

From Flags to Fate: Developing a Queer Utility Heuristic

Michael Elwell-University of North Texas
Politics of Race, Immigration, and Ethnicity
Consortium

Denton, Texas

November 17th, 2023



Presentation Overview

- Research Questions
- Overview of Literature
- Theory Building
- Overview of the Project
 - Variables
 - Construction of Variables
 - Data and Methods
- Analysis and Discussion
- Final Thoughts



Research Questions

- How do Queer people behave politically?
- How are Queer persons motivated to behave in the United States politically?
- How does Queer linked fate impact a person's willingness to engage in Voting and other political (non-voting) activities?
- Is Queer linked fate a valid measure?



Literature

- Linked Fate Broadly: Members of a group feel connected to the group, typically phrased as “What happens to (x) has an impact upon YOUR life”.
 - Dawson 1994-African Americans
 - Sanchez and Masuoka 2016-Latinx persons
 - Masuoka and Junn 2013- Asian Americans
 - Simien 2005-Gender
 - Chan and Jasso 2021-Inter-Racial
- Much of the Literature regarding queerness is historically underdeveloped, and typically intersectional, not as a standalone concept.



Literature/Problems With

- Why Queer Persons?
 - Tajfel and Turner 1979-Group Identity
 - Categorization of others and the self as an ingroup and outgroup
 - Identification, or primary and secondary marginalization of the outgroup
 - Comparison between in and outgroup
 - Miller et al. 1981-Group Consciousness
 - Shared Marginalization of a Group leads them to collective action and can motivate certain political behaviors.
 - Need for extensions of research to include the Queer community



Theory and Hypotheses

- Queer Utility Heuristic-History of shared marginalization (AIDs crisis, Liberation riots, rights being restricted) has led to the development of a group consciousness that drives political behavior.
- Queer Linked Fate increases the likelihood that Queer persons will participate in politics in the United States.
- 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 and Variables

- Data: 2020 Collaborative Multi-Racial Post-Election Survey (CMPS) Queer Respondents
 - N=1118
- Independent Variable: “What happens to LGBTQ People will have. . .
 - 1-Nothing to do with my what happens in my life
 - 2-Only a little to do with what happens in my life
 - 3-Something to do with what happens in my life
 - 4-A lot to do with what happens in my life
 - 5-A huge amount to do with what happens in my life”
- Dependent Variables: Voting and Participation
 - DV 1: Whether or not the Respondent Voted
 - DV 2: 9-point Index of Participation
- Multiple Controls: Age, Income, Gender, Race, Employment Status, Trust in Federal and Local Govts and Religiosity



Methods

- Mixed methodological approach used to estimate hypotheses:
 - Logit and Probit for H1
 - Binomial, Beta-Binomial and Ordered Logit regression models for H2.
 - Beta-Binomial employed as a method of accounting for overdispersion.
- Ordinary Least Squares for Robustness checks.



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

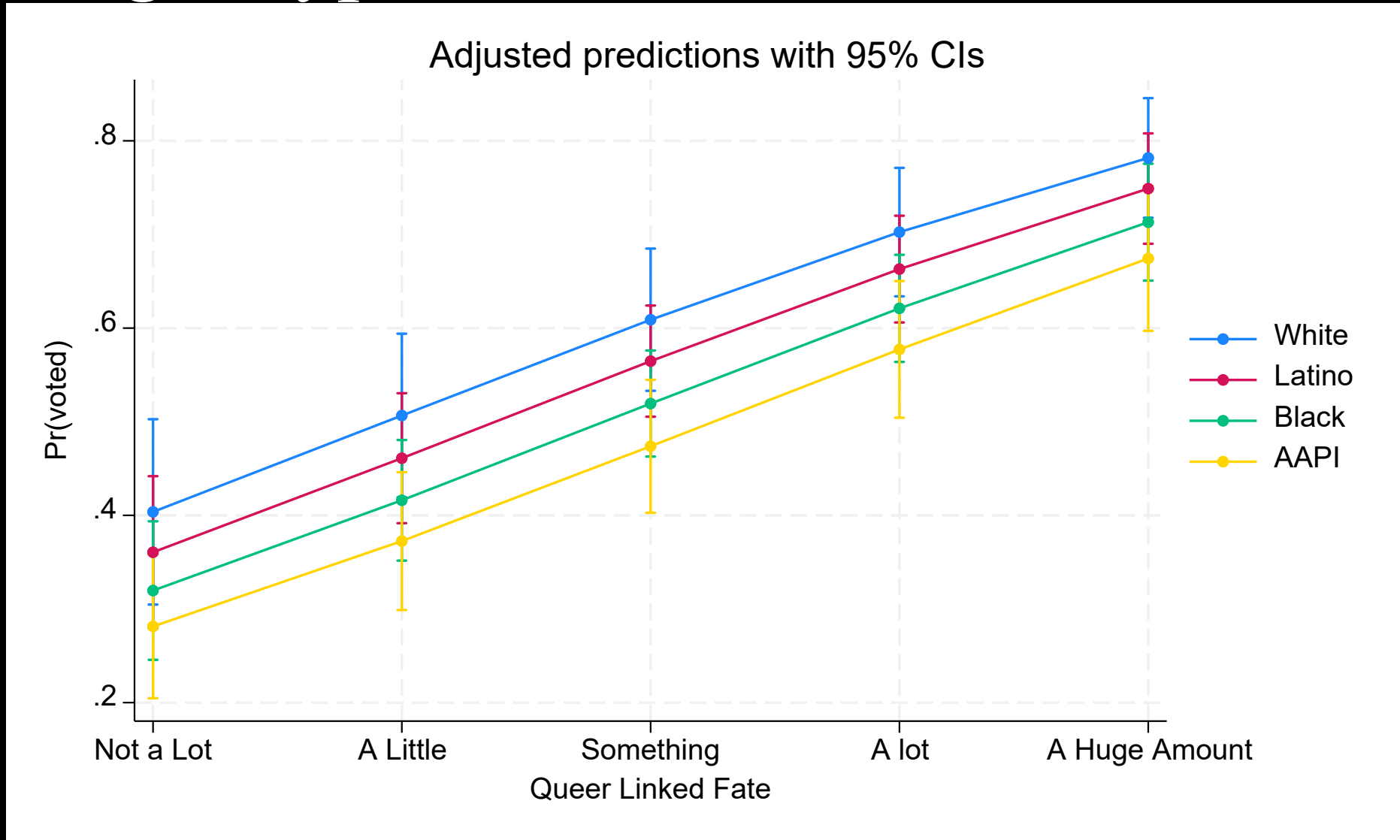
	Voting
Queer Linked Fate	1.50657*** (7.03)
Female	1.50301* (2.55)
Non-Binary	1.13631 (0.48)
Income	1.08475*** (3.55)
Age	1.80470*** (9.11)
Latino	0.72470 (-1.52)
Black	0.71919 (-1.47)
AAPI	0.52594** (-2.85)
Employment Status	0.87600** (-2.96)
Trust in Federal Government	0.85452 (-1.33)
Trust in Local Government	0.96120 (-0.33)
Religiosity	0.92018 (-1.34)
Observations	1017
Pseudo R^2	0.165
AIC	1202.05443
BIC	1266.07439
Log lik.	-588.02722
Chi-squared	150.88930

Exponentiated coefficients; z statistics in parentheses

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



Findings-Hypothesis 1



Effect of Queer Linked Fate on Participation (Binomial Regression in odds ratios)

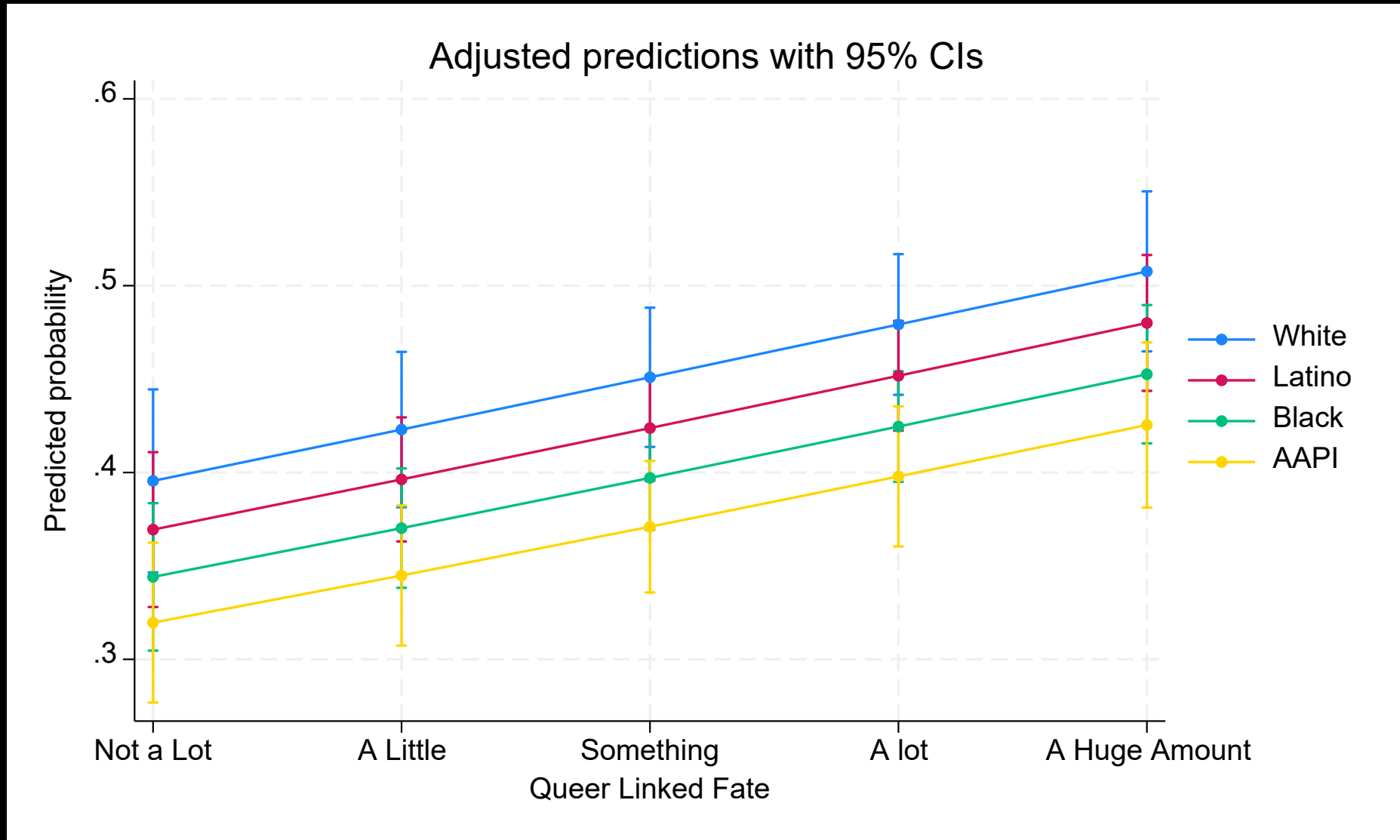
	(Participation)
participation	
Queer Linked Fate	1.11682*** (3.83)
Female	1.06200 (0.76)
Non-Binary	1.52878** (2.81)
Income	1.05208*** (4.52)
Age	0.90571*** (-3.59)
Race	0.89524** (-3.20)
Employment Status	0.95919 ⁺ (-1.82)
Trust in Local Government	1.23157*** (3.44)
Trust in Federal Government	1.28260*** (4.17)
Religiosity	1.07017* (2.15)
/	
Insigma	0.29782*** (-18.76)
Observations	1017
Pseudo R^2	0.036
<i>AIC</i>	4464.02377
<i>BIC</i>	4523.11912
Log lik.	-2220.01189
Chi-squared	165.32595

Exponentiated coefficients; z statistics in parentheses

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



Findings-Hypothesis 2



Discussion

- Models and Robustness checks indicate support for first hypothesis.
 - Queer Linked Fate is a positive and heavily statistically significant predictor of voting turnout amongst queer folks, reasonable explanation of variance.
- Models and Robustness checks indicate support for second hypothesis.
 - Queer Linked Fate is a positive, statistically significant predictor of non-voting behavior as well as voting, not great explanation of variance.
- Both Hypotheses are statistically significant at the .001 level.



Where Do We Go From Here?

- More work needed on Queer political behavior generally
- Immediate Next Steps
 - Refine project further: Better refining of model for participation, maybe measure non-voting participation differently.
 - Disaggregation of Queer community's linked fate measure
 - Does the community at whole matter or are people answering yes on a survey because they can't identify with their own community?

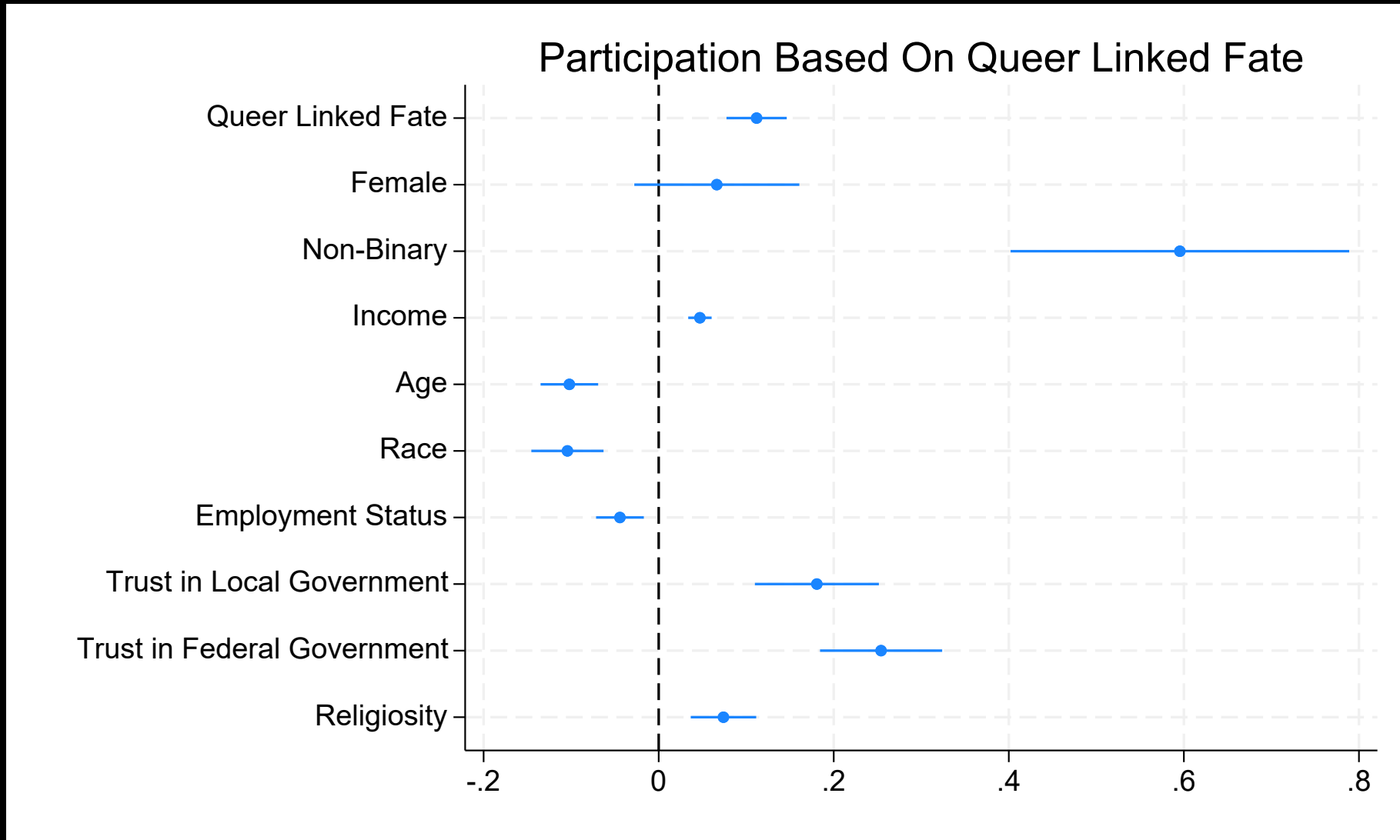


Thanks, and Acknowledgements

- Acknowledgements:
 - University of North Texas
 - Dr. Valerie Martinez-Ebers, PhD.
 - You the Audience Member
- Please direct correspondence to:
 - Michael Elwell
 - UNT Department of Political Science-Graduate Student
 - MichaelElwell@my.unt.edu
 - 903-246-5010



Findings-Hypothesis 2- Normal Binomial



Findings-Hypothesis 2- Ordered Logit

