



Sexual Identities and Protesting Among College Students: Exploring Political Distinctiveness Mediation Factors

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Abstract

This study examines the links between sexual identity and participation in political protests. Among a sample of college students ($N=2175$), we determined that sexual minority students were three times more likely to join a protest than heterosexual students. “Political distinctiveness” theories are used to explain this sexual identity gap in protesting. Following a series of path analyses, we conclude that marital status, exposure to discrimination (as a victim or observer), connections to LGB communities, participation in political groups, and liberal identities mediate the sexuality difference in protesting. Conversely, measures of educational attainment, exposure to multicultural classes, and internalized homophobia were not mediators.

Keywords College students · Sexual identity · Activism · Protest · Social movements · Collective action

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Introduction

Protest, or the public display of collective challenges to the policies and practices of institutions and authority figures, is a central tactic of social movements (Tarrow, 2011). Protest can encompass a wide variety of unconventional group actions, ranging from the less militant approaches of vigils, marches, and rallies to the more confrontational tactics of strikes, sit-ins, and violent acts that may impose material and economic damage. While there is debate about the best tactic to employ at a given moment, the use of more radical and confrontational tactics by lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) activists has been an important factor in producing better social policies for sexual and gender minorities (Kane, 2007; King, Bentele, & Soule, 2007).

Social movements need to attract and maintain protest participants. While efforts to recruit new activists often have limited levels of success, the small percentage of people who join movements often share similar life experiences and political beliefs. It is well established that sexual minority individuals are more likely to join LGB social movements than heterosexual individuals (Andersen & Jennings, 2010; Friedman & Leaper, 2010; Heaney, 2018; Swank, 2018a; Swank, Woodford, & Lim, 2013); however, it is less clear if sexual identities sway the tendency to join other types of protest movements, or protests, at all. Studies suggest that gay and lesbian people are more likely to attend antiwar, feminist, and union protests than their heterosexual counterparts (Andersen & Jennings, 2010; Carroll & Ratner, 1996; Duncan, 1999; Holland, Rabelo, Gustafson, Seabrook, & Cortina, 2016; Silver, Chadwich, & van Anders, 2019; White, 2006) and that sexual identity can influence a general tendency to attend political protests (Friedman & Ayres, 2013; Terriquez, 2015; Swank 2018b; Swank & Fahs, 2017). These studies recognize greater protest rates among sexual minorities, yet they do not explain *why* LGB individuals protest more than heterosexual individuals. Like other studies of greater LGB political engagement (Egan, 2012; Lewis, Rogers, & Sherrill, 2011; Swank, 2019), this study utilizes “political distinctiveness” theories to explain the mechanisms behind the greater protest activities of LGB college students in 2009. This study is especially unique because it addresses the protest actions of college students, while earlier studies have applied “political distinctiveness” to explain the protest activities of all adults rather than college students (Swank & Fahs, 2017; Swank, 2019).

Literature Review

Theories of “political distinctiveness” address the relative liberalism of sexual minorities as compared to heterosexuals (Egan, 2008, 2012; Lewis, Rogers, & Sherrill, 2011). According to this theory, greater LGB liberalism could be due to issues of selection (i.e., the characteristics leading people to embrace LGB identities also increase liberal activism), embeddedness (i.e., involvement in the

LGB community leads to greater liberal activism), and conversion (i.e., the process of disclosing an LGB identity causes major changes in political outlooks and actions). By exploring these possible reasons for LGB liberalism, we can ascertain if specific selection, embeddedness, and conversion variables are associated with greater protesting behaviors among sexual minority college students.

Social Selection and Protesting: Marital and Educational Factors

Greater LGB protesting may emerge from different demographic backgrounds of sexual minority and heterosexual individuals (i.e., the social selection hypothesis). For example, issues of family formation, protesting, and sexual identities are possibly related. Single and divorced people often protest more than married individuals (Schussman & Soule, 2005), and LGB people are more likely to be single than heterosexuals (Gates, 2014; Grollman, 2017). Thus, the cultural and legal sanctioning of heterosexual marriages could explain the relative lack of protest engagement of certain sections of heterosexual populations.

Types of unique educational exposures are another possible selection factor. Educational attainment has been shown to predict the political activism of heterosexuals and sexual minorities (Jennings & Andersen, 2003; Jones & Brewster, 2017; Lombardi, 1999; Rollins & Hirsch, 2003; Swank & Fahs, 2011; Taylor, Kimport, Van Dyke, & Andersen, 2009). Specifically among college students, studies have found that each year in college increases one's tendency to join political protests and students in graduate school are more likely to protest than undergraduates (Petrie, 2004; Schussman & Soule, 2005; Swank, Woodford, & Lim, 2013). Several studies suggest that LGB people are more educated than heterosexuals (Ueno, Roach, & Peña-Talamantes, 2013), while other studies suggest that the LGB education bonus only applies to men (Black, Gates, Sanders, & Taylor, 2000; Fine, 2015; Mollborn, & Everett, 2015). In turn, the greater educational attainment of sexual minorities may be partially responsible for the sexuality gap in protesting (Egan, 2012; Lewis, Rogers, & Sherrill, 2011; Swank & Fahs, 2017, Swank, 2019).

The tendency to select certain college majors and classes can also contribute to less protest actions of heterosexuals (Astin, 1993; Broadhurst & Martin, 2014). In choosing college majors and classes, heterosexual students might try to avoid content and assignments that problematize heterosexual privilege (Rye & Meaney, 2009). Conversely, LGB students often seek out classes in which the professor and discipline have a reputation for providing a "safe space" for sexual minorities (Evans, 2000; Gortmaker & Brown, 2006) and the willingness to take diversity classes in college could partially explain the greater activism of sexual minorities (Bowman, 2011; Case, Hensley, & Anderson, 2014; Swank & Fahs, 2017).

Social Embeddedness and Protesting: LGB Friends and Group Memberships

People of all sexualities are often born into heterosexual families. After heterosexuals learn and internalize heteronormative prejudices from their family of origins, they often prefer social distance from sexual minorities and LGB and queer

social spaces (Jefferson & Bramlett, 2010; Swim, Ferguson, & Hyers, 1999). While this preference for “gay free” settings may give heterosexuals comfort (Kroeper, Sanchez, & Himmelstein, 2014), the voluntary sexual segregation reinforces sexual prejudices and lowers the chance of developing a social justice consciousness (Dwyer, Snyder, & Omoto, 2013). In sharp contrast, LGB adolescents and adults may intentionally seek out LGB/queer groups and friendships while searching for a new community that accepts and embraces an identity that is often degraded in families, schools, religious communities, work settings, and within the broader heterosexual community (Carpenter, 2009; Frost & Meyer, 2012; Longerbeam, Inkelas, Johnson, & Lee, 2007).

Access to LGB communities often functions as “counterspaces” that promote adaptive responding to heterosexism (Dunn & Szymanski, 2018; McConnell, Todd, Odahl-Ruan, & Shattell, 2016; Toomey, Ryan, Diaz, & Russell, 2018). Friendships and acquaintances with sexual minorities can empower and politicize individuals by offering conversations about shared grievances, the benefits of embracing one’s sexual identity, and the necessity of challenging heterosexual privilege (Fredriksen-Goldsen et al., 2014; Jones & Brewster, 2017). Studies with samples of adults, college students, and adolescents have found that people, including heterosexuals, with gay or lesbian friends were significantly more likely to attend gay pride events than those without such friends (Burgess & Baunach, 2014; Fingerhut, 2011; Goldstein & Davis, 2010) and having LGB “best friends” seems especially crucial for heterosexuals to join public demonstrations against homophobia (Calcagno, 2016).

Membership in mutual help groups, youth development organizations, or student political groups generally increases protest participation (Broadhurst & Martin, 2014; Swank & Fahs, 2017; Tesdahl & Speer, 2015). Groups with heterosexuals that are supportive of LGB rights can moderately increase political engagement (Techakesari, Droogendyk, Wright, Louis, & Barlow, 2017), but involvement in groups that are explicitly gay affirmative has bigger impacts on the political engagement of heterosexuals and sexual minorities (Harris, Battle, Pastrana & Daniels, 2015; Lewis, Rogers & Sherrill, 2011). Joining a gay athletic club or a gay-friendly church has also been shown to lead to greater activism among sexual minorities (Cravens, 2018; Duncan, 1999; Pacey, Oswald, & Hardesty, 2014), while membership in straight–gay alliances is especially relevant to the political activism of high school and college students (Poteat, Calzo, & Yoshikawa, 2018; Toomey et al., 2018).

Further, several studies indicate that membership in gay and lesbian community centers is the best predictor of LGB activism (Lombardi, 1999; Waldner, 2001). Membership in LGB community centers seems especially important because members convey the expectation that other members should attend events like LGB pride marches (McClendon, 2014).

Conversion and Protesting: Exposure to Heterosexism and Liberal Identities

Belonging to a stigmatized population may influence a person’s protest inclinations. LGB people and other sexual minorities often internalize heteronormative

sentiments and are disadvantaged by heterosexual privilege (Hettinger & Vandello, 2014; Montgomery & Stewart, 2012; Woodford, Silverschanz, Swank, Scherrer, & Raiz, 2012). However, the general realization that they are targets of heterosexist bigotry can push sexual minorities into greater activism for LGB rights (Duncan, 1999; Fine, Torre, Frost, & Cabana, 2018; Hyers, 2007; Jennings & Andersen, 2003; Simon et al., 1998; Taylor, Kimport, Van Dyke, & Andersen, 2009; Waldner, 2001). Research suggests that gay men are more likely to protest governmental policies when they endured homophobic laws and were demeaned by medical professionals (Jennings & Andersen, 2003), while lesbians protested more when they were sexually harassed (Friedman & Ayres, 2013; Swank & Fahs, 2013).

Conversion also suggests that the perception of discrimination against one's own group can translate into activism for other disadvantaged groups (Dunn & Szyman-ski, 2018; Friedman & Leaper, 2010). According to "intersectional awareness," "system justification," "stigma-based solidarity," and "common in-group identity" theories (Craig & Richeson 2016; Curtin, Stewart, & Cole, 2015; Fisher, Dow, & Ray, 2017; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Greenwood, 2008; Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004), belonging to devalued groups sometimes increases a tendency to reject social hierarchies, eschew favoritism for elites, and feel empathy toward other marginalized social groups. This empathy, combined with a sense of shared oppression, can, in turn, lead to greater involvement in many progressive social movements (e.g., feminist, antiracist, disability rights, and labor), including beyond one's own group. As Egan (2008) wrote, adopting "a 'stigmatized' or 'outsider' status [can] lead gay people to sympathize with those who belong to other marginalized groups and thus support politicians and policies that they believe help these groups" (pp. 14–15).

Elements of common in-group theories are confirmed in quantitative studies. More gay and lesbian people self-identify as liberals compared to heterosexuals (Schnabel, 2018; Swank, 2018a, b; Worthen, 2019), and sexual minority people are far more liberal than heterosexuals on the death penalty, legalization of marijuana, defense and domestic spending, affirmative action, and the war in Iraq (Bailey, 1999; Egan, Edelman, & Sherrill, 2008; Lewis, Rogers, & Sherrill, 2011; Schnabel, 2018; Worthen, Sharp, & Rodgers, 2012; Worthen, 2019). Some studies also contend that White LGB people have fewer racial biases than White heterosexuals (Grollman, 2017; Kleiman, Spanierman, & Grant-Smith, 2015; Schnabel, 2018) and that gay men are less sexist than heterosexual men (Grollman, 2017, 2019). However, other studies suggest that a sexual minority status does not modify the general racial and gender practices of White and male Americans (Lundquist & Lin, 2015) and that gay and heterosexual men have similar reactions to feminist social movements (Harnois, 2017).

The general liberalism of sexual minorities also extends to their perceptions of political engagement. Gay and lesbian students generally find politics more important than their heterosexual peers do (Carpenter, 2009), and some LGB people report that being an LGB person makes them more "sensitive to prejudice and discrimination against others" and leads them to "fight for the rights of others" (Longerbeam et al., 2007; Riggle, Mohr, Rostosky, Fingerhut, & Balsam, 2014). Similarly, some studies contend that lesbian and gay people are more committed to feminist activism and ending racial privilege than heterosexuals (Harr & Kane, 2008; Silver, Chadwick, & van Anders, 2019;

Worthen, 2019). Some scholars have argued that the relative liberalism of LGB people can also influence how they vote (Lewis, Rogers, & Sherrill, 2011; Schaffner & Senic, 2006; Swank, 2018b; Swank, Woodford, & Lim, 2013) and lead to greater involvement in feminist, civil rights, labor, and antiwar activism (Andersen & Jennings, 2010; Carroll & Ratner, 1996; Duncan, 1999; Holland et al., 2016; Louis, Amiot, Thomas, & Blackwood, 2016; Radke, Hornsey, & Barlow, 2018; Swank, 2018a; White, 2006).

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Given this background, and the importance of understanding sexualities in protest behaviors, this study addressed two research questions: (1) Do sexual minority college students protest more than heterosexuals? and, if so, (2) What factors might account for the sexuality gap in protesting? As discussed, studies suggest that sexual minorities protest more than heterosexuals (Andersen & Jennings, 2010; Duncan, 1999; Friedman & Ayres, 2013; Swank & Fahs, 2011; Swank, 2019; White, 2006), but these informative studies have not empirically tested specific variables behind the sexuality protest gap. Following Swank (2019) and Swank & Fahs (2019), this study uses political distinctiveness theories to explore protest participation of heterosexual and sexual minority college students. In applying political distinctiveness theories to protest behaviors, this study offers the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1 Sexual minority students are more likely to protest than their heterosexual counterparts.

Hypothesis 2 Sexual minority students' greater likelihood of protesting is explained by the fact they are relatively more educated and less likely to be married compared to heterosexual students (selection hypothesis).

Hypothesis 3 Sexual minority students' greater likelihood of protesting is explained by their greater ties to LGB friends and political groups compared to heterosexual students (embeddedness hypothesis).

Hypothesis 4 Sexual minority students' greater likelihood of protesting is explained by the fact they are exposed to more heterosexism and are more skeptical of the sociopolitical status quo compared to heterosexual students (conversion hypothesis).

Based on these hypotheses, the rest of this paper ascertains if sexual identities have a direct effect on social movement participation after attending to these selection, embeddedness, and conversion covariates.

Methods

Procedures

Data for this study were from a cross-sectional campus climate study conducted in 2009 at a large Midwestern Research I university. The university is famous for its political activism (Van Dyke, 1998) and offers extracurricular activities, including student groups and courses that foster growth and understanding of sexual prejudice and discrimination. The online survey was anonymous and approved by the university's Institutional Review Board. An advisory group consisting of undergraduate and graduate students, staff, and faculty helped to guide the original study, including reviewing the survey instrument.

To ensure an adequate sample size of sexual minority students, a three-phase disproportionate sampling technique was employed. Specifically, the sample was drawn from (1) a census of sophomore and junior undergraduate students ($N=11,342$), (2) a random sample of 8000 graduate students, and (3) a convenience sample of sexual minority students involved in LGBT student organizations. This approach offers the benefits of oversampling sexual minority students, a relatively small, hard-to-reach population (Meyer & Wilson, 2009).

Students in the census and random sample were contacted via their university email addresses and invited to join the study. Reminder messages were sent 7 and 14 days later. The invitation and reminder messages included the survey link. The link was activated by 5007 students, and 3762 agreed to participate in the study. Due to substantial missing data, the sample was reduced to 2175. In the end, 12% of all enrolled students activated the survey and 46% of the activated surveys were fully completed.

To increase the number of sexual minority participants, the leaders of LGBT student groups were sent emails that asked them to distribute recruitment messages to group members. Reminder messages were posted to group leaders 7 and 14 days later for distribution to group members. With this approach, another 73 students agreed to join the survey; however, only 26 surveys were useable for the present study. All participants had the opportunity to enter a random draw for \$50 gift cards (50 available).

The study consisted of 2175 participants, with 1785 participants being heterosexuals and 390 being sexual minorities. Most participants were female (62%), cis-gender (99.3%), and White (80%). In combining graduate and undergraduate students, the mean age was 23.28 years old (S.D. = 5.93). The sample is also skewed toward more advanced college students, as 44% of the participants were graduate students. Table 1 reports additional information about the overall sample and sexuality subsamples.¹

¹ The subsample of participants recruited from the convenience sample of students involved in LGBT organizations had attended more protests than those recruited through the other means (57.0% to 14.9%, chi-square = 36.11, $p < .000$). The subsample also differed on other variables, namely personal heterosexism ($\bar{x}=1.03$ and $\bar{x}=.07$), ambient heterosexism ($\bar{x}=4.19$ and $\bar{x}=2.42$), supporting same-sex marriage ($\bar{x}=6.96$ and $\bar{x}=5.50$), having a liberal identity ($\bar{x}=5.92$ and $\bar{x}=4.80$), and being single (97% compared to 88%).

Table 1 Descriptive statistics by sexuality subsamples

Variable	All students <i>n</i> = 2175	Sexual minorities <i>n</i> = 390	Heterosexuals <i>n</i> = 1785	Test statistic	
Categorical variables	<i>n</i> (%)	<i>n</i> (%)	<i>n</i> (%)	<i>df</i>	χ^2
Participation in a political protest				1	101.09***
No	1840 (84.6)	265 (67.9)	1575 (88.2)		
Yes	335 (15.4)	125 (32.1)	210 (11.8)		
University affiliation				1	6.13*
Undergraduate	1216 (55.9)	198 (50.8)	1018 (57.0)		
Masters/doctoral	959 (44.1)	192 (49.2)	767 (43.0)		
LGBT course content				1	46.90***
No	1362 (62.6)	189 (48.5)	1173 (65.7)		
Yes	813 (37.4)	201 (51.5)	612 (34.3)		
Relationship status				1	12.27***
Not married	1901 (87.6)	364 (93.3)	1537 (86.3)		
Married	270 (12.4)	26 (.067)	244 (13.7)		
Political or social group				1	172.02***
No	2019 (92.8)	330 (84.6)	1689 (94.6)		
Yes	156 (7.2)	60 (15.4)	96 (5.4)		
Continuous variables	<i>M</i> (SD)	<i>M</i> (SD)	<i>M</i> (SD)	<i>df</i>	<i>t</i>
Personal experiences of heterosexism	.09 (.499)	.39 (1.03)	.02 (.212)	344.718	7.16***
Ambient heterosexist experiences	2.45 (2.07)	3.23 (2.51)	2.28 (1.92)	403.274	7.00***
Liberal political identity	4.81 (1.31)	5.59 (1.01)	4.64 (1.31)	486.235	15.82***
Homophobia	3.00 (1.98)	2.13 (1.39)	3.19 (1.77)	502.125	13.01***
Support same-sex marriage	5.51 (1.98)	6.58 (1.06)	5.28 (2.06)	554.125	17.84***
Number of LGBT friends	2.68 (1.07)	3.35 (.917)	2.53 (1.049)	495.424	15.71***

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

Measures

Protest behaviors Protests are collective events that demand a change in a person, group, or thing that is responsible for a social injustice (Taylor & Van Dyke, 2004). Protests manifest in the more sedate versions of rallies, marches, or vigils or the more confrontational actions of boycotts, strikes, blockades, or bombings. Our survey had a single item that asked if the respondents “participated in a protest or community rally” in their lifetime (0 = no, 1 = yes). This item traces protest behaviors, but it neglects the cause or goals behind the demonstration.

Sexual minority Participants answered the question “what is your sexual orientation?”, with response options reflecting a continuum (completely gay/lesbian, mostly

gay/lesbian, bisexual, mostly heterosexual, completely heterosexual). The response categories were taken from the Kinsey scale (Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948) with “gay/lesbian” used instead of “homosexual.” Measures of sexual identity are particularly appropriate over measures of sexual behaviors and attractions because LGB identities often have a stronger association with sociopolitical attitudes (Schnabel, 2018), and Egan (2008) argues that people who embrace sexual minority identities are often more embedded in LGB communities than people who engage in opposite- or same-sex sexual behaviors as self-defined heterosexuals.

For this analysis, consistent with other scholars (Grollman, 2017; Harnois, 2017; Schnabel, 2018; Silverschanz, Cortina, Konik & Magley, 2008) we created two groups: heterosexual (i.e., completely heterosexual) and sexual minorities (i.e., all other groups; $n=390$). Similar to earlier researchers (Grollman, 2017; Harnois, 2017; Schnabel, 2018), we coded sexual identity as dichotomous variable (0 = heterosexual, 1 = sexual minority) for any participant who indicated that they were not completely heterosexual (390 participants were classified as sexual minority). The decision to include mostly heterosexual participants in the sexual minority group was made for theoretical and empirical reasons. Selecting “mostly heterosexual” suggests more sexual fluidity than “completely heterosexual,” which research supports (Diamond, 2008; Katz-Wise, 2015; Kinsey et al., 1948; Savin-Williams, 2017). Empirically among our sample, not alone are mostly heterosexual students a minority group in terms of size compared to the completely heterosexual students, but bivariate analysis showed that they statistically differed across all study outcomes compared to the completely heterosexual group, and only differed on three variables (i.e., personal heterosexism, ambient heterosexism, and LGBT friends) compared to the LGB participants.²

Selection variables The survey included three selection factors: LGBT courses, educational attainment, and married. One item dealt with access to course content on LGBT matters. Participants indicated how many courses they had taken on “lesbian, gay, bisexual, and/or transgender communities.” With only a handful of students taking more than one class with such content, as others have done (Case, Hensley, & Anderson, 2014) this variable was dichotomized (0 = no courses, 1 = 1 or more LGBT courses). For educational attainment, participants reported their current affiliation, which we dichotomized as undergraduate or graduate (0 = undergraduate, 1 = doctoral/masters). Among responses about relationship status, students who indicated that they were legally married to a same- or different-sex partner were deemed married (0 = not married, 1 = married). Being married was the comparison group because the literature suggests that this type of relationship leads to less protest than

² The 240 respondents who selected mostly heterosexual suggest more sexual fluidity than the majority of people who chose completely heterosexual ($n=1785$). Further, preliminary analyses (t tests and chi-square tests) indicate that mostly heterosexuals significantly differed from complete heterosexuals on every variable and differed with completely lesbian/gay on only three measures (personal exposure to heterosexism, ambient heterosexism, and number of LGBT friends).

other types of relationships (Schussman & Soule, 2005), and same-gender marriages were illegal in most states during this study.

Embeddedness Issues of embeddedness were addressed through friendship ties and group memberships. Connections to the LGB community were assessed through interpersonal bonds with LGB people (similar to Barth, Overby, & Huffmon, 2009). Students responded to a question about how many “lesbian, gay, and/or bisexual persons” they knew as friends (1 = none, 4 = 5+). For participation in student organizations, participants responded to a checklist of 18 possible organizations in which they were most involved. Students who suggested that their primary involvement was either in an explicitly political group or “social issues” group were assigned 1 for political or social issues group membership, while those who did not identify membership in such groups were assigned 0. This measure cannot indicate if the group focused on LGB issues but we do know that students of any sexuality are more likely to join marches and rallies if they belong to political groups (Broadhurst & Martin, 2014; Swank & Fahs, 2019).

Conversion The survey included five conversion-related variables. Two variables explored recent experiences with heterosexist discrimination (either as a direct victim or as a bystander), while others dealt with common justifications of heterosexual privilege and a person’s self-identified political orientation.

Encounters with sexual orientation discrimination were addressed through two composite indexes. The personal experiences of heterosexism index refer to the frequency of being personally threatened, intimidated, or degraded because of their actual/presumed sexual orientation. The ambient heterosexism index assesses the frequency of observing others who experience such incidents based on their actual/perceived sexual orientation. Modeled after the Everyday Discrimination Scale (EDS; Williams, Yu, Jackson, & Anderson, 2016), the survey first inquired about mistreat (at the university in the past 12 months) and then asked about the reasons one may think it occurred. Discrimination items addressed a range of incidents, such as dirty looks, property damage, physical threats, and sexual harassment (0 = never, 4 = 10 or more). Perceived reasons listed a various identities (e.g., sex, religious, sexual orientation) and an “NA” option. Participants could select multiple identities.

To create the measures used in this study, as others who have used the EDS have done, each time sexual orientation was endorsed as the main cause of the discrimination experienced, and we coded those responses as sexual orientation-based discrimination (0 = no, 1 = yes). We summed responses to create scores for each index (theoretical range 0–10), with higher scores indicating greater experiences of personal/ambient sexual orientation-based discrimination (KR-20 = .72). The survey items assessed unfair treatment (e.g., “Being treated with less courtesy than others”) and perceived reasons why it occurred (e.g., sexual orientation). The personal heterosexism index includes 10 items on being physically assaulted, being taunted, or harassed because of their sexual orientation in the last year. With each item being coded with yes or no, this scale had a theoretical range of 0 to 10 (KR-20 = .72). Sexual minorities who indicated that they have been sneered at, teased, or put down

would be a sign of heterosexist discrimination, while heterosexual students who suggested that they experienced the same degradation could be misidentified as being LGB or a victim of homonormativity. (Table 1 reveals that sexual identity decimation is almost exclusively directed at sexual minorities and heterosexuals hardly ever report such incidents.) Ambient heterosexist experiences explored first-hand observations of heterosexist discrimination perpetrated against people other than themselves (Hong, Woodford, Long, & Renn, 2016). This 14-item scale asked questions about seeing sexual minorities being treated rudely, hearing classmates called homophobic names, or encountering the phrase “that’s so gay” to suggest something is stupid or undesirable. Each item was coded in a binary fashion, so the scale ranged from 0 to 14 ($KR-20 = .74$).

Two conversion factors dealt with the legitimacy of conventional sexuality norms. A homophobia item, “lesbians and gay men should not flaunt their sexual orientation in public,” explored the virtues of concealing or hiding a supposedly “deviant” identity (Rollins & Hirsch, 2003), and a same-sex marriage item, “Marriage should be equally available to both heterosexual and same-sex couples,” assessed support for same-sex marriage. The response set for both was 0 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree.

The last conversion variable concerned political identity. The item read: “In general, how do you characterize your political views?”. In coding the seven-point scale in a liberal direction, the people who called themselves “extremely liberal” received 7, while the “extremely conservative” respondents received 1. Universal definitions of what constitutes a liberal stance on politics do not exist; however, many scholars agree that liberals’ and conservatives’ opinions differ on the size of government, redistribution policies, affirmative action, abortion, LGB rights, crime, and the support of social change (Malka & Lelkes, 2010).

Analytical Plan

We examined the data through a sequential combination of statistical procedures. Independent *t* tests and chi-squares initially explored significant bivariate differences between sexual minorities and heterosexuals on the likelihood of protesting (i.e., attendance at political rallies or marches) (Research Question 1), and on the above-mentioned selection, embeddedness, and conversion factors. A group of independent-sample *t* tests were conducted to compare the means of the continuous variables for sexual minorities and heterosexuals. Due to issues of heterogeneity of variance, we used the Welch’s *t* test instead of the Student’s *t* test (Delacre, Lakens, & Leys, 2017). Then, to test the Egan’s political distinctiveness theory and examine the potential mediation effects of the selection, embeddedness, and conversion factors (Research Question 2), we opted to test a series of path analysis models in a structural equation modeling (SEM) environment (i.e., Mplus software). The SEM environment has the advantage of allowing several potential mediators in a single model, and it also provides overall indicators addressing the fit of the entire model, rather than only providing the estimates of each parameter individually (Li, 2011). We tested four main path analysis models, with three models focusing, respectively,

on selection, embeddedness, or conversion factors as potential mediators of the relationship between sexual minority identity and likelihood of protesting. The final model included all of the variables that emerged as significant in the three previous models, providing a general comprehensive picture. When testing the models, to examine if the hypothesized selection, embeddedness, or conversion variables completely or incompletely mediated the relationship between sexual identity and protesting, the direct relationship between sexual identity and protesting was also retained in the models.

When testing each model, taking into account indices of fit, parameters' significance, and modification indices provided by the Mplus output, the model was individually refined by removing nonsignificant relationships and variables ($p > .05$), by constraining parameters and by adding correlations between mediators. Such "specification searches are clearly helpful for improving a model that is not fundamentally misspecified" and are common practice in SEM (Raykov & Marcoulides, 2006, p. 50). As recommended (Raykov & Marcoulides, 2006; Schumacker & Lomax, 2010), to guard against improving the model in ways that would lead to results that are idiosyncratic to the dataset being used, any modifications that we made were minor and still substantially grounded in the theory presented above (i.e., not guided simply by the data). Each model was retested until a final model showing an adequate fit was achieved, considering the following indices of fit: comparative fit index (CFI) and Tucker–Lewis index (TLI) ≥ 0.90 , and root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA) $\leq .08$ (Brown, 2015). To test the path analysis model, we used the weighted least squares means and variance adjusted estimation (WLSMV), producing a probit regression, which is appropriate when examining a binary outcomes. This estimator requires the use of "a pair-wise present approach" to deal with missing data (<https://www.statmodel.com/download/EstimatorChoices.pdf>, p. 5). However, given the relatively small proportion of missing values in the final dataset, the issue of incomplete surveys is expected to have had a limited influence on the results.

Results

Bivariate Findings

Our first analysis explored the question of sexual minority political distinctiveness. Table 1 suggests that attendance at political rallies or marches is somewhat rare, but sexual minorities were almost three times as likely than heterosexuals to do so (32.1% compared to 11.8%). This finding confirmed our first hypothesis that sexual minority individuals would be more likely to protest than heterosexuals ($\chi^2 = 101.09$, $p < .001$).

As shown in Table 1, all eleven selection, embeddedness, and conversion variables also displayed significant differences between sexual minorities and heterosexuals. For the selection variables, sexual minorities were more likely than heterosexuals to be graduate students ($\chi^2 = 6.13$, $p < .05$), not married ($\chi^2 = 12.27$, $p < .001$), and have taken at least one LGBT course ($\chi^2 = 46.90$, $p < .001$). Sexual minorities were

more embedded in LGB communities as they had more LGB friends than heterosexuals ($t(495)=15.70, p<.001$). Political or social issues group memberships were also more common among sexual minorities ($\chi^2=172.02, p<.001$) as were personal experiences of heterosexist discrimination ($t(345)=7.16, p<.001$) and encountering ambient heterosexist discrimination ($t(403)=7.00, p<.001$). Social attitudes also varied as sexual minorities reported greater acceptance of same-sex marriage ($t(554)=17.84, p<.001$), lower homophobia ($t(502)=13.01, p<.001$), and greater liberal identification ($t(486)=15.82, p<.001$) than heterosexuals.

Path Analysis Models

We turned to path analysis models to estimate the mediation (i.e., indirect) effects of sexuality on joining a political protest through the selection, embeddedness, and conversion factors, using Mplus (MacCallum & Austin, 2000). Table 2 shows the results of all the final models described in the next paragraphs. Each model is focused either on selection, embeddedness or on conversion factors. Figure 1 presents the final model focused on selection factors, which demonstrated an excellent fit, $\chi^2(3)=3.14$, CFI=1.00, TLI=.99; RMSEA=.01. The standardized probit coefficients (β) in Fig. 1 suggest that sexual minorities are more likely to complete classes with LGBT content ($\beta=.39$) and classes with such content are positively associated with protesting ($\beta=.19$). There is a negative relationship between being a sexual minority and being legally married ($\beta=-.25$). Legally married status is in turn negatively associated with protesting ($\beta=-.12$). Indirect effects calculated with the bootstrap approach implemented in Mplus ($N=2000$ bootstrap samples) confirm that sexual minority identity has a significant indirect effect (i.e., mediation effect) on protesting through the LGBT course and legally married status variables. However, the mediation is considered to be partial as the direct effect of a sexual minority identity on protesting was also significant ($\beta=.69$, see Table 2 for total, indirect, and direct effect estimates). These initial calculations suggest that taking at least one LGBT course and less marital affiliation among sexual minorities is partially but not fully responsible for greater protesting among sexual minorities.

The second model concentrated on embeddedness factors. Figure 2 reveals the final model, showing an excellent fit, $\chi^2(1)=1.44$, CFI=1.00, TLI=.99; RMSEA=.01. This model displayed a positive relationship between sexual minority identity and the number of LGB friends ($\beta=.79$) as well as membership in political/social issues group ($\beta=.48$), which are both significantly associated with protesting ($\beta=.25$ and $\beta=.24$, respectively). Indirect effect results confirm that sexual minority identity has a significant indirect effect on protesting through those two embeddedness factors. However, this reflects that partial mediation as the direct effect of sexual minority identity on protesting is still significant (Table 2) based on the bootstrapping results ($\beta=.48$). These findings suggest that greater LGB protesting is partially but not totally a consequence of more LGB friendships and of political or social issues group memberships among sexual minorities. However, the coefficient for the direct relationship between LGB identities and protesting is smaller for embeddedness factors than selection factors ($\beta=.48$ compared to .69), so one can

Table 2 Bootstrap probit regression estimates and 95% bias-corrected confidence intervals for direct and indirect effects of sexuality on protesting through selection, embeddedness, and conversion factors ($n = 2175$)

	<i>B</i>	95% confidence interval	
		Lower limit	Upper limit
<i>Final model 1: selection</i>			
Total effect of sexual minority identity	0.807	0.583	1.025
Indirect effects of sexual minority identity through	0.104	0.061	0.156
LGBTQ course content	0.073	0.035	.0117
Graduate student	∅	∅	∅
Legally married	0.031	0.011	0.058
Direct effect of sexual minority identity	0.703	0.478	0.879
<i>Final model 2: embeddedness</i>			
Total effect of sexual minority identity	0.807	0.583	1.026
Indirect effects of sexual minority identity through	0.313	0.224	0.403
Number of LGB friends	0.191	0.130	0.253
Political/social issues group	0.122	0.061	0.193
Direct effect of sexual minority identity	0.494	0.268	0.708
<i>Final model 3: conversion factors</i>			
Total effect of sexual minority identity	0.807	0.583	1.026
Indirect effects of sexual minority identity through:	0.652	0.484	0.858
Personal heterosexism	0.214	0.085	0.391
Ambient heterosexism	0.154	0.096	0.221
Homophobia	∅	∅	∅
Support for same-sex marriage	∅	∅	∅
Liberal political identity	0.284	0.213	0.361
Direct effect of sexual minority identity	0.155	−0.089	0.367
<i>Final comprehensive model</i>			
Total effect of sexual minority identity	0.807	0.584	1.026
Indirect effects of sexual minority identity through	0.886	0.683	1.130
LGBTQ course content	∅	∅	∅
Legally married	0.031	0.011	0.057
Number of LGB friends	0.080	0.021	0.138
Membership in political/social issues group	0.129	0.065	0.202
Personal experienced heterosexism	0.208	0.079	0.384
Ambient heterosexism	0.160	0.098	0.234
Liberal political identities	0.278	0.206	0.358
Direct effect of sexual minority identity	−0.079	−0.331	0.140

∅ indicates that the variable was included in the original model, but was deleted in the final model, as part of the iterative model testing process (e.g., it was not significant)

assume that the embeddedness factors were slightly better at explaining the sexuality gap in protesting.

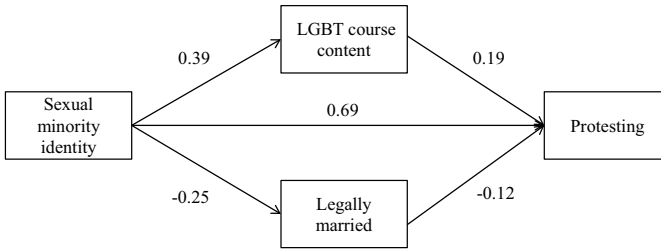


Fig. 1 Final model of the effect of sexuality on protesting through selection factors. *Note* Numbers represent standardized probit regression estimates. Only statistically significant values, $p < .05$, are represented

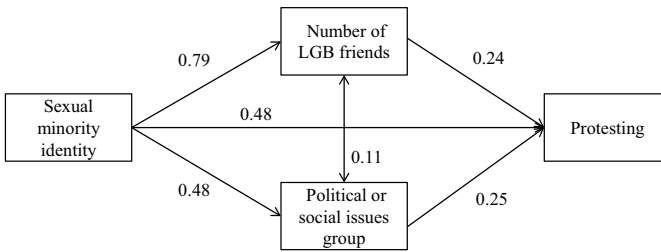


Fig. 2 Final model of the effect of sexuality on protesting through embeddedness factors. *Note* Numbers represent standardized probit regression estimates. Only statistically significant values, $p < .05$, are represented

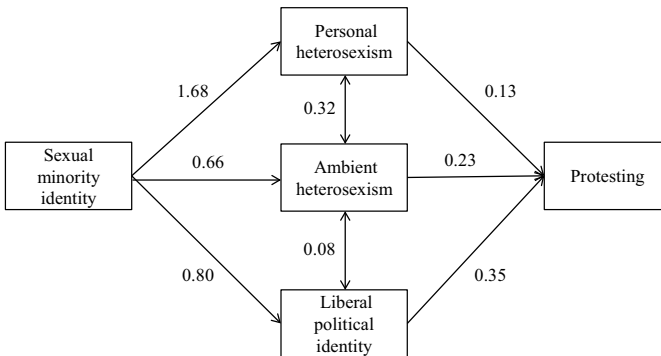


Fig. 3 Final model of the effect of sexuality on protesting through conversion factors. *Note* Numbers represent standardized probit regression estimates. Only statistically significant values, $p < .05$, are represented

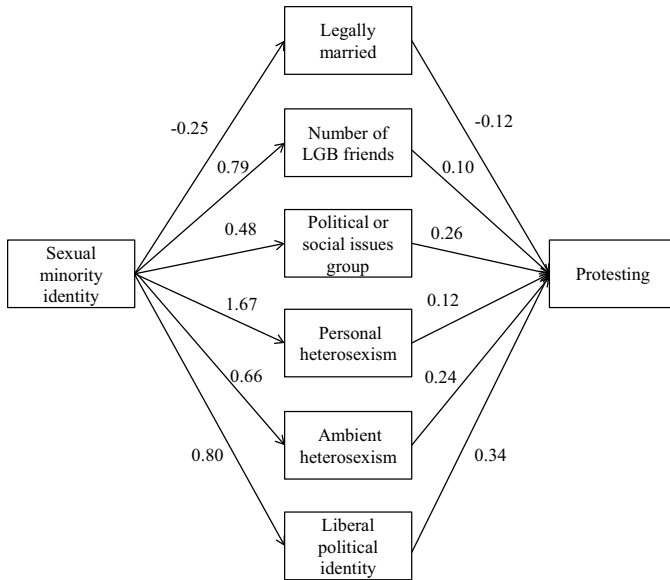


Fig. 4 Final comprehensive model of the effect of sexuality on protesting through conversion, embeddedness, and conversion factors. *Note* Numbers represent standardized probit regression estimates. Only statistically significant values, $p < .05$, are represented. Correlations between mediators are not represented in order to simplify the graphical representation

The third model analyzed conversion factors. The final model, shown in Fig. 3, demonstrated an excellent fit, $\chi^2(2) = 4.85$, CFI = 1.00, TLI = .99; RMSEA = .03. The model suggested a positive association between sexual identity and the level of personally experienced heterosexism ($\beta = 1.68$), the level of ambient heterosexism ($\beta = .66$), and liberal political identities ($\beta = .80$). These three variables are each positively associated with protesting ($\beta = .13$ to $.35$). Indirect effect results confirm that sexual minority identity has a significant indirect effect on protesting through experienced heterosexism, ambient heterosexism, and liberal political identities. Most notably, the mediation is considered complete as the direct effect of sexual minority identity on protesting was not significant (Table 2). This lack of remaining significant links of sexual identities to protesting suggests that higher rates of protesting among sexual minorities may be related to sexual minority individuals seeing and enduring higher levels of heterosexist discrimination as well as maintaining a more liberal stance than heterosexuals.

We integrated the selection, embeddedness, and conversion factors significant in each of the final models described above into a global model with the goal of examining the factors together and to test for any redundancy between them. The same process explained above was used to refine the model until a final global model with an adequate fit emerged. The final model displayed in Fig. 4 demonstrated had satisfactory fit: $\chi^2(15) = 101.10$, TLI = .92; CFI = .96; RMSEA = .05. The model included six final mediators. As a selection factor, a person’s sexual minority identity is negatively associated with likelihood of reporting a legally married status ($\beta = -.25$),

and this variable is, in turn, negatively associated with protesting ($\beta = -.12$). Two embeddedness factors are included in the global model. Sexual minority identity is positively associated with number of LGB friends ($\beta = .79$) and membership in a political/social issues group ($\beta = .48$). These social ties to LGB friends and political/social groups are in turn associated with greater protesting ($\beta = .10$ and $\beta = .26$, respectively). Three conversion factors also contribute to increasing protesting among sexual minorities. Sexual minorities encounter personal heterosexism ($\beta = 1.67$), observe more ambient heterosexism ($\beta = .66$), and hold more liberal views ($\beta = .80$) than heterosexuals. This exposure to hostile climates and embracing of liberal views then drive greater protest engagement ($\beta = .34$, $\beta = .24$, and $\beta = .12$, respectively). The bootstrap indirect effect is significant for each of the six mediators, with no remaining significant direct effect of sexual minority identity on protesting (Table 2). This suggests that the relationship between sexual identity and protesting can be completely explained by the six mediators from the final model, reflecting that a combination of specific selection, embeddedness, and conversion factors seems to underlie the sexual identity protest gap.

Finally, significant correlation pathways were found among the mediators in the final model: between ambient heterosexism and personally experienced heterosexism ($\beta = .32$, $p < .001$), ambient heterosexism and number of LGB friends ($\beta = .19$, $p < .001$), liberal political identity and number of LGB friends ($\beta = .26$, $p < .001$), and political or social issues group and number of LGB friends ($\beta = .11$, $p < .001$).

Discussion

This study aimed to understand if and why sexual minorities attend political protests more than heterosexuals. To do so, we tested the applicability of LGB political distinctiveness theories (Egan, 2008; Lewis, Rogers, & Sherrill, 2011, Swank, 2018a, b) to this population. This theory suggests that the association of sexuality to protest behaviors could be the consequences of underlying selection, embeddedness, and conversion forces. To test this possibility, we ran a series of path analysis models that estimated the direct associations of sexual identity to protesting as well as its indirect association through specific selection, embeddedness, and conversion factors.

Our research design is unique and rigorous in many ways. Only a few studies have compared protest tendencies across sexualities, and these studies rarely address why sexual minorities protest more than heterosexuals (Duncan, 1999; White, 2006). A recent study has also used political distinctiveness theories to explore the sexuality protest gap (Swank & Fahs, 2017), but this study lacked measures on exposure to heterosexist discrimination. Our findings confirm claims that sexual identities are relevant to protest actions (Andersen & Jennings, 2010; Friedman & Ayres, 2013; Swank, 2019, Swank & Fahs, 2017, 2019; White, 2006). Sexual minority students were three times as likely to attend a protest or rally as their heterosexual classmates (32.1% compared to 11.8%). While we think this measure captures a real sexuality gap in protesting, there is a possibility that the proportion of protesters is slightly inflated since the campus that provided the data is famous for activist ways (Van

Dyke, 1998) and the sampling technique disproportionately drew upon students who were in graduate school and leaders of LGB groups. Other studies of the general US populace have found that roughly 10–12% of LGB adults and 5–7% of heterosexuals have protested in the last 4 years (Egan, Edelman & Sherrill, 2008; Swank, 2019).

This study also has some important shortcomings. We would like to remind readers that our measures for the dependent variable do not address the ways that people protested nor address the goals behind such protest. We cannot know if sexual minorities mostly protested for LGBT rights or some other reason. The absence of such information can be of some importance since the mediating effects of certain selection, embeddedness, and conversion factors could vary by the type of social movement a person joins (Andersen & Jennings, 2010; Friedman & Ayres, 2013; Swank, 2018a; Worthen, 2019). Moreover, our measure of sexual identities overlooks the possibility that lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals may have different protest tendencies (Lewis, Rogers & Sherrill, 2011; Strolovitch, Wong & Proctor, 2017; Swank, 2018b) or that “queer” or “pansexual” identified individuals will protest more than people from other sexual identity groups (Harr & Kane, 2008; Rollins & Hirsch, 2003; Worthen, 2019). Moreover, methodologists argue that the perfect temporal ordering for mediation analysis requires that the “predictor precedes both the mediator and the outcome, and the mediator precedes the outcome” (Tate, 2015, p. 236). In the current study, the predictor, the mediator, and the outcome were all measured at the same time, which does not allow for a stringent test of the directionality and causality of the identified pathways. For example, one could argue that the tendency of people to accept and disclose their sexual identities may be influenced by their educational levels, exposure to LGBT affirmative social networks, and political engagements (Egan, 2019; Hughes & Hurtado, 2018; Silva & Whaley, 2018).

After identifying a sexuality gap in protest participation, we explored the underlying mechanisms behind this phenomenon. Selection theories insist that the protesting–sexuality connection is based on unique sexual minority life experiences and demographic qualities. In exploring education as a selective force, we found that sexual minorities had higher levels of educational attainment and had disproportionately taken courses with LGBT content. Sexual minorities also were less inclined to be married than heterosexuals, and two of these factors were significantly connected to a student’s tendency to join protests (LGBT content and marital status). Nevertheless, the association between sexual identity and protesting remained significant in the presence of these educational and marriage factors in the model. This suggests that our selection factors by themselves were not the major sources of greater sexual minority protest actions. However, other educational factors, not included here, could have netted bigger effects. It is possible that sexual minorities protest more than heterosexuals because they major more often in social scientific and humanities disciplines (Swank & Fahs, 2017) or take more classes with feminist, antiracist, or other social justice content (Bowman, 2011; Case, Hensley, & Anderson, 2014). Egan (2008) also has argued that having liberal parents, being raised in rural settings, or raising less children can be important selection factors, but we were unable to explore these factors with our survey.

Embeddedness theories explore the role of social networks in protest behaviors. To escape homophobic groups and institutions, sexual minorities may turn to LGB

communities that normalize and celebrate their conventionally stigmatized identity. Accordingly, we studied the impact of having LGB friends and being involved in explicitly social issues and political student groups. As expected, the number of LGB friends was higher among sexual minorities and sexual minorities were more engaged in student groups than heterosexuals. Moreover, LGB friendships and political group involvement, as a whole, indirectly contributed significantly to the sexuality gap in protesting, but the direct effect of sexual identity to political protesting remained significant nevertheless. This suggests that LGBs protest more than heterosexuals partially because they have close affinities to LGB social networks and join more social and political groups, but these embeddedness factors do not entirely explain greater protesting among sexual minorities.

It is possible that this study underestimates the role of embeddedness factors in greater sexual minority protesting. It is likely that “being active in the LGB community” would account for more sexual minority activism than knowing LGB individuals (Lewis, Rogers, & Sherrill, 2011); thus, future research should determine if this claim is accurate. To operationalize LGB immersion, scholars might explore the relevance of belonging to LGB advocacy groups, living in gay or lesbian neighborhoods, being asked to a protest, and having more in-depth political conversations (Barth et al., 2009; Egan, 2012; Flores, 2014; Lombardi, 1999; Waldner, 2001; Worthington et al., 2005). Moreover, it would be interesting to see if feelings of respect, trust, and reciprocity with the LGB communities—other key embeddedness variables—enhances a belief that “good queers” should be ready to contest heteronormativity in any way possible (Longerbeam et al., 2007; Riggle et al., 2014). Researchers could also look into the possibility of how a person’s political activism and religiosity attendance can vary by their sexual identity (Coley, 2014; Cravens, 2018; Swank & Fahs, 2014).

Conversion theories connect protesting behaviors to experiences with heterosexual discrimination. In dealing with sexual prejudice and unfair treatment, sexual minorities might see themselves as targets of social oppression and turn to social movements that challenge their subjugation. Conversely, heterosexuals often condone and reinforce heterosexual practices and rarely feel a desire to contest their sexual privileges (Swank, 2019). Moreover, “stigma-based solidarity,” “intersectional awareness,” and “common in-group” theories suggest that a recognition of a stigmatized status can also convert into greater involvement with social movements that contest racism, sexism, classism, and the degradation of the environment (Craig & Richeson 2016; Curtin, Stewart, & Cole, 2015; Fisher, Dow, & Ray, 2017; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Greenwood, 2008).

The conversion argument was also supported by the results of this study. In comparison with heterosexuals, sexual minorities personally endured and observed more heterosexual discrimination and were more likely to call themselves political liberals. Embracing a liberal label and experiencing or observing heterosexual discrimination were also related to greater protest engagement. Moreover, the combination of these three conversion factors wiped out the direct link between sexual identity and political protesting. Hence, greater sexual minority protesting seems to be fundamentally driven by the ways that heterosexism negatively impacts sexual minorities and the ways that this mistreatment politicizes sexual minorities. Conversely, measures of

homophobia and support of same-sex relationships did not play an important role in explaining the tendency of sexual minorities to protest more than heterosexuals.

Our final comprehensive model revealed the value of combining selection, embeddedness, and conversion moderators into the analysis. In this model, the direct relationship between sexual identities is not significant as expected, and the following six factors are significant mediators: (1) a tendency to not be legally married (selection factor); (2) more LGB friends (embeddedness factor); (3) engagement in student political/social organizations (embeddedness factor); (4) being a target of heterosexist discrimination (conversion factor); (5) observing heterosexist discrimination done to others (conversion factor); and (6) embracing a liberal stance on the political ideology spectrum (conversion factor). These results should be cross-validated in future research, to confirm that the final models are not specific to this dataset, due to the sample characteristics or to the specification searches process (Raykov & Marcoulides, 2006).

Ultimately, this study opens up a new line of research topics and questions. It reminds psychologists and political scientists to use sexual identity as a key variable when understanding political activism (much like race, gender, and social class). We also hope that scholars will also see how sexual identity influences the participation in different sorts of protest events. It is well established that sexual minorities join more LGB rights protests, but only a few publications look at ways that sexual identity influences participation in feminist, peace, and antiracist demonstrations and rallies (Andersen & Jennings, 2010; Duncan, 1999; Harnois, 2017; Harris, Battle, Pastrana & Daniels, 2015; Silver, Chadwich, & van Anders, 2019; Swank, 2018a; White, 2006). This study also begs for greater use of Egan's "political distinctiveness" in studies. To date, this framework has explained the voting preferences of citizens and elected officials (Bishin & Smith, 2013; Lewis, Rogers, & Sherrill, 2011; Swank, 2018b), the protest actions of young adults (Swank & Fahs, 2017), and the racial and gender biases of adults (Grollman, 2017). Clearly, there are endless ways that the political distinctiveness model can be used to explain the sociopolitical actions of people in the USA and elsewhere. Finally, social scientists and social psychologists might improve the political distinctiveness model by adding greater numbers of variables at diverse ecological levels (e.g., individual and structural). It would be interesting to see if protest behaviors are supported by personal and collective efficacy among sexual minorities (Jones & Brewster, 2017) or how specific interactions within LGB communities can provide sources of solidarity, support, and empowerment.

We also acknowledge that role of sexual identities on protesting could have changed since our data were collected. In the last decade, sexual minorities probably face less sexual prejudice from heterosexuals (Kazyak & Stange, 2018), same-sex marriages are now federally recognized, and Donald Trump has been elected president. To date, we have no studies on whether the Trump reign has altered the sexuality gap in protesting, but LGBT issues were central to the anti-Trump Women's Marches (Fisher, Dow, & Ray, 2017) and the LGBT Equality Marches against Trump brought 180,000 protesters to Washington DC and 150,000 participants to San Francisco and Los Angeles in 2017 (Chenoweth, Finn, & Pressman, 2017). Finally, it would be insightful to use an intersectional lens to explore (1) if

the sexuality protest gap remains for people of all genders, races, and social classes and (2) if the selection, embeddedness, and conversion factors function the same ways for sexual minorities of different genders, races, and social classes (see Harr & Kane, 2008; Grollman, 2019; Strolovitch, Wong, & Proctor, 2017; Swank, 2018b; Worthen, 2019).

Compliance with Ethical Standards

Conflict of interest Eric Swank, Brittanie Atteberry-Ash, Simon Coulombe and Michael R. Woodford declare that they have no conflict of interest.

Ethical Approval All procedures performed in studies involving human participants were in accordance with the ethical standards of the institutional and/or national research committee and with the 1964 Declaration of Helsinki and its later amendments or comparable ethical standards. It also has IRB approval from the University of Michigan.

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