Journal of Personality and Social Psychology

Antecedents and Consequences of LGBT Individuals' Perceptions of Straight Allyship

Jacqueline M. Chen, Samantha Joel, and Daphne Castro Lingl

Online First Publication, March 30, 2023. https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000422

AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Journal of Personality and Social Psychology:
Interpersonal Relations and Group Processes

ISSN: 0022-3514

https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000422

Antecedents and Consequences of LGBT Individuals' Perceptions of Straight Allyship

Jacqueline M. Chen[1], Samantha Joel[2], and Daphne Castro Lingl[3]
[1] Department of Psychology, University of Utah
[2] Department of Psychology, Western University
[3] Department of Psychological Sciences, University of Connecticut

People often self-identify as allies to the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) community. This research examined on what basis LGBT individuals perceive others to be allies and documents the consequences of perceived allyship. Studies 1a ($n = 40$) and 1b ($n = 69$) collected open-ended descriptions of allyship provided by LGBT participants. Coding of the responses suggested multiple components to being an ally: (a) being *nonprejudiced* toward the group, (b) taking *action* against discrimination and inequality, and (c) having *humility* about one's perspective in discussions about LGBT issues. In Studies 2a ($n = 161$) and 2b ($n = 319$, with nationally representative characteristics), an allyship scale was developed and validated for general and specific relational contexts, respectively. Study 2b also showed that LGBT individuals' perceptions of close others' allyship were positively associated with their own well-being and relationship quality with the close other. Study 3, an experiment, demonstrated that nonprejudice and action had an interactive effect on perceived allyship, such that action increased perceived allyship more when prejudice was low (vs. high). Study 4 was a weekly experience study of LGBT participants and an outgroup roommate. Perceiving one's roommate to be a good ally predicted higher self-esteem, greater subjective well-being, and better relationship quality with the roommate, both between and within participants. Furthermore, perceived allyship in 1 week was associated with increases in LGBT individuals' mental health and relationship quality with the roommate the following week. This research advances knowledge about what allyship means to LGBT individuals and identifies intra- and interpersonal benefits of allyship.

Keywords: allies, stigma, subjective well-being, relationships, LGBT

Supplemental materials: https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000422.supp

In 2021, one in four lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) teenagers attempted suicide (Centers for Disease Control & Prevention, 2022). Compared to their straight cisgender counterparts, LGBT people are at greater risk for mental health disorders, including depression and anxiety (Cochran et al., 2003), as well as physical illness (Lick et al., 2013). Some LGBT people are at increased risk for suicidal behavior and death by suicide (Haas et al., 2011), and the risk has remained high in part due to ongoing national attention on anti-LGBT policies (The Trevor Project & Morning Consult, 2022).

Perceptions of discrimination and lack of acceptance of their sexual orientation and/or gender identities (SOGI) put LGBT people at greater risk for mental and physical health issues (Mays & Cochran, 2001). However, having positive social relationships is associated with resilience among LGBT people (Eisenberg & Resnick, 2006). In the general population, including among LGBT individuals, having strong social relationships is a major predictor of health and longevity (see Holt-Lunstad et al., 2010). Together, these findings suggest that positive social relationships could be a major factor for increasing the quality of life of LGBT individuals and mitigating SOGI disparities in physical and mental well-being.

Above and beyond perceiving one's relationships to be *supportive*, we propose that a major protective factor for LGBT individuals' well-being is the perception of their close others as *allies*. Support of LGBT communities by people who are not members themselves is often referred to as "allyship." Frequently, non-LGBT individuals engage in visible behaviors to signal their allyship, for example, the ally signage that some employees display in their workplace or the use of *#ally* in social media posts. Interestingly, despite the fact that allyship behaviors are ostensibly intended to benefit the members of the LGBT community, it is typically a non-LGBT person who self-designates as an ally, without any particular endorsement or nomination from LGBT community members. Because allyship is

Jacqueline M. Chen https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9347-3816

The authors are grateful to Syrenna Lisonbee and Rachel Cowdell for their assistance in the execution of this research. This work was supported by the National Science Foundation Grant 1943041 awarded to Jacqueline M. Chen and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Insight Grant awarded to Samantha Joel.

Jacqueline M. Chen played a lead role in conceptualization, investigation, methodology, project administration, supervision, writing of original draft and writing of review and editing and equal role in funding aquisition, data curation, formal analysis, resources and visualization. Samantha Joel played a supporting role in conceptualization, data curation, formal analysis, funding acquisition, investigation, methodology, resources, validation, visualization, writing of original draft and writing of review and editing. Daphne Castro Lingl played a supporting role in formal analysis, investigation, methodology, project administration, visualization and writing of review and editing.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Jacqueline M. Chen, Department of Psychology, University of Utah, 380 South 1530 East BEHS 502, Salt Lake City, UT 84112, United States. Email: jacqueline.chen@psych.utah.edu

intended to benefit LGBT people, it seems important to determine on what basis LGBT individuals perceive others to be allies.

Whereas several studies investigate the processes by which straight people self-identify as allies, there is a dearth of literature examining how LGBT individuals themselves conceptualize allyship. The present research sought to provide an understanding of allyship centered on the perspectives of LGBT individuals. Our overarching research goals were to: (a) discover the components of straight allyship according to LGBT individuals; (b) provide a validated measure of straight allyship; (c) demonstrate the intra- and interpersonal consequences of allyship, above and beyond other relationship factors, for LGBT individuals' well-being and relationships; and (d) determine the extent to which perceived and self-reported allyship align.

Self-Identified and Perceived Allyship

In academic scholarship, the term "ally" originated in fields adjacent to social psychology, including student affairs, counseling psychology, and organizational behavior. Allyship is a concept rooted in social justice concerns and has been previously defined as "a person who is a member of the 'dominant' or 'majority' group who works to end oppression in his or her personal and professional life through support of, and as an advocate with and for, the oppressed population" (Washington & Evans, 1991, p. 195). Previous research has investigated the experiences that led students and workers, in particular those from socially dominant groups, to develop social justice consciousness and participate in social activism (Borgman, 2005; Broido, 2000; Cohen et al., 2006; Dillon et al., 2004; Edwards, 2006; Foldy & Creed, 1999). Theories of ally development emerged that focused on how students become allies during college, how allies understand themselves, and how they impact their environment (Broido, 2000). Since then, research on allyship has expanded to psychology, investigating allyship in other settings, focusing on organizational settings (Ashburn-Nardo, 2018; Brooks & Edwards, 2009; Moser & Branscombe, 2021; Salter & Migliaccio, 2019). Much of this work is centered on the ally's identity development, focusing on how to foster an allyship mentality among members of privileged or dominant groups.

Within social psychology, research on allyship is growing. Since the field's founding, social psychologists have devoted considerable attention to the processes and outcomes of negative intergroup phenomena, such as prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination (see Dovidio et al., 2018; Major et al., 2018; Richeson & Sommers, 2016, for recent reviews). More recently, scholars have shifted focus to why some individuals are motivated to participate in collective action (see van Zomeren et al., 2008), and in particular, why some members of socially advantaged/dominant groups advocate for social change even when it may be against their own self-interest (see Craig et al., 2020; Gonzalez et al., 2015; Ho & Kteily, 2020). This research mostly focuses on allyship in the context of racial, ethnic, and national social justice (e.g., Radke et al., 2020; Stefaniak et al., 2020), and past research largely takes an experimental approach to show that others' confrontations of prejudice (one possible operationalization of allyship) or self-identification as an ally can signal belonging and identity safety to minorities (see Chaney et al., 2021; Chu & Ashburn-Nardo, 2022; Hildebrand et al., 2020; Moser & Branscombe, 2021).

In the context of LGBT allyship, foundational social psychological research by Fingerhut (2011) identified demographic and contextual factors that contribute to people becoming allies. Straight women are more likely to identify as allies than are straight men. People with higher education and more self-reported contact with gay people also more likely to identify as allies (see also Henry, 2020). Thus, both individual and situational factors contribute to straight people identifying as allies. It is important to note that previous research on the predictors of ally identification uses straight individuals' own definitions of allyship (Ji & Fujimoto, 2013; Jones et al., 2014) and may even purposefully leave the term ally open to participants' interpretation and self-identification (Fingerhut, 2011).

Overall, existing theoretical work on allyship has primarily centered allies' perspectives, with little to no reference to what allyship means to the members of the minoritized groups for which the allyship is presumed to be for. Thus, it remains unknown whether individuals who self-identify as allies are actually perceived as allies by others. To our knowledge, only one published study examines this question; however, it focuses on racial allyship in a college setting (Ostrove & Brown, 2018). In this research, Ostrove and Brown (2018) compared White students who were nominated as allies by students of color to White students who were not nominated ("controls") and to White students who were nominated as friends by students of color ("friends"). Compared to controls and friends, White allies had lower racial prejudice and higher levels of internal motivation to control prejudice (i.e., stronger egalitarian goals). These findings suggest that perceived allyship is an important construct to further investigate from the perspective of the minoritized group members. Consistent with this point, Black women inferred more identity safety from a racial ingroup member's endorsement of a White woman's allyship compared to the White woman's self-identified allyship (Johnson & Pietri, 2022). To our knowledge, no work has examined LGBT individuals' perceptions of non-LGBT allyship.

Intra- and Interpersonal Consequences of Perceived Allyship

Of particular importance is the predictive validity of allyship: to what extent is allyship associated with meaningful outcomes? To date, there is limited research investigating this question. Existing work on allyship focuses on the *collective action* consequences of allyship, for example, determining when allies help or hinder social movements (see Iyer & Achia, 2021; Louis et al., 2019). A recent theory article illuminates the potential benefits of allyship for the ally as well as for the minoritized group and society at large (Selvanathan et al., 2020). Thus, past work could shed light on how allyship indirectly benefits the LGBT community by facilitating structural and cultural changes. However, it does not examine the direct impacts of witnessing allyship on LGBT individuals. We investigate this question in the current research.

Based on past research, it is reasonable to expect that perceiving allyship is beneficial for LGBT individuals. Among LGBT individuals and members of other stigmatized groups, perceptions of discrimination are negatively associated with mental well-being (Kessler et al., 1999; Mays & Cochran, 2001; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). In other words, LGBT people who perceive and experience greater discrimination are more likely to experience poorer mental and physical health outcomes. However, LGBT

individuals' perceptions of support from their close others, in particular from family members and during early adulthood, is a significant protective factor for their mental well-being (Eisenberg & Resnick, 2006; Fredriksen-Goldsen et al., 2013; Mustanski & Hunter, 2012). Thus, past work indicates that experiences of stigmatization and discrimination are mentally and physically harmful for LGBT individuals, but that support from close others can mitigate these negative impacts.

Our work seeks to illuminate a novel dimension on which close relationships can confer benefits to members of stigmatized groups. We conceptualize allyship among close others as distinct from their being broadly supportive. Whereas being supportive typically means being willing to come to the aid of an individual in the time of their need (e.g., hospitalization, job loss), allyship implies an explicit acknowledgment and acceptance of the individual's minoritized identity. Being supportive could entail supporting an individual who identifies with the LGBT community while simultaneously disregarding, ignoring, or explicitly disapproving of their LGBT identity (see Bregman et al., 2013). Thus, we expect that LGBT individuals' perceptions of close others as allies to the LGBT community will have positive intra- and interpersonal benefits, above and beyond general perceived support from those close others.

With respect to intrapersonal outcomes, we predict that perceiving one's close others as allies will be associated with better mental well-being among LGBT individuals. We reason that perceptions of others as allies signals to LGBT individuals that their SOGIs are accepted and validated by others. Generally speaking, having responsive relationships (those that make a person feel accepted, cared for, and validated) is associated with greater health and well-being (see Stanton et al., 2019). Furthermore, LGBT youth who perceived greater acceptance of their SOGI identities by friends, family, and the local community had better well-being, higher self-esteem, and positive SOGI identity (Snapp et al., 2015).

Moreover, we sought to understand the relational implications of allyship. Allyship doesn't take place in a vacuum; allies are not random individuals or strangers, they are friends, family, and coworkers of LGBT people. Interestingly, research on intergroup relations and research on interpersonal relationships are largely separate, with the exception of research findings that cross-race relationships can mitigate prejudice (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, 2008) and foster belonging in majority-dominated institutions (Mendoza-Denton & Page-Gould, 2008; Norman et al., 2021; Page-Gould et al., 2008; Walton et al., 2012). Across the literature, it is yet unknown whether a majority of group members' attitudes and behaviors impact the relationship quality of their cross-group close relationships. A closer look at the characteristics of cross-group relationships that confer benefits to majority and minoritized individuals is warranted. Thus, in this research, we investigated how perceived and self-reported allyship was related to relationship quality, including closeness, appreciation, and responsiveness.

Overview of Current Research

This research aimed to understand how LGBT individuals define straight allyship (on what basis they perceive straight people to be allies) and to illuminate the intra- and interpersonal consequences of perceived allyship for LGBT individuals and their close others. To this end, we sought to build a theoretical understanding of LGBT individuals' perceptions of straight allyship and a validated measure of perceived allyship and to investigate the consequences of these perceptions.

To center our investigation of allyship on LGBT individuals' perspectives, we took a deductive–inductive empirical approach. First, we probed LGBT individuals for open-ended responses about what makes a good ally and iteratively developed a coding scheme to describe the common themes that arose in the responses. Second, we created a scale to measure the proposed allyship construct, validating its psychometric properties in two samples, including a nationally representative sample, and establishing its external validity. Third, having documented and provided a measure of allyship components, we conducted an experiment to establish the causal impact of the primary and secondary components of perceived allyship.

Upon developing a theoretical model and validated scale of allyship, we recruited LGBT individuals who were living with straight, cisgender roommates to participate in a daily diary and informant study. In this study, LGBT individuals responded to weekly surveys for 6 weeks. Their roommates completed a single survey about their own levels of allyship. We investigated: (a) the extent to which perceived and self-reported allyship were associated, (b) the consequences of perceived allyship for LGBT individuals' well-being over time, and (c) the consequences of perceived allyship for cross-group relationship quality.

Transparency and Openness

We report how we determined our sample sizes, all data exclusions (if any), all manipulations, and all measures in each study. All measures, materials, data, and statistical code are available on open science framework (OSF; https://osf.io/s7cdz/). Preregistrations for Study 2B, 2C, and 3 have also been uploaded to this article's OSF page. Studies 1A, 1B, and 4 were not preregistered.

Study 1

This study sought to explore what it means to be a good ally from the perspective of members of the LGBT community. We began with a bottom-up, open-ended approach to avoid making assumptions about LGBT individuals' definitions of good allyship. Specifically, we recruited two samples of LGBT participants and asked them to write about the characteristics of a good ally in an open-ended survey. We then coded these responses for themes.

Method

Participants

Sample 1A was recruited via Reddit and two of the authors' social media accounts. Participants were recruited to a survey investigating their thoughts on what it means to be an ally to the LGBT community and participated for a chance to win $100 in an e-gift card. We kept the survey open for approximately 1 week with no explicit sample size goal. A total of 75 people began the survey. Nine individuals reported being under 18 years old, and they were dropped from the analysis per institutional review board guidelines. Of the 66 remaining participants, 40 identified as gay, bisexual, or another nonheterosexual orientation and/or as noncisgender. We used these 40 responses because our aim was to determine how members of the LGBT community conceptualize allies. The sample's

average age was 27.60 years (SD = 6.55). With respect to self-identified gender, there were 14 men, 18 women, and eight other-identified participants (two declined to state). With respect to race, 31 participants identified as White, four as Asian, three as multiracial, and two were other-identified.

Sample 1B was recruited on Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk). We sought to double the size of Sample 1A. Of the 173 participants who completed the survey, 54 provided nonsensical answers to the questionnaire prompt, as determined by two coders who did not know the study hypotheses ($\kappa = .77$), and those participants were excluded from analyses. An additional 50 participants were excluded because they did not identify as members of the LGBT community. The final sample was composed of 69 participants ($M_{age} = 34.28$, $SD = 11.66$). This sample contained 28 men, 37 women, and four other-identified gender participants. Twenty-eight identified as gay, 34 as bisexual, six other-identified, and one unspecified. With respect to race, six participants identified as Black, two as Asian, 56 as White, four as Latinx, and one as Native American.

Procedure and Measures

Sample 1A. First, participants reported their demographics. In addition to the variables reported in the preceding section, participants reported their birthplace, political identification, level of education, and subjective socioeconomic status. Next, participants were asked to nominate someone who was a good (or bad) ally to the LGBT+ community and elaborate on why that person was a good (or bad) ally. The questions about good and bad allies were counterbalanced, and only the "good ally" questions were analyzed for the purpose of this research. Next, participants completed additional survey measures about the person that they nominated, including pilot items for the survey, the person's demographics (gender, race, sexual orientation, age), and their relationship to that person (relationship type, amount of contact, and subjective closeness).

Sample 1B. As in Sample 1A, participants were asked to nominate a person who they thought was a good ally and why. Next, participants completed additional survey measures about the person that they nominated, including pilot items for the survey, the person's demographics, and their relationship to that person. Participants reported their own demographics using the same questions as in Sample 1A.

Coding and Results

Sample 1A Responses

The initial coding procedure loosely followed guidelines of thematic analysis for qualitative data (see Braun & Clarke, 2006). First, the experimenters carefully read through the responses generated by Sample 1A to familiarize themselves with the data. Second, the experimenters generated an initial set of categories with the goal of an exhaustive coding scheme that would describe all of the themes mentioned by participants. The initial categories were: *action* (taking action against LGBT discrimination), being *nonprejudiced* against LGBT individuals (not judging their lifestyles or identities), *humanizing* (seeing LGBT individuals as people and not as stereotypes), and *humility* (focusing on their role in listening to the LGBT community rather than dominating these conversations). Third, a coder who was unaware of the study purpose was trained on the coding scheme and coded all of the responses ($n = 30$). Fourth, we examined the codes to check whether any participant responses had all four themes absent, which would indicate that the coding scheme was not exhaustive. We confirmed that each participant response contained at least one theme. Therefore, the coding scheme was exhaustive; every description of a good ally mentioned at least one of the four themes (action, nonprejudiced, humanizing, and humility). Finally, we conducted analyses to examine whether themes were significantly likely to co-occur in order to check for too much conceptual overlap between multiple themes. Indeed, being nonprejudiced and humanizing were significantly likely to co-occur in the responses, $\chi^2(1) = 6.25$, $p = .01$. Upon review of the participant responses with both themes, it was clear that the two themes had a lot of conceptual overlap, so they are collapsed into one. The three themes of action (56%), humility (64%), and being nonprejudiced (64%) were equally frequently mentioned within the prompts, $F < 1$, $p = .84$.

Sample 1B Responses

Experimenters read through the participants' responses. We generated one additional theme that we saw in the data: being an LGBT role model. Responses with this theme frequently mentioned openly LGBT celebrities (e.g., Ellen DeGeneres, Elton John). Two coders who did not know the study hypotheses read through Sample B's responses and coded them for the four themes (three identified in the Sample 1A analyses and the new theme): *being nonprejudiced* ($\kappa = .57$), *taking action* ($\kappa = .75$), *having humility* ($\kappa = .56$), and *being an LGBT role model* ($\kappa = .70$). Coder reliability for the four themes was moderate to substantial. Disagreements were resolved by a third coder who was also not privy to study hypotheses. The coding themes were exhaustive, describing 100% of the responses. A fourth coder who did not know the study purpose also read through the participant responses and determined that each response was adequately described by the coding scheme. Across the responses, 50.7% of the responses mentioned one theme, with the remainder mentioning two or more.

We conducted a repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) to determine the relative frequency of themes mentioned. There was a main effect of theme, $F(3, 204) = 7.85$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$. Follow-up pairwise comparisons were adjusted with a Bonferroni correction. Participants mentioned taking action ($M = .55$, $SD = .50$), being nonprejudiced ($M = .45$, $SD = .50$), and having humility ($M = .39$, $SD = .49$) significantly more than being a role model ($M = .15$, $SD = .35$), $ps < .02$.

Discussion

Study 1 was our initial investigation into LGBT individuals' definitions of allyship. Across the two samples, exhaustive coding revealed three consistent themes: being nonprejudiced against LGBT people, speaking out against discrimination, and having humility about one's own limitations and perspective. Table 1 displays examples of the illustrative examples of participants' responses to the components of allyship. Being a role model was mentioned in a smaller subset of the responses, but we do not investigate this theme further because it focuses on how in-group members can be allies to the LGBT community, a topic that is outside the scope of the current research.

Table 1
Examples of Study 1 Participant Descriptions of Allyship by Subtheme

Allyship subtheme	Examples of participant responses
Being nonprejudiced	"Supportive and non-judgmental"
	"They make people feel safe and supported"
	"They treat LGBT+ like normal people and don't make any kind of big deal about it."
Taking action	"They advocate for the group, raise awareness and defend the group"
	"Understands the issues and advocates openly"
	"They go to protests and peacefully support the LGBT movement. They stand up for LGBT rights."
Having humility	"They listen and lift up LGBT people instead of making it about them and talking over them."
	"They try to understand our issues, but don't speak FOR us."
	"They are a good listener. They are open to correction. They stand up for LGBT+ people. They are willing to learn."

Note. LGBT = lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender.

The coding scheme that we employed showed variable levels of agreement depending on the themes. Action and being a role model had high agreement, whereas being nonprejudiced and having humility had moderate reliability. Although stronger agreement between coders for nonprejudice and humility themes would have been ideal, we believe the variability stems from the fact that there are many different ways that participants described a person who was nonprejudiced (e.g., as nonjudgment, accepting) and as humble (e.g., seeking self-improvement, being a good listened). In contrast, taking action and being a role model might have been easier and more straightforward themes to code. Our themes necessarily collapse across nuances within each theme of allyship, and these nuances are worthy of future, more fine-grained investigation.

Interestingly, the previous literature on allyship is centered on what we have called the *action* component of allyship, in particular on action of confronting prejudice in interpersonal interaction (see Chaney et al., 2021; Chu & Ashburn-Nardo, 2022; Hildebrand et al., 2020). Yet, our results indicate that individuals have a broader and multifaceted definition of allyship, including taking action (at the interpersonal and institutional levels) as well as lacking personal biases and having humility. In the subsequent studies, we sought to develop and validate a measure of allyship that reflected its multidimensional nature.

Study 2

Having identified three components of allyship, we next sought to construct and validate a scale that would capture the multidimensional nature of allyship in the naturally occurring relationships of LGBT individuals. We aimed for the survey to apply across a variety of interpersonal relationships and settings, including relationships with family members, work colleagues, and friends.

Our approach to survey development was to present items capturing the three dimensions of allyship in a close-ended survey and use an exploratory–confirmatory approach to examine survey factor structure. Specifically, we conducted an exploratory factor analysis to determine whether the items reflected the three dimensions of allyship in the first sample, and then we conducted confirmatory factor analysis in the second sample to validate the first sample's findings. Our focus in this study was to validate the allyship survey in a sample of LGBT individuals. We also conducted a study to validate the allyship survey with a straight cisgender sample (Study 2C), which is reported in the Supplemental Materials.

Method

Participants

Sample 2A was recruited on MTurk. We aimed for a sample of 150 participants identified as nonheterosexual and/or not cisgender. Of the 183 participants initially recruited, 161 (88%) passed the attention check (see Measures). Among these, 96 identified as nonheterosexual and/or not cisgender and were included in the analyses ($M_{age} = 33.17$, $SD = 10.21$). With respect to sexuality, 35 identified as gay, 56 as bisexual, one declined to state, and four were other-identified. Thirty-two identified as men, 60 as women, and four were other-identified. The sample had 75 White people, five Black people, five Latinx people, six multiracial people, four Asian people, and one native American people.

Sample 2B was recruited by Qualtrics Panels. To qualify for the study, participants had to self-identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or other in response to the sexual orientation question or to self-identify as transgender, gender nonconforming, or other-identified in response to the gender question. The design and analysis plan for Sample 2B were preregistered (27918). As preregistered, we excluded participants from analyses on the basis of two criteria: (a) if they failed an attention check question embedded in the survey (i.e., "Please respond that you agree with this question.") and (b) if a research assistant, who was unaware of the study hypotheses, judged participants' responses as noncompliant with instructions (see Measures, for more details).

We contracted with Qualtrics Panels to recruit 340 participants after exclusions. Sample size was maximized within budgetary constraints. After exclusions, the sample had 319 participants ($M_{age} = 34.18$ years, $SD = 14.40$). With respect to sexuality, 83 participants identified as gay/lesbian, 194 as bisexual, 40 as other-identified, and two preferred not to say. With respect to gender, there were 87 men, 192 women, 34 nonbinary, four otherwise identified, and two preferred not to say. With respect to race, the sample included 213 White people, 23 Black people, 36 Latinx people, 18 multiracial people, 12 Asian people, eight preferred not to say, and three Middle Eastern, three Native American, and three otherwise identified.

Procedure and Measures

Initial Construction of the Allyship Scale (Sample 2A). Using the emerging themes from Study 1, we constructed 13 items to capture the extent to which a person is an effective LGBT ally.

Four items were written to capture nonprejudice toward the LGBT community: "Wanting equal rights for everyone," "Caring that people are treated fairly," "Being nonjudgmental of others," and "Being accepting of others." Four items were written to capture pro-LGBT action: "Speaking out against unfair treatment," "Fighting for equality of LGBT+ people," "Vocally supporting the LGBT+ community," and "Seeking out opportunities to learn about LGBT+ issues." Finally, five items were written to capture humble attitudes: "Knowing when to speak and when to listen," "Avoiding speaking on behalf of LGBT+ people," "Keeping the focus off of themselves," "Avoiding making conversations about themselves," and "Respecting that they are not a part of the LGBT+ community."

Sample 2A participants were asked to imagine a person who has many LGBT+ colleagues and friends and wants to be a good ally to them. They then rated the extent to which they consider the above behaviors as important for being an ally on a 7-point scale from 1 (*not at all important*) to 7 (*extremely important*). After the ratings, participants were asked an attention check question as to the purpose of the ratings they just made. If they did not select "indicate what behaviors are important for being a good ally," they were excluded from the analyses.

Modifications of the Allyship Scale (Sample 2B). We adjusted the wording of four items to improve their clarity before administering them to Sample 2B. "Knowing when to speak and when to listen" was reworded to "Listens more than they speak when there are discussions of LGBT issues." "Speaking out against unfair treatment" was reworded to "Speaks out against anti-LGBT discrimination." "Avoiding making conversations about themselves" was reworded to "Avoids focusing group conversations about LGBT issues on their own opinions and experiences." Finally, "Respecting that they are not a part of the LGBT+ community" was reworded to "Respects that they are not a member of the LGBT community."

In randomized order, Sample 2B specified three important straight people from their work, family, and friend groups in a counterbalanced order. (Participants who indicated being unemployed, self-employed, or retired did not respond to the work version of the survey.) They later rated each person they nominated on each of the 13 allyship items on a 7-point scale from 1 (*not true*) to 7 (*extremely true*).

Allyship Scale. Based on exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses (CFA), described in detail below, we settled on four items to measure being non-prejudiced (α = .95 in Sample 2A; α_{frnd} = .92; α_{fam} = .92; α_{work} = .91 in Sample 2B), four for taking action (α_A = .91 in Sample 2A; α_{frnd} = .93; α_{fam} = .92; α_{work} = .92 in Sample 2B), and three for humility (α_A = .82; in Sample 2A; α_{frnd} = .70; α_{fam} = .70; α_{work} = .73 in Sample 2B). The items were the same across samples except that in Study 2B, the wording of the three humility items was modified for clarity, and all verbs were conjugated in the singular third person to refer to the specific target nominated by the participant.

We used the omega macro for SPSS (Hayes & Coutts, 2020) to calculate reliability for the entire scale (ω = .88 in Sample 2A; ω_{frnd} = .89, ω_{fam} = .90, ω_{work} = .89, in Sample 2B). All scale versions exceeded the recommendation of 0.80 minimum for a strong multidimensional measure (Nájera Catalán, 2019).

Additional Measures. In Sample 2A, the only additional measures that participants completed were demographics and a measure of connection to the LGBT+ community (adapted from Scroggs & Faflick, 2018).

In Sample 2B, for each nominee, participants rated them on a single-item, global measure of how good of an ally they were to the LGBT+ community from 1 (*extremely good*) to 7 (*extremely bad*). This item was later reverse-scored so that higher numbers indicated better perceived allyship.

Participants also completed questions about their relationship quality with each straight person. Relationship quality included two items capturing appreciation ("I feel very lucky to have this person in my life," "I feel appreciative of this person"; adapted from Gordon & Chen, 2010), one item capturing closeness (the Inclusion of Other in Self Scale; Aron et al., 1992), and three items capturing perceived partner responsiveness ("I feel accepted by this person," "I feel understood by this person," "I feel cared for by this person"; adapted from Laurenceau et al., 1998). Participants also completed the following measures: selected subscales from the Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Identity Scale (Acceptance Concerns, Concealment Motivation, Internalized Homonegativity, and Difficult Process; Mohr & Kendra, 2011), Outness Inventory (Mohr & Fassinger, 2000), Self-Esteem (five items; Rosenberg, 1965), and Life Satisfaction (Diener et al., 1985).

Results

Exploratory Factor Analysis

We first conducted an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) on Sample 2A's responses to the 13 allyship items, using the method of maximum likelihood with varimax rotation on the 13 items. The initial eigenvalues indicated that the first three factors explained 79.43% of the variance cumulatively: Factor 1 (eigenvalue = 6.82; 52.51% variance explained), Factor 2 (eigenvalue = 2.22; 17.08% variance explained), and Factor 3 (eigenvalue = 1.28; 9.84% variance explained). The fourth, fifth, and sixth factors all explained less than 4.5% variance and had initial eigenvalues below 0.60. Thus, the three-factor solution, which explained 79.43% of the variance, was preferred due to (a) convergence with the results of Study 1, (b) the "leveling off" of eigenvalues on the screen plot after three factors, and (c) the insufficient number of primary loadings on subsequent factors.

The results of the EFA are presented with their factor loadings in Table 2. Results suggest that the 13 allyship items load onto a three-factor structure as planned, with 12 of the 13 items loading onto their intended factor with a loading higher than .60. The exception was an item intended to capture humility ("Knowing when to speak and when to listen"), which loaded somewhat poorly onto both the humility (.46) and action factors (.48). This item was reworded before administering the scale to Sample 2B.

Confirmatory Factor Analyses

We next tested whether the revised 13-item scale fit the expected three-factor structure in Sample 2B using CFA. Because the scale was measured three times in Sample 2B—with three different ally targets (friend, family member, and coworker)—we conducted separate CFA models for each of the three versions of the scale using the "lavaan" package in R.

We first tested the CFA models using all 13 items, with a nonprejudiced latent factor predicting four items (e.g., "TARGET wants equal rights for everyone"), an action latent factor predicting four items (e.g., "TARGET fights for equality of LGBT+ people"), and a humility factor predicting five items (e.g., "TARGET avoids

Table 2
Exploratory Factor Analysis Results for Sample 2A

Scale item	Factor 1: nonprejudiced	Factor 2: action factor	Factor 3: humility factor
Wanting equal rights for everyone	**.68**	**.49**	
Caring that people are treated fairly	**.88**	.33	.15
Being nonjudgmental of others	**.93**	.20	.18
Being accepting of others	**.87**	.31	.16
Speaking out against unfair treatment	.48	**.70**	
Fighting for equality of LGBT+ people	.35	**.85**	.17
Vocally supporting the LGBT+ community	.25	**.74**	.24
Seeking out opportunities to learn about LGBT+ issues	.24	**.77**	.22
Knowing when to speak and when to listen	.21	**.48**	**.46**
Avoiding speaking on behalf of LGBT+ people	.18		**.71**
Keeping the focus off of themselves		.29	**.83**
Avoiding making conversations about themselves		.18	**.84**
Respecting that they are not a part of the LGBT+ community		.35	**.69**

Note. Factor loadings less than .15 are not displayed. LGBT = lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender. Values in bold highlight the factory loadings.

speaking on behalf of LGBT+ people"). This model yielded mediocre fit when rating a friend, root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .10, 95% CI [.08, .11], comparative fit index (CFI) = .93, standardized root-mean-square residual (SRMR) = .07, and when rating a coworker, RMSEA = .09, 95% CI [.07, .10], CFI = .94, SRMR = .08, and relatively poor fit when rating a family member, RMSEA = .11, 95% CI [.09, .12], CFI = .92, SRMR = .09.

Checking for modification indices across the three models revealed that two of the humility items ("avoids speaking on behalf of LGBT+ people" and "respects that they are not a member of the LGBT+ community") had high cross-loadings with the nonprejudiced factor in all three versions of the scale. We therefore dropped these two items for a final scale consisting of 11 items: four nonprejudiced items, four action items, and three humility items. This scale yielded acceptable fit when rating a friend, RMSEA = .07, CI [.06, .09], CFI = .97, SRMR = .05, when rating a family member, RMSEA = .09, CI [.08, .11], CFI = .96, SRMR = .06, and when rating a coworker, RMSEA = .06, CI [.04, .08], CFI = .98, SRMR = .04. Results are depicted on Figure 1. The final version of the scale is presented in Table 3.

The three factors were positively associated with each other, especially nonprejudice and action. Therefore, to further probe whether the data best fit a three-factor structure, we also tested two-factor models in which the four nonprejudice items and the four action items combined into a single latent factor, with the three humility items loading onto a separate latent factor. These two-factor models all fit the data poorly, all RMSEAs > .12, and all CFIs < .90. We also tried loading all original 13 items onto a single factor. One-factor models similarly fit the data poorly, all RMSEAs > .15, and all CFIs < .82. Overall, results suggest that a three-factor structure is indeed the best fit for the current data, regardless of whether the participants were rating a friend, family member, or coworker. Based on these results, we are confident that the allyship scale captures the multidimensional nature of the construct.

Invariance Testing

We next tested for measurement invariance by target and by gender identity using multigroup CFAs. These analyses were not part of the preregistered data analysis plan for Study 2B.

Target. We examined whether participants interpreted the allyship items the same way when responding to different targets. Because participants rated the allyship of all three targets (friends, family, and coworkers), we tested for measurement invariance using a longitudinal invariance testing approach. The data were restructured into a long format, with each participant represented by three rows of data (one for each target). We then compared models constraining intercepts (weak invariance), intercepts (strong invariance), and residuals (strict invariance) across targets. Results are shown in Table 4. Model fit was not significantly reduced by constraining the item loadings or intercepts, but it was reduced by constraining the residuals. Thus, results suggest evidence for strong invariance between ratings of different targets.

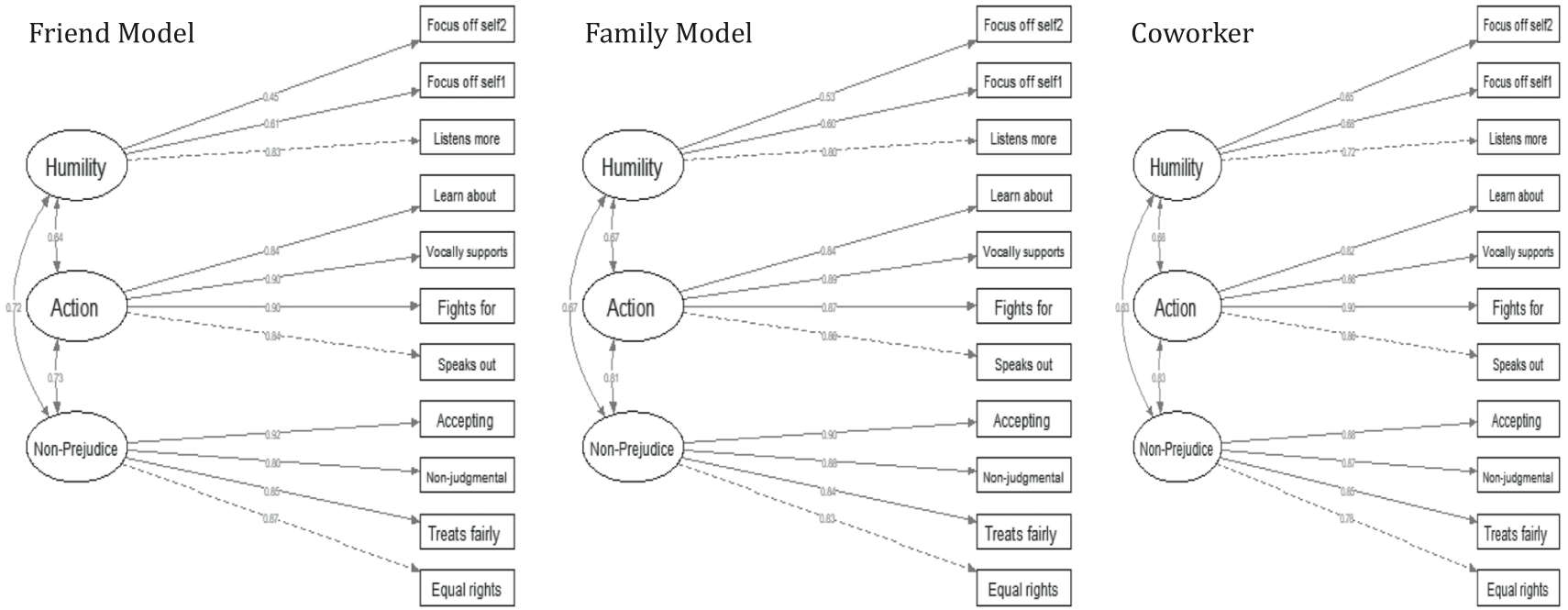
Perceivers' Gender Identity. In the United States, there are significant differences in the levels of prejudice against gender identity minorities (transgender, gender nonbinary, gender nonconforming; see Pew Research Center, 2022), whereas prejudice against sexual minorities is quickly declining (Charlesworth & Banaji, 2019; Ofosu et al., 2019). As a result, there could be differences in the ways the gender minority individuals conceptualize allyship compared to LGB, cisgender individuals. We therefore examined whether there were differences in how participants responded to the scale based on their gender identity. We compared the scale responses of cisgender individuals ($n = 285$) to gender-diverse individuals ($n = 53$) in sample 2B. Results can be seen in Table 5. When evaluating the allyship of friend and family targets, model fit was not significantly reduced by constraining the item loadings, intercepts, or residuals, to be equivalent for cisgender or gender-diverse participants. In contrast, for coworker targets, constraining the item loadings did significantly reduce model fit. These results suggest evidence for strict invariance between these groups when rating friends or family, but no evidence of weak invariance when rating coworkers. The allyship scale appears to be capturing a similar construct across both cisgender and gender-diverse participants when rating friends and family but not coworkers.

Convergent Validity

Our test of convergent validity was whether the allyship composite correlated with the single-item, face-valid measure of perceived allyship (i.e., "global allyship"). In Tables 6–8, we display the correlations

Figure 1

Confirmatory Factor Analyses for Sample 2B



Note. CFI = comparative fit index; RMSEA = root-mean-square error of approximation; SRMR = standardized root-mean-square residual.

Table 3
Final Allyship Scale With Three Factors

Allyship scale
Being nonprejudiced
1. Wants equal rights for everyone
2. Cares that people are treated fairly
3. Is nonjudgmental of others
4. Is accepting of others
Taking action
5. Speaks out against anti-LGBT discrimination
6. Fights for equality of LGBT+ people
7. Vocally supports the LGBT+ community
8. Seeks out opportunities to learn about LGBT+ issues
Having humility
9. Listens more than speaking in discussions of LGBT issues
10. Keeps the focus off of themselves in discussions of LGBT issues
11. Avoids focusing group conversations about LGBT issues on their own opinions and experiences

Note. LGBT = lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender.

between global allyship and the allyship composite and its subcomponents for each target. Supporting the scale's validity, the allyship composite was significantly positively correlated with the face-valid item for friends, family members, and work colleagues.

Discriminant Validity

Next, we conducted discriminant validity analyses to make sure that perceived allyship was empirically distinguishable from a variety of intra- and interpersonal constructs.

Intrapersonal Correlates of Perceived Allyship. Table 9 displays perceptions of allyship and their correlations with other facets of the participants. In general, the correlations supported the theoretical distinctiveness of allyship from the intrapersonal variables of self-esteem, subjective well-being, and being out to the world. The largest correlation was .27 (indicating less than 7% shared variance) between perceived allyship of family and participants' subjective well-being.

Interpersonal Correlates of Perceived Allyship. In Table 10, we present the correlations between perceived allyship variables and relationship quality indices (responsiveness, appreciation, and closeness). Correlations between allyship and interpersonal variables were generally higher than those with the intrapersonal variables. However, the majority of the correlations between perceived allyship and relationship quality indices were moderate (below .50).

The largest correlation was between family allyship and perceived responsiveness, $r = .63$ (39% shared variance). This correlation was high, but the scale was less strongly correlated in the friendship ($r = .54$) and work ($r = .38$) contexts. We reason that this variability indicates that perceived allyship and perceived responsiveness are theoretically distinct, yet they may be more tightly related in certain types of relationships compared to others.

Relative Importance of Allyship Components

We also conducted exploratory (non-pre-registered) analyses to determine the relative importance of the components of allyship according to our participants.

Sample 2A. A one-way ANOVA showed a main effect of allyship component on perceived importance, $F(2, 190) = 44.14$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .32$. Pairwise comparisons, adjusted with a Bonferroni correction, revealed that participants rated being nonprejudiced ($M = 6.10$, $SD = 1.58$) as significantly more important than taking action ($M = 5.33$, $SD = 1.77$), which was rated as significantly more important than having humility ($M = 4.53$, $SD = 1.71$), all ps $< .001$.

Sample 2B. We conducted a 3(Target: Friend, Family, Coworker) × 3(Component: Nonprejudice, Action, Humility) mixed model ANOVA on perceived allyship. Significant effects were investigated with pairwise comparisons with a Bonferroni correction.

There was a main effect of target, $F(2, 444) = 6.03$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. Friends and coworkers were perceived as better allies than family members, ps $< .02$. There was also a main effect of allyship component, $F(2, 444) = 73.85$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .25$, because targets were rated as highest in being nonprejudiced, followed by humility, and lowest in taking action, all ps $< .001$. These main effects were qualified by a significant interaction, $F(4, 888) = 3.25$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$ (see Figure 2). Participants rated their friends and coworkers as higher in nonprejudice (lower in prejudice) than family members, all ps $< .02$. Participants also rated their friends and coworkers as higher in taking action compared to their family members, all ps $< .01$. There were no significant differences in perceptions of targets' levels of humility, all ps $> .48$.

Discussion

In a two-step process, Study 2 created and validated a scale of allyship. Based on the results of Study 1, we generated survey items to measure allyship and tested its factor structure in two samples. We used an EFA to provide initial validation of the three factors—being nonprejudiced, taking action, and having humility—and refined the survey items. Next, in a separate sample, we adapted the allyship scale to measure LGBT individuals' perceptions of actual individuals in different domains of their life (family, friends, and work). A series of CFA validated the three-factor structure of our scale.

Table 4
Results of Invariance Testing by Target

Model	χ^2	*df*	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δ *df*	*p*	CFI	SRMR	BIC
Configural	352.07	123				.97	.04	36,640
Weak	371.37	139	19.30	16	.25	.97	.05	36,550
Strong	381.95	155	10.58	16	.83	.97	.05	36,452
Strict	441.58	177	59.63	22	<.001	.96	.05	36,361

Note. CFI = comparative fit index; SRMR = standardized root-mean-square residual; BIC = Bayesian information criterion.

Table 5
Results of Invariance Testing by Gender Identity

Target	Model	χ^2	*df*	$\Delta\ \chi^2$	$\Delta\ df$	*p*	CFI	SRMR	BIC
Friends	Configural	194.19	82				.96	.05	13,414
	Weak	196.72	90	2.53	8	.96	.96	.05	13,373
	Strong	201.13	98	4.41	8	.82	.96	.05	13,331
	Strict	211.04	109	9.91	11	.54	.96	.05	13,277
Family	Configural	208.83	82				.95	.06	13,997
	Weak	213.47	90	4.64	8	.80	.95	.06	13,955
	Strong	220.36	98	6.89	8	.55	.95	.06	13,916
	Strict	233.88	109	13.52	11	.26	.95	.06	13,865
Work	Configural	147.57	82				.96	.04	9,380
	Weak	165.37	90	17.80	8	.03	.96	.06	9,132

Note. CFI = comparative fit index; SRMR = standardized root-mean-square residual; BIC = Bayesian information criterion.

We also conducted substantial analyses to determine the validity and generalizability of the scale. Conducting invariance analyses, we found that the survey measurement did not vary as a function of the relationship being measured and can be used to measure allyship among friends, family, and coworkers. Analyses comparing cisgender and gender-diverse individuals suggested that the allyship measure operated similarly across these two groups for friends and family but not for coworkers. Based on these results, we believe that allyship operates similarly across different types of close relationships, and that lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) and transgender perceivers' definitions of allyship have substantial commonality. We therefore recommend the allyship scale for broad use across relationships and contexts, with one exception: our analyses indicate that allyship at work may differ systematically for cisgender compared to gender-diverse individuals. It is possible that transgender individuals experience greater structural barriers at work (e.g., organizational policies about bathrooms, dress code, or insurance carrier policies about gender transition) compared to LGB individuals, or that gender-diverse individuals are less "out" at work compared to LGB individuals. Different barriers and experiences with discrimination could mean that different forms of allyship are appreciated by these two groups in the domain of work. These findings warrant further investigation, in particular, to provide organizations with evidence-based recommendations to foster inclusion of all LGBT individuals in the workplace.

Furthermore, we examined the allyship scale's convergent and discriminant validity. Convergent validity was supported by the allyship scale's strong positive correlation with a single, face-valid measure of perceived allyship. Discriminant validity tests also indicated support for allyship's theoretical distinctiveness from personal factors (self-esteem, well-being, and outness) and relationship factors (appreciation, closeness). Among friends and family members, perceived allyship was fairly highly correlated with perceived responsiveness, suggesting that these constructs may be more related to personal relationships relative to work relationships. There may also be cause-and-effect relationships underlying the strong link between perceived allyship and perceived responsiveness (feeling understood, validated, and cared for; Reis, 2012); specifically, when an LGBT-identifying individual comes out to a friend or family member who is highly responsive, those individuals may pro-actively increase their allyship. The opposite causal pathway is also reasonable: close others who demonstrate strong allyship are likely to make an LGBT-identifying individual feel understood, validated, and cared for.

Study 2 also examined the relative importance of components. While we found that taking action was more important than having humility (based on results of Sample 2A), we also found taking action is the component that actual individuals score the lowest on (based on results of Sample 2B). Furthermore, family members are the worst allies, relative to friends and colleagues, but their allyship was associated with self-esteem and subjective well-being of LGBT individuals more strongly than friends' or coworkers' allyship levels. These findings converge well with findings that LGBT youths' perceptions of family support are particularly important for their mental well-being (Newcomb et al., 2019; Roe, 2017).

In summary, Study 2 provided initial validation of our novel allyship measure and suggested that being nonprejudiced, taking action, and having humility underlie perceptions of allyship to LGBT individuals. Nonetheless, to fully understand how these components lead to perceptions of allyship, an experimental approach was needed. Study 3 addressed this issue.

Table 6
Perceptions of Nominated Friend's Allyship in Sample 2B

Variable	1	2	3	4	5
1. Global allyship	—	.48***	.57***	.43***	.16**
2. Allyship composite		—	.87***	.89***	.71***
3. Nonprejudice			—	.67**	.48***
4. Action				—	.45***
5. Humility					—

** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Study 3

Whereas Study 2 showed relative importance of perceived allyship components, we sought to follow-up on this using an experimental approach to generate causal conclusions. We focused on two of the components of perceived allyship—being nonprejudiced and taking action—because the results of Study 2 indicated that they were the most important and predictive factors of allyship.

Our goals for Study 3 were to demonstrate that individuals' levels of prejudice and action *causally* impact LGBT perceivers' perceptions of the individuals' allyship levels and that these perceptions of allyship have downstream consequences for perceivers' desire

Table 7
Perceptions of Nominated Family Member's Allyship in Sample 2B

Variable	1	2	3	4	5
1. Global allyship	—	.57***	.57***	.60***	.17**
2. Allyship composite		—	.89***	.91***	.70***
3. Nonprejudice			—	.74***	.46***
4. Action				—	.47***
5. Humility					—

** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

to affiliate with those individuals. Thus, we conducted a 2(Prejudice) by 2(Action) within-subjects experiment, which asked participants to rate target individuals based on statements they made to a local newspaper. The statements varied on prejudice (low vs. high) and action (low vs. high), for a total of four targets. Building on the results of the previous three studies, we hypothesized that targets who expressed low prejudice would be perceived as better allies, and therefore, elicit stronger desire to affiliate than targets with high prejudice. Similarly, we hypothesized that targets higher in action will also be perceived as better allies, and thus, elicit stronger desire to affiliate than targets lower in action. In addition, based on the results from Study 2, we predicted that the effect on action would be stronger when prejudice was low compared to when it was high. The study method and analysis plan were preregistered (54662).

Method

Participants

People who identified as having American nationality and as nonheterosexual (e.g., homosexual, bisexual, other-identified) were able to access our study via the crowdsourcing platform *Prolific Academic.* Individuals could participate in our study in exchange for U.S.$2.38 ($9.68/hr). We recruited a total of 316 people, slightly over our preregistered goal of 300.

As preregistered, we excluded 33 participants (final sample of 283) from analyses on the basis of three criteria: (a) if they failed to meet the eligibility criteria, (b) incomplete study completion, and/or (c) failure to pass the comprehension check questions.

The sample's average age was 27.61 years ($SD = 9.53$). With respect to sexual identity, 158 identified as bisexual, 35 as gay, 25 as lesbian, and 25 other-identified (two declined to state). Thirty-eight participants identified with more than one sexual identity. With respect to self-identified gender, there were 66 men, 172 women, and 18 other-identified participants (none declined to state). Furthermore, 27 participants identified with more than one gender identity. With respect to race, 31 participants identified as Asian, 12 as Black, 20 as Hispanic/Latinx, 30 as multiracial, 184 as White, and four were other-identified participants (two declined to state).

Table 8
Perceptions of Nominated Work Colleague's Allyship in Sample 2B

Variable	1	2	3	4	5
1. Global allyship	—	.32***	.41***	.31***	.08
2. Allyship composite		—	.88***	.93***	.75***
3. Nonprejudice			—	.76***	.49***
4. Action				—	.54***
5. Humility					—

*** $p < .001$.

Measures and Materials

As manipulation checks, we measured perceptions of the target's prejudice and perceptions of the target's action using our allyship subscales. *Perceptions of the target's prejudice* (i.e., acceptance and nonjudgment of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and other sexual identities [LGBTQ+] people) included four items on a 7-point scale (1 = *not true*, 7 = *very true*): "To what extent does *Person 1* … Want equal rights for everyone?" ($\alpha \geq .840$). *Perceptions of the target's action* (i.e., speaking up against anti-LGBTQ+ discrimination and treatment) also included four items on a 7-point scale (1 = *not true*, 7 = *very true*): "To what extent does *Person 1* … Speak out against unfair treatment?" ($\alpha \geq .813$).

The main dependent measures included *perceived allyship*, *social affiliation intentions*, *likability of the target*, and *appreciation for the target*.[1] For exploratory purposes, we also collected data on perceived stability of allyship. For a complete list of measures and manipulations, see the OSF page for this article.

As in the previous studies, we measured *perceived allyship* with the scale refined by Studies 2A and 2B, and *global perception of allyship* with one item on a 7-point scale (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much*): "To what extent do you consider *Person 1* … An ally to the LGBTQ+ community?"

Social affiliation intentions to the target consisted of four 7-point (1 = *not true*, 7 = *extremely true*) Likert-scale items: "How likely is it that you … would want to have *Person 1* as an acquaintance?" and one multiple choice item: "According to my first feelings (reactions), the closest relationship I would willingly admit *Person 1* into is … A close relative by marriage." ($\alpha \geq .812$).

Liking of the target included four items on a 7-point scale (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much*): "According to your gut reaction (first feeling), to what extend to you believe *Person 1* is … likeable?" ($\alpha \geq .945$). *Appreciation of the target* was measured via four items on a 7-point scale (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much*): "How much do you … Appreciate *Person 1*" ($\alpha \geq .859$).

Procedure

Upon consenting to participate, individuals were asked to read a fictional newspaper article about LGBTQ+ rights. The article mentioned a recent court case in which an adoption agency was granted the refusal of LGBTQ+ couples. The article then alleged to have interviewed four passersby on their views on this recent court case and whether they would be willing to sign a petition against the discrimination of LGBTQ+ couples by adoption agencies. The quotes of the four interviewees differed on their levels of prejudice toward the LGBTQ+ community (low vs. high) and their levels of action in support of the LGBTQ+ community (low vs. high). Specifically, prejudice was manipulated through the

[1] While we believed that Likability and Appreciation are conceptually distinct from each other, we expected that there might be a great deal of measurement overlap between those measures. Consistent with our preregistration, we checked their correlation and found that Likability and Appreciation were moderately positively correlated with each other ($rs \geq .59$, $p < .001$). The strength of this correlation was lower as we had expected; thus, in line with our preregistration, we kept these two measures separate in our study.

Table 9
Correlations Between Allyship and Personal Outcomes in Sample 2B

Target	Allyship index	Self-esteem	Subjective well-being	Out to the world
Friend	Allyship composite	.18**	.17**	.17**
	Nonprejudice	.19***	.17**	.20***
	Action	.16**	.18***	.15**
	Humility	.07	.04	.12*
Family	Allyship composite	.20***	.27***	.09
	Nonprejudice	.22***	.25***	.14*
	Action	.18**	.30***	.10+
	Humility	.10+	.09	−.04
Work	Allyship composite	.14*	.11	.08
	Nonprejudice	.14*	.09	.06
	Action	.17*	.13*	.11
	Humility	.03	.02	.001

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. + $p \leq .07$.

interviewee's feelings toward and acceptance of LGBTQ+ people/parents. And action was manipulated through both the interviewee's statement against LGBTQ+ discrimination and their willingness to sign the petition.

To ensure that participants had read, understood, and at least broadly remembered the newspaper article, participants answered three multiple-choice questions pertaining to the general content of the article. Following the comprehension checks, participants had to answer a questionnaire, that asked participants to express their Perceptions of Target's Prejudice, Perceptions of Target's Action, Perceived Allyship, Global Perceptions of Target Allyship, Social Affiliation Intentions to the Target, Liking of the Target, and Appreciation of the Target. The questionnaire was followed by a brief demographic survey. Once participants had completed the demographic survey, they were thanked for their participation and presented with the debriefing form.

Results

Manipulation Checks

We conducted multiple two-way ANOVAs to test the effectiveness of our manipulation, that is, whether participants perceived the expected differences in prejudice and action of the targets as a function of prejudice (low vs. high) and action (low vs. high).[2] As seen in Tables 11 and 12, judgments of perceived prejudice and action were in line with target manipulations (see Tables 11 and 12). We note that the two factors were not perceived to be independent, as manipulations of one factor influenced perceptions of the other.

Main Analyses

To test whether targets' levels of prejudice and action affected LGBT participants' perceptions of global allyship, desire to affiliate with, and appreciation and liking of the target, we conducted multiple 2 (Prejudice) × 2 (Action) within-subjects ANOVAs.[3] We hypothesized that there would be a main effect of prejudice, a main effect of action, and an interaction effect of prejudice and action on LGBT participants' perceptions of global allyship, affiliation desires, appreciation, and liking, such that participants will perceive targets that are high on prejudice and low on action as worse allies, and therefore, will like, appreciate, and want to affiliate less with these targets. Furthermore, the difference in global allyship perceptions, likeability, appreciation, and social affiliation desires by action will be larger for low versus high prejudice targets.

Global Allyship. As expected, there was a main effect of prejudice, $F(1, 280) = 2802.66$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .91$, a main effect of action, $F(1, 280) = 978.81$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .78$, and an interaction between action and prejudice, $F(1, 280) = 83.25$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .23$. Participants perceived mean levels of global allyship to be lower for the high ($M = 1.73$, $SD = 0.70$) versus low ($M = 5.16$, $SD = 0.97$) prejudice targets. Moreover, the mean difference of global allyship by action was significantly larger in the low prejudice condition ($M_{diff} = 2.53$, $p < .001$) than in the high prejudice condition ($M_{diff} = 1.39$, $p < .001$; see Figure 3).

Social Affiliation. There was a main effect of prejudice, $F(1, 282) = 1801.67$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .87$, action, $F(1, 282) = 751.53$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .73$, and an interaction effect of action by prejudice, $F(1, 282) = 29.58$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$ (see Figure 4). Participants expressed less desire to affiliate with the targets high in prejudice ($M = 2.05$, $SD = 0.84$) than those low in prejudice ($M = 4.90$, $SD = 1.02$). Moreover, the difference in social affiliation intentions by action of the target was significantly larger in the low prejudice condition ($M_{diff} = 1.78$, $p < .001$) than in the high prejudice condition ($M_{diff} = 1.13$, $p < .001$).

Likeability. As hypothesized, there was a main effect of prejudice, $F(1, 277) = 1536.39$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .85$, and action, $F(1, 277) = 833.59$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .75$. Participants perceived targets high on prejudice ($M = 2.33$, $SD = 0.98$) to be significantly less likable than those low on prejudice ($M = 5.20$, $SD = 0.92$). Furthermore, participants perceived targets low on action ($M = 2.90$, $SD = 0.87$) to be less likeable than those high on action ($M = 4.64$, $SD = 0.92$). However, we did not detect an interaction effect of action by prejudice on likeability, $F(1, 277) = 0.09$, $p = .76$, $\eta_p^2 < .001$.

[2] As Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated in both tests, we used the Greenhouse–Geisser correction for violations of sphericity. Mauchly's test: prejudice, $\chi^2(5) = 160.72$, $p < .001$; action $\chi^2(5) = 119.81$, $p < .001$.

[3] As the assumption of sphericity had been violated throughout, we utilized within-subjects ANOVAs with a Greenhouse–Geisser correction for violation of sphericity. Mauchly's test: Global Allyship, $\chi^2(5) = 157.34$, $p < .001$; Social Affiliation, $\chi^2(5) = 29.58$, $p < .001$; Likeability, $\chi^2(5) = 29.58$, $p < .001$; Appreciation, $\chi^2(5) = 82.80$, $p < .001$.

Table 10
Correlations Between Allyship and Indices of Relationship Quality for Each Reported Relationship in Sample 2B

Target	Allyship index	Perceived responsiveness	Appreciation	Closeness
Friend	Allyship composite	.54***	.50***	.34***
	Nonprejudice	.57***	.53***	.37**
	Action	.45***	.42***	.31***
	Humility	.29***	.27***	.15**
Family	Allyship composite	.63***	.46***	.43***
	Nonprejudice	.63***	.47***	.43***
	Action	.56***	.39***	.39***
	Humility	.35***	.28***	.23***
Work	Allyship composite	.38***	.34***	.21**
	Nonprejudice	.44***	.41***	.26***
	Action	.39***	.32***	.24***
	Humility	.10+	.11+	−.04

** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. + $p < .12$.

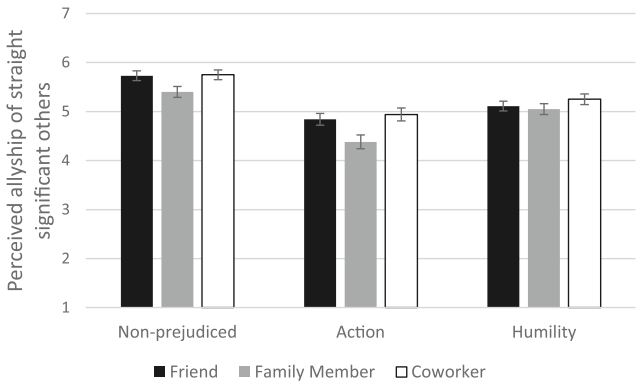
Appreciation. In line with expectations, we found a main effect of prejudice, $F(1, 280) = 1209.21$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .81$; action, $F(1, 280) = 951.50$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .77$; and an interaction effect of action by prejudice on appreciation, $F(1, 280) = 35.51$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$. Meaning, participants appreciated the targets high on prejudice ($M = 2.16$, $SD = 0.97$) less than those low on prejudice ($M = 4.82$, $SD = 1.04$). Moreover, the difference of appreciation by target action was significantly larger in the low prejudice condition ($M_{diff} = 2.48$, $p < .001$) than in the high prejudice condition ($M_{diff} = 1.69$, $p < .001$).

Discussion

Extending the correlational results of Studies 1 and 2, Study 3 provided experimental evidence that a target's level of prejudice and action increased LGBT individuals' perceptions of the target's allyship. The effects of individuals' prejudice and action were interactive because action had a stronger impact on perceived allyship when prejudice was low compared to high. Similarly, the targets' level of prejudice and action interacted to affect LGBT individuals' desire to socially affiliate with the target and appreciation for the target. These findings indicate a conditional lay theory of allyship, such that being nonprejudiced is necessary but not sufficient for being a good ally.

The results with respect to LGBT individuals' liking of the target revealed a different pattern. Liking for the target increased when targets were less prejudiced, compared to more prejudiced, and when they took action, compared to when they did not. Unlike for the other dependent variables, action had the same magnitude of effect on liking regardless of targets' levels of prejudice. We can only speculate on why this was the case. Whereas appreciation implies that the perceiver approves of the target, it is possible that likeability does not require the same level of social approval. A person can be likeable without being moral if they have other qualities, such as interpersonal charm. Perhaps participants imagined other characteristics that could make high prejudice and high action targets likeable.

Figure 2
Perceived Allyship of Nominated Friends, Family, and Coworkers in Sample 2B



Note. Error bars represent standard error of the mean.

Study 4

The main goal of Study 4 was to capitalize on our newly validated, multidimensional scale of allyship to determine the intra- and interpersonal consequences of allyship in existing relationships of practical significance. The second goal was to examine how well perceived and self-reported allyship aligned.

During the first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic in Spring to Summer of 2020, LGBT participants and their roommates were recruited for a study on allyship. Roommates had to be non-LGBT-identified individuals. LGBT participants completed a survey each week for 6 weeks, and their roommates completed a one-time survey at Week 1. This dyadic, repeated measures design allowed us to examine three related research questions:

1. How are perceived allyship and LGBT well-being associated with each other, at baseline and over time? Do LGBT individuals experience greater well-being on weeks when they experience better allyship from their roommates?

2. How are perceived allyship and relationship quality associated with each other, at baseline and over time? Do LGBT individuals see their relationships with their roommates as

Table 11
Main Effects and Interaction of Prejudice and Action Manipulations on Perceived Prejudice and Action of Targets

Manipulation check models	*F*	*df*	*p*	η_p^2
Dependent variable: Perceived prejudice				
Prejudice manipulation	2617.42	1, 280	<.001	0.90
Action manipulation	1121.07	1, 280	<.001	0.80
Prejudice Manip. × Action Manip.	22.23	1, 280	<.001	0.07
Dependent variable: Perceived action				
Prejudice manipulation	1905.96	1, 278	<.001	0.87
Action manipulation	1240.65	1, 278	<.001	0.82
Prejudice Manip. × Action Manip.	161.09	1, 278	<.001	0.37

being of higher quality on weeks when they experience better allyship from their roommates?

3. How strongly associated are reported allyship (from the LGBT participants) versus perceived allyship (from the roommates)? Which is more effective at predicting relationship quality and well-being?

We operationalized allyship as the composite score of our newly developed scale. The allyship measure was included in all main analyses. We also conducted exploratory follow-up analyses by breaking down the allyship measure into its three components to determine which aspects of allyship seemed to be driving the associations documented in the main analyses.

We also examined whether documented effects held above and beyond relevant controls. First, we wanted to test whether perceived allyship is different from political orientation (i.e., it is not interchangeable with being politically liberal). Second, we tested whether the interpersonal consequences of perceived allyship are distinct from perceived social support. Does being a good ally goes beyond simply being a good roommate/friend? We tested these questions by adding political orientation and social support as covariates to each model.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Participants and their roommates were recruited online using social media postings on Twitter and Facebook from June to July 2020 that advertised the study information. Interested participants were instructed to contact the researchers to enroll. To be eligible for the study, participants had to be at least 18 years old, fluent in English, LGBT+, and they had to have a non-LGBT+ roommates (defined as a cis straight person who lives with them) who was also willing to participate in the study with them. After eligibility was confirmed by researchers through a series of email communications, participants were emailed a survey each week for 6 weeks and were compensated up to $25. Their roommates completed a one-time coresident survey at the beginning of the study in exchange for $10.

A total of 123 individuals completed the initial Week 1 survey. Of those participants, five did not identify as members of the LGBT+ community, and three were identified as being the same person having completed the survey multiple times (based on time stamps and IP addresses) and were excluded from our data analyses. Further, a total of 121 roommates completed the coresident survey. Of those, one was paired with the excluded repeat responder, and 49 of those individuals identified strongly ($n = 26$) or somewhat ($n = 23$) as members of the LGBT+ community and were excluded from our data analyses.

The final sample consisted of 186 individuals, including 115 participants and 71 roommates. The *participants* (67 men, 51 women, zero nonbinary) were an average of 27 years old (range = 21–36 years, $SD = 3.19$), and identified primarily as gay (35%), lesbian (22%), or bisexual (10%). The remainder identified with a combination of these labels as well as queer, asexual, pansexual, and transgender. Participants were primarily White (72%), Black (16%), and Latinx (8%). Attrition was low, with 77% of the sample completed all six weekly surveys ($M = 5.08$, $SD = 1.69$, range = 1–6).

The *roommates* (45 men, 26 women) were an average of 28 years old (range = 20–37 years, $SD = 3.77$) and were primarily White (77%), Black (13%), and Latinx (6%). Among the participants with eligible roommates who participated in the study, most classified their roommates as friends (70%), or acquaintances (27%). Two were family members (3%). Participants had known their roommates for an average of 4 years (range = 1–28 years; $SD = 3.30$).

Analyses examining participant variables only make use of the LGBT participant sample ($n = 115$). Analyses concerning the roommates use only the dyadic subsample (71 LGBT participants and their coresidents).

Table 12
Means and Standard Deviations by Prejudice and Action Conditions

	Perceived prejudice		Perceived action	
Manipulation	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Low prejudice	2.35	0.82	4.67	0.95
High prejudice	5.70	0.85	1.82	0.67
Low action	3.05	0.87	2.18	0.75
High action	5.00	0.72	4.31	0.85
Low prej. + low act.	3.19	1.35	3.26	1.43
Low prej. + high act.	1.52	0.68	6.09	0.97
High prej. + low act.	6.81	0.46	1.11	0.31
High prej. + high act.	4.59	1.48	2.54	1.22

Weekly Measures

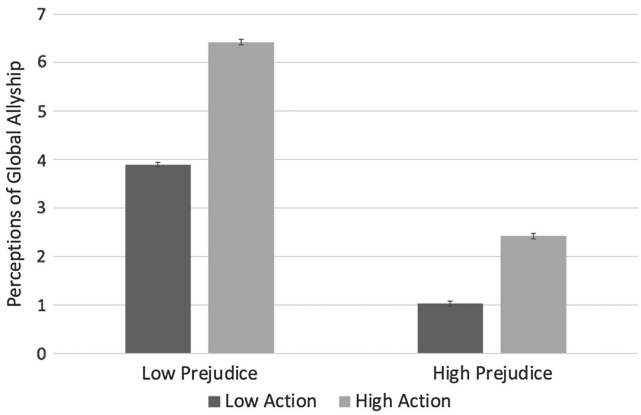
The following measures were collected in every weekly survey, for a total of six time points. Reliabilities are reported from the first survey completed (baseline).

Perceived allyship was measured each week with the 11-item scale, framed to be about their roommate ($\omega = .92$). Participants were given the prompt, "Thinking about your co-resident, to what extent do they … ." followed by the four nonprejudice subscale items (e.g., "Want equal rights for everyone"), the four action subscale items (e.g., "Vocally support the LGBT community"), and the three humility subscale items (e.g., "Listen more than they speak when there are discussions of LGBT issues"). Items were rated from 1 = *not true* to 7 = *extremely true.*

Subjective well-being was measured each week with the five-item satisfaction with life scale (e.g., "The conditions of my life are excellent"; Diener et al., 1985; $\alpha = .91$), captured from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*.

Figure 3

Perceived Allyship of the Target by Prejudice Condition and Action Condition in Study 3



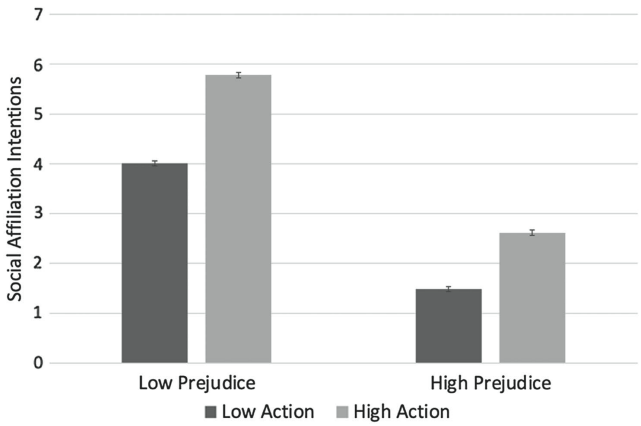
Note. Error bars represent standard error of the mean.

Perceived stress was measured each week with the four-item Perceived Stress Scale (Cohen, 1988). Participants were given the prompt, "The questions in this scale ask you about your feelings and thoughts during THE LAST MONTH. In each case, please indicate HOW OFTEN you felt or thought a certain way" followed by items such as, "In the last month, how often have you felt confident about your ability to handle your personal problems?," $\alpha = .60$. The first-week survey asked questions about the last month, and the subsequent surveys asked about the last week. Items were rated from 1 = *never* to 5 = *very often.*

Participants' report of *relationship quality* with their roommate was measured each week with six items: three capturing perceived responsiveness (e.g., "I feel understood by this person"; Laurenceau et al., 1998), two capturing appreciation (e.g., "I feel very lucky to have this person in my life"; Gordon & Chen, 2010), and one capturing closeness (inclusion of the other in the self; Aron et al., 1992). The first five items were rated from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*, whereas the closeness item was a depiction of seven circle images. As these six items were highly correlated, we combined them into a single composite ($\omega = .93$).

Figure 4

Social Affiliation Intentions to the Target by Prejudice Condition and Action Condition in Study 3



Note. Error bars represent standard error of the mean.

One-Time Measures

The following measures were collected as one-time reports, embedded within the Week 1 survey. *Perceived political orientation of the roommate* was measured with two items: "In terms of *social issues*, how would you describe your co-resident's political attitudes and beliefs?" and "In terms of *economic issues*, how would you describe your co-resident's political attitudes and beliefs?" with a 7-point scale from *very conservative* to *very liberal* with *middle-of-the-road* as the midpoint ($\alpha = .77$). Participants could also respond "other" and fill in a text box.

In Weeks 3 and 4, we measured *self-rated physical health* with the single General Self-Rated Health Question, "Would you say your overall physical health is: poor, fair, good, very good, or excellent?" (see DeSalvo et al., 2006).

Roommate Measures

The following measures were collected from the roommates in the context of a one-time coresident survey administered once during the 6-week period in which surveys were being administered to the participants.

Self-reported allyship was measured each week with the 11 allyship items ($\omega = .93$). Here, roommates were asked to rate their own allyship. They were given the prompt, "To what extent are the following true of you?" followed by the four non-prejudice subscale items (e.g., "I want equal rights for everyone"), the four action subscale items (e.g., "I vocally support the LGBT community"), and the three humility subscale items (e.g., "I listen more than I speak in discussions of LGBT issues"). Items were rated from 1 = *not true* to 7 = *extremely true.*

A variety of other measures were for other research purposes. For a complete list, please see the OSF page.

Results and Discussion

Research Question 1: Associations Between Perceived Allyship and Well-Being

Our first question was how LGBT participants' perceptions of the roommates' allyship predicted their own well-being. Using the LGBT sample ($n = 118$), we examined how perceived allyship of the roommate predicted LGBT individuals' well-being between person, within person, and over time (lagged associations).

Between-Person Associations. We first examined how all constructs of interest were correlated with each other at the between-person level. Data were organized so that each participant was assigned to a row (115 rows of data). For these analyses, we used uncentered, Week 1 versions of all variables, with the exception of self-rated physical health (Week 3 is used). Results can be seen in Table 13. Participants who rated their roommates as better allies at baseline also tended to report higher well-being at baseline, including higher perceived social support, self-esteem, subjective well-being, and lower stress.

Table 13
Correlations Between Perceived Allyship and Participant Well-Being

Variable	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Allyship	.87	.92	.71	.58	.55	.66	−.43	.37
2. Nonprejudice	—	.72	.42	.36	.44	.60	−.21	.33
3. Action		—	.51	.67	.63	.62	−.49	.41
4. Humility			—	.39	.26	.40	−.37	.20, *ns*
5. Perceived social support				—	.68	.38	−.44	.25
6. Self-esteem					—	.33	−.26	.12, *ns*
7. Subjective well-being						—	−.61	.50
8. Stress							—	−.46
9. Self-rated physical health								—

Note. All correlations were significant at $p < .05$ unless otherwise noted.

Within-Person Associations. Because allyship and subjective well-being were measured at the weekly level, we also looked at how these variables changed over time within person. Were LGBT participants happier than usual on weeks when they perceived better allyship from their roommates than usual? To test this hypothesis, we organized the participant data ($n = 115$) at the weekly level, such that each weekly report is assigned to a row (600 rows of data total). We examined roommates' weekly allyship as rated by the LGBT participants, both as a single, global measure (all 11 items averaged), and broken up into the three subscales (nonprejudiced, action, and humility). The three dependent measures of interest were weekly self-esteem, subjective well-being, and perceived stress. All variables in these models are group-mean-centered, such that each score represents the person's score relative to a typical week for them. In total, we conducted six multilevel models using the lme4 (Bates et al., 2015) and lmerTest (Kuznetsova et al., 2017) packages in R. These are all two-level random intercept models (time points nested within participants).

Results are shown in Table 14. Indeed, on weeks when LGBT participants perceived their roommates as being better allies than usual, they also reported higher self-esteem and subjective well-being than usual, although there was no significant association with stress. These effects did not seem to be driven by any particular subscale.[4] Thus, these findings converge with our earlier studies' cross-sectional correlational results using a within-person approach. Specifically, when participants perceived their roommates to be better allies, they also had higher self-esteem and better subjective well-being.

Lagged Associations. We next conducted lagged analyses to give us clues as to how these variables of interest might drive changes in each other over time. When people perceive better allyship from their roommates in 1 week, do they experience higher well-being the next week, controlling for their well-being the previous week? In the first three models, global allyship last week was used to predict each of three well-being measures this week, controlling for the equivalent well-being measure last week. We also conducted these models with allyship broken up into its three subscales. All variables were uncentered in these models.

Results are shown in Table 15. Indeed, last week's allyship predicts higher self-esteem, higher subjective well-being, and lower stress this week, controlling for the relevant well-being measure last week. When allyship was broken up by subscale, the "action" subscale continued to significantly predict changes in two of the three measures, whereas the other two subscales did not. These results suggest that the weekly lagged associations between allyship and well-being may be particularly driven by the action subscale. Thus, when participants perceived their roommates to take action against anti-LGBT discrimination, they experienced a subsequent increase in self-esteem and a decrease in stress the following week. These findings suggest that close others' allyship levels, in particular, whether they are perceived to be speaking up against inequality, are linked to LGBT individuals' levels of mental well-being.

These models suggest that people become happier when they perceive their roommates to be better allies. What about the reverse causal direction? Is it possible that being happy leads people to perceive their roommates as better allies? We next conducted the above lagged analyses in the reverse direction to see whether well-being last week predicts allyship this week, controlling for allyship last week. As above, variables were not centered in these models. Results are presented in Table 16. Indeed, well-being the previous week predicted higher levels of perceived allyship in the subsequent week. In other words, when participants' mental well-being was higher, their perceptions of roommates' allyship increased. Additional research is needed to determine if the increase in perceived allyship is driven by actual roommate behavior (because happier people facilitate better allies in their roommates) or by perceiver factors (because positive mood can lead to positive illusions about one's environment; Taylor & Brown, 1988).

Together, our cross-lagged analyses suggest a bidirectional relationship between LGBT individuals' perceptions of close others' allyship and their mental well-being. The bidirectional relationship suggests the possibility of both upward and downward spirals with respect to allyship and LGBT well-being, such that LGBT individuals with strong allies maintain robust mental well-being that strengthens their perception of close others as allies. On the other hand, individuals with poor allies may experience decreased mental well-being that provides another barrier to perceiving allyship in one's social network.

Research Question 2: Associations Between Allyship and Relationship Quality

We next explored how the roommates' allyship behaviors were associated with the quality of the roommates' relationship. As with

[4] Drawing on the Study 3 findings suggesting that action is particularly important when prejudice is low, we also conducted subsidiary models testing for interactions between the nonprejudice and action subscales. However, no significant interactions emerged.

Table 14
Allyship Predicting LGBT Individuals' Well-Being on a Given Week

	Self-esteem				Subjective well-being				Stress			
Predictor	*b*	*t*	*df*	*p*	*b*	*t*	*df*	*p*	*b*	*t*	*df*	*p*
Model 1												
Allyship	.12	3.18	673	.002	.28	6.80	685	<.001	−.08	−1.71	679	.09
Model 2												
Nonprejudice	.009	.31	671	.76	.09	2.74	683	.006	−.03	−.74	677	.46
Action	.06	1.79	671	.07	.09	2.53	683	.01	−.03	−.93	677	.35
Humility	.05	1.95	671	.05	.10	3.47	683	<.001	−.02	−.57	677	.57

Note. LGBT = lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender.

Research Question 1, we examined only the LGBT participants' ratings of each measure and therefore used the full LGBT sample (n = 115). We examined how LGBT participants' reports of the roommates' allyship behaviors were associated with their relationship quality between person, within person, and over time (lagged associations).

Between-Person Associations. We first examined how all constructs of interest were correlated with each other at the between-person level. Data were organized so that each participant was assigned to a row (115 rows of data). For these analyses, we used uncentered, Week 1 versions of all variables. The study included three operationalizations of the quality of participants' relationship with their roommates (responsiveness, appreciation, and closeness), which were combined into a single composite. Zero-order correlations can be seen in Table 17. Note that relationship quality and allyship were highly associated with one another, particularly the action subscale. Thus, replicating Study 2, perceived allyship was positively associated with indices of relationship quality.

Within-Person Associations. We next examined how allyship and relationship quality changed over time within person. Did people feel happier with their roommate relationships on weeks when they perceive better allyship from their roommates than usual? We again organized the participant data (n = 115) at the weekly level, conducted multilevel models with the lme4 package (weeks nested within participants; Bates et al., 2015). We examined whether weekly allyship (group-mean-centered) predicted weekly relationship quality (group-mean-centered). Results are shown in Table 18. Indeed, on weeks when LGBT participants perceived their roommates as being better allies than usual, they also reported higher relationship quality than usual. This effect independently, significantly emerged for both the nonprejudiced and action facets. Thus, perceived nonprejudice and action are predicting relationship quality within person, extending the cross-sectional findings in Study 2.

Lagged Associations. When people perceive better allyship from their roommates on 1 week, are they happier with their relationship with their roommates the subsequent week? We next tested this with lagged analyses. In the first model, last week's allyship and last week's relationship quality were entered as simultaneous predictors, with this week's relationship quality as the dependent measure (all variables uncentered). The second model was structured the same way, except that last week's ratings of the allyship subscales were entered as three separate predictors. Results are shown in Table 19. Indeed, last week's allyship predicts higher relationship quality this week, controlling for relationship quality last week. When allyship was broken up by subscale, the effect held for the nonprejudice subscale, but not for the action or humility subscales.

These lagged models suggest that people are more satisfied with their roommate relationships when they perceive their roommates to be better allies. Again, we considered the reverse causal direction. Does having a better relationship lead people to perceive their roommates as better allies? We conducted the above lagged analyses in the reverse direction, with last week's allyship and relationship quality (uncentered) predicting this week's allyship. Indeed, relationship quality in a previous week predicted higher levels of perceived allyship in the subsequent week, b = .26, $t(576)$ = 8.04, p < .001.

Research Question 3: Comparing Self-Reported Versus Perceived Allyship

Our third question concerned the roommates' perceptions of their own allyship behaviors. To what extent did LGBT participants and

Table 15
Perceived Allyship Last Week Predicting Change in Well-Being This Week

	Self-esteem				Subjective well-being				Stress			
Predictor	*b*	*t*	*df*	*p*	*b*	*t*	*df*	*p*	*b*	*t*	*df*	*p*
Model 1												
Last week allyship	.20	6.59	334.62	<.001	.11	2.47	478.40	.01	−.11	−2.87	410.13	.004
Last week DV	.16	4.17	562.05	<.001	.11	2.79	560.50	.006	.14	3.68	573.97	<.001
Model 2												
Last week nonprejudice	.02	.79	546.98	.43	−.002	−.04	437.79	.96	.004	.11	571.42	.91
Last week action	.21	6.95	551.76	<.001	.07	1.71	420.45	.09	−.11	−3.06	537.25	.002
Last week humility	−.02	−.82	489.11	.41	.04	1.43	395.65	.15	−.002	−.08	453.09	.94
Last week DV	.17	4.33	564.30	<.001	.11	2.82	558.24	.005	.16	4.18	572.00	<.001

Note. DV = dependent variable and refers to the outcome variable named in the column directly above the statistics being reported.

Table 16
Well-Being Last Week Predicting Change in Allyship This Week

Predictor	This week allyship			
	b	*t*	*df*	*p*
Model 1				
Last week allyship	.17	4.64	559.12	<.001
Last week self-esteem	.08	2.04	453.10	.04
Model 2				
Last week allyship	.17	4.42	538.54	<.001
Last week subjective well-being	.06	2.06	551.45	.04
Model 3				
Last week allyship	.14	4.12	563.42	<.001
Last week stress	−.07	−2.14	486.61	.03

their roommates agree on whether the roommates were effective allies? Further, did roommates' perceptions of their own allyship predict LGBT participants' relationship quality and well-being? As this research question concerned the roommates' ratings, we explored this question using the dyadic subsample. Within the roommate data, only 55 participants (77% of the final roommate sample) had completed the key allyship measure. Thus, the subsample used in the analyses below includes 55 dyads (participants and their roommates; $n = 110$ total).

Correlations. We first examined zero-order correlations between LGBT and roommates' allyship ratings. Data were organized at the level of the dyad (56 rows of data). Results can be seen in Table 20. Generally, there was high agreement between LGBT participants and their roommates about who was a good LGBT ally. The humility subscale had the lowest level of agreement, though the two ratings shared about 37% variance.

Weekly Associations. We next examined whether roommates' perceptions of their own allyship predicted LGBT participants' weekly relationship quality and well-being. Are LGBT individuals happier with roommates who perceive themselves to be better allies? Data were organized at the dyadic weekly level, with each dyad assigned to up to six rows, one for each week (329 rows of data total). We entered roommates' perceived allyship (grand-mean-centered) as predictors, with LGBT participants' weekly relationship quality well-being as the dependent measures (uncentered). Two-level multilevel models were conducted (weeks nested within dyads) using the lme4 and lme4 packages in R (Bates et al., 2015; Kuznetsova et al., 2017).

Results are shown in Table 21. LGBT participants indeed had higher self-esteem, higher subjective well-being, marginally lower stress, and higher relationship quality from week to week to the extent that their roommates perceived themselves to be better allies. When allyship was tested as three separate subscales (Model 2), the effects of the action subscale were particularly robust, suggesting that these associations between allyship and LGBT well-being may be particularly driven by the action subscale.

Weekly Comparisons. Which is more important for LGBT participants' relationship quality and well-being: perceiving their roommate to be a good ally, or having a roommate who perceives *themselves* to be a good ally? To test this, we conducted a series of models comparing the predictive utility of roommates' perceived allyship to LGBT participants' own reports of that same allyship. Given that roommates' allyship ratings were collected only at one time point, we used LGBT participants' Week 1 allyship ratings as an equivalent baseline measure. To more directly compare the predictive utility of the LGBT participants' ratings versus their roommates' ratings, we examined only one allyship subscale at a time. All predictors were grand-mean-centered.

Results can be seen in Table 22. Generally, LGBT participants' perceptions of their roommates' allyship were a better predictor of weekly relationship quality well-being than the roommates' self-reports of their allyship. The one exception was the humility subscale, which was a weak predictor of relationship quality and well-being regardless of which person's report was used. These findings are consistent with the fact that, within the broader relationships literature, actor effects tend to be much stronger than partner effects. In particular, own relationship quality is most strongly shaped by one's own perception of that relationship rather than by the partner's perceptions (e.g., Joel et al., 2020). A person may make an effort to be a good ally, but those efforts are unlikely to positively impact their relationship with an LGBT friend unless the friend perceives that effort.

Controlling for Political Orientation and Perceived Social Support

Are the current effects unique to perceptions of roommates' allyship, or can they be explained by other characteristics of the roommate or the relationship? It is possible that the effects observed are subsumed by the roommate's general political attitudes (e.g., being politically liberal) or their global levels of interpersonal responsiveness. To test these possible alternative explanations for our findings, we next examined whether allyship measured on Week 1 was associated with participants' reports of better well-being and relationship quality when controlling for roommate's political orientation and social support, also measured on Week 1. Results can be seen in Table 23. The addition of these covariates did not change the results. Perceived allyship remained predictive of three dependent measures (weekly self-esteem, subjective well-being, and relationship

Table 17
Zero-Order Correlations Between Allyship and Relationship Quality

Relationship quality indices	Allyship indices			
	Nonprejudiced	Action	Humility	Allyship composite
Perceived roommate responsiveness	.66***	.82***	.46***	.78***
Appreciation	.67***	.82***	.49***	.80***
Closeness	.25***	.41***	.35***	.40***
Mean relationship quality composite	.66***	.84***	.51***	.81***

*** $p < .001$

Table 18
Allyship Predicting LGBT Individuals' Relationship Quality on a Given Week

	Relationship quality composite			
Predictor	*b*	*t*	*df*	*p*
Model 1				
Allyship	.25	7.48	691	<.001
Model 2				
Nonprejudice	.06	2.39	689	.02
Action	.15	5.37	689	<.001
Humility	.04	1.89	689	.06

Note. LGBT = lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender.

quality with the roommates) and remained a nonsignificant predictor of weekly stress levels. Independently, perceived social support also predicted three of the four target variables (weekly self-esteem, stress, and relationship quality). The roommates' political orientation, on the other hand, was not a significant predictor of any of these variables. These findings provide evidence that allyship is conceptually distinct from both political orientation as well as interpersonal supportiveness, and that perceptions of allyship have unique associations with relationship quality and LGBT individuals' well-being.

General Discussion

The extant literature on allyship focuses on antecedents to self-identified, self-defined allyship among non-LGBT individuals and its implications for political movements and collective action. The present research addresses the question of allyship from an LGBT-centered perspective in order to understand LGBT individuals' perceptions of allyship and illuminate the consequences of these perceptions for LGBT individuals and their close relationships.

First, we sought to identify the qualities or characteristics that LGBT individuals identify as essential to being an ally and to provide a validated measure of allyship. Studies 1a and 1b probed LGBT individuals for their personal conceptualizations of allyship. Exhaustive coding suggested three major components of allyship: being nonprejudiced toward (or accepting of) LGBT individuals, taking action against discrimination and inequality that is observed, and having humility about one's own perspective, limitations, and biases. Participants' responses informed the development and validation of novel scale to measure allyship.

Table 19
Perceived Allyship Last Week Predicting Change in Relationship Quality This Week

	Relationship quality composite			
Predictor	*b*	*t*	*df*	*p*
Model 1				
Last week allyship	.15	4.23	452.92	<.001
Last week relationship quality	.09	2.29	523.11	.03
Model 2				
Last week nonprejudice	.07	2.64	432.67	.009
Last week action	.05	1.77	399.95	.08
Last week humility	.03	1.19	383.35	.24
Last week relationship quality	.09	2.34	516.95	.02

Studies 2a and 2b confirmed the factor structure, reliability, and validity of the scale. (Another study, described in the Supplemental Materials, also confirmed the scale's reliability and validity in a sample of straight, cisgender participants.) Furthermore, Studies 2a and 2b documented that LGBT individuals considered nonprejudice to be the most important component of allyship, followed by action and then humility. They also indicated that close others were lowest on action compared to the other two allyship components. It is also worth noting that LGBT individuals perceived their family members to be worse allies than friends or coworkers.

Study 3 took an experimental approach to better understand how nonprejudice and action independently and conjointly impact perceived allyship and general impressions of a hypothetical target person. The results indicated that prejudice and action levels independently increased LGBT individuals' liking of the target; however, the components' effects on perceived allyship were interactive. Specifically, action had a stronger effect on perceived allyship when prejudice was low compared to high. These findings clarify the results of Studies 2a and 2b because they imply that a person must be nonprejudiced in order for their level of action to strongly shape perceived allyship. Indeed, it is reasonable to expect that a person who is not accepting of LGBT individuals and speaks up against discrimination for an externally motivated reason would not be perceived as an ally, although they will be liked better than if they had not spoken up. These findings show the primary importance of being nonprejudiced to being a good ally.

Finally, we examined how allyship influenced LGBT individuals and their relationships over time among actual roommates during the first months of the COVID-19 lockdown. Study 4 replicated the between-person correlations in Study 2b, documenting again that LGBT individuals who perceived their close other (roommate in this case) to be a good ally had higher self-esteem, better subjective well-being, and better relationship quality with the ally. Moreover, Study 4 found that non-LGBT individuals were fairly accurate at reporting their levels of allyship, in that their reported levels of allyship correlated strongly and reliably with their roommates' perceptions of their allyship.

Furthermore, Study 4's design enabled a clearer understanding of how perceived allyship, mental well-being, and interpersonal relationships related to one another. Perceptions of allyship predicted changes within LGBT individuals and in the relationship, but these changes were driven by different components of allyship. Perceived allyship was associated with subsequent increases in self-esteem and subjective well-being, and lower stress levels, driven primarily by roommates taking action. In contrast, perceived allyship predicted subsequent increases in the quality of the relationship, mostly driven by roommates' nonprejudice levels. Therefore, across all studies, it appears that close others' levels of action are particularly important for LGBT individuals' well-being (insofar as prejudice levels are low), whereas their levels of nonprejudice play a crucial role in relationship quality.

Theoretical Implications

Our findings contribute to several areas of social psychology, including intergroup relations/stigma, close relationships, and positive psychology.

Our research provides a bridge between existing research on intergroup contact and identity safety. On the one hand, intergroup contact is frequently advanced as one of the most reliable ways to

Table 20
Zero-Order Correlations Between LGBT Participant's Reported and Roommates' Perceived Allyship

LGBT participant's perception of roommate's allyship	Roommates' self-reported allyship			
	Nonprejudiced	Action	Humility	Allyship composite
Nonprejudiced	.79***	.70***	.51***	.77***
Action	.70***	.79***	.59***	.79***
Humility	.38***	.41***	.61***	.52***
Allyship composite	.78***	.79***	.67***	.85***

Note. LGBT = lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender.
*** $p < .001$

reduce cross-race bias among members of the dominant group (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) and to increase belonging and identity safety among members of the stigmatized group members (Mendoza-Denton & Page-Gould, 2008). Yet, additional work needs to clarify the relational processes through which these social interactions and relationships produce these benefits. On the other hand, research on confronting prejudice (a specific form of action) has established that when stigmatized minority perceivers witness prejudice confrontation by majority group members, they experience increased belonging and identity safety (Chaney et al., 2021; Chu & Ashburn-Nardo, 2022; Hildebrand et al., 2020). Uniting these two lines of work, our findings, in particular Study 4, demonstrate the psychological benefits of allies within an actual relationship context.

Furthermore, our work advances allyship as a possible mediator and moderator of the relationship between intergroup contact and belonging among members of stigmatized groups. Specifically, previous research on self-identified allies indicates that people identify more strongly as allies if they report greater contact with the LGBT community (Fingerhut, 2011; Henry et al., 2021). Increased contact with LGBT individuals (e.g., having a family member come out as gay) could increase straight allyship among some individuals, and as a result, increased allyship of straight people (e.g., family members stepping up and becoming better allies) could increase the LGBT individual's sense of belonging in that context. However, contact with LGBT individuals would not necessarily increase straight allyship uniformly across individuals. Thus, allyship should also be considered as a moderator of the relationship between intergroup contact and LGBT belonging.

In addition, our work highlights the importance of considering stigmatized social identities when examining close relationship dynamics. Relationships confer benefits universally through available social support; however, our work shows the unique benefits that having allies to one's stigmatized social identity can have, above and beyond general supportiveness. As a result, it is important to consider that perceived allyship is an important protective factor for LGBT individuals' mental and physical well-being.

Moreover, we found suggestive evidence of a bidirectional effect of perceived allyship and mental well-being. These findings highlight how mental well-being and positive emotions could produce upward trajectories for LGBT individuals who have social networks with lots of good allies. Future work is needed to clarify the mechanisms underlying the directional effect of mental well-being on perceived allyship. It could be that happier individuals are more likely to see the actual positive behaviors and goals that their close others possess (Fredrickson, 2004), meaning that happier people are more accurate at judging the allyship of their close others. It could also be that better mental well-being leads to greater positive illusions (Taylor & Brown, 1988), such that happy perceivers only think that their close others are better allies. Both processes may be important for the maintenance of positive relationships between LGBT individuals and their non-LGBT close others, akin to the importance of relationship maintenance processes in other kinds of close relationships (e.g., Murray et al., 1996).

Practical Implications

The present findings could inform interventions seeking to improve LGBT well-being across several domains. Based on our results, facilitators of diversity interventions in the workplace could teach the three components of allyship, with an emphasis on nonprejudice and action as the most important facets of allyship. When

Table 21
Roommates' Self-Reported Allyship Predicting LGBT Individuals' Well-Being on a Given Week

Predictor	LGBT weekly self-esteem				LGBT weekly subjective well-being				LGBT weekly stress				LGBT weekly relationship quality			
	b	*t*	*df*	*p*	*b*	*t*	*df*	*p*	*b*	*t*	*df*	*p*	*b*	*t*	*df*	*p*
Model 1																
Roommate self-reported allyship	.54	7.62	54.14	<.001	.95	4.95	54.02	<.001	−.19	−2.02	54.10	.06	1.04	10.38	54.01	<.001
Model 2																
Roommate self-reported nonprejudice	−.14	−1.67	51.98	.10	.67	2.83	52.02	.007	.31	2.57	52.01	.01	.009	.07	51.86	.94
Roommate self-reported action	.39	5.32	51.76	<.001	.59	2.88	51.97	.006	−.34	−3.37	51.85	.001	.66	6.11	51.76	<.001
Roommate self-reported humility	.19	2.43	52.11	.02	−.49	−2.17	52.05	.03	−.04	−.40	52.10	.69	.20	1.66	51.93	.10

Note. LGBT = lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender.

Table 22

Perceived Versus Reported Allyship Predicting LGBT Individuals' Well-Being on a Given Week

Predictor	LGBT weekly self-esteem				LGBT weekly subjective well-being				LGBT weekly stress				LGBT weekly relationship quality			
	b	*t*	*df*	*p*	*b*	*t*	*df*	*p*	*b*	*t*	*df*	*p*	*b*	*t*	*df*	*p*
Model 1																
Roommate allyship	.32	2.51	53.23	.02	.08	.23	53.08	.82	−.03	−.15	53.21	.88	.54	3.13	53.12	.003
LGBT-reported allyship	.26	1.95	53.06	.06	1.06	3.08	53.04	.003	−.20	−1.09	53.08	.28	.61	3.45	53.02	.001
Model 2																
Roommate nonprejudice	.17	1.28	52.85	.21	.30	.26	52.95	.25	.01	.15	52.90	.93	.34	1.76	52.96	.09
LGBT-reported nonprejudice	.20	1.60	52.86	.12	.81	.24	52.95	.001	−.08	.14	52.90	.57	.50	2.73	52.96	.009
Model 3																
Roommate action	.24	3.40	53.11	.001	.28	1.36	53.06	.18	−.06	−.54	53.13	.59	.44	4.81	53.07	<.001
LGBT-reported action	.24	3.08	52.99	.003	.62	2.73	53.03	.009	−.20	−1.76	53.05	.08	.46	4.57	53.00	<.001
Model 4																
Roommate humility	.43	4.62	53.39	<.001	.46	1.63	53.08	.11	−.20	−1.78	53.35	.08	.71	4.50	53.12	<.001
LGBT-reported humility	.08	.77	53.04	.44	−.03	−.09	53.01	.93	.02	.18	53.02	.86	.18	1.09	52.99	.28

Note. LGBT = lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender.

trainings are provided to self-selected participants who may be high in internal motivation to control prejudice (Plant & Devine, 1998), our findings suggest a focus on taking action or learning to speak out against inequality and confront discrimination.

With respect to protecting the mental well-being of LGBT youth, counselors of parents with LGBT children could advise them about how to become good allies. Many well-meaning non-LGBT individuals tend to conflate general supportiveness with being a good ally. Our findings suggest that this is not consistent with LGBT individuals' perceptions. Beyond being generally supportive of a person, it is important to demonstrate lack of bias (acceptance) of the LGBT identity and willingness to speak up when LGBT issues come up. Moreover, perceiving close others as allies could buffer against the uniquely damaging effects of discrimination, because perceived allies remind LGBT individuals that others are in solidarity with them. Given that general acceptance from and responsiveness of close others bolsters LGBT individuals' psychological and physiological resilience to stressors (Beutel et al., 2017; Cacioppo et al., 2003; Finch et al., 1999; Reis, 2012; Uchino et al., 1996), an exciting avenue for future research is to investigate whether perceived allyship can also curtail the negative impacts of discrimination on LGBT individuals' health and well-being.

Limitations and Future Directions

In future research utilizing the allyship scale, we recommend that researchers create an allyship composite, adapted for self-reported allyship or perceived allyship, depending on their goals. We recommend that the subscales are used in follow-up analyses when researchers wish to gain additional insights into the mechanisms by which allyship impacts the outcomes of interest. This approach is exemplified in our analyses in Study 4.

The present research had limitations that suggest valuable directions for future research. We relied on convenience samples, collected online, so they are not representative of the entire LGBT population in the United States. Furthermore, there could be cohort effects or differences in LGBT-defined allyship because LGBT acceptance has changed rapidly over the past decade, relative to other intergroup biases (Charlesworth & Banaji, 2019). Furthermore, our results are specific to the United States and should only be extended to other cultures carefully. Especially because many countries explicitly outlaw same-sex relationships, it is unlikely that perceived allyship will function in the same manner in those contexts. In addition, there are remaining questions about the context-dependency of allyship. Exploratory analyses in Study 2 indicated that LGB and gender-diverse individuals may experience workplace allyship differently. Follow-up studies are needed to fully understand these group differences.

Furthermore, the third component of allyship, humility, is a complex trait. Although the humility subscale had adequate reliability, it was consistently slightly lower in reliability across the coding (Study 1), scale reliabilities, and self- versus other-ratings (Study 4), relative to the other two components of allyship. We believe this reflects the difficulty in capturing the concept of humility, which may vary more than being nonprejudiced and taking action, depending on relationships and social contexts. Another intriguing possibility is that the humility subscale could capture the performative

Table 23

Perceived Allyship Predicting Weekly Well-Being and Relationship Quality, Over and Above Perceived Political Orientation and Social Support

Predictor	Weekly self-esteem				Weekly subjective well-being				Weekly stress				Weekly relationship quality			
	b	*t*	*df*	*p*	*b*	*t*	*df*	*p*	*b*	*t*	*df*	*p*	*b*	*t*	*df*	*p*
Model 1																
Allyship	.26	5.97	113.51	<.001	1.23	7.79	113.99	<.001	−.11	−1.25	113.80	.21	.74	10.06	113.92	<.001
Political orientation	.01	.66	113.67	.51	−.02	−.21	114.01	.84	.001	−.02	113.90	.98	−.04	−1.10	113.95	.28
Social support	.61	9.68	113.37	<.001	.02	.01	113.98	.92	−.56	−4.85	113.80	<.001	.66	6.30	113.89	<.001

aspect of allyship; people who come across as disingenuous may score lowest on the humility component of allyship. Moreover, the current investigation did not manipulate humility, and future experiments are needed to test its causal impact on perceived allyship. Thus, much future research is needed to investigate the nuances and impacts of humility.

This research did not investigate the benefits of LGBT allyship for the ally themselves. Our findings imply that relationship quality (as reported by the LGBT individual) increased as allyship increased, but it is also possible that the ally experiences benefits to being a good ally, such as increased self-esteem. Research on taking action (e.g., confronting prejudice) shows that the confronters can experience positive health outcomes as well as reduced levels of prejudice over time (e.g., Chaney & Sanchez, 2018; Chaney et al., 2015).

Additional research could take a truly dyadic approach, building on the informant report design that we used in Study 4. A multireport study of LGBT/non-LGBT dyads could track both individuals weekly in order to investigate several follow-up questions: (a) whether accuracy or positive illusions about allyship are more predictive of intraindividual and interpersonal outcomes, (b) how levels of accuracy vary by relationship type (e.g., personal vs. work; friend vs. family), and (c) the stability of allyship (and its three components) over time. It would also be valuable to determine how perceived and self-reported allyship levels are impacted by personal events (e.g., new romantic partner, attending pride) and by public events that disproportionately impact the LGBT community (e.g., legalization of same-sex marriage or highly visible anti-LGBT hate crime), and the consequences of strong or weak allyship for the event's impact on LGBT individuals.

While our research focused on LGBT allyship specifically, it may inform research on allyship in other intergroup contexts. The levels of allyship in cross-race relationships, for example, may play an important role in the health and well-being of racially minoritized individuals (see Marshburn & Campos, 2021) and in levels of interest and engagement in the workplace (Johnson & Pietri, 2022). Furthermore, there are many stigmatized identities in which advocacy (and self-advocacy) plays an important role in gaining equitable access to resources and opportunities, such as for students with learning disabilities in educational contexts (Lynch & Gussel, 1996). In these contexts, allyship from parents, teachers, and peer mentors may be quite important for both academic and socioemotional well-being of students. We encourage future research to examine allyship conceptualizations and effects for populations of physically and mentally disabled individuals.

Conclusion

Being a good ally to the LGBT community is a multifaceted concept consisting of being nonprejudiced, taking action against injustice, and having humility about one's own perspective. Being a good ally to a member of the LGBT community is associated with benefits for both parties, including better relationship quality in the dyad and better mental well-being for the LGBT-identified individual.

References

Aron, A., Aron, E. N., & Smollan, D. (1992). Inclusion of other in the self scale and the structure of interpersonal closeness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *63*(4), 596–612. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.63.4.596

Ashburn-Nardo, L. (2018). What can allies do? In A. J. Colella & E. B. King (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of workplace discrimination* (pp. 373–386). Oxford University Press.

Bates, D., Kliegl, R., Vasishth, S., & Baayen, H. (2015). *Parsimonious mixed models*. arXiv. https://doi.org/10.48550/ARXIV.1506.04967

Beutel, M. E., Klein, E. M., Brähler, E., Reiner, I., Jünger, C., Michal, M., Wiltink, J., Wild, P. S., Münzel, T., Lackner, K. J., & Tibubos, A. N. (2017). Loneliness in the general population: Prevalence, determinants and relations to mental health. *BMC Psychiatry*, *17*(1), Article 97. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12888-017-1262-x

Borgman, A. L. (2005). *LGB allies and Christian identity: A qualitative exploration of resolving conflicts and integrating identities*. [Doctoral dissertation, Department of Counselor Education and Counseling Psychology, Western Michigan University]. ProQuest Dissertations.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Bregman, H. R., Malik, N. M., Page, M. J., Makynen, E., & Lindahl, K. M. (2013). Identity profiles in lesbian, gay, and bisexual youth: The role of family influences. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *42*(3), 417–430. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-012-9798-z

Broido, E. M. (2000). Constructing identity: The nature and meaning of lesbian, gay, and bisexual identities. In R. M. Perez, K. A. DeBord, & K. J. Bieschke (Eds.), *Handbook of counseling and psychotherapy with lesbian, gay, and bisexual clients* (pp. 13–33). American Psychological Association. https://doi.org/10.1037/10339-001

Brooks, A. K., & Edwards, K. (2009). Allies in the workplace: Including LGBT in HRD. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, *11*(1), 136–149. https://doi.org/10.1177/1523422308328500

Cacioppo, J. T., Hawkley, L. C., & Berntson, G. G. (2003). The anatomy of loneliness. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *12*(3), 71–74. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8721.01232

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2022). *Adolescent behaviors and experiences survey—United States, January–June 2021*. https://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/volumes/71/su/pdfs/su7103a1-a5-H.pdf

Chaney, K. E., & Sanchez, D. T. (2018). The endurance of interpersonal confrontations as a prejudice reduction strategy. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *44*(3), 418–429. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167217741344

Chaney, K. E., Sanchez, D. T., & Remedios, J. D. (2021). Dual cues: Women of color anticipate both gender and racial bias in the face of a single identity cue. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *24*(7), 1095–1113. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430220942844

Chaney, K. E., Young, D. M., & Sanchez, D. T. (2015). Confrontation's health outcomes and promotion of egalitarianism (C-HOPE) framework. *Translational Issues in Psychological Science*, *1*(4), 363–371. https://doi.org/10.1037/tps0000042

Charlesworth, T. E. S., & Banaji, M. R. (2019). Patterns of implicit and explicit attitudes: I. Long-term change and stability from 2007 to 2016. *Psychological Science*, *30*(2), 174–192. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797618813087

Chu, C., & Ashburn-Nardo, L. (2022). Black Americans' perspectives on ally confrontations of racial prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *101*, Article 104337. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2022.104337

Cochran, S. D., Mays, V. M., & Sullivan, J. G. (2003). Prevalence of mental disorders, psychological distress, and mental health services use among lesbian, gay, and bisexual adults in the United States. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *71*(1), 53–61. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-006X.71.1.53

Cohen, H. L., Padilla, Y. C., & Aravena, V. C. (2006). Psychosocial support for families of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people. In D. F. Morrow & L. Messinger (Eds.), *Sexual orientation & gender expression in social work practice: Working with gay, lesbian, bisexual, & transgender people* (pp. 153–176). Columbia University Press.

Cohen, S. (1988). Perceived stress in a probability sample of the United States. In S. Spacapan & S. Oskamp (Eds.), *The social psychology of health* (pp. 31–67). SAGE Publications.

Craig, M. A., Badaan, V., & Brown, R. M. (2020). Acting for whom, against what? Group membership and multiple paths to engagement in social change. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *35*, 41–48. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2020.03.002

DeSalvo, K. B., Fisher, W. P., Tran, K., Bloser, N., Merrill, W., & Peabody, J. (2006). Assessing measurement properties of two single-item general health measures. *Quality of Life Research*, *15*(2), 191–201. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11136-005-0887-2

Diener, E., Emmons, R. A., Larsen, R. J., & Griffin, S. (1985). The satisfaction with life scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, *49*(1), 71–75. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327752jpa4901_13

Dillon, F. R., Worthington, R. L., Savoy, H. B., Rooney, S. C., Becker-Schutte, A., & Guerra, R. M. (2004). On becoming allies: A qualitative study of lesbian-, gay-, and bisexual-affirmative counselor training. *Counselor Education and Supervision*, *43*(3), 162–178. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6978.2004.tb01840.x

Dovidio, J. F., Schellhaas, F. M., & Pearson, A. R. (2018). The role of attitudes in intergroup relations. In D. Albarracín & B. T. Johnson (Eds.), *The handbook of attitudes* (pp. 419–454). Routledge.

Edwards, K. E. (2006). Aspiring social justice ally identity development: A conceptual model. *NASPA Journal*, *43*(4), 39–60. https://doi.org/10.2202/1949-6605.1722

Eisenberg, M. E., & Resnick, M. D. (2006). Suicidality among gay, lesbian and bisexual youth: The role of protective factors. *The Journal of Adolescent Health*, *39*(5), 662–668. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2006.04.024

Finch, J. F., Okun, M. A., Pool, G. J., & Ruehlman, L. S. (1999). A comparison of the influence of conflictual and supportive social interactions on psychological distress. *Journal of Personality*, *67*(4), 581–621. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-6494.00066

Fingerhut, A. W. (2011). Straight allies: What predicts heterosexuals' alliance with the LGBT community? *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *41*(9), 2230–2248. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2011.00807.x

Foldy, E. G., & Creed, W. D. (1999). Action learning, fragmentation, and the interaction of single-, double-, and triple-loop change: A case of gay and lesbian workplace advocacy. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, *35*(2), 207–227. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021886399352005

Fredrickson, B. L. (2004). The broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series B, Biological Sciences*, *359*(1449), 1367–1378. https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2004.1512

Fredriksen-Goldsen, K. I., Kim, H. J., Barkan, S. E., Muraco, A., & Hoy-Ellis, C. P. (2013). Health disparities among lesbian, gay, and bisexual older adults: Results from a population-based study. *American Journal of Public Health*, *103*(10), 1802–1809. https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2012.301110

Gonzalez, K. A., Riggle, E. D., & Rostosky, S. S. (2015). Cultivating positive feelings and attitudes: A path to prejudice reduction and ally behavior. *Translational Issues in Psychological Science*, *1*(4), 372–381. https://doi.org/10.1037/tps0000049

Gordon, A. M., & Chen, S. (2010). When you accept me for me: The relational benefits of intrinsic affirmations from one's relationship partner. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *36*(11), 1439–1453. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167210384881

Haas, A. P., Eliason, M., Mays, V. M., Mathy, R. M., Cochran, S. D., D'Augelli, A. R., Silverman, M. M., Fisher, P. W., Hughes, T., Rosario, M., Russell, S. T., Malley, E., Reed, J., Litts, D. A., Haller, E., Sell, R. L., Remafedi, G., Bradford, J., Beautrais, A. L., … Clayton, P. J. (2011). Suicide and suicide risk in lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender populations: Review and recommendations. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *58*(1), 10–51. https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2011.534038

Hayes, A. F., & Coutts, J. J. (2020). Use omega rather than Cronbach's alpha for estimating reliability. But … . *Communication Methods and Measures*, *14*(1), 1–24. https://doi.org/10.1080/19312458.2020.1718629

Henry, I. D. (2020). What allies want: Reconsidering loyalty, reliability, and alliance interdependence. *International Security*, *44*(4), 45–83. https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00375

Henry, R. S., Smith, E. R., Perrin, P. B., & Rabinovitch, A. E. (2021). Structural equation model predicting LGB ally behaviors in heterosexuals. *Sexuality Research & Social Policy*, *18*(2), 331–338. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13178-020-00461-x

Hildebrand, L. K., Jusuf, C. C., & Monteith, M. J. (2020). Ally confrontations as identity-safety cues for marginalized individuals. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *50*(6), 1318–1333. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2692

Ho, A. K., & Kteily, N. S. (2020). The role of group-based egalitarianism in collective action. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *35*, 108–113. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2020.05.009

Holt-Lunstad, J., Smith, T. B., & Layton, J. B. (2010). Social relationships and mortality risk: A meta-analytic review. *PLoS Medicine*, *7*(7), Article e1000316. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.1000316

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*(5), 1287–1316. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000325

Ji, P., & Fujimoto, K. (2013). Measuring heterosexual LGBT ally development: A Rasch analysis. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *60*(12), 1695–1725. https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2013.834211

Joel, S., Eastwick, P. W., Allison, C. J., Arriaga, X. B., Baker, Z. G., Bar-Kalifa, E., Bergeron, S., Birnbaum, G. E., Brock, R. L., Brumbaugh, C. C., Carmichael, C. L., Chen, S., Clarke, J., Cobb, R. J., Coolsen, M. K., Davis, J., de Jong, D. C., Debrot, A., DeHaas, E. C., … Wolf, S. (2020). Machine learning uncovers the most robust self-report predictors of relationship quality across 43 longitudinal couples studies. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, *117*(32), 19061–19071. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1917036117

Johnson, I. R., & Pietri, E. S. (2022). An ally you say? Endorsing White women as allies to encourage perceptions of allyship and organizational identity-safety among Black women. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *25*(2), 453–473. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430220975482

Jones, K. N., Brewster, M. E., & Jones, J. A. (2014). The creation and validation of the LGBT ally identity measure. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, *1*(2), 181–195. https://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000033

Kessler, R. C., Mickelson, K. D., & Williams, D. R. (1999). The prevalence, distribution, and mental health correlates of perceived discrimination in the United States. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *40*(3), 208–230. https://doi.org/10.2307/2676349

Kuznetsova, A., Brockhoff, P. B., & Christensen, R. H. B. (2017). lmerTest package: Tests in linear mixed effects models. *Journal of Statistical Software*, *82*(13), 1–26. https://doi.org/10.18637/jss.v082.i13

Laurenceau, J. P., Barrett, L. F., & Pietromonaco, P. R. (1998). Intimacy as an interpersonal process: The importance of self-disclosure, partner disclosure, and perceived partner responsiveness in interpersonal exchanges. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *74*(5), 1238–1251. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.74.5.1238

Lick, D. J., Durso, L. E., & Johnson, K. L. (2013). Minority stress and physical health among sexual minorities. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, *8*(5), 521–548. https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691613497965

Louis, W. R., Thomas, E., Chapman, C. M., Achia, T., Wibisono, S., Mirnajafi, Z., & Droogendyk, L. (2019). Emerging research on intergroup prosociality: Group members' charitable giving, positive contact, allyship, and solidarity with others. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, *13*(3), Article e12436. https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12436

Lynch, R. T., & Gussel, L. (1996). Disclosure and self-advocacy regarding disability-related needs: Strategies to maximize integration in

postsecondary education. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, *74*(4), 352–357. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6676.1996.tb01879.x

Major, B., Dovidio, J. F., & Link, B. G. (2018). *The Oxford handbook of stigma, discrimination, and health*. Oxford University Press.

Marshburn, C. K., & Campos, B. (2021). Seeking just us: A mixed methods investigation of racism-specific support among black college students. *The Journal of Black Psychology*, *48*(1), 67–99. https://doi.org/10.1177/00957984211034961

Mays, V. M., & Cochran, S. D. (2001). Mental health correlates of perceived discrimination among lesbian, gay, and bisexual adults in the United States. *American Journal of Public Health*, *91*(11), 1869–1876. https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.91.11.1869

Mendoza-Denton, R., & Page-Gould, E. (2008). Can cross-group friendships influence minority students' well-being at historically white universities? *Psychological Science*, *19*(9), 933–939. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2008.02179.x

Mohr, J., & Fassinger, R. (2000). Measuring dimensions of lesbian and gay male experience. *Measurement & Evaluation in Counseling & Development*, *33*(2), 66–90. https://doi.org/10.1080/07481756.2000.12068999

Mohr, J. J., & Kendra, M. S. (2011). Revision and extension of a multidimensional measure of sexual minority identity: The lesbian, gay, and bisexual identity scale. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *58*(2), 234–245. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0022858

Moser, C. E., & Branscombe, N. R. (2021). Male Allies at work: Gender-equality supportive men reduce negative underrepresentation effects among women. *Social Psychological & Personality Science*, *13*(2), 372–381. https://doi.org/10.1177/19485506211033748

Murray, S. L., Holmes, J. G., & Griffin, D. W. (1996). The self-fulfilling nature of positive illusions in romantic relationships: Love is not blind, but prescient. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *71*(6), 1155–1180. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.71.6.1155

Mustanski, B., & Hunter, J. (2012). Parents as agents of HIV prevention for gay, lesbian, and bisexual youth. In W. Pequegnat & C. Bell (Eds.), *Family and HIV/AIDS* (pp. 249–260). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-0439-2_12

Nájera Catalán, H. E. (2019). Reliability, population classification and weighting in multidimensional poverty measurement: A Monte Carlo study. *Social Indicators Research*, *142*(3), 887–910. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-018-1950-z

Newcomb, M. E., LaSala, M. C., Bouris, A., Mustanski, B., Prado, G., Schrager, S. M., & Huebner, D. M. (2019). The influence of families on LGBTQ youth health: A call to action for innovation in research and intervention development. *LGBT Health*, *6*(4), 139–145. https://doi.org/10.1089/lgbt.2018.0157

Norman, J. B., Franco, M. G., & Chen, J. M. (2021). Multiracial individuals' experiences of rejection and acceptance from different racial groups and implications for life satisfaction. *The Journal of Social Psychology*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224545.2021.1996322

Ofosu, E. K., Chambers, M. K., Chen, J. M., & Hehman, E. (2019). Same-sex marriage legalization associated with reduced implicit and explicit antigay bias. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *116*(18), 8846–8851. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1806000116

Ostrove, J. M., & Brown, K. T. (2018). Are allies who we think they are? A comparative analysis. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *48*(4), 195–204. https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12502

Page-Gould, E., Mendoza-Denton, R., & Tropp, L. R. (2008). With a little help from my cross-group friend: Reducing anxiety in intergroup contexts through cross-group friendship. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *95*(5), 1080–1094. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.95.5.1080

Pascoe, E. A., & Smart Richman, L. (2009). Perceived discrimination and health: A meta-analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin*, *135*(4), 531–554. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016059

Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *90*(5), 751–783. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.751

Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2008). How does intergroup contact reduce prejudice? Meta-analytic tests of three mediators. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *38*(6), 922–934. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.504

Pew Research Center. (2022). *U.S. adults have complex views on gender identity and transgender issues*. https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2022/06/28/americans-complex-views-on-gender-identity-and-transgender-issues/

Plant, E. A., & Devine, P. G. (1998). Internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *75*(3), 811–832. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.75.3.811

Radke, H. R. M., 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*(4), 291–315. https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868320918698

Reis, H. T. (2012). Perceived partner responsiveness as an organizing theme for the study of relationships and well-being. In L. Campbell & T. J. Loving (Eds.), *Interdisciplinary research on close relationships: The case for integration* (pp. 27–52). American Psychological Association. https://doi.org/10.1037/13486-002

Richeson, J. A., & Sommers, S. R. (2016). Toward a social psychology of race and race relations for the twenty-first century. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *67*(1), 439–463. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-010213-115115

Roe, S. (2017). "Family support would have been like amazing" LGBTQ youth experiences with parental and family support. *The Family Journal*, *25*(1), 55–62. https://doi.org/10.1177/1066480716679651

Rosenberg, M. (1965). *Society and the adolescent self-image*. Princeton University Press.

Salter, N. P., & Migliaccio, L. (2019). Allyship as a diversity and inclusion tool in the workplace. *Diversity Within Diversity Management*, *22*, 131–152. https://doi.org/10.1108/S1877-636120190000022008

Scroggs, B., & Faflick, N. (2018). Lesbian, gay, and bisexual religiosity across the life span: Associations with group identification and identity salience. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services*, *30*(4), 321–335. https://doi.org/10.1080/10538720.2018.1517398

Selvanathan, H. P., Lickel, B., & Dasgupta, N. (2020). An integrative framework on the impact of allies: How identity-based needs influence intergroup solidarity and social movements. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *50*(6), 1344–1361. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2697

Snapp, S. D., Watson, R. J., Russell, S. T., Diaz, R. M., & Ryan, C. (2015). Social support networks for LGBT young adults: Low cost strategies for positive adjustment. *Family Relations*, *64*(3), 420–430. https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12124

Stanton, S. C. E., Slatcher, R. B., & Reis, H. T. (2019). Relationships, health, and well-being: The role of responsiveness. In D. Schoebi & B. Campos (Eds.), *New directions in the psychology of close relationships* (pp. 118–135). Routledge.

Stefaniak, A., Mallett, R. K., & Wohl, M. J. (2020). Zero-sum beliefs shape advantaged allies' support for collective action. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *50*(6), 1259–1275. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2674

Taylor, S. E., & Brown, J. D. (1988). Illusion and well-being: A social psychological perspective on mental health. *Psychological Bulletin*, *103*(2), 193–210. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.103.2.193

The Trevor Project and Morning Consult. (2022). *Issues impacting LGBTQ youth: Polling analysis January 2022*. https://www.thetrevorproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/TrevorProject_Public1.pdf

Uchino, B. N., Cacioppo, J. T., & Kiecolt-Glaser, J. K. (1996). The relationship between social support and physiological processes: A review with emphasis on underlying mechanisms and implications for health. *Psychological Bulletin*, *119*(3), 488–531. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.119.3.488

van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (2008). Toward an integrative social identity model of collective action: A quantitative research synthesis of three socio-psychological perspectives. *Psychological Bulletin*, *134*(4), 504–535. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.134.4.504

Walton, G. M., Cohen, G. L., Cwir, D., & Spencer, S. J. (2012). Mere belonging: The power of social connections. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *102*(3), 513–532. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0025731

Washington, J., & Evans, N. J. (1991). Becoming an ally. In N. J. Evans & V. A. Wall (Eds.), *Beyond tolerance: Gays, lesbians, and bisexuals on campus* (pp. 195–204). American Association for Counseling and Development.

Received May 20, 2022
Revision received January 30, 2023
Accepted February 1, 2023 ■