Love and Pride in the times of DOMA[1]

Everyday political resistance of adults who grew up with same-sex attracted parents

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[1] Defense of Marriage Act – Federal Law defining marriage as only between a man and a woman, which was enacted in 1996 and struck down partially in 2013, and then fully in 2015. The law did not prevent states from allowing and confirming same-sex marriages, however marriages that did not conform to federal law were not recognized by the federal government or other state governments. (Butler, 1998).

Abstract

This qualitative study explores the ways children of same-sex attracted (SSA) parents engage in everyday political resistance. Poststructuralism, Queer Theory, Intersectionality, and theoretical notions of resistance and politicization of identities are foundations of this work. Narrative methodology was used to analyze eight interviews with adult children of SSA parents along with relevant previous studies. In this study I establish that children of SSA parents born in the 1980s/1990s in the US form a political generation with a particular politicized identity. They engage in everyday political resistance against the dominant narrative in the US that families are formed by married, procreative, heterosexual couples – the master-narrative of the US family. This resistance manifests through disclosure practices and narrativization. I categorize the key disclosure practices as 1) political disclosure 2) non-political disclosure 3) political nondisclosure, and the key resistance narratives as 1) normality 2) pride 3) family. These everyday practices are political resistance because they challenge the hegemony of the master-narrative and demand a new political order in which the institution of family is not dictated by the heterosexual matrix. This highlights the salience of narrative and disclosure practices in understanding politics and the political.

Key words: Everyday Political Resistance; Disclosure Practices; Resistance Narratives; Children of SSA parents; Queer / LGBTQIA+ Families

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Acknowledgements

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1   Introduction

The primary question of this study is: <u>How do children of same-sex attracted parents engage in everyday political resistance?</u> I approach this question by exploring the different practices and narratives used by children of same-sex attracted (SSA) parents in their daily lives that resist the master-narrative of the married, procreative, heterosexual family in the US.

This research is important because it contributes to knowledge of political resistance from marginalized positions, particularly how everyday practices are employed to resist social and political edicts in order to catalyze change. Children of SSA parents are an under-researched population. This study accesses a particular generation within that population, that became politicized subjects at a unique moment in history, during which queer[2] family politics have been particularly present in US political discourse. I focus on an experience that is unique to this group: the experience of having to, choosing to, or choosing not to reveal that one has SSA parents, along with the stories they tell about themselves and their families once disclosure has happened. My findings are that everyday political resistance of children of SSA parents manifests as disclosure practices: 1) political disclosure 2) nonpolitical disclosure 3) political nondisclosure, and as resistance narratives: 1) normality 2) pride 3) family. Disclosure practices and resistance narratives are everyday political resistance because they challenge the hegemony of the master-narrative and demand a new political order in which the institution of family is not dictated by the heterosexual matrix (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; Butler, 1990, 2004; Mouffe, 2005).

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[2] There are different ways to define 'queer,' for the purposes of this study, I will borrow the LGBT National Help Center's definition as "an umbrella term for gender and sexuality minorities who are either not cis, not straight, or both" (*Glossary*, n. d.). "The word queer is a reclaimed slur" (*Glossary*, n. d.), however LGBTQIA+ people have done discursive reclamation work to convert the word into a symbol of pride rather than a symbol carrying negative connotations. This is the history in the US context, the word has different histories in other parts of the world.

2   Background

The target population of this study is part of the first major generation of children who have grown up firstly and exclusively with SSA parents[3] (Kuvalanka, Teper and Morrison, 2006; Joos and Broad, 2007). This generation grew up during a period in which LGBTQIA+ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Queer, Intersex, Asexual) political issues, particularly marriage equality, were highly politicized. I briefly discuss the time period before the 1980s as this lays the groundwork for what comes in the ensuing decades, but also because the collective LGBTQIA+ memory inherited by participants in this study comes from this time. However, this study is primarily concerned with the time period from the 1980's until now. While DOMA was partially struck down in 2013 and the conclusion of *Obergefell v. Hodges* resulted in nationwide marriage equality in 2015, numerous social, political, and legal battles relating to rights to marriage and family formation (i.e. rights to reproductive options and custody) have followed. The reference in this study's title to "the times of DOMA" is not a strict definition including only those years when DOMA was legally active, but rather I use DOMA as representative of a socio-political, legal regime that is characterized by a hegemonic master-narrative regarding family in the US.

All interview participants were born in the 1980s/1990s, with the one exception, born in 2001. I argue that the participants of this study, form part of a "political generation" (Joos and Broad, 2007). A political generation is a "a group that has a common experience during the same period," especially when group members become politically aware during this this period (Whittier, 1995: 84). Children of SSA parents form a political generation due to their shared 1) experience of a period in US political history in which family and marriage rights concerning queer families have been acutely politicized and have featured prominently in national conversation, 2) experience of being more connected to and affected by the ramifications of these politics, 3) intergenerational memory from their parents (as members of the LGBTQ movement in the 1960s and

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[3] One family configuration among many encompassed by the category: queer families

1970s), and 4) politicization as objects of political debate – "the child plays a central role in debates around gay marriage" (Blevins, 2005: 69).

In their study of adult daughters of LGBTQ parents, Joos and Broad note that, "people of the next generation, whose parents were in same-sex relationships when they were born or adopted, might very well tell different stories" (Joos and Broad, 2007: 289). I follow from their work in that the participants in this study are part of a political generation that experienced the political events of 'the times of DOMA' during their formative years, and were all raised firstly and only by SSA parents (Joos and Broad, 2007; Stewart *et al.*, 2015).

Several previous studies have established that there are public and political discourses in the US which all support a master-narrative that families should/can only be formed by a procreative, married, heterosexual couple (Butler, 1998, 2004; Blevins, 2005; Vaccaro, 2010; Maril, 2013; Peterson, 2013; Williams, 2018). All discourses of family, marriage, and parenting in the US that limit 'family' to the married, procreative, heterosexual, two-parent format, constitute part of the master-narrative.

With increased visibility of LGBTQ+ people came the beginning of political mobilization by the forerunners of today's LGBTQIA+ community in the US (Butler, 1998). The movement's beginning is associated with the 1969 police raid of the Stonewall Bar in New York, because this event brought national attention to the US LGBTQ movement (Butler, 1998). The movement began to have its initial political and cultural victories in the 1970s as more LGBTQ people started coming out and living out, and ordinances began to pass to provide rudimentary protections from discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation (Butler, 1998). The first speech addressing "gay rights" at a major political convention took place in 1972 (Butler, 1998: 6). A year later homosexuality was officially removed from classification as a personality disorder by the American Psychiatric Association (Butler, 1998).

During the 1970s, queer families were forming, though they had very little visibility or recognition and were nearly always the result of a dissolved heterosexual relationship (Kuvalanka, Teper and Morrison, 2006). In the 1970s, queer families tended to be very closeted "it was very common to lose custody of biological children or to be denied the possibility of adoption on the basis of sexual orientation" (Kuvalanka, Teper and Morrison, 2006: 76). Moving into the

1980s, access to reproductive technologies expanded possibilities for LGBTQ people to pursue childbirth within the context of their same-sex relationships. This coincided with a socially conservative[4] turn in US politics, which featured a rhetoric that the "traditional" family in the US was under threat and needed protection (Maril, 2013). During this time particular discourses against the rights and recognitions of queer families were beginning to crystallize, as part of "a 'discursive regime' of anti-gay social conservatism" (Williams, 2018: 249). The "Save our Children" (SOC) campaign of the late 1970s/1980s, "was emblematic of the anti-gay variant of family values discourse" (Williams, 2018: 251). This discourse of "conjuring the plight of children" has featured as "a persistent element in [US] political discourse" in recent decades (Williams, 2018: 251). In 1996, DOMA was passed at the Federal level before a single state had the opportunity to provide legal recognition for same-sex marriages (Butler, 1998). Charles Butler (1998) compellingly argues that the political narratives deployed to pass DOMA are indicative of the hegemony of the master-narrative – of the married, procreative, heterosexual family – in US society leading up to and during the times of DOMA. After DOMA was struck down, political debate regarding marriage rights (amongst others, including: second parent adoption, employment/housing/military service nondiscrimination, etcetera) remained highly present (Butler, 1998; Gash and Raiskin, 2018). Victories began to come in the form of state-level recognition of same-sex marriages. Massachusetts became the first state to recognize same-sex marriages in 2004 (Kuvalanka, Teper and Morrison, 2006). Between 2004 and 2015, 37 states legally recognized same-sex marriages, however as long as DOMA was in place, same-sex marriages were not recognized by the federal government, and other states were not compelled to recognize them (Governing, n. d.; Butler, 1998). By the resolution of the *Obergefell v. Hodges* Supreme Court case, marriage equality became codified on

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[4] There are many understandings of the terms 'conservative' and 'liberal.' Their use in this study is situated in a US political ideological context in which liberals favor 'progressive social policies such as affirmative action and marriage equality,' and "conservatives are more likely to support [social policy which enforces] traditional cultural values" (Brewer, 2005; Haidt and Graham, 2007; Poteat and Mereish, 2012: 56) Political scientists in the US note that these terms are not necessarily "opposing or bipolar" (Conover and Feldman, 1981: 620). This is partially explained by the separation of the economically liberal-conservative and the socially liberal-conservative. This study focuses exclusively on "the liberal/conservative continuum" in relation to social issues (Levitin and Miller, 2017:752).

the state and federal levels nationwide. This means the federal government imposed marriage equality upon 13 states[5] (Governing, n. d.).

State-Level Marriage Equality by 2015 Indicated in Purple (Governing, n. d.)

Judith Butler argues, as I do, that debates of the legality of marriages between two people of the same gender, are particularly salient in issues of queer kinship, as "the two become confounded in U.S. popular opinion when we hear not only that marriage is and ought to remain a heterosexual institution and bond but also that kinship does not work, or does not qualify as kinship, unless it assumes a recognizable family form" (Butler, 2004: 102). Furthermore, the significance of exclusion or inclusion within legal, social, and political frameworks of family is underscored by the importance of family in US society. Indeed, Gwendoline Alphonso argues that "in the last four decades the family has become the very policy subject through which the boundaries of state and society are established, negotiated, and reconfigured" (Alphonso, 2015: 623). This is the political landscape which forms the backdrop to the lives of the political generation of children of SSA parents focused on in this study. The children and their families are proof that "kinship relations exist and persist that do not conform to the nuclear family model and that draw on biological and

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[5] See Appendices 7.2 and 7.3 for state representation among participants

nonbiological relations, exceeding the reach of current juridical conceptions, functioning according to nonformalizable rules" (Butler, 2004: 102).

3   Theory

Before moving into methods and analysis, I first establish the core theoretical perspectives and concepts that inform this study. I begin by establishing the institution of 'family' in the US as a heteronormative social category. Next, I draw on resistance studies to conceptualize and delimit 'everyday political resistance.' Then, I draw on poststructuralist scholars to discuss identity formation. Next, I outline the concept of intersectionality. Finally, I explain how identities become politicized.

3.1   The Heteronormative US Family

Judith Butler's conception of queer theory as a perspective which rejects sex, gender, and sexuality as binary and fixed categories by exposing and challenging the hegemonic construction of these categories is a theoretical position which I take up in this study (Butler, 1990). Butler's concept of the "the heterosexual matrix," is useful in understanding the phenomena which produce and perpetuate "compulsory heterosexuality" in all aspects of US society, and most importantly for this study, in family. The heterosexual matrix is described by Butler as the "hegemonic discursive/epistemic model of gender intelligibility that assumes that for bodies to cohere and make sense there must be a stable sex expressed through a stable gender (masculine expresses male, feminine expresses female) that is oppositionally and hierarchically defined through the compulsory practice of heterosexuality" (Butler, 1990: 194). The heterosexual matrix constitutes a pervasive and diverse system power, which is an essential part of the hegemonic status of the heterosexual, procreative, married-parent family in the US (Foucault, 1976; Butler, 1990).

The concept of the heterosexual matrix is closely related to the term 'heteronormativity', which describes the "pervasive and often invisible" (Warner, 1993: 3) phenomena whereby heterosexuality "interpret[s] itself as society" (Warner, 1993: 8). Heteronormativity, like the heterosexual matrix, "often goes undetected as a "natural," "normal," and "ideal" way to organize and perform social relationships" (Peterson, 2013: 487). Another related term that features

more prominently in public discourse, is homophobia (Teal and Conover-Williams, 2016). Teal and Conover-Williams define homophobia as "fear and disdain directed to members of the lesbian, gay, bisexual and queer communities, specifically"(Teal and Conover-Williams, 2016: 14). Homophobia is both encompassed by and a product of heteronormativity and the heterosexual matrix (Butler, 1990, 2004; Warner, 1993).

Like many social constructs the idea of 'the family' in the US is difficult to define. The concept of family – what families are, how they are created, and who is allowed to take on which roles within the family – has been a site of highly politicized struggle in the US (Weston, 1991; Blevins, 2005; Maril, 2013). The master-narrative assumes that a family is "a productive marriage that features a husband, a wife, and children" (Cassuto, 2008: 487). Critical kinship scholars have contested this definition in numerous ways: the number of members, the presence of biological ties, the gender composition, etcetera (Weston, 1991; Davidmann and Sullivan, 2016). Butler's conceptualization of kinship as "a set of practices that institutes relationships of various kinds which negotiate the reproduction of life and the demands of death," is useful in this study. I argue that family cannot be limited to a particular type of configuration, rather family is a set of kinship practices which are *experienced* by the members *as family*.

Despite the impossibility of imposing a "uniform version of kinship" (Weston, 1991: 3) upon US society, "dominant images and/or imaginaries repeatedly configure kinship as a set of ideal familial relations in which one is (naturally) included," which necessarily means that many other family formations are "(naturally) excluded" (Davidmann and Sullivan, 2016: 239). This hegemonic master-narrative of 'family' is legitimized and falsely naturalized such that legal, political, and social systems in the US are set up to recognize and relate to this version of family (Butler, 1990). Like many privileged identities, this concept of the ideal 'family' is often defined by what it is not: it cannot include more or less than two parents and it cannot include two parents of the same gender (Cassuto, 2008; Weston, 1991).

In US discourse, the hegemonic status of the heterosexual family renders families headed by same-sex couples unthinkable. By existing outside the law of the heterosexual matrix, queer families by their mere existence challenge the hegemony of the heteronormative family. This existence has been 'marked as

different' through discursive practices of essentializing representation in the US (Hall, 1997b). Hall draws together linguistic, social, cultural, and psychoanalytic theoretical contributions to the role of discursive construction of 'difference' on identity formation to assert that this role is "increasingly significant" and "ambivalent" (Hall, 1997b: 238). Ambivalent because difference has an irreplaceable function in identity formation and because it can be constructed as "both positive and negative" (Hall, 1997b: 238). To maintain hegemony, the master-narrative on family in the US has marked queer families as 'different,' in part through representations of queer families as "threatening, [or] a site of danger" (Hall, 1997b: 238).

Any increase in the rights or recognition of same-sex couples and their ability to have and form families in recent US history, has been perceived and portrayed as an attack on marriage and family (Weston, 1991). LGBTQ people were constructed as a threat because of the potential they represented for an increase and normalization of "alternative" families, which threatened the hegemonic position held by the 'traditional family' (Weston, 1991: 23). In reality, it is only the "privileged construct" of family that is deconstructed by the existence of and movement to increase rights and recognition for queer families (Weston, 1991: 6). With their alternative ways of *doing* family, queer families are revealing the false naturalness of the construct of 'family' that is privileged and legitimized in society (Butler, 1990). This deconstruction does not harm the families that exist. Rather, it expands the collectively accepted concept of family to the benefit, not only of queer families, but also families with single or more than two parents, families in which the parents are unmarried, adopted families, childless families, and other not-so-traditional family constellations. Despite being excluded from the master-narrative, families parented by SSA people do exist and the children in these families engage in everyday political resistance when they assert their existence through disclosure and narrative.

3.2   Everyday Political Resistance

Vinthagen and Johansson "[propose] a framework on the two basic features of everyday resistance:" 1) that "it is an everyday *act*; and (2) that it is

done in an oppositional relation to power" (Hollander & Einwohner, 2004; Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013: 17-18). Note that, in this definition, 'everyday' does not mean the act or its provocation occurs precisely every day of the resister's life, rather that the act or its provocation are commonplace features in the resister's life. Further, the notion of an 'oppositional relation' should be understood to mean a subversive relation to power (Butler, 1990), in which it is impossible to fully separate resistance from power (Foucault, 1976). If these two requirements are met, an act can be classified as everyday resistance.

Lilja and Vinthagen (2014) have conceptually interpreted Foucault's theorizations of power into three types of power. While these three overlap in practice, in this study I focus primarily on 'disciplinary power.' Disciplinary power 'trains' individuals to punish themselves and others for behavior within the discursively created "domain of the non-conforming" (Foucault, 1978: 179). Lilja and Vinthagen assert that disciplinary power is often intertwined with everyday "forms of resistance that challenge through avoiding, rearticulating discourses and by destabilising the institutional control of behaviour" (Lilja and Vinthagen, 2014: 114).

In classifying acts as exercised in an 'oppositional relationship with power,' Butler's concept of subversion (subversive acts) will be particularly useful (Butler, 1990; Vinthagen and Johansson, 2013). For example, Butler explains that "drag[6] is subversive to the extent that it reflects on the imitative structure by which hegemonic gender is itself produced and disputes heterosexuality's claim on naturalness and originality" (Butler, 1993: 125). There are two key components in this explanation that I shall use to measure whether an act is subversive, and thus in an 'oppositional relationship with power:' (1) the act calls attention to the performativity of a hegemonic power relation, and (2) the act thus 'disputes that the implications of that hegemonic power relation are inescapable, natural, and *true*' (Foucault, 1976, 1978; Butler, 1990, 1993).

What then, makes everyday resistance *political*? I argue that everyday resistance acts should be classified as political when they occur within a power relation that has any of the following elements: (1) carries political implications,

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[6] A theatrical performance in which (almost exclusively) men portray an exaggerated version of the feminine

(2) draws upon political discourse, (3) engages with identities which have been turned into objects of politics rather than subjects (which is one way identities can become politicized), or (4) engages with any politicized identity. A politicized identity is an identity which is associated with "political meaning" (Van Stekelenburg, 2013: 3). I derive my understandings of politics, political, (political is an adjective meaning: relating to politics) and 'the political' from Chantal Mouffe. She defines the political as "the dimension of antagonism" which is "constitutive of human societies" (Mouffe, 2005: 9). Mouffe contrasts the political with politics, which she defines as "the set of practices and institutions through which an order is created" (Mouffe, 2005: 9). I interpret the 'creation of order' as synonymous to the exercise of power. Thus, following from Foucault's assertion that individuals are both 'objects of power and instruments of its exercise,' politics encompasses everyday practices which seek to influence order creation, which is to say the exercise of power (Foucault, 1978: 170). This means politics include not only order explicitly created by representatives of the state, but also individual practices which contribute discursively to this order creation in private and public spheres.

Classic examples of everyday political resistance tactics that have been explored by resistance studies academics include "foot-dragging, escape, sarcasm, passivity, laziness, misunderstandings, disloyalty, slander, avoidance or theft" (Scott, 1985; Vinthagen and Johansson, 2013: 4). Aihwa Ong contributes to the field of resistance studies by analyzing a set of resistance acts that are very different from those classically viewed as everyday resistance of subaltern groups. Her interpretation of spirit possessions among factory workers in Malaysia demonstrates the importance of looking beyond conventional ideas about political resistance, i.e. protests, civil disobedience, etcetera, to see the *everyday* kind of political resistance that also exists and can be an effective agent of change (Ong, 1986; Vinthagen and Johansson, 2013).

New forms of everyday resistance "build on the material left by other rebels – stories, myths, symbols, structures and tools" (Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013: 14). This notion bears unique consequences when working with children of SSA parents as they are likely influenced by the LGBTQIA+ movement through collective memories passed down to them by their parents and their parents' wider social networks. Moments, such as Harvey Milk (first openly gay elected official

in California) saying "every gay person must come out" in the 1970's. Followed by the community's pain and fear when Milk was assassinated in 1978. Although none of this study's participants were alive in 1978, they all have parents who were. Events like these are likely to inform the historical and contextual environment in which the interviewees have lived and negotiated with the institutional and socio-cultural power that disciplines departures from heteronormativity as the basis for family and society.

Everyday political resistance can manifest in ways so habitual and normalized to the resisters that the "actors themselves are not necessarily regarding it as "resistance" at all, rather a normal part and way of their life" (Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013: 10). For this study, I follow from the position that everyday political resistance is not limited to acts consciously intended as resistance (Vinthagen and Johansson, 2013). It is further unnecessary for power to recognize these acts as resistance in order for them to still be considered everyday resistance (Vinthagen and Johansson, 2013). Moreover, obtaining a specific outcome from the act itself is also not a requirement, what matters is "the *potential* of undermining power" (Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013: 18). Furthermore, explicitly perceiving or describing one's actions as political resistance necessitate both an acquiescence to and a knowledge of this particular use of language, which "[risks] excluding *not-yet political* awareness, or *differently motivated* resistance" to the limited inclusion of those individuals who belong or have access to a "politically educated class" (Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013: 21). Indeed, a purely overt conceptualization of resistance constitutes a 'mechanism of dominance' by "[demanding] a certain kind of "political", "ideological" or "class" motive or claim of [an] activity in order to qualify it as "resistance"" (Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013: 21). This study seeks to move away from such tendencies in academia in favor of highlighting the dynamics of resistance power as exercised from hidden, marginalized populations in daily life.

3.3   Identity and Identity Formation

The process of identity formation can be analyzed from two perspectives: internal, which is to say one's own conception and creation of one's own identity,

and external, which can also be described as 'identification' (Hall and du Gay, 1996: 3), or how others create and conceptualize of another's identity. Both internal and external identity formation occur within discourse (Butler, Hall & Gay, Laclau & Mouffe, Foucault). The distinction between internal and external is not meant to follow a dualist or dichotomist tradition, as these are not separate processes, nor are they two different sides of a single coin. Rather, this distinction marks a different direction from which the same process of identity formation occurs. I conceive of identities, in a poststructuralist fashion, as discursively constructed, situated, and multiple (Hall, 1997a). This understanding is exemplified by Hall's departure from Lacan and Althusser to describe identity as:

> "the meeting point, the point of *suture*, between on the one hand the discourses and practices which attempt to 'interpellate', speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and on the other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities, which construct us as subjects which can be 'spoken'. Identities are thus points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us" (Hall and du Gay, 1996: 4-5).

These "points of temporary attachment" gain meaning in the way individuals relate themselves to available discourses through 'narrativization' (Hall and du Gay, 1996). Which discourses are available to which subjects, informs the meaning-making processes of narrativization and identification, which coalesce to form individuals' situated identities (Hall and du Gay, 1996). Moreover, in this "narrativization of the self," the "self" is not an 'always already' coherent and clearly delineated identity, rather the self is constantly being discursively constructed, and changed, in part, through externally imposed discursive regimes (Foucault, 1972, 1976; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; Butler, 1993, 2004; Laclau, 1994; Hall and du Gay, 1996). Furthermore, the formation of identities that have been 'othered,' or 'marked as different' necessarily involve a negotiation with the 'dominant regimes of representation' that are relevant in the social, geographic, and historic location in which they are being formed and interpreted (Hall, 1997b). Hall defines a regime of representation as an 'accumulation' of "similar representational practices and figures being repeated, with variations, from one text or site of representation to another," in a particular "historical moment" (Hall,

1997b: 232). Dominant regimes of representation inform the discursive options available to people depending upon their identity (Hall, 1997b). Challenging dominant regimes of representation is possible – because meaning can never be fully fixed – however these power struggles are crucially influenced by the asymmetry of the legitimacy associated with certain narratives and discourses (Hall, 1997b).

The terms narrative and discourse have become widely used in academia, with varying definitions. I depart from the works of several discourse and narrative analysts to construct the following definitions of each term for use in this study. A discourse is a pattern of constructed meaning about a particular topic or concept (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). A narrative is a story or collection of stories, in which meaning is attached to the events and ideas featured in those stories (Reissman, 2000; Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou, 2008). Discourses are often used as tools by narrators to support the meaning a narrator has attached to pieces of the narrative. A discursive regime is a "web of discourses" (Foucault, 1976: 26) which have been repeatedly drawn upon in a way that associates them with a particular topic(s) and set of meanings (Foucault, 1972, 1976; Butler, 1993). Certain discourses carry more legitimacy than others, and there are ideas, concepts, and arguments, which cannot be discourses because they are not intelligible in a particular society, in a particular moment (Foucault, 1972; Butler, 1993). Discourses carry with them certain degrees of legitimacy or invocations of ontic or affective notions that can strengthen and add nuance to narratives (Hall, 1997a). Narrators are thus bound to draw upon only the discourses and discursive regimes available to them, if their narratives are to be intelligible and perceived as valid (Hall, 1997a).

Narratives can be told on the individual-personal level, which is the same as 'a story,' or they can be sutured together into master-narratives and counter-narratives (Hall and du Gay, 1996; Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou, 2008). Both are amalgamations of multiple narratives (which draw on specific discourses), however a master-narrative holds a dominant or hegemonic place in a society, while a counter-narrative is an alternative amalgamation of narratives (Andrews *et al.*, 2016). The presence of multiple narratives competing for hegemony or legitimacy necessarily implies the presence of antagonism, which is to say, the political (Mouffe, 2005).

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Hegemonic discursive formations can take the form of disciplinary power, extending influence into social, legal, and political domains (Foucault, 1978; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; Butler, 1990). Furthermore, the hegemony of this power is sustained by the self-masking, or 'false naturalization,' making these discursive formations seem beyond question because of assertions that they always have and always will be a "natural" truth (Butler, 1990). For instance, the pervasive assumption in US culture, politics, and institutions that families must be founded on heterosexuality, comes from the discursive construction of 'kinship as always already heterosexual' (Butler, 2004). A discursive construction that is reinforced from 'innumerable points in, in innumerable ways' (Foucault, 1976; Butler, 2004).

This discursive construction is resisted when attention is called to its nature as constructed. By placing a spotlight on the discursive construct, even with actions that may be carried out on a small scale, as a part of one's everyday life, subversion can occur which can lead to change (Butler, 1990). Further drawing on Butler's theorizations of performativity, the performance of family is constantly being created through imitations of imitations of what people understand as the best or correct way to 'perform family' or to *do* 'family' (Butler, 1990, 1993, 2004). This performative nature gives us hope, as subversions of the hegemonic way of 'doing family' can lead over time to a shift in general public understandings of acceptable ways of doing family, which in turn can lead to the fostering of more inclusive realities in legal, social, and political terms (Foucault, 1976; Butler, 1990).

3.4   Intersectionality

Intersectionality is the ontological perspective that multiple axes of discrimination exist and that the impacts (for people who have a lived experience of discrimination along multiple axes) result not simply in an additive kind of discrimination. To explain this concretely, I borrow the example Kimberlé Crenshaw used when she created the term 'intersectionality' as a way to demonstrate that a "single-axis framework [for conceptualizing discrimination] erases Black women" (Crenshaw, 1989: 140). In this example, Crenshaw

critically examines the *DeGraffenreid* v General Motors court case, in which five black women filed a suit against General Motors. A core tenant of the argument was that General Motors refused to hire black women before 1964 (Crenshaw, 1989). The courts did not find General Motors guilty of either gender-based or racially-based discrimination because, despite the fact that General Motors did not hire any black women before 1964, they had hired both white women and black men before 1964, which the court interpreted to establish an absence of discrimination on either the basis of gender or race (Crenshaw, 1989).

Crenshaw demonstrates that black women experiencing discrimination along both the axes of race *and* gender found themselves in a unique position of discrimination without a way to prove it in the legal lexicon of the time. Furthermore, the discrimination experienced by the black women in this example was not merely additive; they did not experience the discrimination that white women experience added to the experience that black men experience, rather black women experience a particular discrimination which is unique to the intersectional positionality of being both black and a woman (Crenshaw, 1989; Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016). These aspects can furthermore not be separated from all other axes of privilege and discrimination that also contribute to the positionality of these black women (i.e. socio-economic status, religion, age, sexual orientation, etcetera) (Crenshaw, 1989; Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016). The use of an intersectional perspective is essential to this research, as discussing questions of gender and sexuality can never be separated from issues of race, religion, class, citizenship, ability, etcetera (Crenshaw, 1989; Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016). Furthermore, crucially important implications could be lost without an intersectional approach to this research as "agents of resistance often simultaneously promote power-loaded discourses, being the bearers of hierarchies and stereotypes as well as of change" (Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013: 13).

3.5   Politicization of Identity

For a group to have a politicized identity, the group must have "shared grievances," which manifest in the form of a denial of full rights and/or recognition by the state and/or general public (Simon and Klandermans, 2001: 4).

Power struggles that characterize the relation between politicized identities and the general public/regulatory power "unfold as a sequence of politicizing events that gradually transform the group's relationship to its social environment" (Klandermans, 2014: 4). The transformation of the social environment is sufficiently pervasive and salient that everyday "tactical choices [become] shaped by identity," necessarily a *politicized* identity (Van Stekelenburg, Van Leeuwen and Van Troost, 2013: 2). Klandermans argues that an identity "becomes politically relevant when people who share a specific identity take part in political action on behalf of that collective" (Klandermans, 2014). Klandermans primarily focuses on "political action" as protesting in public. I depart from Klandermans by applying his rubric for politicizing identities to a much broader definition of 'political action.' As noted in section 3.2, I include within 'political action' the modes of resistance that occur in everyday situations which seek to influence the political order on 'behalf of the collective' (Mouffe, 2005; Klandermans, 2014).

Thus, children of SSA parents constitute a politicized identity because they have shared grievances, born out of the power struggle over what constitutes family. Moreover, their everyday practices which engage in this power struggle to contest the legitimacy of the master-narrative constitute political action. This struggle has featured increasingly "politicizing events" over the past several decades (Klandermans, 2014). An overview of these events is outlined in the Background chapter of this study, and should be understood as highly influential in everyday "tactical choices" of this group, such as when, where, how, and to whom do they talk about their families (Van Stekelenburg, Van Leeuwen and Van Troost, 2013).

When children of SSA parents are forced into the decision of whether or not to reveal that they have SSA parents, these instances entail moments of consciousness of their exclusion from the master-narrative. Indeed, a process of interpellation can be noted in the way members of this group are expected to 'come out' about their family, and so they do (Althusser, 1971; Hall and du Gay, 1996). This 'coming out' is something that children of the perceived-as-universal, heterosexual family never do, most importantly because no one expects them to. Unlike disclosing that one has a typical heterosexual parent-paring, these disclosures carry with them an unavoidably political component, which is the result of the culture of "compulsory heterosexuality" (Butler, 1990: 180). This

politicized, lived experience of people who have grown up with SSA parents is something that can be obscured by heterosexual privilege (both having heterosexual parents and being heterosexual oneself), but which is made violently clear to LGBTQIA+ individuals and their children (Hall and du Gay, 1996).

In the same way, homophobic occurrences that provoke them to disclose out of a sense of duty, or the decision to withhold their identify in order to protect themselves and/or others, are other examples of these moments of consciousness. These instances may be what "gradually [transforms the individual's] relationship to [their] social environment" (Klandermans, 2014) making them aware of their position as "illegitimate or unjust" in the eyes of the general public and the state (Van Stekelenburg et al, 2013: 2). The narrative and disclosure practices of children of SSA parents are negotiations that contribute to "[changing] symbolic meanings of daily life's thinking and acting – "the politicization of daily life" – and to [freeing] the group from dominant representations or to undermine the status quo in the power balance between groups in the larger system" (Van Stekelenburg et al, 2013: 2). This politization of the identity of children of SSA parents is acutely reinforced, by the recent trend in the US of an appropriation of this group's voice by political actors who 'invoke the plight of the child' in order to bolster their politico-ideological claims and achieve their political goals (Williams, 2018).

4 Methodology

4.1 Methodological Framework

I selected a narrative methodology for this study because it is particularly well-suited to highlight "different and sometimes contradictory layers of meaning, to bring them into useful dialogue with each other, and to understand more about individual and social change" (Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou, 2008: 2). Furthermore, particular knowledges about social and political change can be accessed by "[treating] narratives as modes of resistance to existing structures of power" (Andrews, 2008: 4). Narrative methodology is based on the epistemological notion that experience is crucial to understanding (Reissman, 2000). Thus, I rely heavily on experience-based methods of data collection and analysis. Namely, interviews with children of SSA parents. I augment the interview material by incorporating previous studies with similar empirical foci.

In the interviews, I explored participants' stories of disclosure practices. 'Disclosure practices' here refers to all actions, choices, strategies, and experiences of disclosing, not disclosing, partially disclosing one's identity as the child of SSA parents. Other researchers (Joos and Broad, 2007) have represented moments of disclosure or periods of nondisclosure as a kind of "family closet" which people can be in or come out of, much like LGBTQIA+ people can be closeted and come out. I prefer to work with 'disclosure practices' as a general term, and specifically reference closetedness and family closetedness where these terms are applicable as they do not encompass as much as 'disclosure practices' does. For instance, whether it is a family closet or a personal closet, a person may be fully out of the closet in all spheres of their life, and yet will still have moments where they have to 'come out' of the closet because they meet a new person. Thus, it is useful to use the terms closeted, out, semi-closeted, and so forth, however these are not clear linear categorizations, and discussions focusing on nuances of a whole range of choices, actions, and experiences of disclosure, nondisclosure, and partial disclosure are better referenced by the umbrella term: disclosure practices.

It was difficult to choose a word to describe the population of this study, in part because this population exists outside the master-narrative conception of family. Thus, a lexicon to describe these people and their relationships has not yet been fully established. Kath Weston, amongst other critical kinship scholars, has paved the way for academic work on families who refuse to conform to the master-narrative on family in the US. I have chosen children of SSA parents, because this term is wide enough to include people who have grown up with a single SSA parent or more than two SSA parents. As Weston demonstrates, queer families are often composed of more than two parents which means same-sex parents may not be accurate, as in the case of one participant of this study who has two lesbian mothers and a gay father.

My use of narrative methodology will be enriched by my position as a child of lesbian mothers. Adriana Cavarero argues that narrators "[know] better than the others what happened, precisely because [they do] not participate directly in the context of the actions from which the story results," (Cavarero, 1997: 25). Cavarero demonstrates that from the narrator's vantage point (as an outsider to the events of the story, who also has extensive knowledge of its events) one can ascribe meaning to a story in a way the protagonist never could. This is a core epistemological tenant of narrative methodology. However, just as narrators can see meaning in a protagonist's story that is invisible to the protagonist, the protagonist can also see meaning in their own story that is invisible to anyone but themselves. By combining narrative and my positioning as an insider within the group I study, my analysis can benefit from the unique vantage points accessible from both positionings.

The meaning I draw from participants' stories will not be the only possible meaning that can be read onto these stories (Reissman, 2000). This is a crucially important aspect of narrative analysis. Narrative analysis has the capacity to reveal things that could not be seen by one story alone or by all the same stories together but organized and presented in a different way. Indeed, the presentation, in itself, shapes the results (Reissman, 2000). For this reason, it is important to make my social, cultural, epistemological, and theoretical location known and to explicitly recognize "that research interviews are 'relational spaces' where the researcher and the narrator co-construct" the data that follows (Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou, 2008: 66; see also Tietel, 2000). I approach this research from

the positionality of a young, white woman from the US, straddling the academic locations of Political Science and Gender Studies in the context of a higher education institution in Sweden. I further carry with me the situated knowledge and lived experience of growing up with two lesbian mothers in California (Haraway, 1988).

While this research contains no auto-ethnographic elements, I have used my positionality in crucial ways throughout the process. My insider position informed the initial development of my theoretical approach and research questions. It later (along with data from a review of the literature) informed the design of my interview guide and pre-interview questionnaire. I then used my insider identity as a tool in the search for potential participants. I did so by always identifying myself as a community insider to potential interviewees and to organization/community gatekeepers who might pass my information on. As the community has been subject to ignorant and unethical research projects in the past, it was crucial that my research design, ethical considerations, and insider position were known immediately in order to foster trust and a higher likelihood of willingness to participate. I also used my insider position as a tool during the interviews, by phrasing questions in a manner I hoped would help participants to open up, with minimal feelings of judgement or expectation. Namely, I would (where applicable) phrase questions as "here is an example of something I have experienced…is this something that you experienced as well?" Combined, these elements have informed the way the participants and I co-created the data that emerged from these interviews, and my analysis of said data.

My choice of methodology is also based in feminist political notions that recognize the potential for "analysis of ostensibly personal situations" to reveal ways "systemic or pervasive political and cultural structures are enacted (…) reproduced," and resisted (Butler, 1988: 522). Narrative has become an important methodological tool for feminist writing because of its ability to reveal that which is not classically deemed important. Life-stories illuminate the private lives of individuals. The private has long been classified as the unimportant, the feminine, while in contrast, the public, has been classified as important and masculine (Fraser, 2013). Knowledge that has been constructed as valuable and belonging in academia has traditionally been created in the public sphere by men. Thus, my focus on micro-level politics through the lens of everyday political resistance

contributes to wider feminist intervention to expand the realm of the political to include daily lived experience: the personal.

Narrative methodology is further an ideal choice for the thematic focus of my research because of my intent to explore the counter-narratives being asserted by children of SSA parents as a way to resist the master-narrative on family in the US. Molly Andrews's use of narrative approach to make space for interviewee counter-narratives, to "implicitly question the validity of the universal model" of motherhood is an example I will follow when criticizing the master-narrative of the married, procreative, heterosexual family in the US (Bamberg and Andrews, 2004: 3). As Bamberg and Andrews assert, "our society has very clear ideas about [what] is (and/or should be) a family, and who is not" (this is the master-narrative), and counter-narratives, "offer a different way of telling the same story" (Bamberg and Andrews, 2004: 4).

Narrative research methodology allows for a group that has been subjected to generalization, marginalization, and/or victimization by wider society in the public sphere and in popular discourse to tell their own story. This allows for agency in which parts of the story are (and are not) told, which parts are (and are not) emphasized, the way emotion is fused with the story-telling, etcetera. Narrative analysis is particularly well-suited to highlight the way people in marginalized subject positions can resist the dominant narratives and discourses that subjectify them (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; Hall and du Gay, 1996; Reissman, 2000). This point is particularly important with regard to my thesis topic because of the distinct lack of agency children of SSA parents have been portrayed to have in public discourse on the topics, not only of SSA parents' social and legal rights, but also on their own (the children's) well-being and interests (Blevins, 2005; Goldberg, 2010). Throughout the lives of the participants in this study, there has been a strong presence in popular discourse of rhetoric seeking to marginalize SSA people and discredit their ability to parent by claiming that the children in these families suffer. Often the voices of the children whose interests are often appropriated, are nonetheless, never heard, and they are painted as agency-less victims (Blevins, 2005). Thus I use narrative methodology to analyze "questions of inclusion and exclusion, the social construction of normalcy and the effects of the pressures of social expectation," which feature prominently in the life-stories of children of SSA parents (Bamberg and Andrews, 2004: 4).

4.2   Methods

I conducted seven video-call interviews with audio and video functions on and working. One interview was audio-only because the video function stopped working. All interviews were audio-only recorded. I used the recordings to transcribe the interviews and deleted the recordings after transcription. Interviews were conducted using participants' real names, however in transcription, these names were converted to the participants' chosen, alternate names. To transcribe the audio recordings, I used the word 'dictation' function, allowing the computer to pick up what it could from the audio. I then reviewed what the computer was able to catch, correcting all mistaken and missing information.

I conducted eight interviews in total, nearly all interviews were between 55 and 77 minutes long, with the exception of two interviews: one which lasted 22 minutes, and the other which lasted 42 minutes. All interviewees also filled out a pre-interview questionnaire with eight demographic data questions, which I used to create Table 1 (see page 26). Of the interviews I completed, one came from my own personal network, two came from my parents' networks, three came from COLAGE, and two came from the contacts I reached out to through the church directory. No interviewees emerged from my contacts to LGBTQIA+ centers in California. Considering this project's limited timeframe and the low likelihood of reaching another interviewee in this way, I decided not to reach out to LGBTQIA+ centers for the rest of the US.

In the interviews I sought to access "discrete topical stories," centered around participants' everyday political resistance practices (Reissman, 2000: 6). I analyzed these stories in a relational way, noting patterns and points of divergence (Reissman, 2000: 6). Following also from the narrative approach taken by Titlestad and Pooley (2014), in their study of children of same-sex couples in Australia, my methods of analysis were thematically driven and inductive. I looked for themes within the interview data that emerged as a pattern of particularly salient elements in the interviewees' stories (Titlestad and Pooley, 2014). I then compared these themes with other studies on similar populations to explore the degree to which the patterns I observed are reflected in other studies. All participants were given an opportunity to review the analysis, and all

comments made by them have been incorporated into the finalized version of this study.

4.3 Data Collection

I initially only wanted to focus my research on California because I thought I would get too many interviewees if I took a national scope. However, when I did not find enough interviewees solely from California, I expanded my interviewee requests and research scope to include all of the US. Thus my search began by sending my interview requests to the 261 LGBTQIA+ affirming churches in California listed in the GALIP Foundation church directory (GALIP Foundation and Sundby, n. d.), along with the 36 locations in California listed in CenterLink's directory of LGBTQIA+ Centers/Groups (CenterLink, n. d.). I also reached out to COLAGE (national organization), Our Family Coalition (only California), and the Family Equality Council (national organization).

On March 30th, COLAGE allowed me to post in a members-only Facebook group[7]. I never heard back from the Family Equality Council, Our Family Coalition sent my request out to their membership, on April 15th, and COLAGE sent my request out to their membership, on April 11th. I asked my parents to reach out within their networks to invite interviewees to participate. I did a pilot interview with my sister to test my interview guide and practice the act of interviewing. I asked for her feedback and implemented it to the best of my ability in all following interviews. I did not transcribe the pilot interview, nor did I consider any of the data from the pilot interview when conducting the analysis portion of this project. I found one interviewee through my own personal network. I knew little about this person and their life prior to completing the interview. In mid-March when it became apparent that not enough interviewees would come from California, I reached out to the remaining 1,522 churches in the US (outside California) in the affirming-church directory.

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[7] I became a member of COLAGE when I found out about the organization in the initial stages of this project. However, I have not become an active member in any way, my only form of membership has been inclusion in the Facebook group and membership mailing list. I am strongly considering taking a more active role once this research project has concluded.

Table 1. Interviewee Demographic Data

| Interview Participant Chosen Name | Year of Birth | State of residence | | Socio-Economic Status | | Pronouns | Sexual Orientation* | Race/ Ethnicity | Member of COLAGE |
		Childhood	Current	Childhood	Adulthood				
Alicia	1990	California	Arizona	$50,000 - $74,000	$50,000 - $74,000	She/her	Explicitly identified as heterosexual	White	No
Magdeleine Paz	1985	Ohio	Ohio	$75,000 - $99,000	$50,000 - $74,000	She/her	Indirectly implied identification as heterosexual by explicitly identifying as not gay	White	No
Zane Clemonson	1996	California	California	Less than $20,000	More than $100,000	He/him	Explicitly identified as heterosexual	Predominantly white; also North American Indigenous & Caribbean	No
Jonathan	1992	Texas	Texas	$75,000 - $99,000	$50,000 - $74,000	He/him	Explicitly identified as gay	White	No
Sam Wong	1999	California	Oregon	More than $100,000	$20,000 - $34,999	He/him	Did not disclose at all	Biracial: Happa (Asian/ white)	No
Jessica	2001	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	N/A	N/A	She/her	Did not disclose at all	Bi-ethnic: white/Arab	Yes
Rose	1986	California	New York	More than $100,000	$50,000 - $74,000	She/her	Indirect partial disclosure through mentioning that she currently has a male romantic partner	White	Yes
Syd	1993	New York	Colorado	More than $100,000	$20,000 - $34,999	They/ them/ their	Explicitly identified as queer	White	Yes

* I did not ask participants about their sexual orientation as literature on COLAGE's website indicates this demographic prefers not to be asked this question (COLAGE, n. d.).

4.4 Limitations

Given the limited time for conducting this research, this study contains a relatively small number of interviewees: eight. "As with any qualitative study, the findings from this study cannot be generalized" to all children of queer families (Vaccaro, 2010: 443). However, this limitation does not negate the academic, political, and social contributions this work has to offer. What this study lacks in comprehensive representation, it gains in deep, nuanced knowledge of micro-level political resistance efforts that occur as part of daily life in the small but newly emerging community of adults who have grown up exclusively with SSA parents. Furthermore, several studies (Welsh, 2011; Hart, Mourot and Aros, 2012; Titlestad and Pooley, 2014) have used similarly small numbers of interviews for similarly designed projects: fourteen, five, and eight respectively.

A lack of representative diversity among research participants is another limitation of this study. The racial/ethnic distribution of the interviewees reflects the increased difficulty in gaining access to people who belong to multiple groups with marginalized positionalities. This lack of more racial/ethnic diversity can also be attributed to the relatively lower likelihood of reaching these communities, within the already marginalized and small segment of US society that is the focus of this research. Half of the participants grew up in California. Furthermore, only one of the participants has two gay fathers, the vast majority have one or more lesbian mothers. This lack of representative diversity is understandable as it is a common struggle for researchers in this field (Meezan and Rauch, 2005). In their 2005 review of the literature on same-sex parenting in the US, Meezan and Rauch attribute this to the lack of a "complete listing of gay and lesbian parents from which to draw representative [probability] samples (Meezan and Rauch, 2005: 101). This is equally true for children of SSA parents. Which means this study's participant sample is biased by intersectional positionalities of privilege and marginalization (which contribute to desire/ability to participate) and the arbitrary segment of the population I accessed through personal networks.

Similar to the limitations of this study, Meezan and Rauch found that "all but one of the studies we examined employed samples composed of either totally

or predominantly white participants. Almost all the participants were middle- to upper-middle-class, urban, well educated, and "out." Most were lesbians, not gay men. Participants were often clustered in a single place" (Meezan and Rauch, 2005: 101). As others have before me, I lament the lack of gay-father-parent representation in my study and the lack of socio-economic, regional, and racial/ethnic diversity of the participants (Goldberg, 2010; Kelly and Hauck, 2015). This in no way reduces the importance of the narratives in this study, however my analysis is crucially informed both by whose narratives (within the community) are represented and whose are not. By explicitly recognizing the positionalities of the participants, I make clear whose stories are being represented here, which is crucial as the stories one tells, and the stories one can tell are constructed by the discourses that surround one's positionality. The local context as rural, suburban, or urban within the wider regional context (i.e. West Coast, Midwest, South, North East), is also an important piece of the intersectional positionality of participants. The low representation of participants from rural backgrounds is unfortunate, yet unsurprising given Puckett's, Horne's, Levitt's, and Reeves's finding that the degree of "outness" observed in the children of planned lesbian parents in rural areas was markedly different from those living in urban areas, in that, "classmates' parents and neighbors were less likely to know the family's status in rural areas" (Puckett et al., 2011).

As in Titlestad and Pooley's study of adult children of same-sex parents, "memory effects and hindsight bias are a major limitation" of this study (Titlestad and Pooley, 2014: 350). However, this limitation is counter-balanced by the unique insights that can be gained from the particularity of the vantage point of the interview participants. As adults, the interviewees have had years to reflect upon and make sense of their own life stories, and thus have a different perspective to offer than younger children. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, these interviews in particular are from a unique political generation of the first major group of children raised only by SSA parents who grew up during the 2-3 decades in which family and marriage rights concerning queer families have been acutely politicized and have featured prominently in US national conversation.

As opposed to other methodological approaches I could have taken, such as the various forms of discourse analysis, narrative methodology allows for exposing the ambiguities and constant negotiations that occur when marginalized

groups seek to resist their subjectification (Hall and du Gay, 1996). This is particularly important for my focus, as agency is not a clear and linear assertion of 'one's own will' rather it is a complex and nuanced set of practices in which subjects strive to make meaning of their lives through the stories they tell themselves and the stories they tell others.

The benefits of analyzing everyday political resistance from a population that has low visibility and little overt political mobilization outweigh the above-stated limitations. Certain identities might be less likely to become politically active (in the traditional sense), and that is why it is so important to listen to their everyday stories and to look for the resistance and activism that may manifest there. Identities here refers to group identities which have shared political interests. Some identities lend themselves better to overt political mobilization than others. Namely, identities which are readily visible and the group, or large portions of the group, are concentrated geographically, face reduced barriers to political mobilization.

5 Analysis

Now that I have outlined the methods used to access this study's material, I move into an analysis of how everyday political resistance practices manifest in the daily lives of interview participants and the implications these findings have for understanding political engagement from marginalized positions. My analysis is divided into two sections: Disclosure Practices and Resistance Narratives. The first section focuses on interviewee disclosure practices. This section is split into three subsections: 1) political disclosure, 2) nonpolitical disclosure, and 3) political nondisclosure. The second section focuses on resistance narratives (counter-narratives), which emerge as patterns in the stories the interviewees tell about themselves and their families. This section is split into three subsections: 1) normality, 2) pride, and 3) family.

Modes of Everyday Political Resistance					
Disclosure Practices			**Resistance Narratives**		
Political Disclosure	Nonpolitical Disclosure	Political Nondisclosure	Normality Narrative	Pride Narrative	Family Narrative

My separation of modes of resistance into disclosure practices and resistance narratives is purely analytical. In practice these modes are inseparably linked and often manifest simultaneously in a single comment or story. The disclosure practices are one type of method of resistance, they connect to the narratives because the narratives are used during disclosure to strengthen and inform the impact of the disclosure (Hall, 1997b). Moreover, narratives are continually developed in subsequent conversations (after disclosure) about family, relationships, parenting, etcetera. These practices are particularly politically salient because family is a foundational institution of US society in which the state has a prime interest (Foucault, 1982; Butler, 2004; Mouffe, 2005).

The intersectional positionality of interviewees greatly affects the way they are discursively constructed, their opportunities for agency (at least the severity of the consequences), and how they can negotiate with the master-

narrative and individual discourses about their lives/families. Gender is an incredibly salient aspect of both family and sexual orientation as normatively defined in dominant discursive regimes in US society (Foucault, 1976; Butler, 1990, 1993, 2004). It must be understood that the participants' stories are constituted by and in response to the master-narrative (Foucault, 1976; Butler, 1990). Which is to say that the narratives and disclosures of the interviewees are presupposed by their "discursive condition of emergence" within a landscape that presumes family to be a product of married, heterosexual couples (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985: 108). All interviewees share an identity as the child of SSA parents, however they differ in terms of class background, regional context[8], local context, their own gender, their parents' gender(s), their own sexual orientation, and racial/ethnic identity.

Interviewees were particularly aware of LGBTQIA+ politics in the US throughout their lives and discussed a variety of ways in which the political climate in the US has othered and marginalized their families. All interviewees expressed desire for social, political, and legal change. Some interviewees have engaged in traditional activist work such as participating in protests, creating awareness-raising tools for educators and school systems, and giving talks to different target audiences. One interviewee has conducted academic research on children of queer families. All interviewees recognize that there are things that they do in their daily lives that have the potential to contribute to political change.

5.1   Disclosure Practices

There are three primary practices through which everyday resistance manifested in the participants' stories: political disclosure, nonpolitical disclosure, and political nondisclosure.

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[8] See Appendix 7.1 for participants' parents' legal rights

5.1.1 Political Disclosure

All participants described moments in which they made "political disclosures". I follow Goldberg's example in defining "political disclosures" in this context through an expansion on Cain's conception of the term, to apply to children of SSA parents as they choose whether or not to make "disclosures to promote social change through education and consciousness raising" about their families (Goldberg, 2010: 162). The key criterion for categorizing a disclosure as a *political disclosure* is then the intention behind this action. Note, however, that intention does not need to be fully recognized by the individual in the moment of disclosure. Because participants are in the particular position of reflecting back on their life experiences, they can recognize intentions in hindsight that may have been subconscious or secondary in the moment (Cavarero, 1997; Reissman, 2000). See for example the political motivations apparent in both Sam's and Syd's explanations of disclosure moments in their lives:

> "I was working with this dude who was super homophobic and he liked me a lot, so I was trying to talk about my family life and how I'm an example of how that's okay (…) and how they're great parents (…) like trying to convince him" – Syd

> "There were some guys when I joined [a fraternity] who just used a lot of anti-gay stuff (…) and I have the memory of just telling them I have two moms, just straight up, and (…) just almost checking them on it (…) to them it's just like any other slur, it's like any other swear word and they don't mean the history behind it, but you know it's there, just like any other derogatory term" – Sam

Other participants emphasized that having SSA parents gives them a position of authority from which to advocate for LGBTQIA+ rights and queer families:

> "if someone starts dissing on [insulting] gay people, I'll be like 'Hey watch it' because it gives me that kind of power to like step in (…) like: 'Hey watch it, my parents are gay' like 'I take this kind of thing incredibly personally'" – Jessica

> "I felt very almost like empowered about it… that it was sort of my personal mission because at that point when I was growing up, 'gay' was a derogatory term and so the kids would say 'oh that's so gay' if someone did something stupid, and so it became my personal mission to be like 'you shouldn't use that word,' like 'you're using that to mean a bad thing; it's not bad to be gay'" – Magdeleine

Here Jessica's and Magdeleine's comments are exemplary of a discursive re-working of themselves not as victims of homophobia and heteronormativity, but rather as agents who, despite experiencing discrimination, are in a position of power from which to push for the creation of a new political order in which queer people experience the same rights and recognition that heterosexual people do now (Foucault, 1978; Mouffe, 2005).

The frequency with which participants describe making political disclosures varies significantly, and there are several factors that appear to contribute. Participants who are either, older, from more conservative areas, or themselves identify as gay/queer generally reported making fewer political disclosures. Consequences of disclosure mentioned by participants include making others visibly uncomfortable, being negatively judged, being discredited, experiencing verbal and physical bullying, losing friends, and threats/physical attacks on themselves and their families.

> "It's something that I keep to myself to you know protect them [participants' parents] and myself because we don't need to be harassed or judged or anything like that" – Jonathan

According to previous studies, participants from conservative areas are more likely to experience negative consequences from disclosure, and those consequences are also more likely to be severe (Goldberg, 2007, 2010; Welsh, 2011; Kuvalanka, Leslie and Radina, 2014). This finding is generally supported, as participants from conservative areas in this study discussed consideration of more severe negative consequences of disclosure. This finding is further supported by explicit observations from participants who have lived in multiple states that they make fewer political disclosures now that they are living in a more conservative area.

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All participants born after 1995 (and few who were older but raised in a liberal area) placed particular emphasis on the fact that they never experienced physically violent consequences and that they never felt the need to be concerned about this possibility. On the other hand, Rose mentioned that, while she never personally experienced physical violence as a result of disclosure, she "would hear things that happened to [her] friends and that was terrifying." She explained that this fear was so strong that she thinks "that even if the world somehow became incredibly open and accepting of gay people, [she] would always have that wariness a little bit." This comment speaks to the pervasiveness of disciplinary power in the lives of the interview participants (Foucault, 1976, 1978). In discussing pressures he experienced when considering whether or not to disclose, Zane highlighted how gender can play a prominent role:

> "there was always this – I don't know if it's subconscious or just subtle – underlying fear that I would be seen as less than a man, for having two moms and not having a solid male figure in my life."

The interconnected regime of gender and sexual orientation in the heterosexual matrix and in the master-narrative of family in the US, manifests here in the participant's concern that the legitimacy of his gender might become suspect if it is known that he has lesbian mothers (Butler, 1990, 1993, 2004). This highlights the way the participants' positionalities, in this case the participant's gender, change the dynamics of engaging in resistance practices.

Concern regarding these and more severe consequences have been documented in previous studies (Joos and Broad, 2007; Goldberg, 2010). Fear of family dissolution as a result of legal intervention is prevalent in previous studies, whereas only one of the participants in this study indirectly expressed concerns over legal intervention (Goldberg, 2010; Gash and Raiskin, 2018).

> "I grew up in Ohio and so my family had no avenue for legal rights, my parents could never get married and I remember very vividly (…) Ohio actually passed a constitutional amendment outlawing gay marriage so it became even more clear that my family had no legal rights (…) it was always something I was aware of if something happened, Cindy [Magdeleine's non-biological mother] couldn't make any decisions about us" – Magdeleine

Magdeleine later added to this story that she remembers her parents arguing over how to navigate this situation:

> "my mom decided to, because of that legal situation, to legally make it that my aunt, her older sister, if anything were to happen to my mom that my aunt would be able to make legal decisions about the kids and I think she just felt that that would be more understood by the powers that be, that like 'okay well this is an aunt,' whereas if she had made it Cindy then there would be questions like 'well this woman isn't actually related to these kids'… but Cindy was really upset about that" – Magdeleine

The fact that legal intervention into their families was a more present fear in previous studies may be connected to the fact that previous studies almost exclusively accessed people whose parents were initially a heterosexual couple which dissolved before or shortly after one parent came out as gay, lesbian, or bisexual. This carries the greater possibility that one of the child's initial, biological parents maintains parental rights, thus making it much more likely that the child's parent's new partner will have had a significantly compromised avenue to parental rights (Kuvalanka, Leslie and Radina, 2014; Gash and Raiskin, 2018). In the US, parental rights can be secured through marriage, which was not available nationally to SSA parents until 2015, and second-parent adoption, which depending upon how liberal the court and particular judge were, might have been approved or denied (Gash and Raiskin, 2018).

Potential reasons behind why participants who also identify as queer/gay may make fewer political disclosures are nuanced and thus require careful consideration. One participant reported struggling to negotiate resistance against one of the discourses often used to support the master-narrative: the discourse that 'gay parents make gay kids.' This discourse is particularly difficult to negotiate because it puts families on the defensive by directly attaching a negative meaning to queerness (Weston, 1991; Hanssen, 2012). Thus, in resisting this discourse, participants must simultaneously explain that it should not be seen as a problem and also that it is not the case. Some participants (primarily those from more liberal areas) felt this discourse had not been present in their lives, and therefore, they have not felt the need to directly confront it. This is evidenced by the fact that the two interviewees who never mentioned their sexual orientation, also came

from more liberal environments and are the youngest in the sample. These factors may have reduced their exposure to the master-narrative throughout their lives. Resisting this discourse is perhaps easier for straight children of gay parents to navigate because they can assert their own straightness as evidence of the falseness of these claims. Indeed, several participants emphasized their heterosexuality without prompting, as part of their narrative. However, for gay and queer participants, this is not an option, and therefore individuals need to use other tactics. For example, Syd expressed having internalized to some degree this negative discourse:

> "I think my coming out was so difficult because I felt like I failed to be the good example of a child of gay parents (…) I'm really not into that, using us as the reason that gay parents are good, I don't think that that's valuable, I think that it's not on us to prove that, it's on people who don't know shit to learn and be more open-minded (…) I think that people who do that are dope [great], and I think it's cool they put themselves out there, but I don't think we have to make ourselves vulnerable to show people who don't agree that they're wrong"

Towards the end of the quote, we see that Syd[9] has since overcome the negative feelings they experienced when they were younger as a result of this discourse and finds agency in their decision to rarely make political disclosures. Jonathan expresses a different perspective. He demonstrates a heightened awareness of understanding what it is to be 'outed' and thus the consideration of whether his mothers would want to be out to a particular person at a particular time, featured more prominently in his explanation of why he did and did not make political disclosures in particular moments and contexts:

> "I know she is out at work, but I don't know how well known it is, so I'm not trying to out her any more than what she wants to be, so I'm her son and that's about as much information as I'm giving out to these people at work who say they know her or start asking questions"

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[9] Syd's preferred pronouns are they/them/their

It is important to note that all participants are likely more attuned to issues of 'outing' people than are children of heterosexual parents. This assertion comes from the interview material along with similar findings in previous studies that children of SSA parents have a particular situated knowledge, a kind of 'queer competence,' that comes from being raised within the community, even if the participants do not themselves identify as queer (Goldberg, 2010; Gustavson and Schmitt, 2011). However, the only participant to explicitly state this as a reason for reconsidering disclosure or political disclosure is Jonathan. Another salient factor is that all participants described their parents as generally being 'very out,' which may have largely mitigated concerns of 'outing' because so many people already knew by the time the child was confronted with a disclosure decision.

Participants also described very different perspectives vis-à-vis making political disclosures. All participants see potential benefit in political disclosures and describe them as necessary and brave. However, some participants discussed choosing not to disclose to avoid negative consequences and feeling shame or guilt for not disclosing more. All participants noted that there are situations in which disclosure may be too dangerous and thus nondisclosure is not shameful. Several participants reported having gone through periods of their lives in which they made fewer political disclosures. Often, these periods were associated with feelings of shame or guilt because of the potential for making a political impact (through disclosures) that was lost. Some noted that they make political disclosures, but that they resent the idea that having SSA parents be seen as a definitive or central aspect of their own personal narrative. Others emphasized their appreciation of the value of making political disclosures, while also noting their resentment of any interpellation into a subject position as bearers of the burden of proof for the legitimacy of queer families (Butler, 1988, 1990, 1993; Hall and du Gay, 1996).

> "I didn't do that [make explicit political disclosures] very much, I found that very difficult. So no, that wasn't something I felt really comfortable doing, I always felt really vulnerable doing that and I didn't like to do it with strangers. In my personal life with people I knew and who maybe were just a little bit ignorant I maybe do that with, but no I don't just like

throw it out there on the street, cause like I don't know who you are and what your thoughts are." – Syd

The participants who are also members of COLAGE, while they did not share the same perspective on political disclosure, did seem to have a somewhat common strategy on disclosure technique. They all emphasized the importance of allowing people to ask questions.

"I'm like 'have I told you about my parents yet?' and they're like 'no,' and then I give them the whole spiel, it's like a whole spiel, and then you have to give then room to ask questions" – Syd

"Yeah for sure because I think education and answering questions is the right way to go to normalize these kind of things" – Jessica

Rose, explicitly tied this strategy to COLAGE when noting that her strategy of disclosing and then inviting questions is "something that [she thinks she] learned from [her] work with COLAGE because you know people are more likely to listen if you're listening to them."

Participants also engage in a kind of political disclosure when they correct forms that did not initially have space for more than two parents, two parents of the same gender, more than one emergency contact, etcetera, to accommodate their family configurations. This practice was mentioned by several participants, and is exemplified in by Zane's explanation:

"I have on more than one occasion crossed out "father" to write "mother". Or simply written the name of my mom and then written mother in parenthesis. In doing so, I did take pride in my family, my upbringing, and yes, I believe that at some level, it was an act of resistance"

Syd pointed out that these forms not only failed to recognize their family for the sexual orientation of their parents, but also for the number of parents they had: the forms did not provide space for three parents. The fact that space is only given for including a single mother and single father category, is an evidence of the institutionalization of the heterosexual matrix in schools, workplaces, hospitals, amongst others (Butler, 1990, 2004). This means that from a very young age these children had experiences of being part of a family that was unrecognized by these major institutions. The actions of re-writing these forms are a reclamation of their

existence and a resistance against the master-narrative which has failed to allow for the possibility of their existence (Foucault, 1976; Butler, 1990, 2004; Hall and du Gay, 1996).

5.1.2 Nonpolitical Disclosure

All participants talked about times in which they disclosed for reasons that are not primarily political or are in no way political. Many participants explained that they make 'personal disclosures' more often. Personal disclosures are made to someone the participant is developing a personal relationship with and thus feels they want to share this part of themselves with.

> "There's definitely people that I disclose to and people I don't disclose to. And it completely has to do with my sense of do they care about me as a person and like is this an important relationship to me and like is it thus important for me to be open to them" – Magdeleine

> "I like her as a person and, since the opportunity had come up, I didn't want to skate over it because I didn't want this to be something that then she ever felt that I'd kept secret from her" – Rose

These personal disclosures are often not brought on as a direct reaction to ignorant or heteronormative comments, rather they are described as arising organically through the process of getting to know someone and becoming closer to them. Theoretically any disclosure has the *potential* to contribute to political change regardless of the degree to which this is or is not intended by the discloser (Vinthagen and Johansson, 2013). This follows from the perspective that everyday political resistance does not imply or require a "political-ideological" intent (Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013: 20). Indeed, a wide variety of intents may motivate action that is both subversive and within the realm of the everyday, including such motivations as survival, impressing one's peers, and deepening a personal connection (Jefferess, 2008; Lilja, 2008; Vinthagen and Johansson, 2013). Furthermore, all participants directly acknowledged the power of disclosure as a tool for political change. A tool that works via a Butlerian exposure of the false naturalness of the master-narrative of family through

subversive acts in the form of disclosure (Butler, 1990, 2004). Thus, personal disclosures can also be read as resistance even though they are not political disclosures. It is important to focus on resistance practices like this one, because nearly all participants report making personal disclosures more frequently than political disclosures. Thus, this practice may play a larger role in pushing for political change than the political disclosures, although participants note that both practices are needed as they contribute to political change in different ways. This is exemplified in Syd's comment that they rarely make political disclosures; they generally favor disclosing to people they are close to (nonpolitical disclosures) or nondisclosure for political reasons – which will be addressed in greater detail in the section to follow:

> "other people are super loud about it [making political disclosures to people they do not know well], and I think that's dope [very good; excellent], I think both are probably necessary to do things for sure."

The complex relationship between intentionality and disclosure that characterizes this kind of resistance can be observed in several participants' stories. For example, Rose explained how she would disclose more often when the marriage equality or other aspects of the LGBTQIA+ rights struggle was particularly present in US political conversation, and in so doing, we can see her exploring the connection between the personal and the political in her experience:

> "I have just found myself having more conversations because it's being talked about more, and so it's not that I was intentionally thinking like I'm gonna bring this topic up and talk to people about my experiences, but since the conversations are already happening, I want to contribute to them and to make sure that like people are thinking about all sides of it. I so often feel like gay families are not talked about as much and so and when people talk about gay rights and marriage rights, that's so important for our families and so it's certainly something that I would bring up in conversation when that topic was really hot. Usually I was probably talking to people that I already knew so it wasn't that I had to disclose more, but you know at work I think there were times that like it came up because of that and I was like, 'well you know I have lesbian moms and these are my thoughts'"

As I noted when introducing my analytical framework, the separation of disclosure practices into three distinct categories is useful for conceptualization and discussion, but in reality, there is much overlap and interconnection between these categories. Here are two somewhat less-clear stories, in which the participants hint at a mixture of personal and political motivations:

> "This is the friend who, when I first met her she was really conservative but then we had these really deep, good conversations about it, but then it was like I already felt a connection with her and so it was very early on like I wanted to be open with her about who I was. It was part of like 'I want you to understand the other side of this because you have a clear position against gay marriage and so I want to tell you about my experience' and so it was in a context of this personal, like I wanted to become friends with this person." – Magdeleine

> "I have one person who I'm now like kind of friends with, who at first she just said the most hateful things, and she was like 'but I don't get how your parents can be gay' and like 'but why don't you have a mom' like things like that. And it just got really frustrating, so what I did with her, was I made sure to answer questions she had, and I talked to her about like 'hey this is why that's not okay to say' and I just was I was very honest with her and made myself clear that that kind of thing wasn't going to fly." – Jessica

None of these examples are strictly politically motivated because the participants mention the progression of a friendship as being part of the reason for disclosure, however it cannot be denied that the participants express an awareness of the role of resistance in these moments and a specific intent to push for political change, through explaining their point of view and, in so doing, why political change is necessary.

As discussed, in the previous section on political disclosures, the frequency of nonpolitical disclosures is impacted by the intersectional positionality of the discloser. Similar tendencies were noticed along the lines of which aspects of the participants' identity/surroundings influenced disclosure practices. They key difference here, is that despite the fact that age, state/surroundings, and sexual orientation did likely result in lower levels of

disclosure from participants who are older, from conservative areas, and identify as queer themselves, the disparity here (between those who make more and those who make fewer personal disclosures) is negligible and all participants noted that they disclose to close friends as part of the natural progression of relationship development. This finding underscores yet again why it is important to focus on everyday resistance practices, rather than exclusively focusing on traditional-activist-style practices of resistance. It allows us to learn more about what resistance looks like in communities that exist from a positionality that experiences multiple, intersectional forms of oppression (Crenshaw, 1989; Hill Collins, 2013; Vinthagen and Johansson, 2013; Lilja and Vinthagen, 2014; Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016).

5.1.3 Political Nondisclosure

Nondisclosure has been described by other authors in the field as a strategy of "not telling others about the parents' sexual orientation," which is defined conceptually to also encompass acts that seek to prevent others from finding out about parents' sexual orientation through other means, such as "hiding items such as gay newspapers or books before visits from friends, or referring to their parents' partners as 'aunts,' 'uncles,' or 'housemates'" (Kuvalanka, Leslie and Radina, 2013: 245; see also Bozett, 1987; van Gelderen *et al.*, 2012). I further narrow this concept for the purposes of this study, to nondisclosure which is described in the context of political resistance motivations. This manifests in three ways: 1) as a means to maintain a social position which lends greater legitimacy and therefore efficacy to daily discursive resistances of the master-narrative. 2) as a strategic period of nondisclosure in which participants wait for others to develop 'un-biased' opinions before disclosure, and 3) as strategy of non-engagement with discourses that presume children can or should prove that their parents are fit to be parents.

Several participants talked about withholding disclosure as a means to push for change from a more effective position. They felt that they might be discredited or discounted if they disclose, thus the efficacy of their advocacy for change through everyday conversations that resist the master-narrative might be

compromised. In some cases, participants explained that if people do not realize that the participants come from a family that is 'different,' then they are more likely to be in the other peoples' lives and have access to be able to make small pushes for change over time. Small narrative pushes to encourage others to see the injustice and falsity in the master-narrative, potentially making them a political ally for change in the future.

> "Definitely, which is a bummer because I wish you could be open and also push, but a lot of times people don't take pushes from people they feel like are different from them" – Syd

> "If I were to still say the same things and they knew [that the speaker has SSA parents] I think it would have a different meaning to the family, so (…) I think I would be making the biggest progress on those kids of seeing a different perspective if they think everything else about me is standard" – Alicia

In other cases, participants talked about wanting to let other people get to know them before disclosing so that once they have developed impressions that the participant is normal, likable, good, etcetera, then the participant discloses and by so doing, the participant has used themselves as evidence to contradict discourses of the master narrative such as 'gay people can't have kids,' 'gay people make bad parents,' etcetera. This is a different resistance tactic from permanent/indefinite nondisclosure, yet this strategy is still dependent on a significant period of nondisclosure, and for this reason, I have included this tactic conceptually within the 'nondisclosure' section of this study. These participants noted that their disclosures mostly come from the natural exchange of information that occurs as people get to know each other and develop closer relationships.

> "I think it's just, like it's not the first thing I want people to see about me" – Jessica

Other participants emphasized that they distinctly resent the expectation that they must use themselves as personal examples in order to contribute to resisting the master-narrative. These participants explained that they were frustrated with the way their experience and interests were appropriated by conservatives in political debate, and thus seek to resist this interpellation by not

engaging with this discourse and not talking about themselves as evidence that gay people are good parents and thus queer families should be given full rights and recognition (Butler, 1990, 1993, 2004; Hall and du Gay, 1996).

> "I wished that I could do it [counter the master-narrative] without having to put myself in the spotlight to do it, which is I think what I resent about that stuff so much in the general debate. (…) Now I work with kids, and I do this stuff all the time and it's like easy little pushes on like what family is, what gender is, (…) I do that all the time. That feels a lot better, a lot more effective than using myself." – Syd

Here we see that Syd's comment is exemplary of this strategy to not engage directly with certain discourses of the master-narrative. This is a resistance of the would-be interpellation into the subject position of bearing the duty to prove their parents' legitimacy to parent (Hall and du Gay, 1996; Hall, 1997b).

5.2   Resistance Narratives

During the process of disclosure and through subsequent conversations, participants tell stories about themselves and their families. The process of story-telling is a way for participants to make sense of who they are, and the tension between their own existence and the master-narrative on family in US society (Hall and du Gay, 1996; Andrews *et al.*, 2016). These stories are a way to assert their/their families' existence and legitimacy in direct and indirect resistance of the master-narrative. I have selected three key resistance narratives, which I wove together from patterns in participants' stories that relate to the focus of this study – narratives deemed outside the scope of this study were excluded (Reissman, 2000; Andrews *et al.*, 2016; Riessman *et al.*, 2016). The stories organized into these key narratives were told in the context of an interview and are thus a product of that co-creative environment. However, they are stories about how the participants talk about themselves and their families to others in their daily lives, and thus are representative of the participants' stories in general and not only during the interviews (Reissman, 2000; Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou, 2008).

5.2.1 Normality Narrative

One of the key narratives that emerges at various points in the participants' stories is a narrative of normality. This narrative is essentially an appeal to acceptance (social, legal, and political) on the basis of the lack of meaningful difference between the participants/their families and married, heterosexual-parented families and their children. This appeal is a direct challenge to the master-narrative, which the participants use in their daily lives both through the process of disclosure and in subsequent conversations about themselves and their families after disclosure. It functions as resistance in the same way that subversive gender performativity has over time resulted in an expansion of the bounds of what is appropriate according to prevailing gender norms (Butler, 1990, 2004). Here, in the context of appealing for equal rights and recognition for SSA-parented families, Sam makes a claim to normality, which he supports with the ideas that his family functions neither better nor worse than 'normal,' which is to say, 'straight' families.

> "it's like normal; we're not hurting anyone; we're just trying to have a family and live our lives. We could be selling drugs or whatever but no, we're just living, we're being part of society and you know we're just a happy family doing family stuff. We're just as functional or de-functional as any straight family" – Sam

Magdeleine recalled that, in confronting ignorant or offensive comments about SSA people and their rights to have a family, she often underscores that:

> "This is just a normal part of my life, and you should accept it"

This is a clear example of an appeal to normality for acceptance. In another example, Sam appealed to the normality of having two lesbian mothers by explaining that it is difficult to even answer the question of 'what it is like to have two moms' (a question which he said he has been asked a lot) *because* of how normal it is.

> "I don't… it's kind of hard to answer. It's like 'what's it like to have a mom and a dad?' right?"

Here he calls attention to the fact that the experience of 'having a mom and a dad' is not questioned. In turning the question back onto heterosexual families Sam is exposing the false presumption of the naturalness of heterosexual-parented families, thereby resisting the master-narrative (Butler, 1990, 2004). Furthermore, Sam implicitly contests the discursive preconditions which suppose that it is legitimate for people to ask about his family (and other SSA parented families), yet unusual for him to ask about heterosexual-parented families (Foucault, 1972, 1976; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; Hall and du Gay, 1996). Jessica emphasized that her family is not different in any *meaningful* way. She did this by pointing out how her parents are loving and supportive, and essentially *doing* parenthood well. Here, she takes on an offensive discourse that has been used against families like hers and turns it around:

> "Like you were saying [referencing an anti-marriage-equality political discourse] 'protect the children,' I am being protected by two adults who love me and care for me. I'm lucky to grow up in a house where I have two adults to go back to every day, and like if I'm having a bad day, I know they're there for me, if I'm having a good day I know they're there to celebrate with me. So, it's just important that people recognize that it doesn't make a difference in anything because I still have the two parents who love me and care for me"

In a slightly different appeal to legitimacy, Zane shared something his mothers told him:

> "they were hesitant to have me; they were both in law enforcement and they saw some of the horrible things that kids with a mom and dad type traditional situation deal with: kids that are being abused, kids that are living with drug addicts, all kinds of horrible things… and I remember [them] telling me they thought to themselves you know 'if having same-sex parents is the worst thing he has to deal with then what the hell.'"

Here Zane, highlights the absurdity of the claim that SSA parents are sub-normal by contrasting his parents with examples of harmful parenting, which he positions as true examples of what should be considered sub-normal.

Several participants also emphasized that regardless of how often they disclose they do not believe that their family is anything that they ever hide or feel ashamed about. This is a slightly different brand of the normality narrative, but it is based in the same basic idea: 'we have nothing to hide because we are normal.'

"I'm not afraid to talk about it" – Sam

"in terms of like not telling that my parents are gay I don't think I really ever do that anymore" – Alicia

"It's never been a secret" – Jessica

"I don't ever hide who my family is" – Zane

These discursive rejections of hiding, secrecy, and shame that appear within the normality narrative are closely linked to the idea of pride because the absence of shame implies the presence of pride. Likely the importance historically placed upon pride in the face of a marginalization by the LGBTQIA+ community contributes to this theme's presence in interviewee narratives (Joos and Broad, 2007; Stewart *et al.*, 2015).

5.2.2 Pride Narrative

Participants' use of the pride narrative, is a means to reject master-narrative implications that queer families are invalid, inadequate, or abnormal. The pride narrative has many levels. In one respect, interviewees explained that they are proud of their parents, because of how open they are despite all the discrimination they have had to overcome throughout their lives. In another respect, all interviewees, generally early in the interview, made it clear (several repeated this throughout the interview) that they were not ashamed of having SSA parents, and/or are proud of their family. Many participants mentioned a moment very early in life (though all indicate there was a time before they realized this) in which they realized their family was 'different.' These experiences of being made to feel different highlight the process of othering that the master-narrative of family in the US perpetuates (Hall, 1997b). The prominence of pride/lack of shame in participants' narratives is evidence of the meaning-making work these

individuals have done throughout their lives to resist this master-narrative (Hall, 1997b; Reissman, 2000).

This narrative of pride may be a product not only of their own lived experience, as part of a unique political generation with a particular politicized identity, but also of an intergenerational, community memory (Joos and Broad, 2007; Van Stekelenburg, Van Leeuwen and Van Troost, 2013; Johansson and Vinthagen, 2014; Stewart *et al.*, 2015). The LGBTQIA+ community concept of pride that has been passed down to these children – several participants mentioned growing up in/around the gay community via parents' social networks (Joos and Broad, 2007; Stewart *et al.*, 2015). Thus, these children grew up hearing the 'coming out' stories, cautionary tales, love stories, and stories of activism and resistance of their parents' generations in the 60's, 70's, and 80's.

Joos and Broad, in their study on women with LGBTQ parents, note strong parallels between the coming out stories (about having LGBTQ parents) of the study's participants and the already well-documented archetype of coming out stories of LGBTQ people in the US. The dynamic of the participants' narratives in the Joos and Broad study being reflective of the LGBTQ coming out narratives that came before them, supports my argument that there is a shared knowledge in the political generation I study that they have inherited from their parents and the wider LGBTQIA+ community in the US. Thus, I argue that the theme of pride and rejection of shame within the participants' narratives comes in part from their lived experience as children raised in queer households.

Other studies have noted the use of pride in the face of marginalization as something children implicitly and explicitly learn from their SSA parents (Goldberg, 2007; Joos and Broad, 2007; Hosking, Mulholland and Baird, 2015). In this study's interviews, some participants talked about their parents telling them they should always be proud of their family and they should never hide it. For example, Sam recalled that his parents never told him to "be careful, it was definitely just: be proud." On the other hand, Jonathan's parents encouraged both pride and caution. He recalled one of his mothers telling him:

> "you could be bullied for this because, you know, we are considered different, but I want you to be proud of what we have," and he concludes by saying with a smile "and so I was."

Sam grew up in a particularly liberal area and is the second youngest participant. This might explain why, the message Jonathan (who is seven years older and from a more conservative area) received was different. Despite differences, all participants expressed pride in their families, however some discussed worrying about the consequences (i.e. negative judgement/prejudice, verbal or physical bullying, parents' safety, etcetera). Some participants expressed guilt over moments in their lives when fear of consequences prevented them from expressing the pride that they feel.

The pride narrative also manifested when participants called attention to the particularities of having SSA parents that are positive.

> "My parents have done an amazing job raising me, and arguably, like I always joke I know I wasn't an accident; like I know that my parents love… like wanted me and love me and care for me and they really put a lot into raising me right" – Jessica

The 'I wasn't an accident' discourse is a way people who are born through reproductive technologies like IVF and surrogacy can speak back to the idea that their family formation is in some way subnormal. The joke is that, unlike children biologically born to heterosexual parents, the participant knows for certain that she was wanted by her parents and was not a *surprise*. This example highlights the way the pride narrative differs from the normality narrative. Here the participant acknowledges a particular way in which her family *is* different, and that this difference is positive. She takes pride in this, and in the caring, loving way in which her fathers have raised her.

Another discourse within the pride narrative is that having queer parents taught the participants to be accepting of and allies to all marginalized communities. This heightened awareness of diversity and marginalization is attributed by the participants to growing up in a queer household, which entails both learning about the unique and positive aspects of the queer community and being acutely aware of (and much more personally affected by) discrimination against the community. Here Jessica describes how she serves as an advocate and ally, especially in relation to topics of sexual orientation and gender identity:

> "At school, I have friends who identify as gender neutral and there are some people who don't understand that, and just coming from my

background (…) I've grown up being around drag queens and people who don't identify as stereotypically male, female; things like that, so I'm able to just, if someone at lunch misgenders one of my friends I say 'Hey they use they/them pronouns', and then I'll like explain like 'this is how to use them'"

On several occasions during the interview, Sam described how growing up with lesbian mothers in a liberal area were formative aspects of his identity, a core piece of which is his passion for equality for all.

"I'm very much about equality and all that in general, it's not just for like homosexuals it's for everyone and especially minorities Asian, Black, whatever and a general overarching idea of acceptance that I think I've gotten from having two moms and growing up in a liberal area that I definitely use to define myself and my actions"

It is important to note that Sam is biracial (Happa) and thus it could be argued that his perspectives on racial equality may also be influenced significantly by his lived experience as a biracial man. Nonetheless, Sam specifically emphasized the role having lesbian mothers has played in his identity as a person who fights for equality. Moreover, similar comments were made by other participants, and previous studies report similar findings (Joos and Broad, 2007; Goldberg, 2010; Welsh, 2011; Kuvalanka, Leslie and Radina, 2014). In another example, while referencing some of the ways he decides whether a person will be safe to disclose to, Jonathan recognized that he has a heightened awareness of other forms of discrimination, because these are indicators that discrimination against himself or his family could follow:

"if they the trash talk somebody else, like maybe if they have a racist tendency or they talk bad about you know some other type of people, well then I'm not going to throw myself in there as a minority as well for them to talk shit about"

There is an interesting dynamic within the pride narrative as it was expressed by the participants who identify as gay and queer. They explained that they felt particularly lucky and proud to have lesbian mothers (and a gay father, in Syd's case), because they learned important pieces of how to navigate the world

as a queer person, how to find queer spaces, and how to act in those spaces as compared to other spaces. They explained that unlike their parents and their queer friends, they grew up knowing that creating a family was an option for them someday. They felt fortunate to grow up with stories and lessons from the previous generation of LGBTQIA+ people:

> "I obviously had role models, and like I know what older queer people look like, like a lot of my friends don't, or never had that before. So, for me, it's always been an option to like have a family and like, live until I'm older and have a vision of what my life could be when I'm not young anymore, but a lot of my queer friends never had that" – Syd

Jonathan also noted that he has queer friends who are envious of his lived experience growing up with lesbian mothers:

> "I talk to other gay people and they're like 'God I wish I had a family like yours' and you know I haven't seen the struggles that a lot of gay people go through because of my family. So I feel blessed and sometimes I feel a little guilty because people have these struggles that they went through from their home life, you know constantly hiding it, and my mom told me she knew before I did and she was just proud that I finally said it."

These two comments highlight the positive aspects of simultaneously being queer and having queer parents that are not recognized by the master-narrative which only configures this positionality as a 'point of suture' between two marginalized positionalities (Hall and du Gay, 1996). This highlights the resistance of external 'identification,' through a narrativization (internal aspect of identity formation) of the advantages of a position which has been identified as disadvantageous (Hall and du Gay, 1996).

5.2.3 Family Narrative

Participants expressed an underlying narrative that family is not limited to biological relations, and that biological relations do not necessarily result in family. What makes family, according to the participants of this study, can be summed up as 'love,' which manifests through being present in someone's life

and being caring and supportive. This narrative echoes Weston's findings about 'chosen families' within the LGBTQIA+ community in the US (Weston, 1991). Similar narratives about family formation through love as opposed to biology have been observed in previous studies with similar demographic groups (Goldberg, 2010; Welsh, 2011; Hosking, Mulholland and Baird, 2015). All participants have people in their lives who they consider to be parents, who do not have what is deemed a biological parent-relationship to them [the participants]. Furthermore, not all, but most participants are aware of people who are biologically related to them, and yet the participants do not consider these people to be their family. In talking about themselves and their families, participants push for a discursive expansion of what can be included in the term 'family' in the US, and in so doing, they resist the master-narrative which marginalizes all groups of people who are 'doing family' and yet are not recognized as such because they do not conform to the master-narrative (Weston, 1991; Butler, 2004).

The following comments highlight the way parent-child relationships are not inextricably tied to biology for the participants.

> "I have two awesome moms and don't have a dad but not because there wasn't a dad there just because you know it was a different family setup" – Zane

> "Kim discovers that she's pregnant and tells Betty and Betty's response is like 'we're having a baby?!' and so they've been together ever since. I don't remember a time when we didn't all live together." – Rose

In telling these stories, the participants push for change through a resistance of the master-narrative which would render their household unintelligible in the legal, social, and political senses of family in the US (Foucault, 1976; Butler, 1990, 2004; Weston, 1991). In another example, Alicia emphasizes the caring-bonding dynamic that must be present in addition to simply living in the same household.

> "That's the reason that I like the Giants because she likes baseball. It doesn't matter that she is just a stepparent."

When Alicia explains that she sees her mom's partner (who her mom has been with since Alicia was 2 years old) as a stepparent, she emphasizes, not only that gender is not a salient factor in recognizing parenthood, but also that the 'step'

part of stepparent does not diminish the experience of the parent-child relationship that Alicia feels to this person. Alicia brings this to the fore with an example of emotional bonding – that she grew to like a particular baseball team because Alicia's stepmom liked baseball and it was something that they shared. Here Magdeleine further underscores the narrative that presence in a person's life is what makes them family.

> "My mother had several girlfriends and then when I was five she got together with a woman that I consider my mother, my other mother, and so they've been my two moms since then"

Magdeleine recognizes that her mother had several different partners, and yet only one of those partners became family to her – the one who stayed present in her life. Syd is the only participant in this study to have grown up with three people as their primary parents for their entire childhood. Despite the fact that only two of these people have a biological relationship to them, Syd describes all three of them as their parents equally.

This family narrative extends beyond parent-child relationships, as participants also described people they do or do not consider to be siblings.

> "my mother's first wife had a daughter while they were together and she was my sister because my mom adopted her. We are five years apart, but she's, I mean she's been my sister forever" – Jonathan

> "Anthony came to live with us and so you know he and I grew up together already so he was like a brother to me and then once he came to live with us, at some point we started calling each other brother and sister and that's just been true for like 15 years now" – Rose

> "I biologically I have a half-sibling on my dad's side but she is like 23 years older, so I didn't grow up with her… I think if he [participant's biological father] had lived we probably would have had a closer connection, but at the same time I think I have met her like 10 times in my life so. Essentially yea like an aunt not a sibling, but biologically a sibling" – Alicia

It seems the particularly salient factor being implied in all three participants' stories is that someone should be present in your life in order to be family, and

that there is a sense of *feeling* what family is rather than simply *knowing* what family is. Jonathan's case demonstrates that it does not matter that his sister does not have biological ties to him, what makes her his sister is that they have grown up together. Similarly, Rose described her relationship to a person who she has no biological ties to, and yet because they grew up together, she *feels* that they have a sibling relationship, and thus they are brother and sister. Alicia explained her relationship to a person who she does have a biological-sibling tie to, however she does not *feel* that this person is her sibling, primarily because they did not grow up together. She explained that she does still have some degree of familial relationship with this person, however it is a different level, there is more distance in the relationship between an aunt than a sibling (generally speaking in US culture, although this does vary). The age-disparity plays a role in the way Alicia feels about the person she referenced, however, Alicia pointed out that they have spent very little time together – "10 times in my life" – which further emphasizes that the key way to *do* family is to be present in each other's lives. Alicia later emphasized this concept that family is *felt* rather than simply *known* when she recounted an experience in which a student expressed intolerance of the idea of a lesbian-led family, and Alicia responded that, "everyone's family is different." These contestations about what family is, are highly political because of the foundational position the institution of family holds in US society and in the eyes of the state (Foucault, 1982; Butler, 2004). Re-making family through narrative is a deeply political act which resists the master-narrative in a daily context, and carries implications for the core logic of the social and political order in the US (Foucault, 1978; Butler, 2004; Mouffe, 2005).

Sam and Magdeleine both told stories (which they inherited from their parents) of relatives who expressed feelings of not wanting them to be born, because the of the manner of childbirth their parents were initially pursuing. Both stories underscore the narratives that being present, but also being 'loving, accepting, supportive' are necessary elements of *doing* family.

> "My grandparents weren't always very supportive of my mom being gay and then when my mom was getting pregnant with me my grandmother was trying to talk her out of it, but I think it was more about it didn't make sense to my grandmother that my mom like not being married would like

choose to have a kid, and but then once I was born (…) my grandparents were really happy because now they had a grandchild (…) By the time that I was cognizant all of my mom's side of the family was perfectly loving and accepting of me" – Magdeleine

"My grandparents [parents of his nonbiological mother and biological father] weren't super big into the idea of having me (…) and it took a lot of warming up to, and they're very family-oriented, because you know the Japanese household, so it's very 'family comes first' and that was a big part of why it's a really big deal that my dad is related because they weren't gonna treat me as like part of the family if I didn't have the same blood. That was what they said at the time and they could have changed that, but… you know it did happen at one point, they did say that" – Sam

Sam continued by explaining his viewpoint on the implications of his grandparents' initial position.

"I don't think family has to do with blood personally, and while blood does make families strong, it's ridiculous to think that, if you're not related to somebody you can't still treat them as family (…) I was blown away by the fact that they were like not going to treat me the same because I wasn't actually related even though their daughter had raised me right? That's crazy."

In Magdeleine's comment, we see how she reconciles a story about her grandparents initial attitudes, with her subsequent experience of them being loving and accepting. As Sam's parents found a way to appease his grandparents' desire for biological ties, he does not have the ability to show that his grandparents accept him despite a lack of biological linkage. However, his story focuses more on how he rejects this biology-only narrative of family. Furthermore, we can see that he has hope that his grandparents may have changed their mind and would have accepted him regardless of who his biological father might have been.

5.3 Final Discussion

Through the analysis above, I have demonstrated that participants demand recognition and rights for queer families through disclosure practices and resistance narratives. This demand is constituted by a set of everyday practices which destabilize the master-narrative's "claim on naturalness and originality" (Butler, 1993: 125; Mouffe, 2005). The use of these narratives and disclosure practices by the participants constitutes politics because they seek to establish legitimacy for a different kind of order (Mouffe, 2005). An order in which family is not reduced to biological ties; in which disclosure practices and asserting pride in one's family no longer make sense because these families are included within the realm of 'normality'.

The current order 'disciplines non-conformity' to the master-narrative, which is what further makes the theoretical discussion of the participants' resistance within the political, because it is an antagonism (Foucault, 1978; Mouffe, 2005). Without representatives of queer families demanding rights and recognition (i.e. a new order), the subject of the master-narrative – the married, procreative, heterosexual family would remain unquestioned (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; Butler, 2004; Mouffe, 2005). This politicization is acute because of the symbolic and material importance given to the family as an institution of US society and a key interest of the state (Foucault, 1976, 1982; Butler, 2004; Williams, 2018). This explains the reason the political struggle regarding queer families has been so vehemently contested, and why *the children* became the focal point (Blevins, 2005; Williams, 2018). *The children* represent the future of society and thus when something is portrayed as endangering them, it is taken seriously, as a threat to the entire society and the state (Butler, 2004; Blevins, 2005; Williams, 2018). The implications of the resistance discussed in this study are a broadening of the institution of, and the *doing* of family in the current political order in the US in favor of a more inclusive and equal system of rights and recognition (Mouffe, 2005).

6 Conclusion

In summary, this study builds upon previous research to establish children of SSA parents born in the US in the 1980s/1990s as a political generation with a politicized identity. The findings of this study are that children of SSA parents engage in everyday political resistance against the master-narrative of the married, procreative, heterosexual-parented family in the US. This resistance is enacted in several ways which are overlapping in practice but can be conceptually separated into disclosure practices and resistance narratives. Disclosure practices manifest as 1) political disclosure – "'Hey watch it, my parents are gay' like 'I take this kind of thing incredibly personally'" – Jessica 2) nonpolitical disclosure – "it completely has to do with my sense of do they care about me as a person and (…) is it thus important for me to be open to them" – Magdeleine 3) political nondisclosure – "I think I would be making the biggest progress on those kids of seeing a different perspective if they think everything else about me is standard" – Alicia. Resistance narratives manifest as 1) normality – "this is just a normal part of my life, and you should accept it" – Magdeleine 2) pride narrative – his mother told him, "'we are considered different, but I want you to be proud of what we have,' and so I was" – Jonathan 3) family narrative – "it's ridiculous to think that, if you're not related to somebody you can't still treat them as family" – Sam. These are all forms of everyday political resistance because they expose and challenge the legitimacy of the master-narrative, thus pushing for change on legal, political, and social levels.

It is important to continue to study everyday resistances from marginalized positions because these may be the only or the best kind of resistances available to groups with shared political aims, who also face barriers to open political mobilization. Moreover, this study shows that the everyday manner of this resistance does not compromise its efficacy. Indeed, findings that participants engage in 'nonpolitical' disclosures more often than political disclosures suggest that everyday political resistance occurs more often than overt political action like protesting. Thus, while overt political action has classically been viewed as more effective, perhaps everyday resistance is as effective or more effective, due to the higher frequency. More research on the nuances of everyday political resistance

from various marginalized positionalities are necessary to answer these questions. This study underscores the importance of daily narrative practices and master-narratives in identity formation and the politicization of identity. The findings highlight the salience of narrative practices in understanding politics and the political (Mouffe, 2005). Further exploration of the narratives of different collective identities is necessary to contribute to a nuanced understanding of extent and dynamic of narrative power in the realm of politics. The impact of a collective memory inherited from participants' parents' generation in the LGBTQIA+ community was explored in this study. However, much more can be learned about the role of this dynamic in the formation and politicization of collective identities. The linkages between intergenerational, community memory, identity formation, and politicization found in this study, may be informative for other studies on the development of political engagement and identity for other collective identities in which members are linked by shared political grievances (Hall, 1997a; Joos and Broad, 2007; Van Stekelenburg, Van Leeuwen and Van Troost, 2013; Klandermans, 2014).

This study contributes to the fields of Political Science, Resistance Studies, Critical Kinship Studies, LGBTQIA+ Family Studies, Gender Studies, and empirical literature on children of SSA parents. There are numerous avenues for further research which could not be addressed in this study. Further research which incorporates more diverse samples, particularly people from ethnic/racial minorities, rural communities, states in the Midwest and the South, lower socio-economic statuses, people with more than two parents, and people with gay fathers is needed. More studies on this population will be necessary to gain a more accurate and holistic understanding of how they engage in everyday political resistance. Furthermore, interview material indicates that the institution of religion in the US may be particularly salient to this group. Thus, research on the group's relation to and experience of religious institutions in the US and the involvement of religion in US politics, may be interesting avenues for further research.

7 Appendices

7.1 Interviewees: Family Formation Data

Alicia's biological mother is bisexual. Alicia was conceived while her biological mother was in a relationship with a man (Alicia's biological father), however he passed away while Alicia's mother was pregnant. Within two years of Alicia's birth, her biological mother began to date a woman. This woman became Alicia's mother's partner; she moved in with the Alicia and her biological mother when Alicia was three years old and the couple remained Alicia's parents for the duration of her childhood and are still together now. They were never married and Alicia's nonbiological mother never attained child custody or parental rights.

Magdeleine's biological mother decided to pursue pregnancy through in vitro fertilization (IVF) while still single, using an anonymous sperm donor. Magdeleine's biological mother dated several women for the first five years of Magdeleine's life. Before Magdeleine turned six, her biological mother found the partner who became another mother to Magdeleine and remained her mother's partner throughout Magdeleine's childhood. They were never married and Magdeleine's nonbiological mother never attained child custody or parental rights. Her mothers separated when she was in her 20's, though they both continued to be her parents and to parent jointly.

Zane's mothers are a lesbian couple who were together before he was born and used IVF with an anonymous sperm donor to become pregnant with him. His mothers were never married, but they did successfully file for second parent adoption for his nonbiological mother. His mothers separated when he was six years old, however they both remained parents to him throughout his childhood and he continued to see them both as his mothers today.

Jonathan's biological mother and her partner at the time pursued pregnancy through IVF with an anonymous sperm donor. His biological mother and his first nonbiological mother were together from before Jonathan was born, until he was about two years old. In those first two years, they did successfully secure second parent adoption rights for Jonathan's first nonbiological mother. After the first couple separated (they never married), Jonathan's biological mother

married a woman who became Jonathan's second nonbiological mother, she and his biological mother were together until they divorced in when he was in his early twenties. His biological mother has since remarried a woman who is Jonathan's third nonbiological mother. Jonathan considers all four women to be his mothers.

Sam's mothers are a lesbian couple who decided to pursue pregnancy through IVF using his nonbiological mother's brother as the donor. Within the first several years of his life, his parents were able to secure second parent adoption rights for his nonbiological mother. His mothers married (several times as necessitated by changing laws). They separated a few years before Sam turned 18. Sam continues to see them both as his mothers.

Jessica's fathers are a gay couple who decided to pursue pregnancy through a combination of surrogacy and IVF. One of her fathers was the sperm donor (her biological father) and the sister of her nonbiological father was the egg donor. Her fathers became married within the first several years of her life and they successfully attained second parent adoption rights for Jessica's nonbiological father.

Rose's biological mother is bisexual. Rose was conceived while her biological mother was in a relationship with a man (Rose's biological father), however this was unknown to the couple when they separated. Rose's biological mother discovered her pregnancy after she had started a new relationship with a woman. This woman became Rose's nonbiological mother and they are still together today. The couple successfully achieved second parent adoption rights for Rose's nonbiological mother when Rose was about sixteen years old. Rose's mothers married a few years ago.

Syd's mothers are a lesbian couple who decided to pursue pregnancy through IVF. They decided to ask a gay male coworker of one of Syd's mothers to be the sperm donor. The three people – though only Syd's mothers are in a romantic relationship with each other – decided to parent Syd together. Syd's biological father and biological mother have parental rights, but the family never pursued adoption rights for Syd's nonbiological mother. Syd's mothers married several years ago, after Syd had already turned eighteen.

7.2 States in which interviewees lived (childhood)
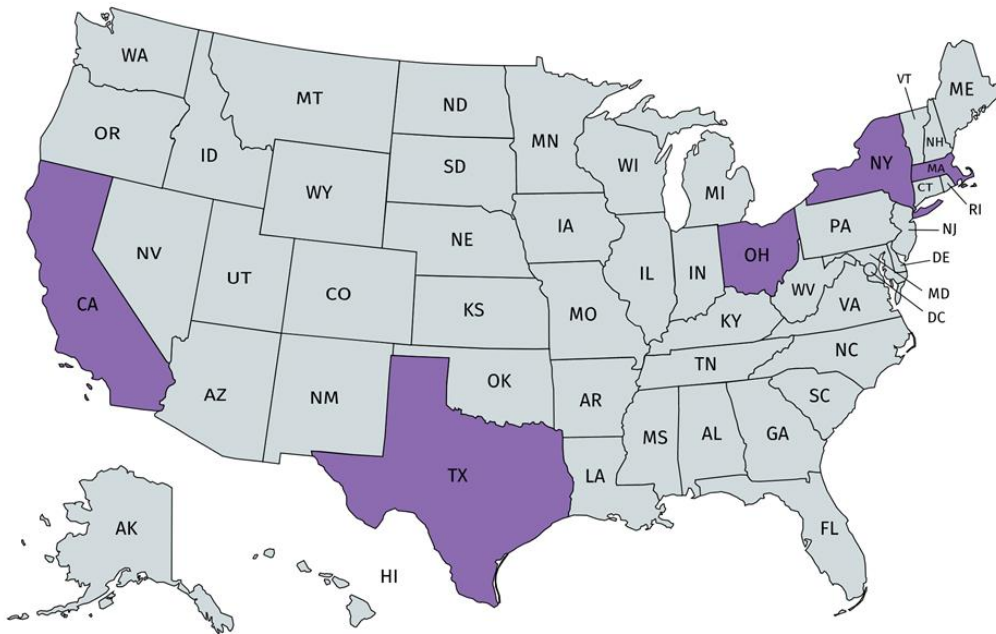
7.3 All states in which interviewees have lived
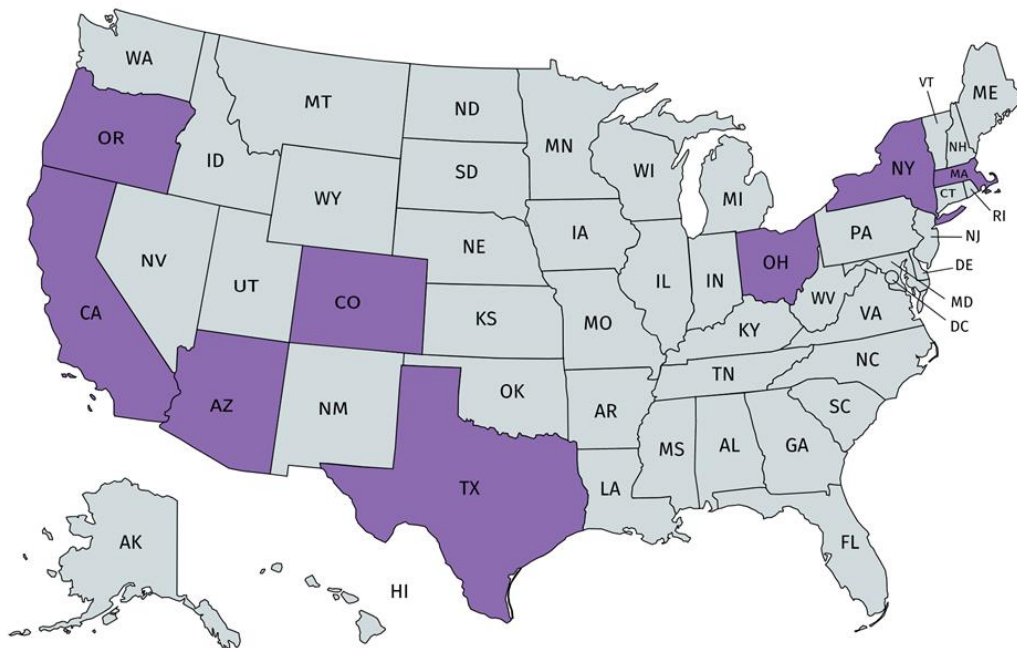
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