



UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

The intergroup level

Moral emotions in intergroup relations- the motivations and consequences of advantaged group members' aims to challenge the intergroup inequality

Doosje, B.; Szekeres, H.; Cáceres Quezada, E.; Boiger, M.; Kende, J.

DOI

[10.4324/9781003125969-27](https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003125969-27)

Publication date

2024

Document Version

Final published version

Published in

The Routledge International Handbook of the Psychology of Morality

License

Article 25fa Dutch Copyright Act (<https://www.openaccess.nl/en/policies/open-access-in-dutch-copyright-law-taverne-amendment>)

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Doosje, B., Szekeres, H., Cáceres Quezada, E., Boiger, M., & Kende, J. (2024). The intergroup level: Moral emotions in intergroup relations- the motivations and consequences of advantaged group members' aims to challenge the intergroup inequality. In N. Ellemers, S. Pagliaro, & F. van Nunspeet (Eds.), *The Routledge International Handbook of the Psychology of Morality* (pp. 179-189). (Routledge international handbooks). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003125969-27>

General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

UvA-DARE is a service provided by the library of the University of Amsterdam (<https://dare.uva.nl>)

THE INTERGROUP LEVEL

Moral emotions in intergroup relations—the motivations and consequences of advantaged group members' aims to challenge the intergroup inequality

*Bertjan Doosje, Hanna Szekeres, Enzo Cáceres Quezada,
Michael Boiger and Judit Kende*

Abstract

In this chapter, we focus on the role of moral emotions in intergroup contexts. Specifically, we address the question which members of advantaged groups will engage in collective actions to challenge the unequal intergroup configuration (question 1) and how are such actions by potential allies perceived by members of disadvantaged groups (question 2)? Among members of advantaged groups, we distinguish between prideful identifiers (associated with pride), power-cognizant identifiers (related to guilt/shame) and weakly identifiers (linked to neutrality), and argue that power-cognizant identifiers are most likely to engage in collective actions for disadvantaged groups. Such potential allies are most likely accepted by members of disadvantaged groups when they display an altruistic motivation (making them being trusted), show a high level of awareness of power dynamics (that creates hope), and, finally, offer autonomy-oriented help (related to feelings of empowerment and being respected). Future directions and practical implications are presented.

- In intergroup context, group members experience moral emotions when a particular intergroup inequality is made salient.
- When members of advantaged groups experience group-based guilt due to their awareness of the illegitimacy of the intergroup power dynamics, they are more likely to challenge the intergroup inequality.
- Members of disadvantaged groups are more likely to trust and accept potential allies from advantaged groups to the extent that these allies appear to hold altruistic motivations for challenging the intergroup inequality.
- Examining both the level and content of in-group identification creates a more complex, but fuller picture of offering and acceptance of challenges to the intergroup inequality.

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the role of moral emotions in intergroup relations. Oftentimes, group members experience these moral emotions when a particular intergroup inequality is made salient. For example, when the issue of slavery is made salient, descendants of enslaved people might experience group-based moral outrage, while descendants of slave holders might experience group-based shame. A central argument in our chapter, however, is that not all group members will appraise contexts of intergroup inequality in the same manner. Consequently, we aim to understand the differences in the experience of moral emotions in contexts of intergroup inequality.

In the next Section, we describe three types of emotional and behavioral orientations to intergroup inequality by both disadvantaged and advantaged group members. Then, we focus on the emotions and motivations by members of *advantaged* group members to challenge the intergroup inequality, and to become a potential ally in the fight against inequality. In the subsequent Section, we focus on the emotional, attitudinal and behavioral reactions by members of *disadvantaged* groups to such potential allies. We then describe the main controversies, unresolved questions and future directions. In the final section, we describe practical implications of our analysis.

We use the example of Black Lives Matter to specify our aims. According to a PEW research center survey in the US in September 2021, the Black Lives Matter movement is supported by 83% of Black Americans (Horowitz, 2021), likely driven by moral outrage. There is more diversity in support among White adults in the US: the percentage of support (47%) is about the same as (or slightly lower than) the percentage of those who do not support the movement (53%).

The divergent stand points to BLM is an example illustrating that not every member of an advantaged group reacts in the same manner to intergroup inequalities. In this chapter, we aim to address the following questions related to this issue: How can we explain this diversity in reactions to (past or present) intergroup inequalities by members of advantaged groups? Why do some members of advantaged groups join actions to challenge the intergroup inequality that might be perceived as going against the interest of their own group? Which moral emotions play a role here? In addition, we aim to examine the reception of these potential allies. Specifically, how do members of disadvantaged groups perceive these potential allies? Are they welcomed wholeheartedly as genuine allies? Or might they be perceived with some suspicion about their motives of supporting the disadvantaged group's cause? Again, we examine the role of moral emotions in this context.

Three types of emotional and behavioral orientations to intergroup inequality by disadvantaged and advantaged group members

Before diving into the answers to these questions, we aim to present the broader context in which we place them. Specifically, we propose three types of emotional, attitudinal and behavioral orientations to intergroup inequality by members of disadvantaged and advantaged groups. We aim to specify which moral emotions, attitudes and behavioral reactions are associated with the three orientations in a context of intergroup inequality, as described in Figure 17.1.

First, for *prideful* members of advantaged groups, we argue that the most dominant emotions are (obviously) pride towards the in-group but also fear of losing group status. These members are motivated to defend the inequality, for example by negating the historical path that might be associated with their advantaged position (see next section for a more extensive argument of the role of history in the appraisals of intergroup inequality). Second, and most relevant for the current chapter, a power-cognizant orientation among members of an advantaged group is characterized

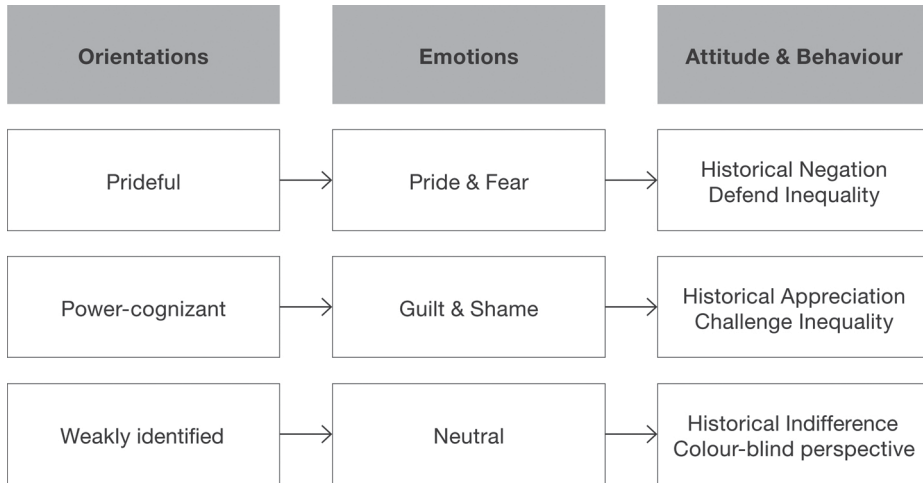


Figure 17.1 Orientations, emotions, attitudes and behavior.

by the experience of group-based guilt and shame. Guilt and shame as moral emotions make them likely to critically appreciate the historical dimension of the intergroup inequality by connecting the dots between current out-group disadvantage and historical oppression. In addition, they are likely to challenge the intergroup inequality, arguably at the expense of their own group’s position. The most dominant associated behaviors include reparations or support for more structural changes in the intergroup configuration. As such, they are more prone to become allies in the fight against inequality. Third, we distinguish a weakly identified orientation, which is associated with emotional detachment to the intergroup inequality, distancing that is analogue to their low in-group identification as advantaged group members. Such in-group detachment underpins a more individual-focused psychological orientation, which enables meritocratic attitudes in tandem with glossing over group-based aspects of intergroup inequality such as its history.

In the remainder of this chapter, we address two questions: (1) Which emotions are associated with the likelihood that members of *advantaged* groups challenge the intergroup inequality (even at the expense of the in-group’s position)? (2) How do members of *disadvantaged* groups respond emotionally to such potential allies? Together, the answers to these questions provide insight into the most fruitful manners in which members of disadvantaged and advantaged group may work together to reduce intergroup inequality.

Which emotions are associated with the likelihood for members of advantaged group to challenge the intergroup inequality?

In this section, we address the first central question, namely: which emotions are associated with the likelihood for members of advantaged groups to challenge the intergroup inequality? We use the three different orientations to examine which emotions, attitudes and actions are most likely to be present among such members.

In their review, Radke et al. (2020) specify four motivations of members of an advantaged group to challenge the intergroup inequality: (1) out-group focused motivation (associated with low in-group identification), (2) in-group focused motivation (associated with high in-group

identification), (3) personal motivation (associated with high personal identification), and (4) morality motivation (associated with high superordinate group identification, e.g., humanity). In our work (Cáceres et al., 2022), building on Radke et al., we further have specified different types of orientations based on a combination of both *level* and *content* of identification among advantaged group members in the context of Dutch racial and ethnic intergroup relationships. In the Netherlands, white people typically hold the advantaged group position being the heirs of the colonial quests undertaken since the 16th century by the Dutch empire. In contrast, non-white Dutch people are often descendants of colonized people (e.g., with Antillean, Surinamese, and Indonesian backgrounds), but not always (e.g., Dutch people with a Moroccan and Turkish background have never been colonized by the Dutch).

In our framework, we argue that moral emotions play an important role. Thus, we discuss the three different forms of identification among white people and how they are related to emotions and attitudes regarding group-based inequality. Subsequently, we relate these three identity types to color-blindness literature as contemporaneous repertoire towards racial and ethnic inequality.

Advantaged group members' identity forms and their association with emotions and attitudes towards intergroup inequality

As indicated, we argue that both *level* and *content* of identification are relevant to distinguish identity forms among members of advantaged groups. First, we argue that feelings of pride coupled with relatively high ingroup identification in their ethnic heritage will be associated with prideful orientation, which is characterized by a denial or defense of intergroup inequality. For them, being Dutch describes their ethnic identity. In contrast, some white people are likely to experience negative emotions such as group-based guilt and shame when thinking about intergroup inequality and still holding a relatively high ingroup identification. They are power-cognizant people, which means that they are aware of the power dynamics in their society. They recognize their ethnic/racial group membership (Goren & Plaut, 2012), and refer to themselves in those identity terms (i.e., "I am a white Dutch person"). Finally, we argue that a weakly identified white identity will be related to a more muted and neutral emotional state regarding group-based intergroup inequality. They may opt for a color-blind perspective. Their low in-group attachment as advantaged group members allows them to not fully accept a critical historical appreciation of intergroup inequality in comparison to power-cognizants. At the same time, they do not feel the need to defend their ingroup's position as much as prideful people tend to do. Interestingly, in terms of describing their ethnic identity, they use the Dutch word "*blank*" instead of "*wit*", because they associate *blank* with positive traits such as cleanliness and transparency, whereas they associate *wit* only with their skin-color. In this sense, lower identification among advantaged group members was associated to group-distancing strategies aimed to prevent the threat of being perceived as racially and ethnically marked and thereby privileged (Knowles et al., 2014).

Relations to color-blindness versus color-cognizance

Furthermore, these three identity forms can be mapped into contemporaneous attitudinal repertoires towards racial inequalities, namely color-blindness and color-cognizance (or color-consciousness). Color-blindness as intergroup outlook stresses that race and skin color should not influence people's lives, abhorring the effects that group membership might have on social life (Leslie et al., 2020). As a result, individuals tend to be emphasized at expense of their group-based

features for the sake of inclusivity (Knowles et al., 2009; Neville et al., 2013). This intergroup process is underpinned by two interrelated forms of evasion: color-evasion and power-evasion. Color-evasion emphasizes sameness, rejecting the idea of white racial superiority but also evading the difference made by race and ethnicity in social life. Power evasion circumvents the acknowledgement of intergroup power imbalances (Awad & Jackson, 2016). In this way, color-blindness tends to obscure the marks of group-based inequalities among disadvantaged group members but also the signs of group-based privilege among the advantaged ones.

In terms of our three identity forms, a weakly white identity should correspond with both color and power-evasion: they tend to not see color as a consequence of their own ingroup detachment. Such an outlook allows them to get rid of the burden of acknowledging their advantaged identity in tandem with the historical roots of their privilege and outgroups' disadvantage. As a consequence, group-based features such as emotions are deemed as bias, ending up in muting moral emotions. Instead, allegedly neutral meritocratic attitudes may be upheld that allocates dignity and worth to individuals instead of groups. They advocate a color-blind perspective.

Prideful identity, on the other hand, is expected to be especially related to a high level of power-evasion: they defend or deny the power dynamics by means of ingroup pride as moral emotion. In contrast to weak identifiers, their prideful and high in-group identification would not allow them to evade color to the extent in which weak identifiers do.

Finally, we argue that power-cognizant identity form should be associated with color-cognizance: they are prone to see color and acknowledge the role of it in society in terms of power dynamics in accordance with their ingroup identity configuration as advantaged group members. They are the ones that aim to challenge the imbalance in intergroup status by engaging in collective actions in support of the disadvantaged group

To conclude, we illustrate in Figure 17.1 how the above mentioned psychological features are related. In explaining the reason why some members of advantaged groups engage in collective action aimed at improving the disadvantaged group's position, we argue it is important to distinguish among three advantaged forms of identity. Some of the highly identified members of an advantaged group are likely to experience pride due to their group's position and they are likely to defend or deny the intergroup inequality. Weakly identified people might mute their moral emotions, disassociating from their group and circumventing the group-based dynamics of advantage and disadvantage. Finally, power-cognizant people, also highly identified group members, are more prone to experience group-based guilt and shame by accepting the illegitimately received historical advantages, and aim to challenge the imbalance in intergroup status by engaging in collective actions to support the disadvantaged group.

Even when individual members of advantaged groups embrace these three interrelated psychological features of high ingroup privilege acknowledgment, historical acknowledgment of intergroup inequality, and color-cognizance, will that always work? In the next section, we outline how members of disadvantaged groups may experience such efforts of members of advantaged groups to challenge the intergroup inequality. When will they be perceived as trustworthy allies and when as a "devil in disguise"? And which emotions play a role here?

How do members of disadvantaged groups perceive members of advantaged groups who aim to challenge the intergroup inequality?

In the previous section, we have examined the likelihood of members of advantaged groups to engage in actions on behalf of the disadvantaged group. In this section, we focus on the second central question of this chapter, namely how do members of disadvantaged groups perceive

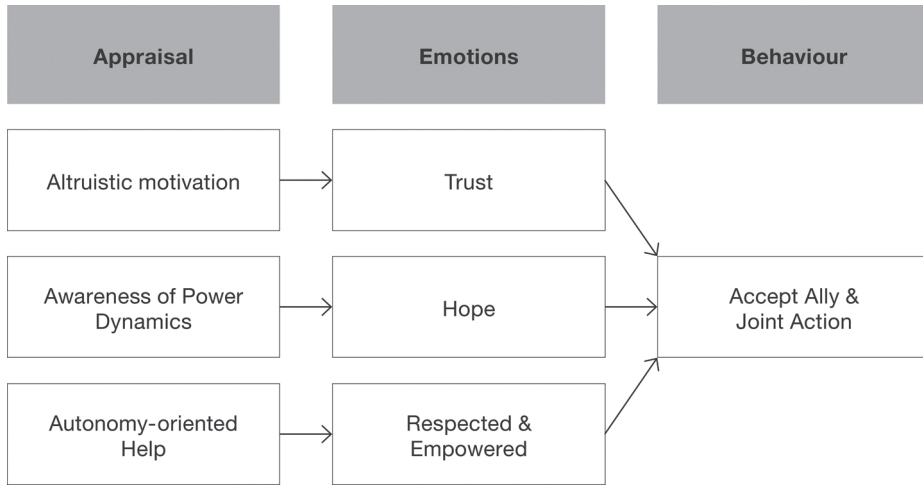


Figure 17.2 Appraisal, emotions, behavior.

members of advantaged group that aim to challenge inequality? Will they be perceived as “allies” or as “disguised enemies” (as they are members of the advantaged out-group)? And what is the role of emotions in this context?

We argue that, again, emotions play an important role in this context. In general, members of disadvantaged groups are expected to avoid the experience of feelings of dependence or inferiority. On the other hand, feelings of hope for a better future and trust of such out-group members’ allyship might be ignited among disadvantaged group members, which would predict acceptance of such challenges to inequality by members of advantaged groups. More specifically, we claim that important appraisals of the intergroup context are associated with specific emotions, which are related to behavior in terms of acceptance vs. rejection of potential allies and of welcomed joint collective action (see Figure 17.2). After introducing the topic more broadly, we will discuss three appraisals that we argue will predict emotions and subsequent behavior in terms of acceptance: Altruistic motivation and trust, awareness of power dynamics and hope and autonomy-oriented help and empowerment.

Further introduction

As argued in the Introduction, collective action to reduce intergroup inequality is often performed by individuals who are targets of discrimination but not exclusively. BlackLivesMatter and HeForShe are just some of many examples where advantaged group members joined the social movement (hereby “allies”). Such allyship can instigate different reactions. On the one hand, it is often perceived quite positively, because it is seen as benevolent and instrumental. Indeed, when allies join a movement, the cause and the movement become more accepted by the majority society, influence public opinion more positively, and therefore more likely lead to social change (Kutlaca et al., 2022).

On the other hand, there are many conditions in allyship that could negatively affect disadvantaged group’s motivation and effectiveness of allyship. For example, positive intergroup contact can demobilize the disadvantaged group; their distinct group identity can be compromised

in the process of establishing a common identity with allies; and allies may dominate or take over the movement while being unaware of their own privileges (Droogendyk et al., 2016). Such critical effects are often voiced by disadvantaged group activists.

Indeed, a study conducted among African-Americans in US and Palestinians in Israel-Palestine, respectively, showed that “joint collective action” (action performed together with allies) poses a dilemma for the disadvantaged group between its instrumentality and its potential to normalize power relations between the groups (for example, by derailing the issue—Hasan-Aslih et al., 2022). Thus, disadvantaged group members see strategic benefits to joint action, but they are also concerned with potential co-option of the movement, which decreases their overall openness to allies.

Meanwhile other studies indicate less conditional acceptance of challenge to inequality from allies. For example, refugees not only considered “autonomy-oriented challenge to inequality” (which offers inequality-recipient the tools to challenge inequality themselves) as relatively helpful in achieving social change—they also evaluated “dependency-oriented challenge to inequality” (which gives the recipients the full solution to a problem) as positive (Becker et al., 2019). Furthermore, in another study conducted among African-Americans in the US and women in Germany, disadvantaged group participants evaluated an advantaged group ally who confronted prejudice more positively, or at least equally well as an in-group member who confronted prejudice (Kutluca et al., 2020).

Thus, there seems to be an inconsistency in the literature about the reception of allyship. We argue and discuss how these differences in reactions are likely to be explained by the conditions present in given contexts.

Perceived motivation of allies and trust

One such condition is the (*perceived*) *motivation of allies* (see Figure 17.2). To what extent does the observed act in that context hold personal cost or risks to the ally, or moreover, personal benefits? Indeed, activists sometimes feel that allies show solidarity for egoistic reasons, such as bolstering their self-image, gaining social belonging to an “activist” group, or relinquishing in-group responsibility (Droogendyk et al., 2016)—and advantaged group allies sometimes indeed hold such motivations (e.g., Knowles et al., 2014; Radke et al., 2020). For example, women were less likely to accept a man’s (compared to a woman’s) help, because they attributed less empathy and altruistic motives to the man vs. the woman (Borinca et al., 2020). Thus, the perceived cost-benefit signals allies’ egoistic–altruistic motivation. While appraisal of egoistic motivation would elicit feelings of distrust, disadvantaged group members would attribute altruistic reasons to allies given that their actions involve high personal costs and low personal benefit. These altruistic appraisals would elicit feelings of trust in allies and in turn increase acceptance of allyship.

Awareness of power dynamics and hope

Beyond evaluations of cost-benefit, another condition that can determine perceived motivation is perceived *awareness of power dynamics* (see Figure 17.2). The more allies communicate genuine understanding and acknowledgement of power inequality, the more selfless their action is perceived (Iyer & Achia, 2021), likely because that awareness provides a selfless explanation and more structural understanding for their help in challenging to inequality. This aspect is critical to disentangle allyship behavior led by weakly identified advantaged group members from power-cognizant ones, whose relatively higher in-group identification among the latter precludes

individualistic understanding of inequality that is more prevalent among the formers. Moreover, when allies who are social justice organization leaders (which otherwise is demobilizing for the disadvantaged group) communicate awareness of inequality, it increases disadvantaged group's *hope* in that leadership and increases their willingness for joint action (Iyer & Achia, 2021). In contrast, when disadvantaged group members appraise low level of power awareness in allies, they would likely experience disappointment in and despair for allyship. Therefore perceived awareness of power dynamics can instill hope for improvement in the intergroup situation, and in turn increases acceptance of allyship.

Autonomy- versus dependency-oriented help, feeling respected and empowerment

However, even given perceived selfless motivation, there is still concern on how allies treat disadvantaged group within the movement. For example, allies may behave paternalistically and make them feel inferior. Certainly, disadvantaged group activists have voiced concern that allies can act as “saviors” (“White savior complex”; Droogendyk et al., 2016). In the previously mentioned study with refugees, the majority of Germans' paternalistic beliefs were positively related to offering dependency-oriented challenge to inequality and negatively related to offering autonomy-oriented challenge to inequality, and the latter was also driven by perceived high competence of refugees (Becker et al., 2019). While refugees might have perceived both forms of challenges as selfless, sensing paternalism could partially explain why they were more favorable to autonomy-oriented than dependency-oriented help to challenge inequality.

Considering these findings and often voiced concern about allies dominating the movement (Droogendyk et al., 2016), we argue that another key factor that would affect openness to allyship is *type of help* to challenge to inequality offered by the ally and corresponding sense of *paternalism*. While autonomy-oriented challenge to inequality would elicit feelings of empowerment and feeling respected, dependency-oriented challenge to inequality may elicit a sense of inferiority and feeling disrespected.

As an initial investigation of the factors that affect openness to allyship, we interviewed Roma activists ($N=6$) in Hungary (which will be followed up with a survey research). In semi-structured interviews, we asked about their experiences with allies from the majority society. The main concerns that were raised and that mitigate openness to allyship are in line with our assumptions. Specifically, allies were perceived as tending to (a) reap personal benefits of allyship (e.g., advancing their career or boosting self-image), (b) to be less aware of the severity of Roma people's disadvantage and less willing to acknowledge their own personal privileges, (c) prefer to provide dependency-oriented help (vs. autonomy) and (d) tend to dominate or take over the movement. These are concerns that all are associated with less trust in allies and less hope in improvement of the situation of Roma people in society.

Interestingly, while all activists interviewed have reoccurring negative experiences with paternalism, it does not necessarily affect their acceptance of allyship. They explained that their group is so marginalized in society that even paternalistic challenges to inequality may be welcomed, especially because Roma people do not have the resources (time and energy) to engage in collective action.

To summarize, we argue that the extent to which potential allies from advantaged groups and joint action will be welcomed (or not) by members of disadvantaged groups depends on appraisals and associated emotions. First, a potential ally perceived as highly altruistically motivated will be highly trusted and accepted. Second, when allies are perceived as highly aware of the intergroup

power dynamics, they are relatively likely to instigate hope and be accepted. Finally, when the help is appraised as autonomy-oriented, this is associated with feelings of being respected and empowerment, which makes acceptance relatively likely. Overall, it is important to investigate disadvantaged group's perceptions, because it can provide insight and guide for allies in their communication and attitude in joint collective action efforts.

Controversies, unresolved questions and future directions

Having discussed how some members of advantaged group may be motivated to engage in collective action aimed at improving the position of the disadvantaged group and how such actions may be perceived by members of disadvantaged groups, we identify three interesting unresolved questions. The first question is: Does it make sense to consider both level and content of in-group identification? Are they always separate entities or not? We believe that our work shows that it is crucial to integrate level and content of in-group identification to better predict group-based emotions in unequal intergroup contexts among advantaged group members. Future work could fruitfully explore the interaction between level and content of in-group identification in explaining group-based emotions such as anger or moral outrage by members of disadvantaged groups in unequal intergroup settings. For example, do highly identified members of disadvantaged group with a high power-cognizant identity form experience group-based anger most strongly?

A second question that is unresolved: Are perceptions of intergroup inequality relatively fixed or is it possible to manipulate these? Which manipulations seem most promising, also in the long run? There is evidence that presenting large-scale data to illustrate inequality might work better than presenting a single strong case of inequality to change people's perceptions of inequality (Callaghan et al., 2021). We argue that in order to manipulate such perceptions, one needs to carefully balance the need to feel positive about one's group and the willingness to acknowledge that intergroup inequality is indeed present and needs to be addressed. In this context, furthering knowledge about power-cognizance among advantaged group members is crucial. How to convey intergroup power imbalances and the group-based differences that signal such inequality as a source of intergroup appreciation circumventing the temptation of group-blindness?

A third and final unresolved question is how allies' challenge to inequality and beneficiaries' reaction to such behavior by allies might interact with each other. For example, how might meta-perceptions (how do the beneficiaries perceive me, my intentions?) motivate allies? To give a specific example: What happens when potential allies think that members of the disadvantaged groups think: "Oh, they are only in it to make them feel proud of themselves"? Does that make potential allies act in a more modest manner than they would have done under other circumstances (e.g., downplaying their potential impact in the public debate)? Alternatively, it could be possible that allyship by influential members of advantaged groups might stimulate members of disadvantaged groups to experience hope and enthusiasm, to "get up and stand up", because they can envision social change.

Practical implications

In this chapter, we have offered insights into which people from advantaged groups under what conditions will be motivated to engage in collective actions on behalf of disadvantaged groups. In addition, we have tackled the question about the reception of such help to challenge inequality: Under what conditions is such help to challenge inequality welcomed by members of disadvantaged groups?

When we combine the insights we gained by addressing these questions, we can formulate practical implications. First of all, in order to avoid misunderstanding and disappointment, it is important to take into account an interactive perspective in which members of both disadvantaged and advantaged groups are encouraged to address and acknowledge each other's needs and expectations quite openly. From our analysis, it seems that the members of advantaged groups that are most likely to engage in collective action, because they are aware of the intergroup power dynamics and their positionality, precisely are the ones that are most likely to be accepted by members of the disadvantaged groups. But this power-awareness has to be discussed openly first rather than to be taken for granted. Second, engagement in joint collective action may work best if people are willing and motivated to take each other's perspective. This means for a member of an advantaged group to carefully listen to and act upon the point of view of the disadvantaged group (and not to dominate the discussion). For members of disadvantaged groups, perspective taking might imply trying to really understand the motivation of a person from an advantaged group, without automatically assuming self-serving motivations of this person. Only then, in the spirit of *true collective* action that harnesses the most from the virtuous effects of both advantaged group members and disadvantaged group members joining social struggles, it might be possible to overcome the potential hurdles of such a joint venture.

References

- Awad, & Jackson, K. M. (2016). The measurement of color-blind racial ideology. In H. A. Neville, M. E. Gallardo, & D. W. Sue (Eds.), *The myth of racial color blindness: Manifestations, dynamics, and impact* (pp. 141–156). American Psychological Association. <https://doi.org/10.1037/14754-009>
- Becker, J. C., Ksenofontov, I., Siem, B., & Love, A. (2019). Antecedents and consequences of autonomy-and dependency-oriented help toward refugees. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 49*, 831–838. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2554>
- Borinca, I., Falomir-Pichastor, J. M., & Andrighetto, L. (2020). “How can you help me if you are not from here?” Helper's familiarity with the context shapes interpretations of prosocial intergroup behaviors. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 87*, 103944. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2019.103944>
- Cáceres, E., Kende, J., Boiger, M., Hitschfel, C., Hickson, H., & Doosje, B. (2022). When White people gauge the weight of the past: The role of identity strategies in linking colonialism to current inequalities. Unpublished manuscript.
- Callaghan, B., Harouni, L., Dupree, C. H., Kraus, M. W., & Richeson, J. A. (2021). Testing the efficacy of three informational interventions for reducing misperceptions of the Black–White wealth gap. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 118*, e2108875118. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2108875118>
- Droogendyk, L., Wright, S. C., Lubensky, M., & Louis, W. R. (2016). Acting in solidarity: Cross-group contact between disadvantaged group members and advantaged group allies. *Journal of Social Issues, 72*, 315–334. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12168>
- Goren, M. J., & Plaut, V. C. (2012). Identity form matters: White racial identity and attitudes toward diversity. *Self and Identity, 11*, 237–254. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15298868.2011.556804>
- Hasan-Aslih, S., Pliskin, R., Shuman, E., Van Zomeren, M., Saguy, T., & Halperin, E. (2022). *The dilemma of “Sleeping with the Enemy”: A first examination of what (de)motivates disadvantaged group members to partake in joint collective action*. [Manuscript submitted for publication]. Department of Psychology, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel.
- Horowitz, J. M. (2021). Support for Black Lives Matter declined after George Floyd protests, but has remained unchanged since. www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/09/27/support-for-black-lives-matter-declined-after-george-floyd-protests-but-has-remained-unchanged-since/
- Iyer, A., & Achia, T. (2021). Mobilized or marginalized? Understanding low-status groups' responses to social justice efforts led by high-status groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 120*, 1287–1316. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000325>
- Knowles, E. D., Lowery, B. S., Chow, R. M., & Unzueta, M. M. (2014). Deny, distance, or dismantle? How white Americans manage a privileged identity. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 9*, 594–609. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691614554658>

- Knowles, Lowery, B. S., Hogan, C. M., & Chow, R. M. (2009). On the malleability of ideology: Motivated construals of color blindness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 96*, 857–869. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0013595>
- Kutlaca, M., Becker, J., & Radke, H. (2020). A hero for the outgroup, a black sheep for the ingroup: Societal perceptions of those who confront discrimination. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 88*, 103832. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2019.103832>
- Kutlaca, M., Radke, H. R., & Becker, J. C. (2022). The impact of including advantaged groups in collective action against social inequality on politicized identification of observers from disadvantaged and advantaged groups. *Political Psychology, 43*, 297–314. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12755>
- Leslie, L. M., Bono, J. E., Kim, Y. (S.), & Beaver, G. R. (2020). On melting pots and salad bowls: A meta-analysis of the effects of identity-blind and identity-conscious diversity ideologies. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 105*, 453–471. <https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000446>
- Neville, H. A., Awad, G. H., Brooks, J. E., Flores, M. P., & Bluemel, J. (2013). Color-blind racial ideology: Theory, training, and measurement implications in psychology. *The American Psychologist, 68*, 455–466. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0033282>
- Radke, H. R., Kutlaca, M., Siem, B., Wright, S. C., & Becker, J. C. (2020). Beyond allyship: Motivations for advantaged group members to engage in action for disadvantaged groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 24*, 291–315. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868320918698>