

Parenting Aspiration among Diverse Sexual Orientations and Gender Identities in Mexico, and Its Association with Internalized Homo/Transnegativity and Connectedness to the LGBTQ Community

Journal of Family Issues

2020, Vol. 41(6) 759–783

© The Author(s) 2019

Article reuse guidelines:

sagepub.com/journals-permissions

DOI: 10.1177/0192513X19881675

journals.sagepub.com/home/jfi



Fernando Salinas-Quiroz, PhD¹ ,
Pedro Alexandre Costa, PhD² ,
and Ignacio Lozano-Verduzco, PhD¹

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to examine parenting aspiration among a sample of 1,995 childless cisgender, transgender, monosexual (gay/lesbian), and plurisexual (bisexual/pansexual/queer) Mexican individuals, which were compared according to their gender identity (cisgender vs. transgender) and sexual orientation (monosexual vs. plurisexual). For monosexual individuals, only being in a relationship and gender were significantly associated with parenting aspiration whereas for plurisexual individuals, gender, LGBTQ

¹National Pedagogic University, Mexico City, Mexico

²William James Center for Research ISPA – University Institute, Lisbon, Portugal

Corresponding Author:

Fernando Salinas-Quiroz, PhD, National Pedagogic University, Carretera al Ajusco 24, Héroes de Padierna, Tlalpan, 14200, CDMX, Área 3. Cuerpo Académico: Estudios Psicológicos en Educación y Bienestar, Cubículo C-86, Mexico City, 14200, Mexico.

Email: fsalinas@upn.mx

community connectedness, and internalized homo/transnegativity were associated with parenting aspiration. Plurisexual women and transgender individuals reported the lowest level of parenting aspiration, significantly differing from plurisexual men, who reported the highest. Nevertheless, the average score on parenting aspiration was low for the sample as a whole. These findings are discussed in light of Mexico's current social context and political transformations around family and gender.

Keywords

parenting desire, parenting intentions, parenting expectations, motivations for parenthood, LGBT families, transition to parenthood

Introduction

According to life course theory, one of the most important social pathways to adulthood is starting a family with children, and this is an expected transition after completing college education, leaving one's parents' home, finding a profession, and marrying (Amato & Kane, 2011). However, for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Queer (LGBTQ) individuals the transition to parenthood may not be supported or even accepted by society. As Elder (1998) stated, "All life choices are contingent on the opportunities and constraints of social structure and culture" (p. 2). Given the increasing acceptance and legalization of same-gender relationships and parenting, the number of families headed by individuals with diverse Sexual Orientations and Gender Identities (SOGI) has also significantly grown in the last decades, and it is expected to keep growing with greater access to new reproductive technologies. Therefore, taking into account the specific contexts in which individuals pursue their family goals is important to understand their experiences (Cohler & Hammack, 2007), and this study was conducted in a changing Mexican society regarding the rights of LGBTQ individuals and families.

Individuals with diverse SOGI transition into adulthood within a unique sociohistorical context where they are now able to aspire to create their families with fewer social restrictions and to exercise agency in the pursuit of their family goals. Contemporary young LGBTQ individuals belong to a cohort for whom family models are shaped by an ideal of middle-class heteronormative procreation, but at the same time inclusive of diversity (Rabun & Oswald, 2009). Nevertheless, those who perceive unattainability or encounter impediments when thinking about achieving their goals are more likely to experience negative emotions and distress (Snyder, Rand, King,

Feldman, & Woodward, 2002) since financial, social, and legal barriers to parenthood persist for openly LGBTQ individuals (Golombok & Tasker, 2010; Riskind & Tornello, 2017).

Parenting Aspiration among LGBTQ Individuals

Aspiration can be defined as a “strong desire to accomplish something. This usually pertains to greater value or high ideals. Aspiration can motivate to work hard and get things done to achieve a goal” (National Library of Medicine Vocabulary Thesaurus [MeSH], 2017). Parenting desire (i.e., expressed wishes) and parenting intention (i.e., explicit reflecting/planning to become a parent) are two major factors in determining whether an individual becomes a parent in the future (Simon, Tornello, Farr, & Bos, 2018). In a recent qualitative study, Carone, Baiocco, and Lingardi (2017) described how participants “worked through” their concerns, specifically how they “thought, thought and thought again” (p. 1876) about having children. This finding reiterated previous studies that showed how an intense desire to have children is accompanied by a high level of reflection (e.g., Bos, van Balen, & van den Boom, 2003). Thus, parenting aspiration involves the desire to, the intention to, and the reflection on having children.

However, none of these aspects associated with parenting aspiration have been studied among individuals with diverse SOGI, specifically amongst plurisexual individuals (i.e. pansexual, queer and fluid). According to Galupo (2018), only very recently has research begun to distinguish plurisexual identities beyond bisexuality, which represent “minorities within a minority.” Furthermore, since parenthood is culturally constructed in highly gendered terms, transgender individuals’ ideas of reproduction and parenting sit between something they hope to realize and “unattainable fantasies” (von Doussa, Power, & Riggs, 2015), and unfortunately, available data mostly come from case studies. It has been suggested that individuals whose identities deconstruct traditional gender and sexuality norms may face greater difficulties in their parenthood plans, yet little research has focused on their parenting desire and aspiration (von Doussa et al., 2015).

Research to date has examined almost exclusively lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals’ parenting aspiration, and in most cases isolating only one aspect of parenting aspiration: for example, motivations (Bos et al., 2003; Lozano & Jiménez, 2010; Robinson & Brewster, 2014), expectations (D’Augelli, Rendina, Grossman, & Sinclair, 2007; Hank & Wetzel, 2018; Shenkman, 2012), self-efficacy (Riskind, Patterson, & Nosek, 2013), desire and intention (Baiocco & Laghi, 2013; Bauermeister, 2014; Costa & Bidell, 2017; Gates, Badgett, Macomber, & Chambers, 2007; Goldberg, Downing, &

Moyer, 2012; Haces, 2006; Laguna, 2013; Patterson & Riskind, 2010; Riskind & Patterson, 2010; Riskind & Tornello, 2017; Shenkman, 2012; Simon et al., 2018). Nevertheless, despite the lack of consensus regarding the operationalization of parenting aspiration, some patterns have been identified.

Studies comparing parenting aspiration between childless monosexual lesbian, gay, and heterosexual individuals have provided conflicting evidence: some studies found that lesbian women and gay men reported a weaker parenting desire than did heterosexuals (Baiocco & Laghi, 2013; Riskind & Patterson, 2010), while others demonstrated that at least for lesbian women who were already parents, their parenting desire was stronger when compared to heterosexual parents (Bos et al., 2003). Further, when comparing parenting aspiration between lesbian women and gay men, some studies reported a stronger parenting desire among lesbian women (e.g., Riskind & Patterson, 2010), while others did not find any gender differences (e.g., Costa & Bidell, 2017). Regarding bisexual woman, there is also contradictory evidence: some studies reported a stronger parenting desire among them when compared to lesbian women (Riskind & Tornello, 2017), while others did not find differences between bisexual, lesbian, and heterosexual women's parenting desires or intentions (Simon et al., 2018). To some extent, these differences may be a byproduct of how researchers have differently examined parenting aspiration (as desires, intentions, expectations, and/or motivations), and of how these constructs were measured.

It is also important to consider that the social context where the research takes place may also affect their findings: discrimination and prejudice associated with an LGBTQ identity can affect individuals' psychological adjustment, relational well-being, and coping processes (Lozano-Verduzco, Fernández-Niño, & Baruch-Domínguez, 2017; MacLeod, Bauer, Robinson, MacKay, & Ross, 2015; Meyer, 1995, 2003; Mohr & Daly, 2008; Ross et al., 2017). Internalized homonegativity/transnegativity is the result of LGBTQ people's internalization of society's negative ideology about sexual and gender minorities (Berg, Munthe-Kaas, & Ross, 2016; Hudson & Ricketts, 1980), and thus a valuable indicator of individuals with diverse SOGI well-being. A recent study conducted in Mexico showed that LGBTQ Mexican individuals faced constant stress, and that this stress was associated with high levels of internalized homonegativity (Lozano-Verduzco et al., 2017). In contrast, a positive social factor is feeling connected to other LGBTQ people, which is important for their general and psychological health (self-esteem and well-being), as it brings a sense of identity, self-worth and purpose, and important resources to cope with stress (Cohen, 2004; Frost & Meyer, 2012; Shechner, Slone, Meir, & Kalish, 2010). Having confidence that others will provide efficient emotional support when needed is linked with lower levels of

psychological distress, anxiety, or depression (Cohen, 2004; Kindler & Erich, 2005; MacLeod et al., 2015; Moak & Agrawal, 2009). Further, being involved with the LGBTQ community offers positive role models, shapes a positive identity, and protects individuals from heterosexist pressures and oppression (Haldeman, 2007), whereas low connectedness to the LGBTQ community correlates with high levels of social anxiety and internalized homonegativity (Baiocco, Argalia, & Laghi, 2014; Frost & Meyer, 2012; Herek, 2009; Lingiardi, Baiocco, & Nardelli, 2012; MacLeod et al., 2015; Mays & Cochran, 2001; Meyer, 2003; Salvati, Pistella, Ioverno, Laghi, & Baiocco, 2017).

The Research Context

Given the importance of sociohistorical contexts on life course pathways (Cohler, 2005; Elder, Johnson, & Crosnoe, 2003), this study is situated within a changing Mexican society and among a diverse Latin-American context. Mexico is a highly religious and family-oriented country, with over 83 percent of the population identifying with Catholicism (INEGI, 2010). Further, according to Mexico City's 2017 survey on discrimination, sexual orientation was considered the second most common basis for prejudice. From a list of 41 groups subject to severe discrimination, *gays* appeared in the second place after indigenous people (EDIS, 2017). A recent Mexican community study (Mendoza, Ortiz, Román, & Rojas, 2015) found that around 69 percent of the sampled LGBTQ individuals reported being discriminated against due to their sexual or gender identity, with queer-identified individuals reporting the highest frequency of discrimination, followed by gay men and transgender women.

Mexico City is the largest city in the country, with nearly 9 million inhabitants and 3.5 million aged from 15 to 44 years (INEGI, 2010). It was declared a Gay Friendly City in 2015, which according to official statements is an expression of the city's interest in developing as a sexually diverse metropolis, where LGBTQ rights are won and respected (COPRED, 2015). Among such rights are same-gender marriage and child adoption by same-gender couples, which were legalized in 2010 (Lozano-Verduzco & Salinas-Quiroz, 2016; Vela, 2015). That same year, 689 same-gender marriages were registered in Mexico City, and in 2017 this number rose to over 1,400 (INEGI, 2018). However, the exact number of LGBTQ parents in Mexico remains uncertain considering the different paths to parenthood (e.g., donor insemination, previous heterosexual relationship), and the diversity of SOGI (Medina, 2015). International evidence has also showed that "informal," often unrecognized, family networks are characteristic of LGBTQ family arrangements (e.g., Oswald, 2002; Swainson & Tasker, 2005). Careaga (2011) claims that in Mexico the majority of LGB individuals with children became parents in

the context of a previous heterosexual relationship and little is known about families headed by trans- and plurisexual Mexican parents.

To the best of our knowledge, no studies on parenting aspiration have been conducted with Mexican individuals with diverse SOGI. Furthermore, at a global and large scale, no study has explored the desire to, the intention to, and the reflection on having children (i.e., parenting aspiration) among transsexual, pansexual, and queer individuals, nor comparatively assessed monosexual and plurisexual individuals (i.e., beyond self-identified bisexual participants), transgender, and cisgender people. As previously stated, while most research has studied different aspects of parenting aspiration among monosexual individuals (lesbian women and gay men), the few available researches on parenting aspiration among plurisexual (bisexual, pansexual, queer) and transgender individuals have been qualitative. Thus, quantitative comparative studies between different SOGI are needed.

Considering this background, the limited research on parenting aspiration among people with diverse SOGI, and Mexico City's recent legal and political changes, the aim of this study was to investigate parenting aspiration among a large sample of diverse SOGI individuals in Mexico. The first objective was to examine sociodemographic (gender, age, age at coming out, relationship status, and socioeconomic level) and psychosocial predictors of parenting aspiration (internalized homo/transnegativity and LGBTQ community connectedness) among monosexual and plurisexual individuals. A second objective was to comparatively assess parenting aspiration, internalized homo/transnegativity, and LGBTQ community connectedness between individuals with minority sexual identities (monosexual and plurisexual) and gender identities (cisgender and transgender).

Method

Participants and Procedures

The study is part of a larger research project about the Mexican LGBTQ community that focused on three main areas: (a) discrimination experiences based on SOGI; (b) context, experiences, and effects of violence on mental health indicators; and (c) knowledge about and experiences of civil rights, including family and parenting rights (Lozano & Salinas-Quiroz, 2016). This study reports data regarding the third area, LGBTQ family, and parenting rights. Participants were recruited during Mexico City's Sexual Diversity and Pride March in June 2015, and asked to complete a paper questionnaire ($n = 793$). Afterwards, an online sample was also recruited ($n = 2,533$) through the SurveyMonkey platform, for a total of 3,326 collected questionnaires.

The online survey was identical to the paper questionnaire, and was advertised on Facebook and Twitter, as well as through nonprofit and governmental organizations' that deal with LGBTQ issues. The online survey was available for two months. The first page of both the paper and the online survey included a consent form that briefly described the purpose of the study, identified the research team, and informed participants of the procedures put in place to safeguard their anonymity and the confidentiality of the information collected. No compensation was offered to participants. The research project was approved by (blinded for review) IRB.

The inclusion criteria for this study was that participants were at least 18 years of age, from Mexico, and identified themselves as other than heterosexual or cisgender. From the original sample, 17 did not identify their sexual and gender identity, and 1,314 individuals did not complete the section about parenting aspirations, and were thus excluded from further analyses. The final sample consisted of 1,995 participants, from which 1,040 (52%) were from Mexico City. Regarding sexual identity, self-identified gay, lesbian, and homosexual individuals were merged into a single Monosexual category, and bisexual, pansexual, and queer individuals were merged into a single Plurisexual category. Despite some controversy over these classification, there is evidence of shared similarities within the two categories, supporting the idea that it may be appropriate to merge these identity groups (Galupo, Ramirez, & Pulice-Farrow, 2017). Further, for the purpose of this study, three categories were created for gender identity: cisgender men, cisgender women, and transgender individuals. Transgender individuals could not be disaggregated because some participants did not identify as either man or women, and most identified solely as transgender as previous studies have found (e.g., Rimes, Goodship, Ussher, Baker, & West, 2017). Despite possible differences between them, creating three distinct transgender groups was not possible due to the small subsample sizes. Given the diversity in self-identity labels and categorizations, the subsamples were compared on main sociodemographic variables: cisgender women came out significantly later in life than did cisgender men ($p = .039$) or transgender individuals ($p = .019$), and were also more likely to be in a relationship than were either cisgender men or transgender individuals ($p < .001$). There were no differences between groups on age, socioeconomic level, professional situation, education level, or religious variables.¹

Measures

Sociodemographic Data. Participants completed a set of sociodemographic questions. To assess SOGI, participants were asked the following questions: (a) "In regards to your sexual orientation, how do you identify yourself?" and

(b) “In regards to your body and gender, how do you identify yourself?” The answers to these questions were coded a posteriori. Participants were also asked about their age and age at coming out, which were measured as continuous variables. Socioeconomic level, relationship situation, professional situation, education level, religious beliefs, and religious background were measured as discrete variables. Participants’ main sociodemographic data and response options are displayed on Table 1.

Parenting Aspiration. To measure the thought process (reflection) involved in pursuing the objective of rearing children, and the intensity of the parenting desire (strength) we used the two items proposed by Bos et al. (2003); to assess reflection, we inquired how often participants thought about having children (“I often think I want to have a child”), and to assess intensity, we inquired how strongly participants felt about having children (“I am willing to give up everything in order to have children”). Both items were measured on a five-point Likert-type scale from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree), with a high correlation between them, $r = .79$, $p < .001$. A composite variable consisting of the weighted average of the two items was computed to create a new variable, which we named parenting aspiration. A higher score on this variable indicated a stronger parenting aspiration.

Internalized Homo/Transnegativity. To measure internalized homo/transnegativity we used Herek, Cogan, Gillis, and Glunt’s (1998) Internalized Homophobia Scale, adapted for the Mexican population (Lozano & Salinas-Quiroz, 2016; Ortiz-Hernández, 2005), measuring dissatisfaction with one’s SOGI, and the desire to change it. The items were re-worded to include dissatisfaction with one’s gender identity in addition to the original dissatisfaction with one’s sexual orientation (e.g., “If someone offered me the chance to be completely heterosexual or cisgender, I would accept the chance”). Items were measured on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree), so that higher scores reflected higher levels of internalized homo/transnegativity. Scale reliability was high ($\alpha = .874$). Two factors were identified, consisting of Disapproval of Homosexuality/Transgenderism (8 items; $\alpha = .873$) and Fear of Social Rejection (4 items; $\alpha = .774$), and composite variables consisting of the weighted average of the items in each of the two dimensions were computed.

LGBTQ Community Connectedness. To measure LGBTQ community connectedness, we used Frost and Meyer’s (2012) scale, adapted to the Mexican population using a back translation procedure (English–Spanish, Spanish–English; Lozano & Salinas-Quiroz, 2016). Items were designed to indicate

Table 1. Main Sociodemographic Characteristics.

	Range	Mean (SD)
Age	14–68	27 (9)
Age at coming out	5–45	17 (5)
Socioeconomic level (global scores)	20–272	147 (42)
	N	%
Gender identity		
Man	1,302	65%
Woman	524	26%
Trans	88	5%
Sexual identity		
Monosexual (gay, lesbian, homosexual)	1,526	76%
Plurisexual (bisexual, pansexual, queer)	469	24%
Socioeconomic level (categories)		
E	3	1%
D	145	7%
D+	148	7%
C	756	37%
C+	632	31%
AB	238	12%
Professional situation		
Employed	1,164	58%
Student	690	34%
Unemployed	138	7%
Other	20	1%
Education level		
Less than high school	43	2%
High school diploma	353	18%
College degree or above	1,295	64%
Relationship situation		
Single	959	48%
Relationship	828	41%
Civil partnership	42	2%
Married	91	5%
Religious beliefs		
Catholic	631	31%
Agnostic/Atheist	867	43%
Other	119	6%

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

	Range	Mean (SD)
Religious background		
Catholic	1,442	72%
Agnostic/Atheist	111	6%
Other	153	7%

Note 1: When percentages (%) do not add up to 100 is due to missing values.

Note 2: The Mexican Association of Market and Public Opinion Research Agencies (Spanish acronym AMAI) developed a classification index based on an assignment tree considering 13 variables. According to the AMAI, Mexican population is divided into six segments: AB (people with high purchasing power and income), C+ (people with higher-than average incomes, whose families are headed by someone with a college degree and have at least two cars), C (people with middle incomes, whose families are headed by someone with a high school degree and have a car), D+ (people with incomes slightly below average, some secondary education, and no family vehicle), and D and E (people with low income levels and a fairly austere way of existence, who have a primary school education and who lack access to traditional banking services). Middle class would find itself at least in the D+ to C range.

how deeply connected to the LGBTQ community participants felt, and how close they felt to other people like them (e.g., “I feel a bond with the Mexican LGBT community”). The scale consists of eight items measured on a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree), so that higher scores reflected higher levels of involvement with the LGBTQ community. Reliability for the unidimensional scale was high ($\alpha = .896$), and a composite variable consisting of the weighted average of the items was computed.

Results

Predictors of Parenting Aspiration among Monosexual and Plurisexual Individuals

To investigate whether specific sociodemographic and psychosocial variables would predict parenting aspiration, two hierarchical multiple linear regressions were conducted: one for monosexual and one for plurisexual individuals. Sociodemographic variables (age, age at coming-out, relationship status, and socioeconomic level) and gender (cisgender men versus others) were introduced in step one, and disapproval of homosexuality/transgenderism, fear of social rejection, and LGBTQ community connectedness were introduced in step two. Age, age at coming out, disapproval of

homosexuality/transgenderism, fear of social rejection, LGBTQ community connectedness, and socioeconomic level were measured as continuous variables. Relationship status was dummy coded so that 0 = single and 1 = in a relationship. The correlations among the variables were assessed using bivariate correlations (Table 2).

Monosexual individuals. In step one, a significant regression equation was found, $F(5,979) = 6.057, p < .001, R^2_{\text{Adj}} = .025$, with only two significant predictor variables. Being in a relationship was the strongest predictor of parenting aspiration, followed by gender. In step two, no single variable emerged as significant nor did step two significantly add to explained variance of the overall model, $F_{\text{change}}(3,971) = 2.353, p_{\text{change}} = .071, R^2_{\text{ChangeAdj}} = .007$ (Table 3).

Plurisexual Individuals. In step one, a significant regression equation was found, $F(5,215) = 2.973, p = .013, R^2_{\text{Adj}} = .044$, with only gender emerging as a significant predictor of parenting aspiration. In step two, community connectedness was the strongest predictor of parenting aspiration, followed by disapproval of homosexuality/transgenderism, significantly adding to the explained variance of the overall model, $F_{\text{change}}(3,207) = 6.028, p_{\text{change}} = .001, R^2_{\text{ChangeAdj}} = .075$.

Parenting Aspiration, Internalized Homo/Transnegativity and LGBTQ Community Connectedness across SOGI

To assess the effects of SOGI on parenting aspiration, a two-way ANOVA was conducted. Sexual identity was composed by two groups (monosexual and plurisexual individuals), and gender was composed by three groups (cisgender men, cisgender women, and transgender individuals). The distributions of scores, means and standard deviations are shown in Table 4. ANOVA test results revealed a significant yet small main effect of gender, $F(2,1897) = 4.176, p = .016, \eta^2_p = .004$, and a nonsignificant main effect of sexual identity, $F(1,1897) = 3.379, p = .066, \eta^2_p = .002$. The interaction effect between gender and sexual identity was significant, $F(2,1897) = 10.000, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .010$ (Figure 1).

Given the significant interaction effect, multiple comparisons using Tukey post-hoc tests were performed for each sexual identity group separately. Significant differences were found in that plurisexual women and transgender individuals reported significantly lower parenting aspiration than did plurisexual men, $F(2,380) = 9.265, p < .001$.

Table 2. Correlations among the Variables under Study.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Age	—	.144**	.156*	-.018	.026	-.067	-.150*	-.080
2. Age at coming out	.234*	—	-.001	-.019	.077	.006	-.170*	.001
3. Relationship status	.122*	.080*	—	.063	.005	-.119*	-.072	.030
4. Socioeconomic level	.173*	.091*	.111*	—	.041	-.020	-.053	.052
5. Disapproval homosexuality/transgenderism	-.046	.087*	-.144*	-.008	—	.442*	-.293*	.086
6. Fear social rejection	-.093*	.036	-.170*	-.062**	.413*	—	-.038	.036
7. LGBTQ community connectedness	.060**	-.091*	.039	.044	-.265*	-.120*	—	.090**
8. Parenting aspiration	-.123*	-.076*	.070*	-.056**	.072*	.097*	.071*	—

* $p < .001$; ** $p < .05$.

Note: Below the diagonal the correlations refer to monosexual individuals and above the diagonal the correlations refer to plurisexual individuals.

Table 3. Predictors of Parenting Aspiration among Monosexual and Plurisexual Individuals.

	Monosexual Individuals				Plurisexual Individuals			
	B	β	t	p	B	β	t	p
Gender	.271	.081	2.539	.010	-.068	-.232	-3.429	.001
Age	-.009	-.056	-1.690	.091	-.011	-.074	-1.094	.275
Age coming-out	-.017	-.055	-1.715	.087	.014	.051	.761	.448
Relationship status	.295	.109	3.369	.001	.183	.072	1.060	.290
Socioeconomic level	-.002	-.050	-1.547	.122	-.002	-.062	-.917	.360
Disapproval of homosexuality/transgenderism	.121	.061	1.659	.098	.281	.193	2.524	.012
Fear social rejection	.051	.042	1.201	.230	.030	.026	.345	.731
LGBTQ community connectedness	.061	.038	1.115	.265	.374	.230	3.310	.001

Table 4. Parenting Aspiration across Gender and Sexual Identities.

	Sexual Identity			Gender Identity		
	Monosexual Individuals (n = 1,526)	Plurisexual Individuals (n = 469)		Cisgender Men (n = 1,302)	Cisgender Women (n = 524)	Transgender Individuals (n = 88)
Parenting aspiration	2.91 (1.36)	2.78 (1.31)		2.91 (1.37)	2.85 (1.31)	2.79 (1.38)
1 (completely disagree)	21%	21%		21%	20%	26%
2 (disagree)	14%	17%		14%	16%	10%
3 (neither agree nor disagree)	25%	24%		24%	25%	25%
4 (agree)	22%	23%		22%	23%	24%
5 (completely agree)	18%	15%		19%	16%	15%
Disapproval of homosexuality/transgenderism	1.45 (.04)	1.79 (.05)		1.71 (.03)	1.52 (.03)	1.63 (.09)
Fear of social rejection	2.39 (.06)	2.73 (.08)		2.72 (.05)	2.37 (.05)	2.60 (.14)
LGBTQ community connectedness	3.88 (.05)	3.79 (.06)		3.62 (.04)	3.86 (.04)	4.03 (.10)

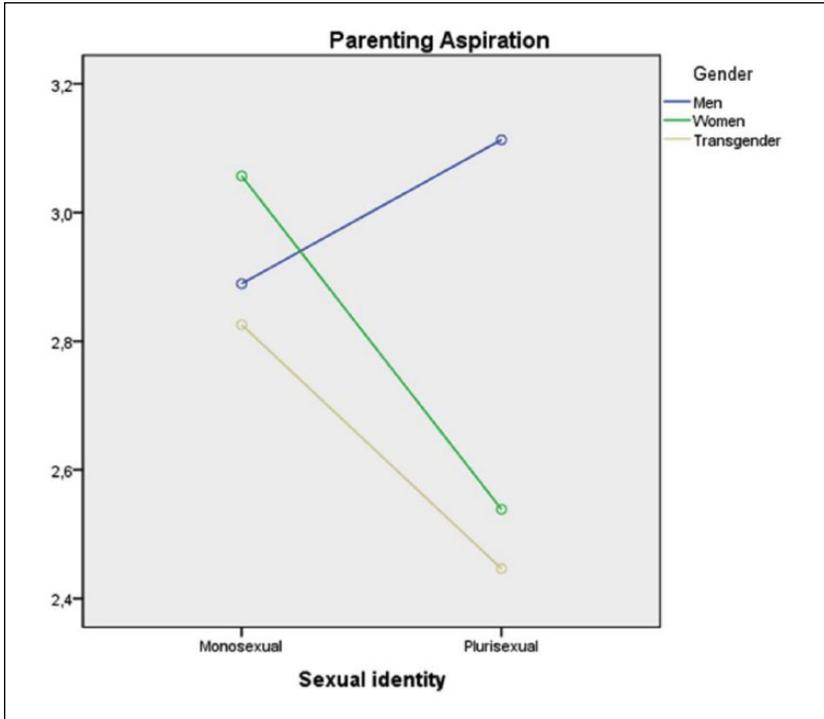


Figure 1. Interaction Effect between Gender and Sexual Identities on Parenting Aspiration.

The effects of SOGI on homo/transnegativity and LGBTQ community connectedness were also assessed through two-way ANOVAs. The distributions of scores, means, and standard deviations are shown in Table 4.

Regarding disapproval of homosexuality/transgenderism, ANOVA test results revealed a significant main effect of gender, $F(2,1897) = 8.532, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .009$, a significant main effect of sexual identity, $F(1,1897) = 28.347, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .015$, and a significant interaction effect between gender and sexual identity $F(2,1897) = 8.053, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .008$. Given the significant interaction effect, multiple comparisons using Tukey post-hoc tests were performed for each gender separately. Significant differences were found in that plurisexual cisgender men reported significantly higher disapproval of homosexuality/transgenderism than did plurisexual cisgender women and transgender individuals, $F(2,380) = 7.245, p = .001$.

Regarding fear of social rejection, ANOVA test results revealed a significant main effect of gender, $F(2,1897) = 13.193, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .014$, and a significant main effect of sexual identity, $F(1,1897) = 10.903, p = .001, \eta^2_p = .006$. The interaction effect between gender and sexual identity was non-significant, $F(2,1897) = 1.006, p = .366, \eta^2_p = .001$. Multiple comparisons using Tukey post-hoc tests showed that cisgender women reported significantly lower fear of social rejection than did cisgender men or transgender individuals, $F(2,1913) = 11,149, p < .001$, and that monosexual individuals reported significantly lower fear of social rejection than did plurisexual individuals, $F(1,1994) = 22,076, p < .001$.

Regarding LGBTQ community connectedness, ANOVA test results revealed a significant main effect of gender, $F(2,1897) = 13.964, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .015$. The main effect of sexual identity, $F(1,1897) = 1.318, p = .251, \eta^2_p = .001$, and the interaction effect between gender and sexual identity, $F(2,1897) = .051, p = .950, \eta^2_p = .000$, were both nonsignificant. Multiple comparisons using Tukey post-hoc tests showed that cisgender men reported significantly lower community connectedness than did cisgender women or transgender individuals, $F(2,1913) = 12,310, p < .001$.

Discussion

This study investigated parenting aspiration among a large sample of Mexican individuals with diverse SOGI. By differently investigating the parenting aspiration among monosexual and plurisexual individuals, and between cisgender men, women, and transgender individuals, this study's findings expanded upon the knowledge on parenting desires and aspirations among sexual and gender minorities. Plurisexual women and transgender individuals reported lower parenting aspiration but also lower disapproval of homosexuality/transgenderism than did plurisexual men. Further, cisgender women reported lower fear of social rejection than did cisgender men and transgender individuals, whereas cisgender men reported lower LGBTQ community connectedness than did cisgender women and transgender individuals.

In comparison with previous studies, our participants reported lower parenting aspiration than US lesbian, bisexual, and heterosexual women (Simon et al., 2018), Dutch lesbian mothers (Bos et al., 2003), and Israeli gay men (Shenkman, 2012), but similar to Portuguese childless lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals (Costa & Bidell, 2017). Further, in spite of the differences found between monosexual and plurisexual individuals in this study, the dimension of between-groups variance was smaller than that reported in previous studies (e.g., in Portugal; Costa & Bidell, 2017), suggesting a median low level of parenting aspiration among Mexicans with diverse SOGI.

Results showed that only sociodemographic variables, that is, being in a relationship and being a cisgender man, was associated with parenting aspiration among monosexual individuals, whilst gender (being a cisgender man) and psychosocial factors, namely LGBTQ community connectedness and internalized homo/transnegativity, were associated with parenting aspiration among plurisexual individuals. Further, both young age and coming out at a young age were marginally and nonsignificantly associated with parenting aspiration among monosexual individuals. This finding corroborated earlier US studies that have shown that young age, young age at coming out, and being in a relationship were significantly linked to higher expectations, intentions, and desire for parenthood among lesbian, gay, and bisexual people (D'Augelli et al., 2007; Riskind & Patterson, 2010).

Adults with diverse SOGI face social, legal, and financial barriers that can make parenthood outside of heterosexual romantic relationships difficult or impossible to achieve (Riskind & Tornello, 2017). For self-identified monosexual individuals, being in a committed relationship may help to reconcile these difficulties, as having a partner was the strongest predictor of parenting aspiration. Accordingly, it has been argued that individuals with monosexual identities aim to normalize monogamy, and uphold and expand the normative family models rather than challenge them (Goldberg et al., 2012; Rabun & Oswald, 2009), thus claiming a *homonormative* family model. In a study conducted with middle-class heterosexual men from Mexico City (Jiménez, 2007), it was found that the idea of having children is usually linked to marriage expectations, so it is reasonable to assume that this also applies for Mexican gay men. Gay men have now secured a greater access to different paths to parenthood alongside a greater social acceptance of gay fatherhood (Berkowitz, 2007; Carneiro, Tasker, Salinas-Quiroz, Leal, & Costa, 2017), and for them, being in a relationship may be an important factor for their decision to become parents (Goldberg et al., 2012). Thus, according to life-course theory, parenthood can be considered as the consecration of adult manhood, and can come to symbolize the achievement of full adulthood (Amato & Kane, 2011; Jiménez, 2003).

In contrast, in a recent US study, Simon and colleagues (2018) found that bisexual women reported lower partner expectations in envisioning the transition to parenthood when compared to their heterosexual peers, although no significant differences were found between them and lesbian or heterosexual women regarding parenting aspiration. In this study, we found that plurisexual women (bisexual, pansexual, queer) and transgender individuals reported the lowest parenting aspiration. This finding is unprecedented, and may open new lines of inquiry regarding the experiences and aspirations to parenthood among plurisexual and transgender individuals, in particular about the unique

challenges and obstacles that they may face. Most of the available research has focused on the parenting desire, intention, or aspiration of monosexual and cis-gender individuals (e.g., Goldberg et al., 2012; Riskind & Patterson, 2010; Shenkman, 2012), while only a few have looked into those of bisexual individuals though mostly merged with lesbian or gay samples (e.g., Costa & Bidell, 2017; D'Augelli et al., 2007). To the best of our knowledge, research on parenting aspiration among trans- and plurisexual individuals has relied solely on qualitative accounts with single identities in each study. For example, a study on bisexual women's motherhood narratives suggested that these mothers may feel a pressure to conform to more normative, monosexual identities (Delvoye & Tasker, 2016). We propose that whilst monosexual individuals are likely to pursue homonormative family models, transgender and plurisexual individuals are more likely to face greater difficulties envisioning parenthood, yet are less likely to conform to highly gendered and monogamous ways of doing family.

Plurisexual identities are dually constructed to mark nonheterosexuality and nonmonosexuality, going against the sexual norms celebrated both outside and within the LGBTQ community (Galupo, 2018). Ostensibly, starting a family with children is an expected life transition for monosexual coupled adults, which constitutes a sexual norm that excludes plurisexual and single individuals. In this study, plurisexual participants' parenting aspiration was found to be more likely to be shaped by psychosocial factors, specifically their experiences of stigma and level of connectedness to the LGBTQ community, than by their contextual situation. In other words, those who belong to a "minority within the minority" (Galupo, 2018) may need to create supportive social networks and overcome society's sexual and gender-related stigmas in order to envision parenthood for themselves.

Plurisexual woman in particular might remain childfree by choice and not by circumstances. It has been suggested that parenthood and parenting aspiration are highly gendered, and most of the research in this field has focused on child-less (heterosexual) women. A broader access to reproductive choices and overall empowerment of women in different social spheres has led to important changes, and there is a growing body of research about women remaining childfree (Moller & Clarke, 2016). Beyond personal choices and lifestyles associated with being childfree (e.g., focus on career, perceived freedoms, and opportunities), some qualitative studies with plurisexual women have underscored a challenge to traditional assumptions about gender, sexuality, and family in a culture where womanhood is still seen as completed through pregnancy and birth (Gillespie, 2003; Lagarde, 2015). It seems to be the case that plurisexual Mexican women are distancing themselves from a heteronormative view of womanhood inextricably bound to motherhood (Lagarde, 2015), which contrasts with sexual minority men who since having

gained easier access to different parenthood paths, such as surrogacy and adoption, may not be childless by circumstances (Riskind & Patterson, 2010).

Finally, there is a lack of cultural scripts for transgender parenting, which may create difficulties for our participants to align their transgender identity with normative notions of parenthood (von Doussa et al., 2015). Transgender identities are formed through and in opposition to mainstream discourses, and their parenting aspiration is intrinsically connected to their gendered experiences and identity (Hines, 2006; von Doussa et al., 2015). Further, their social experiences of being accepted and connected to a supportive community may buffer the negative effects of transnegative stigma and thus open new perspectives on parenthood. Moreover, Mexican queer and transgender individuals have reported a high frequency of experiences of discrimination and of verbal, sexual, and/or physical violence (Mendoza et al., 2015), which may hinder their parenting aspiration in face of daily adversity. We propose that the lower parenting aspiration found among nonnormative SOGI may be at least partially explained by an incongruence between available family models and nonconforming identities.

Limitations

This study has had some limitations that require acknowledgement. One of these limitations regards the unequal sample sizes between monosexual and plurisexual individuals, and between cisgender and transgender individuals. Second, transgender men and women were conflated into a single group due to the small number of transgender men and women and some identified as solely transgender, thus hindering comparisons between them. Finally, the sample was intentional and nonrandomly recruited, which seems to have privileged urban-living individuals from Mexico City, middle-class, and highly educated LGBTQ individuals (Lozano-Verduzco & Salinas-Quiroz, 2016). As such, generalization of the findings must be done carefully. However, this study employed the largest and most diverse sample of nonheteronormative monosexual, plurisexual, cisgender, and transgender people in the field of parenting aspiration, which constitutes an important strength.

Conclusions

There is very little research in the Mexican context that sheds light onto parenthood aspiration among people with diverse SOGI (e.g., Laguna, 2013; Lozano & Jiménez, 2010). Further, there are no reliable estimates of the number of LGBTQ people in Mexico who are currently rearing children. Describing and explaining parenting aspiration among this community is a

first step to opening up a field of study that is not only relevant to Mexican-based research and different academic fields, but also to the LGBTQ community in general. These findings may help inform further activist efforts and policy making to guarantee equal rights to individuals with diverse SOGI.

This study uncovered novel findings regarding parenting aspiration within the LGBTQ community, and it is the first of its kind to be conducted in Mexico. This is relevant considering that Mexico is an extremely family-focused context that promotes the formation of “traditional” families, heritage, and reproduction, and these arguments are constantly used in political campaigns, cinema, television, and publicity. Regardless of the diverse psychosocial explanations behind this, we can observe important transformations in aspiration, gender (non)conformity, and identity as a result of more than 50 years of social and political struggle to visibilize and affirm LGBTQ people.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

ORCID iDs

Fernando Salinas-Quiroz  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1257-6379>

Pedro Alexandre Costa  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9826-9881>

Note

1. Due to space constraints, sociodemographic sample comparison statistics are not included in this paper. Complete analyses may be made available upon request to the authors.

References

- Amato, P. R., & Kane, J. B. (2011). Life-course pathways and the psychosocial adjustment of young adult women. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 73*, 279-295. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3737.2010.00804.x
- Baiocco, R., & Laghi, F. (2013). Sexual orientation and the desires and intentions to become parents. *Journal of Family Studies, 19*, 90-98. doi:10.5172/jfs.2013.19.1.9
- Baiocco, R., Argalia, M., & Laghi, F. (2014). The desire to marry and attitudes toward same-sex family legalization in a sample of Italian lesbians and gay men. *Journal of Family Issues, 35*, 181-200. doi:10.1177/0192513x12464872

- Bauermeister, J. A. (2014). How statewide LGB policies go from “under our skin” to “into our hearts”: Fatherhood aspirations and psychological well-being among emerging adult sexual minority men. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *43*, 1295-1305. doi:10.1007/s10964-013-0059-6
- Berg, R. C., Munthe-Kaas, H. M., & Ross, M. W. (2016). Internalized homonegativity: A systematic mapping review of empirical research. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *63*, 541-558. doi:10.1080/00918369.2015.1083788
- Berkowitz, D. (2007). A sociohistorical analysis of gay men’s procreative consciousness. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, *3*, 157-190. doi:10.1300/J461v03n02_07
- Bos, H. M. W., van Balen, F., & van den Boom, D. C. (2003). Planned lesbian families: Their desire and motivation to have children. *Human Reproduction*, *18*, 2216-2224. doi:10.1093/humrep/deg427
- Careaga, G. (2011). Familias homoparentales [Same-gender families]. *V Encuentro de la Disidencia Sexual*. Mexico: Universidad Autónoma de la Ciudad de México (UACM).
- Carneiro, F. A., Tasker, F., Salinas-Quiroz, F., Leal, I., & Costa, P. A. (2017). Are the fathers alright? A systematic and critical review of studies on gay and bisexual fatherhood. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *8*, 1636. Retrieved from <https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fpsyg.2017.01636/full>
- Carone, N., Baiocco, R., & Lingiardi, V. (2017). Single fathers by choice using surrogacy: Why men decide to have a child as a single parent. *Human Reproduction*, *32*, 1871-1879. doi:10.1093/humrep/dex245
- Cohen, S. (2004). Social relationships and health. *American Psychologist*, *11*, 676-684. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.59.8.676
- Cohler, B. J. (2005). Life course social science perspectives on the GLBT family. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, *1*, 69-95. doi:10.1300/J461v01n01_06
- Cohler, B. J., & Hammack, P. L. (2007). The psychological world of the gay teenager: Social change, narrative, and “normality”. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *36*, 47-59. doi:10.1007/s10964-006-9110-1
- Consejo para Prevenir y Eliminar la Discriminación de la Ciudad de México [EDIS]. (2017). *Encuesta sobre Discriminación en la CDMX* [Survey about discrimination in CDMX]. Mexico: COPRED. Available at <http://copred.cdmx.gob.mx/storage/app/uploads/public/59a/840/2d5/59a8402d50788389814688.pdf>
- COPRED. (2015). *Declaratoria CDMX ciudad amigable LGBTTTTI* [Declaration of CDMX as LGBTTTTI friendly city]. Available at <http://data.copred.cdmx.gob.mx/declaratoria-cdmx-ciudad-amigable-lgbttti/>
- Costa, P. A., & Bidell, M. (2017). Modern families: Parenting desire, intention, and experience among Portuguese lesbian, gay and bisexual individuals. *Journal of Family Issues*, *38*, 500-521. doi:10.1177/0192513X16683985
- D’Augelli, A. R., Rendina, H. J., Grossman, A. H., & Sinclair, K. O. (2007). Lesbian and gay youths’ aspirations for marriage and raising children. *Journal of LGBT Issues in Counseling*, *1*, 77-98. doi:10.1300/J462v01n04_06
- Delvoye, M., & Tasker, F. (2016). Narrating self-identity in bisexual motherhood. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, *12*, 5-23. doi:10.1080/1550428X.2015.1038675

- Elder, G. H. (1998). The life course as developmental theory. *Child Development, 69*, 1-12. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8624.1998.tb06128.x
- Elder, G. H., Johnson, M. K., & Crosnoe, R. (2003). The emergence and development of life course theory. In J. T. Mortimer & M. J. Shanahan (Eds.), *Handbook of the life course* (pp. 3-19). New York, NY: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- Frost, M. D., & Meyer, I. (2012). Measuring community connectedness among diverse sexual minority populations. *The Journal of Sex Research, 49*, 36-49. doi:10.1080/00224499.2011.565427
- Galupo, M. P. (2018). Plurisexual identity labels and the marking of bisexual desire. In D. J. Swan & S. Habbibi (Eds.), *Bisexuality: Research, theoretical applications, and recommendations for the invisible sexuality* (pp. 61-75). New York, NY: Springer
- Galupo, M. P., Ramirez, J. L., & Pulice-Farrow, L. (2017). "Regardless of their gender": Descriptions of sexual identity among bisexual, pansexual, and queer identified individuals. *Journal of Bisexuality, 17*, 108-124. doi:10.1080/15299716.2016.1228491
- Gates, G. J., Badgett, M. V. L., Macomber, J. E., & Chambers, K. (2007). *Adoption and foster care by gay and lesbian parents in the United States*. Los Angeles, CA: The Williams Institute. Available at <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/2v4528cx>
- Gillespie, R. (2003). Childfree and feminine: Understanding the gender identity of voluntary childless women. *Gender & Society, 17*, 122-136. doi:10.1177/0891243202238982
- Goldberg, A. E., Downing, J. B., & Moyer, A. M. (2012). Why parenthood, and why now? Gay men's motivations for pursuing parenthood. *Family Relations, 61*, 157-174. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3729.2011.00687.x
- Golombok, S., & Tasker, F. (2010). Gay fathers. In M. E. Lamb (Ed.), *The role of the father in child development* (pp. 319-340). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
- Haces, M. A. (2006). Significado y ejercicio de los roles parentales entre hombres homosexuales [Meaning and experiences of parental roles among homosexual men]. *Revista de Estudios de Género, 23*, 127-165.
- Haldeman, D. C. (2007). The village people: Identity and development in the gay male community. In J. Kathleen, R. M. Perez, & K. A. DeBord (Eds.), *Handbook of counseling and psychotherapy with lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender clients* (pp. 71-89). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Hank, K., & Wetzell, M. (2018). Same-sex relationships experiences and expectations regarding partnership and parenthood. *Demographic Research, 39*, 701-718. doi:10.4054/DemRes.2018.39.25
- Herek, G. M. (2009). Sexual stigma and sexual prejudice in the United States: A conceptual framework. In D. A. Pope (Ed.), *Contemporary perspectives on lesbian, gay, and bisexual identities* (pp. 65-111). New York, NY: Springer.
- Herek, G. M., Cogan, J. C., Gillis, J. R., & Glunt, E. K. (1998). Correlates of internalized homophobia in a community sample of lesbians and gay men. *Journal of the Gay and Lesbian Medical Association, 2*, 17-25.
- Hines, S. (2006). What's the difference? Bringing particularity to queer studies of transgender. *Journal of Gender Studies, 15*, 59-66. doi:10.1080/09589230500486918

- Hudson, W. W., & Ricketts, W. A. (1980). A strategy for the measurement of homophobia. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 5, 357-372. doi:10.1300/J082v05n04_02
- INEGI. (2010). *Censo de Población y vivienda 2010* [Population and housing census 2010]. Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía.
- INEGI. (2018). *Matrimonios por tipo de contrayente por entidad federativa de registro, año y sexo* [Marriages by type, year, and sex]. Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía.
- Jiménez, L. (2003). *Dando voz a los varones. Sexualidad, reproducción y paternidad de algunos mexicanos*. [Giving voice to men. Sexuality, reproduction and paternity of some Mexicans]. México: CRIM-UNAM
- Jiménez, L. (2007). Sexualidad, vida conyugal y relaciones de pareja. Experiencias de algunos varones de los sectores medio y alto de la Ciudad de México [Sexuality, conjugal life and partner relationships. Experiences of some middle and high class men in Mexico City]. In A. Amuchástegui & I. Szasz (Eds.), *Sucede que me canso de ser hombre. . .Relatos y reflexiones sobre hombres y masculinidades en México* (pp.185-238). Mexico: El Colégio de México.
- Kindle, P., & Erich, S. (2005). Perceptions of social support among heterosexual and homosexual adopters. *Families in Society*, 86, 541-546. doi:10.1606/1044-3894.3459
- Laguna, O. E. (2013). *Vivir a contracorriente. Arreglos parentales de varones gay en la Ciudad de México* [To live against the tide: Parental arrangements of gay men in Mexico City]. Mexico: Librero de la Administración Pública.
- Lagarde, M. (2015). *Los cautiverios de la mujer: Madresposas, monjas, putas, presas y locas* [The captivity of women: Mothers/wives, nuns, sluts, dams and crazy]. Mexico: Siglo XXI Editores.
- Lingiardi, V., Baiocco, R., & Nardelli, N. (2012). Measure of internalized sexual stigma for lesbians and gay men: A new scale. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 59, 1191-1210. doi:10.1080/00918369.2012.712850
- Lozano, I., & Jiménez, A. (2010). La homoparentalidad desde gays y lesbianas en la Ciudad de México [Same-gender parenting of gay men and lesbians in Mexico City]. *Revista Digital Universitaria*, 11, 1-16.
- Lozano-Verduzco, I., & Salinas-Quiroz, F. (2016). *Conociendo nuestra diversidad: Discriminación, sexualidad, derechos, salud, familia y homofobia en la comunidad LGBTTTTI* [Knowing our diversity: Discrimination, sexuality, rights, health, family and homophobia in LGBTTTTI community]. Mexico: ActúaDF, A.C.
- Lozano-Verduzco, I., Fernández-Niño, J. A., & Baruch-Domínguez, R. (2017). Association between internalized homophobia and mental health indicators in LGBT individuals in Mexico City. *Salud Mental*, 40, 219-225. doi:10.17711/SM.0185-3325.2017.028
- MacLeod, M. A., Bauer, G. R., Robinson, M., MacKay, J., & Ross, L. E. (2015). Biphobia and anxiety among bisexuals in Ontario, Canada. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Mental Health*, 19, 217-243. doi:10.1080/19359705.2014.1003121
- Mays, V. M., & Cochran, S. D. (2001). Mental health correlates of perceived discrimination among lesbian, gay, and bisexual adults in the United States. *American Journal of Public Health*, 91, 1869-1876. doi:10.2105/AJPH.91.11.1869

- Medina, J. A. (2015). Familias homoparentales y adopción en México [Same gender parented families and adoption in Mexico]. In J. A. Medina (Ed.), *Familias Homoparentales en México: mitos, realidades y vida cotidiana* (pp.189-206). Mexico, D.F.: Letra S, Sida, Cultura y Vida Cotidiana, A.C.
- Mendoza, J. C., Ortiz, L., Román, R., & Rojas, A. (2015). *Principales resultados del Diagnóstico situacional de personas lesbianas, gays, bisexuales, transgénero, travestis, transexuales, intersexuales y queers (LGBTIQ) de México 2015. Primera Parte.* [Main results of the Situational Diagnosis of lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgenders, transvestites, transexuales, intersexuals and queers (LGBTIQ) in Mexico 2015. First part.]. Mexico, CDMX: UAM-X-Inspira.
- Meyer, I. H. (1995). Minority stress and mental health in gay men. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 36, 38-56. doi:10.2307/2137286
- Meyer, I. H. (2003). Prejudice, social stress, and mental health in lesbian, gay, and bisexual populations: Conceptual issues and research evidence. *Psychological Bulletin*, 129, 674-697. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.129.5.674
- Moak, Z., & Agrawal, A. (2009). The association between perceived interpersonal social support and physical and mental health: Results from the national epidemiological survey on alcohol and related conditions. *Journal of Public Health*, 32, 191-201. doi:10.1093/pubmed/fdp093
- Mohr, J. J., & Daly, C. A. (2008). Sexual minority stress and changes in relationship quality in same-sex couples. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 25, 989-1007. doi:10.1177/0265407508100311
- Moller, N., & Clarke, V. (2016). New frontiers of family: Exploring embryo donation for family building and voluntary childlessness. *The Psychologist*, 29, 204-208.
- National Library of Medicine Vocabulary Thesaurus [MeSH]. (2017). *Aspirations (Psychology)*. Available at [http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/cochranelibrary/search/mesh?searchRow.searchOptions.conceptId=D001240&searchRow.searchCriteria.meshTerm=Aspirations%20\(Psychology\)&meshConcept=Update&searchRow.ordinal=0&hiddenFields.strategySortBy=last-modif&hiddenFields.showStrategies=false](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/cochranelibrary/search/mesh?searchRow.searchOptions.conceptId=D001240&searchRow.searchCriteria.meshTerm=Aspirations%20(Psychology)&meshConcept=Update&searchRow.ordinal=0&hiddenFields.strategySortBy=last-modif&hiddenFields.showStrategies=false)
- Ortiz-Hernández, L. (2005). Influencia de la opresión internalizada sobre la salud mental de bisexuales, lesbianas y homosexuales de la Ciudad de México [The impact of internalized oppression on the mental health of bisexuals, lesbians, and homosexuals in Mexico City]. *Salud Mental*, 28, 49-65.
- Oswald, R. F. (2002). Resilience within the family networks of lesbians and gay men: Intentionality and redefinition. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 64, 374-383. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3737.2002.00374.x
- Patterson, C. J., & Riskind, R. G. (2010). To be a parent: Issues in family formation among gay and lesbian adults. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, 6, 326-340. doi: 10.1080/1550428X.2010.490902
- Rabun, C., & Oswald, R. F. (2009). Upholding and expanding the normal family: Future fatherhood through the eyes of gay male emerging adults. *Fathering*, 7, 269-285. doi:10.3149/fth.0703.269

- Rimes, K. A., Goodship, N., Ussher, G., Baker, D., & West, E. (2017). Non-binary and binary transgender youth: Comparison of mental health, self-harm, suicidality, substance use and victimization experiences. *International Journal of Transgenderism*, advance online. doi:10.1080/15532739.2017.1370627
- Riskind, R. G., & Patterson, C. J. (2010). Parenting intentions and desires among childless lesbian, gay, and heterosexual individuals. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 24, 78-81. doi:10.1037/a0017941
- Riskind, R. G., Patterson, C. J., & Nosek, B. A. (2013). Childless lesbian and gay adults' self-efficacy about achieving parenthood. *Couple and Family Psychology: Research and Practice*, 2, 222-235. doi:10.2139/ssrn.2095376
- Riskind, R. G., & Tornello, S. L. (2017). Sexual orientation and future parenthood in a 2011-2013 nationally representative United States sample. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 31, 792-798. doi:10.1037/fam0000316
- Robinson, M. A., & Brewster, M. E. (2014). Motivations for fatherhood: Examining internalized heterosexism and gender-role conflict with childless gay and bisexual men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 15, 49-59. doi:10.1037/a0031142
- Ross, L. E., Salway, T., Tarasoff, L. A., MacKay, J., Hawkins, B. W., & Fehr, C. P. (2017). Prevalence of depression and anxiety among bisexual people compared to gay, lesbian, and heterosexual individuals: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 55, 435-456. doi:10.1080/00224499.2017.1387755
- Salvati, M., Pistella, J., Ioverno, S., Laghi, F., & Baiocco, R. (2017). Coming out to siblings and internalized sexual stigma: The moderating role of gender in a sample of Italian participants. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, 14, 405-424. doi:10.1080/1550428X.2017.1369916
- Shechner, T., Slone, M., Meir, Y., & Kalish, Y. (2010). Relations between social support and psychological and parental distress for lesbian, single heterosexual by choice, and two-parent heterosexual mothers. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 80, 283-292. doi:10.1111/j.1939-0025.2010.01031.x
- Shenkman, G. (2012). The gap between fatherhood and couplehood desires among Israeli gay men and estimations of their likelihood. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 26, 828-832. doi:10.1037/a0029471
- Simon, K. A., Tornello, S. L., Farr, R. H., & Bos, H. M. W. (2018). Envisioning future parenthood among bisexual, lesbian, and heterosexual women. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, 2, 253-259. doi:10.1037/sgd0000267
- Snyder, C. R., Rand, K. L., King, E. A., Feldman, D. B., & Woodward, J. T. (2002). "False" hope. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 58, 1003-1022. doi:10.1002/jclp.10096
- Swainson, M., & Tasker, F. (2005). Genograms redrawn: Lesbian couples define their families. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, 1, 3-27. doi:10.1300/J461v01n02_02
- Vela, E. (2015). Same-sex unions in Mexico: Between text and doctrine. In M. Sáez (Ed.), *Same sex couples: Comparative insights on marriage and cohabitation* (pp. 49-83). Washington, DC: Springer.
- von Doussa, H., Power, J., & Riggs, D. (2015). Imagining parenthood: The possibilities and experiences of parenthood among transgender people. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 17, 1119-1131. doi:10.1080/13691058.2015.1042919