

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

“I Always Viewed Myself as a Parent”: An Intersectional Family Systems Approach to Parenting Among Latinx Sexually Diverse People

Julio A. Martin¹  | Roberto L. Abreu¹  | Abbie E. Goldberg² 

¹Department of Psychology, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, USA | ²Department of Psychology, Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, USA

Correspondence: Julio A. Martin (juliomartin@ufl.edu)

Received: 31 May 2023 | **Revised:** 29 November 2024 | **Accepted:** 4 January 2025

Keywords: cultural values | family systems | intersectionality | Latinx | LGBTQ | parenting

ABSTRACT

Much of the research focusing on LGBTQ parenting has focused on White parents. This is concerning given that LGBTQ families are more racially and ethnically diverse than heterosexual households, with Latinx queer parents comprising most LGBTQ parents raising children. In turn, there is a lack of research about the cultural experiences that inform parenting among Latinx LGBTQ parents. This study uses a family systems intersectional lens to explore how Latinx and LGBTQ cultural values guide the parenting practices of Latinx LGBTQ parents. Eight participants completed semi-structured interviews in which they were asked to reflect and share how Latinx and LGBTQ cultural values inform their parenting experiences. Using a phenomenological qualitative research approach, Latinx LGBTQ parents described their parenting experience and identified the underlying cultural messages that inform them, including (a) *Familismo*, (b) Gender Norms, (c) Religion and Spirituality, (d) Openness, Support, and Pride, (e) Embracing Chosen Families, and (f) Providing a Different Parenting Experience. Policymakers and treatment providers can use these findings that capture ethnic, cultural, and sexual identity factors for Latinx LGBTQ parents and consider the best approaches to working with these communities using a strong intersectionality lens.

LGBTQ parents in the United States face various challenges due to societal, cultural, and political oppression and discriminatory environments (Goldberg, Allen, and Carroll 2020, 2023b). Nonetheless, studies show that LGBTQ parents are effective in parenting, as seen in their children's outcomes (e.g., Calzo et al. 2019; Carone et al. 2020; Miller, Kors, and Macfie 2017). However, most studies on LGBTQ-parent families are focused on families headed by White non-Latinx parents (Bible et al. 2017; Carroll 2018), and less research is available on the parenting experiences of LGBTQ Latinxs, non-White and White, who form the largest minority of LGBTQ parents raising children in the United States (Gates 2015; Carone et al. 2020). Given the significance of cultural values and traditions in parenting practices, this study aims to explore how Latinx LGBTQ parents rely on

Latinx cultural values (e.g., *familismo*, gender norms, religion), as well as cultural values from the LGBTQ community (e.g., acceptance, activism, pride) to guide their parenting practices.

1 | LGBTQ Parenting and Demographics

Since *Obergefell v. Hodges*, there is reason to believe that marriage equality has played a role in facilitating stronger parenting intentions among LGBTQ people (Goldberg et al. 2019). A poll conducted in May 2018 identified 15.9 million LGBTQ Americans (Newport 2024), of which 3.8 million were considering having more children and 2.9 million were planning to become parents for the first time (Family Equality 2019). In

2019, approximately 191,000 children were living with same-sex parents (U.S. Census Bureau 2021), and as of 2021, one in five Gen Z adults identify as LGBT (Twenge, Wells, and Le 2024). The demographic data also suggests that LGBTQ families are more racially and ethnically diverse than heterosexual couples (Brainer, Moore, and Banerjee 2020; Gates 2013). According to Gates (2013, 2015), around 41% of LGBTQ mothers identify as a person of color compared to 23% of heterosexual couples with children. Similarly, 20% of LGBTQ non-White men are raising children compared to 8% of White LGBTQ men (Gates 2013, 2015). Latinx LGBTQ couples, in particular, are more likely to raise children and become foster parents than non-Latinx White heterosexual couples (Brainer, Moore, and Banerjee 2020; Gates et al. 2013, 2015). Various studies on Latinx families show how cultural values guide family dynamics and parenting practices, including parent-child relationships (Lopez, Vazquez, and McCormick 2022). However, the influence of cultural values on the parenting practices of Latinx LGBTQ parents remains largely unexplored.

2 | Latinx Cultural Values, Beliefs, and Traditions

Latinx cultural values, beliefs, and traditions are central to understanding the development of families from Latin America and the Caribbean. Latinx cultural values provide structure and rules that maintain family-centeredness (Arredondo et al. 2015) and harmony between Latinx family members (Adames and Chavez-Dueñas 2016). Notably, Latinx cultural values were developed within systems of White supremacy, patriarchy, cissexism, and heterosexism (see [Supporting Information A](#) for selected definitions) introduced in the Americas and the Caribbean during colonization (Adames and Chavez-Dueñas 2016). Therefore, even though Latinx cultural values, beliefs, and traditions, such as collective support, are crucial to Latinx people, providing this support may vary when family members do not align with traditional patriarchal and heterosexist expectations (Patrón, 2021). Although neglected in research on Latinx LGBTQ parents, it is essential to investigate how these parents define Latinx cultural values to fit within their non-traditional family structures and use them to guide their parenting.

2.1 | Familismo

Familismo is a cultural value in Latinx communities that prioritizes family needs over individual needs and emphasizes the importance of supporting the family unit at all costs. It has three critical components: (a) an obligation toward helping family members, (b) relying on family members for support, and (c) family members as points of reference to how other family members should behave (Arredondo et al. 2015). *Familismo* is a positive driver in building strong family bonds and protecting against outside stressors like discrimination (Abreu et al. 2023). For Latinx LGBTQ communities, *familismo* can be a crucial driving force in the acceptance process of one's LGBTQ family member. For instance, Abreu et al. (2020); Abreu, Riggle, and Rostosky (2020) found that *familismo* was a strong motivator for Latinx parents to accept their LGBTQ child.

Familismo can also be challenging to navigate for LGBTQ people, who are often expected to conceal their sexual and gender identity to prioritize family cohesion and connections to family members who might disapprove of their LGBTQ identity (Schmitz et al. 2019). Studies have shown that Latinx gay men, in particular, may experience more rejection from their fathers due to patriarchal expectations when they perceive that their sexual orientation deviates from established family norms (Gerena 2023). As a result, coming out and seeking support as an LGBTQ individual in a Latinx family can be a complex and uncertain process (Patrón 2021a, 2021b). Despite these complexities, maintaining family support is often a priority for Latinx LGBTQ people who want to nurture strong family ties and form their own families (Abreu, Martin, and Badio 2023).

2.2 | Gender Norms

Gender norms within Latinx families are also important to note as they carry specific expectations of family members according to their sex at birth, gender, and gender expressions. Concepts such as *machismo*, *caballerismo*, and *marianismo* have traditionally guided how Latinx men and women behave within their family context (Diaz, Miville, and Gil 2013; Saez, Casado, and Wade 2010). Latinx LGBTQ people are often aware of the negative impact that gender norms have on identity development. Research shows that family-gendered expectations delay Latinx LGBTQ people's disclosure of their sexual/gender identity and often lead to self-monitoring of one's behaviors (Patrón and Rodriguez 2022). However, research has also identified ways in which Latinx family members can reframe gender norms to accept and support their sexual/gender-diverse family members (e.g., Abreu, Gonzalez, et al. 2020; Abreu, Riggle, and Rostosky 2020; Teran et al. 2023). Navigating these gender norms may be challenging for Latinx LGBTQ parents who are parenting outside of heteronormative values. Therefore, it is crucial to understand how Latinx LGBTQ parents embrace, reject, and reframe gender norms in their parenting practices.

2.3 | Religion and Spirituality

Religion and spirituality are significant aspects of Latinx culture that greatly influence how Latinx individuals navigate their lives. Connections to a higher power, religious rituals, and spiritual practices (e.g., connection to nature) provide Latinx people with a framework for understanding interpersonal relationships (Adames and Chavez-Dueñas 2016; Arredondo et al. 2015). Concepts such as *fatalismo* are prevalent in Latinx families, where they view their struggles and misfortune as God's will, which goes unquestioned (Campesino and Schwartz 2006). In the case of Latinx LGBTQ individuals, research shows that religion can serve as both a positive and negative force within Latinx families. It can provide a way for families to reject heterosexism and patriarchy, leading to acceptance of their LGBTQ family members (Curoe and Curoe 2007). However, it is also a way for family members to reject and withhold support from their LGBTQ family members (Gattamorta, Salerno, and Quidley-Rodriguez 2019).

While many Latinx LGBTQ people hold on to their values of religion and spirituality (Carone et al. 2020), they may use these differently in their parenting practices to affirm their non-traditional family structure.

3 | LGBTQ Cultural Values

Various cultural values within the LGBTQ community play a vital role in the identity development of LGBTQ individuals (Parmenter, Galliher, and Maughan 2020). For example, acceptance and inclusion are fundamental to the queer culture. By embracing these values, the LGBTQ community brings together individuals from different ethnoracial backgrounds, often marginalized and alienated, to create a space for collective healing (Asakura 2016). Another crucial cultural value is pride, which empowers LGBTQ people to embrace perspectives that diverge from traditional social norms, providing a sense of freedom (Abreu et al. 2023; Parmenter, Galliher, and Maughan 2020; Riggle et al. 2008; Weststrate and McLean 2010). The strength and resilience of LGBTQ values were observed during the COVID-19 pandemic when LGBTQ people reported relying on LGBTQ cultural values such as activism, pride, and authenticity to cope (Abreu et al. 2023). Additionally, LGBTQ people form chosen families or networks of social support without biological connections through supportive actions (Abreu et al. 2023; Parmenter, Galliher, and Maughan 2020; Weststrate and McLean 2010). Research shows that these networks help LGBTQ communities cope with and survive adversities and thrive.

Although limited, research shows that LGBTQ parents utilize cultural values to socialize their children. In a study of adoptive lesbian, gay, and heterosexual parents, lesbian and gay parents helped their children feel proud of their LGBTQ family by communicating about family diversity and using books to start conversations about accepting different types of families (Goldberg et al. 2016). LGBTQ parents also tried to find other LGBTQ-parent families to build a sense of belonging. These parents also taught their children activism to navigate heterosexism and racism (Goldberg et al. 2016; Goldberg and Smith 2016). This study shows how LGBTQ parents use cultural values to raise their children. However, most of the research only looks at non-Latinx White LGBTQ parents, limiting the understanding of how Latinx LGBTQ parents might use LGBTQ cultural values differently, given the wide range of differences in Latinx culture, such as gender and skin tone (Abreu, Riggle, and Rostosky 2020; Parmenter, Galliher, and Maughan 2020).

4 | Theoretical Underpinnings

4.1 | Family Systems and Precarious Familismo

Family systems theory provides a framework for understanding how family relationships work and how family units remain stable over time (Gladding 2014). Family systems categorize parent-child relationships as enmeshed, disengaged, and adaptive (Minuchin 2018). Enmeshed relationships occur when family members cannot differentiate from each other and cannot provide their unique contribution to the family unit. On the other hand, disengaged relationships occur when family members are

closed off from one another and do not allow for an exchange of resources among family members (Segrin et al. 2012). Finally, adaptive parent-child relationships have structure and boundaries that neither restrict nor reject each member's contributions, allowing all family members to manage, adapt, and reframe distress in a healthy way (Minuchin 2018). A family system aims to maintain a state of equilibrium (Gladding 2014). Any behavior that throws the system off balance promotes a chain of events (e.g., negative and positive feedback loops) that bring the unit back to its baseline behavior of functioning, which can be adaptive if the family has a healthy baseline of functioning or harmful if the unit's baseline of functioning is detrimental.

Within the tenets of family systems, *precarious familismo* posits itself as a helpful framework to understand the experiences of Latinx LGBTQ people within their families, especially regarding how they disclose their sexual orientation (Patrón 2021a, 2021b). In this framework, familismo is a concept driven by various factors such as loyalty, reciprocity, collectivism, protection, and unconditional support (Patrón 2021a). However, it is also influenced by systems of oppression such as patriarchy and heterosexism. The response of family members to an individual's sexual orientation will determine how much the individual will continue to benefit from the loyalty, reciprocity, collectivism, protection, and unconditional support of the family. As described in the family system, these reactions are the system feedback loops that aim to return or encourage change within the family unit. Adverse reactions are negative feedback loops that punish the family member to conform within its prescribed limits of heteronormativity. On the other hand, responses of support are considered positive feedback loops and allow for change within the family unit and create a new baseline of functioning inclusive of the LGBTQ family members. The current study examines how Latinx and LGBTQ cultural values inform the kinds of relationships that Latinx LGBTQ parents establish with their family members and their children that challenge the equilibrium of traditional family values.

4.2 | Intersectionality Framework

Rooted in Black Feminism, the intersectionality framework conceptualizes how people with multiple intersecting marginalized identities have unique experiences within different systems of privilege and oppression (Crenshaw 1991). This approach suggests that attributing an individual's experience of oppression to a single identity erases the essence of their whole experience, which is a result of the combination of all their marginalized identities (Crenshaw 1991). Intersectionality has been particularly useful in capturing how LGBTQ parents of color are impacted by various systems of oppression based on the intersection of their race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation as they navigate parenting (Goldberg 2023a). This study applies intersectionality to understand how Latinx LGBTQ parents use cultural values in their parenting. It does so by considering how they experience Latinx cultural values as an LGBTQ person while navigating oppressive systems that target them because of their sexual orientation. Thus, understanding this community's experiences solely as Latinx or LGBTQ would ignore how these identities together influence their parenting experiences within multiple systems of oppression.

5 | Current Study

LGBTQ parents in the United States are racially diverse, and Latinx LGBTQ parents have been reported to parent at high rates compared to non-Latinx LGBTQ counterparts. Given that cultural values are of vast importance in the functioning of Latinx families, and LGBTQ people also use cultural values to face oppression and create supportive networks, of interest is how cultural values relate to the parenting experiences among Latinx LGBTQ parents. The present study examined how Latinx cultural values (e.g., familismo, gender norms, religion, and spirituality) and LGBTQ cultural values (e.g., acceptance, inclusion, and pride) informed the parenting practices of Latinx LGBTQ parents. The guiding question of this study is: What role do Latinx cultural values (e.g., familismo, gender norms, religion, and spirituality) and LGBTQ cultural values (e.g., acceptance, activism, and pride) play in the parenting practices of Latinx LGBTQ parents?

6 | Method

6.1 | Participants

Participants in this study were eight Latinx LGBTQ parents. The participants' ages ranged from 30 to 61 ($M=45.88$ years old; $SD=10.63$). Participants identified as Puerto Rican or Cuban descent and either first-generation ($n=4$; 50%) or second-generation ($n=4$; 50%). Most ($n=5$) participants identified as male, and half ($n=4$) had advanced college degrees. Most ($n=5$) participants reported their child lived with them, two reported not living with their child but spending 1–2 days with them a week, and one reported seeing their child 3–4 days a week. Four participants reported speaking to their children primarily in English, two reported speaking both English and Spanish, one reported speaking only in Spanish, and one reported speaking only English. The participant's children ranged from 2 to 29 years old ($M=16$ years

old; $SD=8.7$). Participants could engage in English or Spanish, but most ($n=7$) chose to engage in English. See Table 1 for a complete description of the participant demographics and initials.

6.2 | Recruitment and Data Collection

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Florida approved recruitment and data collection protocols prior to data collection. Participants for this study had to identify as (a) 18 years of age or older, (b) Latinx, (c) LGBTQ, and (d) a parent or caregiver. Various recruitment strategies were implemented to reach this population. First, recruitment flyers were created in English and Spanish and shared with Facebook LGBTQ, Latinx, and LGBTQ Latinx groups, as well as Latinx, LGBTQ, and Latinx LGBTQ organizations (e.g., YES Institute; University of Miami LGBTQ Faculty and Staff Network; Sherbourne Health; Latino Salud; Family Equality). Recruitment flyers included inclusion criteria, an incentive description, and a QR code to complete a Qualtrics screening survey. The first author contacted those who completed the screening and met the criteria via email to schedule a virtual Zoom or telephone interview. An additional recruitment strategy was snowball sampling (Parker, Scott, and Geddes 2019), in which recruited participants were asked to share the study with individuals who might be interested. Four participants (50%) were recruited through the distribution of the recruitment flyer, and four were recruited through snowball sampling.

6.3 | Procedure

Participants who met inclusion criteria were asked to complete a brief demographics survey (see Supporting Information B for Demographic Survey Questionnaire) before engaging in a 45- to 60-minute virtual semi-structured interview (i.e., Zoom or

TABLE 1 | Participant demographics.

Participant initials (Pseudonyms)	Age	Sexual orientation	Race	Gender identity	Relationship to child	Education	Nationality
NP	38	Gay	Hispanic	Male	Adoptive (coparent)	College Degree	Puerto Rican
WT	40	Gay	Mixed	Male	Biological	Advanced College Degree	Puerto Rican
EF	47	Gay	Latinx	Male	Biological	Advanced College Degree	Cuban
TH	30	Bisexual	Latina	Female	Biological	Some Graduate Program	Cuban
JP	43	Gay	White	Male	Biological	College Degree	Cuban
HR	48	Lesbian or queer	Puerto Rican Mix	Female	Biological	Advanced College Degree	Puerto Rican
YE	60	Bisexual	White	Female	Biological	College Degree	Cuban
YM	61	Gay	Cuban	Male	Adoptive	Advanced College Degree	Cuban

telephone). Demographic questions included age, state of residence, sexual orientation, race, gender identity, relationship to child, education, and nationality. Semi-structured interviews allow interviewers to use open-ended and follow-up questions to probe participants to gain further insight into the studied concepts (Adams 2015). Semi-structured, open-ended interviews (including follow-up questions) are necessary to meet the goals of phenomenological research, which seeks to capture complete descriptions of the lived experiences of individuals rather than opinions or generalizations (Wertz 2005). Specific to this project, semi-structured interviews were used to ask further clarifying questions to accurately and genuinely capture the interaction between Latinx and LGBTQ culture in the parenting narratives of participants (see [Supporting Information C](#) for interview guide).

During the interview, participants were asked to consider how their intersecting identities (i.e., Latinx and LGBTQ) informed their parenting practices (e.g., How have your identities as a Latinx/e queer parent informed your parenting?). The participant's stated identities were used throughout the interview. For instance, if the participant expressed identifying as gay, we asked, "How have your identities as a Latinx/e gay parent informed your parenting" rather than using the term queer. Participants were asked to consider what parenting meant to them as Latinx LGBTQ parents and how the intersection of Latinx and LGBTQ cultural values informed their parenting (e.g., As a Latinx/e queer parent, what does parenting mean to you?). Participants were also asked to consider their experiences within Latinx and LGBTQ culture and how these have informed their parenting (e.g., How have your experiences as a Latinx/e queer parent informed your parenting?). The first author who conducted the interviews has extensive experience conducting semi-structured interviews, is knowledgeable about Latinx and LGBTQ cultural values, and is a Latinx bilingual queer scholar. These experiences positioned them as a highly qualified person to meaningfully conduct the interviews for this project.

6.4 | Researchers' Positionality and Self-Reflection

The research team consisted of three LGBTQ family scholars with identities similar to and different from each other and the participants. The first author is a Ph.D. student in Counseling Psychology who identifies as a first-generation Latinx, bilingual, gay, cisgender man. The second author is an assistant professor of Counseling Psychology who identifies as a first-generation Latinx, bilingual, gay, queer presenting, cisgender man who is a parent. The third author is a White, Jewish, cisgender heterosexual professor of Clinical Psychology raised in a queer-parent household and is a parent herself. During the coding process, the first author reflected on his reactions to the participants' narratives, considering similar experiences (Gilbert 2001). The second author supported the coder through bi-weekly discussions regarding the density of analyzing data of those with close identities to consider biases in the coding process (LeCompte and Goetz 1982). From a phenomenological approach (Wertz 2005), the proximity of the identities of the first and second authors to the participants strengthened

their ability to grasp a more profound understanding of the participant's narratives. The third author is an expert in LGBTQ studies, specifically LGBTQ parenting, and supported the research team by providing input regarding the literature, the analysis and presentation of findings, and the implications of the work.

6.5 | Data Analysis

The current study used a phenomenological approach (Wertz 2005) to analyze the role of Latinx and LGBTQ cultural values in the parenting practices of Latinx LGBTQ people. The project sample size of eight participants is consistent with the typical sample size for a phenomenological approach, which ranges from 1 to 10 participants (Starks and Brown Trinidad 2007). The use of small sample sizes in a phenomenological qualitative approach is appropriate to capture the embodied experiences of a specific population (Morse 2000). The purposive case selection versus random sampling in our study further strengthens the inferential purpose of phenomenological qualitative research (Seawright and Gerring 2008). In our study, the participant responses were typically 15–20 pages long, providing detailed descriptions of how the cultural values in question informed the participants' parenting. The richness of the data collected from each participant provided crucial methodological integrity in the study at hand (Levitt et al. 2017; Mertens 2012; Morrow 2005).

Once interviews were transcribed, several steps were taken to analyze the data, following Wertz's (2005) and Smith and Osborn's (2015) approach. First, the first author completed journal entries (i.e., memos) for each participant in which their narratives were first read without a research focus in mind, and standout expressions of the participants were noted within a broad context (Smith and Osborn 2015; Wertz 2005). Through an imaginative variation (Wertz 2005), the first author attempted to understand the narratives by stepping into the participants' lived experiences in relation to their age, gender, sexual orientation, state of residence, and country of origin. In this process, initial themes and patterns of information were noted down, which were revisited as data was organized for analysis (Wertz 2005). Following an initial review and completion of journal entries for each participant, the first author further questioned the participants' narratives by conceptualizing them as case studies (Smith and Osborn 2015; Wertz 2005).

The case studies of the participants were informed by family systems theory and intersectional frameworks. This approach recognizes that while familismo is a core cultural value that primarily benefits Latinx families, the extent to which Latinx LGBTQ individuals benefit from it depends significantly on their family's acceptance. The following is an example from a case study where a participant WT expressed these cultural values, "I'm thinking about it now [the desire for a family], which is odd, because I never had a good relationship with my parents. Yet, I still value the importance of having one if that makes sense". The experience described by the participant is understood through a family system and precarious familismo lens of disengaged boundaries between the participant and their parent because of the disclosure of their sexual orientation. Still, the

participant takes on the cultural values of being Latinx, which informs their desire for parenting.

A restorying or reorganizing process (Creswell and Poth 2016) was also applied to organize participants' narratives according to themes of importance from the interviews. To illustrate, familismo was a central theme to the project's research question, and therefore, all the narratives of familismo from each interview and across all participants were organized into one table using Microsoft Excel. Once all the narratives of familismo from each and across all participants were organized in one place, similarities across participants were identified, which generated nuanced experiences of seeking out family, growing up around family, conflict with family, needing family support, wanting their child to be close to family, and recognizing the importance of family. The nuances of each theme across the participants inform the interpretation of the results, providing a unifying narrative about participants' subjective experience of parenting. Ultimately, the second author audited the codebook by replicating the methods described above to maintain the reliability and validity of the process (Franklin and Ballan 2001). The third author reviewed the presentation of findings and storyline, paying attention to the theoretical underpinnings and implications of the research.

7 | Results

Results are not presented as evidence for general themes, as typically done in thematic analysis. Instead, the narratives were analyzed at the individual level and across all participants, guided by the unique and collective experiences of the participants. Individual narratives or quotes are presented to supplement the analysis of the participant's knowledge and their collective experiences. In the phenomenological process, while exploring the meaning of cultural values in the experiences of parenting, Latinx LGBTQ parents identified the influence in their parenting of (a) familismo, (b) gender norms, (c) religion and spirituality, (d) openness, acceptance, and pride, (e) embracing chosen families, and (f) providing a different parenting experience.

7.1 | Familismo

All participants endorsed the importance of familismo in their parenting practices and for the well-being of their children. Consistent with the precarious familismo framework, the participants reported various responses from their Latinx families about their sexual orientation. Their experiences of familismo with their families were reference points in their narratives as the participants conceptualized familismo in their parenting, given their experiences at the intersection of their identities. The participants spoke to familismo being a core value in their parenting experience, especially as a source of support. Several participants reflected on their experiences growing up within Latinx family gatherings of nuclear and extended family members and how these experiences impacted their desire to form their own families. For instance, WT shared his childhood experiences growing up surrounded by family and how important it is to live near each other:

Oh, yeah. Family is so important. My parents are a huge part of my life and having them nearby is so important. I feel like I've always, one of the things that I've really always wanted, growing up, we always had huge, huge family get-togethers, like Sunday dinners, holidays together.

NP pointed out how the values of familismo were instilled in him from childhood and how this has informed his desire to be a parent. For NP, it was critical to be accepted by his family in order for his child to have access to the Latinx family values he grew up with:

I always viewed myself as a parent. But I'm very much sure that's because that's been instilled in me since I was a child. Hispanics in general, are just very family oriented and very complacent with certain things. In my case, it's, you know, having a family and... having my family accept us, right? So that we can actually have our child not miss out on any of those opportunities.

Other parents shared the importance of instilling in their children values of familismo, such as sacrificing for the greater good of the family and always putting family first. To illustrate, YM reported:

I think sometimes I forego my individual needs because of family. I guess that's that collectivistic thinking as well. But it's like family comes first. And so that's what I've told, you know, I've taught my son as well... you have friends, you've got business associates... but family, you know, it is critical and core.

Most participants also recognized how familismo within Latinx families often works as a mechanism of surveillance that adheres to expectations of patriarchy and heterosexism, which often creates conflict within the family. EF shares:

We love family, but family can be difficult. So, I know that Latinos [have]... good principles as far as family values and hanging out with family and being loving... but at the same time... I just think it can also be unhealthy. Yeah, I mean, everything is wonderful if... [you're] behaving according to your role in the family.

The participants are navigating the values of familismo at the intersection of their identities. As Latinx people, they fully embrace and promote in their parenting the many aspects of familismo, such as the obligation to family members and relying on family members for support. Yet, as LGBTQ people, they also shared how their sexual orientation allows them to set boundaries within their families on how they socialize their children to familismo.

7.2 | Gender Norms

All participants were highly aware of and spoke to the presence of strict gender norms in Latinx culture, how these explicit norms manifest within the family unit, and ways in which they had rejected and reframed gendered messages in their parenting practice. JP expressed:

You know, growing up again in a Cuban household with a whole, you know, macho attitude... my dad, you know, working in construction... my mom being the typical housewife... [the] type of mom [who] just likes the control my dad had on her per se... he was a man of the house. He was the one that took care of everything... he did the bills, he paid everything. My mom took care of the kids and stuff like that... I broke that mold. I cut ties with any toxicity that I grew up hearing or seeing or [I] was involved in, or was put in place to see, hear, or [do]. I completely did the opposite as a parent.

Participants shared how family adherence and reinforcement of strict gender norms affected their parenting practices and often led to the concealment of their authentic self as an LGBTQ parent. For instance, JP reported:

But then when you throw in the Latino part in it, you know, it does change it a little bit, and I was always very cautious to not make [my daughter] feel uncomfortable because I was gay. A family member could, you know, look at me in a weird way if I was doing something that they didn't necessarily approve of because of their own macho background... So when around family that mindset was a little bit more conservative. And I just was a little bit more careful to not 100% be me.

Some parents expressed difficulties raising their child in a gender-neutral environment due to family member's disapproval. These family members operated from a heteronormative viewpoint that often opposed the participant's desire to raise their child free from gender stereotypes, as TH shared:

It's not supposed to be boy or girl. Like I don't I try not to use boy and girl in anything that I say... So, when I tell [participant's parents] that [dolls are] not for girls, necessarily, they kind of have like a moment where they're like, 'you know, he's going to end up being XY and Z'. And I'm like, and there's absolutely nothing wrong if he were to end up being XY and Z. Like, that is who he is.

Even as cisgender parents, the participants seemed to understand how strict gender norms within Latinx families influenced how their parenting was perceived at the intersections of Latinx culture, gender, and sexual orientation. The participants

in this study pushed back on the influence of strict gender norms on their children.

7.3 | Religion and Spirituality

Participants noted how religious messages were both a source of support for and tension in relation to their parenting practices. That is, they shared that while they incorporated different religious practices within their parenting practices, they also reframed or rejected religious and spiritual messages that did not affirm their LGBTQ identity and their parenting approaches. EF said:

So, [Latinxs] have all that Catholic sin thing. I say all that because that, in turn, affects the way you parent. Because, right now, I am not as comfortable talking about these topics, because of all that junk that we have been trying to remove, that we've kind of lived with, you know, the jokes, all that stuff... It's hard for me to have... to feel comfortable to have open conversations with my daughter. It affects the way I feel about certain topics. So, I tend to be ashamed... so I'm working through that.

Notably, despite negative religious messages, participants shared that religion played a vital role in their parenting, as JP explained:

I was raised Catholic, and I'm still consider myself, I am Catholic today. That part I did do with her. So, she was raised Catholic because of my, you know, that's, my parents are Catholic. You know, I was Catholic. And she's just she was raised to exactly the same way. So, she got baptized, communion and all that good stuff.

It is important to note that although religion and spirituality are essential to their role as parents, the participants discussed using a more flexible approach when incorporating religion and spirituality. For instance, JP shared about his daughter not choosing to have a religious ceremony for her wedding; she said, "I am religious, but I don't want that to be part of my wedding." The participant responded by saying, "And I supported her... I let her be, which would have been completely different if it was my mother."

7.4 | Openness, Support, and Pride

Narratives of intersectional cultural values such as openness, acceptance, support, and pride were observed in how Latinx LGBTQ parents conceptualized their understanding of parenting and, thus, their parenting practices. For example, YE reported how acceptance and empathy were at the core of her parenting and problem-solving skills:

I think the most important thing is empathy and acceptance because my actions of accepting [my

daughter] means: 'bring it here, let me see it. Let me look at it... let's look at it together. Is this horrible? Okay, what can we do? What did we learn from this'.

Participants also described that they shared their pride in being part of the LGBTQ community with members of their Latinx family to normalize queer parenting and queer people overall. NP explained:

I engage my nephews... in any LGBT community event... if that's volunteering at the center, going to the parade, going to a rally... it hasn't only impacted my relationship with my child, but also like, I've tried my best to normalize it within my own family.

Some participants' source of pride arose from the intersection of Latinx and LGBTQ cultural values and beliefs. For example, TH shared that she was proud of being Latinx and LGBTQ and wanted to instill these values in her children:

It's representing [the] pride that I have in being part of the Latinx community, but also being part of the LGBTQ+ community. And that's how I want my children to feel... you know, for them to be proud of like who they are, because they have a little bit more cultural diversity in them. But, you know, it's just making sure that they feel like they're celebrated, and that it's okay to be a little bit different.

From an intersectional lens, it is essential to note that how these Latinx LGBTQ parents endorse the cultural values of the LGBTQ community is in part informed by their experiences of being Latinx. For these parents, promoting values of openness, acceptance, support, and pride not only comes from their LGBTQ identity but also from their experiences of closeness, rejection, and shame at the intersection of their Latinx and LGBTQ identities. At the family systems level, the interaction of Latinx experiences and LGBTQ values significantly influence the types of adaptive boundaries the participants maintain in their parenting practices.

7.5 | Embracing Chosen Families

Participants reported that to avoid having to restrict their authentic selves within their families of origin, they sought support and resources from chosen families within the LGBTQ community. The ability of participants to share the Latinx cultural values of familismo and community with LGBTQ-chosen family members was crucial to their development as parents. WT described how creating meaningful bonds within the LGBTQ community allowed him to parent authentically without the judgment of his family of origin:

So in that aspect, it's been so refreshing to meet other gay dads and see different types of chosen families and different types of people within our communities and starting to get some really close

friends now... It helped shaped the way I parented because, you know, there is a very beautiful chosen family community... that is out there... that we're finally a part of... and that it doesn't have to clash with what I thought of what a traditional family is and what all the Latino values are... and all the terrible things that Latinos say about the LGBTQ community... That has helped me as a parent, just be a lot more open and more comfortable... feeling a lot less self-stigmatized.

Through their interactions with chosen families, participants further redefined what familismo means to them and how it informs their parenting. For example, EF described that while familismo is a core Latinx cultural value in his parenting practices, he has redefined what this means for him to include the value of his chosen LGBTQ family, "You know, I just want my daughter to understand that family is important, but it's really not a biological, like blood relatives. But, it has to be who's present. Who's there for you".

Participants expressed the importance of connecting with other LGBTQ parents who have similar experiences and are invested in raising their children with similar values (e.g., acceptance and openness to people's differences). TH shared:

I have a coworker who he identifies as gay... he's also a parent. So... we're going through the same things, and we're having those same conversations with our kids... I feel like it's creating a different generation of kids because, even if they identify as like a straight male and straight female, at the end of the day they [are] going to be those individuals that are more understanding and more caring of the people around them... I don't care what they like... or anything. I just want them to be understanding.

At the intersection of their identities, by having chosen families' participants are embracing the Latinx cultural value of familismo and the LGBTQ cultural values of inclusion and authenticity, which they incorporate into their parenting without feeling scrutinized within these communities. From a family systems perspective, the participants use the resources of support they receive from their adaptive relationships with their chosen family members to feel confident in their parenting abilities, enabling them to instill the parenting values that are most true to who they are as intersectional people.

7.6 | Providing a Different Parenting Experience

Participants in this study engaged in rich narratives about their efforts to provide their children with a different parenting experience. These participants reflected on their experiences growing up as non-normative people and how normative values have affected or harmed them at the intersection of their identities. They shared how they were actively working to provide a different parenting experience to their child. EF explained how his

personal experiences with discrimination informed and facilitated a different parenting approach:

[Discrimination] are real issues that I [have] faced. And not until you live it do you understand what that does to you... of course, I don't want that for my daughter, regardless of if she's gay or not. I don't want her to experience something like that for something else. Because she's too tall... because she's Latina... because she, I don't know, whatever it is.

Similarly, TH described her experience growing up as bisexual within the Latinx community and how it influenced her parenting practices:

From the Latinx community and being a bisexual female... it just wasn't accepted. And I always take how I felt and make sure that... I don't make other people feel that way. But especially my children, I never want them to feel the way I felt for many years.

For some participants, understanding the negative impact of growing up as a Latinx LGBTQ person has led to the intentional use of more inclusive language when communicating with their children. NP shared:

Communication for us is very... the way we communicate [with our child] is very different from our parents. And like I said, I mean, it's not something that naturally comes out of our mouth... We literally need to think about it, digest it and... being Hispanic, like those type of conversations just don't come natural to you, you think there's something. Like there's some underlying sin or issue with them... When there's not.

The participants in this study collectively expressed the internalized experiences of discrimination and oppression at the intersection of their identities of being Latinx LGBTQ people who navigate the nuances of heteronormativity and patriarchy within Latinx culture. As parents, they recognize the harm of these experiences and, therefore, are intentional in their parenting practices to foster open communication and unconditional acceptance.

8 | Discussion

The current study focused on how Latinx and LGBTQ cultural values inform the parenting of Latinx LGBTQ parents at the intersection of their Latinx and LGBTQ lived experiences. While the literature on the parenting of LGBTQ parents has identified parenting practices and children socialization that are unique to these families (e.g., Giunti and Fioravanti 2017; Goldberg et al. 2016; Goldberg and Smith 2016; Prickett et al. 2015; Tornello and Patterson 2018), no studies to date have sought to understand the subjective parenting experiences of LGBTQ people who hold multiple marginalized identities. Amidst prior literature highlighting how Latinx cultural values inform

Latinx family functioning (Arredondo et al. 2015; Patrón 2020) and how LGBTQ cultural values inform the lived experiences of LGBTQ people (Abreu et al. 2023; Parmenter, Galliher, and Maughan 2020; Riggle et al. 2008), this study explored how the identities of Latinx LGBTQ parents interact with Latinx and LGBTQ cultural values to influence a unique perspective of parenting and family formation.

Latinx cultural values such as familismo, gender norms, and religion both served as anchors and as systems of surveillance that influenced how the participants navigated parenting and family formation. Consistent with the tenets of familismo (i.e., obligation toward the family; group harmony; Arredondo et al. 2015; Marín and Marín 1991), the participants juggled between sacrificing parenting authentically and how their families' judgment would impact their children. Participants discussed how they pushed the boundaries of their family units and disrupted the traditional baseline of functioning by introducing values consistent with their intersectional experiences as LGBTQ people. However, as described by the functions that regulate the stability of family systems (Gladding 2014), the participants' Latinx families challenged these practices to restore balance to the traditional patriarchal parenting practices that guide the Latinx family unit.

Participants also reported using LGBTQ cultural values of pride and inclusion to connect with other LGBTQ parents, feel pride about their parenting practices, and normalize queer parenting for themselves, their children, and other family members. Prior work suggests that LGBTQ parents prioritize honesty and authenticity in their communication with children about their family structure (Giunti and Fioravanti 2017; Prickett et al. 2015; Tornello and Patterson 2018), and these findings extend this, showing that Latinx LGBTQ parent navigate additional layers, informed by their experiences at the intersection of being Latinx and LGBTQ, that shape how they define their parenting and communicate with their children. Consistent with the intersectionality framework, the intersection of LGBTQ and Latinx cultural values is taking place within multiple systems of oppression (e.g., sexism, racism). In turn, the parents in this study narrate a unique set of experiences and values compared to heterosexual and cisgender Latinx parents and White LGBTQ parents. For instance, the participants' strong bonds with non-biological family members or chosen families were a function of embracing the LGBTQ cultural values of pride and inclusivity and embracing the positive aspects of Latinx cultural values that emphasize the well-being of the collective.

Family systems theory emphasizes how a family unit's wellness and ultimate survival depend on its ability to adapt to its external environment in response to stress (Gladding 2014). The Latinx LGBTQ parents in this study reported going to great lengths, including concealing their identity in public spaces to adapt to an environment where their authentic identity could cause a reaction from an external source and distress their child. The participants reported unique parenting practices based on their experiences at the intersection of their identities, such as various ways, including internally reframing and redefining heteronormative cultural values based on how these cultural values impacted them that may cause distress to their child, such as notions around non-traditional families. These findings provide

evidence for how Latinx LGBTQ parents incorporate their awareness from their experiences of navigating environments of oppression, such as patriarchy and heterosexism, to protect their child from these experiences for the wellness and survival of their family unit.

These findings highlight the importance of using an intersectional approach to authentically capture how people with multiple marginalized identities consider what affirms their family values. This approach produced detailed descriptions of unique intersectional experiences that show the malleability of cultural values to inform family practice. In addition, the integration of precarious familismo and family systems further highlights the importance of using an intersectional lens to capture the nuances of family relationships within multiple systems of oppression. We hope these findings show how family research and practice need to use intersectional and culture-specific frameworks to inform the family literature of marginalized people to validate instead of erasing the experiences of Latinx LGBTQ communities.

8.1 | Strengths, Limitations, and Future Research

The strengths of this study are essential to note. First, to the authors' knowledge, this is the first study to examine the influence of cultural values in parenting practices among Latinx LGBTQ parents using an intersectional and family systems perspective. Using an intersectional approach to capture the nuanced experiences that inform the family structure and relationships among Latinx LGBTQ families further highlights the understanding of family systems beyond the typical use of Eurocentric, patriarchal, and heterosexist applications and provides insight for how sexually diverse Latinx families guide their parenting practices. The information captured in this study through the semi-structured interviews and the conceptualization through family systems and intersectional lens provides a guide for identifying the cultural values that can guide a culturally informed intervention when working with people with multiple marginalized identities. Another strength of this study is the use of a phenomenological research approach, an inclusive qualitative approach to conducting rigorous research that can inform theoretical and practical implications while giving a voice to groups typically excluded from research (Lyons et al. 2013).

Although the current study significantly contributes to the parenting literature, several limitations are worth noting. First, all participants share similar characteristics as Cuban or Puerto Rican, mostly living in Florida, and either gay, lesbian/queer, or bisexual. While the similarities among participants in this study strengthened the qualitative approach, future research should consider strategic recruitment plans and analysis methods to reach a more diverse sample of Latinx LGBTQ parents regarding social location, such as nationality, geographic location, and gender identity. Another limitation to note is that given the research questions aimed at understanding Latinx and LGBTQ cultural values in the parenting practices of Latinx LGBTQ parents, other aspects crucial to understanding the experiences that inform the parenting of Latinx LGBTQ people, such as immigration status and anti-immigration sentiment, were not assessed. Future research should investigate how experiences of

xenophobia toward Latinx people compacted with homophobia impact the parenting of Latinx LGBTQ parents. Lastly, the participants in the study varied in age and had children from a wide range of ages, placing them at different stages of parenting at the time of the interview. Although the focus of this paper was to understand how the cultural values of Latinx LGBTQ people interact at the intersection of their identities to inform their parenting values, and not how participants were parenting at the time of the study, we acknowledge that further research should examine how Latinx LGBTQ parents apply their understanding of Latinx and LGBTQ cultural values in their parenting across different developmental stages.

8.2 | Recommendations for Practice and Advocacy Efforts

Based on these findings, several recommendations exist for providers who may work with Latinx LGBTQ parents. First, the Latinx LGBTQ parents in this study repeatedly named how connecting with other LGBTQ parents enhanced their well-being and confidence in their parenting practices. Therefore, helping Latinx LGBTQ parents connect with various communities that affirm their intersecting experiences is essential in assisting them to maintain a supporting family unit (Goldberg, Allen, and Carroll 2020). For Latinx LGBTQ parents who live in areas where there is a limited LGBTQ, Latinx, and Latinx LGBTQ presence, they may be encouraged to seek support, affirmation, and community in online settings (e.g., specialized online parenting groups). Second, practitioners should consider the appropriateness of family interventions that incorporate cultural values and practices in their interventions through group-parent therapy. For instance, Familias Unidas, a Latinx family intervention program for reducing risky adolescent behaviors, uses parent group sessions to help parents connect over their parenting experiences as Latinx parents (Prado and Pantin 2011). Engaging in group sessions with other Latinx LGBTQ parents, specifically, may help strengthen the cultural values of pride and activism to help Latinx LGBTQ parents navigate oppressive systems through community and critical consciousness building.

Third, advocacy efforts are needed to create supportive environments where Latinx LGBTQ parents can have access to means of parenting and protection of their parenting rights. Indeed, children of color are disproportionately represented in the child welfare system—and, in many states, Latino children specifically are overrepresented (Schoenberg 2021). For example, in Massachusetts, where just 19% of children are Latino or Hispanic, 33.7% of children in the child welfare system are Latino or Hispanic (Schoenberg 2021). Thus, Latinx LGBTQ parents—who are more likely to pursue adoption or foster care than heterosexual parents (Gates 2013)—are an excellent potential resource for the many Latinx children awaiting permanent placements. However, LGBTQ people report state and local discrimination through the adoption process, which delay or prematurely terminate their adoption efforts (Goldberg et al. 2019). Surrogacy may be another avenue to pursue parenting for LGBTQ parents, but financing the high cost of this approach is challenging, especially for Latinx LGBTQ people who, from the 2.3 million that live in the United States, 37% live

with a household income of less than US\$24,000 a year (Badgett et al. 2020). Practitioners and agencies need to highlight the negative impact of state intervention on family functioning that can cause harm to children and their Latinx LGBTQ parents. For instance, immigration policies that impact the legal status of Latinx LGBTQ parents or their family members can create additional family stress and anxiety. Finally, providers should be prepared to address challenges from the intersectionality of identities of Latinx LGBTQ parents who may also identify as non-binary, transgender, or disabled and face unique barriers in their parenting based on their intersecting experiences.

9 | Conclusion

The Latinx LGBTQ parents in this study examined their experiences growing up at the intersection of race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and gender, and reported how they have redefined Latinx and LGBTQ cultural values in their parenting practices. The importance given to the intentionality of the participants underscores the pressing need for therapeutic interventions with culturally diverse people to center cultural values at the core of interventions. A multicultural approach with a strong intersectional lens can help capture the important cultural values different within non-traditional families, but still play a crucial role in parenting practices. Additionally, a strength-based approach is beneficial and essential to avoid a deficit-based approach in the parenting practices of non-traditional families. This approach reassures us that we can view these families from a place of strength and resilience.

Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

References

Abreu, R. L., K. A. Gonzalez, S. Arora, J. P. Sostre, G. M. Lockett, and D. V. Mosley. 2023. "Coming Together After Tragedy Reaffirms the Strong Sense of Community and Pride We Have:" LGBTQ People Find Strength in Community and Cultural Values During the COVID-19 Pandemic." *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity* 10, no. 1: 140–149. <https://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000516>.

Abreu, R. L., K. A. Gonzalez, C. C. Rosario, L. Pulice-Farrow, and M. M. D. Rodríguez. 2020. "Latinos Have a Stronger Attachment to the Family": Latinx Fathers' Acceptance of Their Sexual Minority Children." *Journal of GLBT Family Studies* 16, no. 2: 192–210. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1550428X.2019.1672232>.

Abreu, R. L., E. D. B. Riggle, and S. S. Rostosky. 2020. "Expressive Writing Intervention With Cuban-American and Puerto Rican Parents of LGBTQ Individuals." *Counseling Psychologist* 48, no. 1: 106–134. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000019853240>.

Abreu, R. L., J. A. Martin, and K. S. Badio. 2023. "Latinx LGBTQ People and Their Families: The Role of Latinx Cultural Values, Beliefs, and Traditions." In *Identity as Resilience in Minoritized Communities: Strengths-Based Approaches to Research and Practice*, edited by J. M. Koch, E. E. Townsend-Bell, and R. D. Hubach, 47–58. Springer Nature. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-38977-1_4.

Adams, W. C. 2015. "Conducting Semi-Structured Interviews." *Handbook of Practical Program Evaluation* pp. 492–505. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119171386.ch19>.

Adames, H. Y., and N. Y. Chavez-Dueñas. 2016. *Cultural Foundations and Interventions in Latino/a Mental Health: History, Theory and within Group Differences*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315724058>.

Arredondo, P., M. Gallardo-Cooper, E. A. Delgado-Romero, and A. L. Zapata. 2015. "Latinas/Os in Counseling. Culturally Responsive Counseling with Latinas/os." pp. 173–196. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119221609.ch10>.

Asakura, K. 2016. "Paving Pathways Through the Pain: A Grounded Theory of Resilience Among Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Queer Youth." *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 27, no. 3: 521–536. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12291>.

Badgett, M. V. L., S. K. Choi, and B. D. M. Wilson. 2020. "LGBT Poverty in the United States." In *State of Families*, 385–387. New York, NY: Routledge Books, 2021: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429397868-75>.

Bible, J., A. Bermea, B. van Eeden-Moorefield, K. E. Benson, and A. L. Few-Demo. 2017. "A Content Analysis of the First Decade of the Journal of GLBT Family Studies." *Journal of GLBT Family Studies* 14, no. 4: 337–355. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1550428X.2017.1349626>.

Brainer, A., M. R. Moore, and P. Banerjee. 2020. "Race and Ethnicity in the Lives of LGBTQ Parents and Their Children: Perspectives From and Beyond North America." In *LGBTQ-Parent Families*, vol. 85–103. Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-35610-1_5.

Calzo, J. P., V. M. Mays, C. Björkenstam, E. Björkenstam, K. Kosidou, and S. D. Cochran. 2019. "Parental Sexual Orientation and Children's Psychological Well-Being: 2013–2015 National Health Interview Survey." *Child Development* 90, no. 4: 1097–1108. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12989>.

Campesino, M., and G. E. Schwartz. 2006. "Spirituality Among Latinas/os." *Advances in Nursing Science* 29, no. 1: 69–81. <https://doi.org/10.1097/00012272-200601000-00007>.

Carone, N., L. Barone, D. Manzi, R. Baiocco, V. Lingiardi, and K. Kerns. 2020. "Children's Exploration of Their Surrogacy Origins in Gay Two-Father Families: Longitudinal Associations With Child Attachment Security and Parental Scaffolding During Discussions About Conception." *Frontiers in Psychology* 11: 112. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.00112>.

Carroll, M. 2018. "Gay Fathers on the Margins: Race, Class, Marital Status, and Pathway to Parenthood." *Family Relations* 67, no. 1: 104–117. <https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12300>.

Census Bureau, U. S. 2021. "U.S. Census Bureau Releases CPS Estimates of Same-Sex Households." *Census.gov*. <https://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2019/same-sex-households.html>.

Crenshaw, K. 1991. *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics [1989]*. Routledge.

Creswell, J. W., and C. N. Poth. 2016. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*. SAGE Publications.

Curoe, C., and R. Curoe. 2007. "Are There Closets in Heaven?: A Catholic Father and Lesbian Daughter Share Their Story." Syren Book Company.

Diaz, M. A., M. L. Miville, and N. Gil. 2013. "Latino male gender roles." In *Multicultural Gender Roles: Applications for Mental Health and Education*, edited by M. L. Miville, 97–132. Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Family Equality. 2019. "LGBTQ Family Building Survey." <https://www.familyequality.org/fbs>.

Franklin, C., and M. Ballan. 2001. "The Handbook of Social Work Research Methods." In *Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research*, vol. 4, 273–292. Sage Publications, Inc.

Gates, G. J. 2013. "LGBT Parenting in the United States. The Williams Institute at UCLA School of Law." <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resre35576>.

- Gates, G. J. 2015. "Marriage and Family: LGBT Individuals and Same-Sex Couples." *Future of Children* 25, no. 2: 67–87. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43581973>.
- Gattamorta, K. A., J. Salerno, and N. Quidley-Rodriguez. 2019. "Hispanic Parental Experiences of Learning a Child Identifies as a Sexual Minority." *Journal of GLBT Family Studies* 15, no. 2: 151–164. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1550428X.2018.1518740>.
- Gerena, C. E. 2023. "Latino Gay Men's Disclosure of Sexual Identity to Their Fathers: A Systematic Review." *Journal of Family Studies* 29, no. 5: 2459–2478. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13229400.2022.2109983>.
- Gilbert, K. R. 2001. "The Emotional Nature of Qualitative Research." In *Collateral Damage? Indirect Exposure of Staff Members to the Emotions of Qualitative Research*. London: CRC.
- Giunti, D., and G. Fioravanti. 2017. "Gay Men and Lesbian Women Who Become Parents in the Context of a Former Heterosexual Relationship: An Explorative Study in Italy." *Journal of Homosexuality* 64, no. 4: 523–537. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2016.1191244>.
- Gladding, S. T. 2014. "Family Therapy: History, Theory, and Practice." Pearson Higher Ed.
- Goldberg, A. E. 2023a. "LGBTQ-Parent Families: Diversity, Intersectionality, and Social Context." *Current Opinion in Psychology* 49: 101517. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2022.101517>.
- Goldberg, A. E. 2023b. "Impact of HB 1557 (Florida's Don't Say Gay Bill) on LGBTQ+ Parents in Florida." In *The Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law*. Los Angeles, CA: The Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law.
- Goldberg, A. E., K. R. Allen, and M. Carroll. 2020. "'We Don't Exactly Fit in, but we can't Opt Out': Gay Fathers' Experiences Navigating Parent Communities in Schools." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 82, no. 5: 1655–1676.
- Goldberg, A. E., R. L. Frost, L. Miranda, and E. Kahn. 2019. "LGBTQ Individuals' Experiences With Delays and Disruptions in the Foster and Adoption Process." *Children and Youth Services Review* 106: 104466. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2019.104466>.
- Goldberg, A. E., and J. Z. Smith. 2016. "Predictors of Race, Adoption, and Sexual Orientation Related Socialization of Adoptive Parents of Young Children." *Journal of Family Psychology* 30, no. 3: 397–408. <https://doi.org/10.1037/fam0000149>.
- Goldberg, A. E., K. Sweeney, K. Black, and A. Moyer. 2016. "Lesbian, Gay, and Heterosexual Adoptive Parents' Socialization Approaches to Children's Minority Statuses." *Counseling Psychologist* 44, no. 2: 267–299. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000015628055>.
- LeCompte, M. D., and J. P. Goetz. 1982. "Problems of Reliability and Validity in Ethnographic Research." *Review of Educational Research* 52, no. 1: 31–60.
- Levitt, H. M., S. L. Motulsky, F. J. Wertz, S. L. Morrow, and J. G. Ponterotto. 2017. "Recommendations for Designing and Reviewing Qualitative Research in Psychology: Promoting Methodological Integrity." *Qualitative Psychology* 4, no. 1: 2–22. <https://doi.org/10.1037/qup0000082>.
- Lopez, C., M. Vazquez, and A. S. McCormick. 2022. "Familismo, Respeto, and Bien Educado: Traditional/Cultural Models and Values in Latinos." In *Family Literacy Practices in Asian and Latinx Families: Educational and Cultural Considerations*, 87–102. Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Lyons, H. Z., D. H. Bike, L. Ojeda, A. Johnson, R. Rosales, and L. Y. Flores. 2013. "Qualitative Research as Social Justice Practice With Culturally Diverse Populations." *Journal for Social Action in Counseling & Psychology* 5, no. 2: 10–25. <https://doi.org/10.33043/JSACP.5.2.10-25>.
- Marín, G., and B. V. Marín. 1991. "Research With Hispanic Populations" Sage Publications, Inc."
- Mertens, D. M. 2012. "Ethics and Social Justice in Ethnocultural Qualitative Research." In *Qualitative Strategies for Ethnocultural Research*, edited by D. K. Nagata, L. Kohn-Wood, and L. A. Suzuki, 61–84. Washington: American Psychological Association. <https://doi.org/10.1037/13742-004>.
- Miller, B. G., S. Kors, and J. Macfie. 2017. "No Differences? Meta-Analytic Comparisons of Psychological Adjustment in Children of Gay Fathers and Heterosexual Parents." *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity* 4, no. 1: 14–22.
- Minuchin, S. 2018. "Structural Family Therapy." In *Families and Family Therapy*, 1–11. Routledge.
- Morrow, S. L. 2005. "Quality and Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research in Counseling Psychology." *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 52, no. 2: 250–260.
- Morse, J. M. 2000. "Determining Sample Size." *Qualitative Health Research* 10, no. 1: 3–5. <https://doi.org/10.1177/104973200129118>.
- Newport, F. 2024. "U.S., Estimate of LGBT Population Rises to 4.5%." Gallup.com. <https://news.gallup.com/poll/234863/estimate-lgbt-population-rises.aspx>.
- Parker, C., S. Scott, and A. Geddes. 2019. "Snowball Sampling." SAGE Research Methods Foundations."
- Parmenter, J. G., R. V. Galliher, and A. D. Maughan. 2020. "An Exploration of LGBTQ+ Community members' Positive Perceptions of LGBTQ+ Culture." *Counseling Psychologist* 48, no. 7: 1016–1047. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001100002093318>.
- Patrón, O. E. 2020. "'The Revolution Begins at Home:' Exploring Educational Aspirations Between Latino Male Collegians and Their Families Through a Reciprocity of Relationships." *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 33, no. 4: 446–464. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2019.1681545>.
- Patrón, O. E. 2021a. "Complicating Traditional Understandings of Familismo: Precariousness in the Lives of Queer Latino Men in College." *Journal of GLBT Family Studies* 17, no. 1: 30–48. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1550428X.2020.1711838>.
- Patrón, O. E. 2021b. "Precarious Familismo Among Latinas/Os/Xs: Toward a Critical Theoretical Framework Centering Queer Communities." *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 38, no. 3: 1085–1102. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0265407520971049>.
- Patrón, O. E., and F. Rodriguez. 2022. "Exploring the Tensions Between Masculinities and Connections With Faculty and Staff Among Gay Latino Collegians." *Men and Masculinities* 25, no. 1: 148–166. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X209710>.
- Prado, G., and H. Pantin. 2011. "Reducing Substance Use and HIV Health Disparities Among Hispanic Youth in the USA: The Familias Unidas Program of Research." *Psychosocial Intervention* 20, no. 1: 63–73. <https://doi.org/10.5093/in2011v20n1a6>.
- Prickett, K. C., A. Martin-Storey, and R. Crosnoe. 2015. "A Research Note on Time With Children in Different- and Same-Sex Two-Parent Families." *Demography* 52, no. 3: 905–918. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13524-015-0385-2>.
- Riggle, E. D., J. S. Whitman, A. Olson, S. S. Rostosky, and S. Strong. 2008. "The Positive Aspects of Being a Lesbian or Gay Man." *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice* 39, no. 2: 210–217. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0735-7028.39.2.210>.
- Saez, P. A., A. Casado, and J. C. Wade. 2010. "Factors Influencing Masculinity Ideology Among Latino Men." *Journal of Men's Studies* 17, no. 2: 116–128. <https://doi.org/10.3149/jms.1702.116>.
- Schmitz, R. M., J. Sanchez, and B. Lopez. 2019. "LGBTQ+ Latinx Young Adults' Health Autonomy in Resisting Cultural Stigma." *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 21, no. 1: 16–30. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2018.1441443>.
- Schoenberg, S. 2021. "Why Are Latinos So Overrepresented in the State Child Welfare System?" Commonwealth Beacon. <https://commonweal>

thmagazine.org/courts/why-are-latinos-so-overrepresented-in-the-state-child-welfare-system/.

Seawright, J., and J. Gerring. 2008. "Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research: A Menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options." *Political Research Quarterly* 61, no. 2: 294–308. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10659129073130>.

Segrin, C., A. Wozidlo, M. Givertz, A. Bauer, and M. Taylor Murphy. 2012. "The Association Between Overparenting, Parent-Child Communication, and Entitlement and Adaptive Traits in Adult Children." *Family Relations* 61, no. 2: 237–252. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3729.2011.00689.x>.

Smith, J. A., and M. Osborn. 2015. "Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis as a Useful Methodology for Research on the Lived Experience of Pain." *No Matching Journal Found* 9: 41–42. <https://doi.org/10.1177/204946371454164>.

Starks, H., and S. Brown Trinidad. 2007. "Choose Your Method: A Comparison of Phenomenology, Discourse Analysis, and Grounded Theory." *Qualitative Health Research* 17, no. 10: 1372–1380. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732307307031>.

Teran, M., R. L. Abreu, E. S. Tseung, and J. Castellanos. 2023. "Latinx Fathers of Transgender and Gender Diverse People: Journey Toward Acceptance and Role of Culture." *Family Relations* 72, no. 4: 1908–1925. <https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12799>.

Tornello, S. L., and C. J. Patterson. 2018. "Adult Children of Gay Fathers: Parent-Child Relationship Quality and Mental Health." *Journal of Homosexuality* 65, no. 9: 1152–1166. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2017.1406218>.

Twenge, J. M., B. E. Wells, and J. Le. 2024. "Increases in LGB Identification Among US Adults, 2014–2021." *Sexuality Research & Social Policy* 21, no. 3: 863–878.

Wertz, F. J. 2005. "Phenomenological Research Methods for Counseling Psychology." *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 52, no. 2: 167–177. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.52.2.167>.

Weststrate, N., and K. C. McLean. 2010. "The Rise and Fall of Gay: Gay Identity Development in Different Historical and Cultural Cohorts." *Memory* 18, no. 2: 225–240. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658210903153923>.

Supporting Information

Additional supporting information can be found online in the Supporting Information section.