

**Solidarity as a Bridge: How Shared Discrimination Indirectly Shapes Electoral Intentions  
Among People of Color**

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**Abstract**

Accumulating research shows that a heightened sense of shared discrimination between Black, Asian, and Latino Americans produces greater solidarity between people of color (PoC), which then increases their support for pro-minority policies. This paper investigates whether solidarity's downstream effects spill over to vote intentions—a key precursor to voter mobilization. We tested this proposition across three large parallel survey experiments with Black (N=850), Asian (N=850), and Latino (N=850) adults conducted three weeks prior to the 2024 U.S. presidential contest between Democrat Kamala Harris and Republican Donald J. Trump. While we find no consistent direct effect of shared discrimination on intended vote choice, our analyses reveal that PoC solidarity mediates the effect of shared discrimination on intended votes for Harris, though this relationship varies by racially stigmatized group. Specifically, shared discrimination most strongly increased solidarity among Black respondents, with heightened solidarity being most strongly associated with downstream vote intentions among Asian and Latino respondents. A battery of sensitivity analyses further establish that solidarity's downstream influence is highly robust to confounding. These findings suggest that shared discrimination appeals may not directly shift electoral behavior, but can indirectly shape political support by activating a broader sense of camaraderie across communities of color.

**Keywords**

inter-minority coalition, racial solidarity, intended behavior, voting

The year 2020 marked a period of profound upheaval in U.S. society for people of color (PoC). As the COVID-19 pandemic spread, rhetoric blaming China for the virus became widespread in political discourse (Neuman, 2020; Martin & Haberman, 2020)—contributing to a surge in anti-Asian prejudice and hate crimes (Lantz et al., 2022; Lim et al., 2022; Reny & Baretto, 2020; Ruiz et al., 2023). Moreover, the police killings of Breonna Taylor and George Floyd laid bare the systemic injustices that Black Americans continue enduring within U.S. society and its criminal justice system (Toosi et al., 2021; Toraif et al., 2023). These developments unfolded amid a broader climate of heightened immigration restrictions and policies that disproportionately affected Muslim and undocumented Latino communities (Hamedy, 2018; Kang & Yang, 2021), all amid an election cycle that amplified debates about race, identity, and national belonging (Sides et al., 2022). These developments reinforced that racial minorities remain embedded in a durable racial hierarchy, consistently relegated to second-class citizenship. Yet these moments also revitalized calls for solidarity between PoC (Pérez, 2021; Starr, 2023)—a concept that is known to unify public opinion among Asian Americans, Black Americans, Latino Americans, Middle Easterners and North Africans (MENAs), and Multiracial Americans in their fight for fair and equal treatment (Pérez, Vicuña, & Ramos 2024; Pérez, Goldman, et al., 2024; see also Craig & Richeson, 2016; Cortland et al., 2017).

Studies show that Black, Asian, Latino, and MENA individuals are more likely to express political solidarity with other communities of color when their shared experiences with discrimination are made salient (e.g., Eidgahy & Pérez, 2022; Chin et al., 2022; Cortland et al., 2017). Drawing on Zou and Cheryan's (2017) Racial Position Model, these studies indicate that cross-group solidarity is most likely to emerge between groups that share an axis of

discrimination. For example, Asians and Latinos—often racialized as *foreigner* and *un-American*—tend to express more solidarity with one another when discrimination based on perceived foreignness is highlighted. Conversely, Latinos and Black Americans—more often perceived as social *inferior*—are more likely to express solidarity when experiences of subordination are emphasized (Pérez, Vicuña, & Ramos, 2024).

Nevertheless, few studies explore how effective these shared discrimination appeals are in promoting solidarity between Asian and Black Americans—two communities whose primary experiences with racialization are rooted in distinct axes and historical trajectories. Asian Americans, who are stereotyped as socially *superior* to other PoC (Zou & Cheryan, 2017), framed as “model minorities” in comparison to Black Americans, who are generally stereotyped as socially *inferior* (Lee, Wong, & Alvarez, 2009). This “competitive victimhood” narrative frames progress as zero-sum and obstructs the development of mutual recognition and perceived linked fate—psychological prerequisites for sustained coalition-building (McNeill & Vollhardt, 2020; Noor et al., 2012; Rogbeer et al., 2025; Goh & Douglas, 2025)

This literature also exclusively focuses on attitudes rather than behavior. Existing research primarily examines the indirect effects of discrimination appeals on policy support through solidarity, leaving open the question of whether these appeals also motivate political behavior. This is a crucial omission as lasting structural change requires more than shifting opinions—it depends on the capacity to translate those opinions into collective political action. Theories of reasoned action and planned behavior suggest that behavioral intentions are strong predictors of actual behavior, with intention–behavior correlations frequently exceeding 0.70 (Ajzen, 1985; Webb & Sheeran, 2006). Thus, it is essential to examine whether PoC solidarity

also motivates voting intentions—a key behavioral precursor to supporting candidates committed to racial equity (e.g., Pérez, 2015; Pérez & Mártir Luna, 2025).

Our paper investigates shared discrimination's role in catalyzing political action among people of color. We recruited nationally representative samples of Black, Latino, and Asian Americans ahead of the 2024 U.S. presidential election. We use this extensive data to evaluate whether heightened feelings of solidarity motivate support for Democratic candidate Kamala Harris—the first woman of color to secure a major-party presidential nomination, representing a party broadly viewed as the “home” of racially minoritized communities (Mason, 2023). Our studies use a parallel cross-sectional design to directly compare the strength and direction of solidarity's influence across racial groups, which we further appraise with sensitivity analyses to boost confidence in this mechanism's mediating effects. Below, we draw on social identity theory to explain how shared discrimination may promote solidarity on behalf of people of color, a meaningful superordinate category with political implications (Pérez 2021; Pérez et al. 2025). We also outline some conditions under which these solidarity effects may vary systematically, depending on the distinct historical experiences of Asian, Black, and Latino people and their perceived prototypicality as people of color.

### **Activating Solidarity: Promise and Precarity in Cross-Racial Appeals**

Prior research suggests that PoC solidarity is more likely to emerge when social categorization processes orient members of distinct subgroups (e.g., Black and Latino people) to think of themselves as sharing in a larger superordinate group (i.e., people of color) (Pérez, 2021). This line of research builds on the common ingroup identity model (Gaertner et al., 1989; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), which posits that highlighting shared similarities can encourage individuals to recategorize themselves as members of a superordinate group—reframing

collective challenges from a “them” issue to an “us” issue and ultimately fostering greater intergroup solidarity (Ball & Branscombe, 2019). This process is especially effective when discrimination is perceived as a shared grievance, since recognizing common sources of oppression can evoke anger and resentment—emotions strongly linked to mobilization under a politicized collective identity (Lalonde & Cameron, 1994; Simon & Klandermans, 2001; van Zomeren et al., 2008; Warner et al., 2014). Such politicized identities are known to shape individuals’ justice concerns (Tyler & Smith, 1999) and motivate political engagement aimed at challenging systemic inequities (Simon & Klandermans, 2001).

Aligning with these insights, multiple studies randomly expose Black, Asian, Latino, and MENA adults to news articles emphasizing their shared experiences of discrimination with a target outgroup, framing it as stemming from either perceived *inferiority* or *foreignness*, per Zou and Cheryan’s (2017) framework (Chin et al., 2022; Eidgahy & Pérez, 2022; Pérez, Vicuña, & Ramos, 2024; see also Craig & Richeson, 2016; Cortland et al., 2017). Post-treatment, participants report their feelings of solidarity with people of color and their support for non-discriminatory policies that clearly implicate a specific racial outgroup. For instance, Black participants in the treatment condition read an article highlighting the shared experience of being relegated to second-class citizenship alongside Latinos before responding to policy proposals affecting Latinos (e.g., “Introducing harsher penalties for hate crimes committed against Latinos”). Meta-analytic work confirms that shared discrimination consistently increases solidarity between people of color ( $d = 0.18$ ) and that solidarity, in turn, is significantly associated with pro-outgroup policy support ( $d = 0.79$ ). This meta-analytic research also establishes that the downstream association between solidarity and policy support is moderately robust to confounding in the downstream path ( $\rho = .330$ ), further underlining the viability of this

mechanism. Indeed, this sensitivity parameter ( $\rho$ ) suggests solidarity would have to be correlated at this level or higher with an unmeasured confounder for solidarity's effects to vanish completely to zero. Rogbeer et al. (2025) bolster confidence in solidarity's downstream effect with a design-based approach that "neutralizes" its influence through a blockage manipulation in the downstream path (MacKinnon & Pirlott, 2015). Their research reveals that solidarity's influence on outgroup policy support is modestly reduced but left largely intact after this blockage manipulation.

Nevertheless, social categorization is fluid and context-dependent, shaped by shifting cues in one's immediate social environment (Turner et al., 1987). In the U.S., race remains a dominant axis of social organization (Zou & Cheryan, 2017), influencing how communities of color perceive themselves and one another. Consequently, group-specific histories and lived experiences often become more psychologically salient than shared marginalization. These distinctions reinforce intergroup boundaries and limit the potential for lasting coalition—even when shared oppression is explicitly acknowledged (e.g., Brilliant, 2010; Craig & Richeson, 2016; Vaca, 2004; Meier et al., 2004; McClain et al., 2009). For instance, racial discrimination is often interpreted through an ingroup lens, prompting individuals to double down on support for their own community while overlooking similar struggles faced by others (Pérez, 2021). These divisions are further compounded by divergent policy legacies (e.g., the Chinese Exclusion Act vs. the one-drop rule) (Ngai, 2004), intergroup competition for resources and recognition (e.g., *Students for Fair Admissions v. Harvard*) (Barnes & Moses, 2021), and racialized narratives such as the "model minority" stereotype (Tuan, 1999), which obscure systemic inequality and cast certain groups as inherently distinct. Together, these forces undercut efforts to build durable cross-racial solidarity by emphasizing difference rather than shared status within a racial order.

These dynamics also help explain why the recategorization process is not equally effective across all groups. Perceptions of prototypicality and belonging within superordinate categories like PoC can significantly moderate the success of shared discrimination appeals. Superordinate labels may encourage temporary identification and a sense of linked fate in experimental contexts, especially when discrimination is framed as a shared grievance. But enduring coalitions require deeper identification with the superordinate group. According to self-categorization theory, individuals assess their fit with group norms and prototypes to determine belonging (Turner & Reynolds, 2012). In this context, the degree to which Black, Latino, and Asian Americans see themselves as prototypical PoC may influence how deeply they internalize shared discrimination messages. Here, Pérez (2021) finds that Black Americans are widely perceived as the most prototypical members of the PoC category, followed by Latinos and then Asians: a consensus that emerges across members of these racially stigmatized groups. This established pattern implies that Latinos and especially Asians may feel less psychologically included in the broader PoC identity, reducing the likelihood that shared discrimination frames will motivate intergroup solidarity (Chin et al. 2022).

### **The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans**

Asian Americans are often triangulated between the White majority and other racial minority groups (Craig & Lee, 2022; Kim, 1999; Wang & Santos, 2023; Zou & Cheryan, 2017), complicating their alignment with a broader PoC identity. Like Latinos, they experience discrimination rooted in perceptions of *foreignness*. However, unlike Black and Latino Americans, they are simultaneously stereotyped as *superior*—a position they share with the White majority (Zou & Cheryan, 2017). This dual positioning can produce ambiguous political allegiances, making solidarity less predictable and more issue dependent (Craig et al. 2022).

The perception of Asian Americans as superior is largely driven by the model minority myth, which attributes their success to cultural values and a strong work ethic. Social identity theory posits that individuals are motivated to maintain a positive social identity, which may increase their tendency to view status hierarchies as legitimate (Tajfel, 1978; Turner & Brown, 1978). Thus, many Asian Americans may readily endorse this seemingly positive stereotype, which can shape intergroup attitudes. For example, prior research finds that Asian Americans who endorse the model minority myth were more likely to express anti-Black attitudes and oppose affirmative action (Le et al., 2024; Yi & Todd, 2021). Internalization of this myth also reduces recognition of discrimination (Yi et al., 2022). Indeed, Pérez et al. (2025) find that conservative Asian Americans who are primed with the model minority narrative express less solidarity with other people of color, distancing themselves from a shared racial identity.

These identity dynamics help explain why Asian Americans may sometimes be mobilized in ways that diverge from broader racial solidarity efforts. A striking example is the Supreme Court's recent decision on affirmative action in university admissions, which exposed fault lines between Asian and Black communities. Framed as a case of anti-Asian discrimination, the lawsuit—spearheaded by a White conservative activist and presented by anonymous Asian plaintiffs—ultimately succeeded in dismantling race-conscious admissions. The outcome reinforced meritocratic narratives and, for some, affirmed beliefs in Asian exceptionalism, even as it upheld structural anti-Blackness and white supremacy (Kim, 2023; Liu et al., 2023).

### **Taking PoC Solidarity to the Ballot Box in an Age of Polarization**

Variation in racial positions suggest that not all groups will be equally compelled by shared discrimination appeals—a distinction that may have meaningful implications for political behavior in a polarized electoral context (but see Engelhardt et al. 2025; Pérez et al. 2024).



Scholars generally agree that most voters are cognitive misers (Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Lau & Sears, 1986), meaning they rely on mental shortcuts rather than engage in extensive information processing when making political decisions. One such heuristic is party stereotypes, which help voters quickly assess candidates and policy positions (Lau & Redlawsk, 2001; Hayes, 2011; Philpot, 2004). As a result, party affiliation serves as a primary lens through which voters interpret political information, shaping perceptions of candidates and their stances on key issues (Conover & Feldman, 1989; Hamill, Lodge, & Blake, 1985). Given this reliance on cognitive shortcuts, it is essential to understand how political elites have influenced the development of party stereotypes—stereotypes that, in turn, shape voters’ perceptions of which party and candidate are most likely to represent the interests of PoC in national elections.

In 1964, President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act into law, marking a pivotal moment that triggered a major realignment in U.S. politics (Black, 2004; Carmines & Stimson, 1989). In the ensuing years, the Democratic Party solidified its association with civil rights by championing policies that expanded fair housing protections, desegregated schools, and safeguarded Black voting rights, thereby establishing itself as the preferred party for racial minorities (Gilens et al., 1998; Weissberg, 1991). More recently, the Democratic Party has further solidified its association with marginalized groups by positioning itself as the party of Black, Latino, and Asian people, with self-reports and indirect measures (e.g., IATs) corroborating this mental link between various PoC and Democrats (Westwood & Peterson 2022; Zhirkov & Valentino 2020; Pérez, Lee, & Mártir Luna, 2025).

Conversely, the Republican Party has gradually positioned itself as the ideological opposite of Democrats on racial matters (Levendusky, 2009; Heit & Nicholson, 2010; Mason, 2018; Hout & Maggio, 2021). This shift became evident during Nixon’s 1968 campaign when

the Republican National Committee deliberately removed any mention of civil rights from its platform (Percy & Clabough, 2019). Key strategist Kevin Phillips underscored this realignment in a *New York Times* interview, noting that Republicans were not interested in courting Black American voters, as “the more Negroes who register as Democrats in the South, the sooner the Negrophobe whites will quit the Democrats and become Republicans” (Boyd, 1970). This trend continued during Barack Obama’s presidency, with Republican elites further solidifying their anti-immigrant and racially exclusionary image by spreading false claims about Obama’s citizenship and religious affiliation (Tesler & Sears 2010; Tesler 2016; Hughey & Parks, 2014; Wise, 2021). By Donald Trump’s first presidency in 2016, the Republican Party had taken an even harder stance on immigration, with 82% of Republican House members voting to reduce legal immigration by 40%, marking the most significant proposed reduction since the national-origin quotas of the 1924 Immigration Act (Johnson, 2018).

This growing racial and ideological divide between the two parties has strengthened the association of the Republican Party with racial conservatism and the Democratic Party with racial liberalism (Mason, 2015, 2016). Thus, in America’s two-party system, it is generally the case that Asian, Black, and Latino voters perceive Democratic candidates as more likely to advocate for their racial ingroup’s interests (Abrajano & Alvarez, 2010; Kuo, Malhotra, & Mo, 2017; White & Laird, 2020). Indeed, even in the 2024 election, despite some support for Republican Donald J. Trump among Asian American and Latino voters, the center of political gravity among African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos remains firmly pro-Democratic (Fraga, Velez, & West, 2024; Pérez, Lee, & Mártir Luna, 2025). Additionally, given that a significant proportion of Hispanics (33%) and Asians (65%) are foreign-born (Batalova, 2025; Ramakrishnan, 2025), and that the majority of undocumented immigrants come

from Mexico (Passel & Krogstad, 2024), President Trump’s regular use of racist and xenophobic rhetoric has solidified the perception among these communities that the Republican Party does not represent their interests (Pérez, Lee, & Mártir Luna, 2025; White & Laird, 2020; Abramowitz & McCoy, 2019; Philpot 2004).

This history of party polarization leads us to anticipate that Asian, Black, and Latino adults who feel greater solidarity with PoC will be more likely to support Democratic candidates, whom they perceive as friendlier to PoC rights. However, because Black Americans already demonstrate extremely high baseline support for Democratic candidates (White & Laird, 2020), their vote intentions may be less sensitive to fluctuations in solidarity. In contrast, Asian and Latino voters—whose partisan affiliations are more variable—may be more responsive to solidarity cues when making electoral decisions (Abrajano & Alvarez, 2010; Wong et al., 2011). In short, racial group membership may moderate solidarity’s influence on political action.

### **The Current Research**

Although prior work shows that shared discrimination heightens solidarity between PoC—and subsequently boost support for pro-outgroup policies (Craig & Richeson, 2016; Cortland et al., 2017; Pérez, Vicuña, & Ramos, 2024; Kim et al., 2025)—it remains unclear whether these appeals are potent enough to shift concrete political behavior in high-stakes, real-world elections. We address this blind spot with three large-scale experiments with nationally representative samples of Black (N = 850), Latino (N = 850), and Asian American (N = 850) adults, which we undertook three weeks prior to 2024’s presidential contest between Democrat Kamala Harris and Republican Donald Trump. We leverage this “real world” electoral context (Aronson et al. 1998) to formally assess whether exposure to shared discrimination

increases support for Harris—who represents the party broadly viewed as more aligned with racial minority interests—through heightened solidarity with the mega-group, people of color.

Consistent with growing political polarization and longstanding associations between party and race (Mason, 2023; Pérez, Lee, & Mártir Luna, 2025), our first hypothesis (H1) tests whether solidarity with people of color mediates the relationship between shared discrimination and support for Harris. We extend past work by using a parallel experimental design across three racial groups, allowing for direct comparisons of solidarity’s role in mobilizing political support. Following prior work on prototypicality and superordinate groups (Pérez, 2021), we reason that Black participants—often seen as *the* most prototypical members of the PoC category—will display the strongest solidarity response to shared discrimination (H2a). Conversely, we expect Asian Americans, who occupy an ambivalent racial position shaped by their “model minority” status and perceived *foreignness*, to express the weakest solidarity response (H2b). Finally, we anticipate that racial group membership will moderate the effect of solidarity on candidate support (H3), such that solidarity with PoC will more strongly predict intent to vote for Kamala Harris among Latino and Asian Americans—who display more political variability—than among Black Americans, whose vote intentions may already be firmly established.

## Methods

### Participants

Published research indicates that a sample size of approximately 400–450 participants per experimental condition is sufficient to detect small but meaningful effects ( $d \sim .20$ ) with 80% power (Pérez, Vicuña & Ramos, 2024). In partnership with YouGov, a leading online survey firm, we recruited 2,804 Asian, Black, and Hispanic/Latino individuals living in the U.S. between October 9 and October 25, 2024. These respondents were matched to a nationally

representative sampling frame based on gender, age, race, and education using census data (e.g., the American Community Survey), which yielded a final sample of 850 Asian, 850 Black, and 850 Latino adults. Key demographic information for each racial group is listed below in Table 1.

**Table 1**

*Key Demographic Information*

	<b>Black</b> ( <i>N</i> = 850)	<b>Latino</b> ( <i>N</i> = 850)	<b>Asian</b> ( <i>N</i> = 850)
<b>Age (years)</b>	45.76	43.97	46.06
<b>Women (%)</b>	53.29	52.94	47.29
<b>College educated (%)</b>	56.23	47.18	79.65
<b>Liberal ideology (1-5)</b>	3.35	3.06	3.26
<b>Democrat (%)</b>	67.29	47.06	52.71
<b>Foreign-born (%)</b>	13.29	18.71	46.47

**Procedure**

Participants from the YouGov panel who agreed to participate were directed to the survey, beginning with a set of demographic questions, including education, gender, and partisanship. Following an attention check, participants were randomly assigned to either a control or treatment condition. Both articles were of comparable length and attributed to the Associated Press (AP). The control article discussed the near extinction of giant tortoises. The treatment article, titled “*Never Fully American, Always an Outsider: 2024 Highlights the Decades-Long Exclusion of [Asian and Latino/Black and Latino/Black and Asian] People in the U.S.,*” focused on the rise in hate crimes toward racial minority groups and the continued marginalization of PoC in U.S. society. The racial groups referenced in the treatment article were varied based on the participant’s race to ensure that they read about other racial minority outgroups, whose discrimination resembled discrimination against one’s own racial ingroup. That is, Asian participants read about the exclusion of Black and Latino people in the U.S., while

Black participants read about discrimination against Asian and Latino people, and Latinos read about the exclusion of Asian and Black people. The full-length articles for each sample are provided in SM.1. of the supplementary materials

([https://osf.io/f2rau/?view\\_only=67b55112f623482885a27c11958dc2bf](https://osf.io/f2rau/?view_only=67b55112f623482885a27c11958dc2bf)).

After reading the assigned article, participants completed a manipulation check before answering three questions measuring solidarity with PoC, which prior work has validated via confirmatory factor analyses (Pérez, Goldman, et al. 2024). These solidarity items were completed on a scale running from 1-strongly disagree to 5-strongly agree, and included:

1. I feel solidarity with people of color, which includes Asian, Black, and Latino people.
2. The problems of Black, Latino, Asian, and other people of color are similar enough for them to be allies.
3. What happens to people of color in this country has something to do with what happens in my life as a Black person.

Following our appraisal of solidarity between PoC, participants then completed three items measuring their intent to vote for a candidate committed to advancing the political concerns of PoC ( $\alpha_{Black} = .89$ ;  $\alpha_{Latino} = .90$ ;  $\alpha_{Asian} = .93$ ). These items were also completed on a scale from 1-strongly disagree to 5-strongly agree and included:

1. I am ready to vote for a presidential candidate who cares about the interests of Asian Americans, Black Americans, Latinos and other people of color.
2. I intend to vote for a presidential candidate that really listens to the concerns of Asian Americans, Black Americans, Latinos, and other people of color.
3. I plan to vote for a presidential candidate that has in mind the well-being of Asian Americans, Black Americans, Latinos, and other people of color.

Lastly, participants were asked to indicate their voting preference between Donald Trump, Kamala Harris, or another candidate, with responses coded as dummy variables for subsequent

analysis (1 = planned vote for Democrat Kamala Harris, 0 = planned vote for Republican Donald Trump or other candidate).

## **Results**

We used multi-group structural equation modeling (SEM) in Mplus 8.7 to test the hypothesized pathways between shared discrimination, PoC solidarity, and planned vote choice. Our models included both latent and observed variables and employed the weighted least squares mean and variance adjusted (WLSMV) estimator, which is appropriate for models involving categorical outcomes and non-normally distributed data, such as ours. To assess whether race moderated the effect of shared discrimination on solidarity and the effect of solidarity on vote intentions, we conducted model comparisons. Specifically, we compared a model in which all structural paths were freely estimated (allowing for moderation) to a model in which all paths were constrained to be equal across racial groups (indicating no moderation). A significant deterioration in model fit when constraining structural paths would indicate that the effects of shared discrimination on solidarity and solidarity on vote intentions differ by race.

### **Model Fit Comparisons**

We evaluated model fit separately for each racial group using conventional benchmarks: RMSEA values below .06 indicate good fit, CFI values above .95 suggest excellent fit, and SRMR values below .08 reflect acceptable fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999). A chi-square difference test revealed that the unconstrained model—where structural paths were allowed to vary across groups—fit significantly better than the constrained model in which all paths were held equal ( $\Delta\chi^2 = 22.89$ ,  $df = 6$ ,  $p < .01$ ). This finding was corroborated by other fit indices: the unconstrained model's RMSEA indicated a more parsimonious fit, its CFI was closer to the upper bound of 1.00, and the SRMR was closer to zero, signaling minimal residual error (see

Table 2). These results justify closer examination of group-specific path coefficients and provide strong evidence that the relationships between shared discrimination, solidarity, and vote intentions are moderated by race.

**Table 2**

*Model Fit Indices when All Structural Paths are Unconstrained vs. Constrained.*

<b>Model Fit Indices</b>		
	<b>Unconstrained</b> ( <i>df</i> = 20)	<b>Constrained</b> ( <i>df</i> = 26)
<b>Chi-square</b>	48.98	71.87
<b>RMSEA</b>	.04	.05
<b>CFI</b>	.98	.96
<b>SRMR</b>	.03	.05

### **Result 1: Indirect Effect on Presidential Candidate Vote**

Replicating prior studies, we found that the shared discrimination manipulation indirectly shaped participants' voting intentions via increased solidarity with people of color (Figure 1). As hypothesized, both Black ( $IE = .10$ ,  $SE = .03$ ,  $95\% CI = [.05, .17]$ ,  $p < .01$ ) and Latino ( $IE = .10$ ,  $SE = .05$ ,  $95\% CI = [.02, .17]$ ,  $p = .03$ ) participants who read about hate crimes affecting their own racial group as well as two other minoritized groups expressed greater PoC solidarity, which then increased their intent to vote for Kamala Harris over Donald Trump or another candidate. Among Asian American participants, this indirect effect was in the expected direction but marginally significant ( $IE = .07$ ,  $SE = .04$ ,  $95\% CI = [-.00, .13]$ ,  $p = .06$ ), suggesting a



comparatively weaker mobilizing effect of shared discrimination appeals on political decision-making in this group.

Although the precision of the indirect effects through solidarity varies, it is important to note that solidarity's downstream influence is observed, not experimentally manipulated. This raises the possibility of confounding—particularly in cross-sectional data—where the relationship between solidarity and vote intention may be driven by an unmeasured third variable (Rohrer et al. 2021). In such cases, methodologists recommend assessing the robustness of mediation effects by estimating how strongly an omitted confounder would need to correlate with both the mediator and the outcome to nullify the observed effect (Imai and Yamamoto 2013). Following this guidance, we compute a sensitivity parameter ( $\rho$ ) for the observed association between solidarity and vote intention across our three studies. This parameter indicates the minimum level of correlation an unobserved confounder would need to have with both solidarity and vote intention to reduce the indirect effect to zero. Table 3 presents these estimates, suggesting that only a relatively strong confounder ( $\rho \sim .421$ ) could explain away our findings. While this analysis does not establish causality, it does underline the viability of this mechanism, subject to further investigation and testing going forward.

**Table 3**

*Sensitivity Parameters for Indirect Effects on Planned Vote through PoC Solidarity*

	Vote Intention		
	Black	Latino	Asian
<b>Solidarity (<math>\rho</math>)</b>	.408	.402	.454

### **Results 2a & 2b: Racial Moderation of the Shared Discrimination to Solidarity Path**

Next, we hypothesized that the effect of shared discrimination appeals on solidarity would be moderated by race, with Black Americans showing the strongest response and Asian Americans the weakest. Our multi-group SEM framework enabled direct comparisons across groups. As expected, the effect of shared discrimination on solidarity was significantly stronger among Black ( $\beta = .28, SE = .06, p < .001$ ) than Asian American participants ( $\beta = .11, SE = .06, p = .06$ ). Although the estimate for Asian Americans was only marginally significant, the contrast between groups was statistically meaningful ( $\Delta\beta = .16, SE = .08, p = .05$ ), supporting our hypothesis. A similar pattern emerged when comparing Black and Latino Americans, with Black participants responding more strongly to the discrimination appeal ( $\Delta\beta = .15, SE = .08, p = .05$ ). However, there was no significant difference between Latino and Asian Americans in their solidarity responses ( $\Delta\beta = .01, SE = .08, p = .90$ ).

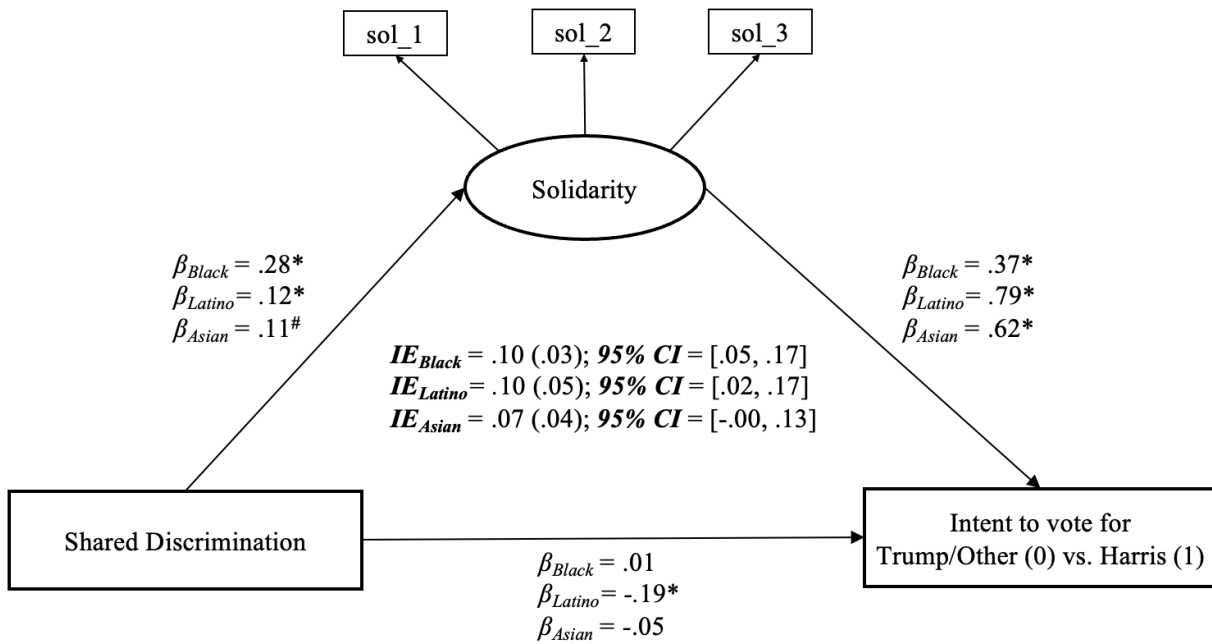
### **Result 3: Racial Moderation of the Solidarity to Vote Intentions Path**

Lastly, we hypothesized that the relationship between PoC solidarity and vote intentions would vary by race, such that Asian and Latino Americans' electoral decisions would be more strongly influenced by solidarity than those of Black Americans, who are steadfast supporters of the Democratic Party. As anticipated, the effect of solidarity on vote intentions was significantly stronger among Latino ( $\beta = .79, SE = .08, p < .001$ ) and Asian participants ( $\beta = .62, SE = .06, p < .01$ ) than among Black participants ( $\beta = .37, SE = .08, p < .001$ ). The difference between Asian and Black participants was statistically significant ( $\Delta\beta = .42, SE = .11, p < .01$ ), as was the difference between Latino and Black participants ( $\Delta\beta = .25, SE = .10, p < .01$ ), supporting our hypothesis. However, the difference in effect size between Latino and Asian participants was

marginally reliable ( $\Delta\beta = .17$ ,  $SE = .09$ ,  $p = .07$ ), providing tentative evidence for our expectation.

**Figure 1**

*Unstandardized Path Coefficient Estimates using Multigroup SEM.*



*Note.* Coefficients are unstandardized.  $*p < 0.05$ .  $^{\#}p < 0.10$ , all tests two-tailed

### Further Appraising Shared Discrimination's Direct Effect on Vote Intentions

Our analyses generally failed to uncover a significant and *positive* direct effect of shared discrimination on vote intention, except for Latino Americans, who displayed a reliable effect in the opposite direction (see Table 5). This latter result aligns with some prior work establishing the lower propensity to vote among Latinos, especially in comparison to Black adults (Pérez & Cobian, 2024). To evaluate whether we can, in fact, rule out meaningful positive direct effects from shared discrimination to vote intentions, we conducted a 2 (Condition: Control vs. Treatment)  $\times$  3 (Race: Black, Latino, Asian) between-subjects ANOVA followed by an equivalence test (Rainey, 2014). Corroborating the SEM findings, the ANOVA revealed no

significant main effect of our shared discrimination manipulation,  $F(1, 2541) = 0.01, p = .93$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .00$ , suggesting no meaningful differences in voting intention by experimental condition (Table 4).

**Table 4**

*ANOVA Summary for the Effects of Shared Discrimination and Race on Voting Intentions.*

	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	Partial $\eta^2$
<b>Race</b>	32.8	2	< .001	.025
<b>Shared Discrimination</b>	0.01	1	.930	.000
<b>Race x Shared Discrimination</b>	1.35	2	.260	.001

**Table 5**

*Mean [95% CI] of Voting Intentions by Treatment Condition and Racial Group.*

	<b>Black</b>	<b>Latino</b>	<b>Asian</b>
<b>Control</b>	.73 [.68, .77]	.58 [.53, .62]	.65 [.61, .70]
<b>Shared Disc.</b>	.76 [.72, .81]	.54 [.50, .59]	.66 [.61, .70]

Drawing on prior research on voter turnout (Gerber & Green, 2000; Green & Gerber, 2019), we defined any effect smaller than  $\pm 2$  percentage point as substantively negligible. We then conducted a two one-sided test (TOST) using this  $\pm 0.02$  equivalence margin (Rainey, 2014). The observed difference in proportions between the treatment and control groups was 0.0015 and its corresponding 90% confidence interval ranged from  $-0.0295$  to  $0.0325$ . This confidence band reveals that positive direct effects as large as 3.25 percentage points are plausible. Thus, we cannot completely reject the possibility of substantively meaningful direct effects ( $z = -0.980, p = .164$ ). We note that this pattern, where we *observe* null direct effects but cannot rule out

substantively meaningful effects, is consistent with prior meta-analytic work, which finds that shared discrimination's direct effects on political outcomes is inconsistent across conceptually similar experiments. This strongly encourages further assessments of this direct path through subsequent independent research.

### **Discussion**

We endeavored to test whether racial minority groups could be motivated to make costly political decisions on behalf of the broader PoC collective when shared experiences of discrimination are made salient. To this end, we implemented parallel survey experiments with Black, Asian, and Latino adults prior to the 2024 U.S. presidential election, using a facilitative design (Sniderman, 2011). That is, our study offered a compelling reason (i.e., shared discrimination) for participants to act in ways they may already be predisposed to (i.e., express solidarity with other racially minoritized groups).

Using this design, we found that Black, Latino, and Asian Americans who were primed with shared discrimination reported greater intent to vote for Kamala Harris over Donald Trump or another candidate—a key precursor of political behavior— but *only* through an increased sense of solidarity with PoC. While the manipulation increased both solidarity and Democratic vote intentions among all three groups, the magnitude of these effects varied. Black Americans exhibited the strongest solidarity response, but this did not translate as robustly into voting intentions—likely reflecting a political ceiling effect, given their already strong baseline support for Democratic candidates (White & Laird, 2020). In contrast, Asian and Latino Americans showed greater variability in their electoral responses to solidarity cues, suggesting that shared discrimination may function as a more potent mobilizing force when party loyalties are less entrenched.

Our finding that shared discrimination catalyzed voting intentions through PoC solidarity (Figure 1) may seem contradictory to actual voting patterns in the 2024 election, given that Donald Trump narrowly edged out Kamala Harris in the popular vote for president. Indeed, several news outlets highlighted the non-trivial support that President Trump garnered from some Black, Latino, and Asian voters (Brown et al., 2024; Dowd, 2024; Frey, 2024; Montanaro et al., 2025), without underscoring as much that clear majorities of Black, Asian, and Latino voters endorsed Democrat Kamala Harris. How, then, can PoC solidarity impact vote intentions for candidates like Kamala Harris and yet still have Donald Trump as the emergent victor?

Part of the answer can be traced to the situational dependence of identities, which we noted earlier in the paper (Turner et al. 1987). How voters view themselves and their electoral choices depends, importantly, on campaign discourse and the identities (besides partisanship) that it makes salient (Sides et al., 2022; Vavreck, 2001). And in the 2024 presidential campaign, the Kamala Harris campaign strategically decided to steer her campaign away from race and identity politics as much as possible, positioning herself as the opposite of Donald Trump in terms of economic issues (Keith, 2024). Despite the potential of being the first Black, Indian, female president, Harris deliberately downplayed her multiracial identity (Browning, 2024), stating, “I am running because I believe that I am the best person to do this job at this moment for all Americans, regardless of race and gender” (Keith, 2024). Thus, unlike our experiments, which provided participants with a clear justification for engaging in solidarity with people of color (i.e., shared discrimination), this was not the primary axis along which Kamala Harris and Donald Trump vied for votes among people of color.

This approach, we believe, weakened Kamala Harris’ ability to serve as an “identity entrepreneur” on behalf of people of color (Reicher & Hopkins, 1996; Simon & Klandermans,

2001), a role in which political leaders actively shape collective identity, grievances, and coalitions. Leaders who successfully engage in this process define the group's shared struggles, its allies, and its adversaries, helping to construct a political identity that fosters solidarity and mobilization (Hogg & Reid, 2006; Huddy & Bankert, 2017). In a candidate-centered electoral system like that of the United States, party elites play a crucial role in shaping the salience of identities in the mass public. High-profile figures like Barack Obama, for instance, strengthened Black identification with the Democratic Party, while more peripheral Black politicians had a weaker effect (Huddy & Bankert, 2017). In contrast to Trump, who frequently invoked “us versus them” rhetoric to appeal to his base, Harris’s avoidance of identity-based appeals undermined her ability to solidify herself as a representative of people of color.

As shown by our study, shared discrimination appeals alone can sometimes be insufficient in mobilizing people of color: while they modestly increased vote intentions among Black participants (76% vs. 73%), they had little to no effect among Asian (66% vs. 65%), and reduced Latino participants propensity to vote for Harris (54% vs. 58%) (see Table 5). By minimizing “identity politics” in her campaign messaging, Harris hoped to broaden her appeal among White moderates. But in doing so, she also forfeited the opportunity to position herself clearly as *the* prototypical representative of voters of color, which our results indicate would have garnered her wide and steadfast support. In these ways, our results underscore the conditional nature of solidarity’s political impact and offer a partial explanation for why even strong PoC solidarity may not translate into sweeping electoral change.

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