

From Flags to Fate: Developing a Queer Utility Heuristic

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Abstract

How are queer persons motivated in the United States to behave politically? How does queer-linked fate impact an individual's willingness to participate in voting and non-voting political activities? Utilizing data from the 2020 Collaborative Multi-Racial Post Election Survey (CMPS) I offer a new theory of queer political participation in the United States, rooted in the deep shared history of the queer community, and find that higher levels of queer-linked fate among LGBTQ+ individuals leads to greater participation in voting and non-voting participation.

Keywords: Queer Politics, Political Behavior, LGBT, Linked Fate

Introduction

On June 28th, 1969, what started as a routine police raid in New York City rapidly evolved into a movement of resistance and liberation against police violence and brutality targeting queer persons. Stonewall Inn was a local gay bar, and on that June night, the raid started an uprising amongst queer persons, a call for the right to live openly as queer without fear of retaliation or criminal punishment, as was common in the United States during that time. Years

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later, the civil disobedience at Stonewall was recognized amongst the public as the beginning of a decades-long legal and social battle over the existence of queerness, and the ability of queer persons to enjoy and fully be entailed as part of the American Experience.

Political participation and its motivators are central to the understanding of political behavior in the United States. Studies of political behavior amongst groups typically seek to understand what motivates these groups. While political science has generally done a good job of being inclusive in its studies of minority groups, a large vacuum remains when it comes to assessing the behavior and motivations of queer persons in the United States. I seek to help close this gap in our understanding and contribute a novel theory of queer participation in the United States, and one of the first studies of how and why queer people behave politically in the United States.

Framing the Study

What explains queer political behavior? Why should we be considering queerness in our understanding of political science? American politics scholars have sought to understand how and why people turn out to vote and participate in politics more generally. However, as political science as a discipline has evolved, scholars have grappled with the radical fact that not everyone is the same, and some groups behave differently than others, this provides a rich corpus of literature that explains how different groups behave, however, one flaw with current political science scholarship is that frequently it fails to capture queerness as a group of interest in our literature. Typically work regarding queerness in the field engages research at an individual level, and while this work provides a rich value to the field, attempts to explain the

behavior of the community at large are few and far between. The purpose of my work is two-fold in this area: to advance further the collective agenda of queers in American politics scholarship and to provide an original theory for the understanding of queer political behavior in the United States.

To understand how we are to tackle queerness as a means of study in this project, it is important to lay out a few key pieces of the puzzle. Social and group identity are some of the theoretical bases for the work laid out in this project, and classical explanations of political participation in the United States are necessary to consider because they provide a robust corpus of literature to synthesize and build theory. The rest of this review will frame queerness in the social identity and group consciousness literature, following this, I consider the classical explanations of political behavior in the United States, and finally, I make considerations of relevant literature regarding alternative explanations of behavior amongst social identity groups and how this comports to my original explanation of queer political participation amongst U.S. queers.

Framing of Queerness

Identity and history amongst queers are imperative to the understanding of what causes them to behave in the political realm. The acronym LGBTQ+, simply put, acts as an acronym for the phrase “Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Plus”. However, within the queer community, many consider the phrase to encompass any person outside of the cis-hetero identity. This is why many people use the term queer to identify the LGBTQ+ community. There is, however, much discussion over what the term “queer” identifies, or what it represents.

Queer can be a slur, it can be used as an empowering form of identity, a term of ambiguity, a theoretical framework, or a catchall term (Bernstein, 1997). For many, being queer is connected to being non-cis/non-hetero. As the term and community evolve over time, people who self-identify as queer might have varying reasons to do so (Worthen 2021). This sort of distinction is important to this paper and from a societal standpoint because the LGBTQ+ community is diverse, encompassing many identities and persons looking for acceptance and community despite their perceived differences from what society defines as normal.

Most historians agree that there is some form of homosexual activity and/or same-sex love in every documented culture, regardless of whether they faced persecution. Movements that surrounded the acceptance of queer persons began typically as responses to centuries of persecution by established institutions, whether political or not, such as churches, state authorities, police, and medical disciplines (Morris 2019). This is where we see the sort of uprising at Stonewall that we discussed earlier, and the many more riots/protests that called for queer liberation and acceptance that followed it. The call for liberation is a large definer of the queer identity, and as such, it helps us to define and understand queerness more generally, as well as serves as a key point that underlies my theory, this shared history amongst queer persons is imperative to understand our later framing.

Within the study of political science, we regularly consider two key concepts, and this work is no exception. To understand queerness as a political force, we must consider its basis in social identity and group consciousness. Group identity and group consciousness evolved in the discipline based on the psychological theory of social identity. Effectively, a person's sense of belonging matters more than the identity of the group (Tajfel 1978, Tajfel and Turner 1979) and

there were 3 criteria that must be met to construct a group identity: you categorize others and the self as an ingroup and outgroup; identification, or primary and secondary marginalization of the outgroup; and a comparison between the ingroup and the outgroup. This psychological theory was then adopted by political science with Miller et al. pioneering group consciousness, or the idea that identity can become politicized, and the shared marginalization of the group leads to collective action (Miller et al. 1981). For the purposes of broad theory, I believe that Miller et al. 1981 definition serves best. There is a need to establish the in and outgroups, the shared marginalization, and the inherent politicization of the identity. If we consider Both Tajfel and Turner's (1979) and Miller et al.'s (1981) points we can see that the queer community fits not only the 3 criteria to be considered a social identity group, but they have a longstanding shared history of oppression within the United States, these combined with the idea that "group membership is a powerful basis for the development of self-identity and perceptions of individual interest" (Bobo 1983), provide the not only the basis of my theory but also shows the importance that political scientists should be giving greater attention to the queer community.

Explanations of Political Behavior

Conventional explanations of political behavior in the United States find their roots in studies of the "average" American voter in the mid-20th century. Texts like *Voting* (Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee 1954) argue that people's attitudes and turnout are a function of their social circle, while others like Downs (1957) make the argument that voting turnout and choice is a rational calculus that people perform to decide whether or not they will participate. While Downs notes the idea that the most rational voter should almost never vote, voters and citizens gain some utility by being able to utilize information shortcuts to mobilize and inform

themselves based on group preferences. Further work sought to explain attitude development and political behavior further than both socialization and rational choice. Campbell et al. (1960) provide an explanation of behavior that originates in familial and social contexts that through some logic, priming, and experience distill (funnel) into a position and mobilization. While the classic cannon gives decent groundwork, more recent political science scholarship seeks to extend the literature on voting participation and seek new mechanisms that might influence people to participate more and more effectively.

The pioneering of group consciousness has given rise to a large body of literature that challenges the conventional wisdom of the study of American political behavior. Before the existence of the measure, we (scholars) largely took for granted that everyone was pretty much the same, and as such built our discipline on the backs of studies about white males, because those were the people that were predominately studied at the time when the field was first beginning to advance. The seminal texts on voting (Berelson, Lazarsfeld and Mcphee 1954, Downs 1957, Campbell et al. 1960) are all based largely upon samples of cisgender, heterosexual white males, and not for the fault of the authors, that was the group that was willing and fundamentally able to vote. At the time women had gained the right to vote, but other marginalized groups were not fully equal to engage, and as such oftentimes were left out of emerging political science research. The radical idea that minorities are also people and behave differently from white people changed the discipline drastically, launching a subfield that sought to investigate these differences and how minorities were motivated to behave and serve to inspire and inform this particular research agenda.

Contemporary Explanations of Behavior

More contemporary explanations of group behavior have seen the emergence of a concept termed “linked fate”. Pioneered by Michael Dawson in 1994, linked fate is the idea that one feels connected to one’s social identity group, intrinsically to the point that what happens to the group has an impact on their own life. Specifically applying the theory to African American voting behavior, Dawson finds that people who feel higher levels of linked fate will be motivated to adopt policy positions that are beneficial to the group even if that position might be counter-intuitive to their personal benefits. Dawson attributes this new measure to the violent, shared history experienced by African Americans in the United States, formal constraints and violence placed onto blacks because of the institution of slavery, combined with the legal battles over rights, and existent informal constraints faced by this group has activated their group consciousness in a way that mobilizes them as a bloc. However, for Dawson, group identity and consciousness are not the same thing as linked fate, rather it is a predecessor and natural extension or distillation of group consciousness. Effectively you cannot have the existence of linked fate without the existence of group consciousness. Where group consciousness is a set of shared ideals and values within the group, linked fate is the group cohesion that pursues these shared beliefs politically. However, it is difficult to separate the two, at least empirically. For many studies, linked fate and group consciousness are used interchangeably, and generally in survey instruments we use linked fate as a proxy for group consciousness, it should be noted that the two are not the same, one precedes the other in terms of existence, and this should be thought about.

Since Dawson's exploration into linked fate, other scholars have sought to utilize the measure to explain the behavior of other racial and social minorities in political science, with mixed results amongst different groups for its power of explanation in their behavior. Sanchez and Masuoka (2016) find that while there might be some existence of linked fate among Latinos the evidence is mostly mixed, and the group has evolved since earlier studies where linked fate was a more important explainer. Simien (2005) contributes the idea that gender is important in the racial identity of women of color and gender will often strengthen their linked fate. Additionally, there has been an emergence of the idea of an inter-racial linked fate that supersedes linked fate amongst co-ethnics when people identify with the "person of color" label (Chan and Jasso 2021).

Explanations of Queer Political Behavior

As was alluded to earlier, explanations of queer political behavior are slim within the literature of political science. Some seminal work has investigated the mechanisms that make Lesbians, Gay men, and Bisexuals (LGBs) staunch supporters of Democrats. Lewis, Rogers and Sherrill (2011) posit that LGBs widely supported Gore in the 2000 election because Gore ran on a platform that supported equality for LGBs, namely LGB rights, and policy liberalism. Lewis, Rogers and Sherrill attribute this party adhesion to the idea that the willingness and conditions to adopt an LGB identity also makes them more likely to be liberal Democrats, and this is driven by adult socialization, and the coming out process. While Lewis, Rogers and Sherrill (2011) have a good theoretical foundation, there are two issues to be considered going forward. First, at the time of writing, transgender folk were not part of the sample; not for any malicious reason, they are traditionally an under sampled group because of how hard it is to capture that

demographic. Fortunately, with the over sample of queer folx in the CMPS 2020, this is a demographic that is sufficiently captured within our data. The other issue is that their survey is now two decades old. Since that time, politics, and the queer identity specifically, have become increasingly polarized. I argue that the mechanisms interrogated by Lewis, Rogers and Sherrill (2011) ultimately contribute to the theory outlined below.

While the literature on linked fate occasionally regards queerness as a concept (Bejarano et al. 2020, Moreau et al. 2019), it is typically utilized intersectionally or comparatively with racial linked fate rather than treating it as a standalone concept. While this work still serves some purpose, as outlined above, the queer community should be a group that garners greater attention among scholars. While the constraints of LGBTQ+ persons in the United States have not been as severe as those faced by African Americans, I argue that the group's experience more closely reflects the kind of oppression faced by African Americans in the United States. If we consider the uprisings in the mid-1960s, along with the social stigma faced by queers (both historically and at present) and the economic disadvantages regularly faced by LGBTQ+ persons, the group has had a similar uphill battle toward equality in the United States. It is on this basis that I make a similar theoretical argument to the one that Dawson (1994) makes.

The Politicization of Queerness and Queer Group Interests

While there is still inherent value in understanding how queerness works regarding intersections of Race, Gender, and other forms of identity, I believe it is important to consider the group as a singular force, that queerness itself is an important motivator contained within an individual. I argue that queerness is a factor that is self-reinforcing the identity of queer

Americans, and thus strengthens the link between one's own fate and the fate of the group at large. The greater the perceived link between one's own fate and that of the group, the more salient one's identity, and thus willingness to participate becomes. The social identity of queerness becomes solidified within oneself, and the political salience of the identity comports to participation.

The group interests and the motivation of queerness have a social and political component. The social component includes interactions between the group and society, a general perception, and public ideal of the group within the public eye of the United States. The political component must deal with the legal, formal, and informal barriers that have placed an undue burden on the group and, for the sake of this paper, we will be considering them in this order. The social component of queer identity has two major components, internal and external, as falls in line with most of the research on group identity in political science. While suboptimal in normative terms, the queer identity is not always shaped by internal processes. Yes, the internal component is deeply significant to the motivation of oneself to even identify with the group, but there are outside forces that work to define what queerness is. As such outgroup forces shape a strong view of the identity, and perceived members are subjected to the social norms that are associated with it. In this sense, the attitudes of the outgroup are a determinant of the social status of the group, and in a way shape the boundaries of queerness.

Historically speaking, the attitudes of the outgroup have not seen kindly the members of the queer community. There has been a long history of the group having to fight to erase social stigma in society and oftentimes they face discrimination because of their identity. All too often there are instances where even outgroup members are discriminated against just because of

their perceived membership in the ingroup. There are also high social costs associated with the process of coming out and adopting the queer identity, including the loss of friends, the looking down upon of your family, and in some places in the United States, it can even threaten the stability of financial or housing situations.

From a political standpoint, we must consider how queerness has interacted with the state and the conditions that queerness has gone through in terms of formal and informal legal battles. Akin to the stigma faced socially by US queers, there has also been a great deal of uphill climbing in terms of legal status. In many states, it was legal to discriminate against same-sex couples in terms of serving them, and in some places, such as Texas were allowed to arrest and evict people for engagement in homosexual activities. Many states did this through sodomy laws, and it was not until *Lawrence v. Texas* in 2003 that the Supreme Court guaranteed the right to practice homosexuality publicly. This however still did not protect gay individuals from the whims of the public, and some civil servants. While homosexuality was legal nationally, states could deny you the right to marry your partner, until the Supreme Court intervened and guaranteed the right to gay marriage in 2015's *Obergefell v. Hobbes* Case. While significant legal progress has been made nationally, different parts of the community have become more vulnerable and targeted as part of the anti-queer movement that exists broadly. To this day there are still violent and brutal acts taken against queer persons for simply existing in the United States. There is a pattern of brutalization against queer folk. Innocent people such as Matthew Sheppard (1998), the victims of the Pulse Nightclub shooting (2016), and even as recently as the killing of Nex Benedict, a non-binary teenager in Oklahoma (2024), have all been martyred in the fight for legal and social protections. This brutal pattern of social segregation,

and direct violence despite legal guarantees, has solidified the queer identity broadly as a group. The group must work in a two-tiered pluralistic fashion (Hero 1992) that places an undue burden on the group. This shared historical experience of queers has implicitly tied life chances to the chances of the group due to the pervasiveness of queer oppression for the better part of American history.

Queering the Utility Heuristic

The queer utility heuristic is a mechanism that enables one to specify the conditions under which queer interests become stronger or weaker relative to individual interests and states that as long as the life chances of queers are shaped by these components of their identity, queer persons use the perceptions of the interests of the Queer community at large as a proxy for their own interests, and are motivated because of this towards political behavior. Rationality is measured instead of as utility maximization, but instead by the process of decision-making. Historically, the environment where queer Americans have been forced to reside has been risky and hostile and forces queer individuals to have to engage in procedural rationality as a means of survival. This procedural rationality further reinforces the salience of the group identity (Dawson 1994, Simon 1985). The salience of this identity and shared history of the queer community in the United States has led to the activation of their group consciousness and thus motivates queer individuals to action. Based upon this theory I assert two hypotheses of queer political participation, simply put that those who identify with the group at greater strengths will be more pushed to participate in politics in both voting and non-voting manners.

H1: Queer individuals who experience higher levels of Queer Linked Fate will be more likely to vote.

H2: Queer individuals who experience higher levels of Queer Linked Fate will be more engaged in non-voting political behavior.

Data, Variables, and Methods

Data for this paper comes from the 2020 Collaborative Multi-Racial Post-Election Survey (CMPS) that specifically oversamples a selection of marginalized groups. I employ the use of the CMPS for two major reasons. First, it captures a good sample of queer individuals in the United States with 1118 respondents that self-identify as either gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, non-binary or with other markers that are typically part of the group. Second, the CMPS includes a measure of Queer-Linked Fate, as well as a veritable wealth of demographic information that assists in testing my two hypotheses. I utilize one independent variable of interest, the strength of queer-linked fate, employed in two different analyses. The strength of queer-linked fate is operationalized as an ordinal variable that ranges from 1 to 5. Respondents were asked to rate: "What happens to LGBTQ People will have: 1=Nothing to do with what happens in my life to 5= A huge amount to do with what happens in my life". The dependent variable for my first hypothesis is simply whether the respondent voted, coded as 1 if they voted, and 0 if they did not, and is tested using both logit and probit regression models with the employment of ordinary least squares for robustness checks. The dependent variable for my second hypothesis is a scale of non-voting political participation that accounts for the number of activities that a respondent

engaged in. The scale ranges from 0 (having engaged in no political activities) to 9 (having engaged in all political activities) and consists of activities such as wearing a button, talking about politics, working for a campaign, donating to a campaign, contacting your representatives, getting help from your local government, making an internet post, signing a petition, and participating in a boycott. Hypothesis 2 is modeled using a beta-binomial regression model, to account for some overdispersion seen in the data, as well as ordered logistic regression. Again, OLS is utilized for a robustness check of the hypothesis. For each model, I employ the same set of control variables, those being age, income, gender (coded as 1 for female), race, employment status, trust in Federal and Local governments, and religiosity.

Analysis and Results

Effect of Queer Linked Fate on Voting (Logit in odds ratios)

Table 1	
Queer Linked Fate	1.51122*** (7.12)
Female	1.52657** (2.62)
Non-Binary	1.16214 (0.55)
Income	1.08092*** (3.36)
Age	1.82021*** (9.09)
Latino	0.72726 (-1.48)
Black	0.75572 (-1.24)
AAPI	0.51647**

	(-2.90)
Employment Status	0.87224** (-3.03)
Trust in Federal Government	0.85598 (-1.33)
Trust in Local Government	0.95177 (-0.41)
Religiosity	0.92473 (-1.25)
Percent Queer	1.03299 (0.26)
Regional Fixed Effects	X
Observations	1017
Pseudo R^2	0.172
<i>AIC</i>	1199.33225
<i>BIC</i>	1283.05066
Log lik.	-582.66612
Chi-squared	157.68066

Exponentiated coefficients; z statistics in parentheses

+ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 1 reports the results of a logistic regression model in odds ratios, on the likelihood of someone voting at different levels of queer-linked fate. We can see that given our range of control variables, queer-linked fate is a positive and statistically significant factor in determining voting for queer individuals.

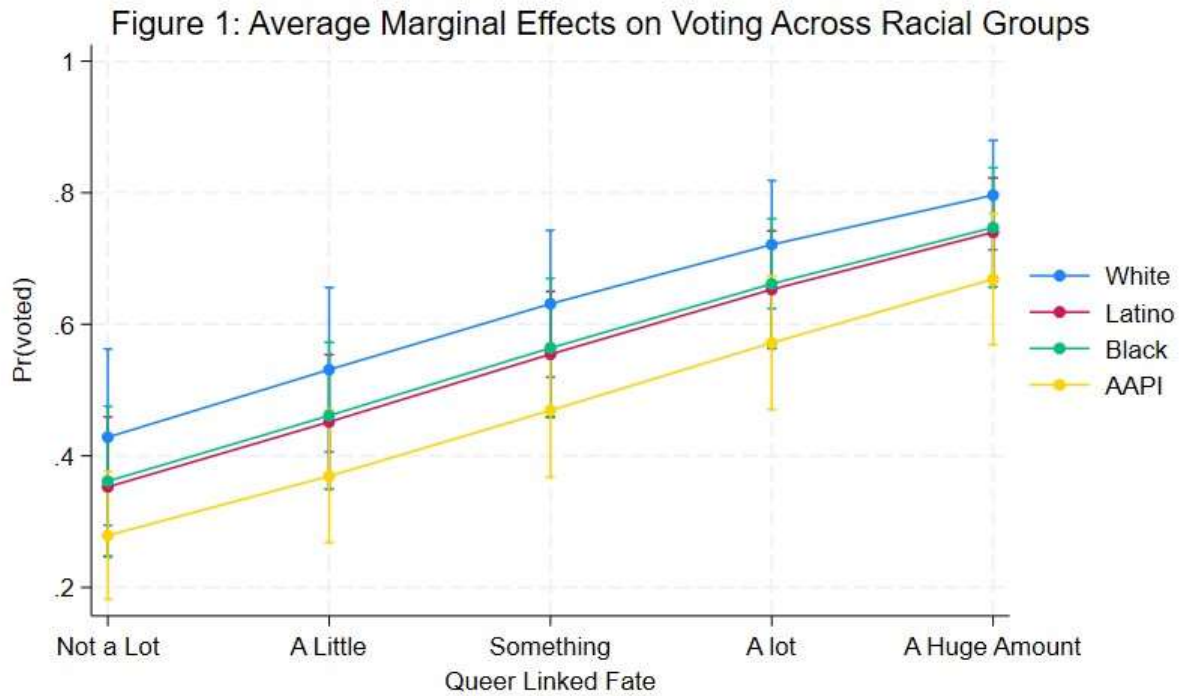


Figure 1 reports the average marginal effects of voting, disaggregated across racial groups to illustrate the consistency of the effect even when accounting for racial differences. Again, in Figure 1 we see that even disaggregated, the effect is still positive and statistically significant. There is considerable overlap however between African Americans and Latinx people within the figure. Both Figure 1 and Table 1, as well as the results of our probit regression model and ordinary least squared regression model, illustrate strong support for our first hypothesis.

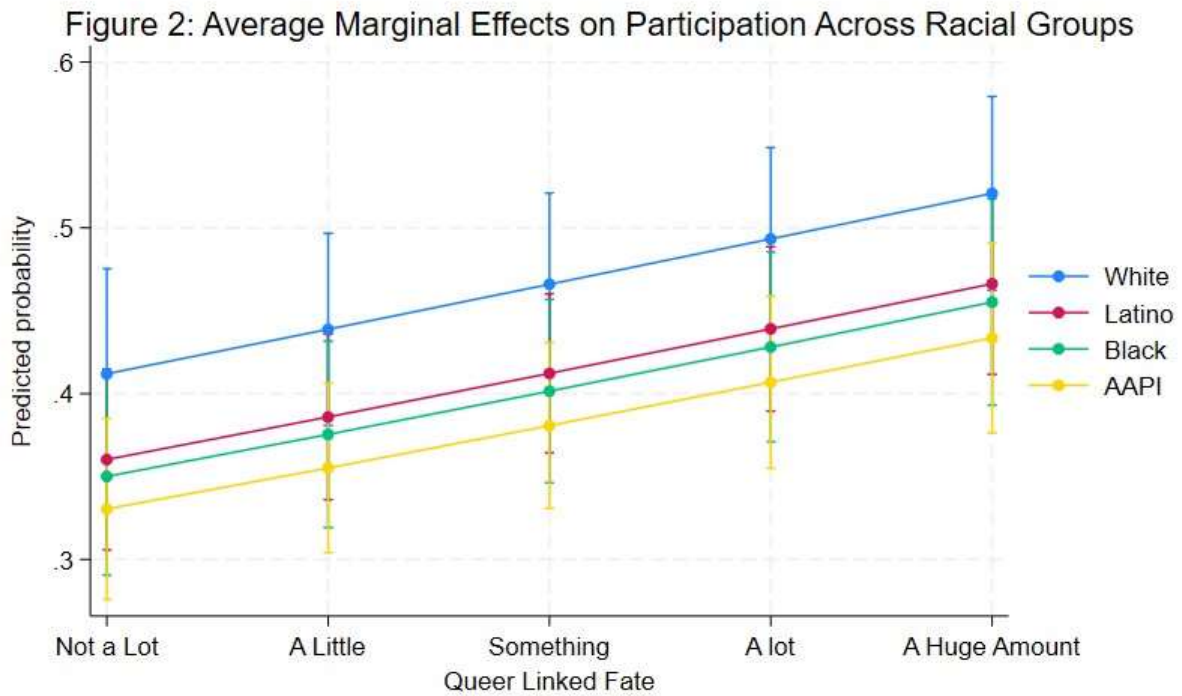
Effect of Queer Linked Fate on Participation (Beta-Binomial Regression)

Table 2	
Queer Linked Fate	0.10975*** (3.79)
Female	0.05564 (0.70)
Non-Binary	0.41646** (2.74)
Income	0.04926*** (4.28)
Age	-0.09866*** (-3.57)
Latino	-0.21842* (-2.18)
Black	-0.26291* (-2.37)
AAPI	-0.35034** (-3.14)
Employment Status	-0.04219+ (-1.84)
Trust in Local Government	0.20996*** (3.45)
Trust in Federal Government	0.24915*** (4.16)
Religiosity	0.06744* (2.12)
Percent Queer	-0.04652 (-0.75)
Regional Fixed Effects	X
Constant	-1.42038*** (-3.57)
Observations	1017
Pseudo R^2	0.037
AIC	4471.58164
BIC	4560.22466
Log lik.	-2217.79082
Chi-squared	169.76808

z statistics in parentheses

+ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 2 reports the results of a Beta-Binomial regression model upon queer-linked fate and other covariates on the likelihood of participating, again presented in odds ratios. Our model illustrates strong support for our second hypothesis, being both in the expected direction and statistically significant. For the sake of consistency in our analysis, we again employ the use of average marginal effects (shown in Figure 2) to approximately illustrate the effects we are seeing in the model, and we see a similar story that queer-linked fate greatly drives non-voting participation amongst United States queers.



Discussion and Conclusion

The above findings represent a vital first step in the systematic study of queer political behavior in the United States in the sense that it explains what motivates them to political action and adds to the literature on political behavior and queer politics by advancing a new theoretical model of group behavior amongst US queers. There are key takeaways from the presented models which can help social scientists systematically study queer behavior and provide a better foundation for scholars interested in this body of research. First, the analysis shows that the presented hypotheses hold in that we see a statistically significant increase in political participation amongst queers who strongly feel that their life chances are tied to the well-being of the at-large group in the US. More specifically, the findings show that for queer individuals whose lives are more greatly tied to that of the group (having higher levels of linked fate), there is a 50% increase in their chance to vote, and they participate at a rate of roughly 10% more as they move up the linked fate scale. We can attribute these increases to the observed need to engage politically and work to shape the life chances of the group to which their own are so heavily tied. Additionally, when broken down by race, we see that this increase is consistent amongst all racial groups, showing that this effect is not an isolated incident, and is shared by the group at large.

Practically, this lends credence to my argument for the idea of a queer utility heuristic, the idea that individuals within the queer community are motivated toward political action based on how largely they feel their life chances are tied to that of the group. The underlying utility gained by queer people who share in the community is political action, and as legal and

social battles surrounding queer identity continue in the United States, the politicization and polarization of queer group interests will only strengthen these findings.

To conclude, I hope that there is greater attention to queer political behavior in the study of American Politics. While this paper provides a necessary first step in advancing the agenda of research on US-based queer folks, more work is required to better understand the nexus between queer-linked fate and political participation. Future iterations of this agenda include further advancing this work and seeking to deepen our understanding of the functions of queer-linked fate amongst the community at large, by disaggregating the community and assessing if they have specific linked fate with the LGBTQ+ group, or if they're simply only identifying with it because it is the only option. Additionally, there needs to also be continual systematic studies of queer voting behavior, the policies and preferences that queer voters are supporting, and their practical impacts on policy outcomes.

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Appendix

Robustness Check Regression Coefficients

Appendix 1	Voted	Participation
Queer Linked Fate	0.08506*** (0.01104)	0.23295*** (0.06089)
Female	0.07799* (0.03131)	0.10547 (0.16809)
Non-Binary	0.02452 (0.05862)	0.86195** (0.32831)
Income	0.01237** (0.00446)	0.09136*** (0.02381)
Age	0.12040*** (0.01038)	-0.19785*** (0.05629)
Employment Status	-0.03008*** (0.00911)	-0.10313* (0.04839)
Trust in Federal Government	-0.02954 (0.02303)	0.52485*** (0.13472)
Trust in Local Government	-0.00748 (0.02297)	0.40477** (0.13619)
Religiosity	-0.01348 (0.01218)	0.12440+ (0.06899)
Percent Queer	0.00269 (0.02582)	-0.14276 (0.12190)
Regional Fixed Effects	X	X
Constant	-0.07379 (0.15969)	1.45595+ (0.80671)
Observations	1017	1017
R^2	0.205	0.136
Chi-squared		

Standard errors in parentheses

⁺ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Effect of Queer Linked Fate on Participation (Binomial Regression)

Appendix 2	
Queer Linked Fate	0.10943*** (6.29)
Female	0.06160 (1.28)
Non-Binary	0.41367*** (4.59)
Income	0.04687*** (6.87)
Age	-0.10366*** (-6.21)
Race	-0.09960*** (-4.75)
Employment Status	-0.04867*** (-3.52)
Trust in Local Government	0.18820*** (5.22)
Trust in Federal Government	0.24082*** (6.78)
Religiosity	0.06336*** (3.33)
Percent Queer	-0.05548 (-1.48)
Regional Fixed Effects	X
Constant	-1.22454*** (-5.08)
Observations	1017

z statistics in parentheses

† $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Effect of Queer Linked Fate on Voting (Probit in odds ratios)

Appendix 3	
Queer Linked Fate	1.27919*** (7.22)
Female	1.27756* (2.55)
Non-Binary	1.08919 (0.51)
Income	1.04814*** (3.42)
Age	1.41838*** (9.54)
White	1.00000 (.)
Latino	0.86604 (-1.16)
Black	0.87419 (-1.01)
AAPI	0.69336** (-2.72)
Employment Status	0.92253** (-3.00)
Trust in Federal Government	0.91109 (-1.32)
Trust in Local Government	0.97801 (-0.31)
Religiosity	0.95846 (-1.13)
Percent Queer	1.01395 (0.19)
Regional Fixed Effects	X
Observations	1017
Pseudo R^2	0.170
AIC	1202.30645
BIC	1286.02486
Log lik.	-584.15323
Chi-squared	179.61786

Exponentiated coefficients; z statistics in parentheses
⁺ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Effect of Queer Linked Fate on Participation (Ordered Logit)

Appendix 4	
Queer Linked Fate	0.17895 ^{***} (4.07)
Female	0.08019 (0.66)
Non-Binary	0.65983 ^{**} (2.89)
Income	0.07591 ^{***} (4.37)
Age	-0.15689 ^{***} (-3.77)
Race	-0.16715 ^{**} (-3.16)
Employment Status	-0.06869 [*] (-1.97)
Trust in Local Government	0.31243 ^{***} (3.33)
Trust in Federal Government	0.37294 ^{***} (4.02)
Religiosity	0.09070 ⁺ (1.87)
Percent Queer	-0.06445 (-0.71)
Regional Fixed Effects	X
Observations	1017
Pseudo R^2	0.035
<i>AIC</i>	4474.38453
<i>BIC</i>	4587.65062
Log lik.	-2214.19227
Chi-squared	158.62858

z statistics in parentheses

⁺ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$