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Parenting Desires and Intentions Among Sexual Minorities: An Intersectional Approach

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ABSTRACT

Demographic accounts of parenting desires and intentions have largely neglected sexual minorities. Although the limited existing research in this area suggests that many lesbians and gay men want children, it has not fully addressed differences within sexual minority groups. Employing an intersectional lens, I use data from the 2002 and 2006-2010 National Survey of Family Growth (N = 31,168) to examine variation in parenting desires and intentions among sexual minorities. Although lesbians and gay men are much less likely than heterosexual peers to report wanting a/another child, I find important differences within sexual minority groups by race/ethnicity and age. Sexual minorities are also more likely than their heterosexual counterparts to perceive barriers to having children, measured by a gap between desires and intentions. Among sexual minority women, however, the nature of this gap differs by race/ethnicity, education, and age. Results highlight the value of intersectionality in studying parenting perspectives among sexual minorities.

As homosexuality and public gay identities have become more socially accepted, same-sex families and relationships have become increasingly visible. Yet demographic accounts of parenting desires and intentions largely neglect sexual minorities. Though a substantial body of research on women (e.g., Bachrach & Morgan, 2013; Hayford, 2009; Morgan & Rackin, 2010) and a growing literature on men (e.g., Greene & Biddlecom, 2000; Kessler, Craig, Saigal, & Quinn, 2013; Marsiglio, Hutchinson, & Cohan, 2001) have examined fertility desires and intentions, these studies almost exclusively focus on heterosexual women and men or do not account for the sexual identity of respondents.

The limited existing research on parenting attitudes among sexual minority populations suggests that gay men and lesbians are less likely than heterosexual people to express a desire for children, although a large proportion does want a child someday (Gates, Badgett, Macomber, & Chambers, 2007; Riskind & Patterson, 2010). Among those who report *wanting* children, gay men are less likely than heterosexual men to report that they *plan* to have children, but lesbians appear just as likely as heterosexual women to do so (Riskind & Patterson). This suggests that a larger share of sexual minorities, particularly men, is not able to achieve their desire to have children. Previous research points to a higher risk for depression among heterosexual adults (Connidis & McMullin, 1993; White & McQuillan, 2006) and gay men (Shenkman, 2012) who are not able to realize their parenting desires, suggesting that sexual minorities who cannot achieve their parenting preferences are at risk of decreased well-being (Riskind & Patterson).

Existing research on parenting attitudes among sexual minority populations has been limited by small sample sizes, however, with particularly little known about parenting attitudes among bisexual adults. Moreover, evidence points to considerable variation among heterosexual people in attitudes toward parenting, including by gender, race/ethnicity, education, and age

(e.g., Browning & Burrington, 2006; Hayford, 2009; Kessler et al., 2013; Koropeckyj-Cox & Pendell, 2007; Schoen, Landale, Daniels, & Cheng, 2009). Although prior work indicates that gay men who are White are less likely than those who are not White to want—and to plan to have—children (Riskind & Patterson, 2010; Riskind, Patterson, & Nosek 2013), the broader set of factors shaping parenting desires and intentions among sexual minorities remains understudied. Prior efforts to investigate how background characteristics may jointly influence parenting attitudes (e.g., educational differentials within specific racial/ethnic groups) have been particularly hampered by the lack of large sample sizes of sexual minority populations.

This analysis examines parenting preferences and intentions among sexual minorities, shedding light on their lower rates of parenthood relative to heterosexual people (Gates, 2012) and variability across groups defined by gender, race/ethnicity, education, and age. I argue that an intersectional approach (Crenshaw, 1991) is crucial to understanding the parenting desires and intentions of sexual minorities, as barriers to parenthood may be experienced differently for gay men and lesbians based on interconnections among these background characteristics. Using data from the 2002 and 2006-2010 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG), I first draw on a larger sample and more recent data than in past studies (Gates et al., 2007; Riskind & Patterson, 2010) to explore whether gay men and lesbians are less likely to want a child or another child. I then investigate whether variability in parenting desires by race/ethnicity and by education operates in the same way for sexual minorities as for heterosexual respondents. Finally, I use a larger and more recent sample to examine whether gay men and lesbians are more likely than heterosexual peers to perceive barriers to becoming parents, among those who want a/another child. Again, I ask whether variability in the perception of barriers by race/ethnicity and by education functions in a similar manner for sexual minorities as for heterosexual people.

BACKGROUND

Parenting desires represent individuals' preferences: whether they would ideally want to have a child or another child if there were no obstacles to doing so. In contrast, parenting intentions are "highly contingent and highly constrained" (Morgan & Rackin, 2010, p. 92), denoting what individuals plan to do while accounting for their life circumstances (Bachrach & Morgan, 2013). In this article, I use the terms *desires*, *preferences*, and *wants* interchangeably. Conceptually, a gap between parenting desires and intentions (e.g., someone wants to have a child but does not intend to do so) may signal the perception of barriers to parenthood that are beyond one's control (Kayzak, Park, McQuillan, & Greil, 2014; Riskind et al., 2013), or the existence of competing opportunities such as education and career goals (Barber, 2001). Comparing parenting desires and intentions reveals which groups perceive the greatest obstacles to becoming parents, and moves us closer to understanding how to remove these barriers.

Lesbian and Gay Men's Parenting Desires and Intentions

Although results may not be generalizable to larger populations, prior studies using non-representative or homogeneous samples or qualitative approaches have provided important insights into parenting attitudes among gay men and lesbians. This work generally has found that, despite expressing less interest in having children and less intention to do so, relative to heterosexual peers, sexual minorities' parenting desires remain strong (Berkowitz, 2011; Berkowitz & Marsiglio, 2007; Kazyak et al., 2014; Rabun & Oswald, 2009). For example, among a sample of New York teenagers (D'Augelli, Rendina, Sinclair, & Grossman, 2007), most young gay men (87%) and lesbian women (91%) believed they would raise children in the future. Yet prior work also suggests that sexual minorities are keenly aware of the structural constraints they face to becoming parents (Baiocco & Laghi, 2013; Berkowitz & Marsiglio,

2007; Kazyak et al.; Shenkman, 2012). Drawing on a large, internet-based sample, Riskind and colleagues (2013) found childless gay men and lesbians were most confident about achieving adoptive parenthood and least certain about having biological children in a same-sex relationship. Higher socioeconomic status was associated with greater self-efficacy regarding parenthood for both gay men and lesbians. Age and race, however, were more strongly related to men's reports of self-efficacy: Younger, White gay men expressed greater self-efficacy about parenthood than those who were older and not White.

Although few quantitative studies using population-based samples address parenting desires or intentions among sexual minorities, available research again suggests that many gay men and lesbian women want to have children someday. Using data from the 2002 NSFG, Gates and colleagues (2007) found that gay men (52%) and lesbian women (41%) ages 18 to 44 were less likely than heterosexual men (67%) and women (53%) to report wanting a/another child someday. Compared to peers with children, childless gay men expressed a greater desire for children, but childless lesbians reported less desire. Other than current parity, however, Gates and colleagues did not address predictors of parenting desires among sexual minorities.

Building on this work, Riskind and Patterson (2010) also analyzed 2002 NSFG data, matching childless sexual minority participants ages 15 to 44 with comparable heterosexual participants based on gender, age, race/ethnicity, and educational attainment. Similar to Gates and colleagues (2007), Riskind and Patterson observed that childless gay men (54%) and lesbian women (37%) were considerably less likely than similar heterosexual men (75%) and women (68%) to want a child someday. Further, gay men were less likely than heterosexual men to report intending to have a child, but no significant differences were identified between heterosexual and lesbian women's parenting intentions. This suggests attitudes toward parenting

vary by gender as well as by sexual identity. Although their results suggested childless Whites were less likely than people of color to want a/another child, Riskind and Patterson were unable to fully explore variation within sexual minority groups across background factors such as education and age, presumably due to the relatively small sample sizes of such groups in the 2002 NSFG.

Intersectionality and Parenting Attitudes

Prior work indicates that characteristics such as race, education, and gender are associated with parenting preferences more broadly and in heterosexual populations. For example, women's educational attainment tends to be negatively correlated with parenting preferences and intentions, such that less-educated women are more likely than more-educated women to view children as necessary for a meaningful life (Edin & Kefalas, 2005; Johnson-Hanks, Bachrach, Morgan, & Kohler, 2011; Waller, 1999; but see Musick, England, Edgington, & Kangas, 2009). Conversely, prior work finds a positive association between education and men's parenting preferences, perhaps because highly educated men do not encounter the same opportunity costs to parenthood as do highly educated women (Kessler et al., 2013; Morgan & Rackin, 2010). Race also appears to shape parenting desires: Black women's reported desire for children is consistently higher than that of Whites, across social class groups (Browning & Burrington, 2006; Hayford, 2009), and Hispanic and Black men are more likely than White men to report desire for children (Kessler et al., 2013).

Race/ethnicity and education may further intersect with sexual identity to create varying experiences for sexual minorities depending on their race/ethnicity and social class. Theories of intersectionality posit that systems of privilege and disadvantage interconnect to produce unique experiences based on one's location within each social category (Crenshaw, 1991; Dill, 1983;

hooks, 1984). Further, we experience our identities simultaneously, rather than additively (e.g., gender plus race), such that race is "gendered" at the same time gender is "racialized" (Collins, 1990). The intersection of multiple identities not only shapes us at the individual level, but also as a reflection of social and structural inequalities that constrain and enable people's life opportunities (Bowleg, 2013; Collins, 1990; Crenshaw, 1991). As such, sexual minorities encounter varied barriers to having children depending on their gender, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and age. Indeed, the degree to which individuals are encouraged or discouraged to have children has been historically based on these characteristics (e.g., Roberts, 1997). In quantitative research, such complexity can be achieved through interaction effects in regression models. Rather than analyzing variability within one social category (e.g., race) or a single social group (e.g., Black lesbian women), a categorical approach investigates the "complexity of relationships among multiple social groups within and across analytical categories," and is therefore necessarily comparative (McCall, 2005, p. 1786).

Using an Intersectional Lens to Understand Barriers to Having Children

Due to their sexual orientation, lesbians and gay men face considerable challenges to becoming parents. Same-sex relationships continue to be marginalized, despite the fact that nearly two thirds of sexual minorities in the U.S. live in states where same-sex marriage is legal (as of November 2014; Human Rights Campaign, 2014a). Historical exclusion from marriage discourages long-term relationships among sexual minorities (Green, 2006), and may make it difficult to envision starting a family within a same-sex relationship. Furthermore, barriers to parenthood among sexual minority populations may also result from concern about the well-being of children raised by same-sex parents, despite considerable evidence to the contrary (Biblarz & Stacey, 2010; Potter, 2012; Rosenfeld, 2010). Same-sex couple adoption is not

explicitly allowed in about half of U.S. states (Human Rights Campaign, 2014b), and sexual minorities often encounter discrimination in adoption agencies (Goldberg, 2012; Wald, 2006). In addition, sexual minorities face financial obstacles to having children, as adoption and surrogacy can be costly (Berkowitz & Marsiglio, 2007; Moore, 2011).

As a stigmatized group, sexual minorities are susceptible to minority stress, due to discrimination, legal restrictions on same-sex relationships, and internalized homophobia, promoting a lower sense of self-worth and decreased well-being (Meyer, 2003). Bisexual people face particular discrimination—and therefore have unique physical and mental health concerns—as they may be marginalized in both gay and heterosexual spaces (Bostwick, 2012; Jeffries, 2014). In addition, sexual minorities who lack family support may avoid forming serious same-sex relationships and having children (Lewin, 2009; Mezey 2008b; Riskind et al., 2013). Taken together, marginalization and discrimination shape sexual minorities' view of relationships, and in turn, may influence their attitudes toward parenthood.

Yet sexual minorities do not experience barriers to parenthood in the same ways. Gay men face particular challenges in forming planned families (Berkowitz, 2011; Berkowitz & Marsiglio, 2007; Goldberg, 2012; Mallon, 2004). As men, most have not been socialized to be nurturers and caregivers, and typically cannot rely on women to fill these roles, as heterosexual fathers do (Stacey, 2006). Stereotypically viewed as individualistic and pleasure-seeking, they must negotiate "the conflicting demands and cultural requirements of fatherhood and being gay men" (Lewin, 2009, p. 170). Although this suggests gay men may encounter the greatest barriers to becoming parents, lesbian women may also face gendered discrimination if others view them as unfeminine and unfit to be mothers (e.g., Moore, 2011).

Furthermore, race/ethnicity shapes understandings of sexuality and pathways to family formation. Notably, racial/ethnic minorities with same-sex desire must negotiate conflicting perspectives on homosexuality expressed by their racial communities and mainstream gay communities (Ocampo, 2012). For example, Black communities tend to promote "respectability" with regards to sexuality, encouraging same-sex desire to remain hidden or private in order to preserve the community's reputation (Moore, 2010, 2011). Latino and Asian American communities also tend to view sexuality as a private matter (Guzman, 2006; Manalansan, 2003). These perspectives conflict with mainstream (i.e., White, middle-class) gay culture's belief that people with same-sex desire must adopt a public gay identity or are not being true to themselves.

Indeed, Moore (2011) argued that race plays a pivotal role in the lives of Black lesbian women, because many have developed their sexual identities in Black communities. Due to Black sexual minorities' lower average socioeconomic status than similar Whites, Black lesbian women rely on their racial communities for support and feel less affinity with the mainstream, White gay community (Moore, 2011). Similarly, White, middle-class lesbians report greater acceptance from their families and greater support in their decisions to become mothers, compared to working-class and racial/ethnic minority peers (Mezey, 2008b). This suggests that White, middle-class sexual minorities may perceive fewer barriers to parenthood than others who are economically disadvantaged and not White. On the other hand, gay men and lesbians from racial/ethnic minority families may receive greater support and thus perceive fewer barriers to having children because their racial communities tend to highly value the collective family and its reputation above the wants of the individual (e.g., Allen & Bagozzi, 2001; Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin, & Perez-Stable, 1987).

Finally, although age limitations on fertility are less relevant for same-sex couples who adopt children, age may signify the social context in which one's sexual identity developed. Notably, a generational shift appears to be taking place in the ways gay men and lesbians choose to become parents (Patterson & Riskind, 2010). As the stigma around homosexuality has increasingly declined, sexual minorities have begun to "come out" earlier in life, decreasing the likelihood they will enter into a heterosexual relationship. Older gay and lesbian parents were most likely to have become parents through a prior heterosexual relationship, while younger parents had most often adopted their oldest child (Patterson & Riskind, 2010; Tornello & Patterson, 2010). Older sexual minorities faced much higher social stigma and marginalization compared to those who are younger and have benefited from major shifts in social and legal considerations of sexuality (including marriage, adoption and surrogacy laws), though these changes have not occurred evenly across states and communities. As a result, younger sexual minorities are generally better positioned to see parenthood as a possibility.

The Current Study

Using data from two rounds of the NSFG (2002 and 2006-2010), this research expands our knowledge of parenting preferences and intentions among sexual minorities. Specifically, I focus on three key research questions. First, drawing on a larger and more recent sample than prior work, I ask whether lesbians and gay men are less likely to want a/another child, as compared to their heterosexual counterparts. Based on previous research (Gates et al., 2007; Riskind & Patterson, 2010), I expect that sexual minorities will be less likely than heterosexual respondents to report wanting a/another child. Prior studies have typically limited their analysis to childless individuals (Riskind & Patterson, 2010; Riskind et al., 2013)—a notable omission given that many gay men and lesbians become parents through previous heterosexual

relationships before adopting a gay identity (Gates, 2012; Moore, 2011). Further, whereas Riskind and Patterson (2010) had statistical power only to compare Whites to all those who are not White, the current study is able to differentiate Hispanics and Blacks.

Second, I ask whether the association between sexual identity and parenting preferences varies across racial/ethnic or education categories, as intersectionality theory suggests. Previous research has documented race, class, and age differences in parenting attitudes more broadly and in understandings of sexuality. Therefore, I anticipate that variability in parenting preferences by sexual identity will vary further by race/ethnicity, educational attainment, and age. My large sample permits greater statistical power to investigate such complex interactions than prior work (e.g., Riskind and Patterson, 2010). Because communities of color and with lower socioeconomic status are more likely to prioritize the collective family over the individual, I expect sexual minorities who are not White or are less educated will report a greater preference for a/another child than peers who are White or more educated.

Third, again using a larger sample and more recent data than prior work, I ask whether gay men and lesbians who want a/another child perceive greater barriers to realizing their desires than heterosexual respondents. Based on previous research that found large gaps between desires and intentions among gay men and lesbians (Baiocco & Laghi, 2013; Riskind & Patterson, 2010; Shenkman, 2012), I expect sexual minorities will report larger gaps than heterosexual peers. Again, I anticipate further variability in parenting intentions by race/ethnicity and education. If sexual minorities who are not White or are less educated feel greater pressure to have children due to collectivist values, I would expect smaller gaps between their desires and intentions than those who are White or more educated. On the other hand, if sexual minorities who are less educated or are not White experience a conflict between their communities and mainstream gay

culture, I would expect them to report greater discrepancy between their preferences and intentions to have a/another child, as compared to their White and more-educated counterparts.

METHOD

Data and Measures

To examine parenting preferences and intentions, I use data from the 2002 and 2006-2010 NSFG. These are nationally representative, cross-sectional surveys of women and men ages 15 to 44, which jointly include nearly 20,000 women and over 15,000 men (Lepkowski et al., 2013). Combining the 2002 and 2006-2010 rounds of the NSFG provides larger samples of sexual minority respondents, which allows for greater statistical power in subgroup analyses. The NSFG is well suited for studying variation in attitudes toward parenthood by sexual identity because it is one of the only large-scale systematic surveys to collect information on sexual orientation in addition to parenting preferences and intentions. Most of the survey was administered by interviewers, but respondents answered sensitive questions, such as those related to sexual orientation, via Audio Computer-Assisted Self-Interviewing (ACASI) to protect their privacy. The NSFG oversamples Black and Hispanic adults and teenagers of all races. Using Stata survey estimation techniques, I adjusted for the stratified and clustered sampling design of the NSFG and applied sampling weights for all descriptive statistics (except where noted).

To measure parenting preferences, I rely on the following question: "[Looking to the future, do / If it were possible, would] you, yourself, <u>want</u> to have [a/another] child at some time [in the future] [after this pregnancy is over]?" Bracketed options varied if the respondent had children, was sterile, or if the respondent or respondent's partner was pregnant at the time of the interview. Response options were *yes*, *no*, and *don't know*. Those who responded *don't know* (2.4% of women, 1.9% of men) were asked a follow-up question: "[If it were possible,] Do you

think you [would] probably want or probably not want to have [a/another] child at some time [in the future] [after this pregnancy is over]?" Response options were *probably want*, *probably do not want*, and *don't know*. After verifying it would not change my substantive results, I combined *yes*/*probably yes* and *no/probably no* to create a binary variable, and omitted *don't know* responses due to negligible cases (women: 0.53%, $n = 105$; men: 0.68%, $n = 104$).

For the next stage of the analysis, I measured parenting intentions using the following question: "Looking to the future, do you intend to have a/another child at some time (after this pregnancy is over)?", with the clarification, "intend refers to what you [and your wife/husband/ partner] are actually going to try to do." Married respondents and those cohabiting with an "opposite-sex" partner were asked to provide the joint intentions of the couple. Those not married or cohabiting provided individual intentions. Responses for women were *yes, no,* or *don't know*, but for men were *definitely yes*, *probably yes*, *probably no*, *definitely no,* or *don't know*. Although these differing response options are problematic for comparing women's and men's models, I combined individual and joint intentions, and classified all responses as *yes/no* to maintain consistency.

My three primary independent variables of interests are sexual identity, race/ethnicity, and educational attainment. The NSFG measured sexual identity as *heterosexual or straight, homosexual or gay/lesbian, bisexual*, or *something else*. Yet there were some inconsistencies in the question over time. First, in 2002, the first two options for sexual identity were simply *heterosexual* and *homosexual*; the options *straight* and *gay/lesbian* were added to their respective categories beginning in 2006. This suggests respondents in 2002 may have been confused by the options, and also that there may be differences in reporting across the rounds of data. Second, *something else* was omitted as a response option in 2008 (Lepkowski et al., 2013). Notably,

respondents who identified as *something else* (women: 2.4%, n = 407; men: 2.1%, n = 233) were most likely to report primary attraction to the opposite sex (90% of women; 86% of men), suggesting they may be most similar to heterosexual respondents (see Williams Institute, 2009). They also were younger and had lower levels of education than the overall sample, suggesting some may have misunderstood the question or did not identify with the options provided. Next, I classified race/ethnicity as Hispanic, non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, and non-Hispanic Other. Because a small share of respondents (women: 6.2%, n = 1,105; men: 6.3%, n = 966) fell into the Other race category, making subgroup analysis difficult, I omitted these respondents from the analysis. I categorized respondents' education as *high school diploma or less, some college,* or *college degree or more*. Table 1 describes the final analytical samples (see Appendix, Table 4 for three-way frequencies among these key variables.)

[Table 1 about here]

In addition, I incorporate an array of characteristics that may contribute to variation in parenting perspectives (Bachrach & Morgan, 2013; Hayford, 2009; Hayford & Morgan, 2008; Morgan & Rackin, 2010), including respondents' age (in 5-year categories), marital status, number of children (including biological and adopted), religious service attendance, childhood environment (whether lived with two parents from ages 0-18), mother's education, urbanicity (whether living in metropolitan area), and place of birth (whether foreign born). With respect to number of children, women with less education and those who are Hispanic or Black continue to have greater parity than those with more education and Whites, respectively (Isen & Stevenson, 2010; Martin, Hamilton, Osterman, Curtin, & Mathews, 2013). Because these racial/ethnic and educational differences in number of children may produce variation in the relationship between sexual identity and attitudes toward parenthood, I control for parity in all models. In addition,

due to some slight differences in NSFG data from 2002 compared to 2006-2010 (Lepkowski et al., 2013), I control for survey wave in all regression models.

Although the NSFG data allow for exploring parenting desires and intentions of sexual minorities on a national scale, questions tended to focus on heterosexual relationships. For example, cohabitation was described as "not married but living with a partner of the opposite sex," potentially excluding same-sex cohabiting relationships (Badgett, Durso, & Schneebaum, 2013). In addition, respondents who did not report an opposite-sex spouse or partner were asked to provide income levels for themselves and anyone else in the household who is "family" or "who is related to you." Whether sexual minorities accounted for the income of a same-sex cohabiting partner depends on their interpretation of these terms, leaving room for potential measurement error among sexual minority respondents. Therefore, I rely on education as a measure of socioeconomic status in the current analysis.

Furthermore, parenting desires may be understated in these data. The NSFG measure of parenting desires focused on biogenetic relatedness, asking female respondents if they want to "have a baby" and male respondents if they want to "have a child." Because respondents may distinguish between *having* and *raising* a child (Kazyak et al., 2014), the NSFG may not capture true *parenting* preferences but instead *childbearing* preferences. Therefore, I would expect sexual minorities' parenting desires to be somewhat underreported here. Finally, married and cohabiting respondents reported joint parenting intentions, whereas those not married or cohabiting reported individual intentions. Heterosexual respondents were much more likely to provide joint intentions than gay men and lesbians, which may obscure true parenting intentions.

Analytic Strategy

I employed multiple strategies for handling missing and inconsistent data, including multiple imputation, listwise deletion, and recoding inconsistent values. The NSFG imputed missing values for some variables (e.g., marital status, education), which I have used when available, but missing data on ACASI variables were not imputed. The remaining independent variables with missing data were sexual identity (women: 1.8%, n = 314; men: 1.9%, n = 256), place of birth (women: 0.11%, n = 23; men: 0.14%, n = 23), and religious service attendance (women: 0.16%, n = 26; men: 0.15%, n = 20). First, I employed the 'mi' command in Stata to impute missing values for sexual identity, place of birth, and religious service attendance. Using imputed data, I estimated weighted descriptive statistics and regression models using key variables. Comparing imputed data estimates to those using listwise deletion, I found no substantive difference in the overall results, likely because heterosexual respondents made up the bulk of imputed cases. Finally, to address the discontinued use of *something else* sexual identity, I used measures of sexual behavior and sexual attraction to recode these cases when possible. Similar to multiple imputation results above, the majority of these respondents were recoded as heterosexual, and I found no substantive difference in the overall conclusions. To maintain parsimony in my analyses, I opted to use listwise deletion to omit cases with missing data and also dropped all cases of *something else* sexual identity. Shown in Table 1, the final samples include 13,712 men and 17,906 women ages 15 to 44. Of these, 3.5% (n = 585) of men and 5.1% (n = 1,063) of women identify as gay, lesbian, or bisexual.

To address my first research question, I examine descriptive associations between sexual identity and desire to have a/another child. Following this, I employ binomial logistic regression to investigate if these associations hold once controlling for factors such as age and parity, using Wald tests to assess statistical significance. To answer the second research question, I introduce

to the models all possible interactions of sexual identity, race/ethnicity, and education to explore whether variations in parenting preferences by race/ethnicity and education operate similarly across sexual identity groups. Using the preferred models, I calculate predicted probabilities of wanting a/another child by sexual identity, race, and education.

Finally, to assess whether sexual minorities perceive greater barriers to having children than heterosexual peers, I analyze the likelihood that those who report wanting a/another child also intend to do so. I am particularly interested in which groups report the largest gaps between desires and intentions (i.e., they want to have a/another child but do not intend or are not sure they intend to do so). I descriptively examine the risk of having a gap between parenting desires and intentions, and then use binomial logistic regression to test whether descriptive associations remain once incorporating sexual identity, race/ethnicity, and education; interactions between these three key variables; and other relevant factors.

RESULTS

Parenting Desires: Descriptive Results

I first assess whether gay men and lesbian women are less likely than their heterosexual counterparts to want a/another child, using larger and more recent data. I begin by examining the descriptive associations between wanting a/another child and key variables in the analyses. Consistent with previous research (Gates et al., 2007; Riskind & Patterson, 2010), my expanded analysis of the 2002 and 2006-2010 NSFG survey finds that men who identify as gay (47%) were considerably less likely than heterosexual (68%) and bisexual men (67%) to report wanting a/another child. Likewise, lesbian women were least likely to report desire for a/another child (44%), compared to heterosexual (59%) and bisexual women (69%). Assessing change over time, I found reported parenting desires increased overall in 2006-2010 compared with 2002, and

women reported increases across sexual identity groups. Notably, however, gay men's reported desire for a/another child decreased considerably in 2006-2010 (42% vs. 50% in 2002). This change appears to be driven by younger gay men (ages 15-29) reporting less interest in children in 2006-2010, as older gay men reported increased desire.

Considering other key variables, non-Hispanic White men were less likely (66%) to want a/another child, relative to non-Hispanic Black men (70%) and Hispanic men (72%). Women's stated desires generally followed a similar pattern by race/ethnicity, but there was little variation across groups (58% of Whites; 59% of Blacks; 61% of Hispanics). These patterns are consistent with Riskind and Patterson (2010), who found that men and women who are not White were more likely than Whites to state a preference for a/another child. Men with a college degree or more (63%) were least likely to want a/another child, compared to those with high school or less (67%) or some college education (71%). Women reported little variation in parenting desires by education (ranging from 58% of some college to 60% of high school or less).

Moreover, descriptive statistics suggest substantial variation in the desire to have a/another child by age. For both men and women, expressed desire for children sharply declined with age: Respondents ages 15 to 19 were very likely to want a/another child (95% of young men, 91% of young women), but those ages 40 to 44 were far less likely (31% of men, 20% of women). Notably, women's parenting desires declined more sharply with age than men's, presumably because women's fecundity is more constrained by age.

Parenting Desires: Multivariate Regression Analysis

To examine whether descriptive variations in parenting desires remain after controlling for other characteristics, I conducted a series of logistic regression models. Table 2 presents the final models predicting parenting desires by sexual identity, race, and education, while

controlling for age, number of children, and other demographic characteristics. I estimated identical models for men and women, and include in the final models all variables that were statistically significant for either sex (at $p < .05$ level). Variation by sexual identity was significant in both women and men's regression models. After controlling for age and number of children, differences between lesbian and gay respondents and their heterosexual counterparts widened further. Descriptive findings suggested bisexual women were more likely to want a/another child than heterosexual women; however, after controlling for age and parity, the likelihood of wanting a/another child declined considerably among bisexual women, dropping below that of heterosexual women. This is likely because women identifying as bisexual tended to be younger, and there was a sharp decline in identifying as bisexual as women aged. Notably, controlling for survey wave improved model fit for women but not for men.

[Table 2 about here]

Considering variation by race, Hispanic women and men were most likely to want a/another child, compared to Blacks and Whites. Black respondents were more likely than Whites to report desire for a/another child, though the difference was significant only for men. Although men's descriptive results suggested a negative relationship between education and parenting desire, the direction of association changed once I controlled for age and number of children: Men with more education (some college or more) were more likely to say they want a/another child, compared to those with less education. Among women, descriptive results suggested that those with high school or less education were more likely than those with more education to report wanting a/another child. Although the positive association remained after controlling for age and parity, only the difference between women with high school or less and those with college education or more was statistically significant.

The second aim of this study was to explore, using an intersectional approach, whether differences in parenting desires by sexual identity vary further by race/ethnicity and by education. Therefore, I introduced to the models three two-way interactions using the key variables. My analysis reveals that, among women, differences by sexual identity vary further by race/ethnicity but do not vary by educational attainment. For example, White and Black lesbians were considerably less likely than their heterosexual peers to report desire for a/another child, but among Hispanic women, there was little difference between lesbian and heterosexual women in reported parenting desires. Among men, however, results suggest that patterns of variation by sexual identity are the same regardless of their race or education.

Because prior research (Patterson & Riskind, 2010) and descriptive results pointed to a strong negative association between age and parenting desires, I also tested interactions between age and the key variables. As shown in Table 2, I found that a three-way interaction of sexual identity, race, and age significantly improved model fit for women (see Appendix, Table 5 for three-way frequencies). To illustrate this three-way relationship, I computed predicted probabilities for hypothetical women who are childless, not married or cohabiting with opposite-sex partner, earned high school diploma or less, attend religious services less than once per month, born in the United States, and interviewed in the 2006-2010 wave. Figure 1 illustrates this relationship for women ages 20 to 24 (Panel A) and 30 to 34 (Panel B). Note that error bars in all figures mark the 95% confidence interval for each probability. As Panel A shows, heterosexual women ages 20 to 24 were very likely to report wanting a/another child, regardless of race/ethnicity. Yet lesbian women ages 20 to 24 exhibited greater variation across racial groups: Lesbian Hispanics were slightly more likely than heterosexual Hispanics to report desire for a/another child, but White and Black lesbian women were considerably less likely than their

heterosexual peers to do so. Most notably, among lesbians ages 20 to 24, the probability of wanting a/another child for Hispanics is significantly different than for Whites and Blacks, but probabilities for Whites and Blacks are statistically similar. These results provide evidence that the effect of a lesbian identity on desire for a/another child operates differently for young Hispanic women than for young White or Black women.

Furthermore, although age generally has a negative association with parenting desires, this relationship does not operate evenly across sexual identity and racial groups (Figure 1, Panel B). Heterosexual women ages 30 to 34 were less likely than those ages 20 to 24 to report wanting a/another child. The differences between age groups, however, were larger among White heterosexual women than among Hispanic or Black heterosexual women. Among lesbians ages 30 to 34, probabilities declined sharply for Whites and Hispanics, as compared to their younger counterparts. Among Black lesbian women, the probability of wanting a child appears to increase with age, but the difference between age groups is not statistically significant.

As shown in Table 2, Wald tests indicate that differences in men's parenting desires by sexual identity and by race/ethnicity vary further by age, but a three-way interaction between these variables does not improve model fit for men. Using the same illustrative characteristics as for women above, my analysis of predicted probabilities reveals that White heterosexual men were more likely than White gay men to want a/another child at ages 20 to 24 and ages 30 to 34, but the difference between heterosexual and gay men was much larger among the older group. Considering race, heterosexual men ages 20 to 24 were very likely to report wanting a/another child, regardless of race/ethnicity. By ages 30 to 34, however, I found a considerably larger decrease for White men than for Hispanic or Black men. Overall, the complexity of the results

demonstrates that an intersectional approach is important for understanding variation in parenting desires.

Parenting Intentions: Descriptive Results

To address my final research question, I assessed variation in parenting intentions among those who reported wanting a/another child someday, evaluating the magnitude of the discrepancy. Overall, 14% of men and 20% of women reported they would like a/another child someday but they do not intend to act on that desire, suggesting they perceive barriers to achieving their parenting preferences (see Appendix, Table 6). A discrepancy between parenting desires and intentions was most likely for respondents who are older, those married or cohabiting with an opposite-sex partner, and those with two or more children. Considering variation by sexual identity, gay men (23%) were most likely to report a discrepancy between parenting desires and intentions, as compared to heterosexual (14%) and bisexual men (17%). Although heterosexual women (19%) were least to report a gap between desires and intentions, the data show no difference between lesbian and bisexual women (23% of each) in their propensities to report a gap. Assessing change over time, the overall magnitude of the gap in 2006-2010 remained the same for women but decreased slightly for men (15.4% in 2002 vs. 13.6% in 2006-10). Notably, however, the gap decreased considerably over time among lesbian women (30% in 2002 vs. 16% in 2006-10), gay men (26% in 2002 vs. 18% in 2006-10), and bisexual men (21% in 2002 vs. 12% in 2006-10).

Descriptive results also suggest that education operates differently for men and women: Men with more education (17%) reported a larger gap between desires and intentions, relative to men with less education (15%); yet among women, those with high school or less (22%) were most likely to report a gap (vs. 15% with college or more). An examination of racial/ethnic

variation suggests Hispanic women and men are most likely to report a gap and Whites are least likely, but that variation was minimal across racial groups (range of 19-21% among women, 14-16% among men), suggesting race/ethnicity may not be a strong predictor of reporting a gap.

Parenting Intentions: Multivariate Regression Analysis

To assess whether demographic differences among men and women can explain observed variation in a gap between parenting desires and intentions, I conducted logistic regression models, the results of which are shown in Table 3. I found that sexual identity is a significant predictor of reporting a gap between desires and intentions for a/another child among both women and men. Despite descriptive results suggesting change over time in reports of a discrepancy over time, controlling for survey wave did not improve model fit for women or men.

[Table 3 about here]

My analysis also reveals a significant interaction between sexual identity and age in predicting a gap for women. To illustrate this relationship, Figure 2 shows the predicted probability of a gap by sexual identity for hypothetical White women ages 20 to 24 and 30 to 34 (using illustrative values similar to above, in addition to residing in a metropolitan area and having parents together through respondents' childhood). Among those ages 20 to 24, bisexual women were more likely to report a discrepancy between parenting desires and intentions, than similar heterosexual and lesbian women. As women aged, however, the gap among lesbians increased most sharply, and lesbians became more likely to report a gap, relative to bisexual and heterosexual women. The results tend to support my hypothesis that gay men and lesbians would be more likely than heterosexual men and women to report a gap between desires and intentions for a/another child, but among women, this varied by age.

Although race and education did not improve model fit for men, both race and education were significant in predicting a gap among women. Furthermore, allowing the effects of women's race/ethnicity to vary across educational groups significantly improved model fit. As shown in Figure 3, among White and Black women ages 20 to 24, the predicted probability of a gap was significantly larger among those with less education than those with at least a college degree, though the education gradient was much steeper for White women than for Black women. Among similar Hispanic women, however, I found no significant differences by education level in the likelihood of reporting a gap between parenting desires and intentions.

DISCUSSION

This article used an intersectional lens to investigate variation in parenting desires and intentions among men and women, with a particular focus on variability by sexual identity, race/ethnicity, and educational attainment. Consistent with previous research (Gates et al., 2007; Riskind & Patterson, 2010), I found that parenting desires varied considerably based on sexual identity, and lesbians and gay men were less likely than heterosexual women and men to want a/another child someday. Notably, adjusting for group differences by age and parity widened these differences even further. Despite being less likely than heterosexual respondents to want a/another child, many lesbians and gay men did express a desire for a/another child.

My results also pointed to variation in parenting desires by race/ethnicity and education. Compared to Blacks and Whites, Hispanic men and women were more likely to report wanting a/another child. In addition, Black men and women were more likely than Whites to state a preference for a/another child, though this difference was meaningful only for men. Although these findings are consistent with Riskind and Patterson, my analysis extends their work by

examining Blacks separately from Hispanics. This proved fruitful, as I found notable differences in parenting desires between Hispanics and Blacks.

In a multivariate analysis, higher levels of education were associated with a higher likelihood of wanting a/another child. Although results for men align with previous studies (e.g., Kessler et al., 2013; Morgan & Rackin, 2010), my findings for women differ from previous research that found educational attainment is negatively associated (e.g., Edin & Kefalas, 2005; Waller, 1999) or minimally associated (Musick et al., 2009) with parenting desires. Moreover, I found that the effects of race/ethnicity and sexual identity vary by age among men and women.

Pointing to the importance of an intersectional approach, this study also identified variation in women's parenting desires within sexual identity groups by race/ethnicity and by age, as indicated by a significant three-way interaction between sexual identity, race, and age. Although younger heterosexual women exhibited high levels of parenting desires across racial/ethnic groups, I observed greater variability among younger lesbian women. Most notably, compared to their heterosexual peers, young lesbian Hispanic women reported slightly higher levels of parenting desires, yet White and Black lesbian women reported considerably lower parenting desires. This indicates that, among younger women, the relationship between sexual identity and desire for a/another child operates differently for Hispanics than for Blacks or Whites. Collectivist values among Hispanics (Sabogal et al., 1987) may encourage younger Hispanic women to want children, regardless of their sexual identity, but future research should explore this further.

Compared to younger women, my results pointed to a sharper decline in parenting desires among older heterosexual Whites than among similar Black or Hispanic women. This suggests that Black and Hispanic heterosexual women retain a high value of children into older ages more

so than Whites. Among lesbians, however, the story was different. Older White and Hispanic lesbians reported considerably lower levels of parenting desires compared to their younger peers, supporting the theory of a generation gap (Patterson & Riskind, 2010) in sexual minorities' attitudes toward parenting, at least among White and Hispanic women. In contrast, Black lesbian women's parenting preferences did not decrease with age and were not statistically different from their younger counterparts, which suggests that Black lesbian women may not experience generational changes in the same way as their White and Hispanic peers. These findings extend the work of Riskind and Patterson (2010), who found no significant interaction effects among sexual identity, race, and age, presumably due to their considerably smaller data set. Contrary to my hypothesis, I did not find significant interactions between sexual identity and education or race and education in predicting parenting desires. Nevertheless, a larger set of data may be able to explore these relationships more thoroughly.

Finally, this study identified variation in the gap between parenting preferences and intentions, which I used in this analysis as an indicator of perceived barriers to fulfilling one's parenting desires. Among men, only sexual identity was a significant predictor of a gap between stated desires and intentions; differences by race/ethnicity and education were not statistically significant. In addition to significant differences by sexual identity, race, and education, variation in women's reports of a discrepancy by sexual identity differs further by age. Among younger women, bisexual women were more likely than lesbian and heterosexual women to report a gap. As women aged, however, the gap widened considerably among lesbians. Furthermore, differences among women by education varied further by their race/ethnicity. In particular, the gap among White and Black women declined as their educational attainment increased, though the change was more dramatic for Whites. Most notably, the perception of barriers among

Hispanic women did not vary by education level, further emphasizing the importance of an intersectional approach that differentiates between Hispanic and Black respondents. Although generally supportive of Riskind and Patterson's (2010) findings on parenting intentions, the current analysis extends their work by identifying further variation in women's intentions, as indicated by significant interactions of race by education and sexual identity by age.

Although these data provide a nationally representative overview of parenting preferences and intentions among sexual minorities, large-scale survey data are limited in the depth of information they can provide. Qualitative methods can be more effective for assessing the barriers to having children that are most salient for sexual minorities (e.g., Riskind et al., 2013), and the ways in which they negotiate these barriers. Moreover, because these are cross-sectional data, they only provide a snapshot in time. Just as sexual identity is not static, parenting preferences and intentions are contextual and can change throughout the life course and over time, as suggested by variation between survey waves.

Considering the NSFG's measurement of parenting desires and intentions, recall that respondents were asked if they want or intend *to have* a/another child. Because of the presumably biogenetic focus on *having* children, the available measures of *parenting* desires and intentions likely exclude a number of sexual minorities who were interested in *raising* children but reported they were not interested in *having* them (Kazyak et al., 2014). Furthermore, despite recent social and legal gains in access to marriage and adoption, the current analysis uses NSFG data collected between 2002 and 2010, when many of these advances were not yet in place. Many sexual minority respondents likely developed their sexual identities and attitudes toward parenting in more restrictive social climates, and as such, the effects of legal advancements may

not be reflected in sexual minorities' responses. As a result, sexual minorities' parenting desires and intentions may be somewhat understated in these data.

Furthermore, because heterosexual respondents were more likely to report being married or cohabiting with an opposite-sex partner, they were more likely to be asked about joint intentions. In theory, a joint response accounts for the intentions of two people whose attitudes toward parenting may differ. Therefore, I would expect those reporting joint intentions to have a larger gap between parenting desires and intentions. At the same time, individual intentions—which were more likely among sexual minorities—may be overstated, as participants need only account for their own attitudes toward parenting. Taken together, the biases in these measurements should make it more difficult to observe positive parenting desires or a gap between desires and intentions among sexual minorities.

Despite these limitations, this study is the first to my knowledge to report significant interactive relationships between sexual identity, race/ethnicity, and education in a nationally representative examination of parenting desires and intentions. Because results pointed to change over time, future research should continue to monitor how sexual minorities' parenting attitudes evolve as social acceptability and legal support for same-sex relationships continue to grow. As this study has shown, an intersectional approach can reveal important differences within sexual minority groups. Therefore, future work should carefully consider how the association between sexual identity and parenting perspectives varies depending on other social characteristics such as gender, race, and education.

Table 1. *Descriptive Statistics of Analytical Samples by Relevant Variables, Women and Men Ages 15-44, NSFG 2002 & 2006-2010.*

	Women (N = 17,906)		Men (N = 13,712)	
Variable	Mean	*n*	Mean	*n*
Sexual identity				
Heterosexual or straight	.950	16,843	.964	13,127
Gay/lesbian or homosexual	.013	274	.021	341
Bisexual	.038	789	.015	244
Race/ethnicity				
White, non-Hispanic	.687	10,042	.688	7,754
Hispanic	.164	4,024	.184	3,316
Black, non-Hispanic	.149	3,840	.127	2,642
Education				
High school or less	.481	9,203	.531	7,944
Some college	.288	5,038	.270	3,460
College degree or more	.231	3,665	.199	2,308
Age of respondent				
15-19 years	.162	3,080	.170	3,147
20-24 years	.165	3,129	.168	2,419
25-29 years	.159	3,275	.159	2,220
30-34 years	.157	3,052	.157	2,021
35-39 years	.174	2,749	.170	2,005
40-44 years	.181	2,621	.175	1,900
Number of children (bio and adopted)				
0	.430	7,908	.538	8,455
1	.171	3,365	.157	1,899
2+	.399	6,633	.306	3,358
Had a first child/birth as a teenager				
Yes (under 20 years)	.173	3,513	.066	884
Marital status				
Married	.441	6,329	.400	3,615
Cohabiting with opposite-sex partner	.100	1,966	.105	1,324
Not married or cohab. with opp.-sex partner	.459	9,611	.495	8,773
Religious service attendance				
Never	.214	4,107	.283	3,998
Less than once a month	.276	4,708	.292	4,007
1-3 times per month	.182	3,406	.169	2,386
Once a week or more	.329	5,685	.256	3,321
Nativity				
Foreign born	.119	2,610	.136	2,105
Urbanicity				
Metropolitan area	.816	15,274	.813	11,739
Childhood environment				
Lived with both parents from 0-18 years	.623	10,283	.653	8,248

Note: Means are weighted.

Table 2. *Logistic Regression Models Predicting Desire to Have a/Another Child Among Women and Men Ages 15-44, Controlling for Other Variables*[a]*, NSFG 2002 and 2006-2010.*

	Women (N = 17,906)			Men (N = 13,712)		
Independent Variable	*B*	SE *B*	Exp(*B*)[b]	*B*	SE *B*	Exp(*B*)[b]
Sexual identity (Heterosexual)						
Gay/lesbian or homosexual	-1.71***	0.41	0.18	-2.02***	0.33	0.13
Bisexual	-0.40*	0.16	0.67	-1.84***	0.48	0.16
	$F(2,179) = 10.40$, $p < .001$			$F(2,179) = 10.40$, $p < .001$		
Race/ethnicity (White non-Hispanic)						
Hispanic	-0.06	0.10	0.94	-0.02	0.15	0.98
Black non-Hispanic	-0.28**	0.10	0.76	-0.40*	0.16	0.67
	$F(2,179) = 4.31$, $p < .05$			$F(2,179) = 3.30$, $p < .05$		
Education (High school or less)						
Some college	0.02	0.07	1.02	0.33***	0.08	1.40
College degree or more	0.19**	0.07	1.21	0.39***	0.10	1.48
	$F(2,179) = 3.96$, $p < .05$			$F(2,179)=11.07$, $p < .001$		
Age (15-19 years)						
20-24 years	-0.16	0.12	0.85	-0.36*	0.16	0.70
25-29 years	-0.55***	0.11	0.57	-0.68***	0.15	0.51
30-34 years	-1.32***	0.12	0.27	-1.73***	0.16	0.18
35-39 years	-2.12***	0.12	0.12	-2.20***	0.16	0.11
40-44 years	-2.94***	0.14	0.05	-2.92***	0.17	0.05
	$F(5,176) = 134.79$, $p < .001$			$F(5,176) = 88.06$, $p < .001$		
Race/ethnicity x Sexual identity						
Hispanic x Gay/lesbian	3.33**	0.96	28.03	0.86	0.67	2.36
Hispanic x Bisexual	0.28	0.39	1.33	1.26	0.83	3.51
Black x Gay/lesbian	-0.14	0.62	0.87	0.38	0.59	1.46
Black x Bisexual	-0.30	0.32	0.74	0.89	0.64	2.44
	$F(4,177) = 3.35$, $p < .05$			$F(4,177) = 1.21$, $p = .31$		
Sexual identity x Age (15-29 years)						
Gay/lesbian x 30-44 years	0.23	0.58	1.26	0.18	0.43	1.20
Bisexual x 30-44 years	0.81*	0.32	2.25	1.57*	0.61	4.83
	$F(2,179) = 3.50$, $p < .05$			$F(2,179) = 3.42$, $p < .05$		
Race/ethnicity x Age (15-29 years)						
Hispanic x 30-44 years	0.49**	0.15	1.64	0.57**	0.18	1.77
Black x 30-44 years	0.64***	0.12	1.90	0.83***	0.20	2.30
	$F(2,179) = 10.63$, $p < .001$			$F(2,179) = 10.63$, $p < .001$		
Sexual identity x Race x Age						
Gay/lesbian x Hispanic x 30-44 yrs.	-2.86*	1.13	0.06	-0.29	0.87	0.75
Gay/lesbian x Black x 30-44 yrs.	1.46	0.98	4.29	0.18	0.79	1.20
Bisexual x Hispanic x 30-44 yrs.	-0.51	0.79	0.60	0.54	1.08	1.72
Bisexual x Black x 30-44 yrs.	-0.75	0.61	0.47	0.06	0.94	1.06
	$F(4,177) = 3.18$, $p < .05$			$F(4,177) = 0.11$, $p = .98$		
Constant	2.11***	0.11	8.21	2.61***	0.14	13.66

Note: Reference categories shown in parentheses. Wald tests shown below estimates for each variable. Data adjusted to account for complex sampling design of the NSFG.

[a]Models include controls for age, parity, married or cohabiting, foreign born, religious service attendance, interview wave. [b]Odds ratio.

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

Table 3. *Logistic Regression Models Predicting Gap Between Parenting Desires and Intentions Among Those Who Expressed Desire to Have a/Another Child, Women and Men Ages 15-44, Controlling for Other Variables*[a]*, NSFG 2002 and 2006-2010.*

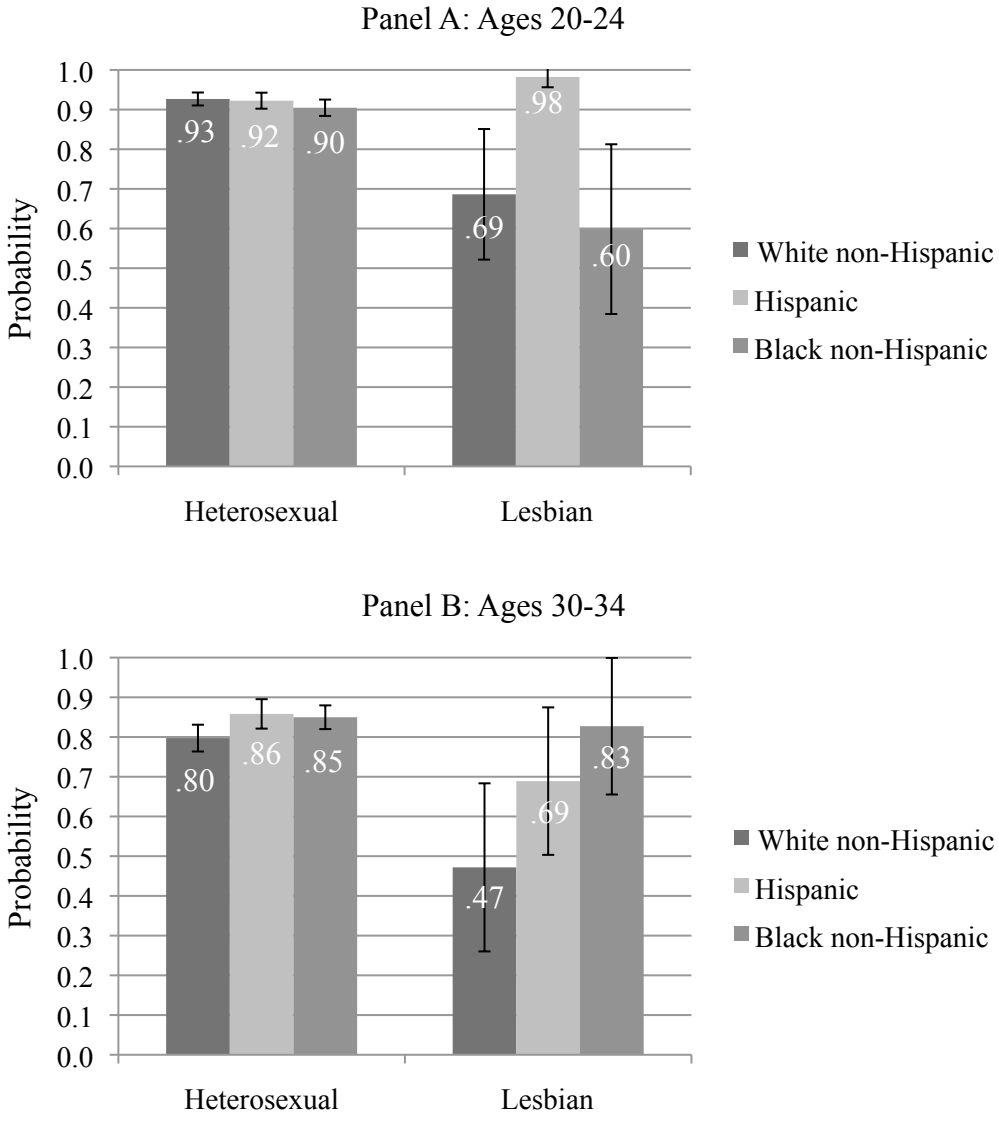
	Women (N = 10,902)			Men (N = 9,919)		
Independent Variable	*B*	SE *B*	Exp(*B*)[b]	*B*	SE *B*	Exp(*B*)[b]
Sexual identity (Heterosexual)						
Gay/lesbian or homosexual	-0.14	0.42	0.87	1.05*	0.53	2.87
Bisexual	0.77**	0.26	2.17	-0.73	0.49	0.48
	$F(2,179) = 4.89$, $p < .01$			$F(2,179) = 3.16$, $p < .05$		
Race/ethnicity (White non-Hispanic)						
Hispanic	-0.54***	0.14	0.58	0.08	0.19	1.09
Black non-Hispanic	-0.40*	0.16	0.67	0.33	0.20	1.39
	$F(2,179) = 10.06$, $p < .001$			$F(2,179) = 1.40$, $p = .25$		
Education (High school or less)						
Some college	-0.73***	0.13	0.48	-0.28	0.19	0.76
College degree or more	-1.40***	0.15	0.25	-0.48*	0.21	0.62
	$F(2,179) = 44.90$, $p < .001$			$F(2,179) = 2.95$, $p = .06$		
Age (15-19 years)						
20-24 years	0.94***	0.21	2.56	-0.03	0.20	0.97
25-29 years	1.69***	0.21	5.42	0.54*	0.21	1.71
30-34 years	2.50***	0.21	12.22	0.99***	0.24	2.70
35-39 years	3.49***	0.21	32.84	1.71***	0.22	5.55
40-44 years	4.71***	0.27	111.18	2.45***	0.23	11.64
	$F(5,176) = 155.50$, $p < .001$			$F(5,176) = 37.81$, $p < .001$		
Sexual identity x Age (15-29 years)						
Gay/lesbian x 30-44 years	1.54**	0.58	4.67	0.46	0.61	1.59
Bisexual x 30-44 years	-0.11	0.38	0.89	1.16	0.69	3.18
	$F(2,179) = 3.72$, $p < .05$			$F(2,179) = 1.65$, $p = .20$		
Race/ethnicity x Education						
Hispanic x Some college	0.82***	0.21	2.26	0.02	0.30	1.02
Hispanic x College or more	1.24***	0.29	3.47	0.17	0.45	1.19
Black x Some college	0.03	0.28	1.03	-0.48	0.35	0.62
Black x College or more	0.41	0.27	1.50	0.03	0.34	1.03
	$F(4,177) = 5.97$, $p < .001$			$F(4,177) = 0.66$, $p = .62$		
Constant	-3.37***	0.19	0.03	-3.16***	0.22	0.04

Note: Reference categories shown in parentheses. Wald tests shown below estimates for each variable. Data adjusted to account for complex sampling design of the NSFG.

[a]Models include controls for age, parity, first birth as teenager, married or cohabiting, foreign born, intact family as child, urbanicity, religious service attendance, interview wave. [b]Odds ratio.

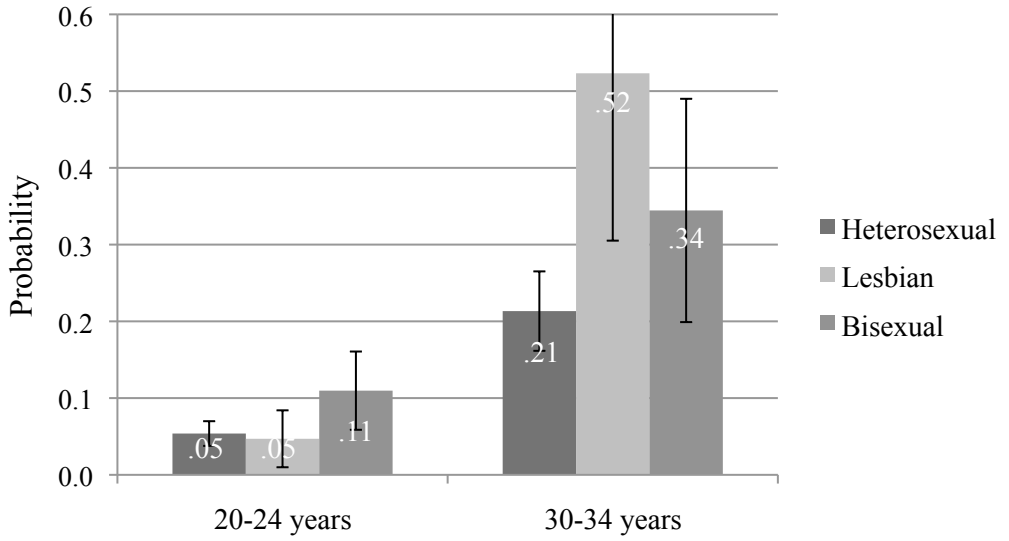
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

Figure 1. *Predicted Probabilities of Wanting a/Another Child Among Women, by Sexual Identity, Race, and Age, NSFG 2002 & 2006-2010.*



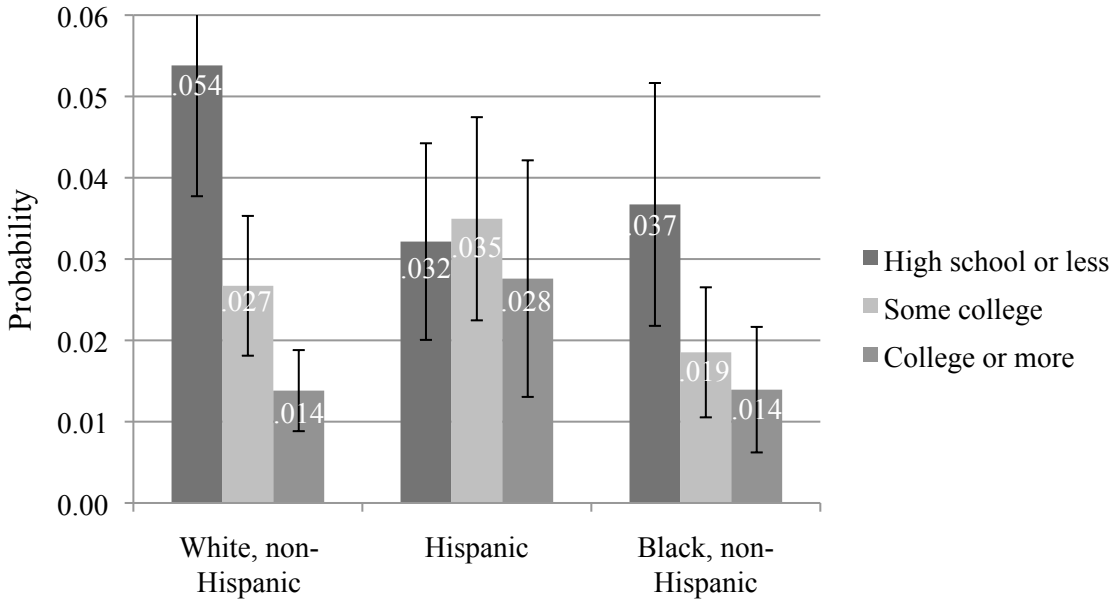
Note: Based on coefficients shown in Table 2, with probabilities computed for illustrative childless women, who earned high school diploma or less, are U.S. born, not married or cohabiting with opposite-sex partner, attend religious services less than once per month, and were interviewed in 2006-2010.

Figure 2. *Predicted Probabilities of a Gap Between Women's Parenting Desires and Intentions, by Sexual Identity and Age, NSFG 2002 & 2006-2010.*



Note: Based on coefficients shown in Table 3, with probabilities computed for illustrative childless White women, who earned high school diploma or less, are U.S. born, not married or cohabiting with opposite-sex partner, attend religious services less than once per month, reside in metropolitan area, interviewed in 2006-2010, and whose parents were together throughout respondents' childhood.

Figure 3. *Predicted Probabilities of a Gap Between Women's Parenting Desires and Intentions, by Race/Ethnicity and Education, NSFG 2002 & 2006-2010.*



Note: Based on coefficients shown in Table 3, with probabilities computed for illustrative childless heterosexual women ages 20 to 24, who earned high school diploma or less, are U.S. born, not married or cohabiting with opposite-sex partner, attend religious services less than once per month, reside in metropolitan area, interviewed in 2006-2010, and whose parents were together throughout respondents' childhood.

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APPENDIX

Table 4. *Three-Way Frequencies of Sexual Identity, Race/Ethnicity, and Education, Women and Men Ages 15-44, NSFG 2002 & 2006-2010.*

	Sexual identity					
	Women (N = 17,906)			Men (N = 13,712)		
Race/ethnicity Education	Hetero-sexual	Lesbian	Bisexual	Hetero-sexual	Gay	Bisexual
White, non-Hispanic						
HS or less	3,916	63	282	3,677	74	60
Some college	2,859	43	142	2,043	59	48
BA or more	2,622	49	66	1,689	76	28
Hispanic						
HS or less	2,570	32	96	2,348	40	45
Some college	883	11	30	615	26	10
BA or more	389	7	6	214	13	5
Black, non-Hispanic						
HS or less	2,096	38	110	1,647	26	27
Some college	1,003	21	46	628	16	15
BA or more	505	10	11	266	11	6

Table 5. *Three-Way Frequencies for Women Ages 15-44 by Sexual Identity, Race, and Age, NSFG 2002 & 2006-2010.*

	Sexual identity		
Race/ethnicity Age group	Heterosexual	Lesbian	Bisexual
White, non-Hispanic			
15-29 years	4,784	70	337
30-44 years	4,613	85	153
Hispanic			
15-29 years	2,058	29	99
30-44 years	1,784	21	33
Black, non-Hispanic			
15-29 years	1,953	40	114
30-44 years	1,651	29	53
Total n	16,843	274	789

Table 6. *Mean Values of a Gap Between Parenting Desires and Intentions by Select Variables, Among Those Who Expressed Desire to Have a/Another Child, Women and Men Ages 15-44, NSFG 2002 & 2006-2010.*

	Women (N = 10,902)		Men (N = 9,919)	
Variable	Mean	Base *n*	Mean	Base *n*
Sexual identity				
Heterosexual or straight	.19	10,255	.14	9,585
Gay/lesbian or homosexual	.23	126	.23	169
Bisexual	.23	521	.17	165
Race/ethnicity				
White, non-Hispanic	.19	6,133	.14	5,521
Hispanic	.21	2,498	.16	2,499
Black, non-Hispanic	.20	2,271	.15	1,899
Education				
High school or less	.22	5,687	.15	5,809
Some college	.18	3,025	.13	2,548
College degree or more	.15	2,190	.17	1,562
Age of respondent				
15-19 years	.02	2,772	.03	2,969
20-24 years	.06	2,572	.04	2,168
25-29 years	.16	2,268	.11	1,776
30-34 years	.30	1,669	.19	1,332
35-39 years	.52	1,025	.35	1,000
40-44 years	.76	596	.48	674
Number of children (bio and adopted)				
0	.07	6,578	.07	7,375
1	.20	2,092	.18	1,308
2+	.59	2,232	.45	1,236
Marital status				
Married or cohabiting with opposite-sex partner	.30	4,220	.27	2,695
Not married or cohabiting with opposite-sex partner	.11	6,682	.06	7,224
Total	.20		.14	

Note: Means are weighted.