Received: 1 February 2024 | Accepted: 14 March 2025

DOI: 10.1111/jftr.12624

INVITED ARTICLE

Journal of Family Theory & Review

Marginalized family identity theory: A framework to understand experiences in LGBTQIA+ and diverse family structures

Rachel H. Farr[1] | **Krystal K. Cashen**[2] | **Madi T. Diomede**[1] | **Kay A. Simon**[3]

[1]University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky, USA

[2]Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, USA

[3]University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, USA

Correspondence
Rachel H. Farr, University of Kentucky, 171 Funkhouser Drive, Lexington, KY 40506, USA.
Email: rachel.farr@uky.edu

Abstract

Using an intersectional lens, existing literature, and theories to inform and ground this work, we propose marginalized family identity theory (MFIT). MFIT is a new theoretical framework to understand shared family identities in families shaped by the marginalized individual identity of one or more members. We center the experiences of Queer (LGBTQIA+) parent families, yet we also discuss how this framework may extend to other marginalized families (e.g., adoptive families, multiracial families) with consideration of sociocultural and historical contexts. With a strengths-based approach, we synthesize social science scholarship (with a focus on psychological, developmental, and family science) related to marginalized family identity and associated outcomes. Here, we emphasize marginalized family processes and individual outcomes beyond typical developmental ones. We describe the utility and promise of MFIT for future research, as well as implications for practice and policy relevant to marginalized families.

KEYWORDS

identity, intersectionality, LGBTQIA+, marginalized families, theory development

INTRODUCTION

Diverse (nontraditional) families hold unique benefits and strengths—including through family identity. Family identity is based on a family unit and may be especially salient when

The authors wish to thank and honor their family members and loved ones in their lives who are the beloved inspiration for this work, and they dedicate this to them.

nontraditional in appearance, constellation, or formation, such as families with same-gender parents, parents with LGBTQIA+ identities, or families with transracially adopted children (Galvin, 2006). Marginalized families are often stigmatized in the United States because they vary from expected cultural and historical norms about family; within families, such stigma may make discourse surrounding family identity particularly likely (Cody et al., 2017; Goldberg et al., 2011). Family identity in practice is often discourse-dependent, co-constructed, and reinforced through dialogue within the family and outside of it (Chabot & Ames, 2004; Galvin, 2006), yet family identity among marginalized families has been understudied. Here, we synthesize literature on family identity and propose a strengths-based conceptual model, marginalized family identity theory (MFIT), with a unique perspective to understand the experiences of families with members who share a family identity and at least one member holds an individual social identity that is marginalized (e.g., LGBTQIA+ parents with cisgender, heterosexual [cis-het] children).

We open with our positionality and purpose to acknowledge our own connections to marginalized families and in what ways our positionality has sensitized us and propelled this work. We describe MFIT and provide a glossary of terms relevant to explicating our theory (Appendix A). We describe relevant existing theories and empirical support about LGBTQIA+ parents and other marginalized families to provide a foundation for MFIT. We note possible theoretically driven links among family identity, marginalized family processes, and developmental outcomes for individuals and families. We offer extensions to additional marginalized families (beyond LGBTQIA+ parent families) as well as implications for research, policy, and practice. By focusing on positive developmental outcomes and family assets, MFIT provides a theoretical framework for understanding how families with marginalized identities raise well-adjusted, resilient children (Farr et al., 2022).

AUTHOR POSITIONALITY AND STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

We offer a reflection on our positionality and purpose to inform readers about our collective expertise, which comes from not only our training but also our lived experiences of holding identities relevant to LGBTQIA+ parent families and other marginalized family members. We write as scholars trained in developmental psychology, who research family systems and identity and represent varying career stages and thus have various levels of privilege and power within our academic institutions and fields. Our scholarship focuses on LGBTQIA+ people and their families, which commonly intersects with adoptive and multiracial families; this underpins why we center these family systems in this article. We collectively identify as Queer. We represent people who are white and also Multiracial. We are cisgender and Nonbinary. Our team includes Queer parents as well as both children and grandchildren of LGBTQIA+ people. Importantly, we choose to capitalize minoritized racial/ethnic (e.g., Black), sexual (e.g., Lesbian), and gender (e.g., Nonbinary) identities and lowercase identities that are granted privileges (e.g., white, cisgender, heterosexual) in deference to the ongoing structural marginalization experienced by minoritized groups (Crenshaw, 1991). Furthermore, although we use the terms LGBTQIA+ and Queer interchangeably to describe minoritized sexual and/or gender identities, we specifically cite participant identities when referring to previous studies. We acknowledge that not all families (or members) use the term Queer, for example (Farr et al., 2022).

We not only represent multiple individual social identities that are both privileged and marginalized, which have informed our own understanding of MFIT, but also family-level identities that are both privileged and marginalized. We grew up in mono- or multiracial nonadoptive families as well as in adoptive multiracial families. Relatedly, individual and family identities are sometimes distinct; for instance, one of us is part of an adoptive family yet has individual

birth privilege. Our family experiences represent diversity in parenthood pathways, socioeconomic backgrounds, socialization practices (e.g., religious, racial/ethnic), and structures and constellations of members (e.g., number of parents, siblings, and partners) over time. We were all born in the United States and raised within Western cultural systems. We acknowledge too that our writing reflects existing scholarship, which tends to represent Western perspectives and experiences of family, as well as the language, identity, and experiences surrounding family in our current sociohistorical time period.

MARGINALIZED FAMILY IDENTITY THEORY

MFIT seeks to integrate previous empirical and theoretical work on family identity and individual identity development to understand how members of marginalized family structures integrate their family experiences into their own marginalized family identity (MFI). We contend that MFI involves the exploration of the question: "How do my family experiences shape who *I* am?" MFIT is intended to be applicable across marginalized family types, yet we center LGBTQIA+ parent families given the literature on which we developed our theory.

Many marginalized families exist outside of dominant cultural norms and values about family (and at any given time, sociohistorically; e.g., immigrant families). Thus, we propose three specific tenets for identifying the types of family experiences addressed by MFIT. The first tenet is that at least one member (an adult or child) holds an individual marginalized identity that, whether visible or invisible, can define the whole family unit (i.e., a shared MFI; e.g., one member has an adoptive identity, the rest do not, yet family members identify as an adoptive family). The second tenet is that MFIT applies to families in which this individual marginalized identity is either shared or discrepant among family members; regardless, all members have shared experiences (i.e., marginalized family processes) as a marginalized family system. The third tenet is that characteristics of the family system, such as relationships or parenthood pathways, are culturally stigmatized. Stigmatized relationships include those among foster parents and children, parents of LGBTQIA+ children, or interracial partners. Stigmatized parenthood pathways include adoptive parenthood, parenthood via assisted reproductive technologies (ART), single parenthood, step-parenthood, or parenthood among multiple (romantic) partners (i.e., polyamory, consensual nonmonogamy). Although we acknowledge the impact of this stigmatization, MFIT also highlights the ways in which these family experiences can be a unique springboard for family strength, affirmation, and resilience.

We assert that people can be family without children (e.g., as partners, siblings, chosen family, or fictive kin; Farr et al., 2022; Galvin, 2006; Weston, 1991) and that many relationships within family systems (e.g., between romantic partners) can be stigmatized (Byrd & Garwick, 2006); however, MFIT may be particularly relevant to marginalized family processes surrounding parent–child relationships (e.g., socialization). It may also be that MFIT is most applicable at certain life stages; indeed, our conceptualization of MFIT primarily draws on literature that explores the experiences of marginalized families with children 18 years and younger. Families with minor children who spend considerable time together in a shared household may more regularly engage in discourse about their family than families with adult children who live independently. We acknowledge that MFIT can extend to additional families, such as those without children or those with members who come out as LGBTQIA+ later in life.

We primarily illustrate MFIT by centering the experiences of LGBTQIA+ or Queer-parent families. Queer-parent families fit our proposition of MFIT and its three tenets: (a) LGBTQIA+ parents may label their whole family unit as an LGBTQIA+ parent family, (b) children in LGBTQIA+ families report shared experiences as a family based on their parents' marginalized sexual or gender identities and regardless of their own LGBTQIA+ identity, and (c) parenthood for Queer people exists outside of cultural norms because it occurs in the context

of LGBTQIA+ identities and also often due to the specific methods of having children. Thus, LGBTQIA+ family identity is one type of MFI.

We provide a few additional MFIT applications to other family structures (e.g., multiracial families, adoptive families). Given the overlap in social identities among families, whether headed by Queer parents or not, we broadly consider families who exist outside of common norms (i.e., related to sexual, gender, and racial/ethnic identities, social class, partnering, and pathways to parenthood) associated with the Standard North American Family (SNAF; Letiecq, 2019; Smith, 1993).

We contend that MFIT—particularly when the MFI is integrated at the individual level—is relevant to developmental outcomes, aligned with the proposition that (marginalized) identity development is a developmental competency (Umaña-Taylor, 2023). We also posit that constructs relevant to racial/ethnic identity development—such as identity centrality, salience, ideology, and regard (Sellers et al., 1998)—can be applied broadly to marginalized individual and family identity processes. Given that marginalized identities vary in visibility, we consider how stigma felt as individuals, parents, or families can vary and impact MFI (Few-Demo & Allen, 2020; Galvin, 2006; Sawyer et al., 2017). Although the possibility of positive outcomes related to LGBTQIA+ family identity has been noted (Siegel et al., 2022), to our knowledge, MFIT has not yet been posited or studied in these ways. We consider possible associated developmental outcomes with MFI for children (and people) in marginalized family groups that have less often been prioritized in developmental and family science, such as authenticity, creativity, empathy, allyship, hope, resilience, and open-mindedness. From a strengths-based perspective (Vaughan & Rodriguez, 2014), these outcomes may represent developmental competencies that are uniquely available to members of marginalized families.

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS FOR MFIT

We draw from developmental and lifespan theories, with a strengths-based (rather than damage-centered; Tuck, 2009; Vaughan & Rodriguez, 2014) lens to frame our application of MFIT to LGBTQIA+ parent family members. Specifically, we build from Social Identity Theory (SIT), queer family theory, intersectionality, ecological systems theory, and life course theory.

SIT and identity development

SIT (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner et al., 1987) reflects the idea of group membership identity, which can provide a sense of community, belonging, and meaning. SIT has been informative to studies of minoritized individual identity development. Using SIT, Umaña-Taylor (2023) argued that racial/ethnic identity development is a developmental competency, which informs our assertion that holding an MFI may operate similarly and offer unique developmental benefits. One tenet from SIT is that the family represents a particularly central, salient, and important social group and that individuals find meaning, self-worth, and a sense of identity based on their membership in social groups, including families (Soliz & Harwood, 2006; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Thus, marginalized families provide an important context for individual identity development.

Queer (family) theory and intersectionality

Queer theory, and specifically queer family theory (Allen & Henderson, 2022; Allen & Mendez, 2018; Farr et al., 2022; Few-Demo & Allen, 2020; Goldberg et al., 2024; Oswald

et al., 2005), emphasizes that cultural norms, standards, rules, and practices often reinforce binary or mainstream understandings of gender, sexual identity, and family. Family privilege is experienced by SNAFs, who are white, married, cis-het, different-gender couples who are homeowners in middle-class neighborhoods and espouse traditional gender roles as they raise biologically related children (Letiecq, 2019; Smith, 1993). As such, many families in the United States and the world over, including LGBTQIA+ parents and their children, do not benefit from family privilege because of the ways they deviate from the idealized SNAF (Letiecq, 2019). Queer family theory highlights the processes (i.e., marginalized family processes) by which LGBTQIA+ and other socially marginalized parents, such as adoptive ones, may actively or passively *queer* parenting and families (Park, 2006; Zhang & Chen, 2020). These parents do this by challenging, critiquing, and complicating hegemonic heteronormative binary understandings of defining, naming, and *doing* family (Allen & Mendez, 2018; Goldberg et al., 2024; Oswald et al., 2005; Zhang & Chen, 2020). In our proposed model, we examine how these processes facilitate MFI.

At the same time, queer family theory also highlights how family-building can be a way for some marginalized individuals to assimilate into dominant power structures. Haines et al. (2014) suggested that parenthood for LGBTQIA+ people is "a potentially normalizing social location" (p. 239; e.g., homonormativity). Chbat et al. (2023) described how parenthood (and other normative institutions and cultural expectations such as marriage and monogamy) can afford contextual privilege to LGBTQIA+ parents (and likely those with any marginalized social identity) through greater alignment with cultural norms (A. D. Anderson et al., 2020). For instance, some Lesbian mothers may benefit from contextual privilege given the cultural superiority and valuing of women as expected, natural parents (Suter et al., 2015). However, "axes of oppression and privilege" (Haines et al., 2014, p. 239) simultaneously impact LGBTQIA+ parents and other marginalized family members and therefore temper contextual privilege from parenthood. Even with favorable prejudice, LGBTQIA+ individuals exist within systems that discount their identity. Many Lesbian parents report a burden of proof, or pressure to be a perfect and idyllic mother to dissuade anti-LGBTQIA+ stigma (Peleg & Hartman, 2019).

Furthermore, we use a lens of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989), which describes people's unique experiences with multiple marginalized social identities (e.g., race, gender, sexual identity, class) to understand how experiences may differ across and within marginalized families. Privileges and protections do not uniformly apply to all Queer mothers (or parents) and, in contrast, may oppress Black mothers and other mothers of color. Collins (1994) described the motherwork that Black mothers engage in related to reproductive labor (pregnancy, birth, infant care, etc.) and dimensions of power, survival, community, and identity. Intersectionality underscores why individual development and experiences must be conceptualized with nuance and complexity. Numerous social positions and identities interact to create an emergent whole, rather than an additive approach to individual identities (Bowleg & Bauer, 2016). Importantly, families—not just individuals—can and should be understood via intersections of identities such as race or ethnicity, gender, wealth, education, religious affiliation, geography, parenthood status and pathway, ability status, and more (Few-Demo et al., 2022).

Ecological systems and life course theories

Identity development is influenced by multiple factors at different contextual levels (e.g., family, school, community, society, time). Drawing from Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems and Elder's (Elder Jr., 1998) life course theories, MFIT considers various levels of influence, including sociocultural and historical contexts related to individual and family identity development. Parent–child and family interactions (e.g., marginalized family processes such

as socialization) are impacted by broader school, workplace, and community interactions, as well as institutional and societal stigma about people with marginalized identities and their families. Individual development is influenced by time period, as people and families are situated within particular historical moments. Similarly, conceptions of family, who is within and among them, as well as what structures are afforded power and privilege, vary over time, geography, and culture (Navarro et al., 2022).

We also acknowledge that identity development does not happen at one, or even a few, isolated developmental stages, but across the life course (Elder Jr., 1998). Ecological and life course perspectives are also important in that they can address individual and family experiences within contexts of social change (Allen & Mendez, 2018; Roy & Settersten Jr., 2022). For some, the exploration of a (marginalized) family identity might happen later (i.e., emerging or young adulthood; Cashen, 2022). For others, identity processes might be precipitated earlier by individual and family interactions with broader social, policy, and political events. We offer an illustration of racial/ethnic identity within families. Due to experiences of racial/ethnic privilege, members of white families may rarely be prompted to engage intentionally in conversations about race and/or racial/ethnic identity—even when white parents adopt a child of color (Samuels, 2009). Similarly, families with cis-het parents may not think or converse about minoritized sexual or gender identities (or experiences) actively or directly unless their children may be LGBTQIA+ (Fish & Ezra, 2023; McGuire et al., 2016). Aligned with Elder Jr.'s (1998) linked lives concept and sociohistorical contexts emphasized in life course theory (Roy & Settersten Jr., 2022), individual family members (e.g., a white parent to an adopted child of color, a cis-het parent to an LGBTQIA+ child) may be prompted by experiences of marginalization within their families to explore their own identities (including MFI) and how those identities interface with the oppressive status quo inherent to privilege (Moffitt et al., 2022). It is important to acknowledge that not all families with members holding marginalized identities come to share an MFI; some families do not consciously consider their marginalized family status.

Thus, through marginalized family processes such as communication and socialization, as well as individual interactions within a society that differentially privilege and marginalize various social identities (Sellers et al., 1998; Umaña-Taylor, 2023), an MFI may be cultivated within and among family members. Empirically, this process has been demonstrated among individuals with multiple marginalized identities, such as people who are LGBTQIA+ and Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC; Bishop et al., 2020). We contend that similar processes may be at work with MFI: Its development may be facilitated through identification with a social group of individuals with shared experiences of family. From their relative social positions (privileged and/or oppressed intersecting identities), family members with an MFI may grow in authenticity, allyship, empathy, flexibility, openness, resilience, and sense of belonging. In contrast, some families with members who hold a marginalized identity may follow a different or opposing pattern—toward ambiguity or even rejection of the identity and MFI.

EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE FOR MARGINALIZED FAMILY IDENTITY

Aligned with SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and ideas of social identification, developing a family identity among members of queer, adoptive, and multiracial families has been empirically demonstrated (Simon & Farr, 2022). Although more attention has been given to how marginalized families establish an identity for their family system, there is indirect evidence of integrating MFI as an individual identity. In particular, we draw on empirical evidence documenting shared experiences among LGBTQIA+ parent families and attributions of these shared experiences to an MFI to provide support for the phenomenon of holding a family identity as an

individual (i.e., identity that reflects integration of family-system level identity into self-concept; Sawyer et al., 2017). We argue that people with LGBTQIA+ parents have copious shared family experiences such that family members hold family-level identities (i.e., an LGBTQIA+ parent family identity) and often link these experiences with an individually held MFI as a person with LGBTQIA+ parents. Next, we detail several relevant dynamics and mechanisms (i.e., marginalized family processes like navigation of stigma, family discourse, boundary management practices, socialization, and community connections) that we posit contribute to the development of MFI in marginalized families, especially LGBTQIA+ parent families.

Navigating stigma

Consistent with SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), shared experiences of stigma and discrimination are one basis for the formation of a distinct social group, including among LGBTQIA+ parent family members who share an MFI (Luna, 2018; Silver, 2020). Children, adolescents, and adults with LGBTQIA+ parents all report such stigma and discrimination that target their family identity (Burand et al., 2023; Cody et al., 2017; Farr et al., 2016, 2024). This form of stigma that can be experienced due to an affiliation with someone with a marginalized identity, such as a child with LGBTQIA+ parents, has been termed *courtesy stigma* or *affiliate stigma* (DiBennardo & Saguy, 2018; Robinson & Brewster, 2016). Importantly, LGBTQIA+ parents and their children (and other marginalized family members) are not solely passive recipients of this stigma, which is consistent with queer (family) theory (Farr et al., 2022; Goldberg et al., 2024). Rather, as noted in research on family identity and LGBTQIA+ parent socialization, family members actively navigate, take on, process, and resist institutional and interpersonal bias (Zhang & Chen, 2020). For example, among Lesbian-mother families, reactions to stigma have been described to play a key role in family identity processes such as family discourse (Breshears, 2010; Breshears & Braithwaite, 2014).

Family discourse

Having a family identity has been posited as particularly likely among marginalized families because of discourse within and outside of the family (Baker, 2019). According to Galvin (2006), the increasing number of families in the United States who are formed through differences (visible or not) are often perceived by others (as well as themselves at times) as having ambiguous ties to each other. These families that deviate from the SNAF can be considered discourse-dependent (Galvin, 2006) or disruptive (Luna, 2018; Silver, 2020) families who must actively manage their family identity through ambiguity created by prevailing cultural norms about family. In other words, those in marginalized families rely on discursive strategies (i.e., naming, explaining, defending, rituals, conversation, and stories). These strategies are necessary to define and maintain family relationships that are assumed to exist by default in SNAFs. For instance, ongoing communication defining relationships between cis-het partners and their biologically related children is unnecessary due to the privilege of (and being able to rely on) widely understood social scripts about family relationships. Thus, we add specificity to discourse-dependence with MFIT: We argue that family discourse is distinct in marginalized families (Zhang & Chen, 2020), involving unique processes and contributing to unique outcomes.

Forming an MFI may begin with an assertion that counters cultural norms about family that, indeed, "we are a family." MFI is developed and fortified with acts of everyday living—childcare and parenting, family talk and activities, supporting one another—as well as labeling and claiming relationships to each other (i.e., mother, child; Christensen, 1999). Breshears

(2010) described the experiences of Lesbian mothers related to family identity discourse with children. Participants noted the importance of discussing together what makes their family different and why it is "OK to be different." Breshears and Braithwaite (2014) explored the experiences of adults with LG parents in navigating stigma toward their family over time. In both studies, parents and children described coping with the stigma of varied negative messages toward their families, and they emphasized love and happiness within their families as a buffer.

Family identity and boundary management practices

Galvin (2006) theorized that marginalized families use both external and internal boundary management practices to form and maintain family identity. External boundary management practices refer to practices that families use to establish family identity to those outside the family, whereas internal boundary management practices establish and maintain familial ties within the family. External boundary management practices identified in studies with LGBTQIA+ parents include ignoring or avoiding people and situations that negatively highlight family differences, explicitly labeling family relationships, and explaining family relationships to those outside the family (Gillig et al., 2022). LGBTQIA+ parents use external family identity management strategies (e.g., labeling, explaining, defending, legitimizing) to establish and sustain family identity to nonfamily members (Breshears, 2010; Gillig et al., 2022; Suter et al., 2008). Internal boundary management practices used by LGBTQIA+ parents include the narration of stories of how their family came to be; these narratives can be used to develop and maintain MFI (Breshears, 2010, 2011; Gillig et al., 2022).

Family socialization

Family identity management strategies appear to align and connect with LGBTQIA+ parent socialization strategies documented in the literature. To prepare children for navigating society as a part of an LGBTQIA+ family, parents engage in strategies to teach children about LGBTQIA+ history and culture, to instill a family identity and pride in it, and to provide tools for discussing their family identity with others—especially when encountering stigma (Nothdurfter & Monaco, 2022; Oakley et al., 2017; Simon & Farr, 2022; Wyman Battalen et al., 2019). Through family communication and socialization processes, LGBTQIA+ parent families define and redefine their family such that they feel authentic, empowered, confident, affirmed, and proud. LGBTQIA+ parents regularly talk with their children and engage in family messaging that emphasizes the value, uniqueness, and strengths of their family (Breshears, 2011; Goldberg et al., 2024). As such, practices used within marginalized families to resist stigma they encounter may serve to reify their MFI and foster resilient outcomes.

Following from the family identity processes outlined in the preceding paragraphs, we contend that MFI may be facilitated among people from marginalized families (Byrd & Garwick, 2006; Finch, 2007; Klotz, 2013; Morgan, 2011; Wilsnack et al., 2021). Research about people with LGBTQIA+ parents points to how family identity management processes may foster individual identity development as someone who grew up in an LGBTQIA+ family (Goldberg et al., 2012, 2024; Ollen & Goldberg, 2015; Vinjamuri, 2015). In managing others' inquiries about their family, adopted children of LGB parents—including those transracially adopted—describe the helpfulness of discussions with their parents about language regarding pathways to parenthood and family dynamics, as well as how to navigate others' difficult reactions to their family identity (Cody et al., 2017; Gianino et al., 2009). LGBTQIA+ parents may actively work to instill pride and positive identity around being an LGBTQIA+ parent family to buffer harm to children's self-concepts from negative cultural messages about LGBTQIA+ families

(Ollen & Goldberg, 2015). These studies point to how children with LGBTQIA+ parents navigate MFI development and stigma associated with their marginalized family.

Community connections

Research on community connections further supports the idea that individuals in marginalized families develop an MFI. Many individuals with LGBTQIA+ parents enjoy forming community connections with others with their shared (LGBTQIA+ parent) family experiences, such as through organizations like COLAGE (https://colage.org; Kuvalanka et al., 2006). Some use specific identity labels (e.g., Queerspawn, COLAGErs, culturally queer) to communicate about this identity to others (Cashen, 2022; Kuvalanka & Goldberg, 2009; McKnight, 2016). Importantly, this community connection is distinct from a general connection to the LGBTQIA+ community—one that contrasts with the experiences of allies and simply being affiliated with queer culture (Cashen, 2022; Diomede et al., 2024). For instance, in talking about connections to others who have LGBTQIA+ parents, emerging adults with LGBTQIA+ parents specifically highlight the role of shared family experiences (Cashen, 2022).

Previous research demonstrates that experiences related to individuation often prompt emerging adults to reflect on growing up with LGBTQIA+ parents and how it shaped the communities of which they are part (Cashen, 2022; Goldberg et al., 2012). For example, emerging adults with LGBTQIA+ parents who grew up being welcomed into LGBTQIA+ community spaces report experiences as adults in which they felt compelled to justify their presence in these same spaces. Some second-generation LGBTQIA+ folks (i.e., Queer people with Queer parents) also reported that it was important to them that their involvement in LGBTQIA+ spaces be acknowledged based on their own LGBTQIA+ and family identities (Cashen, 2022; Goldberg et al., 2012). This continued individual involvement in the LGBTQIA+ community following individuation provides additional empirical evidence of MFI. These individuals did not conceptualize their involvement in the LGBTQIA+ community as exclusively part of a family activity. Instead, they conceptualized their deeply felt personal connection as an individual one, extending from their own cultural experiences growing up within the community.

MFIT VISUAL MODEL

We posit that developing MFI necessitates that an individual's marginalized identity (e.g., being LGBTQIA+) or relationship identity exists or is previously established at the family level. Some relevant work has empirically demonstrated this among LGBTQIA+ couples (Mernitz et al., 2022). In the case of Queer-parent families, LGBTQIA+ parents may hold an MFI of being a Queer-parent family, but their children may or may not come to hold such an individual MFI as people with LGBTQIA+ parents. Thus, not all members of marginalized families will necessarily adopt an MFI. An example question following from this for which MFIT provides a theoretical foundation: If you are an adolescent with LGBTQIA+ parents, is being part of an LGBTQIA+ parent family central to you or an identity you prioritize? To address this question as well as operational influences, we describe our visual model of MFIT and its components (Figure 1).

Marginalized family process influences on MFI

Building on previous work on family identity in LGBTQIA+ parent families (Galvin, 2006), MFIT posits that divergence from the SNAF norm prompts LGBTQIA+ parent families to

engage in practices such as boundary management, internal and external discourse, and LGBTQIA+ parent socialization. Through these marginalized family processes (Figure 1), family members (i.e., parent, child, and immediate family members) collaboratively construct a shared understanding of who is in their family and the roles each member plays in relation to one another. Also, through practices of family discourse, boundary management, and socialization, family members come to share values (e.g., "love makes a family"; Burand et al., 2023) and have shared cultural experiences (e.g., attending Pride events as a family). Youth and adults with LGBTQIA+ parents often report integrating these shared family values and experiences into their own understanding of themselves. Research provides both direct and indirect support for this integration: People with LGBTQIA+ parents report connections to the LGBTQIA+ community, and they form an identity around these experiences (Cashen, 2022; Goldberg et al., 2012). Thus, practices that establish relationships and roles within marginalized family systems may also encourage the development of MFI.

Developmental influences on MFI

Building on identity development and life course perspectives, we propose that bidirectional influences on MFI development exist between parents and children and that the extent of bidirectionality may change throughout development (i.e., Developmental Influences; Figure 1). For instance, from a family life course perspective, parents may have greater control over boundary management practices during infancy and early childhood. As children develop, however, they may begin exerting their own influence on identity exploration and management practices within the family. When children start attending formal schooling, they will likely

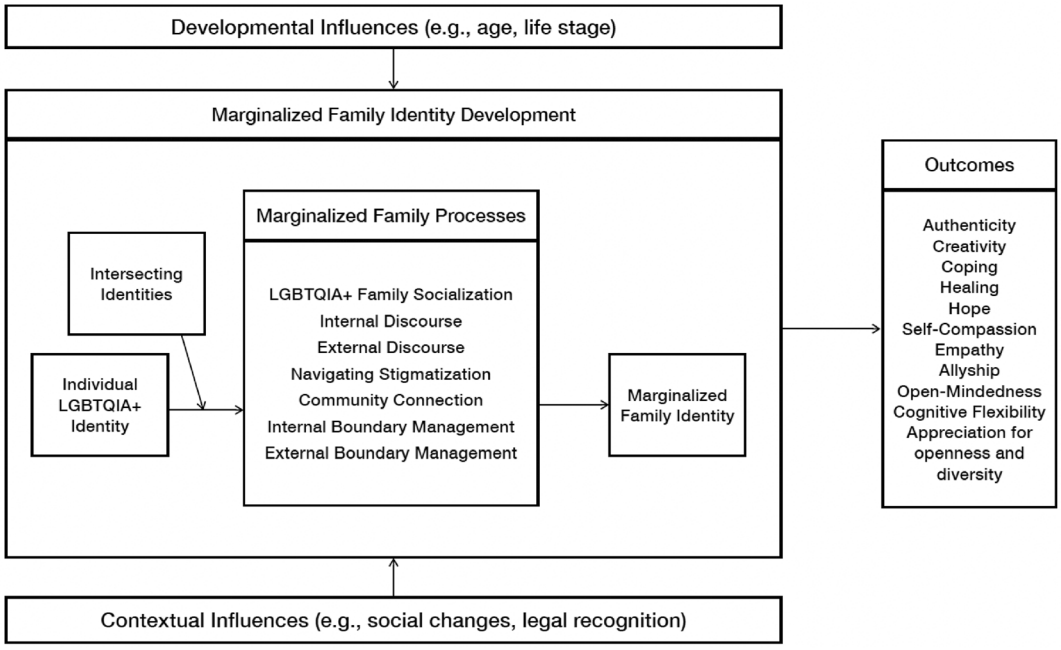

FIGURE 1 LGBTQIA+ marginalized family identity (MFI). Inspired by Ward and Szabó's (2019) model design, the figure outlines MFI development using LGBTQIA+ families as an example. Based on the literature, broader influences (i.e., developmental, contextual) that impact developmental processes and outcomes specific to an LGBTQIA+ MFI are included.

encounter experiences that highlight their family's divergence from the norm, and they will have to make decisions around disclosing their family to peers (Farr et al., 2016; Gianino et al., 2009). As they enter adolescence, youths' own identity development (i.e., intersecting identities; Figure 1) may also inform shared understandings of family identity. For example, exploration of sexual and gender identity within second generation LGBTQIA+ youth with Queer parents may also facilitate exploration of family identities and parents' own connections to the LGBTQ+ community (Kuvalanka & Goldberg, 2009). The process of individuation may also prompt reflection on MFI as emerging adults start building lives and families of their own (Cashen, 2022; Goldberg et al., 2012). It is also the case that MFI may be salient, central, or impactful at certain stages of life but not others (e.g., in adulthood for those with parents who come out as LGBTQIA+ later in life). Moreover, MFI may not happen at all for individuals if they lack or reject awareness of such a family identity or of the individual marginalized identities represented in their families (Bishop et al., 2020).

Contextual influences on MFI

MFIT illuminates the roles of ecological systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989; Few-Demo et al., 2022) in shaping family identity processes (i.e., Contextual Influences; Figure 1). Growing social support and legal recognition of LGBTQIA+ families influence the extent that families are perceived as divergent from norms (Few-Demo & Allen, 2020). LGBTQIA+ families with more privileged intersecting identities (e.g., families with two white, cisgender, married parents) derive greater benefit from expanded views of normative families than do LGBTQIA+ families with additional marginalized identities (Allen & Mendez, 2018). Specific identities within families may influence how visibly disruptive families are from societal norms and expectations (e.g., transracial adoptive families with parents who may be readily perceived as Queer in outward presentation or display may be more disruptive than same-race adoptive families with Queer parents who happen to be more gender-conforming in presentation; Allen & Mendez, 2018; Few-Demo & Allen, 2020; Finch, 2007; Galvin, 2006; Luna, 2018; Silver, 2020).

Associated outcomes with MFI

Although research has noted positive outcomes for youth with LGBTQIA+ parents, our theoretical understanding is limited about *how* LGBTQIA+ parenting and family dynamics directly foster these outcomes (Farr et al., 2022). MFIT can address this gap by providing a framework to empirically examine the processes that facilitate MFI development (e.g., LGBTQIA+ parent socialization) as well as associated outcomes. Using a strengths-based, queer family theory approach (Farr et al., 2022), MFIT offers understanding about how positive outcomes are promoted within marginalized families. In Figure 1, we reference outcomes related broadly to health, resilience, and strengths among marginalized family members (which often have been overlooked in developmental and family science).

Broader literature suggests that having an MFI is connected with several positive outcomes and experiences. For instance, guided by SIT, Kellezi et al. (2021) described the importance of family identification in one's ability to cope with stress. Family dialogue can be characterized by meaning-making, uncertainty reduction, continuity, resilience-building, collective self-esteem, and support. Preservation of family identity can be paramount in narratives of healing from suffering and trauma, as well as justice (Kellezi et al., 2021). We argue that there are many parallels to the experiences of other families with marginalized identities, including marginalized families who commonly engage in storytelling, meaning-making, resilience-building, and

coping with collective stigma (Farr et al., 2022). As shown in broader positive identity development literature, MFI may foster adaptive outcomes such as authenticity (Austin, 2016; Galupo et al., 2019; Riggle et al., 2017), self-compassion (Zhang et al., 2019), queer (and gender) literacy (McGuire et al., 2016; Rahilly, 2015), and flexibility and creativity (Farr et al., 2022). In these ways, MFI may provide a mechanism for reducing harm from minority stressors (Meyer, 2003; Brooks, 1981, as cited in Rich et al., 2020) such as stigma and discrimination through family communication, belongingness, authenticity, coping skills, and so forth.

Empirical evidence shows that positive outcomes also appear linked with MFI among members of LGBTQIA+ parent families specifically. For example, children of LGBTQIA+ parents often embrace values such as greater appreciation for and openness to diversity, as well as less rigid adherence to the gender binary and stereotypes (Burand et al., 2023; Gartrell et al., 2019; Goldberg, 2007; Lev, 2010). This happens in part because families who hold MFIs may provide empowerment and allyship to members with individual marginalized identities (Burand et al., 2023; Goldberg, 2007; Kuvalanka et al., 2006). Cis-het children of LGBTQIA+ parents may indirectly or directly provide validation and affirmation to their Queer parents in their individual, parent, and family identities (Costa et al., 2021). Positive outcomes such as enhanced cognitive flexibility and resilience come through an integrated positive identity as an LGBTQIA+ parent family (an MFI), as well as affirmation from close others, including affirmation for LGBTQIA+ parents from their children, related social support, and a sense of community belongingness (Costa et al., 2021; Galupo et al., 2019). Even when identities are shared within families, such as in the case of LGBTQ+ people with LGBTQ+ parents, family members may provide each other with bidirectional opportunities to affirm and explore their LGBTQIA+ identities (e.g., Queer parents can facilitate identity development among their Queer children; both can teach one another about their experiences of queer culture; Kuvalanka & Goldberg, 2009). As such, MFIs are a source of power, authenticity, connection, and strength among family members with individual marginalized identities (Costa et al., 2021). MFIT therefore provides a framework for empirically evaluating MFI development processes as potential mechanisms for fostering resilience in LGBTQIA+ parent families. We anticipate similar developmental benefits to MFI among members of other marginalized families.

EXTENSIONS OF MFIT

We provide illustrations of extensions of MFIT in Table 1 to families that meet all three of our proposed tenets for inclusion in MFIT. We note that many of these family structures intersect, such as the commonality of domestic, foster care, and international adoptions to be transracial placements (and thus represent both multiracial and adoptive families). The set of example family structures in Table 1 is not exhaustive. The development of MFI likely extends to other family types that can be studied in the future. Although these extensions should be empirically investigated, research suggests that families such as donor-conceived families (Harrigan et al., 2015), international adoptive families (Suter, 2008), and multiracial families (Soliz et al., 2009), among others, rely on communication processes to legitimize and build a family identity and therefore may be understood through a lens of MFIT. These processes are likely applicable to situations in which family members have different marginalized identities. Parents who hold different marginalized identities than their children (e.g., white nonadopted LGBTQIA+ parents of BIPOC adopted cis-het children) may share common ground via shared experiences of holding any marginalized identity. Research supports this: LGBTQIA+ adoptive parents are often uniquely positioned to offer empathy, resources, and guidance, even when they do not share racial/ethnic or adoptive identities with their children (Farr et al., 2022).

TABLE 1 Applications of marginalized family identity theory to marginalized families.

Family construction/ identity	Stigmatized/marginalized identity and/or relationship(s)	Example
LGBTQIA+ parent(s) and children	Parent LGBTQIA+ identity and (potentially) discrepant child sexual/ gender identity	Children experience courtesy stigma due to society's treatment of their LGBTQIA+ parent. Children who are also LGBTQIA+ may experience an additional layer of stigmatization related to their own identity.
Domestic (private) adoption (same race)	Adoptive parent and adopted child, potentially open or closed adoption with inclusion of biologically related parent(s)	Adopted children experience microaggressions that may be misunderstood by parent, while parent experiences adoption stigma rooted in bionormativity (e.g., adoption feels like a second-choice route to parenthood); there is limited health history information for adopted children.
Foster care (same race)	Foster carer/parent and foster child	Foster child must navigate multiple parent–child relationships with varying degrees of social and legal recognition or permanence.
Transracial adoption	Adoptive parent and adopted child intersect with racial/ethnic differences (an extension of the experiences of multiracial families)	Children of color are treated differently from their white parents or from their parents with different racial/ethnic backgrounds (e.g., a Latinx parent to a Black child); parents may experience unique microaggressions because the child may not physically resemble the parent in multiple ways.
International adoption	Adoptive parent and adopted child, with influences of international law and cultural differences/contexts	Parents and children may have limited information about birth family members; access may not be possible. Child(ren) experience racism and xenophobia due to not being perceived as being from the United States (or adoptive country/cultural context).
Donor-conceived families	Known/unknown donor relationships; relationship(s) to primary caregivers/ parents	Parent–child relationship not recognized legally or socially if there is no biological/genetic tie between child and caregiver; potential additional relationships (with donors, surrogates, etc.) to include in familial relationships may receive emphasis and recognition by others given bionormativity.
Multiracial families	Different perspectives on experiences of racism and racial socialization	Parents with discordant racial identities (e.g., white parent) may be treated differently when with their child(ren) of color. Further, when skin tones are noticeably different across family members, parent–child relationships may not be socially recognized.

In families where parent–child relationships are marginalized (e.g., in adoptive, foster, and ART families) or parents but not children hold a privileged identity (e.g., cis-het parents of LGBTQIA+ children, nonadopted parents of adopted children, white parents of BIPOC children), parents are afforded unique opportunities to consider directly and learn about their privilege. For example, research on the development of adoption consciousness highlights how adoptive parents may be prompted to examine the extent to which they have been complicit in a flawed adoption system when their adopted child explores for themselves how they have been impacted by adoption (Branco et al., 2022). Parents (and other family members) with privilege may be prompted to develop such consciousness about marginalized identities when they experience courtesy stigma related to the marginalized identities of their loved ones (DiBennardo & Saguy, 2018). In turn, parents can learn to provide effective, sensitive, compassionate allyship and affirmation to their children in ways that can empower their children, themselves, and their whole family in their MFI. Thus, MFI development may be reinforced by promotive (e.g., gaining a community of parents with similarly stigmatized parent–child relationships) and

harmful (e.g., courtesy stigma) experiences accompanying a visibly stigmatized family relationship (Few-Demo & Allen, 2020; Galvin, 2006; Sawyer et al., 2017; Silver, 2020).

Although descriptions in Table 1 are simplified for clarity, there are often commonalities in MFI across types of marginalized families, as is the case for many transnational adoptive families. For a family in the United States with adopted Korean children and cis-het white parents, MFI could encompass many different nuances of international, adoptive, or multiracial status, none of which are shared identities characterizing the parent–child relationship. Indeed, research with adoptive families finds that acknowledging the unique experiences of adoptive families is integral to the promotion of an adoptive identity and family adjustment (Lo et al., 2021). These processes may also apply to youth in foster care and foster parents, given that many youth in foster care are BIPOC, while many foster parents are white. Furthermore, youth in foster care often navigate complex relationships regarding who is, or is not, part of their family system. This process can result in differences in how family and parent–child relationships are understood by others (including among foster parents themselves). Thus, MFIT provides a platform for how differing identities within family systems can be studied. Investigation of the applicability of MFIT to these family structures is warranted.

EXTENDING THE BOUNDARIES OF MFIT

One limitation is that existing scholarship (theory and empiricism) informing MFIT has focused on U.S.-based and other Western samples, as well as Western and contemporary conceptualizations of family, identity, and relationships. Given that identity development is bound to context, culture, and time, we acknowledge that processes and outcomes associated with MFIT might vary among cultures that lean toward individualistic versus collectivistic values or approaches. Identity development in collectivist cultural contexts reflects a cultural emphasis on interdependence, whereas in individualistic cultural contexts, the emphasis is independence (Becker et al., 2012). Thus, MFI may be more likely in individuals in marginalized families with collectivistic cultural orientations (e.g., teenagers in China) than in those with individualistic ones (e.g., a teenager in the United States), who, in contrast, might be more likely to find separate social identities in terms of race/ethnicity or gender more salient than particular social positions (Becker et al., 2012). Normative conceptualizations of family relationships and structure also vary across cultures and sociopolitical contexts. As such, the extent to which a given family experiences marginalization and thereby is prompted to engage in processes theorized to facilitate MFI development may also vary across contexts. Those processes by which individuals come to hold a family identity (and which individuals may actively resist or reject such a family identity) may also operate distinctly across cultural contexts (Prioste et al., 2015). MFIT offers a framework for examining such questions.

Another limitation is that MFIT as a conceptual framework has not yet been directly empirically tested, yet we have incorporated empirical evidence of MFI from developmental psychology and family science literatures. We view empirically examining MFIT as a vital next step, and thus we now describe needed future research.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE MFIT FRAMEWORK FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

We believe that our proposed model raises several important questions that should be further examined in future research. For one, several theorized pathways in our model between predictors and outcomes of MFI development should be empirically evaluated. Although the literature cited herein provides empirical support for the existence of MFI, little work has examined

the development of and implications of MFI for development or the interplay between MFI and other marginalized family processes (e.g., boundary management). It is our hope that the MFIT model will provide guidance for future studies. Future research should also examine the MFIT model at various stages of the family life cycle to gain a better understanding of how family transitions and individual development of family members may inform MFI (Elder Jr., 1998).

Future research should also attend to the ways in which other identities held by members within marginalized families inform MFI. At the individual level, intersecting identities may inform how and to what extent MFI is integrated into one's individual identity. For instance, second-generation LGBTQIA+ people with LGBTQIA+ parents may conceptualize their connections to LGBTQIA+ culture via their family in a different way than cis-het people with LGBTQIA+ parents (Goldberg et al., 2012; Kuvalanka & Goldberg, 2009). Future studies should use an intersectionality framework to examine MFI in families that are multiply marginalized (e.g., LGBTQIA+ parent families with children via transracial adoption). How do these families integrate multiple aspects of difference into their MFI? Do individuals within these families differentially integrate these multiple aspects of difference into their MFI based on other identities they individually hold (e.g., LGBTQIA+, adoptive, and/or racial/ethnic identities)? Alternatively, do members of these families hold several distinct MFIs?

An intersectional approach will be vital in understanding how other identities within families inform processes related to MFI development. Our model posits that divergence from normativity in families prompts marginalized families to engage in processes that establish a family identity (Galvin, 2006). The extent to which LGBTQIA+ families are considered nonnormative may vary depending on individual identities within the family. Families comprising members with LGBTQIA+ identities closer in proximity to hegemonic power structures (e.g., cisgender, monosexual, monogamous, white, able-bodied individuals) may be less likely to be perceived as nonnormative than families with LGBTQIA+ individuals with more stigmatized identities or who are read visibly as LGBTQIA+ (Allen & Mendez, 2018; Silver, 2020). People with more privileged identities, including higher socioeconomic status, also may be better positioned to select more affirming environments for their families (Goldberg & Abreu, 2024; Goldberg et al., 2018, 2024). Although we expect that the processes described in the MFIT model are applicable across identities, the empirical literature on LGBTQIA+ families on which the model has been developed is limited in its representation of diverse gender identities, plurisexual identities, those with less visibly Queer identities, and individuals from historically excluded racial/ethnic backgrounds (Allen & Mendez, 2018; Battle & Ashley, 2008; Brainer et al., 2020; Few-Demo & Allen, 2020). Future research should examine how intersecting identities shape the experiences of individuals and families using the MFIT model.

MFI as a construct also provides new opportunities for understanding stigmatization experienced by people with LGBTQIA+ parents. In many previous studies, these experiences of stigmatization have been framed as courtesy stigma experienced because of their affiliation to their LGBTQIA+ parent (DiBennardo & Saguy, 2018; Goffman, 1963; Robinson & Brewster, 2016). Framing these experiences as courtesy stigma is limited in that the stigmatizing messages are *not* experienced as direct stigma (to one's individual identity) but rather as indirect stigma because of their connection to a targeted individual (DiBennardo & Saguy, 2018). Understanding MFI may help us more fully conceptualize the types of stigma reported by members of these families. Although some commonly reported experiences (e.g., overhearing stereotypes about LGBTQIA+ individuals) may reflect stigma related to relationship association (i.e., indirect stigma), we contend that other experiences (e.g., receiving comments that question the legitimacy of family relationships) reflect *direct* stigma that targets a person's MFI (Farr et al., 2016, 2024). Understanding these distinctions would allow for research to examine the impact of these experiences and related coping strategies differentially.

MFIT offers a conceptual springboard for integrating research on marginalized family processes (e.g., socialization and boundary management practices) that may be unique to LGBTQIA+ parent families and other marginalized families. Furthermore, MFIT provides a framework for empirically testing how these processes may contribute to specific assets and protective factors in marginalized families. These unique strengths are described in existing scholarship (Farr et al., 2022; Siegel et al., 2022), but the mechanisms by which MFIT may facilitate positive outcomes are not yet understood. The prospect of enhancing this understanding through an MFIT framework could have broader implications for positive family processes and outcomes among many additional family systems. For instance, a deeper understanding of the processes that facilitate positive MFIT development would open the door for future translational research aimed at supporting healthy identity development and resilience in families.

We encourage scholars to engage in these research directions, which might involve quantitative scale development and survey-based research with advanced statistical techniques, qualitative interviews, focus groups, or community-based participatory research (CBPR), as well as mixed-method approaches (Farr et al., 2022; Siegel et al., 2022). Scholars have called for the use of creative methodology like CBPR to ensure that our research fully represents the lived experiences of marginalized individuals and families (Letiecq et al., 2022). Evaluating MFIT with these methods, along with employing diverse research teams and involving underrepresented samples as researchers, will be essential for ensuring that future research is not extractive (Farr et al., 2022; Fish & Russell, 2018).

IMPLICATIONS OF MFIT SURROUNDING LAW, POLICY, AND PRACTICE

The MFIT model highlights several potential implications for policymakers and family practitioners in supporting LGBTQIA+ parent (and other marginalized) families, especially given that existing laws and policies generally were created by, and advance the interests of, those with (family) privilege and power (Letiecq, 2019). For one, MFIT may provide a deeper understanding of the impact of the current political landscape within the United States on LGBTQIA+ families, and in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic that disproportionately impacted LGBTQIA+ people (and those with other minoritized identities) and their families (Nowaskie & Roesler, 2022). According to the American Civil Liberties Union (2023), 510 anti-LGBTQIA+ bills were introduced across 47 state legislatures in the 2023 legislative session. As of December 2024, 574 similar bills were introduced across 42 states and one territory during the 2024 legislative session (ACLU, 2024). Reproductive justice as a sociopolitical issue has also featured prominently in the United States, especially in the post-*Roe* reality since the Supreme Court's 2022 *Dobbs* decision resulted in limited access to abortion and comprehensive reproductive health care across states, which disproportionately negatively affects those with minoritized racial, ethnic, adoptive, sexual, and gender identities (Silver, 2020; Wexler et al., 2023). As we propose in Figure 1, sociopolitical shifts like these that reflect negative attitudes toward LGBTQIA+ families and raise concerns for LGBTQIA+ families about the potential loss of additional rights (e.g., same-sex marriage) may impact MFI-related processes. For instance, LGBTQIA+ parents may make changes to their LGBTQIA+ parent socialization or boundary management practices in attempts to minimize harm to themselves and their children (Goldberg et al., 2024). Studies on the impact of enacted legislation such as Florida's Parental Rights in Education Act (i.e., the "Don't Say Gay" law) suggest that children with LGBTQIA+ parents experience negative consequences of the law in their school and community contexts (Goldberg & Abreu, 2024). MFIT provides a conceptual framework that allows further examination of direct and indirect effects of this type of anti-LGBTQIA+ legislation on individuals and their families (Ollen & Goldberg, 2015). How do these laws impact processes related to

MFI development? How might healthy MFI development foster resilience in families faced with stigmatizing laws?

Additionally, the MFIT model indicates potential points of intervention for fostering positive outcomes for families. For instance, family practitioners (e.g., therapists, medical professionals, educators) can serve as important supports in identifying beneficial external and internal discursive strategies for forming and maintaining MFI (Galvin, 2006). Our model supports the idea that affirming and supporting connections to salient communities can be beneficial to members of marginalized families. Emerging adults with LGBTQIA+ parents report benefits of connections to the LGBTQIA+ community and to a community of others who share the same MFI. However, they also report challenges in maintaining connections to the LGBTQIA+ community, especially as adults, and barriers to finding a community of others with a shared individual MFI (Cashen, 2022; Goldberg et al., 2012). Family practitioners may be able to facilitate these connections through educating families about MFI identity labels (Cashen, 2022). To do so, it is also imperative that practitioners who work with families with LGBTQIA+ members are well versed in queer and gender literacy (Rahilly, 2015) and are in an effective position to deliver LGBTQIA+ competent practice (McKnight, 2016). Similarly, if serving families with other MFIs, practitioners should be culturally competent in relation to those identities and experiences (e.g., racial literacy; Anderson & Stevenson, 2019).

CONCLUSION

In sum, we offer a framework for understanding family identity among members of marginalized families with our proposition of MFIT. We center the experiences of families where marginalized identities, such as LGBTQIA+ identities, may or may not be individually held by all members of the family (and among families with children, parenthood or parent–child relationships may also be socially marginalized), yet family members hold a collective MFI. We contend that MFIT provides possibilities for understanding and empirically examining positive processes and outcomes (beyond those traditionally considered) among marginalized family members, as well as translational research potential to domains of policy, law, and practice. Knowledge of dynamics among families with marginalized identities may provide practical benefit not only for these families but also for many other individuals and families.

ORCID

Rachel H. Farr https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1377-3291

REFERENCES

Allen, K. R., & Henderson, A. C. (2022). Family theorizing for social justice: A critical praxis. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, *14*(3), 364–383. https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12450

Allen, S. H., & Mendez, S. N. (2018). Hegemonic heteronormativity: Toward a new era of queer family theory. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, *10*(1), 70–86. https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12241

American Civil Liberties Union. (2023). Mapping attacks on LGBTQ rights in U.S. state legislatures in 2023. https://www.aclu.org/legislative-attacks-on-lgbtq-rights-2023

American Civil Liberties Union. (2024). Mapping attacks on LGBTQ rights in U.S. state legislatures in 2024. https://www.aclu.org/legislative-attacks-on-lgbtq-rights-2024

Anderson, A. D., Irwin, J. A., Brown, A. M., & Grala, C. L. (2020). "Your picture looks the same as my picture": An examination of passing in transgender communities. *Gender Issues*, *37*(1), 44–60. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12147-019-09239-x

Anderson, R. E., & Stevenson, H. C. (2019). RECASTing racial stress and trauma: Theorizing the healing potential of racial socialization in families. *American Psychologist*, *74*(1), 63–75. https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000392

Atkin, A. L., Christophe, N. K., Stein, G. L., Gabriel, A. K., & Lee, R. M. (2022). Race terminology in the field of psychology: Acknowledging the growing multiracial population in the U.S. *American Psychologist*, *77*(3), 381–393. https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000975

Austin, A. (2016). "There I am": A grounded theory study of young adults navigating a transgender or gender nonconforming identity within a context of oppression and invisibility. *Sex Roles*, *75*(5–6), 215–230. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-016-0600-7

Baker, B. M. A. (2019). "We're just family, you know?" Exploring the discourses of family in gay parents' relational talk. *Journal of Family Communication*, *19*(3), 213–227. https://doi.org/10.1080/15267431.2019.1590365

Battle, J., & Ashley, C. (2008). Intersectionality, heteronormativity, and Black lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) families. *Black Women, Gender + Families*, *2*(1), 1–24.

Becker, M., Vignoles, V. L., Owe, E., Brown, R., Smith, P. B., Easterbrook, M., Herman, G., de Sauvage, I., Bourguignon, D., Torres, A., Camino, L., Lemos, F. C. S., Ferreira, M. C., Koller, S. H., González, R., Carrasco, D., Cadena, M. P., Lay, S., Wang, Q., … Yamakoğlu, N. (2012). Culture and the distinctiveness motive: Constructing identity in individualistic and collectivistic contexts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *102*(4), 833–855. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0026853

Bishop, M. D., Fish, J. N., Hammock, P. L., & Russell, S. T. (2020). Sexual identity development milestones in three generations of sexual minority people: A national probability sample. *Developmental Psychology*, *56*(11), 2177–2193. https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0001105

Bowleg, L., & Bauer, G. (2016). Invited reflection: Quantifying intersectionality. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *40*(3), 337–341. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684316654282

Brainer, A., Mignon, M. R., & Banerjee, P. (2020). Race, ethnicity and citizenship in the lives of sexual minority parents and families. In A. E. Goldberg & K. R. Allen (Eds.), *LGBTQ.-parent families: Possibilities for new research and implications for practice* (2nd ed.). Springer.

Branco, S. F., Kim, J., Newton, G., & Cooper-Lewter, S. K. (2022). *Out of the fog and into consciousness: A model of adoptee awareness* [Unpublished manuscript]. https://intercountryadopteevoices.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/adoptee-consciousness-model.pdf

Breshears, D. (2010). Coming out with our children: Turning points facilitating lesbian parent discourse with their children about family identity. *Communication Reports*, *23*(2), 79–90. https://doi.org/10.1080/08934215.2010.511398

Breshears, D. (2011). Understanding communication between lesbian parents and their children regarding outsider discourse about family identity. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, *7*(3), 264–284. https://doi.org/10.1080/1550428X.2011.564946

Breshears, D., & Braithwaite, D. O. (2014). Discursive struggles animating individuals' talk about their parents' coming out as lesbian or gay. *Journal of Family Communication*, *14*(3), 189–207. https://doi.org/10.1080/15267431.2014.908197

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Harvard University Press.

Burand, C. R., Cashen, K. K., Simon, K. A., & Farr, R. H. (2023). Perspectives of youth with LGBTQ+ parents: Feelings of openness and acceptance toward others, oneself, and family. *Journal of Adolescent Research*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1177/07435584231173408

Byrd, M. M., & Garwick, A. W. (2006). Family identity: Black–white interracial family health experience. *Journal of Family Nursing*, *12*(1), 22–37. https://doi.org/10.1177/1074840705285213

Cashen, K. K. (2022). Community connections among emerging adults with sexual minority parents. *LGBTQ+ Family*, *18*(2), 151–172. https://doi.org/10.1080/27703371.2022.2058670

Chabot, J. M., & Ames, B. D. (2004). It wasn't "let's get pregnant and go do it": Decision making in lesbian couples planning motherhood via donor insemination. *Family Relations*, *53*(4), 348–356. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3700174

Chbat, M., Côté, I., Pagé, G., & Blais, M. (2023). Intersectional analysis of the life course of LGBTQ+ parent families in Québec: Partial and homonormative inclusion. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *70*(10), 2158–2179. https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2022.2049025

Christensen, S. (1999). *Family definition, family identity: Processes in the Lesbian stepfamily*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Guelph.

Cody, P. A., Farr, R. H., McRoy, R. G., Ayers-Lopez, S. J., & Ledesma, K. J. (2017). Youth perspectives on being adopted from foster care by lesbian and gay parents: Implications for families and adoption professionals. *Adoption Quarterly*, *20*(1), 98–118. https://doi.org/10.1080/10926755.2016.1200702

Collins, P. H. (1994). Shifting the center: Race, class, and feminist theorizing about motherhood. In E. N. Glenn, G. Chang, & L. R. Forcey (Eds.), *Mothering* (pp. 45–65). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315538891

Costa, P. A., Gubello, A., & Tasker, F. (2021). Intentional kinship through caring relationship, heritage, and identity: Adoptive parents' inclusion of non-biological and non-affinal relationships on family maps. *Genealogy*, *5*(4), 85–102. https://doi.org/10.3390/genealogy5040085

Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *The University of Chicago Legal Forum*, *1989*(1), 139–167. https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, *43*(6), 1241–1299. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1229039

DiBennardo, R., & Saguy, A. (2018). How children of LGBQ parents negotiate courtesy stigma over the life course. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, *19*(6), 290–304. https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol19/iss6/19

Diomede, M. T., Durant, W. E., Simon, K. A., & Farr, R. H. (2024). Feelings of LGBTQ+ community belonging among diverse youth with LGBTQ+ parents in the United States. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000720

Elder, G. H., Jr. (1998). The life course as developmental theory. *Child Development*, *69*(1), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.1998.tb06128.x

Farr, R. H., Cashen, K. K., Siebenthaler, K. A., & Simon, K. A. (2024). Microaggression and discrimination experiences among diverse youth with LGBTQ+ parents in the United States. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *34*(2), 551–567. https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12919

Farr, R. H., Crain, E. E., & Oakley, M. K. (2016). Microaggressions, feelings of difference, and resilience among adopted children with sexual minority parents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *45*(1), 85–104. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-015-0353-6

Farr, R. H., Tornello, S. L., & Rostosky, S. R. (2022). How do LGBTQ+ parents raise well-adjusted, resilient, and thriving children? *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *31*(6), 526–535. https://doi.org/10.1177/09637214221121295

Few-Demo, A. L., & Allen, K. R. (2020). Gender, feminist, and intersectional perspectives on families: A decade in review. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *82*(1), 326–345. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12638

Few-Demo, A. L., Hunter, A. G., & Muruthi, B. A. (2022). Intersectionality theory: A critical theory to push family science forward. In K. Abramson, A. L. Few-Demo, C. Proulx, & K. Roy (Eds.), *Sourcebook of family theories and methodologies: A dynamic approach* (pp. 433–452). Springer International Publishing.

Finch, J. (2007). Displaying families. *Sociology*, *41*(1), 65–81. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038507072284

Fish, J. N., & Ezra, P. (2023). Parental support is not enough: How parental socialization theories can advance LGBTQ + youth family research, practice, and health. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, *15*(4), 677–684. https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12533

Fish, J. N., & Russell, S. T. (2018). Queering methodologies to understand queer families. *Family Relations*, *67*(1), 12–25. https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12297

French, Q. Y. S. (2013). Adoption as a contingency of self-worth: An integrative approach to self-esteem in adopted individuals. *Adoption Quarterly*, *16*(2), 128–152. https://doi.org/10.1080/10926755.2013.787574

Galupo, M. P., Pulice-Farrow, L., Clements, Z. A., & Morris, E. R. (2019). "I love you as both and I love you as neither": Romantic partners' affirmation of nonbinary trans individuals. *International Journal of Transgenderism*, *20*(2–3), 315–327. https://doi.org/10.1080/15532739.2018.1496867

Galvin, K. (2006). Diversity's impact on defining the family: Discourse-dependence and identity. In L. H. Turner & R. West (Eds.), *The family communication sourcebook* (pp. 3–19). SAGE Publications, Inc. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452233024.n1

Garber, K. J., & Grotevant, H. D. (2015). "YOU were adopted?!": Microaggressions toward adolescent adopted individuals in same-race families. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *43*(3), 435–462. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000014566471

Garner, A. (2005). *Families like mine: Children of gay parents tell it like it is*. Harper.

Gartrell, N., Rothblum, E. D., Koh, A. S., van Beusekom, G., & Bos, H. (2019). Thematic perceptions of lesbian parenting after 25 years. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *10*, 1–10. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.02414

Gianino, M., Goldberg, A., & Lewis, T. (2009). Family outings: Disclosure practices among adopted youth with gay and lesbian parents. *Adoption Quarterly*, *12*(3–4), 205–228. https://doi.org/10.1080/10926750903313344

Gillig, T. K., Macary, J. T., & Gross, L. P. (2022). Explain, label, or ignore? Exploring LGBTQ-parent families' communication about family identity. *Communication Studies*, *73*(3), 314–330. https://doi.org/10.1080/10510974.2022.2064532

Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the management of a spoiled identity*. Prentice-Hall.

Goldberg, A. E. (2007). How does it make a difference? Perspectives of adults with lesbian, gay, and bisexual parents. *The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *77*(4), 550–562. https://doi.org/10.1037/0002-9432.77.4.550

Goldberg, A. E., & Abreu, R. (2024). LGBTQ parent concerns and parent–child communication about the parental rights in education bill ("Don't say gay") in Florida. *Family Relations*, *73*(1), 318–339. https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12894

Goldberg, A. E., Allen, K. R., Black, K. A., Frost, R. L., & Manley, M. H. (2018). "There is no perfect school": The complexity of school decision-making among lesbian and gay adoptive parents. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *80*(3), 684–703. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12478

Goldberg, A. E., Allen, K. R., & Sanner, C. (2024). Cherished families, unspoken truths: Navigating hidden and challenging family experiences while growing up with LGBTQ parents. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *86*(1), 219–244. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12941

Goldberg, A. E., Kinkler, L. A., & Hines, D. A. (2011). Perception and internalization of adoption stigma among gay, lesbian, and heterosexual adoptive parents. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, *7*(1–2), 132–154. https://doi.org/10.1080/1550428X.2011.537554

Goldberg, A. E., Kinkler, L. A., Richardson, H. B., & Downing, J. B. (2012). On the border: Young adults with LGBQ parents navigate LGBTQ communities. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *59*(1), 71–85. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0024576

Haines, B. A., Ajayi, A. A., & Boyd, H. (2014). Making trans parents visible: Intersectionality of trans and parenting identities. *Feminism & Psychology*, *24*(2), 238–247. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353514526219

Harrigan, M. M., Dieter, S., Leinwohl, J., & Marrin, L. (2015). "It's just who I am … I have brown hair. I have a mysterious father": An exploration of donor-conceived offspring's identity construction. *Journal of Family Communication*, *15*(1), 75–93. https://doi.org/10.1080/15267431.2014.980823

Kellezi, B., Guxholli, A., Stevenson, C., Wakefield, J., Bowe, M., & Bridger, K. (2021). "Enemy of the people": Family identity as social cure and curse dynamics in contexts of human rights violations. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *51*(3), 450–466. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2750

Klotz, M. (2013). Genetic knowledge and family identity: Managing gamete donation in Britain and Germany. *Sociology*, *47*(5), 939–956. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038513501729

Kuvalanka, K. A., & Goldberg, A. E. (2009). "Second generation" voices: Queer youth with lesbian/bisexual mothers. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *38*(7), 904–919. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-008-9327-2

Kuvalanka, K. A., Teper, B., & Morrison, O. A. (2006). COLAGE: Providing community, education, leadership, and advocacy by and for children of GLBT parents. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, *2*(3–4), 71–92. https://doi.org/10.1300/J461v02n03_05

Lawrence, S. E., McMorris, B. J., Simon, K. A., Gower, A. L., & Eisenberg, M. E. (2023). Bullying involvement at the intersection of gender identity/modality, sexual identity, race, ethnicity, and disability: Prevalence disparities and the role of school-related developmental assets. *LGBT Health*, *10*(S1), 10–19. https://doi.org/10.1089/lgbt.2023.0076

Letiecq, B. L. (2019). Surfacing family privilege and supremacy in family science: Toward justice for all. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, *11*(3), 398–411. https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12338

Letiecq, B. L., Vesely, C. K., & Goodman, R. D. (2022). Family-centered participatory action research: *With, by, and for* families. In K. Abramson, A. L. Few-Demo, C. Proulx, & K. Roy (Eds.), *Sourcebook of family theories and methodologies: A dynamic approach* (pp. 483–503). Springer International Publishing.

Lev, A. I. (2010). How queer!—The development of gender identity and sexual orientation in LGBTQ-headed families. *Family Process*, *49*(3), 268–290. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1545-5300.2010.01323.x

Lo, A. Y. H., Cashen, K. K., & Grotevant, H. D. (2021). Adoptive parenting cognitions in the era of open adoption: Is shared fate theory still relevant? *Family Relations*, *70*(4), 1117–1131. https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12557

Luna, F. (2018). From the middle ages to the 21st century. Abortion, assisted reproduction technologies and LGBT rights in Argentina. *Canadian Journal of Bioethics*, *1*(2), 1–98. https://doi.org/10.7202/1058266ar

McGuire, J. K., Kuvalanka, K. A., Catalpa, J. M., & Toomey, R. B. (2016). Transfamily theory: How the presence of Trans* family members informs gender development in families. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, *8*(1), 60–73. https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12125

McKnight, M. (2016). Queerspawn on the couch: A guide for clinicians working with youth and adults with LGBT parents. *Columbia Social Work Review*, *14*(1), 11–18. https://doi.org/10.7916/cswr.v14i1.1853

Mernitz, S., Perez, J., Frost, D. M., & Russell, S. T. (2022). Relationship identities among lesbian, gay, and bisexual adults: An exploratory study. *Couple and Family Psychology: Research and Practice*, *11*(2), 89–101. https://doi.org/10.1037/cfp0000202

Meyer, I. H. (2003). Prejudice, social stress, and mental health in lesbian, gay, and bisexual populations: Conceptual issues and research evidence. *Psychological Bulletin*, *129*(5), 674–697. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.129.5.674

Moffitt, U., Rogers, L. O., & Dastrup, K. R. H. (2022). Beyond ethnicity: Applying Helms's white racial identity development model among white youth. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *32*(3), 1140–1159. https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12645

Morgan, D. (2011). *Rethinking family practices*. Springer.

Navarro, E. L., Stephens, C., Rodrigues, B. C., Walker, I. A., Cook, O., O'Toole, L., Hayes, N., & Tudge, R. R. H. (2022). Bored of the rings: Methodological and analytic approaches to operationalizing Bronfenbrenner's PPCT model in research practice. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, *14*(2), 233–253. https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12459

Nothdurfter, U., & Monaco, S. (2022). When Italian same-sex parent families go to school: Fears, challenges and coping strategies. *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education*, *14*(2), 77–97. https://doi.org/10.14658/PUPJ-IJSE-2022-2-5

Nowaskie, D. Z., & Roesler, A. C. (2022). The impact of COVID-19 on the LGBTQ+ community: Comparisons between cisgender, heterosexual people, cisgender sexual minority people, and gender minority people. *Psychiatry Research*, *309*, 114391. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychres.2022.114391

Oakley, M., Farr, R. H., & Scherer, D. G. (2017). Same-sex parent socialization: Understanding gay and lesbian parenting practices as cultural socialization. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, *13*(1), 56–75. https://doi.org/10.1080/1550428X.2016.1158685

Ollen, E. W., & Goldberg, A. E. (2015). Parent–child conversations about legal inequalities in gay- and lesbian-parent families in Florida. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, *37*(4), 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/1550428X.2015.1083500

Oswald, R., Blume, L., & Marks, S. (2005). Decentering heteronormativity: A model for family studies. In V. L. Bengtson, A. C. Acock, K. R. Allen, P. Dilworth-Anderson, & D. M. Klein (Eds.), *Sourcebook of family theory & research* (pp. 143–165). Sage Publications, Inc. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412990172.n6

Park, S. M. (2006). Adoptive maternal bodies: A queer paradigm for rethinking mothering? *Hypatia*, *21*(1), 201–226. https://www.jstor.orb/table/3811085, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1527-2001.2006.tb00972.x

Peleg, A., & Hartman, T. (2019). Minority stress in an improved social environment: Lesbian mothers and the burden of proof. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, *15*(5), 442–460. https://doi.org/10.1080/1550428X.2018.1556141

Prioste, A., Narciso, I., Gonçalves, M. M., & Pereira, C. R. (2015). Family relationships and parenting practices: A pathway to adolescents' collectivist and individualist values? *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *24*(11), 3258–3267. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-015-0129-3

Rahilly, E. P. (2015). The gender binary meets the gender-variant child: Parents' negotiations with childhood gender variance. *Gender & Society*, *29*(3), 338–361. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243214563069

Rich, A. J., Salway, T., Scheim, A., & Poteat, T. (2020). Sexual minority stress theory: Remembering and honoring the work of Virginia brooks. *LGBT Health*, *7*(3), 124–127. https://doi.org/10.1089/lgbt.2019.0223

Riggle, E. D. B., Rostosky, S. S., Black, W. W., & Rosenkrantz, D. E. (2017). Outness, concealment, and authenticity: Associations with LGB individuals' psychological distress and well-being. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, *4*(1), 54–62. https://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000202

Robinson, M. A., & Brewster, M. E. (2016). Understanding affiliate stigma faced by heterosexual family and friends of LGB people: A measurement development study. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *30*(3), 353–363. https://doi.org/10.1037/fam0000153

Roy, K. M., & Settersten, R. A., Jr. (2022). The family life course framework: Perspectives on interdependent lives and inequality. In K. Abramson, A. L. Few-Demo, C. Proulx, & K. Roy (Eds.), *Sourcebook of family theories and methodologies: A dynamic approach* (pp. 287–307). Springer International Publishing.

Samuels, G. M. (2009). "Being raised by white people": Navigating racial difference among adopted multiracial adults. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *71*(1), 80–94. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2008.00581.x

Sawyer, K., Thoroughgood, C., & Ladge, J. (2017). Invisible families, invisible conflicts: Examining the added layer of work-family conflict for employees with LGB families. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *103*(Part A), 23–39. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2017.08.004

Sellers, R. M., Smith, M. A., Shelton, J. N., Rowley, S. A. J., & Chavous, T. M. (1998). Multidimensional model of racial identity: A reconceptualization of African American racial identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *2*(1), 18–39. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr0201_2

Siegel, M., Legler, M., Neziraj, F., Goldberg, A. E., & Zemp, M. (2022). Minority stress and positive identity aspects in members of LGBTQ+ parent families: Literature review and a study protocol for a mixed-methods evidence synthesis. *Children*, *9*(9), 1364–1389. https://doi.org/10.3390/children9091364

Silver, L. J. (2020). Queering reproductive justice: Memories, mistakes, and motivations to transform kinship. *Feminist Anthropology*, *1*(2), 217–230. https://doi.org/10.1002/fea2.12019

Simon, K. A., Caba, A. E., Renley, B. M., Eaton, L. A., & Watson, R. J. (2024). Evidence of differences in gender-affirming school experiences in a sample of transgender and gender-diverse youth. *Annals of LGBTQ Public and Population Health*, *51*(4), 780–791. https://doi.org/10.1891/LGBTQ-2023-006

Simon, K. A., & Farr, R. H. (2022). Identity-based socialization and adopted children's outcomes in lesbian, gay, and heterosexual parent families. *Applied Developmental Science*, *26*(1), 155–175. https://doi.org/10.1080/10888691.2020.1748030

Smith, D. E. (1993). The standard North American family: SNAF as an ideological code. *Journal of Family Issues*, *14*(1), 50–65. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X93014001005

Soliz, J., & Harwood, J. (2006). Shared family identity, age salience, and intergroup contact: Investigation of the grandparent–grandchild relationship. *Communication Monographs*, *73*, 87–107. https://doi.org/10.1080/03637750500534388

Soliz, J., Thorson, A. R., & Rittenour, C. E. (2009). Communicative correlates of satisfaction, family identity, and group salience in multiracial/ethnic families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *71*(4), 819–832. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2009.00637.x

Suter, E. A. (2008). Discursive negotiation of family identity: A study of U.S. families with adopted children from China. *Journal of Family Communication*, *8*(2), 126–147. https://doi.org/10.1080/15267430701857406

Suter, E. A., Daas, K. L., & Bergen, K. M. (2008). Negotiating lesbian family identity via symbols and rituals. *Journal of Family Issues*, *29*(1), 26–47. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X07305752

Suter, E. A., Seurer, L. M., Webb, S., Grewe, B., Jr., & Kellas, J. K. (2015). Motherhood as contested ideological terrain: Essentialist and queer discourses of motherhood at play in female-female co-mothers' talk. *Communication Monographs*, *82*(4), 458–483. https://doi.org/10.1080/03637751.2015.1024702

Tajfel, H. (1982). Social psychology of intergroup relations. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *33*, 1–39. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.ps.33.020182.000245

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33–47). Brooks/Cole.

Tuck, E. (2009). Suspending damage: A letter to communities. *Harvard Educational Review*, *79*(3), 409–427. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.79.3.n0016675661t3n15

Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory. *The American Journal of Sociology*, *94*(6), 1514–1516. https://doi.org/10.1086/229205

Umaña-Taylor, A. J. (2023). Promoting adolescent adjustment by intervening in ethnic-racial identity development: Opportunities for developmental prevention science and considerations for a global theory of change. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *47*(4), 352–365. https://doi.org/10.1177/01650254231162614

Vaughan, M. D., & Rodriguez, E. M. (2014). LGBT strengths: Incorporating positive psychology into theory, research, training, and practice. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, *1*(4), 325–334. https://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000053

Vinjamuri, M. (2015). Reminders of heteronormativity: Gay adoptive fathers navigating uninvited social interactions. *Family Relations*, *64*(2), 263–277. https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12118

Ward, C., & Szabó, Á. (2019). Affect, behavior, cognition, and development: Adding to the alphabet of acculturation. In D. Matsumoto & H. C. Hwang (Eds.), *The handbook of culture and psychology* (2nd ed., pp. 640–692). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190679743.003.0020

Weston, K. (1991). *Families we choose: Lesbians, gays, kinship*. Columbia University Press.

Wexler, J. H., Cai, J., McKee, K. D., Blankenau, A., Lee, H., Kim, O. M., Kim, A. Y., & Lee, R. M. (2023). Understanding adoption as a reproductive justice issue. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *47*(4), 510–527. https://doi.org/10.1177/03616843231166376

Wilsnack, C., Young, J. L., Merrill, S. L., Groner, V., Loud, J. T., Bremer, R. C., Greene, M. H., Khincha, P. P., & Werner-Lin, A. (2021). Family identity and roles in the context of Li-Fraumeni syndrome: "No one's like us mutants". *Health & Social Work*, *46*(4), 299–307. https://doi.org/10.1093/hsw/hlab032

Wyman Battalen, A., Dow-Fleisner, S. J., Brodzinsky, D. M., & McRoy, R. G. (2019). Lesbian, gay, and heterosexual adoptive parents' attitudes towards racial socialization practices. *Journal of Evidence-Based Social Work (2019)*, *16*(2), 178–191. https://doi.org/10.1080/23761407.2019.1576565

Zhang, D., & Chen, Y. W. (2020). "We are the unusual factor": Queering family communication norms with gay adoptive parents. *Journal of Family Communication*, *20*(3), 206–220. https://doi.org/10.1080/15267431.2020.176762

Zhang, J. W., Chen, S., Shakur, T. K. T., Bilgin, B., Chai, W. J., Ramis, T., Tomova Shakur, T. K., Shaban-Azad, H., Razavi, P., Nutankumar, T., & Manukyan, A. (2019). A compassionate self is a true self? Self-compassion promotes subjective authenticity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *45*(9), 1323–1337. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167218820914

How to cite this article: Farr, R. H., Cashen, K. K., Diomede, M. T., & Simon, K. A. (2025). Marginalized family identity theory: A framework to understand experiences in LGBTQIA+ and diverse family structures. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, *17*(2), 301–324. https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12624

APPENDIX A: GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Term	Definition
Bionormativity	Belief that families are legitimized solely through biological relatedness, with other parenthood pathways or family relationships seen as less than ideal or illegitimate (Garber & Grotevant, 2015). Bionormativity is reinforced through structures that restrict information access about one's health history or birth family connections and via adoption stigma that invalidates adoption as a preferred parenthood pathway and suggests that those who are not biologically related to other family members cannot ever truly be family. Bionormativity also suggests that, even if not recognized interpersonally, a biological family connection is inherently important (e.g., the perceived importance of a biologically related parent even if the child is unaware of this relationship; Baker, 2019; Farr et al., 2022; Garber & Grotevant, 2015).
Birth privilege	Benefits and support that an individual receives due to sharing biological relatedness with a custodial parent (or being born to and raised within the same family context), including unquestioned legal status; this privilege reinforces the belief that certain parenthood pathways, such as adoption, are less ideal, illegitimate, a secondary choice, or personal failing of parents (French, 2013).
Cisnormativity	Assumption or belief that cisgender identities (i.e., those corresponding with gender assigned at birth) are correct, ideal, or appropriate gender identities; biological sex is synonymous with binary gender (i.e., woman, man; Farr et al., 2022). Cisnormativity also reinforces the belief that men are superior to women (i.e., sexism).
Chosen family	Family members based on individuals' choices of who to include or exclude in their personal definition of their family. This term has largely been used with LGBTQIA+ populations (Weston, 1991) but overlaps with terms such as *fictive kin* (Galvin, 2006).
Family	The development and investment in relationships that are intimate and generate a sense of home or group identity, and a shared future or history. These relationships can be defined and shaped by choice, biological ties, or legal powers (Galvin, 2006).
Family privilege	Term describing structural support, benefits, and resources that SNAFs receive due to alignment of family structure and sociocultural norms (Letiecq, 2019; Smith, 1993).
Heteronormativity	Assumption or belief that heterosexuality is the ideal, preferred, or only acceptable sexual identity; all other sexual identities are deviant (Allen & Mendez, 2018).
Homonormativity	Term used to describe LGBTQIA+ people's assimilation to dominant structures or sociocultural norms informed by heteronormativity (Allen & Mendez, 2018).
LGBTQIA+	Acronym that serves as a general description of sexual and gender minority communities and is understood to include the identities Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, and Asexual, with the "+" indicating additional identities (e.g., Pansexual; Farr et al., 2022).
Marginalized identities	*Marginalization* is a general term used to describe the oppression of a specific group or social position and can occur through a number of avenues and systems. The minoritization of an identity, or identity group, is one way in which marginalization occurs (Lawrence et al., 2023).
Minoritized identities	A general term used to describe identities that are deemed nonnormative and are often (but not always) structurally oppressed or erased. In some instances, this term may replace the term *marginalized identities* because it carries with it the assumption that these groups are by definition oppressed (Crenshaw, 1989).
Multiracial identity and family	*Multiracial identity* (Atkin et al., 2022) describes those who report more than one racial/ethnic identity. In the United States, this term usually describes individuals who report multiple racial categories and not necessarily identities (e.g., an Indian Chinese person may not be considered Multiracial because both of their identities fall into the Asian category) such as people who are both African American/Black and white. Multiracial people often invest in multiple cultural identities as well as a broader Multiracial identity. *Multiracial families* are those that have multiple racial identities within them, which include blended

(Continues)

APPENDIX (Continued)

Term	Definition
	and transracial adoptive families. A related term, *Biracial*, specifically denotes an individual with two racial/ethnic identities.
Nonbinary	An individual whose identity is different from binary gender identities (i.e., woman and man) or an individual who does not subscribe to binary ways of thinking about their own gender identity. Nonbinary people may or may not identify with other gender identities. Although there is substantial overlap, not all Nonbinary individuals identify as Transgender (Simon et al., 2024).
Plurisexual	Umbrella term of sexual identities (e.g., Bisexual, Pansexual) that involve attraction to people with different gender identities. People do not often identify as plurisexual and instead use a specific label (Farr et al., 2022).
Polyamory, consensual nonmonogamy, or multiple partner families	These are all terms to describe an individual or relationship that includes the attraction to multiple people or multiple people in a relationship. Polyamory and polyamorous communities do not always overlap with LGBTQIA+ communities (e.g., a cisgender heterosexual woman who is partnered with two cisgender heterosexual men), and polyamorous relationship structures can take many different forms (e.g., polycule, "V," or triads; closed or open; "kitchen table"). Some or all partners in a polyamorous relationship may engage in coparenting (when children are in a family; multiple-partner families). Caregiving relationships may be marginalized given that all partners generally do not have a biological or legal relationship to the children.
Privilege	Term to describe benefits that emerge due to various social positions that an individual occupies. These benefits are often protective or support individuals via the absence of additional cognitive burdens (i.e., the privilege not to have to think about one's majority group identity). Privilege is reinforced via invalidation or punishment of variant or minoritized identities. Furthermore, privilege is a hierarchical system in which benefits (or punishments) typically appear in all facets of everyday life. Privilege is generally used to denote structural forces that are protective to individuals with majority group identities and should not be confused with interpersonal interactions that someone may experience (Few-Demo & Allen, 2020).
Queer	A term that can denote an identity, theory, or action that emphasizes the decentering of majority or privileged identities, typically in reference to sexual and gender minority identities (Allen & Mendez, 2018).
Queerspawn	Identity label for some with LGBTQIA+ parents and caregivers. The term was developed with the intention of reclaiming negative stereotypes about people with LGBTQIA+ parents. As such, some individuals find the term to be empowering, while others find it offensive (Garner, 2005; McKnight, 2016).
Trans/Transgender	Term used to describe an individual who identifies with a gender (or lack thereof) that is different from the gender they were assigned at birth (Farr et al., 2022).

Note. Each term and definition provided in the table guides our discussion in this article. We do this to clarify how we use each term or how we understand its common conceptualizations. We acknowledge that others, including scholars in separate disciplines, may use distinct terms or use these terms differently. We also note that many of these terms are overlapping and interact in the context of intersectional oppression (e.g., birth privilege is inherently tied to bionormativity).