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New tree, growing forrest: Updating meta-analytic evidence on solidarity between U.S. people of color through an extension and partial replication

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Abstract

Published meta-analytic evidence shows that across five experiments, shared discrimination triggers solidarity between U.S. people of color (PoC), which then strongly correlates with support for pro-outgroup policies. Mini meta-analyses like these remain informative only if all conceptually similar experiments—regardless of statistical significance—are evaluated. We amend this meta-analytic record by adding a new study that only partially replicated the established solidarity pattern. Specifically, our study evaluated whether PoC solidarity encompasses Palestinian people: a racially stigmatized outgroup outside U.S. borders. We tested this through a pre-registered experiment with Black adults (N = 851), the prototypical person of color. Unexpectedly, we find that exposure to shared discrimination with Palestinians insignificantly affected Black solidarity with PoC. This pattern arises despite exploratory analyses showing that PoC solidarity incorporates Palestinian people. Nevertheless, we still find that Black camaraderie with PoC strongly correlates with pro-Palestinian attitudes, which reaffirms prior work. Finally, with this partial replication included, we meta-analyze all six available solidarity mechanisms through a random effects model. This analysis reveals that PoC solidarity remains a viable mechanism behind inter-minority solidarity. Our results have implications for PoC solidarity and the regular updating of meta-analytic evidence in political science.

Keywords

Mini meta-analysis, people of color, solidarity, replication

Introduction

Nearly 40% of the U.S. population is now comprised of people of color (PoC)—African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinos, and other non-Whites (Pérez 2021). Combining insights from political science (Benjamin 2017; Sirin et al., 2021; Wilkinson 2015) and psychology (Chin et al., 2023; Cortland et al., 2017), a recently published *mini* meta-analysis of five (5) experiments suggests that a sense of shared discrimination between PoC mutes divisions

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between them (Pérez et al., 2024a). For example, when Black adults feel they are discriminated as *socially inferior*, like Latinos are, they become more supportive of pro-Latino policies. Moreover, when Latinos feel they are discriminated as *foreigners*, like Asians are, they become more supportive of pro-Asian policies (Zou and Cheryan 2017).

The goal of any mini meta-analysis is to synthesize two or more conceptually similar studies to uncover possible summary trends that are diagnostic of a proposed theory (Goh et al., 2016). Mini meta-analyses treat the effect sizes of individual studies as units worthy of further investigation, which lets researchers gauge how robust evidence is *across* studies that test a theoretical framework. This means mini meta-analyses are valid only insofar as all available experiments, regardless of their statistical significance, contribute to its evidentiary base (Braver et al., 2014; Maner 2014). This is crucial because samples of conceptually related studies in mini meta-analyses are relatively small (N <10) and perhaps sensitive to outliers, such as null findings and partially replicated results (Lipsey and Wilson 2001; Rosenthal 1991). When executed correctly, mini meta-analyses can help reduce the "file drawer problem": a practice where only hypothesis-confirming findings are published (Franco et al., 2014). Mitigating this practice is an urgent objective for many social scientists concerned with "replication crises" in their respective fields (Malhotra 2022). Consequently, mini meta-analyses can provide political scientists more precise estimates of observed effects while assessing their robustness to sample sizes, study timing, and operationalization of key variables (Campbell and Stanley 1963).

Using the case of fledgling research on solidarity between people of color (PoC), we illustrate for political scientists the benefits of regularly updating mini meta-analytic evidence. Growing research demonstrates that heightening a sense of shared discrimination between African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinos, and other PoC triggers solidarity between them, which then correlates with support for pro-outgroup policies (Pérez et al., 2023b; see also Cortland et al., 2017; Sirin et al., 2021).

We sought to conceptually replicate this pattern through a pre-registered experiment that tested whether shared discrimination between African Americans and Palestinians in Israel catalyzes PoC solidarity, thus increasing Black people's pro-Palestinian attitudes. If this pattern exists, then it would indicate that PoC solidarity is more inclusive than previously thought and an underappreciated factor in mass support for U.S. interventions in international affairs.

Our conceptual replication focused on Palestinians in Israel because they absorbed heavy casualties at the hands of Israel's military after terror attacks against Israeli Jews coordinated by Hamas, a terrorist organization, on October 7, 2023. News coverage of this Israeli-Palestinian conflict is suffused with reports about the apartheid-like oppression experienced by Palestinians both before and after this war's start (Karon 2024; Simons 2024). We reasoned this kind of framing would resonate with PoC because it meshes with critical notions of "structural racism" and "Third World oppression," two key attributes that define this mega-group (Pérez 2021). Our replication centered on Black adults, the *prototypical* person of color—the PoC segment that sets this mega-group's norms (Chin et al., 2023). Following prior experiments, we assigned Black adults (N = 851) to read a control article about giant tortoises or a treatment article highlighting ways that Palestinians and African Americans are discriminated against as *socially inferior* (Zou and Cheryan 2017). We then measured Black solidarity with Palestinians, pro-Palestinian attitudes, and solidarity items without mentions of Palestinians. We uncovered three results.

First, we unexpectedly find that *shared discrimination* with Palestinians trivially impacts Black solidarity. This pattern emerges even though exploratory analyses suggest this form of solidarity is empirically indistinguishable from PoC solidarity as measured in prior work (Pérez et al., 2024b). Second, and as predicted, Black solidarity with PoC (including Palestinians) strongly correlates with pro-Palestinian attitudes, which aligns with previous studies. Finally, we refresh the current experimental record on PoC solidarity by synthesizing our partial replication with five other conceptually similar experiments (N = 4161) through a random effects mini meta-analysis (Goh et al., 2016). Our efforts reveal that PoC solidarity remains a viable and flexible mechanism behind cross-racial alliances in politics. We end by discussing our results' implications.

The promise (and pitfalls) of mini meta-analyses

Mini meta-analysis is a statistical tool to infer summary trends from a sample of conceptually similar studies. The logic is that a synthesis of available studies ($N \geq 2$) can inform researchers about the robustness of evidence for a given phenomenon. Mini meta-analyses treat effect sizes from conceptually similar studies as the unit of interest and evaluate whether there are reliable and meaningful patterns across them (e.g., Goh et al., 2016; Lipsey and Wilson 2001; Rosenthal 1991). For example, published experiments on PoC solidarity vary in terms of sampled populations (e.g., African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinos), measured outcomes (e.g., support for pro-Black, pro-Asian, pro-Latino policies), and timing of studies (i.e., different years). Yet each of these experiments also has the same design aimed at testing whether a sense of shared discrimination with another racially stigmatized outgroup triggers PoC solidarity, which then strongly correlates with support for pro-outgroup policies. A mini meta-analysis allows analysts to determine whether evidence for this

solidarity pattern emerges across studies *despite* the vagaries in any one of them.

Proponents of mini meta-analyses tout their ability to synthesize accumulated findings to clarify the robustness of evidence for a hypothesis, which can invigorate theory building (Goh et al., 2016). Consider research on PoC solidarity, which generally finds that a sense of shared discrimination triggers camaraderie between racially stigmatized outgroups in the U.S. (Pérez et al., 2024a). Here, previous work has overlooked whether this solidarity strictly encompasses racially stigmatized groups in the U.S. Thus, a conceptual replication of this broader finding through a new case (e.g., Palestinians as a racially stigmatized outgroup) can serve to extend the fledgling meta-analytic record in this literature. Indeed, this ability to synthesize findings through mini meta-analyses takes on greater urgency as various social sciences wrestle with their own "replication crises"—that is, the conclusion that many published findings cannot be reliably reproduced (Franco et al., 2014; Malhotra 2022).

Like all methodologies, mini meta-analyses have some limitations. One downside involves the quality of individual studies that are meta-analyzed, which can be understood through a "garbage in, garbage out" principle (Lipsey and Wilson 2001; Rosenthal 1991). That is, mini meta-analyses are ultimately concerned with differentiating signal from noise in a sample of studies (Pérez et al., 2024; Gujarati, 1978). Therefore, when individual studies in a mini meta-analysis are poorly designed—for example, insufficient statistical power, unreliable measures, heavy sampling of inattentive respondents—it makes it harder to combine them to uncover aggregate patterns in a study sample. Specifically, it risks committing a Type 2 error, where a researcher fails to find an effect(s) that actually exists in a sample. Thus, any mini meta-analysis is only as informative as the quality of the analyzed studies.

Another downside to mini meta-analyses is that their performance in small samples is relatively unknown. In principle, a mini meta-analysis only needs two conceptually similar and high-quality studies (Goh et al., 2016; Rosenthal 1991). Yet this raises the prospect that any summary trend(s) (or lack thereof) uncovered by a mini meta-analysis is an artifact of sparse cases. While the solution here is more high-quality data, how much data is sufficient to avoid this challenge remains an open question. Hence, a practical solution is to refresh mini meta-analytic evidence as conceptually similar studies become available.

Lastly, some critics of mini meta-analyses argue that, while this method is intended to minimize the "file drawer" problem (Franco et al., 2014; Malhotra 2022), political scientists may still be incentivized to publish meta-analyses that ignore studies which are inconsistent with a hypothesis and/or fail to meet a conventional level of statistical significance ($p < .050$). This can encourage researchers to suppress contradictory and null results and even lead some scholars to include studies that are weakly related, in conceptual terms, to others in a collected sample (to artificially boost statistical power). This will produce a distorted meta-analytic picture of how robust findings are in a research area.

In summary, then, an informative mini meta-analysis should rest on truly conceptually similar studies that are of high quality and that form part of an analyzed sample irrespective of statistical significance. In what follows, we discuss how we accomplished this in the context of research on PoC solidarity.

Research design: A conceptual replication and updated mini meta-analysis

We designed a pre-registered experiment to test whether an aroused sense of shared discrimination among Black adults would trigger solidarity with Palestinians and other people of color, thus increasing support for pro-Palestinian policies and sharpening pro-Palestinian feelings. Our pre-registration is reported in section 1 of the supplemental material (SM.1).

We recruited our sample ($N = 851$) via Cloud Research, an online survey platform, to complete our 8-min survey. Similar to prior experiments in this literature, our sample was powered at 80% to detect a small effect ($d \sim 0.20$) with a p-value of .05 (two-tailed). After consenting, participants completed some demographics (see SM.2 for instrumentation and SM.3 for sample demographics). We then randomly allocated participants to one of two conditions. Participants in the control condition read a mock Associated Press (AP) article about the gradual extinction of giant tortoises. Participants in the treatment condition read about Israel's systematic discrimination of Palestinian people as *socially inferior* (Zou and Cheryan 2017), with the news brief displaying the title: **"*Despite Living in their Homeland for Millenia, Palestinians are Treated Like Second Class Citizens, With Israel Occupying Palestinian Lands and Segregating its People*."** This mock article discussed the oppressive treatment of Palestinians by the Israeli state and noted how this resonates with Black Americans, "many of whom have similar memories and experiences with exclusionary measures directed at them…" This tie to the U.S. Black experience capitalizes on a *similarity* principle—the linchpin behind PoC solidarity (Cortland et al., 2017). This principle stipulates that individuals will gravitate toward people who share *similar* things with them (e.g., experiences, tastes), thus forging a sense of "we." This is a critical feature of prior shared discrimination manipulations (Pérez et al., 2024a).

Post-treatment, participants completed a true/false manipulation check about the thrust of their assigned article, with most participants (95%) passing. Participants then

Table 1. Testing shared discrimination's indirect effect on pro-Palestinian attitudes through PoC solidarity.

	PoC solidarity (mediator)		Pro-Palestinian (policy)	Pro-Palestinian (feelings)
Shared Discrimination	−.007 (.017)			
Intercept (Control)	.633*** (.012)			
		PoC Solidarity	.335*** (.026)	.186*** (.024)
N	851			

Note: Entries are OLS coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. ***$p < .01$, **$p < .05$, two-tailed.

completed three validated (3) items measuring PoC solidarity (Pérez et al. forthcoming), which we adapted to include Palestinians as PoC. Answered on a scale from 1-strongly disagree to 5-strongly agree, the items were: 1) "I feel solidarity with people of color throughout the world, including the Palestinian people"; 2) "The problems of Black, Latino, Asian, Palestinian and other people of color are similar enough for them to be allies"; and 3) "What happens to people of color in other countries has something to do with what happens in my life as a Black person in the United States." We combined replies into an additive index, called *solidarity-P*, to denote Palestinians' inclusion. We rescale this index to a 0-1 interval, where higher values indicate stronger solidarity ($M_{\text{solidarity-P}} = .630$, SD = 0.249, $\alpha = 0.774$).

Next, we gauged our first outcome, *pro-Palestinian policy*. On a scale from 1-strongly favor to 5-strongly oppose, participants indicated support for 1) "providing humanitarian assistance to the Palestinian people?" 2) "calling for a permanent ceasefire and de-escalation of violence against Palestinians?" and 3) "giving military assistance to Israel?" and 4) "requiring Israel to stop building settlements in Palestinian territories?" We created another index, on a 0-1 range, where higher values reflect more support for pro-Palestinian policies ($M_{\text{pro-Palestinian policy}} = .753$, SD = 0.204, $\alpha = 0.707$).

Thereafter, we gauged *pro-Palestinian sentiment* using feeling thermometer ratings of the *Israeli state* and *Palestinians*. These ratings used a scale from 0-unfavorable to 100-favorable. We then subtracted the rating of the *Israeli state* from the rating of *Palestinians*, yielding a measure where higher values reflect *pro-Palestinian sentiment*, also rescaled to a 0-1 interval ($M_{\text{pro-Palestinian sentiment}} = .753$, SD = 0.204).

Finally, for exploratory purposes, we re-administered our solidarity items but removed all mentions of Palestinians. This lets us probe whether *solidarity-P* is conceptually similar to solidarity without referencing Palestinians, *solidarity-NP*. We combined replies into an index running from 0 to 1, where higher values indicate greater solidarity ($M_{\text{solidarity-NP}} = .691$, SD = 0.240, $\alpha = 0.782$).

With our new study's effects in hand, we then submitted all six (6) available solidarity experiments to a *random effects* mini meta-analysis. Unlike a fixed effects meta-analysis, which assumes that variability in effect sizes arises from sampling variation alone, a random effects meta-analysis treats effect sizes as stemming from sampling variation and study heterogeneity (Goh et al., 2016). This latter feature better captures the range of studies we have in hand, allowing us to synthesize these data while clarifying for future studies the estimated range of possible effects. For interested readers, we report analog estimates from a fixed effects model (in footnote 1). The primary difference between our random effects estimates and those yielded by a fixed effects model is the wider range of uncertainty around our meta-analyzed effect sizes, which is calibrated by study heterogeneity.

Results

We first evaluate whether *shared discrimination* affects our mediator, *solidarity-P*. This is crucial in testing a treatment's indirect effect on an outcome through a mediating variable. Null evidence will contradict the claim that solidarity with Palestinians drives *shared discrimination*'s effect on our outcomes. Table 1's first column of coefficients shows that *shared discrimination* insignificantly impacted *solidarity-P*. Compared to the control, participants who read about *shared discrimination* expressed negligibly less *solidarity-P* (−0.007, SE = 0.017, $p < .693$)—a trivially small effect in the unexpected direction. One possible explanation for this pattern is that the form of solidarity we measured post-treatment, *solidarity-P*, is distinct from *solidarity-NP*, which does not mention Palestinians. With six (6) solidarity indicators, we ran a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to test whether these items reflect two rather than one underlying variable(s) (using Stata 15.1's **principal factors** method). This CFA was not pre-registered. We limit this analysis to participants in the control to avoid contamination via our treatment.

In psychometric analyses like these, eigenvalues greater than 1.0 reflect a substantive variable behind survey items. Table 2 shows there is only one such eigenvalue (3.200). The next eigenvalue is a paltry (0.369), suggesting these six items share one common variable, which we call *solidarity*, to denote its generality. All item loadings are robust, ranging between (0.572) and (0.872). Indeed, if we square this latter loading, about 76% of the variance in this item is attributable to *solidarity*. Finally, there is a remarkably high degree of

correlation between *solidarity-P* and *solidarity-NP* (0.804, $p < .001$), making it hard to distinguish them. Thus, we conclude that our null treatment effect is unlikely due to mis-measuring *solidarity*. In (SM.4), we probe other possible explanations for our null treatment effect (Kane 2024), including pre-treatment and ceiling effects (these exploratory tests were not pre-registered). We conclude that these alternate explanations are also unlikely driving our null result.

Table 2. Confirmatory factor analysis of political solidarity items.

	Loading (Standardized)
Feel bond (Palestinians included)	.730
See allies (Palestinians included)	.850
Common fate (Palestinians included)	.587
Feel bond (Palestinians excluded)	.711
See allies (Palestinians excluded)	.872
Common fate (Palestinians excluded)	.574
Eigenvalue > 1.00	3.200
Proportion variance explained	94.6%
N	426

A refreshed mini meta-analysis

Despite our null treatment effect, we argue that it is essential to include this result in an updated mini meta-analysis of conceptually similar experiments on PoC solidarity. This will allow social scientists to better assess the robustness of accumulating evidence on this proposed solidarity mechanism. We entered our study in a mini meta-analysis of five (5) other conceptually similar experiments that were recently published (Pérez et al., 2024a), for a total sample of six (6) experiments. This mini meta-analysis draws on a random effects model, which treats the estimated variance of effect sizes as a combination of both sampling variation *and* study heterogeneity (Goh et al., 2016). Table 3 displays a comparison of the original published estimates (italicized) and the new estimates of our refreshed mini meta-analysis. Despite our null treatment effect on *solidarity*, the evidence supporting this proposed mechanism remains largely intact, with *shared discrimination* heightening *solidarity* (0.151, SE = 0.042, $p < .01$), which is then strongly associated with

Table 3. Refreshed meta-analysis of all conceptually similar experiments on shared discrimination's indirect effect on pro-outgroup outcomes.

	PoC solidarity (mediator)		Pro-Palestinian (policy)
Shared Discrimination	*.151*** *(.042)* .175*** (.036)		
		PoC→Solidarity (mediator)	*.380*** *(.038)* .333*** (.018)
N	4,161		

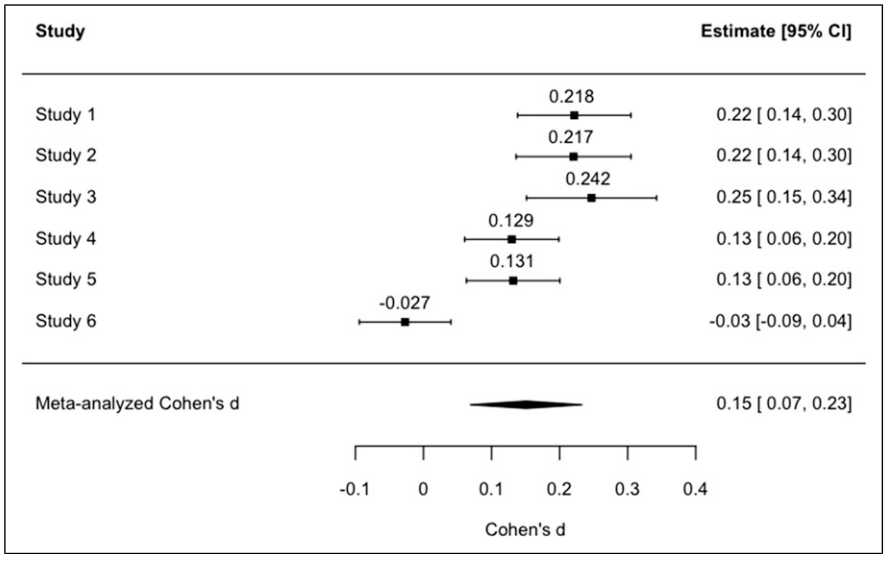

Figure 1. Effects of shared discrimination on PoC solidarity.

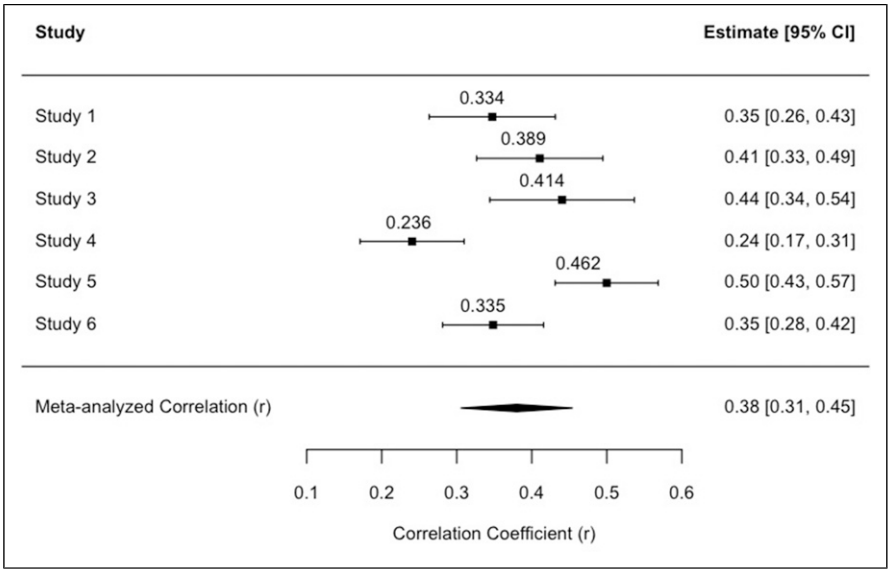

Figure 2. Effects of PoC solidary on pro-outgroup policy.

downstream support for pro-outgroup policy (0.380, SE = 0.038, $p < .01$).[1]

This summary trend can be visually appreciated in Figures 1 and 2, which depict the individual and meta-analyzed effects 1) from shared discrimination to PoC solidarity; and 2) from PoC solidarity to support for pro-outgroup policy. These figures indicate that, despite some clear variability between all six studies, their synthesis captures a reliable indirect effect from shared discrimination to support for pro-outgroup policy *through* PoC solidarity. More specifically, the I^2 statistic (85.30) for the studies in Figure 1 indicates that about 85% of the variability in shared discrimination's estimated treatment effect is due to heterogeneity between studies and only about 15% is due to chance. This is unsurprising given the variation in sampled populations and measured outcomes in these experiments. In turn, the I^2 statistic (81.99) for Figure 2's studies suggests that about 82% of the variability in the estimated downstream relationship between PoC solidarity and support for pro-outgroup policy is due to real heterogeneity between studies, while only about 18% is due to chance alone. Taken together, Figures 1 and 2 should reassure scholars working in this area that future studies on PoC solidarity are likely to produce small but meaningful treatment effects from shared discrimination (operationalized as a mock news article) to PoC solidarity ($d = 0.15$, 95% CI [0.07, 0.23]); and, they are also likely to produce a very strong relationship between heightened solidarity and downstream support for pro-outgroup policy ($r = .38$, 95% CI [0.31, 0.45] $\rightarrow d \sim 0.78$).

Conclusion

We argued that there is high value in mini meta-analyses because they synthesize accumulated evidence on a phenomenon, regardless of any one study's statistical significance. Accordingly, we conducted a conceptual replication of prior experiments testing the connections between shared discrimination, PoC solidarity, and pro-outgroup attitudes. Specifically, we tested whether *shared* discrimination triggers PoC solidarity when a racial outgroup is from outside the U.S.; in this case, Palestinian people in Israel. Our results clarify knowledge about this proposed mechanism and extends current meta-analytic evidence on it. Our new study yielded a trivial effect from *shared discrimination* to *solidarity*—the first such result we are aware of. Nonetheless, our refreshed meta-analysis of similar experiments shows that, despite our study's mixed evidence, substantive conclusions about PoC solidarity remain robust, thus encouraging more research into the viability of this mechanism. In these ways, our use of meta-analytic methods provides a blueprint for other scholars in fledgling literatures to take stock of and synthesize available evidence on a given theoretical framework, especially when analyzing conceptually similar studies that analyze different populations.

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Supplemental Material

Supplemental material for this article is available online.

The replication files are available at: https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/CDY3UX

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Note

1. A fixed effects analysis of these experiments returns comparable meta-analyzed values. Specifically, the meta-analyzed effect from our treatment to solidarity is 0.14, SE = 0.04, $p < .01$. In turn, the meta-analyzed relationship between PoC solidarity and our outcomes is 0.34, SE = 0.03, $p < .01$.

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