A Rainbow Wave? LGBTQ Liberal Political Perspectives During Trump's Presidency: an Exploration of Sexual, Gender, and Queer Identity Gaps

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Abstract

Negativity toward LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, pansexual, transgender, genderqueer/non-binary, asexual, and queer) people and rights during Trump's presidency ushered in a "rainbow wave" of LGBTQ voters. Yet the particulars of LGBTQ political perspectives remain underexplored. The current study examines sexual, gender, and queer identity gaps in liberalism among a nationally representative sample of US adults aged 18+ stratified by US census categories of age, gender, ethnicity, and census region ($N = 3104$; LGBTQ non-heterosexual: $n = 1555$) collected from Survey Sampling International (SSI) online panelists in the weeks after the November 2018 polls. Specifically, sexual identity (heterosexual, lesbian/gay, bisexual, pansexual, and asexual), gender identity (cis man, cis woman, trans man, trans woman, and non-binary), and queer identity are explored as they relate to liberal perspectives (liberal ideology; law/policy support of those in poverty, racial/ethnic minorities, immigrants, and women; feminist identity). Building from Worthen's (2018) social justice/empathic concern theoretical framework, liberal perspectives among LGBTQ people were theorized as constructed from personal experiences with stigma and empathic concern for other stigmatized people. Findings demonstrate tensions between trans individuals and liberalism while also confirming lesbian/gay liberalism and illuminating three additional groups of liberals in the LGBTQ community: pansexual, non-binary, and queer individuals. Together, these patterns support the existence of "luminous lavender liberalism" among the political perspectives of LGBTQ people.

Keywords Liberal political perspectives · Lesbian · Gay · Bisexual · Pansexual · Asexual · Transgender · Non-binary · Queer · Trump

Trump's US presidency (2016–present) has been marked by negativity toward lesbian, gay, bisexual, pansexual, transgender, genderqueer/non-binary, asexual,[1] and queer (henceforth, LGBTQ) people and rights (Cahill & Makadon, 2017; Corey-Boulet, 2017; Gonzales & McKay, 2017; Jones, 2018).

Alongside this, the LGBTQ community has been becoming louder and stronger in their fight for equal rights and inclusion. Indeed, after Trump's election, media coverage grabbed onto this pattern calling it a "rainbow wave" of LGBTQ voters who in a recent November 2018 US midterm election cycle helped to elect record numbers—more than 150—of LGBTQ political leaders into office (Downs, 2018; Moreau, 2018; Victory Fund, 2018). Yet, amidst these LGBTQ victories, the particulars of LGBTQ political perspectives remain strikingly underexplored. Indeed, the phrase "rainbow wave" itself paints a broad brushstroke across *all* LGBTQ people's political perspectives and in doing so, fails to interrogate the ways gender, sexuality, and queer identities inform the presumed liberal-ness of LGBTQ people.

In particular, the perception that "all the gays are liberal" (Worthen, 2018) deserves significantly more empirical attention than it has received in scholarly work. Though many social science scholars frequently explore sociodemographics (e.g., race/ethnicity, age, gender, income, education) as they

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[1] For the purposes of this paper, asexual individuals are included as a part of the LGBTQ community. However, it is important to note that asexual individuals and their experiences differ from those who express sexual interests in others (Carrigan, 2011; Hoffarth et al., 2016). In addition, despite efforts that attempt to appeal to potential commonalities of both asexual and LGBTQ people as stigmatized sexual minorities, asexual people are sometimes excluded from the LGBTQ umbrella in various ways (Colborne, 2018; Pinto, 2014).

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relate to political perspectives, sexual identity (sexual orientation) is exceedingly overlooked. Among the handful of studies that do examine sexual identity, most focus on one particular sexual identity gap in perspectives: heterosexual vs. LGB (lesbian, gay, and bisexual) people. This research consistently shows that LGB people tend to be more liberal (Grollman, 2017; Herek, Norton, Allen, & Sims, 2010; Hertzog, 1996; Lewis, Rogers, & Sherrill, 2011; Schnabel, 2018; Strolovitch, Wong, & Proctor, 2017; Swank, 2018a, 2018b; Worthen, 2018). However, other types of sexual identity gaps in political perspectives that may exist in the LGBTQ community (e.g., pansexual vs. gay/lesbian; asexual vs. bisexual) remain completely unexamined to date. Similarly, while "gender" is commonly explored in studies of political perspectives, it is nearly always measured as male–female or man–woman; thus, the ways cisgender, transgender, and non-binary identities shape political perspectives deserve further attention. In particular, although there are documented man–woman gender gaps in regard to political liberalism (Eagly, Diekman, Johannesen-Schmidt, & Koenig, 2004; Kaufmann & Petrocik, 1999), it is unclear if these same gender gaps found among cisgender men and women exist among transgender men and women and how non-binary people fit (or do not fit) into these established patterns. In addition, though queer theory and queer identity politics have been discussed under the liberal umbrella (Blasius, 2001; Butler, 1993; Gamson, 1995; Phelan, 2000), the mechanisms underlying how identifying as queer relates to liberal political perspectives are unclear.

Liberal perspectives among LGB people have been theorized as built from personal experiences with stigma and empathic concern for other stigmatized groups which drive the desire to improve the experiences of marginalized people (i.e., the so-called underdog principle/hypothesis/thesis, Davis & Robinson, 1991; Schuman & Harding, 1963; Worthen, 2018). Specifically, Worthen (2018) argues that "LGB people may be particularly inclined to adopt liberal political attitudes because they are keenly aware of their stigmatization by various groups that are overtly hostile toward them (e.g., the religious right, family values groups, conservatives)" (p. 2). Building from this theoretical framework, it follows that others in the LGBTQ community, in particular pansexual, asexual, transgender, non-binary, and queer individuals, may also be especially likely to adhere to liberal political and social justice-motivated perspectives that work toward improving their own experiences as marginalized people as well as others who experience oppression.

Together, this suggests that LGBTQ liberal social justice perspectives likely contribute to significant sexuality, gender, and queer identity gaps in liberalism. The current study explores these relationships using nationally representative data from US adults aged 18+ stratified by US census categories of age, gender, ethnicity, and census region ($N = 3104$; LGBTQ non-heterosexual: $n = 1555$) collected via online panelists in

the weeks after the "rainbow wave" flooded the polls in early November of 2018. Specifically, sexual identity (heterosexual, lesbian/gay, bisexual, pansexual, and asexual), gender identity (cis man, cis woman, trans man, trans woman, and non-binary), and queer identity are explored as they relate to liberal perspectives (liberal ideology; law/policy support of those in poverty, racial/ethnic minorities, immigrants, and women; feminist identity). Building from previous studies that have moved away from collapsing "LGB" people into a single category (e.g., Swank, 2018b; Worthen, 2013, 2018), the current study highlights the importance of considering the unique experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual, pansexual, asexual, transgender, non-binary, and queer individuals as they inform political perspectives. Overall, this research interrogates the particulars of the so-called rainbow wave by considering sexuality, gender, and queer identity gaps in liberalism. In doing so, the current study works toward a deeper understanding of the presumed "monolithically" liberal, social justice motivations of *all* LGBTQ people.

Conceptualizing Liberal Political Perspectives

Political perspectives are often conceptualized in a rather simplistic manner. Typically, in scholarly studies, public opinion polls, and elsewhere, people identify somewhere along the trajectory of politically "conservative" to politically "liberal." Although this operationalization may seem rather unsophisticated, research shows that most people organize their political leanings in these simplistic ways (Cohen, 2003) and use these self-adopted ideologies as "information short cuts" when formulating political opinions (Brody & Lawless, 2003:54). In addition, "liberal" or "conservative" perspectives can be understood by examining support/opposition to certain types of laws and policies. For example, laws/policies that help marginalized groups, including those living in poverty (e.g., welfare), racial/ethnic minorities (e.g., civil rights), immigrants (e.g., immigration reform), and women (e.g., gender equality), tend to align with self-reported liberal ideology as well as support of additional liberal-leaning perspectives (Andersen & Jennings, 2010; Applebaum, 2001; Grollman, 2017; Strolovitch et al., 2017; Swank, 2018a; Worthen, 2018; Worthen, Lingiardi, & Caristo, 2017). Furthermore, feminism is another politically charged perspective that is more commonly found among self-designated liberals as compared to self-designated conservatives (Brody & Lawless, 2003; Roy, Weibust, & Miller, 2007; Strolovitch et al., 2017). Indeed, the support of marginalized, oppressed groups (generally) as well as the poor, racial/ethnic minorities, immigrants, and women (specifically) are interrelated social justice-motivated perspectives that align with liberal politics. Thus, for the

purposes of this study, liberal political perspectives are conceptualized as liberal ideology, liberal law/policy support, and feminist identity.

Sexuality, Gender, and Queer Identity Gaps in Liberal Political Perspectives

The majority of research that has investigated sexual identity gaps in political perspectives has focused on political ideologies and voting patterns among LGB people (e.g., Hertzog, 1996; Lewis et al., 2011; Strolovitch et al., 2017; Swank, 2018a, 2018b; Worthen, 2018). The relationships between political perspectives and gender identities other than man–woman have only been reported in two existing studies (James et al., 2016; Strolovitch et al., 2017) and no research to date has examined pansexual and asexual people's US political perspectives. Furthermore, though queer politics are a focal concern of queer theory (Gamson, 1995; Halperin, 2003), queer as a broad identity category is also largely missing from research examining general political perspectives and attitudes, and thus, should be further investigated (for exceptions, see Blasius, 2001; Rollins & Hirsch, 2003). In addition, while feminist identity has been highlighted as especially informative in shaping LGB attitudes toward political and social issues (e.g., Hertzog, 1996; Worthen et al., 2017; Swank, 2018a, 2018b; Worthen, 2018), feminist identities among pansexual, asexual, transgender, non-binary, and queer people deserve significantly more attention than they have received in empirical work. Below, sexuality, gender, and queer identity gaps regarding liberal ideology, liberal law/policy support, and feminist identity are reviewed.

Liberal Ideology and Sexual Identity Gaps (Heterosexual, Gay/Lesbian, Bisexual, Pansexual, Asexual)

Previous research finds evidence of a distinctive "lavender liberalism" wherein there is a robust relationship between being LGB and identifying as a political liberal (Worthen, 2018:11; Grollman, 2017; Herek et al., 2010; Hertzog, 1996; Swank, 2018a, 2018b). Furthermore, studies across several US election cycles demonstrate that LGB people are consistently one of the most loyal Democratic Party voting blocs (Hertzog, 1996; Lewis et al., 2011; Strolovitch et al., 2017; Swank, 2018a, 2018b). Scholars note that these LGB liberalism patterns hold firm even when sociodemographic controls and other common correlates of political ideology (e.g., age, race/ethnicity, education, income, and religion) are considered (Grollman, 2017; Herek et al., 2010; Hertzog, 1996; Lewis et al., 2011; Worthen, 2018). Together, previous research strongly supports a heterosexual–LGB sexual identity gap in liberal ideology.

There is also some evidence of sexual identity gaps in liberalism among LGB people. For example, some studies indicate that bisexual men and women are less politically liberal than lesbian women and gay men (Grollman, 2017; Herek et al., 2010; Lewis et al., 2011; Schaffner, MacWilliams, & Nteta, 2018; Strolovitch et al., 2017). In particular, Swank's (2018a) analysis of the American National Election Survey of 2016 ($N = 2691$) found that bisexual individuals were significantly less likely than lesbian women and gay men to have voted for the liberal 2016 US Democratic Party candidate, Hillary Clinton (see also, Strolovitch et al., 2017). However, in contrast, Worthen's (2018) college student study ($N = 1940$) found that bisexual individuals, and in particular bisexual women, were more likely than lesbian and gay individuals to identify as political liberals and support liberal politicized issues. Together existing research provides support for LG–B sexual identity gaps in liberalism, though there are some contrasting patterns among these relationships that deserve further attention. In addition, no US studies could be located that have explored pansexual and asexual individuals' liberal ideologies. However, limited research indicates that pansexual individuals are particularly interested in embracing diverse, open, sexualities (Flanders, LeBreton, Robinson, Bian, & Caravaca-Morera, 2017; Morandini, Blaszczynski, & Dar-Nimrod, 2017) and one New Zealand study found that pansexual individuals ($n = 52$) were more politically liberal than bisexual individuals ($n = 497$) (Greaves, Sibley, Fraser, & Barlow, 2019). In addition, asexual individuals also experience a unique type of sexual diversity (Carrigan, 2011; Colborne, 2018; Pinto, 2014). Thus, liberalism is likely uniquely related to pansexual and asexual identities. The current study offers the first exploration of these particular relationships using a US nationally representative dataset.

Liberal Ideology and Gender Identity Gaps (Cis Man/Woman, Trans Man/Woman, Non-binary)

Generally, research indicates that compared to men, women tend to be more liberal about various social issues and more inclined to adopt liberal political ideologies (Eagly et al., 2004; Lewis et al., 2011; Williams & Wittig, 1997). However, previous studies have focused nearly exclusively on man–woman or male–female gender gaps in liberalism. The handful of reports that have examined trans and non-binary individuals' political experiences (e.g., Herman, 2014; James et al., 2016; Strolovitch et al., 2017) do not offer comparisons among trans, non-binary, and cis individuals. For example, a US nationwide study conducted by the National Center for Transgender Equality with nearly 28,000 respondents revealed that an overwhelming majority (82%) of transgender/non-binary people identified as "very liberal" or "liberal" (James et al., 2016) and another study using the 2016

Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES) found that a greater percentage of trans women voted for the 2016 US Democratic Party candidate Hillary Clinton as compared to trans men (73% vs 60% respectively) (Strolovitch et al., 2017). However, because no studies to date have offered comparisons of cis men, cis women, trans men, trans women, and non-binary individuals' political perspectives, potential gender gaps when considering diverse measures of gender are largely unknown. For example, it may be that because trans men, trans women, and non-binary individuals experience oppression as gender minorities (James et al., 2016), they may be inclined to adopt liberal perspectives that tend to support marginalized individuals. The current study works toward a better understanding of these patterns.

Liberal Ideology and Queer Identity Gaps

"Queer" can be a self-adopted and politically charged identity. For some, "queer" can push back against dominant hetero-cis-normative cultural narratives while simultaneously supporting liberal social justice dialogues and perspectives (Gamson, 1995; Halperin, 2003). In addition, queer identity can represent a more generalized liberal openness to gender/sexual diversity as well as more actual experiences with gender/sexual fluidity. Indeed, women identifying as queer have been found to be more fluid in their attractions and identities as compared to women identifying as bisexual (Mereish, Katz-Wise, & Woulfe, 2017). Queer identity can also impact liberal-leaning perspectives in more specific ways. For example, using a convenience sample of LGBTQ US adults ($N = 1075$), Rollins and Hirsch (2003) found that self-identified queer LGBT individuals ($n = 122$) were both more likely to identify as politically radical and less likely to identify with conventional politics as compared to non-queer LGBT individuals. In addition, a small qualitative study ($N = 15$) found that queer-identified college student leaders ($n = 7$) both "embraced a public gender and/or sexual identity in opposition to normative, straight culture" and expressed a vested interest in "changing social systems for the purpose of decentering power" (Renn, 2007, p. 323). Together, previous research suggests that identifying as queer can represent social justice-motivated perspectives that challenge the status quo and advocate for social changes, all of which are essential components of liberalism (Graham, Haidt, & Nosek, 2009; Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003). However, no nationally representative studies have specifically examined the intersections between identifying as queer and identifying as politically liberal. Thus, it is important to continue to investigate the relationships.

Liberal Law/Policy Support and Sexual Identity Gaps (Heterosexual, Gay/Lesbian, Bisexual, Pansexual, Asexual)

In line with the patterns reviewed above, there is some evidence that LGB people are more likely than heterosexuals to support liberal, social justice-motivated government policies and initiatives that provide for marginalized and oppressed individuals, including those living in poverty, racial/ethnic minorities, immigrants, and women. In particular, both Grollman (2017) and Swank (2018a, 2018b) have utilized the American National Election Surveys (ANES) to explore some of these relationships. For example, in his study of the 2012 ANES ($N = 3519$), Swank (2018b) found that LGB people were more likely than heterosexuals to participate in liberal social movements, including those that support economic equality (i.e., Occupy Wall Street). In addition, Grollman's (2017) investigation of the 2012 ANES ($N = 4526$), determined that compared to heterosexuals, LGB respondents reported significantly greater interest in working toward racial equality as indicated by more support of Affirmative Action for Black Americans in higher education, greater perceptions of racist discrimination, and stronger belief that Blacks have too little influence on US politics while Whites have too much influence on US politics. In another study using data from the 2016 ANES ($N = 2691$), Swank (2018b) found that compared to heterosexuals, LGB people were more likely to acknowledge racist discrimination and to oppose building a US–Mexico border wall (an anti-immigration tactic proposed during the Trump administration). In addition, there was evidence of another sexual identity gap in this study whereby lesbian/gay individuals were more likely to support these liberal perspectives/policies when compared to bisexual individuals (Swank, 2018a). In regard to gender equality, Grollman's (2017) analysis of the 2012 ANES ($N = 4526$) determined that compared to heterosexuals, LGB respondents reported significantly greater interest in supporting women in the workplace and in particular, supporting a woman president, as well as greater recognition of sexist discrimination in US society. Similarly, Schnabel's (2018) analysis of the General Social Survey ($N = 5901$) indicated that LGB respondents were more liberal than heterosexuals in their perspectives about race, immigration, and gender issues. In a college student study ($N = 1940$), Worthen (2018) also found greater support for women's rights laws/policies among LGB people as compared to heterosexuals, and among LGB people, bisexual individuals were *more* supportive than lesbian/gay individuals. Furthermore, a study using a convenience sample of AIDS activists ($n = 2525$) found that compared to being a gay man, being a lesbian woman was positively and significantly related to being involved in activism across multiple issues including women's rights, civil rights, and welfare (Andersen & Jennings, 2010). Thus, overall, there is evidence to indicate

sexual identity gaps between heterosexual and LGB individuals as well as between lesbian/gay and bisexual individuals when it comes to specific laws/policies supporting marginalized and oppressed people; however, no studies to date have explored these relationships among pansexual and asexual individuals. While pansexual identity reflects an attentiveness to diverse sexualities (Flanders et al., 2017; Morandini et al., 2017), asexual identity is also associated with diverse understandings of sexuality (Carrigan, 2011; Colborne, 2018; Pinto, 2014). Thus, pansexual and asexual identities likely relate to liberalism in complex ways. Using US nationally representative data, the current study provides the first ever investigation of these relationships.

Liberal Law/Policy Support and Gender Identity Gaps (Cis Man/Woman, Trans Man/Woman, Non-binary)

Past research has found that compared to men, women are generally more supportive of government policies and initiatives that provide for marginalized individuals, including those living in poverty, racial/ethnic minorities, immigrants, and women (Berg, 2010; Eagly et al., 2004; Kaufmann & Petrocik, 1999). Studies of political attitudes among transgender and non-binary individuals are scarce; however, the US Transgender Survey did find that poverty, racism, and immigration reform were key policy issues for transgender/non-binary people (James et al., 2016). In fact, nearly all of the close to 28,000 respondents rated these issues as "very important" or "important" policy priorities (99% rated poverty as such, 98% rated racism as such, and 90% indicated immigration reform as such). In another much smaller study of LGBTQ college students ($N = 175$), identifying as transgender or genderqueer ($n = 17$) was found to be significantly positively related to an interest in addressing racial and class issues in society (Harr & Kane, 2008). Unfortunately, however, differences among trans men, trans women, and non-binary/genderqueer individuals were not included in either of these existing studies (Harr & Kane, 2008; James et al., 2016); thus, the relationships between cis, trans, and non-binary identities and attitudes toward liberal laws/policies remain unclear. However, because others have found broad associations between identifying as trans/non-binary and supporting issues regarding poverty, racism, and immigration, it is likely that there are important relationships between liberal law/policy support and trans and non-binary identities.

Liberal Law/Policy Support and Queer Identity Gaps

Though there are links between queer identity, queer theory, and liberalism (Butler, 1993; Gamson, 1995; Halperin, 2003), research focusing explicitly on queer identity and perspectives about liberal laws and policies supporting marginalized people has often been limited to small scale, college-based studies

and convenience samples. For example, one study of LGBTQ college students at a liberal arts university ($N = 175$) determined that identifying as queer ($n = 28$) was correlated with broad support of race/class inclusivity (Harr & Kane, 2008). Another study of LGBTQ college student leaders ($N = 15$) found that compared to other LGBT student leaders, queer-identified activist student leaders ($n = 7$) were especially likely to discuss "the interconnectedness of oppressions based on sexuality, gender, race, ethnicity, and social class, illustrating a view of queer activism as including social justice in several arenas" (Renn, 2007, p. 324). In addition, a Canadian study college student study ($N = 265$) found that being queer ($n = 43$) was positively related to identifying as an activist (Gray & Desmarais, 2014). In a larger convenience sample study of LGBTQ US adults ($N = 1075$), being queer ($n = 122$) was positively related to support for ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power), a grassroots anti-AIDS activist organization (Rollins & Hirsch, 2003). These studies suggest that interests in supporting marginalized people, including those in poverty, racial/ethnic minorities, immigrants, and women may be amplified among those who identify as queer; however, these relationships have yet to be carefully examined and no studies to date have investigated the relationships between queer identity and liberalism using US nationally representative data.

Feminism and Sexual Identity Gaps (Heterosexual, Gay/Lesbian, Bisexual, Pansexual, Asexual)

Consistent with the patterns reviewed above, a few studies have found evidence of heterosexual–LGB sexual identity gaps in feminist identity whereby LGB people are more likely to identify as feminists when compared to heterosexuals (Conlin & Heesacker, 2017; Swank, 2018a; Worthen, 2018). In addition, both Swank (2018a) and Worthen (2018) found sexual identity gaps in feminist identity among LGB people; however, the gaps were contrasting between the two studies. While Swank (2018a) found that lesbian women and gay men were more likely than bisexual individuals to identify as feminists; Worthen (2018) found the opposite. Overall, studies provide some evidence for heterosexual–LGB and LG–B sexual identity gaps in feminism; however, no studies could be located that have explicitly explored pansexual and asexual individuals' feminist identities. Because there are links between pansexuality, asexuality, and experiences with pushing back against identity-based inequalities (Callis, 2014; Colborne, 2018; Greaves et al., 2019), feminist identity may also be connected to pansexual and asexual identities in intersecting ways. The current study extends beyond existing work to examine these relationships with US nationally representative data.

Feminism and Gender Identity Gaps (Cis Man/Woman, Trans Man/Woman, Non-binary)

Overall, existing research finds that men are significantly less likely to identify as feminists when compared to women (Hertzog, 1996; Williams & Wittig, 1997; Worthen, 2016; Worthen, 2018). Yet, these explorations of man–woman gender differences in feminism have failed to take into consideration the relationships between cis, trans, and non-binary identities as they relate to identifying as feminist. This is important because feminism has a complex, multifaceted history that shapes the ways gender identity informs feminist identity and the ways LGBTQ people identify as feminists. Indeed, because White gay cis men have largely dominated the US Gay Liberation Movement since the 1970s,[2] some lesbian, bisexual, and trans women retreated from the larger "gay" movement due to their experiences with sexism and erasure (Serano, 2007; Stein, 1997; Stryker, 2008; Weiss, 2003). These processes informed alternative strategies for some LGBTQ women which are built from feminisms (Weiss, 2003). For example, in the lesbian separatist movement (whereby lesbian rights were seen as qualitatively distinct from gay men's rights), "feminism" became defined as opposition to anyone who was not a cis woman lesbian, which included other women (e.g., trans women) as well as all men and non-binary people (Hertzog, 1996; Rust, 1995; Serano, 2007; Stein, 1997; Stryker, 2008; Weiss, 2003). Thus, for lesbian separatists, the decision to identify as "feminist" was entwined with exclusionary practices directed toward cis men, trans women/men, and non-binary people. These historical dynamics continue to impact feminist identities among LGBTQ men and women. However, despite scholarly attention to trans feminisms (Green, 2006; Whittle, 2013; Williams, 2016), the precise ways cis, trans, and non-binary identities relate to feminist identities have yet to be carefully examined. Though there are clear complexities embedded in the relationships between feminist, trans, and liberal politics, all three work against restrictive, hetero-cis-normative structural inequalities and advocate for social justice. Thus, there are likely overlapping relationships between trans, non-binary, and feminist identities.

Feminism and Queer Identity Gaps

Broadly speaking, feminist, queer, and liberal politics all work toward pushing back against oppression and privilege with efforts to improve the experiences of marginalized peoples. These ways of thinking are all social justice-motivated and politically charged. For feminist and queer politics especially, oppression based on gender and sexual identities are often paramount. Yet although there are clear overlaps, there are also existing fractures between feminist and queer politics (Walters, 1996). As Gamson (1995, p. 390) notes, there is a "queer dilemma" whereby feminist and queer politics can differ in their processes and motivations. As a result, the relationships between identifying as "feminist" and "queer" are impacted by these dynamics in intricate, intersecting ways. However, these patterns remain relatively underexplored in existing work and no studies to date have examined them utilizing nationally representative data.

Theoretical Framework: Social Justice and Empathic Concern Perspectives Among LGBTQ People

To best understand LGBTQ liberalism, the current study follows the dual-layered social justice and empathic concern theoretical framework provided by Worthen (2018). First, Worthen (2018) argues that because many LGBTQ people often undergo a "coming out" experience wherein they participate in a process of reflexive engagement with the ways the individual (self), family, friends, community, religion, and culture are responding to them as gender/sexual minorities (D'Augelli, 1994), LGBTQ people can become keenly aware of how they are stigmatized by certain hostile groups (e.g., conservative, morality, family values, and religious right groups). Specifically, LGBTQ people endure marginalization/oppression due to their minority status(es) (as gender and/or sexual minorities) as well as harmful stereotypes that they threaten traditional (conservative) cultural values (Friedman & Leaper, 2010; Rubin, 1984; Schnabel, 2018). As a result, LGBTQ people may be particularly inclined to adopt liberal social justice perspectives that work against these damaging beliefs and fight for equal treatment.

Second, Worthen's (2018, p. 5) theoretical framework emphasizes "how the stigmatized status of belonging to a devalued group shapes both distrust of the majority (and accompanying hierarchal systems that uphold the status of the majority) and empathy with the minority" (see also Craig & Richeson, 2016; Hertzog, 1996; Lewis et al., 2011; Schnabel, 2018; Worthen, Sharp, & Rodgers, 2012; Swank, 2018a, 2018b). In particular, this theoretical framework identifies the complementary roles of the "underdog" principle/hypothesis/thesis (Davis & Robinson, 1991; Schuman & Harding,

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[2] For example, although the 1969 Stonewall uprising (which is often credited as the watershed demonstration that began the US gay liberation movement) was instigated and supported by two trans women of color, Sylvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson, these women have been repeatedly erased from discussions about LGBTQ rights. Scholars argue that this is because Stonewall and its accompanying activism have been dominated by White gay cis men while people of color have been relegated to the margins of LGBTQ liberation. Today, this erasure is still evident (Stryker, 2008).

1963) and empathic concern. Specifically, LGBTQ people's experiences with oppression and marginalization as "underdogs" lead them to empathize with other "underdogs" who have similar experiences. In addition, these processes can lead to social justice motivations that cross-cut various groups who endure oppressive circumstances (e.g., racial/ethnic minorities, women, and LGBTQ people) (see also Friedman & Leaper, 2010; Harnois, 2015; Swank, 2018a). Thus, in line with Worthen's (2018, p. 5) theoretical framework, LGB liberalism is theorized as rooted within an "overarching social justice perspective" which is built from a dual-layered process of one's own experiences with marginalization/oppression and empathic concern for other groups with similar experiences.

Current Study

As compared to their counterparts, LGBTQ people may be particularly inclined to adopt social justice perspectives that shape their overall liberal leanings and identities. These patterns may also impact significant sexuality, gender, and queer identity gaps in political perspectives. The current study examines these relationships with the following hypotheses whereby "liberal" is estimated with measures of liberal ideology, law/policy support, and feminist identity:

Hypothesis 1a: There are sexual identity gaps in political perspectives whereby heterosexuals are significantly less liberal than all others (gay/lesbian, bisexual, pansexual, asexual).

Hypothesis 1b: There are sexual identity gaps in LGBTQ people's political perspectives whereby lesbian/gay people are significantly more liberal than bisexual, pansexual, and asexual people.

Hypothesis 2: There are gender identity gaps among political perspectives whereby cis men are significantly less liberal than all others (cis women, trans women, trans men, non-binary individuals).

Hypothesis 3: There are queer identity gaps among political perspectives whereby queer-identified people are significantly more liberal than non-queer-identified people.

Methods

Data and Sample Characteristics

The data come from the 2018 LGBTQ and Hetero-cis Population Study (forthcoming in Worthen, 2019). The data were collected using panelists recruited from Survey Sampling International (SSI), an international survey research and survey sample provider with over 5 million US online panel participants. SSI panel members are recruited from online communities, social networks, and the web. SSI profiles,

authenticates, and verifies each panel member as a reliable respondent for rigorous research participation. SSI awards incentives to respondents upon survey completion.

A nationally representative sample of US adults aged 18+ stratified by US census categories of age, gender, ethnicity, and census region was obtained by SSI. For the first sampling frame, a total of 63,466[3] email invites were sent out by SSI to *only* heterosexual–cisgender potential respondents. A quota of 1500 respondents (750 hetero-cis men and 750 hetero-cis women) was requested and met ($n = 1500$). For the second sampling frame, a total of 103,001 email invites were sent out by SSI to *only* LGBT potential respondents. A quota of 1520 respondents (330 each of lesbian women, gay men, bisexual women, bisexual men; 100 each of trans women and trans men) was requested and met for lesbian women, gay men, and bisexual women; however, quotas were not met for bisexual men ($n = 314$), trans women ($n = 55$), nor trans men ($n = 74$). The total LGBTQ sample, including those who identify as non-binary/genderqueer ($n = 95$), pansexual ($n = 79$), and asexual ($n = 45$) (no quotas were set for these groups), was $n = 1604$. A total of 4994 individuals accessed the survey by clicking the survey invite link, 4583 began the survey by answering one or more survey items, and 3104 respondents completed all items in the survey for a survey start to completion rate of 68%. Missing data were handled through listwise deletion. The full sample includes both hetero-cis and LGBTQ respondents ($N = 3104$). In addition, heterosexuals were removed to create a LGBTQ non-heterosexual subsample ($n = 1555$) to best examine *Hypothesis 1b* (see Table 1 for additional details).

Survey Design and Implementation

The author created the survey instrument via Qualtrics (an online survey platform). The survey was live on the Internet from November 5, 2018 to November 23, 2018.[4] Through the link provided in the invitation email from SSI, panelists could access the survey via PCs, laptops, tablets, and mobile phones. The survey included 184 closed-ended questions with both multiple- and single-response items. The average time to complete the survey was 25.8 min.

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[3] It is unknown how many of these emails were actually received and read by the potential respondents so an exact response rate is also unknown. For example, junk mail filters could have prevented potential respondents from seeing the email invitation, some may have opened the email but decided not to click the link to access the survey, and some may have been deemed ineligible due to identity quotas being met as requested by the author and set by SSI (5 of the 8 identity quotas were met).

[4] The survey was held open for 19 days in efforts to meet the quotas set for the LGBT groups. Five quotas were met as follows: gay men (5 days in), bisexual women (7 days in), lesbian women (8 days in), cis men and cis women (16 days in). The quotas for the remaining three groups (bisexual men, trans men, and trans women) were not met. The survey was closed because SSI believed it was not realistic to expect these quotas to fill in a reasonable amount of time.

Table 1 Sample characteristics

	Range	Full sample N = 3104 Mean (SD)	LGBTQ non-hetero subsample n = 1555 Mean (SD)
Sexual identity			
Heterosexual*	0–1	.50 (.50)	–
Gay or lesbian**	0–1	.23 (.42)	.46 (.50)
Bisexual	0–1	.23 (.42)	.46 (.50)
Pansexual	0–1	.03 (.16)	.05 (.22)
Asexual	0–1	.01 (.12)	.03 (.17)
Gender identity			
Cis man*	0–1	.46 (.50)	.43 (.50)
Cis woman	0–1	.47 (.50)	.46 (.50)
Trans woman	0–1	.02 (.15)	.03 (.18)
Trans man	0–1	.02 (.13	.02 (.15)
Non-binary	0–1	.03 (.17)	.05 (.22)
Queer identity	0–1	.13 (.33)	.20 (.40)
Sociodemographics			
Caucasian/White*	0–1	.78 (.41)	.80 (.40)
African American/Black	0–1	.10 (.30)	.08 (.28)
Asian American/Pacific Islander	0–1	.06 (.24)	.04 (20)
Native American/Alaskan Native	0–1	.02 (.13)	.02 (.14)
Multi-Racial	0–1	.03 (.16)	.03 (.18)
Other Race	0–1	.01 (.09)	.01 (.10)
Latinx Race	0–1	.01 (.09)	.01 (.09)
Latinx Ethnicity	0–1	.13 (.34)	.13 (.33)
Have Everything I Need and More*	0–1	.29 (.45)	.25 (.43)
Have Mostly All I Need	0–1	.50 (.50)	.53 (.50)
Often Basic Needs Not Met	0–1	.16 (.37)	.17 (.37)
Very Few Basic Needs Met	0–1	.05 (.21)	.05 (.22)
Education	1–6	3.73 (1.46)	3.79 (1.47)
Income	1–5	3.29 (2.84)	3.31 (2.84)
Northeastern US Region	0–1	.24 (.43)	.24 (.43)
Midwestern US Region	0–1	.23 (.42)	2.4 (.43)
Western US Region	0–1	.21 (.40)	.23 (.42)
Southern US Region*	0–1	.29 (.45)	.27 (.45)
Outside US	0–1	.03 (.17)	.02 (.14)
Rural	0–1	.18 (.38)	.14 (.35)
Small town	0–1	.22 (.42)	.22 (.41)
Suburb	0–1	.38 (.49)	.40 (.49)
Large city*	0–1	.22 (.41)	.24 (.43)
Age	18–64	40.19 (14.32)	40.88 (14.59)

*Reference category in regression models; **Reference sexual identity category in LGBTQ non-heterosexual subsample regression models

Dependent Variables: Liberal Political Perspectives

For *liberal ideology*, responses were coded as (1) for those that indicated "extremely liberal" or "liberal" and coded as (0) for other responses ("moderate," "conservative," or "extremely conservative"). Participants were also asked to respond to the statement: "In general, I support laws and policies that help:" by selecting all that apply from the following four options: "Those who live in poverty," "racial/ethnic minorities," "immigrants," and "women." If a respondent selected an

option, they were coded as (1) for that option. If a respondent did not select an option, they were coded as (0) for that option. For *feminist identity*, responses[5] were coded as (0) for those that indicated "No, do not consider myself to be a feminist and I disagree with feminism" or "No, I do not consider myself to be a feminist," and coded as (1) for those that indicated "Yes, I consider myself to be a feminist" or "Yes, I consider myself to be a strong feminist." For the *Liberal Perspectives Scale*, these six items were combined (Cronbach's alpha = .74).

Independent Variables: Sexual, Gender, and Queer Identities

For sexual identity, respondents were asked "How would you describe yourself?" with the following response options: heterosexual, gay or lesbian, bisexual, pansexual, and asexual. For gender identity, respondents were asked "What best describes your gender?" with responses that were coded as cis men (those that indicated "I identify as a man and my sex assigned at birth was male"), cis women (those that indicated: "I identify as a woman and my sex assigned at birth was female"), trans women (those that indicated "I am transgender, I identify as a woman and my assigned sex at birth was male"), trans men (those that indicated "I am transgender, I identify as a man and my assigned sex at birth was female"), and nonbinary/genderqueer individuals (those that indicated "I am gender-nonbinary, gender fluid, or genderqueer"). Respondents were also asked if they identify as *queer* (those that did were coded as (1) those that did not were coded as (0)).

Sociodemographic Controls

Previous studies have found significant relationships between sociodemographics and liberal perspectives (Grollman, 2017; Herek et al., 2010; Lewis et al., 2011; Swank, 2018a, 2018b; Schnabel, 2018; Worthen, 2018); thus, the current study includes racial/ethnic identity, basic needs, education, income, region, town type, and age as sociodemographic controls. For racial identity, the response options were as follows: Caucasian/White, African American/Black, Asian American/ Pacific Islander, Native American/Alaskan Native, Multi-Racial, and Other Race: Please Specify. For Other Race, $n = 25$ respondents wrote in responses (e.g., "Hispanic," $n = 12$; "Mexican," $n = 6$) that were recoded into a new category of Latinx Race. The final Other Race category ($n = 24$) was comprised of about half (46%, $n = 11$) Middle Eastern individuals. In a separate question for Latinx Ethnicity, respondents were

also asked "Are you Hispanic or Latino/a/x? (A person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American or other Spanish culture of origin regardless of race)." A measure of basic needs was investigated by asking respondents "How would you describe your life currently?" with response options of "I have more than enough and everything I need, and so do the other family members in my household" (Have Everything I Need and More), "I have mostly everything I need for myself and so do the other family members in my household" (Have Mostly All I Need), "I often go without things I need and so do the other family members in my household" (Often Basic Needs Not Met), and "Very few of my own and my household family members' basic needs are met" (Very Few Basic Needs Met). *Education* response options were as follows: (1) less than high school, (2) high school/GED, (3) some college, (4) Associate's, (5) Bachelor's, or (6) greater than Bachelor's. *Income* options were: (1) less than $5k, (2) $5k–$24,999, (3) $25k–$49,999, (4) $50k–$99,999, and (5) $100k or greater. *Region* (where from) response options were as follows: Northeastern United States, Midwestern United States, Western United States, Southern United States, and outside of the United States. Town type (where the majority of life was spent) response options were coded into four dummy variables: *rural*, *small town*, *suburb*, and *large city*. *Age* was measured in years (18–64).

Method of Analysis

In the first set of analyses, the mean values of the dependent variables were compared by sexual, gender, and queer identities using ANOVAs and post hoc Tukey–Kramer tests. In the second set of analyses, logistic regressions were used to explore the effects of sexual, gender, and queer identities on the dichotomous measures of liberal ideology, laws/policies that support those in poverty, racial/ethnic minorities, immigrants, and women, and feminist identity. In the third set of analyses, OLS regressions estimate the relationships between sexual, gender, and queer identities on the Liberal Perspectives Scale (a combined scale of all measures of liberalism). The kurtosis and skewness values for the Liberal Perspectives Scale were within the established criteria for determining normality (Kim, 2013); thus, OLS regressions were utilized for these models. For all regressions, the same set of models was estimated with the full sample ($N = 3104$) wherein "heterosexual" is the reference category and the LGBTQ non-heterosexual subsample ($n = 1555$) wherein "gay/lesbian" is the reference category. All models include sociodemographic controls. Multicollinearity was examined using STATA command "collin" (Ender, 2010) which provides collinearity diagnostics for all variables utilized in each model. The mean VIF values ranged from 1.17 to 1.22 for Tables 5, 6, and 7 suggesting no issues with multicollinearity (Allison, 2012).

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[5] For both liberal ideology and feminist identity, responses were collapsed into 0/1 categories because the frequency tables revealed an obvious split between the feminist identity/not feminist identity groups (47%/53%) and liberal/not liberal groups (44%/56%).

Results

Mean Comparisons

Sexual Identity Gaps In Table 2, ANOVA and post hoc Tukey–Kramer test results reveal several significant sexual identity differences in liberal political perspectives. Heterosexuals are significantly less liberal as compared to all other groups. In addition, heterosexuals are significantly less supportive of laws/policies that help those in poverty, racial/ethnic minorities, immigrants, and women, and significantly less likely to identify as feminist as compared to lesbian/gay, bisexual, and pansexual individuals. Heterosexuals also indicate significantly lower values on the Liberal Perspectives Scale as compared to all other groups. Overall, these findings demonstrate a significant sexual identity gap between heterosexuals and all others, supporting *Hypothesis 1a*.

In addition, there are also sexual identity gaps in LGBTQ people's political perspectives. Lesbian/gay individuals are significantly more liberal than bisexual individuals, more likely than asexual individuals to support those in poverty, more likely than bisexual individuals to support laws/policies that help racial/ethnic minorities and immigrants, and more likely than bisexual individuals to identify as feminist. Overall, lesbian/gay individuals also report significantly higher values on the Liberal Perspectives Scale as compared to bisexual individuals. However, lesbian/gay individuals do not

significantly differ from pansexual individuals on any measures of liberal political perspectives. Thus, these findings illustrate significant sexual identity gaps between lesbian/gay, bisexual, and asexual individuals on some measures of liberal political perspectives, only partially supporting *Hypothesis 1b*.

There are also some other sexual identity gaps in LGBTQ people's political perspectives worth noting. For example, in addition to being significantly less liberal than lesbian/gay individuals, bisexual individuals were also significantly less liberal than pansexual and asexual individuals. Bisexual individuals were also significantly less likely to support laws/policies that help immigrants and less likely to identify as feminist as compared to pansexual individuals. Overall, bisexual individuals also report significantly lower values on the Liberal Perspectives Scale as compared to pansexual individuals. Thus, there were also significant sexual identity gaps between bisexual, pansexual, and asexual individuals on some measures of liberal political perspectives.

Gender Identity Gaps In Table 3, ANOVA and post hoc Tukey–Kramer test results reveal several significant gender identity differences in liberal political perspectives. Cis men are significantly less liberal than trans men and non-binary individuals, less supportive than cis women of laws/policies that help those in poverty and racial/ethnic minorities, less supportive than cis women and non-binary

Table 2 Mean values of dependent variables with ANOVA results identifying sexual identity gaps in liberal perspectives

		Group 1		Group 2		Group 3		Group 4		Group 5	
		Heterosexual		Lesbian/gay		Bisexual		Pansexual		Asexual	
		$n = 1549$		$n = 714$		$n = 717$		$n = 79$		$n = 45$	
	Range	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Liberal ideology[a]	0–1	.33	.47	.61	.49	.46	.50	.67	.47	.67	.48
Support laws/policies helping											
Those in poverty[b]	0–1	.68	.47	.82	.38	.81	.39	.86	.35	.64	.48
Racial/ethnic minorities[c]	0–1	.53	.50	.80	.40	.71	.45	.81	.39	.64	.48
Immigrants[d]	0–1	.49	.50	.72	.45	.62	.48	.78	.41	.67	.48
Women[e]	0–1	.61	.49	.81	.39	.79	.41	.84	.37	.67	.48
Feminist identity[f]	0–1	.38	.48	.61	.49	.51	.50	.71	.46	.53	.50
Liberal Perspectives Scale[g]	0–6	3.02	1.78	4.37	1.74	3.90	1.89	4.67	1.68	3.82	2.01

ANOVA results and post hoc Tukey–Kramer test results by group number ($p < .001$) $df(4, 3099)$

[a] $F = 52.64$; group 1 ≠ groups 2–5; group 2 ≠ group 3; group 3 ≠ groups 4–5

[b] $F = 20.99$; group 1 ≠ groups 2–4; group 2 ≠ group 5

[c] $F = 47.89$; group 1 ≠ groups 2–4; group 2 ≠ group 3

[d] $F = 33.13$; group 1 ≠ groups 2–4; group 2 ≠ group 3; group 3 ≠ group 4

[e] $F = 35.21$; group 1 ≠ groups 2–4

[f] $F = 34.08$; group 1 ≠ groups 2–4; group 2 ≠ group 3; group 3 ≠ group 4

[g] $F = 86.60$; group 1 ≠ groups 2–5; group 2 ≠ group 3; group 3 ≠ group 4

Table 3 Mean values of dependent variables with ANOVA results identifying gender identity gaps in liberal perspectives

		Group 1		Group 2		Group 3		Group 4		Group 5	
		Cisgender man		Cisgender woman		Trans woman		Trans man		Non-binary	
		$n = 1419$		$n = 1461$		$n = 74$		$n = 55$		$n = 95$	
	Range	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Liberal ideology[a]	0–1	.41	.49	.45	.50	.51	.50	.60	.49	.61	.49
Support laws/policies helping											
Those in Poverty[b]	0–1	.73	.44	.80	.40	.45	.50	.49	.50	.69	.46
Racial/ethnic minorities[c]	0–1	.60	.49	.69	.46	.43	.50	.55	.50	.63	.48
Immigrants[d]	0–1	.56	.50	.61	.49	.49	.50	.51	.50	.61	.49
Women[e]	0–1	.61	.49	.81	.39	.55	.50	.65	.48	.78	.42
Feminist identity[f]	0–1	.37	.48	.55	.50	.59	.49	.55	.50	.55	.50
Liberal Perspectives Scale[g]	0–6	3.28	1.88	3.90	1.87	3.03	1.68	3.35	1.81	3.87	2.08

ANOVA results and post hoc Tukey–Kramer test results by group number ($p < .001$) $df(4, 3099)$

[a] $F = 6.12$; group 1 ≠ groups 4–5; group 2 ≠ group 5

[b] $F = 19.64$; group 1 ≠ groups 2–4; group 2 ≠ groups 3–4; group 3 ≠ group 5; group 4 ≠ group 5

[c] $F = 10.62$; group 1 ≠ groups 2–3; group 2 ≠ group 3

[d] $F = $ ns

[e] $F = 38.99$; group 1 ≠ groups 2 and 5; group 2 ≠ group 3; group 3 ≠ group 5

[f] $F = 27.64$; group 1 ≠ groups 2, 3, and 5

[g] $F = 22.44$; group 1 ≠ groups 2 and 5; group 2 ≠ group 3; group 3 ≠ group 5

individuals of laws/policies that help women, and less likely than cis women, trans women, and non-binary individuals to identify as feminist. Overall, cis men report significantly lower values on the Liberal Perspectives Scale as compared to cis women and non-binary individuals. In contrast, cis men are significantly *more* supportive than trans men and women of laws/policies that help those in poverty and *more* supportive than trans women of laws/policies that help racial/ethnic minorities. Thus, these findings illustrate significant gender identity gaps between cis men, cis women, trans women, trans men, and non-binary individuals on some measures of liberal political perspectives, though some are in the opposite direction than expected; thus, *Hypothesis 2* is only partially supported.

In addition, there were some other interesting gender identity gaps. For example, cis women were significantly less liberal than non-binary individuals but significantly more likely than trans men and women to support laws/policies that help those in poverty and more likely than trans women to support laws/policies that help racial/ethnic minorities and women. Cis women also report significantly higher values on the Liberal Perspectives Scale as compared to trans women. In addition, trans women are significantly less likely than non-binary individuals to support laws/policies that help those in poverty and women. Trans women also report significantly lower values on the Liberal Perspectives Scale as compared to non-binary individuals. Thus, there were significant gender identity gaps between cis women, trans women, trans men, and non-binary individuals on some measures of liberal political perspectives.

Queer Identity Gaps In Table 4, ANOVA and post hoc Tukey–Kramer test results reveal several significant queer identity differences in liberal political perspectives. On nearly all measures, queer-identified individuals indicated significantly more liberal political perspectives. However, results comparing queer-identified and non-queer-identified individuals in regard to supporting laws/policies that help women were not statistically significantly different from one another. Overall, these findings demonstrate a significant queer identity gap in liberal political perspectives between queer-identified and non-queer-identified people, supporting *Hypothesis 3*.

To summarize, Fig. 1 compares the mean values on the Liberal Perspectives Scale across all sexual, gender, and queer identity groups. Although not all mean values are statistically significantly different from one another (see Tables 2, 3, and 4 for ANOVA and post hoc Tukey–Kramer test results), Fig. 1 demonstrates obvious sexual, gender, and queer identity gaps in liberal perspectives. In particular, pansexual and lesbian/gay individuals (for sexual identity), cis women and non-binary individuals (for gender identity), and queer-identified individuals (for

Table 4 Mean values of dependent variables with ANOVA results identifying queer identity gaps in liberal perspectives

		Group 1		Group 2	
		Non-queer identity		Queer identity	
		$n = 2711$		$n = 393$	
	Range	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Liberal ideology[a]	0–1	.39	.48	.74	.44
Support laws/policies helping					
Those in poverty[b]	0–1	.73	.44	.85	.35
Racial/ethnic minorities[c]	0–1	.63	.48	.75	.43
Immigrants[d]	0–1	.56	.50	.72	.45
Women[e]	0–1	.70	.46	.75	.43
Feminist identity[f]	0–1	.43	.50	.74	.43
Liberal Perspectives Scale[g]	0–6	3.45	1.89	4.55	1.62

ANOVA results and post hoc Tukey–Kramer test results by group number ($p < .001$) $df(1, 3103)$

[a] $F = 173.32$; group 1 ≠ group 2

[b] $F = 27.51$; group 1 ≠ group 2

[c] $F = 23.62$; group 1 ≠ group 2

[d] $F = 36.44$; group 1 ≠ group 2

[e] $F =$ ns

[f] $F = 137.17$; group 1 ≠ group 2

[g] $F = 121.65$; group 1 ≠ group 2

queer identity) emerge as strongly liberal groups in comparison to others (for sexual identity: bisexual, asexual, heterosexual; for gender identity: trans man, cis man, and trans woman; and for queer identity: non-queer-identified). Thus, there are clear sexual, gender, and queer identity patterns in liberal perspectives visible in Fig. 1 as also illustrated in Tables 2, 3, and 4.

Logistic Regression Results for the Full Sample

Table 5 provides logistic regression results estimating the effects of sexual, gender, and queer identities on liberal ideology, supporting laws/policies that help those in poverty, racial/ethnic minorities, immigrants, and women, and feminist identity with sociodemographic controls for the full sample ($N = 3104$). For sexual identity (wherein heterosexual is the reference category) identifying as gay/lesbian, bisexual, or pansexual increases the likelihood of holding liberal political perspectives on all six measures as follows: liberal ideology (by 1.90, .67, and 2.08 respectively), supporting laws/policies that help those in poverty (by .81, .91, and 3.49 respectively), racial/ethnic minorities (by 2.01, 1.16, and 3.70 respectively), immigrants (by 1.32, .69, and 3.06 respectively), women (by 1.46, 1.34, and 2.17 respectively), and feminist identity (by 1.27, .64, and 2.01 respectively). In addition, identifying as asexual increases the likelihood of identifying as liberal by 2.82 and supporting laws/policies that help racial/ethnic minorities and immigrants by 1.18 and 1.45 (respectively). Thus, there is robust support for *Hypothesis 1a*.

For gender identity (wherein cis man is the reference category), identifying as a cis woman increases the likelihood of holding liberal political perspectives on all six measures as follows: liberal ideology (by .23), supporting laws/policies that help those in poverty (by .56), racial/ethnic minorities (by .60), immigrants (by .25), women (by 2.02), and feminist identity (by 1.47). Identifying as a trans woman also increases the likelihood of feminist identity by 1.31. However, identifying as a trans woman decreases the likelihood of holding

Fig. 1 Mean values on the Liberal Perspectives Scale by sexual, gender, and queer identity. The Liberal Perspectives Scale has a range of 0–6, the axis shown here is 3–5 to allow for easily visible comparisons across the groups (see Tables 2, 3, and 4 for ANOVA and post hoc Tukey–Kramer test results identifying significant differences in mean values).
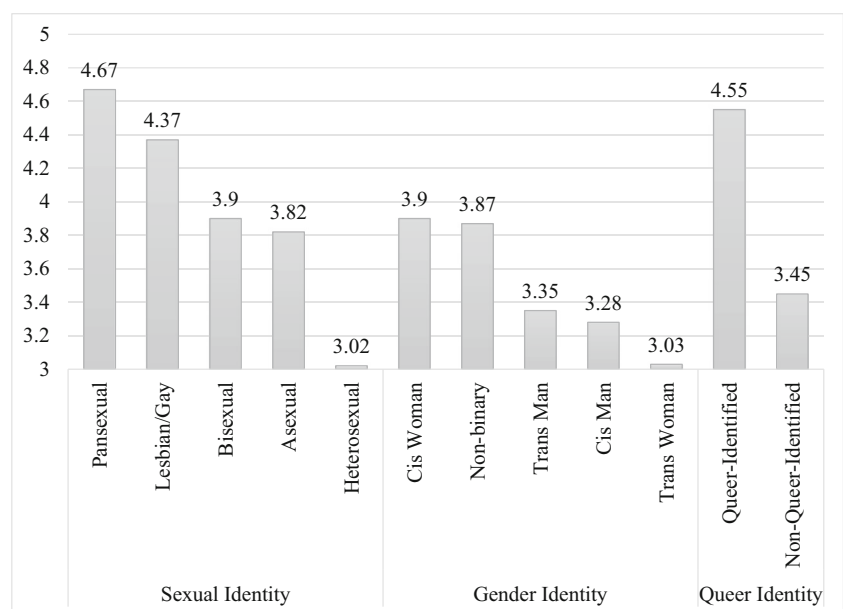
Table 5 Logistic regression results with odds ratios (standard errors) estimating the effects of sexual, gender, and queer identities on liberal perspectives for the full sample ($N = 3104$)

	Liberal ideology	Support laws/policies: those in poverty	Support laws/policies: racial/ethnic minorities	Support laws/policies: immigrants	Support laws/policies: women	Feminist identity
Sexual identity						
Gay/lesbian	2.90* (.30)	1.81* (.22)	3.01* (.34)	2.32* (.24)	2.46* (.29)	2.27* (.23)
Bisexual	1.67* (.17)	1.91* (.23)	2.16* (.22)	1.69* (.16)	2.34* (.27)	1.64* (.16)
Pansexual	3.08* (.82)	4.49* (1.67)	4.70* (1.49)	4.06* (1.21)	3.17* (1.06)	3.01* (.83)
Asexual	3.82* (1.31)	1.24 (.43)	2.18* (.73)	2.45* (.83)	1.59 (.56)	1.80 (.60)
Gender identity						
Cis woman	1.23* (.10)	1.56* (.15)	1.60* (.14)	1.25* (.10)	3.02* (.28)	2.47* (.21)
Trans woman	1.26 (.32)	.26* (.07)	.39* (.10)	.57* (.14)	.69 (.18)	2.31* (.60)
Trans man	1.38 (.42)	.32* (.10)	.64 (.19)	.56 (.17)	1.15 (.36)	1.38 (.41)
Non-binary	1.23 (.30)	.51* (.13)	.71 (.17)	.80 (.19)	1.85* (.52)	1.35 (.33)
Queer identity	2.91* (.38)	2.36* (.39)	1.48* (.21)	1.56* (.20)	1.15 (.16)	3.09* (.41)
Sociodemog. controls						
African Amer./Black	1.82* (.25)	.71* (.10)	1.26 (.18)	1.01 (.13)	.96 (.14)	1.41* (.19)
Asian/Pacific Islander	.98 (.16)	.44* (.07)	.86 (.14)	1.09 (.18)	.88 (.15)	1.08 (.18)
Native Amer./Alaskan	.80 (.25)	.40* (.12)	.84 (.25)	1.08 (.32)	.80 (.26)	.66 (.21)
Multi-Racial	.90 (.22)	2.01* (.70)	2.45* (.78)	1.80* (.48)	1.76 (.57)	.88 (.22)
Other Race	1.05 (.47)	.75 (.36)	.77 (.34)	.91 (.40)	.67 (.30)	2.53* (1.17)
Latinx Race	.74 (.33)	1.57 (.78)	2.68 (.1.42)	3.22* (1.84)	2.62 (1.41)	.56 (.25)
Latinx Ethnicity	1.61* (.19)	.57* (.07)	.93 (.11)	1.30* (.16)	.72* (.09)	1.58* (.19)
Mostly All Needs Met	.94 (.09)	1.51* (.15)	1.47* (.14)	1.36* (.12)	1.65* (.16)	1.03 (.10)
Needs Often Not Met	1.16 (.15)	1.92* (.28)	1.32* (.16)	1.26 (.15)	1.93* (.26)	.91 (.12)
Very Few Needs Met	1.36 (.27)	1.53 (.34)	1.04 (.20)	.97 (.18)	1.14 (.23)	.84 (.17)
Education	1.15* (.04)	1.05 (.03)	1.11* (.03)	1.14* (.03)	1.16* (.04)	1.19* (.04)
Income	1.04 (.04)	1.01 (.01)	1.02 (.02)	1.01 (.02)	1.02 (.02)	1.05 (.04)
Northeast US Region	1.54* (.17)	.92 (.11)	.94 (.10)	1.21* (.13)	1.04 (.12)	1.37* (.15)
Midwest US Region	1.41* (.16)	.83 (.10)	.89 (.10)	1.19 (.13)	1.00 (.12)	1.36* (.15)
West US Region	1.33* (.15)	.88 (.11)	.93 (.11)	1.02 (.12)	1.00 (.13)	1.20 (.14)
Outside US	.98 (.24)	1.01 (.27)	.63 (.15)	1.29 (.31)	.40* (.10)	1.65* (.40)
Rural	.75* (.10)	.74* (.10)	.57* (.07)	.57* (.07)	.72* (.10)	.77* (.10)
Small town	.90 (.11)	.98 (.13)	.84 (.10)	.87 (.10)	.99 (.13)	.91 (.11)
Suburb	.92 (.00)	1.06 (.13)	1.01 (.11)	.97 (.10)	1.05 (.12)	.93 (.10)
Age	.99* (.00)	1.02* (.00)	1.01 (.00)	1.00 (.00)	1.01* (.00)	.98* (.00)
McFadden's R^2	.10	.09	.09	.06	.11	.11

*$p < .05$; reference category for sexual identity is heterosexual

liberal political perspectives on three measures as follows: supporting laws/policies that help those in poverty (by .74), racial/ethnic minorities (by .61), and immigrants (by .43). In addition, identifying as a trans man decreases the likelihood of supporting laws/policies that help those in poverty by .68. Furthermore, identifying as non-binary decreases the likelihood of supporting laws/policies that help those in poverty by .49 but increases the likelihood of supporting laws/policies that help women by .85. Thus, there is only partial support for *Hypothesis 2*.

For queer identity (wherein non-queer-identity is the reference category), identifying as queer increases the likelihood of

holding liberal political perspectives on five measures as follows: liberal ideology (by 1.91), supporting laws/policies that help those in poverty (by 1.36), racial/ethnic minorities (by .48), immigrants (by .56), and feminist identity (by 2.09). Thus, *Hypothesis 3* is well supported.

Logistic Regression Results for the LGBTQ Non-heterosexual Subsample

Table 6 provides logistic regression results estimating the effects of sexual, gender, and queer identities on liberal ideology, supporting laws/policies that help those in poverty, racial/

ethnic minorities, immigrants, women, and feminist identity with sociodemographic controls for the LGBTQ non-heterosexual subsample ($n = 1555$). For sexual identity (wherein gay/lesbian is the reference category), identifying as bisexual decreases the likelihood of holding liberal political perspectives on four measures as follows: liberal ideology (by .41), supporting laws/policies that help racial/ethnic minorities (by .31), immigrants (by .28), and feminist identity (by .32). In contrast, identifying as pansexual increases the likelihood of supporting laws/policies that help those in poverty by 1.17. Thus, there is only partial support for *Hypothesis 1b.*

For gender identity (wherein cis man is the reference category), as seen in Table 5, identifying as a cis woman increases the likelihood of holding liberal political perspectives on all six measures as follows: liberal ideology (by .66), supporting laws/policies that help those in poverty (by .48), racial/ethnic minorities (by .86), immigrants (by .46), and women (by 4.03), and feminist identity (by 1.91). Identifying as a trans woman also increases the likelihood of feminist identity by 1.55. However, as also seen in Table 5, identifying as a trans woman decreases the likelihood of supporting laws/policies that help those in poverty (by .75) and racial/ethnic minorities (by .64). In addition, identifying as a trans man decreases the likelihood of supporting laws/policies that help those in poverty by .66. Furthermore, identifying as non-binary decreases the likelihood of supporting laws/policies that help those in poverty by .48 but increases the likelihood of supporting laws/policies that help women by 1.02. Thus, there is only partial support for *Hypothesis 2*.

For queer identity (wherein non-queer-identity is the reference category), identifying as queer increases the likelihood of holding liberal political perspectives on all six measures as follows: liberal ideology (by 1.89), supporting laws/policies that help those in poverty (by 1.28), racial/ethnic minorities (by 1.28), immigrants (by 1.28), women (by .89), and feminist identity (by 1.60). Thus, *Hypothesis 3* is well supported.

OLS Regression Results for the Liberal Perspectives Scale

Table 7 provides ordinary least squares (OLS) regression results estimating the effects of sexual, gender, and queer identities on the Liberal Perspectives Scale with sociodemographic controls for the full sample ($N = 3104$) and the LGBTQ non-heterosexual subsample ($n = 1555$). For the full sample, for sexual identity (wherein heterosexual is the reference category), identifying as gay/lesbian, bisexual, pansexual, and asexual are all positively related to the Liberal Perspectives Scale. Thus, *Hypothesis 1a* is well supported. In contrast, for the LGBTQ non-heterosexual subsample for sexual identity (wherein gay/lesbian is the reference category),

identifying as bisexual is negatively related to the Liberal Perspectives Scale. Thus, *Hypothesis 1b* is partially supported. For both the full sample and the LGBTQ non-heterosexual subsample, being a cis woman is positively related to the Liberal Perspectives Scale; however, no other measures of gender identity are positive. In addition, identifying as a trans woman is negatively related to the Liberal Perspectives Scale for the full sample. Thus, *Hypothesis 2* is only partially supported. For both the full sample and the LGBTQ non-heterosexual subsample, identifying as queer is positively related to the Liberal Perspectives Scale. Thus, *Hypothesis 3* is fully supported.

Controls and Goodness of Fit

Among the sociodemographic controls, many are significant. In Table 5, all measures of race/ethnicity, two basic needs measures, education, all regions, rural, and age are significantly related to liberal perspectives in at least one model. In Table 6, four measures of race/ethnicity (African American/Black, Asian/Pacific Islander, Native American/Alaskan Native, and Latinx ethnicity), all basic needs measures, education, income, two regions (Northeast and Midwest), rural, and age are significantly related to liberal perspectives in at least one model. In Table 7, only one measure of race (multi-racial) is significant, while two basic needs measures, education, income, region (Northeast only), and rural are significantly related to liberal perspectives in at least one model. The McFadden's R^2 values range from .06 to .13 in Tables 5 and 6 and the adjusted R^2 values range from .15 to .18 in Table 7.

Discussion

During the Trump presidency, a so-called rainbow wave of liberal voters changed the political landscape by helping to elect record numbers of LGBTQ political leaders into office (Downs, 2018; Moreau, 2018; Victory Fund, 2018). Yet, the particulars of LGBTQ people's liberal perspectives have yet to be carefully explored. Specifically, the widely held cultural perception that "all the gays are liberal" (Worthen, 2018) fails to interrogate the ways gender, sexuality, and queer identities inform the presumed monolithic liberal-ness of LGBTQ people. The current study explored these patterns by centering the importance of examining sexual, gender, and queer identity gaps in LGBTQ liberal political perspectives using US nationally representative data. Building from Worthen's (2018) dual social justice/empathic concern theoretical framework, liberal perspectives among LGBTQ people were theorized as constructed from personal experiences with stigma and empathic

Table 6 Logistic regression results with odds ratios (standard errors) estimating the effects of sexual, gender, and queer identities on liberal perspectives for the LGBTQ non-heterosexual subsample ($n = 1555$)

	Liberal ideology	Support laws/policies: those in poverty	Support laws/policies: racial/ethnic minorities	Support laws/policies: immigrants	Support laws/policies: women	Feminist identity
Sexual identity						
Bisexual	.59* (.07)	.99 (.15)	.69* (.09)	.72* (.09)	.96 (.14)	.68* (.08)
Pansexual	1.05 (.29)	2.17* (.85)	1.40 (.48)	1.66 (.53)	1.17 (.43)	1.24 (.36)
Asexual	1.51 (.54)	.63 (.24)	.69 (.25)	1.10 (.39)	.67 (.26)	.83 (.29)
Gender identity						
Cis woman	1.66* (.21)	1.48* (.24)	1.86* (.27)	1.46* (.19)	5.03* (.87)	2.91* (.37)
Trans woman	1.45 (.44)	.25* (.08)	.36* (.11)	.66 (.20)	.92 (.30)	2.55* (.80)
Trans man	2.03 (.80)	.34* (.13)	.53 (.20)	.51 (.19)	1.46 (.60)	1.21 (.45)
Non-binary	1.50 (.41)	.52* (.16)	.72 (.20)	.77 (.21)	2.02* (.69)	1.37 (.37)
Queer identity	2.89* (.45)	2.28* (.49)	2.28* (.43)	2.28* (.38)	1.89* (.37)	2.60* (.40)
Sociodemog. controls						
African Amer./Black	1.27 (.26)	.48* (.11)	.89 (.20)	.74 (.15)	.60* (.14)	1.02 (.21)
Asian/Pacific Islander	1.43 (.40)	.39* (.11)	.74 (.22)	.96 (.27)	.54* (.16)	1.01 (.28)
Native Amer./Alaskan	.67 (.27)	.27* (.11)	.51 (.20)	1.06 (.44)	.48 (21)	.81 (.32)
Multi-Racial	.91 (.29)	1.30 (.60)	1.64 (.68)	1.54 (.55)	1.70 (.81)	1.07 (.34)
Other Race	1.46 (.82)	.58 (.37)	.54 (.30)	.99 (.56)	.78 (.49)	2.75 (1.72)
Latinx Race	.64 (.41)	.65 (.43)	.90 (.65)	1.45 (1.02)	1.16 (.84)	.86 (.56)
Latinx Ethnicity	1.30 (.23)	.53* (.11)	1.04 (.21)	1.01 (.18)	.61* (.12)	1.23 (.22)
Mostly All Needs Met	1.08 (.14)	1.67* (.27)	1.49* (.22)	1.25 (.17)	1.54* (.25)	1.05 (.14)
Needs Often Not Met	1.63* (.30)	2.52* (.61)	1.70* (.35)	1.68* (.32)	2.59* (.62)	1.13 (.22)
Very Few Needs Met	1.67 (.48)	2.77* (1.04)	1.22 (.37)	1.35 (.39)	1.46 (.48)	.79 (.22)
Education	1.15* (.05)	1.05 (.06)	1.10 (.05)	1.09 (.05)	1.15* (.06)	1.21* (.05)
Income	1.10 (.06)	1.08 (.07)	1.06 (.06)	1.14* (.07)	1.21* (.09)	1.05 (.05)
Northeast US Region	1.60* (.25)	.92 (.19)	.92 (.16)	1.12 (.18)	.97 (.19)	1.27 (.20)
Midwest US Region	1.43* (.22)	.83 (.16)	.93 (.16)	1.28 (.21)	1.06 (.21)	1.36* (.21)
West US Region	1.27 (.20)	.79 (.16)	.90 (.16)	.82 (.13)	.86 (.17)	1.03 (.16)
Outside US	.64 (.26)	.56 (.25)	.51 (.22)	.87 (.36)	.56 (.24)	.88 (.36)
Rural	.68* (.13)	.61* (.13)	.57* (.12)	.49* (.09)	.65 (.14)	.79 (.15)
Small town	.99 (.16)	.82 (.17)	.71 (.13)	.81 (.13)	.84 (.17)	1.13 (.19)
Suburb	.99 (.14)	1.07 (.20)	.87 (.15)	.87 (.13)	1.02 (.19)	1.04 (.15)
Age	.99 (.00)	1.00 (.01)	1.00 (.00)	.99 (.00)	1.00 (.01)	.98* (.00)
McFadden's R^2	.09	.11	.08	.06	.13	.11

*$p < .05$; reference category for sexual identity is gay/lesbian

concern for other stigmatized people. Specifically, it was hypothesized that heterosexuals would be less liberal than all others (*Hypothesis 1*), that lesbian/gay individuals would be more liberal than others in the LGBTQ community (*Hypothesis 1b*), that cis men would be less liberal than all others (*Hypothesis 2*), and that queer-identified individuals would be more liberal than non-queer-identified individuals (*Hypothesis 3*). Broadly speaking, all hypotheses were supported; however, some findings contradicted the hypothesized relationships in interesting ways.

Sexual identity gaps were found between heterosexuals and all others across all measures of liberal perspectives (see Tables 2, 5, and 7; see Fig. 1), which are largely consistent

with previous work that has examined heterosexual–LGB gaps in liberalism (e.g., Grollman, 2017; Herek et al., 2010; Hertzog, 1996; Lewis et al., 2011; Schnabel, 2018; Swank, 2018a, 2018b; Worthen, 2018). The current study expands upon previous research through the exploration of additional sexual identities (i.e., pansexual and asexual) and the use of US nationally representative data, lending strong credence to support this type of sexual identity gap in political perspectives. Overall, in line *Hypothesis 1a*, the current study's findings indicate a heterosexual–LGBPA sexual identity gap in liberal perspectives which supports both cultural stereotypes that "*all the gays are liberal*" and the "rainbow wave" of liberalism.

Table 7 OLS regression results estimating the effects of sexual, gender, and queer identities on the liberal perspectives scale for the full sample (N = 3104) and the LGBTQ non-heterosexual subsample (n = 1555)

	Full sample	LGBTQ Non-heterosexual subsample
Sexual identity		
Gay/lesbian	1.10*	–
Bisexual	.79*	− .35*
Pansexual	1.50*	.29
Asexual	.91*	− .21
Gender identity		
Cis woman	.66*	.78*
Trans woman	− .44*	− .36
Trans man	− .26	− .25
Non-binary	.02	.08
Queer identity	.76*	.85*
Sociodemographic controls		
African Amer./Black	.18	− .23
Asian/Pacific Islander	− .18	− .25
Native Amer./Alaskan	− .35	− .59
Multi-Racial	.39*	.23
Other Race	− .01	.02
Latinx Race	.48	− .10
Latinx Ethnicity	.08	− .07
Mostly All Needs Met	.31*	.26*
Needs Often Not Met	.35*	.54*
Very Few Needs Met	.12	.29
Education	.16*	.14*
Income	.02	.04*
Northeast US Region	.18*	.14
Midwest US Region	.12	.15
West US Region	.07	− .06
Outside US	− .12	− .50
Rural	− .50*	− .55*
Small town	− .12	− .15
Suburb	− .02	− .03
Age	− .00	− .01
Adjusted R^2	.18	.15

*$p < .05$; reference category for sexual identity for full sample is heterosexual; reference category for sexual identity for LGBTQ non-heterosexual subsample is gay/lesbian

However, among LGBTQ people, there were significant sexual identity gaps that strongly contradict both of these cultural stereotypes. In particular, lesbian/gay and pansexual individuals were significantly more liberal than bisexual individuals (see Table 2 and Fig. 1). Specifically, as seen in Table 6, as compared to gay/lesbian individuals, bisexual individuals were significantly less likely to support four measures of liberalism (liberal ideology, laws/policies helping

racial/ethnic minorities and immigrants, and feminist identity). In addition, as seen in Table 7 when gay/lesbian individuals are included as the reference category, there was a negative relationship between being bisexual and the Liberal Perspectives Scale. Thus, the current study finds strong support for an LG–B sexual identity gap in liberal political perspectives which is in line with some previous work (Grollman, 2017; Herek et al., 2010; Lewis et al., 2011; Schaffner, MacWilliams, & Nteta, 2017; Strolovitch et al., 2017; Swank, 2018a) but contradicts Worthen's (2018) findings of a distinct bisexual liberalism among college students. In particular, the findings here resemble the well-documented schism between LGs and Bs wherein bisexual individuals sometimes feel displaced, erased, or excluded from the larger "LGBTQ community" (Weiss, 2003). Indeed, bisexual individuals are less likely than lesbian/gay individuals to have LGB friends, less likely to recognize LGB discrimination, and less likely to support LGB protections (Swank, 2018a). Thus, social justice/empathic concern motivations to support liberal perspectives may be lessened among bisexual individuals who often lack a concrete "bisexual community" and ties to the larger LGBTQ community itself. Indeed, this lack of "embeddedness" has been found to shape bisexual individuals' less liberal voting patterns when compared to gay/lesbian individuals in previous work (Swank, 2018a). The current study bolsters such findings and indicates a distinct LG–B sexual identity gap in liberalism which aligns with *Hypothesis 1b*.

Interestingly, there is some evidence in Tables 2 and 6 as well as Fig. 1 that pansexual individuals are more liberal than bisexual individuals. Though pansexual individuals are sometimes united with bisexual individuals beneath umbrella terms such as "non-monosexual" (which represents romantic/sexual interests in more than one gender) (Flanders, 2017), the current study's findings support an emerging body of work that has found some interesting differences between pansexual and bisexual individuals. In particular, pansexual individuals may be more liberal than bisexual individuals because pansexual identity often represents a wider, more inclusive set of sexual interests than bisexual identity (Elizabeth, 2013; Flanders et al., 2017; Greaves et al., 2019; Morandini et al., 2017). In addition, pansexuals in the current study were significantly younger than bisexuals (mean ages 31.62 and 38.56 respectively) as found in other research (Greaves et al., 2019; Morandini et al., 2017) and more than 1/3 (35%) of pansexuals identified as queer as compared to only 1 in 7 (14%) bisexuals. Being both young and queer may be indicative of a more impassioned dedication to liberal social movements (Milkman, 2017; Rollins & Hirsch, 2003; Swank, 2018a). Thus, as a more open, diverse identity, pansexual identity may be particularly common among liberal-leaning individuals who are interested in social justice.

In contrast, the relationship between asexual identity and liberalism does not appear to be as robust as the relationship

between pansexual identity and liberalism. This may be because asexual individuals and their experiences differ from those who express sexual interests in others (Carrigan, 2011; Hoffarth, Drolet, Hodson, & Hafer, 2016), including those within the LGBTQ community (Colborne, 2018; Pinto, 2014). Thus, asexual individuals may not identify as particularly liberal-leaning and may not see liberal perspectives as aligning with their own unique interests in the ways that others (i.e., lesbian/gay and pansexual individuals) do. Overall, the current study's exploration of sexual identity gaps among LGBTQ non-heterosexual people (see Tables 2, 6, and 7) largely contradict both cultural stereotypes that "all the gays are liberal" and the "rainbow wave" of liberalism and instead suggest that lesbian/gay individuals (and perhaps pansexual individuals) are the dominant contributors to these patterns while bisexual and asexual individuals do not appear to be as significant to these trends (when compared to lesbian/gay and pansexual individuals). Thus, overall, *Hypothesis 1b* is mostly supported; however, in contrast to expectations, pansexual individuals emerge as strongly liberal.

Among the gender identity gaps, many were significant when cis men were compared to all others. Specifically, cis men were less liberal than cis women as illustrated across multiple measures of liberal perspectives in Tables 3, 5, 6, and 7 as well as Fig. 1. This is consistent with research that indicates that compared to men, women tend to be more liberal about various social issues and more inclined to adopt liberal political ideologies (e.g., Eagly et al., 2004; Lewis et al., 2011; Williams & Wittig, 1997). Thus, in line with *Hypothesis 2*, the current study's findings indicate a cis man–cis woman gender identity gap in liberalism whereby cis men are less liberal than cis women.

However, when transgender identity is considered, a much different pattern of findings emerges. In particular, compared to cis men, both trans women and men are less liberal across several measures. For example, for both the full sample and the LGBTQ non-heterosexual subsample (in Tables 5 and 6), being a trans woman and being a trans man were related to a decreased likelihood of supporting laws/policies that help those in poverty. In addition, being a trans woman was related to a decreased likelihood of supporting laws/policies that help racial/ethnic minorities and immigrants in Table 5. Thus, in comparison to all cis men as well as all cis LGBTQ non-heterosexual men, trans men and women were significantly less liberal. The only exception to this pattern is that identifying as a trans woman increases the likelihood of identifying as a feminist as compared to cis men (a pattern which has been partially discussed in some previous work on trans feminisms, see Green, 2006; Whittle, 2013; Williams, 2016). Table 7 also illustrates the robust negative relationship between being a trans woman and liberal perspectives for the full sample. Thus, largely contrasting with *Hypothesis 2*, the current study's findings indicate a cis man–trans man/woman gender

identity gap in liberalism whereby cis men are more liberal than trans men and women. In addition, because being a cis woman has a positive relationship to liberalism in all models while being a trans woman or man has a negative relationship, the current study's findings indicate a cis woman–trans man/woman gender identity gap in liberalism whereby cis women are more liberal than trans men and women. Thus, cis and trans women's liberalism may be shaped by different motivations. For example, cis women were twice as likely to identify as queer as compared to trans women in the current study (10% vs 5% respectively). Thus, queer politics may impact cis and trans women's liberalism differently. Overall, these patterns demonstrate that trans men and women have a different relationship with liberalism than cis men and women do. Indeed, in ancillary analyses when "transgender" is included in the models presented here and the comparison group is "cisgender," transgender remains consistently negatively related to liberalism.

These are surprising findings because large-scale US nationwide studies have found that most (82%) transgender people identify with liberalism (James et al., 2016) and a majority (64%) voted for the Democratic Party candidate Hillary Clinton in the 2016 election (Strolovitch et al., 2017). However, because no studies to date have offered comparisons of cis men and women, trans men and women, and non-binary individuals in regard to their liberalism, patterns regarding liberal perspectives among these groups remained unestablished in previous work. Using US nationally representative data, the current study illustrates that transgender individuals may believe that their experiences differ from cisgender people in important ways that shape their perspectives about liberalism. In particular, trans men and women may feel that their interests are not well represented by liberal perspectives and policies and as a result, they may not identify with liberal politics. Indeed, nearly half (48%) of transgender/non-binary people identified as political independents in the US Transgender Survey (James et al., 2016). Overall, the relationships between trans identity and liberalism found in the current study largely go against the expected patterns outlined in the theoretical framework and hypotheses (especially *Hypothesis 2*) and demonstrate the need for continued efforts to understand these dynamics.

Looking at the liberalism patterns for non-binary individuals, there is some evidence that non-binary individuals are more liberal than cis men, trans men, and trans women but less liberal than cis women (see Table 3 and Fig. 1). In the regression models, there was also mixed evidence: non-binary identity was related to a decreased likelihood of supporting laws/policies that help those in poverty (Tables 5 and 6) and racial/ethnic minorities (Table 6) but an increased likelihood of supporting laws/policies that help women (Tables 5 and 6). Furthermore, non-binary identity was not significantly related to the Liberal Perspectives Scale in Table 7. Thus, there is

some support for a cis man–non-binary gender identity gap in liberalism but the patterns among these gaps vary depending on the particular measure of liberalism. As noted above, there is limited research on non-binary people and their experiences, including their political perspectives. Though non-binary people were included in US Transgender Survey (James et al., 2016), there were no specific patterns associated with non-binary identity and liberalism offered in the final report. The current study's findings suggest that there is a relationship between being non-binary and being liberal, perhaps because non-binary identity itself offers a more diverse, less restrictive way to embody and perform gender as compared to both cis and trans identities and as a result, non-binary identity can push back against dominant hetero-cis-normative tropes (Callis, 2014; Greaves et al., 2019). Thus, as a more open, reflexive identity, non-binary identity may be especially evident among liberal-leaning individuals.

Moving to queer identity gaps, there was consistent and robust evidence that identifying as queer is strongly related to liberalism (see Table 4 and Fig. 1). In particular, for both the full sample and the LGBTQ non-heterosexual subsample (in Tables 5 and 6), identifying as queer was related to an increased likelihood of supporting all six measures of liberalism (liberal ideology, support of laws/policies that help those in poverty, racial/ethnic minorities, immigrants, and women (Table 6 only), and feminist identity). In addition, queer identity was positively related to the Liberal Perspectives Scale in Table 7 for both the full sample and the LGBTQ non-heterosexual subsample. Interestingly, though there is ample debate over the overlap and/or the potential divisive fractures that queer, liberal, and feminist politics and identities can have (Butler, 1993; Gamson, 1995; Walters, 1996), the current study confirms a robust relationship between queer identity and liberalism, which aligns with convenience sample studies and smaller-scale college student studies (Gray & Desmarais, 2014; Harr & Kane, 2008; Renn, 2007; Rollins & Hirsch, 2003). Although queer identity is largely underexplored as a broad category, perhaps because definitions of queer identity are widely variant, frequently controversial, and often evolving in dynamic ways (Blasius, 2001; Gamson, 1995), the current study lends support to the continued exploration of what it means to be queer and how queer identity shapes other perspectives. In particular, these US nationally representative data show that identifying as queer is strongly related to self-identified liberalism. Overall, *Hypothesis 3* is fully supported and offers the most consistent and robust findings across all predicted patterns.

A final noteworthy set of findings in the current study relates to the sociodemographics. In particular, there were robust sexual, gender, and queer identity gaps found in all models even when including race/ethnicity, basic needs, education, income, region, town type, and age as controls. These findings align with previous work that has confirmed sexual identity

(heterosexual–LGB) gaps in liberalism while using a battery of sociodemographic controls similar to those utilized the current study (e.g., Grollman, 2017; Herek et al., 2010; Lewis et al., 2011; Swank, 2018a, 2018b; Schnabel, 2018). In addition, because the current study utilized a nationally representative sample of adults stratified by US census categories of age, gender, ethnicity, and census region, the findings offer particularly informative patterns that can help further our understandings of liberalism, social justice, and empathic concern among both LGBTQ and heterosexual people.

Overall, the current study revealed the following robust sexual, gender, and queer identity gaps in liberalism: heterosexual–LGBPA, LG–B, cis man–cis woman, cis man–trans man/woman, cis woman–trans man/woman, cis–trans, and queer-identified–non-queer identified. In addition, there were some less strongly supported and less consistent gender identity gaps in liberal perspectives found including: pansexual–bisexual, non-binary–cis man, and non-binary–trans man/woman. Thus, the current study's findings align with three previously identified sexual and gender identity gaps (heterosexual–LGBPA, LG–B, cis man–cis woman) and offer seven additional sexual, gender, and queer identity gaps in liberal perspectives. In particular, while the simplistic exploration of the heterosexual–LGBPA liberalism gap offers support for the cultural stereotypes that "all the gays are liberal" and the "rainbow wave" of liberal voters, the additional explorations conducted in the current study (especially those wherein only relationships between LGBTQ non-heterosexuals are examined as seen in Table 6) demonstrate overlapping complexities among these relationships that lend caution to the broad sweeping of all LGBTQs into a monolithic group of "liberals." Instead, the current study's results, as seen in Fig. 1 especially, illustrate stronger relationships to liberalism among certain groups (i.e., lesbian/gay, pansexual, cis women, non-binary individuals, and queer-identified people) when compared to other groups (i.e., bisexual, asexual, heterosexual, trans men and women, cis men, and non-queer-identified people). Thus, while the full spectrum of individuals identifying as LGBTQ cannot be universally described as "liberal" (and accordingly, a "rainbow wave" is an inaccurate descriptor of these patterns), the relationships found in the current study can be better represented by a "luminous lavender liberalism" which signifies an infusion of yellow[6] (often the representative color for pansexual and non-binary individuals on pride flags, see Sobel, 2018) into the previously described LGB "lavender liberalism" (Hertzog, 1996; Worthen, 2018).

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[6] There are many colors that represent different groups in the LGBTQ community which often correspond to pride flags. The most well known is the traditional pride flag which consists of six rainbow colors (red, orange, yellow, blue, green, and purple). However, there are dozens of other flags and color representations in the LGBTQ community. For example, the pansexual pride flag includes yellow to represent non-binary people along with pink to represent femininities and blue to represent masculinities (Sobel, 2018).

Overall, the current study's exploration of the particulars of LGBTQ political perspectives demonstrate tensions between trans individuals and liberal perspectives while also confirming lesbian/gay liberalism and illuminating three additional especially liberal groups in the LGBTQ community: pansexual, non-binary, and queer individuals. Together, these findings demonstrate the need for future studies to incorporate more complex measures of both sexuality and gender identity to support the continued exploration of "luminous lavender liberalism" and the political perspectives of LGBTQ people.

Limitations and Future Research

Though the current study utilized a nationally representative sample of US adults, some groups in the LGBTQ sample were rather small with ns less than 100 (pansexual, asexual, trans woman, trans man, and non-binary). While no cells in the analyses were less than the optimal size for adequate power (Van Voorhis & Morgan, 2007), additional research with larger samples of these groups could bolster the current study's findings further. In particular, this is the first study that has specifically examined pansexual and asexual identities as related to liberalism; thus, it is essential that future work continue to investigate these groups and their perspectives. In addition, among the sociodemographics, there were numerous significant results as related to race/ethnicity, basic needs, education, income, region, town type, and age. Thus, future work that focuses on these identities as well as intersectionalities among them would be especially beneficial. In particular, it would be interesting to explore multiple inequalities, intraminority intergroup relations, and shared experiences of disadvantage as they inform political motivations, activism, and political consciousness (Craig & Richeson, 2016; Friedman & Leaper, 2010; Harnois, 2015; Strolovitch et al., 2017). Furthermore, because younger people (e.g., "Millennials") have been found to be more involved with liberal social movements (Milkman, 2017), a more critical focus on age would complement the current study. In addition, although efforts were made to include multiple measures to capture liberal perspectives as well as sexual, gender, and queer identities, the measures were somewhat limited and there were no direct measures of "Democrat" or "Republican" nor of adherence to "social justice" or "empathic concern." Thus, future research could incorporate additional mechanisms and nuanced survey language to better explore these perspectives and identities (Conlin & Heesacker, 2017). In particular, the ways the so-called 2018 Democratic "blue wave" (Enton, 2018) relates to both the "rainbow wave" and LGBTQ liberalism would be particularly interesting to examine. Indeed, it is likely that the activism behind both the blue and rainbow waves fed off one another in ways that contributed to the

results found in the current study. Other experiences such as embeddedness in LGBTQ social movements/protests and other activist organizations, communities, workplaces, networks, friendships, relationships, families, and marriages as well as sexual behaviors and attractions (in conjunction with LGBTQ identities) would also be helpful to explore as they relate to liberal perspectives (Andersen & Jennings, 2010; Friedman & Leaper, 2010; Ghaziani & Baldassarri, 2011; Grollman, 2017; Lewis et al., 2011; McVeigh & Diaz, 2009; Morandini et al., 2017; Rollins & Hirsch, 2003; Swank, 2018b; Swank & Fahs, 2019; Taylor, Kimport, Van Dyke, & Andersen, 2009). In addition, longitudinal studies that can trace transitions to LGBTQ identities as they relate to the adoption of liberal political identities could be especially helpful (Egan, working paper; Morandini et al., 2017; Silva & Whaley, 2018). It would also be particularly informative to investigate how additional perspectives that have been found to be associated with political beliefs and attitudes among heterosexuals (e.g., religiosity, patriarchal gender norms, gendered heterosexism, white heteropatriarchy, empathic concern, authoritarianism, see Friedman & Leaper, 2010; McDaniel & Ellison, 2008; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; Strolovitch et al., 2017; Worthen, 2018; Worthen et al., 2017, 2012) relate to sexual, gender, and queer identity gaps in liberalism. This future work can better interrogate the cultural stereotype that "all the gays are liberal" as well as the "rainbow wave" and the "blue wave" in order to contribute to deeper understandings of the ways Worthen's (2018) dual social justice/empathic concern theoretical framework shapes LGBTQ "luminous lavender liberalism."

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