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PERCEPTIONS OF ADVANTAGE-GROUP AND DISADVANTAGE-GROUP ALLIES

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Abstract

Most research on allyship in the racial domain focuses on White allies while overlooking allies from other racial/ethnic minority groups. White allies and racial/ethnic minority allies may have different motives for supporting the targeted group. The current study assessed the perceived motivations of White and racial/ethnic minority allies from the perspective of the targeted group. The study was conducted between subjects, in which half of the participants read a vignette on an example of White allyship during a BLM protest, while the other half read a vignette on an example of Latinx allyship during a BLM protest. We found that Black Americans perceived Latinx allyship during a Black Lives Matter (BLM) protest to be significantly more outgroup motivated, morally motivated, internally motivated, ingroup motivated, less personally motivated, and less externally motivated than White allyship.

Perceptions of Advantage-Group and Disadvantage-Group Allies

In today's society of ongoing racial and political tensions, there is a heightened recognition of group inequality and social justice. Therefore, understanding how certain groups can help improve the position of other groups is an important topic. Specifically, understanding the premise of allyship is becoming increasingly important. Allyship occurs when a member of an advantaged group uses their privilege to advocate for a member of a disadvantaged group (Kutlaca et al., 2020). Most allyship research focuses on advantaged groups helping disadvantaged groups, as well as on the presumed good intentions and positive outcomes of advantaged-group allyship (Radke, et al., 2020; Stefaniak, Mallet & Wohl 2020). However, this paper also explores perceptions of disadvantaged group allyship, which occurs when a member of a disadvantaged group advocates for another disadvantaged group. This paper also examines the perceptions of the motives underlying advantaged and disadvantaged allyship from the point of view of the target disadvantaged group, specifically in this case, Black Americans.

Allyship and Motivations for Allyship

Research on allyship aims to understand when and how members of different racial groups can collaborate to fight against inequality (Kutlaca et al., 2020). Kutlaca and colleagues (2020) distinguished between two kinds of allyship. The first kind of allyship is about challenging inequality, and the second kind is about caring for the disadvantaged group's needs (Kutlaca et al., 2020). These two classifications of allyship were proposed as a first distinction between motivations for allyship. Although both of these allyship motivations seem benevolent, that assumption has been challenged by Louis and colleagues (2019). Louis and colleagues (2019) argue that both challenging inequality on behalf of another group and caring for another group could be driven more by self-serving or by ally-serving motivations than by concern for the target group.

This idea was developed by Kutlaca and colleagues (2022). They outlined four possible motivations for allyship: 1) Outgroup-focused motivation, 2) Ingroup-focused motivation, 3) Personal motivation, and 4) Moral motivation.

Outgroup-focused Motivation

Outgroup-focused motivation entails rejecting the power hierarchy and social norms behind discriminatory views of the disadvantaged group, and advancing significant social change in the direction desired by the outgroup. This is consistent with the goals of what Collier-Spruel & Ryan (2022) call effective allyship, defined as allyship that properly advocates for the members belonging to the marginalized group and aims to increase inclusion and acceptance.

Ingroup-focused Motivation

In contrast, ingroup-focused motivation indicates a willingness to help the disadvantaged group but only if the status of the advantaged group is protected. Rather than reject social norms that put the ally's group at a disadvantage, ingroup-focused motivation endorses social norms that do not negatively impact the ally's own social hierarchy. Studies have found theoretical support and empirical evidence that members of advantaged groups may engage in allyship to protect their own higher status - a case of ingroup motivation (Kutlaca & Radke, 2023). Kutlaca and Radke (2023) call allyship behaviors conducted to benefit the status of members of their own group performative allyship.

Personal Motivation

Personal motivation underlies allyship when members of the advantaged group commit to acts of allyship for the sake of upholding their own personal image. This kind of allyship is also performative, and can also be seen as "empty activism," as Erskine & Bilimoria (2019) put it. Empty activism is usually demonstrated by a member of the privileged group seeking social validation and engaging in forms of allyship without risking their personal capital (i.e. via social media and "hashtag allyship"). Collier-Spruel and Ryan (2022) use the term ineffective allyship to describe apparent allyship that does not involve working on bias, acknowledging privilege, or giving real help. Ultimately performative, empty, or ineffective allyship is harmful because it can contribute to, rather than undermine, systems of oppression (Erskine & Bilimoria, 2019).

Moral Motivation

Finally, moral motivation implies that members of the advantaged group engage in allyship due to their beliefs about what's right and wrong (Kutlaca, et al., 2020). Research has found that moral values can motivate people to support disadvantaged groups because when an act of discrimination opposes an ally's moral code, this motivates them to identify with the disadvantaged group and experience feelings of anger (Moss et al., 2020). Therefore, this encourages allies to support members of the disadvantaged group due to a violation of moral principles.

Target Group Perceptions of Advantage Group Allyship

Perceptions of the motivations which drive advantaged group allyship have significant consequences for members of the target group. Previous research has found that Black Americans reported higher self-esteem when a White participant confronted discriminatory behavior against Black Americans compared to when there was no confrontation, and self-esteem was further increased when the allyship was perceived to be intrinsically motivated (for example, driven by outgroup motivation) rather than extrinsically motivated (such as personal motivation; Chu & Ashburn-Nardo, 2022).

However, it is clear that target group members entertain the idea that advantaged allies might have motivations other than outgroup focused motivation. Research studying Black American

perspectives on White allyship confrontation reveals that allyship behavior from a White person may be met with suspicion if it is unclear whether their actions are guided by intrinsic or extrinsic motivations (Chu & Ashburn-Nardo, 2022). For example, intrinsic motivation can be viewed as a White ally truly caring about the struggles that Black individuals face, whereas extrinsic motivation can be viewed as a White ally who is concerned with their personal image. Collier-Spruel and Ryan (2022) classify allyship to be ineffective or effective depending on how included the members of the disadvantaged group feel when seeing acts of allyship. They define effective allyship as strengthening the mental wellbeing and safety of individuals in the disadvantaged group, while also encouraging inclusion. They define ineffective allyship as occurring when a member of an advantaged group participates in allyship without considering the feelings of members of the disadvantaged group, or without inclusion of members from the disadvantaged group. Collier-Spruel and Ryan (2022) ultimately found that ineffective allyship was associated with higher levels of anxiety and negative affect, as well as feelings of reduced psychological safety, in target group members.

Target Group Perceptions of Disadvantage Group Allyship

Given that members of target groups may have misgivings about the allyship motivations of advantaged group members, do those suspicions also apply to allyship from disadvantaged groups? The concept of intraminority solidarity suggests that they might not. Intraminority relations are relationships that form among people belonging to different marginalized communities. The concept of intraminority solidarity (Burson & Godfrey, 2020) describes a marginalized group's positive attitudes, working together to engage in a political setting, and supporting rights and policies that benefit another marginalized outgroup. Previous research has found that intraminority relationships are driven by theories of similarity and a common experience of stigma (Burson & Godfrey, 2020). In terms of similarity, minority groups report feeling positively towards other minority groups when they perceive that their own group and other minority groups have faced similar discriminatory experiences (Burson & Godfrey, 2020).

When minority groups perceive a common identity based on stigmatization, this also increases intraminority solidarity (Burson & Godfrey, 2020). These studies have found that shared experiences of victimization can result in an inclusive victim consciousness. For example, if an outgroup's struggles are relatable to an ingroup, this results in an inclusive victim consciousness (Burson & Godfrey, 2020). This research found that an inclusive victim consciousness, as shown by reduced social distance and increased political inclusion towards an outgroup, resulted in heightened intraminority solidarity (Burson & Godfrey, 2020). Other work on intraminority intergroup relations also demonstrates that experiences of shared discrimination promote solidarity between disadvantaged racial groups (Craig & Richardson, 2016).

Previous research has also explored intraminority relations in the context of political solidarity. Specifically, this research has found that commonality and the ability to be able to relate to another minority outgroup results in reduced bias against that other minority outgroup

(Glasford & Calcago, 2011). These researchers randomly assigned participants into three conditions: commonality, control, or group boundaries. In the commonality condition, participants were shown a message that inspired political solidarity from one minority group to another minority group; in the control condition, participants read a message that indicated it would be good if the diverse groups in the US could get along; in the group boundaries condition, participants read a message that made the group boundaries salient. They found that participants in the commonality condition tended to think less about group boundaries, which resulted in enhanced solidarity in minority groups (Glasford & Calcago, 2011).

Together, these findings suggest that various factors, especially shared experience of discrimination, that increase intraminority solidarity among disadvantaged groups may make target group members more likely to perceive genuine out-group focused motivation to underlie the allyship offered by another disadvantaged group, compared to allyship offered by an advantaged group. It is therefore important to understand how target group members perceive the motivations of advantaged and disadvantaged allies.

The Current Study

This study investigated perceptions of allyship from advantaged racial groups, such as White allyship supporting BLM, and from disadvantaged racial groups, such as Latinx/a/o allyship supporting BLM, from the perspective of the target disadvantaged group receiving support, Black Americans. This study is particularly important because it aims to examine how perceptions of advantaged-group allyship compare to disadvantaged-group allyship, and whether target group members might prefer support from disadvantaged groups. Although perceptions of advantaged groups' allyship behaviors have received extensive research attention, perceptions of disadvantaged groups' allyship motivations, especially the perceptions held by disadvantaged target groups, have not (Kutlaca, et al., 2020; Stefaniak, Mallet & Wohl, 2020).

In order to investigate how allyship from an advantaged group and a disadvantaged group is perceived among Black Americans, we asked Black participants to read a vignette describing an act of allyship by members of either an advantaged (White allyship supporting BLM) or a disadvantaged (Latinx/a/o allyship supporting BLM) group. Participants then reported their perceptions of the motivations underlying the observed instances of allyship. Because advantaged and disadvantaged ally groups differ in status and in their own experiences with discrimination, people from the targeted disadvantaged racial group receiving support were expected to perceive advantaged-group and disadvantaged-group allyship supporting the Black community as having different motivations. I hypothesized that in terms of ally motivations, Black American participants will perceive Latinx/a/o allyship to be more outgroup-focused and more morally motivated, as well as less ingroup motivated, and less personally motivated, than White allyship. In terms of motivations measured by the SOMI, I hypothesized that Black American participants will perceive Latinx/a/o allyship to be more internally motivated and less externally motivated than White allyship.

Participants were recruited via Prolific Academic. The survey was sent out only to participants who were Black Americans based on Prolific's demographic screening. Of the 284 participants who took the survey, nine were excluded for missing attention checks. The final sample size was 275 participants. Of these, 262 participants identified only as Black/African American, 3 participants identified as Latinx in addition to Black, 1 participant identified as East Asian, 5 identified as American Indian/Alaska Native, 1 identified as South Asian, and 3 identified as White. Of the participants, 133 were women, 136 were men, 3 were non-binary, and 1 was a transgender man. A sensitivity analysis showed that with a sample size of 275, there is 80% power to detect an effect of 0.0289586 size. Based on this, our sample size had enough power to detect small effect sizes. Participants were randomly assigned to the cells of a 2(Ally Race/Ethnicity: White vs. Latinx) between subjects design.

Procedure

The appropriate IRB approval from UCSB was obtained for this study in order to protect the participants' rights for confidentiality and safety. Participants consented to participate in a study about judging the motivations behind different behaviors. They were instructed to read descriptions of people engaging in various behaviors, and were informed that they would be asked questions about the motivations of the behaviors observed.

Manipulation of Ally Race/Ethnicity

Half of the participants were randomly assigned to read a vignette about White allies attending a BLM protest, while the other half read a vignette about Latinx/a/o allies attending a BLM protest:

The Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement, which is back in the headlines amid the nationwide protests, receives wide support. Among [White/Latino] Americans, for example, the majority say they support the movement, according to Pew Research Center. Many [White/Latino] Americans expressed their support by joining BLM protests in their cities. Researchers examined the demographics of protestors and found that 4,000 [White/Latino] Americans reported attending a BLM protest.

The vignettes mentioned only a raw number of protesters so that perceived size of the protests appeared consistent across the two conditions. The vignettes were also accompanied by comparable images of White or Latinx/a/o protestors:

Primary Measures

Participants then responded to a survey assessing their perceptions of the allies' behavior. For full description of the primary measures, refer to Appendix A. These data come from a larger study and only relevant measures are described here. Refer to Appendix B for a full list of measures. All measures were asked in the following order, and the items within each measure were asked in randomized order.

Ally motivations

Based on the theory proposed by Kutlaca and colleagues (2020), we developed an 8-item measure of perceived motivations of allies' behavior. Participants were asked: "To what extent do you think these allies' attendance at the BLM protest was motivated by each of the following factors?" Two items measured outgroup-focused motivation (e.g., "Desire to eliminate anti-Black racism"). Two items measured ingroup-focused motivation (e.g., "Concerns about their own racial group's power in society"). Two items measured moral motivation (e.g., "Strong moral convictions about right and wrong"). Two items measured personal motivation (e.g., "Concerns about their own reputation"). The order of the items were randomized and each was measured on a 1 (not at all) -7 (very much) Likert scale. Responses to the two items assessing each motivation were averaged to create composites of the four motivations.

Internal and external motivation

Internal and external motivations were measured using the Suspicion of Motivation Index (SOMI; (Major et al., 2013). Participants were asked: "These allies attended the BLM protest because…" Five items measured internal motivations (e.g., "It is personally important for them to combat racial inequality"). Five items measured external motivations (e.g., "They want to avoid negative reactions from others"). All items were responded to on a 1 (Strongly Disagree) - 7 (Strongly Agree) Likert scale.

These two measures of perceived motivations were the main outcome variables of interest in this study as they allowed us to understand how Black Americans perceive the motivations that drive White Allyship compared to Latinx Allyship.

Control Measures

Support for BLM Movement

Support for the BLM movement was measured before the manipulation check and demographic questions. Support for the BLM Movement was assessed with two items, both of which were responded to on a 1 (not at all) -7 (very much) Likert scale (e.g., "How much do you personally support the Black Lives Matter movement?"). Support for the BLM Movement was assessed because participants who are greater supporters of the BLM movement themselves may be more trusting of ally motives in general, so this measure was included to control for this possible confound.

Political Orientation

Participants reported their political orientation on a 7-point Likert scale from "Very conservative" to "Very liberal." Political orientation was controlled for because people of different political views may have different perceptions of allyship and the BLM movement in general. Therefore this measure was included to control for this possible confound.

After responding to other measures not relevant to the hypotheses, participants were thanked for their time and paid $3 for the 15-minute study. Their race, age, gender, and political orientation was confirmed via demographic questions included at the end of the survey. Participants were debriefed and were told the true hypotheses of the study. Consent was reobtained to use participants' data.

Results

Data Analysis Strategy

R statistical software was used to analyze the results. Multiple regression analyses were conducted to test whether perceived motivations differ by ally race/ethnicity. Participants' support for the BLM movement, political orientation, gender, and age were included as covariates in all models.

Correlations Among Study Variables

All descriptive statistics and correlations can be seen in Table 1. Perceived moral motivations were highly positively correlated with out-group focused motivations, both were moderately negatively correlated with personal motivations, and neither was correlated with ingroup-focused motivations. SOMI external motivation subscales were moderately negative correlated with SOMI internal motivation subscale.

Aspects of the two different scales measuring perceived motivations were significantly correlated. The SOMI internal motivation subscale was strongly positively correlated with both outgroup-focused motivation and moral motivation. SOMI external motivations were significantly positively correlated with personal motivation. Ingroup focused motivation was not significantly correlated with the other variables.

Table 1

Means, standard deviations, and correlations with confidence intervals of outgroup-focused motivation, moral motivation, ingroup-focus motivation, personal motivation, SOMI internal motivation, and SOMI external motivation.

Variable	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5
1. Outgroup-focused motivation	5.28	1.33					
2. Moral motivation	5.55	1.27	.74** [.69, .79]				
3. Ingroup-focused motivation	4.11	1.66	.02 [-.10, .14]	-.03 [-.15, .09]			
4. Personal motivation	3.79	1.62	-.28** [-.38, -.16]	-.32** [-.42, -.21]	.45** [.35, .54]		
5. SOMI internal motivation	5.44	1.24	.76** [.70, .80]	.79** [.73, .83]	-.04 [-.16, .08]	-.35** [-.45, -.24]	
6. SOMI external motivation	3.29	1.53	-.28** [-.39, -.17]	-.31** [-.41, -.19]	.25** [.14, .36]	.67** [.59, .73]	-.34** [-.44, -.23]

*Note. Values in square brackets indicate the 95% confidence interval for each correlation. The confidence interval is a plausible range of population correlations that could have caused the sample correlation (Cumming, 2014). ** indicates p < .01.*

Tests of Hypotheses on Ally Motivation Perception

Motivation Subscales

Outgroup-focused motivation
It was hypothesized that Black American participants would perceive Latinx allies to be more outgroup-focused compared to White allies. As hypothesized, Latinx allies attending the BLM protest were perceived as significantly more motivated by a desire to improve the status of the target group, compared to White allies (= .14, p = .012), controlling for participants' own support of BLM, political beliefs, age, and gender. We also found a significant effect of BLM support on perceived outgroup-focused motivations such that participants who were more supportive of the BLM movement perceived allies as more motivated by a desire to help the target group regardless of the allies' race/ethnicity (= .40, p < .001). See Table 2 for full results.

Table 2

Regression results predicting perceived outgroup-focused motivation

Predictor	b	b 95% CI [LL, UL]	beta	beta 95% CI [LL, UL]	sr^2	sr^2 95% CI [LL, UL]	r	Fit
(Intercept)	3.58**	[2.71, 4.45]						
Ally race/ethnicity	0.37*	[0.08, 0.67]	0.14	[0.03, 0.25]	.02	[-.01, .05]	.14*	
BLM support	0.30**	[0.21, 0.39]	0.40	[0.28, 0.51]	.13	[.06, .21]	.39**	
Political orientation	0.01	[-0.09, 0.12]	0.02	[-0.10, 0.14]	.00	[-.00, .00]	.14*	
Gender (woman)	-0.20	[-0.51, 0.10]	-0.08	[-0.19, 0.04]	.01	[-.01, .02]	-.05	
Age	-0.00	[-0.02, 0.01]	-0.05	[-0.16, 0.07]	.00	[-.01, .01]	-.01	
								R^2 = .182**
								95% CI[.09,.25]

Note. A significant b-weight indicates the beta-weight and semi-partial correlation are also significant. b represents unstandardized regression weights. beta indicates the standardized regression weights. sr^2 represents the semi-partial correlation squared. r represents the zero-order correlation. LL and UL indicate the lower and upper limits of a confidence interval, respectively. * indicates p < .05. ** indicates p < .01.

Moral Motivation

It was hypothesized that Black American participants would perceive Latinx allies to be more morally motivated compared to White allies. As hypothesized, Latinx allies attending the BLM protest were perceived as significantly more morally motivated compared to White allies (= .12, p = .039), controlling for participants' own support of BLM, political beliefs, age, and gender. We also found a significant effect of BLM support on perceived moral motivations such that participants who were more supportive of the BLM movement perceived allies as more motivated by their moral beliefs regardless of the allies' race/ethnicity (= 0.43, p < .001). See Table 3 for full results.

Table 3

Regression results predicting perceived moral motivation

Predictor	b	b 95% CI [LL, UL]	beta	beta 95% CI [LL, UL]	sr^2	sr^2 95% CI [LL, UL]	r	Fit
(Intercept)	3.72**	[2.90, 4.54]						
Ally race/ethnicity	0.29*	[0.02, 0.57]	0.12	[0.01, 0.22]	.01	[-.01, .04]	.12*	
BLM support	0.31**	[0.22, 0.39]	0.43	[0.31, 0.55]	.16	[.08, .24]	.42**	
Political orientation	-0.00	[-0.10, 0.09]	-0.00	[-0.12, 0.11]	.00	[-.00, .00]	.14*	
Gender (woman)	-0.07	[-0.36, 0.22]	-0.03	[-0.14, 0.09]	.00	[-.01, .01]	-.00	
Age	-0.00	[-0.01, 0.01]	-0.02	[-0.14, 0.09]	.00	[-.00, .01]	.03	
								R^2 = .195**
								95% CI[.10,.26]

Note. A significant b-weight indicates the beta-weight and semi-partial correlation are also significant. b represents unstandardized regression weights. beta indicates the standardized regression weights. sr^2 represents the semi-partial correlation squared. r represents the zero-order correlation. LL and UL indicate the lower and upper limits of a confidence interval, respectively. * indicates p < .05. ** indicates p < .01.

Ingroup-focused Motivation

It was hypothesized that Black Americans would perceive White allies to be motivated more by ingroup-focused motivations compared to Latinx allies. Unexpectedly, Latinx allies attending the BLM protest were perceived as significantly more ingroup-motivated compared to White allies (= .29, p < 0.001), controlling for participants' own support of BLM, political beliefs, age, and gender. We also found a significant effect of political orientation on perceived ingroup-focused motivations such that participants who were more politically conservative perceived allies as more motivated by a desire to help the ingroup regardless of the allies' race/ethnicity (= -0.13, p < .05). See Table 4 for full results.

Table 4

Regression results predicting perceived ingroup-focused motivation

Predictor	b	b 95% CI [LL, UL]	beta	beta 95% CI [LL, UL]	sr^2	sr^2 95% CI [LL, UL]	r	Fit
(Intercept)	2.84**	[1.72, 3.96]						
Ally race/ethnicity	0.95**	[0.57, 1.33]	0.29	[0.17, 0.40]	.08	[.02, .14]	.30**	
BLM support	0.09	[-0.03, 0.20]	0.10	[-0.03, 0.22]	.01	[-.01, .03]	.06	
Political orientation	-0.14*	[-0.27, -0.01]	-0.13	[-0.25, -0.00]	.01	[-.01, .04]	-.12*	
Gender (woman)	-0.21	[-0.61, 0.18]	-0.06	[-0.18, 0.06]	.00	[-.01, .02]	-.05	
Age	0.01	[-0.00, 0.03]	0.08	[-0.04, 0.20]	.01	[-.01, .02]	.10	
								R^2 = .117**
								95% CI[.04,.18]

Note. A significant b-weight indicates the beta-weight and semi-partial correlation are also significant. b represents unstandardized regression weights. beta indicates the standardized regression weights. sr^2 represents the semi-partial correlation squared. r represents the zero-order correlation. LL and UL indicate the lower and upper limits of a confidence interval, respectively. * indicates p < .05. ** indicates p < .01.

Personal Motivation

It was hypothesized that Black Americans would perceive White allies to be more personally motivated compared to Latinx allies. As hypothesized, Latinx allies attending the BLM protest were perceived as significantly less personally motivated by a desire to improve their personal reputation, compared to White allies (= -0.15, p = .04), controlling for participants' own support of BLM, political beliefs, age, and gender. We also found a significant effect of political orientation on perceived personal motivations such that participants who were more politically conservative perceived allies as more motivated by a desire to improve their personal image regardless of the allies' race/ethnicity (= -0.14, p < .05). See Table 5 for full results.

Table 5

Regression results predicting perceived personal motivation

Predictor	b	b 95% CI [LL, UL]	beta	beta 95% CI [LL, UL]	sr^2	sr^2 95% CI [LL, UL]	r	Fit
(Intercept)	5.47**	[4.34, 6.61]						
Ally race/ethnicity	-0.49*	[-0.87, -0.10]	-0.15	[-0.27, -0.03]	.02	[-.01, .06]	-.15*	
BLM support	0.00	[-0.11, 0.12]	0.00	[-0.12, 0.13]	.00	[-.00, .00]	-.05	
Political orientation	-0.14*	[-0.28, -0.01]	-0.14	[-0.27, -0.01]	.02	[-.01, .05]	-.13*	
Gender (woman)	-0.12	[-0.53, 0.28]	-0.04	[-0.16, 0.09]	.00	[-.01, .01]	-.07	
Age	-0.00	[-0.02, 0.01]	-0.01	[-0.14, 0.11]	.00	[-.00, .00]	-.03	
								R^2 = .043*
								95% CI[.00,.08]

*Note. A significant b-weight indicates the beta-weight and semi-partial correlation are also significant. b represents unstandardized regression weights. beta indicates the standardized regression weights. sr² represents the semi-partial correlation squared. r represents the zero-order correlation. LL and UL indicate the lower and upper limits of a confidence interval, respectively. * indicates p < .05. ** indicates p < .01.*

SOMI subscales

Internal motivations

It was hypothesized that Black American participants would perceive Latinx allies to be more internally motivated compared to White allies. As hypothesized, when looking at suspicion of motivations index (SOMI), Latinx allies attending the BLM protest were perceived as significantly more internally-motivated compared to White allies (= .17, p < 0.01), controlling for participants' own support of BLM, political beliefs, age, and gender. We also found a significant effect of BLM support on perceived SOMI internal motivations such that participants who were more supportive of the BLM movement perceived all allies as more motivated by internal factors (= 0.36, p < .001). See Table 6 for full results.

Table 6

Regression results predicting perceived internal motivation

Predictor	b	b 95% CI [LL, UL]	beta	beta 95% CI [LL, UL]	sr²	sr² 95% CI [LL, UL]	r	Fit
(Intercept)	3.42**	[2.61, 4.23]						
Ally race/ethnicity	0.42**	[0.15, 0.70]	0.17	[0.06, 0.28]	.03	[-.01, .07]	.18**	
BLM support	0.25**	[0.17, 0.33]	0.36	[0.24, 0.48]	.11	[.04, .18]	.37**	
Political orientation	0.02	[-0.07, 0.12]	0.03	[-0.09, 0.15]	.00	[-.00, .01]	.14*	
Gender (woman)	-0.08	[-0.37, 0.21]	-0.03	[-0.15, 0.08]	.00	[-.01, .01]	.01	
Age	0.00	[-0.01, 0.01]	0.02	[-0.09, 0.14]	.00	[-.00, .01]	.07	
								R^2 = .168**
								95% CI[.08,.23]

*Note. A significant b-weight indicates the beta-weight and semi-partial correlation are also significant. b represents unstandardized regression weights. beta indicates the standardized regression weights. sr² represents the semi-partial correlation squared. r represents the zero-order correlation. LL and UL indicate the lower and upper limits of a confidence interval, respectively. * indicates p < .05. ** indicates p < .01.*

External Motivations

It was hypothesized that Black American participants would perceive White allies to be more externally motivated compared to Latinx allies. As hypothesized, when looking at suspicion of motivations index (SOMI), Latinx allies attending the BLM protest were perceived as significantly less externally motivated compared to White allies (= -0.22, p < 0.001), controlling for participants' own support of BLM, political beliefs, age, and gender. We also found a significant effect of political orientation on perceived personal motivations such that participants who were more politically conservative perceived allies as more externally motivated, such as feeling a social pressure to attend the protest, regardless of the allies' race/ethnicity (= -0.19, p < 0.001). See Table 7 for full results.

Table 7

Regression results predicting perceived SOMI external motivations

Predictor	b	b 95% CI [LL, UL]	beta	beta 95% CI [LL, UL]	sr²	sr² 95% CI [LL, UL]	r	Fit
(Intercept)	5.60**	[4.55, 6.65]						
Ally race/ethnicity	-0.68**	[-1.03, -0.32]	-0.22	[-0.34, -0.10]	.05	[-.00, .10]	-.21**	
BLM support	0.02	[-0.08, 0.13]	0.03	[-0.10, 0.15]	.00	[-.01, .01]	-.06	
Political orientation	-0.21**	[-0.33, -0.08]	-0.21	[-0.33, -0.08]	.04	[-.01, .08]	-.19**	
Gender (woman)	-0.14	[-0.52, 0.23]	-0.05	[-0.17, 0.07]	.00	[-.01, .01]	-.09	
Age	-0.00	[-0.02, 0.01]	-0.03	[-0.15, 0.09]	.00	[-.01, .01]	-.05	
								R^2 = .092**
								95% CI[.02,.15]

Note. A significant b-weight indicates the beta-weight and semi-partial correlation are also significant. b represents unstandardized regression weights. beta indicates the standardized regression weights. sr^2 represents the semi-partial correlation squared. r represents the zero-order correlation. LL and UL indicate the lower and upper limits of a confidence interval, respectively. * indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$.

Discussion

As expected, participants had different perceptions of allyship when observing Latinx allies compared to White allies. Specifically, participants perceived Latinx allyship to be significantly more outgroup motivated, morally motivated, internally motivated, ingroup motivated, less personally motivated, and less externally motivated than White allies. These findings indicate that participants perceive Latinx allies to have more of a desire to eliminate anti-Black racism and more of a desire to improve the status of Black people in society compared to White allies (Kutlaca et al., 2022). It also reveals that participants perceive Latinx allies to have more of a strong moral conviction about right and wrong, and more of a desire to do the right thing compared to White allies (Kutlaca et al., 2022).

Responses to the SOMI internal and external motivation scales reveal that since participants perceived Latinx allies to be more internally motivated than White allies, this indicates that they thought Latinx allies had stronger beliefs about combating racial inequality compared to White allies. At the same time, they perceived White allies to be more motivated than Latinx allies by external factors, such as feeling a pressure from society to combat racial inequality, thinking that people would be angry at them for not attending, wanting to avoid disapproval from others, and/or trying to act "politically correct" (Major et al., 2013). These findings are important because they suggest that Black Americans may prefer to see members of a disadvantaged group supporting a BLM protest rather than members of the advantaged group. These results also imply that allyship can be perceived as more effective when coming from a member of a disadvantaged group compared to the advantaged group. A possible explanation could be because Black participants may have an additional level of trust established with Latinx allies compared to White allies due to intraminority solidarity (Radke, et al., 2022). This trust can allow them to perceive Latinx allyship as more internally motivated.

Most of these findings supported our hypothesis; however, one did not. We expected participants to perceive White allies to be more ingroup motivated than Latinx allies, but participants in fact perceived Latinx allies to be more ingroup motivated instead. A possible explanation for this finding could be that Black participants understood that within the context of a BLM movement, Latinx participants might feel concern for their own group's status and power in society. This finding relates back to the concept of intraminority solidarity due to members of the Black community having similar experiences of disadvantage to members of the Latinx community, in comparison to members of the White community. Specifically, Black Americans might perceive that Latinx allies may have experienced protesting to support the Latinx movement. These similar experiences of protesting in Latinx communities and Black communities have been found to result in intraminority solidarity, which allows both communities to positively engage with one another as they have a desire to benefit each other (Burson & Godfrey, 2020). Therefore, participants may have found Latinx allies to be motivated by ingroup-focused motivation due to Black participants observing a BLM protest and thinking of shared experiences with the Latinx group. This is why, albeit counterintuitive, participants

may have found Latinx allies to be more motivated by ingroup-focused motivations due to their power in society being made more salient during a BLM protest.

The fact that participants found Latinx allies to be both ingroup and outgroup motivated reveals that it is unlikely that participants thought that Latinx allies had a desire to make themselves look good or feel personally motivated due to participants' beliefs in outgroup motivation. Furthermore, given that participants viewed White allies to be more personally motivated than Latinx allies, this solidifies the fact that participants did not believe Latinx allies to be worried about their own reputation. Another explanation for participants perceiving White allies to be less ingroup motivated could be because Black participants could have group goals that align more with Latinx allies compared to White allies. Due to intraminority solidarity, Black and Latinx communities have a shared understanding of what it means to be in a disadvantaged position of power.

There were also effects of initial BLM support and political orientation on perceptions of allyship. Participants who were supportive of the BLM movement were more likely to perceive all allies to be motivated to help the target group. These participants also perceived all allies to be more likely to be internally motivated according to SOMI measures, and perceived all allies to be more morally motivated, regardless of the race of the ally. BLM support may have had an impact on perceived motivation of allies because these participants are likely to trust the allies that are engaging in the movement. Participants who support BLM might be likely to perceive allies' involvement to be reflective of their own (presumably internal) motivational desires to support the movement. Therefore, they are likely to perceive allies to be similar to them in some sense as well, which can explain why participants who were more supportive of the movement were more likely to perceive other allies to be internally motivated, regardless of the advantaged or disadvantaged status of the allies.

In this study, participants who were more politically conservative perceived all allies to be more ingroup motivated, perceived all allies to be motivated by a desire to improve their personal image, and perceived all allies to be more externally motivated regardless of race. This finding indicates that politically conservative participants were more likely to perceive allies to be engaging in allyship due to societal pressures—this finding held regardless of whether allies were members of an advantaged group or another disadvantaged group. Thus, politically conservative participants did not see allyship to be truly based on a real desire to help the outgroup, but rather saw allyship as something to improve their personal image, regardless of the advantaged or disadvantaged status of the allies. This effect of political orientation may have been observed since previous research has shown clear differences in perceptions and moral values between conservative and liberal participants (Richardson & Conway, 2022). No effects of gender or age were observed.

Limitations and Future Directions

One limitation in this study is that what we know about advantaged allies might not directly inform disadvantaged allies. The literature supporting the current study discusses allyship mainly from the perspective of advantaged group allies rather than disadvantaged group allies. More research should look at both types of allies and their varying experiences with allyship because it is important to understand how allyship can be conducted safely and effectively, especially from the viewpoint of the target group. For instance, ingroup motivation can mean different things for advantaged-group allies and disadvantaged-group allies. This finding would have never been possible to see without investigating disadvantaged-group allies and target group perceptions. Understanding how to reach effective allyship is important as it may result in the overall betterment of society in the current politically charged times.

Another limitation is that our study did not investigate interactions between ally race/ethnicity with ally gender or age. Gender and age can be valuable to look at because it would make the results more generalizable. Previous literature has shown that there are in fact gender differences when looking at advantaged-group allyship (women are more likely than men to engage in allyship due to White empathy), but more research can be done on disadvantaged group allyship in this context (Spanierman, Beard, & Todd, 2012). For example, we may expect that women would be perceived as more internally motivated compared to men. Another future direction could be to investigate whether allyship from different groups is perceived to be effective or not. While we did have a measure for trust, and thereby possible implications for effectiveness, these effects were exploratory and we didn't have a strong hypothesis about allyship effectiveness. A measure of the effectiveness of allies would be beneficial to look at because this allows us to understand whether target groups perceive advantaged-group and disadvantaged-group allyship as effective or ineffective, and this would contribute to allowing us to understand how to best engage in allyship that is beneficial to society.

Another limitation is that we only focused on BLM protests as an example of allyship behavior. Allyship can be seen from anywhere in any kind of social situation, and is not only restricted to the BLM movement. There are many ways to engage in allyship for BLM at the collective level, ranging from posting support on social media, to donating to the cause, to attending a BLM protest. These different forms of allyship might be perceived differently from interpersonal forms of allyship, such as confronting discrimination, or having conversations with friends/family about the injustices faced by the Black community. Therefore further research should investigate whether the motivations are the same and the relationship between perceptions of advantaged and disadvantaged ally motivations are the same. Furthermore, allyship does not always involve the Black community; in this study we only focused on one racial domain. In order to generalize to more groups, it would be interesting to observe how other racial groups, such as Asian Americans, perceive BLM allyship. Literature on this has found that Asian-Americans who weren't born in the US were more likely to show indifference towards the BLM movement compared to Asian-Americans who were born in the US (Horse et al., 2021).

Therefore studying the differences in how participants perceive Asian American allyship to BLM compared to Latinx and Black participants would be a future research interest.

Ultimately, this research is important because it speaks to the current political climate and allows us to understand the perception of how disadvantaged groups view allyship, which is not studied a lot as most allyship literature focuses on the perception of advantaged groups. Therefore, the research being conducted is both novel and relevant to today's society.

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Appendix A

1. Perceived Ally Motivation items 1 (not at all) -7 (very much) scale

To what extent do you think these allies' attendance at a BLM protest was motivated by each of the following factors?

- a. Outgroup motivation
    - i. Desire to eliminate anti-Black racism
    - ii. Desire to improve status of Black people in society
- b. Morality motivation
    - i. Strong moral convictions about right and wrong
    - ii. Desire to do the right thing
- c. Ingroup motivation
    - i. Concerns about their own group's status in society
    - ii. Concerns about their own group's power in society
    - iii. Personal motivation
    - iv. Desire to make themselves look good
    - v. Concerns about their own reputation

2. Adapted Suspicion of Motives Index 1 (strongly disagree) - 7 (strongly agree) scale

These allies attended a BLM protest because...

- a. It is personally important to them to combat racial inequality.
- b. It is in accordance with their personal values to combat racial inequality.
- c. They believe racial inequality is wrong.
- d. They are personally motivated by their beliefs.
- e. It is important to their self-concept to combat racial inequality.
- f. They want to avoid negative reactions from others.
- g. They feel pressure from others to combat racial inequality.
- h. They think other people would be angry with them if they did not attend.
- i. They want to avoid disapproval from others.
- j. They are trying to act "politically correct."

3. Support for the BLM movement 1 (not at all) - 7 (very much) scale

- a. How much do you personally support the Black Lives Matter movement?
- b. To what extent do you identify with the Black Lives Matter movement?

4. Political Orientation 1 (very conservative) - 7 (very liberal)

- a. What is your political orientation?

Appendix B

1. Trust 1 (not at all) - 7 (very much)
   a. To what extent do you trust the intentions of the allies who attended BLM protests?
2. Common Fate 1 (strongly disagree) - 7 (strongly agree)

Please use the scale below to indicate your level of agreement with the following statements.
   a. Black Americans "doing well" depends on [White/Latino] Americans also "doing well."
   b. When [White/Latino] Americans experience positive outcomes, Black Americans also experience positive outcomes.
   c. Benefits to [White/Latino] Americans are also benefits to Black Americans.
   d. The goals of [White/Latino] Americans align with the goals of Black Americans.
   e. When [White/Latino] Americans struggle, Black Americans struggle, too.
3. Ally evaluation 1 (not at all) - 7 (very much)

Please answer the following questions.
   a. How much do you want White Americans in the BLM movement?
   b. How much do you think White Americans strengthen the BLM movement?
4. Self esteem 1 (strongly disagree) - 7 (strongly agree)

Please use the scale below to indicate your level of agreement with the following statements.
   a. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
   b. All in all, I am inclined to think I am a failure.
   c. I feel that I do not have much to be proud of.
   d. I have a positive attitude toward myself.
   e. At times I feel like I am no good at all.
5. Empowerment 1 (not at all) - 7 (very much)

Please rate the extent to which you feel the following right now…
   a. Powerful
   b. Full of energy
   c. Stimulated
   d. Empowered
   e. Without control of the situation
   f. Weak
   g. Inferior
   h. Defenseless
6. Collective action intentions 1 (strongly disagree) - 7 (strongly agree)

Please rate your agreement with each of the statements below.
   a. I intend to participate in a demonstration in support of Black Lives Matter.
   b. I intend to participate in raising awareness about injustices facing Black Americans.
   c. I intend to sign a petition to stop brutality against Black Americans.
   d. Please select 3 for your agreement with this statement.

7. Manipulation check

What was the article that you read earlier about?

        a. Support for BLM among White Americans
        b. Support for BLM among Latino Americans
        c. Support for BLM among Asian Americans
        d. Support for BLM among MENA Americans

8. Demographics

What is your ethnicity? Choose as many as apply to you.

        a. Latina/o/x
        b. Black/African American
        c. East Asian/East Asian American
        d. American Indian/Alaska Native
        e. Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander
        f. South Asian/South Asian American
        g. Middle Eastern or North African/MENA American
        h. White
        i. Other

9. Gender

Which of the following terms best describes your current gender identity?

        a. Man
        b. Non-binary/Genderqueer/Gender non-conforming
        c. Other

10. Trans

Do you identify as transgender?

        a. Yes
        b. No

11. Age

        a. What is your age?