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Deeds, Not Words: Sexual Identities and Antiracist Activism Among White Americans

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ABSTRACT

Sexual minorities of color often speak about racism in White lesbian and gay communities while White sexual minorities often consider themselves liberals, especially for issues of racial justice. This study explored this contradiction by analyzing the role of sexual identities in predicting antiracist thoughts and actions of self-identified White people. Data from the 2010–2012 American National Election Survey provided information on the racial consciousness and social movement participation of White people (N = 2,552). In the end, sexuality differences in racial attitudes was somewhat or partially confirmed as White lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals endorsed fewer racial stereotypes and saw more racism than did White heterosexuals. However, these liberal sentiments of White lesbians, gays, and bisexuals were connected more to thoughts more than to political actions. Implications for methodological choices for studying race and sexuality were included, along with ideas for better understanding activism across racial lines.

Institutionalized racism is built into almost every United States organization and community. White Americans often retain greater levels of wealth, health, and power than people of other racial groups (Oliver & Shapiro, 2013). Theories of "group position" (Bobo, 1999), "investments in whiteness" (Lipsitz, 2006) and the "invisible knapsack" all assert that White individuals generally feel entitled to better treatment for themselves and they have created a whole set of racial ideologies that justifies their preferential treatment (Feagin, 2010; Greenwood, 2008; Miller, Gurin, Gurin, & Malanchuk, 1981; Strolovitch, Wong, & Proctor, 2017). These "Jim Crow" stories (Bobo, 1999) bestow a litany of noble qualities on White people, such as being smarter, harder working, less violent, sexually responsible, and more patriotic than people of color (Ferber, 1999). Newer versions of colorblind (Bonilla-Silva, 2007) and implicit racism (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002) suggest that White individuals often ignore or minimize their racial advantages and object/resent efforts to combat racial discrimination. Although the content of these various racial ideologies vary, they all work to legitimize racial hierarchies and discourage efforts at widespread social change (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004).

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Occasionally White individuals make efforts to reject, contest, and dismantle racial hierarchies (Ostrove & Brown, 2018). Antiracist actions often appear in the behaviors of single individuals but occasionally they appear in collective manifestations like Brown power movements, Idle No More and Black Lives Matter (BLM). Individual and collective antiracist efforts are important because they modify governmental laws (Wasow, 2020), alter police practices (Cunningham & Gillezeau, 2021), improve the delivery of mental health services (Grzanka, Gonzalez, & Spanierman, 2019), and enhance the mental resiliency for people of color (Watson-Singleton, Mekawi, Wilkins, & Jatta, 2021).

Quantitative studies of White antiracist activism routinely identify demographic predictors like a person's age, gender, education level, income, or place of residency (Lake, Alston, & Kahn, 2021; Selvanathan, Techakesari, Tropp, & Barlow, 2018; Tropp & Ulug, 2019; Wong & Cho, 2005). A growing number of studies have explored the role of sexual identities and racial prejudice among White Americans (Dull et al., 2021; Chong & Mohr, 2020; Grollman, 2018; Riley & Peterson, 2020; Schnabel, 2018) but few studies explore how sexual identities can sway the antiracist actions of White people (Andersen & Jennings, 2010; Fingerhut & Hardy, 2020; Swank, 2018a; Terriquez, 2015).

White sexual minorities live in a contradictory mix of social locations. White lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals benefit from their whiteness but are penalized for their sexuality (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013). Being a sexual minority might undercut or erode faith in the racialized status quo among White lesbians, gays, and bisexuals (Grollman, 2018; Schnabel, 2018; Swank, 2018a). LGB distinctiveness (Egan, 2008) and "common in-group identity" theories (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Garrett-Walker et al., 2018) claim that the pain of homophobia can also increase solidarity with other stigmatized groups (i.e., women, racial minorities, undocumented residents, homeless people). In making this argument Patrick Egan (2008) wrote, "adopting a 'stigmatized' or 'outsider' status [may] lead gay people to sympathize with those who belong to other marginalized groups and thus support politicians and policies that they believe help these groups" (p. 14–15).

There are several ways to study the apparent racial liberalism of White sexual minorities. Researchers can observe the ways that White sexual minorities act (Jones, 2016) or they can ask people of color how they are treated by White sexual minorities (Brown & Ostrove, 2013; Ostrove & Brown, 2018). Surveys that capture White worldviews sometimes suggest that LGB individuals prefer equality more than heterosexuals (Egan, 2012; Lewis, Rogers, & Sherrill, 2011; Schaffner & Senic, 2006; Swank, 2018a) and that lesbian and gay culture is "less sexist, less classist, and less racist than heterosexual culture" (Grollman, 2017, 2018; Savin-Williams, 2005; Schnabel, 2018). Other works are more suspicious of this assertion of less racial prejudice among White sexual minorities (Battle & Harris, 2013; Harnois, 2014; Swank, 2018a).

Studies of sexual identities and racial attitudes often use nonrandom samples (Chong & Mohr, 2020; Dull et al., 2021; Danforth, Hsu, & Miller, 2020; Harris & Battle, 2013; Heaney, 2021; Garrett-Walker et al, 2018) and are limited to an analysis of sexual minorities (Chong & Mohr, 2020; Fine, Torre, Frost, & Cabana, 2018; Hinkson, 2021; Pender, Hope, & Riddicik, 2019). Studies that compare lesbian/gay and heterosexual responses generally stay at the realm of racial beliefs (Danforth et al., 2020; Grollman, 2017; Heaney, 2021; Swank, 2019; Worthen, 2020b) or a desire to challenge racism (Garrett-Walker et al., 2018; Stewart & Tran, 2018). A few studies have looked at antiracist behaviors among sexual minorities but studies like this have mostly relied on people who are members of groups that serve LGBTQ advocacy groups (Fine et al., 2018; Terriquez, 2015), college students (Dull et al., 2021), people who are already at a protest (Anderson & Jennings, 2010; Heaney, 2021), or people who are employed by Mechanical Turk (Tropp & Ulug, 2019). All of these studies are informative but their research methods can be improved upon.

This study used data from a national random sample (the 2010–2012 version of the American National Elections Surveys) to understand how sexual identities were related to the racial consciousness and antiracists activism of White Americans. A handful of studies have used national random samples to study sexual identities and racial attitudes (Grollman, 2018; Schnabel, 2018; Swank, 2019), but these works neglected the link between sexual identities and ally activism among White people. To address this gap in the literature, the study examined the extent to which sexual identities relate to White people's solidarity with people of different races, perceive discrimination against racial minorities, and affirm or disaffirm the moral legitimacy such discrimination. The paper also addressed the ways sexual identities can move White people into collective struggles against racist practices among individuals, groups, and institutions.

Literature review

Sexual minorities as racial progressives

The study in this article tests the concepts of "coalitional intersectionalities" and "intersectional solidarities" (Cho et al., 2013; Cole, 2008; DeFilippi & Anderson-Nathe 2017). In addressing intergroup alliances, these concepts center on the ways people recognize and "address multiple and interactive systems of oppression" (Cho et al., 2013, p. 800). A group of studies suggested that sexual minorities excelled in intersectional solidarities (Egan, 2012; Grollman, 2017; Heaney, 2021; Lewis et al., 2011; Schnabel, 2018; Worthen, 2020a, 2020b). It is argued that greater exposure to heterosexist discrimination may inspire a consciousness that notices and rejects all forms of social

exclusion, bigotry, and exploitation (Chong & Mohr, 2020; Duncan, Mincer, & Dunn, 2017; McGregor, Bogart, Higgins-Biddle, Strolovitch, & Ojikutu, 2019; Simon & Grabow, 2014). When looking at policy preferences, LGB individuals were far more liberal than heterosexuals on abortion, affirmative action, the death penalty, feminist identities, immigration policies, and the war in Iraq (Lewis et al., 2011; Meier, Hull, & Ortyl, 2009; Schnabel, 2018; Swank & Fahs, 2017; Turnbull-Dugarte, 2021; Worthen, 2020a, 2020b). Moreover, sexual minorities were more likely than heterosexuals to feel White Guilt (Dull et al., 2021), proclaim LGBs are more "sensitive to prejudice and discrimination against others" (Riggle, Mohr, Rostosky, Fingerhut, & Balsam, 2014), and that good LGBs should "fight for social justice" when defending the rights of vulnerable populations (Gray & Desmarais, 2014).

There are some studies that suggest sexuality differences in racial attitudes are overstated or do not exist. Some publications contended that White people hold similar racial sentiments regardless of sexual identity (Battle & Harris, 2013; Wilson et al., 2009) or that White LGB individuals viewed racial minorities as a threat due to the assumed greater homophobia in Black, Latino/a, and Asian-American communities (Craig & Richeson, 2014 Holley, Larson, Adelman, & Treviño, 2008).

White LGBs are more antiracist than white heterosexuals

Because White people generally benefit from racial advantages, it takes a strong force to change their self-serving outlooks (Brad, Spisz, & Tanega, 2019). Some studies contended that having a LGB identity could be that disruptive force (Grollman, 2018; Jones, 2021; Schnabel, 2018). Small convenience samples have discovered greater awareness of racial discrimination among LGB individuals (Beran, Claybaker, Dillon, & Haverkamp, 1992; Kleiman, Spanierman & Smith 2015) or a desire to prioritize the needs of people of color when organizing feminist protests against the Trump Presidency (Fisher, Jasny, & Dow, 2018; Heaney, 2021). An internet-based survey added that lesbian and gay individuals approved of legal protections for racial minorities more than heterosexual respondents (Worthen, 2020b), and another study found that sexual minorities supported the Black Lives Matter protests more than heterosexuals did (Swank, 2019). Studies using the American National Election Surveys from 2014 and 2016 discovered that lesbian, gay, and bisexual respondents were more likely to see racial discrimination, favor affirmative action, reject xenophobia, and support Black power when compared to White heterosexuals (Grollman, 2018; Swank, 2018b). Analysis of the General Social Survey, Add Health, and Cooperative Congressional Election Survey data also discovered fewer racial stereotypes and denial of racism among LGBs than heterosexuals (Flores, 2017; Jones, 2021; Schnabel, 2018; Swank & Fahs, 2017).

Several studies have found that sexual minorities behaviorally challenged racial conventions more than heterosexuals. LGB people had more inter-racial friendships, sexual encounters, and partnered cohabitations than heterosexuals (Lundquist & Lin, 2015; Tsunokai, Kposowa, & Adams, 2009; Ueno, Wright, Gayman, & McCabe, 2012), and White sexual minorities lived in less racially segregated neighborhoods than their heterosexual counterparts (Poston, D'Lane, Xiong, & Knox, 2017). Studies on political activism have contended that the Black power movement of the 1970s had disproportionately high levels of LGBTQ participants (Andersen & Jennings, 2010) and that Latinx sexual minorities were more likely than heterosexual Latino/as to fight for immigrant rights in 2006 (Terriquez, 2015). Different polls added that between 35 to 55% of LGB activists and teenagers claimed involvement in racial justice efforts (Fine et al., 2018; Taylor, Kimport, Van Dyke, & Andersen, 2009) and one publication discovered that White sexual minorities displayed more antiracist stickers and attended more rallies against racism than White heterosexuals (Fingerhut & Hardy, 2020).

White LGBs and white heterosexuals are equally racist

Public opinion polls occasionally find similar racial attitudes between LGBs and heterosexuals (Battle & Harris, 2013; Cochran, Mays, Corliss, Smith, & Turner, 2009, Wilson et al., 2009). Two studies found that heterosexual and LGB individuals were equally inattentive to institutionalized racism (Danforth et al., 2020). Other studies detected no sexuality links to altruistic commitments or closeness to racial minorities (Cochran et al., 2009; Harris & Battle, 2013; Kleimen, Spanierman, & Smith, 2015).

The link between sexual identities to antiracist activism was disputed as well. Kleimen, Spanierman, and Smith (2015) found that gay men recognized racial discrimination more than heterosexual men but this recognition did not turn into a stronger commitment to dismantle White privilege. Three other studies concluded that LGB and heterosexual adults were equally active in racial equality movements (Battle & Harris, 2013; Harris & Battle, 2013; Swank, 2018a). Finally, one study found that the sexual identity of White people had nothing to do with the chance of being nominated as a "helpful White ally" (Ostrove & Brown, 2018).

White LGBs are more suspicious of people of color than white heterosexuals

Segments of White communities feel threatened by changing race relations (Ferber, 1999; Harnois, 2014; Major, Blodorn, & Blascovich, 2018). In seeing racial equality as an encroachment on their privileges, some White people resented and bemoaned a supposed loss of "their jobs" and "nice White neighborhoods" to undeserving racial minorities (Riley & Peterson, 2020). A few studies found White LGB individuals sometimes feared the loss of

racialized economic advantages but they were more worried about the presumed homophobic tendencies of racial minorities (Craig & Richeson, 2016; Holley et al., 2008; Huo & Molina, 2006). By seeing racial minorities as people who are aligned with homophobic forces, a cluster of articles contended that White LGBs generally distrusted and feared the presumed motives of Blacks, Latino/as, and Middle Eastern immigrants (Hill, 2013; Jones, 2016; Simon & Grabow, 2014). Thus, some White LGBs might see race relations in an antagonistic mode that portrays racial minorities as hostile adversaries.

Research question

The role of sexual identities and antiracist activism is ambiguous and unclear. A set of studies point to greater racial progressiveness among sexual minorities (Beran et al., 1992; Egan, Edelman, & Sherrill, 2008; Flores, 2017; Grollman, 2017; Kleiman et al., 2015; Simon & Grabow, 2014; Schnabel, 2018; Swank & Fahs, 2017), but other papers doubt this interpretation (Craig & Richeson, 2016; Danforth et al., 2020; Harris & Battle, 2013; Holley et al., 2008; Swank, 2018a). The role of sexual identities to White antiracism was open to even greater debate. The literature is divided on whether White LGBs were more likely (Andersen & Jennings, 2010; Fine et al., 2018; Fingerhut & Hardy, 2020; Pender et al., 2019; Taylor et al., 2009; Terriquez, 2015) or equally prone to join social movements against racial injustices (Battle & Harris, 2013; Kleimen, Spanierman, and Smith 2015; Harris & Battle, 2013; Ostrove & Brown, 2018; Swank, 2018a). In addressing these contradictory research findings, this current study asks the research question of "How do the sexual identities of White people connect to their antiracist sentiments and antiracist activism?" An answer to this question comes from a random national survey conducted during the first term of the Obama presidency in the United States (2010–2012).

Method

Sample

Data for this study came from the "Evaluations of Government and Society" and "Time Series" subsamples of the 2010–2012 American National Election Study (ANES). This version of ANES was used because it had measures of sexual identities and participation in anti-racist social movements, something that surveys rarely do. Access to this data can be found on the ANES web-page (https://electionstudies.org). As a multisplit research design, ANES modified its survey items and data gathering modes throughout the 2010–2012 election cycle (face-to-face interviews and web-based collection methods). Data on social movement engagement were limited to web versions of the

"Evaluations of Government and Society" sample while the other measures of racial attitudes were in the "Time Series" data set. The web-version for these samples offered 3,860 participants but in this study I examined only the 2,552 individuals who self-identified as White non-Hispanic individuals.

A company named Knowledge Networks provided the ANES participants. Knowledge Networks (KN) created and maintains a panel of people who have previously agreed to completing on-line surveys. When building a list of 40,000 US households, KN contacted people through random-digit dialing and address-based approaches. Although issues of race, gender, and education selection biases are discovered in KN samples, their selection biases were equivalent to random telephone surveys (Smith & Kim, 2015; Weinberg, Freese, & McElhattan, 2014).

This study had demographic diversity in many areas. Twenty-nine percent of participants had a high school degree, 30.3% attended some college, and 23.1% achieved a four-year bachelor's degree. The modal income range was $30,001–50,000 a year per family (16.7%), while family incomes around $50,001–70,000 and $70,001–90,000 were almost as common (13% of the sample). The sampled skewed male as 50.7% of respondents were men and it disproportionally drew upon urban dwellers (83% of the sample currently lived in Standardized Metropolitan Statistical Areas). The mean age was 52.8 years because only 12.3% of the respondents were adults under 30 years old while 24.1% of the sample was 65 years or older. Fifty-nine percent of the sample was currently married, 15.8% were single-never married, 12.1% were divorced and everybody else was cohabitating or widowed,

Instruments

Dependent variables: Liberal identities, racial consciousness, and antiracist activism

Antiracism and liberal identities often go together (Allen, McCright, & Dietz, 2017; Tropp & Ulug, 2019), and ANES offered a seven-point scale on a person's political identity: "Here is a 7-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale?" (extremely liberal = 7, extremely conservative = 1).

Racial attitudes are multifaceted constructs that can be defined, operationalized, and measured in many ways. Knowles, Lowery, Chow, and Unzueta (2014) theorized that White people conceived of their racial identities through three overarching perspectives. As a member of a dominant group, White individuals can deny the existence of privilege, embrace or internalize the greatness of Whiteness, or strive to dismantle systems of privilege. Whereas denial and internalizing of White privilege led to explicit or complicit support

of White advantages, the intent to dismantle privilege can lead to actions that challenge and relinquish White privilege. ANES provided measures on the willingness to renounce and publicly confront institutionalized White racism.

Some studies have suggested that White people were more willing to dismantle racism when they rejected racial stereotypes and imagined that racial minorities had goodwill (Stewart & Tran, 2018). ANES was limited to the internalization of racial stereotypes; as such, I created a two-item scale that combined the answers to items that asked about Black and Hispanic Americans' work ethic (1-hardworking, 7 = lazy, α = .93). (Note that the terms Black and Hispanic were used by ANES in their surveys.)

Other studies have suggested that a progressive racial consciousness cultivated antiracist activism (Jardina, 2019; Pinterits, Poteat, & Spanierman, 2009). Patricia Gurin and colleagues (1981) suggested that there were at least five elements of a racial group consciousness: (a) "group identification"; (b) "polar affect," a preference/disdain for members of one's own racial group and dislike/admiration for those of other racial group; (c) "polar power," an expressed satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the group's current status, power, or material resource in relation to those of other racial groups; and (d) "individual versus system blame," the belief that a group's social status is attributable to individual failings or to structural inequities, respectively.

White identification, linked fate, and polar affect. White people can embrace their racial classification and feel that their wellbeing is bound to the destiny of other Whites. White identification is generally a conservative force that increases a desire to protect and maintain White privilege (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Schiffhauer, 2007; Hornsey, Spears, Cremers, & Hogg, 2003). To address the salience of being White one item asked, "Whiteness is not important to my identity." This item was coded in an affirmative fashion because the absence of White identification often links to antiracist activism (Citrin & Sears, 2014; Schildkraut, 2017; Wong & Cho, 2005). To address issues of racial affect, an ANES feeling thermometer solicited emotional warmth or coldness toward three racial groups: Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics. With scores ranging between 0 and 100 for each racial group, lower scores indicated states of distance and disgust while higher scores suggested fondness and affection toward each group.

Recognition and support of racial discrimination. Symbolic and colorblind racism feigns a rejection of racial stereotypes as it minimizes the amount of systematic racism in current society. Antiracist activists often see structural barriers that limit the life chances and liberties of people of color. To address the extent of perceived racism, ANES asked broad questions of "how much discrimination is there in the United States today against" Blacks and

Hispanics. Responses were merged into a single variable of Perceived Racism and coded in the direction of detecting systematic biases (a great deal or a lot of discrimination = 2, moderate amount of discrimination = 1, little or no discrimination = 0; ɑ = .850). Another item scrutinized impressions of how much White people control governmental laws and policies. White people often resent antiracist activism when they think Whites are losing the power they deserve (Riley & Peterson, 2020). An item with the opposite impression declared Whites have "too much influence in US politics" (too much influence = 3 and not enough influence =1).

Reactions to racial discrimination often depend on whether people think racial advantages are deserved or earned (McIntosh). One item challenged the legitimacy of current racial dynamics by stating, "Blacks have gotten less than what they deserve" (strongly agree, somewhat agree = 1, others = 0). Another item explored compassion toward the targets of racial discrimination. In exploring sympathy toward African Americans, a question asked: "How often do you feel sympathy toward Blacks?" Answers were coded for the presence of this feeling (always feel sympathetic, most of the time sympathetic, half of the time sympathetic = 1, all others = 0).

Antiracist activism encompasses a vast repertoire of behaviors. White people can politically challenge racism through voting, lobbying, making financial contributions, boycotting, and attending marches or demonstrations. ANES established antiracist activism through participation in political groups and social movements that contested racial biases. One item asked about being active in a racial or ethnic interest group (Yes = 1, No = 0). Another asked if they were ever active in a "racial equality movement" (Yes = 1, No = 0).

Independent variable: LGB sexual identity

To assess sexual identities, ANES asked people to classify their sexual identity: "Do you consider yourself . . . ?" The three answers of heterosexual, bisexual, and gay or lesbian were transformed into one dichotomous variable (lesbian, gay, or bisexual = 1, heterosexual = 0). People who skipped this question were removed from the sample. With this coding scheme, 95.7% of the sample was considered heterosexual (N = 2,442) and 4.3% was treated as lesbian, gay, or bisexual (N = 110). While this measure traced current sexual identities, it did not indicate if people based their sexual identity classifications on actions, desires, or any other criteria. Sometimes sexual identities and sexual practices do not match up but several scholars argue that sexual identities predicted social attitudes better than the gender of one's sexual partners (Egan, 2008; Schnabel, 2018; Swank & Fahs, 2019).

Results

Analytical plan

Group differences were ascertained through the use of a one-way between subjects Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). Standard F-Ratios were reported if the ANOVA passed a Levene test of equal variance. Otherwise, a Welch F-test was displayed (Tomarken & Serlin, 1986). The magnitude of effect was indicated in the Eta squared (η^2). Any η^2 between .010 and .058 revealed a weak effect size while moderate association ranged from .059 to .137 and strong relationships were above .138 (Cohen, 1988).

Findings

Table 1 explored the variance of racial consciousness and antiracist activism by sexual identity. White sexual minorities were more likely to call themselves liberals (F(2, 2550) = 43.3, p = .000) and lesbians, gays, and bisexuals were significantly less likely to think that Blacks or Latino/a/xs were generally lazy (F(2, 2550) = 354.3, p = .000). Conversely, the tendency toward LGB liberalism was less consistent for the racial consciousness measures. Four of the eight racial consciousness measures displayed significant sexuality differences. LGB participants were more likely than heterosexuals to perceive discrimination against Blacks-Hispanics [F(2, 2550) = 12.1, p = .001] and recognize greater White power in politics [F(2, 2550) = 28.0, p = .000]. White LGBs also saw less racial fairness as sexual identities varied by perceptions of "Blacks getting what they deserve" [F(2, 2550) = 20.2, p = .000]. Finally, greater LGB awareness of racism was coupled with a more sympathetic stance toward the difficulties that

Table 1. Sexual identity and antiracism among white people.

Dependent Variable	Range	Sexual Identity		F	Sig.	η^2
		LGB	Het			
Attitudes and Feelings						
Liberal identity	1–7	4.00	2.81	43.3	**.000**	.015
Blacks/Hispanics are lazy	2–14	4.78	5.58	354.3	**.000**	.108
Salience of being White	0–1	.41	.36	1.8	.170	.000
Closeness to Whites	0–100	66.8	67.7	.12	.722	.000
Closeness to Blacks	0–100	60.1	57.0	1.4	.236	.000
Closeness to Hispanics	0–100	59.7	56.1	1.8	.171	.000
Perceived racism against Blacks/Hispanics	0–6	3.01	2.56	12.1	**.001**	.007
Too much influence of Whites in politics	0–3	2.35	2.00	28.0	**.000**	.013
Blacks get less than what they deserve	0–1	.25	.11	20.2	**.000**	.007
Sympathy toward the plight of Blacks	0–1	.40	.24	15.8	**.000**	.005
Political Actions						
Active in an ethnic/racial interest group	0–1	.018	.006	.87	.372	.000
Joined a racial equality social movement	0–1	.009	.007	.04	.637	.000
N		110	2442			

Statistically significant associations are bolded and results for Welch's F test were reported when Variables exhibited unequal variances across groups. The effect size estimate is the Eta^2 (η^2), Fisher Exact tests also present the same significance results for items with dichotomous dependent variables.

people of color endure [F(2, 2550) = 15.8, p = .000]. All of these significant factors showed weaker effect sizes. Thus, it seems that being a sexual minority seems to sensitize White people to some of the problems of systematic racism. Moreover, this assessment was not simply a detached appraisal of the existence of racial biases as White LGBs generally expressed greater grief over racial inequalities and compassion for people being mistreated because of their race.

This greater awareness of racial privileges for LGB Whites did not translate into certain racial affects. LGB participants were slightly less likely to think that their race was important to their identity but this difference was minimal [F(2, 2550) = 1.8, p = .170]. White people were emotionally closest to other White people and being an LGB person did not alter this impulse [F(2, 2550) = .1, p = .722]. White LGBs were barely warmer to Blacks [F(2, 2550) = 1.4, p = .236] and Hispanics [F(2, 2550) = 1.8, p = .171] and this difference was statistically inconsequential.

The link of sexual identities to antiracist activism was minor and negligible. White LGBs were three times as likely to join racial advocacy groups that White heterosexuals but this increase amounted to a mere 1.2% (Whites overwhelmingly avoided groups that organized against structural racism). Hence, there are no signs of LGB distinctiveness in the realms of advocacy group membership [F(2, 2550) = .8, p = .372] or participation in collective challenges to racism [F(2, 2550) = .0, p = .637].

Discussion

White Americans often live in a world of racial privileges and can often overlook and justify these advantages. Some White people praise their race as being more virtuous, knowledgeable, intelligent, law-abiding, and responsible while others minimize the extent of racism in the post civil-rights era (Bonilla-Silva, 2007). These outlooks legitimizes and furthers White hording of resources and downplays the negative consequences of racism for other racial groups.

Under rare circumstances, White people individually and/or collectively resist racial discrimination. Before the recent Black Lives Matters protests of June-July 2020, less than five percent of White Americans reported participation in racial justice movements (Lake et al., 2021; Swank, 2018a). Moreover, even with over 5,000 U.S. BLM protests in the Summer of 2020 (Putnman, Pressmen, & Chenworth, 2020), the number of White individuals who had recently protested racism had risen to only 6% (Parker, Horowitz, & Arditi, 2020).

It is possible that exposure to heterosexist discrimination can boost the amount of antiracist activism among White LGBs (Andersen & Jennings, 2010; Fine et al., 2018; Fingerhut & Hardy, 2020). However, some studies warn that there is no sexuality gap in antiracist behaviors among White individuals (Harris & Battle, 2013; Kleiman et al., 2015; Swank, 2018a).

Inconsistent and incompatible findings can be the result of clashing research designs. Many studies of the sexuality gap in racial attitudes come from smaller convenience samples (Beran et al., 1992; Kleiman, Spanierman & Smith, 2015), students at a single college (Garrett-Walker et al., 2018; Mallett, Huntsinger, Sinclair, & Swim, 2008), or gig employees who work for internet companies like Mechanical Turk (Stewart & Tran, 2018; Tropp & Ulug, 2019). Three studies have used national random samples but their analysis only concentrates on racial mind-sets and skips political behaviors (Grollman, 2018; Schnabel, 2018; Swank, 2019).

This study improved upon early studies of sexual minorities and racial attitudes and activism in several ways. First, most studies of White allies omit issues of sexuality in their analysis; this study does not. Second, the national random sample diminished the problems of selection bias. Third, the sample had an adequate number of people from distinct sexual identities who had and had not been engaged in antiracist activism. Fourth, the study explored a wide range of the attitudinal and emotional attributes of people's racial consciousness. Lastly, the study included an analysis of antiracist thoughts and deeds that were missing from earlier studies on sexual identities and racial attitudes. The inclusion of measures of antiracist activism was important because changes to racial laws and policies were often more attuned to the political activism of citizens than their racial sentiments (Andrews, 2001; Olzak & Ryo, 2007).

The analysis found that the impact of sexual identities was much greater for racial attitudes than for antiracist behaviors. Five of the seven attitudinal measures revealed significant differences between sexual minorities and heterosexuals. White LGBs were significantly more likely to call themselves extremely or moderately liberal as compared to White heterosexuals. This variable had one of the largest effect sizes among the study but it also was a distant proxy to racial attitudes. White people who called themselves liberal did not always adhere to liberal stances on racial matters because they often had an "implementation gap" in applying liberal principles to topics like affirmative action and racial integration in schools (Bobo, 1999; Federico & Sidanius, 2002). White LGBs also rejected the crudest versions of Jim Crow racism significantly more often than did White heterosexuals. White participants generally disapproved of Blacks and Latino/a/xs being called lazy, but White LGBs were much less receptive to this narrative than heterosexuals of the same race. Finally, being a White sexual minority seemed to alter a White person's awareness of racial privilege. Most White people downplayed the extent of widespread racism, shunned claims of White dominance in politics, and had tepid levels of sympathy for the plight of Black America.

However, many White lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals discarded these tenets of symbolic and Color-blind racism. The majority of White sexual minorities agreed that racist treatment of Blacks and Hispanics was ubiquitous

and they felt that Whites had too much control in governmental proceedings. This greater recognition of institutionalized racism also merged with a concession that the racial order was not fair and people of color generally got treated poorly in America.

There also were some instances in which White racial attitudes did not differ by sexual identity. Being a sexual minority was irrelevant to White person's racial salience. Finally, sexual identities had little repercussions with a person's bonds to people of the same and different races (Swank, 2019). White sexual minorities did not display greater ambivalence or animosity to other White people even though people of their same race often condemned them for being queer. In addition, a cognitive awareness of racism did not correspond with greater emotive ties to people of color (Case, 2007).

A sexuality gap was not found in antiracist activism. Regardless of a person's sexual identity, less than two percent of White people had ever joined political organizations or social movements that pushed for racial equality. The trivial LGB bump to antiracist aligns more with the studies with national samples (Battle & Harris, 2013; Swank, 2018a) than more regionalized and smaller samples (Andersen & Jennings, 2010; Fine et al., 2018).

While this "no sexuality effects" for antiracist activism seems accurate, this research is not without limitations. Struggles against racism are cyclical, as some periods of time see massive increases and decreases in the number of lawsuits, boycotts, and protests against racial injustices. With this sample taking place in 2010, almost every respondent missed the heyday of the civil rights movement and the 2013 manifestations of the Black Lives Matter movement. Moreover, the measures could have underestimated the amount of antiracist activism that people engaged in. ANES asked if White people joined a "racial/ethnic interest group." Respondents could have applied this question to membership in nostalgic folk groups that celebrate old food and costumes or even membership in White supremacy groups. Better measures might have provided a checklist of groups that contest White privilege (i.e., the National Council of La Raza, or Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice) or groups that focus on the needs of BIPOC queers (i.e., National Black Gay Men's Advocacy Coalition, Latino Equality, or the Portland Two-Spirit Society).

Additionally, the phrase "being active in the racial equality movement" is somewhat imprecise. The term "active" is vague and the "racial equality movement" could be outdated or fuzzy to people of different generations. Staggenborg and Taylor (2005) also warn that the focus on "contentious social movements" ignores the ways that racial progressive try to transform the ways that race is understood and performed. White individuals can contest racial problems in many individual ways, such as interrupting racist discourse or jokes, engaging in respectful listening, living in racially heterogeneous neighborhoods, placing children in racially integrated

schools, and challenging White privilege in queer spaces (Hardiman, Jackson, & Griffin, 2007). However, expanding the definition of antiracist activism presents new dilemmas because many interpersonal forms of activism are low risk activism that does not seriously address the structural causes of racism. Also, letting White people determine if their actions are authentically fighting racism is not without problems (Hughey, 2012). That is, the sort of ally activism that lacks humility, seeks to affirmations of moral worth of Whites, and is centered White experts/saviors offer replicates racism among liberal circles (Grzanka et al., 2019; Sumerau, Forbes, Grollman, & Mathers, 2021). Finally, some may wonder if the absence of White racial salience is always a precursor to White antiracism (Citrin & Sears, 2014; Schildkraut, 2017; Wong & Cho, 2005) because it is possible that some White progressives may think a lot about their racial identities.

In the end, I hope other researchers take up this research question in future studies, particularly given the recent salience of racial justice issues in the summer of 2020 and beyond. Scholars should try to determine if the recent wave of new White protesters (Parker et al., 2020), plus the explicit queer-affirmative approach of BLM (Nummi, Jennings, & Feagin, 2019), increased the proportion of sexual minorities who protest against structural racism and police brutality. Intersectional studies can compare the link of antiracist activism to sexual identities with people of different racial backgrounds (Pender et al., 2019; McGregor et al., 2019; Swank, 2019; Terriquez, 2015). It would also be interesting to see how sexual identities impacted participation in the civil rights movement of the past and the struggles for racial justice during the Trump and Biden presidencies (Heaney, 2021). Scholars could also study different dimensions of the variables in this analysis. For example, racial identification could be measured by a feeling of "racelessness" that is described by some White individuals, and researchers could also determine whether White people prioritize their racial identities over other identities they have (Citrin & Sears, 2014; Schildkraut, 2017; Wong & Cho, 2005). Scholars might also explore the ways sexual identities impact implicit racial attitudes (Dovidio et al., 2002; McConnell & Leibold, 2001), the presence of an intersectional awareness of oppression (Greenwood, 2008; Heaney, 2021), or sexualized racism (Callander, Newman, & Holt, 2015).

Scholars could also use more elaborate and extensive scales that address issues of perceived racism in America. Composite indexes like the White Privilege Scale (Swim & Miller, 1999), the Privilege and Oppression Inventory (Hays, Chang, & Decker, 2007), and the White Privilege Attitudes Scale (Pinterits et al., 2009) all use multi-item scales which address an awareness of how Whites benefit from racism in their personal daily interactions. Some studies suggest that feelings of "White guilt" inspired greater levels of antiracist activism among White individuals (Mallett et al., 2008), but other studies suggest that activism based on guilt was often seen as misguided and counterproductive to people of color (Droogendyk, Wright, Lubensky, & Louis, 2016; Hughey, 2012).

My measure of sexual identity was also far from perfect. Studies of racial attitudes by sexual identity routinely compare heterosexuals to lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals (Grollman, 2018; Schnabel, 2018; Swank, 2019). While this dichotomous approach increases the sample size of sexual minorities, it also glosses over the possibility of differences between lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals (Swank, 2018b). In fact, this study originally sought to analyze the antiracist activism of bisexuals by themselves but there were not enough bisexuals to run proper statistical tests. Some studies find more radical attitudes among queer identified individuals (Goldberg, Rothblum, Russell, & Meyer, 2020; Worthern, 2020b), but ANES does not offer a queer response on its sexual identity measure. It is possible that sexual identities might have had a larger effect if we included issues of disclosure practices among sexual minorities. Disclosure practices can vary by race (Bridges & Moore, 2018; Cherng, 2017) and the act of coming out can solidify progressive racial sentiments. Egan et al. (2008) noted that nearly one-third of lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals reported feeling "closer to people of other races" after coming out as a sexual minority. This study could also have had issues related to temporal ordering. Sexual identities are relatively fluid and some studies suggest that exposure to liberal ideas and liberal identities can precede the acceptance of a lesbian, gay, or bisexual identity (Egan, 2020; Silva & Whaley, 2018). Finally, this study is based in the United States and Scholars should follow the lead of Stuart Turnbull-Dugarte (2021) and Phillip Ayoub (2019) who are analyzing the links of sexual identities to racialized activism in Europe and elsewhere.

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