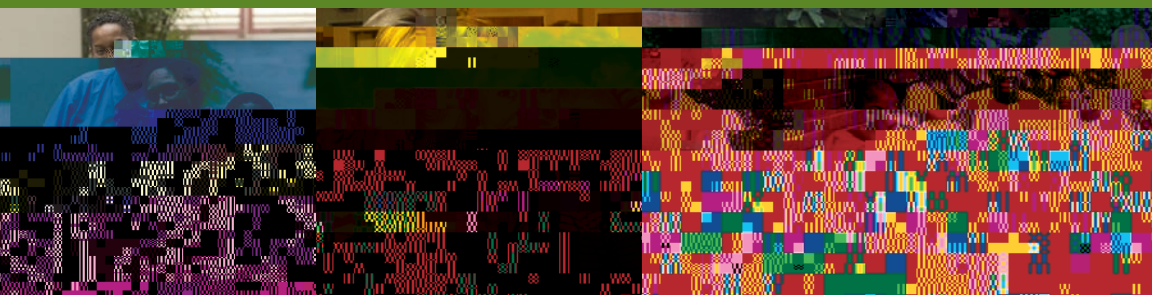


UPDATED SECOND EDITION

TOO HIGH A PRICE

The Case Against Prescription Drugs



TOO HIGH A PRICE:

The Case Against Prescription Drugs

by Paul H. Lehmann

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

© 2013 by Princeton University Press

Princeton, NJ 08542

London, UK

Princeton, CA 95061

Chicago, IL 60607

A C V

Leslie Cooper is a senior staff attorney in the ACLU's Lesbian and Gay Rights Project. Paul Cates is the Project's public education director.

American Civil Liberties Union Foundation, New York 10004
© 2006 by the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation
All rights reserved. First edition 2002.
Printed in the United States of America

ISBN: 0-9777589-0-7

Library of Congress Control Number: 2005937808

American Civil Liberties Union Foundation
Lesbian and Gay Rights Project
125 Broad Street
New York, NY 10004
212-549-2627
getequal@aclu.org
www.aclu.org/lgbt

Cover photos courtesy of ACLU clients.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

v	
v	Ac
	T
	• A PA I, T, AC, T, C, I
	T c
	• A PA I, T, A, T, I, A, A, CAPI
	• C s l, a, i s i a
	• A l, a, i s i a s
	• A l, a, i s i a s, Q, s
	• e d, P a r e h
	• e a c t, P s, c h, l, i c a l P a r e h
	• s e r P a r e h
	• e a l C h a l l e s, i s
	• A l, a, i s i a s, e r i s, P e d e
	T
	• A, A, I, A, A T, A C, I, I, A, A, T, A, I, A, A, A, A T, A, P P, I
	• I, I, C T, A, P A I, T, A
	• a e s, a l, a i s, r e a l, C h i L, r e s, e a L h
	• a, e l a r e, r a j, a i s

T c c c

GI, T, C, I, A, C, , T, AT
 C, A, P, A, T, A, I, T, A, I, A, T, A,
 , I, C, A, T, I, A, T, L, C, , I,
 A, e, r, i, e, | A, h, e, c, i, e, n, t, i, c, e, s, e, a, r, c, h, | e, s, i, a, s,
 a, s, | a, P, a, r, e, s, a, s, | h, e, i, r, C, h, i, L, e, n, t, i, c, e, s,
 , h, a, | i, h, e, | e, s, i, e, s, | , | e,
 , h, | i, h, e, | e, s, e, a, r, c, h, e, r, s, | e, | ,
 , | e, | , e, r, e, h, e, | e, s, i, e, s, Q, u, e, | c, e, | ,
 , h, a, | i, h, e, | e, s, i, e, s, | i, e, | ,
 , | e, | Q, u, e, | c, l, i, e, s, | T, h, i, s, | e, s, e, a, r, c, h, |
 T, h, e, | a, c, t, i, v, i, t, y, | a, e, r, | C, h, i, L, e, n, t, i, c, e, s, | e, | e, | a, | e, n, |
 , h, a, | e, s, h, e, c, i, e, n, t, i, c, e, s, e, a, r, c, h, | i, e, | e, | P, a, r, e, s, | a, | i, e, s,
 a, a, | e, | C, h, i, L, e, n, t, i, c, e, s, | a, i, e, s, | e, s, | i, a, s, | r, e, | a, | P, a, r, e, s,
 A, Q, u, e, r, s, a, | i, e, | i, h, | P, r, o, c, e, s, s, | e, | i, h, | a, c, e,
 - | a, | a, r, i, e, s, | a, | e, a, | i, e, | c, i, a, | c, i, e, n, t, i, c, e,
 - | e, | e, s, | i, e, s, | a, | P, a, r, e, s, | i, e, |

T c

I, I, C, T, , , A, P, A, I, T, ,
 A, I, A, , T, C, , I,
 T, h, e, A, | e, | i, e, | a, s, | e, | s, e, r, | P, l, a, c, a, | e, n, | P, r, o, c, e, s, s,
 C, a, s, e, | C, a, s, e, | e, n, | i, a, | i, e, s,
 a, r, r, i, e, s, | e, s, | i, a, s, | a, s, | a, | e, | e, | a, | t, | A, | e, | i, e,
 | r, e, | s, e, r, i, e, | e, | e, | l, e, s, | e, | e, | p, r, i, e, s, | C, h, i, L, e, n, t, i, c, e, s, | a, | l, | P, a, r, e, s,
 P, r, o, c, e, s, s, | a, | i, e, | C, h, i, L, e, n, t, i, c, e, s,
 T, h, e, | d, i, a, | g, n, o, s, i, c, | Q, u, e, s, t, i, o, n, s, | e, | l, | c, l, i, e, s, | i, e, s, | e, s, | i, a, s,
 a, s, | a, | A, | e, | i, e, | a, s, | e, | s, e, r, | P, a, r, e, s, |

A, | e, | I, T, A, A, T, A, P, A, I, T, , A,
 , | T, | , |

Each prospective adoptive or foster parent should be assessed on a case-by-case basis with the overriding determining factor being the ability to love, nurture, and care for a child in need of a family. CWLA backs up this assertion through the development and dissemination of our practice standards, known as the Standards of Excellence for Child Welfare Services, which are widely viewed as benchmarks for high-quality services that protect children and youth and strengthen families and neighborhoods.

Until recently, elected officials across the country deferred to the child welfare professionals' judgment that the system of case-by-case evaluations is the best practice. In fact, only one state in the country, Florida, bans all gay people from adopting, placing it well outside the mainstream of accepted child welfare practice. The state passed the ban in 1977 in response to an anti-gay crusade led by Anita Bryant, who was a singer and spokesperson for the Florida orange juice industry. Relying on harmful stereotypes about gay people, Bryant helped convince the legislature that the ban was needed to protect children.

At the time this law passed, there was little social science research about gay parenting to debunk the myths and stereotypes on which Bryant based her campaign. But in the nearly three decades since the Florida law went into effect, many social science studies have been conducted on the ability of gay people to parent and the development of their children. It has now been established by the research that gay people are just as capable of being good parents as heterosexual or "straight" people, and that their children are just as likely to be healthy and well-adjusted. Not a single reputable study has found that children raised by gay or lesbian parents have been harmed because of their parents' sexual orientation in any way.

Because of this research and because exclusions based on traits other than one's ability to be a good parent are contrary to good child welfare policy and practice, the Child Welfare League of America has issued a public statement supporting the parenting of children by lesbians and gay men, and condemning attempts to restrict competent, caring adults from serving as foster and/or adoptive parents. I am happy to report that CWLA is joined by every other major child health and welfare organization in this regard. These other organizations include the American Academy of Pediatrics, the American Psychiatric Association, the American Psychological Association, the National Association of Social Workers, and the North American Council on Adoptable Children. None of these organizations would take such a strong and unequivocal stand on an issue unless they were able to do so upon the basis of sound social science, established practice, and our collective expertise in serving children and families.

In recent years, however, we have witnessed a disturbing trend. Lawmakers in various regions of the country have ignored sound child welfare policy by introducing ill-conceived legislation to ban gay people from adopting and foster par-

wish to become parents from doing so goes against decades of science and child welfare practice. Moreover, it does nothing to alleviate our current child welfare crisis. We need more permanent families for our foster children, not fewer.

So it is with great pleasure that I introduce the American Civil Liberties Union's new edition of *Too High a Price*. This book gets it right. It provides chilling stories of how children are harmed by restrictions on gay parenting. It outlines the child welfare crisis we are facing and explains why laws that ban gay people from adopting and fostering don't protect children but make it harder to find homes for the many children in need. And by detailing the many social science studies

C

ince the first edition of this book was published in 2002, nearly a dozen state legislatures have considered bills that would ban lesbians and gay men from adopting and/or serving as foster parents. Thanks primarily to the efforts of local child welfare advocates who understand how much more difficult such laws would make it to place the many children in need of families, these bills have all failed. But anti-gay activists are motivated as never before and will continue to push this type of legislation, regardless of the terrible consequences for children.

This book explains why laws that put restrictions on parenting by gay people are bad child welfare policy and why they are ultimately most harmful to the children they purport to protect. Chapter 1 provides information about the prevalence of gay people raising children across the country. An overview of the legal landscape on gay parenting is provided in Chapter 2. This includes a summary of the laws related to custody and visitation, as well as adoption and fostering, by lesbians and gay men. Chapter 3 details the positions all the major children's health and welfare organizations have taken opposing restrictions on gay parenting. Chapters 4 and 5 then address the bases for these groups' positions. Chapter 4 outlines the social science research proving that gay people are equally capable parents and raise children who are just as healthy and well-adjusted as their peers. This chapter includes summaries of 25 of the leading studies. And Chapter 5 discusses how blanket restrictions, such as bans on adoption by gay people, are contrary to well-established child welfare policy because they throw away qualified prospective parents and reduce children's chances of finding families. This chapter includes a discussion of the desperate shortage of adoptive parents to meet the needs of children waiting to be adopted, and how children are affected when denied the love and stability of a family. Finally, Chapter 6 looks at the arguments and myths that have been used to justify anti-gay parenting laws and explains why they are wrong with point-by-point responses.

Obviously, laws that ban gay people from adopting and fostering are of critical importance to the LGBT community because labeling a group of people unfit to parent is an attack on their very humanity. But those who bear the real burden of such laws are the more than 100,000 parentless children who cannot afford to have any opportunity to find a good home taken away. Ultimately, these laws affect everyone because children who grow up without families are much less likely to grow into responsible adults. Young people who "age out" of the foster care system are at a stunningly high risk of dropping out of school, being unemployed, experiencing homelessness, and getting involved with drugs and criminal activity. As a society, we should be leaving no stone unturned to find families for these children. And we should not be enacting laws that will result in more children being condemned to life without a family.

We encourage you to use the information contained in this book to educate your local lawmakers. Let them know that ignoring the needs of children in order to make a political statement against gay people is not acceptable. Let them know that we can't afford to jeopardize the futures of so many children.

hile the “lesbian baby boom” that began in the 1980s has brought increased public awareness to parenting by lesbians and gay men, the reality is that there have always been gay parents. At least initially, most gay people became parents

bisexual. A widely regarded study by the University of Chicago, The National Health and Social Life Survey, deduced that from 2.7 to 4.9 percent of males are gay and from 1.3 to 4.1 percent of females are lesbian.²

Because we do not know how many gay people there are generally, it is difficult to know how many are raising children. Social scientists have estimated from the National Health and Social Life Survey that anywhere from one to nine million

2

ecisions about adoption and child custody are generally made by child welfare professionals and family court judges at the local level. A few states

that these states are entirely free of discrimination against gay parents, but that judges cannot overtly discriminate as they once could. Custody decisions are governed by the open-ended “best interests of the child” standard. In some cases, judges have applied this test unfairly to gay parents, finding some pretext for ruling against them.

In stark contrast to the majority of the cases, which do not permit discrimination in custody and visitation decisions, a handful of state supreme courts have fully endorsed the denial of custody based on parents’ lesbian or gay orientation. High courts in Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia have affirmed lower court rulings that denied custody based on parents’ sexual orientation or same-sex relationship.⁹ In a 2002 custody case before the Alabama Supreme Court involving a lesbian mother, although the ruling had nothing to do with the mother’s sexual orientation, the court’s chief justice took the opportunity to proclaim that homosexuality alone makes a person unfit to be a parent because it is “abhorrent, immoral, detestable, a crime against nature, and a violation of the laws of nature and of nature’s God.”¹⁰

DAVID WEIGAND, MISSISSIPPI

After David Weigand and his wife Machele got divorced in 1987, David did not oppose Machele having custody of their son Paul. This was a decision he would later regret.

After the divorce, David came out, moved to Lake Forest, California, fell in love, and settled down with his partner, Wayne Fields. But while David was building a stable life in California, Machele unfortunately was living in a violent home. According to court opinions,¹¹ she married Jeff Houghton, an abusive convicted felon. They were evicted from an apartment complex because the apartment manager couldn’t bear the physical abuse that Jeff was inflicting on Machele. At a subsequent trial over Paul’s custody, the manager testified:

“We hate for anyone to move, but I really feared for Machele’s life. This man had beat her so many times, you know, that it was unreal. And I told her, I said, ‘Machele, due to the circumstances,’ I said, ‘if he kills you, I don’t want this on my conscious[sic], and I think it would be best if you moved.’”¹²

The domestic abuse reached a crisis in 1996 when Jeff was arrested for hitting Machele on the face in Paul’s presence. A few months later, Jeff, who was drunk at the time, knocked out the driver’s side window where Machele was sitting in the car, again in Paul’s presence. When Paul started to scream, Jeff threatened to kill him. This time, Paul ran into the house and called 911.¹³

Soon after Jeff's second arrest, David asked the Mississippi courts to modify the earlier custody agreement and award him custody of Paul in light of the abuse in Paul's home. The facts presented at trial established David and Wayne to be a stable, faithful couple. Similarly, it was undisputed that David had fostered a good relationship with his son. David always took advantage of every opportunity to be with Paul when his visitation allowed and provided him with everything he needed. David encouraged Paul's writing talents and worked with him to get his stories published to better his chance of getting into a good college.

Even though Paul was forced to live in an extremely violent environment, astoundingly, the Mississippi court refused to transfer custody, concluding that because David is gay and in a same-sex relationship, he lacked the moral fitness to be a good parent. With the help of the ACLU, David appealed the decision to the Mississippi Supreme Court. But again, the court refused to modify custody.

Sadly, David's story is not unique for lesbian and gay parents. The ACLU has been involved in similar custody and visitation matters in other states. But this story fortunately ends with the child living in a safe home: eventually, the California courts took control of the case and awarded David custody of Paul.

Another issue that sometimes arises for lesbian and gay parents is the imposition of restrictions on their custody or visitation. The most common restriction experienced by gay parents is a prohibition against living with their partners while having custody of or visiting with their children. For example in Georgia, Jean Ann Vawter divorced her husband in 1994 and was granted sole custody of their children. Vawter later met a woman, fell in love, and had a commitment ceremony in 1996. The two women bought a house and lived together with Vawter's children. According to papers filed in court, Vawter's ex-husband went back to the family court in 1999 and asked that his ex-wife be held in contempt for exposing the couple's children to a "meretricious relationship." The judge ordered Vawter to immediately take her children and move away from her partner because he found their relationship to be "unwholesome." The Georgia Supreme Court refused to take Vawter's appeal.

Judges have also prohibited overnight visits by same-sex partners, involvement with gay political/social activities, contact with other gay people in general, and the expression of affection towards a partner in the presence of the children. These kinds of restrictions rest on assumptions that gay people will engage in inappropriate behavior around their children and appear to be attempts to hide the reality of the parent's sexual orientation from the children. Fortunately, most state appeals courts that have addressed this issue have rejected these kinds of restrictions, saying they are permissible only if there is proven harm to the child.¹⁴ But high courts in

children. After years of talking both between themselves and with their extended families, they eventually realized that they didn't just want to be parents; they wanted to help children who didn't have anyone else. The couple, who have been together thirteen years, considered leaving the state and moving somewhere with more favorable laws on gay parenting. But ultimately, they decided that the best way to help the many children in Florida in need of homes was to try to get the law changed. "We realized that there were probably a lot more people like us out there who would be willing to provide homes to a child in need," said Wayne, "so we decided to stay and fight." Wayne and Dan joined the legal challenge brought by the ACLU seeking to strike down the Florida law.

In the meantime, they decided that they could help children by becoming foster parents. While Florida bans gay people from adopting, it does not ban them from serving as foster parents. In fact, Florida's Department of Children and Families often relies on lesbians and gay men to provide homes to its foster children.

The couple took the required parenting course and welcomed their first foster child into their home in 1998. They have taken care of 25 children since. Many of these children were with them for short periods, ultimately being reunited with their birth parents or placed with other relatives. But since 2001, Wayne and Dan have been raising two boys, now ages eight and nine. The family court judges overseeing their placements have terminated the parental rights of each boy's biological parents, and the children are thriving under the couple's care. "They're like all brothers that close in age," said Wayne, "One minute they're best friends, the next they're fighting."

Wayne and Dan would love to be able to adopt the boys to give them the family stability they deserve, but unfortunately the federal courts upheld the law barring them from adopting. The family court judge handling the younger boy's placement issued a novel order transferring legal custody of the child to the couple in order to make sure he could stay permanently with his family. They are hoping to eventually get a similar order with regard to their older child. The uncertainty about whether they all will be able to remain together as a family has been difficult. Not wanting to make their older son feel left out, they've been afraid to tell the younger child that he now has a permanent home.

"We can't tell one he has a permanent home and not the other," said Wayne. When they ask—and they do all the time—the best we can say is 'if we have our way, this will be your home forever.' It's so unfair that these children have to suffer because a group of state lawmakers bought into a bunch of lies about gay people."

Adoption by Gay and Lesbian Couples

Generally, lesbian and gay individuals find it easier to adopt than a same-sex couple seeking to adopt a child together. For many same-sex couples, one partner adopts the child and then the other partner subsequently asks a court if he or she

In some states, however, the issue has been decisively answered by appellate courts. In a few states—Colorado, Ohio, Nebraska, and Wisconsin—appeals courts have held that second-parent adoptions are not permitted under those states’ adoption laws.²⁴

In nine states—California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Vermont—and Washington D.C., appellate courts or state statutes have established that second-parent adoption is available state-wide.²⁵ In several other states where the issue has never been brought to the appellate courts, individual judges have granted second-parent adoptions. In a few of these states, like Washington and Alaska, second-parent adoptions are widely approved by judges.

Legal Recognition of Psychological Parenthood

The best way for same-sex couples to guarantee both parents’ legal relationship with their children is through joint or second-parent adoption, as previously discussed, or other avenues for formal recognition of parenthood that might be available in a particular state. But where a couple did not take this step—either because it was not an option in their state or they simply failed to get it done—some courts recognize the parental role of a nonbiological or nonadoptive parent if there is a breakup or if the biological or adoptive parent dies.

Increasingly, courts are recognizing that there are adults who, while not legally related to a child, function as a parent to that child in every way and, therefore, should be treated as a parent. Courts refer to this as “de facto” or “psychological” parenthood and have applied this principle to lesbian and gay parents in several states.

To prove de facto or psychological parenthood, courts generally require a person to show that:

1. The biological or adoptive parent consented to and fostered the parent/child relationship;
2. He or she lived with the child;
3. He or she assumed the obligations of parenthood without expecting to be paid for his or her work;
4. He or she has been in a parental role long enough to have established a bonded, dependent relationship with the child.

Appeals courts have recognized some form of de facto or psychological parenthood in the context of same-sex couples in California, Colorado, Indiana, Maine,

TINA BURCH, WEST VIRGINIA

The loss of a partner is difficult enough, but for Tina Burch, her partner's death was the beginning of a long struggle to hold onto the son she had raised and nurtured since birth.

Tina and Christina Smarr met in 1998 through a softball league in their small West Virginia town. Within two years they moved in together, along with Burch's teenage daughter from a previous relationship. Not long after, they decided to have a baby. On Christmas Day, 1999, Christina gave birth to a son. The four settled into their Clay County home and lived as a family.

Everything changed in June of 2002 when Christina was killed in a car accident. Tina was injured in the accident as well. As soon as she was released from the hospital, she went to Christina's parents, who had been taking care of her son. According to papers filed in court, Christina's parents wouldn't let the boy return home with Tina or even allow her to visit him without supervision. Soon, Tina learned that Christina's parents were pressing for full custody of her son. She was devastated at first and convinced that she would lose her son. Although Christina had made sure that her parents were a part of their son's life, she hadn't told them about her relationship with Tina.

"I didn't want to tell my story," Tina said. "But deep down, I knew I had no choice."

Tina assumed that, as a gay parent, she was defenseless. She believed that there was no law to turn to in West Virginia to protect her relationship with her son. But Tina eventually found a lawyer willing to fight for her. At trial, the family court judge issued a ruling recognizing Tina as a "psychological parent." The judge found Tina and her son had a strong parent-child bond and that he should remain with Tina. When the case was appealed, however, that ruling was reversed because the appeals court refused to recognize same-sex partners as "psychological parents."

In June 2005, the West Virginia Supreme Court reversed that decision and granted Tina custody of her son.²⁸ After more than two years, she has finally been able to put this incredibly painful experience behind her.

Legal Parenting

As with adoption, foster parent eligibility is generally left to the child welfare authorities and family court judges. Few states have specific laws or policies

addressing fostering by lesbians and gay men. California, Massachusetts, and New Jersey have formal policies that bar discrimination against gay people seeking to be considered as foster parents.²⁹ In contrast, Nebraska is believed to have a statewide policy banning gay people from being considered as foster parents. Arkansas and Missouri had policies that barred gay people from foster parenting, but after successful legal challenges brought by the ACLU, these states now consider lesbians and gay men for fostering. In the past few years, legislatures in states including Arkansas, Indiana, and Texas have considered—but so far rejected—legislation that would ban gay people from serving as foster parents as a matter of state law.

LISA JOHNSTON AND DAWN ROGINSKI, MISSOURI

Lisa Johnston and her partner Dawn Roginski, both 40, applied to be foster parents to one or more of Missouri's many children in need. Because of their work and volunteer experiences, they were looking forward to giving a home to a child with special needs. When Lisa used to work at a facility for neglected and abused children, she saw lots of children in the foster care system.

“It was so hard seeing these children being bounced around from one placement to another,” she said. “We have so much love to give to a child, and we decided to try to share some of that love with some of those children who so desperately need it.”

So in 2003, when Lisa and Dawn applied for a foster care license, passed a rigorous initial home study, and began attending a training program for prospective foster parents, they thought they should sail through the approval process. Instead, a Department of Social Services (DSS) representative told them that their application for a license was being denied because they are lesbians. Ironically, the couple is far more qualified than most foster care applicants. Lisa works in child development and has a great deal of experience helping abused, neglected, and developmentally challenged children. Dawn is a chaplain at a psychiatric treatment center for children and adolescents with emotional and behavioral disorders, working with children assigned to the center by juvenile courts as well as children who have had difficulty with prior foster care placements. Lisa and Dawn are church leaders and lead a peaceful, home-centered life.

The couple appealed the decision and after losing an administrative appeal, eventually won at the Missouri Circuit Court in April 2006, after a three-year legal battle. The court ruled that there was no basis to deny the license. In response to the court's ruling, DSS agreed to change its policy and now allows lesbian and gay men to apply to foster parent.

Challenging Florida's Adoption Ban

In 1999, the ACLU and Florida's Children First filed a lawsuit in federal court challenging the Florida law banning adoptions by lesbians and gay men. While ultimately unsuccessful in court, the compelling stories about the plaintiffs in the case helped to put the case in the national spotlight and show Americans how restrictions against gay parenting harm children, especially those in need of homes.

Steve Lofton and his partner Roger Croteau have raised three foster children from Florida as well as two foster children from Oregon, where they live now. Steve and Roger, who are both nurses, were asked by the state to take in the three Florida children, who were all thought to be HIV-positive at birth. At the insistence of the state, Steve gave up his job to provide full-time care to the three children. After being with Steve and Roger for several years, it was discovered that one of the children, Bert, did not have HIV. When he suddenly became more attractive to potential adoptive parents, the state began looking for other families to adopt him despite the fact that this was the only family he had ever known.

Doug Houghton worked in the children's clinic of a Miami hospital when he first met Oscar and his family in the early 1990s. When Oscar was barely a year old, his mother (who is now dead) lost custody of him because she was neglecting him. By the time he was three, Oscar had been shuffled in and out of several homes and living with his biological dad, who had just become homeless again. In 1995, just days before Christmas, Oscar's dad showed up at the hospital and asked Doug to take the boy. Doug became Oscar's legal guardian and has been raising him ever since, but he cannot adopt him because of the Florida ban.

The plaintiffs argued that it was a violation of the Constitution's equal protection guarantee to categorically exclude gay people from consideration to be adoptive parents. The district court dismissed the case before trial, relying on nothing but speculation that married heterosexual couples provide the optimal family environment.³⁰ A three-judge panel of the United States Court of Appeals for the

- Homosexuality is not a mental disorder;
- There is no evidence that gay people, as a group, are more likely to engage in domestic violence than heterosexuals;
- There is no evidence that gay people, as a group, are more likely to sexually abuse children than heterosexuals.³⁶

The state appealed the case to the Arkansas Supreme Court, which unanimously upheld the lower court decision. The court found that “there is no correlation between the health, welfare, and safety of foster children *and* the blanket exclusion of any individual who is a homosexual or who resides in a household with a homosexual.” The Court went on to say that the state’s argument to the contrary “flies in the face” of the scientific evidence about the suitability of lesbian and gay people as foster parents. The Court added that “the driving force behind adoption of the regulation was not to promote the health, safety, and welfare of foster children, but rather based upon the Board’s view of morality and its bias against homosexuals”³⁷.

In Missouri, the ACLU brought the Johnston case, discussed previously, challenging the state’s denial of a foster application based on nothing but the applicant’s sexual orientation. After a trial court overturned a Missouri Department of Social Services decision denying Johnston’s application to foster parent, the Department agreed to change its policy and now allows lesbians and gay men to apply to foster parent.

Lambda Legal brought a case in federal court challenging Oklahoma’s law prohibiting recognition of adoptions by same-sex couples that were approved by courts in other states. The case was brought on behalf of a lesbian couple with twins who were adopted through second-parent adoption in New Jersey before the family moved to Oklahoma, and a gay male couple from Washington who adopted an Oklahoma child. Lambda argued that the law violates the right to equal protection as well as the full faith and credit clause of the Constitution. The United States District Court for the Western District of Oklahoma struck down the law in May 2006. The court ruled in *Finstuen v. Edmondson* that, “[t]he very fact that the adoptions have occurred is evidence that a court of law has found the adoptions to be in the best interests of the children. . . . To now attempt to strip a child of one of his or her parents seems far removed from the statute’s purpose and therefore from Defendants’ asserted important government objective”³⁸. The case has been appealed to the Federal Court of Appeals for the 10th Circuit. For updates on the case, visit www.lambdalegal.org.

The child's best interests. This is what everyone on all sides of the issue talks about when discussing whether lesbians and gay men should be parents. A proud grandmother knows with all her heart that her granddaughter's needs could not possibly be met better by anyone but her own daughter, who is a lesbian. Yet a conservative legislator is equally convinced that gay people simply cannot be appropriate role models, and so he is certain that it is never in children's best interests to be raised by gay people. Fortunately, assessing children's interests is not that subjective.

The most logical place to begin the search for information about the issue of parenting by lesbians and gay men is with the children's health and welfare experts. In the child welfare profession, as well as the fields of pediatrics, psychology, and psychiatry, there are national professional associations that provide guidance to the public regarding their areas of expertise.

Every mainstream health and child welfare organization—including the Child Welfare League of America, the American Academy of Pediatrics, and the American Psychological Association—has issued policies opposing restrictions on lesbian and gay parenting. These groups are not driven by political beliefs but by scientific evidence and widely accepted standards that guide how to assess and deliver what children need. And what children need, in short, is love, protection, stability, and guidance. They need the true focus of the child placement process to be on them, which is exactly what the prevailing public policy in this area does.

Ask mainstream children's groups about adoption, foster care, and other parenting, and it is unlikely they will jump right into talking about lesbian and gay parents. Instead, they will talk about the crisis in this country's child welfare system. They will talk about the 523,085 kids in foster care³⁹, many of whom are essentially warehoused and shuffled from one home to another until they turn eighteen and "age out" of the system. They will talk about the 118,761 of those kids who are ready to be adopted but still waiting because nobody wants them.⁴⁰ They will talk about the kids they see who are abused and neglected and the thousands of

kids who somehow get “lost” in the system and made vulnerable by the very safety net that is supposed to catch them. And then they will ask why limiting the pool of qualified, loving parents is even debated.

The professionals who advocate on children’s behalf have strong and clear feelings about foster care and adoption policy and practice generally, and gay parents

dren growing up in families with one or more gay parents, compared to children growing up with heterosexual parents (Perrin 2002). Indeed, evidence to date suggests home environments provided by gay and lesbian parents support and enable children's psychosocial growth, just as do those provided by heterosexual parents (Patterson 1995)...

All applicants should be assessed on the basis of their abilities to successfully parent a child needing family membership and not on their race, ethnicity or culture, income, age, marital status, religion, appearance, differing lifestyle, or sexual orientation. Applicants should be accepted on the basis of an individual assessment of their capacity to understand and meet the needs of a particular available child at the point of the adoption and in the future (CWLA 2000)...⁴²

American Academy of Pediatrics

The American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP) is a membership organization of approximately 60,000 pediatricians dedicated to the health, safety, and well-being of infants, children, adolescents, and young adults.⁴³

Children deserve to know that their relationships with both of their parents are stable and legally recognized. This applies to all children, whether their parents are of the same or opposite sex. The American Academy of Pediatrics recognizes that a considerable body of professional literature provides evidence that children with parents who are homosexual can have the same advantages and the same expectations for health, adjustment, and development, as can children whose parents are heterosexual. When two adults participate in parenting a child, they and the child deserve the serenity that comes with legal recognition.

Children born or adopted into families headed by partners who are of the same sex usually have only one biologic or adoptive legal parent. The other partner in a parental role is called the "coparent" or "second parent." Because these families and children need the permanence and security that are provided by having two fully sanctioned and legally defined parents, the Academy supports the legal adoption of children by coparents or second parents. Denying legal parent status through adoption to coparents or second parents prevents these children from enjoying the psychological and legal security that comes from having 2 willing, capable, and loving parents.

Several states have considered or enacted legislation sanctioning second-parent adoption by partners of the same sex. In addition, legislative initiatives assuring legal status equivalent to marriage for gay and lesbian partners, such as the law approving civil unions in Vermont, can also attend to providing security and permanence for the children of those partnerships.

Many states have not yet considered legislative actions to ensure the security of children whose parents are gay or lesbian. Rather, adoption has been decided by probate or family courts on a case-by-case basis. Case precedent is limited. It is important that a broad ethical mandate exist nationally that will guide the courts in providing necessary protection for children through coparent adoption.

Coparent or second-parent adoption protects the child's right to maintain continuing relationships with both parents. The legal sanction provided by coparent adoption accomplishes the following:

1. Guarantees that the second parent's custody rights and responsibilities will be protected if the first parent were to die or become incapacitated. Moreover, second-parent adoption protects the child's legal right of relationships with both parents. In the absence of coparent adoption, members of the family of the legal parent, should he or she become incapacitated, might successfully challenge the surviving coparent's rights to continue to parent the child, thus causing the child to lose both parents.
2. Protects the second parent's rights to custody and visitation if the couple separates. Likewise, the child's right to maintain relationships with both parents after separation, viewed as important to a positive outcome in separation or divorce of heterosexual parents, would be protected for families with gay or lesbian parents.
3. Establishes the requirement for child support from both parents in the event of the parents' separation.
4. Ensures the child's eligibility for health benefits from both parents.
5. Provides legal grounds for either parent to provide consent for medical care and to make education, health care, and other important decisions on behalf of the child.
6. Creates the basis for financial security for children in the event of the death of either parent by ensuring eligibility to all appropriate entitlements, such as Social Security survivor benefits.

On the basis of the acknowledged desirability that children have and maintain a continuing relationship with two loving and supportive parents, the Academy recommends that pediatricians do the following:

- Be familiar with professional literature regarding gay and lesbian parents and their children.

- Support the right of every child and family to the financial, psychological, and legal security that results from having legally recognized parents who are committed to each other and to the welfare of their children.
- Advocate for initiatives that establish permanency through coparent or second-parent adoption for children of same-sex partners through the judicial system, legislation, and community education.⁴⁴

A Note about the American College of Pediatricians:

When the American Academy of Pediatrics passed its policy statement supporting second-parent adoptions by lesbian and gay parents in 2002, a fringe group of approximately 60 of the AAP's more than 60,000 members formed the "American College of Pediatricians".⁴⁵ This group has been described by one of its charter members as a "Judeo-Christian, traditional-values organization" that is open to pediatric medical professionals of all religions "who hold to [the ACP's] core beliefs," which are that "life begins at conception, and that the traditional family unit, headed by an opposite-sex couple, poses far fewer risk factors in the adoption and raising of children."⁴⁶ This group issued a position statement in January 2004 supporting the "age-old prohibition on homosexual parenting, whether by adoption, foster care, or by reproductive manipulation."⁴⁷

American Pediatric Association

The nation's largest physician's group, the American Medical Association, advocates on issues vital to the nation's health.⁴⁸

Our AMA will support legislative and other efforts to allow the adoption of a child by the same-sex partner, or opposite sex non-married partner, who functions as a second parent or co-parent to that child.⁴⁹

American Psychiatric Association

The American Psychiatric Association includes over 35,000 member physicians.⁵⁰

1. Sexual orientation should not be used as the sole or primary factor in child custody determinations.
2. Gay and lesbian couples and individuals should be allowed to become parents through adoption, fostering and new reproductive technologies, subject to the same types of screening used with heterosexual couples and individuals.
3. Second parent adoptions, which grant full parental rights to a second, unrelated adult (usually an unmarried partner of a legal parent), are

often in the best interest of the child(ren) and should not be prohibited solely because both adults are of the same gender.

4. Custody determinations after dissolution of a gay relationship should be done in a manner similar to other custody determinations.⁵¹

American Psychological Association

The American Psychological Association is a scientific and professional organization that includes over 150,000 members.⁵²

Many lesbians and gay men are parents. In the 2000 U.S. Census, 33% of female same-sex couple households and 22% of male same-sex couple households reported at least one child under the age of 18 living in the home. Despite the significant presence of at least 163,879 households headed by lesbian or gay parents in U.S. society, three major concerns about lesbian and gay parents are commonly voiced (Falk, 1994; Patterson, Fulcher & Wainright, 2002). These include concerns that lesbians and gay men are mentally ill, that lesbians are less maternal than heterosexual women, and that lesbians' and gay men's relationships with their sexual partners leave little time for their relationships with their children. In general, research has failed to provide a basis for any of these concerns (Patterson, 2000, 2004a; Perrin, 2002; Tasker, 1999; Tasker & Golombok, 1997). First, homosexuality is not a psychological disorder (Conger, 1975). Although exposure to prejudice and discrimination based on sexual orientation may cause acute distress (Mays & Cochran, 2001; Meyer, 2003), there is no reliable evidence that homosexual orientation per se impairs psychological functioning. Second, beliefs that lesbian and gay adults are not fit parents have no empirical foundation (Patterson, 2000, 2004a; Perrin, 2002). Lesbian and heterosexual women have not been found to differ markedly in their approaches to child rearing (Patterson, 2000; Tasker, 1999). Members of gay and lesbian couples with children have been found to divide the work involved in childcare evenly, and to be satisfied with their relationships with their partners (Patterson, 2000, 2004a). The results of some studies suggest that lesbian mothers' and gay fathers' parenting skills may be superior to those of matched heterosexual parents. There is no scientific basis for concluding that lesbian mothers or gay fathers are unfit parents on the basis of their sexual orientation (Armesto, 2002; Patterson, 2000; Tasker & Golombok, 1997). On the contrary, results of research suggest that lesbian and gay parents are as likely as heterosexual parents to provide supportive and healthy environments for their children.

CHILDREN OF LESBIAN AND GAY PARENTS

As the social visibility and legal status of lesbian and gay parents has increased, three major concerns about the influence of lesbian and gay

parents on children have been often voiced (Falk, 1994; Patterson,

WHEREAS APA has a long-established policy to deplore “all public and private discrimination against gay men and lesbians” and urges “the repeal of all discriminatory legislation against lesbians and gay men” (Conger, 1975);

WHEREAS the APA adopted the Resolution on Child Custody and Placement in 1976 (Conger, 1977, p. 432);

WHEREAS discrimination against lesbian and gay parents deprives their children of benefits, rights, and privileges enjoyed by children of heterosexual married couples;

WHEREAS some jurisdictions prohibit gay and lesbian individuals and same-sex couples from adopting children, notwithstanding the great need for adoptive parents (Lofton v. Secretary, 2004);

WHEREAS there is no scientific evidence that parenting effectiveness is related to parental sexual orientation: lesbian and gay parents are as likely as heterosexual parents to provide supportive and healthy environments for their children (Patterson, 2000, 2004; Perrin, 2002; Tasker, 1999);

WHEREAS research has shown that the adjustment, development, and psychological well-being of children is unrelated to parental sexual orientation and that the children of lesbian and gay parents are as likely as those of heterosexual parents to flourish (Patterson, 2004; Perrin, 2002; Stacey & Biblarz, 2001);

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the APA opposes any discrimination based on sexual orientation in matters of adoption, child custody and visitation, foster care, and reproductive health services;

THEREFORE BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the APA believes that children reared by a same-sex couple benefit from legal ties to each parent;

THEREFORE BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the APA supports the protection of parent-child relationships through the legalization of joint adoptions and second-parent adoptions of children being reared by same-sex couples;

THEREFORE BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that APA shall take a leadership role in opposing all discrimination based on sexual orientation in matters of adoption, child custody and visitation, foster care, and reproductive health services;

THEREFORE BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that APA encourages psychologists to act to eliminate all discrimination based on sexual orientation in matters of adoption, child custody and visitation, foster care,

and reproductive health services in their practice, research, education

findings. The second most striking feature is how similar the groups of gay and lesbian parents and their children are to the heterosexual parents and their children that were included in the studies...⁵⁷

Barriers that prevent children from being placed in permanent homes must be removed... Barriers that are unsupported by tested experience—such as resistance to using single parents, foster parents (for adoption), and nontraditional family patterns (including lesbian and gay, bisexual, and transgender parents) as potential foster care and adoption resources—must be removed...⁵⁸

Legislation legitimizing second-parent adoptions in same-sex households should be supported. Legislation seeking to restrict foster care and adoption by gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender people should be vigorously opposed.⁵⁹

North American Council on Adoptable Children (NACAC)

The North American Council on Adoptable Children (NACAC) is committed to meeting the needs of children who are in need of homes and the families who adopt them. It provides education, parent support, research, and advocacy.⁶⁰

Children should not be denied a permanent family because of the sexual orientation of potential parents. All prospective foster and adoptive parents, regardless of sexual orientation, should be given fair and equal consideration. NACAC opposes rules and legislation that restrict the consideration of current or prospective foster and adoptive parents based on their sexual orientation.⁶¹

American Academy of Family Physicians (AAFP)

The American Academy of Family Physicians is one of the largest national medical organizations, representing more than 94,000 family physicians, family medicine residents, and medical students nationwide.⁶² The AAFP established a policy to be “supportive of legislation which promotes a safe and nurturing environment, including psychological and legal security, for all children, including those of adoptive parents, regardless of the parents’ sexual orientation.”⁶³

Chapter 3 discussed the major children’s health and welfare organizations’ positions on parenting by lesbians and gay men. These groups all agree that a person’s sexual orientation says nothing about his or her ability to be a good parent, and that being raised by lesbian or gay parents does not impair children’s development in any way. The reason they all agree is that it has been firmly established by scientific research. This chapter of *Too High A Price* is devoted to a discussion of that research.

Until the 1970s, there was virtually no scientific research on gay parents or their children because there were not very many openly gay parents to study. Until then, lesbians and gay men raising children generally were not open about their sexual orientation for reasonable fear of losing custody of their children or other forms of discrimination. It wasn’t until the gay liberation movement was well underway that lesbian mothers and gay fathers began to come out in significant numbers, providing subjects to study. And the 1980s marked the beginning of the “lesbian baby boom,” a rise in lesbian couples planning families together through adoption or assisted reproductive technology. More and more gay male couples are also choosing to become parents.

With the appearance of openly gay and lesbian parents in the last quarter century, and in significant numbers in the past 20 years, scientists have had the opportunity to study these families, evaluating the parenting abilities of lesbian and gay parents and how well their children are developing. There is now a well-developed body of scientific research on lesbian and gay parents and their children in scholarly journals.⁶⁴ The academic literature includes more than two dozen studies that have evaluated several hundred parents and children. The studies found, without exception, that gay people are just as capable parents and that children raised by lesbians and gay men are just as healthy and well-adjusted as other children.

This chapter first provides an overview of the scientific research on lesbian and gay parents and their children, describing how the studies were conducted, the findings they reported, and the significance of those findings to researchers. The

chapter then discusses what developmental psychologists have determined are

from various states in this country,⁷³ as well as families in England,⁷⁴ Belgium,⁷⁵ and the Netherlands.⁷⁶

Most of the families studied were located by such methods as placing advertisements in gay magazines and newspapers, posting notices with women's groups and gay community organizations, and through referrals. This type of sampling—seeking out eligible subjects where the researcher expects to find them—is known as convenience sampling and is typically used in psychological research, especially where the population being studied is a small minority that is hard to find. However, in some of the more recent studies, researchers were able to study families drawn from random samples. For example, two research teams drew samples from all former patients of fertility clinics who had children in a certain age range.⁷⁷ One study drew its subjects from the Avon Longitudinal Study of Parents and Children, a study of all of the children born in Avon, England over the course of a designated 20-month period that included over 14,000 children.⁷⁸ Another study was based on a nationally-representative sample of over 12,000 adolescents in the United States.⁷⁹

Where the researchers compared

Most of the studies compared families headed by lesbian parents to families with heterosexual parents, matching them for other criteria that might affect development, such as parents' age, income, family size, and family structure (single versus two-parent families). Like most research in the field of developmental psychology, most of these studies were intensive examinations of children and parents. The samples typically included a few dozen subjects in each group, although some were larger.⁸⁰ The methods used by researchers included a range of the standard methodologies utilized in the f

The sexual orientation of parents does not affect children's social development.

The sexual orientation of parents does not affect the quality of their relationships with their children. Some researchers assessed the quality of parent-child

a considerable body of professional literature provides evidence that children with parents who are homosexual can have the same advantages and the same expectations for health, adjustment, and development as can children whose parents are heterosexual.¹⁰⁸

The Child Welfare League of America's statement in support of same-sex parenting explained that group's assessment of the scientific research,

Studies using diverse samples and methodologies in the last decade have persuasively demonstrated that there are no systematic differences between gay or lesbian and non-gay or lesbian parents in emotional health, parenting skills, and attitudes toward parenting. No studies have found risks to or disadvantages for children growing up in families with one or more gay parents, compared to children growing up with heterosexual parents. Indeed, evidence to date suggests home environments provided by gay and lesbian parents support and enable children's psychosocial growth, just as do those provided by heterosexual parents.¹⁰⁹

With study after study showing uniform results, whether parental sexual orientation affects children's successful adjustment is no longer an open question or subject of debate among social scientists. It is well-settled that it does not.

T C V

The studies' findings that children of lesbian and gay parents are equally well-adjusted is consistent with what has long been known about children's development from the broader body of scientific research. An enormous body of research on children conducted by developmental psychologists over the past 50 years has shown that children's healthy adjustment depends overwhelmingly upon three factors:

- the quality of the parenting—affection, reliability, consistency, limit setting, responsiveness, and emotional commitment promote healthy adjustment;
- the quality of the relationship between the parents (if there are two)—harmonious relationships support healthy adjustment of children, while significant conflict impedes it; and
- the availability of adequate economic resources.¹¹⁰

This is the case for children who are raised in what used to be called “traditional” families (but are now a minority among families): a married mother and father where the father is the breadwinner and the mother takes care of the children. And it is equally so for children raised in the range of “nontraditional” families—

adequate socioeconomic resources, most children who grow up in single-parent families do well.¹¹⁶ And divorce often involves parental conflict, the loss or diminishment of a relationship with one parent, and loss of resources; the negative effects of these circumstances on children is well-documented in the research.¹¹⁷

Moreover, the notion that it is the absence of a male or a female parent that makes the difference for children in single-parent families is contradicted by the fact that children whose fathers died do not experience the same adjustment problems experienced by children who live with a single mother after divorce,¹¹⁸ and by the fact that children in step-families are also at a higher risk for adverse outcomes.¹¹⁹

Sara S. McLanahan, one of the most prominent researchers of the effects on children of being raised in single-parent families, concluded that her results “do not support the notion that the long term absence of a male role model itself is the

A few studies found that lesbians worry less than heterosexual parents about the gender conformity of their children. Perhaps that helps to account for a few studies that found that sons of lesbians play less aggressively and that children of lesbians communicate their feelings more freely, aspire to a wider range of occupations, and score higher on self-esteem. I think most people would see these as

have quite robust findings that there is absolutely no reason to be concerned that children of gay parents will be harmed or experience any problems in adjustment. In our review, we concluded:

Because every relevant study to date shows that parental sexual orientation per se has no measurable effect on the quality of parent child relationships or on children's mental health or social adjustment, there is no evidentiary basis for considering parental sexual orientation in decisions about children's "best interest."

H c c c
c z v c

Since our 2001 article, many new studies have appeared on planned lesbian parenthood, generally couples who had children through donor insemination. We also now have some research with representative national or community samples. And new



Parenting Behaviors of Gay and Heterosexual Fathers

JERRY J. BIGNER AND R. BROOKE JACOBSEN (1989)

Summary: This study investigated parenting behaviors of heterosexual and gay fathers. Gay fathers did not differ significantly from heterosexual fathers in terms of overall parental involvement, intimacy, and parenting skills. There were some differences between the groups in approaches to parenting: gay fathers tended to be more communicative with their children, to enforce rules more strictly, and to be more responsive to the perceived needs of children.

Measures: Parenting practices

Types of families: Single-parent heterosexual and gay fathers with at least two children

Bigner and Jacobsen's 1989 study is one of the few studies that focuses on gay fathers. A total of 68 packets were sent to gay fathers in a support group in Denver, Colorado, of which 33 were returned. The 33 gay father participants were then matched with 33 fathers, presumed to be non-gay, who were selected randomly from a large subject pool of participants that had previously participated in a study. The men were all white, had a high level of income, and lived in an urban area. The mean age was 40 years, and the mean level of education was high school graduate. The group included 6 married men, 48 divorced men, 8 men who were separated, and 4 who were never married. All participants had at least two children, and the mean age of the children was 11 years.

Each father was given the Iowa Parent Behavior Inventory to complete. The test is composed of 36 items designed to measure five factors: 1) involvement with children, 2) limit-setting, 3) responsiveness, 4) reasoning guidance, and 5) intimacy. Significant differences between the two groups of fathers were found in three factors: 1) limit-setting, 2) responsiveness, and 3) reasoning guidance. Gay fathers tended to be more consistent in setting and enforcing limits on children's behaviors. In addition, they were more likely to promote cognitive skills by explaining rules. They placed greater emphasis on verbal communication and tended to be more responsive to the perceived needs of their children. Although no differences were found in the factors of involvement and intimacy as a whole, differences were found in specific areas. Gay fathers went to greater lengths to act as a resource for activities with children. Also, although gay fathers showed no differences with other fathers in terms of intimacy with children, they were less likely to be affectionate with their partners in front of their children. Gay fathers were more egalitarian and more likely to encourage their children to discuss their fears with them. Overall, however, gay fathers and heterosexual fathers had few differences in parenting abilities and skills.

Parenting behaviors and attitudes of gay and heterosexual fathers. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 6, 1-11.

Parenting behaviors and attitudes of gay and heterosexual fathers

JERRY J. BIGNER AND R. BROOKE JACOBSEN (1992)

Summary: This study explored parenting behaviors and attitudes about fathering of gay and heterosexual fathers and found no differences between the two groups.

Measures: Parenting practices

Types of families: Gay fathers and heterosexual single fathers

This 1992 study looked at parenting behaviors and attitudes toward the role of fathering among gay and heterosexual fathers. The authors recruited 24 self-identified gay fathers from a gay fathers support group. They recruited 29 other men from a support group for single parents. They assumed the men in the single parent support group were heterosexual and did not specifically ask these men about their sexual or

differ from heterosexual families with regard to factors believed to influence the parent-child relationship: experience of parenthood, child-rearing goals, couple relationships, and social support. Results showed no differences between lesbian and heterosexual parents in terms of parental competence or burden. Lesbian mothers were found to differ from heterosexual parents in that they viewed conformity as a less important child-rearing goal. It was also found that lesbian nonbiological mothers (“social mothers”) were more likely than heterosexual fathers to feel the need to justify their parenting roles.

Measures: Parenting practices and attitudes, quality of relationship between the parents, parents’ use of social supports

Types of families: Planned two-parent lesbian families with children conceived by donor insemination and two-parent heterosexual families with conventionally conceived children

This study was conducted in the Netherlands, and compared 100 lesbian two-mother families with children conceived by donor insemination with 100 heterosexual two-parent families in which the children had been conceived naturally. The children in these families had all been raised in their families since birth and were between the ages of four and eight.

Lesbian couples were recruited from all patients of a fertility clinic between 1992 and 1996, a mailing list of a gay parent group, counselors working with gay and lesbian people, and by placing an advertisement in a lesbian magazine. The heterosexual comparison group was drawn from the population register of two cities and through schools and referrals from the lesbian parent group. Families were matched between groups according to degree of urbanization in which they lived, the number of children in the family, and the age and gender of the target children. Researchers used standard questionnaires to measure the experiences of parenthood, the quality of relationship between partners, the use of social support mechanisms (such as reliance on friends or consultation with schoolteachers), and child-rearing goals.

The study found no significant differences between the lesbian biological mothers and the heterosexual mothers in terms of parental competence, burden or justification. As between lesbian social mothers and fathers, there were no differences in parental competence or burden, but lesbian social mothers reported significantly more often than fathers that they felt the need to justify their parenthood. There were no significant differences between the two groups in terms of couple relationship satisfaction, but lesbian biological mothers expressed more satisfaction with their part-

ner as a co-parent than heterosexual mothers did. There were no significant differences in child-rearing goals with one exception: lesbian parents found it significantly less important than heterosexual parents that their children develop qualities of social conformity. There were no significant differences between lesbian and heterosexual families with regard to use of social support, although among the heterosexual couples, the mothers were more likely than the fathers to use informal social support.

Lesbian mothers and co-parents were more likely than heterosexual mothers to use formal social support. Lesbian mothers and co-parents were more likely than heterosexual mothers to use informal social support. Lesbian mothers and co-parents were more likely than heterosexual mothers to use formal social support.

Lesbian mothers and co-parents were more likely than heterosexual mothers to use formal social support. Lesbian mothers and co-parents were more likely than heterosexual mothers to use informal social support. Lesbian mothers and co-parents were more likely than heterosexual mothers to use formal social support.

A. BREWAEYS, I. PONJAERT, E.V. VAN HALL, AND S. GOLOMBOK (1997)

Summary: This study found no differences in the adjustment or gender role development of children of lesbian mothers compared to children of heterosexual mothers.

The researchers measured the quality of the parent-child relationship through a standardized interview of the parents. Data was also obtained about the division of professional and child care activities and the extent to which partners were helpful with disciplinary issues. The child's own perception of his/her relationship with each parent was measured using a standard family relations test. The emotional and behavioral adjustment of the child was measured via a standard parental report instrument (CBCL), and the gender role behavior of the child was

well-being, quality of relationship
between parents

Types of families: Lesbian and heterosexual couples who conceived through donor insemination

This study compared the division of family labor between lesbian-headed families and heterosexual-headed families, all of whom conceived via donor insemination. All the children were elementary school-aged at the time of the study. The study looked at the overall level of satisfaction in the couples' relationships and the impact of this variable on the psychological adjustment of sons and daughters. Thirty lesbian and 16 heterosexual couples, with a total of 30 boys and 16 girls, participated in the study. Participating families were drawn from the former clients of The Sperm Bank of California. All of the parents were predominantly well-educated, non-Hispanic white, and relatively affluent. The lesbian mothers had a slightly higher level of education.

To assess division of labor in the household and satisfaction with that division, the authors used a test that measures actual and ideal distribution of household tasks, family decision-making, and child care tasks. To assess the couples' relationship quality, the study used another psychological test designed to measure relationship adjustment. Finally, the authors used a standardized questionnaire to measure love, emotional attachment, and conflict. Children's social competence and behavior were measured through standardized questionnaires given both to the child's biological mother and to the child's teacher.

The study found some significant differences between the lesbian and heterosexual couples. Both the lesbian and the heterosexual couples shared household tasks and made decisions in a relatively egalitarian fashion. However, the lesbian couples split the child care responsibilities more equally than the heterosexual couples. The heterosexual mothers performed the majority of the child-care tasks in their families. Moreover, the lesbian couples placed a high value on an equal distribution of household and decision-making tasks and were generally pleased with their current family situation. The heterosexual mothers generally wanted their husbands to take more responsibility for child care, but the fathers preferred leaving this to their wives. For this reason, the fathers generally reported satisfaction with child care arrangements, and the mothers reported dissatisfaction. Despite the heterosexual mothers' desire for more egalitarian distribution of child care tasks, both the lesbian and the heterosexual parents showed equal levels of satisfaction with their relationships and their participation in household tasks.

Both groups of parents had relationship adjustment scores above the national average. Also, all of the parents reported high levels of love and low or moderate levels of conflict; there were no significant differences in reported love or conflict between the lesbian and heterosexual couples. No differences were found between the children of heterosexual parents and the children of lesbian parents

when it came to the ability of the children to relate with peers and the existence of behavioral problems.

Chan, Raymond W., Barbara Raboy, and Charlotte J. Patterson (1998).
The Psychological Well-Being of Children of Lesbian and Gay Parents.
Journal of Family Psychology, 12(1), 103-110.

Psychological Well-Being of Children of Lesbian and Gay Parents
Qian, C. E., Raboy, B., & Patterson, C. J. (1998).
The Psychological Well-Being of Children of Lesbian and Gay Parents.

RAYMOND W. CHAN, BARBARA RABOY, AND CHARLOTTE J. PATTERSON (1998)

Summary: This study found that the sexual orientation and relationship status of parents had no significant impact on the psychological well-being of their children. Rather, children were impacted by other factors, such as parents' psychological well-being and parenting stress—neither of which correlated with sexual orientation.

Measures: Child's emotional/psychological well-being, child's social adjustment, parents' psychological well-being

Types of families: Lesbian single mothers and couples, heterosexual single mothers and couples, all of whom conceived through donor insemination

This study compared lesbian single mothers, lesbian mother couples, heterosexual single mothers, and heterosexual parent couples who conceived children via donor insemination. The children were compared in terms of psychological well-being and social adjustment, and the parents were compared in terms of psychological well-being and, when applicable, couples' relationships.

Participants were recruited from The Sperm Bank of California. All clients who had conceived children who were at least five years old were contacted. The researchers obtained a sample of 34 lesbian couples, 21 lesbian single mothers, 16 heterosexual couples, and 9 heterosexual single mothers. Demographically, the families were very similar: they were mostly well-educated, employed at least part time, and had family incomes above national averages. Both the lesbian biological mothers and nonbiological mothers were more educated than the heterosexual biological mothers and nonbiological fathers, respectively. The couples had higher annual household incomes than the single mothers. There were no other significant demographic differences.

Parents and the children's teachers were given standard questionnaires to evaluate the children's social adjustment and behavioral problems. The questionnaires assessed social competence, the way children handle their problems, total behavior problems, academic performance, and ability to adapt to different situations. Parents were evaluated for parenting stress, depressive symptoms, and self-esteem. In addition, for families headed by couples, various tests were used to assess their relationships—relationship satisfaction and amount of conflict.

The results showed that the parents and the children in each group were well-adjusted, regardless of sexual orientation and whether or not their mothers had partners. Nonbiological lesbian mothers were more likely to report behavior problems in their children than the nonbiological heterosexual fathers. Parents and teachers' reports of children's behavior problems did not correlate with parents' sexual orientation but did correlate with parents' stress. Among the couples, parents who reported greater satisfaction with their relationship, higher levels of love, and lower inter-parental conflict had children who were better adjusted.

Charl e Pa erq i -- .Ps.ch q diaLA z sv eA i l i
 ChiL r e q i ce i e ia r i i r i s e i a i i i s r e s i a k a k , e e r t s e - a L r i h e r s .
 ChiL r e e t s e i e k - i i , A r i L r r i C .

es i a k s Ch i l s i k , l h e r h i l , A Q i z a r a i e - r i l ▲
 es i a k a k , e e r t s e - a L P a r e k s a k Their ChiL r e k

**DAVID K. FLAKS, IDA FICHER, FRANK MASTERPASQUA,
 AND GREGORY JOSEPH (1995)**

Summary: This study found that children of lesbians and children of heterosexuals were equally healthy in terms of psychological well-being and social adjustment. The lesbian mothers were found to have more developed parenting awareness skills than the heterosexual parents. And the lesbian couples showed higher levels of cohesion and the heterosexual couples showed lower levels of consensus.

Measures: Child's emotional/psychological well-being, child's social adjustment, parenting practices, quality of relationship between parents

Types of families: Lesbian donor-inseminated couples, heterosexual couples who conceived conventionally

children's psychological well-being and social adjustment, as well as parenting practices and the parents' relationships.

Subjects were recruited through a lesbian mother support group, advertisements in publications including a lesbian newspaper and newsletters of women's organizations and gay and lesbian parenting groups, friendship networks, professional referrals, and referrals from other participants. The researchers used these criteria for choosing the couples: 1) the lesbian couple must be two self-identified lesbians living together with their children in an ongoing relationship, 2) the lesbian couples were required to have used donor insemination, 3) the heterosexual couples must be married and living together with their biological children in an ongoing relationship, and 4) each couple must have had at least one child between three and ten years old. Fifteen lesbian couples and 15 heterosexual couples were selected. Each lesbian couple was then matched with the most similar heterosexual couple on the variables of sex, age, and birth order of the children as well as on race, educational level, and income of the parents. Each parent group had 8 girls and 7 boys; a total of 30 children were studied.

Most of the families who participated in the study lived in Pennsylvania. They were all white, mostly well-educated, employed at least part time, and had been living with their partners for similar lengths of time. The only difference was that the lesbian parents were somewhat older than the heterosexual parents. Each group of children had a mean age of 5.8 years and, for the most part, were in the same grades at school.

Standardized questionnaires were given to the parents and the teachers, measuring the children's cognitive functioning, behavioral adjustment, social adjustment, performance in school, and well-being. A standardized questionnaire given to parents evaluated the couple relationships—level of agreement, affection, satisfaction, and cohesion. And parenting skills the parents. (e)1(a)1sua affection,

parents also reported that their children had a substantial social network of both related and unrelated adults. The amount of contact did not differ significantly in the two family types. There was also no difference in the number of adult men with whom either group of children had contact. Regardless of parental sexual orientation, significantly more children were reported to be in regular contact with their biological grandparents as compared to their nonbiological grandparents.

— Lcher, e ak_ aL [k], Chak ar ara_ a [k] CharL e_ Pa erseq [k], . Q k ac_ i h
 ■ rak_ parek saL [k] Chil rek Q kcei e_ ia [k] r k sa_ ik a [k] / es ia k ak
 , e er seq_ aL [k] hers_ Parek ik_ / ci k ce ak_ *Practice*, [k] [k] [k] C

Chil rek ik_ es ia k ak_ ik_ le Parek_ [k] - seh [k] L s,
 Ps, ch seq_ aLa_ Ps, chia ric A_ raisal

SUSAN GOLOMBOK, ANN SPENCER, AND MICHAEL RUTTER (1983)

Summary: This study found no significant differences between children raised by lesbians and children raised by single heterosexual mothers on measures of emotions, behavior, relationships with peers, gender identity, or gender behavior.

Measures: Child's social adjustment, quality of parent-child relationship, parenting practices, parent's psychological well-being, child's gender behavior

Types of families: Divorced lesbian and heterosexual mothers

This study compared 37 children reared in lesbian mother households (a combination of single and coupled mothers) with 38 children being raised in heterosexual, single-mother households. In each group there were 27 parents. The children were five to seventeen years old, and their average age was nine to ten years. The two groups of parents had equally mixed vocations, though the lesbians tended to have more education, and more were in professional occupations. The children of the lesbian mothers had more contact with their fathers than the children of the heterosexual mothers. The authors recruited their families through advertisements in a range of gay and single-parent publications and through contacts with gay and single-parent organizations.

The mothers and the children were interviewed individually by psychologists who administered standardized interviews to assess various aspects of personal and family functioning. One section of the interview was specific to lesbian mothers with partners, who were asked a series of questions about household activities and division of labor and the quality of their relationship. The portions of the interviews pertaining to the child's psychiatric state, peer relationships and sexual orientation were conducted separately by a child psychiatrist, who

Summary: This study found no significant difference between the number of self-identified lesbian and gay young adults from lesbian-headed families and from heterosexual-headed families. Similarly, no significant difference was found between the two groups in those who reported experiencing same-sex attraction. Daughters of lesbians, however, were significantly more likely to report being open to same-sex attractions or relationships. Children of lesbians were significantly more likely to have had a same-sex sexual experience.

Measures: Child's sexuality

Types of families: Single and divorced lesbian and heterosexual mothers

This study is a follow-up of Golombok and Tasker's previous studies, which took place in 1976-1977. In the first study, 27 lesbian mothers and their 39 children, and 27 heterosexual mothers and their 39 children were investigated (data from three of these children were not reported in the original study but are included here). These original participants were recruited from lesbian and single-parent organizations and could not participate if there was an adult male living in the home. At that time, the children had a mean age of 9.5 years.

one of the same sex (5 daughters and 1 son from lesbian families, no children from heterosexual families). Also, significantly more of the daughters from lesbian families had previously considered or thought it a future possibility to have same-sex sexual attraction or a same-sex relationship. All of the participants had experienced at least one opposite-sex sexual relationship.

- The study also found that lesbian mothers and their children had higher levels of emotional and psychological well-being than heterosexual mothers and their children. This was true for both mothers and children. The study also found that lesbian mothers and their children had higher levels of social adjustment than heterosexual mothers and their children. This was true for both mothers and children.

Children raised in fatherless families (single mothers and lesbian mothers) showed higher levels of emotional and psychological well-being than children raised in father-present families. They also felt more secure in their attachment to their parents than their peers. There was no significant difference in the presence of behavioral problems, but children raised in fatherless families reported feeling less physically and cognitively competent than their peers. Disputes between mothers and their children in families without fathers were no more frequent but more severe than in father-present families.

SUSAN GOLOMBOK, FIONA TASKER, AND CLARE MURRAY (1997)

Summary: This study found that children raised from infancy in families without fathers, both by lesbian mothers and by single heterosexual mothers, experienced greater warmth and mother-child interaction than children from father-present families. They also felt more secure in their attachment to their parents than their peers. There was no significant difference in the presence of behavioral problems, but children raised in fatherless families reported feeling less physically and cognitively competent than their peers. Disputes between mothers and their children in families without fathers were no more frequent but more severe than in father-present families.

Measures: Child's emotional/psychological well-being, child's social adjustment, parenting practice.

national press. Forty-one two-parent heterosexual families were recruited from maternity ward records and were selected based on their comparability to the other family types. The average age of the children was six, and in the lesbian and single heterosexual mother families, the children had been raised without a father from birth. None of the families were experiencing economic hardship. The heterosexual families had a higher proportion of working class families. There were fewer children in the lesbian and single heterosexual mother families. All the families were predominately white.

Standardized tests were given to the mothers and questionnaires were given to the children's schoolteachers. The researchers measured the mothers' psychological state, which included levels of stress, anxiety and depression. They measured the quality of parenting, levels of warmth exhibited by the mothers, mother-child interaction, and the level of emotional involvement mothers had with their children. They also measured children's psychological well-being—emotional problems, behavior problems, relationships, and their perceptions of their attachment with their parents.

The results showed the mothers' psychological state to be similar in all three groups. Mothers in families without fathers exhibited greater levels of warmth than the mothers of father-present families. There was no difference in warmth between the lesbian mothers and the single heterosexual mothers. Mothers in families without fathers also showed greater parent-child interaction, lesbian mothers having a higher level than heterosexual single mothers. There was no difference between the lesbian and single heterosexual mothers in terms of emotional involvement with the child. There were no differences in the frequency with which mothers disciplined their children, but disputes between mothers and their children in families without fathers were more severe than in father-present families. There was no difference in the seriousness of the disputes between lesbian and single heterosexual mothers. Most of the children in all groups scored below the cut-off point for emotional or behavioral problems. The scores of children in families without fathers reflected greater security of attachment than their peers. But children in these families perceived themselves as less physically and cognitively competent than children in father-present homes.

■ | | | ■ - sān - (ā Tas erāk Clare - rra, i - - .Chil rē, aise ik - a herless - a ilies at |
rā, ā, c, r, a ilē ela (ā shi: s āk he | c | ē | (ā a L e e ll, ā, ēk | ▲ Chil rē, | ▲
es iā, āk ik le, e er se - al | hers . / - rā, al | ▲ Chil Ps, ch | ll āk Ps, chia r,
āk Allie / isci: lā, es, āk . . . C -

Chil rē, | i h es iā, Pare, s, A Q | | - āi, - , - ,

Summary: This study, drawn from a large representative sample, found that there were no significant differences between children raised by lesbian and heterosexual parents in terms of the quality of the mother-child relationships, the level of adjustment, and gender development. It also found no differences in parents' psychological state or relationship satisfaction based on sexual orientation. And it found that lesbian mothers were less likely than heterosexual parents to hit their children.

Measures: Quality of parent-child relationship, child's psychological well-being, parents' psychological well-being, child's gender role behavior

Types of families: Lesbian-mother (some single, some coupled), heterosexual couple, and single heterosexual mother families

The study examined mother-child relationships, parents' psychological well-being, child adjustment and child gender role behavior in lesbian-mother, heterosexual two parent, and heterosexual single mother families. The researchers drew their sample from the Avon Longitudinal Study of Parents and Children (ALSPAC), a study of all women in Avon, England who were expecting a baby between April 1, 1991, and December 31, 1992. The population of Avon is similar to the larger national population of England. Additional subjects were identified by snowballing procedures and through a local lesbian mothers' support group, a local lesbian and gay organization, and newspaper advertisements. The sample included 39 lesbian-mother families (20 single, 19 with partners), 74 two-parent heterosexual families, and 60 single heterosexual mother families. The children were between the ages of five and seven. Standardized interviews and questionnaires were administered to biological mothers, lesbian non-biological

were no differences in parents' psychological state based on sexual orientation. There were no differences in the relationship satisfaction between lesbian and heterosexual mothers. No significant differences between lesbian and heterosexual mothers were identified with respect to children's gender development. Single mothers, in general, reported more negative relationships with their children than did mothers in two parent families, regardless of parents' sexual orien-

at least one child between three and eleven years, and have no adult male living in the house. The groups were matched in terms of mothers' age and race, children's

ship patterns, and attitudes toward divorce, gender roles, sex education for children, and discipline. Children were interviewed and tested in the home on gender behavior, play preferences, friendships, television habits, and thoughts about adulthood.

No differences were found between the two groups of children in terms of the sex of their closest friends. Daughters of lesbian mothers tended to rate themselves more popular with other children than daughters of heterosexual mothers did; however, there were no differences between the two groups of sons. There were also no signs of gender identity confusion. The daughters of lesbians scored as less traditionally feminine, but not masculine, on a number of items. For example, they tended to pick possible careers that were not traditionally female occupations and engaged in somewhat wider variety of play than the other daughters.

Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 30(1), 1-11. doi:10.1111/j.1469-7610.1989.tb00311.x

Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 30(1), 1-11. doi:10.1111/j.1469-7610.1989.tb00311.x

SHARON L. HUGGINS (1989)

Summary: This study found no significant difference in the level of self-esteem of children with heterosexual mothers and children with lesbian mothers.

Measures: Child's self-esteem

Types of families: Divorced lesbian and heterosexual mothers

Huggins explored the self-esteem of 36 adolescent children, ages thirteen to nineteen years: 18 of the children lived with divorced heterosexual mothers and 18 lived with divorced lesbian mothers. Half of the children in each category were girls and half were boys. All children and their mothers were non-Hispanic white and lived in Southern California. Huggins recruited the families through solicitation and personal referral by the study participants. The study used a 58-item inventory that has been used in several self-esteem studies since 1967. A higher score on the inventory corresponds to a higher self-esteem. Huggins interviewed the adolescents and their mothers, and all the adolescents completed the self-esteem inventory.

There was no significant difference in the self-esteem of children with lesbian mothers and children with heterosexual mothers. However, children of both lesbian mothers and heterosexual mothers had higher self-esteem scores if their mothers were currently living with a partner or remarried.

es iã, l hersã, l i l rce, e et sã- al l hersã, l l l sã- aliã, he-a il
e-ã, l e-ã, Gã, eã lã, a l r h

es iã, l hersã Their ChiL rã, AQ l çara i e - r e

MARTHA KIRKPATRICK, CATHERINE SMITH, AND RON ROY (1981)

Summary: This study found no difference between children of lesbian mothers and children of single heterosexual mothers in psychological well-being or gender behavior.

Measures: Child's emotional/psychological well-being, child's gender behavior

Types of families: Lesbian and heterosexual mothers, most of whom were divorced

This study investigated the children of lesbian and heterosexual women through the observations of two psychiatrists and one psychologist. Two of the professionals were not aware of the sexual orientation of the child's mother until the evaluations were completed. Participants included 40 children, 10 sons and 10 daughters of lesbian mothers, and 10 sons and 10 daughters of single heterosexual mothers. All children were between the ages of five and twelve. The mothers were contacted through friendship circles and through a local National Organization of Women (NOW) newsletter. Subjects were offered free psychological evaluations.

Half of the lesbian mothers lived with a partner. Few of the heterosexual mothers had partners living in the home. The two groups of mothers were found to be similar in their socioeconomic status and occupational history, age at marriage and length of marriage, pregnancy and delivery histories, and age at children's birth. The heterosexual mothers tended to have larger families due to remarriages or children after divorce. Almost all the mothers were working, in school, or both. Both groups were also similar in the age of child at family separation and the length of time since separation except for two children in the lesbian groups who never had a father in the home. Fathers' involvement with the children was comparable in the two groups. There were seven "only children" in the lesbian mother group and none in the heterosexual mother group.

Children's psychological well-being and gender behavior were extensively eval-

ences in the level of emotional disturbance or types or frequency of pathology. Gender evaluations were based on historical data of favorite toys and games, the sex of closest friends, a human figure drawing test, and responses to questions concerning gender, current interests, and future roles. There was no difference between the two group of children in terms of gender behavior. The researchers found that lesbian mothers tended to be more concerned than heterosexual mothers with providing their children with male figures in their lives.

Q1. para i e - r e , A e r i c a , l - r a a l l P s , c h i a r , i i - l - L , C ,

ChiL reX aise iX - a herless - a l ilies A t l \ iX A a C , ,
 A - l L L - C : l A ChiL reX l A e s i a X a X iX l e , e e r t s e - a L
 / l h e r s a l a r L A l l e s c e X c e

FIONA MACCALLUM AND SUSAN GOLOMBOK (2004)

Summary: This study was a follow-up to an earlier study and compared lesbian mother families, single heterosexual mother families, and two-parent heterosexual families to examine how adolescent children are affected by having been raised in a family without a father. Overall, results showed that the absence of a father does not negatively affect children's social and emotional development in adolescence. Children in families without fathers regarded their mothers as sharing more interests and activities with them, more available, and more dependable than children in two-parent heterosexual families. And mothers in families without fathers reported more serious disputes with their children and more irritability and loss of temper during disciplinary interactions. Results also found that boys raised in fatherless families, irrespective of mothers' sexual orientation, showed more feminine behaviors than boys raised in families with fathers; however, they showed no fewer masculine characteristics than boys raised with fathers.

Measures: Parents' psychological state, parenting practices and attitudes, quality of parent-child relationship, child's emotional/psychological well-being, child's school functioning, child's gender behavior

Types of families: Single and two-parent lesbian families, single heterosexual mother families, and two-parent heterosexual families

This study was a follow-up to a previous study (Golombok et. al., 1997), and included 25 lesbian mother families, 38 single heterosexual mother families, and 38 two-parent heterosexual families, all with children of the same mean age. Researchers administered interviews and questionnaires to parents and children, investigating mothers' psychological state, the quality of the parenting (warmth,

situations involving their children. It found that lesbian mothers were significantly more likely to respond in a child-oriented way (oriented more towards helping the child understand the situation) than the heterosexual mothers who responded in more task-oriented ways (simply disciplining the children without explaining why).

Measures: Parenting practices

Summary: This study found that the children of lesbian parents were likely to have regular contact with their grandparents, as well as with other related and unrelated adults, although in two-parent families, biological relatedness correlated with greater relative contact. The study also looked at the relationship between the children's contact with their grandparents and the children's adjustment, finding that the children who had regular contact with their grandparents reported fewer behavioral problems.

Measures: Child's social adjustment, child's emotional/psychological well-being

Types of families: Lesbian couples and lesbian single mothers

This study examined the extent to which the children of lesbian mothers had contact with their grandparents and other related and unrelated adults, and the possible associations of any such contacts with the children's mental health. Thirty-seven families participated, 26 headed by a couple and 7 by a single mother. The mothers had a mean age of 39.6 years. Most were white, well-educated, middle class, and employed full time. The mean age of the children was six years and two months. All of the families lived in the greater San Francisco Bay area. The families were recruited through friends, acquaintances, and colleagues. Ninety-five percent of the families contacted agreed to participate.

The researchers interviewed the mothers about their children's contacts with grandparents and other adults. The children's adjustment and self-concept were measured using standardized tests. The behavioral test scored internalizing and externalizing behavior and was completed by the mothers. The self-concept test was administered individually to participating children.

The majority of the children were found to have at least annual contact with grandparents, and many had monthly or more frequent contact. The relationship status of the parent (couple versus single) was not found to have a significant impact on the frequency with which children saw their grandparents. About one third of the children reported being in at least annual contact with other female relatives of both the biological and nonbiological mothers. Most of the children also reported being in regular contact with adults (both men and women) who were not their relatives. On average, the children were described as having monthly or more frequent contact with six adults outside their households, among whom there were twice as many nonrelatives. Like other children in the U.S., these children were found to have more contact with adult women than with adult men; on average they saw approximately four women and two men.

Among children in two-parent families, they were found to have more contact

with relatives of their biological mother than those of their nonbiological mother. Ninety-seven percent had annual or more frequent contact with their biological mother's mother, while 74% had such contact with their nonbiological mother's mother. Most of the children had at least monthly contact with their biological mother's parents, while only a third had that much contact with their non-biological mother's parents. With regard to the children's adjustment, more frequent contact with grandparents was associated with fewer internalizing behavior problems and fewer total behavior problems. There were no significant association between grandparent contact and externalizing behavior problems. While there was no association between the children's reports of well-being and their contact with grandparents or other relatives, children who had frequent contact with non-relative adults experienced greater feelings of well-being.

Parental Contact and Children's Adjustment: A Study of Lesbian and Heterosexual Families. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 18(1), 11-19. doi:10.1037/0893-3200.18.1.11

Parental Involvement in Children's Lives: A Comparison of Lesbian, Gay, and Heterosexual Families. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 18(1), 11-19. doi:10.1037/0893-3200.18.1.11

CHARLOTTE J. PATTERSON, ERIN L. SUTFIN, AND MEGAN FULCHER (2004)

Summary: This study found that lesbian couples were more likely to divide paid and unpaid labor evenly, whereas within heterosexual couples, husbands were more likely to invest more time in paid employment and wives devoted more time to unpaid family work. In heterosexual couples, structural variables, such as the husband's hours of paid work, determined the division of labor. In lesbian couples, ideological variables, such as parents' ideas about ideal divisions of labor, determined the actual division of labor.

Measures: Parenting practices and attitudes; quality of relationship between parents

Types of families: Lesbian and heterosexual couples with children

This study compared the division of family labor between lesbian and heterosexual couples who were parenting four- to six-year-old children. Sixty-six families participated: 33 lesbian couples and 33 heterosexual couples. The families were recruited through churches, daycare centers, parenting support groups, and word of mouth. All resided in the Mid-Atlantic region of the United States. The couples were well-matched, but there were some demographic differences between the two groups. The lesbian genetic/adoptive mothers were older than the hetero-

sexual mothers (mean age of 42 compared to 39), and the children of the lesbian couples were more likely to be nonwhite (16 versus 2) and adopted (17 versus 5). The children's race and adoptive status were found to have no correlation with parental division of labor. Standardized tests were used measure parental attitudes concerning children's gender-related behavior, parental division of labor, satisfaction with the couple relationship, and demographic information.

The study found that lesbian couples divided child care more evenly than heterosexual couples. Each mother was likely to do about half of the childcare, while heterosexual mothers reported doing more child care than fathers. Lesbian mothers ideally wanted an equal distribution of child care, while heterosexual mothers reported that they would ideally do somewhat more than half of the child care. In terms of household work, both lesbian and heterosexual couples reported that each partner did about half the work. There were no differences between or within groups in terms of subjects' feelings of competence in performing child care tasks.

Researchers then examined the variables that might account for the differences in the participation of second parents (fathers and nonbiological lesbian mothers). The study found that there was no significant association between couples' relationship satisfaction and the second parent's participation. Occupational prestige, however, did have an effect among lesbian couples. When there was a difference between occupational prestige, the second mother participated more. The numbers of hours spent in paid employment by the second parent affected participation for both lesbian and heterosexual couples. When second parents spent more time at work, they reported doing less child care. Second parent's ideal distribution of labor for child care was strongly associated with that parent's participation in both lesbian and heterosexual couples. In lesbian couples, the more the second parent wanted to be responsible for child care, the more she actually participated in it. For heterosexual couples, there was no strong connection between ideal division of labor and actual division of labor.

Parental Characteristics and Child Care in Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Families: A Review of the Literature. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 2008, 22, 1-11. doi:10.1037/a0012111

reported experiencing sexual attraction to some one of the same sex, although the children of lesbians were more likely to act, or consider acting, on those attractions.

Measures: Child's emotional/psychological well-being, child's social adjustment, quality of parent-child relationship, child's sexuality

Types of families: Divorced lesbian and heterosexual mothers

This follow-up study of Golombok and Tasker's 1976-1977 study took place in 1991-1992. The original study looked at a group of families headed by divorced lesbian mothers and a group of families headed by single, divorced heterosexual mothers. In the original study, each group had 27 mothers and 39 children. For this study, 25 of the adult children raised by lesbian mothers (8 men and 17 women) and 21 of the children raised by heterosexual mothers (12 men and 9 women) decided to participate again. In each group, the average age of the participants was 23.5 years. The authors used individual interviews to obtain data on the participants' family relationships, peer relationships, and sexual orientation. They used two standardized questionnaires to measure participants' anxiety and depression levels.

In the original study, the authors excluded any heterosexual mother with a live-in partner, but in this follow-up almost all of the heterosexual mothers had remarried or had live-in partners. According to reporting from the two groups of children, significantly more children of lesbian mothers felt positively about their relationship with their mothers' partners than children of heterosexual mothers felt about their mothers' new husbands or boyfriends. Young adults with lesbian mothers were also significantly more likely to report being "proud" of their mother's sexual identity and having positive feelings towards their mothers' identities (i.e., lesbian mother or single, heterosexual mother). There was no difference, however, between the two groups' retrospective reports of these same feelings during adolescence. Nor did the groups differ in the overall quality of participants' current relationship with their biological mother.

Both groups were equally likely to remember being teased or bullied by their peers, and they also did not differ in the proportion who remembered being teased specifically about their family background or mother's lifestyle. However, participants from lesbian families—particularly male participants—were significantly more likely to recall being teased about being lesbian or gay themselves. A majority of the children of lesbian parents had told at least one friend about their mother's sexual orientation. Five had successfully concealed that information. Four reported that they tried to conceal it but friends found out. Five reported negative reactions from a friend, but two subsequently turned positive. The groups did not significantly differ in the proportion of young adults who reported at least one instance of sexual attraction to someone of the same sex. Young adults raised by lesbians, however, were significantly more likely to report hav-

ing been involved in, or having considered, acting on those same-sex attractions. All participants from both groups reported at least one sexual relationship with someone of the opposite sex. There were no significant differences between the two groups in terms of anxiety level or depression level, and similar proportions of both groups had seen a health care professional for problems arising from anxiety, depression, or stress.

Tas er (i)ka ak - sa) (L) i' (p) i' -- .A - Ls aise as ChiL rex ik es iak a illes .A erica
-l- r)all (r h) s)chia r (L) i' (p) i' (C) i'

, ha / (es) / ea) (r) (-) s ers (p) r) - (i)ka es iak
-a ilL Crea e (s) / ea) s (L) (r) i) sa i)ka (i) (s)

**KATRIEN VANFRAUSSEN, INGRID PONJAERT-KRISTOFFERSEN,
AND ANNE BREWAEYS (2002)**

Summary: This study found no difference in the psychological well-being of children of lesbian couples born through donor insemination and children born to heterosexual couples. It also found that almost all children in two-mother homes openly discussed their family life with close friends but discussed the topic with others

heterosexual fathers) were as involved in child activities as biological mothers. And lesbian social mothers had as much authority as the fathers in heterosexual families.

Measures: Quality of the parent-child relationship

Types of families: Heterosexual couples with conventionally conceived children and lesbian couples with children born through donor insemination

This study focused on the role of social mothers (those with no biological tie to their children) within lesbian parent families. It compared the parenting roles of social mothers with those of biological mothers in lesbian households and those of fathers in heterosexual households. The study included 24 lesbian parent families whose children had been conceived through donor insemination, and 24 naturally-conceived heterosexual parent families. Families were matched as closely as possible according to educational level, age and gender of children, family size, and whether

psychosocial adjustment, school outcomes, and romantic attractions and behaviors of adolescents. The researchers found that adolescents were functioning well and their adjustment was not generally associated with family type. Assessments of romantic relationships and sexual behavior were not associated with family type. Regardless of family type, adolescents whose parents described closer relationships with them reported better school adjustment.

Measures: Child's emotional/psychological well-being, child's school functioning, quality of parent-child relationship, child's sexuality

Types of families: Lesbian couples and heterosexual couples with adolescent children

This study compared 44 adolescents raised by lesbian couples with 44 adolescents raised by heterosexual couples. The adolescents were twelve to eighteen years old, and their average age was fifteen. The authors drew their sample from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health), a national study of 12,105 adolescents from high schools across the United States. Data for the Add Health study were collected through in-school surveys of students as well as in-home interviews, surveys, and questionnaires of students and their parents. The sample collected from the Add Health study is nationally representative. Adolescents in the two groups were matched by sex, age, ethnic background, adoption status, learning disability status, family income, and parents' educational attainment.

Adolescents were assessed on a wide variety of variables, including various aspects of their psychosocial adjustment (depression, anxiety, self-esteem), school functioning (GPA, school connectedness, trouble in school), and romantic relationships, attractions, and behaviors. The study also examined several family and relationship variables such as parents' assessment of the quality of the parent-child relationship and adolescents' perceptions of parental warmth, care from adults and peers, integration into the neighborhood, and autonomy. The analyses were conducted in two steps. The first set of analyses evaluated the degree to which adolescents living with lesbian couples differed in their adjustment from the comparison group. The second set of analyses explored associations of adolescent adjustment with assessments of family and relationship processes.

Across a diverse array of assessments, the authors found that the personal, family, and school adjustment of adolescents living with same-sex parents did not differ from that of adolescents living with heterosexual parents. Adolescent self-esteem did not vary as a function of family type. There were no differences as a function of family type in measures of personal adjustment, such as depressive symptoms

and anxiety, or in quality of family relationships. There were no differences as a function of family type in measures of school adjustment with one exception—adolescents living with same-sex parents reported feeling more connected to school than did those living with opposite-sex parents. Analyses of adolescents’ reports of romantic attractions and behaviors revealed no difference between the groups in the percentage of adolescents who reported ever having engaged in sexual intercourse (34% of adolescents in each group). There was also no significant difference between the groups in the percentage of adolescents who had had a romantic relationship in the past 18 months (68% of adolescents with same-sex parents and 59% of those with opposite-sex parents). Few adolescents reported same-sex attractions or romantic relationships in the past 18 months. Regardless of family type, adolescents were more likely to show favorable adjustment when they perceived more caring from adults and when parents described close relationships with them. When parents reported more satisfying parent-adolescent relationships, adolescents reported significantly less trouble at school and greater feelings of connectedness at school. The qualities of adolescent-parent relationships, rather than the structural features of families, were significantly associated with adolescent adjustment.

Richard L. Latta, Ph.D., is a professor of Psychology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He is also a senior research advisor at the Center for the Study of Life, Death, and Humanistic Values at the same university. He has published numerous articles on family and adolescent adjustment, and is the author of the book *Family Structure and Adolescent Adjustment* (Cambridge University Press, 2010).

C, APTL

5

The previous chapter explained why there is no child welfare basis to restrict parenting by lesbians and gay men. It discussed the social science research that demonstrates that lesbians and gay men are just as capable of being good parents and that their children develop just as healthily as other children. This chapter will explain why such restrictions are not only unnecessary to protect children but, in

parent if the other parent dies or her parents separate on bad terms. Sadly, far too many children of same-sex couples have suffered this grievous loss because they live in states where their parents cannot both be legally recognized.

What may be less obvious at first glance is that gay parenting restrictions undermine the interests of children in foster care and other children in the child welfare system. When gay people are categorically excluded from being considered as adoptive or foster parents, parentless children are needlessly deprived of adults who are willing and able to take care of them. Given the severe shortage of adoptive parents in this country, such exclusions mean that some of society's most vulnerable children will have to wait for years to be adopted, and some will grow up without ever having a family of their own. Moreover, disqualifying a class of people means that some children will not be able to be placed with available relatives or with families who are otherwise deemed to be the ideal placement for them given their individual needs. The rest of this chapter will focus on the terribly high price to children of excluding lesbians and gay men from adopting and fostering.

The American Psychological Association's Placement Process, Case-by-Case, and the Best

As discussed in Chapter 3, all of the major children's health and welfare organizations, whose only agenda is to serve the best interest of children, have issued statements opposing restrictions on adopting and fostering by lesbians and gay men. Those policy statements were informed in part by the social science research on lesbian and gay parents and their children, which firmly establishes that there is no child welfare basis for such restrictions because being raised by lesbians or gay men poses no disadvantage to children. But they were also informed by well-established child welfare policy that rejects categorical exclusions of groups of people as contrary to the best interests of children in the child welfare system.

Child welfare experts agree that child placement decisions should be based on children's specific needs and prospective parents' ability to meet those needs. Child welfare professionals understand that every child is unique and has individual needs. Children have diverse personalities, family experiences and physical and emotional needs that all need to be taken into account when making a placement. Similarly, adults seeking to adopt and foster are not all alike. They are diverse individuals who have different skills, qualities, and family environments to offer a child.

Adoption and foster placement is a matching process. Caseworkers seek to find the family that is the best match for each child. For example, one child may fare better with adoptive parents who have other children; another may be better off as an only child. A child may have medical problems and would benefit from being placed with someone who has medical expertise. Some children might do well with a couple; others might be better off with a single parent (e.g., children who have experienced sexual abuse or who need focused attention).¹²³ In other words, there is no one-size-fits-all when it comes to children. The bigger and more diverse the pool of prospective adoptive and foster parents, the greater the likeli-

hood that placement professionals will be able to make good matches. Categorical exclusions, which throw away individuals who could meet the needs of children, seriously undermine this goal.

The rejection of blanket exclusions in favor of the principle that placement decisions should be made on a case-by-case basis is well-established in the child welfare field. Indeed, it is reflected in the Child Welfare League of America's Standards of Excellence for Adoption Services:

When the agency providing adoption services is responsible for selecting the adoptive family, it should base its selection of a family for a particular child on a careful review of the information collected in the child assessment and on a determination of which of the approved and prepared adoptive families could most likely meet the child's needs.

Applicants should be assessed on the basis of their abilities to successfully parent a child needing family membership and not on their race, ethnicity or culture, income, age, marital status, religion, appearance, differing life style, or sexual orientation.

Applicants should be accepted on the basis of an individual assessment of their capacity to understand and meet the needs of a particular available child at the point of the adoption and in the future.¹²⁴

The CWLA Standards are widely accepted as the foundation for sound child welfare practice in the United States. They are a source relied upon by the group's 900 member agencies, which include the state child welfare department in almost every state.¹²⁵ The Standards are formulated "based on current knowledge, the developmental needs of children, and tested ways of meeting these needs most effectively."¹²⁶ State child welfare departments are significantly involved in the development of the Standards.¹²⁷

Case-by-case evaluation is such a central principle of child welfare practice that categorical exclusions have become aberrations in child welfare law around the country, the only exceptions being for those who have demonstrated conduct that is dangerous to children, such as those convicted of violent crimes or drug offenses.¹²⁸ This was not always the case. Until the 1970s, generally only middle-class, white, married, infertile couples in their late twenties to early forties, who were free of any significant disability were considered suitable to adopt. Many agencies excluded applicants who did not meet this ideal such as older couples, low-income families, disabled people, and single adults.¹²⁹ But by the 1970s, adoption policy and practice moved away from such exclusions as the field recognized that they were arbitrary and that many individuals who were rejected were valuable parenting resources.¹³⁰ It is now the consensus in the child welfare field that case-by-case evaluation is the best practice.

The child welfare professionals agree that the way to ensure healthy, positive

placements is to do what every state child welfare agency currently does: subject every applicant to a rigorous evaluation process. There are good and bad parents in every group; thus, every applicant must be seriously scrutinized. Whether gay or straight, no one is approved to adopt or foster a child unless he or she clears a child abuse and criminal records check, a reference check, an evaluation of physical and mental health, and a detailed home study that examines the applicant's maturity, family stability, and capacity to parent. Applicants will not be approved unless they are deemed able to protect and nurture and provide a safe, loving family for a child. And no adoption or foster care placement is made unless a caseworker first determines that the placement is the best match available for a particular child.¹³¹

Blanket exclusions of lesbians and gay men from adopting or fostering—like any other blanket exclusions—deny children access to available safe, stable, and loving families. For some children, such exclusions mean that they cannot be placed with the family that is best suited to meet their needs. Categorical exclusions tie the hands of caseworkers and prohibit them from making what they deem to be the best placements for some children. For example, a caseworker could not place a child with a gay nurse who is willing to adopt a child with severe medical needs even if there are no other available prospective adoptive parents with the skills necessary to take care of that child. Similarly, a blanket rule would prevent a caseworker from placing a child with a lesbian aunt with whom the child has a close relationship. Instead, that child would have to be placed with strangers, even though the child welfare profession agrees that, wherever possible, children should be placed with relatives.¹³²

Blanket exclusions do not just deprive children of the best possible placement. By reducing the number of potential adoptive and foster parents, categorical exclusions of lesbians and gay men condemn many children to a childhood with no family at all. Most states in this country have a critical shortage of adoptive and foster parents. Across the country, more than 118,000 children are waiting to be adopted. Many wait for years in foster care or institutions; some wait out their entire childhoods, never having a family of their own (see the following sidebar “The Desperate Need for Adoptive Parents”). Many people are not aware of this problem because we often hear about couples who spend years waiting to adopt a baby. But most of the children in the child welfare system in this country are not healthy infants. They are older children and teens, children with serious psychological and behavioral problems, children with challenging medical needs, and groups of siblings who need to be placed together. It is difficult to find families willing to take care of these children.¹³³

The child w

people adopting. Yet thousands of children are still left waiting for families.

The shortage of foster families means that some children get placed far away from their biological families, communities and schools; some get placed in overcrowded foster homes; and some get no foster family at all and instead are placed in institutional settings.¹³⁵

For children waiting to be adopted, the shortage of adoptive families means that some will remain in foster care for years, where they often move around among temporary placements.¹³⁶ Some will have to be separated from their siblings in order to be adopted. Some will be placed with families that are not well-suited to meet their needs. And some will never be adopted, and instead “age out” of the system without ever getting to have a family of their own.

You do not have to be a child welfare expert to understand how scarring it is for a child to grow up without the love and security of a parent. And the scientific research confirms the importance to children’s development of forming a parent-child relationship and having a secure family life.¹³⁷ Thus, children who are adopted are much less likely than children who spend much of their childhoods in foster care or residential institutions to be maladjusted.¹³⁸

Young people who age out of foster care without ever becoming part of a family are the most seriously affected. These young people are significantly more likely than their peers to drop out of school, be unemployed, end up homeless and get involved in criminal conduct.¹³⁹

THE DESPERATE NEED FOR ADOPTIVE PARENTS

The child welfare systems across the country are in crisis. In almost every state, there is a dramatic shortage of adoptive parents available to meet the needs of children waiting to be adopted. Data from the federal government tell us the extent of the shortage and its impact on children.

The information in this section is based on estimates from the U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services' most recent report of that agency's Adoption and Foster Care Analysis and Reporting System (AFCARS), which covers 2003.¹⁴²

Child welfare systems in the U.S. are overburdened with more children than they can handle and not enough qualified adoptive adults coming forward to help.

- At the end of 2003, there were 523,085 children in foster care nationwide; 297,308 of those children entered foster care during that year.
- 118,761 of these kids were waiting to be adopted.
- Only 50,144 of them were adopted.

Once in foster care, kids often languish for years without being placed in permanent, loving homes.

- The median age of kids in foster care who are waiting to be adopted was 8.62 years: 3% were less than a year old; 32% were 1-5 years old; 28% were 6-10 years old; 30% were 11-15 years old; and 6% were 16-18 years old.
- They had spent an average of 43.9 continuous months in foster care.
- 47% of them have spent more than three years in continuous foster care.
- 24% had spent more than five years continuously in foster care.
- Over 21,000 kids left the foster care system not because they found permanent homes but because they reached adulthood and "aged out" of the system.

... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

ha . hile Chris ìka | es er . ellaca e C
icall she has ìmic Lies es a lishìk . ò siC
i e peer rela ì ìshìs àk is challek ìk |
a - Ls . ì ìlè e ì ò r àk ì r he ì ìs . h
a | ò Chris ìka | ha ea er | | ras ò ì
h | earl ìk e lec ìag | ì heaLh a - LC
chil ì ìk aries | ì es ic ì lèkce àk
òarèk aL èk aLheaLh iss . es càk ìk er ère
ì ì ha chil ì sèk se | ì . elè e ìk . àk sae .

The Economic Costs of a Blanket Exclusion of Lesbian and Gay Adoptive and Foster Parents

In addition to the terrible human cost of denying children access to available, qualified adoptive and foster parents, blanket exclusions of lesbians and gay men would impose significant economic costs on a state, which would be paid by the taxpayers. Foster care costs money. States have to pay families and residential care facilities to take care of the thousands of children in state care. Throwing away available qualified adoptive parents and leaving more children in foster care means the state has to pay that much more to take care of these children.

For example, an economist's analysis of a 2002 Texas bill that would have categorically excluded lesbians and gay men from adopting and fostering estimated that the economic cost to the state of enacting the proposed law would have been \$16 million in the first year and nearly \$76 million over the following five years.¹⁵⁰ \$3.7 million was the estimated cost of taking care of the additional children who would have to remain in care if lesbians and gay men were barred from adopting. (The average annual foster care payment was over \$17,000 per child; more than 200 children per year were estimated to remain in care as a result of the ban.) Other costs identified in the Texas economic impact study include reexamining and recertifying existing licensed families; counseling costs for children who would have to be removed from their foster families; the cost of having to place more children in costly institutional settings because fewer family homes would be available; administrative costs such as training personnel about the ban and documentation and reporting; and judicial costs due to legal disputes over denials and disputes over the new placements of children who were removed from gay foster parents (an estimated cost of \$30,000 in attorneys fees and costs per dispute).

In addition to the costs, a blanket exclusion would also mean a loss of significant federal funding for a state's child welfare system. In order to promote adoptive placements, the federal government provides funding to the states for each child who is adopted out of foster care, as well as incentive payments of \$4,000 to \$6,000 per child for states that exceed the previous year's number of adoptions.¹⁵¹ By reducing the pool of eligible adoptive parents and, thus, the number of children who get adopted, a blanket ban on adoption by lesbians and gay men would result in a reduction in this funding. For example, if 200 children are not able to be placed for adoption because of a ban on ga

!

is both a mother and a father. They say that children need role models of both sexes or that there are differences in the way men and women parent that matter to children's development.

First of all, for children who are waiting to be adopted, the choice is not between a married couple or gay parents. As discussed in Chapter 5, there are not enough

lesbian or gay parents would make a person more comfortable accepting and acting upon same-sex attraction if he experiences such feelings. And one study reported such findings. But there is no evidence that gay parents (or heterosexual

Because a significant body of research uniformly shows that children of lesbian and gay parents fare just as well as other children and, thus, definitively refutes all of the claims of the opponents of gay parenthood, their response is to try to attack the research, asserting that it is flawed and, thus, worthless. They have invested significant resources into publishing reports that purport to substantiate this characterization of the research. It is important to note that none of these so-called scientific reports come from researchers in the field. They are published exclusively by advocacy organizations such as the Family Research Council.

Their assertion that 25 years of research is flawed—that not a single one of these diverse researchers did a proper job, and the top peer-reviewed journals repeatedly published shoddy work on this particular topic—suggests a staggering level of incompetence in the social science field. And of course this assertion is baseless. As discussed in Chapter 4, this body of research, which was conducted by esteemed developmental psychologists at universities in the United States and Europe and published in respected academic journals, uses standard, well-accepted methods in the field of psychological research. It has satisfied the rigorous peer review process required for publication in these scholarly journals. And it is considered reliable by all of the major professional associations with expertise in child welfare, including the American Academy of Pediatrics, the American Psychological Association, the National Association of Social Workers, and the Child Welfare League of America.

The primary “flaw” cited by anti-gay activists is that the studies on families with gay parents use small samples that are not randomly selected. First of all, this is simply not true of all of the studies. Some have been drawn from random samples, including one nationally representative sample of over 12,000 U.S. teenagers, and their findings are consistent with the rest of the body of literature: children raised by gay parents were just as well-adjusted as their peers.¹⁷⁷ More importantly, the use of small, nonrepresentative samples is not a flaw. Such samples are commonly used in psychological research. Psychologists typically use small groups of subjects in order to do in-depth, intensive study of those individuals. And there is no need for a sample that is representative of the general population when the research seeks to determine the effect of a particular variable on an outcome (e.g., the effect of having lesbian parents on children’s adjustment). By matching lesbian mothers and heterosexual mothers on a variety of relevant variables (e.g., age, family structure, and socioeconomic position), psychologists can determine whether there are any differences in children’s outcomes attributable to parental sexual orientation.

The research designs used in the studies on gay parents and their children are the predominant methods used throughout the entire discipline of psychology. Opponents of gay parents attempt to hold a specific area of psychological research to a standard that is not applicable to research in this field. If their complaints about the research on gay parent families were valid, the vast majority of research in child development, and in the field of psychology more broadly, would have to be dismissed as unscientific.

¹ Tavia Simmons and Grace O’Neill, *Households and Families: 2000* (Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau, September 2001), <http://www.census.gov/prod/2001pubs/c2kbr01-8.pdf> (10 December 2005).

² Edward O. Laumann, John H. Gagnon, Robert T. Michael, and Stuart Michaels, *The Social Organization of Sexuality in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), quoted in National Opinion Research Center, *The National Health and Social Life Survey, “The Sex Survey,” Summary*, <http://cloud9.norc.uchicago.edu/faqs/sex.htm> (29 November 2005).

³ Ellen Perrin, “Coparent or Second Parent Adoption by Same-Sex Parents,” *Pediatrics* 109, no. 2 (2002): 341.

⁴ David M. Smith and Gary Gates, *Gay and Lesbian Families in the United States* (Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2001), 3, <http://www.urban.org/publications/1000491.html> (10 November 2005).

⁵ Tavia Simmons and Martin O’Connell, *Married-Couple and Unmarried-Partner Households: 2000* (Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau, February 2003), <http://www.census.gov/prod/2003pubs/censr-5.pdf> (3 November 2005).

⁶ Kaiser Family Foundation, *Inside-OUT: A Report on the Experiences of Lesbians, Gays and Bisexuals in America and the Public’s Views on Issues and Policies Related to Sexual Orientation*, Publication #3193 (Menlo Park, CA: Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, 2000), 1-4, <http://www.kff.org/kaiserpolls/upload/New-Surveys-on-Experiences-of-Lesbians-Gays-and-Bisexuals-and-the-Public-s-Views-Related-to-Sexual-Orientation-Report.pdf> (4 December 2005).

⁷ Lisa Bennett and Gary J. Gates, *The Cost of Marriage Inequality to the Children and Their Same-Sex Parents: A Human Rights Campaign Foundation Report* (Washington, DC: Human Rights Campaign, 2004), http://www.hrc.org/Content/ContentGroups/Publications1/kids_doc_final.pdf (1 November 2005).

⁸ See, e.g., *Damron v. Damron*, 670 N.W.2d 871 (N.D. 2003) (collecting cases).

⁹ *Ex parte JMF*, 730 So.2d 1190 (Ala. 1998), *Ex parte D.W.W.*, 717 So.2d 793 (Ala. 1998); *Pulliam v. Smith*, 501 S.E.2d 898 (N.C. 1998); *Weigand v. Houghton*, 730 So.2d 581 (Miss. 1999); *Bottoms v. Bottoms*, 457 S.E.2d 102 (Va. 1995).

¹⁰ *Ex parte H.H.*, 830 So.2d 21, 26 (Ala. 2002)(Moore, C.J., concurring specially).

¹¹ *Weigand v. Houghton*, 730 So.2d 581 (Miss. 1999).

¹² *Id.* at 589 (McRae, J., dissenting).

¹³ *Id.* at 584-85; *Id.* At 588-89 (McRae, J., dissenting).

¹⁴ *In re Marriage of Birdsall*, 243 Cal. Rptr. 287 (Cal. Ct. App. 1988); *In re Marriage of Dorworth*, 33 P.3d 1260 (Colo. Ct. App.. 2001); *In Interest of R.E.W.*, 471 S.E.2d 6 (Ga. Ct. App.

1996); *Pleasant v. Pleasant*, 628 N.E.2d 633 (Ill. App. Ct. 1993); *In re Marriage of Walsh*, 451 N.W.2d 492 (Iowa 1990); *Boswell v. Boswell*, 721 A.2d 662 (Md. 1998); *Weigand v. Houghton*, 730 So.2d 581 (Miss. 1999); *Gould v. Dickens*, 143 S.W.3d 639 (Mo. Ct. App. 2004); *Conkel v. Conkel*, 509 N.E.2d 983 (Ohio Ct. App. 1987); *In re Marriage of Collins*, 51 P.3d 691 (Or. App. 2002); *Blew v. Verta*, 617 A.2d 31 (Pa. Super. Ct. 1992); *In the Matter of the Marriage of Cabalquinto*, 669 P.2d 886 (Wash. 1983), appeal after remand, 718 P.2d 7 (Wash. Ct. App. 1986).¹⁵ *Ex parte D.W.W.*, 717 So.2d 793 (Ala. 1998); *Bottoms v. Bottoms*, 1999 Va. App. 1129720 LEXIS 402.

¹⁶ Fla. Stat. § 63.042

¹⁷ Cal. Welf. & Inst. Code § 16013 (2004); Md. Regs. Code tit. 7, § 05.03.09 (2005); Mass. Regs. Code tit. 110 § 1.09 (2005); Nev. Admin. Code § 127.351 (2005); N.J. Admin. Code tit. 10, § 121C-2.6 and 4.1(c) (2001); N.Y. Comp. Codes R. & Regs. Tit., 18, § 421.16(h) (2005)

¹⁸

(N.Y. 1991); *Liston v. Pyles*, 1997 WL 467327 (Ohio App. 10 Dist.); *but see In re Bonfield*, 780 N.E.2d 241 (Ohio, 2002); *In re Thompson*, 11 S.W.3d 914 (Tenn. 1999); *Titchenal v. Dexter*, 693 A.2d 682 (Vt. 1997)

²⁸ *In re Clifford K.*, 619 S.E.2d 138 (W.Va.,2005)

²⁹ Cal. Welf. & Inst. Code § 16013 (2004); Mass. Regs. Code tit. 110 § 1.09 (2005); N.J. Admin.

(September 2004), <http://www.narth.com/docs/differ.html> (2 December 2005).

⁴⁷ American College of Pediatricians, "Homosexual Parenting: Is It Time for Change?", 2004, <http://www.acped.org/?CONTEXT=art&cat=10005&art=50&BISKIT=2684987796> (19 December 2005).

⁴⁸ American Medical Association, <http://www.ama-assn.org/ama/pub/category/1810.html> (14 January 2006)

⁴⁹ American Medical Association, H-60. 940 Partner Co-Adoption, <http://www.ama-assn.org/ama/noindex/category/11760.html> (14 January 2006)

⁵⁰ American Psychiatric Association Subcommittee on Child Custody Issues, American Psychiatric Association Council on Psychiatry and Law, http://www.psych.org/about_apaf/ (19 December 2005).

⁵¹ American Psychiatric Association. *Controversies in Child Custody: Gay and Lesbian Parenting; Transracial Adoptions; Joint versus Sole Custody; and Custody Gender Issues*, December 1997, http://www.psych.org/edu/other_res/lib_archives/archives/199708.pdf (19 November 2005).

⁵² American Psychological Association, <http://www.apa.org/about/> (19 December 2005).

⁵³ American Psychological Association, "APA Policy Statement, Sexual Orientation, Parents and Children, Adopted by the APA Council of Representatives, July 28-30," (internal citations provided on website).

⁵⁴ American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, <http://www.aacap.org/about/introduction.htm> (19 December 2005).

⁵⁵ American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry Council, "Policy Statement: Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Parents" (Washington, DC: The American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 1999), <http://aacap.org/publications/policy/ps46.htm> (2 December 2005).

⁵⁶ National Association of Social Workers, <http://www.naswdc.org/nasw/default.asp> (19 December 2005).

⁵⁷ National Association of Social Workers, "Policy Statements 2000-2003: Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Issues." *Social Work Speaks*, 5th ed. (Washington DC: National Association of Social Workers, 2003), 194.

⁵⁸ National Association of Social Workers. "Policy Statements 2000-2003: Foster Care and Adoption." *Social Work Speaks*, 6th ed. (Washington, DC: National Association of Social Workers, 2003), 147-48.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 148.

⁶⁰ North American Council on Adoptable Children, <http://www.nacac.org/about.html> (19 December 2005).

⁶¹ North American Council on Adoptable Children, "NACAC Position Statements: Gay and Lesbian Adoptions and Foster Care, adopted March 14, 1998; amended April 14, 2002; amended April 9, 2005," http://www.nacac.org/pub_statements.html#gay (11 November 2005).

⁶⁴ Fiona Tasker, "Lesbian Mothers, Gay Fathers, and Their Children: A Review," *Developmental and Behavioral Pediatrics* 26, no. 3 (2005): 224-240; Ellen Perrin, "Technical Report: Coparent or Second-Parent Adoption by Same-Sex Parents," *Pediatrics* 109, no. 2 (2002): 341-344; Judith Stacey, "(How) Does the Sexual Orientation of Parents Matter?" *American Sociological Review* 66 (2001): 159-183; Henny Bos, Frank van Balen, and Dymphna van den Boom, "Experience of Parenthood, Couple Relationships, Social Support, and Child-Rearing Goals in Planned Lesbian Mother Families," *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 45, no. 4 (2004): 755-764; Megan Fulcher, Raymond Chan, Barbara Raboy, and Charlotte Patterson, "Contact with Grandparents among Children Conceived via Donor Insemination by Lesbian and Heterosexual Mothers," *Parenting: Science and Practice* 2, no. 1 (2002): 61-76; Susan Golombok, Beth Perry, Amanda Burston, Clare Murray, Julie Mooney-Somers, and Madeline Stevens, "Children with Lesbian Parents: A Community Study," *Developmental Psychology* 29, no. 1 (2003): 20-33; Fiona MacCallum and Susan Golombok, "Children Raised in Fatherless Families from Infancy: A Follow-Up of Children of Lesbian and Single Heterosexual Mothers at Early Adolescence," *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 45, no. 8 (2004): 1407-1419; Katrien Vanfraussen, Ingrid Ponjaert-Kristofferson, and Anne Brewaeys, "What Does It Mean for Youngsters to Grow Up in a Lesbian Family Created by Means of Donor Insemination?" *Journal of Reproductive and Infant Psychology* 20, no. 4 (2002): 237-252; Katrien Vanfraussen, Ingrid Ponjaert-Kristofferson, and Anne Brewaeys, "Family Functioning in Lesbian Families Created by Donor Insemination," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 73, no. 1 (2003): 78-90; Jennifer Wainright, Stephen Russell, and Charlotte Patterson, "Psychosocial Adjustment, School Outcomes, and Romantic Relationships of Adolescents with Same-Sex Parents," *Child Development* 75, no. 6 (2004): 1886-1898.

⁶⁵ Jerry Bigner and R. Brooke Jacobsen, "Adult Responses to Child Behavior and Attitudes toward Fathering: Gay and Nongay Fathers," *Journal of Homosexuality* 23, no. 3 (1992): 99-112.

Assumptions and Empirical Research in Lesbian-Mother Child Custody Cases” in *Redefining*

- ⁹³ Chan, "Division of Labor Among Lesbian"; Flaks, "Lesbians Choosing Motherhood."
- ⁹⁴ Green, "Lesbian Mothers and Their Children"; Golombok, "Children in Lesbian and Single-Parent Households"; Perrin, "Technical Report: Coparent or Second-Parent."
- ⁹⁵ Michael E. Lamb. "Parental Behavior, Family Processes and Child Development in Non-Traditional and Traditionally Understudied Families" in *Parenting and Child Development in Nontraditional Families*, ed. Michael E. Lamb (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1999), 5-6.
- ⁹⁶ Graeme Russell, "Primary Caregiving Fathers" in *Parenting and Child Development in Nontraditional Families*, ed. Michael E. Lamb (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1999), 72-73.
- ⁹⁷ MacCallum, "Children Raised in Fatherless"; Golombok, "Children with Lesbian Parents"; Brewaeys, "Donor Insemination: Child Development"; Tasker, "Adults Raised as Children"; Patterson, "Children of the Lesbian Baby Boom"; Green, "Lesbian Mothers and Their Children";

"Parental Disciplinary Patterns and Social Competence in Children," *Youth and Society* 9 (1978): 239-75; Diana Baumrind, "New Directions in Socialization Research," *American Psychologist* 35 (1980): 639-52.

¹¹¹ Mavis Hetherington and Margaret M. Stanley-Hagan, "Stepfamilies" in *Parenting and Child Development in NonTraditional Families*

- ¹²² *Weigand v. Houghton*, 730 So.2d 581 (Miss., 1999).
- ¹²³ Deborah Bass Artis and Lessie Bass. "Single Parents Offer Permanence," *Recruiting News*, North American Council on Adoptable Children, June 2001, <http://www.nacac.org/pdfs/target-ed.pdf> (23 November 2005).
- ¹²⁴ Child Welfare League of America, *CWLA Standard of Excellence for Adoption Services*, rev. ed. (2000): 4.7 and 5.1.
- ¹²⁵ Child Welfare League of America, "National and Regional Listing of Member Agencies" (2005), www.cwla.org/members/members.htm, (17 November 2005).
- ¹²⁶ CWLA, *Standards of Excellence for Adoption Services*, v.
- ¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, v-vi.
- ¹²⁸ National Adoption Information Clearinghouse, U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services. "Parties to an Adoption," *State Statutes Series 2004*, <http://naic.acf.hhs.gov/general/legal/statutes/parties.cfm> (29 November 2005); 42 U.S.C.A. § 671.
- ¹²⁹ Alice Bussiere, "The Development of Adoption Law," *Adoption Quarterly* 1 (1998): 3-4; CWLA, *Standards of Excellence for Adoption Services*, 2; David M. Brodzinsky et al., *Children's Adjustment to Adoption: Developmental and Clinical Issues* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998), 7.
- ¹³⁰ Brodzinsky, *Children's Adjustment to Adoption*, 7-8.
- ¹³¹ CWLA, *Standards of Excellence for Adoption Services*, 4.5, 4.6, 4.7, 4.9, 4.17; National Adoption Information Clearinghouse, U.S. Dept. of Health Human Services. "*The Adoption Home Study Process*," http://naic.acf.hhs.gov/pubs/f_homstu.pdf (10 November 2005).
- ¹³² *Ibid.*, 1.10.
- ¹³³ *Ibid.*, 1.13, 2, 3.7, 3.16, 3.18; National Adoption Information Clearinghouse, U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services, "Who Are the Children Waiting for Families?" http://naic.acf.hhs.gov/general/adoptmonth/who_waiting_children.cfm (11 November 2005).
- ¹³⁴ Children's Bureau, U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services, "Adopt Us Kids," http://www.adoptuskids.org/servlet/page?_pageid=65&_dad=portal30&_schema=PORTAL30 (17 November 2005).
- ¹³⁵ Alexandra Marks, "Few Foster Homes and a Rising Need," *Christian Science Monitor*, 8 July, 2003; Karina Bland, "Foster Care Shortage Detailed in Study," *Arizona Republic*, 10 August 2005.
- ¹³⁶ Children and Family Research Center, "Multiple Placements in Foster Care: Literature Review of Correlates and Predictors," (School of Social Work, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2004), <http://cfcwww.social.uiuc.edu/LRpdfs/PlacementStability.LR.pdf> (2 November 2005).
- ¹³⁷ Beverly James, *Handbook for Treatment of Attachment-Trauma Problems in Children 2* (New York: Free Press, 1994); Brodzinsky, *Children's Adjustment to Adoption*, 13; John Triseliotis and Malcolm Hill, "Contrasting Adoption, Foster Care, and Residential Rearing" in *The Psychology of Adoption*, eds. David M. Brodzinsky and Marshall D. Schechtern (New York: Oxford

University Press, 1990); John Triseliotis, "Long-Term Foster Care or Adoption? The Evidence Examined," *Child and Family Social Work* 7 (2002): 23-33.

¹³⁸ Triseliotis, "Long-Term Foster Care or Adoption?"; Michael Bohman and Soren Sigvardsson. "Outcome in Adoption: Lessons from Longitudinal Studies" in *The Psychology of Adoption*, eds. David M. Brodzinsky and Marshall D. Schechtern (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 93.

¹³⁹ Bohman, "Outcome in Adoption"; Triseliotis, "Long-Term Foster Care or Adoption?"

¹⁴⁰ Children's Bureau, U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services, *AFCARS Report*.

¹⁴¹ Westat, *A National Evaluation of Title IV-E Foster Care Independent Living Programs for Youth, Phase 2, Final Report* (Rockville, MD: Westat, 1992). see also Bohman, "Outcome in Adoption" 93; Triseliotis, "Long-Term Foster Care or Adoption?"

¹⁴² Children's Bureau, U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services, *AFCARS Report*.

¹⁴³ U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families, "Meet the Children," 2002, www.adoptuskids.org (16 November 2005).

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ State of Tennessee, Department of Children's Services, "Meet Brandi..." 2005, www.state.tn.us/youth/adoption/profiles/g10-18/brandi.htm (16 November 2005).

¹⁴⁸ Division of Children and F

¹⁵⁵ Lamb, "Parental Behavior, Family Processes"; Lamb, "Fathers and Child Development," 9-13.; McLanahan, "Family Structure and Reproduction," 898; Michael R. Stevenson and Kathryn N. Black, "Paternal Absence and Sex-Role Development: A Meta-Analysis." *Child Development* 59 (1988): 793-814.

¹⁵⁶ McLanahan, "Family Structure and the Reproduction;" McLanahan, *Growing Up with a Single Parent*; Lamb, "Fathers and Child Development," 10-11; Lamb, "Parental Behavior, Family Processes," 6-7.; Hwang, "Parent-Child Relationships: Development in the Context," 433-35; Amato, "Consequences of Divorce."

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ McLanahan, "Family Structure and the Reproduction"; Bogess, "Family Structure, Economic Status," 203-22; Amato, "Consequences of Divorce."

¹⁵⁹ Amato, "Consequences of Divorce"; Lamb, "Fathers and Child Development"; Hwang, "Parent-Child Relationships"; McLanahan, "Family Structure and the Reproduction"; Shaw, "Prospective Study of the Effects," 742-55.

¹⁶⁰ Nancy Schaefer, "Adoptions by Gays Imperil Children," *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, editorial (Westlaw), 21 September 2005.

¹⁶¹ Traditional Values Coalition, "TVC Applauds Federal Judge Decision Upholding Homosexual Adoption Ban," 2001, www.traditionalvalues.org/modules.php?sid=114 (1 December 2005).

¹⁶² Skip Cauthorn, "Anti-gay

Research 22 (1986): 145-161; Groth, "Adult Sexual Orientation and Attraction."

¹⁶⁹ John Moritz, "Foster Care Bill Includes Gay Ban," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, April 20, 2005.

¹⁷⁰ Traditional Values Coalition, "TVC Applauds Federal Judge Decision Upholding Homosexual Adoption Ban," August 30, 2001, <http://www.traditionalvalues.org/modules.php?sid=114> (1 December 2005).

¹⁷¹ Stacey, "(How) Does the Sexual Orientation," 170-171; Patterson, "Gay Fathers," 255; Golombok, "Do Parents Influence the Sexual Orientation"; Bailey, "Sexual Orientation of Adult Sons."

¹⁷² Trial Brief of the State of Missouri in *Re: Lisa Johnston*, case no. 1640-FHL-FY04KC, Missouri Department of Social Services, Division of Legal Services, Administrative Hearings Section, Region V.

¹⁷³ MacCallum, "Children Raised in Fatherless"; Golombok, "Children with Lesbian Parents"; Chan, "Division of Labor Among Lesbian"; Flaks, "Lesbians Choosing Motherhood"; Tasker, "Adults Raised as Children"; Green, "Lesbian Mothers and Their Children"; Golombok, "Children in Lesbian and Single-Parent Households"; Hotvedt, "Children of Lesbian Mothers."

¹⁷⁴ Vanfraussen, "What Does It Mean"; Tasker, "Adults Raised as Children."

¹⁷⁵ Robert Lerner and Althea K. Nagi, "No Basis: What the Studies Don't Tell Us About Same-Sex Parenting," *Marriage Law Project*, January 2001, <http://marriagewatch.org/publications/nobasis.cfm> (1 December 2005).

¹⁷⁶ Sam Brownback, "Defining Marriage Down: We Need to Protect Marriage," *National Review Online*, 9 July 2004, <http://www.nationalreview.com/comment/brownback200407090921.asp> (21 December 2005).

¹⁷⁷ Brewaeys, "Donor Insemination: Child Development"; Vanfraussen, "What Does It Mean"; Chan, "Psychosocial Adjustment among Children Conceived"; Golombok, "Children with Lesbian Parents"; Wainright, "Psychosocial Adjustment, School Outcomes."

¹⁷⁸ Raphael Lewis, "Romney Urges Federal Ban on Gay Marriage 'Experiment'," *Boston Globe*, 23 June 2004, A1.

¹⁷⁹ Candi Cushman, "He Has No Mama Now," *Citizen*, January 2003, <http://www.family.org/cforum/citizenmag/coverstory/a0024401.cfm> (9 December 2005).

“This book gets it right. It provides chilling stories of how children are harmed by restrictions on gay parenting. It outlines the child welfare crisis we are facing and explains why laws that ban gay people from adopting and fostering don’t protect children but make it harder to find homes for the many children in need. And by detailing the many social science studies about gay parents and their children, it lays to rest any lingering doubts about the ability of gay people to be good parents.”

O T H O O H A I H I
I T O T H H I A A G O A I A

