

You Better Vote: Drag Performers and Voter Mobilization in the 2020 Election

Edward F. Kammerer Jr., *Idaho State University, USA*

Melissa R. Michelson, *Menlo College, USA*

ABSTRACT

Drag has long been part of the LGBTQ rights movement. Drag performers play an important role as community leaders and political activists. Today, drag performers are also popular celebrities in the rest of society. This article explores the role of drag performers as community leaders and celebrities in the context of the 2020 presidential election. To understand this, we interviewed drag performers about their experiences using drag to mobilize voters. Research shows that Get Out The Vote (GOTV) efforts are more successful if they are led by volunteers and include trusted messengers while still being unexpected in some way. Drag performers are community leaders and volunteers and, when speaking about politics, deliver unexpected—and thus memorable—messages. The drag performers that we interviewed demonstrate the potential for drag artists to be effective GOTV messengers, in both the LGBTQ community and society more broadly.

Drag performers have been leaders in the LGBTQ community for decades. The first openly gay candidate to run for political office was a drag queen in 1960s San Francisco. Drag queens participated in the Stonewall Riots and other riots against oppressive policing. In the 1980s and 1990s, drag performers were integral to raising awareness about the AIDS epidemic in the gay community. They are regular features at LGBTQ Pride celebrations and other community events. Today, drag performers are growing in celebrity in the broader public as well. Fans of drag attend conventions, watch countless hours of drag content, and follow the performers across social media. This makes drag a useful political art form in both the LGBTQ community and the rest of society.

Drag, by its very existence, is political. Drag queens and kings disrupt heteronormative notions of gender and sexuality by subverting and satirizing those norms, often as an explicitly political effort to call attention to and support of LGBTQ rights (Butler 1990; Middlemost 2020; Miller and Taylor 2015). In 1995, Hilbert (1995, 466) noted that drag performers “spurred on by both homophobia and AIDS phobia” were using their performances as a political forum.” Atlanta drag performer Lurleen told Hilbert (1995, 466): “Drag adds an element of fun to politics so that it’s not

all Maoist uniforms and being glum and gray.... Hopefully it makes thinking about politics more palatable.” Performer Glenda Orgasm told Hilbert (1995, 467): “The people I see at our shows are not the people I see at ACT UP or Queer Nation meetings, but they do listen to what we’re talking about because we are entertaining.” Their audiences were members of the gay community, and the performers were nudging them to be more politically visible. These examples demonstrate how drag can reach less politically engaged audiences.

However, this is more true for drag queens than for drag kings. Historically, drag queens have dominated drag performance spaces. This means that drag kings have less opportunity to engage with audiences. Even as drag has moved more into the mainstream through regularly scheduled drag brunches and television shows like *RuPaul’s Drag Race*, the image of drag presented to mainstream America remains largely one of drag queens, not drag kings (DeCaro 2021). RuPaul Charles, the host of *Drag Race*, recently included (openly) transgender contestants and even a cisgender heterosexual man, but all have performed as drag queens; drag kings have yet to be invited onto the show. This reflects the ways that gay men (who comprise the majority of drag queens) have an outsized role in shaping LGBTQ politics and culture.

In the 2020 presidential election, drag performers—both kings and queens—engaged directly in efforts to increase voter turnout. Our study sought to understand the experiences of drag queens and kings driving voter-mobilization efforts during that election cycle and how drag can be used as a voter-mobilization tool. As

Edward F. Kammerer, Jr. , is assistant professor of political science at Idaho State University. He can be reached at edwardkammerer@isu.edu.

Melissa R. Michelson , is Dean of Arts & Sciences and professor of political science at Menlo College. She can be reached at melissa.michelson@menlo.edu.

© The Author(s), 2022. Published by Cambridge University Press on behalf of the American Political Science Association.

doi:10.1017/S1049096522000713

PS • October 2022 655

drag becomes more mainstream, drag performers can and do conduct outreach in both the LGBTQ community and the broader public. As our interviews reveal, this can make drag a particularly effective voter-engagement tool.

DRAG PERFORMERS AS CELEBRITIES

Drag performers are community leaders with microphones and audiences that are ready to listen. Historically, this platform was based largely in the LGBTQ community in the gay bars that host drag shows. More recently, *RuPaul's Drag Race* illustrates the degree to which drag has become mainstream entertainment. No longer confined to gay bars in urban centers, drag reaches directly into homes across the country. Drag performers, especially those who compete on television, have become celebrities. But this

Drag, by its very existence, is political.

expanded platform—and the celebrity that comes with it—is not open to all performers. As discussed previously, RuPaul has never invited a drag king competitor to *Drag Race*. This illustrates how drag privileges drag queens over drag kings.

Other researchers have explored the power of celebrities to motivate attitudinal and behavioral change in the political arena. They have hypothesized that celebrities should be effective because they are viewed by many people as role models. Celebrity endorsements can increase feelings of political efficacy and intentions to vote, including among youth and low-propensity voters (Austin et al. 2008; Pease and Brewer 2008; Veer, Becirovic, and Martin 2010). Jackson and Darrow (2005) noted that celebrity endorsements are not always effective and that they are dependent on credibility, familiarity, likeability, and similarity. This suggests that drag performers encouraging voting will be effective even when individuals do not see the message as personally relevant (i.e., low-propensity voters), as long as they find the drag performer to be compelling in some way.

Individuals who do not consume traditional news often get their political information from entertainment-oriented sites, where they are more likely to hear content from celebrities than from politicians (Atkinson and DeWitt 2019). RuPaul made *Drag Race* more overtly political and focused on voter mobilization after the election of Donald Trump (Kornhaber 2017). Recent contestants on the show, including Bob the Drag Queen and Sasha

This history of political engagement gives drag performers credibility as political figures while building on the familiarity and likeability gained from performing on Drag Race or in the local community.

Velour, also have been overtly political, using the platform provided by the show to speak out on political issues. Similarly, DragCon, an annual convention for fans of drag, has become more political over time (Villarreal 2018). This history of political engagement gives drag performers credibility as political figures while building on the familiarity and likeability gained from performing on *Drag Race* or in the local community. This encourages fans of drag to be attentive to politics and to vote.

Many drag performers, however, are not national celebrities. The drag queens and kings we interviewed for this study were reaching out to mobilize voters in their local communities. Many were reaching out to members of the public who were unlikely to know their names. The celebrity status they harnessed to mobilize voter turnout was grounded in the broadly popular phenomenon of drag and the identities that they share with fans of drag culture. Thus, their celebrity status is not based on individual identity but instead on the celebrity status afforded drag, as a concept, in both the LGBTQ community and mainstream society.

GET-OUT-THE-VOTE EFFORTS AND THE POTENTIAL OF DRAG

Multiple studies have documented the power of well-conducted Get-Out-The-Vote (GOTV) efforts and various GOTV best

practices (e.g., Gerber and Green 2019). Drag performers can play an important role in mobilizing voters, particularly LGBTQ voters. Because research has shown that the views of LGBTQ voters, in general, differ significantly from those of heterosexual voters, turning out this community is particularly important to ensure that their views are heard (Jones 2021; Lewis, Rogers, and Sherrill 2011). Three strands of previous GOTV research lead us to expect drag performers to be particularly effective in mobilizing voters.

First, drag performers are volunteers and are viewed as trusted messengers. They are also experts in connecting with audiences. Nickerson (2007) noted that phone-bank volunteers tend to have more authentic, natural conversations with voters compared to professional callers. Other GOTV research documents the best practice of using trusted messengers, including neighbors and well-known local officials (García Bedolla and Michelson 2012; Malhotra, Valenzuela, and Michelson 2012; Sinclair, McConnell, and Michelson 2013).

Second, messages about voting from drag performers are counter-stereotypical. Scholars have found that some of the most effective and persuasive messages are those sent by a trusted source while also being surprising or unexpected (Harrison and Michelson 2017). Although drag is inherently political, most audiences watching drag performances—especially on mainstream shows like *RuPaul's Drag Race*—do not think of electoral politics as

particularly relevant to drag performances. The show, while occasionally engaging in direct political commentary, is generally apolitical and designed for mass consumption (Freisen 2021). Thus, when drag performers overtly encourage voting, their messages are noticeable and memorable. Drag kings and drag queens also are perceived differently; drag kings often are more overtly political (Rupp, Taylor, and Shapiro 2010). This reduces their ability to act as counter-stereotypical messengers because

audience members are more likely to expect political performances from drag kings.

Third is the aspect of drag as celebratory. Polling-place festivals and other festive approaches to elections have been found to be effective at increasing turnout (Addonizio, Green, and Glaser 2007; Michelson, Hayes, and DeMora 2020). Everyone loves a party, and drag is a party. This is especially true of drag queens, who are known for their flamboyant attire and over-the-top performances. Drag kings, more varied in their gender performances, may not always be as flashy as drag queens (Rupp, Taylor, and Shapiro 2010). In some cases, this may limit their ability to draw in potential audience members.

METHODS AND DATA

Data are from a series of semi-structured interviews conducted between the end of 2020 and February 2021. This research was approved by the Idaho State University Office for Research, IRB FY-2021-78, and by the Menlo College Institutional Review Board. We recruited participants in two ways. First, we obtained a list of 25 drag ambassadors from Drag Out the Vote. We contacted each performer via email to invite them to participate in the study. We recruited additional participants through Twitter. In total, this yielded 14 interviews: 10 from the original list of drag ambassadors and four recruited via Twitter.

One coauthor conducted telephone interviews with all participants except one, who requested that the interview be conducted via Zoom. Interviews lasted 30–60 minutes and were transcribed for analysis. Questions encompassed four broad areas: demographic background, history of political activity, the 2020 election, and future plans for linking drag and political engagement. This article focuses on the links between drag and GOTV efforts.

Our participants included seven people in the West, three in the South, and two each in the Midwest and Northeast; five were younger than 30, five were between 30 and 40, and four were older than 40 (table 1). Some had decades-long careers as drag performers; others were relatively new. Similarly, some respondents had a long history of political activity and awareness—in some

cases going back to childhood. Others experienced their political awakening more recently. The 2016 election was a turning point for several respondents, prompting them to realize the importance of political engagement.

Respondents engaged in their GOTV efforts in various locations. Some did shows at gay bars, a regular spot for drag performers. Others worked at local events, such as festivals, concerts, and other community events, in their attempt to reach voters. For Halloween, one respondent, Queen 5, dressed in drag made to look like a ballot. As they handed out candy, they reminded the parents of the trick-or-treaters to vote. Many also conducted significant outreach on social media. The respondents demonstrated the myriad ways that drag performers can reach potential voters beyond the members of the LGBTQ community who are likely to see a performance at a bar.

Geographically, respondents came from across the country, from states that voted for Biden and states that voted for Trump. Respondents from Trump states, however, tended to come from more Democratic-leaning cities in those states. Most of the respondents were drag queens; two were drag kings. Most were cisgender, but we interviewed transgender/nonbinary performers as well. Respondents also were a racially diverse group.

DISCUSSION: HOW DRAG FACILITATES ENGAGEMENT

The focus of this article is on the experiences that respondents had linking their drag performances with voter engagement and other political activities, with a particular emphasis on the 2020 election. We also asked specific questions about the Drag Out the Vote ambassador program. Several themes emerged from those conversations, including widespread agreement that drag is political despite varied definitions of what each performer considered political activity. Most important, respondents agreed that their drag personas gave them a way to connect with people, in both the LGBTQ community and the broader public, which made it easier to encourage people to register and vote. This connection would not have been available to these same people if they had been out of drag. Following is a more detailed discussion about these themes and the responses provided by the drag performers.

Respondents discussed how drag enhanced their ability to mobilize voters by giving them a regular platform. As Queen 2 stated, “You have a microphone, and you have an audience; the perfect elements and tools that you need to get that message across.” Several respondents mentioned drawing attention to important local political issues or officials during their shows. Most noted that audiences were receptive to these political messages, although some acknowledged variability in that reception. Not all drag performers have access to a regular platform because some perform at multiple venues or with less regularity. Even those performers have a microphone and an audience, giving them an ability to draw attention to important political issues such as voter-registration deadlines and upcoming elections.

For example, Queen 12 brings up politics and voting in her regular shows, despite pushback from bar managers who claim she is too political. She makes clear the importance of queer spaces for politics: “This is where we gather. This is where gay people gather. So, we have to do it. We have to do it.” Other queens reported similar pushback. Queen 1 noted that when the audience was largely college-aged people, politics was welcomed. This respondent, however, also noted that sometimes people go to a drag show to forget about life for a while. These audiences are not always receptive to political messaging during a drag performance, which

Table 1

Respondent Demographics

PSEUDONYM	CENSUS REGION	AGE
King 1	West	Over 40
King 2	West	Under 30
Queen 1	West	30–40
Queen 2	Northeast	Over 40
Queen 3	West	30–40
Queen 4	Midwest	Over 40
Queen 5	South	Under 30
Queen 6	South	30–40
Queen 7	West	30–40
Queen 8	West	30–40
Queen 9	South	Under 30
Queen 10	West	Over 40
Queen 11	Midwest	Under 30
Queen 12	Northeast	Under 30

appears to align with the literature on counter-stereotypical messaging. This is particularly true for audiences whose main exposure to drag is *RuPaul's Drag Race*. This show is not always overtly political, providing audiences limited exposure to the political potential of drag. The resistance of some audiences to political drag means that performers must be careful with their GOTV efforts or risk alienating audiences.

Social media platforms also help performers directly message their followers. Queen 9 stated that drag performers have degrees in social media that can make them effective messengers when they use social media to engage directly in political activity. Many respondents spoke about how social media enabled them to reach broad audiences and engage directly with potential voters. Queen 9, in particular, noted that she had a broader audience and more engagement on the social media accounts for her drag persona than on her non-drag-related accounts. She also noted the broader geographic reach that social media affords because many of her followers do not live in the immediate area and cannot see her perform live. King 2 also mentioned how online events reached people who are unable to attend live shows, particularly younger audiences and those with fewer resources. For GOTV efforts, being able to reach these other audiences is important, especially 18- to 20-year-olds who are eligible to vote but may not be able to enter a bar to see a live drag show.

Social media was extremely important during the 2020 election because the COVID-19 pandemic made in-person drag performances impossible for many. Some queens noted, however, that online drag shows could be more one-sided, with people watching a livestream and interacting less. Queen 7 specifically stated: "It's a show, and you watch a show. There's no, no, like, that real engagement piece that, with live drag."

In one example, Queen 1 noted that her posting and re-posting of political information was so excessive that she expected some followers would block her. Instead, her messages were received more positively compared to similar posts from her non-drag friends. She believed that drag "encouraged people to listen more." Asked to speculate on why, she first noted the celebrity aspects of drag. She also kept the postings light and upbeat. This conforms with research about how emphasizing the celebratory element of elections increases turnout.

Drag Performers and Their Audiences

Drag performers have long been popular in the LGBTQ community. But, as television shows like *Drag Race* have gained popularity, drag performers have increased their visibility in the broader public as well. Queen 9, in particular, noted how straight audiences were growing, thereby giving drag performers the ability to reach different groups of people than before.

Respondents also discussed drag's ability to help them reach new people. Drag is difficult to ignore. This is especially true when drag performers are in unexpected places. The performers who discussed doing in-person GOTV activities consistently mentioned how their drag played a role in their ability to reach people and make connections. Many of these experiences involved the general public, not only the LGBTQ community. Queen 8, speaking about canvassing, stated: "When you're in drag you, you catch people's eyes, so it's, you know, a little bit harder to just kind of ignore you." This differed from her experiences when canvassing out of drag. Similarly, Queen 9, again speaking about reaching non-LGBTQ people, said, "They see big hair or makeup and glitter

out of the corner of their eye, and they're like, what's that? And they look and like, it's like, ha, made you look, and then they, you know, interact." Queen 6 said that drag makes voting accessible, "especially to younger queer people who maybe thought, you know, this isn't for me." Queen 8 also noted the power of being a drag performer for opening up a conversation. For her, drag is "a way to have a conversation with huge swaths of people at once." Drag opens conversation and provides a platform to reach an audience.

Queen 10 said that having the GOTV message come out of the mouth of drag performers rather than the usual political "talking heads" was especially powerful when reaching out to younger potential voters:

Right now, for whatever reason, drag queens are kind of like rock stars now. You know, whereas as drag queens, everybody loves the drag queens...you know, you can have your political advisors and you can have your newscasters, you know, telling you register the vote, the deadlines are here, and then it just becomes kind of static, and you know, they're just talking heads. So, then the group that decided...well, why don't we put our message coming out of the mouths of drag queens. People stopped and listened. They're like, wait, what? What's happening? Because just the visual is, you know, dynamic and exciting, and then, of course, drag queens, everything was a little more flair and fast. So, we're getting the same—I don't believe we would have had the same reaction if we weren't in drag. No, I don't.

Queen 7 made the comparison between how passersby respond when she is in or out of drag:

I was on the streets in full drag with a sign and singing at people, like, and like trying to get their attention, and I had this megaphone and so, I'm—you know, it's a very powerful thing for this drag persona. For me, my, my drag queen persona to be like so—it's very eye-catching and very engaging, and very quick.... Like, there's this drag queen yelling at me whenever—like, I swear the, the, the strongest power that drag queens have is just to, like, yell at people, like, their attention. That's one of the strongest times, and because politics is all about being loud and raising your voice, it, to me, it naturally makes sense that drag queens are one of the best people in our community, in the LGBTQ community, to be the most politically active folks, and it happened and they are. But I noticed a difference from that to sort of me just holding a sign as [out of drag] for my [local candidate], when I was holding a sign for him, people just kind of walked past and don't really see me and nod, and that's fine.

Queen 12 shared a similar perspective:

I think people are more ready to listen to what the drag queen has to say. She, when she shows up, and she's looking like she has something, that she has a mission to set out and accomplish, see, that's because she's all dressed up, and you want to, like, communicate. You want to interact. You want to know more about this figure who looks so fancy all of a sudden, you know, on a street corner, why is she there? What is her purpose? It's so then their ears are open, but when you're not in drag, you have to work a little harder to get them to listen to you.

Queen 12 previously volunteered with a voter-mobilization organization and went in drag to major pop-music-arena-style concerts to preregister voters. Because they were in drag—"like, bam"—people would want to know what they were doing and why they were there in drag. These performers, again, appear to be

reaching the broader public with these comments—noting that drag’s potential is not limited to LGBTQ voters. These comments also describe the role that counter-stereotypical messages play in drawing attention to the performers’ GOTV message. As Queen 10 stated, “Drag queens, you know, talk about something serious, not just, you know, bar jokes.”

This conforms with our expectations of overtly political messages from drag performers being particularly noticeable and effective. As Queen 8 said, “There’s a relatable thing of, oh, you’re an entertainer, your position is to entertain me, therefore I’m a little bit more amenable to what you have to say.” Like many of the comments made by respondents, this shows how the fun, celebratory nature of drag helps drag performers to get their message out. This makes organizations like Drag Out the Vote particularly powerful vehicles for voter mobilization.

Potential Limits on Drag and Political Activity

Although the drag performers we interviewed all spoke enthusiastically about the ability for drag to help them reach audiences and engage in voter mobilization, there were caveats. Several respondents from more conservative locations indicated that they would not feel comfortable doing certain political activity in drag in their community. Using the platform provided by a gay bar or on a social media site was safe and, for these respondents,

Younger people especially, who are less likely to vote, turn to drag performers as trusted messengers. This celebrity and the glamour of drag—the glitter that catches the eye—allowed them to reach out to the public to encourage them to register and vote.

something at which they could be successful. Door-to-door canvassing, in contrast, would probably be unsafe or unwelcome. Drag’s ability to open conversations and catch people’s attention is not universal.

Another caveat may come from the more limited reach of drag kings. As King 2 said, “As a drag king, I will have to work six times as hard as any queen to get, you know, half the recognition.” Not all drag voices are equally able to be heard by all audiences. While this respondent was still active and able to use drag effectively, if drag kings face more challenges than drag queens in having their voices heard, it may limit the full potential of drag as a political-engagement tool—a possibility that should be examined further in subsequent research.

CONCLUSION

The drag performers we interviewed all spoke promisingly of their ability to use drag and the platform that drag provides as a way to engage voters and potential voters. As Queen 7 said, “Drag performers are always going to be the people who are the cheerleaders for democracy, the people with a megaphone, the people who are doing sickening shows, and then, you know, maybe creating an art that makes you think differently about an issue.” These respondents were excited about the way that Drag Out the Vote, as an organization, expanded their reach into new audiences. We asked every respondent if they planned on continuing to be engaged in this type of political activity; they all answered affirmatively. Some performers noted the limits of Drag Out the Vote as a nonpartisan organization; these performers wanted to engage

more directly with support for particular candidates. Thus, although Drag Out the Vote can provide an important platform, it is not the only way for drag performers to have influence in electoral politics.

Drag has always been and continues to be inherently political. Individual drag performers also have been explicitly political, increasingly so during the Trump administration. Drag Out the Vote encouraged and supported performers becoming directly involved in the 2020 election. Reflecting on their experiences in that program, the drag kings and queens we interviewed gave us a better understanding of how drag performers think about politics and their role in the political arena. Specifically, they provided insight into the likely impact that Drag Out the Vote’s team of drag ambassadors had on audiences and passersby who interacted with them. At the same time, we noted that drag queens likely had larger influences compared to drag kings due to the system of heteropatriarchy. This is reinforced by the focus on queens in the dominant space in which most Americans interact with drag performers—*RuPaul’s Drag Race*—that allow queens to be counter-stereotypical messengers.

As drag becomes more mainstream, in no small part due to *Drag Race*, more Americans see drag performers as celebrities. They are excited to meet and interact with them. Younger people especially, who are less likely to vote, turn to drag performers as

trusted messengers. This celebrity and the glamour of drag—the glitter that catches the eye—allowed them to reach out to the public to encourage them to register and vote. Backlash and negative responses, at least for the drag performers we interviewed, were minimal. We conclude that drag performers who can use that mainstream celebrity and glamour to reach beyond their usual audiences. Drag encourages people to sashay to the polls and make their voices heard.

CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

The authors declare that there are no ethical issues or conflicts of interest in this research. ■

REFERENCES

- Addonizio, Elizabeth M., Donald P. Green, and James M. Glaser. 2007. “Putting the Party Back into Politics: An Experiment Testing Whether Election Day Festivals Increase Voter Turnout.” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 40 (4): 721–27.
- Atkinson, Matthew D., and Darin DeWitt. 2019. “Does Celebrity Issue Advocacy Mobilize Issue Publics?” *Political Studies* 67 (1): 83–99.
- Austin, Erica Weintraub, Rebecca Van de Vord, Bruce E. Pinkleton, and Evan Epstein. 2008. “Celebrity Endorsements and Their Potential to Motivate Young Voters.” *Mass Communication and Society* 11 (4): 420–36.
- Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.
- DeCaro, Frank. 2021. “Drag Kings Are Ready to Rule the World.” *New York Times*, March 4. www.nytimes.com/2021/03/04/style/drag-kings.html.
- Freisen, Laura. 2021. “Legend, Icon, Star: Cultural Production and Commodification in *RuPaul’s Drag Race*.” In *The Cultural Impact of RuPaul’s Drag Race*, ed. Cameron Crookston, 156–74. Chicago: Intellect Books.

- García Bedolla, Lisa, and Melissa R. Michelson. 2012. *Mobilizing Inclusion: Transforming the Electorate through Get-Out-the-Vote Campaigns*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Gerber, Alan S., and Donald P. Green. 2019. *Get Out the Vote: How to Increase Voter Turnout*, 4th edition. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.
- Harrison, Brian F., and Melissa R. Michelson. 2017. *Listen, We Need to Talk: How to Change Attitudes about LGBT Rights*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hilbert, Jeffrey. 1995. "The Politics of Drag." In *Out in Culture: Gay, Lesbian and Queer Essays on Popular Culture*, ed. Corey K. Creekmur and Alexander Doty, 463–69. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Jackson, David J., and Thomas I. A. Darrow. 2005. "The Influence of Celebrity Endorsements on Young Adults' Political Opinions." *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 10 (3): 80–98.
- Jones, Philip Edward. 2021. "Political Distinctiveness and Diversity Among LGBT Americans." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 85 (2): 594–622.
- Kornhaber, Spencer. 2017. "Why Drag Is the Ultimate Retort to Trump." *The Atlantic*, June 20–23. www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2017/06/rupaul-gets-political/524529.
- Lewis, Gregory B., Marc A. Rogers, and Kenneth Sherrill. 2011. "Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Voters in the 2000 U.S. Presidential Election." *Politics & Policy* 39 (5): 655–77.
- Malhotra, Neil, Ali Adam Valenzuela, and Melissa R. Michelson. 2012. "Emails from Official Sources Can Increase Turnout." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 7 (3): 321–32.
- Michelson, Melissa R., Sarah Hayes, and Stephanie DeMora. 2020. "Party at the Mailbox: A Celebration of Community." *Political Science Now, American Political Science Association*, December 18. <https://politicalsciencenow.com/2020-apsa-election-reflection-series-party-at-the-mailbox-a-celebration-of-community>.
- Middlemost, Renee. 2020. "Serving Activist Realness: The New Drag Superstars and Activism Under Trump." In *Intercultural Communication, Identity, and Social Movements in the Digital Age*, ed. Margaret U. D'Silva and Ahmet Atay, 48–65. New York: Routledge.
- Miller, Shae D., and Verta Taylor. 2015. "Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transsexual Drag Culture." In *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 2nd edition, ed. James D. Wright, 876–79. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.10257-0>.
- Nickerson, David W. 2007. "Quality Is Job One: Professional and Volunteer Voter Mobilization Calls." *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (2): 269–82.
- Pease, Andrew, and Paul R. Brewer. 2008. "The Oprah Factor: The Effects of a Celebrity Endorsement in a Presidential Primary Campaign." *International Journal of Press/Politics* 13 (4): 386–400.
- Rupp, Leila J., Verta Taylor, and Eve Ilana Shapiro. 2010. "Drag Queens and Drag Kings: The Difference Gender Makes." *Sexualities* 13 (3): 275–94.
- Sinclair, Betsy, Margaret McConnell, and Melissa R. Michelson. 2013. "Local Canvassing: The Efficacy of Grassroots Voter Mobilization." *Political Communication* 30 (1): 42–57.
- Veer, Ekant, Ilda Becirovic, and Brett A. S. Martin. 2010. "If Kate Voted Conservative, Would You? The Role of Celebrity Endorsements in Political Party Advertising." *European Journal of Marketing* 44 (3/4): 436–50. <https://doi.org/10.1108/03090561011020516>.
- Villarreal, Daniel. 2018. "Drag Queens Are More Political Than Ever. Can They Lead A Movement?" *Vox.com*, November 5. www.vox.com/identities/2018/11/5/18056558/drag-queens-politics-activism-lgbtq-rupaul.