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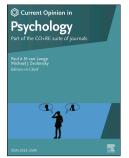
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Considering the Experiences and Adjustment of Sexual and Gender Minority Youths During the COVID-19 Pandemic

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Abstract

Sexual and gender minority (SGM) adolescents and emerging adults experienced social and structural inequities and evinced more psychosocial adjustment difficulties than cisgender, heterosexual youths before the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. The unique array of stressors confronting SGM youths during the pandemic—including separation from affirming and supportive peers, teachers and communities, and mandated co-residence with potentially rejecting family members—may have exacerbated these discrepancies. Conversely, social distancing and remote learning may have reduced direct exposure to discrimination outside the home, and many SGM youths leveraged their personal and social resources to cope with pandemic-related stressors. This review considers the empirical literature on the academic, psychological, and social consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic on SGM youths.

"We are not all in the same boat."

Attributed to Damian Barr, 2020 [1]

1. Introduction

Structural and social inequities have long contributed to disparities in the health and wellbeing of diverse communities [2,3]. The COVID-19 global pandemic shone a spotlight on this fact. Both across nations and across communities within nations, there were not equal exposures to pandemic-related risks, nor to the consequences of policies and practices intended to reduce the spread of COVID-19 [4–6]. Sheltering-in-place and quarantine conditions meant crowding and increased risk of transmission for many lower-income and systemically marginalized communities [5,7]. Access to effective remote education, supported by reliable internet service and households with quiet working areas, was inversely related to socioeconomic status, neighborhood infrastructure, and social privilege [8,9]. Anxiety, depression, substance abuse and other problems were most prevalent in economically disadvantaged and ethnically and racially minoritized adults [10] and youths [11,12]. These adverse impacts of the pandemic conditions were prevalent and pernicious for members of queer communities [13], and particularly sexual and gender minority (SGM) adolescents [14,15]. Yet, research with SGM youths also revealed ways in which COVID-19 public health measures alleviated some pre-existing stressors, and ways in which SGM youths coped with the pandemic conditions and found opportunities for agency and growth.

We elect to use the abbreviation SGM in an effort to be maximally inclusive of the panoply of sexual and gender identities endorsed by youths. Other commonly used abbreviations explicitly name a subset of identities, such as LGBTQ+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender,

questioning/queer +), implicitly relegating individuals with other SGM identities (i.e., pansexual, asexual, non-binary, two-spirited, etc.) to an amorphous "+", which can be experienced as being placed in a lower-status position. The studies we review varied in their inclusion of SGM youths only, or their comparison of the pandemic-related experiences, mental health and well-being of SGM youths with those of youths identifying as cisgender and heterosexual (CH). We focus on the lived experiences, mental health and psychosocial well-being of SGM adolescents in the second decade of life, spanning ages 10 to 19 years, within the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. We also consider studies with SGM emerging adults in the third decade of life, ages 20 to 29 years. Most of this research has been conducted within the United States (U.S.), and studies both within and outside the U.S. have been informed by earlier theory and research on SGM adolescents and emerging adults, particularly the minority stress model [16–18].

2.1 The minority stress model and the lives of SGM youths

As applied to SGM communities, the minority stress model holds that SGM individuals experience disproportionately high rates of stressful and deleterious proximal (e.g., verbal abuse; social exclusion) and distal (e.g., prevalence of anti-SGM media; limits on health care access) events, expressly because they are not CH [18,19]. Many SGM youths live in regions with restrictive and stigmatizing laws, policies and customs that are enacted at local, state/provincial and national levels and do not pertain to their CH peers [20,21]. SGM youths can face painful daily interactions with peers, teachers and other social partners who endorse heteronormative beliefs and practices that devalue SGM characteristics [22]. Unlike most youths with other marginalized and minoritized social categories, their parents and other caregivers often do not share their SGM identities, and indeed, may criticize or reject their children for having those identities [23–25]. These chronic and pervasive stressors challenge SGM youths' abilities to

explore and achieve positive regard for their own identity characteristics, and erode mental and physical health [26,27]. Conversely, factors that contribute to SGM youths' psychosocial adjustment and health include laws and practices that confer rights and protections, teachers and peers who are accepting and inclusive, and parents and family members who are supportive and loving. Further, SGM individuals can combat minority stress by actively building their own support networks of "chosen families," creating safe spaces for their communities, and advocating for systemic and structural change [28–30].

This perspective on the lived experiences of SGM adolescents and emerging adults grew from more than three decades of research, which served to inform the expectations and concerns of scholars, educators and practitioners for the kinds of challenges that SGM youths would face in the COVID-19 pandemic [9,15]. A small but growing empirical literature suggests that the pandemic conditions adversely impacted SGM youths to a greater extent than their CH peers, exacerbating pre-existing stressors and disparities and undercutting sources of support and resilience. At the same time, pre-existing stressors experienced by some SGM youths were alleviated by changes like remote education, and SGM youths and their allies actively coped, and sometimes thrived, despite pandemic-related challenges.

3. SGM adolescents and emerging adults during the COVID-19 pandemic

3.1. Mental health

SGM youths evinced higher rates of anxiety, depression, suicidality, substance use and other mental health problems than their CH peers prior to the onset of the pandemic. This difference was maintained or exacerbated during the pandemic [31,32]. Examining data from a U.S. national text-based crisis response online, Runkle and colleagues [12] found that SGM youths were more likely to have serious depression, self-harm and suicidality than CH youths during the

first 9 months of the pandemic, and these problems were more prevalent for SGM youths during the pandemic than in the preceding 3 years. Using the Adolescent Behaviors and Experiences Survey administered to U.S. high school students in the first 6 months of 2021, Jones and colleagues [33] reported that SGM adolescents had poor mental health at twice the rate (60%) of CH students, including suicidal ideation and attempts, and persistent sadness and hopelessness. In their comparison of 2018 and 2021 data on Wisconsin middle- and high-school students, Gill and McQuillan [34] found that SGM adolescents reported more anxiety and suicidality than CH adolescents at both periods, with the differential rates increasing across assessments for anxiety but decreasing for suicidality. SGM youths also had less access to mental and physical health services during the pandemic, or were more likely to have their health care disrupted, than CH youths [32,35,36].

3.2. Parents, families, and home life

SGM youths found their parents and families to be less supportive and close and more critical and rejecting than CH youths during the pandemic [15,25,32,35,37,38]. In the 2021 Adolescent Behaviors and Experiences Survey, SGM high-school students reported that their families had higher rates of parental job loss and hunger than CH students, and that they experienced more emotional and physical abuse from a parent [39]. In a separate survey of SGM adolescents in the U.S., reports of anxiety, depression and family rejection were more prevalent for youths with a parent who had experienced job loss [40]; family rejection mediated the association of household job loss with adolescents' anxiety and depression symptoms. For many SGM emerging adults who had left their family home for college, returning to live with their families during the pandemic meant "going back into the closet" (being less open about their

SGM identities [15,41]), and feeling more stigmatized and burdensome [37,38], with detrimental consequences for identity expression, as well as mental health and well-being [42].

Yet for some SGM youths, there also were positive aspects of the increased family contact created by the periods of remote schooling and work, and social distancing from others [43]. SGM youths with greater support from their co-resident family members experienced less stigma, felt less burdensome and had better well-being [38,44]. The mandated family closeness provided opportunities to reconnect and build closeness with supportive family members [38,44], as well as to engage in discussions about SGM identities and issues [14].

3.3. Peers and friends, schools and education

Adolescence is normatively a period of heightened social orientation. Like CH youths, SGM youths reported distress about the disruptions to their social networks and separation from their peers and friends that resulted from pandemic conditions [12,32,45,46]. Similarly, many SGM youths deeply felt the loss of support and belonging that came from allied teachers and school programs like Gay-Straight Alliances [9,14,25,47,48]. As the pandemic continued and remote learning conditions ebbed and flowed, SGM youths expressed more anxiety and anger in online posts during the periods following school closures [46]. There is evidence as well that SGM youths felt more impacted by school closures [45] and had more difficulty completing their schoolwork than did CH youths [39]. Yet, unsupportive and rejecting peers and school settings often are sources of stress for SGM youths, and the initiation of remote learning also led to decreased peer victimization and less interaction with discriminatory school personnel and policies [25,34]. Thus, as with the increased time at home with families, the decreased time at school and with peers carried both negative and positive consequences for SGM youths.

3.4. Social media and virtual community

Across numerous studies, being socially connected, supported, accepted and able to express their SGM identities have proven to be vital for the health and well-being of SGM adolescents and emerging adults. When in-person relationships and programs became untenable with the onset of social distancing practices in the spring of 2020, online services and platforms became critical for addressing these needs [33,49]. SGM youths intentionally used social media to maintain relationships and build new connections and community with other SGM youths, seek information and resources, find safe spaces to express their SGM identities, and buffer themselves from a lack of support in their homes [25,43,46,47]. For instance, one study of virtual "daycamps" for SGM adolescents found that the experience bolstered feelings of safety and belonging, reduced depression, and led to new friendships [50]. However, the distress and mental health problems reported by SGM youths also were reflected in their online interactions. Another study found that postings to a SGM teen forum on Reddit in the first year of the pandemic were more negative in tone than postings to a general teen Reddit forum [46].

3.5. Coping

In interviews with SGM adolescents about their methods of self-care during the pandemic [43], spending time with others (in-person and online) was the most important coping method reported. It was, however, not the only one. SGM youths also established daily routines that helped to foster a sense of normalcy; engaged in meditation, exercise, healthy eating and maintaining their appearance; and pursued hobbies and creative activities that were restful and restorative [43]. Cognitive reappraisal was another skill that appeared to be protective against persistent negative emotions [49]. Potentially less beneficial was a tendency of some SGM youths to "tune out" and disconnect from activities and other people. While avoidant coping may

have conferred short-term benefits, it also carried risks of increased substance use, anxiety and depression [51].

4. Open questions and future directions

There is still much to learn and understand about the experiences of SGM youths during the COVID-19 pandemic, and the implications of these experiences going forward. To date, we are not aware of any studies of SGM youths that incorporated neurobiological measures, despite considerable evidence that serious and chronic stressors, like those experienced during the pandemic, convey their effects on mental and physical health via neurobiological mechanisms [2,52]. Notably, the substantial majority of empirical studies were conducted in the U.S. More study of global communities of SGM youths is needed, as pandemic and other social and structural conditions varied widely around the world [2]. Similarly, although some studies of SGM youths conducted in the U.S. included ethnically and racially diverse samples [12], an intersectionality lens has rarely been applied in the research. The Trevor Project [32] noted that Black SGM youths felt more stressed, socially isolated, and unable to access health care than White SGM youths and Black CH youths. Potential reasons for these differences were unspecified, but the findings illustrate that the COVID-19 experiences of SGM youths of color may not be equivalent to, or easily inferred from, the experiences of predominantly White SGM youths or predominantly CH youths of color [19]. Other events of major societal import also occurred during the pandemic, such as the Black Lives Matter protests, contentious election cycles in the U.S. and other countries, the Monkey Pox epidemic, civil and international wars, and more. Stevens and colleagues [46] found that the content and tone of SGM youths' online posts covaried with such events, but there has been relatively little empirical attention given to

the impacts and implications of these compounded stressors on the health and well-being of SGM adolescents and emerging adults.

Within the U.S., SGM communities, and especially transgender and non-binary youth, have been faced with the dual pandemics of COVID-19 and mounting legislative attacks on their rights and freedoms. Since 2020, state and local jurisdictions have proposed several hundred new bills and provisions, many of which have passed, that impose limitations on SGM youth for accessing gender-affirming healthcare, receiving inclusive and affirming education, being involved in sports and other extracurricular activities, using public accommodations (i.e., washrooms), and even engaging in free speech [53]. These structural and systemic barriers to equity, opportunity and healthcare profoundly threaten the health and wellbeing of SGM youths [54], and may have exacerbated the pernicious effects of the COVID-19 pandemic by stripping away the few precarious sources of support that were available to SGM youths in many jurisdictions. Anti-SGM legislation is by no means unique to U.S. jurisdictions (e.g., [55]), and failing to address the particular needs of SGM communities during periods of public health crises is a global problem [56].

5. Conclusion

The expression "same storm, different boats" barely scratches the surface of the unique experiences of SGM adolescents and emerging adults during the protracted period of the COVID-19 pandemic. The research that has been conducted with these communities has been vital for revealing the profound challenges they have faced, the adverse impacts they have suffered, and also the personal and social resources that SGM youths have mustered to cope with these challenges and mitigate these impacts. There has been suffering and loss, and there has been resilience and growth. Yet, with an empirical literature still numbering in the low double-

digits, we are only at the beginning of understanding the effects and the implications of the past 3 years on the life courses of this generation of SGM youths.

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2020. Compared to CH youths, SGM youths experienced lower mental health and quality of life, as well as greater psychological distress and fatigue. Gay, lesbian, and bisexual youths also reported greater stress than CH youth.

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In this examination of a 2021 national survey of U.S. high school students, SGM adolescents exhibited a significantly higher rate (60%) of poor mental health compared to CH youths, including higher occurrences of suicidal ideation and attempts, as well as persistent feelings of sadness and hopelessness.

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In this examination of a 2021 national survey of U.S. high school students, SGM youths experienced greater parental job loss, emotional and physical abuse from a parent, and difficulty completing homework during the pandemic, compared to CH youths.

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This study is a quantitative examination of 769 SGM adolescents' responses to a U.S. online poll conducted in May 2020. SGM adolescents who had a parent experiencing job loss reported elevated levels of anxiety and depression, compared to youths with parents who did not experience job loss. Increased family rejection of SGM youths mediated the association of parental job loss with poorer mental health.

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 This study is a qualitative examination of 770 SGM adolescents' open-ended responses to a U.S. online poll conducted in May 2020. Thematic analysis of these responses revealed five self-care practices that SGM youths used early in the pandemic: establishing daily routines, engaging in meditation, exercising, eating healthy and maintaining their appearance, and pursuing hobbies and creative activities.
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In this quantitative examination of 366 SGM college students' responses to a U.S. online poll in April and May 202, more social support from both family and friends, and higher quality relationships with mothers and fathers, were associated with greater well-being. These associations were equally true of SGM college students who had versus had not disclosed their SGM identities, and who were versus were not living with their parents.

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This study used a mixed-method approach to examine the different effects of the pandemic on youths' health and behaviors. SGM youth reported more perceived

impacts of the pandemic in several areas (i.e., mental, physical, school, screentime) compared to CH youth. Both cisgender sexual minority females and gender minority youth experienced the most significant impact on their mental health. Gender minority youth reported a decreased sense of connection to their families and a diminished sense of safety at home due to the pandemic.

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This study is a quantitative examination of youths' responses to a U.S. online poll in the early months of the pandemic. SGM youths living in the homes of their families-ofbirth during the pandemic reported greater mental distress and lower well-being than SGM youths not living with their families-of-birth. These associations were not observed for CH youths.

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Declaration of interests

 \boxtimes The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

□The authors declare the following financial interests/personal relationships which may be considered as potential competing interests: