Longitudinal Gender Presentation and Associated Outcomes Among Adopted Children with Lesbian, Gay, and Heterosexual Parents

Samuel T. Bruun & Rachel H. Farr

Published online: 18 Aug 2020.

Submit your article to this journal

Article views: 285

View related articles

View Crossmark data

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group

Check for updates

Longitudinal Gender Presentation and Associated Outcomes among Adopted Children with Lesbian, Gay, and Heterosexual Parents

Samuel T. Bruun (iD) and Rachel H. Farr

Department of Psychology, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky, USA

ABSTRACT

Appearing culturally "gender-normative" represents one of the ways that gender identity is salient to others. In the context of continued controversy surrounding children's gender role development in sexual minority parent families, the current study examined gender presentation (i.e., appearing gender-conforming or nonconforming) among adopted children and their lesbian, gay, and heterosexual parents across two time points over a five-year period (Wave 1: $N = 106$ families, child $M_{age} = 36.07$ months; Wave 2: $N = 96$ families, child $M_{age} = 8.34$ years). Children's and parents' gender presentation were observed and rated, focusing on gender-typed clothing and accessories, and then children's gender presentation was compared with their self-reported friendship quality. Children and parents alike generally demonstrated a gender-conforming presentation; there were limited differences by parental sexual orientation (e.g., lesbian mothers displayed greater nonconforming presentation than other parents). There was also no difference by parental sexual orientation in children's reports of friendship quality. Gender presentation was associated across time, with children's nonconforming gender presentation in Wave 1 being positively associated with their nonconforming presentation in Wave 2. Children's nonconforming gender presentation was negatively associated with children's friendships with an interaction effect such that gender-nonconforming girls, but not boys, reported lower quality friendships.

Lesbian and gay (LG) parenting continues to be surrounded by controversy in the United States (U.S.; Herek, 2016). Pervasive beliefs that it is the duty of fathers and mothers to teach their children masculine and feminine things, respectively, has led to a concern that children in LG parent families will not be able to properly understand their gender roles, and thus will be socially disadvantaged (Biblarz & Stacey, 2010; Powell et al., 2010). This debate continues, despite the fact that children of LG parents do not tend to differ in their social outcomes in comparison to children with heterosexual parents (Smith & Leaper, 2006; Wainright & Patterson, 2008). Rather, the degree to which LG parents influence their children's gender roles seems to be variable. For example, in one study, children in early and middle childhood did not appear to differ in their gender-conforming or nonconforming behaviors based on their parents' sexual orientation (Farr et al., 2018), while in another case children with lesbian mothers displayed fewer gender-typed behaviors than children with gay fathers or heterosexual parents (although this difference

disappeared later; Goldberg & Garcia, 2016). Given such mixed findings, we focused on one particular element of gender role behavior—gender presentation—as it has been previously demonstrated to be an important metric by which children and adolescents determine ingroup and outgroup members (Smith & Juvonen, 2017). Gender presentation[1] is the concept that one's gender role often reflects certain cultural expectations of how one should dress and style oneself, such as women being expected to have longer hair or men being expected to dress in less decorative clothing (Butler, 1990).

Gender presentation has been studied primarily within the context of school or professional settings among adolescents and adults, respectively. Little attention has been paid to how children display their gender through their clothing in early and middle childhood, or to the relationship that children's gender presentation may have with their parents' gender presentation (Kelan, 2013). Given that gender-typed behavior, such as participation in gender-typed activities, is common throughout childhood (Farr et al., 2018; Weisgram et al., 2014), it is surprising that there is so little research about how and when gender presentation develops. As such, the present study examined four main research questions: (1) to what degree children and parents present in gender-conforming and nonconforming ways across early to middle childhood, and are theses modes of presentation associated across time, (2) whether parents' gender presentation differs based on their sexual orientation, (3) whether parents' sexual orientation is related to children's conforming or nonconforming presentation, or their peer relationships, and (4) if children's quality of friendships differ based on their gender presentation traits.

Gender presentation

Exact expectations of what constitutes gendered appearances to be conforming or nonconforming vary depending on the cultural context considered (Yu et al., 2017). Social cognitive theory proposes that social rules, such as appearance norms, are internalized by children through observation of their environment, including the reactions of others to their own and others' behavior (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Children observe what behaviors, such as appearance choices, are expected of them through viewing models in their environment, such as their parents. Children accordingly make adjustments to their behavior when others either support or censure their actions. This process continues until the child has developed an internal model of what behaviors are deemed socially appropriate for themselves (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Recent research about gender role behaviors indicates that children learn about gender typicality through a dual process model in which both masculine and feminine items are considered distinctly (Martin et al., 2017). Children consider how they relate to boys and girls in their peer groups, rather than exclusively being concerned about fitting in with expectations associated with their own gender (Martin et al., 2017).

Despite this recent development in considerations of children's gender development, a majority of research specifically about gender presentation has been conducted on adult samples within western European and American contexts (Kelan, 2013; Patterson, 2012). As a result, our discussion of gendered expectations is limited to that context. Within this specific cultural lens, little attention has been given to how presentation develops over time, especially over the course of early to middle childhood. Instead, most existing research regarding gender presentation in children and adolescents has involved exploration of how distinct facets of presentation, such as accessories, clothing colors, or sexualization, may impact adolescent or adult outcomes (Grabe & Hyde, 2009; McKenney & Bigler, 2016).

Gender-based clothing norms for adults are frequently influenced by explicit rules, such as dress codes in the workplace, but more subtle cultural forces also play a role in informing what explicit rules seem reasonable (Schilt & Westbrook, 2009). This can lead to the creation of explicit or implicit social rules that are thought to be value-neutral, but in fact implicitly reify particular

modes of being, such as limiting expression beyond the masculine/feminine binary (Taylor et al., 2011). In addition to this, adults who are parents also face unique forms of gender pressure. Parents must make choices about how to structure their child's life, which includes decisions (implicit or explicit) about the gender-typed behaviors (including those related to appearance) that one will encourage or discourage in their children (Sutfin et al., 2008). How parents make choices about how to dress themselves in relation to these concerns has not been studied previously in lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer (LGBTQ) or cisgender heterosexual samples. Prior research has demonstrated that LGBTQ adults in general are more likely to present in a gender-nonconforming manner in comparison to cisgender heterosexual adults (Clarke & Turner, 2007; Levitt, 2019), which can put them at odds with hetero- and cisnormative gender role expectations (Moore, 2006).

Social consequences of gender presentation

What social outcomes have been associated with gender-conforming or nonconforming presentation? Appearing more gender-nonconforming has been associated with negative social outcomes among adolescents (Smith & Leaper, 2006). Adolescents who are perceived as transgressing gender norms are likely to experience bulling or exclusion from social groups (Smith & Juvonen, 2017). Social rejection or victimization arising from not adhering to gender norms have been associated with a multitude of negative mental health outcomes in adolescents, such as increased social anxiety and externalizing behaviors (Jewell & Brown, 2014; Roberts et al., 2012).

On the other hand, adherence to gender roles is not necessarily protective. Boys may experience distress from their attempts to be perceived as appropriately "manly" among their peers (Way et al., 2014), while girls suffer from the influences of sexualization (McKenney & Bigler, 2016). Furthermore, certain gender-nonconforming roles may provide certain social benefits, at least to girls. Presenting as a "tomboy" is a socially acceptable way for girls across middle childhood to early adolescence to display more masculine-typed presentation styles (Halim et al., 2011). There has been evidence that the development of a tomboy presentational style is associated with more egalitarian gender attitudes, and may be protective against self-stereotyping (Ahlqvist et al., 2013). Despite this, gender presentation dynamics across early to middle childhood have rarely received attention. Identifying changes in gender role presentation over childhood is crucial, as it may elucidate aspects of presentation that could be protective against negative social consequences that children may otherwise experience.

The few existing studies of gender presentation among preadolescent children have focused on overall ratings of gender typicality, including those related to interests and beliefs. These ratings are generally gathered through self-report of one's own typicality or as a rating of others' perceptions, rather than via observational data (Jewell & Brown, 2014; Martin et al., 2017; Wylie et al., 2010). The methodological approach of collecting self-report data has proven useful in understanding how transgressing gendered norms in appearance is associated with adolescent social outcomes, especially in establishing that children who transgress gender norms tend to be more likely to be victimized or ostracized (Jewell & Brown, 2014). The current study sought to extend this research by focusing on an observational methodology to capture the gender presentation of a diverse sample of children and their lesbian, gay, and heterosexual parents across early to middle childhood.

Gender-typed behaviors and presentation among LG adults and their children

At least 2 to 3.5 million children are currently being raised by lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) parents (Gates, 2013; please note: we use acronyms in our literature review that accurately reflect the identities represented in previous research). Amidst increasing societal

acceptance, LGBT parents frequently contend with societal suspicions that their parenting will somehow damage their children's development (Biblarz & Stacey, 2010). Despite these challenges, children raised by LG parents fare well, displaying typical development in domains of cognition, behavior, emotions, and social relationships, including friendships (Farr et al., 2010, 2016; Patterson, 2017).

The question of whether LG parents impact their children's gender-conforming presentation in ways that differ from heterosexual parents remains a question, in part because children's gender conformity can be measured in a variety of ways. Some research in the U.S. and the United Kingdom (Farr et al., 2010, 2018; Golombok et al., 2003) has indicated that preschool- and elementary school-age children with LG parents do not demonstrate differences in gender-conforming behaviors from their peers with heterosexual parents. Other researchers in the U.S. and the Netherlands have found discrepant results, such that sons with lesbian mothers participate in fewer gender-conforming play behaviors (Golberg & Garica) and more flexible gender attitudes (Bos & Sandfort, 2010). It appears that these constructs of gender-typed behaviors and attitudes are distinct from one another, even if interrelated, which underscores the importance of addressing gender presentation in particular.

Understanding more about the gender presentation of children of LG parents would also be especially informative in light of, and in terms of bringing together, three distinct lines of prior research. First, the literature broadly indicates that LG young adults tend to be more likely than heterosexual adults to present in gender-nonconforming ways (Clarke & Turner, 2007; Levitt, 2019). This is relevant, as social cognitive theories of gender development would suggest that children raised by nonconforming parents would similarly present in a nonconforming manner (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Second, parents likely have an influence on their child's gender presentation, given their role in actually purchasing children's clothing (Harper et al., 2003). Finally, third, preadolescent children may face negative social and psychological outcomes when they present in a gender-nonconforming manner (Roberts et al., 2013). The present research aligns these three areas of research by purposefully investigating the gender presentation of both LG parents and their children directly, while also measuring these children's relationship quality with their peers.

Current study

The focus of previous research on other age groups (i.e., adolescence) has furthered our understanding of how gender-conforming presentation is reinforced by peers (Jewell & Brown, 2014), but little is known about gender-conforming presentation at earlier ages and how it may be associated with parents' gender presentation. Using standardized questionnaires and observational coding of gender presentation, the current study sought to examine associations between parents' and children's gender presentation across early to middle childhood (i.e., two time points, Waves 1 and 2) among families with lesbian, gay, and heterosexual parents, as well as associations between children's gender presentation and their friendship quality. Additionally, the unique sample represented by the current study allowed for the exploration of how gender presentation may be similar or different among girls and boys with adoptive LG and heterosexual parents, all of whom were not biologically related to one another. Based on previous research, we considered children's age and gender as covariates across analyses, given that these factors have previously been demonstrated to be associated with gender presentation (Horn, 2007; Manago et al., 2008).

Research questions and hypotheses

1. Are gender-conforming (masculine traits for boys and feminine traits for girls) or nonconforming (masculine traits for girls and feminine traits for boys) presentation associated across

time for children or parents? Due to the relative lack of research on longitudinal changes in gender-typed appearance, we did not make explicit predictions about these associations.

2. Does parent gender presentation differ by parental sexual orientation and gender (i.e., lesbian mothers compared with gay fathers, heterosexual mothers, and heterosexual fathers)? Although prior research has not focused on gender presentation among LG *parents*, we hypothesized that they would display more gender-nonconforming presentation traits than their heterosexual peers, given other research among LG adults (Clarke & Turner, 2007; Levitt, 2019).

3. Does parental sexual orientation relate to children's gender presentation or their peer relationships? We made no specific hypotheses in regards to children's gender presentation by family type, given the mixed research around the influence of parents on children's gender-typed behavior (e.g., Farr et al., 2018; Goldberg & Garcia, 2016). However, we did predict that there would be no difference in children's friendship quality based on their parents' sexual orientation, given prior research on the subject (e.g., Wainright & Patterson, 2008).

4. Is there a relation between observed children's gender-typed clothing and children's quality of friendships? We predicted that nonconforming gender presentation in children in early and middle childhood would be predictive of children's perceptions of lower friendship quality in middle childhood across the sample.

Method

Participants

Participants were recruited from a larger longitudinal study examining the experiences and outcomes of children adopted into a family headed by a pair of lesbian mothers, gay fathers, or heterosexual parents (Farr, Forssell & Patterson, 2010). All children were adopted in infancy from one of five different adoption agencies across the U.S. with a record of placements with lesbian, gay, and heterosexual parents. No children had prior placements, and all families were initially invited to participate through their adoption agency.

Participating families completed data collection at two time points. At Wave 1, participants included 56 children from same-sex parent families (29 gay father, 27 lesbian mother families) and 50 children from heterosexual parent families. These 106 children represented 11 boys and 16 girls from lesbian mother families, 18 boys and 11 girls from gay father families, and 24 boys and 26 girls from heterosexual parent families. When families had multiple children, the "target" child was the eldest adopted child between the ages of 1 and 5 years old. At Wave 1, target children's ages ranged from 13 to 72 months old ($M = 36.07$). Approximately five years later, Wave 2 data collection began, when children were 8.34 years old on average ($SD = 1.65$ years, range $= 5$ to 12). In Wave 2, 96 children from 96 families were represented: 16 girls and 10 boys from lesbian mother families, 11 girls and 18 boys from gay father families, and 22 girls and 19 boys from heterosexual parent families. Wave 2 also included 182 parents from the 96 families, specifically 48 lesbian mothers from 26 families, 54 gay fathers from 29 families, and 81 heterosexual parents from 41 families.

Parents' ages in Wave 1 ranged from 30 to 60 years old ($M = 41.69$, $SD = 5.51$). The Wave 1 sample also included 212 parents: 54 from the lesbian mother group, 58 in the gay father group, and 100 in the heterosexual parents group. Among these family types, nine members of the lesbian mother group and three members of the heterosexual parent group identified as bisexual. By Wave 2, six women within the lesbian mother group identified as bisexual and two identified as queer, while all members of the gay father group identified as gay and all members of the heterosexual parent group identified as heterosexual. Across both Waves, all parents identified as cisgender. Eighty percent of parents were White, 15% were Black, and 5% represented Asian,

Latino/a, or multiracial identities. According to parent-reported information about their children's racial-ethnic identity, 41% of children were White, 32% were Black, 23% were Multiethnic or Biracial, and 4% represented other racial groups; transracial adoptions occurred among 42% of families.

Families lived across the U.S., particularly along the East and West Coasts and in the South. Parents were largely well-educated, with most parents having at least a college degree at Wave 1 (94% of lesbian mother group, 89% of gay father group, and 85% of heterosexual parent group) and Wave 2 (98% of lesbian mothers, 89% of gay fathers, and 87% of heterosexual parents). Education levels did not differ between family types, nor did they significantly differ across waves. Yearly income for families was generally high (lesbian mothers, $M = \$168,000$, $SD = 77,000$; gay fathers, $M = \$190,000$, $SD = 130,000$; heterosexual parents, $M = \$150,000$, $SD = 89,000$), and did not significantly differ among family types at Wave 1. Family income changed by Wave 2, with gay fathers' yearly income ($M = \$252,000$, $SD = \$151,000$) being greater than those of lesbian mother couples ($M = 139,000$, $SD = 85,000$) or heterosexual parents ($M = 170,000$, $SD = 10,100$), $F(2, 164) = 12.89$, $p < .001$. The income of lesbian mother and heterosexual parent pairs did not differ in income from each other in Wave 2. Despite this change in income across waves, family income was not related to our constructs of interest at either time point. The average household incomes and ages of parents at both waves are broadly representative of samples who complete private domestic adoption (Vandivere et al., 2009).

Materials and procedure

At both waves, the second author visited the families in their homes (Farr, Bruun, Doss, & Patterson, 2018). At Wave 1, the families participated in a video-recorded observational task (all measures described below). The families noted their willingness to be contacted again, which occurred about five years later as an invitation to participate in a second data collection wave. At Wave 2, children and parents completed several standardized questionnaires. Video-recorded observations of family interaction and individual child interviews were conducted by the second author during the family home visits. Children completed questionnaires online via Qualtrics; children were provided assistance (i.e., read questions aloud) by the second author. Parents and children provided consent and assent, respectively, to all study procedures. Families were debriefed about their involvement in the study after participating at both time points; no financial compensation was provided. The study was approved by the Institutional Review Boards of The University of Kentucky.

Gender presentation

At both time points, children and parents were recorded participating in a series of observational tasks; it is from these recordings that children's and parents' gender presentation were rated. In Wave 1, parents and children were invited to participate in an unstructured play session using gender-typical and gender-neutral toys provided by the research team. In Wave 2, three tasks were recorded. The first was a video-recorded individual interview with each child. In this task, children were asked a series of open-ended questions about their family and experiences. The other two video-recordings at Wave 2 were family interaction tasks based on discussion prompts that the family completed as a group (during the same home visit as the child interview). In all cases, the video in which the participants were most visible was used. There were no differences in our results based upon which video (i.e., individual interview vs. family interaction task) was used for coding.

Participants were rated on their overall degree of masculine and feminine presentation traits on a 1–5 scale, with greater numbers indicating a greater presence of gender-typed characteristics. In order to generate these ratings, coders were instructed to find the first point in the video in

which the target participant was most visible. The coders would then pause the video at this point and only observe the participant for 5–10 seconds before assigning a masculine and feminine score in accordance with the provided codebook (see Appendix A; Freeman and Johnson, 2016). Given that most of these videos depicted family interactions, and the need to find points in which the participants were most visible, participants' family type was not masked from coders.

Overall masculine and feminine gender presentation represented global ratings of the participant's masculine and feminine appearance, respectively. Participants low in both scales would be considered gender-neutral in appearance. These two scales were rated among all participants regardless of gender (i.e., all participants were rated for both overall masculine and overall feminine appearance), similar to the approach of Martin and colleagues (2017). This allowed us to create two additional scores for gender nonconformity and gender conformity for each person. The nonconforming score represented when children's and parents' overall gender-typed clothing choices contrasted with their gender (i.e., masculine presentation for female participants, feminine presentation for male participants), while the conforming score was the overall gender-typed clothing score that "matched" their gender (i.e., masculine for male participants, feminine for female participants). Creating two distinct constructs for conformity and nonconformity (rather than as two ends of one continuum) allowed for unique and possibly greater explanatory power, in line with recent research on the topic of gender conformity (Martin et al., 2017).

Five undergraduate research assistants were trained to rate children's gender presentation. During the training process, coders individually viewed and rated 10 videos from Wave 2, focusing on the variables described above. Coders were instructed to use a single point (i.e., still frame) in which the target's appearance was most visible. This approach was used to limit the influence of other gender cues, such as the mannerisms or speech patterns, which were beyond the scope of the present study. During this immersion stage (as described in Goldberg & Allen, 2015), the first author examined individual ratings to ensure that coders understood the codes and were attaining appropriate reliability. At these initial meetings, the first author and coders also discussed how their own gender socialization may impact their perceptions of masculine and feminine presentation, and how this might be further modified by other intersecting identities. Potential areas of bias were addressed as well, with efforts made to ensure that the coders ratings were influenced by the appearance of the participants and not their family type. Throughout this process, and all subsequent coding, coders kept record of their individual ratings. Individual ratings were then discussed during coding team meetings. In the event of discrepancies between raters, a consensus score was reached through discussion. Each coder was responsible for viewing approximately one-third of the available videos; reliability was checked throughout the coding process. This process was repeated for the Wave 1 videos. Observational items for children across waves on average achieved high reliability (interclass correlation coefficients above .90). Upon completing this process with the children, a second coding group consisting of three raters was assembled to code parent gender presentation at both waves as well. This process was largely similar; the same codebook (included as supplementary materials) was used for both parents and children. In parent coding, items achieved acceptable reliability on average (interclass correlation coefficients above .80).

Children's friendship quality

Children's friendships were assessed using the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA; Armsden & Greenberg, 1987) at Wave 2. Although this measure has been primarily used with adolescent samples, other researchers have demonstrated that it functions among preadolescent samples as well (e.g., Abela et al., 2005). That being said, the measure was not appropriate for children at Wave 1 (who were preschool-age). As such, friendship quality was only assessed at Wave 2. The IPPA is comprised of two subscales, one focusing on quality of the child's relationship with their parent(s) and a second focusing on the child's relationship with their peers. For

our purposes, we only made use of the 25-item peer subscale. The peer subscale measures three domains of children's friendships: trust, communication, and alienation. Example items include, "*My friends understand me*" (trust domain), "*I like to get my friends' point of view on things I am concerned about*" (communication domain), and "*Talking over my problems with my friends makes me feel ashamed or foolish*" (alienation domain). Each individual item is scored on a 1 to 5 scale indicating how true the statement is for the child, ranging from "Almost Never or Never True" to "Almost Always or Always True." Following the authors' guidelines for scoring (Greenberg & Armsden, 2017), subscale means were aggregated into an overall mean score of friendship quality, with alienation subscale items reverse-scored. Higher mean scores indicate greater closeness to peers, or higher-quality friendships. Previous work utilizing the peer subscales has shown acceptable reliability ($\alpha = .84$) in adolescent samples (Laible et al., 2000), and the present sample demonstrated similarly high levels of reliability ($\alpha = .81$) for the peer subscales overall.

Results

Analyses overview

We first provide general descriptive information for our variables of interest, including the results of our preliminary analyses indicating differences by child gender in our variables of interest. Following this, we address our hypotheses in order, starting with Hypothesis 1, investigating the presence of associations between parent and child gender presentation across time, and ending with Hypothesis 4, involving associations between children's gender presentation and friendship quality. Note that for several of these analyses, the heterosexual parent group was split between heterosexual mothers and fathers to investigate the unique gender pressures that have been reported for heterosexual men and women in the past (Ahlqvist et al., 2013; Martin et al., 2017). Similar splits between partners were not conducted for the same-sex couple groups, as there was no similarly compelling theoretical reason to do so.

Throughout many of our results, we also employed Bayesian analyses to supplement our null hypothesis tests (Dienes, 2011). Bayesian statistics allow for comparisons of two competing models (i.e., in psychology, generally the null vs. experimental or alternate hypothesis) to determine which is more likely to have produced the data gathered. This provides the unique advantage of making null results more interpretable than in traditional null hypothesis tests. Specifically, it can be inferred that the data support the null model when the Bayes factor indicates a stronger likelihood of the null (versus alternate) findings to have been produced from those data (Wagenmakers et al., 2016). For instance, a Bayes factor of 4 would indicate that the data are four times more likely to have resulted from a null versus alternate model. The statistical analysis program JASP (JASP Team, 2018), was used to conduct Bayesian analyses.

Power analysis

Preliminary power analyses were conducted using G*power software (Faul et al., 2009) to determine power levels for the analyses based on the sample sizes from data collected at Waves 1 and 2. Alpha levels were set to .05. Power was sufficient (.95) to detect medium effects ($d = .5$) for comparisons by child gender, but power was only .3 for smaller effects ($d = .2$). For ANOVA, there was sufficient power (.96) to detect large effect sizes ($f^2 = .40$), but insufficient power (.61) to detect more moderate effect sizes ($f^2 = .25$). We demonstrate a similar ability to consistently detect large effects ($\eta^2 = .14$; power $= .98$), and moderate effects ($\eta^2 = .06$; power $= .90$), but not small effects ($\eta^2 = .01$, power $= .19$), in our MANOVA analyses. For regression analyses, there was sufficient power (.90) to detect medium effects ($f^2 = .25$), but not enough (.75) to detect small effects ($f^2 = .10$). Although power to detect only moderate-to-large size effects was a limitation,

Table 1. Descriptive information of child presentation variables by child sex.

Wave 1	Girls *M*(SD)	Boys *M*(SD)	Total *M*(SD)	*t*-test	Effect size (*d*)	Bayes (BF$_{01}$)
Conforming	3.98(.88)	4.32 (.72)	4.15(.82)	2.15*	.42	1.03e-5
Nonconforming	1.34(.68)	1.09 (.35)	1.22(.55)	21.19***	.46	8.08e-6
Wave 2						
Conforming	3.53(1.08)	3.44 (.69)	3.48(.92)	−.46	–	.03
Nonconforming	1.38(.87)	1.18(.39)	1.27(.68)	−1.45	–	2.02e-4
Friendship	4.25 (.42)	3.96 (.60)	4.10 (.54)	−3.67*	.54	.014

*$p < .05$; ***$p < .001$.
Note: Effect sizes are reported for significant findings. Bayes factors reflect the degree to which the null hypothesis was more probable than discovering a difference between groups, with a smaller value indicating greater odds of there being differences between groups.

large effects have been common in previous research related to gender differences in children's gender-conforming behavior (Liben & Bigler, 2002; Weisgram et al., 2011). In sum, this study was adequately powered to detect large and some medium effect sizes.

Descriptive information for variables of interest

We first present general descriptive information for the variables regarding children's and parent's gender presentation and children's friendship quality. A series of *t*-tests were conducted to determine if there were significant differences in the observational gender presentation variables and friendship quality based on children's gender. Table 1 presents the means and standard deviations gender conformity and nonconformity scores by child gender, as well as for the overall sample of children, at Waves 1 and 2, as well as for friendship quality at Wave 2. Effect sizes comparing by child gender for each significant effect are also included in Table 1 for each variable. Finally, Bayes factors are provided in Table 1 for each *t*-test, indicating the likelihood of detecting "no difference" versus "difference" between boys and girls.

Across both waves, and aligned with expectations, children were more likely to present as conforming than nonconforming (Wave 1: $t(105) = 23.99$, $p < .001$; Wave 2: $t(91) = 15.17$, $p < .001$), however girls demonstrated less conforming presentation and greater nonconforming presentation than boys in Wave 1. At Wave 2, girls generally reported higher friendship quality than boys, yet overall, children in this sample described relatively high-quality friendships (Table 1). Comparisons of parents' gender-typed clothing variables across the sample similarly reflected greater conformity than nonconformity (Wave 1: $t(215) = 10.54$, $p < .001$; Wave 2: $t(168) = 10.18$, $p < .001$). All descriptive information for parent data regarding gender presentation can be found in Table 2.

Children's and parents' gender-typed clothing over time

To address Hypothesis 1, examining if there were associations between parent and child presentation across and within Wave 1 and Wave 2, a table of bivariate correlations was produced (Table 3). Parent nonconforming clothing in Wave 1 was found to have a positive association with children's nonconforming clothing in Wave 1 and a negative association with children's conforming clothing in Wave 1. This indicates that at Wave 1, nonconforming parents were likely to have children who presented in nonconforming ways, as well as children who were less likely to present in conforming ways. Parents' gender-conforming clothing in Wave 1 was found hold a negative association with children's nonconforming presentation in Wave 2, such that children of parents who demonstrated conforming presentation in Wave 1 were less likely to demonstrate nonconforming presentation in Wave 2. Parent presentation in Wave 2 was not associated with children's presentation at Wave 1 or Wave 2. Within each wave, children's conforming presentation was strongly and significantly negatively associated with their

Table 2. Descriptive information of parent presentation variables by family types.

Wave 1	Lesbian mothers M(SD)	Gay fathers M(SD)	Heterosexual mothers M(SD)	Heterosexual fathers M(SD)	Total M(SD)	F	Bayes (BF_{01})
Conforming	2.58(.76)^{G HM HF}	3.37(.55)^{L HM}	3.52(1.14)^{L G HF}	4.21(.96)^{L HM}	3.41(1.04)	28.61*	2.69e-11
Nonconforming	2.72(.95)^{G HM HF}	1.84 (.69)^{L}	2.21(1.10)^{L HF}	1.46(.64)^{L HM}	2.06(.97)	19.36*	1.41e-5
Wave 2							
Conforming	2.57(1.03)^{G HM HF}	3.41(.70)^{L}	3.10(.87)^{L}	3.38(.71)^{L}	3.12(.90)	9.23*	5.71e-4
Nonconforming	2.26(1.19)^{G HF}	1.45(.74)^{L HM}	2.15(.86)^{G HF}	1.38(.49)^{L HM}	1.80(.94)	11.77*	3.22e-5

*$p < .05$.
Note: Superscripts indicate post-hoc group differences: L = differs from lesbian mothers, G = differs from gay fathers, HM = differs from heterosexual mothers, HF = differs from heterosexual fathers. Bayes factors reflect the likelihood of the null vs. alternate hypothesis, such that a smaller Bayes factor value indicates greater odds of their being differences between groups.

Table 3. Correlations among parent and child gender presentation across waves.

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Child Nonconforming W1	−.56***	.17*	−.03	−.11	.17*	−.02	−.09
2. Child Conforming W1	−	−.02	−.02	.08	−.16*	.02	.09
3. Child Nonconforming W2	–	–	−.55***	−.17*	.08	.04	−.04
4. Child Conforming W2	–	–	–	.10	−.02	.03	.03
5. Parent Conforming W1	–	–	–	–	−.73***	.22**	−.13
6. Parent Nonconforming W1	–	–	–	–	–	−.32***	.25**
7. Parent Conforming W2	–	–	–	–	–	–	−.67***
8. Parent Nonconforming W2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$.

nonconforming presentation, and children's nonconforming presentation in Wave 1 was weakly and significantly positively associated with children's nonconforming presentation in Wave 2.

Associations were also found between parent gender presentation across and within Wave 1 and Wave 2. Parent conforming and nonconforming presentation in Wave 1 were negatively associated with each other, as was conforming and nonconforming presentation in Wave 2. Nonconforming presentation in Wave 1 was negatively associated with conforming presentation in Wave 2. Conforming presentation in Wave 1 was positively associated with conforming presentation in Wave 2. Overall, parents' gender presentation was more strongly associated across time points than was children's, and there were few significant associations overall between parents' and children's gender presentation.

Differences by family type in parent gender presentation

One-way MANOVA was used to evaluate Hypothesis 2 regarding possible differences by gender and sexual identity (through comparing lesbian mothers, gay fathers, heterosexual mothers. and heterosexual fathers) in parents' gender presentation. Results revealed there were differences in observations of parents' gendered clothing choices at both time points. Complete results for both waves are reported in Table 2, along with Bayes factors. Lesbian mothers displayed greater gender-nonconforming traits and fewer gender-conforming traits than any of the other groups. In Wave 2, gender presentation also differed by participant gender, with both gay and heterosexual fathers demonstrating significantly lower levels of nonconforming presentation than either lesbian or heterosexual mothers.

Differences by family type in children's gender presentation and friendships

A two-way MANOVA and two-way ANOVA were used to evaluate Hypothesis 3, regarding whether there were differences as a function of family type in observations of children's gendered

Table 4. Descriptive information of child appearance variables and friendship quality by family type.

Wave 1	Lesbian M(SD)	Gay M(SD)	Heterosexual M(SD)	Total M(SD)	F	Bayes (BF$_{01}$)
Conforming	3.52 (1.32)$^{G\ H}$	4.34 (.78)^{L}	4.26 (.67)^{L}	4.09 (.98)	12.50*	.934
Nonconforming	1.50 (.84)$^{G\ H}$	1.15 (.46)^{L}	1.16 (.38)^{L}	1.24 (.59)	4.18*	1.85
Wave 2						
Conforming	3.34 (1.08)	3.42 (.93)	3.59 (.79)	3.48 (.91)	1.91	5.47
Nonconforming	1.34 (.64)	1.38 (1.01)	1.53 (.36)	1.27 (.69)	1.57	4.20
Friendship	4.24 (.52)	4.05 (.51)	4.16 (.59)	4.15 (.55)	.90	5.82

*$p < .05$.

Note: Superscripts indicate post-hoc group differences: L = differs from children with lesbian mothers, G = differs from children with gay fathers, H = differs from children with heterosexual parents. Bayes factors reflect the likelihood of the null vs. alternate hypothesis, such that a smaller Bayes factor value indicates greater odds of their being differences between groups.

appearance, as well as in friendship quality, respectively. In the MANOVA, controlling for child gender, family type was entered into the model as an independent variable in predicting gender-conforming and gender-nonconforming presentation as dependent variables. The multivariate main effects for child gender, $F(4, 166) = 3.75$, $p = .006$, and family type, $F(8, 336) = 4.52$, $p < .001$, were significant. Children's gender presentation differed in Wave 1 by family type, such that children with lesbian parents demonstrated greater nonconformity and lower conformity scores than their peers. By Wave 2, there were no significant differences in children's presentation by family type. A two-way ANOVA was then used to determine whether children's friendship quality differed by family type and gender at Wave 2. In this case, there were no significant differences by family type, but there were significant effects by child gender, such that girls displayed greater friendship quality than did boys, $F(1, 168) = 7.76$, $p = .006$. The univariate results for family type are presented in Table 4, along with Bayes factors. Bayesian analyses further supported our findings by showing greater support for the null vs. alternative hypothesis across variable comparisons, indicating greater likelihood of no significant differences rather than significant differences as a function of family type.

Associations between children's gender presentation and children's friendships

To evaluate Hypothesis 4, two general linear models were employed to determine if parents' and children's conforming and nonconforming gender presentation in Waves 1 and 2 were predictive of children's friendships in Wave 2 (controlling for child gender). The model predicting friendships from conforming presentation in Waves 1 and 2 was significant, $F(5, 80) = 2.41$, $p = .044$, $\eta^2 = .131$, although no individual main effects nor interactions reached significance (child gender, as well as the interaction of child gender and conforming presentation, at Wave 2 were marginal). The model predicting friendships from nonconforming presentation in Waves 1 and 2 was also significant, $F(5, 80) = 2.55$, $p = .034$, $\eta^2 = .137$. There was a significant main effect of child gender, $F(1, 80) = 8.41$, $p = .005$, $\eta^2 = .095$, and a significant interaction of child gender and nonconforming presentation at Wave 2, $F(1, 80) = 4.66$, $p = .034$, $\eta^2 = .055$. Girls generally felt more positively about their friendships than boys (as noted earlier), and girls observed to be more gender-nonconforming at Wave 2 also reported lower quality friendships than girls who were less gender-nonconforming. Figure 1 demonstrates the relationship between gender nonconformity and friendship quality for girls and boys, showing that the association was significant among girls, but not among boys, likely given their restricted range of gender presentation.

Discussion

Broadly, we found that children and parents across family types (i.e., parental sexual orientation) were generally observed to be gender-conforming in their presentation and children generally reported high-quality friendships. We uncovered that observed elements of child and parent
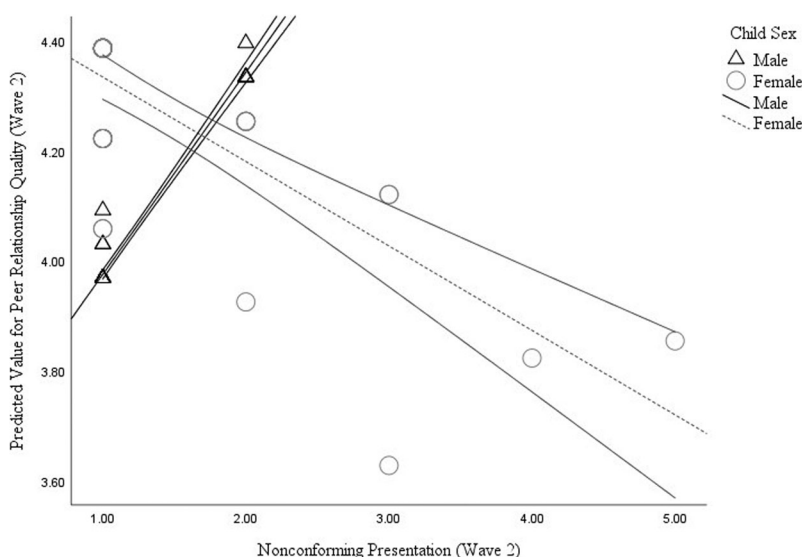
Figure 1. Predicted values for friendship quality (Wave 2) reported by children as a function of observed nonconforming gender presentation (Wave 2) and gender (boys or girls). Higher numbers on the y-axis reflect higher friendship quality and higher numbers on the x-axis reflect greater observed gender nonconformity. The lines surrounding the slopes represent 95% confidence intervals around the means.

gender presentation were associated with each other in a manner consistent with our hypotheses, including differences as a function of participant gender, such as boys and fathers displayed more masculine-typed appearances, while girls and mothers displayed greater levels of feminine-typed appearances. This pattern did slightly vary in examining parent gender presentation across family types, particularly that lesbian mothers presented as more gender-nonconforming than heterosexual parents or gay fathers. Children's conforming presentation was not associated across time, such that one's conforming presentation in early childhood was not related to the degree to which children demonstrated conforming behavior in middle childhood. Children's presentation did appear to differ by family type at Wave 1, with lesbian mothers having children that followed the trend of being less conforming and more nonconforming than their peers. Although children's gender presentation and friendship quality were not found to vary as a function of parental sexual orientation in Wave 2, we did find that girls in middle childhood observed as more gender-nonconforming also reported lower quality friendships in middle childhood. This finding is aligned with patterns described at older ages (i.e., adolescence; Jewell & Brown, 2014), and is a first among a sample of children in middle childhood adopted by lesbian, gay, and heterosexual parents.

The discovery of changes in children's gender conforming and nonconforming presentation over time is somewhat in contrast to other findings with this same sample, which indicated continuity of gender-conforming behaviors and characteristics over time (Farr et al., 2018). That gender presentation seems to have changed over time may indicate that gender presentation follows a different developmental trajectory than do gender-typed attitudes, behaviors, and traits. In addition, prior work with this sample indicates that not all children share similar attitudes about gender flexibility with their parents (Farr et al., 2018). It is interesting then, that associations were found between parents' presentation at Wave 1 and children's presentation across waves, but that parents' Wave 2 presentation was not significantly associated with child presentation. Given that parents and children tend to each have input on clothing purchasing decisions, once children enter middle childhood (Harper et al., 2003), it is possible that the lack of associations with parent presentation in Wave 2 could reflect children's increased ability to make their own clothing choices as they grow older. If children diverge from parental presentation styles as they age, this

might be reflective of prior research that has proposed that certain biological factors predispose children to have greater or lesser interest in gender-typed behavior (Golombok et al., 2008). Alternatively, the lack of association between children and parent presentation may be reflective of the influence that normative media models and peer interactions have on children's understanding of gender roles, both of which have an impact in middle childhood (Ahmed & Wahab, 2014; Mulvey et al., 2016). Further research, however, is needed to disentangle relationships among parents' and children's gender-related attitudes, behaviors, traits, and presentation.

While parents overall tended to dress in a gender-conforming manner, differences did occur among parental groups. There were limited differences along the lines of parent sexual orientation, consistent with our predictions in Hypothesis 2, but presentation differences did appear by gender. Such gender-based differences in results included that all mothers displayed significantly more gender-nonconforming clothing choices than did all men, on average, at both waves, regardless of parental sexual orientation. We might anticipate this, as prior research into gender role transgressions broadly has indicated that men who perform gender role transgressions are more likely to be viewed as social outsiders than women who do the same (Sirin et al., 2004). Additionally, the fact that lesbian mothers differed from all other groups in Wave 1 (demonstrating greater nonconformity and less conformity consistently across both time points) is also in line with previous research indicating that LG people are more likely than heterosexual people to present in a nonconforming manner (Clarke & Turner, 2007).

There were also interesting changes across waves, with parents generally displaying fewer gender-conforming and fewer nonconforming clothing choices from Wave 1 to Wave 2. The reduction in both gender-nonconforming and gender-conforming clothing could be interpreted to mean that parents across waves generally dressed in a more gender-neutral manner between the two waves. As speculation, this finding could relate to differing appearance standards being placed on adults in their parenting roles, although more research on changes in appearance norms over adulthood is required for more firm interpretation. Future models of gender presentation could incorporate gender-neutral presentation in addition to explicitly gender-conforming and nonconforming presentation in order to explore such dynamics.

Limited differences were found among children with lesbian, gay, and heterosexual parents in terms of observed gender presentation and self-reported friendship quality (Hypothesis 3). Children of lesbian mothers demonstrated greater levels of nonconforming presentation and lower levels of conforming presentation than their peers in Wave 1. No other differences were found by family type. The fact that these differences were limited to lesbian mothers, and only existed in early childhood is in line with other research about gender-typical behaviors, in which children of lesbian mothers tended to demonstrate fewer gender-typical behaviors than their peers in early childhood, but not as they grew older (Goldberg & Garcia, 2016). This may indicate that lesbian mothers introduce children to a more gender-flexible environment in early childhood, but other forces may affect children in behaving in gender-conforming ways as they get older (see the influence of peers in previous work; Lee & Troop-Gordon, 2011).

The fact that there were no differences in children's conforming and nonconforming presentation by family type in Wave 2 may be an indication that children conform more to gender role expectations as they gain more autonomy over their clothing choices. All children, regardless of parental sexual orientation, were more likely to demonstrate a gender-conforming, rather than gender-nonconforming, presentation at both waves, and children on average reported relatively high-quality friendships in middle childhood (Wave 2). This lack of difference by family type was supported by both the MANOVA results as well as the moderate Bayes factors in favor of the null hypothesis. The lack of significant differences in children's presentation or friendship quality is largely in line with previous research comparing children's social outcomes and gender-typed behavior in LG and heterosexual parent households (Farr et al., 2018; Patterson, 2017). The present study does functionally extend these findings by demonstrating that these presentation

dynamics are present among a sample of adopted children with LG and heterosexual parents. It similarly furthers the notion that parents are only one contributor of influence on children's gender presentation.

The present study extends earlier work in applying an observational measure of gender presentation, which has allowed us to directly report on children's appearance in ways that mirror social judgments made by outside observers, as opposed to prior self-report methods (Smith & Leaper, 2006). The observational method, combined with data collected directly from children about their friendship quality, allowed us a unique opportunity to investigate associations between children's actual presentation and their peer relationships. We found that children tend to describe largely positive peer relationships, and that those relationships appear more likely to be associated with children's gender norm violations than their parents' sexual orientation. This, along with previous research involving children with LG parents (Wainright & Patterson, 2008), helps to indicate that the social environment of the child matters much more to their outcomes than does the sexual identity of their parents.

In contrast to differential effects as a function of parental sexual orientation, it has been well-documented that peer relationships have a significant influence on the socialization of gender roles (Adler et al., 1992; Martin et al., 2013; Stockard, 2006). Additionally, more recent research has provided evidence that changes in gender beliefs are largely motivated by the influences of one's generational cohort, rather than simply being a result of explicit instruction on the part of parents or other older role models (Brooks & Bolzendahl, 2004). Indeed, we found related effects within our own sample with a significant association between girls' gender-nonconforming presentation and their perceptions of lower quality friendships (Hypothesis 4). This interaction between gender-nonconforming clothing and child gender, indicating a significant relationship for girls but not boys, could likely reflect the restricted range of scores among boys for nonconforming clothing (i.e., the maximum score was 2 out of 5). This in turn could be reflective of the notion that boys experience greater gender norm pressures than do girls in early to middle childhood (Ahlqvist et al., 2013), and that this dynamic appears to be present for boys regardless of the sexual orientation of their parents.

However, our interpretations are somewhat limited by the fact that we were unable to assess peer relationships in Wave 1. As a result, we cannot be certain whether our observed relationships between gender conforming presentation and peer relationships are present in early childhood or emerge over time. Additionally, this lack of Wave 1 data complicates our interpretation of the finding that girls who demonstrate more nonconforming presentation indicated worse peer relationships, as we are unable to determine the directionality of this effect. Further research will be required to fully understand the interplay of one's social standing and one's gender presentation over time. Regardless, our present research indicates that visible transgression against gender norms may be stigmatized in middle childhood, just as such transgressions are stigmatized in adolescence (Jewell & Brown, 2014). This finding may highlight the importance role of social settings, such as families and schools, in supporting children to choose how they present their gender, whether that presentation would be considered conforming or nonconforming (Jewell & Brown, 2014; Smith & Leaper, 2006).

Limitations

Although we were able to examine children's gender presentation across two time points, as well as connections between parent and child gender presentation, there are several limitations worth addressing. Most notably what constitutes gender-typical clothing varies significantly by the cultural context in which one lives (Stark-Wroblewski et al., 2005), and this limits the overall generalizability of our data. The current sample is comprised largely of relatively affluent families with White parents in the U.S., which limits our ability to determine how other identities might

intersect with parents' sexual minority identity when making choices about children's clothing. The fairly small sample size also limited our ability to break the current sample into smaller subgroups, which has resulted in these subgroups being unrepresented in our current analyses. Our initial recruitment information specified that we sought out lesbian, gay and heterosexual parent couples. Unfortunately, adhering to this paradigm led to a small number of bisexual and queer identifying parents to be collapsed into our larger target groups. This collapsing may have contributed to the erasure that bisexual individuals can face (Hackl et al., 2013). Additionally, participants were aware that they would be recorded on the day of the interviews; thus, it is possible that parents could have made efforts to ensure that their children presented in socially acceptable ways and this could have led to a greater gender-typical presentations than might otherwise have been seen.

In addition to these factors, the way we operationalized gender presentation (i.e., gender-typed clothing) could be refined in future studies. In our initial development of our observational variables of interest, we made the decision to have masculine and feminine traits coded separately. This allowed for the creation of the independent conforming and nonconforming scores, which revealed interesting distinctions among family types, such as noting that lesbian mothers display greater nonconforming traits than did other parents. However, there are several other factors that could be considered in the future to have a more robust understanding of gender presentation. Directly measuring the degree of gender-neutral presentation present in one's appearance could provide an interesting third element to examine in addition to gender conforming and nonconforming presentation, for example. In addition to this, given the ways in which the videos were recorded, it was not possible to mask family type from coders as they were giving their ratings. As a result, it is possible that some of our coders ratings may have been impacted by their expectations of these family types, despite our best efforts to the contrary. Future research could involve collecting observational data in which the participant's orientation could be more easily masked.

Potential contributions and future directions

Our research offers several possible contributions to the literature surrounding children's gender-typical presentation and their overall social development. Firstly, we were able to utilize a direct observational measure of how children engaged with gender-typed clothing that could inform future research about gender presentation broadly. Adolescents in middle and high school report frequent harassment due to their perceived violations of gender norms (Jewell & Brown, 2014). As such, in the future, observational measures may serve in identifying what elements of presentation are most likely to be associated with peer victimization or other negative outcomes. Although it has been demonstrated that gender typicality can serve a protective function against peer aggression (Jewell & Brown, 2014), holding allegiance to gender-conforming ideals can also lead young people to limit themselves in a number of ways, from young women losing interest in STEM fields (Leaper et al., 2012), to young children demonstrating greater endorsement of stereotypical gender roles in others (Patterson, 2012). With a greater focus on observational methodology, future research may be able to better determine how particular elements of appearance might be driving these effects.

On that note, this study serves to inform the ongoing discussion surrounding children's gender role development in LG parent families. Children displayed limited differences in their gender presentation across family type, and those differences that did emerge in Wave 1 disappeared by middle childhood. Given that mothers in general displayed greater nonconforming presentation than fathers, it would be worth examining in future research whether the difference in Wave 1 is accountable to the sexual orientation of the lesbian mothers, or simply a function that lesbian mothers displayed more nonconforming presentation than other parent groups. In any case, the

overall normative presentation of both parents and children found across waves runs counter to common arguments made against the effectiveness of LG parents to engage in gender socialization (e.g., the notion that two mothers are not capable of properly socializing a male child without additional male role models; Biblarz & Stacey, 2010). Interviews conducted by Berkowitz and Ryan (2011) with LG parents reveal that these parents face pressures to ensure that their children present in a manner which conforms to gender roles, or to at least avoid allowing their children to transgress too dramatically. LG parents speak of fears that children's transgressions against gender norms could validate heterosexist concerns in the broader culture that LG parents are somehow indoctrinating their children in atypical ways (Berkowitz & Ryan, 2011). Finding few differences among family types indicates that parental sexual orientation does not appear to strongly affect children's gender presentation; rather, the influence of peers may be more important to consider.

Conclusion

Overall, we found that children of LG parents did not differ dramatically from their peers raised by heterosexual parents in terms of their gender presentation or their friendship quality. In fact, there appeared to be indications that parents' sexual orientation plays a limited role in how children learn to portray gender in their appearance, especially given that LG parents largely did not differ in their gendered clothing choices when compared to heterosexual parents. That being said, children's gender-nonconforming clothing choices were associated with the closeness of their friendships, such that girls who were nonconforming in their clothing demonstrated less closeness to friends. Our findings are aligned with prior research with adolescent groups, which also demonstrates the importance of peers in children's understanding of gender (Roberts et al., 2012). Our study extends previous research by showing that these peer influences appear earlier than adolescence in the form of associations with children's observable gender presentation.

Note

1. For the purposes of simplification in the present study, we operationalized gender presentation through children's and adult's gender-typed clothing. Other definitions of gender presentation might include aspects such as one's mannerisms or speech patterns. These elements should be considered in future research in this field.

ORCID

Samuel T. Bruun 🔟 http://orcid.org/0000-0002-7218-9610

References

Abela, J. R., Hankin, B. L., Haigh, E. A., Adams, P., Vinokuroff, T., & Trayhern, L. (2005). Interpersonal vulnerability to depression in high-risk children: The role of insecure attachment and reassurance seeking. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology*, *34*(1), 182–192. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15374424jccp3401_17

Adler, P. A., Kless, S. J., & Adler, P. (1992). Socialization to gender roles: Popularity among elementary school boys and girls. *Sociology of Education*, *65*(3), 169–187. https://doi.org/10.2307/2112807

Ahlqvist, S., Halim, M. L., Greulich, F. K., Lurye, L. E., & Ruble, D. (2013). The potential benefits and risks of identifying as a tomboy: A social identity perspective. *Self and Identity*, *12*(5), 563–581. https://doi.org/10.1080/15298868.2012.717709

Ahmed, S., & Wahab, J. A. (2014). Animation and socialization process: Gender role portrayal on Cartoon Network. *Asian Social Science*, *10*(3), 44–53. https://doi.org/10.5539/ass.v10n3p44

Armsden, G. C., & Greenberg, M. T. (1987). The Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment: Individual differences and their relationship to psychological well-being in adolescence. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 16(5), 427–454. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02202939

Berkowitz, D., & Ryan, M. (2011). Bathrooms, baseball, and bra shopping: Lesbian and gay parents talk about engendering their children. *Sociological Perspectives*, 54(3), 329–350. https://doi.org/10.1525/sop.2011.54.3.329

Biblarz, T. J., & Stacey, J. (2010). How does the gender of parents matter? *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(1), 3–22. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2009.00678.x

Bos, H., & Sandfort, T. G. (2010). Children's gender identity in lesbian and heterosexual two-parent families. *Sex Roles*, 62(1-2), 114–126. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-009-9704-7

Brooks, C., & Bolzendahl, C. (2004). The transformation of US gender role attitudes: Cohort replacement, social-structural change, and ideological learning. *Social Science Research*, 33(1), 106–133. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0049-089X(03)00041-3

Bussey, K., & Bandura, A. (1999). Social cognitive theory of gender development and differentiation. *Psychological Review*, 106(4), 676–713. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295x.106.4.676

Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of gender*. Routledge.

Clarke, V., & Turner, K. (2007). V. clothes maketh the queer? Dress, appearance and the construction of lesbian, gay and bisexual identities. *Feminism & Psychology*, 17(2), 267–276. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353507076561

Dienes, Z. (2011). Bayesian versus orthodox statistics: Which side are you on? *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 6(3), 274–290. https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691611406920

Farr, R. H., Bruun, S. T., Doss, K. M., & Patterson, C. J. (2018). Children's gender-typed behavior from early to middle childhood in adoptive families with lesbian, gay, and heterosexual parents. *Sex Roles*, 78(7-8), 528–541. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-017-0812-5

Farr, R. H., Forssell, S. E., & Patterson, C. J. (2010). Parenting and child development in adoptive families: Does parental sexual orientation matter? *Applied Developmental Science*, 3, 164–178. https://doi.org/10.1080/10888691.2010500958

Farr, R. H., Oakley, M. K., & Ollen, E. W. (2016). School experiences of young children and their lesbian and gay adoptive parents. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, 3(4), 442–447. https://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000187

Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Buchner, A., & Lang, A.-G. (2009). Statistical power analyses using G*Power 3.1: Tests for correlation and regression analyses. *Behavior Research Methods*, 41(4), 1149–1160. https://doi.org/10.3758/BRM.41.4.1149

Freeman, J. B., & Johnson, K. L. (2016). More Than Meets the Eye: Split-Second Social Perception. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 20(5), 362–374. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2016.03.003

Gates, G. J. (2013). *LGBT parenting in the United States*. Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law.

Goldberg, A. E., & Allen, K. R. (2015). Communicating qualitative research: Some practical guideposts for scholars. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 77(1), 3–22. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12153

Goldberg, A. E., & Garcia, R. L. (2016). Gender-typed behavior over time in children with lesbian, gay, and heterosexual parents. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 30(7), 854–865. https://doi.org/10.1037/fam0000226

Golombok, S., Perry, B., Burston, A., Murray, C., Mooney-Somers, J., Stevens, M., & Golding, J. (2003). Children with lesbian parents: A community study. *Developmental Psychology*, 39(1), 20–33. doi:10.1037/0012-1649.39.1.20

Golombok, S., Rust, J., Zervoulis, K., Croudace, T., Golding, J., & Hines, M. (2008). Developmental trajectories of sex-typed behavior in boys and girls: A longitudinal general population study of children aged 2.5-8 years. *Child Development*, 79(5), 1583–1593. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2008.01207.x

Grabe, S., & Hyde, J. S. (2009). Body objectification, MTV, and psychological outcomes among female adolescents. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 39(12), 2840–2858. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2009.00552.x

Greenberg, M. T., & Armsden, G. (2017, May). *The Inventory of Parent Peer Attachment (IPPA)*. Retrieved March 22, 2018 from http://prevention.psu.edu/uploads/files/IPPA-Manual-May-2017.docx

Hackl, A. M., Boyer, C. R., & Galupo, M. P. (2013). From "gay marriage controversy" (2004) to "endorsement of same-sex marriage" (2012): Framing bisexuality in the marriage equality discourse. *Sexuality & Culture*, 17(3), 512–524. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-012-9159-9

Halim, M. L., Ruble, D. N., & Amodio, D. M. (2011). From pink frilly dresses to 'one of the boys': A social-cognitive analysis of gender identity development and gender bias. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 5(11), 933–949. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9004.2011.00399.x

Harper, S. J., Dewar, P. J., & Diack, B. A. (2003). The purchase of children's clothing—Who has the upper hand? *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management: An International Journal*, 7(2), 196–206. https://doi.org/10.1108/13612020310475483

Herek, G. M. (2016). The social psychology of sexual prejudice. In T. D. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination* (2nd ed., pp. 355–384). Psychology Press.

Horn, S. S. (2007). Adolescents' acceptance of same-sex peers based on sexual orientation and gender expression. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 36(3), 363–371. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-006-9111-0

JASP Team. (2018). *JASP* (Version 0.9) [Computer software].

Jewell, J. A., & Brown, C. S. (2014). Relations among gender typicality, peer relations, and mental health during early adolescence. *Social Development*, 23(1), 137–156. https://doi.org/10.1111/sode.12042

Kelan, E. K. (2013). The becoming of business bodies: Gender, appearance, and leadership development. *Management Learning*, 44(1), 45–61. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350507612469009

Laible, D. J., Carlo, G., & Raffaelli, M. (2000). The differential relations of parent and peer attachment to adolescent adjustment. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 29(1), 45–59. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1005169004882

Leaper, C., Farkas, T., & Brown, C. S. (2012). Adolescent girls' experiences and gender-related beliefs in relation to their motivation in math/science and English. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 41(3), 268–282. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-011-9693-z

Lee, E. A. E., & Troop-Gordon, W. (2011). Peer processes and gender role development: Changes in gender atypicality related to negative peer treatment and children's friendships. *Sex Roles*, 64, 90–102. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-010-9883-2

Levitt, H. M. (2019). A psychosocial genealogy of LGBTQ + gender: An empirically based theory of gender and gender identity cultures. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 43(3), 275–297. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684319834641

Liben, L. S., & Bigler, R. S. (2002). The developmental course of gender differentiation: Conceptualizing, measuring, and evaluating constructs and pathways. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 67(2), i–viii. doi:10.1111/j.0037-976X.2004.00273.x

Manago, A. M., Graham, M. B., Greenfield, P. M., & Salimkhan, G. (2008). Self-presentation and gender on MySpace. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 29(6), 446–458. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2008.07.001

Martin, C. L., Andrews, N. C., England, D. E., Zosuls, K., & Ruble, D. N. (2017). A dual identity approach for conceptualizing and measuring children's gender identity. *Child Development*, 88(1), 167–182. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12568

Martin, C. L., Kornienko, O., Schaefer, D. R., Hanish, L. D., Fabes, R. A., & Goble, P. (2013). The role of sex of peers and gender-typed activities in young children's peer affiliative networks: a longitudinal analysis of selection and influence . *Child Development*, 84(3), 921–937. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12032

McKenney, S. J., & Bigler, R. S. (2016). Internalized sexualization and its relation to sexualized appearance, body surveillance, and body shame among early adolescent girls. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, 36(2), 171–197. https://doi.org/10.1177/0272431614556889

Moore, M. R. (2006). Lipstick or Timberlands? Meanings of gender presentation in Black lesbian communities. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 32(1), 113–139. https://doi.org/10.1086/505269

Mulvey, K. L., Rizzo, M. T., & Killen, M. (2016). Challenging gender stereotypes: Theory of mind and peer group dynamics. *Developmental Science*, 19(6), 999–1010. https://doi.org/10.1111/desc.12345

Patterson, C. J. (2017). Parents' sexual orientation and children's development. *Child Development Perspectives*, 11(1), 45–49. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12207

Patterson, M. M. (2012). Self-perceived gender typicality, gender-typed attributes, and gender stereotype endorsement in elementary-school-aged children. *Sex Roles*, 67(7-8), 422–434. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-012-0184-9

Powell, B., Blozendahl, C., Geist, C., & Steelman, L. C. (2010). *Counted out: Same-sex relations and Americans' definitions of family*. Russell Sage Foundation. https://doi.org/10.1093/sw/16.3.128

Roberts, A. L., Rosario, M., Corliss, H. L., Koenen, K. C., & Austin, S. B. (2012). Elevated risk of posttraumatic stress in sexual minority youths: mediation by childhood abuse and gender nonconformity. *American Journal of Public Health*, 102(8), 1587–1593. https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2011.300530

Roberts, A. L., Rosario, M., Slopen, N., Calzo, J. P., & Austin, S. B. (2013). Childhood gender nonconformity, bullying victimization, and depressive symptoms across adolescence and early adulthood: An 11-year longitudinal study. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 52, 143–152. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaac.2012.11.006

Schilt, K., & Westbrook, L. (2009). Doing gender, doing heteronormativity: "gender normals," transgender people, and the social maintenance of heterosexuality. *Gender & Society*, 23, 440–464. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243209340034

Sirin, S. R., McCreary, D. R., & Mahalik, J. R. (2004). Differential reactions to men and women's gender role transgressions: Perceptions of social status, sexual orientation, and value dissimilarity. *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 12(2), 119–132. https://doi.org/10.3149/jms.1202.119

Smith, D. S., & Juvonen, J. (2017). Do I fit in? Psychosocial ramifications of low gender typicality in early adolescence. *Journal of Adolescence*, 60, 161–170. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2017.07.014

Smith, T. E., & Leaper, C. (2006). Self-perceived gender typicality and the peer context during adolescence. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 16(1), 91–103. 7795.2006.00123.x https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-

Stark-Wroblewski, K., Yanico, B. J., & Lupe, S. (2005). Acculturation, internalization of western appearance norms, and eating pathology among Japanese and Chinese international student women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *29*(1), 38–46. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2005.00166

Stockard, J. (2006). Gender socialization. In J. F. Chafetz (Ed.), *Handbook of the sociology of gender* (pp. 215–227). Springer.

Sutfin, E. L., Fulcher, M., Bowles, R. P., & Patterson, C. J. (2008). How lesbian and heterosexual parents convey attitudes about gender to their children: The role of gendered environments. *Sex Roles*, *58*(7-8), 501–513. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9368-0

Taylor, S., Burke, L. A., Wheatley, K., & Sompayrac, J. (2011). Effectively facilitating gender transition in the workplace. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal*, *23*(2), 101–116. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10672-010-9164-9

Vandivere, S., Malm, K., & Radel, L. (2009). *Adoption USA: A chartbook based on the 2007 National Survey of Adoptive Parents*. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

Wainright, J. L., & Patterson, C. J. (2008). Peer relations among adolescents with female same-sex parents. *Developmental Psychology*, *44*(1), 117–126. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.44.1.117

Wagenmakers, E. J., Morey, R. D., & Lee, M. D. (2016). Bayesian benefits for the pragmatic researcher. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *25*(3), 169–176. https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721416643289

Way, N., Cressen, J., Bodian, S., Preston, J., Nelson, J., Hughes, D. (2014). "It might be nice to be a girl … Then you wouldn't have to be emotionless": Boys' resistance to norms of masculinity during adolescence. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, *15*(3), 241–252. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0037262

Weisgram, E. S., Dinella, L. M., & Fulcher, M. (2011). The role of masculinity/femininity, values, and occupational value affordances in shaping young men's and women's occupational choices. *Sex Roles*, *65*(3-4), 243–258. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-011-9998-0

Weisgram, E. S., Fulcher, M., & Dinella, L. M. (2014). Pink gives girls permission: Exploring the roles of explicit gender labels and gender-typed colors on preschool children's toy preferences. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, *35*(5), 401–409. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2014.06.004

Wylie, S. A., Corliss, H. L., Boulanger, V., Prokop, L. A., & Austin, S. B. (2010). Socially assigned gender nonconformity: A brief measure for use in surveillance and investigation of health disparities. *Sex Roles*, *63*(3-4), 264–276. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-010-9798-y

Yu, C., Zuo, X., Blum, R. W., Tolman, D. L., Kågesten, A., Mmari, K., De Meyer, S., Michielsen, K., Basu, S., Acharya, R., Lian, Q., & Lou, C. (2017). Marching to a different drummer: A cross-cultural comparison of young adolescents who challenge gender norms. *Journal of Adolescent Health Care*, *61*(4), S48–S54. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2017.07.005

Appendix A

Gender presentation observation scheme

Overall Masculine Score: In a general sense, to what degree does the participant's clothing adhere to the expectation of the masculine gender norm? Aspects impacting this rating could include the iconography present in the clothing, how it is worn, what material the clothing is made of, among other elements. Note that the presence of masculine elements does not eliminate the possibility for feminine elements to be present. In this scale masculine and feminine elements of presentation are meant to be viewed separately. Appearance elements that may be considered masculine could include clothing made for exercise or featuring sporty iconography, clothing with text referencing masculine themes. Note that this code should be made as a "split second" decision, looking at the Participant's appearance for no more than ten seconds before assigning a value.

−1. Participant's clothing does not at all reference the masculine gender norm. This could be due to many factors including the clothing being so plain that it is effectively neutral, or due to another theme being so present as to be the dominating impression.

−3. Participant's clothing contains some references to the masculine gender role or gender typical clothing styles, but this theme is not overpowering.

−5. The participant's clothing is extremely masculine typed. Any other themes present in the clothing are muted to the point of being nearly unnoticeable, and the outfit may be designed with the intent to convey masculinity.

Overall feminine score

In a general sense, to what degree does the participant's clothing adhere to the expectation of the feminine gender norm? Aspects impacting this rating could include the iconography present in the clothing, how it is worn, what material the clothing is made of, among other elements. Note that the presence of feminine elements does not

eliminate the possibility for masculine elements to be present. In this scale masculine and feminine elements of presentation are meant to be viewed separately. Appearance elements that may be considered feminine could include clothing containing sexualized elements, the use of feminine colors such as pinks or pastels. Note that this code should be made as a "split second" decision, looking at the Participant's appearance for no more than ten seconds before assigning a value.

−1. Participant's clothing does not at all reference the feminine gender norms. This could be due to many factors including the clothing being so plain that it is effectively neutral, or due to another theme being so present as to be the dominating impression.

−3. Participant's clothing contains some references to the feminine gender role or gender typical clothing styles, but this theme is not overpowering or the only theme present.

−5. The participant's clothing is extremely feminine typed. Any other themes present in the clothing are muted to the point of being nearly unnoticeable, and the outfit is plainly constructed with conveying femininity.