

INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSFER OF PARENTAL SEXUAL ORIENTATION AND OTHER MYTHS

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ABSTRACT

Are same-sex parents more likely to raise lesbian, gay, or bisexual (LGB) children than are heterosexual parents? Since 1991, the answers from social science theory and the answers suggested by much social science research have been in the affirmative: namely, to predict that same-sex parents would be more likely to raise LGB children. Nevertheless, it appears that most scholars have rejected this conclusion and have cast their support in favor of a “no difference” hypothesis, interpreting research as proving that LGB parents are not more likely to raise LGB children. This article provides more than 170 quotes from more than 150 sources by more than 160 scholars and authors who have assumed the truth of the “no difference” hypothesis. However, an assessment of social science research reveals that the children of nonheterosexual parents have been more likely to grow up to engage in same-sex sexual behaviors, or to identify as nonheterosexual, than children raised by heterosexual parents.

This article examines other correlates of homosexuality. Research indicates that homosexuals are more likely to abuse drugs, use tobacco, contract sexually transmitted infections, report poorer mental health, report higher rates of considering suicide, and to have been sexually abused as children compared to heterosexuals. Research may suggest that homosexuals have shorter lifespans and may be more likely to sexually abuse children, but these results are more ambiguous. Minority stress theory is insufficient to account for all of these discrepancies between heterosexuals and nonheterosexuals. Alternatives to sexual-minority stress theory are proposed. The dangers of science driven more by politics than empirical evidence are discussed with special reference to challenges facing judicial authorities as they wrestle with the question of how to interpret social science results accurately in cases involving homosexuality, gay marriage, or same-sex parenting.

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I. INTRODUCTION

This report represents a continuation of research into same-sex parenting, with a focus on the theoretical and methodological limitations often found in this domain of study (Schumm, 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2008b, 2010a, 2010b, 2011a, 2011b, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c). In the first part of this article, the focus will be on the hypothesis of intergenerational transfer of sexual orientation (ITSO), which represents a follow-up to several initial reports (Schumm, 2008b, 2010b, 2012b). The phenomenon of ITSO remains relevant—Judith Stacey (2011) noted that “Popular questions include the following How do children raised by lesbian or gay parents turn out? Are they more likely to be gay?” (p. 14). While she didn’t answer that question at that point in her book, this article will provide some detailed answers.

In the second part of this article, the focus will be on other examples of the “no difference” hypotheses, in which disparities between homosexuals and heterosexuals, including parents, have been consistently denied. Finally, in the third part of this article, alternatives to sexual-minority theory will be discussed, in light of the fact that minority stress is often used to explain disparities that have been associated with sexual orientation.² In conclusion, implica-

² An important method in this report is the reliance upon effect sizes (Cohen, J., 1988) rather than formal levels of statistical significance. By making a sample small enough, almost anyone can “prove” any null hypothesis, including the null hypothesis that the sexual preferences of a child’s parents do not affect the child’s sexual preference or other aspects of the child’s life, regardless of the true effect involved. By making a sample large enough, almost anyone can obtain a rejection of the null hypothesis, even if the true effect is trivial. Thus, the effect size becomes, in a real sense, the only honest arbiter of controversial research. Perhaps one of the most common measures of effect size is J. Cohen’s *d* (1988, 1992). In a very approximate manner, Cohen’s *d* represents the difference in average scores between two groups divided by the average of the standard deviations of the two groups. I will use Cohen’s *d* for the most part, where $d = 0.20$ is deemed small, 0.50 is deemed medium, and 0.80 is deemed large, although Amato (2012, p. 772) has recommended using < 0.20 (weak), 0.20–0.39 (moderate), 0.40–0.59 (strong), and 0.60+ (very strong). In some cases, zero-order correlation coefficients will be converted to effect sizes in terms of Cohen’s *d* (Cohen, J., 1988, p. 22). I have also used a website from the Campbell Collaboration (www.campbellcollaboration.org/resources/effect_size_input.php) to calculate effect sizes from reported data. In this report I will also report significance levels, sometimes in terms of whether the tests for statistical significance were one-tailed or two-tailed. If the direction of an association or effect can be anticipated, a one-tailed test is appropriate; if not, then a two-tailed test is appropriate. Statistical testing begins with a null hypothesis that usually predicts there will be no effect. The alternative hypothesis can be stated either that there might be an effect in either direction (positive or negative) or that the effect is expected in one direction only (e.g., positive). One-tailed statistical tests offer greater

tions for judicial decision making will be discussed. As Charlotte J. Patterson has noted, “there are many ways in which evidence from psychological research can inform legal and policy debates that affect lesbian and gay parents and their children ...” (2013, p. 32). Earlier, C. J. Patterson (2006) stated that such evidence had already informed the same “legal and public policy debates” (p. 243). However, much research has been conducted in terms of “playing defense” (DeBoer, 2009, p. 341) in support of homosexual civil rights objectives, which seems to have led to numerous arguments in favor of the null hypothesis of “no differences” related to sexual orientation.

statistical power for detecting effects and are appropriate given strong theory for predicting that the effect will occur in only one direction (Schumm, Pratt, Hartenstein, Jenkins, & Johnson 2013). In the amicus brief of the American Psychological Association and others before the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in *Perry v. Schwarzenegger* and *Perry v. Brown*, 871 F.3d 1052 (9th Cir. 2012); *vacated and remanded*, *Hollingsworth v. Perry*, 570 U.S. ___, 133 S. Ct. 2652 (2013) (No. 12-144), the amici curiae argued that “When repeated studies with different samples consistently fail to establish the existence of a phenomenon or a relationship between two variables, researchers become increasingly convinced that the phenomenon does not exist or the variables are unrelated” (Brief of the American Psychological Association, California Psychological Association, American Psychiatric Association, and American Association for Marriage and Family Therapy as Amici Curiae Supporting Plaintiffs at 4, *Perry v. Schwarzenegger* and *Perry v. Brown*, 871 F.3d 1052 (9th Cir. 2012) (No. 01-1015)). The flaw in this logic is that if you continue to use small, nonrepresentative samples and the underlying effects are small to medium in size, you may never discover a statistically significant effect in spite of the replication of numerous small studies.

In this context, it is important to remember what Jacob Cohen, one of the leading psychological methodologists of the late twentieth century, said: “Many effects sought in personality, social, and clinical-psychological research are likely to be small effects as here defined, both because of the attenuation in validity of the measures employed and the subtlety of the issues frequently involved” (1988, p. 13). The same amicus brief cited *supra* claimed that the authors were accurate and truthful in describing scientific findings, relied upon the best empirical research available, and that studies were not excluded because they contradicted particular conclusions. Whether such briefs actually were comprehensive in comparison to this article, gave equal (if any) attention to contradictory research, or paid attention to small to medium effects, I will leave to the reader to assess.

II. INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF SEXUAL ORIENTATION (ITSO)

A. Social Science Theory

In social science, in the area of the development of sexual orientation, there is an interesting disparity between theory and research. As early as 1991, Tasker and Golombok (1991, p. 184) noted that:

Various psychological theories have been put forward to support this argument. Psychoanalytic theorists stress the importance of the presence of heterosexual parents for the successful resolution of the oedipal conflict. They predict that problems in psychosexual development will arise for children raised by lesbian mothers, because they lack a father figure and because their mother has an atypical female role. ... Social learning theorists argue that the two psychological processes which are important for psychosexual development are modelling (imitating adults of the same sex) and reinforcement (rewarding children for behavior which is considered appropriate for their sex). From this viewpoint, it may be expected that boys with lesbian mothers will have difficulties because of the lack of a father as a same-sex role model and because of possible differences in the reinforcement of male behavior, while the girls may be influenced by atypical female role models and may also experience a different pattern of reinforcement of sex-typed behaviors

Three years later, Golombok and Tasker (1994) revisited what might be predicted regarding ITSO by different social science theories, including psychoanalytic theory, social learning theory³ (Bandura, 1977), and cognitive developmental theory. Psychoanalytic theory predicted that a homosexual orientation would develop “from the unsuccessful resolution of the Oedipal conflict” (Golombok & Tasker, 1994, p. 75). Social learning theory would predict that children respond to parental modeling and differential reinforcement (p. 76), as well as to friends and gender stereotypes found in society in general (p. 77). As Kuppens, Laurent, Heyvaert, and Onghena (2013) indicated, “According to social learning theory, children may learn ... from their parents through observation, imitation, and modeling” (p. 1697).

³ Social learning theory posits that humans can learn through both observation of consequences of others’ behaviors and through direct instruction by others, as well as via direct reinforcement with rewards or punishments. Social learning theory has recently been applied to cognitive treatments of social anxiety disorders (McGinn & Newman, 2013), parenting programs for school-aged children (Kjobli & Ogden, 2012; O’Connor, Matias, Futh, Tantam, & Scott, 2013), and adoption practice (Woolgar, Bengo, & Scott, 2013), as well as research on parental influences on youth aggression (Kuppens, Laurent, Heyvaert, & Onghena, 2013) and dating violence (Tyler, Brownridge, & Melander, 2011).

Notably, Golombok and Tasker (1994) stated, “From a social learning theory perspective, it could be expected that different patterns of reinforcement may be operating in homosexual than in heterosexual families such that young people in lesbian and gay families would be less likely to be discouraged from engaging in nonconventional sex-typed behavior or from embarking upon lesbian or gay relationships” (p. 79). Golombok and Tasker were less sure of what would be predicted by cognitive developmental theory because that theory had not emphasized the development of sexual orientation, and had emphasized factors more outside than from within the family in individual development.⁴

A year later, Baumrind (1995) argued that “Bailey [Bobrow, Wolfe, and Mikach] (1995, as well as [C. J.] Patterson, 1992) concluded that the children of gay men and lesbians are not more likely than children of heterosexuals to adopt a homosexual orientation. I question their conclusion on theoretical and empirical grounds. Theoretically, one might expect children to identify with lifestyle features of their gay and lesbian parents. One might also expect gay and lesbian parents to be supportive rather than condemnatory of their child’s non-normative sexual orientation” (p. 134). Without citing Baumrind (1995), Golombok and Tasker (1996) considered social science theory again, noting,

... psychoanalytic theorists believe that relationships with parents in childhood are central to the development of sexual orientation in adult life If parents are influential in whether their children grow up to be heterosexual, lesbian, or gay, then it might be expected that lesbian parents would be more likely than heterosexual parents to have lesbian daughters and gay sons (p. 3).

Later, without citing Golombok and Tasker’s previous discussion of social science theories, but citing Baumrind (1995), Stacey and Biblarz (2001, p. 163) made an extremely important comment that:

Yet it is difficult to conceive of a credible theory of sexual development that would not expect the adult children of lesbian/gay [i.e., LGBT] parents to display a somewhat higher incidence of homoerotic desire, behavior, and identity than children of heterosexual parents. For example, biological determinist theory should predict at least some difference in an inherited predisposition to same-sex desire; a social constructionist theory would expect lesbian/gay parents to provide an environment in which children would feel freer to explore and affirm such desires; psychoanalytic theory might hypothesize that the absence of a male parent would weaken a daughter’s need to relinquish her pre-oedipal desire for her mother or that the absence of a female parent would foster a son’s pre-oedipal love for this father that no fear of castration or oedipal crisis would interrupt. Moreover, because parents

⁴ Tasker and Golombok (1997, pp. 30–35) later also discussed several social science theories related to sexual orientation.

determine where their children reside ... [one would expect that] lesbian parents would probably rear their children among less homophobic peers.

They concluded that “the only ‘theory’ of child development we can imagine in which a child’s sexual orientation would bear no relationship to parental genes, practices, environment, or beliefs would be an arbitrary one” (p. 163).

Furthermore, Stacey and Biblarz (2001) noted that “A diverse array of gender theories (social learning theory, psychoanalytic theory, materialist, symbolic interactist) would predict that children with two same-gender parents, and particularly with co-mother parents, should develop in less gender-stereotypical ways than would children with two heterosexual parents” (pp. 176–177) and that “The burden of proof in the domain of gender and sexuality should rest with those who embrace the null hypothesis” (p. 177). They also indicated,

The evidence, while scanty and underanalyzed, hints that parental sexual orientation is positively associated with the possibility that children will be more likely to attain a similar orientation—and theory and common sense also support such a view. Children raised by lesbian co-parents should and do seem to grow up more open to homosexual relationships (pp. 177–178).

While Golombok and Tasker’s comments on theory went largely unnoticed among scholars, Stacey and Biblarz (2001), as will be discussed later in this report, received several severe criticisms for their theoretical discussion from other progressive scholars. E. C. Perrin (2002a, pp. 116–117) seemed to side with Stacey and Biblarz (2001), as she acknowledged,

Both environmental and genetic mechanisms might result in an increased likelihood for children who have a lesbian or gay parent to develop a homosexual orientation. Among the postulated environmental influences on gender role and sexual orientation are imitation, socialization, and promotion of tolerance (Bailey et al., 1995). Children imitate their parents in many ways, and in identifying with their same-sex parent they might come to prefer the same kind of intimate relationship that their parents model. ... Gay and lesbian parents might reinforce—or at least fail to discourage—behavior that is consistent with the development of a homosexual orientation in their children. It does seem logical to assume that by demonstrating their acceptance of non-heterosexuality, gay and lesbian parents broaden the range of sexual behaviors and orientation that their children might be comfortable to explore.

In 2003, Stacey reiterated her previous position, noting, “Increasingly, this claim [that children of gay parents will not grow up gay themselves] appears illogical, unlikely, and unwittingly anti-gay” (p. 158) and, “Homophobes are quite correct to believe that environmental conditions incite or inhibit expressions of homosexual desire, no matter its primary source” (p. 158). Ball (2003)

stated that “it is not unreasonable to believe that the children of lesbian[s] and gay men would feel freer to explore and affirm [same-gender sexual] desires” (p. 703–704). Likewise, Kirkpatrick (2004) stated, “It does not seem surprising that children raised in acknowledged lesbian households are more aware of and tolerant of homosexual feelings in themselves, and are more free to experiment. That they experiment without desire may represent a wish to imitate their mothers’ sexual choice” (p. 1186). Wald (2006) supported Stacey and Biblarz’s (2001) idea, in that “it does not seem unreasonable to hypothesize that children living with a gay parent might be more open to considering a same-sex relationship than children in heterosexual families, since there is a parental role model and these children generally would assume that homosexual relationships are not bad” (p. 397). Herek (2006) acknowledged the issue of theory, noting, “Some theorists have suggested that it would be surprising if no association existed between the sexual orientation of parents and that of their children (e.g., Baumrind, 1995; Stacey & Biblarz, 2001)” (p. 613). Thus, quite a few progressive scholars have acknowledged that social science theories would generally predict some parental influence on children’s development of sexual orientation (i.e., ITSO).

Yet, while social science theories would largely predict some degree of ITSO, from parents to children, much of the reported research has been interpreted as demonstrating absolutely no such relationship or association whatsoever. Stacey and Biblarz (2001) attributed this disparity to the defensiveness of scholars who did not want to provide ammunition for conservatives who were trying to slow the historic advance of gay rights along a number of legal fronts.

B. Follow-Up on ITSO

Thus, contrary to well-established social science theory, as detailed in Table A1, in Appendix I, with more than 170 quotes from more than 150 sources representing at least 160 authors and scholars,⁵ many have, for decades, argued that nonheterosexual parents were not more likely to raise children who would grow up to engage in same-sex sexual behavior or to identify as nonheterosexual, a situation noted before by Rekers and Kilgus (2002), as well as the author of this article (Schumm, 2005, 2008b). As recently as 2005, some scholars have argued that because sexual orientation is solely determined by biology, social (e.g., parental) factors could not possibly play any role whatsoever (Wilson, G., & Rahman, 2005, p. 145). In the amicus brief of the Massachusetts Psychiatric

⁵ These sources include a recent bulletin from the U.S. government (Child Welfare Information Gateway, 2011), probably reflecting the views of the current administration.

Society and others before the Massachusetts Supreme Court in *Goodridge v. Department of Public Health*, it was argued, “There is no basis that the sexual orientation of children is causally related to the sexual orientation of their parents” and, “There is, however, no scientific basis to conclude that same-sex parents somehow ‘cause’ children who do not otherwise feel same-sex attraction to have such feelings, or to enter romantic relationships with members of the same sex.”⁶ The idea that there is absolutely no ITSO from parent to child has been labeled the “no difference” hypothesis (Schumm, 2008b; Perrin, A. J., Cohen, & Caren, 2013).

Same-sex oriented parents may feel pressure to support this hypothesis (Hequembourg, 2007, p. 131):

... lesbian mothers are pressured to deny the possibility that their children will be anything except heterosexual. To admit the possibility that their children are lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender is to admit that their own sexual orientation or that of friends whom they may have invited to their home (Goldberg, [A. E.] 2007a, who cited two children of same-sex parents as indicating that “their parents had many gay friends who were frequent visitors to their homes,” p. 112) may have influenced the sexual identity formation of their children. Admitting this possibility is potentially dangerous, because it fuels the fires of those who criticize lesbian and gay families.

As cited by Berkowitz and Ryan (2011), Sedgwick (1994) expressed a concern that “even radical gays avoid an endorsement of creating gay children” (Berkowitz & Ryan, p. 346). Berkowitz and Ryan cited a commentator who said that “It is a rare LGBT [lesbian/gay/bisexual/ transgender] parent that does not succumb, at least sometimes, to the fear that we are hurting our children because we are queer, especially regarding the development of their sexual and gender identities” (p. 329). Indeed, as Berkowitz and Ryan argue, “The question of whether gay men and lesbian women are able to provide adequate gender role models for their children is possibly one of the most deep-seated issues in debates about lesbian and gay parenting. ... Consequently, this issue has dominated the bulk of academic research on sexual-minority parenting” (p. 330).

The “no difference” hypothesis, once established, has taken on a life of its own, regardless of empirical facts. For example, Karraker and Grochowski (2012, p. 189) recently argued for the “no difference” hypothesis on the basis of a textbook quote from Davidson and Moore (1996, p. 602), who must have based their research on results prior to 1996, thus sweeping all the research done between 1996 and 2012 under the rug except for a review by C. J.

⁶ Brief of the Massachusetts Psychiatric Society, American Psychoanalytic Association, National Association of Social Workers, and others as Amici Curiae Supporting Plaintiff at 32, *Goodridge v. Department of Public Health*, 789 N.E.2d 941 (Mass. 2003).

Patterson (2006), which was also cited by Karraker and Grochowski. This phenomenon—of many scholars accepting a “no difference” hypothesis in spite of substantial evidence to the contrary—has occurred in other areas of social science, with those who rejected the “no difference” hypothesis being severely criticized, even ostracized academically (Straus, 2010).

The ITSO hypothesis can be evaluated at three levels. First, at the most general level, are there any social factors that influence the development of sexual orientation for any children? Second, among social factors, can parental sexual orientation influence a child’s sexual orientation in terms of sexual “flexibility,” meaning that a child might experiment with same-sex attractions or behavior, even if he or she ultimately identifies as heterosexual? Third, can parental sexual orientation influence a child’s ultimate identity in terms of sexual orientation? Here, I will focus on the last two questions, although the results for those could determine part of the answer to the first question.

C. Does It Matter If ITSO Occurs?

Morse, McLaren, and McLachlan (2007) found that a sample of younger Australians tended to believe that gay and lesbian parents were more likely to rear children who would become homosexuals. This sort of public viewpoint has been debated in judicial contexts. Allen and Burrell (1996) reported the 1980 decision of a Kentucky Appellate court⁷ to deny custody of a child to her lesbian mother because the judge was concerned that the daughter might “have difficulties in achieving a fulfilling heterosexual identity of her own in the future” (p. 22). Goodman, Emery, and Haugaard (1998) indicated that “courts have raised concerns about children raised by gay or lesbian couples. These include that the children will be at increased risk for psychological problems, development of a homosexual sexual orientation, social stigmatization by peers, and isolation from adults” (p. 848).

Anderssen, Amlie, and Ytteroy (2002) stated, “Sexual preference is one of the outcomes of most concern in debates about children growing up with a lesbian mother or gay father” (p. 344). Doolittle (1999) noted that children in custody cases involving a gay or lesbian parent often fear that living with such a parent will cause them to become homosexual (p. 692); for that and other reasons, many children may express a preference not to be required to live with a gay or lesbian parent (p. 697).

It has also been argued (Riley, 1975; Falk, 1994; Herek, 2006; Stacey, 2003; Redding, 2008) that the answer to such questions never really matters because,

⁷ *S. v. S.*, 608 S.W.2d 64, 66 (Ky. App. 1980).

if there is nothing problematic with being LGBT then why would it matter whether or not children of LGBT parents grew up to be LGBT? As evidence for ITSO has mounted, arguments have turned to the harmlessness of ITSO. In the amicus brief of the Massachusetts Psychiatric Society and others to the Massachusetts Supreme Court in *Goodridge v. Department of Public Health*,⁸ it was argued that “even if there were scientific evidence that children raised by same-sex parents are more likely to be gay or lesbian, at most this would be a difference, not a deficit,”⁹ an argument repeated by Ball (2013, pp. 757–764). For example, Murphy (2011) has argued that “[t]he relevant reply here is not, however, the exact percentage at which this effect might occur but the observation that the effect is not objectionable if homosexuality is not wrong in itself. The law, medicine, and moral secular philosophy have abandoned exactly that view ...” (p. 298). Even so, Murphy admits that “it might be interesting to know how often and exactly how this effect occurs and by what pathway ...” (p. 298). Some might even relish differences between LGBT families and heterosexual families, rejecting any need for sameness (Clarke, 2002).

D. Unwarranted Academic Consensus about ITSO

Returning to Table A1, the apparent consensus of social science is astonishing. For forty years, from 1973 to 2014, numerous reports have been remarkably consistent in their acceptance of the “no difference” hypothesis—while reports that differed (e.g., Cameron, 2006; Cameron & Cameron, 1996, finding 47% of children of homosexual parents had nonheterosexual sexual orientations) were vigorously criticized (Herek, 1998; Morrison, 2007; Schumm, 2000, 2010b) with rebuttals (Cameron, 2007; Cameron & Cameron, 2003). Not only was the “no difference” hypothesis accepted, it was accepted with an unqualified zeal that remains rare for a discipline where caveats and caution are usually the order of the day. As an example, in an ACLU report (2003), Judith Stacey was quoted as saying, “Rarely is there as much consensus in any area of social science as in the case of gay parenting ...” (quoted in Cooper & Cates, 2006, p. 36). One of the earliest published reports cited in Table A1 (Riley, 1975) indicated that five leading named experts had “denounced” (p. 860) the theory that homosexual parents were more likely to have homosexual children. Another early report shown in Table A1 (Bigner & Bozett, 1989) spoke of a “consensus” (p. 165) based on the limited research that had been done to that early date. Gottman (1989, pp. 190–191) claimed to have found “no evidence” for rejecting the “no difference”

⁸ *Supra* note 6.

⁹ *Id.* at 34.

hypothesis even though 26% of the daughters of lesbian mothers had indicated a nonheterosexual sexual preference. To disagree with the “no difference” hypothesis was to accept a “contagion” (Falk, 1994, p. 147) assumption or to fall prey to a “universal latency fear” (Falk, 1994, p. 146). The terms “no evidence” (Ball, 2012, p. 27; Elovitz, 1995, p. 179; Gottman, 1989, p. 190; Hicks, 2005, p. 162; Kershaw, 2000, p. 369; Leonard, 2003, p. 68; Mendez, 2009, p. 96; Morse et al., 2007, p. 427; Patterson, C. J., 1995, p. 265; Patterson, C. J., 2006, p. 243; Rimalower & Caty, 2009, p. 27; Turner, Scadden, & Harris, 1990, p. 57), “no support” (Bozett, 1987, p. 47), “no findings” (Herek, 2006, p. 613), “no reason” (Patterson, C. J., 1996, p. 287), “no differences” (Allen & Burrell, 1996, p. 19; Baetens & Brewaeys, 2001, p. 515; Perrin, E. C., & Kulkin, 1996, p. 630), “no basis” (Kendall, 1997, p. 24; Millbank, 2003, p. 568), or “no difference” (Bos & van Balen, 2010, p. 432); “not a single study” (Alexander, 2001, p. 95), “no study” (Ball, 2013, p. 756; Buxton, 1999, p. 332), “no scientifically sound study” (Schlatter & Steinback, 2013, p. 2), or “not one study” (Mallon, 2000, p. 4) were often used as if there had been no other research rejecting the “no difference” hypothesis. The words “vast majority” (Buxton, 1999, p. 349; Cohen, R., & Kovalanka, 2011, p. 294; Herek, 2010, p. 697; Kovalanka, 2013, p. 166; Tasker, 1999, p. 159; Tasker & Patterson, 2007, p. 23) were often used, possibly to imply that only a “slight minority” of children might possibly be influenced. Cameron (1999) discussed this problem of exaggerated statements, while Schumm (2008b) concurred that such language was incredible “from a scholarly perspective for its absolute certainty and for the risk involved, as such statements could be disproven merely by one substantive example to the contrary” (p. 280). When Sarantakos (2000, p. 133) reported in a study of families from Australia and New Zealand that a significantly higher proportion of children from same-sex families had engaged in same-sex behavior or had assumed a homosexual identity than had the children of heterosexual parents, he had to admit that his results had occurred “against all expectations” (p. 133) given the apparent scholarly consensus for the “no difference” hypothesis.

Clarke (2001) even suggested that the real problem was that heterosexual parents were suppressing their children’s homosexual potential with compulsory heterosexuality. Any criticisms of the research, especially any from conservative religious sources, were alleged to “have been discredited by reputable social scientists” (Lev, 2010, p. 270). Even criticisms from scholars in favor of gay rights were challenged. As noted earlier, Stacey and Biblarz (2001) and other scholars have indicated that social science theory would predict some degree of ITSO. Stacey and Biblarz knew that their views might have detractors—“We recognize the political dangers of pointing out that recent studies

indicate that a higher proportion of children with lesbian parents are themselves apt to engage in homosexual activity” (p. 178).

After Stacey and Biblarz (2001) raised that possibility, Ball (2003) claimed that their conclusion was unwarranted—“I do not believe, however, that we are anywhere near a minimum threshold of plausibility for Stacey and Biblarz’s other conclusion that parents influence the sexual orientation of their children” (p. 702) and therefore their conclusion was “both useless and dangerous” (p. 703). Hicks (2005) also took Stacey and Biblarz to task, claiming that their ideas were “unproven and disputable,” a mere suggestion, perhaps, but having no basis in fact (pp. 162–163). While admitting that Stacey and Biblarz might be correct, Hequembourg (2007) was careful to note that she was “not suggesting that [they] are entirely correct ...” (p. 132). Because social science is supposed to be based on evidence rather than philosophy, social scientists are usually cautious, especially in the early stages of research, about claiming to have found truth that is undisputable or applicable to all groups of humans everywhere, even if their own personal values are at stake. Yet here we see dogmatism in denying any hint of rejection of the null hypothesis, a dogma that has remained consistent from 1973 to 2014, even as the quantity and quality of research have often improved over time. In sum, the consensus regarding the “no difference” hypothesis is remarkable because one would normally expect any apparent consensus to build over time as more data became available, rather than to be maintained regardless of how much the quantity or quality of data improved.

E. Cracks in the Consensus Dam

The first crack in the consensus dam may have been the acknowledgment that social science theory would predict some degree of ITSO. As shown in Table A2, in Appendix I, over time some scholars began either to acknowledge some methodological limitations in proving the null hypothesis about ITSO, or to accept that there might be some limited exceptions to the “no difference” hypothesis (e.g., that children might be more open to considering same-sex sexuality or to experimenting with same-sex partners). It was as if the first crack in the dam was the idea that even though there was no evidence for ITSO, there was theory. Then, the second crack was that maybe there was some slight evidence for ITSO, but that the evidence had considerable limitations. The third crack (see Table A3, in Appendix I) was that there was good evidence for ITSO, but mainly for the conclusion that the children of LGBT parents were freer to experiment sexually, although they didn’t usually identify as nonheterosexual or experience same-sex attractions. Any more cracks and

perhaps the dam would break. Nevertheless, many scholars (Table A1) have continued to accept the extreme form of the “no difference” hypothesis regarding gay and lesbian parenting. Why? Perhaps, as noted by Stacey and Biblarz (2001)—and more recently by Redding (2013a, 2013b)—because it has remained politically dangerous to do otherwise. Even since Redding (2013a) published his assessment of the numerous, often ad hominem, attacks on Regnerus’s (2012a, 2012b) research finding evidence in support of the ITSO hypothesis, additional attacks have continued to emerge (Anderson, 2013; Becker & Todd, 2013; Perrin, A. J., Cohen, & Caren, 2013; Perrin, E. C., Siegel et al., 2013; Reiss, 2014; Strasser, 2012, p. 312), although some scholars have published comments in support of Regnerus (Destro, 2012; Monte, 2013; Wood, 2013).

1. Challenging the “No Difference” Hypothesis

In 2010, I published an article (Schumm, 2010b) in the *Journal of Biosocial Science*, from Cambridge University in England, in which relatively high rates of ITSO were reported in both an analysis of ten narrative books on gay and lesbian parenting and in an analysis of data from 26 empirical studies, as well as ethnographic data indicating that homosexual behavior was less uncommon in societies where it was more acceptable.¹⁰ Although no scholars have yet published formal rebuttals of that research, numerous criticisms emerged almost immediately on the Internet, with numerous complaints from on and off campus demanding investigations into the research and the author’s immediate termination from Kansas State University. However, several reports published since then, as well as results from reports overlooked in my 2010 review of the literature, appear to have confirmed the results, suggesting that the “no difference” hypothesis can now be rejected with confidence. The evidence notwithstanding, some courts have accepted the idea of a scientific consensus on such issues, as one court noted that “the quality and breadth of research available, as well as the results of the studies performed about gay parenting and children of gay parents, is robust and has provided the basis for a consensus in the field” and, “These reports and studies find that there are no differences in the parenting of homosexuals or the adjustment of their children. . . . [T]he issue is so far beyond dispute that it would be irrational to hold otherwise” (cited in Brodzinsky, Green, & Katuzny, 2012, p. 240), a sentiment echoed by Andersen &

¹⁰ Previous support for the idea that social norms could influence rates of same-sex sexual behavior was provided by Butler (2005) with respect to changes in the United States between 1988 and 2002, a period during which, she showed, norms were changing in a pro-gay direction.

Blosnich (2013) and Perrin, E. C., Siegel et al. (2013). I will leave it to the reader to assess if my evaluation of the evidence is completely irrational beyond dispute, as Ronner (2005, 2010) might argue. Specifically, Ronner (2010) argued that “In X.X.G., the trial court heard extensive expert testimony and examined the science and relevant studies, all of which refute each and every delusional belief about gay and lesbian parents” (p. 5). Under a heading of “Delusional Myths About Sexual Minorities” (p. 22), Ronner stated that “The first false notion is that homosexuality is contagious. Essentially, there are people who believe, despite reliable studies to the contrary, that children raised by gay and lesbian parents are more likely to become homosexuals themselves” (pp. 22–23), citing the testimony of Frederick Berlin, who had “testified that the sexual orientation of a parent does not influence the sexual orientation of a child” (p. 58).

2. Challenges in Measuring Parental Sexual Orientation and ITSO Baselines

While the measurement of sexual orientation is not without its challenges (Schumm, 2012b), most studies, including many of those cited here, have relied upon parental self-report at the time of the study to assess parental sexual orientation. Very few studies have reported what percentage of gay or lesbian parents had been together since the birth or adoption of their children. Self-reports of sexual orientation can change over time, but few studies have assessed such longitudinal aspects of sexual orientation. Some studies did not use comparison groups of heterosexual families.

Some reports have indicated the percent of children of all parents (heterosexual and same-sex) who have indicated some degree of nonheterosexual sexual attraction, behavior, or identity. These percentages may form a conservative (biased by having children of both types of parents) baseline for comparing rates of nonheterosexual orientation among children of same-sex parents. Some of the more recent estimates of same-sex sexual orientation among U.S. adolescents include the following studies, each with its own methodological limitations, of course. Gartrell, Bos, and Goldberg (2012), based on the sixth (2002) and seventh (2006–2008) cycles of the U.S. National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG), reported that between 1.4% and 6.6% of 17-year-old boys and between 5.1% and 10.7% of 17-year-old girls had engaged in sex with a same-gender person. Rivers, Poteat, and Noret (2008), in a large survey of 1,984 British-parent families, found a rate of child homosexual (same-sex sexually attracted) identity of 4.28%. Dank, Lachman, Zweig, and Yahner (2014) surveyed 3,745 seventh- through twelfth-grade young people from ten schools in three states (New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey) who were in a

romantic relationship and found that 6.1% of the sample ($N = 229$, 3.5% of boys and 8.0% of girls) were LGB youth, and that 0.04% ($n = 11$ of 229) were transgendered youth. Duncan, Hatzenbuehler, and Johnson (2014) analyzed data from the Boston Youth Survey Geospatial Dataset and found that 8.5% ($n = 108$ of 1,278, with 14 not answering the sexual orientation question) of ninth-through twelfth- graders identified as nonheterosexual, with 4.1% of boys and 12.2% of girls identifying as nonheterosexual (including the answers “mostly heterosexual” and “unsure” in the nonheterosexual group, p. 66). Hadland, Austin, Goodenow, and Calzo (2013) analyzed data from 12,984 youth in ninth through twelfth grades from 2003 to 2009, surveyed in the Massachusetts Youth Risk Behavior Survey, and found that some of 6,387 boys identified as gay (1.7%), bisexual (1.6%), or not sure (1.8%), while 2.2% identified as heterosexual but reported having prior same-sex sexual partners. In the same study, of 6,567 girls, some identified as lesbian (0.9%), bisexual (5.2%), or not sure (2.1%), with 3.3% identifying as heterosexual but with prior same-sex sexual partners. Hatzenbuehler, Birkett, van Wagenen, and Meyer (2014) studied data from youth risk-behavior surveillance surveys from eight states, involving 55,958 youth, of whom 1.3% identified as lesbian or gay, 3.5% as bisexual, and 2.4% as unsure. Hatzenbuehler and Keyes (2013) analyzed data from 32,505 eighth and eleventh graders in Oregon public schools and found some who identified as gay or lesbian (0.9%), bisexual (3.4%), or unsure (2.0%), a total of 6.4%.

Because most of the studies cited immediately above involved less traditionally oriented states, rates of nonheterosexuality among youth in those studies may exceed those that might be found in more traditional states and probably overestimate rates for the United States across all states. Since none of these studies compared rates for children of heterosexual versus nonheterosexual parents, rates for heterosexual parents would probably be lower than those presented here for all parents. However, most nonheterosexual youth appear to identify as “not sure” or bisexual rather than gay or lesbian and overall rates of nonheterosexuality appear to average between 4% and 8%, although 6% to 10% may have engaged in same-sex sexual behaviors.

F. Overlooked Reports

There were seven research studies that provided information on ITSO and that were not included in my earlier analysis of ITSO (Schumm, 2010b). Each study will be presented in order of the date of publication and each is reported in Tables A4, A5, and/or A6, in Appendix I.

1. Sarantakos (2000)

Sarantakos (2000, p. 133) reported in a study of families, including 153 gay and 163 lesbian couples, from Australia ($n = 264$) and New Zealand ($n = 52$), that a significantly higher proportion of children from same-sex families had engaged in same-sex behavior or had assumed a homosexual identity than had the children of heterosexual parents, a result he said was “against all expectations” (p. 133), given the apparent scholarly consensus for the “no difference” hypothesis. However, he did not provide percentages or statistics to support his claim. All of the gay fathers’ children and more than 75% of the lesbian mothers’ children were from parents’ previous heterosexual relationships (p. 102).

2. P. D. Murray and McClintock (2005)

P. D. Murray and McClintock (2005) obtained a nonrandom sample of 99 participants (74% women) who were at least 18 years of age (average age = 27.5 years, oldest was 52 years) from several gay-supportive social groups and from psychology students at a university in the Pacific Northwest. Of the participants, 36 had gay ($n = 14$) or bisexual ($n = 5$) fathers or lesbian ($n = 15$) or bisexual ($n = 2$) mothers.¹¹ Of the sons of two LGB parents, 5 of 9 (55.6%) were nonheterosexual compared to none of the 15 sons of two heterosexual parents (two-sided Fisher’s Exact Test, $r = .66$, $d = 1.88$, $p = .003$). Of the daughters of two LGB parents, 8 of 27 (29.6%) were nonheterosexual compared to none of the 48 daughters of two heterosexual parents (two-sided Fisher’s Exact Test, $r = .46$, $d = 1.05$, $p = .007$).

Of the children of gay or bisexual fathers, 5 of 19 were nonheterosexual (2 gay sons, 2 lesbian daughters, and one bisexual daughter) compared to none of the children of 63 heterosexual fathers (two-sided Fisher’s Exact Test, $r = .46$, $d = 1.05$, $p < .001$).

¹¹ Complete breakdowns of the gender of participants and parents were not provided by the authors; my careful analysis of their report (and the original dissertation) indicates that my counts may be omitting one nonheterosexual child of bisexual parents, making my results more conservative. Such a problem of incomplete information in published reports, a situation that hinders replication or re-analysis of results, is more common than one might presuppose across many areas of social science.

The average age at which the parents had disclosed their sexual orientation to their child was 19 (mothers, 17 years; fathers, 22 years), with a minimum age of 11. Almost all (94%) of the lesbian/bisexual mothers had divorced their husbands, and a majority (57%) of the gay or bisexual fathers had divorced their wives, at an average age of 12 for their child.

Of the children of lesbian or bisexual mothers, 8 of 17 (47%) were nonheterosexual (3 gay sons, 3 lesbian daughters, and 2 (possibly 3) bisexual daughters) compared to none of the children of 63 heterosexual mothers (two-sided Fisher's Exact Test, $r = .685$, $d = 1.88$, $p < .001$).

None of the 63 children of two heterosexual parents identified as LGBT. The difference in the child's later sexual orientation between the groups with or without two heterosexual parents was significant (two-sided Fisher's Exact Test) and substantial ($d = 1.27$, $p < .001$). There was a trend for nonheterosexual mothers to be more likely to have nonheterosexual children (47%) than did nonheterosexual fathers (26.3%) ($r = .216$, $d = 0.44$, *ns*), although the difference was not significant statistically.

3. LaVoie, Julien, and Fortier (2006)

LaVoie, Julien, and Fortier (2006) surveyed 19 or 20¹² young adults (age 18 or older, average age = 20 years) from the Montreal, Canada, area who had either a gay father (4 sons, 7 daughters) or a lesbian mother (4 sons, 5 daughters). One young adult may have had both a lesbian mother and a gay father. Four of the eight sons (50%) identified sexually as gay, while two of the daughters (17%) identified as bisexual.

4. Hequembourg (2007)

Hequembourg (2007), using a variety of contacts, located and interviewed 40 lesbian mothers from within a radius of 100 miles of western New York state, among whom there were 21 daughters ages 16 years or older. Of the 40 mothers, 20 had children from a previous heterosexual partner and five more had a partner with children from a previous heterosexual relationship. Even though Hequembourg was not formally assessing ITSO and did not ask all of the mothers about their older daughters' sexual orientation, of those daughters, it was remarked anecdotally that two were lesbians and that one admitted having previously developed a strong romantic attachment with another girl.

5. A. E. Goldberg (2007b)

A. E. Goldberg (2007b) conducted telephone interviews with 46 adults (36 women, 10 men; ages 19 to 50, average age = 30 years) who had at least one

¹² When I contacted the authors about this discrepancy they said they had destroyed the data and could no longer clarify their report. It is not clear how the participant who had both a gay father and a lesbian mother was counted in the report.

LGB parent. Two participants were from Britain, one from Canada, and 43 from the United States. One man identified himself as “queer.” None of the men identified as gay or bisexual. Of the 36 women, four identified as lesbian, three as bisexual (total of 19.4% of women).¹³ Eleven (30.6%) of the women and two (20%) of the men reported having “fluid ideas about sexuality” (p. 557). Six women (16.7%), three of whom were heterosexual, and one man (10%) reported having questioned their sexuality in terms of their sexual orientation while growing up.¹⁴

6. Kivalanka and Goldberg (2009)

Kivalanka and Goldberg (2009) combined two samples and created a subset of 18 LGBTQ (lesbian/gay/bisexual/transgender/queer) young adults (18 to 35 years old) who had LGB parents, of whom 13 (72.2%) had been born into a heterosexual union from which the mother had come out as a lesbian. The first sample included 32 young adults raised by lesbian mothers, of whom 13 (40.6%) identified as LGBTQ by adulthood. The second sample had included 46 adults (ages 18 to 50) of whom eight (17.4%) identified as LGBTQ. Of the 18 young adults in the final small sample, four identified themselves as “queer” or identified their gender as “ambiguous.”¹⁵

7. Bos and Sandfort (2010)

With respect to lesbian versus heterosexual two-parent families, Bos and Sandfort (2010) compared Dutch boys (32 from lesbian families, 34 from heterosexual families) and Dutch girls (31 from lesbian families, 34 from heterosexual families) mostly between the ages of 10 and 12, on several outcomes, including a measure they labeled “sexual questioning” (p. 118). Their 4-item scale

¹³ A. E. Goldberg (2007a) identified only two of the daughters as bisexual, but from a smaller sample of 42 adults.

¹⁴ In the amicus brief of the Massachusetts Psychiatric Society and others in *Goodridge v. Department of Public Health*, 789 N.E.2d 941 (Mass. 2003), *supra* note 6, at 35, the amici argued that none of more than 300 children studied had shown any evidence of gender confusion, wished to be the other sex, or consistently engaged in cross-gender behavior. This is a surprising contrast to the results of this study (Goldberg, A. E., 2007b), where among only 46 adults with LGB parents, one such case was found.

¹⁵ Again, in the amicus brief, *id.* at 35, it was argued that none of more than 300 children studied had shown any evidence of gender confusion, wished to be the other sex, or consistently engaged in cross-gender behavior. Yet, in the Kivalanka and Goldberg study of only 18 adults with LGB parents, at least four such cases were found. This finding may challenge the absolute “no difference” hypothesis with respect to gender identity.

included items concerning how confident they were that in the future they would marry a man or woman of the opposite sex, live together with a man or woman of the opposite sex, have a child together with their husband or wife of the opposite sex, or be in love with a man or woman of the opposite sex. Although Cohen's d was smaller for boys (0.12, *ns*) than girls (0.53, $p < .05$), the combined effect size was 0.33 ($p < .07$, two-tailed, although Bos and Sandfort reported this result as $p < .05$). The authors also found that, in one of the few studies to investigate such issues, controlling for several other factors, higher scores on sexual questioning (i.e., less certainty about heterosexuality) were associated negatively with feelings of global self-worth ($b = -.21$, $p < .05$) and social competence ($b = -.28$, $p < .01$). Global self-worth and social competence were each measured by 7-item scales from a Dutch version of the Harter Perceived Competence Scale for Children (p. 118), with example items such as "being happy" and "being popular among classmates," respectively (p. 119).

The findings of the Bos and Sandfort (2010) study are of interest because they are from a nation that is relatively tolerant of homosexuality and all parents were coupled; thus, the outcome cannot be attributed to single parenting or relationship instability per se. Furthermore, the responses were from the children, rather than being parental estimates. Because none of the children was older than 12 years, while some were as young as 8 years, their responses were less likely to have been influenced by puberty-related changes in sexual development.

G. Reports Since 2010

There have been eight new reports, counting Regnerus (2012a, 2012b) as one study, published after Schumm (2010b), which will be presented in order of their date of publication. Each is reported in Tables A4, A5, and/or A6, in Appendix I. In addition, my independent analysis of the New Family Structures Study (NFSS) will be reported.

1. Gartrell, Bos, and Goldberg (2012)

Within a month after Schumm (2010b) was published, Gartrell, Bos, and Goldberg (2011) published a report online, based on a comparison to the sixth cycle of the NSFG, in which adolescents of average age 17, especially daughters, of lesbian mothers reported high levels of nonheterosexual sexual orientation (48.6% of daughters and 21.6% of sons were not exclusively heterosexual) and some levels of same-sex sexual contact. (Of daughters, 15.4% had experienced sex with other girls, 53.8% had experienced sex with boys, 35% had used emergency contraception, and 47.6% used regular contraception. Of

sons, 5.6% had experienced sex with other boys and 37.8% had experienced sex with girls.) These rates were generally higher than for children of all parents in the sixth cycle of the NSFG. Subsequently, Gartrell, Bos, and Goldberg (2012) reported, using data from the seventh cycle of the NSFG relating to children of all parents (the majority of whom were probably heterosexual), that same-sex sexual contact had risen among a sample of 17-year-old girls but had declined for 17-year-old boys, which reduced the disparity in same-sex sexual experiences among daughters of heterosexual and lesbian parents reported based on the sixth cycle of the NSFG (Gartrell et al., 2011).

2. Lick, Schmidt, and Patterson (2011)

Lick, Schmidt, and Patterson (2011) created the Rainbow Families Scale (RFS) to assess the social experiences of the adult children of lesbian and gay parents. They recruited participants from a variety of sources, including university classes, and surveyed 91 adult (age 18 or older) children who had at least one lesbian or gay parent. The participants included 75% women, 22% men, and 3% “other” gender. Of the sample, 40% were nonheterosexual.

3. Lick, Tornello, Riskind, Schmidt, and Patterson (2012)

In a follow-up study, Lick, Tornello, Riskind, Schmidt, and Patterson (2012) reported results from a subset of the 91 adult children of lesbian and gay parents from their previous study (Lick, Schmidt, & Patterson, 2011), using data from only 69. (Those who had not answered certain questions were not included in the study.) They also included results from a new sample of 86 adult children who had gay fathers, although data restrictions reduced the final count to 70 participants. In the second study, 83% of the participants had been born to presumably heterosexual parents where the father had later come out as gay. In the first study ($N = 69$), 46% of the children were LGB while in the second study ($N = 70$), 23% were LGB.

4. A. E. Goldberg, Kinkler, Richardson, and Downing (2012)

A. E. Goldberg, Kinkler, Richardson, and Downing (2012) recruited children of LGB parents from a variety of sources, obtaining data from 42, of whom 19 had been born to presumably heterosexual parents who later came out as LGB. One participant had been born to a heterosexual couple but was later adopted by a lesbian mother. One participant self-identified gender as “queer”; 33 were

women and eight were men. In terms of sexual orientation, 10 were nonheterosexual (23.8%).¹⁶

5. A. E. Goldberg and Kuvalanka (2012)

A. E. Goldberg and Kuvalanka (2012) recruited, from a variety of sources, 49 children, ages 14 to 29 (average age = 22; men, $n = 10$; women, $n = 38$; “queer” self-identification, $n = 1$), all of whom had LGB parents, 22 from mixed-orientation marriages, 20 from donor insemination with lesbian mothers.¹⁷ Five identified themselves as queer, two as gay, one as lesbian, and two as bisexual.

6. Regnerus (2012a, 2012b)

Regnerus (2012a, 2012b) used Knowledge Networks to screen more than fifteen thousand of its current or former panel members, gathering survey data from 2,988 Americans between the ages of 18 and 39 (Regnerus, 2012c), of whom 175 reported that their mother had ever experienced a same-sex romantic relationship while 73 reported the same for their father. Regnerus measured many outcome variables, but for purposes of considering ITSO, two were most important—the percent identifying as entirely heterosexual and the percent currently in a same-sex relationship. Initially, he reported that 39% of the children of lesbian mothers and 29% of the children of gay fathers did not entirely identify as heterosexual, while 7% and 12%, respectively, were in a same-sex relationship. Later, he (2012b) modified his definitions of same-sex romantic relationship somewhat and reported new results.

Some may question my inclusion of Regnerus’s research (2012a, 2012b) because of the likelihood that many of his same-sex parents were from mixed-orientation relationships (Tornello & Patterson, 2012; Perrin, A. J., et al., 2013) or had experienced parental divorce after being born into a heterosexual marriage (Anderson, 2013; Perrin, E. C., Siegel, et al., 2013). However, numerous studies (Bigner & Jacobsen, 1989b; Buxton, 2006; Goldberg, A. E., & Kuvalanka, 2012; Goldberg, A. E., Kinkler, Richardson, & Downing, 2012; Harris & Turner, 1986; Hequembourg, 2007; Huggins, 1989; Kuvalanka &

¹⁶ Insufficient information was provided to categorize sexual orientation by the participants’ genders.

¹⁷ Two children had been born to a single lesbian mother, one had been born to a lesbian couple and a gay male couple who coparented, one had been born to a bisexual mother and a gay father, one had been adopted at birth by two gay fathers, one had been adopted at birth by two lesbian mothers, and one born to heterosexual parents had later been adopted by a lesbian couple.

Goldberg, 2009; Lick, Tornello, Riskind, Schmidt, & Patterson, 2012; Murray, P. D., & McClintock, 2005; Sarantakos, 2000; Wall, 2011) have found that many children from same-sex households have parents who were formerly married to a person of the opposite sex or who conceived a child within the context of an opposite-sex relationship, relationships sometimes labeled as “mixed-orientation marriages” (Ben-Ari & Adler, 2010; Hernandez, Schwenke, & Wilson, 2011; Matteson, 1987; Swan & Benack, 2012; Tornello & Patterson, 2012; Wolkomir, 2009).

7. Lytle, Foley, and Aster (2013)

Lytle, Foley, and Aster (2013) interviewed 10 children (eight daughters, two sons) between the ages of 19 and 43 (average age of 29.7 years) of six gay and four lesbian parents and found that one daughter (of a lesbian mother) was a lesbian while one other daughter (of a gay father) and one son (of a gay father) refused to discuss their sexual orientation.

8. Swank, Woodford, and Lim (2013)

Swank, Woodford, and Lim (2013) surveyed college students, probably oversampling sexual-minority students, at a Midwestern university in 2009 and found that 31.0% ($n = 52$ of 168) of those who had an immediate family member who was LGBT were sexual-minority students, compared to 15.5% ($n = 289$ of 1,870) of those who did not have such an immediate family member ($p < .001$). They also found that 20.0% ($n = 126$ of 630) of those who had an extended family member who was LGBT were sexual-minority students compared to 15.2% ($n = 212$ of 1,395) of those who did not have such an extended family member ($p < .01$).

9. A. E. Goldberg and Allen (2013)

A. E. Goldberg and Allen (2013) interviewed 11 young adults, ages 19 to 29, who had lesbian mothers and donor fathers. Of these, three (27.3%) defined themselves as nonheterosexual (two as “queer,” one as bisexual) and in terms of gender, one (9.1%) self-identified as “queer.” However, because this was a small subsample of other research by A. E. Goldberg and Kovalanka (2012), it will not be considered as an independent study or reported in Tables A4, A5 or A6. It appears that having a known donor was associated with a slightly higher rate of nonheterosexual identity (27.3%), as opposed to having an anonymous donor or some other means of conception ($n = 7$ of 38; 18.4%), but the differ-

ence was not significant statistically, although it might suggest an area for further research. Perhaps having a known gay father donor is associated with further encouragement to consider alternatives to “compulsory” heterosexuality.

III. CONCLUSIONS RELATIVE TO ITSO

The results of these studies are summarized in Tables A4, A5, or A6, in Appendix I, for all parents, gay fathers, and lesbian mothers, respectively. They provide strong support for the existence of ITSO and, therefore, rejection of the “no difference” hypothesis.

A. Did ITSO Change from Earlier to Later Reports?

Even if a reader were to concede that recent studies appear to support the ITSO hypothesis, it might be argued that ITSO is a consequence of greater acceptance of same-sex parenting. One might therefore ask: What earlier studies found support for ITSO? Some studies that suggested that ITSO did exist will here be discussed in order of date of publication.

1. B. Miller (1979)

B. Miller (1979) contacted 21 sons and 27 daughters of gay fathers, finding that 11.1% of the daughters and 4.8% of the sons were nonheterosexuals.

2. Paul (1986)

Paul (1986) surveyed 15 men and 19 women, ages 18 to 28 years, with homosexual or bisexual parents, largely from the San Francisco Bay area (Schumm, 2008, p. 288), finding that 23.5% identified as nonheterosexual, 35.3% had engaged in same-sex sexual behavior, and 52.9% had felt same-sex sexual attraction.

3. Bozett (1989)

Bozett (1989) studied six sons and 13 daughters, ages 14 to 35 years, of gay fathers, finding that 33.3% of the sons were gay, with one daughter (7.7%) being a bisexual.

4. Gottman (1989)

Gottman (1989) found that 26% of the daughters of lesbian mothers reported nonheterosexual behavior or identity. Gottman also found that daughters of divorced heterosexual mothers had similar rates of nonheterosexual behavior or identity, which raised the possibility that parental instability rather than sexual orientation might have been an important factor.

5. Huggins (1989)

Huggins (1989) studied 18 children of lesbian mothers and 18 children of heterosexual mothers (ages 13 to 19), all of whose mother had previously married and divorced, and found that none reported nonheterosexual orientations.

6. Hays and Samuels (1989)

Hays and Samuels (1989) studied children from mixed-orientation marriages. Of the children who were 16 years of age or older, two sons and one daughter ($n = 3$ of 26, 11.5%) were gay or lesbian.

7. Turner, Scadden, and Harris (1990)

Turner, Scadden, and Harris (1990) contacted 37 children of same-sex parents, of whom 21 were 13 years of age or older; of the 12 daughters of the 11 lesbian mothers, one daughter was unsure of her sexual orientation and one was a lesbian (16.7%).

8. O'Connell (1993)

O'Connell (1993) studied 11 children from eight lesbian households; of the six daughters, ages 16 to 23 years, only one (16.7%) was a lesbian; however, nine of the eleven (82%) of the children had worried about becoming gay or lesbian because of their parents' sexual orientation.

9. Javaid (1993)

Javaid (1993) studied 26 children (15 sons, 11 daughters) of lesbian mothers and 28 children (13 sons, 15 daughters) of heterosexual mothers, finding that four (14%, one son, three daughters) of the former expressed a nonheterosexual

preference compared to none of the latter, yielding a chi-square test with one degree of freedom of 4.65 ($p < .05$).

10. Bailey, Bobrow, Wolfe, and Mikach (1995)

Bailey and colleagues (1995) studied 82 sons of 55 gay fathers. Only 43 of the sons could be contacted, of whom six (14.0%) indicated that they were nonheterosexual. Of the 39 sons who could not be contacted, the fathers identified eight (20.5%) as nonheterosexual, suggesting a combined rate 17.1% ($n = 14$ of 82), although paternal error might have overstated that number by as many as three sons, which could have reduced the actual rate to 13.4%. With reference to this study, Stacey and Biblarz (2001) stated, “This study also provides evidence of a moderate degree of parent-to-child transmission of sexual orientation” (p. 171).

11. Tasker and Golombok (1995)

Tasker and Golombok (1995) found that 36% of the daughters of lesbians reported same-sex sexual attraction compared to 20% of the daughters of single heterosexual mothers (Schumm, 2004a). Although the difference of 36% and 20% was not significant statistically, other results were—namely, that (a) 63.6% of the children of lesbians versus 16.7% of children of heterosexual mothers had considered the possibility of becoming involved in same-sex romantic relationships, and that (b) among those children who reported having had same-sex attractions, 67% of the children of lesbians versus none of those raised by heterosexual mothers had engaged in same-sex sexual behavior ($p < .05$, one-tailed).¹⁸ Furthermore, as noted in Schumm (2004a), 57% of the sons and 67% of the daughters of lesbian mothers had considered the possibility of becoming involved in homosexual sexual relationships compared to only 20% of the sons and 13% of the daughters of heterosexual mothers ($p < .005$, one-tailed). Moreover, at least 20% of the children of lesbian families “had considered the

¹⁸ A one-tailed statistical test assumes that the difference between the groups is almost certainly going to occur in one direction, here being that if one set of parents has a higher rate of having nonheterosexual children, it will be the lesbian mothers rather than the heterosexual mothers. If we were truly clueless about which way the outcome might occur, then a two-tailed test would be more appropriate. However, if you can predict the direction of the outcome, then a one-tailed test is appropriate and more powerful statistically. Here, the result was significant only when using a one-tailed test because of the small number of subjects. For a more complete discussion of these issues, refer to Schumm, Pratt, Hartenstein, Jenkins, & Johnson (2013).

possibility of engaging in homosexual sexual relationships, even though they had never experienced same-gender attractions” (Schumm, 2004a, p. 423), a finding inferred from Tasker and Golombok’s (1997) data. Golombok and Tasker (1996) also found that the children of lesbian mothers were more likely to express same-sex sexual interest when their mother had engaged in more lesbian relationships, had been more open with physical affection with her lesbian partners in front of the children, and had been more open to her children becoming homosexual, a result discussed previously (Schumm, 2011b, p. 107).

12. Sirota (1997)

Sirota (1997), in her study of daughters of 68 gay and 68 heterosexual fathers, found substantial differences in daughters’ sexual orientations (34.3% lesbian or bisexual versus 3.0% lesbian or bisexual, respectively, $p < .001$) and in having questioned their own sexual orientation while growing up (69.8% vs. 23.3%, respectively, $p < .001$) (Schumm, 2008b, p. 290). While it could be argued, with respect to Sirota’s findings, that differing parental divorce rates explained the phenomena, Schumm (2008b) estimated the effect of divorce and found it was likely insufficient to explain away all of the association between parental sexual orientation and daughters’ orientations (p. 289).

13. Saffron (1998)

Saffron (1998) interviewed 17 children with lesbian mothers in Britain and found that at least two (11.8%) of the daughters were lesbian or bisexual. She did not specify how many of the children were sons or daughters, although at least seven daughters were mentioned by pseudonym.

14. Kunin (1998)

Kunin (1998) compared 47 children of lesbian mothers and 47 children of heterosexual parents and found that even though sexual orientations did not differ significantly (8.5% vs. 2.1%), having questioned one’s sexual orientation growing up (44.7% vs. 21.3%) was significantly different ($p < .02$).

15. Ng (1999)

Ng (1999) interviewed six adult daughters (ages 21 to 33) of lesbian mothers and found that one identified as lesbian while two identified as bisexual (50%).

At least one brother of one of these daughters was confused about his sexual orientation while at least one of their other sisters was a lesbian.

16. Bennett (2001)

Bennett (2001) interviewed nine adolescent children, ages 13 to 17 years, of lesbian mothers: four sons and five daughters. All of the sons and one of the daughters were seen as having an uncertain sexual orientation by the mothers.

17. Barrett and Tasker (2001)

Barrett and Tasker (2001) was a study of gay fathers and their children that did not report on the sexual orientation of the children, but did report on whether the children had felt confused about their own sexuality. My analysis of the means and standard deviations reported for sons and daughters (as described by their fathers) suggests that about 30% of the children were described by the fathers as having such issues.¹⁹

18. Gottlieb (2003)

Gottlieb (2003) interviewed 12 sons of gay fathers and found that two of them (17%) were gay themselves.

19. Jedzinak (2004)

Jedzinak (2004) interviewed seven daughters, ages 18 to 27, of lesbian mothers, finding that two were lesbians while one was bisexual (43%).

20. Canning (2005)

Canning (2005) compared the children of 21 heterosexual fathers with those of 11 gay fathers and found that among the children of gay fathers, only one was nonheterosexual, while among the children of heterosexual fathers, all were heterosexuals.

¹⁹ Interpretation of Barrett and Tasker (2001) is constrained by several points of contradiction in their narrative and their statistical tables regarding the coding of the fathers' responses (e.g., does a code of 1 = low or high?).

21. Rivers, Poteat, and Noret (2008)

Rivers, Poteat, and Noret (2008), in a large survey of residents of the United Kingdom, found that among the ten sons of 18 lesbian families only one was gay; none of the eight daughters was nonheterosexual.

22. Bos and Sandfort (2010)

Bos and Sandfort (2010) discussed data in which they earlier had reported (Bos, van Balen, Sandfort, & van den Boom, 2006) that daughters of lesbians were more likely than daughters of heterosexual mothers to report a nonheterosexual sexual orientation ($d = 0.74$, $p < .01$), as discussed in more detail elsewhere (Biblarz & Stacey, 2010; Schumm, 2011b, p. 96).

Other significant findings have been summarized elsewhere (Schumm, 2011a). Consequently, there is considerable evidence that ITSO is not a recent phenomenon, at least for research in the past 25 years. Using 35 data points of year of publication and the percentage of LGB children (using identity as the outcome dimension whenever possible) of LGB parents, I found a Pearson zero-order $r = 0.46$ ($p = .005$, two-tailed). In a regression equation, the adjusted $R^2 = 0.19$. The regression equation predicting percent of LGB children was 7.4 percent plus 0.73% for each year since 1979, predicting 32.2% for 2013 compared to 7.4% in 1979.²⁰ Thus, it appears that the odds of the children of LGB parents being reported as LGB in the research literature has steadily increased over the past three decades. It might be that scholars feel more relaxed about reporting higher rates of LGB children or it might be that LGB parents, as popular support for homosexuality has increased, need to worry less about their children's sexual orientation and feel freer to allow them to develop in a nonheterosexual direction.

B. Pathways for ITSO

As noted previously, Murphy (2011) acknowledged that “it might be interesting to know how often and exactly how this effect occurs and by what pathway ...” (p. 298). Table A7 in Appendix I lists a number of reports, some anecdotal, that suggest several pathways by which parental sexual orientation could be trans-

²⁰ I also investigated nonlinear models, some of which were statistically significant (e.g., $p < .02$), but none of which explained nearly as much variance as the basic linear model. If anything, the nonlinear models suggested that the percentage of LGB children might be increasing a bit faster in recent years than predicted by the linear model.

lated into child sexual orientation. In general, it appears that some nonheterosexual parents are very accepting of the possibility that their children might grow up to be nonheterosexual, with some even preferring or expecting that outcome (Costello, 1997; Flaks, 1993; Gartrell, Banks, Reed et al., 2000; Gartrell, Banks, Hamilton et al., 1999; Gartrell, Deck, Rodas, Peyser, & Banks 2005; Javaid, 1993; Kane, 2006; Patterson, S, 2005; Rafkin, 1990; Riley, 1975; Rosier & Hauschild, 1999; Stevens, Perry, Burston, Golombok, & Golding, 2003). Some children have reported that they felt they had options in terms of sexual orientation and behavior that other children with heterosexual parents might not have had (Bennett, 2001; Cohen, R., & Kuvanka, 2011; Goldberg, A. E., 2007b; Hequembourg, 2007; Saffron, 1997). In Tasker and Golombok's (1997) British study, many of the children of lesbian mothers came to believe that their mother preferred that they grow up to be nonheterosexual.

Not only are LGB parents more accepting of diverse sexual outcomes for their children, it is likely that LGBT relatives and friends of the family are more accepting as well, serving as additional teachers and role models (Griffin, 1998; Patterson, C. J., Hurt, & Mason, 1998; Tasker & Golombok, 1997, p. 99). Some parents quoted in Table A7 seemed to encourage rather than merely tolerate nonheterosexuality in their children. Much of the evidence seems to support social learning theory, as predicted by theorists (e.g., Stacey & Biblarz, 2001), in which adult figures both teach and model a wider range of what are perceived to be desirable or at least acceptable options in life and sexuality. Thus, we not only have results that show an association between parental sexual orientation and children's sexual orientations, but we have quite a number of explanations for that association that seem to fit well with social learning theory.

Perrin (2002a) and others have argued for genetics as a factor in influencing sexual orientation, and this may be a valid argument. However, Schumm (2004a) found in a reanalysis of British data (Tasker & Golombok, 1997) that daughters of lesbian mothers were significantly more likely than daughters of heterosexual single parent mothers to engage in homosexual behavior even when they had never experienced same-sex sexual attractions. If genetics are influential, one might expect genetics to influence behavior through an impact on sexual attraction. However, it appears that modeling, example, or training by parents or other adults can influence same-sex sexual behavior in children, independent of any genetic influence upon same-sex sexual attraction.

IV. OTHER CORRELATES OF SEXUAL ORIENTATION?

A. Introduction

Since as early as Riley (1975), it has been asked, “so what”? If sexual orientation is value neutral, then who cares if the children of LGBT parents might tend to be more likely to grow up to be LGBT themselves? Part IV of this article considers the correlates or possible effects of sexual orientation.

For the most part, my review of the literature for these topics will focus on research in the past 10 or 15 years, because earlier research is usually cited by the more recent articles. The areas to be considered in turn include: indirect effects on children, childhood sexual abuse, lifespan longevity, mental health, suicide risk, substance abuse, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), and interpersonal violence.

B. Indirect Effects on Children

Seldom have the indirect effects of parental sexual orientation on a child’s sexual orientation been evaluated. One study that did so (Bos & Sandfort, 2010) found that parental nonheterosexual orientation predicted the child’s sexual questioning, and that sexual questioning predicted adverse global self-worth ($b = -.19, p < .05$) and social competence ($b = -.24, p < .05$). Furthermore, Bos et al. (2006) found that daughters of lesbians were more likely to aspire to masculine occupations ($ES = 0.53, p < .05$) and have a nonheterosexual sexual orientation ($ES = 0.74, p < .01$), both of which predicted lower social competence (see Schumm, 2011b, p. 92). More studies need to be done on this matter. The point is that unless we assess the impact of a child’s sexual orientation on other factors, we cannot assess any indirect effects of parental sexual orientation on children’s outcomes, indirect effects that operate through a child’s sexual orientation.

C. Childhood Sexual Abuse Predicting Later Sexual Orientation

1. Hypothesis: Childhood Sexual Abuse Is Unrelated to Later Sexual Orientation

Research is rare, and often of questionable quality, with respect to whether homosexuals are more likely to sexually abuse their own or the children of other parents. One possible proxy variable for such abuse may be, given the cycle of abuse from parents to children, whether homosexuals are more likely

to have been abused themselves. If homosexuals are more likely to have been sexually abused, social learning theory would tend to predict that homosexuals would be more likely, through observation and modeling, to abuse children as part of the cycle of abuse from parent to child.

Is there research evidence to support the theory of a cycle of abuse? S. Hall (2011) identified a cycle of violence linking a victim of early sexual abuse to the commission of parental sexual abuse of children. McCloskey and Bailey (2000) found that young girls were more likely to have been sexually abused (generally by males) if their mothers had been sexually abused as children (a pattern that was stronger if the mother also used drugs). J. B. Murray (2000) concluded, "Many pedophiles and child molesters claim that they were sexually abused as children" (p. 219), suggesting a cycle of abuse. Goodman, Emery, and Haugaard (1998) indicated that there was "a relation between early maltreatment and later abusive, sexualized, or aggressive behavior, both in general and specifically toward children" with some—they estimated 30%—"adults abused as children" going on "to abuse their own offspring" (p. 805). Pears and Capaldi (2001) found a 23% rate of intergenerational transmission of physical abuse. Mallie, Viljoen, Mordell, Spice, and Roesch (2011) found a significant relationship between a history of sexual abuse and sexual re-offending ($OR = 1.51, p < .05$), providing some support for a cycle of abuse with respect to sexual abuse.

Yet, the role of this proxy variable remains controversial, as some scholars continue to support the "no difference" hypothesis, in that either (a) childhood sexual abuse does not tend to predict later sexual orientation (Clark, 2006), or that (b) childhood sexual abuse is generally not harmful and may even benefit some children (Bauserman, 1991; Bauserman & Rind, 1997; Graupner, 1999; Stevenson, 2000). As recently as 2002a, E. C. Perrin stated that "There is no evidence that the development of a homosexual orientation is related to traumatic experiences in childhood or adolescence such as sexual abuse" (p. 57). Balsam, Rothblum, and Beauchaine (2005) did not want the public to reject the null hypothesis here, concerned that the public might "link childhood sexual abuse with homosexuality" (p. 484). Even more recently, Saewyc (2011, p. 261) discounted any connection between early sexual abuse and sexual orientation, arguing that most sexually abused children become heterosexual adults. In the amicus brief of the American Psychological Association and others to the U.S. Supreme Court in *Lawrence v. Texas*, the amici argued that "There is no consensus among scientists about the exact reasons why an individual develops a heterosexual, bisexual, or homosexual orientation" (p. 7) and that "Moreover, these patterns of sexual attraction generally arise without

any prior sexual experience” (p. 8).²¹ If those two statements are correct, then there should be no association between childhood sexual abuse and later adult sexual orientation, and LGBT persons should not report higher rates of childhood sexual abuse than heterosexual persons. In other words, several major professional organizations have taken the “no difference” approach here. My focus will be on research reported in the past 10–15 years; for a more detailed analysis of earlier research, consult Schumm (2008a).

Early childhood sexual abuse has been associated with numerous adverse social and psychological outcomes, sexual disorders, and health outcomes (Cutajar et al., 2010; Dube et al., 2005; Friesen, Woodward, Horwood, & Fergusson, 2010; Hahm, Lee, Ozonoff, & Van Wert, 2010; King, Coxell, & Mezey, 2002; Maniglio, 2009; Noll, Trickett, Harris, & Putnam, 2009; Perez-Fuentes et al., 2013; Putnam, 2003; Walker, Holman, & Busby, 2009; Wright, Fopma-Loy, & Oberle, 2012). Childhood sexual abuse appears to predict later psychiatric conditions, depression, substance abuse, sexualized behaviors among children and adolescents, and high-risk sexual activity (Putnam). Adverse outcomes of childhood sexual abuse appear to extend to sexual minorities as well as to heterosexuals (Hequembourg, Bimbi, & Parsons, 2011).

Farley (1996) surveyed 119 gay men and 169 lesbians who had perpetrated domestic violence between 1986 and 1991; 67% of the men and 94% of the women reported childhood sexual abuse. Of those surveyed, 80% or more of both men and women reported that their parents had been abused as children.

Bolen (2001, p. 180), in her review of the literature on childhood sexual abuse, reported that male victims of such abuse were more likely when adults to abuse children if they had experienced multiple incidences of such abuse. She also reported that the more instances of abuse, the more likely the male victims were to abuse boys rather than girls. Bolen also noted, “Only 35% of child molesters showed a sexual arousal pattern only to children” (p. 177), debunking the idea that pedophiles are only sexually attracted to children.

Tomeo, Templer, Anderson, and Kotler (2001) surveyed more than 900 individuals and found much higher and statistically significant ($p < .001$) rates of childhood same-sex sexual abuse among gay men (46% vs. 7%) and lesbian women (22% vs. 1%) than among heterosexuals. King and colleagues (2002) found a trend for childhood sexual abuse by males to more strongly predict adult homosexual orientation than such abuse by females (26% vs. 11%, $OR = 2.72$, $p < .11$). A recent meta-analysis found that nonheterosexual men (21%–

²¹ Brief of the American Psychological Association, American Psychiatric Association, National Association of Social Workers, and Texas Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers in Support of Petitioners at 7, 8, *Lawrence v. Texas*, 539 U.S. 558 (2003) (No. 02-102).

25%) and women (32%–40%) were significantly more likely to have been sexually abused as children than heterosexual persons (men, 5%; women, 17%) (Friedman et al. 2011). McWhirter and Mattison (1984), in their study of gay men, found that nearly 61% (p. 269) had experienced their first homosexual sex between the ages of 11 and 14, compared to only 13% (p. 271) who had their first heterosexual sex (among those who ever had such) in that same age range. Another meta-analysis (Rothman, Exner, & Baughman, 2011) found rates of childhood sexual abuse for gay/bisexual males of 21%–34% and for lesbian/bisexual females of 28%–34%. Born (1998), later reported in Born, Bufford, Johnson, and Colwell (2000), found a difference of 62.3% versus 16.0% ($p < .001$) in terms of childhood sexual abuse between 60 gay men and 28 heterosexual controls (Schumm, 2008b, p. 290–291). In reviewing the literature, Fieland, Walters, and Simoni (2007) concluded, “Large-scale studies of multi-ethnic MSM [men who have sex with men] populations have found relatively high rates of self-reported childhood sexual abuse, ranging from 21.6% to 34.0%. ... These rates appear higher than the 10% to 15% found among men in the general population” (p. 282).

Using data for men from the National Health and Social Life Survey ($N = 1,399$), Laumann and Michael (2001, p. 171) found that only 10.3% reported gay or bisexual sexual attraction if they had never been sexually abused as a child, while the rates of gay or bisexual attraction increased to 30.5% (if the child had been abused by an adult) and 18.0% (if the child had been abused by a peer). Purcell, Malow, Dolezal, and Carballo-Diequez (2004) reviewed the literature on childhood sexual abuse and concluded that “Generally, more gay or bisexual men (men who have sex with men) report CSA [childhood sexual abuse] than do heterosexual men ... ,” with rates that are “comparable with those for women” (p. 95). They conclude that the rates of childhood sexual abuse for men who later identified as gay or bisexual may be three times higher than for men who later identified as heterosexual and may be even higher, especially “for gay men of color” (p. 95). Furthermore, Purcell and colleagues concluded that “MSM are more likely to have been abused than heterosexual men, and MSM are particularly likely to have been abused by men” (p. 97).

Balsam and colleagues (2005) surveyed 185 heterosexual men, 38 bisexual men, 226 gay men, 348 heterosexual women, 125 bisexual women, and 332 lesbian women. For men, any childhood sexual abuse was higher for men who later identified as bisexual (44%) and gay (32%) than for men who later identified as heterosexual (13%); for women, childhood sexual abuse was higher for women who later identified as bisexual (48%) and lesbian (44%) than for women who later identified as heterosexual (30%). Rates of sexual assault were also higher for nonheterosexuals of both genders.

Regardless of the victim's later-reported sexual orientation, perpetrators of childhood sexual abuse against girls were usually men (94%–96%), although women were more often reported as the abusers for victims who later identified as bisexual (15%) or lesbian (20%) than victims who later identified as heterosexual (11%). For abused boys, perpetrators were more likely to be men for victims who later identified as bisexual (80%) or gay (96%) than for victims who later identified as heterosexual (61%), while women were less likely to be perpetrators for victims who later identified as gay (19%) than for those who later identified as bisexual (60%) or heterosexual (48%).

Data from the NSFG (Mosher, Chandra, & Jones, 2005) indicated that having ever been forced to have anal or vaginal sex against one's will occurred more often among gays and bisexuals (29.9%) than among heterosexuals (9.4%) ($p < .001$), with over half of the rapes occurring when the respondents were under age 18 for both groups. Using the same data set but restricting the analysis to forced anal sex and male perpetrators, 40.2% ($n = 49$ of 122) gay and bisexual men versus 8.7% ($n = 352$ of 4,069) heterosexual men had been so forced, a very significant result ($p < .001$) by a two-sided Fisher's Exact Test, with $OR = 7.09$, $p < .001$, 95% $CI [4.86, 10.35]$.

Austin, Roberts, Corliss, and Milnar (2008), in a study of 391 young women from Chicago, found that 45% of "mostly heterosexual" participants, compared to 15% of heterosexual participants, had been sexually abused as children; more than half of both groups were abused prior to age 13; the sexual-minority women averaged significantly more sexual partners and had engaged in sexual relations at an earlier age, even with a number of control variables used and even though their parents were more likely to have earned a college degree (28% for parents of "mostly heterosexual" participants vs. 10% of parents of heterosexual participants).

Harrison, Hughes, Burch, and Gallup (2008), in a study of 131 college women from the East Coast, found that those who identified as lesbians had experienced unwanted sexual contact earlier (average age = 11 years) than those who identified as heterosexual (average age = 15 years). Corliss, Cochran, Mays, Greenland, and Seeman (2009) found elevated rates of molestation by strangers, heterosexual rape, homosexual rape, and sexual abuse perpetrated by family members among women who identified as lesbians.

Using a large, nationally representative data set (National Epidemiologic Survey on Alcohol and Related Conditions; NESARC), Hughes, McCabe, Wilsnack, West, and Boyd (2010) reported much higher rates of childhood sexual abuse among women who identified as lesbian (34.7%) and bisexual (38.8%) than among women who identified as heterosexual (10.3%); for men, the corresponding figures were 15.4% among those who identified as gay,

11.0% among those who identified as bisexual, and 2.2% among those who identified as heterosexual, results that were largely confirmed by Sweet and Welles (2012). Lehavot and Simoni (2011) found a 40% rate of childhood sexual abuse among sexual-minority women in their national sample. H. W. Wilson and Widom (2010) reviewed the literature on childhood sexual abuse and sexual orientation and assessed their own longitudinal data, predicting having had or having a same-sex sexual partner as a function of childhood sexual abuse for women; they found the same predictive effect for men for having a same-sex partner.

By telephone, Holmes (2008) surveyed 197 men in the Philadelphia area, of whom 14 were gay or bisexual, concerning child sexual abuse experiences. Of those who had been victimized, 18.6% ($n = 8$ of 43) identified as gay or bisexual compared to 3.9% ($n = 6$ of 154) of those who had not been victimized ($OR = 5.64$, $p < .003$, 95% CI [1.84, 17.29]; two-sided Fisher's Exact Test, $p < .004$). Notably, more than 57% of the gay or bisexual men had been sexually abused as children.

Wiegel (2008, pp. 64–65) obtained data from 81 women who admitted sexually abusing children and from 94 women who admitted sexually abusing adolescents. Most women in both groups reported having sexual attractions to adults (93.7% and 95.6%, respectively) with 36.3% and 34.0%, respectively, reporting some degree of nonheterosexual sexual attraction. The women who had abused children were more likely than the women who had abused adolescents to admit to sexual attraction to children: boys under age ten (20.9% vs. 2.2%), girls under age ten (24.7% vs. 1.1%), boys under age 14 (27.1% vs. 8.5%), and girls under age 14 (27.2% vs. 5.3%). However, a number of the women identified as lesbian or bisexual and also had engaged in sex with very young children, some reporting sexual attraction both to children and to adults.

Jun and colleagues (2010) found higher rates of forced childhood sexual abuse before age 12 among sexual-minority women (15.6%) compared to heterosexual women (5.9%). Talley, Tomko, Littlefield, Trull, and Sher (2011) found higher rates of childhood sexual and physical abuse among men and women who reported same-sex attractions, behavior, or identity. Moore (2011), in her study of Black lesbian and bisexual women, noted that nearly 42% of the women she found to be “sexually fluid” in terms of sexual orientation had been sexually molested as children. In a sample of nearly thirteen thousand New Zealanders, Wells, McGee, and Beautrais (2011) found that sexual-minority persons were 2 to 5 times more likely, in terms of odds ratios, to have been raped or sexually assaulted before age 16 than heterosexuals with no same-sex behavior who had been raped (3.9%) or sexually assaulted (7.7%) before age 16. Using data from the Growing Up Today Study (GUTS), Roberts, Rosario,

Corliss, Koenen, and Austin (2012) found higher rates of sexual abuse before age 11 for sexual minorities (women, 13%–21%; men, 7%–27%) than heterosexuals (women, 7%; men, 3%); “any” sexual abuse rates were higher for sexual minorities (women, 24%–33%; men, 10%–35%) compared to heterosexuals (women, 11%; men, 4%). Wilsnack, Kristjanson, Hughes, and Benson (2012) compared childhood sexual abuse experiences for women who identified as lesbians (56% had been sexually abused) and heterosexual women (27% had been sexually abused) and found, among those who had been abused, higher percentages of lesbians had been abused prior to age 9 (52% vs. 33%), had been abused by two or more perpetrators (61% vs. 34%), and had been abused for more than a year (53% vs. 36%).

Using data from three states, Andersen and Blossnich (2013) found rates for childhood sexual abuse of 30% for gays and lesbians, 35% for bisexuals, and 15% for heterosexuals. Roberts, Glymour, and Koenen (2013), using NESARC data, found higher rates of childhood sexual abuse for sexual minorities, measured in terms of attraction, partners, and identity. Walters, Chen, and Breiding (2013, p. 13), using data from the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey of 2010, found that more than 48.0% of bisexual women (compared to 28.3% of heterosexual women) had been raped for the first time before age 18, while rates of rape between ages 18 and 24 were similar between the two groups (33.1% vs. 38.3%). McLaughlin, Hatzenbuehler, Xuan, and Conron (2012), in their analysis of adolescent health (ADD HEALTH; Resnick et al., 1997), found higher rates of childhood sexual abuse among adolescents who at the time of the study identified as gay/lesbian (8.0%) or bisexual (8.4%) than among adolescents who reported being heterosexual at the time of the study (4.2%). Using a national sample of LGB adults, Balsam, Lehavot, Beadnell, and Circo (2010) found high rates of childhood sexual abuse (30%–63% across different ethnic groups), although emotional abuse was more common than sexual abuse.

The NFSS (Regnerus, 2012a) asked questions about the degree (none, once, more than once) of childhood sexual abuse (a) in general and (b) by parents or caregivers. Among those children who reported having had a parent who had engaged in a romantic same-sex relationship, nonheterosexual sexual orientation was associated with general childhood sexual abuse, increasing from 34.5% to 69.7% as abuse increased ($p < .001$) and marginally with parent or caregiver sexual abuse, increasing from 39.3% to 63.6% ($p < .07$). Daughters were more likely to have been sexually abused in general (42.9% compared to 11.3% for sons, $p < .001$) and by parental figures (23.3% vs. 9.5% for sons, $p < .03$). Predicting nonheterosexual sexual orientation from child gender, parental gender, and general sexual abuse with binary logistic regression yielded a

Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.132$, with significant results for abuse ($p < .01$) and female child gender ($p < .05$). Results for parental figure abuse were similar, $R^2 = 0.105$ with significant results for female gender ($p < .01$) and marginal results for abuse ($p < .06$). More research is needed to compare such patterns among heterosexual parents whose adult children responded to the NFSS.

Steed and Templer (2010), in their replication of Tomeo et al. (2001), found that 31% of gay/bisexual men ($n = 42$ of 137) had been sexually molested as children or adolescents (under the age of 16), by 25 male perpetrators, 80% of whom ($n = 20$) were described as gay or bisexual by the victims, and by 17 female perpetrators, none of whom were described as lesbian or bisexual by the victims. Of the lesbian/bisexual women in the study, 41% ($n = 59$ of 143) had been sexually molested as children or adolescents (under the age of 16), by 41 male perpetrators, 10% of whom ($n = 4$) were described as gay or bisexual, and by 18 female perpetrators, 94% of whom ($n = 17$) were described as lesbian or bisexual. Steed and Templer (2010) extended previous research by asking participants if their sexual molestation experience had made an impact on their sexual orientation. Results were similar regardless of victim's gender or perpetrator's sexual orientation. Results in terms of percentages impacted were as follows: boys abused by men ($n = 17$ of 25, 68%); girls abused by women ($n = 12$ of 18, 67%); boys abused by gay/bisexual men ($n = 14$ of 20, 70%); girls abused by lesbian/bisexual women or gay/bisexual men ($n = 14$ of 21, 67%). Rated impacts were a bit lower if boys were abused by women ($n = 9$ of 17, 53%); or if girls were abused by men ($n = 17$ of 41, 42%); or if boys were abused by heterosexual men or women ($n = 4$ of 8, 50%); or if girls were abused by heterosexual men ($n = 9$ of 17, 53%).

Anecdotal reports indicate that childhood sexual abuse has been cited by at least a few lesbian women as a factor in their adult sexual orientation. Strock (2008) cited the case of "Roberta, ... [who] had been sexually abused by her father from the time she was a little girl until he died when she was twenty-three years old, and felt a tremendous distaste for men from early on" (p. 8) and the case of Belinda, who was abused from the age of 6 and concluded that "it was the sexual abuse she endured as a young girl, as well as her mother's desertion, that made her turn to women" (p. 47). On the other hand, Joan was violated by a woman at age 5 but felt she had a lesbian sexual orientation before that age (p. 47). Strock cited a 1993 conversation with a female psychotherapist who believed that incest with a father could push the daughter to "find a constant with another woman. ... [W]omen view other women as being kinder and gentler, sensitive and more understanding than men" (p. 8).

2. Conclusion

There appears to be increasing and substantial evidence that nonheterosexuals have higher rates of childhood sexual abuse in their backgrounds, despite the claims of Schlatter and Steinback (2013) and others to the contrary. To the extent that prior childhood sexual abuse (whether by parents, others known to the child, or strangers) is a proxy variable for a higher risk for an adult abusing children sexually, these findings would suggest that homosexuals might be at a higher risk due to having been sexually abused as children. Yet, even if prior sexual abuse were not to influence sexual orientation among victims of child sexual abuse who later identified as LGBT persons, some research has found that childhood sexual abuse does put LGBT persons at higher risk for later substance use, more STIs, higher sexual compulsivity scores, and greater stigma scores (Hequembourg, Bimbi, & Parsons, 2011), as well as higher HIV risk and levels of psychological distress or substance use (Arreola, Neilands, Pollack, Paul, & Catania, 2008), at least to the same extent as heterosexuals. There is some evidence that childhood sexual abuse in terms of having experienced unwanted sexual intercourse before the age of 18, is associated with an increased risk of divorce among married heterosexuals (Paik, 2011), raising the possibility that some of the reported instability among gay and lesbian couples might be related to their prior childhood sexual abuse experiences, if any. Even if sexual abuse were to occur with children who had already identified as nonheterosexual (or heterosexual), there is no justification for such abuse by adults regardless of their alleged sexual orientation or gender. As noted by Purcell and colleagues (2004), such abuse is “illegal and exploitive” (p. 98).

D. Adult Sexual Orientation Associated with Abusing Children Sexually

1. Hypothesis: Adult Sexual Orientation is Unrelated to Child Molestation

DiLapi (1989), Herek (1991), and McClellan (2006, p. 252) counted as a “myth” the conclusion that homosexuals were more likely than heterosexuals to molest children. E. C. Perrin and Kulkin (1996, p. 630) argued that same-sex parents were less likely to sexually abuse children than heterosexual parents. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU, 2003) argued, “There is no connection between homosexuality and pedophilia. All of the legitimate scientific evidence shows that. Sexual orientation, whether heterosexual or homosexual, is an adult sexual attraction to others. Pedophilia, on the other hand, is an adult sexual attraction to children” (p. 174). Erwin (2007) stated that “Current research suggests that children in lesbian and gay families are actually at

decreased risk for sexual abuse by their parents than children living in heterosexual families” (p. 104). Gartrell, Bos, Peyser, Deck, and Rodas (2012) admitted that this was nevertheless a concern for some in the judiciary. Schlatter and Steinback (2013) stated that “No scientifically sound study has linked sexual orientation or identity with parental role-modeling or childhood sexual abuse” (p. 2). In my opinion, however, the null hypothesis stated at section IV.D.1 (immediately above) remains controversial, but the evidence seems to support its rejection.

One can hardly discuss child sexual abuse by homosexuals without mentioning the study by Jenny, Roesler, and Poyer (1994), who concluded that very few homosexual men sexually abused children. However, a close look at their data raises concerns about the quality of their research and the validity of those conclusions. The abusers were defined in terms of sexual orientation only by the parent(s) of the child who had been abused, not by the child victim or as the abuser’s self-reported identity. If the parents were not aware enough to prevent the abuse, how certain could they have been of the abuser’s sexual orientation? At least 12% of the families involved did not know the sexual orientation of the perpetrator. Those who had an opinion presented little evidence to validate their perceptions of the sexual orientation of the perpetrator. Most of the boys ($n = 47$ of 50, 94%) and some of the girls ($n = 13$ of 219, 5.9%) were abused by a perpetrator of the same sex as the victim, so that 22.3% of the molestations were same-sex (behaviorally homosexual) in nature, a much higher percentage than would be expected (i.e., far higher than the percentage of homosexuals in the population).

Few studies have been done carefully with respect to the hypothesis that homosexuals are more likely to abuse children sexually, but at least one analysis has suggested that same-sex foster parents appear to be more likely to sexually abuse their children (Schumm, 2005, pp. 455–457). In general, parsing whether a pedophile is or is not also a homosexual has been difficult (Archer, 1996; Freund & Watson, 1992; Freund, Watson, & Dickey, 1990; Freund, Watson, & Rienzo, 1989; Gallup, 1996; Seto, 2012). Some researchers may discount the importance of a finding of a high rate of sexual abuse of children by self-professed homosexuals on the grounds that any act of child abuse is a reflection of pedophilia unrelated to any homosexual orientation vis-à-vis adults.

However, Edwards and Sylaska (2013) found that LGBTQ college youth were more likely to abuse their own partners if they had been victims of abuse, and that each type of perpetration (physical, psychological, and sexual) was best predicted by having been a victim of the same type of abuse. Of those students, 14% reported having been a victim of sexual abuse by a sexual

partner and 10.5% reported having sexually abused their own partner; sexual victimization and sexual perpetration were correlated significantly ($r = .42$, $d = 0.93$, $p < .001$). At least one study (Steed & Templer, 2010) found that such abuse was often perpetrated by adults who were described as gay, lesbian, or bisexual by the victims and that the abuse often had an impact on the victims' eventual sexual orientation. Wiegel (2008) found that admitted child-molesting women were no less likely to be sexually attracted to adults than to children, and that this was the case among those who identified themselves as nonheterosexual as well as those who identified themselves as heterosexual. However, research is still scarce with respect to the intergenerational transmission of childhood sexual abuse (Putnam, 2003, p. 271).

In a U.S. study, the Fourth National Incidence Study of Child Abuse and Neglect (NIS-4), Sedlak and colleagues (2010) found that the sexual abuse rate of children living with two biological married parents was 0.5 per 1,000 (pp. 5–22). All other family forms featured sexual abuse rates several times greater, from 2.4 to 9.9 per 1,000. Same-sex parent families either were not assessed or were not discussed by Sedlak and colleagues, but there does seem to be something protective against sexual abuse in a family in which both parents have a biological bond with the child, a type of bond which is not the situation with many same-sex parents. Notably, sexual abuse had decreased since the NIS-3 for biological married parents but had increased for some other family structures (pp. 5–28).

2. Conclusion

It seems clear that homosexuals are more likely to have been sexually abused as children. Both social learning theory and social science research indicate that children who are abused, sexually or otherwise, tend to become abusers as adults, as part of an intergenerational cycle of abuse. There is at least some research that features child molesters who self-identify as gay, lesbian, or bisexual. However, direct evidence remains relatively sparse, probably in part because asking participants to reveal perpetration of child sexual abuse requires them to admit to illegal behavior.

E. Mental Health

1. Hypothesis: Sexual orientation is not related to adult or youth mental health

Herek (1991) argued that homosexuality was not associated with psychopathology, that no correlation existed between sexual orientation and psychopathology.

gy, and that “empirical evidence and professional norms do not support any linkage of sexual orientation with psychopathology” (p. 143). Herek also disagreed with the “myth” that lesbians or gay men would be more likely to manifest low self-esteem or be depressed, even taking stigma into account (p. 143). He reiterated that “assertions that lesbians and gay men manifest a disproportionate level of psychological problems either are based on unfounded stereotypes ... or on unwarranted generalizations from limited data” (p. 144). Herek cited Hooker’s (1957) study as “the classic study in this area” (p. 142) and emphasized that “Dozens of empirical studies have since supported Hooker’s conclusion that no correlation exists between sexual orientation and psychopathology” (p. 142). Hooker’s research was cited as early as 1975 in a legal discussion of custody of children by lesbian mothers, in which Riley (1975) stated “Hooker has conducted an especially significant study in which two groups—one heterosexual and one homosexual—were matched exactly according to age, intelligence, and education. The subjects were given a series of projective tests, and three psychologists were asked to determine, on the basis of the results only, which group was homosexual. The scores were so similar that the experts found their task impossible” (pp. 826–827).

In a psychological study, Hooker (1957) was cited as early as 1971 in this way—“Hooker, using the Rorschach scored blind by experts, found no significant differences between male homosexuals and heterosexuals” (Thompson, McCandless, & Strickland, 1971, p. 237).²²

²² As explained in Schumm (2012a), these statements were misleading, because Hooker (1957) did find some significant differences between the two groups on the Rorschach ratings used by the judges, who did not evaluate the subjects on their own but only on the basis of information provided by Hooker. While Hooker did conclude that homosexuality was not inherently associated with psychopathology, she also indicated that if she had found only one mentally healthy gay man among her 30 gay participants—even if all but one (for statistical purposes) of the heterosexual participants had been mentally healthy and none of the gay men—she still would have drawn the conclusion that homosexuality was not inherently associated with psychopathology, in spite of the extremely strong evidence ($d = 3.84$, $p < .001$) that would have been against her conclusions in such a hypothetical situation. For all practical purposes, if you say you can disregard an effect size nearly five times what Cohen, J. (1992) has described as large, you might as well discard science as useless. Furthermore, Thompson et al. (1971) found small effect-size differences in personal adjustment, favoring heterosexuals, using the Adjective Check List for men ($d = 0.23$, ns) and for women ($d = 0.20$, ns), comparing on the basis of sexual orientation, in spite of the fact that the authors, in an apparent design flaw, allowed the “heterosexual” groups to contain 22% male and 15% female participants who admitted to either homosexual experience or attractions. The study by Thompson et al. was also underpowered statistically to the extent that only effect sizes of 0.28 or greater were counted as statistically significant. Though both were significant, results were split for self-confidence (male heterosexuals

More recently, Stevenson (2007) hailed Hooker's (1957) research as based on "rigorous research methodology" and concluded that "an extensive body of research supports the conclusion that there are few significant or meaningful differences between people of different sexual orientations on a wide range of variables associated with overall psychological functioning" (p. 382). Stevenson (2007) further argued that "LGB people are both resilient and as mentally healthy as any comparable group" (p. 383). Also in 2007, Herek and Garnets continued that tradition, highlighting Hooker's important role in the literature. They stated: "Today the mainstream position among clinicians and researchers is that homosexuality is a normal variant of human sexual expression and is no more inherently associated with psychopathology than is heterosexuality" (p. 357).

Numerous other studies have made such claims, often starting with praise for Hooker's (1957) classic research (Cameron & Cameron, 2012; see Schumm, 2012a). In the amicus brief of the American Psychological Association and others to the U.S. Supreme Court in *Lawrence v. Texas*, the amici argued, based on Hooker's (1957) "rigorous" study, that "homosexual and heterosexual men could not be distinguished from one another on the basis of psychological testing."²³

Similar assertions appeared in an amicus brief before the Texas Supreme Court in the case of *Texas vs. Morales*: "Dr. Hooker [1957] determined that standard psychological tests did not distinguish homosexual and heterosexual men"; "[e]xtensive psychological research over three decades has conclusively established that homosexual orientation is not related to psychological adjustment or maladjustment."²⁴ Such assertions were based on a misunderstanding of Hooker's research (Schumm, 2012a) or a failure to appreciate its very substantial limitations (Cameron & Cameron, 2012; Marks, 2012; Schumm, 2010a, 2010c, 2012c). However, Herek and Garnets (2007, p. 359) and Redding (2008, p. 164) admitted that nonheterosexuals were indeed at greater risk for anxiety and mood disorders, some forms of psychopathology, and psychological distress, but that such disparities were associated with discrimination, stigma, and prejudice directed against homosexuals. Redding also argued that only a minority of homosexuals were associated with psychopathology.

higher, $d = 0.28, p < .05$; lesbians higher, $d = 0.35, p < .05$). Heterosexuals scored higher on defensiveness (men, $d = 0.29, p < .05$; women, $d = 0.07, ns$).

²³ *Supra* note 21, at 10.

²⁴ Brief of the American Psychological Association, National Association of Social Workers, and Texas Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers in Support of Respondents at 19 in *Texas v. Morales*, 869 S.W.2d 941 (Tex. S. Ct. 1992) (D-2393).

Schlatter and Steinback (2013) cited as part of what they identified as a “myth” the opinion that “[h]omosexuals are more prone to be mentally ill” (p. 4).

Nevertheless, at least one analysis of a nationally representative data set with a high response rate found more than 56% of LGB persons—that is, a majority, contrary to Redding (2008)—to have had a psychiatric disorder within the past year, compared to less than 35% of heterosexuals, yielding an odds ratio of 2.01. Even in states with pro-LGBT policies, the odds ratio (1.67) remained statistically significant ($p < .05$); Hatzenbuehler, Keyes, & Hasin, 2009, pp. 2278–2279). (The study noted that drug use as a psychiatric disorder increased over time for LGB persons in more gay-friendly states.²⁵) Mays and Cochran (2001), in a random national study, found that 42% of LGB persons had at least one psychiatric disorder in the past year compared to 21% of heterosexuals ($p < .01$).

King and colleagues (2003) studied several hundred gay and heterosexual men and women from the United Kingdom and found that elevated rates of psychological distress remained for gay or lesbian persons even after controlling for demographic factors (ethnicity, age, employment, partnership status, living alone), health and lifestyle factors (HIV status, substance use, social support, general health), and reported acts of discrimination (personal attacks, property damage, verbal insults, and having been bullied in school). King and colleagues concluded that “perceived discrimination did not attenuate the association between psychological distress and sexual orientation” (p. 557).

N. M. Lewis (2009) reviewed a number of international studies, finding higher levels of mental health disorders, anxiety disorders, and depression among LGB persons compared to heterosexuals. Bostwick, Boyd, and Hughes (2010) found higher rates of lifetime psychiatric disorders among gay men and bisexuals. Parallel results have been found in the Netherlands, despite greater tolerance for homosexuality there (Sandfort, Bakker, Schelievis, & Vanwesenbeeck, 2006; Sandfort, Graaf, Bijl, & Schnabel, 2001). Cochran and Mays (2009) found higher rates of past-year psychiatric disorder among sexual minorities compared to heterosexuals. Talley and colleagues (2011) found

²⁵ In the 2005 NESARC, 11.7% of LGB participants reported a drug disorder in the past 12 months, compared to 2.3% of heterosexuals ($OR = 4.21$, $p < .05$, adjusting for gender, age, race/ethnicity, education, marital status, and income). In states that had no protective policies for LGB persons, $OR = 2.19$, indicating that LGB persons were significantly ($p < .05$) more likely to have had a drug disorder in the past 12 months compared to heterosexuals. However, in states that did have protective policies, the odds ratio increased to 4.56 and remained statistically significant, yielding an interaction effect that was nearly significant ($p < .07$). In other words, having more protective policies did not decrease drug disorders among LGB persons but appeared to increase them.

higher rates of identity disturbance (the questions for that scale involved issues of not knowing who you really are or suddenly changing your sense of who you are) among male and female NESARC participants who were sexual minorities in terms of attraction, behavior, or identity. Rothman, Sullivan, Keyes, and Boehmer (2012), in a Massachusetts study, found that nonheterosexual adults were more likely (15.7% vs. 7.1%, $p < .01$) to report 15 or more days of depression within the past month, although differences for 15 days of “poor mental health” within the past month (13.3% vs. 10.0%) were not significant statistically.

Several studies have found adverse mental health outcomes for children or adolescents who have experienced same-sex sexual attraction or who have identified as LGBT. Bos, Sandfort, De Bruyn, and Hakvoort (2008) found that Dutch early adolescents (average age of 13) were more likely to be depressed if they reported current same-sex attraction, even after controlling for a variety of mediating factors. Johns, Zimmerman, and Bauermeister (2013) studied a subsample of 391 adult women (ages 18–24) from a larger national sample and found that self-reported sexual attraction to other women (but not lesbian identity) was associated with greater depressive symptoms, lower self-esteem, lower maternal support, and lower peer support.

Ueno (2010), in a study of Florida youth, found that those with same-sex sexual contact had higher rates of depressive symptoms and lower levels of self-esteem, mastery, and mattering. Needham (2012), using ADD HEALTH data, found higher rates of depressive symptoms for men and women with consistent same-sex attraction compared to their counterparts with consistent opposite-sex attraction, even after controlling for age, race/ethnicity, parent education, and family structure. In their study of adolescent youth ages 16 to 29 (ADD HEALTH), Marshal and colleagues (2013) found higher levels of depressive symptoms at all ages for sexual-minority youth. Also using ADD HEALTH data, J. Pearson and Wilkinson (2013) found that same-sex attracted youth were more likely to be depressed, even with controls for twelve demographic background factors, family structure, and family relationship variables. Burton, Marshal, Chisolm, Sucato, & Friedman (2013), in their study of 197 teens, found that the effect of sexual orientation on depression was completely mediated by victimization. Rivers (2006) compared four groups of students, including bullied and nonbullied LGB and non-LGB persons. While LGB victims appeared to have greater mental health problems than heterosexual nonvictims, LGB victims and LGB nonvictims had similar levels of mental health, an indication that “even when bullying is not present, students may experience depression for other reasons that may not be discernable” (Rivers & Noret, 2008, p. 176). Dank and colleagues (2014) found significantly higher

rates of depression, anger/hostility, and anxiety among LGB youth compared to heterosexual youth, among those who had been victims of dating violence.

Although some of these differences may reflect stigma against sexual minorities or internalized homophobia, almost no tests have been conducted to determine possible effects of delayed gratification or a sense of being over-benefited (which, in exchange theory terms, could lead to guilt or depression—and possibly internalized homophobia). Sexual minorities not only experience some costs of discrimination but may also experience distinctive rewards from their lifestyles (Cohen, J. N., Byers, & Walsh, 2008), which could lead some to feel over-benefited and therefore more guilty (Nye, 1979, p. 7).

2. Conclusion

Although some of these differences in mental health for youth and for adults may reflect stigma or discrimination against sexual minorities or internalized homophobia, almost no tests have been conducted to determine possible effects of delayed gratification (impulsivity, sensation seeking, time preference, delay discounting rates) or a sense of being over-benefited (which, in exchange theory terms, could lead to guilt or depression—and possibly internalized homophobia). Sexual minorities experience not only some costs of discrimination but also may experience distinctive rewards from their lifestyles (Cohen, J. N., et al., 2008), which could lead some to feel over-benefited. Nevertheless, results are making it clearer that many homosexuals suffer from various mental disorders, and perhaps even that a majority are so burdened, contrary to the claims made by Schlatter and Steinback (2013) and others. It is far from certain that sexual-minority stress can account for all of the disparities found in mental health between homosexuals and heterosexuals, again contrary to Schlatter and Steinback's (2013) arguments.

F. Suicide Risk

1. Hypothesis: Sexual Orientation Is Not Related to Suicide Risk or Suicidality for Youth or Adults

Herek (1991, p. 144) criticized scholars who had proposed that owing to stigma, discrimination, and alienation from society, homosexuals might be at increased risk for suicide. Without specifically denying such an increased risk, Herek (1991) appeared to favor a “no difference” hypothesis with respect to suicidality and sexual orientation. E. C. Perrin and Sack (1998), however, concluded that “Up to 50% of gay youths have seriously contemplated suicide

and 25% are estimated to have attempted suicide, according to the literature” (p. 303). Later, Herek and Garnets (2007) indicated that “nonheterosexual adults are more likely than are heterosexuals to report past suicidal ideation and attempts” (p. 359), an apparent rejection of the “no difference” hypothesis with respect to suicidality. Stevenson (2007, p. 382) also stated that social stress might lead to an association between suicide attempts and sexual orientation. Recently, an amicus brief by the American Anthropological Association and others to the U.S. Supreme Court in *Hollingsworth v. Perry* attributed higher suicide rates among gay adolescents to stigma and internalized homophobia.²⁶

King and colleagues’ (2008) meta-analysis found higher rates of suicide and deliberate self-harm among LGB persons, with especially high rates for gay and bisexual men. N. M. Lewis’s (2009) review of several international studies found elevated suicidal ideation and attempted suicide rates for LGB persons compared to heterosexuals. Corliss and colleagues (2009) reviewed the literature, finding an elevated rate of suicidality among lesbian or bisexual women. In another extensive review of the literature, Haas and colleagues (2011) found elevated rates of suicide and attempted suicide among LGBT persons across a number of different nations. In an Austrian study of adults, Ploderl and Fartacek (2009) found rates of suicidality higher among LGB respondents (40% suicidal ideation compared to 22%–24% for heterosexuals), although controlling for childhood harassment and childhood gender nonconformity reduced the association.

In a study of Massachusetts youth, Blake and colleagues (2001) found that LGB youth were considerably more likely to have attempted suicide (36% vs. 9%, $p < .001$) than heterosexual youth. Saewyc (2011) summarized the literature on LGBQ youth, saying, “Results have been remarkably consistent ... a higher prevalence of sexual-minority youth indicate emotional distress, depression, self-harm, suicidal ideation, and suicide attempts than do their heterosexual peers” (p. 262). Using nationally representative data from more than ten thousand U.S. adolescents, Russell and Joyner (2001) found that significantly increased odds of suicidality (1.66 to 1.79) remained for LGB youth even after controlling for victimization, alcohol abuse, suicide attempts by friends or family members, depression, and hopelessness. Hatzenbuehler (2011) found substantially higher rates of suicide attempts in the past 12 months among gay or lesbian (19.6%, $OR = 3.48$, $p < .001$) or bisexual (22.0%, $OR = 2.82$, $p < .001$) (21.5% combined LGB) high school juniors in Oregon than for comparable heterosexual youth (4.2%). A pro-gay social environment

²⁶ Brief of the American Anthropological Association, American Academy of Pediatrics, and Robert M. Galatzer-Levy, M.D., in Support of Respondents and Affirmance at 15, *Hollingsworth v. Perry*, 570 U.S. ___, 133 S. Ct. 2652 (2013) (No. 12-144).

was found to reduce suicidality among all youth, but that protective effect was much smaller in terms of odds ratios ($OR = 0.97, p < .02$) than the apparent effect of sexual orientation itself. Suicide attempt rates among all youth (LGB or not) living in a negative environment were higher than average (25.5% vs. 4.6%) but the interaction effect between environment and sexual orientation upon suicide attempts was not significant statistically. McLaughlin et al. (2012), using data from the ADD HEALTH study, found more than twice the rate of suicidality among gay/lesbian (15.5%) or bisexual (17.7%) youth compared to heterosexual youth (5.4%). Using four waves of ADD HEALTH data, Needham (2012) found higher rates of suicidal thoughts for sexual-minority women, even after controlling for age, parental education, race/ethnicity, and family structure; for men, those with consistent gay/bisexual attraction reported higher rates of suicidal thoughts compared to consistently heterosexually attracted men, controlling for the same factors. In a study of Boston female high school students, Kidd, White, and Johnson (2012) found higher rates of suicidal ideation (33% vs. 12%), suicide attempts (14% vs. 4%), and deliberate self-harm (33% vs. 8%) for sexual-minority girls compared to heterosexual girls. In their analysis of data from the ADD HEALTH study, Russell and Toomey (2013) found that sexual-minority youth were more likely to report suicidal thoughts (boys, 11.6% vs. 8.1%; girls, 25.0% vs. 13.2%).

D'Amico and Julien (2012) surveyed 164 French-speaking LGB youth between the ages of 15 and 25 and found high levels (31%–38%) of suicidal ideation, regardless of whether the youth had disclosed their orientation to their parents. In their study of ADD HEALTH youth from age 16 to 29, Marshal and colleagues (2013) found higher levels of suicidality (assessed over the previous year) at all ages for sexual-minority youth. Burton et al., (2013), in a small study of 197 adolescents, found that the association between sexual-minority status and suicidality was partially mediated by victimization. Eisenberg & Resnick (2006), using data from a survey of Minnesota students, controlled for family connectedness, teacher caring, other adult caring, and school safety, but found that LGB status remained significantly associated with a higher risk of suicidal ideation and suicide attempts.

O'Donnell, Stueve, Wardlaw, and O'Donnell (2003) found that LGB status remained statistically significant for predicting suicidality even after controlling for network support and availability in their study of 879 adolescents and after controlling for peer support, school attachment, family closeness, satisfaction of basic needs, gender, ethnicity, parental household structure, coping style, and religiosity (O'Donnell, O'Donnell, Wardlaw, & Stueve, 2004). Safren and Heimberg (1999) found that controlling for variables like satisfaction with social support minimized associations between LGB status and present

suicidality but not with past suicidality. Goodenow, Szalacha, and Westheimer (2006) tried to predict suicidality from high schools having an LGB student support group, staff support, and higher rates of victimization, among other factors, but few correlations were significant beyond chance when one considers the large number of statistical tests involved. Dhejne and colleagues (2011) studied mortality outcomes for transsexual persons who had undergone sex reassignment surgery in Sweden and found higher mortality rates, in part because of higher suicide rates. Van Bergen, Bos, Van Lisdonk, Keuzenkamp, and Sandfort (2013) surveyed 274 Dutch youths who reported same-sex sexual attraction in 2009; high rates of suicidal ideation were reported (boys, 65%; girls, 64%) as well as suicide attempts (boys, 16%; girls, 13%), higher than for heterosexual youth in other studies. After controlling for gender, age, education, and ethnicity, victimization by parents or by other family members was not related to suicidal variables although victimization in school remained significant ($p < .03$). McDermott, Roen, and Piela (2013) reviewed the literature on youth sexual orientation and suicide risk and concluded that “[t]here is a considerable body of international research showing that young lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people’s rates of suicide attempting are between four and eight times those of their heterosexual peers” (p. 125).

Of course, discrimination is often ascribed as the primary cause for any elevated risk of suicide among LGBT persons. A study that addressed this issue was conducted by Almeida, Johnson, Corliss, Molnar, and Azrael (2009), who analyzed survey data from 1,032 Boston public school students in 2006. They found that 33.7% of LGBT students reported that someone had discriminated against them for being LGBT (compared to 4.3% of heterosexual students who reported having been discriminated against). Notably, two thirds of LGBT students did not report any recent discrimination on the basis of their sexual orientation. The authors found that 30.8% of female LGBT students ($n = 79$) had thought about killing themselves in the past year compared to 7.6% of heterosexual female students ($n = 430$, $d = 0.93$, $p < .05$); the comparable rates for male students were 29.2% ($n = 24$) versus 3.7% ($n = 330$, $d = 1.31$, $p < .05$). Rates for actual self-harm in the past year were 14.3% vs. 7.1% for female LGBT students compared to female heterosexual students ($d = 0.43$, $p < .05$) and 41.7% vs. 3.4% for male LGBT students compared to male heterosexual students ($d = 1.66$, $p < .05$). In terms of depressive symptoms, female students ($n = 77$ LGBT, $n = 410$ heterosexual) differed by an effect size of 0.31 ($p < .02$), while male students (22 LGBT, 315 heterosexual) differed by an effect size of 0.47 ($p < .05$). The effect sizes for self-harm and suicidal ideation were much stronger than those for depressive symptoms. When the authors controlled for discrimination in the model predicting depressive symptoms, discrimi-

mination was significant statistically while sexual orientation was not significant. However, the reverse held true for self-harm and suicidal ideation—in both cases sexual orientation remained significant statistically after controlling for discrimination, while discrimination was only significant for boys in terms of self-harm, of the four tests.

Hatzenbuehler, Birkett, and colleagues (2014) analyzed data from eight locations in the United States (2005–2007) for nearly 52,000 heterosexual youth and more than 4,000 LGB or “unsure” youth and found higher percentages of suicidal thoughts (heterosexual, 12%; lesbian or gay, 30%; bisexual, 40%; not sure, 25%); suicide plans (heterosexual, 10%; lesbian or gay, 27%; bisexual, 32%; not sure, 22%); and suicide attempts (heterosexual, 7%; lesbian or gay, 25%; bisexual, 29%; not sure, 17%) among LGB or unsure youth than among heterosexual youth. After controlling for race/ethnicity, gender, age, school climate, prevalence of nearby same-sex couples, median household income, and three interaction terms, sexual orientation remained substantially associated with all three suicidal characteristics ($OR = 2.09–6.07$). The researchers tested whether controlling for protective school climates, along with the other factors, was associated with a relative reduction in the three characteristics for the three groups of nonheterosexual students. Despite the very large sample, only two of the nine statistical tests yielded statistically significant reductions (suicidal thoughts for gay/lesbian and bisexual students). Thus, it remains unclear whether sexual minority theory can explain away all of the sexual orientation disparities in suicidal thoughts, plans, or attempts.

2. Conclusion

It appears that there is an increased suicide risk for both adults and youth with nonheterosexual sexual orientation, even after, in some studies, controlling for other factors, including discrimination. There are few high-quality studies on actual suicide death rates as a function of sexual orientation, so it is not clear to what extent, if any, thinking about suicide or attempting suicide have led to an actual higher rate of suicide among sexual minorities.

G. Substance Abuse

1. Hypothesis: Sexual Orientation Is Not Related to Rates of Substance Abuse for Youth or Adults

Herek (1991) again was critical of scholars who had suggested that homosexuals might be at increased risk of alcohol abuse or drug abuse. Clearly,

Herek was in favor of the “no difference” hypothesis with respect to substance abuse. Redding (2008), however, disputed this “no difference” hypothesis (p. 162). Herek and Garnets (2007, p. 359) indicated that nonheterosexual men and women might be at greater risk for problems with substance use, a theme echoed by Stevenson (2007), who proposed that the disparity could be explained as a result of different levels of social stress. However, Schlatter and Steinback (2013) dismissed as a myth the conclusion that “Homosexuals are more prone ... to abuse drugs and alcohol” (p. 4).

In their meta-analysis, King and colleagues (2008) found higher rates of substance dependence, alcohol dependence, drug dependence, and substance use disorders among sexual minorities, especially female sexual minorities. Marshal and colleagues (2008) also conducted a meta-analysis, finding that sexual minorities had higher rates of recent and lifetime use of cigarettes, alcohol, marijuana, cocaine, and injection drug use, with substantial effects for gays/lesbians ($d = 1.10$, $p < .05$) and bisexuals ($d = 4.42$, $p < .05$). In their national random sample, Hatzenbuehler et al. (2009) reported that drug disorders were more common for LGB individuals living in states with LGB-protective policies ($OR = 4.56$) than in states without such policies ($OR = 2.19$). Cochran and Mays (2009), in their California study, found higher rates of alcohol dependency and drug dependency among sexual minorities.

Jun and colleagues (2010), using data from the Nurses’ Health Study II, found that women who were members of sexual minorities were more likely to smoke and drink alcohol at an earlier age than heterosexual women, even controlling for parental smoking, parental education, physical abuse in childhood, and sexual abuse in childhood. Bowen, Boehmer, and Russo (2007) stated that female members of sexual minorities “are more likely than heterosexual women to use tobacco products” (p. 527), with rates of smoking up to double those of heterosexual women, a conclusion based on a variety of reviews of the literature. Greenwood and Gruskin (2007) concluded that LGB persons were much more likely to use tobacco and alcohol than heterosexuals; among other sources, they cited a study by Tang and colleagues (2004) that found, in a random statewide household-based study in California in 2000, that gay men and lesbians reported 56% and 70%, respectively, higher rates of smoking than heterosexuals. Greenwood and Gruskin explained these disparities as a consequence, among other things, of “the centrality of bars,” where tobacco and alcohol use are commonplace, as safe places to meet and find partners.

Brewster and Tillman (2012) studied men and women ages 15 to 24 from the sixth cycle of the NSFG and found strong associations between various measures of sexual orientation and substance use. Ott and colleagues (2013)

found that those who changed their reported sexual orientation over time were at higher risk of using marijuana and smoking. Using a large, nationally representative data set (NESARC), Hughes and colleagues (2010) reported much higher rates of any past-year substance-use disorder among lesbians (25.8%) and bisexual women (24.3%) than among heterosexual women (5.8%); for men, the corresponding figures were 31.4%, 27.6%, and 15.6%. From the NESARC data, Talley and colleagues (2011) found that sexual-minority status predicted lifetime alcohol dependence for women, even controlling for childhood sexual abuse, identity disturbance, age, race, ethnicity, and religiosity; for men, minority sexual identity predicted lifetime alcohol dependence, controlling for the same factors, but direct effects between homosexuality and alcohol dependence were not significant in terms of same-sex attraction or behavior with controls in place, although there appeared to be indirect effects.

In data from California, Boehmer, Miao, Linkletter, and Clark (2012) found that lesbians had greater odds of smoking and binge drinking than heterosexual women, while differences were less for gay men. In 2002 data from adults in Massachusetts, Rothman et al. (2012) found that despite a higher percentage of LGB persons having a college degree than their heterosexual peers (51% vs. 42%), they reported more frequent lifetime illegal drug use (82% vs. 56%, $p < .001$), more frequent illegal drug use in the past month (23% vs. 9%, $p < .001$), more frequent current binge drinking (30% vs. 22%, $p < .10$), and more frequent status as a smoker (45% vs. 21%, $p < .001$). Fredriksen-Goldsen, Kim, Barkan, Muraco, and Hoy-Ellis (2013) studied adults aged 50 years and older from the state of Washington and found that LGB older adults had higher rates of excessive drinking (8% vs. 5%; women, 17% men, 11%) and were more likely to smoke (18%–20% vs. 12%–13%) than comparable heterosexuals, in spite of LGB persons being nearly twice as likely to have graduated from high school; that difference is notable because recent research has found substantial differences in smoking as a function of education (Maralani, 2013), ranging, for example, in a 2010 U.S. study from nearly 53% for White adults with less than a high school degree to 10% for White adults with a college degree (Margerison-Zilko & Cubbin, 2013). In a study of Latino men who were having sex with other men, Oster and colleagues (2013) found a 48% rate of noninjection illegal drug use in the previous year.

Blake and colleagues (2001) found that LGB youth were more likely than heterosexual youth to have drunk alcohol in the previous 30 days (70% vs. 54%, $p < .02$), and to have used marijuana (58% vs. 32%, $p < .001$) or cocaine (19% vs. 3%, $p < .001$), and were more likely ever to have used intravenous drugs (24% vs. 2%, $p < .001$) than their heterosexual peers. Saewyc (2011) summarized the literature for LGBQ youth, and stated that studies had “gener-

ally found a higher prevalence of smoking, alcohol use, and other drug use, including injection drug use, among LGBQ youth compared with heterosexual teens” (p. 263). In their review of the literature, Mustanski, Newcomb, Du Bois, Garcia, and Grov (2011) reported higher levels of alcohol and illegal drug use among young men sleeping with men, as well as an earlier age for beginning drug use. Ford and Jasinski (2006), in a sample of college students, found higher rates of recent marijuana use and other illicit drug use among male and female bisexuals but not gay or lesbian students compared to heterosexual students.

N. M. Lewis (2009), in his review of several international studies, found significantly higher rates of binge drinking and cocaine use among LGB youth. In an analysis of data from the GUTS, which included more than twelve thousand young adults, Corliss and colleagues (2010) found, with some variations by age and gender and type of sexual minority, higher rates of drug use (marijuana, ecstasy, cocaine, heroin, amphetamines, LSD/mushrooms, and misuse of prescription drugs) among sexual-minority participants, with greater differences for those under age of 18 compared to those over age 18. Previously, using the same GUTS data, Corliss, Rosario, Wypij, Fisher, and Austin (2008) found higher rates of alcohol use among sexual-minority adolescents. Also using the GUTS study, Ott and colleagues (2013) found generally higher rates of smoking and marijuana use among sexual-minority men and women, with stronger differences for women; disparities for binge drinking were less common, especially for men.

Ueno (2010) in a study of Florida youth, found that those with same-sex sexual contact were more likely to use drugs and to have parents and friends who either used drugs or encouraged drug use. Baiocco, D’Alessio, and Laghi (2010) found elevated rates of heavy and binge drinking among lesbian and gay youth in Italy, concluding that their “study provides further evidence that LG youths are at elevated risk of alcohol abuse” (p. 898). With data from Oregon high schools, Hatzenbuehler, Wieringa, and Keyes (2011) found higher rates of smoking among sexual-minority youth, even after controlling for gender; race/ethnicity; social climate; tobacco use by school staff, teachers, or peers; advertisement exposure; school rules against tobacco use; school tobacco education; and community socioeconomic status. Using data from the ADD HEALTH study, McLaughlin et al. (2012) found higher rates of binge drinking among gay/lesbian (48.4%) and bisexual (41.8%) youth than among heterosexual youth (34.2%); corresponding rates for illicit drug use were 29.9%, 28.2%, and 11.8%, respectively. D’Amico and Julien (2012) surveyed 164 French-speaking LGB youth between the ages of 15 and 25 and found high

levels of alcohol abuse (62%–76%) and drug use (50%–90%), regardless of whether the youth had disclosed their sexual orientation to their parents.

Using ADD HEALTH data, Needham (2012) found higher rates of smoking, heavy drinking, and marijuana use among sexual-minority men and women across all four waves of that study, although controlling for age, race/ethnicity, parent education, and family structure reduced the disparities for women in two of nine statistical tests and for men in five of nine tests. In their study of ADD HEALTH youth from ages 16 to 29, Dermody and colleagues (2013) found higher levels of hazardous alcohol drinking at all ages for sexual-minority youth, with especially substantial disparities for women. J. Pearson and Wilkinson (2013) used ADD HEALTH data to determine that same-sex-attracted youth were more likely to use drugs and engage in binge drinking; remarkably, some of those patterns remained significant even after controlling for family closeness, parental involvement, perceived family support, three types of family structure, age, four categories of race/ethnicity, and parental education.

Martin-Storey (2014), in her study of Massachusetts youth, reported higher rates of binge drinking among LGB youth (girls, 41%–53% vs. 27%; boys, 32%–46% vs. 30%) compared to heterosexual youth. Dank and colleagues (2014) found significantly higher rates of alcohol use and serious drug use among LGB youth who had been victims of dating violence compared to similar heterosexual youth. Corliss and colleagues (2013) found with GUTS data that sexual-minority youth were more likely to use tobacco at an earlier age and to be current smokers, and that those who did smoke cigarettes smoked more of them. Amadio (2006) argued that internalized homophobia may be a result of alcohol abuse rather than its cause; in another article, Amadio and Chung (2004) did not find a significant relationship between internalized homophobia and either drug abuse or smoking.

Hatzenbuehler Jun, Corliss, and Austin (2014) studied GUTS data for 2000–2005 and found that sexual minority youth were more likely to have smoked cigarettes in the past year compared to heterosexual youth across all four survey years (2000: 25% vs. 10%; 2001: 33% vs. 14%; 2003: 41% vs. 19%; 2005: 40% vs. 22%). After controlling for age, gender, race/ethnicity, family income and three state-level covariates (income inequality, median household income, and smoking prevalence), the researchers found that apparent discrimination was associated with a 3% reduction in the relative rate of smoking for sexual-minority youth, although the reduction was not statistically significant ($p > .06$). Despite the lack of statistical significance, Hatzenbuehler, Jun, and colleagues concluded that “Structural stigma represents a potential risk factor for cigarette smoking among sexual minority adolescents” (p. 48). In

reality, however, even if the 3% reduction had been statistically significant, it would have done little to explain or reduce the two-to-one disparity in smoking associated with sexual orientation. Thus, sexual-minority theory did little to explain youth disparities in smoking in these studies.

2. Conclusion

Sexual minorities (youth and adults) appear to be at higher risk for substance abuse in terms of alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs, with some variations by age, gender, and type of substance. In some cases these disparities persist after controls for other factors. Here again, research undermines the assertions of Schlatter and Steinback (2013) and others.

H. Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs)

1. Hypothesis: Sexual Orientation Is Not Related to Rates of STIs, including HIV

While not addressing STI rates directly, Herek (1991, p. 163) argued that gay men had adopted safer sexual/relationship practices since the beginning of the AIDS epidemic, an argument that, if true, would support the “no difference” hypothesis in this area. Redding (2008) did dispute the “no difference” hypothesis here (p. 162).

While Evelyn Hooker (1957) is best known (Gonsiorek, 2006) for her early controversial (Cameron & Cameron, 2012; Schumm, 2012a) research on gay men and mental health, she also found very high rates of casual sex and infections by sexually transmitted diseases in her samples of gay men (Hooker, 1962). Using data from more than two thousand Californians, Cochran and Mays (2009, p. 650) found a zero rate of HIV infection among heterosexual participants, while rates ranged between 3.6% and 15.2% for sexual minorities, even though the latter generally had higher levels of education and lower rates of poverty. Newcomb, Clerkin, and Mustanski (2011) reported,

Men who have sex with men (MSM) account for more than half (approximately 53%) of all new HIV/AIDS diagnoses in the United States each year, despite the fact that gay men are estimated to represent 2%–4% of the general population. Currently, MSM are the only risk group in which rates of new infections are increasing, while rates of new infections have declined in heterosexuals and injection drug users (p. 565).

Mustanski, Newcomb, and Clerkin (2011) reported HIV diagnosis rates among MSM that were sixty times higher than in non-MSM men and “54 times the rate in women” (p. 597). Halkitis, Wolitski, and Millett (2013) stated that “MSM are about 40 times more likely to have been diagnosed with HIV compared to other men and women” (p. 262).

Saewyc (2011, p. 264) has reported a higher rate of STIs and risky sexual behaviors among LGBQ youth compared to heterosexual peers. Ueno (2010) found a greater number of sexual relationships and earlier first sex among youth with same-sex sexual contact, factors that would increase the risk for STIs. Using GUTS data, Charlton and colleagues (2011) found a greater likelihood of an STI diagnosis among young, mostly heterosexual or bisexual women (but not among lesbians), even controlling for age, race/ethnicity, geographic region, male sexual contacts, age of first coitus, and number of sexual intercourse partners.

Everett (2013), using ADD HEALTH data, found higher rates of self-reported STIs among sexual-minority male and female youth, but many of the differences became insignificant after controlling for numerous demographic factors, marital status, having been tested for STIs, victimization, total number of sexual partners, and having had anal sex. Conley, Ziegler, Moors, Matsick, & Valentine (2012) noted that there was “widespread acceptance of extradyadic sexual activity ... within gay male communities” and that research had found significantly higher “consensual nonmonogamy rates” (p. 129) among gay male couples compared to couples including a female, a situation that could contribute to STI prevalence among gay men. Oster and colleagues (2013), in their study of Latino men having sex with men, found a 19% rate of HIV infection; 58% of their participants had engaged in unprotected anal sex with a male in the past year and 77% of the same men had had at least two male sexual partners in the past year, with 47% having four or more such partners. It also appeared that gay men were at higher risk for anal cancer and that both men and women could develop cancer as a consequence of HPV infection, which can be spread by sexual activity, regardless of sexual orientation.

Sometimes it is argued that gay marriage will solve these problems because marriage will reduce extradyadic sexual activity among gay men and lesbians. One study has addressed this issue (Solomon, Rothblum, & Balsam, 2005) and involved a survey of couples who had undertaken same-sex civil unions in Vermont, gay or lesbian friends not in civil unions, and heterosexual married

persons.²⁷ Lesbians in civil unions (4.7%) or not (3.0%) were more likely than married women (0.0%) to report having had a meaningful love affair outside their primary relationship, though the differences were not statistically significant. Married women (13.9%) were more likely to have had sex outside their primary relationships than were lesbians in civil unions (9.0%) or not (7.3%), though the differences were not statistically significant. Gay men in civil unions (58.3%) or not (61.1%) were more likely to have had sex outside their primary relationships than were married men (15.2%), a statistically significant difference ($p < .05$). Gay men were also more likely to have had a meaningful love affair outside their primary relationships (civil unions, 5.8%; not in civil unions, 9.7%) compared to married men (0.0%), though the differences were not statistically significant. A higher percentage of gay men (civil unions, 45.3%; not in civil unions, 59.2%) felt it would be okay to have sex outside their primary relationship under some circumstances than did married men (12.2%), which difference was statistically significant ($p < .05$). Being in a civil union for a gay man had little effect on actual rates of extradyadic sexual behavior, but may have reduced somewhat the feeling that extradyadic sex was acceptable. The net effect might be to create additional guilt for such activity as opposed to actually reducing the activity. In the context of this hypothesis, the implication is that even getting into a civil union or perhaps a marriage may not reduce the sorts of risky sexual behaviors that lead to higher rates of sexually transmitted infections for gay men and possibly even for lesbians.

2. Conclusion

Generally, rates of sexually transmitted infections appear to be higher among sexual minorities, but in some cases, these disparities can be accounted for by intervening variables, which may reflect greater levels of sexual risk taking among some sexual-minority persons. Of course, one would expect that greater sexual risk-taking would increase one's risk of being exposed to various potentially infectious agents. Formal legal commitments may have relatively little effect on the types of risk taking that are associated with higher rates of such infections among homosexuals, especially among gay men.

²⁷ Married heterosexual men (81.8%) and women (80.3%) were more likely to have children than lesbians in civil unions (34.0%), lesbians not in civil unions (31.3%), gay men in civil unions (17.9%), and gay men not in civil unions (9.7%).

I. Violence among Homosexuals

1. Hypothesis: Sexual Orientation Is Not Related to Interpersonal Violence within Couples Participating in Close Relationships

P. Elliott (1996) argued that violence rates were similar across sexual orientation. C. E. Murray and Mobley (2009) reviewed several studies and concluded that rates of same-sex intimate partner violence were “comparable to rates of heterosexual domestic violence, with approximately one quarter to one half of all same-sex intimate relationships demonstrating abusive dynamics” (p. 361). Redding (2008) indicated that “the evidence tends to suggest that the prevalence of violence in lesbian relationships is equivalent, if not lower, than that found in heterosexual relationships” (p. 161). Others have agreed (Brown, C. 2008, Fortunata & Kohn, 2003; Little & Terrance, 2010; McClennen, 2005; Smollin, 2011; Turell, 2000; Walters, 2011). In the amicus brief of the Massachusetts Psychiatric Society and others in *Goodridge v. Department of Public Health*,³⁰ it was argued that the claim that there was increased domestic violence in same-sex relationships was “utterly baseless” and derived from an “out-of-context 1991 statistic.”²⁸ Thus, there is recent support for the “no difference” hypothesis regarding interpersonal violence and sexual orientation.

While there has been some research (e.g., Burke, Jordan, & Owen, 2002; Cameron, 2003; Carvalho, Lewis, Derlega, Winstead, & Viggiano, 2011; Farley, 1996; Hardesty, Oswald, Khaw, & Fonseca, 2011; Hardesty, Oswald, Khaw, Fonseca, & Chung, 2008; Hassouneh & Glass, 2008; Leventhal & Lundy, 1999; Lie & Gentlewarrier, 1991; McClennen, 2005; McClennen & Gunther, 1999; Murray, C. E., 2009; Nowinski & Bowen, 2012; Oswald, Fonseca, & Hardesty, 2010; Renzetti, 1992; Ristock, 2002; Schilit, Lie, Bush, Montagne, & Reyes, 1991; Schilit, Lie, & Montagne, 1990; Sorenson, 2009; Tjaden, Thoennes, & Allison, 1999) in this area, it has not been as thorough or comprehensive as in some other areas of interest.

Nevertheless, Byrd (2011); Craft, Serovich, McKenry, and Lin (2008); Kay and Jeffries (2010); Klosterman, Kelley, Milletich, and Mignone (2011); Kelly, Izienicki, Bimbi, and Parsons (2011); and Martin-Storey (2014) have concluded that rates of interpersonal violence are higher within same-sex couples. Peterman and Dixon (2003) claimed that “Domestic violence is the third largest health problem facing gay men today, second to substance abuse and AIDS” (p. 40).

²⁸ *Supra* note 6, at 16.

In a study of Australian families, Sarantakos (1994, 1996b) found higher rates of domestic violence and conflict within same-sex cohabiting couples than within heterosexual married couples. A recent analysis of data from the nationally representative probability sample study, the National Violence Against Women Survey, found that violence was approximately twice as prevalent against LGB women compared to heterosexual women (Messinger, 2011). West's (2012) review of 55 studies concluded that LGB persons experienced higher rates of interpersonal violence than heterosexuals. N. G. Goldberg and Meyer (2013) analyzed data from the 2007 California Health Interview Survey and found higher rates of interpersonal violence for LGB persons relative to heterosexuals, even after controlling for psychological distress and binge drinking. Yu, Xiao, and Liu (2013) found far higher rates of dating abuse by partners in China for gay men compared to heterosexual men (33% vs. 9%), with 91% of such abuse towards gay men by male partners. Edwards and Sylaska (2013) found, in a study of only LGBTQ college students, that their participants were often victimized by their sexual partners in terms of physical (20%), psychological (16%), or sexual (14%) violence and often perpetrated physical (20%), psychological (12.5%), or sexual (10.5%) violence against their sexual partners. Interestingly, Edwards and Sylaska found that perceived stigma was not related significantly to any of the three types of perpetration or victimization among their LGBTQ college students.

Freedner, Freed, Yang, and Austin (2002) compared rates of dating violence among 521 LGB and heterosexual youth and found higher rates for gay (45%) and bisexual (57%) men versus heterosexual men (29%), and higher rates for lesbian (43%) and bisexual (38%) women versus heterosexual women (32%). Gay youths were more often abused by male dates (44%) than by female dates (7%), while lesbians were more often abused by female dates (40%) than by male dates (19%). Bisexual youth reported equal levels of abuse by male and female dates (men, 43%; women, 26%–27%). Halpern, Young, Waller, Martin, and Kupper (2004), using ADD HEALTH data, found same-sex partner violence (in the previous 18 months) common for both male (18%) and female (29%) adolescents. In a study of middle and high school students from the northeastern United States, Dank and colleagues (2014) found higher rates of dating violence and abuse victimization in terms of physical dating violence (43% vs. 29%), psychological dating abuse (59% vs. 46%), cyber dating abuse (37% vs. 26%), and sexual coercion in connection with dating (23% vs. 12%) for LGB youth compared to heterosexual youth. Similar patterns were found for perpetration of abuse against dates (33% vs. 20%, 37% vs. 25%, 18% vs. 11.5%, and 4% vs. 2%, respectively).

As if in reply to Barner and Carney's (2011) call for more research on violence among homosexuals, Walters et al. (2013) have recently reported results from the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey, a 2010 random U.S. national survey from all 50 states and the District of Columbia, in which some of the 7,421 men who completed the survey identified as gay (2.0%) or bisexual (1.2%) and some of the 9,086 women who completed the survey identified as lesbian (1.3%) or bisexual (2.2%). While heterosexual men and women reported lifetime prevalences of severe physical violence of 13.9% and 23.6%, respectively, those rates were generally lower, within gender, than those reported by lesbians (29.4%), bisexual women (49.3%), or gay men (16.4%). If the definition of violence is extended to include rape and stalking, lifetime prevalence was higher for all groups: gay men (26.0%), heterosexual men (29.0%), bisexual men (37.3%), lesbians (43.8%), bisexual women (61.1%), and heterosexual women (35.0%). Most heterosexual women (98.7%) or bisexual women (89.5%) and gay men (90.7%) reported violence only from male perpetrators, but most lesbian women (67.4%), bisexual men (78.5%), and heterosexual men (99.5%) reported having only female perpetrators of intimate partner violence.

In 2014 surveys of LGB adolescents, two studies found higher rates of physical dating violence than among heterosexual youth (Martin-Storey, 2014; girls, 25%–42% vs. 16%; boys, 20%–36% vs. 6%; Dank et al., 2014; both genders, 43% vs. 29%). Dank and colleagues also found higher rates of sexual coercion victimization among LGB adolescents (23%) than among heterosexual youth (12%). In addition, Dank and colleagues found higher rates of dating violence perpetration among LGB youth (33%) compared to heterosexual youth (12%). Comparing 53 LGB youth with 53 heterosexual youth in Britain, Rivers and Noret (2008) found that the 53 LGB youth reported greater perpetration of bullying against others than did the 53 heterosexual youth ($d = 0.22$, *ns*), while the difference in terms of being bullied was half as large ($d = 0.11$, *ns*). While depicting same-sex persons as victims is great for public relations (Kirk & Madsen, 1990, p. 183), research on violence perpetration paints a less appealing picture.

2. Conclusion

Only recently have nationally representative studies investigated relative rates of interpersonal violence among sexual minorities relative to heterosexuals. A substantial amount of the degree of interpersonal violence experienced by LGBT persons may be inflicted by same-sex partners, a situation observed nearly 20 years ago by Farley (1996). Recent results tend to suggest higher rates

of violence among same-sex couples relative to heterosexual couples, but further research is needed to determine to what extent these disparities might be explained through indirect effects or other concerns such as a lack of legal standing for marriage or other issues in some states.

J. Lifespan Longevity

1. Hypothesis: Sexual Orientation Is Not Related to Mortality or Longevity

Because mortality rates for sexual-minority populations are difficult to assess, more speculation than fact has characterized much of the literature on this subject. Research by Cameron and colleagues, which has often involved evaluations of obituaries and which might lead to a rejection of the null hypothesis with respect to longevity (Cameron, 2002; Cameron, Cameron, & Playfair, 1998; Cameron, Playfair, & Wellum, 1994), has been criticized (Raley, 2010). Schlatter and Steinback (2013) identify as a myth the view that “Homosexuals don’t live nearly as long as heterosexuals”—blaming this idea on “the discredited research of Paul Cameron.” Several studies not authored by Cameron, however, provide evidence that might lead to a rejection of this “no difference” hypothesis.

Bradford, Ryan, and Rothblum (1994) conducted a national survey of lesbians and found that only 3.1% were older than 54 years of age, compared to 23.4% of adult females in the 1980 U.S. census, even though lesbians were much more likely to have engaged in graduate study or taken a graduate degree (43% vs. 18%); higher education is associated with reduced mortality in the United States (Everett, Rehkopf, & Rogers, 2013). Mays and Cochran (2001), using a national random sample, found that only 23% of homosexual adults were between the ages of 45 and 74, compared to 46% of heterosexuals. Egan, Edelman, and Sherrill (2008) gathered data from a panel study designed to be equivalent to a random sample of the U.S. population. They found only 3.5% of their LGB participants were older than 64 years, compared to approximately 16% of the population as a whole. Cochran, Mays, Alegria, Ortega, and Takeuchi (2007) collected data from a national U.S. random survey and found that 21% of the heterosexuals were 50 years of age or older, compared to 11% of the LGB persons.

Van de Ven, Rodden, Crawford, and Kippax (1997) did a similar analysis of Australian data, finding 9.9% of male homosexuals over the age of 49 compared to 30% of men on the Australian census. Cochran and Mays (2012) used data from the National Health Interview Survey and found far fewer older (ages 65 to 80) women who were partnered with other women (2.9%) as opposed to

women partnered with men (11.5%); mortality was greater for the former, but the differences were not significant statistically after controlling for numerous factors. Cochran and Mays (2012) found a higher incidence of death from breast cancer among women with same-sex partners. Boehmer, Ozonoff, and Miao (2013) found higher rates of breast cancer mortality in areas of the United States believed to be home to higher proportions of lesbians. Baumle (2014) compared heterosexuals and same-sex couples aged 65 or older and found that fewer male (8%) or female (11%) same-sex partners than married women (14.7%), married men (19.3%), cohabiting women (11.8%), or cohabiting men (14.5%) were 80 years or older, even though the same-sex households (male, \$94,601; female, \$77,647) reported higher average incomes than did cohabiting heterosexual couples (\$65,859) or married heterosexual couples (\$68,440). Recent research has found that higher income is more strongly associated with reduced mortality than is education in the United States (Sabanayagam & Shankar, 2012).

In one longitudinal study, Kurdek (2004) followed 483 heterosexual couples, 126 gay male couples, and 101 lesbian couples for 11 to 12 years, finding that 14 LGB couples had dissolved owing to partner death, compared to 5 of the heterosexual couples ($p < .001$). A recent report from Denmark appears to confirm such rates for homosexual couples, albeit with some gender differences (Frisch & Simonsen, 2013), even though Frisch was among those criticizing Cameron's hypothesis and his empirical argument that gay men would have lower life expectancies than heterosexual men. Furthermore, suicide attempts—which probably are related to reduced longevity—are substantially higher among lesbian, gay, and bisexual persons (King et al., 2008). In a large ($N > 500$) European study, Ciani and Pellizzari (2012) found somewhat lower ages for homosexual compared to heterosexual men, although the effect size was small ($d = 0.16$, $p < .0001$). Hatzenbuehler, Bellatorre, and colleagues (2014), linking the General Social Survey data set with the National Death Index, found higher rates of mortality for sexual minorities living in high-prejudice areas than for other persons living in those areas, with a shorter life expectancy of approximately 12 years and an 18-year difference in age of completed suicide. Between 1988 and 2002, sexual minorities living in high-prejudice areas had a mortality rate of 22.2% compared to a rate of 7.6% in low-prejudice areas. The overall mortality rate for sexual minorities was 14% between 1988 and 2008. Mortality rates for comparable heterosexuals were not provided. Rates of death by suicide or violence/murder were higher for sexual minorities in high-prejudice areas, as well as rates of death due to cardiovascular disease (but not cancers).

Rogers, Hummer, and Everett (2013) found that higher education predicted lower mortality rates, but that higher rates of smoking, drinking heavily, having been separated or divorced, and low religious attendance predicted higher rates of mortality, factors often correlated with a sexual-minority sexual orientation. Among adults aged 50 or older in the state of Washington, Fredriksen-Goldsen and colleagues (2013) found higher rates of obesity and cardiovascular disease among lesbian and bisexual women compared to heterosexual women, in addition to higher rates of excessive drinking and smoking. In the same study, gay and bisexual men reported poorer overall health than heterosexual men, as well as higher rates of drinking and smoking. If lesbian, gay, or bisexual persons are less involved with religion, that disparity might account for up to 7 years reduced lifespan (Hummer, Rogers, Nam, & Ellison, 1999). Hatzenbuehler (2013) indicated that sexual orientation and mortality rates could be assessed in at least three major data sets—the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey III and its mortality file, 1988–1994; the General Social Survey/National Death Index, 1972–2008 (GSS/NDI); and the Enhancing Recovery for Coronary Heart Disease Patients, 1996–2001—so perhaps more informative research can be conducted with respect to this issue in the near future. Indeed, Hatzenbuehler, Bellatorre, and colleagues (2014) reported some outcomes with the GSS/NDI, as described previously.

2. Conclusion

The results of some of the other hypotheses regarding drug use, mental health, suicide, or risky sex might feed into reduced longevity for some gay men and lesbians or bisexuals, as indirect effects. While some research finds fewer self-acknowledged homosexuals at older ages, that could be an effect of cohort differences in people being aware of or willing to disclose their sexual orientation. Some data indicate that sexual minorities in high-prejudice areas may have greatly elevated mortality rates. Thus, there is less direct evidence against this “no difference” hypothesis than for many of the other “no difference” hypotheses discussed in this report. That is to say, it remains an open question to what extent, if any, that sexual orientation per se reduces longevity, but it may be that various aspects of a homosexual lifestyle for some homosexuals (such as smoking, use of illegal drugs, riskier sexual behaviors, higher rates of suicide, STIs, internalized homophobia, or cultural or community stigma) might be associated with increased mortality.

V. RE-EVALUATION OF THE “NO DIFFERENCE” HYPOTHESIS

A. Summary

In conclusion, there remain several areas involving LGBT relationships where some may argue for a “no difference” scholarly consensus, but for which actual differences may indeed exist. It may take some time to sort out the extent of such differences and to pinpoint pathways through which those differences occur, but rigid dogmatic adherence to the theory of “no difference” or fear of disputing “no difference” hypotheses will not help us improve research and theory construction in a timely manner. Recent research seems to confirm a number of disparities between sexual minorities and heterosexuals, and thus to contradict any dogmatic approach that will not permit the existence of any such disparities. Such disparities do not appear to be spurious or an artifact of discrimination or stigmatization; controlling for such factors does not explain away all of the disparities in most studies.

B. Alternative Explanations

Regardless of research findings, it is always possible to ask “so what?” Here, this report will attempt to address such questions. In the face of strong evidence of ITSO and of disparities between homosexuals and heterosexuals, one might expect there to be an explanation. The standard answer (e.g., in Schlatter & Steinback, 2013) has been that any problems or disparities observed are not the product of nonheterosexual identity or behavior but of discrimination or stigma against homosexuals, which homosexuals may internalize as “internalized homophobia.” This theme has become known as sexual-minority theory (Alessi, 2014; Meyer, 2003).

Accordingly, a common argument is that stigma or discrimination against sexual minorities must be to blame for disparities associated with minority sexual practices (Herek, 2007). Some researchers have even attributed “a high prevalence of self-destructive behaviors, such as substance abuse, suicide, and risky sexual behavior” (Buffie, 2011, p. 987) to societal stigma rather than personal volition. Meyer (2003) and Herek and Garnets (2007) have identified minority stress as having caused much, if not most, of the observed disparities between heterosexuals and nonheterosexuals, especially disparities in mental health. Hatzenbuehler (2013) and Saewyc (2011) have recently argued that stigma against LGB persons is to blame for most of their health disparities. Moreover, some (Hatzenbuehler, 2010; Hatzenbuehler, Pachankis, & Wolff, 2012) believe that social policies and religious climate are responsible for

adverse outcomes among LGBT youth, even though some research (Baumeister & Tierney, 2011; Nonnemaker, McNeely, & Blum, 2003) suggests that high levels of religiosity are protective of youth against alcohol and drug abuse as well as risky sexual behavior.

However, sexual-minority theory is only one possible approach to explaining rejections of “no difference” hypotheses. I believe there are several alternatives to be considered. First, for sexual-minority theory to work, there should be extensive discrimination against sexual minorities. Even though it might seem obvious to many that such discrimination is extensive, some research suggests otherwise, as will be discussed. Second, apparent discrimination might be related to observed conduct by sexual minorities rather than their often invisible sexual orientation. Third, to the extent that genuine discrimination exists, it may not fully account for adverse disparities between homosexuals and heterosexuals. Fourth, discrimination may mediate disparities between homosexuals and heterosexuals. If discrimination only partially explains such disparities or may not even explain them at all, then other factors may account for the differences. Fifth, I will consider what some of those other factors might be, based on social exchange theory, including the possibility that an over-benefited status may serve as a plausible explanation for both discrimination and internalized homophobia.

1. How Extensive Is Stigmatization and Discrimination against LGBT Persons?

Sexual-minority status may not be apparent to others in the same way that racial differences can often be seen visually. Unless, gay men, lesbians, or bisexuals disclose their sexual orientation or act in ways that reveal it, others may not be aware of their sexual-minority status. In fact, some recent studies have not found any discrimination against homosexuals in the workplace or in terms of medical care (Bailey, Wallace, & Wright, 2013; Beagan, Fredericks, & Goldberg, 2012). Rothblum, Balsam, and Solomon (2008) surveyed partnered gay men and lesbians in three states and found low levels of lifetime discrimination in housing (0%–5.5%), problems at work (12.7%–31.4%), or losing or being refused a job (10.6%–22.9%). When Rivers, Poteat, and Noret (2008) compared children of same-sex and heterosexual parents residing in Britain, they found lower rates of bullying victimization ($d = 0.28$, *ns*) among the children of same-sex parents. Recently, Gartrell, Bos, Peyser et al. (2012) reported that of 78 children of lesbian mothers, only 41% had *ever* experienced any “homophobic stigmatization” (p. 1222), a result that suggests some weakness in any argument that attributes all disparities in child outcomes to such

stigmatization. Some research has found that LGB persons are more likely to have higher occupational status and education than heterosexuals (Verbakel, 2013), which might seem unusual for a group presumably suffering from tremendous societal discrimination. Furthermore, apparent discrimination may reflect, unlike sexual orientation, what others can observe, which is unusual or offensive behavior.

2. Differences in Conduct May Lead to Discrimination Rather Than LGBT Status

Apparent discrimination against LGBT persons may therefore in some cases be based on their conduct with respect to other matters (drug abuse, violence, rule-breaking, smoking, alcohol use) rather than being based on their sexual attractions or identity. Rotello (1998) and Kirk and Madsen (1990) decades ago detailed numerous antisocial behaviors of gay men that might be offensive to others, regardless of sexual orientation. Rotello focused on behaviors that posed risks to health, mainly unsafe sexual practices. Kirk and Madsen, even though ardent proponents of gay rights (1990, pp. 280–359) cited as concerns: lying, rejection of morality (Kurdek, 2006)—“amorality is damned convenient” or “If it feels good, I’ll do it!” (p. 292)—narcissism and self-centered behavior, self-indulgence leading to self-destructiveness, exposing genitalia in public, misbehavior in bars, misbehavior in relationships—“Relationships between gay men don’t usually last very long” (p. 318) or having sex with “anonymous partners” (p. 324)—emotional blockage and anesthesia; reality-denial, nonsensical thinking, mythomania, and gay political fascism.

More recently, for example, using ADD HEALTH data, J. Pearson and Wilkinson (2013) found higher rates of drug use among both same-sex-attracted male and female adolescents compared to heterosexual youth; while parents of same-sex-attracted youth were less supportive in general of those children; perhaps their disappointment was with drug use or binge drinking rather than sexual orientation. Garofalo, Wolf, Kessel, Palfrey, & DuRant (1998) found that LGB students had much higher rates of substance abuse than other students (including 59% using alcohol before age 13; 37% using marijuana before age 13; 17% using cocaine before age 13; and 48% smoking before age 13). With such high rates of drug use prior to age 13, it might not be surprising (even if we were disappointed about this lack of support) if parents or peers were not optimally supportive of such adolescents, regardless of their sexual orientations. As another example, Bos, Gartrell, Peyser, and van Balen (2008) studied differences among children of lesbian mothers as a function of whether the child had ever been teased about the lesbian mother’s sexual

orientation. Those who had been teased reported significantly greater social problems ($d = 0.50, p < .01$), rule-breaking behaviors ($d = 0.61, p < .01$), aggressive behavior ($d = 0.55, p < .01$), and externalizing problem behavior ($d = 0.62, p < .01$), with the effects for these antisocial behaviors being stronger (average $d = 0.57$, estimated $p < .01$) than for many others (withdrawn, $d = 0.44, ns$; somatic complaints, $d = 0.16, ns$; thought problems, $d = 0.29, ns$; attention problems, $d = 0.41, p < .05$; internalizing problem behavior, $d = 0.34, p < .05$; average $d = 0.33$, estimated $p = ns$). It is not possible, even plausible, that other students found the antisocial behaviors (rather than sexual orientation) offensive and teased for those reasons?

Bontempo and D'Augelli (2002, p. 372), using data from 9,188 Vermont and Massachusetts youth, reported on interactions observed for seven adverse outcomes for male and female youth as a function of LGBQ and non-LGBQ status. For all 14 comparisons, at high levels of victimization, LGBQ students had extremely high levels of adverse outcomes. That may indicate that victimization is not related to LGBQ status as much as to such students sharing high levels of problematic behaviors (their victimization is caused by their problematic behaviors rather than vice versa). The heterosexual students who were being victimized at high rates had only slightly elevated levels of problems, suggesting that victimization was not a primary or major cause of such elevated problems. Notably, at low levels of victimization, 11 of 14 comparisons indicated more adverse outcomes for LGBQ students ($p < .04$), suggesting that victimization was not the key to explaining differentials in adverse outcomes.

While a person may feel picked on because of his or her LGBT status ("they're picking on me because I'm gay"), the offenders may not even know the person is LGBT, but just don't like, for example, their use of drugs or carrying weapons in school. Even when an LGBT person is "out," some offending students may not care about the student's LGBT sexual orientation, but may resent matters that are correlated with LGBT status ("I don't care if he's gay, I just don't like seeing anyone carry a gun to school, getting drunk when he's 15 years old, or smoking at age 11"). LGBT persons who are overweight may be discriminated against because of their BMI rather than because of their sexual orientation, as society tends to treat overweight persons in a discriminatory manner (Hakim, 2011, pp. 129–134). Furthermore, Hequem-bourg and Dearing (2013) found that problematic drug and alcohol use were related to feelings of guilt or shame among LGB persons, raising the possibility that substance abuse may cause feelings of rejection (directly or indirectly) or victimization rather than sexual orientation, even internalized homophobia, or direct sexual-orientation discrimination.

3. How Extensive Are the Adverse Effects of Stigmatization and Discrimination?

Even if a person is discriminated against for reasons of conduct or sexual orientation, it is not always clear that discrimination inevitably leads to adverse outcomes, especially when other factors are taken into account. Along such lines, Savin-Williams (2006) described the causal pathway (i.e., sexual orientation to discrimination to mental health) evidence for sexual-minority (stress) theory as “more circumstantial than conclusive” (p. 42). Likewise, Wald (2006) asserted that, “While the presence of stigma is clear, the research does not find that it has a significant harmful impact on the children’s mental health” (p. 399). N. G. Goldberg, Bos, and Gartrell (2011) found no significant relationships between life satisfaction or drug use by children of lesbian mothers and reported social stigma, a result that did not support sexual-minority theory. Indeed, Lytle et al. (2013) recently argued that “While children with gay and lesbian parents are susceptible to homonegativity in society, there has been no empirical evidence to suggest these painful messages adversely influence their adjustment” (p. 533). Collier, Bos, and Sandfort (2013) stated, “In some studies that assessed a broader range of factors potentially contributing to mental health outcomes in sexual-minority youth, peer victimization did not emerge as a factor independently related to mental health” (p. 309). When they surveyed 513 adolescents between 11 and 17 years of age in the Netherlands, they found that neither homophobic name-calling nor same-sex attraction was significantly related to psychological distress for those adolescents. In some studies, greater victimization was found to be associated with greater acceptance of one’s own LGBT identity (Collier, van Beusekom, Bos, & Sandfort, 2013).

4. Mediation between Discrimination and Adverse Outcomes

Sometimes, no relationships between discrimination and adverse outcomes are found. Sometimes, though significant relationships are reported, statistical controls for internalized homophobia or external discrimination do not always fully mediate sexual orientation status and the outcomes being assessed (Collier, van Beusekom et al., 2013). For example, Almeida and colleagues (2009) found that controlling for discrimination reduced the odds ratio between self-harm in the past year and sexual orientation from 20.3 to 8.8, both odds ratios being statistically significant; in lay terms, discrimination or stigma did not “explain away” or “account for” the entire increased risk of suicide associated with same-sex sexual orientation. Furthermore, some discrimination against gay fathers or lesbian mothers may come from gay men or lesbians who are not

parents (Bigner & Jacobsen, 1989a, p. 175; 1989b, p. 164) rather than from heterosexuals. Hatzenbuehler (2013) acknowledged that “emotion regulation processes” might “mediate the stigma-health relationship” (p. 816). Moreover, as Mustanski, Birkett, Greene, Hatzenbuehler, & Newcomb (2014) have pointed out, even if all alleged discrimination and stigma against sexual-minority persons were eliminated from society, “LGB individuals will face certain unique challenges that may promote chronic stress” in terms of finding partners and having children, with a subsequent “disproportionate risk for certain negative health outcomes” (p. 223). In other words, disparities may not entirely be associated with discrimination or stigma.

Life is complex—single-factor explanations are unlikely to suffice. No doubt it is possible that discrimination, stigma, and internalized homophobia may account for some of the disparities summarized in section IV of this report. Yet questions remain: Do these constructs account for all of the disparities and are there any other factors that might explain part of the disparities? Evidence to date is certainly not definitive with respect to discrimination as the primary cause of all disparities between homosexual and heterosexual youth or adults. Discrimination may be less prevalent than thought and less damaging than thought where it does exist; if there is damage, other factors may better account for any apparent adverse outcomes. Clearly, despite improvements in some recent studies, more work is needed in terms of research and improved theory (Collier, van Beusekom et al., 2013).

5. Social Exchange Theory Explanations for Discrimination and Internalized Homophobia

One factor seldom, if ever, considered is that social exchange theory (Braver & Lamb, 2013, p. 490) predicts that “those who are over-benefited also feel discontent, likely due to feelings of guilt” (Dainton & Zelle, 2006, p. 247), raising the possibility that some of the internalized guilt LGBT persons may experience could be associated with being over-benefited as opposed to, or in addition to stigma, discrimination, or self-hatred. In response to a question, “What do you know about sexual minority youth?” one LGB youth answered, “We have all the fun!” (Russell, 2003, p. 1253). Russell noted that, “This statement beautifully illustrates the resilience that characterizes the lives of most sexual minority youth” (p. 1253). What the youth was suggesting was that LGB youth were over-benefited in terms of “having fun” compared to their heterosexual peers. In a study of Florida youth, Ueno (2010) found that youth with same-sex sexual contact reported a higher ($d = 0.39, p < .001$) fun-seeking orientation, supporting Russell’s idea.

Research suggests that LGBT youth do have more “fun,” at least in terms of engaging in more sex with more partners. Blake and colleagues (2001), in their analysis of data from Massachusetts youth, found that LGB youth were more likely than heterosexual youth to have had sexual intercourse ever (86% vs. 48%, $p < .001$) and within the past three months (69% vs. 34%, $p < .001$), to have had more sexual partners ever (3.6 vs. 2.7, $p < .001$) and within the past three months (2.1 vs. 1.1, $p < .001$), to have started having sex earlier (13.7 vs. 14.3 years of age, $p < .001$), and to have been or gotten someone pregnant (30% vs. 11%, $p < .001$). Garofalo and colleagues (1998) reported that gay youth were significantly more likely than heterosexual youth to ever have had sexual intercourse (82% vs. 44%, $p < .001$), more likely to have had sex before age 13 (27% vs. 7%, $p < .001$), and more likely to have had three or more partners during their lifetimes (55% vs. 19%, $p < .001$) or in the previous three months (38% vs. 8%, $p < .001$). Martin-Storey (2014) found that lesbian or bisexual female adolescents were more likely to have had three or more sexual partners (40%–41%) than heterosexual adolescents (15%); similar patterns were found for male adolescents (35%–40% vs. 21%) in her study of Massachusetts youths.

Bontempo and D’Augelli (2002) found that LGBQ youths were more likely than heterosexual youth to be sexually active (Massachusetts: 78% vs. 53%; Vermont: 100% vs. 45%). By having more “fun,” defined as more sex with more (if not a wider variety of) individuals, LGBT youth would be expected to achieve a status of being over-benefited sexually with respect to their heterosexual peers. In addition, not only are LGBT students “at risk” for having more fun, they enhance their interpersonal profit (the balance between rewards and costs) by relationship cost reduction. Not only are LGB youth over-benefited sexually, but it is well known that many gay men are able to frequent bath houses where sex is readily available (Woods, Sheon, Morris, & Binson, 2013), a project unlikely to work out nearly as well for married heterosexual men.

That is, same-gender relationships not only may involve greater sexual pleasures (rewards, in social exchange theory terms), they may also inherently avoid some of the costs involved in male-female gender-related relationship conflict (as well as birth control costs). It is well known that men generally take a different view of sex than women (Ainsworth & Baumeister, 2012; Baumeister, 2000, 2004; Baumeister, Catanese, & Vohs, 2001; Davies, Katz, & Jackson, 1999; Diamond, 2012; S. Elliott & Umberson, 2008; O’Sullivan & Byers, 1996; Peplau, 2003; Petersen & Hyde, 2011; Santtila et al., 2008; Schmitt, 2003; Shaughnessy, Byers, & Walsh, 2011), which can lead to conflicts over frequency and quality of sexual interaction; as S. Elliott and Umberson note “husbands and wives commonly experience conflict around

sex” (p. 391). As an example of some of these gender differences, Solomon and colleagues (2005) found that married heterosexual women significantly more frequently reported “refusing to have sex” with their husbands than did lesbians, while married men reported “refusing to have sex” much less frequently than did gay men; married women also reported “refusing to have sex” more often than did their husbands, a situation in agreement with Peplau’s (2003) assessment of gender differences in human sexuality.

Men and women are different biologically in many ways, which can easily lead to ineffective communication and misunderstandings (Baumeister & Vohs, 2004; Byers, 2011; Byers & Glenn, 2012; Colson, Lemaire, Pinton, Hamidi, & Klein, 2006; Lindgren, Parkhill, George, & Hendershot, 2008; McNulty & Fisher, 2008; Miller, S. A., & Byers, 2004; O’Sullivan & Byers, 1996; Peplau, 2003; Petersen & Hyde, 2011; Santtila et al., 2008; Schmitt, 2003). Men and women are often socialized differently, which likewise can lead to misunderstandings and conflicts. LGBT individuals can easily attain an over-benefited status relative to heterosexuals by sidestepping most gender-related issues and many conflicts and other relationship costs. In addition, strictly same-gender sexual behavior avoids any costs inherent in pregnancy or methods used to minimize the risk of pregnancy or overcome an unwanted pregnancy, not to mention the risk of being pressured into a hasty marriage (Mezey, 2008, p. 71) or an abortion under external pressure or in the face of one’s own conflicted feelings about abortion. Because sex in longer lasting relationships may decline in frequency and be viewed as less rewarding (Liu, 2000), the lower stability of same-sex couples may help to maintain a more profitable (rewards versus costs) sex life than that experienced by opposite-sex couples, who are more likely to be stable and to survive as a couple into old age. In their review of the literature, Peplau, Fingerhut, and Beals (2004) noted that gay men and lesbians may have greater sexual satisfaction because of gay males having sex more often than heterosexual men or lesbians having greater chances of reaching orgasm than heterosexual women, another argument for same-sex individuals being over-benefited with respect to sexual outcomes.

As far as I know, no scholar has ever tested social exchange theory as applied in this context, but social exchange theory has explained differences in depression within married couples as a function of both over-benefited and under-benefited statuses (Schafer & Keith, 1980, 1981) and has been used in LGBT research (Peplau, 1993, p. 405; Peplau & Beals, 2004), as well as sexuality research (Byers & Wang, 2004) and in sexuality studies (Ainsworth & Baumeister, 2012; Baumeister & Vohs, 2004). It is not proper (without further research) to attribute all discrimination to homophobia when apparent discrimination may well be related to peer disapproval of injustice or inequity

in terms of homosexuals being sexually over-benefited. (That is, just because you say you're sexually attracted to same gender and/or opposite gender persons or just because you identify as LGBT, why does that give you the right to engage in sex with more people and more often than most others?) Social exchange theory predicts that feeling under-benefited can lead to anger against inequality, hence apparent discrimination—not over sexual orientation per se, but over inequality regarding sexual rewards and costs. Furthermore, social exchange theory predicts that those who feel over-benefited may feel guilty or ashamed, hence some degree of internalized homophobia, not about their sexual orientation per se, but about being “more equal” than others in terms of greater (but undeserved) sexual profits (relative balance of rewards versus costs) received.

There is some research, though, along these lines, that might confirm these predictions of social exchange theory. One study found that 90% of LGB students reported being glad to be LGB (D'Augelli, Pilkington, & Hershberger, 2002); if most LGB students felt they were disadvantaged sexually compared to other students, would they not have answered otherwise? In another study, LGB youth rated their happiness with their sexual orientation as, on the average, 3.2 on a scale of 1 to 4 (Rosario, Schrimshaw, & Hunter, 2006). Another study (Balsam & Mohr, 2007) of 613 LGB adults found an average score of only 1.86 on a scale of 1 to 7 for homonegativity (e.g., I wish I were heterosexual) with higher averages (2.34) for identity superiority (e.g., I look down on heterosexuals), with homonegativity having only a very modest negative correlation ($r = -.22$) with well-being. Anecdotal evidence supports the idea that many gay men are happy. For example, Jonathan (Kaeser, 1999) noted that the difficulty in having children was “the only truly negative thing about being gay” (p. 65). The point here is that LGB persons (parents or children) may well feel happier with their lives in terms of sexual “fun,” being over-benefited relative to heterosexuals in that arena, and perhaps even looking down on heterosexuals.

6. Time Preference/Self Control/Impulsivity

A new subset of social exchange theory is Time Preference/Exchange (TPEX) theory (Nazarinia Roy, Schumm, & Britt, 2014). Bickel and Marsch (2001, p. 83) reviewed academic literature on delay discounting and impulsive behavior and found that impulsivity (greater discounting of delayed rewards, lower ability to delay gratification, short-sighted behavior) had been associated with delinquent behavior, criminal behavior, depression, suicidality, aggression, gambling, excessive spending, eating disorders, failure to exercise, drug use,

family violence, job instability, failed marriages, alcohol abuse, and high-risk sexual behavior, often in adolescents, as well as adults. They noted that many problem behaviors tend to cluster together and they suggested that impulsivity was the key underlying factor to such problems or disorders. Savin-Williams (2006) identified impulsivity as part of a clinical syndrome involving risky sexual behavior, rebellion, and acting-out behavior. Impulsivity has been related to deficits in delayed gratification (Baumann & Odum, 2012). Reduced ability to delay gratification (Rodriguez, Mischel, & Shoda, 1989) has been found to carry over from toddlerhood into later childhood (Sethi, Mischel, Aber, Shoda, & Rodriguez, 2000) and adolescence (Mischel, Shoda, & Peake, 1988). Moffitt and colleagues (2011) found that delayed gratification skills in early childhood and adolescence predicted better civic conduct much later in life. Meldrum, Barnes, and Hay (2013) found, in a longitudinal study, that sleep deprivation lowered self-control, which then predicted greater levels of delinquency among youth—again highlighting the important role of self-control. Chen and Vazsonyi (2013), in an ADD HEALTH analysis, found that higher levels of adolescent impulsivity and lower levels of future orientation predicted higher problem behavior rates.

Laghi, Liga, Baumgartner, and Baiocco (2012) reviewed the literature on time preference and concluded that

Adolescents who endorsed a time perspective that focused on the immediate, present life space as the determinant of their actions were most likely to engage in a broad spectrum of high-risk behaviours, such as substance abuse, unprotected sexual practices, and risky driving. They seem to be more responsive to experiences that produce immediate satisfaction, but have lesser reward value over the long term. Their behaviour contrasts with that of peers who endorsed a future time perspective that focused on a cost/benefit analysis framed by consideration of abstract options and contingencies. They may be more likely to restrain themselves from engaging in tempting behaviours because of an increased ability in planning and monitoring behaviour so as to have an anticipated vision of the effects of current action on future outcomes (p. 1279, citations omitted).

Chamorro and colleagues (2012) used a nationally representative data set (NESARC) to correlate impulsivity with a variety of outcomes, finding that more impulsive persons were more likely to engage in domestic violence, consider suicide, have a personality disorder, have any mood or anxiety disorder, have problems with alcohol or drug abuse, use more tobacco, have lower levels of mental health, or have contracted an STI.

Since sexual orientation has been found, as noted earlier in this report, to be associated with many of the same adverse outcomes as those associated with impulsivity (Baker, Johnson, & Bickel, 2003; Bickel, Odum, & Madden, 1999;

Kirby, Petry, & Bickel, 1999; Petry & Casarella, 1999), it is possible that sexual orientation may be, for some sexual minorities, related to impulse control or delayed gratification disorders, an issue raised by Burgard, Cochran, & Mays (2005) and supported by Grant and Potenza's (2006) results in which gay men had a lifetime odds ratio of 7.12 for compulsive sexual behavior. Cochran and Mays (2009, p. 655) raised the possibility that higher levels of psychiatric morbidity and drug abuse associated with sexual orientation might reflect an increased rate of sexual experimentation or even sensation seeking or risk taking instead. Again, internalized homophobia may reflect homosexuals questioning the adequacy of their own management of their impulsivity rather than reflecting attitudes of others; discrimination may occur on account of the observation of impulsive behaviors rather than negative attitudes regarding homosexuality.

C. Conclusion

First, it is not clear how extensive discrimination is against homosexuals. As noted, some research reports relatively low levels of discrimination, even across personal lifetimes. Second, personal conduct or behaviors may account for discrimination or societal stigmatization rather than sexual orientation. Third, it is not altogether clear that discrimination has major adverse effects for the majority of homosexual persons. Fourth, even when discrimination is reported, it is quite possible that other factors are more important in explaining any adverse disparities between homosexuals and heterosexuals. Fifth, both discrimination and internalized homophobia may be explained on the basis of social exchange theory or TPEX theory, in which issues arise not from LGB persons being under benefited but rather from their being over benefited relative to heterosexuals, or from displaying greater levels of impulsivity, greater sensation-seeking tendencies, reduced delayed-gratification skills, or increased time preference (in favor of short-term outcomes). It is possible that minority stress, discrimination, and internalized homophobia are, in part at least, a consequence of impulsivity, associated behaviors, and predictable social consequences of being over-benefited rather than a result of sexual orientation per se.

To return to the "so what?" question, if sexual-minority theory does not appear to account for the facts well and if there are other plausible theories that can account for disparities in outcomes between homosexuals and heterosexuals, then perhaps homosexuality is not such a neutral status after all. If it is not a neutral status, then ITSO would not be a neutral phenomenon. To prove that sexual orientation is a truly neutral status that needs or deserves judicial

protection, I think much better evidence for sexual-minority theory is needed and there should be a substantial degree of evidence that does not support alternative explanations of disparities between homosexuals and heterosexuals, such as those presented here—explanations that contrast with sexual-minority theory. Clearly, more and better research is needed to investigate these possibilities.

VI. CONCLUSIONS ENDORSED BY AN APPARENT SCHOLARLY CONSENSUS ARE NOT ALWAYS VALID

From the characterizations presented in hundreds of articles, virtually anyone could have perceived a scholarly consensus in favor of numerous “no difference” hypotheses. However, the facts are often different from the characterized scholarly consensus, most notably perhaps with respect to ITSO, but in other areas as well. This report serves as a caution against drawing conclusions prematurely from an underdeveloped research literature, regardless of the political pressures on scholars (Redding, 2013a, 2013b) to bring closure to complex, controversial questions that may have serious political or policy implications.

The results presented here should give judicial authorities pause. On the one hand, courts want to rely upon accurate social science information, including such information provided by expert witnesses (Raley, Fisher, Halder, & Shanmugan, 2013). However, as shown here, much of what was thought at one time to be reliable, sound evidence is no longer so, if it ever was. Much of the research information provided to courts has been inaccurate. In this article, evidence has been provided that false statements have been given to courts. Once a politically correct research conclusion gains favor with academics, it is very difficult to dislodge, even with large amounts of contrary theory and evidence. Even though there is a great deal of research and theory to support the logic of some degree of ITSO from parents to children, many scholars continue to proclaim the validity of the “no difference” hypothesis, as if it were sacrosanct and unquestionable. Judges must ask: Which experts appear to have presented the most detailed justifications or explanations for their positions? Which experts have really done their homework? Which experts have presented both sides of the issues? Which experts have provided the most detailed discussions of social science theory? Which experts not only discuss statistical significance but also provide effect sizes for the results they discuss? Justices should not accept something as valid merely because an expert or a social science organization proclaims it to be true. Detailed proof should be expected, if not demanded.

VII. EPILOGUE

While some may feel that society has evolved far enough with increasing approval of homosexuality and same-sex relationships, it should be recognized that proponents of other changes to the traditional form of marriage have been motivated by developments in the area of same-sex marriage to further their causes and are trying to pursue the same pathways to social and legal acceptance. Already there is a push in (a) theory—that is, theoretical justification—supporting the validity of polyamory (Adam, 2006; Bettinger, 2006; Haritaworn, Lin, & Klesse, 2006; Klesse, 2006; Noel, 2006; Ritchie & Barker, 2006; Rust, 2003); (b) in research questioning the value of monogamy for either adults or children (Conley et al., 2012; Sheff, 2010) and (c) in research on parenting by polyparents (Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2006), such that our society and the judicial system may before long be pressured to grant formal approval to openly polyamorous individuals and relationships, thus evolving past our obsessions with “compulsory monogamy” or our “groundless, biased, polyamorophobic” fears (Ritchie & Barker, 2006, p. 584). At least one well-known LGBT researcher has published an empirical article on her own experiences with polyamory (Gartrell, 1999). Rust (2003) argued that “In recent years, the term polyamory has begun to replace nonmonogamy among individuals who wish to symbolize linguistically their rejection of monogamy as the only ideal form of relating” (p. 480). In her view, U.S. culture is biased “sex-negative and monogamy-positive” and she concludes that “purely sexual encounters are no more inherently immature or irresponsible than sexual behavior within the context of a relationship” (p. 485). In other words, polyamorists are attempting to rewrite language in terms more favorable and less pejorative to their cause.

J. Goldberg (2012) has argued that “legalizing gay marriage does make legalizing polygamy more likely” (p. 119). In my view, the situation seems fertile for polyamorists at least to try to follow the same path laid down by LGBT activists in order to demand and then create a “right” to polyamory, using pseudoscience to discredit any fears of polyamory and to show how polyamorists are unfairly stigmatized, employing condemnatory language to discredit any scholar who objects (following Alinsky, 1969, 1971), and thus achieving legal acceptance and justification through the court system. For example, polyamorists might well begin to cite opponents for “monogamist bias” in their research, just as Herek, Kimmel, Amaro, and Melton (1991) once wrote about “heterosexist bias.” One recent court decision nullified a Utah law against one spouse having a *de facto* spouse as well as a legal spouse, a decision essentially recognizing polyamory (not yet bigamy or polygynous marriage) (Griffith, 2013). Further, Iantaffi (2009) already has argued that

polyamory is good for children, at least better than parents getting divorced after an affair. Dempsey (2012) recently reported interviews with several gay couples who were co-parenting biological children conceived in conjunction with lesbian couples, patterns that Dempsey presents as “unconventional” but “creative and successful solutions to wanting a family with children and being in a same-sex couple” (p. 155). If such patterns are truly “successful” and in the best interests of the children, then how could courts rule them to be inferior or illegal? The future will tell, and the courts will tell the future.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I. TABLES

Table A1. *Statements Rejecting the Hypothesis That Same-Sex Parents Would Tend to Raise LGBT Children (studies presented chronologically, 1973–2014)*

Author(s)	Year	Statements	Page(s)
Weinberg, quoted in Riley, 1975, p. 861	1973	“The occasional concern that a homosexual parent will rear homosexual children is unwarranted by the evidence.”	
Riley	1975	“Another often expressed concern is that homophile parents are more apt to have homophile children. Among the experts who have denounced this theory are [cites five leading expert].”	860
Green	1978	Indicated in this research with children that “all have developed a typical sexual identity, including heterosexual orientation.”	696
Hall, M.	1978	“The second fear influencing court decisions is the dread that the child of a lesbian mother is more likely to become homo-sexual. Aside from the court’s prejudicial stance about the undesirability of such a developmental outcome, several experts in the field of psychiatry and pediatrics concur that such a conclusion is unfounded.”	383
Warren	1980	“... since nearly all children are raised in heterosexual households, the development of homosexuality seems uninfluenced by role models.”	130
McGuire & Alexander	1985	“These studies of children in lesbian households do not support the fear that children of lesbian mothers will be confused about their gender identity, their gender role behavior, and their sexual preference.”	183–184
Susoeff	1985	“However, every study on the subject has revealed that the incidence of same-sex orientation among the children of gays and lesbians occurs as randomly and in the same proportion as it does among children in the general population; as they grow up, children adopt sexual orientations independently from their parents.”	882
Cramer	1986	“Although the development of sexual orientation is a complex and misunderstood process, the research seems to refute the notion that gay parents will produce gay children or disturbed children in numbers greater than might be expected of non-gay parents.”	505

Author(s)	Year	Statements	Page(s)
Harris & Turner	1986	“The major concerns in awarding custody are based on the myths that children ‘catch’ homosexuality from their parents ... but little evidence exists to substantiate the myths”	103
Baptiste	1987	“Fear that children of gay parents are more likely to become gay adults or develop variant sexual behaviors. Contrary to this belief, a number of research findings refute the notion that gay/lesbian parents will produce gay/lesbian children in numbers greater than might be expected of nongay parents.”	129–130
Bozett	1987	“Thus, the myth that gay parents will raise gay children and that gay parents attempt to convince their children to be gay has no support from the research data.”	47
Pennington	1987	“In such questions as these, one can detect hostility or homophobia: ... Won’t it make them gay to have two gay parents ... ?”	58
Rivera	1987	“... the mistaken belief that parental sexual orientation influences that of the child. ... [C]ourts still buy the argument that gay parents can influence the sexual orientation of their children.”	211–212
Bigner & Bozett	1989	“The consensus of these works is that homosexuality is not transmissible from parents to children by virtue of their being raised by or living in an environment with lesbian mothers. ... [I]t is doubtful that children of gay fathers differ from children of lesbian mothers in this regard.”	165
Bigner & Jacobsen	1989a	“Such rulings frequently are influenced by myths that children who have a gay parent also may grow up to be gay”	176
Bozett	1989	“There was no indication that the children of gay fathers are disproportionately homosexual themselves”	143
Note (Custody denials to parents in same-sex relationships)	1989	“The concern that being raised by a gay parent will affect a child’s sexual orientation is unsupported by studies finding no correlation between the parent’s and the child’s sexual orientation.”	634
DiLapi	1989	“Evidence shows that the majority of lesbians had heterosexual parents and that children of lesbians are overwhelmingly heterosexual, like the general population.”	115

Author(s)	Year	Statements	Page(s)
Falk	1989	“The second assumption with respect to gender or sexual development, and perhaps the most uniformly cited assumption, is that the child will be more likely to become homosexual than a child raised by heterosexual parents.” [Cites a court that concluded that] “there is substantial consensus among experts that being raised by a homosexual parent does not increase the likelihood that a child will become homosexual.”	942–943
Gibbs	1989	“... children of lesbian mothers ... generally develop a heterosexual orientation.”	70
Gottman	1989	“In sum, the study found no evidence to suggest that daughters of lesbian mothers become homosexual On the contrary, daughters of lesbian mothers and gay fathers appear to be normal in gender identity, gender role, sexual orientation, and social adjustment.”	190–191
Huggins	1989	“Recent studies have indicated that parental homosexuality does not give rise to ... homosexual orientation in children. ... The child of a homosexual parent is no more likely than any other child to become homosexual or to develop gender identity confusion.”	124
Editors of the Harvard Law Review	1990	“The concern that the child will become gay or lesbian is unsupported and also not clearly related to the child’s best interests. ... Although the exact ‘cause’ of homosexuality is not known, studies have found that gay and lesbian parents are no more likely to have gay or lesbian children than are nongay parents.”	128–129
Kirk & Madsen	1990	“In February 1988, the <i>New York Times</i> summarized a recent professional report on gay-parented households; based on the results of seventeen separate clinical studies, the report found ‘nothing unusual in gender identity development, no greater preference for homosexuality and no serious social and emotional maladjustments’ among the children of gay parents.”	96
Turner, Scadden, & Harris	1990	“The following three predominant myths have prompted recent research interests in gay parents: that homosexuality is incompatible with effective parenting; that children ‘catch’ homosexuality from their parents; and that gay parents molest their children. Thus far, however, there is no evidence to support any of these myths.”	57
Herek	1991	“Researchers similarly have not observed differences between children from gay or heterosexual households in development of sexual orientation.”	159

Author(s)	Year	Statements	Page(s)
Herek	1991	"... nor does [having a gay male or lesbian role model] influence the sexual orientation eventually adopted by a child."	161
Tasker & Golombok	1991	"Empirical evidence looking specifically at the experience of children growing up in lesbian households is clear in its conclusion that maternal homosexuality has no observable effects on children."	186
Patterson, C. J.	1992	"For instance, it is feared that children brought up by lesbian mothers or gay fathers will themselves become gay or lesbian."	1029
Patterson, C. J.	1992	"Overall, then, development of gender identity, of gender role behavior, and of sexual preference among offspring of gay and lesbian parents was found in every study to fall within normal bounds."	1031–1032
American Psychological Association et al.	1993	"... the belief that a child raised in a household with a lesbian or gay parent is more apt to become lesbian or gay is without any basis in fact ...' (p. 23) [from amicus brief in <i>Bottoms v. Bottoms</i> , 457 S.E.2d 102 (Va., 1997), reversing 444 S.E.2d 276 (Va. Ct. App. 1995)].	Quoted in Cameron & Cameron (1996), p. 758
Falk	1993	Same as 1989 quotes, above.	424
Falk	1993	"In short, research on the sexual orientation of children of lesbian mothers does not confirm the 'contagion' assumption ..."	946
Laird	1993	"One of the most prevalent myths is that children of gay parents will themselves grow up gay. ... A number of researchers have concluded that the sexual orientations/preferences of children of gay or lesbian parents do not differ from those whose parents are homosexual."	315–316
Flaks	1994	"In fact, researchers have found that gay and lesbian parents are no more likely to have gay or lesbian children than are heterosexual parents."	369
Golombok & Tasker	1994	"One of the most commonly voiced assumptions about lesbian families is that the children will themselves grow up to be lesbian or gay. ... Nevertheless, the large majority of children who grew up in lesbian families identified themselves as heterosexual in adulthood."	80–81
Falk	1994	"The second assumption with respect to gender or sexual development, and perhaps the most uniformly cited assumption, is that the child will be more likely to become homosexual than a child raised by heterosexual parents."	136

Author(s)	Year	Statements	Page(s)
Falk	1994	“One of the most widely used assumptions in lesbian-mother child custody cases is that children brought up by a homosexual parent will also become gay, what Riley (1975) called the ‘universal latency fear.’ ... In short, research on the sexual orientation of the children of lesbian mothers does not confirm the ‘contagion’ assumption inherent in so many court decisions.”	146–147
American Psychological Association et al.	1994	“Finally, the belief that a child raised in a household with a lesbian or gay parent is more likely to become lesbian or gay is without any basis in fact. There is no evidence that children develop their sexual orientation by emulating their parents. Numerous studies indicate that children who are raised in a lesbian household do not differ in any significant way with respect to their sexual orientation as compared with children who are raised in a heterosexual household.” [from amicus brief in American Psychological Association and Wyoming Psychological Association in Support of Appellant at 20, 21, <i>Hertzler v. Hertzler</i> , 908 P.2d 946 (Wyo. 1995) (No. 94-262).	Quoted in Cameron & Cameron, 1997, p. 316
Elovitz	1995	“The research also shows that being raised by a lesbian or gay parent does not increase the likelihood that a child will become lesbian or gay. There is no evidence that children develop their sexual orientation by emulating their parents. Numerous studies find that children who are raised by a lesbian or gay parent do not differ in any significant way with respect to their sexual orientation when compared with children who are raised by a heterosexual parent.”	179
Patterson, C. J.	1995	“Judges [in custody cases] may fear that children will themselves grow up to be lesbian or gay, an outcome that they generally view as negative.”	259
Patterson, C. J.	1995	“Research to date gives no evidence to support the view that having nonheterosexual parents predisposes a child to become lesbian or gay.”	265
Victor & Fish	1995	“Current research indicates that homosexual mothers do not have homosexual children any more or less than their heterosexual counterparts.”	469
Tasker & Golombok	1995	“The commonly held assumption that lesbian mothers will have lesbian daughters and gay sons was not supported by the findings.”	203

Author(s)	Year	Statements	Page(s)
Tasker & Golombok	1995	"This review failed to substantiate that children of lesbians are different from children of heterosexuals with regard to their emotional health, interpersonal relationships, sexual orientation, or gender development."	471
Allen & Burrell	1996	"The results demonstrate no differences on any measures between the heterosexual and homosexual parents regarding parenting styles, emotional adjustment, and sexual orientation of the child(ren)."	19
Allen & Burrell	1996	"The data on sexual preference indicate no difference between the children of homosexual or heterosexual parents."	30
Bohan	1996	"One theory holds that LGB identity is a result of exposure to LGB models. ... Like the recruitment theory, this one has no empirical support. Recent research—for example, on children raised by lesbian and gay parents—demonstrates that children who are exposed to LGB adults are no more likely to identify as LGB than are children of heterosexual parents."	81
Bohan	1996	"Finally, despite assumptions that gay or lesbian parents may influence their children's sexual orientation, research has found no greater incidence of LGB identity among the children of gay and lesbian parents than in the population as a whole ..."	201
Davidson & Moore	1996	"... no major differences exist between children of homosexual and heterosexual parents."	602
Kirkpatrick	1996	"Early studies dispelled the notion that the children of lesbian mothers would show specific problems in the area of gender development and sexual orientation."	367
Patterson, C. J. & Redding	1996	"Overall, then, results of research to date suggest that concerns about disruption of sexual identity among children of gay and lesbian parents are not warranted."	41
Patterson, C. J.	1996	"There is no reason to believe that the offspring of lesbian or gay parents are any more likely than those of heterosexual parents to become lesbian or gay themselves."	287
Perrin, E. C., & Kulkin	1996	"Her [C. J. Patterson's (1992)] conclusion was that no differences were evident in the development of sexual or gender identity or gender role behavior, adolescent sexual orientation, behavioral, emotional, or psychiatric difficulties, personality characteristics, locus of control beliefs, moral maturity, or intelligence."	630

Author(s)	Year	Statements	Page(s)
Costello	1997	"... numerous studies have shown that the children of lesbian, gay, and bisexual parents grow up to express a heterosexual identity as frequently as do children of straight parents."	68
Falk	1997	"The second assumption with respect to gender or sexual development, and perhaps the most uniformly cited assumption, is that the child will be more likely to become homosexual than a child raised by heterosexual parents..."	40–41
Falk	1997	"... there is substantial consensus among experts that being raised by a homosexual parent does not increase the likelihood that a child will become homosexual. ... In short, research on the sexual orientation of children of lesbian mothers does not confirm the 'contagion' assumption inherent in so many court decisions."	41
Falk	1997	"In short, research on the sexual orientation of children of lesbian mothers does not confirm the 'contagion' assumption inherent in so many court decisions."	48
Kendall	1997	"Myth three: children of lesbian or gay parents will grow up gay. This argument is premised on the belief that growing up gay is an undesirable outcome. Even assuming that perspective, the unanimous consensus among researchers is that there is no correlation between a parent's sexual orientation and the sexual orientation of his or her child. ... Although the precise origins of sexual orientation are still debated, the possibility that children might acquire sexual orientation by imitating a lesbian or gay parent has no basis in reality."	23–24
Patterson, C. J.	1997	"It is also feared that children brought up by lesbian mothers or gay fathers will themselves become gay or lesbian, an outcome that the courts view as undesirable."	241
American Psychological Association et al.	1998	"... children raised by ... gay or lesbian parents are no more likely themselves to be homosexual than children raised by ... heterosexual parents. [Citing amicus brief of American Psychological Association and National Association of Social Workers at 14, 15 in <i>Boswell v. Boswell</i> 721 A.2d 662 (Md. Ct. App. 1998).]"	Quoted in Cameron, 1999, p. 283
Ball & Pea	1998	"The purported harm that seems to concern Wardle the most is the 'obvious risk' that 'children raised by homosexual parents will develop homosexual interests and behaviors.' The first is to deny that the "risk" identified by Wardle constitutes a harm at all because there is nothing wrong with being gay or lesbian."	280–281

Author(s)	Year	Statements	Page(s)
Ball & Pea	1998	“Wardle, then, has failed to show in a convincing manner that there is a greater ‘risk’ that the children raised by gays and lesbians will engage in same-gender intimacy or that they are more likely to self-identify as homosexual.”	285
Drucker	1998	“The older teens and the adult children have generally come to believe that their own sexual orientation is not a product of their parents’ homosexuality.”	240
Goodman, Emery, & Haugaard	1998	“The results of social science research raise no concerns about the development [including sexual orientation] of children raised in lesbian-headed households.”	849
McNeill	1998	“... there is extensive evidence that children of homosexuals are no more likely to become homosexual themselves as a consequence of the parent’s sexual orientation.”	23
Parks	1998	“Actions denying mothers custody or visitation are based on four commonly held misconceptions: 1) lesbians molest children; 2) the child will become gay or will be confused about his or her gender identity”	385
Patterson, C. J.	1998	“Compared with available norms, children of lesbian mothers showed normal social competence, behavior, and sexual identity.”	173
Perrin, E. C.	1998	“This growing body of scientific evidence coalesces to assure us that parents’ sexual orientation is a minor factor among many that influence children’s development, if it plays any role at all. Many empirical studies have found no significant differences between children raised in a household of gay, lesbian, or heterosexual parents with respect to emotional and social adaptation, self-esteem, gender identity, sexual behavior, or sexual orientation.”	119
Buxton	1999	“Research studies related to these concerns [encouragement for the child to become homosexual] demonstrate more similarities than differences between homosexual and heterosexual parents, and the differences are neither serious nor highly significant.”	324
Buxton	1999	“No study to date indicates that gay and lesbian parents encourage their children to be gay or lesbian.”	332
Buxton	1999	“... the vast majority of such youngsters [those who have lived with a gay or lesbian parent] turned out to be heterosexual.”	349

Author(s)	Year	Statements	Page(s)
Daley	1999	“Finally, they [Tasker and Golombok] found that ‘the commonly held assumption that lesbian mothers will have lesbian daughters and gay sons’ was not supported.”	279
Fitzgerald	1999	“Specifically, the incidence of homosexuality is no higher if one is raised by a gay or lesbian parent, than if one is raised by a heterosexual parent.”	63
Gershon, Tschann, & Jemerin	1999	Reported that the concern that “children raised by gay or lesbian parents are especially likely to become gay or lesbian” was not supported by research.	444
Lin	1999	Argued that it was a false narrative that “children raised by gays and lesbians are more likely to ‘turn out’ gay or lesbian” than children raised by heterosexuals.	771
Lin	1999	“... the notion that the parents’ sexuality influences the child’s sexual orientation, is firmly discounted by empirical studies.”	776
Ng	1999	“Research has found that the incidence of homosexuality among children reared in a lesbian/gay-parent environment is similar to the incidence in the general population.”	16
Barret & Robinson	2000	“The truth is that most children of homosexual men and women turn out to be heterosexual. Only about 10 percent of the offspring develop homosexual identities.”	46
Barret & Robinson	2000	“Although most of the studies on ‘catching’ homosexuality involve lesbians as subjects, the consensus does not support the contention that homosexuality is transmitted from lesbian mothers or from gay fathers to their children.”	85
Barret & Robinson	2000	“... the sexual orientation of the father has little bearing on the child’s sexuality.”	87
Barret & Robinson	2000	“... we know that the sexuality of children of gay fathers is not influenced by their parents’ sexual orientation. ...”	164
Brown, N. M. & Amatea	2000	“... research has demonstrated that gay or lesbian parents are no more likely than heterosexual parents to raise children who become maladjusted or gay ...”	274
Calhoun	2000	“... in point of fact the children of gay men and lesbians are just as likely to grow up heterosexual as are the children of heterosexuals ...”	99

Author(s)	Year	Statements	Page(s)
Calhoun	2000	"... the publicizing of empirical studies challenging, for example, the ideas that gays and lesbians constitute the majority of child molesters and that they are more likely to produce gay and lesbian children, have made it increasingly difficult to sustain the claim that gays and lesbians are unfit for family life."	122
Dean et al.	2000	"The literature does not show any negative outcomes for children raised by lesbian or gay parents. ... [N]or does it demonstrate that those children are more likely to become gay or lesbian themselves."	112
Freeman	2000	"The court was concerned with both the stigma a child would suffer if brought up in a lesbian relationship and the effect this would have on the child's own sexuality."	459
Kershaw	2000	"There is no evidence that homosexuality is transmitted from parent to child."	369
Mallon	2000	"Professionals worry that gay men might molest a child in their home, or that children placed in their homes might be encouraged to be gay or lesbian. ... The public's view of gay men and lesbians as parents is clouded by many misperceptions. ... Second is the fear that the child might become gay or lesbian. ... Further more, none of these fears is borne out or supported by evidence. ... Although the majority of the research to date on gay and lesbian parenting is based on biological parents, researchers have reached the same unequivocal conclusions about gay and lesbian parenting: the children of lesbian and gay parents grow up as successfully as the children of heterosexual parents (citations omitted). Not one study has found otherwise. ... There is no evidence to support the belief ... [t]hat the children of these [lesbian and gay] parents are more likely to be gay or lesbian themselves."	4-5
Mooney-Somers & Golombok	2000	"It seems, therefore, that mothers' sexual orientation has little impact on the sexual orientation of their daughters and sons."	124
Savin-Williams & Esterberg	2000	"Despite the fears of judges and child welfare workers, children of lesbian or gay parents are no more likely than children of heterosexual parents to identify as lesbian, gay, or bisexual."	209

Author(s)	Year	Statements	Page(s)
Baetens & Brewaeys	2001	“From this [psychoanalytical] perspective the absence of a father would entail disruption of a son’s male identification process, opening up the possibility of less masculine behavior in childhood and of later development toward homosexuality. . . . Most of the assumptions mentioned above have not been supported by the empirical studies carried out among lesbian families.”	515
Baetens & Brewaeys	2001	Describes an assumption that children of GLB parents would have “a greater chance of become [sic] lesbian or gay themselves” but that “no differences have been found between adults raised in lesbian or heterosexual families with regard to their sexual orientation.”	515
Alexander	2001	“The American Psychological Association (1995), in a report reviewing the research, observed that not a single study has found children of gay and lesbian parents to be disadvantaged in any significant respect relative to children of heterosexual parents.”	95
Clarke	2001	Criticizes concerns by the public in Britain that children raised by GLB parents would have a greater likelihood of being gay or lesbian or at least “confused” about their sexual identity; she counters that “the only sexual identity that is truly actively imposed on children is (compulsory) heterosexuality.”	565
Martin	2001	“Lesbian parented families provide a radical perspective on accepted developmental theories. All of our research shows that the children raised in lesbian households are developing indistinguishably from children raised by mixed-gender parents.”	Quoted in Weinstein, 2001, p. 66
Armesto	2002	“That is, children of gay and lesbian parents do not appear to differ from children of heterosexual parents in terms of gender identity development, sex role behavior, sexual orientation, mental health, self-concept, or intelligence.”	74
Perrin, E. C.	2002b	“No differences have been found in the gender identity, social roles, or sexual orientation of adults who had a divorced homosexual parent (or parents), compared with those who had divorced heterosexual parents. Similar proportions of young adults who had homosexual parents and those who had heterosexual parents have reported feelings of attraction toward someone of the same sex.”	342

Author(s)	Year	Statements	Page(s)
Caramagno	2002	“Children raised by gay fathers have also been found to be psychologically healthy and overwhelmingly heterosexual. ... In many courts of law lesbian mothers are deemed unsuitable as parents on a number of grounds: that they are emotionally unstable, that they are not maternal, that they or their partner might sexually abuse their children, that they are not child-oriented, that children brought up by homosexual parents will become homosexual themselves. ... None of this is supported by research ...”	177
Thompson, J. M.	2002	“Such fear of emulation was evident in a Kentucky case four years later, when a court-appointed psychologist testified that “it is reasonable to suggest that Shannon” [the daughter of a lesbian mother] “may have difficulty in achieving a fulfilling heterosexual identity of her own in the future.”	64
Thompson, J. M.	2002	“Philip Kraft, for instance, notes that courts typically exhibit three concerns regarding the nexus requirement: (1) Will granting the lesbian mother custody be tantamount to sanctioning child molestation? (2) If the mother is lesbian, will her child(ren) also become homosexual and (3) If the lesbian mother has custody, will her children suffer stigma and harassment?”	70
ACLU	2003	“All of the available evidence demonstrates that the sexual orientation of parents has no impact on the sexual orientation of their children and that children of lesbian and gay parents are no more likely than any other child to grow up to be gay.”	173
Ball	2003	“I do not believe, however, that we are anywhere near a minimum threshold of plausibility for Stacey’s and Biblarz’s other conclusion that parents influence the sexual orientation of their children.”	702
Ball	2003	“Given that most of the research points in the opposite direction from Stacey’s and Biblarz’s contention regarding the transmissibility of a same-gender sexual orientation from parents to children ...”	704
Leonard	2003	“... there is no evidence that such children [of gay or lesbian parents] ultimately differ in their sexual orientation or gender identity from other children.”	68
Millbank	2003	“There is no basis in any of the research to support the claim that gay and lesbian parents are significantly more likely than heterosexual parents to raise lesbian or gay children.”	568

Author(s)	Year	Statements	Page(s)
Patterson, C. J.	2003	"... some children of lesbian mothers have identified themselves as gay, lesbian, or bisexual, but their numbers did not exceed expectations based on presumed population base rates. Studies of the offspring of gay fathers have yielded similar results."	506
Stewart	2003	"There is ample evidence that the sexual orientation of the parent has no influence on the sexual orientation of the child."	42
Chauncey	2004	"Fears about whether or not the children of gay couples would turn out alright often indirectly expressed fears about whether or not those children would become homosexual themselves, notwithstanding a generation of research showing that was not the case."	150
MacCallum & Golombok	2004	Indicated that the idea "that the children of lesbian mothers were themselves more likely to grow up to be lesbian or gay" was empirically incorrect.	1408
Murray, C.	2004	Disappointed that some had made "... the assumption ... that these children [raised by lesbian or gay parents] would be more likely to identify as gay or lesbian in adulthood... ."	136
Murray, C.	2004	"Thus, being raised by a lesbian mother does not necessarily mean that children will identify as gay or lesbian themselves."	138
Ryan & Cash	2004	"Psycho-sexual development of children raised by homosexual parents has been analyzed by numerous measures that examine gender identity, and sexual orientation. The results demonstrate that children raised by gay men and lesbians score within the 'normal' range of psychological and psycho-sexual development."	451-452
Foster	2005	"Some of the key findings regarding children raised in lesbian families are that they ...are no more likely to grow up gay or lesbian than children raised in heterosexual families."	291-292
Garner	2005	"Many are relieved to hear that contrary to what anti-gay rhetoric would like everyone to believe, their children will not automatically grow up to be gay. ... Children of gay parents are no more or less likely to be gay than any other children."	169
Golombok	2005	"... the large majority of young adults with lesbian mothers identified as heterosexual. ... So the commonly held assumption that lesbian mothers will have lesbian daughters and gay sons was not supported by the findings of the study."	10

Author(s)	Year	Statements	Page(s)
Hicks	2005	“There are, therefore, a number of difference arguments here which are often conflated: the idea that lesbians and gay men are different, that these differences are passed on to children, and that those children exhibit different gender and sexual identity outcomes to those who live with heterosexual parents.”	154
Hicks	2005	“Firstly, I do not think that the existing research does support the view that the children of lesbians and gay men are more likely to ‘attain a similar orientation’. I can find no evidence of this. ... In my view, however, Stacey and Biblarz’s [2001] suggestion that theory and common sense support the idea that parental sexual orientation is positively associated with a similar orientation in their children is unproven and disputable. That is, their suggestion is just that—a suggestion—rather than a statement of fact.”	162–163
Patterson, C. J.	2005	Disagreed with any idea that “children brought up by lesbian mothers or gay fathers will themselves become lesbian or gay.”	8
Patterson, C. J.	2005	“Taken together, the data do not suggest elevated rates of homosexuality among the offspring of lesbian or gay parents.”	10
Ronner	2005	“As discussed above, one notion is that children raised by gay and lesbian parents are more likely to catch the homosexuality bug. This is fallacious because it is based on the assumption that same-sex orientation is bad and that containing it is good. Beyond that, however, the postulate itself has been proven wrong: There exist various studies concluding that a parent’s sexual orientation does not determine a child’s sexual orientation.”	96
Wilson, G. & Rahman	2005	“The popular idea that sexual orientation can be influenced by social factors, such as upbringing, contagion, or seduction, has no scientific backing.”	145
Riggs	2006	“... children raised in lesbian and gay headed households are no more likely than children raised in heterosexual households to identify as lesbian or gay”	61
McClellan	2006	“Historically, a number of concerns have been expressed regarding children reared by same-sex parents. Recent research has addressed such topics as the child’s being raised to be homosexual. ... However, the rather definitive body of work regarding children raised in gay- and lesbian-headed families indicates that these concerns are unfounded.”	252

Author(s)	Year	Statements	Page(s)
Patterson, C. J.	2006	“Does parental sexual orientation have an important impact on child or adolescent development? Results of recent research provide no evidence that it does.”	243
Herek	2006	“In terms of sexual development, discussions sometimes focus on whether the children of lesbian, gay, or bisexual parents are disproportionately likely to experience same-sex erotic attractions or to identify as gay. ... [N]o findings have emerged that permit scientists to conclude that sexual orientation is determined by any particular factor or set of factors.”	613
Boyer	2007	“These attitudes persist despite a considerable body of evidence showing that children of gay and lesbian parents have no increased risk for physical or sexual abuse, no significant differences in psychological development or emotional adjustment, and no greater chance of becoming lesbian or gay than children raised by heterosexual parents.”	229
Duffey	2007	“The first consideration of whether a child being exposed to ‘homosexuality’ would themselves become homosexual is perhaps the biggest concern critics of same-sex parenting have. ... [S]ome studies have found that ‘adult children of lesbians and gays [show] no difference in the proportion of those children who identified as lesbian or gay themselves, when compared with children of similarly situated heterosexual parents.’”	92
Goldhaber	2007	“For example, it is feared that children of same-sex couples will themselves be gay or lesbian. ... However, studies have failed to prove these assumptions.”	292
Hequembourg	2007	Discussing myths about lesbian parents, she says, “Some fear that the children of lesbians will be more likely to grow up gay (as if this is a negative thing)” and “Lastly, these myths are continuously reborn despite empirical evidence to refute them.”	70
Lubbe	2007	Describes as “mythical beliefs” ideas such as “the possible impact of a gay parent’s sexual orientation on [the sexual orientation of] a child.”	269

Author(s)	Year	Statements	Page(s)
Morse et al.	2007	“Theory and research have identified four main issues that pertain to the widespread perceptions that people hold with respect to the social and psychological development of children raised by same-sex parents. First, many believe that a child will grow up to be homosexual. ... The existing research appears to suggest that none of these concerns is well founded. No evidence exists that suggests the children of gay and lesbian parents are more likely to become gay or lesbian themselves”	427
Ryan	2007	“... many myths about gay and/or lesbian parenting, including, for example, that children of gay parents are at risk for confusion about their sexual identities and more likely to become homosexual”	108
Tasker & Patterson	2007	“In all studies, the vast majority of offspring of both gay fathers and lesbian mothers described themselves as heterosexual. Taken together, the data do not suggest elevated rates of homosexuality among the offspring of lesbian or gay parents.”	23
Crowl, Ahn, & Baker	2008	“In sum, children raised by same-sex and heterosexual parents were found to not differ significantly in terms of their cognitive development, gender role behavior, gender identity, psychological adjustment, or sexual preferences.”	398
Fisher, Easterly, & Lazear	2008	“The theory that LGBT parents transmit their homosexuality or bisexuality to their children, either biologically or socially, does not appear to be empirically valid.”	190
Orgibet, Le Heuzey, & Mouren (Walter R. Schumm, trans.)	2008	“Homosexual orientation is one of the most controversial issues in the study of children raised in lesbian families. In sum, one of the most frequently mentioned fears is whether a child raised in a lesbian family will grow up to be homosexual. ... Among the credible studies in the international literature, a certain number have studied the sexual preferences of children raised by a lesbian mother and none have found that the child’s orientation is related to the sexual orientation of the parents.”	204
Kuvalanka & Goldberg	2009	“... the existing literature nevertheless suggests that lesbian and gay parents are no more likely than heterosexual parents to raise queer children.”	907
Mendez	2009	“There is no evidence that family relations or sexual orientation of parents cause homosexuality.”	96

Author(s)	Year	Statements	Page(s)
Mooney-Somers & Somers	2009	“There is a growing body of empirical research on the psychological development of children of lesbian and gay parents (see, e.g., Tasker, 2005). The general finding of this research is that children raised by lesbian and gay parents are just like those who have been raised in heterosexual families. That means they are just as likely to grow up to identify as straight or as queer.”	283
Patterson, C. J.	2009	“Overall, the clearest conclusion from these and related studies is that the great majority of children from lesbian or gay parents grow up to identify as heterosexual.”	732
Rimalower & Caty	2009	“Moreover, there is no evidence to support the notion that children raised by homosexual parents are more likely to have sexual or romantic attraction to the same sex than children raised by heterosexual parents.”	27
Tobin & McNair	2009	“The underlying fear of many people who oppose gays and lesbians adopting children is the potential that the sexual orientation of such persons will influence or determine the sexual orientation of the children in their care. The literature provides no basis to support this fear.”	122
Bos & van Balen	2010	“In general, growing evidence suggests that there are no differences in between children raised in lesbian families and those raised in heterosexual families, with regard to psychosocial adjustment. This has been summarized as the ‘no-difference’ consensus.”	432
Hartz	2010	“But Cooper and Cates [2006] assert that the results were not statistically significant in the studies, finding that children living with same-sex parents were no more likely to have a same-sex encounter.”	135
Herek	2010	“For example, questions about the adult sexual orientation of children raised in a sexual minority household are routinely raised in policy debates. The empirical data on this topic are limited but are consistent with the conclusion that the vast majority of those children eventually grow up to be heterosexual.”	697
Johnston, Moore, & Judd	2010	“Another common belief is that such children [of GLB parents] will prefer same-sex relationships because of their home environment As a means of countering myths such as those just described”	316

Author(s)	Year	Statements	Page(s)
Lev	2010	“The research has indisputably affirmed that children of lesbian parents express traditional gender roles and behaviors, and are almost always heterosexual. ... There have always been challenges to this research, primarily by conservative organizations immersed in religious ideology; all of these criticisms have been discredited by reputable social scientists. ... The author appears to prefer ‘the decentering of heterosexuality as the normative, “natural” blueprint for the construction of families.’”	270
Lev	2010	“Indeed, all of the extant research unequivocally shows that the children of LGBTQ parents are psychologically stable, establishing without a shadow of a doubt that LGBTQ parenting is ‘in the best interests of children.’”	273
Pearson, K. H.	2010	“...custody decisions will continue to be tainted by the dual belief that LG parents make their children gay and that being gay is inherently negative.”	95
Riggs	2010	“The key stereotypes I refer to here are: 1) children of lesbian or gay parents will grow up to be lesbian or gay”	2
Ronner	2010	“There are at least six such interwoven myths. ... There are people who believe, despite reliable studies to the contrary, that children raised by gay and lesbian parents are more likely to become homosexual themselves”	9
Rye & Meaney	2010	False beliefs include the idea that the children of GLB parents “‘may choose or learn to be gay.’” or that “‘children adopted by homosexual parents may learn to be gay from these adopted parents.’”	6–7
Tasker	2010	“The meta-analysis by Crowl et al. (2008) investigated differences between children raised by same-sex and heterosexual couples across 19 studies in relation to six developmental outcomes. No differences were found between children raised by heterosexual or same-sex parents in the following four areas: cognitive development, psychological adjustment, gender identity, or sexual partner preference.”	35
Child Welfare Information Gateway	2011	“The sexual orientation of youth does not have any correlation with the sexual orientation of the families in which they were raised.”	3

Author(s)	Year	Statements	Page(s)
Cohen, R., & Kovalanka	2011	“These studies have found that the vast majority of these youth and adults identify as heterosexual, and are similar to the offspring of heterosexual parents in regard to same-sex attractions.”	294
Majka-Rostek	2011	“Heteronormativity internalization is also seen in statements about being afraid about the developing sexual orientation of children raised by gays or lesbians.”	294
Ritenhouse	2011	“Judges many times come into these cases with biases, and these prejudices may become evident during the course of a trial. There are a number of commonly held concerns that may influence courts: children raised by same-sex parents will suffer gender-role confusion, they may be likely to become gay and lesbian themselves. ... Judges may also be motivated by antigay prejudice. ... In fact, according to some research, there is little demonstrable difference between gay and lesbian and heterosexual parents on any measurable point (Schumm, 2006) [sic, 2005].”	311–312
Rosky	2011	“In his analysis of the plaintiffs’ equal protection claims, Judge Walker takes on one of the most controversial issues in the controversy over same-sex marriage—the concern that exposing children to homosexuality will encourage them to be lesbian, gay, or bisexual. In his findings of fact, he concludes that Proposition 8 was based on “fears that children exposed to the concept of same-sex marriage may become gay or lesbian. ... On the other hand, Judge Walker rejects the fears that children exposed to same-sex marriage will become lesbian, gay, or bisexual.”	942–943
Rosky	2011	“Needless to say, this handful of studies is not decisive, and there are a number of ways to explain this data without endorsing the notion that lesbian and gay parents are encouraging children to be lesbian, gay, or bisexual.”	946
Vyncke, Julien, Jodoin, & Jouvin	2011	The authors discuss “the existence of five commonly held biased assumptions against lesbian mothers and gay fathers” of which the third was “The children of lesbian and gay parents will become gay or lesbian themselves.”	316

Author(s)	Year	Statements	Page(s)
Adelson	2012	<p>“The effect of parents’ sexual orientation on their children’s own gender development and sexual orientation has been investigated in longitudinal studies of community samples in the U.S. and the United Kingdom. ... Regarding sexual orientation in adolescents who were raised by same-sex parents (including same-sex attraction, same-sex relationships, and gay identity), compared with the general population, no differences in sexual attraction are found; the large majority of adolescents raised by lesbian couples identify as heterosexual. Data on children raised by gay male couples is relatively lacking, but preliminary evidence appears to be consistent with the findings in children raised by lesbian couples.”</p>	960–961
Ball	2012	<p>“... critics have claimed that [gay and lesbian parents’] sexual orientation will interfere with the ‘normal’ sexual and gender development of their children. The concern is that the children of these parents will either turn out to be lesbian or gay themselves or, at the very least, be insufficiently masculine (if they are boys) or feminine (if they are girls). In the mid-1970s, studies showing that lesbian and gay parents did not affect the sexual orientation or gender identity of their children were still several years away. ... [T]here is no evidence to suggest that being raised by homosexual parents is a cause [of a child’s homosexuality].”</p>	27
Bos, Goldberg, van Gelderen, & Gartrell	2012	<p>“Several authors have made normative claims, supported by little or no empirical evidence, that fatherless boys will be confused about their masculinity and are therefore more likely to develop psychological conflicts or behavioral problems, or become gay”</p>	604
Brodzinsky	2012	<p>“Finally, barriers to same-sex adoption also reflect lingering cultural assumptions that gay and lesbian parents are more likely to be emotionally disturbed and pose a greater risk for abusing children than their heterosexual counterparts, and that their children are more likely to have psychological problems and to develop same-gender sexual attraction themselves compared to the children of heterosexual parents. Yet social science research has not supported these assumptions”</p>	64

Author(s)	Year	Statements	Page(s)
Fond, Franc, & Purper-Ouakil	2012	“Research on parenting and child rearing has repeatedly compared lesbian and heterosexual families, and in the last 30 years a growing body of studies on lesbian parents and the development of their children has been published. Studies about child development, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender role behavior, emotional/behavioral development, social relationships and cognitive functioning showed no difference between children of lesbian mothers and those of heterosexual parents.	11
Karraker & Grochowski	2012	“Contrary to beliefs that a gay or lesbian parent compromises or may even be a danger to child development, research reveals that ‘no major differences exist between children of homosexual and heterosexual parents’ (Davidson & Moore 1996: 602).”	189
Kuvalanka	2012	“Further, although more research is needed in order to draw definitive conclusions, the existing research on children’s sexual orientation development suggests that lesbian and gay parents are no more likely than heterosexual parents to raise nonheterosexual children.”	168
Mallon	2012	“However, all the studies that have been done on this subject show that children raised by gay men and lesbians are no more likely to be homosexual than children raised by heterosexuals.”	142
Becker & Todd	2013	“Results of these studies suggest that children raised by GLBT parents are very similar to children raised by heterosexual parents in terms of development, psychological outcomes, school outcomes, peer relationships, and romantic attachment.”	430–431
Lick, Patterson, & Schmidt	2013	“Offspring of gay and lesbian parents do not appear to be disproportionately gay or lesbian themselves.”	234
Patterson, C. J.	2013	“A number of researchers have also studied the sexual orientation of those reared by lesbian or gay parents. . . . Overall, the clearest conclusion from these and related studies is that the great majority of children from lesbian or gay parents grow up to identify as heterosexual.”	31
Perrin, E. C., Siegel, et al.	2013	“The conclusion drawn from these studies was that children raised by gay and lesbian parents did not systematically differ from other children in emotional/behavioral functioning, sexual orientation, experiences of stigmatization, gender role behavior, or cognitive functioning.”	e1378

Author(s)	Year	Statements	Page(s)
Rith & Diamond	2013	“Considerable research has been conducted to test for differences between the parenting of same-sex and other-sex couples, as well as differences in their children’s social and psychological outcomes. Thus far, studies reveal few differences, and those which have emerged tend to favor same-sex couples”	137
Schlatter & Steinback	2013	“No scientifically sound study has linked sexual orientation or identity with parental role-modeling”	2
Siegel et al.	2013	“There is extensive research documenting that there is no causal relationship between parents’ sexual orientation and children’s emotional, psychosocial, and behavioral development.”	828
Misca & Smith	2014	“The impact of same-gender parenthood is the focus of Chapter 13 [Patterson, C. J., Riskind, & Tornello, 2014] in this volume. Here we summarise the main messages from a child development perspective. . . . A strong body of empirical evidence, emerging in particular from studies of lesbian-headed families, indicates that children with same-gender parents are indistinguishable from children with heterosexual parents with respect to their psychological adjustment, quality of peer relationships and psychosocial development. . . . Research on outcomes for children raised in same-gender families has progressed our understanding of children’s social development by . . . raising questions about the presumed importance of same-sex and heterosexual role models in shaping gender development and the development of sexual preferences (Golombok and Tasker, 1996).”	161
Patterson, C. J., Riskind, & Tornello	2014	“On average, behavior problems, competencies, gender development and self-esteem were all unrelated to parental sexual orientation.”	197

Table A2. *Statements Rejecting the Hypothesis That Same-Sex Parents Would Tend to Raise LGBT Children but with Caveats of Uncertainty or Limited Exceptions to the Null Hypothesis (studies presented chronologically, 1997–2013)*

Author(s)	Year	Rejecting the Hypothesis	Page(s)	Nevertheless Uncertain	Page(s)
Saffron	1997	“The studies done so far indicate that lesbian and gay parents are not more likely to produce more lesbian and gay children than heterosexual parents”	203	“... the conclusion from these studies is still uncertain.”	203
Tasker	1999	“In custody cases it was often argued that the gender development of children brought up by a lesbian mother would be atypical and that the children would grow up to be lesbian or gay themselves. ... Nevertheless all of the children in lesbian-led families had also experienced heterosexual relationships, and the vast majority of young adults brought up by a lesbian mother identified as heterosexual”	156, 159	“No differences were found between the proportions of young adults from lesbian and heterosexual families who reported feelings of attraction towards someone the same sex as themselves. However, those who had grown up in a lesbian family were more likely to consider the possibility of having lesbian or gay relationships and indeed to do so.”	159
Anderssen et al.	2002	“The present review did not reveal evidence that children of lesbian mothers differed from other children on emotional adjustment, sexual preference, stigmatization, gender role behavior, behavioral adjustment, gender identity, or cognitive functioning.”	349	“Commentators on this research do, however, speculate that the studies indicate a higher proportion of lesbian/gay offspring of lesbian mothers or gay fathers than what is believed to be the case in the population at large. ... But again, to the degree that the differences in proportion actually exist, it may reflect that it is easier to be openly lesbian or gay with lesbian mothers or gay fathers rather than more of the offspring developing homosexual preferences as such.”	347–348
Perrin, E. C.	2002b	“No differences have been found in the gender identity, social roles, or sexual orientation of adults who had a divorced homosexual parent (or parents), compared with those who had divorced heterosexual parents. Similar proportions of young adults who had homosexual parents and those who had heterosexual parents have reported feelings of attraction toward someone of the same sex.”	342	Compared with young adults who had heterosexual mothers, [adults] who had lesbian mothers were slightly more likely to consider the possibility of having a same-sex partner, and more of them had been involved in a least a brief [same-sex] relationship, but in each group similar proportions of adult men and women identified themselves as homosexual.”	342

Author(s)	Year	Rejecting the Hypothesis	Page(s)	Nevertheless Uncertain	Page(s)
Patterson, C. J.	2004	Stated that "rates of non-heterosexuality observed among sons of gay fathers might be elevated over base rates for heterosexual parents ..."	409	But that "At this time, the data do not allow unambiguous interpretation on this point."	409
Wainright, Russell, & Patterson	2004	"... although sexual attraction and identity may not be related to parental sexual orientation ..."	1887	Noted that the offspring of lesbian mothers "were, however, more likely to have considered a gay or lesbian relationship as a possibility for themselves and to have been involved in a same-sex relationship. ... [T]he likelihood of considering or entering into a same-sex relationship may be associated with parents' sexual orientation."	1887
Bos, van Balen, & van den Boom	2005	"Although few children of lesbian mothers identified themselves as gay, lesbian, or bisexual, the number of youngsters having a homosexual orientation did not differ from controls of youngsters having a heterosexual mother."	265	"However, it was found that the children of lesbian mothers were more likely to consider the possibility of a homosexual relationship."	265
Herek	2006	"Questions are sometimes raised about the gender and sexual development of children raised by lesbian, gay, or bisexual parents."	613	"... but empirical data addressing this question are limited."	613
Lambert	2005	"Although the existing research indicates that the development of sexual identity among children of gay and lesbian parents does not differ significantly from the development of their peers from heterosexual parents ..."	46	"... these studies have some significant limitations. ... [M]ore research in this area is needed."	46
Meezan & Rauch	2005	"... there is no evidence that children of lesbian and gay parents are confused about their gender identity, either in childhood or adulthood, or that they are more likely to be homosexual."	103	"Finally, some interesting differences have been noted in sexual behavior and attitudes (as opposed to orientation)."	103
Tasker	2005	"The large majority of sons and daughters of lesbian or gay parents grow up to identify as heterosexual."	233	"Growing up with a lesbian or gay parent may be associated with broadening the young person's consideration of possible sexual identities."	233

Author(s)	Year	Rejecting the Hypothesis	Page(s)	Nevertheless Uncertain	Page(s)
Erwin	2007	“Most studies of same-sex parenting have reported that there are no differences in the sexual behavior and preferences of children of lesbians when compared to children of heterosexual women.”	107–108	“These studies suggest that being raised in an open and accepting environment can make children more open and accepting of a diverse array of sexual behaviors and identities.”	108
Diamond & Butterworth	2009	“As for sexual identity, research suggests that ... overall the children of lesbians and gay men typically become heterosexual adults.”	362	“... although young adult women raised by lesbian parents might be more likely to experiment with same-sex relationships”	362
Biblarz & Savci	2010	“Evidence is strong that children raised in gay parent families enjoy high levels of psychological well-being and social adjustment, ...”	493	“... but less is known about their gender repertoires and sexual orientations.”	493
Goldberg, A. E.	2010	“The research to date, however, has been fairly consistent in suggesting that the children of lesbian and gay parents do not seem to self-identify as nonheterosexual at significantly higher rates than children of heterosexual parents. ... there is not a great deal of evidence to suggest that children of lesbian and gay parents are more likely than children of heterosexual parents to identify as lesbian or gay themselves.”	133. 170	Parents might “have some impact on their children’s sexual experimentation” with homosexuality.	134
Murphy	2011	“Some critics worry that children of gay and lesbian parents will be more likely than other children to become homosexual themselves.”	298	“In general, this is not a well-studied area, and studies are unclear in exactly how strong an effect the homosexual orientation of parents might have in contributing to the homosexual orientation of their children.”	298
Ball	2013	“In short, the empirical evidence by no means supports the conclusion that there is a clear association between the sexual orientation of lesbians and gay men and that of their children.”	756	“... the issue is whether the empirical evidence might lead a reasonable observer to conclude that the question of a possible association between the two has some conceivable empirical basis. This is a close call given that most studies have found no such association. Nonetheless, it seems to me that the findings Provide sufficient indicia of a possible association to meet the easy-to-satisfy component of the rational basis test.”	756–757

Author(s)	Year	Rejecting the Hypothesis	Page(s)	Nevertheless Uncertain	Page(s)
Kuvalanka	2013	“The existing research, however, suggests that the vast majority of youth and adults with LGBTQ parents identify as heterosexual and/or demonstrate no differences from youth and adults with heterosexual parents in regard to experiences of same-sex attraction.”	166	“Nevertheless, until studies utilizing large, representative samples are conducted, the question of whether children of LGBTQ parents are more likely to identify as LGBTQ than children of heterosexual and gender conforming parents will remain unanswered.”	166
Patterson, C. J.	2013	“In all studies, the great majority of offspring of both lesbian mothers and gay fathers described themselves as heterosexual, and the results suggest that rates of homosexuality are similar among the offspring of lesbian, gay, and heterosexual parents.”	669	While describing the Tasker and Golombok (1997) research, C. J. Patterson noted, with respect to the children of the lesbian mothers, “If they were attracted to same-sex partners, however, young adults with lesbian mothers were more likely to report that they would consider entering into a same-sex sexual relationship, and they were more likely to have actually participated in such a relationship. They were not, however, more likely to identify themselves as nonheterosexual ...”	670

Table A3. *Statements Cautious with Respect to Rejecting the Hypothesis That Same-Sex Parents Would Tend to Raise LGBT Children (studies presented chronologically, 2001–2014)*

Author(s)	Year	Statement	Page(s)
Stacey & Biblarz	2001	“Research demonstrates, Wardle maintains, that ... children of gay parents ... are more likely to become homosexual themselves”	161
Stacey & Biblarz	2001	“The evidence, while scanty and underanalyzed, hints that parental sexual orientation is positively associated with the possibility that children will be more likely to attain a similar orientation—and theory and common sense also support such a view. Children raised by lesbian co-parents should and do seem to grow up more open to homosexual relationships.”	177–178
Stacey	2003	“Contrary to what most current researchers claim, public acceptance of gay and lesbian families should, in fact, slightly expand the percentage of youth who would dare to explore their same-sex desires. In fact, a careful reading of studies does suggest just this. Children reared by lesbian or gay parents feel greater openness to homosexuality or bisexuality. ... This prospect should disturb only those whose antipathy to homosexuality derives from deeply held religious convictions or irrational prejudice.”	159
Peplau & Beals	2004	“Whether the percentage of gay and lesbian offspring differs depending on the parents’ sexual orientation is open to debate, and a final conclusion must await more extensive research. Second, children of lesbian parents appear to be more open to same-sex sexual experience.”	243
Meezan & Rauch	2005	“Finally, some interesting differences have been noted in sexual behavior and attitudes (as opposed to orientation).”	103
Tasker	2005	“Growing up with a lesbian or gay parent may be associated with broadening the young person’s consideration of possible sexual identities.”	233
Wald	2006	“Children raised by gay parents ... may be somewhat more likely to consider or experience a same-sex relationship at some point in their lives.”	397
Short, Riggs, Perlesz, Brown, & Kane	2007	“In terms of sexual orientation, the research is fairly scant. Findings seem to suggest that offspring who were raised by a same-sex attracted parent may feel more comfortable to either consider the possibility of having a same-sex relationship, to have one, to feel more comfortable with their sexuality, and/or more able to discuss issues of sexuality with their parents.”	22

Author(s)	Year	Statement	Page(s)
Redding	2008	Children, especially girls, raised by lesbian or gay parents were “somewhat more likely to experience homoerotic attraction and homosexual relationships.”	150
Goldberg, A. E.	2009	“For example, as sexual minorities, LGB parents may be more open and affirming with regard to their children’s questions about sexuality, which may facilitate greater sexual exploration.”	583
Adelson	2012	“However, in the minority of cases, when they do experience same-sex attractions, adolescent girls raised by lesbian parents appear to experience less stigma about acting on those feelings than those raised by heterosexual parents, and are accordingly slightly more likely to identify as bisexual.”	961
Patterson, C. J., & Wainright	2012	“Offspring of lesbian mothers were also no more likely to report same-sex sexual attraction or a gay/lesbian/bisexual identity than were those from heterosexual families. They were, however, more likely to have considered a gay or lesbian relationship as a possibility for themselves and to have been involved in a same-sex relationship, suggesting that although sexual attraction and identity may not be related to parental sexual identities, the likelihood of considering or entering a same-sex relationship may be associated with parents’ sexual orientation.”	88
Reed	2013	The body of research that has examined the sexual orientation of children of same-sex parents, though quite limited thus far, finds that the eventual sexual identities of children of homosexual and heterosexual parents is [sic] quite similar. Children of homosexual parents are, perhaps unsurprisingly, more likely to be open [to] the possibility of homosexual relationships”	981
Drescher	2014	“Another culture war issue addressed Is whether parenting same-sex couples ‘make’ their kids gay. ... In other words, while no correlation exists between having lesbian moms and their sons’ sexual identities, there is some correlation with increased homosexuality in daughters.”	227

Table A4. *Results for LGBT Parents' Children's Involvement in LGBT Lifestyle or Identity: Percent of Sons, Daughters, and/or Both Involved (studies presented chronologically, 2000–2013)*

Author(s)	Year	Sons %	Daughters %	Both %	Remarks
Sarantakos	2000	—	—	—	Indicated that children from same-sex families in Australia and New Zealand were more likely to identify as LGB, without providing percentages ($N = 133$), compared to heterosexual families.
Murray, P. D. & McClintock	2005	55.6	29.6	36.1	
LaVoie et al.	2006	50	17	30	Result for all children may have been 31.6%; research is not clear if $n = 2$ of 11 or $n = 2$ of 12 daughters of gay or lesbian parents were bisexuals.
Goldberg, A. E.	2007b	20	30.6	28.3	Had fluid ideas about human sexuality and sexual orientation.
Goldberg, A. E.	2007b	10	16.7	15.2	Having a nonheterosexual parent led them to question their own sexual orientation.
Goldberg, A. E.	2007b	0.0	18.4	15.2	Identified as gay or lesbian.
Kuvalanka & Goldberg	2009	—	—	17.4	Studied 46 adults who had LGBT parents; classification by child's gender or parent's gender was not provided.
Kuvalanka & Goldberg	2009	—	—	> 5.1%	Among 78 adult children from LGBT families, a subset of 18 was selected, all of whom had lesbian parents; of these, four self-identified as "queer" (3) or gender "ambiguous" (1); classification by gender of child or parent not provided.
Schumm	2010b	14.3	24.6	20.3	Data from 26 previous studies, all children.
Schumm	2010b	22.0	31.4	28.0	Data from 26 previous studies, all children at least 17 years of age.
Schumm	2010b	16.2	29.8	24.0	Data from 10 books on the lives of children of LGBT parents, all children.
Schumm	2010b	30.5	55.6	45.0	Data from 10 books on the lives of children of LGBT parents, all children whose sexual orientation

Author(s)	Year	Sons %	Daughters %	Both %	Remarks
					was mentioned as either heterosexual or nonheterosexual, as that issue was not always mentioned.
Schumm	2010b	11.3	29.0	21.3	Data limited to families with children of only one gender.
Schumm	2010b	15.9	38.3	28.8	Data limited to families with children of only one gender, but all children at least 16 years of age.
Schumm	2010b	21.2	57.5	41.1	Data limited to families with children of only one gender, with all children at least 16 years of age, and sexual orientation of child mentioned in narrative specifically.
Lytle et al.	2013	50.0	25.0	30.0	Refusals to answer regarding one's own sexual orientation were counted as indicative of a nonheterosexual sexual orientation.
Schumm et al.	2013	25.0	50.6	43.5	Sexual orientation coded as nonheterosexual vs. heterosexual from independent analysis of unweighted NFSS data.
Schumm et al.	2013	27.6	47.4	36.3	Analysis of NFSS data using weighted data (weight5).
Swank et al.	2013	—	—	31.0	Based on having immediate family members who were nonheterosexuals, which might have included siblings as well as parents; those who had heterosexual parents had a 15.5% rate of being sexual minorities ($p < .001$).

Table A5. Results for Gay Fathers' Children's Involvement in LGBT Lifestyle or Identity: Percent of Sons, Daughters, and/or Both Involved (studies presented chronologically, 2005–2013)

Author(s)	Year	Sons %	Daughters %	Both %	Remarks
Murray, P. D. & McClintock	2005	—	—	26.3	Results were not classified by gender of child for bisexuals or heterosexual children.
Schumm	2010b	20.5	15.8	18.2	Data from 10 books on lives of children raised by LGBT parents.
Schumm	2010b	34.8	40.0	36.8	Data limited to narratives in which child's sexual orientation was mentioned as an issue.
Schumm	2010b	None	28.0	19.4	Data limited to families with children of only one gender.
Schumm	2010b	None	31.8	22.4	Same as above but all children at least 16 years of age.
Schumm	2010b	None	58.3	33.3	Same as above but sexual orientation of child mentioned in narrative specifically.
Lick et al.	2011	42.9	36.8	38.5	<i>N</i> = 26 children of gay fathers.
Lick et al.	2012	—	—	23	Results not specified as a function of child's gender.
Regnerus	2012a	—	—	29	Not entirely heterosexual (if father was ever in a same-sex relationship, a controversial definition of gay father).
Regnerus	2012a	—	—	12	Currently in a same-sex romantic relationship (if father was ever in a same-sex relationship, a controversial definition of gay father).
Regnerus	2012b	—	—	20	Not entirely heterosexual.
Regnerus	2012b	—	—	14	Currently in a same-sex relationship.
Lytle et al.	2013	100.0	20.0	33.3	
Schumm et al.	2013	25.0	40.0	33.9	Based on independent analysis of NFSS data using unweighted raw data.
Schumm et al.	2013	13.0	36.4	20.6	Analysis of NFSS data using weighted data (weight5).

Table A6. *Results for Lesbian Mothers' Children's Involvement in LGBT Lifestyle or Identity: Percent of Sons, Daughters, and/or Both Involved (studies presented chronologically, 2005–2013)*

Author(s)	Year	Sons %	Daughters %	Both %	Remarks
Murray, P. D., & McClintock	2005	—	—	47.1	Results were not classified by gender of child for bisexuals or heterosexual children.
Hequembourg	2007	0.0	14.3	—	While her study “was never intended to focus on the outcomes of children raised by lesbian parents” (p. 136), she did report that two daughters were lesbians and one daughter experimented with same-sex relationships (of 21 daughters over the age of 15).
Kuvalanka & Goldberg	2009	—	—	40.6	Studied 32 children from lesbian mother families; classification by child's gender not reported.
Bos & Sandfort	2010	0.12	0.53	0.33	Families from the Netherlands, 63 lesbian families and 68 heterosexual families compared on child's certainty about having future heterosexual attractions/relationships (children were 8–12 years old) (effect sizes shown in text at section II.F.7)
Schumm	2010b	15.9	33.3	26.8	Data from 10 books on lives of children raised by LGBT parents.
Schumm	2010b	33.3	57.4	49.5	Data from 10 books on lives of children raised by LGBT parents; data limited to narratives in which child's sexual orientation was mentioned as an issue.
Schumm	2010b	17.1	30.5	31.9	Data limited to families with children of only one gender.
Schumm	2010b	30.0	45.2	46.7	Data limited to families with children of only one gender but all children at least 16 years of age.
Schumm	2010b	40.0	60.9	58.3	Data limited to families with children of only one gender, all children at least 16 years of age, but sexual orientation of

Author(s)	Year	Sons %	Daughters %	Both %	Remarks
					child mentioned in narrative specifically.
Gartrell et al.	2011	21.6	48.6	35.1	Percentage not exclusively heterosexual as of age 17.
Gartrell et al.	2011	8.1	18.9	13.5	Percentage more than incidentally homosexual as of age 17.
Gartrell et al.	2011	5.6	15.4	10.8	Had sex with same-sex boys or girls by age 17.
Lick et al.	2011	33.3	42.2	40.4	<i>N</i> = 57 children of lesbian/bisexual mothers.
Regnerus	2012a	—	—	39	Not entirely heterosexual (if mother was ever in a same-sex relationship, a controversial definition of lesbian mother).
Regnerus	2012a	—	—	7	Currently in a same-sex romantic relationship (if mother was ever in a same-sex relationship, a controversial definition of lesbian mother).
Regnerus	2012b	—	—	55	Not entirely heterosexual (never resided with mother's same-sex partner).
Regnerus	2012b	—	—	32	Not entirely heterosexual (did reside with mother's same-sex partner).
Regnerus	2012b	—	—	12	Currently in a same-sex relationship (never resided with mother's same-sex partner).
Lytle et al.	2013	0.0	33.3	25.0	
Regnerus	2012b	—	—	2	Currently in a same-sex relationship (did reside with mother's same-sex partner).
Schumm et al.	2013	25.6	52.8	46.3	Based on independent analysis of NFSS data using unweighted raw data.
Schumm et al.	2013	36.4	43.0	39.7	Analysis of NFSS data using weighted data (weight5).
Schumm et al.	2013	0.0	60.0	46.2	Based on children who had both a gay father and a lesbian mother in the NFSS data using unweighted raw data.
Schumm et al.	2013	0.0	90.0	90.0	Based on children who had both a gay father and a lesbian mother in the NFSS data using weighted data (weight5).

Table A7. *Research or Statements Explaining Why or How Same-Sex Parents Might Tend to Raise LGBT Children (studies presented chronologically, 1975–2013)*

Author(s)	Year	Statements or Research	Page(s)
Riley	1975	“Most lesbian mothers have no preference as to the sexuality of their children” [Schumm note: Most heterosexual mothers appear to prefer that their children grow up to be heterosexual, so it is significant that lesbian mothers express no preference.]	859
Rafkin	1990	Daughter of a lesbian mother said, “I think that my mother showed me that lesbianism is a possibility.”	141
Rafkin	1990	Son of a lesbian mother said, “We grew up with an option about our sexuality that most people didn’t have.”	165
Lewis, K. G.	1992	Interviewed 21 children from eight lesbian families and reported that “Several girls thought they might turn to women if they did not have a satisfying relationship with a man. One added ‘that’s what my mother did.’ She said, in regard to her dating, if she complained to her mother about boys, ‘she would tell me to try girls.’”	89
Flaks	1993	Of 30 lesbian mothers, 67% said they had no preference as to the sexual orientation of their children compared to 27% of 30 heterosexual mothers, a result that was significant statistically.	136
Javaid	1993	Most of the 15 heterosexual mothers hoped their children would grow up to be heterosexual; of the 13 lesbian mothers, only three expressly desired that their children grow up to be heterosexual, while seven favored whatever the child became, with three or four preferring that the child become homosexual (chi-square test with two degrees of freedom = 17.9, $p < .001$).	240–241
Golombok & Tasker	1996	“... found that the children of lesbian mothers were more likely to express same-sex interest when their mother had been more open to her children becoming homosexual” ($p < .10$, $d = 0.82$), “had engaged in a higher number of lesbian relationships during the child’s early school years” ($d = 1.50$, $p < .01$), “and had been more open in showing physical affection to her female partners” ($d = 2.20$, $p < .001$).	7
Costello	1997	“Of 18 GLB parents of children under the age of ten years, when asked about their preference for their child’s eventual sexual orientation, 55.6% had no preference, 22.2% preferred a GLB orientation, and 22.2% a heterosexual	76–77

Author(s)	Year	Statements or Research	Page(s)
		orientation. When asked what they expected the future orientation to be, 5.6% said bisexual, 22.2% did not know, and the rest indicated probably heterosexual.”	
Costello	1997	“A lesbian mother (who was counted as not expecting her child to become nonheterosexual) said that her son had a 10% chance of being gay and a 20% chance of being bisexual.”	78
Costello	1997	A lesbian mother indicated with respect to her daughter’s future sexual orientation that her daughter would “have more permission, and she’s going to have more alternatives.” ... One gay father indicated that his son would “have more confusion at the beginning of adolescence. ... more freedom is good, but it also means more confusion.”	80
Saffron	1997	“Some parents actively promoted homosexuality to their children.”	199
Saffron	1997	Some LGBT parents “did tease and urge their children to consider same-sex partners.”	201
Saffron	1997	“The sons and daughters I interviewed were accepting of homosexuality, open-minded about sexual diversity and often questioning of their own sexual identity.”	208
Tasker & Golombok	1997	A lesbian mother in their study told her daughter, “Why don’t you try and see if you get on better with women?” ... 43% of children of lesbian mothers versus none of the children of heterosexual mothers said that they thought their mother would prefer that they grow up to be gay or lesbian; effect was stronger for daughters of lesbian mothers (56% vs. 0%, $d = 1.55, p < .03$) than for sons of lesbians.	124
Tasker & Golombok	1997	The children of lesbian mothers (76%) were more likely to have gay or lesbian friends than the children of heterosexual mothers (38%) ($d = 0.84, p < .03$), an effect that was stronger for daughters than for sons.	99
Griffin	1998	“Some lesbian mothers, especially with male children, have invited gay friends to be part of the family, so that they can provide positive male role models for the children.”	31
Saffron	1998	A bisexual daughter of an LGBT parent said “I have experimented sexually, and my parents have created a supportive environment for that.”	40
Gartrell, Banks, Hamilton, et al.	1999	“Only 28% of lesbian mothers of toddlers indicated a preference that their children grow up to be heterosexual, with 50% having no preference.”	367
Rosier & Hauschild	1999	Daughter of a lesbian mother said, “I guess I have choices about my sexuality.”	20–21

Author(s)	Year	Statements or Research	Page(s)
Rosier & Hauschild	1999	Heterosexually married daughter of a lesbian mother said, "Having a gay mother has made me aware that that option was open to me. I was aware that it wasn't weird or bizarre and you didn't lead a strange life because you were like that. I've always been pretty sure of what my sexuality was, but you do go through that experimentation time and it's good to know you have that option. It gives you more choice. I think my mother would have liked me to be gay. There are nice women out there and I've had my share of crushes on women ..."	74-75
Rosier & Hauschild	1999	Daughter of a gay father said, "I think there were points for me when I questioned my sexuality, particularly because everything at home was open and I realized that I had options."	112-113
Rosier & Hauschild	1999	Heterosexual daughter of a lesbian mother said, "Because homosexuality was such a part of my upbringing, it's not something that was foreign or mysterious or forbidden so I was always able to see that that was an option ..."	129
Tasker	1999	"Those young people from lesbian-led families who were most likely to show an interest in same-gender relationships were those whose mothers had previously reported in the first phase of the longitudinal study that they were more open within the home about having lesbian relationships, or that they had no preference for their child's future sexual orientation."	159-160
Gartrell, Banks, Reed, et al.	2000	"Only 21% of lesbian mothers of 5-year-olds hoped their children would become heterosexual while 65% had no preference."	546
Bennett	2001	"All six lesbian mothers are accepting of whatever the sexual preferences of their teens The second mother would like one or both of her sons to be gay, but ultimately wants them to develop with whatever sexual preference they are most comfortable with." [The latter is Bennett's comment about the mother with pseudonym Rory.]	54
Bennett	2001	"None of the mothers view their teens' apparent current sexual preference as a fixed entity. . . . Karen said, 'I don't care. . . . [my son] is pretty sure he's straight. [my daughter]—I don't know. There's this sports thing. It could go either way.' [Olivia:] '[My youngest daughter] was very butch her whole life. . . . Now it's flipped. Her hair is longer than mine, she's very femme. That's actually been hard for me to deal with. Such a switch. And who knows? Who really	55

Author(s)	Year	Statements or Research	Page(s)
		knows who they are?’ [Linda:] ‘[My daughter’s] only had boyfriends so far, and it doesn’t really make any difference to us. If she was a little interested in girls, then, of course, you have less risks.’ ... [Sally:] ‘I will not be sad if [my daughter] decides she wants to be with men. That’s her choice. ... I’m really happy that she can choose any alternative that she wants. She can be heterosexual, she can be bisexual, she can be a lesbian. She can do whatever it is she chooses, and it’s wonderful that that’s available to her. I see it only as a positive.’”	
Bennett	2001	“[Jill:] ‘I think it’s easier for [my son] in life, that he seems to prefer girls. ... But I could see that changing, too. ... I wouldn’t assume he’ll be heterosexual, although that appears where he’s headed ... I just think it’s so hard for a boy. Much easier to be a lesbian than gay in this society. ... It’s ok with me, whatever his sexual preference is.’”	55–56
Bennett	2001	“[Rory:] ‘I would like [my sons] to explore being gay, if that’s at all where they’re [going]. ... I kind of wonder about them saying that they’re both straight. I don’t know if that’s true. ... That would be nice if one of them was gay, or both.’”	56
Stevens et al.	2003	“... 76.3% of 38 lesbian mothers had no preference for their child’s sexual orientation while 3.6% preferred a lesbian/gay sexual orientation/”	358
Gartrell, Deck, Rodas, Peyser, & Banks	2005	“When asked about their child’s eventual sexual orientation, 53% of birth mothers could not predict at T4. Thirty-seven percent anticipated that their child would be heterosexual, 6% predicted their child would be lesbian or gay, and 4% thought their child would be bisexual.”	523
Patterson, S.	2005	Quotes a lesbian grandmother, “I totally think that [choice] is the benefit of having a lesbian grandmother. When Jake was born I took him in my arms in the hospital, and I said, ‘This is so you know that there are options. You have more choices than what it looks like.’ I am so glad that there are queers in the world. ... From another lesbian grandmother about her granddaughter: ‘Joey is being raised by a very open minded woman, and having a lesbian grandmother will open that door sooner. It will be easier for her to learn about homosexuality and how natural it is without having to face the barrage of homophobia before she is old enough to make her own decisions.’”	45

Author(s)	Year	Statements or Research	Page(s)
Kane	2006	"... 26% of 27 heterosexual parents of sons reported being opposed to the idea of their son becoming gay compared to none of 4 gay or lesbian parents with sons ($d = 0.43, ns$)."	165
Goldberg, A. E.	2007b	"These individuals [who had fluid ideas about sexual orientation] emphasized that their parents had taught them that 'you fall in love with the person, not the gender' and in turn viewed a wide range of attractions and sexualities as normal and acceptable. ... Thus, their parents taught them to question the homosexual/heterosexual and bad/good binaries and to view sexuality as a fluid and dynamic aspect of identity and the process of exploring one's sexuality as normative. ... 41.7% of the daughters and 60% of the sons 'felt that having a nonheterosexual parent had influenced their ideas about gender and relationships.' They described themselves as being more 'comfortable with gender non-conformity' than they might have been had they been raised in a more traditional family environment."	557
Hequembourg	2007	Reported that one lesbian mother, as an example, "proudly encouraged her daughter to explore her [sexual] boundaries."	138
Gianino	2008	"... Informants expressed the hope that as a result of having gay parents, their children would grow up more socially tolerant and as a result of parental modeling would adopt less traditionally masculine and feminine gender roles."	229
Bos & Sandfort	2010	Found a significant relationship ($d = 0.33, p < .05$) between parental sexual orientation and sexual questioning about sexual identity/orientation by their children.	120
Lev	2010	Author discusses how Kyle was found one day "trying to cut off his penis with a scissor" so they decided to let him be a girl instead, named Kyla, as school began; one apparent goal of therapy was to reassure his/her lesbian parents that they were not at fault.	285
Berkowitz & Ryan	2011	"Randy was one of two gay parents with a teenage son in the study of 22 gay fathers and 35 lesbian mothers. He 'mentioned the possibility of having a nonheterosexual child.' Says Randy, 'There is something about Shawn that makes me think he might be bisexual, not gay per se, but not 100 percent straight all the way. But Shawn, I can tell that he is more expressive than that and I think it will come through in his sexuality as well.'"	345

Author(s)	Year	Statements or Research	Page(s)
Cohen, R., & Kunalanka	2011	“Nine of the 10 participants [in a study of 10 lesbian mothers] said they taught their children about the diverse options that exist in regard to sexual orientation and/or reproduction. ... [N]amely, that there are acceptable options beyond heterosexuality.”... A son, about 4 or 5 years old, told his mother “Yes, I know, Mommy, he can marry a man, and she can marry a woman too, if she wants.”	297
Gartrell, Bos, Peyser et al.	2012	“Table 2 shows that of the 78 adolescent children of lesbian mothers in the study, 1.3% reported that most of their friends were LGBT with another 15.8% reporting that they had an ‘approximately equal number of LGBT and heterosexual friends.’ In the same table, only 50% reported that they had ‘an important male role model.’”	1220
Kunalanka	2013	“LGBTQ parents’ experiences of having non-heterosexual and/or gender nonconforming identities may influence their intentions to teach their children more diverse notions of sexual orientation. ... Sexual minority parents may be more cognizant of the potential for their children to eventually assume a sexual orientation identity other than heterosexual.”	166–167

APPENDIX II. METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATION IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

A. Trustworthiness of Social Science

Social science studies should be more scientific than literary. Courts and the public should be able to rely upon the social sciences to present theoretically sound, empirically substantiated statements. As Herek (2010) has observed, “the public looks to science for answers,” and it remains very important for scientists to do “everything possible to ensure that research findings are accurately communicated to the lay public and to policy makers” (p. 697).

The widespread endorsement of the “no difference” hypothesis in social science writings tends to undermine this reliance. If we establish a reputation of being more likely to present defensively what is politically popular than what is actually correct, we run a strong risk of losing credibility and much of our potential purpose and helpfulness to society. The public might come to see social science as political advocacy disguised as science. Doherty (2006) has raised the possibility that LGBT research has been avoidant of adverse results. Doherty also stated that, “We are not neutral and never have been,” as he expressed his hope that LGBT scholars and others would “provide the final nail in the coffin of value-free, politically neutral family studies, which never existed in the first place” (pp. xix–xx).

1. Consistent Standards of Comparison across Studies

Unless research studies are evaluated with the same criteria, progress in science will be difficult, at best. Ideally, the same criteria should be applied to all studies of the same type. However, in the amicus brief of the American Psychological Association and others to the U.S. Supreme Court in *Hollingsworth v. Perry*, the amici criticized the Regnerus studies (2012a, 2012b), with which the amici disagreed, on the basis of the definition of homosexual parents in the studies’ samples, stating, “But the study’s design precludes any meaningful conclusions because of its overbroad definition of children raised by gay or lesbian parents and its conflation of family instability with any potential effects of parental sexual orientation.”²⁹ It is true that few lesbian or gay families were

²⁹ Brief of the American Psychological Association, American Medical Association, American Academy of Pediatrics, California Medical Association, American Psychiatric Association, American Psychoanalytic Association, American Association for Marriage and Family Therapy, National Association of Social Workers and its California Chapter, and California Psychological Association at 33 as Amici Curiae on the Merits in Support of Affirmance, *Hollingsworth v. Perry*, 570 U.S. ___, 133 S. Ct. 2652 (2013) (No. 12-144).

found in the research (Regnerus, 2012a) in the sense of same-sex parents having raised children from birth. However, it is not uncommon in social science research for gay and lesbian parents to be defined as including parents who had formerly been married heterosexually, as Regnerus did; yet few, if any, scholars have insisted that those studies were defective in any way with respect to the study of the children of same-sex parents. Thus, the amici in *Hollingsworth* criticized Regnerus's methodology even though it is the same method used to define homosexual parents in most studies of children of homosexual parents, including those with which the amici agreed. The following discussion summarizes a selection of studies that have defined same-sex parents as including persons who had been in heterosexual marriages or relationships, in which they had conceived children previously.

As early as 1975, Riley observed that “[m]ost lesbian mothers were heterosexually married for at least several years” (p. 859). Later, Tasker and Golombok (1991) observed that “[a] further limitation to these studies is that most of the children who participated spent the early part of their lives in a heterosexual family” (p. 186). Erwin (2007) has stated, “In nearly all of the research addressing differences between children raised by lesbian or gay parents and those raised by heterosexual mothers, children were conceived in previous heterosexual relationships” (p. 105).

More recently, Rothblum (2009) has noted that “many LGBs have been previously heterosexually married” (p. 121) and that “even today, LGBs who are heterosexually married yet partnered with same-sex lovers may be a very large subgroup” (p. 122). Likewise, Perrin (2002) observed, “Most individuals who have a lesbian and/or gay parent were conceived in the context of a heterosexual relationship” (p. 341). Rosenfeld (2013), after the Regnerus research had been published, stated, “Most children raised by same-sex couples are from a prior heterosexual relationship that has to break up before the same-sex couple parenting family was formed” (p. 964). Perrin, Siegel, et al. (2013) also noted, “Same-gender couples, like heterosexual couples, may become parents by having children in previous heterosexual relationships ...” (p. e1375).

Some studies included participants from mixed-orientation marriages before that term had come into common use (Harris & Turner, 1986; Hays & Samuels, 1989). In particular, Golombok, Spencer, and Rutter (1983) found that of the 27 lesbian mothers in the sample, 25 (93%) had conceived the children involved in the study in previous heterosexual relationships, including 21 marriages. As another example, Harris and Turner (1986) surveyed 23 gay or lesbian parents, of whom 83% ($n = 19$, p. 106) had been married heterosexually previously; four of their respondents had been previously married heterosexually between two and five times. Huggins (1989) studied 18 lesbian mothers'

children; all of those mothers had been married heterosexually. Turner, Scadden, and Harris (1990) contacted 10 gay fathers and 11 lesbian mothers, all of whom had been married previously. Javaid (1993) studied 26 children of 13 lesbian mothers, all of whose children had been born into previous heterosexual relationships. Bailey and colleagues (1995) studied the sons of 55 gay fathers and found that all of the fathers had previously been married heterosexually.

Perrin and Kulkin (1996) stated that “The majority of gay men and lesbians who are parents conceived children in the context of heterosexual relationships ...” (p. 629) and found that 31% of the 433 children in their study (of whose same-sex parents, had been conceived in a previous heterosexual relationship. Sarantakos (2000) found that all of the gay fathers and more than 75% of the lesbian mothers in his study had children born from previous heterosexual relationships. Barrett and Tasker (2001) indicated, “Although, currently, it appears that the majority of children with gay or bisexual fathers will have been conceived within heterosexual relationships, in recent years greater numbers of gay and lesbian people have chosen to form families outside the institution of marriage, through common law, coparenting, or other mutually beneficial arrangements” (p. 63); in their survey of 101 gay fathers, they found that as many as 87% of the fathers had been or were still in sexual relationships with women. At least 82% of the children involved had been conceived within a heterosexual marriage while another 12% appear to have been conceived in nonmarital heterosexual relationships (p. 68). Of those 101 fathers who were actively parenting a child, more than 80% of those children had been conceived by their father heterosexually (p. 68). Oswald, Goldberg, Kuvalanka, and Clausell (2008) found that most—more than 90%—of the same-sex parents in their study had children from previous heterosexual relationships. Tasker, Barrett, and De Simone (2010) studied 18 sons and 18 daughters of 24 gay fathers, all of whom had conceived those children in previous heterosexual relationships. Lytle et al. (2013) interviewed children of same-sex parents, of whom 90% were from previous heterosexual relationships that had dissolved. Crouch, McNair, Waters, & Power (2013) used an online survey in Australia and New Zealand during 2008 to gather data from 434 same-sex parents (85% women, 14% men); 67% of gay fathers and 42% of lesbian mothers had conceived at least one of their children through a heterosexual relationship rather than acquiring a child through adoption or artificial insemination.

In light of the definition of children of homosexual parents used in these studies, the statement of the amici in *Hollingsworth* that the Regnerus’s study design precludes “any meaningful conclusions because of its overbroad

definition of children raised by gay or lesbian parents”³⁰ appears to criticize a methodology that, although it has limitations, has been widely used and accepted, thus apparently advocating for an inconsistent standard to be used in comparing different studies.

2. Dangers of Seeking Academic Consensus Prematurely

These findings raise red flags about any attempt to achieve scientific consensus prematurely, even if for a widely accepted and vigorously advocated cause. If anyone is motivated to avoid a rush either to judgment or consensus, it should be scientists, including social scientists. As Gonsiorek (2006) has argued, “Scientific thought, then, is at its core, evolving and ambiguous” (p. 266). Manzi (2012) argued similarly, that “science never provides Truth with a capital T” because there is always a possibility that any scientific belief, no matter how much it represents a consensus opinion, might be shown to be incorrect. The limitations of science in general may be especially applicable to social science because of the complexity of human social behavior (Manzi, 2012, p. 117). Reviews of literature should be based on multiple studies and occur only after there are a substantial number of high-quality studies to review. Yet in the area of LGBT parenting, there were more than 50 reviews of the literature by 2008 (Schumm, 2008b), even though some of those reviews struggled to find more than 50 empirical works upon which to base the review. It is peculiar to have almost as many reviews, if not more, of the literature as actual studies upon which to base those reviews. I think there is a danger in prematurely developing “consensus” because if you claim it and then it proves false, the credibility of the scientific process—as it is actually conducted—will be diminished.

B. LGBT Research Should Not Be Immune from Scholarly Criticism

Some have claimed, by merely pointing to some of its limitations or to concerns with academic peer review, that the Regnerus studies added nothing to the literature, that the “no difference” hypothesis remains secure in its truth (Anderson, 2013; Moore & Stambolis-Ruhstorfer, 2013; Perrin, Cohen, & Caron, 2013; Perrin, Siegel, et al., 2013). In my opinion, science should not be distorted in order to accommodate political persuasions (Schumm, 2010c). That approach affects the credibility of social science. Amato (2012) has argued that

³⁰ *Id.*

“the legality of same-sex marriage is a constitutional issue and not one that should be decided on the basis of social science research” (p. 773). That may be true, but it should not discourage social scientists from being good critics of research that involves LGBT participants or parents, or their children, as if the LGBT label sufficed to make such research immune from criticism or serious peer review. It should not escape notice that when I analyzed the NFSS data to determine predictors of nonheterosexual sexual orientation, none of the presumed explanations for its high incidence proved to be significant statistically—not parental divorce, nor the number of transitions the child had made in caregivers between birth and 18 years of age, nor the number of years in a stable same-sex family up to age 18. The only significant demographic findings to date (for children who reported they had a parent who was romantically involved or lived with a same-sex partner at some point during the child’s youth) were an earlier age of menarche for daughters of lesbian mothers, associated with a greater chance of being nonheterosexual (Spearman $\rho = 0.21$, $p < .05$) and child’s gender, with daughters being more likely to be nonheterosexual than sons ($p < .001$).

The controversial nature of ITSO research should remind us that scientific truth is not incontestable, no matter what apparent consensus may exist at one moment in time—or how much ridicule or hostility is directed at those who disagree with that consensus. As Freeman (1997) observed regarding once-lauded psychoanalytic theory, “I am convinced that decision-makers have not confronted the limitations of psychoanalytic theory, indeed may have embraced one interpretation as if it embodied incontestable scientific truth and was therefore beyond any challenge” (p. 78). Even if it is not probable, I think scientists should remain open, at least to a small possibility, that even well-established theories may be found to be in need of revision. As noted in Schumm (2010b, p. 737), the German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer is said to have stated, “All truth passes through three stages. First, it is ridiculed. Second, it is violently opposed. Third, it is accepted as being self-evident.” There is no doubt that some have been ridiculed and strongly opposed for making a case for ITSO, but past and more recent empirical evidence would seem to support its validity, possibly to the point of being self-evident in the near future, if not already so.

In conclusion, I believe there are numerous valid reasons for science to remain an intimidation-free zone, where a free exchange of ideas not only remains possible but is enthusiastically encouraged for both faculty and students, scholars, and the public. The story of ITSO research is a small example of the importance of such free exchange.

APPENDIX III. ACADEMIC BIAS

It is my assessment that much of the academic literature reflects a progressive political bias. I will provide several examples here. In terms of ITSO, a meta-analysis by Crowl et al. (2008) might be mentioned by some experts as if it proved the null hypothesis concerning ITSO; however, it was based on only five studies, a small fraction of the many reviewed here. Even so, it found a small effect size ($d = 0.20$, *ns*) in favor of the transfer of parental sexual orientation to children. Elsewhere I have demonstrated the many ways in which one could “prove” that tobacco use was completely harmless if one were allowed to manipulate the research freely (Schumm, 2012c), while I cited parallel articles in the area of LGBT research that have made use of the same methodological errors.

Courts must take into account the tremendous bias in academia. They must consider that the methodological issues presented are related to bias (Raley, 2010). Schumm (2010e) reported that there had been three articles published at about the same time, from the same institution, with some of the same authors, even two from the same journal. Two of the articles (Miller, J. A., Jacobsen, & Bigner, 1981; Mucklow & Phelan, 1979) found evidence in favor of lesbian parenting, while one article (Miller, J. A., Mucklow, Jacobsen, & Bigner, 1980) found adverse results of lesbian parenting.³¹ As of 2010, the former two articles had been cited at least 65 times, while the latter article had been cited only twice, a very significant difference statistically. As of January 2014, that gap has grown to 155 citations of the former two articles compared to six citations of the latter article (google.com). How else can anyone account for this nearly 26:1 disparity other than by academic bias? In a trial, one side might push the two articles by reporting how often they had been cited. Yet, because the samples were largely the same people and the researchers largely the same from the same timeframe, differences are likely more apparent than real. Despite their power to do so, judges should not rule merely on the basis of counts of citations or even counts of expert witnesses.

Another such example was reported (Schumm, 2008) in which dissertations of apparently lower quality, which yielded favorable, pro-gay results, were

³¹ Although these results are seldom reported, even in amici briefs that cite Miller and colleagues (1980), that study reported that lesbian mothers in their study were significantly less likely than heterosexual women to report having respect for their own fathers (62% vs. 97%, $p < .01$) or for their mothers (71% vs. 90%, $p < .07$). The authors also reported that the lesbian mothers had negative feelings about men, with the lesbian mothers characterizing men negatively, “to the point of being repulsive” (p. 1130), whereas the heterosexual women generally held positive feelings towards men.

cited 234 times, compared to only one citation for dissertations of higher quality that had yielded less favorable results. Such an enormous disparity probably reflects some degree of academic bias (Brown, M. L., 2011; Wardle, 1997).

Another example of apparent bias occurred in the work of Bos, van Balen, and van den Boom (2007), who highlighted an item regarding self-control in children as the best illustrative item from a larger scale given to their same-sex and opposite-sex parent comparison groups. Teaching children self-control is an extremely important aspect of human civilization across all cultures (Baumeister & Tierney, 2011) and thus ought to be an important parental goal or value, aside from any possible moral considerations involved. Yet, given that the same-sex parents in Bos and colleagues' (2007) study scored lower on the "valuing self-control in children" scale, the name of the scale in the report was termed *conformity*, a term with a much more pejorative connotation as applied to heterosexual parents who had, by the researchers changing the description of the scale, scored higher on valuing conformity rather than valuing self-control in their children. Thus, the same results, which might have looked like a problem for same-sex parents, could be deemed a favorable outcome, with heterosexual parents expecting too much social conformity in their children while same-sex parents were apparently less oppressive.

Accordingly, when Biblarz and Stacey (2010) reviewed Bos (2004) and Bos, van Balen, and van den Boom (2007), they accepted this reinterpretation of the results and reported that there was less "emphasis on social conformity in children" (p. 7) on the part of same-sex parents and that same-sex parents were less likely to "try to elicit social (and gender) conformity" (p. 11). Likewise, Goldberg (2009, 2010) in her reviews of same-sex parenting, focused, among other issues, on the conformity interpretation of the research (2009, p. 583; 2010, p. 112). I did not select "self-control" as the illustrative item from the scale involved—Bos and colleagues (2007) did that. However, their unusual, to say the least, interpretation of the outcome turned a presumably adverse difference into a much more positive-sounding disparity from the perspective of same-sex parents and their advocates, which I believe reflects the progressive bias common in the social sciences, as detailed by Redding (2013a, 2013b). The same reinterpretation occurred in the same reports with respect to parental "limit-setting," which would normally be considered a good thing, and on which heterosexual parents scored higher on than same-sex parents, but was described by Biblarz and Stacey (2010) as heterosexual parents setting "strict limits on their children," presumably an unfortunate (perhaps harmful?) parental value. In conclusion, these are but a few examples of how academic bias appears to influence the discussion of same-sex parenting issues in scholarly literature.