the state's ban on interracial marriages, saying,

> Almighty God created the races white, black, yellow, malay and red, and he placed them on separate continents. And for the interference with his arrangement there would be no cause for such marriages. The fact that he separated the races shows that he did not intend for the races to mix.

Although interracial marriage has been legalized, there are still individuals opposed to such unions. For example, in 2011, 46% of people from the dominant political party in Mississippi supported a ban on interracial marriage, whereas only 40% thought interracial marriage should be legal (14% were unsure).

It is clear that using religion as an argument to discriminate against others because of their group membership or lifestyle does a disservice to the tenets of religious freedom. Religious liberty is an important value in our Constitution, but only if we do not allow individuals to co-opt it to discriminate against and harm the rights of others.