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What does the scholarly research say about the well-being of children with gay or lesbian parents?

Overview: We identified 79 scholarly studies that met our criteria for adding to knowledge about the well-being of children with gay or lesbian parents. Of those studies, 75 concluded that children of gay or lesbian parents fare no worse than other children. While many of the sample sizes were small, and some studies lacked a control group, researchers regard such studies as providing the best available knowledge about child adjustment, and do not view large, representative samples as essential. We identified four studies concluding that children of gay or lesbian parents face added disadvantages. Since all four took their samples from children who endured family break-ups, a cohort known to face added risks, these studies have been criticized by many scholars as unreliable assessments of the well-being of LGB-headed households. Taken together, this research forms an overwhelming scholarly consensus, based on over three decades of peer-reviewed research, that having a gay or lesbian parent does not harm children.

Evaluating Studies that Conclude Gay Parenting Raises Risks: With regard to the four outlier studies, all share the same flaw. At most a handful of the children who were studied were actually raised by same-sex parents; the rest came from families in which opposite-sex parents raised their children for a period of time, but in which, often, one or more parent(s) subsequently came out as gay or lesbian and left the family or had a same-sex relationship. The result was a family that endured added stress and often disruption or family breakup. Including such children among those labeled as having been "raised by same-sex parents" is so misleading as to be inaccurate, since these children were generally raised by opposite-sex families and only later, after a family disruption, did they live in households with one or more gay parent(s), and only rarely did two parents of the same sex, in a stable, long-term relationship, actually raise the children together. Authors of these outlier studies argue that, nevertheless, such configurations often represent families with gay or lesbian parents, and hence it is reasonable to count them as indicators of what happens when children live with one or more gay parent(s).

Evaluating Studies that Find No Differences Resulting from Having a Gay Parent: Some critics of the LGB parenting research object to the small, non-random sampling methods known as "convenience sampling" that researchers in the field often use to gather their data. Yet within the field, convenience sampling is not considered a methodological flaw, but simply a limitation to generalizability. Within sociology and especially psychology, small, qualitative and longitudinal studies are considered to have certain advantages over probability studies: Such data can allow investigators to notice and analyze subtleties and texture in child development over time that large, statistical studies often miss. It is

important to note, moreover, that some of the research that finds no differences among children with same-sex parents does use large, representative data. A 2010 study by Stanford researcher Michael Rosenfeld used census data to examine the school advancement of 3,500 children with same-sex parents, finding no significant differences between households headed by same-sex and opposite-sex parents when controlling for family background. Another study drew on nationally representative, longitudinal data using a sampling pool of over 20,000 children, of which 158 lived in a same-sex parent household. Controlling for family disruptions, those children showed no significant differences from their peers in school outcomes.

Scholarly sources finding that children of gay or lesbian parents fare no worse than others:

- 1. Adams, J., & Light, R. (2015). Scientific consensus, the law, and same sex parenting outcomes. *Social Science Research*, 53, 300-310.
- 2. Allen, M., & Burrell, N. (1996). Comparing the impact of homosexual and heterosexual parents on children: metaanalysis of existing research. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 32(2), 19-35.
- 3. Anderssen, N., Amlie, C., & Ytteroy, E. A. (2002). Outcomes for children with lesbian or gay parents. A review of studies from 1978 to 2000. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, 43(4), 335-351.
- 4. Baiocco, R., Santamaria, F., Ioverno, S., Fontanesi, L., Baumgartner, E., Laghi, F., Lingiardi V. (2015). Lesbian mother families and gay father families in Italy: family functioning, dyadic satisfaction, and child well-being. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*, *12*(3), 202-212.
- 5. Bailey, J., Bobrow, D., Wolfe, M., & Mikach, S. (1995). Sexual orientation of adult sons of gay fathers. *Developmental Psychology*, 31(1), 124-129.
- 6. Biblarz, T. J., & Stacey, J. (2010). How does the gender of parents matter? *Jrnl of Marriage and Family, 72*(1), 3-22.
- 7. Bos, H. M. W. (2010). Planned gay father families in kinship arrangements. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Family Therapy*, 31(4), 356–371.
- 8. Bos, H. M. W., Knox, J. R., van Rijn-van Gelderen, L., Gartrell, N. K. (2016). Same-Sex and Different-Sex Parent Households and Child Health Outcomes: Findings from the National Survey of Children's Health. *Journal of Developmental & Behavioral Pediatrics*, 37(3), 179–187.
- 9. Bos, H. M. W., & Sandfort, T. G. M. (2010). Children's gender identity in lesbian and heterosexual two-parent families. *Sex Roles*, 62(1-2), 114-126
- 10. Bos, H. M. W., van Balen F., & van den Boom, D. C. (2005). Lesbian families and family functioning: an overview. *Patient Education and Counseling*, 59(3), 263-275.
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- 12. Bos, H., Gartrell, N., & van Gelderen, L. (2013). Adolescents in lesbian families: DSM-oriented scale scores and stigmatization. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services*, 25(2), 121 140.
- 13. Bos, H., van Gelderen, L., & Gartrell, N. (2014). Lesbian and heterosexual two-parent families: adolescent-parent relationship quality and adolescent well-being. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *23*(2), 1-16.
- 14. Bos, H. M. W., Gartrell, N. K., Peyser, H., & van Balen, F. (2008). The USA national longitudinal lesbian family study (NLLFS): homophobia, psychological adjustment, and protective factors. *Journal of Lesbian Studies*, *12*(4), 455-471.
- 15. Bos, H. M. W., Goldberg, N. K, van Gelderen, L., & Gartrell, N. (2012). Adolescents of the U.S. National longitudinal lesbian family study: male role models, gender role traits and psychological adjustment. *Gend. & Soc.*, 26(4), 603–638.
- 16. Brewaeys, A., Ponjaert, I., van Hall, E. V., & Golombok, S. (1997). Donor insemination: child development and family functioning in lesbian mother families. *Human Reproduction*, 12(6), 1349-1359.
- 17. Brewaeys, A., & van Hall, E. V. (1997). Lesbian motherhood: the impact on child development and family functioning. *Journal of Psychosomatic Obstetrics & Gynecology, 18*(1), 1-16.
- 18. Chan, R. W., Raboy, B., & Patterson, C. J. (1998). Psychosocial adjustment among children conceived via donor insemination by lesbian and heterosexual mothers. *Child Development*, 69(2), 443-457.
- 19. Crouch, S. R., Waters, E., McNair, R., Power, J., & Davis, E. (2014). Parent-reported measures of child health and wellbeing in same-sex parent families: a cross-sectional survey. *BMC Public Health*, 14 (635), 1-12.
- 20. Crowl, A. L., Ahn, S., & Baker, J. (2008). A meta-analysis of developmental outcomes for children of same-sex and heterosexual parents. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, 4(3), 385-407.
- 21. Erich, S., Leung, P., & Kindle, P. (2005). A comparative analysis of adoptive family functioning with gay, lesbian, and heterosexual parents and their children. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, 1 (4), 43-60.
- 22. Erich, S., Kanenberg, H., Case, K., Allen, T., & Bogdanos, T. (2009). An empirical analysis of factors affecting adolescent attachment in adoptive families with homosexual and straight parents. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 31(3), 398-404.
- 23. Falk, P. J. (1989). Lesbian mothers: Psychosocial assumptions in family law. American Psychologist, 44(6), 941-947.

- 24. Farr, R. H., Forssell, S. L., & Patterson, C. J. (2010). Parenting and child development in adoptive families: does parental sexual orientation matter? *Applied Developmental Science*, 14(3), 164-178.
- 25. Farr, R. H., & Patterson, C. J. (2013). Coparenting among lesbian, gay, and heterosexual couples: associations with adopted children's outcomes. *Child Development*, 84(4), 1226-1240.
- 26. Farr, R. H. (2017). Does parental sexual orientation matter? A longitudinal follow-up of adoptive families with schoolage children. *Developmental Psychology*, 53(2), 252-264.
- 27. Fedewa, A. L., & Clark, T. P. (2009). Parent practices and home-school partnerships: a differential effect for children with same-sex coupled parents? *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, *5*(4), 312-339.
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- 31. Gartrell, N. K., Bos, H. M. W., & Goldberg, N. G. (2011). Adolescents of the U.S. National longitudinal lesbian family study: sexual orientation, sexual behavior, and sexual risk exposure. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 40(6), 1199-1209.
- 32. Gartrell, N. K., & Bos, H. M. W. (2010). Us national longitudinal lesbian family study: psychological adjustment of 17-year-old adolescents. *Pediatrics*, 126(1), 28-36.
- 33. Gartrell, N. K., Bos, H. M. W., Peyser, H., Deck, A., & Rodas, C. (2012). Adolescents with lesbian mothers describe their own lives. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *59*(9), 1211-1229.
- 34. Gartrell, N. K., Deck, A., Rodas, C., Peyser, H., & Banks, A. (2005). The national lesbian family study: 4. Interviews with the 10-year-old children. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 75(4), 518-524.
- 35. Goldberg, A. E. (2007). (How) does it make a difference? Perspectives of adults with lesbian, gay, and bisexual parents. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 77(4), 550-562.
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- 37. Goldberg, N. G., Bos, H. M. W., & Gartrell, N. K. (2011). Substance use by adolescents of the USA National Longitudinal Lesbian Family Study. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 16(8), 1231-1240.
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- 57. Patterson, C. J., Hurt, S., & Mason, C. D. (1998). Families of the lesbian baby boom: Children's contact with grandparents and other adults. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 68(3), 390-399.
- 58. Pawelski, J. G. et al (2006). The effects of marriage, civil union, and domestic partnerships laws on the health and well-being of children. *Pediatrics*, 118(1), 349 -364.
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- 64. Shechner, T., Slone, M., Lobel, T., & Schecter, R. (2013). Children's adjustment in non-traditional families in Israel: the effect of parental sexual orientation and the number of parents on children's development. *Child: Care, Health, & Development, 39*(2), 178-184.
- 65. Stacey, J., & Biblarz, T. J. (2001). (How) does the sexual orientation of parents matter? *American Sociological Review*, 66(2), 159-183.
- 66. Tasker, F. (2005). Lesbian mothers, gay fathers, and their children: a review. *Journal of Developmental & Behavioral Pediatrics*, 26(3), 224-40.
- 67. Tasker, F., & Golombok, S. (1995). Adults raised as children in lesbian families. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 65(2), 203-215.
- 68. van Gelderen, L., Bos, H. M. W., Gartrell, N., & Hermanns, J., Perrin, E. C. (2012). Quality of life of adolescents raised from birth by lesbian mothers: the us national longitudinal family study. *Journal of Developmental & Behavioral Pediatrics*, 33(1), 17-23.
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Scholarly sources concluding that children of gay or lesbian parents face added disadvantages:

- Allen, D. W. (2013). High school graduation rates among children of same-sex households. Review of Economics of the Household. 11(4), 635-658.
- 2. Regnerus, M. (2012). How different are the adult children of parents who have same-sex relationships? Findings from the New Family Structures Study. *Social Science Research*, *41*(4), 752-770.
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- 4. Sullins, D. P. (2015). Emotional problems among children with same-sex parents: difference by definition. *British Journal of Education, Society and Behavioural Science*, (forthcoming).