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IMPACT OF HB 1557 (FLORIDA'S DON'T SAY GAY BILL) on LGBTQ+ Parents in Florida

JANUARY 2023

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

On March 28, 2022, the Florida Legislature passed HB 1557, the “Parental Rights in Education” bill, also dubbed the *Don't Say Gay* bill. This bill prohibits classroom instruction on sexual orientation or gender identity before the 4th grade and requires such instruction to be “age-appropriate or developmentally appropriate” thereafter. Many are concerned that the bill will not only result in restricted or nonexistent education about the existence of diverse sexual and gender identities, but it will result in a chilly or hostile school climate for LGBTQ educators, students, and families because it suggests that something is wrong with LGBTQ identities. Based on surveys of 113 LGBTQ+ parents, this study represents a first-look at how HB 1557 is negatively affecting LGBTQ+ parent families in the state. Almost 9 out of 10 (88%) LGBTQ+ parents are very or somewhat concerned about the impact that HB 1557 will have on them and their children, with one in four reporting they have experienced anti-LGBTQ harassment since the law was passed and one in five reporting becoming less out in their communities since the law was passed. Parents have considered a variety of coping strategies in response to the bill, including moving out of the state (56%) and moving their children to a different school (11%). Over 16% of LGBTQ parents have already taken steps to move their families to another state.

KEY FINDINGS

Concerns

- When asked, “How worried are you about the effects of the *Don't Say Gay* bill/law on your children and family?”, 88% of LGBTQ+ parents said they were very or somewhat worried about the effects of the bill on their children and families.
- LGBTQ+ parents’ initial reactions to the bill ranged from fear to anger to disbelief. Over time, even those who were initially relatively unconcerned (e.g., because they believed the bill would not be signed into law or was unenforceable) became increasingly worried. Some considered moving their children to private schools.
- LGBTQ+ parents voiced a variety of concerns about how *Don't Say Gay* would affect their children, including restricting them from speaking freely about their families, negatively impacting their sense of legitimacy, and encouraging a hostile school climate that would negatively impact their children.
- LGBTQ+ parents with LGBTQ+ children voiced intense concerns as they worried about their children’s ability to talk freely about their own and their parents’/family’s identities. Indeed, 13% said that their children had expressed fears about the future related to living in Florida as LGBTQ+ youth.
- LGBTQ+ parents also worried about their own ability to be involved in/volunteer at their children’s schools.
- LGBTQ+ parents who were less concerned typically said that their children were younger (e.g., they were not yet in school) or their children were in private schools. By extension, parents who expressed the greatest concern typically had school-aged children in public schools.

Experiences

- LGBTQ+ parents reported that their children had already experienced a variety of impacts of the bill. This included harassment and bullying at school because they had LGBTQ+ parents, not being able to talk about their parents or their own LGBTQ+ identities at school or outside of school, and fears about continuing to live in Florida.
- LGBTQ+ parents reported on their experiences over the 3–6 months prior to the survey in a variety of areas: Almost one-quarter feared harassment by neighbors because of their sexual orientation or gender identity or expression. Twenty-one percent of LGBTQ+ parents had been less out in their neighborhood, workplace, or community.

Coping Strategies

- LGBTQ+ parents coped in a variety of ways, including by becoming more engaged in activism, avoiding the news, getting support from friends and family, and planning for the future (e.g., moving).
- Notably, 56% of parents considered moving out of Florida and 16.5% have taken steps to move out of Florida. Indeed, participants said that they were saving money, looking for jobs, and exploring the housing markets outside of Florida. Many felt conflicted, however, noting that they loved their families, friends, and communities; others said that moving was currently impossible for them, as they were caring for older family members or other dependents or had jobs that they could not find elsewhere.
- Other actions, beyond moving, for protecting and defending their families were also endorsed. For example, 11% had considered moving their children to a school that is not bound by the *Don't Say Gay* law (such as a private school).
- Some participants talked about *Don't Say Gay* with their (usually school-aged) children, with the goal of clarifying what the legislation says, what it doesn't say, and why people are concerned. Those with young children typically did not speak with them about the legislation, and/or kept the messaging simple and reassuring.

BACKGROUND: HB 1557 (“DON’T SAY GAY”)

On March 28 2022, Florida’s Governor Ron DeSantis signed the “Parental Rights in Education” bill (HB 1557). This bill went into effect on July 1, 2022, and reads: “Classroom instruction by school personnel or third parties on sexual orientation or gender identity may not occur in kindergarten through grade 3 or in a manner that is not age-appropriate or developmentally appropriate for students in accordance with state standards.”¹ Some legislators and parents asserted that the legislation seeks to allow parents to determine if, when, and in what way to introduce LGBTQ related topics to their children. Others worry that it will have a chilling effect on schools in general (beyond just K–3) because it stigmatizes LGBTQ+ identities, and such messaging will negatively affect LGBTQ+ parents, LGBTQ+ children, and LGBTQ+ teachers.²⁻³ For example, critics have pointed out that the vaguely worded law will cause LGBTQ students and teachers to hide their identities, and teachers will avoid teaching important topics that are not directly addressed by the law out of fear of being sued.⁴ Many organizations (e.g., The Walt Disney Company, The Trevor Project) have condemned the bill.⁵

On July 1, 2022, the day the bill was passed into law, the White House released a statement that said: “This is not an issue of ‘parents’ rights.’ This is discrimination, plain and simple...It encourages bullying and threatens students’ mental health, physical safety, and well-being. It censors dedicated teachers and educators who want to do the right thing and support their students. And it must stop.”⁶ The statement further characterized the bill as part of a nation-wide trend of right-wing politicians targeting LGBTQ+ students, educators, and individuals to score political points. It also referenced reports coming from Florida about schools and districts taking steps to comply with the law, such as removing Safe Space stickers, teachers taking down family photos, etc.⁷

Significantly, the stance of major professional organizations have echoed that of the White House. For example, on March 28, 2022, the Florida Chapter of the American Academy of Pediatrics (FCAAP), which represents over 2,500 pediatricians in Florida, released a similar statement in response to DeSantis’ signing of the bill: “The ‘Don’t Say Gay’ bill...will harm Florida’s children in the classroom and beyond. As pediatricians, we know that exploring one’s identity is a normal part of child development. School should be a place that encourages this process for all children, offering a safe space for sharing accurate information. By prohibiting educators from teaching lessons about sexual orientation or

¹ Strauss, V. (2022, July 1). Florida’s ‘don’t say gay’ law takes effect. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/education/2022/07/01/dont-say-gay-florida-law/>

² Goldstein, D. (2022, March 18). Opponents call it the Don’t Say Gay bill. Here’s what it says. *New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/18/us/dont-say-gay-bill-florida.html>

³ Paluska, M. (2022, March 25). Parental rights? Or an attack on the LGBTQ community?: Breaking down HB1557. *ABC News*. <https://www.abcactionnews.com/news/full-circle/parental-rights-or-an-attack-on-the-lgbtq-community-breaking-down-hb1557>

⁴ Strauss, V. (2022, July 1). Florida’s ‘don’t say gay’ law takes effect. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/education/2022/07/01/dont-say-gay-florida-law/>

⁵ Diaz, J. (2022, March 28). Ron DeSantis signs the co-called ‘Don’t Say Gay’ bill. *NPR*. <https://www.npr.org/2022/03/28/1089221657/dont-say-gay-florida-desantis>

⁶ The White House. (2022, July 1). *Statement by Press Secretary Karine Jean Pierre on Florida’s “Don’t Say Gay” Law Taking Effect*. [Press release]. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/07/01/statement-by-press-secretary-karine-jean-pierre-on-floridas-dont-say-gay-law-taking-effect/>

⁷ Strauss, *supra* note 5.

gender identity in kindergarten through third grade, this law will deprive children of the opportunity to learn from trusted teachers and to feel supported in their school community.”⁸ The president of the American Psychological Association, which is the leading scientific and professional organization representing psychologists in the U.S., with over 133,000 members, also condemned the bill.⁹

Although much of the media attention has focused on the implications of the law for LGBTQ+ youth and LGBTQ+ teachers, LGBTQ+ parents also represent a group that will be affected by the law. LGBTQ+ parents have voiced concern that their children will be restricted from talking about their families at school, as well as from drawing pictures and completing writing assignments that feature their families.¹⁰ This type of exclusion communicates to children that their families are not legitimate or valued—and, in turn, neither are they. LGBTQ+ parents worry, too, that the bill will create a chilling effect in classrooms across Florida, regardless of the children’s age, such that teachers might feel unable or unwilling to even acknowledge the existence of a student’s LGBTQ+-parent family.¹¹ Indeed, laws may be misunderstood or misinterpreted such that their implementation may go beyond or deviate from the actual language of the statute.

IMPACT OF ANTI-LGBTQ LEGISLATION ON LGBTQ+ CHILDREN AND PARENTS

Research has established that anti-LGBTQ legislation has both direct and indirect effects on LGBTQ+ parents and their mental health, in part via its effects on social climate, including community, neighborhood, and school climate.¹²⁻¹³ LGBTQ people living in states with nondiscrimination policies that fail to include sexual orientation, for example, have been found to perceive a more negative environment and to experience more minority stress.¹⁴ LGBTQ adoptive parents who live in states with more favorable rulings related to LGBTQ parenthood and adoption report better mental health than those living in states with a history of unfavorable rulings.¹⁵

Likewise, both children of LGBTQ parents (Power et al., 2014) and LGBTQ youth have been found to report greater victimization when they live in communities and attend schools that they perceive

⁸ Florida Chapter of the American Academy of Pediatrics (2022, March 16). *FCAAP encourages governor to veto “Don’t Say Gay” bill*. [Press release]. <https://www.fcaap.org/posts/news/press-releases/florida-chapter-of-the-american-academy-of-pediatrics-encourages-governor-to-veto-the-dont-say-gay-bill/>

⁹ American Psychological Association (2022, March 9). *APA president condemns Florida’s ‘Don’t Say Gay’ bill*. [Press release]. <https://www.apa.org/news/press/releases/2022/03/florida-dont-say-gay>

¹⁰ Luterman, S. (2022, March 28). LGBTQ+ parents fear the impacts of Florida’s ‘Don’t Say Gay’ bill. *The 19th News*. <https://19thnews.org/2022/03/florida-dont-say-gay-bill-lgbtq-parents-worried-impacts/>

¹¹ Id.

¹² Goldberg, A. E., & Smith, J. Z. (2011). Stigma, social context, and mental health: lesbian and gay couples across the transition to adoptive parenthood. *Journal of counseling psychology*, 58(1), 139–150. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0021684>

¹³ Goldberg, A. E., & Garcia, R. (2020). Community Characteristics, Victimization, and Psychological Adjustment Among School-Aged Adopted Children With Lesbian, Gay, and Heterosexual Parents. *Frontiers in psychology*, 11, 372. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.00372>

¹⁴ Riggle, E. D., Rostosky, S. S., & Horne, S. G. (2010). Psychological distress, well-being, and legal recognition in same-sex couple relationships. *Journal of family psychology : JFP : journal of the Division of Family Psychology of the American Psychological Association (Division 43)*, 24(1), 82–86. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0017942>

¹⁵ Goldberg & Smith, *supra* note 13.

to be hostile to LGBTQ identities.¹⁶⁻¹⁷ Additionally, LGBTQ people who reside in more conservative communities report lower social inclusion and belongingness and poorer health than those in more progressive areas.¹⁸⁻¹⁹ Further, amidst evidence that residents of the Southern and Midwestern regions of the U.S. report less tolerant attitudes toward LGBTQ people than those in other regions, it is perhaps unsurprising that LGBTQ youth living in the South and Midwest report higher levels of victimization in school related to their gender expression compared to LGBTQ youth in the Northeast.²⁰⁻²¹ This highlights how schools may reflect the norms and attitudes of the regions in which they are located, as well as the specific laws and policies introduced or passed in their states or regions.

Given the anxieties of LGBTQ+ parents reported by media reports surrounding the *Don't Say Gay* bill, and research evidence pointing to the many effects associated with anti-LGBTQ legislation for both parents and children, this project sought to understand LGBTQ+ parents' feelings and concerns related to the bill/law, as well as how they were talking to their children about it, and their plans for the future (e.g., staying in Florida).

¹⁶ Pacey, M., Goffnett, J., & Gandy-Guedes, M. (2017). Impact of victimization, community climate, and community size on mental health of sexual and gender minority youth. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 45(3), 658–671. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X19856141>

¹⁷ Power, J., Brown, R., Schofield, M., Pitts, M., McNair, R., & Bickerdike, A. (2014). Social connectedness among lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender parents living in metropolitan and regional and rural areas of Australia and New Zealand. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 42(7), 869–889. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.21658>

¹⁸ Hatzenbuehler, M. L., Flores, A. R., & Gates, G. J. (2017). Social attitudes regarding same-sex marriage and LGBT health disparities: results from a national probability sample. *Journal of Social Issues*, 73(3), 508–528. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12229>

¹⁹ Metheny, N., & Stephenson, R. (2018). Political environment and perceptions of social inclusion after nationwide marriage equality among partnered men who have sex with men in the USA. *Sexuality Research & Social Policy*, 16(4), 521–528. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13178-018-0357-6>

²⁰ Baunach, D. M. (2012). Changing same-sex marriage attitudes in America from 1988 through 2010. *Public Opinion Q.* 76(2), 364–378. <https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfs022>

²¹ Kosciw, J. G., & Diaz, E. M. (2008). *Involved, Invisible, Ignored: The Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Parents and their Children in our Nation's K-12 Schools*. New York, NY: GLSEN.

FINDINGS

DEMOGRAPHICS

A broad representation of genders, sexual orientations, and geographic locales was achieved. This sample of LGBTQ+ parents (N = 113) was largely made up of cisgender women (73, 64.6%). Almost one-quarter were cisgender men (26, 23.0%). In addition, there were five nonbinary individuals, two trans women, and five who indicated “something else” for their gender (e.g., woman), with two missing. Regarding sexual orientation, 60 (53.1%) identified as lesbian, 24 (21.2%) gay, 13 (11.5%) bisexual, six (5.3%) queer, and nine “something else” (e.g., pansexual, lesbian/queer), with one missing. A total of 68 (60.2%) identified as White, 35 (31.0%) identified as Latinx, three (2.7%) Black, three (2.7%) Asian, one (.9%) American Indian or Alaska Native, with one indicating something else (Jewish), and two missing. The sample is somewhat more likely to be Hispanic and less likely to be Black or Asian when compared to data on Florida’s population as a whole: according to 2020 US Census data, 61.6% of Florida residents were White only, 18.7% Hispanic, 12.4% Black only, and 6% Asian only (Florida Census, 2020).²²

Two participants (1.8%) had a high school diploma/GED, 13 (11.5%) some college or an associate’s degree, 31 (27.4%) a college degree, 35 (31.0%) a master’s degree, and 31 (27.4%) a PhD/MD/JD, with one missing. Just five (4.4%) made a combined (family) income of under \$50K; 20 (17.7%) indicated that their family income was \$50K-\$100K, 26 (23.0%) indicated \$101K-\$150K, 20 (17.7%) indicated \$151K-\$200K, 10 (8.8%) indicated \$201-\$250K, and 30 (26.5%) reported a family income of over \$250K, with two missing. They were somewhat more affluent than the average resident in Florida, where the average household income is about \$83K (Income by Zip Code, 2022). Most described themselves as middle-class (41, 36.2%) or upper middle class (43, 38.1%), with fewer indicating upper (18, 15.9%) or working (9, 8.0%) class statuses, and just one (.9%) indicating lower class, with two missing. Most (86, 76.1%) worked full-time, with six (5.3%) working part-time, three (2.7%) unemployed, and two (1.8%) students. Eleven (9.7%) were homemakers, and the remainder said something else (e.g., retired).

Most (90, 79.6%) were married, with 10 (8.8%) partnered but not married. Nine (8.0%) were divorced or separated. Three (2.7%) identified as polyamorous. Fifty-six (49.6%) were biological parents to at least one child, 31 (27.4%) were nonbiological (e.g., via insemination) and legal parents to at least one child, and 33 (29.2%) were adoptive parents to at least one child. Smaller numbers were stepparents (5, 4.4%) and foster parents (4, 3.5%). Fifty-three (46.9%) had one child; 45 (39.8%) had two children; and 15 (13.3%) had 3+ children, with five missing. Across all 113 families, respondents were the parents of 188 children: 90 cisgender girls, 88 cisgender boys, and 10 trans/nonbinary children. Respondents were parents of 78 children under the age of six, 70 children age 6–17, and 24 children 18+, with 16 missing. (All parents of 18+ year olds had at least one child under 18, per selection criteria). Respondents were parents of 91 White children, 24 Latinx children, 18 biracial children, 10 Black children, seven multiracial or “mixed” children, two Asian children, and one Native Hawaiian child, with 35 missing.

²² U.S. Census Bureau. (2020). FLORIDA: 2020 Census. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/library/stories/state-by-state/florida-population-change-between-census-decade.html>

Politically, the sample largely identified as Democrats (90, 79.6%), with nine (8.0%) identifying as Independents, five (4.4%) as Republicans, and one as Green Party (.9%). Five indicated something else (e.g., no party affiliation, Socialist, Libertarian), with three missing.

Geographically, the sample resided in a few key counties. Almost half lived in either Miami-Dade County (30, 26.5%; e.g., Miami) or Broward County (23, 20.4%; e.g., Fort Lauderdale). Smaller numbers of participants resided in Alachua County (10, 8.8%; e.g., Gainesville); Leon County (7, 6.2%; e.g., Tallahassee); and Palm Beach County (7, 6.2%; e.g., Boca Raton). A few participants resided in Pinellas County (5, 4.4%), Seminole County (4, 3.5%), Orange County (3, 2.7%), and Saint Lucie County (3, 2.7%). Between 1–2 respondents lived in an additional 13 counties.

Table 1. Sample demographics

	N (%)
Gender	
Cisgender women	73 (64.6%)
Cisgender men	26 (23.0%)
Trans/nonbinary/something else	12 (10.6%)
Sexual orientation	
Lesbian	60 (53.1%)
Gay	24 (21.2%)
Bisexual	13 (11.5%)
Queer	6 (5.3%)
Something else	9 (8.0%)
Race	
White	68 (60.2%)
Latinx	35 (31.0%)
Black	3 (2.7%)
Asian	3 (2.7%)
Something else	2 (1.8%)
Education	
Less than a college education	15 (13.3%)
College degree or higher	97 (85.8%)
Family Income	
<\$100K	25 (22.1%)
\$101K-\$200K	46 (40.7%)
\$201K+	30 (35.4%)
Married	90 (79.6%)
Number of Children	
One	53 (46.9%)
Two	45 (39.8%)
Three or more	15 (13.3%)

CONCERNS

Responses to *Don't Say Gay*

Respondents were also asked, in an open-ended question, about their initial reactions to the *Don't Say Gay* Bill, when it was proposed, and how, if relevant, their reactions and worries evolved over time (e.g., as it gained traction in the press and was eventually signed into law). Fear and worry were the most frequently mentioned initial responses (n = 35). Anger/fury was also often articulated (n = 21), with respondents noting the senselessness and unnecessary nature of the targeting and exclusion conveyed by the bill. Shock/horror (n = 15) (“the thought that this is happening in 2022 is mind-blowing”; “I was shocked that my state would implement such hateful laws that would exclude my family and make our kids feel less than in school”) were also common. Disbelief and confusion (n = 10) were also mentioned relatively often (“with everything going on in the world and especially in our country, why are we focusing on this?” Other common responses were sadness (n = 9), horror (n = 7), disappointment (n = 7), disgust (n = 5), and denial (n = 2). Five people noted that they were not initially very concerned, as they believed that age-appropriate materials should be taught in classrooms: “Our daughter knew from toddlerhood that we were her parents and she had two dads; she didn’t need a teacher explaining that to her.”) Six people were initially not very concerned, believing that that the bill would not get much traction and/or would prove to be “unenforceable.”

“I worried initially that it would re-inflate culture wars and re-ignite anti-LGBTQ+ stereotypes. I worried it would make the climate more hostile for my kids. As it continued, and as the rhetoric escalated...I became more concerned. I worried that as a parent volunteer I may confront conservative parents who perceive me as a groomer. I worried that my kids would be facing anti-gay comments from their peers, especially related to my gender expression and also my work. I worried that our family could be targeted and reported to child protective services with false assertions about our parenting based merely on our relationship. In a nutshell, the language of the policies and the rhetoric supporting them made me concerned that I could be realistically facing losing my kids and my ability to be an engaged parent.”

Those parents who articulated their feelings over time frequently noted that their concern grew, such that they became more worried and anxious regarding how the bill would affect their children, noting that it could very well have the effect of creating, normalizing, and encouraging discrimination. For some parents their growing fears motivated them to consider switching their children to private school, and to homeschooling, with several now seriously considering moving, as they became more uncertain about “whether or not we can continue to raise our family in this state.” Some parents did more research to address and hopefully quell their fears. Some of them felt reassured by what they learned or concluded: “Once I read the actual bill, it allayed some of my fears. I am okay with and support the idea of not teaching or telling young children (under third grade) [about LGBTQ people or sexuality], however, I am concerned that the ‘age appropriate and developmentally appropriate’ part is too vague and could be interpreted too loosely.” Notably, some of those who were initially not concerned ultimately came to feel frustrated and worried, “as I believe down the road it will lead to more and more discrimination.”

"I felt it promoted an agenda that there is something 'not right' or harmful for children to be aware that some people make different choices and have families that are diverse. Further, it is harmful to those children who have same-sex or non-binary parents or relatives by promoting the idea that their families are undesirable or unsavory. It broke my heart to see our state go back to a restrictive past."

Concerns

When asked, "How worried are you about the effects of the *Don't Say Gay* bill/law on your children and family?", 53 (58.9%) of the parents said very, 26 (28.9%) said somewhat, five (4.4%) said neutral, two (2.2%) said not very, and five (5.6%) said not at all (90 responding, 23 missing).

When asked specifically about their concerns about their children, many parents emphasized their worries that this bill would not only restrict their children's ability to speak freely about their families in the classroom, but would inevitably impact their children's sense of self and sense of safety vis-a-vis cultivating a climate where their families were seen as "less than." Bullying was frequently mentioned as a concern, and a few parents worried about violence against their children or families. Some parents underscored the negative consequences that a hostile or restrictive school climate would have on children's mental health and self-esteem. Some noted that their children were also LGBTQ+, and this would impact them in multiple ways, including not feeling safe to express their own identities, in addition to those of their parents/families: "My concerns in general are that my children's experience is now required to be invisible. The youngest is openly queer. When will they focus on the kids for talking about their own identity? Are they going to start arresting kids with rainbow T-shirts that say 'love is love?'"

"I'm concerned that [my daughter] will not be able talk freely with teachers, friends or in assignments about our family dynamic and it will cause her shame. I'm afraid that she will be bullied and that this law only causes children AND adults to further believe that LGBTQ people are someone to be afraid of or ashamed of. I'm also concerned that if she happens to be LGBTQ herself that she will feel the horrible shame I felt growing up that was pushed on me through religion and societal conventions such as gay jokes I always heard growing up. I don't want her or anyone to ever feel the pain and shame I felt growing up and I don't want any of them to ever lose out on their lives because of either suicidal actions or being in the closet so long that they miss out for years. My partner says she feels the exact same fears."

"I want my daughter to feel safe to go anywhere in the state. LatinX is visible, for example. And if she loves someone that is not a cisgender male, this may also become an issue according to current societal energies...We want our children to have self-esteem, feel self-love, be confident, feel welcomed to talk about any topic, have love and compassion for others from different backgrounds and identities, and love whomever they wish. These bills deter that in my opinion. They are not in-line with my values. The result of these bills affect all the above mentioned areas for our children. I especially think of students that identify as LGBTQ+ in school settings, especially in high school, with no support. I worry about anxiety, depression and suicide. These bills contribute to the mental health issues that exacerbate these terrible things and random shootings fueled by hate as well. These bills have a negative effect."

Parents also worried about their own ability to be involved at school (e.g., would they be ostracized) and acceptance of them and their families within the school community (e.g., would other parents suddenly balk at allowing their children to attend birthday parties at their home). Parents who expressed the greatest concern typically had school-aged children in public schools.

“The Don't Say Gay bill claims to be for parent rights, but my rights have been taken away since its passage. My right to send my daughter to school freely, my right to live without fear of who I am, my right to not be discriminated against based on my sexual orientation, and my daughter to not be discriminated against based on her parents' sexual orientation.”

Parents of children in private school, and parents of very young or older (e.g., high school age) children expressed concern, but less intense worries. That is, these parents were less worried given that (a) private schools were not bound to the same rules as public schools, (b) very young children were not yet in school so parents hoped that the bill might be “overturned” or be proven unenforceable, and (c) older children were almost done with school, and, their sense of self was more firmly established and less vulnerable to the bill itself and its indirect impacts. Said one parent, “My partner and I don't have concern since she is already 17. Luckily she is in a private high school and about to graduate next year. She has been emboldened to help fight against anti-LGBTQ legislation and can't wait to leave the state to go to college somewhere with more liberal settings.” Indeed, several participants noted that their high school aged children would certainly attend college outside of Florida, and some with very young children planned to move before their children started school (“We are concerned that going to school will be challenging for our young children. As a result, we plan to move to another state”).

EXPERIENCES AND PERCEIVED IMPACTS

When asked about impacts or changes they had observed so far, since the introduction or passing of the bill, some noted that the changes they had observed began during the Trump administration. Said one respondent, “The shift started during the Trump election and administration. Gradually getting worse. Then the governor started being vicious to anything ‘woke.’ He is controlling and is eliminating rights left and right, and the masses love him.” Some observed specific changes, such as “They are banning certain books and controlling teachers’, especially LGBTQ teachers’, speech.” A few noted that their children, often very young, seemed to be showing the effects of a shifting climate. “Not much that I can see. But, for the first time he said to us the other day that some people do not like ‘gay families.’ He said he heard it in school but could not tell me from whom.” Still others were cautiously optimistic about the limited or muted nature of the changes ahead, such as, “Our kids just started school and have started a family tree project, and so far they have been able to show pictures of our family.”

Those who homeschooled or whose children attended private school expressed more positive experiences, noting that their children were in more progressive and/or protected environments. Said one respondent, “Fortunately, our son is in a private school so we are sheltered a bit from the direct impact of the *Don't Say Gay* bill. But, the general political climate in Florida is scary. Living in Miami makes it a bit easier as there are plenty of open-minded, accepting people in this part of Florida, though this is obviously not always the case.”

Impacts on Children

Respondents were asked about various specific things that had happened to their children in the 3–6 months before the survey, which approximated the time period wherein the bill was introduced. They responded to a series of closed-ended questions and indicated whether each item had occurred:

Table 2. Children’s experiences and worries

PAST 3-6 MONTHS (N=91)	N (%)
My child/ren were bullied, teased, or harassed at school for having LGBTQ parents	4 (4.4%)
My child/ren were bullied, teased, or harassed outside of school for having LGBTQ parents	2 (2.2%)
My child/ren worried about talking openly at school about having LGBTQ parents	14 (15.4%)
My child/ren worried about talking openly outside of school about having LGBTQ parents	11 (12.1%)
My child/ren expressed fears about the future related to living in Florida with LGBTQ parents	8 (8.8%)
My child/ren were bullied, teased, or harassed at school for their own LGBTQ identities	5 (5.5%)
My child/ren were bullied, teased, or harassed outside of school for their own LGBTQ identities	2 (2.2%)
My child/ren were bullied, teased, or harassed at school for their racial, ethnic, or cultural identities (or presumed identities)	3 (3.3%)
My child/ren were bullied, teased, or harassed outside of school for their racial, ethnic, or cultural identities (or presumed identities)	0 (0%)
My child/ren worried about talking openly at school about their own LGBTQ identities	8 (8.8%)
My child/ren worried about talking openly outside of school about their own LGBTQ identities	5 (5.5%)
My child/ren expressed fears about the future related to living in Florida as LGBTQ kids	12 (13.2%)
My child/ren were redirected or reprimanded by a teacher related to what they shared about their family/having LGBTQ parents	1 (1.1%)
My child/ren were punished at school related to what they shared about their family/having LGBTQ parents	0 (0.0%)
Other experiences that your children have had?	31 (34.1%)
Teachers have said they don’t care about the law, will continue to teach in the same way	1
Children are in private school; teachers/peers are supportive	2
Children feel like “freaks”	1
Child knows not to talk about family	1
Harassment, peer conflict, gossiping	4
Child physically assaulted by peers	1
Children have experienced harassment at their place of employment	1
Child has expressed wanting to move	1
N/A; children too young to be impacted; I worry, though	15
N/A; we live in progressive and/or supportive environment/we haven’t exposed children to settings where this could occur	5

When asked to elaborate on their relationships with their children’s teachers, most people/ respondents/parents said that they had good relationships with their children’s teachers, felt accepted by them, and did not perceive a change in their treatment towards them or their family. A few noted, too, that their children’s teachers were LGBTQ+ themselves, which felt both reassuring and concerning (e.g., they were confident that these teachers would support and advocate for their family, but worried about their children’s teachers being fired on multiple levels). Some parents said they did not have any real relationship with their children’s teachers, often because their children were older (e.g., in high school). A few said they purposefully avoided interacting with or sharing anything about their family with teachers because of concerns about poor treatment or retaliation towards their children. Several respondents said that they had inquired about how teachers and administrators were planning to “implement” the directives associated with the legislation and received less than clear or reassuring responses (“they didn’t have answers”; “time will tell how much pressure they’ll face”). One parent believed that a teacher had retaliated against her child, giving the child poorer grades than their peers because of their parents’ sexual orientation. One parent felt that teachers had questioned and judged her parenting more negatively because she was gay.

Impacts on Parents

Parents were also asked about whether a variety of things had happened to them in the 3–6 months before the survey—that is, whether they had feared or experienced harassment at work or in their communities; whether they had considered or actively taken steps to move out of Florida or switch their children to a new school; whether they had been less out; and whether they had participated in a protest or demonstration against the *Don’t Say Gay* bill.

Table 3. Parents’ experiences and worries

PAST 3-6 MONTHS (N=91)	N (%)
I was scared of being harassed or bothered by neighbors because of my sexual orientation or gender identity or expression	21 (23.1%)
I was harassed or bothered by neighbors because of my sexual orientation or gender identity or expression	6 (6.6%)
I was scared of being harassed or bothered by coworkers or supervisors because of my sexual orientation or gender identity or expression	6 (6.6%)
I was harassed or bothered by coworkers or supervisors because of my sexual orientation or gender identity or expression	2 (2.2%)
I considered moving out of Florida	51 (56.0%)
<i>“I considered moving back to NY since we moved down here. I will never go back in the closet and am allowed to be here and live just like everyone else.”</i>	
<i>“We are looking into options to sell our home and move out of the state. It does not feel that it would be safe to continue living in Florida.”</i>	
I actively took steps to move/plan to move out of Florida	15 (16.5%)
I considered moving my child to a new school	10 (11.0%)
I actively took steps to move/am moving my child to a new school	3 (3.3%)
I was less “out” in my neighborhood, workplace, or community (e.g., I am less quick to share details of my personal life; I don’t hold my partner’s hand in public; I took off rainbow bumper stickers on my car)	19 (20.9%)

PAST 3–6 MONTHS (N=91)	N (%)
<i>“My anxiety has ramped up to the point that I don’t sleep well at night. We were afraid to attend local Pride events and have been afraid to really go anywhere in general.”</i>	
<i>“Our next door neighbors are founders of a...hate group...which makes it difficult to live in such close proximity to them.”</i>	
<i>“I generally feel cautious just not knowing how or what people may say.”</i>	
<i>“I am more cautious talking to strangers about my family situation. I present as pretty obviously queer, so that is another source of stress. All my life I’ve had to deal with anxiety in public bathrooms and people misgendering me and reacting negatively when they found out I’m a woman and I’m gay.”</i>	
<i>“I don’t feel safe any longer holding my wife’s hand in public.”</i>	
<i>“I stopped discussing my family at work.”</i>	
<i>“We used to have equality stickers on our cars, but I’m afraid of retaliation”</i>	
<i>“We didn’t join our son’s PTO and we didn’t offer to coach Little League this spring.”</i>	
<i>“We are very, very cautious about having play dates.”</i>	
I participated in a protest or demonstration against the “Don’t Say Gay” bill	20 (22.0%)
Something else	18 (20.0%)
I associate less with non LGBTQ folks in my everyday life	1
I considered homeschooling	2
I donated money to organizations challenging these laws	2
I am intentionally more out (e.g., put stickers on car, flags on house; <i>“we need to resist, not acquiesce to these racist and homophobic laws”</i>)	6
Other forms of activism (e.g., led community town hall)	1
None	4

Additionally, parents were asked about whether they had witnessed increased hostility towards LGBTQ people, in various domains, across several time frames: the last 3–6 months; since 2016 (i.e., when Trump was elected president); and since 2020 (i.e., the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, and a time of political upheaval amidst the contested election of 2020 and the election of President Biden); or some other time frame.

Table 4. Perceptions of hostility towards LGBTQ people across different time periods

YES, I HAVE WITNESSED INCREASED HOSTILITY TOWARDS LGBTQ PEOPLE, IN...	PAST 3–6 MOS (N=91)	SINCE 2016 (N=91)	SINCE 2020 (N=91)	SOME OTHER TIME FRAME
Local media	14 (15.4%)	14 (15.4%)	17 (18.7%)	1 (1.1%)
National media	14 (15.4%)	16 (17.6%)	24 (26.4%)	1 (1.1%)
My children’s schools	6 (6.6%)	3 (3.3%)	4 (4.4%)	1 (1.1%)
My workplace	6 (6.6%)	5 (5.5%)	4 (4.4%)	0
My neighborhood	3 (3.3%)	10 (11.0%)	4 (4.4%)	1 (1.1%)

YES, I HAVE WITNESSED INCREASED HOSTILITY TOWARDS LGBTQ PEOPLE, IN...	PAST 3-6 MOS (N=91)	SINCE 2016 (N=91)	SINCE 2020 (N=91)	SOME OTHER TIME FRAME
My community	8 (8.8%)	15 (16.5%)	9 (9.9%)	1 (1.1%)
State politics	22 (24.2%)	29 (31.9%)	25 (27.5%)	1 (1.1%)
My friends	1 (1.1%)	2 (2.2%)	2 (2.2%)	0
My extended family	3 (3.3%)	4 (4.4%)	7 (7.7%)	3 (3.3%)
Some other domain				
Social media (3)				
FOX news (1)	3 (3.3%)	5 (5.5%)	0	0
Supreme Court (1)				
Siblings (1)				

Note: Some other time frame was specified as “since forever”, “in the past year,” and “since the Dobbs decision on abortion”

“It feels more and more hostile. I elected not to attend a local Pride family event this weekend due to an increase in protests and threats around the country. Feels like we’ve been ignored by both sides in the ‘Don’t Say Gay’ debate; focus has been on straight parents vs. LGBT adults or students, but not LGBT parents. Most arguments pose families/parents/children as being ‘opposite’, not part of, the LGBT community. I’m also fearful of new FL legislation that would target LGBT parents for abuse investigations/loss of custody based on bigoted beliefs that we are inherently sexual or a danger to kids just for being LGBT.”

“It is absolutely terrifying living in Florida and it has gotten progressively worse. We have been discriminated against and verbally attacked in the past in Florida. Now that we have kids, we are much more concerned about our safety and the well-being of our kids.”

“It is hard to relay the sense of threat many of us feel and the expectation of possible violence in Florida. But it is present.”

COPING

Again, most of the sample was either very worried (53, 58.9%) or somewhat worried (26, 28.9%) about the effects of the *Don’t Say Gay* bill/law on their children and family. When asked, in an open-ended question, how they had coped with their worries, respondents named several key strategies. A frequently used coping strategy was engaging in activism around *Don’t Say Gay*: 25 parents made efforts to engage in increased activism (“becoming active with organizations that are challenging these laws”), including donating money to organizations fighting *Don’t Say Gay* and voting. Notably, some of these participants spoke to how their parenting and activism served as means of queer resistance and empowerment for them and their families.

“Our county has become a focus of political intervention in the state and so they witness these debates playing out in the paper, online, and in our comments in the house. They witness us speaking up, writing letters to the editor, and appearing at school board meetings.”

"We do our best to instill the right things in our children to help them grow to be kind collective members of society. As queer parents we do this all in spite of a society that actively tries to silence us. But what they do not understand is that we also raise our children to scream above the silence and fight for the right to love and exist without persecution. [They] are still trying to push a white heteronormative narrative onto our rainbow queer world."

Another frequent coping strategy was avoiding the news: indeed, 23 parents said that they were avoiding the news, with some saying that they avoided social media specifically. Others drew on social support from friends (n = 23) or family (n = 11). Some of those who drew on support from friends mentioned connecting with, talking to, and getting support from other LGBTQ+ families/friends specifically. For others, planning for the future and an eventual departure from Florida served as a way to cope with anxiety: seven people said that they had explored job opportunities outside of the state and/or real estate options outside of the state ("planning an escape route"; "making plans and researching options to sell our house so we can move"). Seven mentioned efforts to be more visible and "out" (e.g., wearing clothing, stickers, or pins that signify LGBTQ+ identity or support). Finally, six people mentioned isolation, including separating from friends who "I ethically cannot be friends with."

It is notable that in the context of describing how they had coped with their worries about *Don't Say Gay*, some respondents mentioned that that they had already struggled with depression and anxiety (i.e., before the bill was introduced). "I personally already suffer from PTSD and anxiety, so it has made it so much more difficult to deal with these things." Six participants, on the other hand, were very dismissive of the relevance of or need for coping, saying, for example, "I'm not worried. There has always been some anti-LGBTQ feelings in Florida, but I don't think/feel they're getting worse."

Living in Florida and Leaving Florida

When asked their primary reasons for living in Florida, 55 parents (48.7%) indicated that they lived in Florida to remain close to family and friends; 53 parents (46.9%) indicated employment/job related reasons; 43 parents (38.1%) indicated that it was where they grew up; 34 parents (30.1%) said weather (e.g., warmth); 18 parents (15.9%) said things to do (e.g., beaches, Disney World); 17 parents (15.0%) said diversity; 11 parents (9.7%) invoked cost of living, reduced taxes; and 15 parents cited other reasons. These reasons included convenience of air travel, it is a conservative state, divorce/custody arrangement, kids are in high school/waiting for kids to graduate, and love for city/state.

When asked about the major downsides of living in Florida, 84 (74.3%) said the political climate, 60 (53.1%) said bills/legislation, 38 (33.6%) said cost of living, 30 (26.5%) said weather (e.g., heat, natural disasters), 22 (19.5%) indicated that it was far from where they grew up and/or family, and six (5.3%) cited tourism. Eighteen indicated other reasons, and often listed multiple reasons. These were often specific forms of legislation, such as *Don't Say Gay* (18), anti-abortion legislation (6), "Stop Woke" legislation (6), anti-trans legislation (2), and general DeSantis/current administration (8). Participants also listed general concerns with conservative and "toxic" legislation and bills, especially those that targeted LGBTQ people, education, and women's health. A few commented on non-political aspects of living in Florida as downsides, such as weak infrastructure, overpopulation, and cost of living (e.g., low salaries, high cost of parking).

One key coping strategy was to leave or consider leaving Florida. Fifty-one participants (56.0%) agreed with the statement, "I considered moving out of Florida." In order to obtain more details regarding participants' intentions to remain in or leave Florida, participants were asked, in an open-ended manner, whether they had considered moving or wished they could move, how realistic this was, what steps they had taken, what was holding them back, and what they were giving up if they moved.

Ten respondents said that this was very realistic, explaining that they were actively saving money, looking for jobs, and exploring the housing market. Said one respondent, "We are looking at Colorado and researching home purchase and licensure endorsement, and also looking at cost of private schools for the two youngest. Currently, we are running scenarios where we leave and the other where we put the girls in private school. It's a cost benefit analysis." Five participants said they were looking into moving out of the country, with three noting dual citizenship of themselves or their partners: "Should Trump (again) or DeSantis become president, we have an exit plan to move out of the country." Seven participants said that they wanted to move, and planned to in the future, but were waiting for specific milestones to occur (e.g., finishing fertility treatment; having the baby they were pregnant with; children to be school-aged; children to graduate high school; retirement). Said one, "We plan to wait about one year. We have begun looking at houses in other states...[I'm pregnant] and we don't want to move when I'd have to find a new OBGYN in the new location."

"We have done research and reached out to realtors and people selling or renting homes in some of the locations that we would be interested in moving. We have held off on putting our house on the market, but we are prepping it to get it ready to sell. Family is the biggest thing holding us back. We both grew up in south Florida and have older parents, one who is quite ill. We also feel that the bond between our son and family...is important. We have built a life here and have friends that we would be leaving...My wife would be losing many years in the public school system, but we do not see how she will be able to return to work here due to this legislation. Unfortunately, I do not see how we will be able to stay here for much longer."

"It's very realistic. I was in the process of buying an office and opening my own practice when the 'Don't Say Gay' Bill passed. I decided to not move forward with the purchase. I have spent \$20,000 dollars traveling to look at practices to purchase in LGBTQ+ friendly states, speaking to attorneys, applying for other state licenses, etc. We are giving up everything. Our lives and my career is here. We want to stay and fight, but I'm not sure it's best for my children."

"I have made a packing list of things that we would need if we needed to make a quick exit from the area. I have become increasingly paranoid that we will have to seek asylum or something to be safe."

Indeed, many participants felt torn—they loved their communities of friends and family (six), beautiful homes (two) and/or great jobs (two) while at the same time bemoaning the political climate, and in some cases, the high cost of living in Florida. They felt that they were engaged in an unwanted and unpleasant cost-benefit analysis. Said one, "We have been on the job market for the past five years and have gotten increasingly less picky about the jobs we would apply to as the political climate towards LGBTQIA+ individuals worsens."

"I am terrified that I would need to make the decision to leave Florida and leave my parents. The idea of having to leave to protect my child and my partner and I is scary but one I am willing to do. It is just another reminder that LGBTQ truly are not safe anywhere and we are unable to achieve true happiness. Very sad."

Some felt that moving was currently difficult to envision as they had too many ties and obligations rooting them in Florida, such as extended family, caregiving for older parents, children with serious disabilities or physical difficulties, parents' own health issues and disabilities, and jobs that would be difficult to find elsewhere. A few said they loved Florida and did not intend to ever move, and one said that they believed in fighting for LGBTQ+ and other rights and would stay in Florida to do so.

Communicating With Children

Participants were asked, in an open-ended manner, if they had talked to their children about *Don't Say Gay* (or other bills/legislation), and if so, what they had said. Those who had discussed *Don't Say Gay* with their (usually school-aged) children did so with the goal of clarifying what the legislation says, what it doesn't say, and why people are concerned. Some described their conversations with their school-aged children. For example:

"My kids are fairly sophisticated with their thoughts and arguments. We talk about implications of the laws, at some point we talk about the disbelief we have that our country is going in this direction. We sometimes talk about what we could possibly do other than vote and/or escape."

"We have not spelled out the specifics of the bill and what it states to our kids. We have had discussions about the possibilities of someone telling them not to discuss having two dads. If that happens, they need to let us know right away. I will also be having a very quick conversation with her teacher to make sure there are no worries or concerns I need to be aware of."

"Our son is 16 and contributes to our conversations openly and thoughtfully. He is very liberal, just like us, so conversations are engaging but we are all on the same page."

"We have had frank discussions and we have also talked to some of the teachers in our county. I have explained to my daughter what types of actions we are trying to take to challenge the law and to make sure more people understand how the Republican government is scapegoating and demonizing LGBTQ people."

"We read a children's book about the Stonewall Inn and the start of Pride. I talked about how there are people still today trying to hurt LGBTQ people and families and to just let me know if they ever have any problems with kids or grownups at school or after school. My kids are 7 and 9. I haven't addressed this at all with the two year old or baby yet. We also talk about how crazy it is that anyone could have a problem with our amazing family that is so full of love."

A few parents noted that their children were "aware" and "upset" and had joined them in their activism: "She helps sell the stickers I made, so she's aware. She's only 10, middle school might get more awful. We are very open but don't want her to worry either. So we take it one day at a time."

Several of those with queer or trans children shared that their children were generally more concerned about how the legislation would affect them because of their own identities (versus those of their families/parents): "I discussed 'Don't Say Gay' legislation with my nonbinary child and explained to her what the legislation says, doesn't say, and the implications. I think I alleviated some of her worst fears, but she still feels persecuted. My son (cis-male) didn't care." Another respondent shared, "My nonbinary child has talked about what it means for their future; they know much more than I do about this bill."

Notably, several parents noted that their high school age children, while upset, were not "too concerned" about how *Don't Say Gay* would affect them: "We have discussed it with our older son. He feels it is ridiculous and backwards movement, but isn't certain how it will affect his day to day."

Thirty respondents said that they had not discussed *Don't Say Gay* with their children, with most explaining that their children were young: "My oldest just turned 4 and my other two are under 2. We haven't spoken to our children about it." "My son is 6 and we have not talked about it. He has always been taught that families come in all dynamics (one parent, 2 parents, same sex, opposite sex)."

Those who did speak to their young children did not necessarily talk about the bill/law but rather emphasized messages centering on "being yourself" and "being proud of who you are" presumably to counteract the negative messaging they might directly or indirectly be exposed to. Said one, "Our daughter is young, but we have talked about her family and have many books reminding her that she has two dads. She has a rainbow flag she loves to wave and scream 'happy pride'." Said another participant, "Too young at 4 to explain bill. We do explain however that families come in many shapes and sizes and that love is what matters." A few acknowledged that they had not spoken to their children because they were avoiding it and/or did not want to upset them.

CONCLUSION

This study provides insight into the concerns and perspectives of a sample of LGBTQ+ parents regarding Florida’s *Don’t Say Gay* bill. These parents—who are disproportionately cisgender women, well-educated, and White or Latinx—expressed a variety of emotional responses to the bill, including fear, anger, and disbelief. The majority expressed at least some concern about how the bill might affect their children and families, either via restricting what their children could talk about or do vis-a-vis their families at school, or by cultivating a climate where their families were treated as “less than” and peer exclusion and mistreatment was encouraged or at least facilitated. Parents also voiced worries about their own level of involvement and acceptance at school. At a broader level, they experienced fears surrounding their own safety, as well as that of their family, amidst observations of an increasingly hostile climate. Participants coped with their worries through activism, avoiding the news, and reaching out to family and friends, as well as, in some cases, utilizing therapy and medication. They also considered leaving Florida, and some were actively making plans to do so. Parents who talked with their children about the bill tended to be parents of older children; those with younger children focused on positive messaging about diverse families as a protective strategy, avoiding direct discussion of the bill.

These findings build on prior work showing that legislation can have a negative impact on LGBTQ+ parent families by cultivating a climate of fear and insecurity (Goldberg & Smith, 2011; Riggle et al., 2010). They highlight how, in communities, regions, and states that are currently seeing an uptick in legislation that purports to regulate what can be said and taught in schools, parents and children are impacted both directly and indirectly, in a variety of important ways. In part reflecting their level of resources, many parents in the study were considering leaving the state, or in some cases, sending their children to private school to avoid the direct impact of HB 1557. Many LGBTQ+ parents do not have these options, and time will tell how they cope with and manage the stress associated with current and future legislation that aims to regulate discourse surrounding gender, sexual orientation, race, and families.

SURVEY DEVELOPMENT AND METHODOLOGY

The data come from a survey developed and launched by Abbie Goldberg (Clark University). The survey was entitled, “LGBTQ+ Parents’ Experiences with *Don’t Say Gay*”, and data were collected June 13–September 9, 2022. Responses were gathered from 113 LGBTQ+ parents.

Interviews with key stakeholders (e.g., attorneys in Florida) and LGBTQ+ parents in Florida informed the development of the survey instrument. The primary researcher also gained feedback from several LGBTQ+ parents in Florida who had participated in a prior study of hers approximately 10 years earlier. The researcher also has extensive background and experience doing research with LGBTQ+ parents, with particular attention to the legal and community contexts that shape their lives and experiences. The survey instrument was proofed for functionality by several doctoral students in clinical psychology.

The survey was hosted on the online platform Qualtrics and took about 25 minutes to complete (median duration = 27 minutes). It contained a variety of closed and open-ended questions.

Individuals could participate if they were an LGBTQ+ parent of at least one child under 18 and currently lived in Florida. Participants were recruited widely, using personal and professional contacts, LGBTQ+ and Florida specific groups and organizations (e.g., Equality Florida; employer LGBTQ+ and diversity related groups), and attorneys and other professionals who work with LGBTQ+ people and parents in Florida.

The survey was available to complete between June 13–September 9. Responses were gathered from 113 LGBTQ+ parents, with 91 complete responses (80.5%) and 22 partial responses (19.5%).

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