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**Lesbian Motherhood in a
Chilean Cultural Context**

By

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Psychology PhD

Birkbeck, University of London

March 2017

Declaration

I hereby guarantee that the work presented in this thesis is written by myself entirely except where other sources are clearly and identifiably cited.

Signed:

Victor Manuel Figueroa Guinez

Abstract

An emerging body of research is paying a particular attention into the family life of lesbian mothers who live in Latino countries. These studies have revealed how the cultural understandings of gender, sexuality and homophobia and the political/legal context have constrained the family experiences of Latina lesbian mothers.

Notwithstanding, these studies have failed to recognize possible linkages between religious discourses and family of origin influences on understandings of lesbian motherhood within a Latino context. Latino societies hold a strong Christian religious heritage, with the Catholic Church being historically influential on national legislation that privileges heteronormative assumptions of family formation. By exploring the case of Chile, this thesis aims to examine how understandings of lesbian motherhood are constructed within the context of a strongly Catholic, and to some extent Evangelical, Latino society. The thesis details findings from three empirical, qualitative studies, within a life course theory perspective. Data from 29 participants collected through individual semi-structured interviews and focus groups were analysed.

The first study used individual interviews and Narrative Analysis to explore the stories of sexual identity and motherhood of eight lesbian mothers who conceived their children within the context of a previous heterosexual relationship. The study found that participants struggled to express their same-gender feelings because lesbian women were often seen as "sick" or "deviant" and inappropriate models of motherhood. The second study used focus groups and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis to explore the expectations of motherhood of a younger cohort of six lesbian and bisexual prospective mothers. The study revealed that participants thought that it would be difficult to deal with Chilean society as mothers because the same-gender attraction was still seen as a perversion/abnormality by some people within their family of origin and their social contexts. The third study investigated contemporary Chilean attitudes towards lesbian and gay parenting using Thematic Analysis of focus group data from 15 heterosexual women who were first-year psychology students in an evening university program. The study revealed that a minority of participants had worries that having same-gender parents could disrupt children's gender and sexual orientation development. It is concluded that despite an increasing level of acceptance of "homosexuality" in Chile, lesbian mothers were still regarded as "immoral" models for children by some heterosexual people, particularly those who had a Christian religious background. These moral discourses had a strong impact on what lesbian and bisexual participants felt they could reasonably do or on what they expected to happen by living in Chilean society as a mother.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Lesbian women and gay men have always raised children, yet the study of families formed by lesbian and gay (LG¹) parents and their children was established as research field only during the 1980s (Tasker, 2013). Over the past three decades most research has focused on the study of developmental outcomes of children raised by lesbian mothers ‘post-heterosexual relationship dissolution’ - PHRD² - (Golombok, 2007; Tasker, 2013) and children of lesbian mothers who have planned their own families in the context of a non-heterosexual relationship (Bos, 2013), also known as ‘de novo’ families (Brown & Perlesz, 2007; Hayman, Wilkes, Jackson, & Halcomb, 2013; Perlesz et al., 2006a). Notwithstanding, most research studies in the field have been conducted in Western European - e.g. Belgium, Netherlands, Spain and United Kingdom-, and English-speaking countries - e.g. Australia, Canada and United States- with a focus on “White-European” populations (Golombok, 2007, 2015) and pay limited attention to culture specific factors. Thus, cultural contextual understandings of the family lives of LG parents and their children are still scarce.

Significantly fewer research studies in the field of LG families have been carried out in other cultural regions such as, Eastern Europe, Middle East (with the exception of Israel), Africa (with the exception of South Africa) and Latin America. Studies in these contexts have been portrayed as "Non-Western" - also Non-White- studies because they seem to represent different cultural

¹ I will use the acronym LG in this thesis to identify lesbian and gay people or parents.

² I will use the acronym PHRD in this thesis to identify lesbian mothers who conceived their children through a previous heterosexual relationship and later separated from their heterosexual partner.

understandings of the family lives of LG parents (see Lubbe, 2013 to see a review of "Non-western" research and perspectives in the field). Nevertheless, it is difficult to define the extent to which these cultural regions are particularly distinctive from, or at the same time, a reflection of the Western-White European understandings of the family lives of LG parents. Thus, instead of using the "Western-non-Western" conceptual distinction, which is mainly White Eurocentric and perhaps problematic to inform a transcultural analysis, I took the concept of "hybridity" from the postcolonial framework to address the complexity of examining other cultural contexts, such Latin America (Coronil, 2015).

Postcolonial critique emerged under the influence of postmodern and poststructuralist thought in connection with sociological and political critical studies of the long history of colonising practices (Coronil, 2015). This postcolonial debate encompasses problems as different as the formation of minorities in the world-wide scene. Coronil (2015) suggested that postcolonial studies have raised two main intellectual challenges: the importance of colonialism in the formation of the modern world without reducing history to colonialism and to contest the Eurocentric forms of knowledge and its privileged epistemological standpoint. From this perspective, a postcolonial analysis of Latin America should pay the attention not only to populations of indigenes as "colonised others" (the Eurocentric view) but also to the interplay of the indigenous and non-indigenous core (largely European and Christian), which have informed Latin American societies since the annexing of territories in the sixteenth century. In this sense, I took the concept of "hybridity" because it illustrates both the disjuncture between cultures and the mixture of indigenous and European identities and sociopolitical forces (domination and resistance to

domination) that have given form to contemporary Latin American societies (Kraidy, 2002).

Thus, the exploration of different cultural contexts beyond Western-White European conceptualisations of the family may enrich the understanding of socio-cultural influences on the family life of LG parents and their children. A growing interest in the study of the family life of LG parents living in Latino countries has been observed in recent years (Haces, 2006; Libson, 2012, 2013; Palma, Strey, & Krügel, 2012; Pinheiro, 2006; Sánchez, Espinosa, Ezcurdia & Torres, 2004; Santos & Alves de Toledo, 2006; Sebastián, Cortés, & Román, 2012; Uribe, 2013). This body of research suggests that most Latino LG parents have conceived their children within a previous heterosexual relationship because the heteronormative pressures of Latino society. Further, an increasing number of Latino LG parents are deciding to form de novo families given the emergence of new reproductive technologies and national legislations that have granted same-gender couples the right to marry, particularly in countries such as Argentina (2010) and Brazil (2013). This is consistent with U.S. research that indicates that younger generations of gay men and lesbian women may be more likely than their older peers to consider a wider variety of routes to parenthood and to become parents within a same-gender relationship (Patterson & Riskind, 2010; Tornello & Patterson, 2015).

In Chile, where the civil partnership law (“Acuerdo de Unión Civil”) has been recently approved (2015), and a same-sex marriage bill is still waiting for approval in the Parliament, sociological research has indicated that the main route to parenthood of lesbian mothers also has been via a previous heterosexual

relationship because of the strong family of origin pressures to conform with the ideal of the heterosexual family (Herrera, 2009; Jara & Araujo, 2011). However, little is known about how younger generations of lesbian women are planning or forming their families in the context of a changing Chilean society.

The number of lesbian women and gay men who have children in Chile is still unknown. U.S. research data has indicated that 59% of bisexual women and 32% of bisexual men report having children, compared to 31% of lesbians and 16% of gay men (Goldberg, Gartrell, & Gates, 2014). Within a Latin American context, a study conducted in Colombia with 403 men and 306 women who reported having 'homoerotic practices' revealed that 30.8% of women and 11.2% of men had children (Uribe, 2013). A recent Chilean population-based survey that gathered data from 83,887 households and 266,968 people indicated that 1.52% (n=100,616) of Chilean population identified as gay; 0.62% (n=45,385) as lesbian; and 0.24% (n=17,302) as bisexual (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, 2016). Thus, following Colombian research data (which is similar to the U.S. research data regarding the proportion of lesbian women and gay men who have children), it could be estimated that at least 13,978 lesbian women and 11,269 gay men have children in Chile. These numbers are likely to increase if we consider that younger generations of Chilean people (aged between 18 to 29 years) are more likely to identify as gay/lesbian (1.9%) or bisexual (1.1%) than are those in older cohorts.

Through the exploration of narratives, expectations and views of three different groups of Chilean women, I interrogate the varied meanings of lesbian motherhood within the context of a strongly Catholic, and to some extent

Evangelical, Latino society (Gooren, 2015). As mentioned above, Latino studies have mainly focused on how cultural understandings of gender and sexuality, homophobia and the political/legal context have constrained the family experiences of Latina lesbian mothers. Notwithstanding, previous studies have failed to recognise possible linkages between religious discourses and family of origin influences on understandings of lesbian motherhood within a Latino context. Latino societies hold a strong Christian religious heritage since colonial times, with the Catholic Church being highly influential on national legislations that privilege heteronormative assumptions of family formation (Akerlund & Cheung, 2000; Bozon, Gayet, & Barrientos, 2009; Encarnación, 2011). By exploring the case of Chile, this thesis aims to examine how understandings of lesbian motherhood are constructed within the context of a strongly Christian religious society. Herrera (2007) and Figueroa and Tasker (2014) have found that family of origin's religious teachings have impacted the sexual identity development of lesbians and gay men in Chile. Thus, we need to know how Christian religious teachings through the family of origin influences might have impacted the understandings of "lesbian motherhood" within the context of Chilean society.

I understand "lesbian motherhood" as a socially constructed concept that combines two different identities: "lesbian" and "mother". According to Hequembourg & Farrell (1999), "mother" is one of the mainstream identities while "lesbian" is an often marginalised identity within North American society. I also follow the proposition of Herrera (2009) which implies that "lesbian" and "mother" have been seen as incompatible identities within Chilean society. The investigation of the understandings of lesbian motherhood also includes the

examination of the woman's identity, which is also implicit within the concept. Indeed, following Lewin's (1993) analysis, I understand the concept of "motherhood" as one mainstream role of being a woman, which has been often regarded as a "natural" expression of women's essential being in North American culture. In contrast, the concept of "lesbian," often used to identify women that feel emotionally or sexually attracted to women, has been largely portrayed as a sexually transgressive identity that violates the ideal of womanhood in North American culture (Lewin, 1993). Similarly, Herrera (2009) has suggested that lesbian motherhood in Chile combined the traditional identity of "mother" with the transgressive identity of "lesbian." Thus, I focus my analysis on the intersection of the identities of "woman", "lesbian" and "mother" within the context of Chilean society. I also examine the intersection of these three identities within this Christian religious cultural context under the umbrella of the life course theory and the intersectionality perspective, both of which will be reviewed in the following chapters.

Study 1 focused on the life course experiences of lesbian mothers who conceived their children through a previous heterosexual relationship. Study 2 explored the motherhood expectations of a younger generation of lesbian and bisexual (LB³) women who reported a desire to have their own children and form a de novo family. Study 3 examined the views of heterosexual women on LG parenting in order to investigate the particular cultural context faced by lesbian mothers and LB prospective mothers in Chile. Recent research data indicates that the rates of approval of lesbian motherhood are still low in Chile. A national survey conducted with 1295 participants revealed that only 36.1% of people reported that

³ I will use the acronym LB in this thesis to identify lesbian and bisexual women.

“lesbian couples are as good as heterosexual couples to raise children” (Instituto de Investigación en Ciencias Sociales [ICSO], 2012a). This thesis aimed to give the voice to Chilean lesbian mothers and prospective LB mothers, two minority groups who have been almost missing from psychological research in Chile, and to some extent in other countries in Latin America too.

1.1. Outline of chapters

The current introduction chapter sets the scene for the thesis by introducing the history of Chilean LGBT⁴ activism with a focus on the lesbian movement, followed by an examination of Chilean women’s identity and roles from a socio-cultural and historical perspective. I also briefly overview my own life course story as gay man in order to position myself within the field and to enable me to adopt a reflexive stance in my qualitative analyses.

Chapter two’s literature review outlines qualitative research studies conducted with lesbian mothers in English Speaking and Western European countries (ESWE⁵) and in other cultural regions, including two studies conducted in Chile. The review highlights whether the studies presented included lesbian mothers PHRD or lesbian mothers in de novo families in their samples. The chapter ends with a cross-cultural examination of the understandings of lesbian motherhood.

⁴ I will use the acronym LGBT in this thesis to identify lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people.

⁵ I will use the acronym ESWE in this thesis to identify English Speaking and Western European countries.

Chapter three presents the approaches to data collection and understanding that guided the three studies conducted explaining the rationale behind adopting a qualitative approach, the social constructionist approach, the reflexive position, the life course theory, the intersectionality framework, the Minority Stress Model, and briefly consider the methods used for data collection and analysis.

Chapter four presents Study 1 regarding the life course experiences of Chilean lesbian mothers. The chapter briefly reviews the existing research on lesbian identity formation and the methodological features of Study 1. The chapter also reports the findings and discussion arisen from the Structural Narrative Analysis and Thematic Narrative Analysis separately.

Chapter five presents Study 2 concerning the motherhood expectations of a younger cohort of Chilean LB women. The chapter outlines the existing research on LG prospective parents and the methodological features of Study 2. The chapter also reports the findings and discussion originated from the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis.

Chapter six presents Study 3 regarding Chilean heterosexual women's attitudes toward lesbian and gay parenting. The chapter briefly reviews the existing research on attitudes toward LG people and parents, and describes the methodological features of Study 3. The chapter also details the findings and discussion arisen from the Thematic Analysis.

Chapter seven discusses the findings across all three studies conducted on the basis of each study's purpose and provides an integrative approach to the findings relying on a life course theoretical analysis. It presents an evaluation of the quality of the three studies conducted following specific suggestions for enhancing and

demonstrating validity in qualitative research. Finally, the chapter discusses strengths, limitations and future research ideas, and presents general conclusions and practical recommendations.

1.2. Setting the scene

In this section, I present a brief history of Chilean LGBT activism with a focus on the lesbian movement in order to contextualise the long battle of lesbian women as a group to achieve visibility and equal rights within the context of Chilean society. Further, I examine Chilean women's identity and roles within the family and society with the purpose of providing a socio-cultural and historical perspective of the patriarchal context in which Chilean women have lived over the past decades. Finally, I present a brief overview of my own life course story as a gay man living in Chilean society with the aim of adopting a reflexive stance as a researcher in this thesis. I also take into account the life course perspective in presenting my own trajectory as a gay man, locating myself within a socio-cultural and historical context, identifying significant turning points, and highlighting my interdependence with significant others.

1.2.1. A brief history of Chilean LGBT activism with a focus on the lesbian movement

1.2.1.1. From emergent gay men's voices to politically organised lesbian women (1973 - 1989)

The first public demonstration of Chilean sexual minority people occurred on the 22nd of April of 1973, a few months before the coup by General Pinochet that changed the political history of Chilean society. The demonstration was conducted by a group of about 25 young gay men and transvestites who were not organised into a movement with a political purpose. Their demands aimed to counter the level of discrimination and constant abuse exercised by the police in a social context of growing political polarisation. During the socialist government of former President Salvador Allende, there had been more political freedom, yet there was no freedom for homosexual people. The press immediately reacted to the protest with homophobic comments and moral judgment, while politicians reaffirmed their rejection of any demonstration that affronted against morality and decency. The growing social unrest, the threat of an imminent military coup, the hostility by the press and increased hostility by the police silenced emancipatory attempts of sexual minority people after the protest. The silence remained during the major part of Pinochet's military dictatorship because of the fear of being identified as homosexual and subsequently arrested. In fact, many gay men and transvestites were victims of torture because of their sexuality during this Chilean political period (Robles, 2008).

The first record of an organised sexual minority pressure group in Chile dates from the late 1970s. In 1977, a group of gay men called Betania, mostly formed by professionals connected with the Catholic University in the city of Santiago, began to meet regularly to provide mutual psychological, legal and religious support. The group were advised by a priest who served the function of a spiritual guide. In this group, homosexuality was seen from a non-pathological stance and bibliographic material that represented homosexuality as a normal expression of human sexuality was reviewed. In 1979, the experience of the group was presented in a report in "Paula" magazine, the first report published in the Chilean national press from a sympathetic and nonjudgmental stance on the homosexuality. The movement disbanded in the mid-1980s because of disagreement amongst members (Contardo, 2011; Robles, 2008).

Although Betania was the first LGBT organisation recorded in Chilean history, this group did not have a political aim. The first group with a political purpose was registered in 1979 in a publication of the Chilean popular newspaper "Las Últimas Noticias" (The Latest News). The report addressed the existence of an organisation called "Movimiento por la Liberación del Tercer Sexo" (MLTS), Movement for the Liberation of the Third Sex. The article also analysed a debate held in the "Sociedad Chilena de Sexología" (Chilean Society of Sexology) which openly addressed the issue of homosexuality from a historical, psychological and social perspective. The report criticised the negative aspects of discrimination and did not represent homosexuality as a mental disorder (Contardo, 2011).

The last public appearance of the MLTS was through a letter in which the group clearly stated that their main objective, and the most desired goal for Chilean gay

men, was the repeal of the Article 365 of the Chilean Penal Code that criminalised sex between men (Contardo, 2011). Although “sodomite behaviour” was considered an offence by the Chilean Penal Code since its enactment in 1875, the criminalisation of sodomite practices was a legacy from the Spanish legislation⁶ that was in force since the colony was formed (Valenzuela, 2013). According to Valenzuela, the agreement between the Catholic Church and the Chilean State was the key aspect sustaining the criminalisation of the sex between men until the late twentieth century. This long-lasting legislation reflected homosexuality as historically portrayed as a sin by the Catholic Church and as an offence by the Chilean state. Thus, the repeal of the Article 365 of the Chilean Penal Code became the major political goal of the subsequent gay political movements in Chile in order to fight with the “medieval” persecution of homosexuality.

Sexual minority organisations with a political sense emerged with greater force during the 1980s in Chile. The first organisation with a stable political activist agenda was a movement of lesbian women called "Ayuquelén⁷", which was founded in 1984. Through Ayuquelén, lesbian women made their first appearance in the Chilean political scene. The group was formed by lesbian feminist women and was created after the death of a young lesbian woman in strange circumstances outside a bar in downtown Santiago (Contardo, 2011). The group argued that the woman was attacked because of her sexual identity. However, the case was dismissed in 1993, and no one has since been found guilty of having

⁶ The condemnation of sodomy has a long history in Spain. The Spanish Kingdom aligned with the Inquisition of the Catholic Church punished homosexual acts with death, mainly during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Valenzuela, 2013). Although sanctions were less severe in subsequent centuries, the Spanish Kingdom's medieval condemnation of sodomy continued and was extended to its colonised territories in the Americas. Thus, this Judeo-Christian tradition impregnated legislations of all the newborn Latino republics criminalising sodomite acts through their Penal Codes (Encarnación, 2011).

⁷ Ayuquelén in Mapudungun (the language of the Mapuche ethnic group from Chile) means “the joy of being”.

killed the young lesbian. The group was created with the aim of making visible their needs, which were hidden at that time. The first public appearance of the group was in 1987 in the magazine called “Agencia Publicitaria de Servicios Informativos” (APSI⁸), Advertising Agency for Informative Services, yet with unpublished names and photographs because lesbians' feared rejection by their own families and their co-workers (Contardo, 2011).

Ayuquelén represented the voices of Chilean lesbian women in the national and international political context through participation in meetings of lesbian feminists in Latin America, the Caribbean, and some conferences of the International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA). In order to incorporate more women, Ayuquelén began to meet in "La Casa de la Mujer" (The House of the Woman), also called "La Morada" (The Dwelling), which belonged to feminist activists. However, the relationship between Ayuquelén and the feminist movement became problematic as some feminists sought to distance themselves from the growing lesbian movement. During the decades of the 1980s and 1990s, the group represented the organised political activism of lesbian women in the Chilean national context (Robles, 2008).

1.2.1.2. Between the gay emancipatory agenda and the lesbian political activism (1990 - 1999)

While Chilean lesbian women had begun their political activism by mid-1980s, Chilean gay men only started to organise in a clear political movement in the

⁸ The APSI magazine was the first magazine in opposition to the military dictatorship in Chile and was first published in 1976.

1990s. In 1991, the "Movimiento de Liberación Homosexual" (MOVILH), Movement for Homosexual Liberation, emerged from a group of activists who were members of the "Corporación Chilena de Prevención del SIDA"(CCHPS), Chilean Corporation for the AIDS Prevention. These CCHPS members were interested in promoting a political agenda that aimed at “gay emancipation”. However, the heads of the CCHPS did not want the organisation to be identified as gay. As a result, the members of the group who held an emancipatory agenda were expelled from CCHPS and created MOVILH (Contardo, 2011; Núñez, 2010). MOVILH arose during the early return to democracy in a politically complex period. Within this context, the rising organisation proposed new political horizons for the Chilean lesbian and gay community. The transition to democracy brought back the desire for social transformation and liberation to sexual minorities in Chile (Robles, 2008).

A significant milestone in the activism of Chilean sexual minority people was the organisation of the "Primer Congreso Homosexual Chileno" (First Chilean Homosexual Congress) held in 1991 in the city of Coronel in the south of Chile. More than 30 gay men and lesbian women from across the country attended the event, including some members of MOVILH and Ayuquélén. However, disagreements of participants at the congress hampered the creation of shared agendas for subsequent years. The priority for MOVILH's members was to eliminate the Article 365 from the Chilean Penal Code (which punished sodomy as stated above) ignoring other issues on their political agenda. While, Ayuquélén members organised the "Primer Encuentro Lésbico Feminista Nacional Chileno" (First Chilean National Lesbian Feminist Meeting) in 1992 (Robles, 2008).

Also in 1992, the "Primer Encuentro de Lesbianas y Homosexuales del Cono Sur" (First Meeting of Lesbians and Gays from the Southern Zone) was held in the town of San Bernardo, located in the south of the Metropolitan city of Santiago. The meeting was attended by Ayuquélén's members and other activists from HIV prevention groups. However, MOVILH's activists did not participate in the meeting because they did not want the homosexuality to be linked with the HIV/AIDS issue. During the meeting, the situation of lesbians and gay men from different Latino countries was analysed. Regarding the Chilean case, participants in the meeting concluded that although Chile was in a transition to democracy, the Catholic Church still exerted a strong influence on the Chilean law and politics, even though the Catholic Church had been decreed separate from state affairs since 1925. Robles (2008) has noted that many representatives of the government and the parliament were advised by the Church, especially on matters relating to sexuality, and this contributed to the restriction of the rights of sexual minority people. Thus, the criminalisation of sodomy continued during a major part of the 1990s despite the return to the democracy.

Later, in 1993, MOVILH made its first public appearance in media to declare their fight against discrimination of gays and lesbians. Although MOVILH was initially formed by gay men, the movement had begun to incorporate women into its political activism, but women's demands still appeared less prominently than men's. Thus, some lesbians resolved to distance themselves from MOVILH and founded the "Centro de Orientación de la Mujer" (COOM), Counseling Center for Women. Subsequently, the "Coordinadora Lésbica" (Lesbian Coordination) and the group "Lazos" (Ties) emerged from the COOM.

By the mid-1990s, new internal tensions within MOVILH had caused its fragmentation. This breakdown gave rise to other organisations such as the "Movimiento Unificado de Minorías Sexuales"- MUMS (Unified Movement of Sexual Minorities) in 1998. MUMS went further than MOVILH in its political agenda and included the lesbian and transgender causes in their lines of actions. For instance, MUMS collaborated in the creation of the lesbian group "Lazos" and the first organised group of Chilean transgender people called "Traves Chile". By the end of the 1990s, one of the ex-leaders of MOVILH changed the name of the organisation to "Movimiento de Integración y Liberación Homosexual" (Movement for Homosexual Integration and Liberation) thus keeping the same initials, MOVILH, for this re-born group to claim a central position in the Chilean LGBT movement despite the emergence of other sexual minority groups. Consequently, MOVILH continued with its gay emancipatory agenda and gained greater visibility in media and among political authorities than other LGBT organisations from the 1990s onwards (Contardo, 2011; Robles, 2008).

A particular event that increased the desire for the vindication of the rights of sexual minorities in Chile was the death of 16 gay men in a fire in the 'Divine' nightclub in Valparaiso in 1996 - a fire that was widely regarded as an intentional act of arson despite the court dismissing the case for prosecution (Robles, 2008). Nonetheless, this milestone impacted public opinion and strengthened the gay movement in its struggle for the abolition of the law against sodomy (Núñez, 2010). As a result of constant pressure, mainly led by MOVILH, and supported by other groups of gay men and transgender people, the Article 365 of the Chilean

Penal Code, which prohibited sodomite relations, was abolished in 1999⁹. Sexual minority organisations argued that the Article 365 violated the right to freedom and perpetuated the conception of the immorality of sexuality (Barrientos, Silva, Catalan, Gómez, & Longueira, 2010; Contardo, 2011).

Although the gay activism appeared to be more visible on the political scene than were lesbian movements in the 1990s, lesbians made their cause visible in other ways. In 1993, the first radio program including lesbian and gay views began broadcasting in Chile. The program called "Triángulo Abierto" (Open Triangle) started simply as an activity of the lesbian and gay community; but quickly gained political relevance. Many Chilean sexual minority people, who were at the time hiding their sexuality, identified with the program. The radio program became a political and communicational venue for the lesbian and gay movements. In 1998, an exclusively lesbian radio program called "Ama-Zonas" (Amazon) led by the "Coordinadora Lésbica" group emerged from "Triángulo Abierto". The new lesbian program announced activities for the lesbian community in a national level. Later, other lesbian radio programs developed from this precedent (Robles, 2008).

⁹ It is important to mention that the decriminalisation of homosexuality in Chile was not an isolated milestone within the Latino context. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, most Latin American countries removed sodomy from their Penal Codes. The last Latino countries to withdraw the sex between men from their legislation were Nicaragua and Panama, both in 2008 (Encarnación, 2011).

***1.2.1.3. Toward a greater visibility of the lesbian community and their demands
(2000 - present)***

At the beginning of the 21st century men's and women's homosexuality was still represented as a disease and reprehensible sin by mass media and in the political sphere in Chile. Furthermore, most newspaper articles and reports related male homosexuality directly to AIDS. However, Chilean television gradually began to represent the gay men and lesbians without a pejorative and pathologising view (Contardo, 2011). As a way to counter the bias against homosexuality in the media, new means of diffusion emerged from the gay and lesbian community. In 2002, a newspaper called OpusGay, whose name made satirical reference to the conservative Catholic sector (Opus Dei), appeared on the national scene.

However, lesbian groups criticised OpusGay because the journalists did not include lesbian issues in their publications and announced the creation of the first Chilean lesbian online magazine, "Rompiendo el Silencio" (Breaking the Silence), during the same year. The new lesbian magazine strengthened the organisation and visibility of the Chilean lesbian community. Through internet publications, the lesbian magazine reached the Chilean and Latin American lesbian public and had a substantial impact on a new generation of lesbian women in the Latino context. From Rompiendo el Silencio onwards the lesbian cause achieved more visibility in the wider Chilean media, arts and politics (Robles, 2008).

A significant milestone for the lesbian visibility occurred in 2009 when a series of extracts and pieces by the Chilean poet Gabriela Mistral were released after the death of her administrative assistant, Doris Palma. The writings of this former winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature revealed that, Gabriela and Doris had

maintained a long and loving relationship. The figure of the female writer had been ennobled during the years of the military dictatorship to counteract the importance of the poet Pablo Neruda, the other Chilean Nobel Prize winner in Literature, who was linked to the socialist government of Salvador Allende. Through public and private education, Gabriela Mistral had become known as the foremost figure of Chilean literature. Until the death of her lover, Gabriela was represented as a female school teacher without children and a partner, as a kind of asexual woman. Two years later, after Doris's death, the relationship between Gabriela and Doris was portrayed in the documentary "Locas Mujeres" (Mad Women) by Maria Elena Wood, which made their intimate lesbian relationship widely known to the public (Contardo, 2011).

The event that placed lesbians as the key protagonists in the national political scene was the judicial case of Karen Atala and her daughters: a case that centred on lesbian motherhood. Karen was herself a judge who lost the custody of her daughters because she had a lesbian relationship and lived with her partner. A Chilean court sentenced Karen to give custody and the care of her daughters to their father. Despite an appeal, this resolution was ratified by the Chilean Supreme Court of Justice (SCJ) in 2004, beginning the most emblematic legal dispute of the political history of sexual minorities in Chile. The SCJ argued that being a lesbian, living with a same-gender partner, and the lack of a male parent could all affect Karen's daughters particularly in their psychosexual development. Although the reports of various institutions consulted agreed that there was no incompatibility between being a mother and a lesbian, the highest Chilean court considered as fundamental the report of a psychologist who noted that one of

Karen's daughters had “problems” in the development of her gender roles (Robles, 2008).

The decision of the Chilean SCJ was campaigned against by many lesbian and gay groups and Karen Atala sued the Chilean State in the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR) on the 24th of November of 2004 (Robles, 2008).

Additionally, Ema de Ramón, who was Karen's partner at the time, created a group with other lesbian mothers called "Las Otras Familias" (The Other Families), the first political movement to defend the rights of lesbian mothers in Chile. In 2012, after a lengthy battle, the IACHR ruled against the Chilean State. The IACHR sentenced that Karen Atala and her daughters had suffered a violation of the rights of equality and non-discrimination and a violation of the right to privacy. Furthermore, the IACHR ordered the Chilean State to make a public apology and recompose the damage caused to Karen and her daughters. The international court urged the implementation of educational programs and training courses for permanent public workers to prevent discrimination for reasons of sexual orientation and gender identity (IACHR, 2012). Certainly, the ruling of the IACHR marked a turning point in the political history of LGBT movements in Chile. For the first time, the Chilean State had to acknowledge the structural abuse exercised against LGBT people and to adopt an explicit non-discriminatory stance.

Two further significant legal achievements have benefited the overall LGBT community in Chile in recent years. The approval of the Anti-Discrimination Law in 2012 and the Civil Partnership Act in 2015 - which included same-gender couples - both of which have indicated notable progress in the fight for equal

rights of the LGBT population (BCN, 2012, 2015). On the one hand, the anti-discrimination law has enshrined that people cannot be discriminated against on grounds of sexual identity, gender identity, sexual orientation, nationality, race or ethnicity, socioeconomic status, language, ideology or political opinion, religion or beliefs, association or participation in labour unions, or lack thereof, marital status, age, descent, personal appearance, illness, or disability. Although this law directly benefits various minority groups, the approval was largely an achievement of Chilean sexual minority movements. Indeed, the law was driven through quickly after the murder of Daniel Zamudio, a 24-year-old gay man, by a neo-Nazi group in the city of Santiago (Long, 2013). A crime that caused great media stir and public reaction due to the cruelty of the murder.

On the other hand, through the civil partnership, the Chilean judicial system for the first time gave legal recognition to same-gender couples who were cohabiting. Civil partnership legislation was pursued to regulate both the rising number of the opposite-gender and the same-gender cohabitations with the aim of providing couples with rights and legal guarantees in areas such as health, property, inheritance, and custody. One of the most remarkable aspects of this legislation is that it legally recognised both cohabitating couples and their children as a family. Thus, both members of the couple are considered legal relatives and so in the event of subsequent legal dispute the custody of children can be granted to the biological parent's partner, if he/she had contributed to children's upbringing and education. Additionally, the Family Courts were given responsibility for resolving any disputes between the partners (BCN, 2015).

These last legal changes in Chilean legislation, including the decriminalisation of homosexuality, the anti-discrimination law and the addition of civil partnership, indicate that Chilean society has been turning towards a more equalitarian legal context for sexual minorities. Furthermore, these changes imply that homosexuality can no longer be regarded as a deviation by the Chilean State. This renewed depiction of homosexuality, which is far from the “medieval” condemnation of sex between men since colonial times, has prompted new depathologising approaches toward homosexuality in Chilean law and public policy. For instance, the Chilean National Service for Children (SENAME) is allowing lesbians and gay men to adopt children as single parents, and it is admitting lesbian and gay couples as eligible to foster (MOVILH, 2015). In addition, the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) has included the topic of sexual diversity in its guidance for sex education in schools from kindergarten to secondary education age groups (Ministerio de Educación, 2012). The last socio-legal achievement was a resolution in the Supreme Court of Justice of a case that finally granted a gay father and his partner the custody of their two children. This 2017 ruling was the first Chilean sentence in which the consideration of the best interests of the child was enunciated to explicitly exclude consideration of the sexual orientation of a parent (Peña, 2017).

Although advances in the rights of sexual minority people have been significant in recent years in Chile, legal inequities still exist, and LGBT groups have continued their struggle for equal rights. At the final editing of this thesis, same-sex marriage, gender identity, and same-sex adoption bills were still awaiting final approval by the Chilean Parliament. Furthermore, in April 2016, political movements of women, lesbians and lesbian mothers presented a draft law that

regulates the rights of filiation of the children of same-gender couples, marking another historical milestone for the national lesbian movement. Although some lesbian mothers had already filed lawsuits in both Chilean and international courts to legalise their ties with their children, this bill represented the first organised political proposal that reflects the demands of lesbian mothers in the country. The project sought to regulate the rights of parentage of children born through assisted fertilisation and to legally establish the relationship between lesbian co-mothers and their children. The project is also aimed at amending the Civil Partnership Law to grant cohabiting couples the right to adopt children.

To sum up, lesbian movements have been present since early in the history of LGBT activism in Chile. Although lesbian voices were less visible than gay demands during the first period, lesbian women were at the forefront of politically organised sexual minority groups. Indeed, the group Ayuquelen was the only sexual minority movement with a stable political agenda during the last years of Pinochet's military dictatorship. Differences between lesbian women demands and gay men purposes were reflected in disagreements in the political programme of the growing number of LGBT organisations during the 1990s. New lesbian movements emerged from this breakdown, yet lesbian voices were rarely heard in Chilean society until *Rompiendo el Silencio*, recognition of Gabriela Mistral and Doris Palma's relationship and Karen Atala's successful custody battle through the Chilean courts.

The latest battle for political recognition also deeply concerns the rights to LGBT parenthood: the draft law-intended to regulate the rights of filiation of the children

created through assisted reproductive technology by same-gender couples. With this achievement, lesbian movements aimed to give the voice to the less heard group within the lesbian community, a collective formed by mothers and co-mothers who also wanted to make their demands and their children's needs visible.

1.2.2. Chilean women from a social, cultural and historical approach

1.2.2.1. Women's identity and roles

According to anthropological research, Chilean culture historically has developed a symbolic construction of gender where the feminine identity has been associated with "the mother" and the masculine identity with "the father" (Salazar, 2007). In Chile, as in Latin America more generally, the woman-mother relationship has had a strong foundation in the Catholic religion. Historically, the image of Christ's mother, the Virgin Mary, has dominated the religious fervour (Montecino, 1996; 2005). The woman depicted in the image of the Virgin Mary has been understood as a faithful caregiver: the iconic embodiment of the principles and values that organise the feminine behaviour (Silva, 2012). This feminine identity inspired by the image of the Virgin Mary has been called Marianism and also has been associated with the virtues of suffering (Stevens, & Pescatello, 1973), self-sacrifice and self-denial (Melhuus, 1996). Thus, the Catholic doctrine has historically played a crucial role in the definition of a feminine identity within a Chilean and Latino cultural context.

The feminine identity also has been linked to the division of gender roles in Latin American societies. During the major part of the twentieth century, the Latina woman has been associated with homemaking, while the Latino man traditionally has not had responsibilities in the household, since their primary goal has been to be the provider for the family (Chant, 2002; Chant & Craske, 2003). This gender division of roles has been described as the marianismo-machismo dichotomy (Cianelli, Ferrer & McElmurry, 2008; Stevens & Pescatello, 1973). Within this social order, the external world of men included meeting with peers with the forgivable if regretted possibility of extramarital sex, while women were seen as inextricable from the home and always faithful to both their domestic and marital roles. The social life of the woman was reduced to visiting relatives and female friends. This asymmetric sexual order reflected the primary role of women in relation to having and caring for children (Chant & Craske, 2003).

Nonetheless, sociological research has revealed significant changes in Chilean women's identity and roles during the latest part of the twentieth century. The increasing incorporation of women into the workplace both during the military dictatorship and subsequently has changed the family configuration and slowly has allowed women to achieve more equalitarian gender relations within the home (Olavarría, 2000; Valdés, 2005). Many men have lost their status as the exclusive providers of the family, and an increasing number of women have begun to form their own families without a man. The new masculine identity has incorporated a close and affectionate paternity with children as opposed to the authoritarian role of the father of previous generations (Olavarría, 2000). The new feminine identity has included a greater participation in activities outside the home such as employment and education (Valdés, 2008). Changes in laws and policies, feminist

movements, the social relevance of HIV, the process of globalisation, media and the internet also have contributed to the transformation of gender values in modern Chilean society (Valdés, 2005).

Nevertheless, recent sociological research has shown that conservative ideologies continue to coexist with liberal views in Chilean women of the twenty-first century. A study conducted by Palacios and Martinez (2006) analysed data obtained from a national survey that collected data from a sample of 1247 women. The authors distinguished between conservative and liberal attitudes among participants' opinions. Women who were considered to hold "more liberal" attitudes within the study markedly agreed in their approval of the right of women to work, the divorce law, access to contraception, and women's participation in public life. However, the views of the "more liberal" group were more divided on issues such as the right time to begin a sexual life, the impact of work outside the home on the family responsibilities, and access to abortion. Furthermore, opinions in the group of women who were considered to hold "more conservative" attitudes were more divided than in the "more liberal" group in most of the subjects assessed; yet the above-average proportion of the "more conservative" group were against matters such as the beginning of the sexual life before marriage, divorce and abortion. Of all the variables analysed, pre-marital sex was the most discussed aspect for the "more liberal" group and where the "more conservative" group showed more restrictions.

Palacios and Martinez (2006) also found the "more liberal" group of women tended to be younger (18-33 years old), in middle and high socioeconomic groups, less religious, and either employed or in education. Palacios and Martinez argued

that although the process of modernisation has brought increased liberalism to young women in Chile, this is not true for young women from low-income groups because they might have been less exposed to the process of modernisation. In the low-income group, the lack of education and early motherhood might have perpetuated the traditional view of gender roles within a patriarchal order. Similarly, the modernisation process seems not to have affected the ideologies of conservative women from medium- and high-income social groups because their ideologies were more founded on their religious beliefs.

1.2.2.2. Women in the family

The ideal model for Chilean family life also has experienced significant changes over the twentieth century in Chilean society (Olavarría, 2000; Oyarzún, 2005; Valdés, 2005). The collaboration between the Catholic Church and the Chilean State was highly influential in the social representation of the traditional patriarchal family during a greater part of the twentieth century (Valdés, 2005). The Catholic Church depicted a hegemonic family model based on the biblical construction of gender differences (femininity and masculinity). From this view, the "natural" family should have a father and a mother because its central purpose was the procreation and the rearing of the biological children seem as blessings from God (Oyarzún, 2005). Chilean laws and policies tried to reproduce this Catholic family model promoting the gender division of roles alongside the growing process of industrialisation. Within this gendered social order, men were expected to perform a productive role outside the home, and women were

supposed to be in a reproductive role within the household (Oyarzún, 2005; Valdés, 2005).

Nevertheless, recent sociological research has shown that modern family features coexist with traditional values in Chilean society. Family life has undergone a process of democratisation, and gender roles have become more egalitarian because women in paid employment have manifested a desire for greater equality in their relationships with their partners (Valdés, 2005). However, the notion of feminine identity, which has been exclusively associated with motherhood, and the prevalence of the extended family, acts as obstacles to the process of modernisation of families. Also, the participation of the extended family, including the grandmother, in the care of children, perpetuate women's traditional role, and the gender division of household responsibilities remain unchallenged. Therefore, the increased employment and education of women has not necessarily led to greater gender equality within the home (Valdés, 2005; Ramm, 2013).

1.2.2.3. Women and sexual expression

Traditional gender roles have also influenced the socialisation of sexuality within families in Chilean society. Early sociological studies conducted in Chile have shown that women were socialised to be passive and receptive, while men were educated to be active and penetrative (Valdés & Olavarría, 1998). Also, women learned from their parents to be responsible for their sexuality and placing a premium on virginity prior to marriage. Men, on the contrary, were taught to express their 'instinctive' sexual desire freely (Valdés, 2005). Furthermore, men and women were essentially socialised within a heterosexist model, which

included being heterosexual and holding a privileged social position over homosexual people (Olavarría, 2001; Valdés, 2005; Valdés & Olavarría, 1998). Thus, traditionally gender roles and identities have been highly influential in the organisation of women's sexuality in Chilean society.

However, recent sociological studies have revealed notable changes in the socialisation of sexuality in younger generations during the twenty-first century in Chile (Palma, 2006; Valdés, 2005). Studies have found that 21st century parents were more willing to talk about sexuality and contraception with their adolescent children than they were in previous generations (Valdés, 2005). Additionally, the age of commencement of sexual intercourse has decreased in recent generations, particularly for women (Palma, 2006). These changes have shown that younger generations of women have experienced significant changes and a loosening of traditional sexual values within their families.

Despite new trends in sexual values of younger generations of Chilean people, the Catholic Church and conservative political groups have continued to promote traditional gender roles, virginity until marriage, rejection of the condom use, and sexual abstinence (Valdés, 2005). Catholicism levels have also risen in the upper classes of society, with high levels of adherence to conservative Catholic movements like Opus Dei (Thumala, 2007). While the general level of people religiosity of Chilean society has decreased in recent years, the religious plurality has grown with increasing spread of Christian groups (ICSO, 2011; Valenzuela, Schwartzman, Biehl, & Valenzuela, 2008). The recent expansion of the Evangelical Church in Chile also has contributed to the traditional view of gender roles (Valdés, 2005) and has promoted negative views about homosexuality

perhaps to a greater extent than the Catholic Church elsewhere has done (Cárdenas & Barrientos, 2008; World Values Survey [WVS], 2005). Indeed, a Chilean National Survey conducted in 2014 revealed that 41% of people who identified as Catholic (56% in the sample) agreed with the right of “homosexual” couples to adopt children, whereas only 23% of people who identified as Evangelical (14% in the sample) agreed with the same statement (ICSO, 2014).

To summarise, since early in the history of Chilean society, religious and cultural influences have impacted women's gender, sexuality and roles within the family context. The Catholic Church has been profoundly influential in the social representation of a feminine identity inspired by the image of the Virgen Mary. This Marianism has set up the principles and values that have organised Chilean women's identity and social roles. Furthermore, this religious set of rules has pervaded Chilean state law and policies over the past century. Within this gendered social order, women were valued for remaining at home for childrearing and homemaking in a secondary and subjugated position. Conversely, the authority of the family has been vested in the masculine role and the father has been largely regarded as the provider at the head of his family.

The Catholic doctrine also has influenced the way in which women have been socialised in the sexual domain over the past centuries in Chile. The image of the Virgin Mary was the model to define how women should morally behave. Women were expected to value their ‘virginity’, to be faithful to their husband, and to adopt a passive and receptive sexual role. Catholic Church also dictated the boundaries for sexual activity within marriage and these were limited to

procreative acts. Therefore, women's desire and pleasure had no place within this restrictive sexual morality, and their primary role was confined to reproduction. In contrast, men were socialised to express their 'instinctive' sexual desire, to be open to extra marital sexual experiences, and to adopt an active and penetrative sexual role. This binary set of moral norms and values profoundly permeated the socialisation of sexuality until later in the twentieth century within Chilean society.

Furthermore, the growing incorporation of women in the workplace during the dictatorship period and the transition to democracy challenged the patriarchal family configuration and men lost their status as the exclusive provider for the home. Gender relations have become more equalitarian than in previous decades and Chilean women have challenged the traditional role of the subjugated woman with entry into paid employment. New generations of women have demanded more gender equality within their social, family and sexual life. Notwithstanding, recent social science research has revealed that conservative ideologies still coexist alongside more liberal views. The notion of feminine identity has remained strongly associated with motherhood and some women have been concerned about the impact of working outside the home on the family responsibilities. Additionally, limiting freedom of sexual expression has been considered to be the domain where Chilean conservative and liberal women diverge least in their views. Thus, traditional and progressive ideologies need to be weighed up when studying women in Chilean society.

1.2.3. Setting myself in the scene

As a Chilean sexual minority person myself I have both shared and different experiences with participants in Studies 1 and 2. Therefore, questions of reflexivity must be addressed. Thus, I provide a brief overview of my own life course story as a gay man living in Chile.

I came from a city called "Concepción" (Conception) located in the south of Chile. Concepción is the second largest metropolitan region in the country with an estimated population of more than 1,000,000 of people. The word "conception" has a religious connotation as it reflects the "Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary" according to Catholic Church's teachings. Concepción was founded in 1550, and it has a strong Catholic heritage, as does the rest of my country, due to Spanish conquest and colonisation. Indeed, I was raised under Catholic religious teaching during my childhood, and was a practising member of the Catholic Church during my adolescence. My struggle with the Catholic doctrine began only when I started to be aware of my first same-gender attraction feelings when I was 17 years old in 1998. I had recently started my first same-gender relationship with my "best friend", and I had learnt that "homosexuality" was a sin. Thus, I thought that identifying myself or acting as a non-heterosexual person could impede my relationship with Jesus.

Furthermore, when I started my first same-gender relationship the Code that prohibited sodomite acts was still in force¹⁰. My ex-partner and I had discussed

¹⁰ It is important to mention that the Article 365 of the Chilean Penal Code that prohibits sexual acts that include penetration between a legal adult and a minor of the same sex (but not of the other sex) still remains in the Chilean Penal Code. The article explicitly states that the carnal access to a

that issue and we did not feel free to express our same-gender feelings. Moreover, we neither had a clear idea of the scope of that law, nor what actually counted for sodomite acts, yet in our young minds we thought that we might commit an illegal act if we went further with our relationship and intimacy. However, these legal prohibitions were not strong enough to self-criminalise our own experience, and we continued our relationship. Yet, we had to deal with our own identity conflict and the powerful sexual stigma that pervaded Chilean society at that time.

I started my undergraduate studies in the field of psychology in 1999 when I was 18 years old. I was studying at the "Universidad de Concepción" (University of Concepcion) which received the same name of my city of origin, but it was not itself a Catholic institution. In fact, it was a predominantly secular environment where religious manifestations were rarely seen. My partner was attending the same university, but we remained hidden from our college friends and families. We started our coming out process without any support network that could guide our identity journeys. During that time, psychology was for me a window to an international knowledge that understood "homosexuality" as a normal variation of human sexuality. I then became attracted to developmental psychology through my interest in life span development in relation to human sexuality. I was looking for answers about my own sexual orientation to understand its origins and why I was experiencing a sexual desire that was against the cultural expectations. I also wanted to learn how to cope with the sexual prejudice within my own social context.

person of the "same sex" under eighteen shall be punished with minor imprisonment from 61 to 540 days (BCN, 2016).

Later, when I was 21 years old, I came out to my parents. I had been three years with my first same-gender partner, and I thought that it would be extremely difficult for my parents. However, I felt pressured because my partner and I had planned to leave the city, and I felt that I had to talk with my parents about that. I told them that I was "homosexual," that I loved my best friend, and I wanted to leave the city with him. My mother told me that she would always support me. My father was silent, but he was there, as he has always been. Fortunately, both my mother and my father were supportive, although they felt disappointed because it was not what they expected for me. During the conversation I held with my parents, my mother cried and told me that I should have told her before to go to the doctor. I am sure that my disclosure to my parents was one of the most important life course experiences for them, as it was for me too. Despite this emotionally charged coming out, I felt privileged at that point: I had the strong support of my family. Further, I had access to the psychological knowledge that helped me to come out without any clinically significant consequence for my wellbeing.

Almost eight years later, by the end of 2009, I applied to the Chilean Sponsorship program for postgraduate studies, and I got a scholarship to study a Ph.D. overseas. I began my postgraduate studies with an MSc in Gender, Sexuality, and Society at the Birkbeck College in 2011. I entered to this program looking for training in LGBT issues. Consequently, my MSc dissertation focused on the impact of family values and religiosity on the coming out process of Chilean young gay men (see Figueroa & Tasker, 2014). I found feelings of self-rejection and self-recrimination in the life course of the six young gay men I interviewed,

and that religious beliefs held by their parents had played a crucial role in their own lack of acceptance during their development.

It might be relevant to note that my Ph.D. research has been an important turning point within my own life course story. I realised that my previous exploration in the field of LGBT psychology had been all related to looking for answers about myself and my own sexual identity development. Even if I was strongly motivated to learn more about how to help others to cope with the sexual stigma, my own experience of exploration was a healing process of recovering myself from the stigma I had dealt with within my own life course. It took years to normalise my own sexual orientation and to set aside my own internalised homophobia. It was perhaps what most LGBT people have to deal with within a Christian and a predominantly Catholic conservative society like Chile. Therefore, this Ph.D. thesis aimed to move beyond my own personal experience as a sexual minority person. Yet I was aware that this was a challenging work that I had to address during the entire course of the research process.

Chapter 2: Literature review of qualitative research on lesbian mothers

In this chapter, I review the existing literature on lesbian motherhood with a focus on qualitative studies. Firstly, I review studies conducted in ESWE countries in order to provide an overview of Western-White European understandings of the family life of lesbian mothers by highlighting the findings that are relevant to my investigation of lesbian motherhood in Chilean society. Secondly, I review studies conducted in Eastern Europe (Czech Republic), Middle East (Israel) and Latin America (Mexico, Brazil and Argentina), with the purpose of providing other cultural understandings of lesbian motherhood. Thirdly, I present two sociological studies conducted in Chile with lesbian mothers with the aim of giving an overview of the state of knowledge of the meanings of lesbian motherhood within Chilean society. Fourthly, I compare all the studies presented in this chapter to provide a cross-cultural examination of the understandings of lesbian motherhood.

As previously mentioned, Study 1 explored the life course experiences of Chilean lesbian mothers who conceived their children through a previous heterosexual relationship, while Study 2 examined the motherhood expectations of a younger generation of Chilean LB prospective mothers who were thinking about forming their own lesbian-led families. Thus, in this literature review I highlight if the studies presented here were conducted with lesbian mothers PHRD or lesbian mothers in de novo families.

2.1. Western-White European understandings of lesbian motherhood

The study of families led by lesbian women has been well documented within developmental psychology in ESWE countries (Goldberg, 2010; Patterson & Riskind, 2010; Tasker & Patterson, 2007). Nevertheless, research studies have mainly focused on the impact of maternal' sexual orientation on children's developmental outcomes over the past decades (Bos, 2013; Farr & Patterson, 2013; Tasker, 2013). The lived experiences of family members beyond the implications of family structure on children's development have received until recently considerably less attention. In order to fill this gap, a growing body of research has paid attention to particular nuances in family life. For example, studies have examined the experiences of mothers in lesbian-led planned families over time (e.g. Gartrell et al., 1996, 1999, 2000; Gartrell, Rodas, Deck, Peyser, & Banks, 2006), how family members understand and build their relationships (e.g. Brown & Perlesz, 2007; Perlesz et al., 2006a; Swainson & Tasker, 2005; Tasker & Granville, 2011), how lesbian mothers negotiate co-parenting and relationships with their children (e.g. Brown & Perlesz, 2007, 2008; Goldberg & Perry-Jenkins, 2007; Hayman et al., 2013; Mitchell, 1995; Tasker & Golombok, 1998; Wilson, 2000), how lesbian mothers present their families in the public domain (e.g. Lindsay et al., 2006; McNair et al., 2008; Perlesz et al., 2006b; Røndahl, Bruhner, & Lindhe, 2009), and how lesbian mothers convey sexuality and sexual orientation to their children (e.g. Cohen & Kivalanka, 2011; Mitchell, 1998). I review some of the main findings of these studies in this section.

2.1.1. The experiences of lesbian mothers in lesbian-led planned families over time

The USA National Longitudinal Lesbian Family Study (NLLFS) beginning in 1986 has provided insightful understandings of the changes in the family life of lesbian women planning and becoming mothers from conception via donor insemination through to their child's eighteenth birthday (Gartrell et al., 1999). The study group initially consisted of 84 households (70 included a birthmother and a co-mother, and 14 a single mother) with 85 children conceived by donor insemination (Gartrell et al., 1996). By T2, when children were two years old, with one dropout (a divorced mother) and three additions (new stepmothers), 156 lesbian mothers participated in the interview. The study found that both nurture and biology were strongly associated with mother-child bonding. The arrival of the child generally strengthened existing family ties, and most lesbian mothers became closer to their own parents. Like heterosexual couples with a new baby, lesbian mothers in couple relationships had less time for their partners given the demands of childrearing. Furthermore, motherhood was associated with increasing visibility for lesbians, and most mothers had disclosed their sexual orientation in every area of their lives. Nonetheless, all mothers were concerned about the impact that homophobia could have on their children and family. Therefore, mothers developed strategies to deal with this potential, such as actively participating in the lesbian community and ensuring legal protection for their children. Overall, all participants in the NLLFS at T2 described their first two years as the most enjoyable and exhausting experience of their lives (Gartrell et al., 1999).

By T3, when children were five years old, 150 lesbian mothers of 85 children participated in the interview (Gartrell et al., 2000). The NLLFS found that 31% of the 73 initial lesbian couples (at the time of the index child's birth) had divorced. Of the remaining couples, 94% reported that childrearing demands significantly reduced their time for one another. For instance, the frequency with which the mothers had sexual intimacy declined to less than once a month for the 70% of the couples. Additionally, both single and divorced participants described difficulties in balancing motherhood and dating. Indeed, lesbian mothers described their own life as strongly child-focused, and those who had or were looking for new partners thought much about the role that the new partner would develop within their family. Despite mothers' involvement in child's growth and development, most participants reported that having a child strengthened their couple relationship. Moreover, all participants reported still being concerned about the impact of homophobia on their children. Consequently, most lesbian mothers actively prepared their children to deal with discrimination. Preparation entailed discussing the following topics with their children: different types of families, the importance understanding diversity, and how to respond to homophobic comments.

At T4, interviews with 137 lesbian mothers were conducted when children were ten years old (Gartrell et al., 2006). The NLLFS data revealed that 30 couples had split up, with nine of the separated couples having completed a co-parent adoption before their split. The adoptive co-mothers reported that the legalisation of their relationship with the child ensured shared custody after the separation. Moreover, couples in the sample who were in continuous relationships became relatively less sexually active and spent more time to pursuing their own interests. Furthermore, lesbian mothers began to tone down their attempts to be visible in response to

children's rising concerns about homophobia. In contrast, the numbers of grandparents who had come out to their peers about their grandchild having a lesbian mother steadily increased. Consequently, lesbian mothers developed stronger ties with their own parents, who also had embraced their grandchild and acknowledged their lesbian partner.

2.1.2. Doing and displaying lesbian-led families

By using in-depth interview methodology, studies have provided a rich insight into the diversity of family members' relationships of lesbian-led families (Perlesz et al., 2006a; Swainson & Tasker, 2005; Tasker & Granville, 2011; Tasker & Patterson, 2007). A British study conducted with six lesbian couples - two couples had children who were conceived within the context of a previous heterosexual marriage, two couples had children who were conceived through donor insemination (with one couple also having a child through a previous heterosexual relationship) and two couple had no children- found that the key concept for defining family appeared to be having a reciprocal nurturing relationship with that person (Swainson & Tasker, 2005). Further, participants were aware of evolving and dynamic processes in their family composition as they experienced development and change in their family relationships. Participants included friends and ex-partners in their family definitions, while the family of origin remained important in terms of their family's history and continuity. The acceptance of their family of origin was also particularly important for all participants. Participants were aware of the legacy of family values that they had brought with them from their family of origin related to commitment, friendship,

parenting, and beliefs. Thus, the study revealed that family composition is both fluid and dynamic, and included a diversity of non-biological relationships as well as connections with biological relatives.

In another study conducted in the U.K., Tasker and Granville (2011) interviewed 16 biological lesbian mothers and 17 children (ten girls and seven boys) who were conceived through donor insemination, alongside other adult family members. Interviews with other adults included three current cohabitating partners, one non-cohabitating partner, one ex-partner who lived in the family home. The study found that all biological mothers and some current mother' partners were included in the family by adults and children. Additionally, all adults interviewed included in the family at least one relative of the biological mother's extended family. Some participants listed an adult friend, while other interviewees included a member of the partner's extended family as being part of the child' family. Some donors who had played a role in child's life, as well as, other biological fathers were listed as being part of the household. Thus, relationships in lesbian-led families can involve children, lesbian mother, parents' partners or friends, step parents, heterosexual/biological parents, and the extended family, creating different family constellations (Swainson & Tasker, 2005; Tasker & Granville, 2011; Tasker & Patterson, 2007).

A number of studies conducted in Australia have focused on how members of lesbian parented families "do family" in different ways (Brown & Perlesz, 2007; Perlesz et al., 2006a). The notion of 'doing family' or 'to do family' supports a more fluid, ambiguous and transitional language regarding family (Perlesz et al., 2006a). A research study conducted with 20 lesbian-led families

(almost half were de novo families), including three generations of family members (36 lesbian mothers, 20 children, three grandparents, and two donor/fathers) found that parents, children and grandparents defined their families as including biological (immediate and extended) and non-biological connections (Perlesz et al., 2006a). Some parents emphasised the importance of partnership, friendship, and community networks in their family definitions¹¹. These findings provided a multigenerational family approach about how different family members in lesbian-led families built their relationships. Perlesz et al., noted that the concept of "family" in lesbian parented families should be understood outside of the mainstream construction of the heterosexual parented family based on biological kinship.

2.1.3. Lesbian mothers negotiating co-parenting and relationships with their children

Research studies have found that lesbian women who decide to raise children together as a couple continuously challenge the traditional gender roles depicted in heterosexual parented families. A study conducted by Mitchell (1995) with 32 lesbian mothers from the U.S with a child under 10 years of age conceived by DI revealed that lesbians mothers felt pressured to demonstrate that they would not create gender nonconformity confusion in their children. Lesbian mother perceived the benefits of providing their children with a two-mother family, because this provided children with dual parental involvement, nurturance,

¹¹ The consideration of social connectedness to define family relationships has been described as the "family of choice" by sociological literature (Weeks, Heaphy, & Donovan, 2001; Weston, 1991). The concept refers to an ideology that delivers lesbians and gay men the right to choose and shape their family composition beyond biological ties (Perlesz et al., 2006a).

sensitivity, and warmth among other positive experiences. Lesbian mothers also saw the benefits of an equal shared parenting as it brought freedom from traditional gendered parenting models. Another study conducted with 15 lesbian de novo families (15 biological mothers and 15 co-mothers) in the U.K. included qualitative and quantitative measures (Tasker, & Golombok, 1998)¹². The study revealed that non-birth and biological mothers were equally involved in daily caregiving and had equal warm and affectionate relationships with their children. Other studies conducted in the U.S. also have found that some lesbian couples in planned families shared equal responsibilities in child care and the housework, and were equally bonded to their children. However, in some households the biological mother tended to contribute more to child-care than did non-biological mothers and birth mothers were consequently more likely to be perceived as the primary parent (Gartrell et al., 1999, 2000, 2006; Goldberg & Perry-Jenkins, 2007).

Other studies have focused particularly on the role of co-mothers in lesbian-led families. According to Brown and Perlesz (2008), the concept of co-mother accurately depicts the importance of the motherly role of the biological mother's lesbian partner when she is involved in parenting. A study conducted with nine lesbian co-mothers in de novo families in the U.S. also found that participants stressed the importance of equality in their relationships with their children and their involvement as parents (Wilson, 2000). Further, co-mothers described their life as family centred emphasising the importance of parenting

¹² Tasker and Golombok (1998) also compared lesbian co-mothers with heterosexual fathers and found that lesbian co-mothers played a more active role in daily child-care than did heterosexual fathers. However, co-mother-child and father-child relationships were equally warm and affectionate. Other quantitative studies have also found that lesbian mothers divided child-care more evenly than heterosexual parents (Chan, Brooks, Raboy, & Patterson, 1998; Patterson, Sutfin, & Fulcher, 2004).

rewards, self-growth, commitment, and prioritisation of children. Despite these positive parenting experiences, lesbian co-mothers reported difficulties they encountered by navigating in a heterosexist society. The lack of legal recognition of the co-mother-child relationship reinforced the perception that the only one mother was the biological one. Additionally, some co-mothers reported experiences of discrimination such as subtle messages from neighbours and exclusion of some groups. Nevertheless, over a half of participants emphasised the importance of being open as lesbians.

A study conducted with 25 lesbian de novo families in Australia revealed that family members used 45 different terms to define the biological mother's partner's roles and relationships (Brown & Perlesz, 2007). The language used varied both within the family and across family settings. The language also changed in different contexts and over time. In particular, the terms mother and parent were used in all lesbian planned families to describe the non-birth mother, while these terms were rarely employed in lesbian stepfamilies. Some biological mother's partner, particularly in stepfamilies, negotiated friendship roles with children rather than adopting a parent-child relationship stance. Thus, the language used by family members was influenced by different social understandings of mothering and parenting, the pathways to their lesbian motherhood, and the perception and negotiation of roles and relationships. Brown and Perlesz noted that it was important to appreciate the multiplicity and diversity of definitions and roles both within and across families, rather than to privilege one term over another.

2.1.4. Lesbian mothers presenting their families in the public domain

Members of lesbian parented families might have a clear idea about their own roles and relationships through the years of “doing” them. Nevertheless, when family members navigate the public domain, they need to negotiate how to present their family structure and relationships to mainstream society in different contexts (Perlesz et al., 2006a,b). The study with 20 Australian lesbian-led families (including PHRD and de novo families) presented above, also found that parents became cautious about disclosing in the public domain if they believed their children might be affected (Perlesz et al., 2006a). Some family members also reported some frustration because the lack of language to define the family and relationships in the public domain. Family relationships became difficult to describe outside the home especially if families were larger and more complex. Particularly, the relatedness between the co-mother or step-mother and children were not easy to describe in the public domain. Perlesz et al. noted that private and public definitions of family differed because the socio-cultural context (heteronormativity) influenced the way in which lesbian mothers, children and grandparents understood and presented their family relationships to the outside world e.g. when dealing with the child’s school (Perlesz et al., 2006a).

By using the same sample of Australian lesbian-led families, Perlesz et al., (2006b) found that family members had developed a variety of strategies to disclose parents’ sexual orientation in the public domain. Some family members chose open strategies and were proud to show the family structure and sexual orientation, while some used a private style in order to hide their family composition. Participants also used selective strategies by choosing to disclosure

only to some people in some contexts, e.g. school settings. Others used what Perlesz et al. (2006b) called a passive strategy to avoid disclosing until they were required to do it, particularly in health care settings. Thus, disclosure strategies varied in different contexts and family members did not necessarily use always the same strategy. Interestingly, while most lesbian mothers coming from previous heterosexual relationships chose private strategies, mothers in lesbian-planned families tended to use active or proud strategies. Thus, lesbian-led families displayed a diverse range of coming out strategies and actively negotiated the disclosure to others outside the family.

2.1.5. Lesbian mothers conveying sexuality and sexual orientation to their children

A number of studies conducted in the U.S. have shown that lesbian mothers tended to be open about discussing sex, reproduction, and sexual orientation with their children (Mitchell, 1998; Cohen & Kuvalanka, 2011). A study conducted with 34 lesbian women who became mothers through donor insemination, a previous heterosexual relationship or adoption, found that lesbian mothers started to talk to their children about sex and reproduction when children begin to ask about their own origin (Mitchell, 1998). Furthermore, lesbian mothers shared information about sexuality with their children, as the children neared puberty, to educate them about making informed sexual choices, and for being responsible regarding pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases. However, participants did not discuss their own sexual choices and experiences with their offspring and emphasised the importance of having clear boundaries around their own personal

sexual behaviours. Mitchell suggested that concerns about sex education were similar for lesbian mothers and heterosexual parents.

Furthermore, the study conducted by Mitchell (1998) revealed that lesbian mothers had consciously addressed the experience of difference from dominant heterosexist society and had told their children that they were lesbian. However, as lesbian women were almost invisible in mainstream society, mothers lacked models depicting non-heterosexuality. Therefore, cultural expectations about heterosexuality had a strong impact on children's understanding of partnership and love. Despite the power of heterosexist cultural mandates, lesbian mothers reported that their young children felt proud about having two mothers when this was the case. However, mothers with children over age ten recalled their children asking them to be less visible and reported that their children had experienced some verbal harassment at some point in their life. Notwithstanding, Mitchell noted that the verbal acknowledgement and legitimization of a marginalised sexual orientation prepared children for dealing with homophobia.

Another study conducted in the U.S. interviewed ten partnered lesbian mothers who had conceived their children through a previous heterosexual relationship, through donor insemination or through having adopted a child (Cohen & Kivalanka, 2011). The study found lesbian mothers were open about sexuality-related topics and sexual orientation with their children. Mothers taught their children about diverse notions of reproduction, and sexual orientation; talked about the importance of safety and responsibility concerning sex and sexual relationships; represented sexuality as a normal/positive aspect of being a human. Mothers also discussed experiences of heterosexism that their children

encountered. Additionally, most lesbian mothers also reported that they refused to discuss their sexual life and specific sexual acts with their children because they saw it as inappropriate or made them feel uncomfortable. Interestingly, lesbian mothers shared with their partners the task of teaching their children about sexuality. Nevertheless, biological mothers who conceived their children before starting their lesbian relationships tended to take a primary role in educating their children in sexuality-related topics.

In summary, psychological studies have revealed that lesbian mothers have been creating their own family constellations moving beyond the patriarchal heterosexual family model. Family members in lesbian PHRD and de novo families might build their own family relationships based on biological ties and social relatedness. For instance, lesbian couples who have decided to co-parent children together to form a de novo family promoted equal involvement in childrearing and having strong emotional bonds with their children. Nevertheless, in some lesbian de novo families the biological mother might take a primary role in child-care when compared with the non-birth co-mother, particularly after separation. Moreover, studies of lesbian-led families have shown that the biological mother's lesbian partner in PHRD families might be less involved in a parenting role than co-mothers in de novo families. Thus, family relationships in lesbian-lead families are diverse and parenting roles are negotiated differently in PHRD and de novo families. Overall, studies have shown that social parenting has not been exclusively linked with biology and reproduction in lesbian-led families.

Relationships with the families of origin of lesbian mothers also have been found to be important in studies conducted with lesbian-led families. Research studies with de novo families have shown that grandparents gradually embraced their grandchild and acknowledged their daughter's lesbian partner. Furthermore, grandparents and other members of the extended family often have been included within the PHRD and de novo families when members of the family defined their relationships. Grandparents also have defined themselves as being part of their lesbian daughter's family in PHRD and de novo families. Family of origin has also been found to be important for members of PHRD and de novo families in terms of the legacy of family values and the history of the family through different generations. Thus, the family of origin, particularly, grandparents are especially important when family members of lesbian-led families describe their own families.

Research studies have also shown that lesbian mothers usually defined their own life as strongly child-focused. A child-centered life entailed a decline in the time dedicated to the lesbian partner in de novo families e.g., the sexual activity of the couple decreased during the childrearing period. Single lesbian mothers who were looking for a new lesbian partner have reported difficulties in balancing motherhood and dating, and thought much about the role the new partner would develop within the family. Thus, locating children at the centre of the family has been observed as an important aspect of the family life of lesbian mothers.

Despite the challenge the prioritisation of children might entail, both biological and the non-birth mothers have reported feeling gratified and committed to parenting.

Research with PHRD and de novo lesbian mothers also has considered on how lesbian mothers educated their children regarding sexuality-related general topics and sexual orientation. Studies have shown that lesbian mothers tended to be open about discussing sex and reproduction with their younger children since an early age. Lesbian mothers also have reported shared information about sexual health with older children in order to promote safety and responsibility regarding sexual behaviours. Nevertheless, lesbian mothers generally have preferred not to discuss their own sexual choices and experiences with their children. Furthermore, studies have revealed that lesbian mothers often were open about their own sexual orientation with their children and tended to represent sexuality as something normal to promote a positive sense of their children themselves as sexual beings.

Research on lesbian mothers also has revealed that lesbian mothers were aware of, or directly had encountered homophobic attitudes and prejudice in their social contexts. Thus lesbian mothers have been found to be concerned about the possibility of their children being discriminated against. Family members in lesbian PHRD stepfamilies might be less open about their family configuration outside the home than members of lesbian de novo families. However, a prospective examination of lesbian de novo families showed that lesbian mothers began to tone down their visibility when children reached pre-puberty suggesting that lesbian mothers became cautious about disclosing in the public domain if they believe their children might be affected. Thus, lesbian mothers have developed different strategies to present their families outside the home. While some lesbian mothers decided to be open about their family at different levels, other remained private to protect their children. Additionally, lesbian mothers prepared their

children to deal with discrimination by discussing diversity and homophobia with them.

Despite the rich insight qualitative psychological studies conducted with lesbian PHRD and de novo families have provided about the diversity of family relationships, the personal experiences of lesbian mothers, and the challenges that lesbian mothers might encounter by navigating in the mainstream society, little is known about cultural variations in the experiences that lesbian women have in forming either PHRD or de novo families (Golombok, 2007; Lubbe, 2013; Tasker & Patterson, 2007). The exploration of different contexts beyond the Western-White European conceptualisations of the family may enrich the understanding of socio-cultural influences on the lived experiences of lesbian mothers.

2.2. Other cultural understandings of lesbian motherhood

Only a few numbers of qualitative studies focused on the family life of lesbian mothers have been carried out in cultures such as Latin America, Eastern Europe, Middle East, and Africa. Given the limited knowledge in this area, I will briefly review studies conducted from different social science disciplines, including psychology, sociology and anthropology. I will then examine the findings of two studies carried out one in Israel and the other in the Czech Republic¹³, in order to

¹³ To my knowledge, these studies were the only two qualitative research published in the English language that focused on lesbian mothers outside the Western culture, excluding the studies conducted in Latino countries. Other non-Western study with South African LG parents emerged during a later stage of my PhD research, particularly during the writing up process of this doctoral thesis (Breshears & Lubbe-De Beer, 2016).

show how different cultural contexts might have particular implications for the family life of lesbian mothers. Because my doctoral studies have been carried out in Chile, I then focus on the analysis of studies conducted in Latin American countries, with a particular focus on Chilean cultural context.

In a review of studies conducted with LGBT parents and their children living in “non-Western” cultures, Lubbe (2013) argued that factors such cultural understandings of gender, heteronormativity, religion and the legal/political context, are important to consider when examining the complexities of LGBT parenting in “non-Western” societies. Although these aspects of the social context might have particular influences on the lives of LGBT parents and their children, complex intersections and interconnections among these factors might exist. I will review the following studies by highlighting how discourses of gender, prejudice against homosexuality, religious ideologies, and/or the political context might impact the experiences of lesbian mothers.

By using a phenomenological approach, Ben-Ari and Livni (2006) conducted in-depth interviews with eight Israeli lesbian couples who were parenting children together (twelve of the participants were biological mothers, and four were exclusively non-birth mothers). All the eight couples had planned their pregnancy, with seven of the couples opting for anonymous donor insemination. The study found that the ways in which legislation was interpreted by the couple played a key role in the experiences of lesbian couples after birth. Before the birth, the distribution of power and division of the household labour was flexible and fair. However, the arrival of the child created two different states of motherhood (the biological mother and the non-biological mother) which

changed the nature of the couple relationship from equal to hierarchical as the Israeli legal system ensured limited parental rights for the non-biological mother. Thus, Israeli lesbian mothers used strategies to compensate the inequality such as deciding that both mothers would experience biological motherhood, giving parental legitimacy to the partner on a practical level, and exercising the full range of guardian rights that were recognised by the Israeli law.

Ben-Ari and Livni (2006) also found that the central role attributed to the family and motherhood by the Israeli society strongly impacted the lived experience of the lesbian mothers they interviewed. Becoming a biological mother was a meaningful desire for almost all participants in the study as motherhood was highly valued in Jewish family tradition. Additionally, experiencing the biological process of pregnancy and birth also was important for participants. Indeed, three of the four participants who were not biological mothers expressed their interest in becoming biological mothers in the future. However, all couples wanted to promote pregnancy and birth as a mutual process and worked hard to enable the non-biological mother to feel connected with the child from conception onwards. Additionally, the study also showed that lesbian women became more accepted by members of their family of origin and community after becoming biological mothers. For instance, participants reported that having a baby was supported by their parents, even if they did not approve their daughter's sexual orientation. Thus, the importance of motherhood for the Israeli culture overshadowed the marginalised identity of being a lesbian woman. By becoming mothers, the lesbian participants were perceived as having joined the mainstream society.

Polášková (2007) conducted an ethnographic study with ten Czech lesbian couples combining theoretical frameworks from sociology and psychology. Six of

the couples achieved motherhood via donor insemination, and the other four had originally had their children within a previous heterosexual marriage. Out of the 20 lesbian women, 11 were biological mothers and nine non-birth mothers, and out of ten couples, only one couple shared both motherhood identities and nine consisted of one biological mother and one social mother. Polášková did not identify a traditional 'gendered pattern' in the distribution of roles within the family where one parent was the provider, and one provided the physical and emotional care. Instead, Polášková found that these lesbian couples had an equal distribution of roles within the household. However, Polášková did observe that all the biological mothers (in both de novo and PHRD families) had a primary role in child care. In particular, non-biological mothers in PHRD families were hesitant to be identified themselves as a mother and referred to themselves often as a "parent" which distinguished them from the biological mother who had given birth the child. De novo non-birth mothers were more likely to identify themselves as a "mother" or in some cases as an "aunt". Thus, the study revealed the primacy of biology in defining family relationships and parenting roles in the Czech context in both de novo and PHRD families.

Polášková (2007) also found that some lesbian mothers reported having worries about the healthy development of their children concerning their future sexual orientation, gender identity and gender roles behaviours a fear not featured in 21st studies on lesbian motherhood conducted in ESWE countries (Golombok, 2015). Some participants were concerned about providing their children with "appropriate" gender role models because of the lack of masculine contacts in their household. Other participants had no worries about their children developing appropriate gender roles as they thought that members of their extended family

would provide children with masculine models, revealing that two opposite gender roles were still thought necessary for their children's development. Some of the Czech mothers felt proud about seeing their children developing expected traditional gender roles. In contrast, other participants reported making conscious efforts to break up gender stereotypes in raising their children by exposing their offspring to a wide variety of toys. Thus, while some Czech lesbian mothers held traditional understandings about children's gender development, others were not occupied in promoting gender stereotypes in their children.

The above studies conducted in Israel and in the Czech Republic clearly showed how different cultural contexts might have particular influences on the family life of lesbian mothers. On the one hand, the study with Israeli de novo lesbian families revealed how lesbian mothers tried to compensate the inequality of their roles due to the lack of legal recognition of the non-birth mother. The lesbian couples tried to pursue to access all available legal rights that were granted at the time¹⁴. Additionally, the centrality of the family and motherhood in Israeli culture facilitated the acceptance of lesbian participants as mothers by their family of origin and community. Becoming a biological mother was also an important goal for participants as Israeli society equated womanhood with motherhood. On the other hand, the study with Czech PHRD and de novo lesbian mothers showed that cultural understandings of gender roles and parenting shaped participants' perceptions of their own roles within the family. Participants gave a primary role to biology in defining child-care involvement and family

¹⁴ Adoption rights for same-gender couples in Israel were granted in 2008, two years after Ben-Ari and Livni (2006) published their research (Lubbe, 2013).

relationships. Furthermore, some participants related the child's healthy development with the expression of traditional gender roles. Thus, the previous studies revealed how cultural understandings of gender and family, the sexual prejudice, and the legal/political context impacted the family life of lesbian mothers.

2.2.1. Lesbian mothers in Latino culture

There has been a growing scholarly interest in the examination of lesbian and gay parenting in Latino countries. Academic articles have been mainly published in Spanish and Portuguese languages, with a minor number of academic papers written in English¹⁵. Articles have been published in peer review journals and have covered a variety of social science scholarly works, including reviews of the Western-White European scientific research on children raised by lesbian and gay parents (Aristegui 2014; Castellar, 2010), examinations of the legal/political and religious Latino context (Jones & Vaggione, 2013; Mello, 2006; Prada & Pinzón, 2010; Uziel, 2001; Vaggione, 2005), and empirical studies conducted with (prospective) lesbian mothers and gay fathers (Haces, 2006; Libson, 2012, 2013; Palma et al., 2012; Pinheiro, 2006; Sánchez et al., 2004; Santos & Alves de Toledo, 2006; Sebastián et al., 2012). In this section, I review qualitative empirical studies conducted with lesbian mothers in two major cultural regions of Latin America. Firstly, I examine studies carried out in Brazil (published in

¹⁵ It might be important to note that the review of "non-Western" studies of LGBT families conducted by Lubbe (2013) focused on the English literature. Furthermore, major reviews in the field of LGBT family research also have ignored studies published in non-English languages.

Portuguese and English languages), a country that represents the Portuguese-speaking region of Latino culture. Secondly, I review studies conducted in Argentina and Mexico (published in Spanish language), two countries that are part of the Spanish-speaking region of Latino culture, usually defined as Hispanic America. Thirdly, I review the state of knowledge of lesbian motherhood in Chile in the next section.

2.2.1.1. Research on lesbian mothers in Brazil

Pinheiro (2006) conducted an ethnographic study with one lesbian stepfamily using an anthropological approach. The family household was formed by the biological mother¹⁶ (aged 39 years), her partner (aged 41 years), and her two daughters (aged 12 and nine years respectively). The index biological lesbian mother conceived her daughters within a previous heterosexual marriage. Pinheiro also interviewed two of the index biological mother's lesbian friends (aged 39 and 29 years), and a lesbian couple consisted of another biological mother and her partner. All the lesbian women were involved in LGBT political activism and lived in a peripheral area of the city of Sao Paulo. Pinheiro stated that the lesbian women she interviewed lived in a neighbourhood characterised by an intense prejudice toward lesbian and gay people. Homophobic based expressions of physical violence and murder were narrated by participants as being part of their wider community experience. Thus, these lesbian women lived with the threat of being attacked because of their lesbian identity. The political activism and its

¹⁶ I will identify this participant as the 'index biological lesbian mother' later in the section in order to differentiate her from the other lesbian mothers Pinheiro (2006) interviewed.

inherent visibility represented a continuous challenge for the lesbian women in this coercive context.

Furthermore, Pinheiro (2006) showed the different private and public domains experienced by members of the targeted family. The index biological lesbian mother was open about her lesbian identity with her two daughters and expressed her affection to her partner openly within the home. Nevertheless, the index biological lesbian mother was careful about her daughters' upbringing in order to avoid being a “model for lesbianism”, and to bypass criticisms from her neighbours. The other lesbian mother interviewed reported the same concerns and worried that her adolescent boy had followed the same path of homosexuality. Thus, the lesbian mothers interviewed coexisted with the sexual prejudice and the belief that being a lesbian might influence their children's sexual orientation.

Pinheiro (2006) also found that the lesbian mothers she interviewed sought to lessen the involvement of their ex-male partner in their children's upbringing. Nevertheless, they complained when the children's father remained absent from children's life. Pinheiro suggested that although the father figure was eclipsed, he was not entirely excluded from the family context. Therefore, Pinheiro described this family feature as "pluriparentalidade" [or as a poliparented family].

Santos and Alves de Toledo (2006) conducted a study with six lesbian mothers (including two couples) and three gay fathers (aged 30 to 50 years). The study employed a phenomenological approach and used psychological and sociological theoretical frameworks. Out of the six lesbian mothers, three were biological mothers and three were non-biological mothers. Two of the biological mothers opted for self-assisted DI with a friend (only one had informed her friend

about her motherhood intentions), and the third mother opted for clinic assisted DI. The three non-biological mothers had custody of their children. Out of the three gay fathers, two were adopted parents and one was a biological father PHRD. The study found that participants had an equal distribution of roles within the family household. However, they were questioned by others because of the lack of a “heterosexual” gender role model within the family. Therefore, participants felt constrained by conventional notions of masculinity and femininity associated with parenting roles. Nevertheless, the lesbian mothers interviewed felt that they were perceived as "naturally" child caregivers and consequently were less criticised as parents than were gay fathers.

The study by Santos and Alves de Toledo (2006) also revealed that homophobia was a significant concern for participants at different levels. Although participants narrated various difficulties encountered in navigating through contexts such as children's school, the workplace, and health settings, the acceptance by their family of origin was the major challenge identified by them. Their family of origin largely had adverse reactions after sexual orientation disclosure by participants. Nevertheless, family members' concerns were mainly associated with the prejudice and discrimination that affected LGBT people. For example, participants described family members being worried about participants being exposed to violence or experiencing suffering. Moreover, those participants who had divorced their ex-heterosexual partner were criticised because of their homosexuality getting in the way of their marriage and felt persecuted by family members.

Palma et al. (2012) conducted a study with eight lesbian mothers (including three couples). Out of the eight participants, two conceived their children through a previous heterosexual relationship and two through assisted DI. The other two participants had adopted their children. The last two participants were the co-mothers who had planned to parent with the birth mother. The authors adopted a psychological narrative approach to inform their analysis and used feminist and gender theoretical frameworks. The study revealed that all participants had a strong desire to become mothers before pregnancy or co-parenting. Additionally, participants mainly perceived their motherhood as “innate” and very much part of a woman’s role. Thus, attributes of motherhood such as caring and loving resembled the qualities of care and affection generally associated with women by cultural discourses of gender. Palma et al., also highlighted the differences among the paths to achieve motherhood. Mothers who had their children from a previous heterosexual relationship followed the heteronormative logic for building a family and only one of them was aware of her lesbian desire. In contrast, DI and adoptive mothers were able to subvert the social mandate that dictated that families must be formed by a mother, a father, and children. However, the authors noted that assisted reproduction in Brazil required high level of financial investment that limited the access of women who did not have economic conditions to afford it.

The study by Palma et al. (2012) also showed the challenges lesbian mothers encountered during their coming out process both within their family of origin and in their social contexts. For instance, before disclosing to their parents, participants had doubt and felt confused about their own same-gender feelings. Consequently they had difficulties in verbalising to themselves and to others the

real meaning of their lesbian relationships. Therefore, some participants presented their lesbian partner as a friend to their parents. Participants also said that the coming out to their parents often entailed battles and negative feelings. Palma et al. noted that the lesbian mothers had internalised the homophobia from their social contexts (including from their family of origin), and that their struggle to feel accepted and the associated suffering were still visible in their narratives. Lesbian mothers also had concerns about the possibility of being criticised because their families lacked a father figure and thought that homophobia might impact on their children. Other lesbian mothers felt afraid of being identified as lesbian mothers in their social context. Nevertheless, the authors concluded that participants' negative feelings were all related to prejudice, because when describing only their own feelings lesbian mothers mainly described positive emotions and feeling of happiness associated with their lesbian relationships and parenting experiences.

2.2.1.2. Research on lesbian mothers in Hispanic America

Sánchez et al. (2004) conducted an ethnographic study with three women in Mexico. One woman was a lesbian mother (aged 37 years), another woman was a heterosexual mother who had privileged her career aspirations (aged 45 years), and the last participant was a childless heterosexual woman (aged 46 years). The study used an anthropological approach to analyse the meaning of motherhood in women whose maternal and/or reproductive experiences had departed from the traditional model of motherhood. The lesbian mother conceived her child through a previous heterosexual relationship and realised her lesbian desires only after

becoming a mother. This participant had a lesbian partner but did not share parenting with her. The authors noted the tensions between the lesbian mother and her family of origin as her parents did not accept her sexual orientation, yet her mother provided support with childrearing associated responsibilities.

Interestingly, the authors observed the association between childcare and the woman's role in the accounts of all participants in the study.

Furthermore, the study showed that the lesbian mother confronted traditional gendered understandings of parenting roles in some way (Sánchez et al., 2004). For instance, the lesbian mother included her lesbian partner within her family defying the traditional heterosexual family model. However, she reported that her child (a boy aged five years) asked questions about the lack of male figure within his family. The lesbian mother also reported how roles had changed within the household: when she lived with her heterosexual partners, she unconsciously assumed the prescribed feminine roles, such as the household labour. However, when she initiated her lesbian relationship she started to question the gender division of roles within her household and assumed a more equalitarian stance. Moreover, although the lesbian mother contested traditional discourses of the family and gender roles, she was more reticence about the acknowledging her same-gender family configuration in her local contexts. For example, some family members and child's school teachers avoided recognising the lesbian mother's couple relationship and instead identified her partner as a friend. The lesbian mother also narrated difficulties of not being recognised as a family when she looked for help in accessing to social protection for her family such as health insurance for each family member.

Haces (2006) conducted a study with 13 lesbian mothers (including five couples) and 11 gay fathers (including five couples) in Mexico. The study employed an anthropological approach and used semi-structured interviews for data collection. Out of the 13 lesbian mothers interviewed, eight were biological mothers (six conceived their children in a previous heterosexual relationship, and two did through planned sexual contacts). The other five women were non-biological mothers (three -including one couple- received the child from another woman, and two were co-parenting their partner's biological children). The study revealed that lesbian mothers understood motherhood as an instinctive and unconditional role. Haces argued that participants' meanings of motherhood were associated with the cultural mandate that prescribed that women "must be" mothers (Haces, 2006, p. 227). Participants strongly identified with their own mother figure when described their own childrearing style. Furthermore, the role of the non-biological mother was negotiated depending on the pathway to achieve her motherhood. For example, social mothers who started to raise their children as a couple in de novo families were more likely to be identified as mothers by their children than lesbian women who incorporated into a pre-existing lesbian-led PHRD family.

Furthermore, the study found that lesbian mothers were equalitarian in the distribution of the household labour (Haces, 2006). However, childcare was distributed differently depending on the biological link with the child. The biological mothers had a primary role in childrearing, although factors such as time and personality also played a role in the distribution of childrearing responsibilities. For example, some participants were identified as being more "maternal" than their partners and consequently were more involved in parenting

activities. As mentioned above, Haces interpreted these narratives as the reflection of the cultural mandate of motherhood. Moreover, the study revealed that most participants had disclosed to their children and family of origin, and that none of the participants had been excluded from their families as a result of her sexual orientation. Haces suggested that the participation in supportive groups might have helped participants to come out to their children and families (some of the lesbian mothers had participated in a supportive lesbian group called Grumale). Despite participants confronted heteronormativity to some extent, Haces noted that traditional understandings of gender roles also were observed in participants' accounts. For example, one lesbian mother narrated an event in which she told her five-year-old boy that it was not appropriate to kiss his male cousin. Thus, heteronormativity and traditional gender roles permeated lesbian mothers' narrated stories.

Libson (2012, 2013) conducted a study with 15 lesbian women and seven gay men in Argentina. Out of the 22 participants, 17 were parents (13 lesbian mothers and four gay fathers) and five were prospective parents. Out of the 17 parents, 12 conceived their children through assisted reproduction and five did so through a previous heterosexual relationship. The study addressed a sociological framework and was carried out by using in-depth interviews. Following the work of British and US American sociologists (Weeks et al., 2001; Weston, 1991), Lisbon found that participants' narratives of parenthood varied according to the generational cohort and their pathway to becoming a parent (Libson, 2013). For example, participants aged over 40 years largely reported stories about the 'impossibility' of creating their own parenting projects because of the limitations of their own social contexts. In contrast, participants who were aged 30 to 39,

mainly narrated stories of 'choice' and 'opportunity'. That is to say that they saw possibilities for choosing for their own parenting project, i.e., realised that they had opportunities to go ahead with their own plan to be a lesbian mother or a gay father. Finally, interviewees under 30 years old solely reported stories of choice.

Parents who conceived their children through a previous heterosexual relationship mainly narrated stories of 'opportunity' (Libson, 2013). Participants who sought to have children through co-parenting, reproductive technologies, or adoption, presented stories of 'choice'. Libson suggested that her findings coincided with the political transformations observed in Argentina during the last decades. Political movements of lesbian mothers in Argentina emerged in 2000 and played a fundamental role in promoting the visibility of lesbian mothers' demands that resulted in approval of the same-gender civil partnership act in 2002, and same-gender marriage law in 2010 (Libson, 2013).

Libson's (2012) study revealed that traditional and non-traditional discourses of motherhood and gender roles were observed in lesbian mothers' accounts. For example, most participants described motherhood as a "natural aspect" of womanhood. Thus, biological motherhood was conveyed as privileged when compared with the non-biological motherhood and pregnancy was perceived as an essential aspect of the experience of being a mother. However, other lesbian mothers questioned the legitimacy of biology in the definition of motherhood and defended their own position as a mother irrespective of their pathways to achieving motherhood. Additionally, the study revealed that some lesbian mothers (and gay fathers) questioned traditional parenting roles presented in heterosexual families. Nevertheless, some differences between the mother's and the father's role

were observed in participants' stories. For example, a non-biological lesbian mother described that she felt like a 'father' during the pregnancy of her partner, because her role was to accompany the process. Thus, Libson concluded that the notions of femininity associated with motherhood, and masculinity with fatherhood, were scarcely questioned by participants in her study.

To sum up, studies conducted in Brazil have revealed that PHRD and de novo lesbian mothers have often encountered homophobic responses coming from their family of origin and their social context. However, the acceptance from the family of origin it seemed to be particularly important for them. For example, in order to preserve the acceptance from their family members (in particular their parents), some lesbian mothers have avoided disclosing their sexual orientation at some point in their life and instead opted for presenting their lesbian partner as a friend. Additionally, the strong rejection (included outright battles and perceived negativity) some lesbian mothers have experienced from the part of their family of origin have caused intense feelings of suffering in them. Moreover, some lesbian mothers had worries associated with the possibility of their children being discriminated against in their social local context, while others lesbian mothers felt afraid of being known as a lesbian in the public domain. Overall, these studies revealed that negative feelings that lesbian mothers have experienced by living in a Brazilian society were mostly related to the extremely homophobic context in which they lived.

Studies conducted in Mexico and Argentina also have indicated that lesbian mothers encountering difficulties by navigating in the mainstream society.

However, the authors of these studies did not give deep information on the experiences of homophobia affecting lesbian mothers. In fact, one of the studies conducted in Mexico simply indicated that most lesbian mothers had disclosed to family of origin and that none these participants had been excluded subsequently from her family. Moreover, the Argentinian study showed how new generations of lesbian mothers (and gay fathers) have chosen to create their own same-gender households in an increasingly supportive socio-legal context for LGBT people.

Furthermore, taking together studies conducted in Brazil, Mexico and Argentina, it is possible to observe that Latina lesbian mothers have moved between traditional and non-traditional understandings of gender roles, family and sexual orientation. In all the three countries examined, lesbian mothers defied traditional normative discourses for family creation by deciding to build a family with two mothers. Additionally, the distribution of the household labour was mostly equalitarian challenging the traditional division of parenting roles usually displayed in heterosexual families. However, lesbian mothers encountered social barriers that constrained the legitimatisation of their family composition. For instance, some lesbian mothers felt that their family ties (particularly their relationship with the non-biological mother) were not acknowledged in their social contexts, which limited their access for example to social protection. Other lesbian mothers were criticised by other people because of the lack of a father within the household again undermining their feelings of social legitimacy as a family.

The reviewed studies also showed that conventional understandings of gender roles have pervaded the narratives of Latina lesbian mothers. For instance,

motherhood was mainly perceived as an “innate” or “instinctive” aspect of woman's role. Additionally, biological motherhood was regarded as holding a privileged position because of pregnancy. Consequently, most biological lesbian mothers tended to assume a primary role in childcare. In contrast, the non-biological mother's took on different roles in different families and varied considerably within and between studies. While some lesbian co-mothers felt equally involved in childrearing and identified themselves as a mother (particularly in de novo families), other non-birth mothers assumed a secondary position or reported not feeling legitimised as a mother in their social contexts.

Finally, heteronormative discourses also were apparent in the accounts of Latina lesbian mothers. For instance, some Brazilian lesbian mothers were concerned about the possibility of influencing their child's sexual orientation because they did not want their children discriminated against as a consequence of developing a non-heterosexual identity. Other lesbian mothers in Mexico reported that they taught their children about not expressing non-heterosexual behaviours, such as kissing another peer of the same gender. Thus, some Latina lesbian mothers have incorporated the belief that parents might influence their children's sexual orientation and that the development of a non-heterosexual identity would be a negative outcome for their children in the context of a homophobic society.

As suggested by Lubbe (2013), in a global context cultural understandings of gender, heteronormativity, and the legal/political context clearly have played a crucial role in the ways in which Latina PHRD and de novo lesbian mothers have described and understood their motherhood experiences and family life. Further,

the role of religious discourse as a particular factor affecting the family experiences of Latina lesbian mothers in central and southern American Countries is still relatively unknown¹⁷. A recent study conducted with Latina lesbian mothers in the U.S. focused on the negotiation of religiosity and sexual identity (Tuthill, 2016). However, Tuthill examined the religious identity conflict of Latina lesbian mothers who identified themselves as Catholic. Furthermore, Latina lesbian mothers in Tuthill's study were all living in the U.S. My research studies were conducted with lesbian mothers (mainly in PHRD families), young lesbian and bisexual mothers without children, and heterosexual women who at the time the study were all living in Chile, and irrespective of their religious affiliation.

Vaggione (2010) and Encarnación (2011) have suggested that the Catholic Church has been highly influential in national legislations that privilege heteronormative assumptions of family formation in various Latino countries. Thus, the exploration of religious discourses and family of origin influences on the understandings of lesbian motherhood within a Latino country might provide new insights about the influences of socio-cultural context on lesbian motherhood. In my research studies, I explored understandings of lesbian motherhood in Chile with a particular focus on the impact of religious/moral discourses about family formation and the ideal of motherhood. I also examined how conventional discourses of gender, heteronormative/homophobia, and the legal/political context have played a significant role in the narratives, expectations and views related to lesbian motherhood in Chile.

¹⁷ To my knowledge, there were no empirical studies explicitly addressing the impact of religious discourses on the experiences of lesbian mothers living in Latino countries.

2.2.1.3. Research on lesbian mothers in Chile

The study of understandings of lesbian motherhood in Chile has received considerably less attention from social science research than in Latino countries such as Brazil, Mexico and Argentina. Notwithstanding, two studies with Chilean lesbian mothers have been carried out from a sociological approach. The first study corresponded to a doctoral research that was published in a peer review journal (Herrera, 2009). The second study was presented as MSc dissertation (Jara & Araujo, 2011). Given limited knowledge about lesbian motherhood in Chile, I will carefully examine the findings of these two studies in this section.

Herrera (2009) conducted an ethnographic study with ten lesbian mothers and 19 childless lesbian women who lived in the city of Santiago. Out of the ten lesbian mothers, seven were biological mothers (six conceived their children through a previous heterosexual relationship and one through self-assisted DI in the context of a lesbian couple relationship) and three were co-mothers. Herrera sought to interview a qualitatively diverse group of lesbian women, therefore, participants were living in diverse family arrangements (i.e., with and without children, with and without a partner). Additionally, participants were of different ages (ranged from 25 to 72 years), and from different socioeconomic levels.

The study revealed that Chilean lesbian mothers (and childless lesbian women) combined traditional and transgressive elements in their narratives about motherhood and family life (Herrera, 2009). Concerning traditional elements of participants' narratives, Herrera found that most lesbian mothers in the study gave a primary role to biological ties when defining their mother-child relationship. For instance, the genetic link and the lineage, including the resemblance between the

mother and the child, were important elements that lesbian mothers considered when described their experience of being a mother. Additionally, both pregnancy and childbirth were represented as essential aspects of their motherhood experience. Thus, motherhood was mainly interpreted as being a “natural aspect” of being a woman. Herrera noted that this definition of motherhood relied on the traditional ideal of womanhood presented in Chilean society that implied that becoming a mother gave purpose to the woman's life.

Furthermore, the study revealed that most lesbian mothers associated motherhood with heterosexuality. For example, at some points in their life the majority of participants had considered that heterosexual sex was a means to become pregnant. Additionally, participants who conceived their children through a previous heterosexual relationship acknowledged the biological father as 'the father' of their child regardless his presence or often absence from their child's life. Thus, lesbian mothers did not distinguish between social and biological fatherhood, giving an important position to a father figure within the child's life. Some fathers even continued to take a more or less active role in directing the child's care and education.

Herrera (2009) also suggested that conventional notions of motherhood were seen to be important by lesbian mothers because most couples (including biological mothers and co-mothers) sought to be accepted and legitimised as "mothers" by their family of origin and in their social context. Thus, Chilean lesbian mothers did not try to differentiate themselves from traditional heterosexual motherhood. Instead, lesbian mothers tried to adjust to the conventional model of motherhood in order to normalise their own family configuration. Additionally, lesbian

mothers sought to be included in the milieu of legitimate families by building a 'parental couple' to raise children together. Thus, they tried to approximate to the conventional model of a family formed by two parents with their children.

Nonetheless, lesbian mothers formed bi-parented families composed of two mothers (Herrera, 2009). Therefore, only in this respect did most defy the traditional heterosexual family formation. Lesbian mothers who had conceived their children in the context of a previous heterosexual relationship often had chosen previously to repress their lesbian desire. However, as time went on, they found it increasingly complicated to deny their same-gender feelings and so often started to have lesbian couple relationships. Simply as a result of having a same-gender relationship, rather than as a conscious goal, some lesbian mothers began to share childcare with their lesbian partner, and children ended up having two mothers. Only one participant in Herrera's study chose to become a mother after starting a lesbian relationship. She opted for self-insemination to raise a child with her lesbian partner who already had children. The building of a family with two mothers gave rise to the existence of the co-mother (Herrera, 2009). Thus, lesbian mothers also emphasised the importance of the social aspect of motherhood.

However, the co-mother role lacked legal recognition and often was not acknowledged as a parenting role by others. Lesbian co-mothers then felt vulnerable and confused about their maternal role. Consequently, lesbian couples tried to find the ways to enhance the legitimacy of the relationship between the co-mother and the biological mother's children. Participating actively in the childcare or diminishing the weight of biology were both strategies that lesbian couples used to gain social recognition and legitimacy for the co-mother role. For instance, the lesbian couple who opted for self-insemination reported that the co-

mother participated during the process of conception and pregnancy and this validated her inclusion as a mother.

Finally, Herrera (2009) found that lesbian mothers did not perceive an intrinsic incompatibility between having a lesbian couple relationship and bringing up their children. Nevertheless, lesbian mothers considered that homophobia was a huge obstacle in raising their children in Chile. For instance, lesbian mothers were afraid of not being able to protect their children from discrimination and the possibility of losing the custody of their offspring¹⁸. Thus, lesbian mothers perceived that Chilean society considered lesbianism and motherhood as incompatible. Consequently, most Chilean lesbian mothers opted for hiding their lesbian identity in order to protect their children from discrimination and preserving their relationships with them.

Jara and Araujo (2011) conducted a study with 12 lesbian mothers combining sociological and anthropological approaches. All participants lived in the city of Santiago. Out of the 12 mothers, seven were biological mothers and five were co-mothers (four were co-parenting her partner's biological children, and one was co-parenting her partner's adopted children). All participants were living with a lesbian partner at the time of the study. Participants' ages ranged from 28 to 48 years, and children's (n=15) ages ranged from six to 19 years. All but two of the participants' children were conceived through a previous heterosexual relationship. Data collection was conducted by in-depth interviews.

¹⁸ Herrera (2009) carried out her data collection between 2003 and 2004, the same period in which Karen Atala lost the custody of her two daughters in Chile. Herrera suggested that the public controversy over the case generated concerns in the lesbian mothers she interviewed related to the possibility of losing the custody of their children.

The study revealed that Chilean lesbian mothers experienced an extended period of identity confusion and feeling of guilt after they realised their same-gender feelings (Jara & Araujo, 2011). This identity conflict was largely related to their religious family contexts as participants mainly came from Catholic and Evangelical family background. Lesbian mothers had learnt from their parents that homosexuality was a sin and a reproachable behaviour. Additionally, lesbian mothers had difficulties in accepting their own sexual identity because of stereotypes that associated lesbianism with masculine traits. Thus, most participants embarked in heterosexual relationships in order to conform to ideal of womanhood and having children was seen as a strategy to conform to family demands by some participants.

Lesbian mothers mainly encountered hostile reactions when they disclosed their sexual orientation to their parents (Jara & Araujo, 2011). For example, participants reported that parents had looked for conversion treatments for them or participants said they left home to avoid their parents' hostility. Also, some participants' parents had questioned the ability of their lesbian daughter to raise children and supported the children's biological father in legal disputes over the children's custody. Thus, lesbian mothers felt vulnerable and had worries associated with extended family reactions and worries about the possibility of losing the custody of their children. For instance, one lesbian mother was accused of being an "immoral person" by her ex-husband in a judicial battle for the custody of her son. Lesbian mothers reported that Karen Atala's case was an example of how fragile was their role as mothers in the context of Chilean society.

Furthermore, disclosing to the children was perceived as a difficult challenge by lesbian mothers (Jara & Araujo, 2011). Therefore, some participants tried to delay disclosure, while others sought professional support during the process. Despite participants' concerns regarding children's reactions, those who had disclosed to their children had experienced acceptance from them. Most lesbian mothers reported having taught their children about sexual diversity and respect. However, few lesbian mothers had discussed sexuality-related topics with their children because they considered that adolescence was a better developmental period in which to do this.

Jara and Araujo (2011) noted that lesbian co-mothers were more involved in childcare if biological mothers were open regarding her lesbian relationship with her children. For example, some biological mothers initially presented their lesbian partner as a friend or as an aunt, but later disclosed to their children to give visibility to a partner as a mother. Jara and Araujo also found that some lesbian couples had differentiated roles within the family. For instance, in couples where the biological mother assumed authority concerning the children's upbringing, the co-mother adopted a more horizontal stance with children, often describing her relationship with the children as a kind of friendship. Furthermore, in most couples the partner who had the highest income was less involved in household labour. Only in a few cases, did the lesbian couple adopt an equalitarian distribution of roles. Jara and Araujo also reported that some lesbian mothers had experienced violence in the context of their lesbian couple relationships and that the main cause of that violence was jealousy of other attractions.

Lesbian mothers also encountered different challenges when navigating in their local social contexts (Jara & Araujo, 2011). For example, lesbian mothers tended to conceal their lesbian identity in their children's school in order to avoid their children being exposed to discrimination. However, those lesbian mothers who had disclosed in the school context tended not to report experiences of discrimination affecting them or their children, and some of them felt supported by school's teachers. Moreover, lesbian mothers described encountering restrictions in health settings and social services. For example, a lesbian mother who was denied access to visit her partner in hospital. Similarly, a lesbian co-mother was not allowed to visit the biological mother's children in a health centre. Some lesbian mothers also complained because the lack of socio-legal protection in terms of inheritance, health insurance, or filiation.

Despite the above listed major difficulties that lesbian mothers encountered in their social context, some of them had experienced social support in different context too (Jara & Araujo, 2011). For example, after a complex period of family turmoil, lesbian mothers often started to receive support from their own mothers, particularly in terms of help with childrearing. Lesbian mothers also reported support from other women such as friends, sisters, and ex-partners in childrearing activities. Jara and Araujo noted that the reproduction of traditional woman's links and roles were observed in participants' narratives. Finally, participants reported having received support from social groups of lesbian mothers that facilitated their coming out process and their children's social interaction with other children of lesbian mothers.

To summarise, studies conducted in Chile have revealed that lesbian mothers mainly associated motherhood with heterosexuality. Indeed, most of the lesbian mothers interviewed by Herrera (2009) and Jara and Araujo (2011) had conceived their children through a previous heterosexual relationship or opted for having heterosexual sex in order to become mothers. Lesbian mothers embarked in heterosexual relationships in order to conform to their family of origin's demands regarding the ideal of womanhood: heterosexual marriage plus motherhood.

Lesbian mothers also gave a primary emphasis to biological ties when they defined their family relationships. For example, genetic linkage and lineage, as well as, experiencing the process of pregnancy and childbirth were described as essential aspects of motherhood experience. Thus, motherhood was mainly seen as a “natural aspect” of being a woman. Moreover, childrearing was mainly interpreted as being a woman's role. Therefore, childrearing was mainly carried out by lesbian mothers (with the collaboration of other women, mainly the children's grandmother), with a minor involvement of the children's father. However, it seemed that the biological father was still regarded as an important figure in the children's life.

Nonetheless, Chilean lesbian mothers also emphasised the importance of the social aspect of motherhood. In some cases, the biological mother's partner was recognised as the other mother within the family context. In other cases, the biological mother's partner did not assume a parenting role. Nevertheless, the involvement of the biological mother's partner in childrearing activities was represented as a dynamic and evolving process. Thus, some biological mother's

partners who had been initially identified as an aunt or a friend were later identified as a mother. Moreover, the distribution of roles within the family context was not always equalitarian. Indeed, many lesbian mothers reported having differentiated roles with some lesbian mothers being more involved in childrearing and less involved in paid labour.

Both Chilean studies also revealed that most lesbian mothers preferred to organise their families within the context of a parenting couple. The couple relationship was essentially interpreted as a monogamic arrangement. Indeed, some lesbian mothers reported having experienced violence in the context of their lesbian relationship mainly provoked by the partner's jealousy of other attractions. Moreover, lesbian mothers reported that their family relationships, mainly the relationships with the co-mother, were not socially recognised. Some lesbian mothers encountered many identity constraints in different social settings such health centres or social services. Lesbian mothers also complained because the lack of socio-legal protection in terms of inheritance, health insurance, or filiation.

Lesbian mothers reported that Chilean society considered lesbianism and motherhood as incompatible. Lesbianism was seen mainly as a morally reproachable behaviour outside the family context. Indeed, some lesbian mothers had encountered hostile reactions from their parents after disclosure. While others had been raised in a religious family context in which lesbianism was seen as a sin. Most lesbian mothers decided to remain hidden in the public domain in order to protect their children from discrimination. Other lesbian mothers were afraid of the possibility of losing the custody of their children because they were seen as a “bad model” for children.

Nevertheless, some lesbian mothers encountered acceptance and support at different levels. For instance, those lesbian mothers who had disclosed to their children had felt accepted by them. Other lesbian mothers indicated that they had received circumscribed support from their family of origin after a period of turmoil. Furthermore, lesbian mothers who had disclosed their sexual orientation in the children's school had not encountered experiences of discrimination affecting them or their children, and some of them felt supported by school's teachers. Social groups of lesbian mothers were also described as being part of a supporting social network.

Consistent with studies conducted in Brazil, Mexico and Argentina, the Chilean studies presented above have revealed the strong impact of cultural discourses of womanhood, motherhood, and the family on the experiences of lesbian mothers. Further, it seemed that conventional discourses of gender, homophobia, and the legal/political context also have also played a significant role in how lesbian women have built their narratives of motherhood in Chile. Notwithstanding, the role of religious/moral discourses about family formation and the ideal of motherhood on the family life of Chilean lesbian mothers remains unknown. Interestingly, Jara and Araujo (2011) found that lesbian mothers struggled with religious discourses of heterosexuality during their own sexual identity development. Nevertheless, none of these studies examined how religious discourses might impact the family experiences of lesbian mothers. Thus, the reasons why Latina lesbian mothers have reported being regarded as bad/inadequate or immoral models for children remains largely unknown.

2.3. A cross-cultural comparison of studies on lesbian mothers

In this section, I provide a summary of the cross-cultural analysis of the studies with lesbian mothers that were presented above in order to highlight how different cultural contexts impact understandings of lesbian motherhood. As mentioned before, it is difficult to state the extent to which the understandings of lesbian motherhood in other cultural contexts are distinctive from, or a reflection of, Western-White European conceptualisations of the family life of lesbian mothers. Notwithstanding, some particularities of different cultural contexts might be noted by comparing the main findings of the studies presented in this chapter. I divided the section into two topics: *Understanding motherhood and family relationships*, and *Lesbian mothers navigating in private and public domains*.

2.3.1. Understanding motherhood and family relationships

Overall research has revealed that lesbian mothers create different family configurations and relationships and depart to a greater or lesser extent from the traditional model of the ideal heterosexual family. Understandings of motherhood and family relationships mainly vary depending on the route to parenthood and the cultural context in which lesbian mothers live. Although most lesbian mothers have achieved motherhood within the context of a previous heterosexual relationship (Tasker, 2013), the number of lesbian mothers who have chosen to create their own family in the context of a same-gender relationship has steadily increased over recent decades (Bos, 2013). Despite the similarity of the trend in Latin American, and in ESWE countries, most studies in Latino context have

focused on lesbian mothers PHRD. It seems that the rise of de novo families in Latino countries has been slower than in ESWE countries. Indeed, only three Latino studies have focused on de novo families (Libson, 2012, 2013; Palma et al., 2012; Santos and Alves de Toledo, 2006). These studies were conducted in Argentina and Brazil, which is perhaps unsurprising considering the progressive legal transformations that have occurred in these countries over the last decade. In contrast, the only two studies conducted with lesbian mothers in Chile have focused mainly on PHRD lesbian mothers (Herrera, 2009; Jara & Araujo, 2011).

Lesbian mothers who wish to create their own families within the context of a pre-existing lesbian identity might choose to raise their children with a lesbian partner. Although lesbian mothers might build their families through different routes, such donor insemination or adoption, qualitative studies focused on the family relationships of lesbian mothers have mainly centred on lesbian-led families created through donor insemination. Within these families, lesbian mothers need to negotiate their relationship and their mothering role with their children. The research studies presented above have suggested that biological mothers and non-biological mothers both tend to assume parenting roles in de novo families (Ben-Ari & Livni, 2006; Brown & Perlesz, 2008; Gartrell et al., 1999, 2000, 2006; Libson, 2012; Mitchell, 1995; Palma et al., 2012; Polášková, 2007; Santos & Alves de Toledo, 2006; Tasker, & Golombok, 1998; Wilson, 2000). Although the word used to define the non-biological mother's relationship with their child might vary, the most common words seem to be "mother" or "parent" (Brown & Perlesz, 2007; Wilson, 2000). Thus the non-biological mother is often identified as "co-mother" in the academic literature. This co-parenting arrangement seems to be similar irrespective of the cultural context in which

lesbian mothers live, and has been observed in ESWE countries (Brown and Perlesz, 2008; Gartrell et al., 1999, 2000, 2006; Mitchell, 1995; Tasker, & Golombok, 1998; Wilson, 2000), the Czech Republic (Polášková, 2007), Israel (Ben-Ari & Livni, 2006), Argentina (Libson, 2012) and Brazil (Palma et al., 2012; Santos & Alves de Toledo, 2006).

Furthermore, studies conducted in ESWE countries have revealed that in most de novo families biological and non-biological mothers seem to be equally involved in caregiving and be equally bonded to their children (Brown & Perlesz, 2008; Gartrell et al., 1999, 2000, 2006; Mitchell, 1995; Tasker, & Golombok, 1998; Wilson, 2000). However, in some ESWE studies de novo families formed through donor insemination, birth mothers tend to contribute more to childcare than do co-mothers and consequently are more likely to be perceived as the primary parent (US National Longitudinal Lesbian Family Study - Gartrell et al., 1999, 2000, 2006). This suggests that some lesbian mothers in ESWE countries prioritise biological ties to define family relationships. Interestingly, the primacy of biology to build family relationships seems to be stronger in other cultural contexts.

Indeed studies conducted with de novo families in the Czech Republic (Polášková, 2007), Israel (Ben-Ari & Livni, 2006), Argentina (Libson, 2012) have shown that the biological link with the child is crucial in the definition of mother-child relationship. Thus, the processes of pregnancy and childbirth are seen as essential aspects of experiencing motherhood. The primacy of biology in defining family relationships contrasts significantly with the notion of 'doing family' (Perlesz et al., 2006a). Indeed, de novo lesbian mothers in ESWE countries, notably Australia and the U.K., often describe their families as fluid and dynamic and gave a relevant place to nurturing relationships (Brown & Perlesz, 2007;

Perlesz et al., 2006a; Swainson & Tasker, 2005; Tasker & Granville, 2011).

Furthermore, the substantial weight given to biological ties place biological and non-biological mothers in unbalanced positions. Thus, some co-mothers struggle to be acknowledged as mothers, and the lack of social and legal recognition also contributes to threaten their status as mothers.

Studies conducted with PHRD lesbian-led families in Latino countries have revealed similar findings. Co-mothers in stepfamilies might be less likely than co-mothers in de novo families to be involved in parenting. However, while some biological mothers' partners choose to adopt a friendship relationship with children, other biological mothers' partners become involved as parents (Haces, 2006; Herrera, 2009; Jara & Araujo, 2011). Thus, co-mothers in PHRD families might also feel in a secondary position in relation to the biological mother's primary status. Furthermore, while some biological mothers' partners might contribute less in child care, other biological mothers' partners become more involved in childrearing activities, even if they do not desire to be identified as mothers. Indeed, Latina lesbian mothers usually share childrearing activities with their lesbian friends/ex-partners, sisters and mothers. Thus, the support of other women in childrearing activities seems to be a common aspect of lesbian-led families in Latino societies. Scholars have suggested that Latina women are seen as natural caregivers by society and that motherhood is an essential aspect of femininity (Haces, 2006; Herrera, 2009; Libson, 2012; Sánchez et al., 2004). Thus, compared with ESWE lesbian mothers, Latina lesbian mothers might be more willing to look for help with childcare from other women within their social networks.

When lesbian mothers build their family relationships, they also need to define the place given to biological fathers in a PHRD family or donors in a de novo family. Studies conducted with de novo lesbian mothers in ESWE countries have revealed that some family members include biological fathers and donors within their family descriptions because of their more or less active role in child's life (Perlesz et al., 2006a; Tasker & Granville, 2011). In contrast, studies conducted with PHRD lesbian mothers in Latin American countries have shown that biological father had a privileged position regardless of his presence or absence from the child's life. Interestingly, some Brazilian lesbian mothers in Pinheiro's study did try to lessen the donor's/biological father's involvement in childrearing, but fathers were not excluded entirely from the family context by these lesbian mothers (Pinheiro, 2006). Similarly, some Chilean lesbian mothers denoted their child's biological father as essential part of successful childrearing, and some fathers took a more or less active role in their children's care and education (Herrera, 2009). Here, again Latina lesbian mothers seem to give a more prominent place to biological ties than do lesbian mothers of ESWE countries when they define family relationships. Additionally, the presence of the father seems to be considered as important in Latino societies as some Latina lesbian mothers reported having been extensively questioned about the absence of a masculine role within their families (Palma et al., 2012; Sánchez et al., 2004; Santos & Alves de Toledo, 2006)

2.3.2. Lesbian mothers navigating in the private and the public domains

As lesbian mothers create their own family configurations and relationships beyond the traditional model of the ideal heterosexual family, they need to negotiate how to present themselves and their families within both private and public domains. Studies conducted in ESWE countries have revealed that lesbian mothers in de novo families tend to be more open than lesbian mothers PHRD regarding their sexual identity in their social contexts (Gartrell et al., 1999, 2000; Perlesz et al., 2006a, b; Wilson, 2000). However, as children became older, some lesbian mothers tend to tone down their visibility in response to their children's rising concerns about discrimination (Gartrell et al., 2000; Mitchell, 1998). Furthermore, studies have shown that many lesbian mothers in de novo families have reported being concerned about the possibility of their children being discriminated against (Gartrell et al., 1999, 2000; Jennings, Mellish, Tasker, Lamb, & Golombok, 2014; Mitchell, 1998). Indeed, some studies have revealed that some lesbian mothers have reported experiences of discrimination/heterosexism encountered by their children (Cohen & Kivalanka, 2011; Mitchell, 1995; Wilson, 2000). Thus, some lesbian mothers in de novo families attempt to pre-emptively prepare their children to deal with homophobia by teaching them about family and sexual diversity and mainstream attitudes (Gartrell et al., 1999, 2000; Mitchell, 1995).

Studies conducted with de novo and PHRD lesbian mothers in Latin America also have revealed that many lesbian mothers were concerned about the possibility of their children encountering experiences of, or being affected by, discrimination (Herrera, 2009; Jara & Araujo, 2011; Palma et al., 2012; Pinheiro, 2006; Sánchez

et al., 2004; Santos & Alves de Toledo, 2006). Indeed, Latina lesbian mothers' concerns seem to be stronger than the worries reported by lesbian mothers in ESWE countries. For instance, research has indicated that most Latina lesbian mothers usually hide their sexual identity in the public domain because they felt afraid of being identified as a lesbian, and restricted their disclosure only to the family context (Herrera, 2009; Jara & Araujo, 2011; Palma et al., 2012; Pinheiro, 2006; Sánchez et al., 2004; Santos & Alves de Toledo, 2006). On the one hand, lesbian mothers living in Latino countries usually describe their social context as deeply homophobic, such as Brazilian lesbian mothers who have reported living in a context where violence against LGBT people is common (Pinheiro, 2006). Thus, these lesbian mothers coexist with the fear of being attacked (Pinheiro, 2006; Santos & Alves de Toledo, 2006). On the other hand, Latina lesbian mothers have reported concerns related to the possibility of losing the custody of their children, for example, the Chilean lesbian mothers who were threatened by their former heterosexual partners, or even by their family of origin, during custody disputes (Herrera, 2009; Jara & Araujo, 2011).

Within this highly homophobic context, Latina lesbian mothers understandably need to think carefully how to disclose to their children. Thus, coming out to their children is often described as a difficult process, particularly in PHRD families (Haces, 2006; Jara & Araujo, 2011). Indeed, some Chilean and some Mexican lesbian mothers have looked for help to disclose to their children by accessing supportive groups or mental health professionals (Haces, 2006; Jara & Araujo, 2011). Furthermore, studies have revealed how heterosexism has pervaded the way in which some lesbian mothers have conveyed their sexual identity to their children. For instance, some Brazilian and some Mexican lesbian mothers have

reported being concerned about being "a model of lesbianism" or have taught their children to avoid following "a homosexual path"¹⁹ (Haces, 2006; Pinheiro, 2006), a concern not described in studies conducted in ESWE countries in recent times (Tasker & Rensten, in press). Nevertheless, research indicates that most Latina lesbian mothers feel proud about their identity and do not pathologise their sexual orientation (Herrera, 2009; Jara & Araujo, 2011; Libson, 2013; Palma et al., 2012; Pinheiro, 2006; Santos & Alves de Toledo, 2006). Thus, lesbian mothers' main concerns are related to prejudice and not to their own lesbian identity. That might explain why Latina lesbian mothers try to remain hidden in order to protect their children from discrimination, particularly in their child's local contexts, such as in school settings (Haces, 2006; Jara & Araujo, 2011). Interestingly, no Latino study has reported experiences of discrimination by the children of lesbian mothers.

Finally, research studies conducted with de novo and PHRD lesbian mothers in ESWE countries, Israel and Latin America have revealed that acceptance by their family of origin is a significant aspect of the family life of lesbian mothers. Nevertheless, the involvement of the family of origin might vary according to understandings of "family" in different cultural contexts. For instance, studies conducted with de novo lesbian-led families in ESWE countries have shown that some grandparents gradually tend to accept their grandchildren, begin to feel included within the family, or begin to come out in their social contexts (Gartrell et al., 1999, 2006; Perlesz et al., 2006a; Swainson & Tasker, 2005; Tasker & Granville, 2011). Furthermore, de novo lesbian mothers in Israel reported becoming more accepted by their family of origin after becoming mothers because

¹⁹ Similarly, lesbian mothers in the Czech Republic have reported concerns about their children development concerning their future sexual orientation, gender identity and gender role behaviours (Polášková, 2007).

motherhood is highly valued within Jewish family tradition, even if their parents' rejection of their daughter's lesbian identity continued (Ben-Ari & Livni, 2006). Moreover, previous research studies on de novo and PHRD lesbian mothers in Latin America reported that lesbian mothers struggled to feel accepted by their parents and had often hid their sexuality from their parents, for instance through hiding their partner as just their friend. Nevertheless, other lesbian mothers chose to disclose to their parents despite anticipating parental hostility. In these studies, if lesbian mothers did disclose to their family of origin there were often clues that family of origin continued to be closely involved with their lesbian daughter and her children, for example, with the lesbian mother's own mother helping out with childcare (Haces, 2006; Herrera, 2009; Jara & Araujo, 2011; Libson, 2012; Palma et al., 2012; Sánchez et al., 2004).

Overall research has revealed that the family life of de novo and PHRD lesbian mothers have been impacted by the cultural context in which they live. Cultural understandings of the family and gender might influence the way in which lesbian mothers build their own family and parenting projects. Furthermore, the surrounding heteronormativity and homophobia in the cultural context might impact the ways in which lesbian mothers navigate in their family and local social contexts. Moreover, unsupportive legal contexts might constrain the legal recognition and social protection of family members of lesbian-led families. I suggest that to further contextualise cultural influences we also need to know more about how other aspects of the cultural context, such as religious discourses, might impact the family life of lesbian mothers through the family of origin influences.

The Chilean cultural context might provide a unique avenue within which to investigate how religious discourses might impact understandings of lesbian motherhood and the family life of lesbian mothers. The homophobic context existing in Chile, as in the rest of Latin America, has been largely associated with the historical rejection of homosexuality fostered by the Catholic Church (Akerlund & Cheung, 2000; Bozon et al., 2009). However, the Catholic Church has been seen to have had a greater impact on law and policy in Chile when compared with other Latin American countries, such as Argentina and Brazil (Htun, 2003; Valdés, 2005). For instance, Htun suggested that Catholic Church and democratic parties collaborated in creating a conservative agenda regarding family and sexuality values during the transition to democracy in Chile. In contrast, cracks in the State-Church relationship in Argentina and Brazil opened a window for liberal demands during the past decades. Indeed, same-sex marriage has been approved in Argentina (2010) and Brazil (2013), while it remained illegal in Chile because of the powerful resistance by the Catholic Church and conservative political groups (Oyarzún, 2011). Hence, the Catholic Church and conservative political groups have been profoundly influential in law and policy privileging the heterosexual family model (Lyons, 2004; Oyarzún, 2011).

Locating lesbian motherhood within a broader socio-cultural context might provide new insight into how lesbian mothers experience their family life. Therefore, in this thesis, I present the findings of three studies exploring different understandings of lesbian motherhood within a Chilean cultural context. The study with lesbian mothers examined how sexual identity and motherhood were negotiated in the private and the public domains. The study with LB prospective mothers focused on how young childless LB women constructed possible

narratives of future motherhood within the context of a homophobic society. The study with heterosexual women centred on how lesbian motherhood was understood by women who were part of the mainstream heteronormative society in Chile. Overall the three studies aimed to locate different understandings of lesbian motherhood within the current Chilean socio-cultural and historical context, with a particular focus on religious discourses and family of origin influences.

Chapter 3: Approaches to data collection and understanding

The concept of 'methodology' refers to the set of procedures and standards that guide a research design (Brown & Nash, 2010). In this sense, a consideration of methodology allows researchers to make the decision about which methods will be used and for what purpose during the research process. In contrast, the concept of 'research method' is used to refer to the data collection method or analysis techniques that are employed during the investigation of a phenomenon or situation. In this chapter, I discuss why I used qualitative methodology for my research studies. Further, I examine why I adopted a social constructionist stance as a qualitative researcher, and how considered my own reflexive position, the Life Course Perspective, an intersectionality framework, and The Minority Stress Model to investigate lesbian motherhood in Chile. Finally, I describe the particular qualitative methods used for data collection and analysis in each of the three studies presented in this thesis.

3.1. Qualitative methodology

I used qualitative methodology to carry out my three research studies because my purpose was to understand participants' meanings of lesbian motherhood within a Chilean socio-cultural and historical context. Clarke, Ellis, Peel, and Riggs (2010) have suggested that the qualitative research paradigm within psychology focuses on understanding meanings produced in a particular context for a specific group people instead of aiming to generate objective and universal truths.

Specifically, qualitative research studies produce vivid accounts of the effects of particular experiences and are valuable for the exploration of marginalised and invisible groups within society such as LGBT people (Clarke et al., 2010; Hooks, 2000). In this thesis, I explore the experiences and expectations of lesbian motherhood of two invisible and often marginalised groups of women within Chilean society, lesbian mothers and prospective LB mothers.

Scott (2010) has argued that qualitative research is important in gender studies to understand experiences of discrimination against people within the context of a patriarchal society. Thus, qualitative research studies are useful for the exploration of women's experience of oppression and understanding women's own interpretations and meanings of their experiences. Exploring the understandings of lesbian motherhood of heterosexual and non-heterosexual Chilean women might provide a holistic view of how privilege and oppression operate in a gender-normative society to shape the experiences of lesbian mothers or prospective LB mothers (Crisp, 2014).

3.2. Social constructionism

The social constructionist perspective is concerned about the processes by which people describe, explain, or account for the social world they live in (Gergen, 1985). Social constructionism challenges the objective bases of conventional knowledge in which commonly accepted categories can be mapped through direct and decontextualised observation. From the social constructionist position, the understandings of the world are situated within a particular historical and cultural

context and are driven by the active and cooperative enterprise of people's social interactions. Thus, both language forms and understandings of the world are significant and are integrally connected.

I have adopted a social constructionist stance to knowledge construction in the three qualitative studies I conducted because my purpose was to understand the personal world of the participants, yet taking into account my interpretive role as a researcher. As Gergen (2010) has argued, qualitative research is interpretative, and allows the researcher to add a level of meaning to the information provided by participants. I understand that the construction of meaning is possible through the interaction between the researcher and the participant, and that the interpretation of the findings is always influenced by the meanings I attribute to the information provided by the interviewee. Nevertheless, I tried to analyse participants' experiences close to their own accounts, avoiding the incorporation of arbitrary interpretations and my personal beliefs as a same-gender attracted Chilean man.

3.3. Reflexivity

Can I setting aside my fore-understandings as a gay man enough to understand participants' own lived experiences? Certainly, it is what I have tried to do during the entire process of these research studies. By adopting a reflexive approach during both data generation and the interpretative analysis, I continuously reflected about my own interpretations of participants' life stories in order to move beyond my previous understandings and be close to my participants' own experiences. I kept this reflexive approach to be aware the extent to which my

previous experiences as gay man and LGBT researcher might have impacted my interpretation of participants' lived experiences as lesbian women living in Chile and I note or bracket this where relevant in the thesis.

Notwithstanding, I am aware that I experience and interpret the world from a particular stance and that I cannot escape from this subjectivity. Thus, the purpose of this study was not to explore an 'inner essential true' or the 'objective reality' about participants' experiences. Instead, I have focused on the intersubjective realm by keeping in mind the interaction between the participants and me, the context in which we came into contact, and the way in which our understandings were bounded by time and place (Shaw, 2010). Consequently, the findings of these studies reflected the interpretation of the lived experiences of Chilean lesbian [and prospective] mothers through the lens of a Chilean gay man. As Shaw has suggested, I understand reflexivity as a hermeneutic reflection that considers both the researcher and the researched as experiencing human beings. The reflexive approach was a tool to navigate through the participants' accounts and my personal responses to them. This work implied confronting and interrogating my own fore-understandings, then attempting to move beyond them, and incorporating them into my interpretation of participants' accounts.

During data gathering, I tried to keep a reflexive stance to openly explore participants' life course stories and experiences. First, during the individual interviews and focus groups I tried to be open to what participants brought into their conversations with me. In my first study I used open-ended questions that followed participants' narrated stories. My previous training as a clinical psychologist and my previous experience with my MSc qualitative study helped

me to explore participants' emerging stories being careful about not losing the richness from their experiences. Second, I tried to frame questions within the research topic that avoided simply addressing issues related to my personal research interests. For example, when some participants talked about their stories of psychological/physical abuse, as a clinical psychologist I wanted to explore more about their clinical history and the implications of such experiences for their mental health. I do not want to argue that it would not have been important to explore more about participants' experiences of victimisation, but it was not directly linked to the topic I was studying. Despite these boundaries and reflections, I briefly addressed participants' experiences of psychological/physical abuse in Study 1.

Furthermore, after each interview and focus group, I wrote some reflexive notes to become more aware of where my fore-understandings and participants' stories overlapped (see Appendix 1 containing some reflexive notes). Even if I shared some experiences as a sexual minority person with my participants, through the course of my research studies I became more aware of the uniqueness of participants' experiences as women and [prospective] mothers, and the intersection of these identities with identifying as lesbians. For instance, participants had encountered experiences of gender victimisation and inequalities by living in Chile, a strongly patriarchal society. Additionally, building their own family projects by having children was a particular challenge that participants had to cope with as a sexual minority person and which as a non-parent I did not share. Thus, keeping a reflexive stance helped me to hear the singularity of participants' experiences.

During data analysis, I kept the reflexive approach by keeping every interpretation close to what participants tried to say through their narrative and stories. I considered this process as an iterative engagement with data which made me going back to the interview transcripts many times during the analysis to catch participants' own voices and be sure that my interpretation was not enhancing or hindering participants' lived experiences (Smith & Osborn, 2008). My experience analysing gay men's stories during my MSc research was extremely useful in this reflexive analytical procedure. For instance, I had a significant level of shared experiences with the gay men I interviewed during my previous qualitative study. Nevertheless, I tried to hear their own voices, and I believe I succeeded in that goal. I found how religious discourses had negatively impacted gay men's self-acceptance process during their life courses, something that I was not aware had been part of my own sexual identity development in a way that made them explicit before starting the study. I am sure that keeping close to data during the analytical process of my Ph.D. studies helped me to be reflexive about lesbian women's experiences as mothers and prospective mothers. It seems that reflexivity became less an issue through the course of these research studies as the distinctiveness of each participants' experiences emerged.

After completing the data analysis and the writing up of the results, I conducted the audit of the findings of each study. The primary objective of the audit was to assess the extent to which the results of each study reflected participants' accounts. I considered the audit as a useful technique to address a reflexive approach. This procedure allowed me to evaluate if my interpretation was close to participants' stories and experiences. On the one hand, I contacted expert judges who were psychologists with expertise in qualitative research. These auditors

analysed if the themes and sub-themes of each study reflected what participants said during the interviews and focus groups. On the other hand, I contacted each participant in each of the three studies with the aim of assessing if they felt identified with the results of the study in which they had participated. Although not all participants took part of the audit, most participants in Study 1, a half of the interviewees in Study 2, and three participants in Study 3 did. Specific details on the audit procedure and results will be presented in the method section of each study.

3.4. The life course perspective

I addressed a life course perspective as a primary overarching theoretical framework across all three qualitative studies presented in this thesis. The life course theory evolved from multiples intellectual traditions and disciplines such as human development, family studies, history, psychology, and sociology, among others (Allen & Henderson, 2016). Since its emergence in the 1960s, wider research using the life course theory has been suggested that the developmental possibilities individuals encounter are influenced by their historical and cultural context (Bengtson & Allen, 1993; Elder, 1994, 1998).

Life course theory has emphasised the relationship between human development and a changing society, the timing of lives (cohort effects), linked or interdependent lives, and the human agency (Elder, 1994). According to Elder (1994) each of these central themes has a particular contribution to the understanding of the human development. Firstly, in a rapidly changing society,

differences in birth cohorts expose individuals to different historical worlds. Thus, individual life courses may reflect these different times and opportunities that arise in them. Secondly, the timing of lives refers to the incidence, duration, and the sequence of social roles, and to relevant expectations based on age. Thirdly, human lives are linked and interdependent as they are embedded in social relationships across the life span. Social regulation and support are the consequence in part of these relationships, which might include family, friends and coworkers. Fourthly, the human agency suggests that within a changing society, people are planful and make choices among options that construct their life course.

The life course theory is particularly useful for the study of lesbian and gay parented families since it locates parents and children into a wider socio-cultural and historical context (Cohler, 2005). The life course theory also pays attention to the diversity of LG parented families along central axes of social stratification, including gender, sexual orientation, age, generation, race and ethnicity, and community and region (Demo & Allen, 1996). LG parented families, as an increasingly visible contemporary family type, continuously challenge patriarchal notions of the family and gender relationships, and push the family research into a broader understanding of family structures and processes (Allen & Demo, 1995; Demo & Allen, 1996). The life course theory highlights the interplay of historical, demographic, and socio-cultural influences (such as stigma) in shaping the experiences of members of LG parented families, as well as the dynamics of intergenerational relations (Allen & Demo, 1995; Bengtson & Allen, 1993). From this particular perspective, transitions and trajectories of each member need to be studied taking into account the family as a system, the local, community and

cultural contexts in which each member and the family live, the historical period, and the social climate regarding sexual minorities (Cohler, 2005; Demo & Allen, 1996).

I adopted a life course perspective because my research purpose was to examine how time, culture, context and the interdependence of family relationships affected lesbian mothers and prospective LB mothers' lives. According to Allen and Henderson (2016) the advantage of the life course theory is in understanding individual and family development across ever-changing cultural and historical contexts. Unlike static stage models, such as life cycle theory, the life course theory provides a powerful tool to take into account all the forces guiding an individual's development. For example, the exploration of a Chilean lesbian mother's life course would be enriched by considering her trajectory and pathways before and after becoming a mother, the transitions and turning-points she experienced in relation to her coming out process, her family support and relationships, her developmental and social age, her cohort and historical location, the social barriers and cultural expectations, and her statuses as a woman, lesbian and mother in Chilean contemporary society or her hopes for same-gender relationships and family formation. Hence, this integrative theory allows to take a panoramic view when gathering and analysing data.

As the main purpose of this thesis is to examine understandings of lesbian motherhood through the lens of the life course theory, I further need to critically evaluate the concepts of gender, sexuality and motherhood within this theory. Life Course Theory applied to human development aims to reconcile divisions between essentialism and social constructionism. From this stance, human

experiences, including gender, sexuality and motherhood, can be seen as influenced by the socio-cultural and historical context in which people grow and live, yet the embodied aspect of these experiences can also be considered. This means that these human experiences are in part socially constructed over development and over time but at the same time are biologically impacted. Life Course Theory then seeks to integrate common division of the body and the social environment. For instance, gender development can be understood as a result of the intertwining between bodily (and neurobiological) sex differentiation and gendered knowledge of a particular culture (Fausto-Sterling, Coll, & Lamarre, 2012). Sexuality, including sexual orientation, can be thought as a biological disposition to respond emotionally and sexually to members of a particular sex that can be manifested through sexual desire and expressed through behaviours and (sexual) identity in a particular cultural context (Hammack, 2005). Motherhood can be considered as an embodied experience which might include pregnancy, childbirth, breastfeeding, body size, body weight and diet, but it is also a socially constructed role that historically has been associated with childrearing and womanhood (Nicolson, Fox, & Heffernan, 2010).

3.5. Intersectionality

I used an intersectionality perspective as a secondary overarching theoretical framework across all three qualitative studies presented in this thesis.

Psychologists have been increasingly interested in the use of an intersectionality framework to examine multiple social identities and their associated statuses (Cole, 2009; Settles, 2006; Shields, 2008; Warner, 2008). A fundamental

proposition of intersectionality perspective is that "*intersectional identities are defined in relation to one another*" (Shields, 2008, p. 303). Intersectionality approach has its origin in the feminist and racial critical theory U.S. scholars who saw themselves as women of colour and claimed for the incorporation of race and class into the gender discussion (Cole, 2009; Shields, 2008). Since the 1980 feminist scholars have focused on how gender is shaped by other social identities such as race/ethnicity, class or sexual orientation (Shields, 2008). For example, social identities such as black and woman, should not be considered as independent categories but as mutual interactional identities that shape a "Black woman's" identity (Settles, 2006). Thus, intersectionality perspective assumes that identity cannot be reduced to a summary of different social identities (Warner, 2008), although, additive aspects of identities are also included in intersectional analyses (Bowleg, 2008).

Intersectional perspective assumes that the intersection of identities such gender, class and sexuality affect people's perceptions, experiences and opportunities as societies are stratified among different social dimensions (Cole, 2009). Hence, the experiences of different social groups might vary and be asymmetrical to one another. Intersectionality analysis then focuses on how individuals of a particular group experience their social statuses simultaneously (Cole, 2009). For example, a researcher using an intersectionality approach might focus on how women might experience subordination to men as group (Shields, 2008) but with a particular focus on how different groups of women, such White and Black, might experience subordination differently in relation to the intersection of gender and race/ethnicity (Hurtado, 1989). Thus, interactional analysis might focus on

multiple categories of identity, difference/similarity, and the particular (dis)advantages according to an individual's group membership (Cole, 2009).

To address an intersectionality framework then it is necessary to understand the cultural, historical, and the social structural context that produces social group disadvantages and oppression (Bowleg, 2008; Warner, 2008). This contextual analysis can enable the exploration of hierarchies of privilege and power that structure social life and shape the experiences of social inequality and stigma (Cole, 2009). Thus, an intersectionality approach it is a fruitful framework to address psychological research questions at individual, interpersonal, and social-structural levels (Cole, 2009; Shields, 2008). Intersectional identities have significant psychological implications such as on how people define themselves in relation to others' views and expectations (Settles, 2006) and qualitative psychological methods have been considered useful research tools to address an inquiry into intersectionality (Bowleg, 2008; Cole, 2009; Shields, 2008).

Intersectionality also has been considered as a useful framework for the psychological study of sexual orientation and its interaction with other social dimensions of identity such as gender, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status and age, and multiple other dimensions of the identity (Bowleg, 2008; Warner & Shields, 2013). In particular, the contribution of intersectional analyses focused on the lived experiences of "black lesbian women" has been essential to the understanding of intersectional identities (Babbitt, 2013; Bowleg, 2008). For example, research has revealed that Black lesbian women might experience more prejudice than their White peers from both White lesbian and from the Black community who see Black lesbian as having brought on the community disgrace

or “sold out” to White sexual practices (Brooks, Bowleg & Quina, 2009). Thus, from an intersectionality perspective, sexual orientation is considered as another social dimension of identity that interacts with gender and race/ethnicity to create inequality and oppression (Babbitt, 2013; Bowleg, 2008).

To date, few psychological research studies of lesbian as mothers have used an intersectionality framework to examine intersection of different social identities. For example, a study with white lesbian women adopting racial/ethnic minority children in the U.S. found that lesbian mothers described worries about the discrimination their children might encounter because of their racial/ethnic minority status (Richardson & Goldberg, 2010). Nevertheless, being part of a White privileged group and their previous experiences as sexual minority women were elements that these lesbian mothers noted as strengths to prepare their children to cope with racial/ethnic discrimination. In spite of the small number of studies that have used an intersectionality framework to explore the lived experiences of lesbian mothers, research with “non-White” (Moore & Brainer, 2013), and “non-Western” (Lubbe, 2013) LGBT families have revealed the various challenges and disadvantages these families encounter when they navigate in the mainstream society as detailed in Chapter 2.

Notwithstanding, research beyond Western-White European conceptualisations of LGBT families is still scant and more research is needed with a particular focus on intersectional analysis of multiple social identities. Indeed, scholars in the field of LGBT families studies within psychology have called attention to the consideration of an intersectionality framework when conducting research with LGBT families in order to examine the intersection of gender, sexuality,

(dis)abilities, race/ethnicity, class, place, nationality, and other variable of stratification, oppression and privilege (Goldberg & Allen, 2013; Tasker, 2010, 2013).

Following an intersectional framework, I seek to examine how different social identities interact to influence participants' narratives, expectations and views related to lesbian motherhood. Study 1 examines how identities of "woman", "lesbian" and "mother" have interacted over participants' life courses to give form to their narratives of lesbian motherhood. Study 2 investigates how identities of "woman", "lesbian/bisexual" and "prospective mother" interact to influence participants' thoughts about a future motherhood project. Study 3 explores the ways in which identities of "woman" and "heterosexual" interact to create heterosexual participants' sense of lesbian motherhood in the context of Chilean society. Furthermore, other identities that might be relevant for the analysis will be considered in each result chapter.

3.6. The Minority Stress Model

Furthermore, as was mentioned above, the life course perspective locates lesbian-led families into a wider socio-cultural and historical context. Thus, this thesis also aims to examine how lesbian mothers and LB prospective mothers navigate within their local social contexts. As was discussed in the previous chapter, Latina lesbian mothers continuously challenge the notion of the traditional heterosexual family in a strongly homophobic context. Hence, the impact of prejudice and stigma on sexual minority people must also be considered. The impact of

homophobia on the mental health of lesbian and gay people has been well documented (Burgess, Lee, Tran & van Ryn, 2008; Warner et al., 2004). Meyer (2003) proposed the Minority Stress Model that suggests that stigma, prejudice, and discrimination create a stressful social environment that might cause mental health problems. One of the particularly pernicious effects of this being internalised homophobia, which has been defined as “the gay person’s direction of negative social attitudes toward the self, leading to a devaluation of the self and resultant internal conflicts and poor self-regard” (Meyer & Dean, 1998, p. 161). Within this model, direct experiences of discrimination as well as expectations of rejection, concealment, and internalised homophobia operate as social stressors that can contribute to impact the mental health of sexual minority people.

Studies conducted with lesbians and gay men in Chile have revealed that experiences of victimization were associated with depression and lower rates of social and psychological well-being (Gómez & Barrientos, 2012). Furthermore, although the acceptance of homosexuality in Chile has increased over the last decade, homophobic attitudes, including stigma and prejudice, continue to impregnate the social context in which Chilean lesbians and gay men live (Barrientos, 2017).

Considering the Minority Stress Model within both the Life Course Perspective and intersectionality framework also led me to think of the Minority Stress Model working in different ways over development and historical time and within particular intersections of identity. Thus, the Studies 1 and 2 focused on the impact of homophobia through the lens of the Minority Stress Model and

considered the experiences of lesbian mothers and prospective mothers within relative Chilean cultural and local contexts.

3.7. Qualitative research methods

In this section I present the qualitative research methods I used for data collection and analysis in all three studies conducted. Firstly, I briefly describe the two qualitative methods used for data collection: individual interviews for Study 1, and focus groups for Studies 2 and 3. Also I present the schedule of questions designed for each study. Secondly, I describe the three qualitative methods used for data analysis: Narrative Analysis (structural and thematic), Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), and Thematic Analysis.

3.7.1. Chosen qualitative method of data collection for Study 1: Interview

A life course approach was addressed to structure the interview questions (see Appendix 2 containing the interview schedule used in Study 1). Hammack and Cohler (2009) have suggested individuals develop their sexual identities in particular cultural and historical locations. Thus, interview questions aimed to address how participants developed their own understandings of their same-gender desire over their life courses and through the interaction with their social contexts, and how they negotiated this identity process in the context of their motherhood.

A semi-structured interview was designed for the study's purposes (Gergen, 2010). Open-ended questions were constructed in advance with inclusion of further requests for clarification or expansion. Participants also were given the possibility at the end of the interview of raising other issues thought relevant (Hugh-Jones, 2010). According to Hugh-Jones, qualitative interviews have an exploratory aim because all the facts, or forms of experience, cannot be known in advance. Thus, semi-structured interviews allow the qualitative researcher to examine the subjective meanings of individual experiences.

The interview schedule began with an open question inviting participants to narrative their own life story about how they began to identify as a lesbian mother, an approach similar to the one suggested by Murray (2008). Further specific questions were specified in advance as prompts in the case participants required a guide to address relevant topics according to the study's purpose. Examples of these questions were the following: Had you thought about becoming a parent before you actually did? How did your parenting come about? When did you first become aware or begin to define yourself as lesbian? Have this definition changed over time? Have you told other people about you being lesbian? How do you manage your motherhood and your lesbianism in your everyday life? How do your mother and lesbian identities fit in other areas such as work, children's school, extended family, friends?

3.7.2. Chosen qualitative method of data collection for Study 2 and 3: Focus Group

Study 2 and 3 were carried out using focus groups as the medium for data collection (see Appendix 3 and 4 containing the focus group schedules used in Study 2 and 3 respectively). Focus groups have been widely used as techniques for gathering qualitative data in psychological research (Gergen, 2010; Wilkinson, 2008). Focus groups might be considered as a convenient research technique to collect data from several people simultaneously, and focus groups capitalise on group interaction as part of the method (Kitzinger, 1995). Instead of asking a question each person in turn and hearing their opinion on the matter, focus groups encourage people to talk to one another. Thus, asking questions to each other, exchanging personal anecdotes, and commenting on each others' experiences and points of view are considered as collecting data through conversation and are part of the focus group aims. Kitzinger has suggested that focus groups are:

"particularly useful for exploring people's knowledge and experiences and can be used to examine not only what people think but how they think and why they think that way" (Kitzinger, 1995, p. 299). Therefore, I used focus groups in Study 2 to explore lesbian and bisexual prospective mothers' expectations of a future motherhood within a conversational and interactional mixed gender context. I used focus group in Study 3 to investigate heterosexual women's understandings of lesbian and gay parenting and their views on same-gender adoption through group discussions.

Study 2 focus group questions were created to explore the desire of parenthood (e.g. Have anyone of you thought about being a mother/father? How do you feel

when you think about bringing up your own child? What do you think about?) and the meanings of same-parenting for participants (e.g. Could you describe what does it mean to be a mother/father for you? How do you feel when you think about being a mother/father? prompt: emotionally). Furthermore, questions exploring the social and political context of same-gender parenting in Chile (e.g. What do think about Chilean people's views about lesbian and gay parenting? How should parenting be negotiated in this context?) and the preferred methods and routes to achieve parenthood were also elaborated (e.g. Have you thought about the pathways to become a mother/father? What do you think about?)

Study 3 focus group schedule was developed by taking examples from the focus group conducted by Clarke (2005) to explore British undergraduate students' views on lesbian and gay families. Focus group questions explored participants' broad understandings of family definitions (e.g. Could you describe what a family is according to your views? What do you think the word 'family' refers to? What makes a good family?) and their views on diverse family forms (e.g. Do you think children need a mother and a father? What difficulties can you imagine a single parent and her/his children facing?). Furthermore, focus group questions specifically examined participants' views on LG parenting (e.g. What difficulties can you imagine a lesbian/gay parent and her/his children facing? Can you imagine any advantages for children growing up in a lesbian/gay family?).

3.7.3. Chosen qualitative method of analysis for Study 1: Narrative Analysis

Narrative inquiry has had a significant impact on many psychological domains over the past decades (Gergen & Gergen, 2006). Narratives can be understood as stories people tell about their own lives which are influenced by cultural

conventions, language usage and historical circumstances (Bruner, 1987).

According to Murray (2008) people define themselves through narratives that bring a sense of order and temporal continuity to events. Major contributions of the narrative paradigm can be observed in areas such as psychotherapy (Gonçalves & Stiles, 2011; Madigan, 2011) and in a growing interest in using narrative methods for conducting qualitative research in psychological areas such as health (Stephens, 2011) sport (Smith & Sparkes, 2009), and culture (Bhatia, 2011; Hammack, 2008).

Hammack (2008) has highlighted how the cultural psychology of sexual identity development can be enriched by employing a narrative approach. From this standpoint, personal narratives are constructed and re-constructed throughout the life course, and are embedded in social interaction and social practice (Hammack, 2008). Relying on a life course perspective, sexual identity development could be understood as process of narrative engagement throughout which individuals actively make sense of their same-gender desire in a particular historical and cultural context (Hammack & Cohler, 2009). I used a narrative approach in Study 1 to analyse how the group of lesbian mothers I interviewed made sense of their same-gender desire through narratives available to them as women and as mothers within a Chilean cultural context.

3.7.3.1. Narrative Analysis Method

Narrative analysis is a procedure that has enabled social scientists to analyse and interpret personal narratives through which people make sense of their lived experiences. Riessman (2008) has made a significant contribution to the use of

narrative in social science from a sociological standpoint. She suggested that the case-centered commitment, and the interactional and contextual focus of narrative analysis distinguish this approach from other category-centered methods such as grounded theory (Riessman, 2010). Stephens and Breheny (2013) have highlighted the suitability of Riessman's propositions to conduct narrative analysis in psychology research. In fact, a number of qualitative studies, mainly within health psychology, have informed the exploration of identities based on Riessman's considerations for conducting narrative analysis (e.g., Gilbert, Ussher & Perz, 2014; Gray, Fergus & Fitch, 2005).

In this sub-section, I present two narrative analysis methods proposed by Riessman (2008) for conducting qualitative research: structural and thematic narrative analyses. The structural narrative analysis (SNA) focuses on narrative content, but with a particular attention on the narrative form, or the way in which stories are told and organised by individuals. In contrast, the primary focus of thematic narrative analysis (TNA) is the narrative content, and it is probably the most common narrative method. Thus, while SNA focuses on 'how' stories are narrated, TNA concentrates on 'what' is narrated. I used these two narrative methods for analysing data in Study 1. Findings of these narrative analyses will be presented separately in Chapter 4.

3.7.3.2. Structural Narrative Analysis

According to Riessman (2008, p 80.) "*structural narrative analysis allow topics and voices to be included in qualitative research that might be missing otherwise*". In particular, my analysis was informed by following Labov's model which has drawn particular attention to the elements of a narrative's structure (Labov, 1972; Riessman, 2008). According to Labov (1972, p. 361), the "skeleton" of a narrative consists of a series ordered clauses which he called "narrative clauses". Namely, Labov (1972) identified six narrative elements which guided the structural analysis I conducted: Abstract (What was this about?), Orientation (Who, when, what, where?), Complicating action (then what happened?), Evaluation (so what?), Result (What finally happened?), and Coda (which returns the listener to present). These six elements are summarised in the Table 1 below. Although, not all narratives contain all six Labovian elements, this method can enable an analysis of how different "storytellers" (participants) use narrative forms to make sense of their experiences and construct their identities (Patterson, 2008; Riessman, 2008).

TABLE 1 Labovian narrative analysis list of structural codes used.

Codes	Elements	Questions (Labov, 1972)
AB	Abstract	What was this about?
OR	Orientation	Who, when, what, where?
CA	Complicating action	then what happened?
EV	Evaluation	so what?
RE	Result	What finally happened
CD	Coda	It returns the listener to the present

3.7.3.3. Thematic Narrative Analysis

The purpose of TNA is to keep *"a story 'intact' by theorising from the case rather than from component themes (categories) across cases"* as other qualitative methods do, such as grounded theory (Riessman, 2008, p. 53). Riessman (2010) further reviewed this case centered commitment of narrative analysis and highlighted that narrative analysis preserves the human agency, the social construction of consciousness, and the particularity of individuals. From this standpoint, narrators can position themselves within their told stories as active/passive beings or can shift among positions. Furthermore, narratives are enacted in an immediate discursive context: they are not simply a record of experience as narrative since they have a purposeful and aim to affect the listener/questioner (Riessman, 2010). In this analysis, I focused on the content of participants' narratives of their experiences as lesbian mothers. More specifically, by conducted a TNA I have tried to be close to what I perceived to be each participant's narrative purpose. Thus, in TNA I focused my examination on the meaning of the issues for them or what participants seemed to be trying to convey within their told stories. In contrast, my SNA was performed by tracking the identity life course pathway by examining participants' narratives' structure.

Riessman (2008) did not provide a step by step model to conduct TNA, instead of, she presented some research examples to illustrate how the analysis of narratives could be conducted. Drawing on Williams' (1984) sociological study, Riessman proposed that TNA could be conducted when working with interview data.

Williams (1984) had performed a TNA in order account for the biographical disruption of rheumatoid arthritis and the process of making sense of the genesis

of disability (Riessman, 2008). In this study, I conducted a TNA to account for participants' process of making sense of their identities as a woman, lesbian and mother, as independent or intersectional social identities, depending on participants' own understanding of their lived experiences and identity self-definition. In order to analyse the intersection of participants' identities I addressed an intersectional approach (I review the intersectionality perspective in Chapter 5).

3.7.4. Chosen qualitative method of analysis for Study 2: Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

Because my purpose was to explore how lesbian and bisexual prospective mothers gave meaning to future motherhood, I used the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) as a data analysis method (Eatough & Smith, 2008; Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009a; Smith & Osborn, 2008). IPA is concerned about how people make sense of their own personal and social world as they experience it. Thus the aim of IPA is to explore the meanings participants give to their own experiences, events, and emotion states (Eatough & Smith, 2008; Smith & Osborn, 2008). IPA connects with two intellectual traditions: phenomenology and hermeneutics. Phenomenology as a philosophical approach is concerned about the experience. However, as the human existence cannot be accessed directly, the study of the individual's life has to be examined through cultural and socio-historical meanings that make sense of it. Thus, IPA is also influenced by hermeneutics, the theory of interpretation, because it attends to the meaning of the experience, the individual's subjective experience and employs the double

hermeneutic of the researcher's interpretation of the participant's interpretation of his/her experiences. As the IPA is concerned with lived experience, it attends to the individual's wishes, desires, feelings, motivations and beliefs systems that create their particular lived experience of events (Eatough & Smith, 2008).

Although IPA's relies on theoretical underpinnings from phenomenology and hermeneutic (Eatough & Smith, 2008), IPA also fits with key premises entailed in Life Course Theory. IPA acknowledges that the meanings participants give to their experiences are constructed within both a social and a personal world (Smith & Osborn, 2008). Indeed, IPA endorses the social constructionist assumptions that individuals construct meanings of their experiences within particular socio-cultural and historical context (Eatough & Smith, 2008). Nevertheless, IPA indicates that the individual's lifeworld viewed merely as a linguistic and discursive construction that does not fully account for the insider "empirical" reality of people's lives experiences and their strong sense of self.

Life Course Theory then provides a useful theoretical framework for using IPA because it allowed me as the researcher to locate participants' lived experience and make sense of this within a historical and cultural context, yet also to consider the role of the human agency (Elder, 1994; 1998). Elder (1994) has suggested that constructionist cognitive theories have informed the premises of Life Course Theory from the point of view of understanding the individual's thoughts and agency in their evolving development. Similarly, Smith and Osborn (2008) have argued that the IPA's commitment with the exploration of sense-making resembles closely the concerns of cognitive psychology. Indeed, Eatough and Smith (2008) have highlighted Bruner's (1991) assertion that the "narrative operates as an

instrument of the mind in the construction of the reality" (p. 6). Thus, IPA's primary concern about how the world is experienced (the personal construction of reality) corresponds with one of the essential premises of the life course theory (human agency).

3.7.4.1. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis and Focus Group Data

An idiographic case study approach is still at the heart of IPA and many IPA studies are conducted with individual interviews with only a few participants (Smith et al., 2009a). However, this research study will address recent developments in conducting IPA with focus groups data (Palmer, Larkin, de Visser, & Fadden, 2010; Tomkins & Eatough, 2010). Although IPA is committed to the detailed exploration of personal experience (its ideographic focus), Smith (2004) suggested that "if the researcher is convinced that participants are able to discuss their own personal experience in sufficient detail and intimacy, despite the presence of the group, then the data may be suitable for IPA" (p. 51). Palmer et al. (2010) later argued that the intersubjective and shared experiences that could emerge in focus group interaction are consistent with the hermeneutic phenomenological approach of IPA. Indeed, Palmer et al., noted that particular insights appeared to arise because of (not in spite of) interactional aspects of the focus group. Therefore, I considered an IPA analysis of focus group data as a way to examine the shared meanings and experiences of prospective lesbian and bisexual mothers regarding their motherhood expectations as they explored, considered, elaborated or refuted the hopes and fears that each expressed about motherhood. Furthermore, IPA seemed particularly fitting for Study 2 on LB

women considering motherhood since the mixed gender LGB focus group data coupled with IPA's emphasis on the double hermeneutic (i.e., my understanding of participants' interpretations) chimed with my own positional perspective on lesbian motherhood as a gay man without children. Hearing other gay men's views helped me to bracket my own interpretations.

3.7.5. Chosen qualitative method of analysis for Study 3: Thematic Analysis

Few qualitative studies have been conducted to explore the attitudes toward lesbian and gay families. Some studies have used individual interviews while others have used focus group as data collection techniques (Clarke, 2001; Hicks, 2006; Pennington & Knight, 2011). In Study 3, data collected by focus groups was analysed by using 'Thematic Analysis' (TA) (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Clarke, 2001; Wilkinson, 2008).

Thematic Analysis is a qualitative method widely used in psychology that aims to identify, analyse and report patterns (themes) within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Clarke, 2001; Clarke & Braun, 2013). The themes in TA can be 'identified' or 'developed' at two levels: semantic or interpretative (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2015). A semantic TA aims to 'identify' explicit or surface meanings of the data without looking for anything beyond what participants have said. An interpretative TA goes beyond the semantic level and intends to 'develop' a theme based on underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualisations (and ideologies) in order to theoretically interpret the data. I adopted an interpretative stance based upon my knowledge and reading of recent and longstanding historical and cultural developments in Chile that were an important contextual ingredient in the Life

Course theoretical perspective used throughout this thesis. However, I adopted an inductive approach because I coded the data without a pre-existing coding frame or analytic preconceptions.

One of the advantages of TA is its flexibility since it allows the researcher to adopt different theoretical positions. Indeed, Braun and Clarke (2006) have suggested that TA is both independent of theory and epistemology, being compatible with both essentialist or social constructionist paradigms within psychology. As I mentioned above, I adopted a social constructionist stance because I considered the construction of knowledge as an interactional process between the participant and the researcher (Gergen, 2010). Thus, by using TA, I recognised my active role in 'developing' themes and selecting those which were of interest to me (i.e., reflecting my own understandings of participants' views and opinions related to LG parenting). I did not try to explore the "objective reality" of participants' thoughts and reflections.

Using TA from a social constructionist approach allows the researcher to examine "the ways in which events, realities, meanings, experiences and so on are the effects of a range of discourses operating within society" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 81). Thus, I located participants' views and opinions related to LG parenting within a (current Chilean) socio-cultural context. Furthermore, in order to inform my analysis with the Life Course Theory, I also considered the generational and historical location of participants' accounts within the context of an ever-changing Chilean society. Thus, the primary purpose of this TA was to explore culturally and historically located discourses surrounding lesbian mothers and prospective LB mothers' lives.

I also conducted the TA from a 'critical qualitative' stance because throughout the entire analytical process I interrogated the meanings expressed in the data and used them to explore the topic of heterosexual women's sexual prejudice (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Unlike the 'experiential qualitative' stance I adopted in study 1 and 2, in which I validated and prioritised participants' meanings and interpretations, in this study, I critically analysed key ideas and set of cultural values that I saw behind participants' views toward same-gender parenting. Furthermore, the focus of the TA was participants' representations of lesbian and gay parenting, rather than the language they used to create a particular version of reality as is the focus of some forms of discourse analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Thus, with a more critical stance I viewed the language used as one the main means by which representation and construction occur and therefore kept a particular word or concept in my analysis when it seemed to capture participants' representations of LG parenting.

Chapter 4: The Life Course Experiences of Lesbian Mothers

In this chapter, I present Study 1 regarding the life course experiences of Chilean lesbian mothers. Firstly, I briefly review the existing research on lesbian identity formation because the first Study 1's purpose was to explore the lesbian identity life course of Chilean lesbian mothers. I provide a general overview of how lesbian women living in ESWE and Latino cultures have developed their sexual identity over their life course. Secondly, I describe the methodological features of Study 1, some of which were also considered in Study 2 and 3. I will detail this in the respective method section of each study in Chapters 5 and 6. Thirdly, I present the findings and discussion derived from the Structural Narrative Analysis with a particular focus on the intersectionality perspective. Finally, I report the findings and discussion derived from the Thematic Narrative Analysis following an intersectional approach.

4.1. Lesbian identity formation

Early models of sexual identity development, often referred to as the coming-out process, characterised the identity formation as a linear process with different stages that lesbians and gay men had to go through over the life course (e.g., Cass, 1979, 1984; Troiden, 1979, 1989). Although early models often relied on the experiences of gay (white) men, these propositions have been considered the touchstone of much of the subsequent work on sexual identity formation and have contextualised the experience of older LGB cohorts (Eliason & Schope, 2007;

McCarn & Fassinger, 1996; Rust, 1993). In spite of the diverse range of propositions in the models listed above, some common aspects of linear stage models can be identified. At the beginning of the identity process individuals start to recognise their first experiences of same-gender attraction without acknowledging a lesbian, bisexual or gay identity, for instance, they might feel different from their peers. Next, individuals achieve a clearer awareness of their sexual orientation only to feel confused because they realise the implications of prejudice. Later, lesbian and gay men are expected to achieve self-acceptance and then to receive affirmation of their non-heterosexual identities, which is associated with the disclosure of their sexual orientation to others (Eliason & Schope, 2007).

A number of early stage models have focused exclusively on the sexual identity formation of lesbian women (Chapman & Brannock, 1987; McCarn & Fassinger, 1996; Rust, 1993; Sophie, 1986). These models have highlighted some particularities in women's sexual identity development that distinguish women's experiences from those of men. Firstly, the experience of emotional commitment appeared to play a more important role for women than for men in terms of beginning to self-question a default pathway to heterosexual identity (Chapman & Brannock, 1987). Secondly, the level of disclosure varied considerably among women (Sophie, 1986). Thirdly, women often came out later than men (Rust, 1993). Fourthly, women did not always see lesbianism as a static identity whereas men were more likely to experience their identity as fixed (Sophie, 1986). Finally, women often moved between lesbian and bisexual identities over time (Rust, 1993). McCarn and Fassinger (1996) also have suggested that unique features of female socialisation, such as a generally more negative view about women's

sexual desire, may profoundly affect the sexual identity formation of lesbian women.

Subsequent developmental research with non-heterosexual women has confirmed some of the particular features of women's sexuality (Baumeister, 2000; Diamond, 2008ab; Garnets & Peplau, 2000; Peplau & Garnets, 2000). Diamond (2008a) has suggested that one of the fundamental features of women's sexual orientation is its fluidity. Women's erotic and affectional feelings might vary among situations, relationships and life stages. The flexibility implies that some women might experience desire for either men or women in particular circumstances throughout their life course, although, others might experience relatively stable patterns of love and desire over their lives. Additionally, emotional factors can be seen to play a more prominent role for women than for men in the development of their same-gender attraction. For women, emotional attractions might develop into physical attractions. For example, in a 10-year longitudinal study with 79 non-heterosexual U.S. college educated women, Diamond (2008b) found that identity change was more common than identity stability. Also, the discrepancy between sexual attraction and sexual behaviour progressively increased as they grew older. In particular, lesbian women's identity transitions to bisexual or unlabeled (reluctance to label their sexual identity) were common over the course of the study. In addition, by the end of the study, 60% of lesbian women had experienced at least one sexual relationship with a man, while 30% had been romantically involved with a man (Diamond, 2008b). Kitzinger and Wilkinson (1995) also note that many of their lesbian sample reported identifying as heterosexual earlier in their lives.

Despite the significant contribution of early frameworks to the understanding of the sexual identity formation of older cohorts of lesbian and gay men, these models have been criticised because they rely on essentialist assumptions (Horowitz & Newcomb, 2002; Rust, 1993). From this standpoint, models seem to suggest that all individuals are expected to mature to achieve a permanent non-heterosexual identity (Rust, 1993). In contrast, from a social constructionist perspective, sexual identity formation is viewed as an ongoing and interactional process between the individual and his social context (Hammack & Cohler, 2009, 2011; Horowitz & Newcomb, 2002). Thus, from a social constructionist standpoint sexual identity formation is understood as an ever changing and dynamic developmental process.

Furthermore, linear models fail to recognise individual variations in sexuality and self identification (Diamond & Savin-Williams, 2000; Rosario, Schrimshaw, & Hunter, 2008; Savin-Williams, 2008), and the impact of cultural (Boxer & Cohler, 1989; Elizur & Ziv, 2001) and historical contexts on the sexual identity development of non-heterosexual identities (Floyd & Bakeman, 2006; Hammack & Cohler, 2011). For example, studies conducted in the United States and Canada have revealed that lesbians and gay men from ethnic minority groups often experience more difficulties than their white counterparts when disclosing their sexual orientation to their family because the traditional cultural values held by family members are threatened by the disclosure and sexual minority identities are perceived as the evidence of the decadence, or bourgeois luxury, enjoyed by the dominant cultural grouping (Dubé & Savin-Williams, 1999; Grov, Bimbi, Nanin, & Parsons, 2006; Merighi & Grimes, 2000; Rosario, Schrimshaw, & Hunter, 2004; Tremble, Schneider, & Appathurai, 1989). Thus, when studying the sexual

identity formation of lesbians and gay men the particular challenges that non-white racial/ethnic groups encounter are important to address.

4.1.1. Latina lesbians in the U.S.

According to Greene (1994), the primacy of traditional gender roles in the socialisation of Latina women (and men) has been a particular feature of Latino culture that has distinguished it from Anglo-American society. As women, Latina lesbians are expected to be ignorant about sexual matters and consequently vigilant and careful of their virginity (Espín, 1987; Greene, 1994). As Zavella (2003) suggested, Latina women were expected to protect their reputation as a "good girl" ("sexual purity") to conform to Catholic conventions. Hence, Latina women who identified as lesbians actively confronted the dominant Catholic culture that denied their sexuality (Greene, 1994, Sardà, Posa & Villalba, 2005).

Similarly, Sardà et al. (2005) suggested that in Latino culture a lesbian identity was seen a transgression of the feminine model. Indeed, in a study with 32 Puerto Rican lesbian migrants in the U.S. Asencio (2009) found that these Latina lesbians felt constrained in trying to conform to the feminine model. These women's families expected for them to get married to a man and have children.

Additionally, any expression of gender non-conformity was seeing by the women's family as being even more problematic as the women grew older. Thus, those who refused to conform to the model of femininity expected found themselves experiencing harassment from their family. Similarly, in a study with 40 Latina lesbian, bisexual, and queer women living in the U.S. Acosta (2010) reported that these women often stated that their mothers were particularly

concerned about sexual morality and heterosexuality. Some mothers also had used religion to protect their daughters from the sin of homosexuality by sending their daughter to talk to the priest.

Although Latino families have been consistently reported as not accepting their daughter's lesbianism, it appears that many families do not necessarily expel their daughter from the family circle (Acosta, 2008, 2010; Asencio, 2009; Espín, 1987). Part of the compromise to remain within the family orbit may involve compartmentalisation of lesbianism by both the woman and her family of origin. For example, Acosta (2008) conducted a study with 15 Latina women living in the U.S. and found that in order to conform to cultural and family values, Latina lesbians often hid their lesbian relationships from their family and compartmentalised their lesbian and family experiences separately resulting in a "fragmentation" of the self. Furthermore, Acosta (2010) described three different interactional strategies used by Latina lesbians, bisexual and queer women with their families. Firstly, their family tried to erase non-heterosexuality by using control and manipulation tactics (erasure of nonconformity). Secondly, women chose not to disclose the real nature of their relationship with another woman in order to minimise rejection possibilities, so their silenced relationship was often viewed only as a friendship (sexual silencing). Thirdly, they disclosed their identity but became complicit with perceived family demands in hiding their sexual orientation later (avoidance after disclosure). Acosta (2010) concluded that familism was a salient aspect in the lives of Latina lesbians, bisexual and queer women as they tried to avoid confrontation and sought to minimise possible rejection by family members in order to preserve familial bonds.

Furthermore, according to Espín (1987), the identity process of Latina lesbians, as with lesbians from other ethnic or non-white racial groups in the U.S., usually embraced rather than shunned "stigmatised" and "negative" identity aspects. Thus feelings of pain, anger and frustration at their own lesbian self might be experienced routinely (Espín, 1987). Asencio (2009) suggested that sexuality was negotiated by Puerto Rican Lesbians as they moved away from family restrictions and achieved a sense of "personal freedom". However, some families saw migration to the U.S. as a cause of daughter's corruption. Acosta (2008) suggested that the migration did not alleviate the "split" of Latina lesbians' experiences as they continued to be relegated in the U.S. by their ethnicity, both in mainstream settings and also within LGBT groups. Indeed, recent research data suggest that Latina lesbians and bisexual women compared with Latina heterosexual women and non-Latina White lesbian and bisexual women in the U.S. were at higher health risk, including rates of mental health problems (Kim, & Fredriksen-Goldsen, 2012).

These bicultural challenges experienced by Latina lesbian living in the U.S. might be different from the experiences of their counterparts remaining in Latino countries. Thus, conducting research with non-migrant Latina women might provide a unique opportunity to explore the intersection of lesbian motherhood within particular cultural understandings of gender, sexuality and family, without confounding Latina lesbian motherhood with particular effects of Anglo-American acculturation. Nonetheless, it should be acknowledged that the process of sexual globalisation (Altman, 2001) including access to the information on the internet (Eliason & Schope, 2007) might play an important role in the lived experienced of lesbian mothers living in Latino countries.

4.1.2. Research aim and research questions

Study 1's first aim was to explore the life course experiences of a group of Chilean lesbian mothers who conceived their children through a previous heterosexual relationship. Given this purpose, the research questions were: How do Chilean lesbian mothers develop their sexual identities over their life courses? How does this process vary for lesbian mothers who have come out of a heterosexual relationship in which they had a child or children? What are the particular ways in which Chilean lesbian mothers negotiate their identities as mothers and lesbians with their family of origin? How do Chilean lesbian mothers negotiate their identities and their children's identity in mainstream society? How do moral/religious discourses of the family, gender and sexuality shape the life course experiences of lesbian mothers in Chile?

4.2. Method

4.2.1. Participants

My initial screening sample in this study was 16 Chilean lesbian mothers from different Chilean cities. Criteria for participants' inclusion were being a Chilean woman aged over 18 years old, currently identifying as lesbian, and being mother of at least one child of any age. As this was an exploratory study due to scarcity of knowledge about Chilean lesbian mothers, no other criteria were imposed in my initial sampling. Participants were aged between 27 and 56 years old, with a mean age of 37 years old. After finishing data collection, the sixteen interviews were audio-analysed and, initially, sixty-three micro-narratives and six macro-

narratives were identified across cases (see Appendix 5). Based on participants' demographics features (see Appendix 6 containing the demographic information sheet) and the more represented micro- and macro-narratives across cases, eight participants were selected for the purpose of systematically exploring self-identity construction and experience within a homogeneous sample.

The selected sample for the current study were eight self-identified lesbian women who had conceived and given birth to their first child within the context of a heterosexual relationship, had been involved in at least one lesbian couple relationship, and were currently parenting children or adolescents offspring who were living or had lived with them. Thus, from the initial screening sample the three lesbian mothers who had conceived and given birth their first child in the context of a lesbian couple relationship, the two lesbian mothers who had adult offspring, and one self-identified lesbian mother who had never been involved in a lesbian relationship were excluded from the analysis. Another two participants were not included in this study's main sample as they recounted very different experiences from the main sample. One of these participants was a lesbian feminist activist who explicitly positioned herself from a political standpoint to contextualise her own experience as a woman dealing with an oppressive patriarchal context. Her analysis informed my analyses but her standpoint distinguished her account from those of the rest of the sample who appeared not to consciously edit their experiences they related but told the personal story of their life as they saw it at the point of interviews. The other participant was a lesbian mother whose experience of lesbian motherhood was contextualised by her experience of exclusion in marginalised contexts since early adolescence. Her experiences of poverty, 'living' on the street and her longstanding history of

alcohol and drug consumption meant that her narrative differed considerably from the study's main sample.

The main sample thus consisted of eight Chilean lesbian mothers aged between 27 to 40 years old, with an average age of 33 years. Four participants had divorced their husbands, and three had ended a cohabitation/relationship with their child's father. The last participant was a married woman who was living in a couple relationship with her husband at the time of her interview but was seemingly considering leaving this relationship.

Seven participants identified as middle social class and one as high social class. The average family income was 1,037,500²⁰ CLP (1,277.56 BRP) per month, ranging from 500,000 to 1,500,000 CLP. All eight participants were in paid occupations. One participant was finishing an MSc degree and four had completed undergraduate studies. Another two participants had begun undergraduate studies but not completed them at the time of the study. The last participant completed secondary education. Thus, the sample as a whole were relatively middle class and educated compared to Chilean national data.

Six participants lived in Santiago. One interviewee lived in Talcahuano and another participant lived in Rancagua. Four participants did not participate in any religious activity or hold religious beliefs, two identified as Catholic, one as Christian, and one reported believing in God but holding no denominational allegiancy. A summary of each participant's details and the pseudonyms given to

²⁰ Chilean minimum wage was 210,000 CLP (258.59 BRP) in 2013 (BCN, 2013), and the average wage was 454,031CLP (559.09 BRP) during the same year (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas [INE], 2013).

participants are listed in Table 2 (see Appendix 7 containing other participants' details).

TABLE 2 Demographic Information for Participants in Study 1

Participant	Age	Education	Marital / Relationship Status	Socio-economic Level	Childhood Religion / Adult Religion
Teresa	36	Secondary school completed	Divorced	Middle	Catholic / No
Camila	29	MSc student	Separated	Middle	Catholic / No
Julia	35	Bachelor	Divorced	High	Catholic / No
Carla	31	Bachelor	Separated	Middle	Catholic / Believe in God
Paula	38	Bachelor	Divorced	Middle	Catholic / No
Jimena	27	Undergraduate student	Separated	Middle	Not reported / Catholic
Marcela	32	Undergraduate student	Married	Middle	Christian / Catholic
Beatriz	40	Bachelor	Divorced	Middle	Catholic / Catholic

All eight participants were biological mothers. The main age for the first pregnancy was 23.5 years, ranging from 22 to 30 years. Participants' children were seven girls and five boys, with a mean age of 10 years old, ranging from 4 to 16 years. All participants' children were enrolled in primary or secondary education as expected according to their chronological ages. Seven participants were living with their children (see Table 3 containing participants' children's details).

TABLE 3 Participants' Children's Details

Participant	Sex	Age	Educational level	Religion	Living with	Since
Teresa	M	13	Primary, 8th year	No	Father	7 months
	M	10	Primary, 4th year	No	Father	7 months
Camila	F	7	Primary, 2nd year	No	Mother	Birth
Julia	F	6	Pre-School	Catholic	Mother	Birth
Carla	F	9	Primary, 3rd year	No	Mother	Birth
Paula	M	16	Secondary, 1st year	Catholic	Mother	Birth
	F	13	Primary, 7th year	Catholic	Mother	Birth
	M	9	Primary, 4th year	Catholic	Mother	Birth
Jimena	M	4	Pre-School	No	Mother	Birth
Marcela	F	10	Primary, 6th year	Catholic	Mother and Father	Birth
Beatriz	F	15	Secondary, 2nd year	Buddhist	Mother	Birth
	F	10	Primary, 5th year	Catholic	Mother	Birth

Only one participant was not living with her children at the time of the study. All participants' children were in contact with their biological father and received support from him whether through shared childrearing, economic support, or sharing time together. Seven participants were involved in lesbian couple relationships at the time of the study. But only three women were cohabitating with their lesbian partner when interviewed.

4.2.2. Recruitment

Recruitment of volunteers for this study was initially conducted through collaboration with two widely known Chilean sexual minority organisations based in Santiago, the 'Movement of Homosexual Integration and Liberation' (MOVILH) and Equal Foundation (Iguales). Both institutions, MOVILH and

Iguales, supported my previous MSc study focused on family influences on Chilean gay men's sexual identity. Invitations for the present study were published at the premises of MOVILH' and Iguales and publicized through each organisation's internet network (see Appendix 8). In addition, a Facebook page was created for the study by the researcher and invitations to participate were periodically published on this page (see Appendix 9). Five participants contacted the researcher via Facebook, and three via email. However, it is not possible to calculate a response rate for the study. All interviewees were volunteers and were not paid for their participation.

4.2.3. Interview procedure

After participants contacted the researcher to express their interest in taking part in the study, they were given further info on the study and the possibility to choose the place for the interview. Participants were given the interview schedule, alongside further info on the study, in order to know how the topic would be addressed and the life story style of the interview in advance. Thus, participants were prepared to tell their story and had probably reflected to a greater or lesser extent on what they were going to say in advance of the interview (see Appendix 10 containing the information sheet provided to participants).

Interviews were conducted between September 2013 and January 2014. Face to face interviews were conducted with each participant in different locations at their choosing. Five interviews were carried out in a cafe, one at MOVILH premises, one at a participant's work place, and one at a participant's home. Of these interviews, seven were conducted in Santiago and one in Talcahuano. All

interviews were conducted in Spanish and each lasted between 40 and 70 minutes. With each participant's consent, interviews were audio recorded (see consent form in Appendix 11).

4.2.4. Interviews transcripts, analyses and Spanish to English translation

Verbatim transcripts were made in Spanish by the researcher. Personal information was disguised in the transcripts and pseudonyms were assigned to ensure confidentiality of participants. Other names mentioned by participants were also changed. Each participant was given access to their own transcript and was given the opportunity to withdraw it or to make any changes or comments over a two months period.

As the interviews were all conducted in Spanish, the whole analysis process was conducted in Spanish except for necessary translation. According to Bruner (1987), narratives rely on the language usage in a particular cultural context. Thus, in order to remain as close as possible to an interpretation of the meaning a participant appeared to intend, analyses need to be conducted in the language in which narratives were told (e.g. Acosta, 2008, 2010; Asencio, 2009; Figueroa & Tasker, 2014). Furthermore, developmental researchers have noted that the Spanish grammatical system has more gendered features than the English grammatical system (Sera, Berge & Pintado, 1994). Thus, analysing participants' narrated understandings around gender attraction in Spanish might be facilitated in the context of participants' culture and local language expressions. Only one interview verbatim transcript and the corresponding analysis were fully translated into English, as well as, themes, subthemes, and verbatim excerpts for the purposes of supervision and of presentation in this thesis.

As suggested by Riessman (2008) a summary of each participant's life story was elaborated in order to address the case centered commitment for conducting narrative analysis – the macro story (see Appendix 12 containing an example of one participant's macro-story). Finally, all participants were invited to check their summaries and the extracts used in this report to illustrate study's findings. No participant disagreed with the inclusion of her summary or extract in this thesis.

4.2.5. Ethical considerations

Interview questions directly explored participants' personal stories of sexual identity and motherhood experiences. Thus, participants' emotional states were observed during the course of the interview in order to stop if necessary. I also planned to provide a back-up preliminary psychological support if required. After the preliminary session, participants could then be referred on to MOVILH's area for psychosocial counselling if necessary. Psychological support was planned to be provided by two female psychologists who were volunteer counsellors during data collection period.

The following steps were considered to address any emergent distress: to appreciate the emotional state of the participants throughout the course of the interview. I gently explored the emotional state of participants if any concern was detected, then offered emotional support during the interview if needed and would switch off the recorder if necessary. I then planned to ask if the participant wished to contact a friend or relative, and/or be referred to a psychologist from MOVILH as previously mentioned. No concern was detected during the course of the interviews.

Each participant was provided with an information sheet containing the study's purpose prior to arranging an interview. Additionally, interviewees signed a consent form after information sheet was orally presented at interview.

Participants' questions were answered over email, telephone and prior to interview commencement. Participants were informed that they could withdraw their consent to participate in the study at any time up to their final consent to include the checked transcript in the data set. Verbatim transcripts were encoded and all participants' information and study's data were password protected and stored in my personal files. Recordings were erased after transcriptions were completed.

This study was approved by the ethics committee of the Department of Psychological Sciences from Birkbeck, University of London. The recruitment process started after ethical approval was received by the end of July of 2013 (The ethical application and certificate of ethical approval can be seen in Appendix 13 and 14 respectively)

4.2.6. Structural Narrative Analysis procedure

Relying on Riessman's (2008) propositions for conducting structural narrative analysis, the following steps were addressed in each transcript analysed: Firstly, immediately after each interview the researcher summarised each participant's life story as he remembered it from the interview. Then post-transcription this summary was re-read and edited to add any major missing features of their overall story (macro-narratives). Following Murray's (2008) suggestions for chronological organisation of narrative accounts, I identified the beginning, the middle, and the end in each participant's narrative summary. I also provided

participants' background information, a description of the interview context, and a final overview of participants' narrative which ended up as the macro-narrative for each participant (see Appendix 12). Secondly, each transcript was re-read several times in order to identify each participant's smaller personal stories that they used to illustrate their personal development and these episodes constituted individual micro-stories (see Appendix 15 and 16 containing an example of participants' micro-stories developed from the transcript and the codes used). Thirdly, narrative clauses were thematically grouped and emerging micro-narratives were constructed. Micro-narratives were later grouped under the overall life story constructed by the researcher (the macro-narratives). Fourthly, Labov's (1972) structural elements were identified after a detailed analysis of each micro-narrative's clauses (see Appendix 17 containing examples of participants' micro-narratives and their corresponding narrative clauses). Additionally, characters and relevant events, emotional expressions, and sexual identity milestones were noted during the same tracking process. Fifthly, micro- and macro-narrative were re-organised into a life course progression (see Appendix 18 containing the list of macro and micro-narrative of one participant). The whole process was conducted individually with each participant's transcript following the idiographic case centered commitment approach as suggested by Riessman (2010). After completing each participant's final Labovian narrative, patterns of narratives across cases were identified.

4.2.7. Participants' Structural Narratives

Participants' narratives generally were effectively structured chronologically providing information on life course progressions. Furthermore, participants provided relevant Labovian information regarding the major narratives they presented within their accounts, they gave a brief overview before launching their story (Abstract), they contextualised various scenarios within their narrated stories (Orientation), they described the interactions they had in terms of particular feature of their social contexts (Complicating action), they informed the listener of their own reflections on their lived experiences (Evaluation), and they were able to narrate either an end to their episode (Resolution) and/or give the current state of the episode within their life stories (Coda). Thus, participants' narratives generally fitted coherently with the six Labovian structural elements (Labov, 1972).

The excerpts of participants' transcripts will be presented following the Labovian structural model. Thus, Labovian elements identified in the participant's narrative will be indicated alongside each quoted extract presented. Each excerpt was part of a particular episode therefore only some Labovian elements are presented in some of the extract below. As Riessman (2008) has suggested, the coding of Labovian elements is an interpretative task. Thus clauses might have different functions depending on the emphasis of the analysis. Hence, a particular clause might function differently as another narrative element presented elsewhere. In the analysis that follows the following abbreviations are also used: Narrative number (N), Episode number (EP), Line number (L), and Labovian element (Lab).

4.2.8. Thematic Narrative Analysis procedure

Based on Riessman's (2008) propositions and Williams's (1984) study, I then performed a TNA by addressing the following steps: 1) I annotated initial comments based on what I saw as the participant's narrative purpose after reading each participant's verbatim transcript several times; 2) I examined the process of making sense each participant's narrative identity noting what purpose a participant was conveying at each point; 3) I analysed each biographical account as a whole, rather than into thematic categories; 4) I isolated and ordered relevant episodes into a chronological biographical account (although this step was previously conducted during SNA); 5) I identified underlying assumptions and analysed where the meanings were rooted. 6) I located myself within the interview context while keeping my interpretative role; 7) I theorised about social, cultural and historical context (see Appendix 19 containing an example of one participant's TNA). Subsequently, moving on to analyse across cases, I identified general patterns across cases and compared underlying assumptions (see Appendix 20 containing an example of TNA across cases). Finally, I developed a thematic understanding of participants lived experiences using my literature review as a resource for interpretation.

Alongside Riessman's (2008) approach, I also used Murray's (2008) propositions on conducting narrative analysis in psychology. Murray noted that the primary function of a narrative is to bring "*order to the disorder*" in order to organise a sequence of events (Murray, 2008, p. 114). Nevertheless, as many events end before narrators begin a story, narrators are aware of the narrative ending and construct the account from there. Furthermore, narrative provides a structure to

create a sense of selfhood and by doing so individuals create a narrative identity. Individuals then can construct a variety of narrative identities, which are connected intimately to different social relationships. The formation of a narrative identity is a dynamic process that occurs in an ever changing personal, social and cultural context (Murray, 2008). Thus, the particular narrative identities displayed by participants reflect the particular constructions created in each interview context at that particular point in time.

Murray (2008) has described an interpretative analysis stage in which participants' narratives are connected with the broader theoretical literature; this which coincides with the last step of Riessman's (2008) based TNA. Finally, I employed Murray's useful rhetorical questions to guide my narrative analysis: 1) What are the participants trying to understand? 2) What are the participants trying to say? 3) Why are the participants trying to say that? (See the analysis of Murray's rhetorical questions in Appendix 19).

4.2.9. Independent Researcher Audit

The findings of this study were audited by three independent researchers. Each auditor received a table containing the themes and subthemes developed during the analyses, and a brief description of each subtheme in order to provide the auditor with information about the scope of each subtheme (see Appendix 21). Each subtheme and its description were presented to the auditor in English and Spanish. Additionally, each auditor received a randomly chosen Spanish transcript of one participant with the whole individual Labovian and Thematic narrative analysis and the correspondent demographic data. Auditors were selected based

on the previous contact of the researcher and a consideration of their previous experience in qualitative research. Auditor 1 was a Mexican man working on women's experiences of pregnancy, Auditor 2 was a Chilean woman working on children's emotional regulation and their parents' parenting capabilities, and Auditor 3 was another Chilean woman working on single motherhood and adoption.

Auditors were asked to read the participant's transcript and analysis and to rate the extent to which the participant's account was represented by each subtheme. The auditor should rate 2 if the subtheme was clearly present in the transcript; 1 if the subtheme was somewhat apparent; or 0 if the subtheme was not present (following Tasker & Delvoe's [2015] procedure). Auditors received an Excel file with the table of themes and subthemes and were asked to complete the audit within the file and return it to the researcher. The three auditors returned the audit as planned. Data was analysed using SPSS and auditors' codes 1 and 2 were re-coded as 2 (present), and 0 as 1 (not present) for statistical analysis (see Appendix 22 containing auditors' and researcher's coding after re-coding). Next, a Kappa index was calculated considering the rating of the three auditors. The Kappa value revealed a significant agreement between the auditors' ratings and my original ratings (Kappa = 0.74, $p < 0.001$).

4.2.10. Participant Audit (Member checking)

All participants were contacted to audit the analysis to ascertain the extent to which themes represented the views of participants as participants perceived them. An online survey was created through Google docs to provide participants

with the themes and subthemes, and a brief description of each subtheme (see Appendix 23). Participants received an email with a link to get access to the online survey. Each subtheme and its description were presented to participants in Spanish. Through the survey, participants were informed about the purpose of the audit. Confidentiality was reassured and no identifiable information was required to protect the anonymity of participants.

Participants were asked to read the themes and subthemes and the associated description. Subsequently, interviewees were asked to rate the extent to which they felt represented by each subtheme considering what they shared during the interview (following the procedure used by Embi et al. [2004]). They were informed that the themes and subthemes represented the overall findings of the study considering the different contributions of all participants. Interviewees were also invited to add any comments they thought of during the audit process. The survey consisted of two sections to separate the findings of the Labovian and Thematic Analysis. As with the researcher audit, participants were requested to rate 2 if the subtheme was clearly present in the transcript; 1 if the subtheme was somewhat apparent; or 0 if the subtheme was not present. Out of the eight original participants, seven completed the audit within the time frame of two months given. Data also was analysed using SPSS and participants' codes were re-coded following independent researcher audit procedure (see Appendix 22 containing participants' coding after re-coding). A Kappa index was calculated considering the rating of the seven participant auditors. The Kappa value revealed a significant agreement between participants' ratings and my original ratings indicating the clarity of the themes (Kappa = 0.32, $p < 0.001$).

4.3. Findings and discussion of Structural Narrative Analysis

In this section, I present the findings and discussion of Study 1 derived from the Structural Narrative Analysis. I start this section by providing an overview of the overall results of the Labovian analyses of the eight participants. Although the structure of participant's narrative will be described using Labov's (1972) model, the main focus of the findings of this study was the sense that participants gave to their own lived life course experiences (Riessman, 2008). Therefore, following the description of the Labovian features of participants' narratives, I present the analysis of participants' narratives across cases. Hence, the findings of this study focused on participants' life course narratives of their coming out process as lesbian women in the context of their motherhood. Finally, I discuss the main findings of the SNA with respect to existing knowledge in the field.

4.3.1. Labovian features present in participants' narratives

My analysis of participants' accounts showed that the "evaluation" was the most represented narrative element with a mean of 58.2% (n=1144) across all eight participants' narrative clauses (n=1964). As Labov (1972) originally found the "evaluation" element was the most prominent element used by participants to indicate the core of their narrated life course experiences. Again following Labov's findings, the second most representative narrative element within my participants accounts was the "complicating action" with a mean of 24.6% (n=483) of all narrative clauses. Although, some clauses might function as a

different narrative elements depending on their positioning within a major narrative or the focus placed within the analysis.

Participants' stories were mainly narrated in first person, describing different situations experienced by them and their own understanding of these situations. In particular, 35.1% (n=689) of participants' narrative clauses referred directly to their lesbian identity life course. Nonetheless, participants also incorporated others people's views and actions within their life course stories, providing an integrated view of their interaction with their own social context. The most frequently presented people mentioned across participants' narrative clauses were: children (13.3%, n=261), (ex) heterosexual partner (12.2%, n=241), (ex) lesbian partner (6.5%, n=128), and other people who participants left unidentified (5.5%, n=108). Others relevant persons within participants' narrative were friends (2.4%, n=47), mother (2.2%, n=43), therapist (1.9%, n=37) and other lesbian women (1.3%, n=26). When grouping different people into the following social contexts that participants interacted with, a significant portion of narratives clauses directly referred to current nuclear family (children and lesbian partners who were identified as being part of the family: 19.6%, n=384), supportive social network (lesbian partners who were not identified as being part of the family, friends and other lesbian women: 10.2%, n=199), and the family of origin (mother, father, siblings and grandparents: 6.6%, n=130). The following contexts were less directly referred to in the transcript accounts: school (2.4%, n=46), work (2.0%, n=40), Church (0.9%, n=17), justice (0.6%, n=12), and health (0.1%, n=2).

4.3.2. Findings

The themes that emerged from the structural narrative analysis reflected the coming out process of this group of Chilean lesbian mothers from their early cognizance of their attraction to women until their adult years. Four main themes emerged from the analysis of participants' narratives will be presented: 1) Conforming with the expected heterosexual path; 2) Experiencing a lesbian desire that needs to be expressed; 3) Conveying maternal sexual identity to the children; and 4) Conveying sexual identity to family of origin, friends and the child(ren)'s father. The first two themes focused on the processes through which participants developed their own understanding of their same-gender desire. The other two themes provided information about participants' coming out process within private and public domains. See Table 4 containing the themes and sub-themes originated from the SNA.

TABLE 4 Themes and subthemes for Study 1: Structural Narrative Analysis

Themes & Sub-themes	
1	Conforming with the expected heterosexual path
1.1	<i>First cognizance of same-gender erotic or emotional feeling</i>
1.2	<i>Lesbianism not expressed or selected as a life course project</i>
1.3	<i>Building a relationship and a family with a man</i>
2	Experiencing a lesbian desire that needs to be expressed
2.1	<i>Rethinking lesbianism as a life course identity project</i>
2.2	<i>Questioning the heterosexual family life project</i>
3	Conveying maternal sexual identity to the children
3.1	<i>Avoiding the disclosure of lesbian relationships to the children</i> Presenting lesbian partner as friend Hiding lesbian affective expressions
3.2	<i>Preparing the child for coming out as a lesbian mother</i> Teaching children to be tolerant (Planning) disclosure to the children

4 Conveying sexual identity to family of origin, friends and the child(ren)'s father

4.1 *Negotiating lesbian identity with family of origin*

4.2 *Negotiating lesbian identity with friends*

4.3 *Negotiating lesbian identity with the child(ren)'s father*

4.3.2.1. Conforming with the expected heterosexual path

The eight participants talked about their experiences of conforming to a heterosexual path during the first period of their sexual identity life course. This theme split into three sub-themes: *First cognizance of same-gender erotic or emotional feelings; Lesbianism not expressed or selected as a life course project; and Building a relationship and a family with a man.*

4.3.2.1.1. First cognizance of same-gender erotic or emotional feelings

Participants' narratives revealed variations in the timing of their sexual identity life course. While five participants (Teresa, Carla, Paula, Marcela and Beatriz) became aware of their attraction to women during their adolescence, the other three interviewees (Camila, Julia and Jimena) did not realise any same-gender attractions until adulthood. Although, these last three participants retrospectively re-examined their previously unclear feelings during their interviews with me. Participants who had been clearly aware of their same-gender attraction during adolescence initially saw their early same-gender feelings as something not coherent with socially expected heterosexuality. Teresa provided an evaluation that illustrated this cognizance in the episode below in which she described an early experience of her attraction to women. As did other participants, Teresa

noted how the "erotic" attraction she felt for women helped her to realise about her same-gender desire:

L	Lab	Clause
374	AB	<i>Teresa: "so, I had a mate that I loved,</i>
375	CA	<i>then I had dreams about her,</i>
376	EV	<i>and I said it's weird because it's my best friend,</i>
377	EV	<i>and there was always a kind of lesbian relationship, but it wasn't lesbian really (...)</i>
379	RE	<i>Then, girls drew my attention a lot,</i>
380	CA	<i>if I watched a TV program, girls drew my attention in a full sense,</i>
381	EV	<i>sexually, since looking at them physically, and other things,</i>
382	CD	<i>then I began to realise"(N1, EP 1, L 374:382)</i>

The three participants who during their adult years retrospectively examined their previously unclear feelings started this process after becoming mothers. The following episode in which Jimena described how she became aware of her lesbian desire revealed how she experienced this process of "reformulation". As in other participants' narratives, Jimena's account revealed how she felt "emotionally" involved with her lesbian partner. Jimena and her lesbian partner had been friends from their childhood. Jimena's partner had revealed her lesbian identity to Jimena before they started their couple relationship:

L	Lab	Clause
9	AB	<i>Jimena: "The thing is that I got pregnant, but during this time I met a girl</i>
10	OR	<i>She was my classmate in the school. She was living in Spain but we were in contact [by Facebook]</i>
11	EV	<i>and I started to realise that I liked her, I felt understood by her [because they talked about the conflicts Jimena had with her male partner],</i>
12	EV	<i>it was really different to being with a man.</i>
13	RE	<i>So, after, I reformulated many things,</i>
14	RE	<i>like in some occasions when I was in the school I liked to look at some girls..." (N2, EP 1, L 9:14)</i>

4.3.2.1.2. Lesbianism not expressed or selected as a life course project

In spite of participants' individual differences in the timing of their sexual identity life course, what characterised the accounts of all participants is that their lesbianism was not expressed or selected as life course plan during the first stage of their sexual identity development. Some participants did not recognise lesbianism as a possibility (Camila, Julia and Jimena) for themselves, while others (Carla, Marcela and Beatriz) tried to hide their feelings because they feared the consequences of being seen as a lesbian. Nevertheless, Teresa and Paula considered lesbianism as an option for themselves during this first developmental period, but they both also opted for a heterosexual path during this time.

The three participants who tried to hide their same-gender feelings had assessed the negative consequences of being seen as a lesbian. Carla described a narrative piece about the time when her mother realised about Carla's lesbianism when Carla was 16 years old. In Carla's evaluation below she decided she did care about her mother's reaction and decided to deny her lesbian feelings:

L	Lab	Clause
166	EV	<i>Carla: "so I said myself 'here I have two options,</i>
167	EV	<i>or I declare openly lesbian and I see the suffering [of Carla's mother], because I saw the suffering of my mom,</i>
168	EV	<i>or I say no, that was a teenage foolishness which will pass',</i>
169	RE	<i>and that was what I did, -CD- we are talking about 15 years ago when this [being lesbian] was even worse" (N1, EP 1, L 166:169)</i>

Similarly, Marcela narrated a short episode about her adolescent years when she decided to take a heterosexual path in trying to avoid any negative social consequences. Marcela had heard her father talking negatively about if he had a

gay or lesbian child, which then led Marcela to hide her early attraction to women: In her repetition of words Marcela also emphasised that she balanced hiding with emphasising being straight to herself and to her father and others:

L	Lab	Clause
8	CA	<i>Marcela: "(...) [Marcela's father] always said that if he had a gay or lesbian child, or black, or whatever, he killed him,</i>
9	RE	<i>then I had to hide, to hide, to hide.</i>
10	CA	<i>So what I did then it was to date men..." (N1, EP 1; L 8:10)</i>
13	RE	<i>"I mean I tried to convince myself I was straight, 'I'm straight, I'm straight, I'm straight',</i>
14	EV	<i>to avoid problems, because my dad was so strict, and also was violent..." (N1, EP 1, L13:14)</i>

The three participants who became aware of their attraction to women after becoming mothers themselves reflected that lesbianism was not an option during their adolescence because the only "normal" sexual orientation they recognised during this period was heterosexuality. Camila described an episode concerning the time when she thought that being lesbian was not a possibility for her. Camila's account below illustrates the confusion she felt during her adolescence. She used figurative and distancing language ("*something is not working as it should*") to explain "the mechanism" of her same-gender unclear feelings:

L	Lab	Clause
43	EV	<i>Camila: "In the minute when you feel</i>
44	EV	<i>that something is not working as it should work</i>
45	EV	<i>or as it works for everyone,</i>
46	EV	<i>one doesn't think 'Ok, what it happens is that I like women and I'm lesbian',</i>
47	EV	<i>that's not possible for a girl of 15 years, 12 years old (Interviewer: Mmm)</i>
48	EV	<i>It's something that you say 'damn, something is not working normally'..." (N1, EP 1, L43:48)</i>
58	RE	<i>"So, in front of this, I didn't continue looking for, I continued living,</i>

59 **CD** *the years passed, I had a partner, a boyfriend, long time” (N1, EP 1, L 58:59)*

Julia's story illustrates how both heterosexual and gender roles expectations of her Chilean social context impacted upon her own understandings of her sexual orientation during a previous stage. Julia previously had defined herself as heterosexual and had not recognised any same-gender feelings before she realised her attraction to women in her adult years:

L	Lab	Clause
40	OR	<i>Julia: "Because I come from a place where all is very sectarian, like a bubble,</i>
41	OR	<i>and everything is perfect and beautiful, where all families are super heterosexual...</i>
44	OR	<i>and the path was with a man, that was the path they showed you.</i>
45	OR	<i>It was like I had never seen a lesbian;</i>
46	OR	<i>gay men yes, but not lesbians. It was like 'that's weird' [being lesbian]</i>
47	CA	<i>and when it happened to me, I turned back to the past and I said 'wow'</i>
48	EV	<i>I hadn't noticed because it hadn't happened before,</i>
49	EV	<i>because everyone had her own times...</i>
50	OR	<i>But I was so... I mean, I liked playing soccer a lot,</i>
51	OR	<i>I very liked masculine things,</i>
52	RE	<i>but I always tried to show my feminine side, because that was you had to show" (N1, EP 1, L 40:52)</i>

4.3.2.1.3. Building a relationship and a family with a man

As participants considered that lesbianism was not an option for them, they all built relationships with men or tried to follow the socially expected heterosexual path. Furthermore, all participants tried to build a family with their child/children's father. While three participants (Camila, Paula and Jimena) had planned their first pregnancy, the other five (Teresa, Julia, Carla, Marcela and

Beatriz) were not expecting to become mothers at those points in their life. Paula, who had planned to become pregnant, narrated an episode that illustrated her desire to be a mother. However, Paula said that she had planned to form a "conventional family" with her male partner in order to avoid being discriminated against. Furthermore, Paula's account, as the narratives of Teresa and Julia also, showed that she initially felt attracted to her children's father:

L	Lab	Clause
168	AB	<i>Paula: "I was interested in making a family,</i>
169	OR	<i>I wanted to be a mom, have children and it would be difficult with a woman,</i>
170	CA	<i>so I met my future husband, and I said 'wow' I felt in love at that time..." (N1, EP 2, L 168:170)</i>
175	OR	<i>"I was 18, then I said actually, between having a relationship with a guy who I'm going to marry,</i>
176	EV	<i>I will have the expected family, the conventional family; or taking the risk in the life and suffering,</i>
177	EV	<i>having problems, because they might not understand me, they will discriminate me, they will reject me;</i>
178	RE	<i>I prefer to marry him, then I married..." (N1, EP 2, L 175:178)</i>

In contrast, Carla's story revealed that having a child was not in her plans at the time when she became pregnant. Carla stated that she then felt depressed because being pregnant meant the interruption of her plans of living alone. As with Carla, other three participants mentioned that they felt depressed at some point in their life either because the pregnancy changed their plans (Marcela) or because they then struggled to maintain the heterosexual family they had built (Camila and Beatriz). These two extracts from Carla's narrative described Carla's attempts to build a family with the child's father after Carla's daughter was born:

L	Lab	Clause
345	EV	<i>Carla: "When I was pregnant I was so bad</i>
346	EV	<i>I think I was depressed at some point</i>

- 347 **EV** *but I took it over by myself, I kept quiet, and I didn't say anyone,*
 348 **EV** *because it was my frustration,*
 349 **EV** *because I thought I wouldn't be able to do my life because I had*
a child" (N1, EP 2, L345:349)
 25 **EV** *Carla: "I've always said it's not something that has been*
planned,
 26 **EV** *but after she was born, my life changed completely,*
 27 **OR** *my daughter was born when I was 23, she was born in 2004,*
 28 **EV** *and thereafter things began to be completely different.*
 29 **EV** *Well, I tried to form a family with my daughter's father, and we*
continued living together for four years..." (N1, EP 2, L 25:29)
-

On the other hand, Beatriz's narrative portrayed how her prior religious beliefs played a crucial role in her decision about having a heterosexual relationship.

Although Beatriz had no planned her pregnancy, she previously had thought about the idea of having a child. Then, when Beatriz met her daughters' father she saw him as the prospective parent for her future children:

L	Lab	Clause
382	EV	<i>Beatriz: "Before, I had had a relationship with this girl, as I told you, I was around fifteen..."</i>
384	EV	<i>I thought I had taken the wrong way, thinking in that maybe God punishes you.</i>
385	EV	<i>Then I decided to take the right course, and he [the daughters' father] had been interested in me during the summer,</i>
386	EV	<i>so I decided to accept, I liked him,</i>
387	EV	<i>I had thought he could be sometime the father of my children, as I said to you,</i>
388	EV	<i>then we started a relationship and we agreed on many things..." (N1, EP 1-2, L 382:388)</i>

4.3.2.2. Experiencing a lesbian desire that needs to be expressed

Participants' narratives revealed a renewed period in their lives during which they started to rethink their attraction to women and simultaneously started to question the relationship they had with their child/children's father. For all participants this

process started during their motherhood. This theme split into two sub-themes: *Rethinking lesbianism as a life course identity project* and *Questioning the heterosexual family life project*.

4.3.2.2.1. Rethinking lesbianism as a life course identity project

During this time participants began to view lesbianism as an available option for them and they affirmed their lesbian identity. The three participants who had previously not identified a clear lesbian desire (Camila, Julia and Jimena) started to recognise their same-gender feelings as a stable attraction during this time. Camila narrated an episode to portray how and when she started to realise that lesbianism was an option for her and how she then finished her relationship with her daughter's father. As her account unfolded, the contribution of media representation to her identity process definitions became clear:

L	Lab	Clause
104	CA	<i>Camila: "and some pictures of lesbian couples were shown on TV [She was watching TV with her daughter],</i>
105	OR	<i>I have never thought in my life that this existed...</i>
106	EV	<i>within my little world at that time it wasn't an option (...)</i>
108	EV	<i>so I stayed like with the doubt, and the doubt began to grow as more, more, and more,</i>
109	EV	<i>and I began to find out more, more and more, until I realised there were many lesbian series [on Internet]... (NI, EP 2, L 104:109)</i>
127	RE	<i>And a world began to be open to me,</i>
128	CA	<i>and at some point I said to my daughter's father, 'You know what, like something...'</i>
129	EV	<i>I didn't know what it was yet, -RE- but I told him 'I need time to be alone...'" (NI, EP 2, L 123:131)</i>

Similarly Julia's account revealed how she became aware of her attractions to women and how she opted for the expression of her lesbianism rather than continuing her heterosexual family project with her male partner. As with other two participants (Teresa and Jimena), Julia implied that having contact with a lesbian woman helped her to realise (or to affirm in the case of Teresa) her attraction to women:

L	Lab	Clause
375	EV	<i>Julia: "I wanted to be married forever with the same husband,</i>
376	EV	<i>and have many children, but it didn't happen.</i>
377	EV	<i>As I said you before, life is only one and you have to live it and enjoy it,</i>
378	EV	<i>and I preferred this than to have something stored in the closet..." (N1, EP 2, L 375: 378)</i>
385	CA	<i>"but it was a woman from there [her social context] that tried to flirt with me,</i>
386	CA	<i>looked at me, caught my attention, and just then I realised,</i>
387	EV	<i>I was interested in her, I knew she was a lesbian,</i>
388	EV	<i>and it interested me more than anything else.</i>
389	EV	<i>Then, I realised, it was a step,</i>
390	EV	<i>like she would have given me her hand to enter the group [of lesbians]..." (N1, EP 2, L 385: 390)</i>

The five participants who previously had realised they had attractions to other women during their adolescent years (Teresa, Carla, Paula, Marcela and Beatriz) began to re-examine their same-gender feelings during early motherhood. During this time these participants became aware of the prominence of their lesbian desires and began to realise that they did not feel attracted to their male partner. The following episode within Teresa's account clearly illustrated the prominence of her erotic attraction to women and how she then began to affirm her lesbian identity:

L	Lab	Clause
328	EV	<i>Teresa: "Before I felt it was normal, that was a normal process, that I could like men,</i>
329	EV	<i>but it was like fool me, because basically I was super clear that I didn't like men at all.</i>
330	EV	<i>Not now, if you ask me, I feel women are the only things that move me, I don't like men at all..." (N2, EP 1, L 328: 330)</i>
354	EV	<i>"I began to realise, it so funny,</i>
355	CA	<i>when I went to the gym and there was a teacher of gymnastics,</i>
356	OR	<i>the teacher of cardio kickboxing who I loved,</i>
357	EV	<i>so I said 'Ok, I love her', but because I really loved her, you know,</i>
358	EV	<i>I mean, it wasn't that I liked her because I found her cute, pretty, no,</i>
359	EV	<i>the girl shook all my hormones, I don't know, but I really loved her..." (N2, EP 1, L 354: 359)</i>
367	EV	<i>"Then I felt I was going into really heavy things,</i>
368	RE	<i>and by 2010, I definitely saw myself as lesbian..." (N2, EP 1, L 367: 368)</i>

Paula's narrative also indicated the prominence of her attraction to women and how she became to affirm her identity. Paula narrated an episode that illustrated how she contrasted her lesbian desire with her previous experiences with men. Paula's account also showed the interactive process during her narrative reconstruction. As other participants' narratives, Paula story telling portrayed how she actively engaged me as listener within the narrative interaction in order to convey the level of intimacy she gave in her account of her experience of sexual desire:

L	Lab	Clause
208	EV	<i>Paula: "Then, I sat down and said 'Ok Paula, you like men,</i>
209	EV	<i>you like women, you like both, what does it happen here?' I was 30,</i>
210	EV	<i>and then I said 'women' and I defined myself for being a lesbian, I don't know if again,</i>
211	EV	<i>but it [being with women] was more erotic for me, and it was what I really wanted..." (N2, EP 1, L 208: 211)</i>
214	EV	<i>"Well, it's so intimate what I'll tell you,</i>

- 215 **EV** *but if we're talking about this we must speak...*
 216 **EV** *to be with a man, I needed concentration..." (N2, EP 1, L 214: 216)*
 218 **EV** *"with a woman is an automatic response,*
 219 **EV** *for example, I can't avoid looking at, with a man no,*
 220 **EV** *so it was when I said, 'ok, that is' and then I started to assume the issue more freely..." (N2, EP 1, L 218: 220)*
-

4.3. 2. 2. 2. Questioning the heterosexual family life project

As it was noted above, during this period of growing awareness participants also noted their lack of attraction to their male partners, which evaporated in those who previously had felt attracted to them. Consequently, participants started to question the heterosexual path they had trodden previously. However, breaking the heterosexual relationship they had built with the father of their child(ren) entailed a significant challenge for them as participants had a joint home and formed a family on it. Finishing the heterosexual relationship would bring the "destruction" of their heterosexual family life project. In spite of these challenges, seven participants had finished their relationship with their child(ren)'s father and had opted for having relationships with women. Carla's narrative piece below showed her various attempts to maintain her heterosexual relationship and the influence of her own mother and father's expectations on her effort to do this:

L	Lab	Clause
39	OR	<i>Carla: "I used to do everything [because her husband did not have a job], but I was persistent and I said 'no, it has to work'</i>
40	EV	<i>because my mom was happy, because my dad was happy,</i>
41	EV	<i>because I had already made the decision to form a family.</i>
42	EV	<i>I think that was very important for them,</i>
43	EV	<i>I mean, my mom always had told me that she was happy to see me get dressed in white to the church,</i>

- 44 **EV** *and I say her 'no mom, that's not gonna happen'*
 45 **EV** *and I tried, I tried to be with him for four years, but no, I couldn't, I couldn't,*
 46 **CA** *and then in 2009 I made the decision, I said to him [her husband] 'you know what, this will not work'..." (N1, EP 3, L 39: 46)*
-

Similarly, Camila's narrative portrayed the challenge she encountered after finishing her relationship with her daughter's father during the time when she was trying to consolidate a relationship with a lesbian partner. As Camila's ex male partner had not accepted the end of their relationship, Camila tried to protect her lesbian relationship and this act encouraged her to affirm her identity as a lesbian mother:

L	Lab	Clause
527	AB	<i>Camila: "and that was the time when I had to define myself,</i>
528	AB	<i>I mean 'bye with this imbecile' in very simple words... 'bye, leave, go'...</i>
529	AB	<i>and to start to defend my relationship with my partner at the time,</i>
530	AB	<i>and start to put him away, because he tried to put himself between us,</i>
531	AB	<i>and he used the child for that, like 'I'm the father' and he tried to be there..." (N4, EP 2, L 527:531)</i>
537	EV	<i>"Then it was my turn to reassure her [lesbian partner]...</i>
538	EV	<i>So I think, I started to define myself as a mom, like as a lesbian mother,</i>
539	EV	<i>staying with her and saying 'this is my partner, here I'll stay'</i>
540	RE	<i>I went to live with Marce [her partner], and I took Fran [her daughter]..." (N4, EP 2, L 537:540)</i>

In contrast to the rest of the participants, Marcela had not finished her heterosexual relationship at the time of my interview with her. Nonetheless, she had been in a lesbian relationship for about five years before I interviewed her. Although, Marcela's lesbian desire was prominent, she still believed that having a father and a mother was the best option for her daughter and that she also could

put up with her relationship with her daughter's father. Interestingly, Marcela's account also illustrated the influence of her mother's and her husband's expectations on her decision, and also her daughter's pressure not to leave and end the parental couple relationship:

L	Lab	Clause
35	EV	<i>Marcela: "I always grew up with the fear of being rejected, so I think a dad with a mom is what my daughter deserves,</i>
36	EV	<i>that's because I repress my happiness.</i>
37	EV	<i>In fact, I'm thinking in telling my partner [lesbian partner] that she should make her life with another woman.</i>
38	EV	<i>I think I should refuse the chance to live my condition and continue as a lot of women who are married with a man who they don't love;</i>
39	EV	<i>women that don't accept it [to be a lesbian], because they are afraid... I don't have the support of my family" (N2, EP 2, L 35-39)</i>
50	CA	<i>"But my mom, I've never had an open conversation with her, because she doesn't want to hear,</i>
51	CA	<i>I tell her 'Mom I want to talk to you' and she says 'Oh, no' and she leaves,</i>
52	EV	<i>but she realises, but she prefers to look like silly, she doesn't want to take it, she doesn't want to assume it, she will not assume it" (N2, EP 3, L 50-52)</i>
68	CA	<i>"Once I told him [her husband] that I wanted to leave home, but I didn't explain why to him</i>
69	CA	<i>so he said 'how are you going to do that to your daughter?, Remember that you suffered when you were a child</i>
70	CA	<i>and I don't think you want the same for her'</i>
71	CA	<i>and my daughter says, 'I don't want that you to leave my dad'</i>
72	EV	<i>So I have too many family pressures, and I can't live my condition openly" (N2, EP 3, 68-72)</i>

4.3.2.3. Conveying maternal sexual identity to the children

As participants recognised their need to express their lesbianism, and began to build lesbian relationships, they started to re-think the way they conveyed their identity to their children. Participants' children had all been born in the context of a heterosexual family therefore participants would need to reformulate many

aspects of themselves and their stories in order to come out to their children. This theme split into two sub-themes: *Avoiding the disclosure of lesbian relationships to the children and Preparing the child for coming out as a lesbian mother.*

4.3.2.3.1. Avoiding the disclosure of lesbian relationships to the children

Participants displayed two main strategies to conceal their same-gender relationships from their children. Firstly, each participant initially avoided disclosing her sexual identity to their children. Then participants in all cases said they had presented their first female partner to their children as a “friend” in order to conceal their sexual identity. Camila narrated an episode that showed how she presented her lesbian partner as friend to her daughter when the three of them started to live together. Her account also illustrated how presenting her partner as friend necessitated Camila avoiding receiving or expressing affection from or to her partner:

L	Lab	Clause
609	CA	<i>Camila: "and at some point, I didn't tell Fran [her daughter] about it [that she was living with a female partner],</i>
610	CA	<i>it was like 'Marce is my friend, we sleep together, but she's my friend...'</i>
611	OR	<i>The flat had two bedrooms, one for the child and one for us, like now,</i>
612	CA	<i>and it wasn't like telling Fran, 'look Francisca, Marce is my partner, I'm a lesbian...' (...)</i>
614	EV	<i>But Fran, a girl that after all was 2 or 3 years younger, some things could understand and others things don't...</i>
615	EV	<i>we weren't affectionate between us in front of Fran, for the same reason, to avoid any conflict..." (N4, EP 2, L 609:615)</i>

Marcela's story also reveals how she had portrayed her partner as friend to her daughter to trying to hide their couple relationship. Nevertheless, Marcela, in particular, was concerned to avoid causing negative effects to her child by disclosing. As it was noted above, Marcela had felt fearful of being rejected since her adolescence because of her lesbianism. Marcela then thought that her child should grow up with a mother and a father as it was socially expected:

L	Lab	Clause
76	CA	<i>Marcela: "She [her daughter] calls my partner aunt... and my partner tries be close to her,</i>
77	CA	<i>but everything is like a friend, I mean, we try to hide our relationship if possible.</i>
78	OR	<i>Until now we have achieved [this], we've been hiding for about five years,</i>
79	EV	<i>and people usually don't realise, because we try to make it look like a friendship..." (N2, EP 2, L 76:79)</i>
94	EV	<i>"I couldn't talk about the issue, because I don't dare, because I'm so scared,</i>
95	EV	<i>because I don't know how to do things right, and causing any harm to my daughter scares me" (N2, EP 2, L 94:95)</i>

Presenting a lesbian partner as a friend to the children is a particular instance in which a reflexive analysis can be done. Relying on my own experience as a gay man, presenting my partner as a friend to my family was a concealing strategy I used during a first period of my coming out process. However, I was not aware that this was a common strategy used by Latino sexual minority people until I reviewed the existing literature concerning Latina lesbian and lesbian mothers. Although the use of this strategy has already been described, I tried to explore how this concealing strategy operates within the family domain, particularly in relation to the disclosure to the children.

Secondly, it follows on from non disclosure that some participants tried to hide their lesbian affective expressions, as was noted above in Camila's narrative. This strategy was closely associated with presenting her lesbian partner as “a friend”. Both strategies contributed to conceal participants' sexual identity from their children. Four participants (Teresa, Camila, Julia and Paula) explicitly reported their attempts to hide lesbian affective expressions. Teresa's narrative extract below clearly described the association between hiding her affective expression for her partner and her undisclosed lesbianism:

L	Lab	Clause
292	EV	<i>Teresa: "and they [her children] know she is like part of my life</i>
293	EV	<i>and they know she is a special person,</i>
294	CA	<i>but they don't know explicitly she is my partner...</i>
295	CA	<i>or they haven't seen me kissing her.</i>
296	CA	<i>Actually, they don't know that I'm a lesbian" (N4, EP 2, L 292: 296)</i>

Julia's account revealed why she opted for hiding her affective expressions for her partner in front of her daughter: Julia had received this advice from the psychiatrist she had seen with her daughter's father. The following narrative passage illustrated how Julia conformed with the concealment of her affective expression for her partner at this point in her life:

L	Lab	Clause
157	EV	<i>Julia: "I found her [the psychiatrist] very prohibitive,</i>
158	EV	<i>like everything was abnormal, like I couldn't hold her hand [partner's hand] or</i>
159	EV	<i>I couldn't make visible any affection with my partner..." (N2, EP 3, L 157: 159)</i>
165	CA	<i>"she told me that we couldn't go to the beach together or</i>
166	CA	<i>that we couldn't sleep together, things like this... -EV- like prohibitive and restrictive" (N2, EP 3, L 165: 166)</i>
170	RE	<i>"I respected what she said anyway, because I went with my daughter's dad,</i>

171 **EV** *and it has been very important to go to an specialist with him, either a psychiatrist or a psychologist...” (N2, EP 3, L 170: 171)*

4.3.2.3.2. Preparing the child for coming out as a lesbian mother

Concealing any presentation of their lesbian identity from children did not only focus on participants' own uncomfortable feelings about their lesbian identity.

Disclosure to their children was a significant goal of participants' sexual identity life courses but importantly participants felt they needed to prepare their children for the disclosure. One preparation strategy was the teaching of tolerance to their children. This strategy was identified in the narratives of six participants (Teresa, Julia, Paula, Jimena, Marcela and Beatriz). Julia portrayed the teaching of tolerance in the micro story of how she talked to her daughter to prepare her for disclosure:

L	Lab	Clause
127	AB	<i>Julia: “No, I don't [she had not disclosed], but I read tales to her every night,</i>
128	CA	<i>and many times I tell tales where the tolerance is essential,</i>
129	EV	<i>tales that show family diversity, the rainbow and things like that,</i>
130	EV	<i>to make her knows that she has to tolerate everyone, an Asian, a black person, an homosexual, anyone...” (N2, EP 3, L 127: 131)</i>
508	EV	<i>“I hope this [the disclosure] be as normal as possible for her [her child], the most natural thing,</i>
509	EV	<i>I want her to grow up with the tolerance impregnated in the blood...” (N2, EP 3, L 508: 509)</i>

Although only three participants (Camila, Paula and Beatriz) had disclosed to their children at the time of their interviews with me, other four interviewees (Teresa, Julia, Carla and Jimena) had already planned to do this later. Only Marcela had not planned disclosing to her daughter because she feared negative consequences, as was previously noted. Carla, who had not disclosed to her

daughter, thought that it was still not necessary to disclose to her child as her daughter understood her mother's couple relationship as a friendship. As with Camila above, Carla had been advised to delay the disclosure to her daughter by a psychologist:

L	Lab	Clause
88	CA	<i>Carla: "and she [the child psychologist] told me it was not a major problem for the child,</i>
89	CA	<i>because she didn't assimilate it and she saw it [Carla's relationship with her lesbian partner] as something very normal [as a friendship]..." (N2, EP 2, L 88:89)</i>
97	CA	<i>"and she said that any doubt had emerged [in her child], so it [her lesbian relationship] hadn't caused any conflict,</i>
98	CA	<i>like thinking we were a couple... But that was not going to last so much" (N2, EP 2, L 97:98)</i>
102	CA	<i>"she said we [Carla and her child] had to talk about that at some point,</i>
103	CA	<i>that if I wanted, we could talk about that during the therapy,</i>
104	CA	<i>but it was not necessary to make any clarification to the child at the moment..." (N2, EP 2, L 102: 104)</i>

Teresa, who also had not disclosed to her children, implied that it was not expected for her children to know that their mother liked women. Teresa presented a narrative piece that portrayed how the disclosure to her children would be a "shock" for them. Nevertheless, later in the interview, Teresa mentioned that she was expecting positive reactions from her children after an initial shocked response when she did indeed disclose:

L	Lab	Clause
266	EV	<i>Teresa: "but in spite of how much I've prepared them [Teresa's two sons],</i>
267	EV	<i>it will still be a shock for them,</i>
268	EV	<i>it's not a minor issue that their mom tells them that she likes women, I think..." (N4, EP 1, L 266: 268)</i>
273	EV	<i>"that's not expected, you know what I mean,</i>
274	EV	<i>if they have seen all their lives their mom with the dad, and now they are told that she likes women,</i>

- 275 **EV** *I think they will feel that it's not as quite normal,*
 276 **EV** *I don't care what other people think, but I think it will be like a punch for them..." (N4, EP 1, L 273: 276)*
 297 **EV** *"But if they knew it [about Teresa's lesbian identity], I think they would see our relationship [Teresa with her partner] as something normal..." (N4, EP 2, L 297)*
-

Similarly, participants who had disclosed to their child(ren) reported how positively their children had reacted to their sexual identity disclosure. Paula narrated an episode about the time when she disclosed to her two sons and her daughter and how she had felt accepted by them. In the same narrative piece, Paula reported how previously she had felt fearful about the possibility of being rejected by her children. In particular, Paula noted that she felt afraid about her daughter's possible reaction, revealing Paula's ideas about gender impacting upon children's reactions her sexual identity disclosure. Paula carefully began her account by saying that she had prepared the children for "at least two years" before she told each of them individually:

L	Lab	Clause
40	EV	<i>Paula: "after many questions, I think at least for about 2 years,</i>
41	EV	<i>thinking about how telling them, and putting myself in the worst scenario of thinking how they would react,</i>
42	EV	<i>because although I had raised them alone, there is a social pressure, there are prejudices that surround us,</i>
43	EV	<i>in the context, in the school, among friends, in the family, etc.</i>
44	EV	<i>you always have the fear of how they [the children] would react.</i>
45	EV	<i>One of those fears, the main was to be rejected by them, that they didn't love me,</i>
46	EV	<i>(...) in particular my daughter, that she didn't want to be touched by me... I was very afraid" (N2, EP 2, L 40:46)</i>
48	CA	<i>"However, when I decided to talk to each of them, I talked with them alone, I mean with each one,</i>
49	EV	<i>their response was amazing [because she felt accepted by them]..." (N3, EP 2, L 48:49)</i>

4.3.2.4. *Conveying sexual identity to family of origin, friends and the child(ren)'s father*

Conveying sexual identity to others was a relevant aspect of participants' coming out narratives. Nevertheless, participants varied in the level of disclosure to others. Despite individual variations in participants' coming out to others, the findings of this study revealed more instances of disclosure to people who were emotionally close to them like their family of origin and their close friends than to people who were distant. Although a minority of participants had disclosed to their child(ren)'s father, the challenges participants encountered during this disclosure process was an important aspect within participants' narrative accounts. This theme split into three related but distinctive sub-themes: *Negotiating lesbian identity with family of origin; Negotiating lesbian identity with friends; and Negotiating lesbian identity with the child(ren)'s father.*

4.3.2.4.1. Negotiating lesbian identity with family of origin

While four participants mentioned that they had disclosed to at least one member of their family of origin, the other four interviewees reported that they had not disclosed to their family of origin at the time of their interview with me. Nevertheless, three of the participants who had not disclosed to their family members reported that their parents realised about participants' attraction to women in other ways.

All participants noted the importance of family support to them or emphasised their desire to be accepted by family members, mainly by their

parents. Disclosing participants reported at least one family member being accepting of the participant's lesbian identity. Julia's main story conveyed how important the acceptance of her mother and grandparents was to her and conveyed how this had improved over time after Julia's initial disclosure. Julia's narrative also revealed her grandparents' beliefs that being a lesbian and would be incompatible with having more children. In contrast, Julia only briefly mentioned the coming out to friends and how she felt supported by them:

L	Lab	Clause
29	AB	<i>Julia: "I came out publically right away,</i>
30	RE	<i>I mean, not publically, I didn't publish anywhere,</i>
31	RE	<i>but I told my family, I told my loved ones,</i>
32	RE	<i>and I told them that they had to accept me how I was..." (N 2, EP 1, L 29:32)</i>
71	EV	<i>Julia: "And I feel supported by the people that love me, my family, my friends..." (N 2, EP 1, L 71)</i>
471	CA	<i>Julia: "In the beginning it was hard for my mom, but after she realised it wasn't an issue for her.</i>
472	EV	<i>It was more difficult for my grandparents.</i>
473	CA	<i>They asked me if I would have more children,</i>
474	EV	<i>and I told them yes, that I could have more children. That it didn't mean that,</i>
475	CD	<i>Then, they relaxed. At the moment, it's not an issue [for Julia's parents and grandparents]..." (N 2, EP 1, L 471:475)</i>

Similarly, Teresa reported that she had disclosed to her family and people who were important to her. In the following quoted episode Teresa described her coming out to significant others. Teresa's narrative illustrated how after disclosure she had felt accepted by her sister and people were important for her:

L	Lab	Clause
122		<i>Interviewer: "And does your family already know?"</i>
123		<i>Teresa: "If they know what? If I'm a lesbian?"</i>
124		<i>Interviewer: "Yes"</i>
125	OR	<i>Teresa: "Yes, people who are important for me know,</i>
126	EV	<i>and the others... I think they suspect" (N 2, EP 2, L 122:126)</i>

- 410 **CA** *“After I talked with my sister 'sister, you know what? I'm lesbian' and she said 'I always knew sister'*
 411 **EV** *So it was like everyone knew, but I didn't,*
 412 **EV** *or I always knew it, I don't know, it was weird.*
 413 **RE** *There wasn't any problem or complexity when I told them, you know, it was so normal” (N 2, EP 2, L 410:413)*
-

In contrast, Camila, who also had disclosed to her family, still did not feel accepted by her mother. Camila had disclosed to her mother after she met her first lesbian partner. Her narrative showed how her mother had accepted neither the lesbian partnership nor Camila's lesbian identity since then. Her account also indicated her mothers' traditional expectations of a married woman's role in the home and her mother close interest (and policing) of this. Camila used the metaphor *"se le cayó el pelo"* (*"her hair fell out"*) to portray how disappointed her mother felt about her lesbianism and Camila's transgression of the conventional gender norms:

L	Lab	Clause
268	AB	<i>Camila: “I told her [her mother] after one month I met Antonia [her first lesbian partner],</i>
269	CA	<i>because my mom realised 'so what's up? Why are you going out a lot, you haven't done that before'</i>
270	CA	<i>'ok, I'm dating someone' I told her,</i>
271	CA	<i>and my mom was so disgusted,</i>
272	CA	<i>but how you are dating someone? you, a woman, a married women, that loves her home' according to her,</i>
273	CA	<i>and I said 'she is a woman'</i>
274	CA	<i>and then her hair fell out (laughs)” (N 2, EP 3, L 268:276)</i>
281	CD	<i>“Long time, I think she is still crying in the corners.</i>
284	CD	<i>Camila: Still nothing, nothing with the issue [her mother had not accepted Camila's lesbian identity]...” (N 2, EP 3, L 284)</i>

Similarly, the three participants whose parents realised about participants' lesbianism in other ways, indicated their parents non acceptance of participants'

attraction to women. These participants described the emotional impact that the acknowledgment of daughter's non-heterosexuality had on their parents and the corresponding emotional impact parents' rejection had on them too. Interestingly, these participants also reported that their mothers did not want to talk about the issue again, perhaps seeking to bury it by pretending that it had not happened. Beatriz's account showed how her mother, who already knew about Beatriz's lesbianism, had avoided talking about the issue again. Beatriz implied in her narrative that she felt criticised by her parents and siblings, particularly by her brother. The following quoted episode also illustrated how Beatriz felt isolated without the acceptance of her family and how this lack of approval impacted Beatriz's self-acceptance process:

L	Lab	Clause
23	CA	<i>Beatriz: "they know it [that Beatriz is lesbian] but they don't talk about it,</i>
24	RE	<i>and everything I do it's seriously questioned,</i>
25	EV	<i>just because I'm a mom and I'm alone, because I'm divorced.</i>
26	CA	<i>Because my mom knows, but she doesn't say that I'm lesbian..." (N 3, EP 2, 23-26)</i>
199	EV	<i>Beatriz: "I had to learn how to love myself, and it's something I've done alone,</i>
200	EV	<i>because everyone... my family judges [because of Beatriz's attraction to women] me, I mean, my parents and my siblings.</i>
201	RE	<i>My brother is angry with me, my brother doesn't talk to me..." (N 3, EP 2, 199-201)</i>

Similarly, Carla, who had denied her lesbianism to her parents when she was questioned as an adolescent, explained that her mother and father did not want to recognise that Carla was lesbian. Carla's account also showed how she conformed with this secrecy. The following narrative piece also showed the interactive process of narrative re-construction within the interview context and the active role I tried to perform as an interviewer:

L	Lab	Clause
192		<i>Interviewer: "So, do you think your parents relate what happened when you were a teen and what is happening now, I mean, you are living with your friend and..."</i>
193	EV	<i>Carla: "Sometimes yes, I think so,</i>
194	RE	<i>because they are welcoming with her [her partner], they love her, they go to my home, we [Carla and her partner] go to their home,</i>
195	EV	<i>we go everywhere together [she and her partner], we go for vacation,</i>
196	EV	<i>and it's very strange for me to think that they don't know,</i>
197	EV	<i>I don't think so, I think they don't want to recognise it...</i>
198		<i>Interviewer: "It's like they don't want to know"</i>
199	EV	<i>Carla: "Yes, it is, exactly, like they don't want to know</i>
200	EV	<i>I won't confirm them if they don't ask me directly</i>
201	EV	<i>because I think if they don't ask me it's because they don't want to know</i>
202	RE	<i>so why should I tell them something they don't want to know" (N 2, EP 3, L 192:202)</i>

Jimena, who also had not disclosed to her parents, was the only participant who reported that her parents did not know about her attraction to women. Notwithstanding, Jimena's narrative revealed her desire of being accepted by her mother and her father. She also talked about her friends being accepting of her and how this was encouraging her to disclose to her parents. In the episode in which she described her secret lesbian relationship with a woman she called her "*friend*". *Jimena* also mentioned the fear she felt about disclosing to her parents, mainly because of her father's traditional values:

L	Lab	Clause
31	EV	<i>Jimena: "My friends have been a building block when I think about telling my parents,</i>
32	CA	<i>I don't know, maybe sometime in the future, I will dare to tell my family,</i>
33	EV	<i>because I want them to be part of my happiness, but sometime I say no..." (N 3, EP 2, L 31:33)</i>

- 41 **CA** *Jimena: "but it's complicated, you know, mainly because of our fathers [her and her partner's father]... not only because of our moms,*
- 42 **EV** *because I know my mom is more accepting, but my dad is more rigid..." (N 3, EP 2, L 41:42)*
- 65 **EV** *Jimena: "I fear, but I don't know why,*
- 66 **EV** *I think they could move away, or I could be marginalised by them..." (N 3, EP 2, L 65:66)*
-

4.3.2.4.2. Negotiating lesbian identity with friends

As was noted above in relation to Jimena's and Julia's accounts, disclosure to and acceptance by friends was a significant aspect within participants' sexual identity life course. Indeed, all participants reported that they felt accepted by at least one friend. Carla's account illustrated how she had openly expressed her lesbianism with her closest friends. She used a Spanish equivalent of Weston's (1991) phrase "family of choice" to describe her friends as *"the family one chooses"* to portray the importance these emotional ties had for her:

L	Lab	Clause
208	OR	<i>Carla: "but, for example, I have a group of friends, the friends of my life.</i>
209	OR	<i>We've been friends for about 20 years, since we were classmates</i>
210	CA	<i>And interestingly we were all gay,</i>
211	CA	<i>at that time nobody knew (...)" (N 2, EP 4, L 208:211)</i>
214	EV	<i>"And they all love my daughter, and my daughter loves them" (N 2, EP 4, L 214)</i>
218	CA	<i>"Actually, I must say that only my family, the closest one [her closest family members], don't know,</i>
219	EV	<i>the family I chose, who are my friends, they all know..." (N 2, EP 4, L 218:219)</i>

4.3.2.4.3. Negotiating lesbian identity with the child(ren)'s father

In contrast to their disclosure to family of origin and friends, only one participant had disclosed to her child's father. Another four participants had been confronted

by their ex-male partners to acknowledge their sexual orientation because their children's fathers previously had begun to think that participants might be attracted to other women. Thus, at the time of the interview, participants were often negotiating how to convey or conceal their sexual identity.

Participants struggled when tried to convey their sexual identity to their child(ren)'s father. In fact, the five participants whose their ex-male partner had acknowledged participants' lesbian identity reported only encountering negative reactions from them. Camila, who had disclosed to her ex-male partner when he realised Camila was meeting her first lesbian partner, described her daughter's father's negative reaction to Camila's attraction to women. Prior to this, Camila's daughter's father had expressed no concerns when Camila met her first female partner but perhaps the persistence of Camila's commitment to dating women emphasised to him that Camila was not going to go back to her previous relationship with him:

L	Lab	Clause
222	AB	<i>Camila: "I had my first partner,</i>
223	AB	<i>and he obviously realised...</i>
224	CD	<i>but he... I think it's a problem for him until today,</i>
225	EV	<i>I think it must have been so strong for him...</i>
226	CA	<i>and he said 'ok, but do not worry, I am so open mind, it doesn't matter for me'. (N2, EP 2, L 222-226)</i>
324	CA	<i>Camila: "The thing is that I told him... he asked me what I was doing in my life,</i>
325	CA	<i>and I told him 'ok, I'm dating a girl' [another partner]</i>
326	EV	<i>and then I remember that if he was been able to turn down the table</i>
327	EV	<i>with the juices we were drinking,</i>
328	EV	<i>I think he would have taken them [the juices] and thrown them like... so angry, with a face of rage,</i>
329	CA	<i>and I told him, 'but what's up with you?... but if you know, you know that I like women, and I will continue to like them',</i>
331	CA	<i>he told me 'no', and he was angry" (N2, EP 2, L 324-331)</i>

Similarly, Julia, who was the only participant who had disclosed to her child's father without first being called upon to do it, also reported her ex-husband's negative reactions to Julia's lesbian identity. As did other two participants, Julia reported that her ex-male partner did not want to acknowledge Julia's attraction for women and had asked her to continue with their couple relationship. The following narrative passage illustrated Julia daughter's father's non-acceptance and denial of Julia's sexual identity. Julia's account revealed how Julia tried to overcome her ex-male partner's pressures by affirming her sexual identity, as Camila and Jimena also did:

Lab	Clause
	<i>Interviewer: "Ok, so how did your ex-husband take it?"</i>
AB	<i>Julia: "My ex-husband, very bad, terrible, terrible, because he didn't get it,</i>
CA	<i>and he told me... He proposed me that we should follow our married life,</i>
CA	<i>as we had so far,</i>
CA	<i>and I told him no, that life was one and I wanted to enjoy it,</i>
CA	<i>and I wasn't willing to live a life of lies,</i>
EV	<i>and thereafter it has not been easy because as we have a daughter...</i>
EV	<i>he's very... he's not homophobic, but he doesn't get it, it's heavy for him,</i>
EV	<i>he doesn't get that I have a lesbian partner, he doesn't understand me" (N2, EP 2, L 72-80)</i>

Three of the four participants, who had not disclosed, had hidden or denied their lesbian identity from their ex-male partner to avoid any possibility of losing the custody of their child(ren). Paula's story showed the fears Paula had about her children taking away because she was a lesbian and how her children's father was able to exercise his will in the Chilean socio-legal context. Paula mentioned the case of Karen Atala to convey how restricted she felt in her local social context:

L	Lab	Clause
22	OR	<i>Paula: “My ex-husband didn’t know about my inclination,</i>
23	CA	<i>and I always feared that he could realise and take away my children.</i>
24	EV	<i>At that time the case of Karen Atala was well known, then I lived with a great fear,</i>
25	RE	<i>so I had to live a double life” (N2, EP 2, L 22-25)</i>

4.3.3. Discussion

The first Study 1’s purpose was to investigate the life course experiences of a group of Chilean lesbian mothers who conceived their children through a previous heterosexual relationship in order to explore how sexual identity and motherhood were negotiated in the private and the public domains. I also examined how religious/moral discourses about family formation and the ideal of motherhood played a significant role in the narrated stories of lesbian mothers in Chile.

Finding from Study 1 revealed that conforming with a heterosexual path at some point of their lives was a common theme among these participants (Herrera, 2009; Jara & Araujo, 2011; Palma et al., 2012), yet variation was evident in the timing of participants' sexual identity life course pathway (Sophie, 1986). While five participants became aware of their same- gender feelings during their adolescent years, three interviewees only realised about their attraction to women during adulthood. Erotic attraction and emotional involvement were important when participants tried to give meaning to or define their emerging same-gender feelings (Chapman & Brannock, 1987; Diamond, 2008a; Peplau & Garnets, 2000). In young adulthood all of them tried to build an heterosexual family together with the child(ren)'s father even when they had realised their own lesbian feelings during adolescence. Later, when participants started to (re)affirm their

lesbian identity they encountered different challenges in dissolving their heterosexual family configuration and conveying their sexual identity to their children and to significant others.

Participants who realised about their attraction to women during adolescent years considered that the attraction they experienced was not consistent with the socially expected heterosexuality they expected or that was expected of them (Asencio, 2009; Jara & Araujo, 2011; Palma et al., 2012). Some of these participants tried to hide or deny their attraction to women to their parents (Acosta, 2010), because they feared the consequences of being seen as lesbian by them. Participants' narratives revealed that participants' parents' expectations of normative heterosexuality, traditional gender roles, and Christian religious values were underlying parental responses. The association of the primacy of traditional gender roles in the socialisation of Latina lesbian women with parents' Christian religious values also had been previously described by research conducted in the U.S. (Acosta, 2008, 2010; Asencio, 2009; Espín, 1987; Greene, 1994), Chile (Herrera, 2007; Jara & Araujo, 2011) and Tuthill's (2016) recent work on Latina lesbian mothers in the U.S.

Furthermore, the three participants who became aware of their same- gender desire during their adult years, reported that they had not identified their attraction for women previously. The only socially accepted pathway they had recognised in their adolescent social context was heterosexuality. In fact, two of these participants also reported that when they were young lesbians appeared to be even less visible than gay men. Later on, the contact participants had with other lesbian women, or with media representations of lesbian women and relationships, helped

them to consider lesbianism as a possibility for themselves. Thus, these three participants retrospectively reinterpreted their previously unclear same-gender feelings after becoming more clearly aware as young adults of their attraction to women (Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 1995).

As all participants in this study selected a heterosexual pathway at some point in their lives, consequently all eight had experienced sexual relationships with men. Nonetheless, five participants reported having felt no sexual attraction towards their male partner and considered that they only had this heterosexual relationship either to conform with social expectations or as a way of exploring whether a heterosexual pathway was possible. Only three participants stated that they had felt physically attracted to men at some point in their lives. Thus, participants in this study reported both exclusive and non-exclusive pattern of same-gender desire during their life course pathway. This finding is both consistent with developmental research that has revealed the fluidity of non-heterosexual women's sexual orientation (Diamond, 2008b), but also suggests that bisexual feelings or identity development was not a pathway that was open to these Chilean lesbian mothers.

All participants became pregnant through having a heterosexual relationship. While three participants had planned their first pregnancy, another three participants were not expecting to become pregnant when they did. Subsequently they all tried to build a family with their male partners. Thus, the arriving of a child represented for most participants the reason to continue the relationship with their male partner. Furthermore, participants' parents' expectations of heterosexual family formation, fostered participants' attempts to form a "conventional" family.

In a study with Puerto Rican lesbian migrants in the U.S., Asencio (2009) also found that lesbian women felt constrained by their family's expectations to get married to a man and have children.

A significant common turning point in participants' life courses was when they started to rethink their attraction to women and began to view lesbianism as an available option for them. This process of realisation occurred when all participants were already mothers and had a heterosexual relationship; therefore they started to question the continuation of their heterosexual family they previously had formed. These findings are similar to those that Lynch (2004) mentioned in her study of lesbian mothers and gay fathers in the U.S. Lynch found that her group of non-heterosexual parents began to question their identity assumptions after having children in the context of a heterosexual relationship and in many cases this was experienced as a sudden revelation.

In the current study as each participant's lesbian desire became more prominent, in her mind, her lack of attraction to a male partner became more visible (or evaporated for those who had previously felt attracted to their male partners). As a result, seven participants finished their relationship with their child(ren)'s father in spite of their own parents' expectations or their male partner's pressure to continue in the heterosexual family configuration. Only one participant had not been able to overcome these social demands but still desired to leave.

Nonetheless, breaking the heterosexual relationship that they had previously built with their child(ren)'s father entailed significant challenges for participants. Those participants whose ex-male partner had acknowledged participants' lesbian identity reported only encountering negative reactions from them. Further,

finishing the heterosexual relationship brought the "destruction" of their heterosexual family life project they had built, and challenged the approval of their parents. Thus, the process of separation took a long time for most participants. Only two participants separated shortly after they acknowledged their lesbianism.

As participants' desire to express their feelings for another woman increased, they (re)initiated relationships with women and (re)affirmed a lesbian identity.

Consequently, they started to re-think how to convey their sexual identity to their children who had only known their mother in the context of a heterosexual family. Participants initially avoided disclosing her sexual identity to their children and then displayed different strategies in conveying their same-gender relationships to their children. Thus, all participants had introduced their first female partner to their children as "my friend" and avoided any demonstration of affection for their partner. This is similar to the findings of Jara and Araujo's (2011) study that revealed that some Chilean lesbian mothers initially presented their lesbian partner as a friend to their children. Research studies conducted with Latina lesbian (Acosta, 2010) and lesbian mothers (Palma et al., 2012) also have revealed that lesbian women often presented their same-gender partner as friends to their families. Further, participants in the current study had taught tolerance to their children to prepare them for the disclosure (Gartrell et al., 2000; Jara & Araujo, 2011; Mitchell, 1998).

Disclosure to children was a significant goal in all participants' life story narratives. While three participants had already disclosed to their children, the other four had planned to do it later (e.g., Lynch & Murray, 2000). Those

participants who had disclosed their sexual identity to their children reported having felt accepted by them (Jara & Araujo, 2011). Some participants had decided to delay disclosure to their children following the advice of a therapist, friends, and their own beliefs regarding non-heterosexual disclosure. These participants understood that as their children were younger they would not be able to understand what a couple relationship meant and so, either it was not necessary to disclose to their children at that time or it was best to wait until their children were older.

Some participants also were concerned about the psychological impact that disclosure might have on their children (Lynch & Murray, 2000). They felt that children would be completely surprised by their disclosure because the children had been brought up by their mother and a father since their earliest memories. Nonetheless, while participants were concerned about the emotional impact and situational reactions, most participants still saw disclosure as something positive. In contrast, one participant had not planned to disclose to her daughter because she was concerned about causing any "harm" to her daughter as a consequence. This participant stated that having a mother and a father present in the home was the best family configuration for her child. I argue that this participant's reflections should be interpreted in the context of her family's strong religious conservatism and prejudices associated with "homosexuality".

Another important goal for participants in this study was disclosing to significant others in their lives: their closest friends and their family of origin, in particular their parents. While all participants had disclosed to friends, and had felt accepted by at least one of them, only half of participants had disclosed to their parents.

Participants' narratives revealed that close friends were important for their own acceptance and lesbian identity affirmation as they mainly encountered positive reactions from their friends. While some participants had received emotional support from heterosexual and non-heterosexual friends, others only had been open or had felt accepted by non-heterosexual gay or lesbian friends. One participant highlighted the importance of the emotional support she received from her non-heterosexual friends by describing them as "*the family one chooses*" or the "family of choice" as it has been widely described by sociological research on lesbian and gay families (Weeks et al., 2001; Weston, 1991).

In contrast with participants' friends' mainly positive reactions, participants' parents reacted in diverse ways. Of those participants who had disclosed the sexual identity to their parents, three had felt in some respects still accepted by their parents (Lynch & Murray, 2000; Santos & Alves de Toledo, 2006; Swainson & Tasker, 2005). The other participant who had disclosed reported that her mother still rejected her lesbianism (Acosta, 2008, 2010; Asencio, 2009; Espín, 1987; Sánchez et al., 2004). Similarly, of those participants who had not disclosed their sexual orientation to their parents, three encountered negative reactions when their parents realised in other ways that their daughter was a lesbian. These participants stated that mothers also were more active in stating their rejection of participants' lesbianism. One of the main strategies used by participants' mothers was to avoid talking about the issue with participants. Participants considered their mothers used this strategy to try to render lesbianism as something that did not exist, did not happen, or make it invisible. Acosta (2008) in her study with Latina lesbians also found that some families tried to erase non-heterosexuality by using control and manipulation tactics. The finding of this study also are consistent with another

of Acosta's (2010) study that showed that Latina lesbian, bisexual and queer women often stated that their mothers were particularly concerned about sexual morality and heterosexuality.

Interestingly, the four participants whose parents had rejected their lesbianism conveyed that the religious values held by their family of origin were associated their family objections (e.g., Acosta, 2010; Jara & Araujo, 2011). The participant who had not disclosed to her parents also wanted to be accepted by her parents but she feared the possibility of being rejected by her parents, particularly by her "conservative" father. Thus, participants' accounts revealed that some of their mothers and fathers had shown rejection or negative attitudes toward lesbianism, and that parents' traditional values were a common feature among these participants' families.

Despite parents' negative attitudes toward their daughter's lesbianism, all participants were still in contact with their family of origin and had received emotional support from their parents in other respects (Jara & Araujo, 2011; Lynch & Murray, 2000; Sánchez et al., 2004). Some participants also continued to receive help for childrearing or economic support from their parents. Even though most participants lived independently from their parents they continued to live close by and their lives were intertwined (Gartrell et al., 2006; Haces, 2006; Lynch & Murray, 2000; Perlesz et al., 2006a; Swainson & Tasker, 2005). For example, Camila's mother who was now silent on her daughter's lesbianism was regularly helping Camila out with childcare. Thus, parents continued to be an importance source of support for participants and this continued support probably weighed heavily in participants continued thinking about how to live as a lesbian

mother. Previous studies with Latina lesbians also had found that Latino families do not necessarily expel their daughter from the family circle (Acosta, 2008, 2010; Asencio, 2009; Espín, 1987) and the finding from Study 1 discussed here give further insight into the complex working of acceptance and support in Latino families.

Following a life course theoretical analysis (Allen & Henderson, 2016), it seemed that participants found different reactions from their social context at different temporal points in their lives. For example, some participants encountered negative reactions from their parents when their parents realised participants' attractions to women, revealing the homophobic context in which they live. Furthermore, other interviewees said that lesbians were less visible than gay men when they were younger, indicating that possibilities to self-identify as a lesbian were less clear for them when they were young women.

Moreover, family pressures were strongly influential in participants' attempts to build a heterosexual family project and a life course pathway. Also, when participants started to identify as lesbian, they felt that it was difficult to disclosure to others because they were afraid of the consequences. Thus, participants initially mainly used concealing/silencing strategies, while other interviewees felt concerned about the psychological impact that disclosure might have on their children's well-being. This suggests that the identities “lesbian” and “mother” interacted to create an oppressive social identity for lesbian mothers (Bowleg, 2008; Warner, 2008). This is particularly relevant if we consider that expectations of rejection, concealment and internalised homophobia have been

considered as social stressors that can impact the mental health of sexual minority people (Meyer, 2003).

Finally, despite participants' first attempts to conceal or hide their sexual orientation, most of them were able to subvert social forces that constrained their possibilities of identifying as a lesbian while being a mother. This indicates the crucial role of human agency (Allen & Henderson, 2016) in enabling participants to choose for their own life course pathway despite oppressive circumstances (Babbit, 2013; Bowleg, 2008). Additionally, it seemed that acceptance from significant others, such friends and their own children, and latterly parental (mainly maternal) support also helped to participants' own self-acceptance and identity affirmation, revealing the powerful weight of the interdependence and liked lives in shaping a lesbian identity pathway.

4.4. Findings and discussion of Thematic Narrative Analysis

In this section, I present the findings and discussion of Study 1 derived from the Thematic Narrative Analysis. The TNA of participants' accounts focused on 'what' participants seemed to be trying to convey within their told stories. In contrast, my previous section on the SNA was performed by tracking participants' lesbian identity life course by examining 'how' they built their life course narratives. Specifically, the analyses focused on the intersection of woman, lesbian, and mother identities in the context of Chilean society. Thus, I informed the TNA with a particular focus on the intersectionality perspective, aiming to investigate how societal oppressions and privileges operate to affect lesbian mothers' lived experiences in a Chilean cultural context. The discussion of the

main findings in relation to existing knowledge in the field will be presented at the end of the chapter.

4.4.1. Findings

The thematic narrative analysis of participants' accounts revealed four themes that reflected the intersection of participants' woman, lesbian and mother social identities. The findings revealed how participants made sense of these social identities through their interactions within their own social contexts. The themes emerged were: 1) Dealing with the traditional model of Chilean womanhood; 2) Other people's negative views about lesbians and lesbian mothers; 3) 'Lesbian' and 'mother' as incompatible identities; and 4) Being careful about disclosing in social settings. See Table 5 containing the themes and sub-themes originated from the TNA.

TABLE 5 Themes and subthemes for Study 1: Thematic Narrative Analysis

Themes & Sub-themes	
1	Dealing with the traditional model of Chilean womanhood
1.1	<i>Women expected to be heterosexual mothers</i>
1.2	<i>Women expected to be subjugated to men</i>
1.3	<i>Women experiencing psychological abuse by men</i>
2	Other people's negative views about lesbians and lesbian mothers
2.1	<i>Homosexuality as abnormality, illness or deviation</i>
2.2	<i>Lesbian mothers seen as inappropriate models for children</i>
3	'Lesbian' and 'mother' as incompatible identities
3.1	<i>Thinking about how to be identified by others as a lesbian while being a mother</i>

3.2 *Thinking about how to include a lesbian partner within the family*

4 **Being careful about disclosing in social settings**

4.1 *Concerns about children being discriminated against*

4.2 *Being careful about where and when to disclose*

Being careful at children contexts

Negotiating sexual identity at the work place

4.4.1.1. Dealing with the traditional model of Chilean womanhood

Participants' narratives revealed how they dealt with some social expectations they encountered regarding the "ideal roles" for women in their social contexts. This theme split into three sub-themes: *Women expected to be heterosexual mothers; Women expected to be subjugated to men; and Women experiencing psychological abuse from men.*

4.4.1.1.1. Women expected to be heterosexual mothers

Participants portrayed the following aspects in their accounts that as a woman they were expected to marry a man (or at least have a male partner) and be a good wife (or a partner), and to have children and be a good mother. Five participants (Teresa, Camila, Carla, Paula, Marcela) narrated accounts of others' expectations of being an heterosexual mother. Camila clearly described these social expectations and stated that she did not fit with this model of womanhood because she did not have a male partner. Like Camila, two other participants (Teresa and Carla) described themselves as not conforming to or defying this ideal of womanhood. Nevertheless, Camila, like others in the sample, thought that she sometimes was viewed seen as a single heterosexual mother by other people and that this obscured their view of her as a lesbian. As a single heterosexual mother

Camila thought that others saw her as courageously managing without a man rather than defying heteropatriarchal ideal of womanhood:

Camila: I think I'm so far from the stereotype of a married woman with children (...) But, of course, I have a daughter, and within this logic... "oh, she is single, but she has a daughter", I mean I can't fit with that stereotype because I don't have a male partner, because no one knows, I mean, my friends know that I have a female partner, but the rest of my colleagues don't, so, for them it's like "oh, she is single [heterosexual] woman with her daughter... she's courageous" (L 1008-1020).

Carla, who also implied that she did not fit with the ideal model of womanhood, reported the contrast between living with her current female partner and living with her ex-male partner. Carla thought that, as women, both she and her lesbian partner, shared some home duties, which contrasted with her previous experience when she was living with her daughter's father:

Carla: Until now you can see the stereotype of woman with children, who has to be at home and be a good housewife, a good mother, and who had to wait for her husband with the dinner served (L 548-549) I don't fit with that model, no, no. I think this is an advantage of two women living together, because you share out the work and you can organise with her in an unbelievable way, so you do everything so quickly. Because, I lived that, I was who cooked, who washed, who did the cleaning, who worked (laughs), I did everything [when Carla lived with her ex-male partner] (L 560-569).

4.4.1.1.2. *Women expected to be subjugated to men*

Participants implied that as women they were expected to be subordinated to men. While Julia thought that some people expected women to be subjugated to men, Jimena and Marcela narrated their own experiences of feeling subjugated to men. Julia, in particular, reported that she felt defiant in relation to this ideal of womanhood:

Julia: I think there are a lot of people who want women to continue being subjugated to men (...) but I also think that there are new generations and they think differently... I don't know, I'm a independent woman (L 322-325) But I don't know, I try to be more revolutionary than subjugated, I don't like to be subjugated, I hate it (laughs) (L 347-348).

Jimena portrayed in her narrative that her son's father tried to subjugate her at some point by removing the economic support that he previously had provided to her. Jimena reported that after she came out to her son's father, he tried to stop her ending their relationship and asked Jimena not to "be a lesbian", otherwise he would not give her money to financial support their son. Indeed, in a previous narrative passage within Jimena's interview, Jimena also stated that she did not want to sue her son's father for child financial support because this might provoke him into disclosing Jimena's sexual orientation to others:

Jimena: I haven't dared to sue him because he could tell someone [about Jimena's sexual orientation], you know.

Interviewer: and why should you sue him?

Jimena: Because the maintenance [child financial support], only for this (L 82-85)

Jimena: I think, women are expected to be subjugated by anyone. It's like there aren't so many expectations for women. I think, because we

can work today, and to maintain a home, we are a little more appreciated, but in general terms we are diminished in everything what we do" (L 335-338) I feel that in everything, in my work and in my daily life. I can see that in the relationship with my ex[male]-partner, he told me "I can maintain you, I can do things for you, but you don't have to be a lesbian, because if you are a lesbian I will leave you" and I told him "ok, but what about you son?" (...) (L 345-352).

Marcela's narrative also revealed how she still felt subjugated to her husband because she thought she would not be able to be economically independent from him. However, Marcela also stated other reasons for continuing living with her husband, such as pressure from her parents and her own fears about causing any "harm" to her daughter. Marcela's account illustrated the life story narratives she had constructed to give meaning to her unwanted situation:

Marcela: I married a man because of my parents' pressures (...) I married a person I wasn't in love with, but whom I loved in some sense, he's like my friend until today.-He doesn't know about my inclination, I've hidden it, and I'm still married and raising my daughter with him, and at the same time I have a female friend who is my partner since some [five] years ago. The thing is that she came out to her family, her parents already know, and through my fault she has to hide it and go to my home as a friend (L 28-33) I know that my husband will throw me out from my home [if Marcela discloses her lesbian identity], and I have no place to go. I haven't had the possibility to study either, for the same reason, because when my mother started to suspect she took away all the support she used to give me (L 40-42).

4.4.1.1.3. Women experiencing psychological abuse from men

Furthermore, five participants (Teresa, Camila, Paula, Jimena and Beatriz) reported they had been subjected to psychological abuse by their ex-male partners at some point of their lives. In two cases (Teresa and Paula), the psychological abuse started before participants had disclosed their sexual orientation to their child(ren)'s father and finished after their divorce. In the other three cases, the psychological abuse started after participants had disclosed their lesbian identity to their child(ren)'s father and was ongoing. Paula reported that she had been subjected to psychological abuse by her ex-husband since they first lived together. Nevertheless, initially Paula thought that her husband had felt stressed or frustrated for other reasons and had vented his anger on her. Thus, Paula initially justified her husband's behaviour and only started to define it as abuse when his violence increased:

Paula: Look, I think there were isolated incidents throughout the marriage. He used to shout at me, but initially you don't realise, I didn't realise it was violence, and there was a period when I justified it, so when he shouted me I thought "poor him, he must be stressed" I don't know, he said some swearwords and I said "perhaps he feels frustrated" (...). So, of course, when I realised that he told me where every time, in the street, in front of other people, I said no, no. But it was so difficult to make the decision, because I think one is also so guilty, when you let things happen (...) I thought "if I leave him, what will I do alone? I won't be able" I remember that during the last time he was so violent, throwing things, breaking things, and I also reacted in the same way, because I tried to defend myself (L 371-390).

Relying on a reflexive stance, it seems that participants' stories of psychological abuse reflect a distinctive aspect of their experience as women living in a

patriarchal society. I was not aware how hegemonic masculinity operates to oppress the experiences of lesbian women living in Chilean society, particularly of those who have become mothers in the context of a previous heterosexual relationship.

4.4.1.2. *Other people's negative views about lesbians and lesbian mothers*

Participants' narratives revealed various evaluations from other people regarding "homosexuality" and lesbian mothers raising children that lesbian mothers perceived. These evaluations mostly were attributed by the participants to people that were close to them like their own family of origin members, their (ex-) male partner and his family, their lesbian partner's family, and other people they came into contact with. Although participants heard these opinions from different people, and opinions were diverse, others' views generally reflected negative views about non-heterosexuality that they had heard at some point of their lives. This theme split into two sub-themes: *Homosexuality as abnormality, illness or deviation; and Lesbian mothers seen as inappropriate models for children.*

4.4.1.2.1. Homosexuality as abnormality, illness or deviation

Five participants (Teresa, Camila, Jimena, Marcela and Beatriz) mentioned that other people had told them that homosexuality was something abnormal, an illness, or a deviation. Jimena reported that her child's father saw non-heterosexuality as a deviation. Her account showed how she felt stigmatised by her ex-male partner after she disclosed to him:

Jimena: So, sometimes when I visited his home he started to say "she likes women" [when other people were there]. I felt uncomfortable being there because I felt rejected by him. So I told him "you have to accept this, otherwise..." and he told me "no, I can't, I can't accept it because I want to be your partner" (...) "and you came with this deviation" and I told him "I can't do anything, these are my feelings", but it was different for him, unfortunately. So that was the end [of their relationship] (L 165-173).

Similarly, Teresa's narrative revealed that her children's father saw Teresa's attraction to women as an abnormality after he had initially had his sexual pride as a man flattered. Teresa reported that when she and her ex-male partner stopped being sexually intimate her ex-male partner felt that he was not competent as man. Later, after Teresa disclosed her attraction to women to her ex-male partner, he told Teresa that she was who was "sick" and that he did not have the "problem":

Teresa: So, when he knew who I was and how I was and everything, I think he felt liberated because we didn't have intimacy, then he felt he had failure in that situation. So he looked at me, and after all what he told me, all what you can imagine, he told me "so, finally I don't have the problem because you are the sick one" So I think he felt less guilty about not being able to function as a man (L 440-448).

Furthermore, Marcela reported her husband's family also saw "homosexuality" as an illness following on from a discussion about the possibility of same- gender couples getting married. Marcela's account also pointed to her husband's mother's particular negativity toward non-heterosexuality, which Marcela attributed to her husband' mother's Catholic religious beliefs. Marcela thought she could be grounded or confined, i.e., imprisoned in heterosexual family domesticity if she said anything:

Marcela: So, when my family talks about this issue ["homosexuality"] they say "those degenerated shouldn't have the right to marry" and I kept quiet (laughing), and they say "no, we don't support that" and my mother-in-law says "what nasty, dirty women" and she doesn't know that she has a woman with the same inclination close to her. So I don't dare to talk to her about the issue [of her being a lesbian], I couldn't, because she is an old woman, who is always in the Catholic Church. No, I mean, no, I can't. It's impossible for me to say "I'm gay, and I live my life, and I will be happy with my [lesbian] partner" (L 431-437) And they [her family] don't know, and if they knew, they would be against my [lesbian] partner, and I would be forced to remain at home to remove the illness, because the homosexuality is an illness for them, they continue thinking those things, they would send me to the psychologist, the psychiatrist, and they would not allow me to go out, I would be in confinement (L 445-448).

4.4.1.2.2. Lesbian mothers seen as inappropriate models for children

Moreover, five participants (Camila, Julia, Paula, Jimena and Beatriz) reported that other people had told them, or a participant's mother in one case, that participants were not appropriate models for their children because they were lesbian. Participants' narratives revealed that other people's concerns were related to the suitability of mothers as adequate models for children's gender, sexuality or morality. Camila reported how her mother and her lesbian's partner's mother disapproved of Camilia and her lesbian partner [Marce] living together with Camila's daughter in their home:

Camila: Marce's family was very reticence about our relationship, because we were lesbians, obviously, but also because we lived with a girl "you both have a head disease, how can you think that? The girl's

father should take her away" That was the comment of Marce's mother "someone should take away that girl, poor girl who sees those filths and aberrations" (...) and that was the comment I received from Marce's family, which doesn't surprise me, because is a comment that I could receive from anyone, from her family, even from my family, because my mom also told me "your daughter's father... José should take away that child from there" (...) like everyone wanted to take away the girl, but nobody did anything (L 965-978)

Jimena's narrative showed her child's father's concerns about the consequences that Jimena's non-heterosexuality might have on his son. Jimena tried to explain to her child's father that her attraction to women would not affect her son's sexual orientation, which she thought would happen irrespective of her sexual identity:

Jimena: He confronted me and told me "how you can like women? you will corrupt our son's mind" and I told him "It doesn't mean that" (...)I know that this come after a particular age, and then he [her son] will know what his sexual orientation will be" (156-160).

Similarly Beatriz reported that her ex-husband was concerned about his daughters' femininity because he thought that Beatriz was not an appropriate model to teach his daughters about gender roles. Beatriz also thought that her ex-husband was concerned about the possibility of his daughters becoming lesbians:

Beatriz: He fears about his daughters becoming lesbians. He had a totally wrong concept of femininity, because for him anyone could teach the older child to make up, to comb herself, but not me, I'm a less adequate person (L 91-94)

Beatriz: I remember once when the girls were younger, yes, because it was five years ago, and Valentina [her older daughter] was six, seven years and she said "my dad told me to ask Yesenia..." the other partner he had at that time "how I had to dress myself, and she told me that I had to dress this way to look more feminine" And I told her

"Valentina, but yes you're feminine" "my dad told me not to ask you, because you don't know" (...) then I said "Valentina, femininity has nothing to do with how you dress" (L 171-177)

Paula reported that some men that she did not know telephoned her mother to tell Paula's mother that it was not appropriate for Paula and her children to go out together with Paula's lesbian partner as they had been doing. The men who called also said that it was Paula's mother's responsibility to sanction and stop Paula from doing this. Although, Paula only reported on unknown people, specifically men, talking about the unsuitability of a lesbian bringing up children and she did not report what her mother said to her. But, the following narrative piece has illustrated how other people's negative views about non-heterosexuality deeply affected participants and effectively policed participants into the closet. Paula used the word *obviously* to emphasise how she responded in a culturally appropriate way to limit her own inclination and the freedom of her partner too:

Paula: "So, once, some men called my mom by phone, and they questioned her, how was it possible that a lesbian walked around with her children and her lesbian partner? That she didn't have to permit it, like some homophobic calls, but it was an isolated case, but, obviously, I opted for not being seen with my [lesbian] partner and being seen only with my children" (L 234-239)

4.4.1.3. 'Lesbian' and 'mother' as incompatible identities

Participants' narratives revealed that participants were very concerned about others' disapproval of lesbianism and lesbian women raising children. All participants had encountered negative views toward non-heterosexuality and

correspondingly had received approval when performing traditional heterosexual motherhood at other points in their lives. Therefore, participants struggled in trying to reconcile different facets of their self-identity as a lesbian and as a mother. This theme split into two sub-themes: *Thinking about how to be identified by others as a lesbian while being a mother and Thinking about how to include a lesbian partner within the family.*

4.4.1.3.1. Thinking about how to be identified by others as a lesbian while being a mother

The main concern that participants seemed to convey in their narratives was not only that they were indeed lesbians, but also at the core of each participant's story was the incompatibility between being seen as a lesbian woman and doing motherhood and raising children. When participants started to (re-) affirm their lesbian identities they considered that it was difficult to be seen as a lesbian because they already had children. Carla portrayed the incompatibility between her mother and lesbian identities in two narrative pieces. In the first passage she described the self-questioning that she did after her divorce through her imaginary rhetorical questions of how she would account for herself to significant family members, her daughter and her family of origin or ultimately to society and before starting her current lesbian relationship:

Carla: "I was alone for a long time, I was alone for about two years, and I always had the idea that I wanted to make a family and have a [lesbian] partner, and be happy and do what you've always wanted to do with someone, but it was complicated by the fact that I had my daughter, so how could I explain her [her daughter], how could I

*explain my family, and how could I explain the society in general.
Yeah, if you already have a daughter, they would say "but how you
are a lesbian if you have a daughter" and my daughter neither was
conceived by artificial insemination, nor by adoption, you know..."
(63-71)*

In the second piece, Carla narrated the disagreement she had with her ex-husband regarding child issues. As in other participants' stories, Carla's account revealed the contrast between her own positive views toward lesbianism and the strong social and societal disapproval of lesbian motherhood. Carla's story of a custody and access dispute over their daughter illustrated how difficult it was for her to be a lesbian and at same time a mother in her social context:

*Carla: And one day I told him [her ex-husband] "look, if you have
problems with the visitation and if you find it unfair the time you're
with the girl, go to court and ask for a legal visit" He said "no,
because the day I go to court it will be for other thing" "well, tell me
what the problem is?, for what?" "no, no, you know what is" [Carla
suspected he knew about her sexual orientation] Then that's when you
say "damn" maybe I might have arguments supporting my point of
view to say that the girl is fine, that she has no problem, that we
[Carla and her lesbian partner] are not a negative influence on her...
But I do not know how the rest of the world would see it... Here [i.e.,
in Chile] it's difficult being a mom and being a lesbian, and being a
lesbian especially, or gay, or whatever one be outside the norm, it's
complicated (L 137-147)*

Following my reflexive analysis, it seems that the mother's role affected participants' coming out as lesbian women in particular ways. Perhaps this is a unique aspect of participants' experience as mothers, because childless lesbian women do not need to negotiate their coming out as a lesbian within a maternal

identity context. Thus, participants' coming out stories as lesbian mothers seem to be different from my own coming out experience as a childless gay man.

4.4.1.3.2. Thinking about how to include a lesbian partner within the family

As Carla's narratives revealed, the inclusion of a lesbian partner within the family context, and not simply living as a single lesbian mother, was desired to some extent by all participants but also was an additional concern. Although only three participants were cohabitating with a lesbian partner at the time of their interview, all participants had thought about the possibility of including a lesbian partner within the family with their child(ren). Six participants (Teresa, Camila, Carla, Paula, Marcela and Beatriz) conveyed in their narratives how difficult it was for them to reconcile having a lesbian couple relationship with being a mother. Paula's story showed how because of this she had decided to keep her lesbian relationship outside the home:

Paula: So, when I decided to define myself, to define my sexuality basically, my children were very young, were 6 years, 4 years and 2 years, then it wasn't so easy to handle the issue (...) I always had to keep them [her past lesbian partners] away from home, a relationship outside home, and my children always grew up with a friend, in quotes, it was Mom's friend for two years, three years, four years (L 18-20/26-29)

Beatriz who had previously cohabitated with a lesbian partner and her two daughters had encountered negative reactions from her daughters' father and her own family of origin. Beatriz had been separated from her daughters after Beatriz's lesbian partner disclosed Beatriz's lesbianism and Beatriz's daughters'

father asked the court for the custody and was granted it. It then took six months for Beatriz to regain the custody of her daughters. After, Beatriz had decided to avoid having another lesbian relationship to avoid being separated from her daughters again. Beatriz's account revealed how difficult it was for her to express her lesbian desire and to establish a new lesbian relationship. Beatriz was effectively pushed into a corner where she had to either do motherhood or have a lesbian relationship – she really struggled to do both. Beatriz also numbered her priorities as being firstly her children. Therefore, any partner would have to also agree to this prioritising of motherhood too:

Beatriz: It's so difficult to be a mom, being a single mom firstly, and being a single mom and a lesbian it is tremendously complicated, that's been my experience, and how even more difficult it is to let a new partner join this group [Beatriz and her two daughters], Because after what happened [losing custody temporarily], I have to be very cautious about who enters, who sees the girls because firstly there are my daughters, and then there is a [lesbian] relationship. So who accepts this, will be welcomed. If not, I also have to assume that I can be alone with this what I have inside me (L 31-37).

4.4.1.4. Being careful about disclosing in social settings

As participants recognised the incompatibility of being seen as lesbian and having children, all of them were careful about disclosing their sexual identity in social settings. This theme split into two sub-themes: *Concerns about children being discriminated against* and *Being careful about where and when to disclose*.

4.4.1.4.1. Concerns about children being discriminated against

A main concern directly expressed by five participants (Teresa, Camila, Julia, Paula and Jimena) was the possibility of their child(ren) being discriminated against as consequence of participants becoming known as a lesbian in the public domain. In spite of this major concern, none of the participants reported that their child(ren) actually had experienced being stigmatised or discriminated against. For instance, Camila mentioned that she was "scared" about her child talking to other people about her mother being a lesbian, and her daughter being "teased" as consequence. Camila had disclosed to her child and talked to her about being discreet. Camila was still concerned about how her daughter would be perceived in various contexts if this information were to be known:

Camila: I was terrified that Fran [Camila's daughter] commented on it with people [about Camila's lesbianism]. I mean, that she'll tell her best friend that her mom has a girlfriend and her best friend, actually, her friend's mom will be shocked, and she [Fran] will not have best friend (laughs) (L 659-661) [When Camila was in a meeting with her daughter's friends' mothers] I asked moms why they didn't register their girls at the girl school... "because in the school on the corner there are only lesbians and girls become lesbians there" that was the answer, ...but that was their comment, and now I wonder myself how Fran is going to interact with that society (L 780-792)

Some participants also were concerned about how the discrimination or stigmatisation might impact on their children's psychological well-being. The three participants who indicated this concern in their narratives stated that they thought that their children were more emotionally vulnerable to discrimination than were adults and that perhaps children had less emotional tools to cope with negative social reactions. Participants therefore felt that as mothers they had

ultimate responsibility for protecting their children and that this concern was paramount. Paula's account illustrated how she previously had tried to hide her lesbianism for this reason:

Paula: ... Regrettably, one has to be careful [about coming out], but because they, the children, basically they don't have enough tools to handle it, because I don't care if someone shouts something or not, but I don't know if children will see it in the same way I see it, then, thinking in that, I tried to hide it... Today no, as they already know. I guess no one has told them something negative about it, but I do not know what will happen when we live together [with her partner] (L 240-247).

4.4.1.4. 2. Being careful about where and when to disclose

Like Paula did, the other seven participants also tried to be careful about where and when they disclosed their sexual orientation because they considered that their children could be subjected to discrimination. Teresa's story revealed how she tried to be careful particularly in her children's contexts, such as with her children's school and her neighbours:

Interviewer: How do you as a lesbian mother handle the situation in other contexts, such as your children's school or with the extended family or other relatives?

Teresa: I'm careful with that [about disclosure in other contexts] because people have bad intentions. So I'm careful about my children's contexts, you know. But I'm careful just to some extent basically, I want to be free, so if children have to know at some point they will know anyway, if I'm careful or I'm not, if I tell them or I don't, if people talk to them or don't, you know. I think it's not easy, I

hope people don't go into issues they don't have to, so I'm not extremely careful. I'm careful with neighbours, you know, with other parents at my children's school, not with everyone, depending on what kind of person someone is, or what kind of relationship I have with those parents (451-469)

As Teresa narrative showed, children's contexts were the main focus when participants thought about concealing their lesbian identity, and their children's school context was the main social setting in which all participants had hidden their sexual orientation to some extent. While five participants had not disclosed their lesbian identity at their children's school, the other three participants had disclosed but only selectively to some of their children's school friends' parents. Interestingly, participants did not mention encountering any negative reactions (either to themselves or to their children) from these other parents. Julia who had disclosed to some parents at her daughter's school reported her own concerns about the possibility of her child being stigmatised at school. Julia's narrative also revealed that being completely open as lesbian in her children's school was not necessarily a goal she wanted to achieve. Julia (and Jimena) used the English word "bullying" to express her concern that her child would be stigmatised as consequence of having a lesbian mother:

Julia: I haven't said anything [to her daughter's teachers], because I think one has no reason to tell anyone how I like the life in the bed, no. At the moment it hasn't been an issue at the school, probably it will be an issue later (...) because she is still a little girl, so as I told you, it hasn't been an issue. I told some parents but because they are my friends basically, whose children are in the same class as my child. Actually, I don't care so much, but children don't have capacity to know what is cruel and what is not, so I still prefer to put it to one side (L 181-191) Children have to be happy and relaxed as any children,

and not being overwhelmed with "bullying" and attacks because their parents, or their mom is gay, that's what I think (L 293-294)

Furthermore, participants' concerns about being seen as a lesbian woman were not only related to the possibility of their children being discriminated against. Participants reported that they thought that they could also be stigmatised as a lesbian in other social settings, such as their work place. Consequently, five participants (Carla, Paula, Jimena, Marcela and Beatriz) had not disclosed in their working world at the time of the interview with me. In contrast, two other participants (Teresa and Julia) were already open at work about being lesbian and another interviewee (Camila) had disclosed to her close friends at work but not generally. Carla, who had not disclosed at work, described why disclosure at work was difficult for her: she would be asked questions and called upon to explain. Carla's account, as Beatriz's narrative above, also illustrated how difficult it was for Carla to be seen as a lesbian in other social settings such as public places and not have her relationship recognised. Notwithstanding that ultimately in the future Carla hoped that society would be such that she did not have to explain:

Carla: This is the first time I talk with an unknown person, really, because when you... for example, at work you never... you can't say it, it's difficult, it's very complicated talking with people "ok, look, I'm mother and I'm lesbian" and I think at some point you will not need to tell other people "look, I'm lesbian and I have a daughter" and to explain why you have a daughter if you are a lesbian. I think that shouldn't happen, it should be something so normal. So, if people see you with your partner people would say "ok, look, she's her partner" and you shouldn't have to explain that someone else, it shouldn't be, but, regrettably, that's what you have to do (L 333-342).

Carla: I would like to walk in the street with my [lesbian] partner and hold her hand, those things that [heterosexual] people usually do, because when I walk in the street with my daughter and my partner, I walk with my daughter and just somebody else. I think the world [i.e., other people] see it in this way. It would be great to walk in the park with my partner and hold her hand, but you can't. (L 324-327).

Only two participants, Teresa and Beatriz, reported some experiences of discrimination at their work place. Teresa's story illustrated how she felt stigmatised at work because she was open about her lesbian identity and how she was worried that she might lose her job:

Interviewer: Have you ever felt discriminated against?

Teresa: Yes, I have, all the time at my work. Indeed, it was like no one knew, or everyone knew, but no one had a clear idea about it. So when they started to know, my bosses, they avoided me, they didn't talk to me, you know, the treatment was degrading. But I didn't feel so affected, I was more concerned about the possibility of losing my job due to this stupidity (L 498-505)

4.4.2. Discussion

This second Study 1's analysis aimed to explore how participants' identities as a woman, a lesbian and a mother interacted with each other and how these social identities affected participants' lived experiences in particular ways in the context of Chilean society. The findings of this study revealed that participants struggled to express their same-gender feelings and to portray themselves as lesbians either within the immediate and extended family context or in others social settings, such as with their child(ren)'s school, in their neighbourhood, or in their working

world (Santos & Alves de Toledo, 2006). The core of participants' narrative was how difficult it was for them to express their lesbian identity openly within each of their own social contexts because they were already raising children (Herrera, 2009; Jara & Araujo, 2011; Palma et al., 2012). Participants implied that being a lesbian in their own social context was incompatible with being a mother because lesbians were not seen as "good models" for rearing children (Herrera, 2009). Participants considered that lesbians were seen as "sick" and "deviant" by some people and consequently as lesbians they could disrupt children's sexual orientation, gender identity or morality formation. Thus, participants conveyed that they did not fit with Chilean ideal of womanhood that fostered women's coupling, motherhood, and family formation in the context of heterosexuality. Participants then withdrew themselves to express their lesbianism in private in order to protect their children from discrimination or stigmatisation and were very careful about where and when to disclose their sexual orientation.

Participants described that in Chilean society women generally were expected to marry a man, to be a "good wife" and to have children within a heterosexual marriage (e.g., Asencio, 2009). Previously, Valdés (2005) described how Chilean women were expected to marry a man and have children to accomplish the ideal of womanhood. Notwithstanding, the present study also revealed that although lesbian women recognised these social expectations in their own social and family contexts, most of them described themselves as either not-conforming to them or defying such as ideal of womanhood. Although all participants had their children in the context of a heterosexual relationship, seven of them had dissolved this union subsequently (e.g., Lynch, 2004; Lynch & Murray, 2000), and six participants were already rearing their children without a male partner. Indeed, all

participants had thought about making a family home with their lesbian partner (e.g., Gartrell et al., 2000), and three of them had done so already. This was despite the ease of passing as a heterosexual single mother in some contexts if no partner was present, a phenomenon also noted by DeMino and Appleby (2007).

Participants also mentioned that the ideal of womanhood implied that a woman has to be a "good mother". Nevertheless, as participants' narratives revealed, in Chilean society motherhood was expected to be achieved within the context of a heterosexual relationship, thus being a lesbian discounted being a good mother since the participant would thus be seen by others as not a good model for her children. As participants accounts showed, they were expected to socialise their children by fostering heterosexuality, gender normativity, and sexual morality, yet by being lesbians participants might have been seen as an inappropriate model for children. Herrera (2009) in her study with Chilean lesbian mothers also found that the women she interviewed defied the imperatives of heterosexual family because of their lesbianism. Furthermore, Herrera found that the lesbian mothers she interviewed conformed with the imperative of being caring and to "sacrificing" themselves for their children as they tended to conceal or deny their lesbian identity to protect their children from discrimination. I also found that participants' major concerns were the possibility of their children being stigmatised or discriminated against and that this fear fostered participants' attempts to hide their sexual orientation. Thus, participants prioritised the wellbeing of their children instead of opting for the possibility of expressing their lesbian identity openly as noted in research studies conducted with U.S. lesbian and gay parents (Lynch & Murray, 2000) and U.K. bisexual mothers (Tasker & Delvoeye, 2015).

Another important aspect of the womanhood ideal that some participants made reference to was the expected subordination of women to men. Although only two participants explicitly mentioned the subordination of women as a social imperative, this demand was reflected in all participants' accounts. For example, some participants stated that an ex-heterosexual partner had tried to subjugate them by threatening them with the removal of economic support for their children or by trying to control participants through psychological and physical violence. As Olavarría (2000) has noted, men in Chile were seen as providers and the authority within the family, while women were expected to be dependent and subordinate to men but carry out the daily roles of nurturance and domesticity. Thus, by being in contact with their child(ren)'s fathers, participants had to deal with the "machismo" of their ex-male partners (Stevens & Pescatello, 1973).

Furthermore, "machismo" in Chilean society implied that women should also be sexually subordinated to men (Cianelli et al., 2008; Valdés, 2005), thus this might explain why participants only encountered negative reactions from their ex-male partners when they disclosed their sexual orientation to them. By disclosing their attraction to women, participants indicated that they were only interested in women and not sexually interested and/or available to their male partners anymore. Participants defied one of main premises of the ideal of Chilean womanhood, the sexual subordination of women to men. This sexual mandate is perceived as dictating that women should be passive, receptive, and sexually pure but available to the legitimate male partner, while men should be active and penetrative (Valdés & Olavarría, 1998). As a counterpart to machismo this set of attitudes has been described as the "marianismo", which characterises the sexuality of Latina (Chant & Craske, 2003) and Chilean women (Cianelli et al.,

2008). Participants defied this imperative by opting for the dissolution of their heterosexual marriage/cohabitation in order to pursue the expression of their lesbian desire.

When most participants dissolved their heterosexual relationships they achieved more independence from their chil(ren)'s father. Interestingly, by being in a paid occupation participants also achieved their economic independence and perhaps even gained the possibility to make their own decisions regarding their life projects. Thus, even if participants had concealed to some extent their lesbian identity within family or outside home, they had sought out ways to express their lesbianism and had the economic building blocks to achieve a lesbian life project. For example, all participants had had lesbian relationships and some of them were already cohabitating with their lesbian partners. Nevertheless, participants experienced this as a difficult goal to accomplish since they had to negotiate how to incorporate a lesbian partner within the context of their existing motherhood. As both Olavarría (2000) and Valdés (2005) previously suggested, changes in Chilean policies to empower women during the dictatorship and the transition to democracy had increased women's economic independence and raised number of women heading their own families. Thus, the achievement of more equal gender relations in Chilean society might have impacted positively on the lives of these groups of lesbian mothers.

Furthermore, participants' narratives revealed that all of them encountered various negative opinions from other people regarding their non-heterosexuality and lesbian mothers raising children (Jara & Araujo, 2011; Santos & Alves de Toledo, 2006). These evaluations usually came from people who were close to them like

their own family of origin members, their (ex-) male partner and his family, their lesbian partner's family, and only occasionally other people participants had been in contact with, such as neighbours or children's school friends' parents.

Nevertheless, it seemed that the family of origin was the main vehicle for societal policing of women's sexual identity (e.g., Acosta, 2010). Evaluations portrayed homosexuality as an abnormality, an illness, or a deviation, revealing the impact of pathologising medical discourses on the cultural understandings of homosexuality, and particularly, lesbian motherhood in the context of Chile society. Thus, although these opinions were not always directed to participants' lesbian identity, as they only had disclosed to some people, these findings revealed that participants had a direct encounter with the sexual prejudice of Chilean society (Barrientos et al., 2010; Gómez & Barrientos, 2012).

Consequently, participants heard that lesbians were not good models for children because they could lead children into homosexuality, inappropriate gender roles, or other morally inadequate behaviours. These concerns about the influences of lesbian mothers' sexual orientation on children's development have been widely described in the research literature on families lead by lesbian women (Clarke, 2001; Golombok, 2007, 2015). Nevertheless, openly expressed views such as "*filth*", "*aberrations*", "*degenerated*", and "*nasty-, dirty women*" revealed the particular conservatism of Chilean society and that lesbian motherhood still represented a strong transgression of sexual and moral values. Considering the conservative Chilean cultural context, it was expected that these lesbian mothers would avoid disclosing their lesbian identity openly in order to protect their children from discrimination. Hence, the incompatibility of being seen as a

lesbian while being a mother was a major challenge Study 1 participants conveyed in their narratives.

An intersectionality perspective may be a useful framework to use to understand the disadvantage Chilean lesbian women encountered when they undertook the journey of expressing their lesbianism in the context of pre-existing motherhood. Thus, if these participants had to deal with sexism (i.e., the "machismo", and "marianismo" they experienced as women in the Chilean society), as non-heterosexual women they also encountered sexual prejudice and the depiction of lesbian women as "sick", "abnormal" and "deviant". Then, as a lesbian mother participants tried to avoid being judged as a morally inadequate model for their children, who they ultimately feared they might lose custody of or access to (e.g., Jara & Araujo, 2011; Herrera, 2009), and this had happened to one participant, Beatriz. However, trying to cope with this heterosexist context was a difficult challenge for participants and they struggled in trying to reconcile different facets of self-identity as both a lesbian and a mother.

In spite of their non-supportive social context, all participants had positive views about themselves as lesbians (Gartrell et al., 1999; Palma et al., 2012) and thought that being a lesbian mother did not necessarily imply that their children would be negatively affected in their sexual or gender development contrary to fears expressed by some Latina (Haces, 2006; Pinheiro, 2006) and Czech (Polášková, 2007) lesbian mothers in previous qualitative studies. Instead, Study 1 participants concerns were all related to the experiences of discrimination their children could encounter as consequence of being seen to have a lesbian mother (Gartrell et al., 1999; Herrera, 2009; Santos & Alves de Toledo, 2006). Furthermore, some

participants thought that discrimination and stigmatisation might impact psychologically their children as they viewed children as more vulnerable to discrimination than were adults. Nevertheless, in spite of this concern, none of the participants in their interview reported that their children actually had experienced any discrimination (e.g., Jara & Araujo, 2011).

Participants were careful about where and how to disclose to others, particularly in children contexts such as with their children school and their neighbours (Jara & Araujo, 2011; Perlesz, et al., 2006b; Santos & Alves de Toledo, 2006). Some participants thought that children could be discriminated against by friends or classmates at school, or that they could be “bullied” by others because of having a lesbian mother. As a result, most participants had not disclosed their lesbian identity to anyone connected with their children's school. Nevertheless, three participants had disclosed to some of their children's school friends' parents. However, interestingly, these participants did not mention encountering any negative reaction from these other parents (e.g., Jara & Araujo, 2011).

Another important social setting in which participants had been careful about disclosing their sexual orientation was their work place (Santos & Alves de Toledo, 2006). Participants thought that they could be stigmatised at work if they identified themselves openly as a lesbian. Thus, five participants had not disclosed at work, while two other interviewees were already open about their lesbian identity, and one respondent had only disclosed to her friends. Only one participant reported some experiences of discrimination at her work place. Thus, the possibility of being discriminated at work and the associated fear of losing their job position as consequence of being seen as a lesbian, threatened

participants sense of security and left them in a vulnerable situation. As has been mentioned previously a participant's economic independence as a mother not partnered to a man was a powerful source of strength upon which to build their lesbian life project.

Chapter 5: The Motherhood Expectations of Lesbian and Bisexual Women

In this chapter, I present Study 2 concerning the motherhood expectations of a younger cohort of Chilean LB women. Firstly, I briefly review the existing research on LG prospective parents, because Study 2's purpose was to examine the desires and intentions of Chilean LB women to achieve motherhood.

Secondly, I describe the methodological features of Study 2, some of which were also considered in Study 3 and will be detailed in the respective method section in Chapter 6. I also detail which parts of the procedures or research methods used were similar to those employed in Study 1. Thirdly, I present the findings of the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis based on participants' accounts provided during mixed gender focus group conversations. Finally, I discuss the main findings from the IPA with respect to existing knowledge in the field.

5.1. Research on LG prospective parents

Research with lesbian mothers has provided evidence that probably the majority of contemporary lesbian mothers have conceived their children through a previous heterosexual relationship (Gates, 2011; 2013; Tasker 2013). However, an increasing number of lesbian women are opting for raising their own children in the context of a same-gender parented family perhaps due to the proliferation of new reproductive technologies, the access to adoption, and the growing acceptance of LGBT parenting (Bos, 2013; Gates, 2011; Goldberg et al., 2014).

Previous studies conducted in Chile revealed that the most common arrangement among lesbian-led families seemed to be the step-parenting (Herrera, 2009; Jara & Araujo, 2011). Similarly, the study with lesbian mothers that I presented in the preceding chapters in this thesis showed that the most discernable path for lesbian motherhood in Chile was from a previous heterosexual relationship. Nevertheless, a historical transition might be identifiable (see Libson, 2013). Thus, investigating motherhood desire in younger generations of Chilean LB women might provide new insights into how contemporary young LB women are thinking about having their own children within a changing Chilean society.

Research on prospective lesbian mothers is still scarce, and most research has been carried out in ESWE countries. Thus, lesbian women's desires and intentions to be mothers beyond Western-White European conceptualisations remain relatively unknown. Against the stereotype that lesbian women are not interested in being mothers, research in the U.S. has demonstrated that many lesbian women want to raise their own children (Gates, Badgett, Macomber, & Chambers, 2007; D'Augelli, Rendina, Sinclair, & Grossman, 2007). A study using data collected during 2002 NSFG survey compared the desire to have children of lesbian, gay, bisexual and heterosexual people (Gates et al., 2007). Concerning women participants without children, the study revealed that 37.4% of lesbians and 75.4% of bisexual women reported that they wanted to have children, compared with 83.7% of heterosexual women. In contrast, the same dataset showed that 46% of lesbian and bisexual women have considered adopting children, compared with only 32% of heterosexual women. Another study conducted in the U.S. with 133 urban lesbian and gay youths aged from 16 to 22 years found that only 55% of lesbian women reported that they might raise children compared with the 67% of

gay men (D'Augelli et al., 2007). Of those lesbian women who thought they might raise children, 54% expected to raise their own biological children, and 32% expected to adopt.

Research has not yet provided an explanation about why lesbian women are less likely than other women to express a desire to have children (Gates et al., 2007; Riskind & Patterson, 2010). Nevertheless, prior research studies conducted with lesbian and heterosexual mothers have revealed that both groups considered motherhood as an important part of personal development (Lewin, 1993), and both groups emphasised happiness and affection as motives for parenthood (Siegenthaler & Bigner, 2000). Similarly, another study conducted in the U.S. with data collected during the 2002 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG) revealed that lesbian and heterosexual women who reported a desire to have children did not differ in their intentions to achieve motherhood and the value they assigned to parenthood (Riskind & Patterson, 2010). Thus, the existing evidence suggests that lesbian and heterosexual women's motives to have children are similar in many ways.

Using a life course perspective framework I also sought to bring both cultural context and an intergenerational perspective on prospective lesbian motherhood – both of which had been lacking in the previous research in the U.S. that focused only on individual motivations. In Chile, lesbian couples might not necessarily be denied the access to reproductive technologies or adoption if they present themselves as a lesbian woman. If a lesbian woman is planning to have a child together with her partner, only one member of the couple will be recognised as the legal mother of the future child. Additionally, reproductive technologies are

highly expensive in the private sector in Chile (Matus, 2015), and the National Health Fund only subsidises a small group of heterosexual couples that have fertility problems (Fondo Nacional de Salud, 2016). Thus, the access of lesbian couples to reproductive technologies and adoption is still constrained in Chile. Consequently, this study also examined how young lesbian women coped with these legal restrictions when building their own family project. The following research questions were investigated: How do Chilean lesbian and bisexual women give meaning to a future motherhood? What are the challenges they think they will encounter as a future mother? How do family of origin support, or hinder, young LB women's motherhood projects in culturally related ways? How do moral/religious discourses of the family, gender and sexuality shape motherhood expectations of young LB women in Chile?

5.2. Method

5.2.1. Participants

Interviewees in this study were 23 young lesbian, gay and bisexual individuals from three different Chilean cities (Santiago, Valparaiso and Temuco). Out of the 23 participants, 10 were women (eight identified as lesbian and two as bisexual), and 13 were men (eight identified as homosexual, three as gay, and three did not report a sexual identity label). Criteria for participants' inclusion were being a Chilean woman or man who identified as lesbian, gay or bisexual, and who had no children. Participants were aged between 18 and 30 years old, with a mean age of 24 years old. As this was an exploratory study about the views of Chilean young

lesbian, gay and bisexual individuals on same-gender parenting, no other criteria were required in initial sampling.

Six focus groups were conducted during data collection. Out of the six focus groups, three consisted of men and women participants, while the other three consisted of either women (one group) or men (two groups) participants. In order to provide a comparative perspective on the phenomenon of lesbian motherhood congruent with the purpose of Study 1, the current study focused on women's views of lesbian motherhood. Furthermore, only transcripts from the three mixed gender focus groups were analysed in order to contrast the views of women as they presented them in a mixed gender group. Considering LB women's views in a mixed gender setting enabled a closer approximation to how these women would present their views in society. Some of the views in the mixed gender groups were echoed in the women only group, however, this group was more supportive and so less justification and or explanation of positions were given. Out of the seven women who took part in the three mixed gender focus groups selected, six reported a desire to be a mother. Thus, in order to work with a homogeneous sample, Study 2 focused on the motherhood expectations of six childless LB women. The female participant who did not report desiring motherhood mostly was excluded from the general analysis. Although, one transcript extract from this participant was included in this chapter to illustrate the significant meanings she gave to motherhood.

Thus, the sample selected for concentrated analysis in the current study consisted of five lesbians and one bisexual woman. Both, lesbian and bisexual participants, were considered as part of a homogeneous sample as the bisexual participant did

not report any distinctive aspect that differentiated her from lesbian participants regarding her motherhood intentions. Female participants who reported desiring motherhood were then identified as "prospective LB mothers" in order to clarify their particular contribution to the analysis. The transcript extracts presented in the findings section contains some quoted material from men to represent the focus group interaction and to contextualise and counterpoint the analysis of prospective LB mothers' experiences as they presented them in a mixed gender context.

To summarise, the final sample consisted of six LB prospective women aged between 22 to 30 years old, with an average age of 25 years. Five participants stated that were single, and one had divorced her husband. Three participants lived in the city of Santiago and three in the city of Temuco. Four participants had completed their undergraduate studies, and two were undergraduate students at the time of the study. All six participants identified as middle-class, non-religious, and able-bodied women. A summary of each participant's details and the pseudonyms given to participants are listed in Table 6.

5.2.2. Recruitment

Recruitment was carried out through the collaboration of MOVILH and Iguales, the two sexual minority organisations that supported the recruitment for Study 1. Participants were contacted by invitations published on MOVILH's premises, and on the official website, Facebook page and the offices of Iguales (see Appendix 24 containing invitation for participants). Additionally, invitations were posted on the Facebook page created for Study 1 to advertise the study and research

purposes. Recruitment also was carried out through snowballing techniques by the participants who had been initially reached through earlier invitations.

Interviewees were volunteers and were not paid for their participation.

TABLE 6 Demographic Information for Participants in Study 2

Focus Group	Participant	Age	Sexual Identity	City of residence	Marital Status	Educational Level
1	Andrea	24	Lesbian	Santiago	Single	Undergraduate Student
2	Antonia	24	Lesbian	Santiago	Single	Bachelor
2	Carola	23	Lesbian	Santiago	Single	Bachelor
3	Carmen	30	Lesbian	Temuco	Divorced	Bachelor
3	Soraya	26	Bisexual	Temuco	Single	Undergraduate Student
3	Loreto	22	Lesbian	Temuco	Single	Bachelor

5.2.3. Focus group procedure

After recruiting participants through Facebook, telephone contact was made with each one in order to reach agreement on a date and time on which they could attend a focus group. The focus groups were conducted between March and August 2014. The first focus group was held on the premises of Iguales, the second in the offices of the Borough of Providencia, and the third was held in a university in the city of Temuco. All focus groups were conducted in Spanish and each lasted between 45 and 90 minutes.

The focus groups were carried out following the suggestions of Wilkinson (2008) for conducting focus group research studies. At the start of the focus group, participants were informed about the purpose of the study and the ways in which confidentiality and anonymity were considered for this study. In addition, participants were informed about the focus group rules that should be taken into

account before the focus group began, such as listening to other participants, respecting each other and making clear that the contribution of each participant was confidential to the group. After that, participants were asked to sign an informed consent. Interviewees were then asked to provide demographic information (see Appendix 25 containing the demographic questionnaire). The three focus groups were conducted as planned without any problems arising.

5.2.4. Ethical considerations

Each participant was given a sheet with information about the purpose of the study (see Appendix 26). Participants' questions were answered through email, telephone and before starting the focus group. With each participant's consent, focus groups were audio recorded (see consent form attached in Appendix 27). The transcripts were coded and password protected, and participants' personal information was removed. The identification of the participants also was protected by using pseudonyms. Other names mentioned by participants were also changed. After transcription, recordings were eliminated. Participants were informed that the data collected would be used only for academic purposes, and if necessary, they would be able to receive psychological support from two psychologists who were volunteering at MOVILH. I also planned to provide a back-up preliminary psychological support if required following the steps presented in Study 1. The study was approved by the ethics committee of the Department of Psychological Sciences of Birkbeck, University of London within the same Ethical application for Study 1 (see Appendix 13 and 14). Ethical approval was received in July 2013 and the recruitment process began in February 2014.

5.2.5. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis procedure

I conducted the data analysis following the suggestions of Tomkins and Eatough (2010) for conducting IPA research with focus groups. Analyses were conducted in Spanish to retain the primary meaning of phrases used for participants. Only one focus group verbatim transcript and the respective analysis were fully translated into English, as well as, themes, subthemes, and verbatim excerpts. I divided the analysis process into two stages:

In the first phase of my analyses, I used the standard analytical procedure of IPA proposed by Smith et al. (2009a). This model consisted of six stages. First, I read each focus group a number of times to become familiar with participants' accounts. Second, I annotated what was significant about what participants said. During this stage, I registered descriptive (i.e., what the participant has said, the subject of the talk within the transcript), linguistic (i.e., the specific use of language by the participant) and conceptual (i.e., engaging at a more interrogative and conceptual level) comments and observations regarding socio-cultural context and focus group interaction (see Appendix 28). Third, I wrote down emergent themes by using a slightly higher level of abstraction and more psychological terminology (see Appendix 29). Emergent themes spoke to the psychological essence of the piece and contained enough particularity to be grounded and enough abstraction to be conceptual. Fourth, I looked for connections across my emergent themes in order to cluster themes and to identify superordinate concepts (see Appendix 30). I then marked the keywords used in the participants' phrases that supported related themes and superordinate concepts. Fifth, I repeated the whole process with the subsequent focus groups. Sixth, I looked for patterns

across the three focus groups analysed and built a final table of superordinate themes (see Appendix 31).

In the second phase of my analyses, I followed the suggestions proposed by Tomkins and Eatough (2010) to address the IPA's inquiry when working with focus group data. First, I looked at each individual's contribution holistically: top-down analysis (see Appendix 32). I then re-read the selected passages as a whole text to get a unique sense of each participant's account, and I then reviewed the group-level taxonomy through the filter of each participant's contribution (i.e., I asked myself which elements of the group-level summary did this individual's account seem to emphasise or represent?). Second, I examined how and where specific contributions were reflected in the overall thematic summary: bottom-up systematic mapping process. To perform this step I chunked each participant's contribution into thematic blocks (see Appendix 33), I then viewed the group-level taxonomy to see which parts of the group-level summary seemed to be the closest match to what was being said by each participant. Here, I asked myself if that participant's contribution suggested the designation of superordinate themes and their organisation into an overall thematic summary. Third, I examined the interactive/relational context by trying to preserve the chronology of participants' contributions. I tried to present and discuss findings in these terms, that is, largely as the work of real-time sense-making. Fourth, I tried to integrate the part-whole inter-relation (Step 1 and 2) and the chronology of real-time sense-making (Step 3) to re-elaborate the list of superordinate themes (see Appendix 34).

5.2.6. Independent Researcher Audit

The findings of study 2 were audited by one independent researcher. The auditor was an experienced Portuguese researcher in the field of LGBT family research, who also was conducting a qualitative study on Portuguese prospective lesbian, gay and bisexual parents. The audit procedure was similar to the researcher audit of Study 1 (see Chapter 4). However, the auditor rated the transcript of focus group 1 because it had been translated into English, although, the original Spanish version of the transcript also was sent to the auditor as this was also accessible to him. Similarly to Study 1, each subtheme and its description were presented to the auditor in English and Spanish (see Appendix 35). The Excel file containing the audit was returned as planned. Data was analysed and re-coded as explained in Study 1 (see Appendix 36 containing auditor's and researcher's coding after re-coding). Here, the Kappa value again revealed a significant agreement between the auditor ratings and my original ratings lending support to the validity of the analysis (Kappa = 0.48, $p < 0.001$).

5.2.7. Participant Audit (Member checking)

The procedure for participant audit was similar than in Study 1 (see Chapter 4). Participants were sent a link to complete the audit through an online survey (see Appendix 37). The survey consisted of one section containing the findings of the IPA analysis. Out of the six Focus Group participants, three completed the audit within the given time frame: two participants of Focus Group 1 and one participant of Focus Group 2. Data was analysed and re-coded as explained in Study 1 (see Appendix 36 containing participants' coding after re-coding). The

Kappa value revealed a significant agreement between my original indication of themes and those of participant auditors (Kappa = 0.66, $p < 0.001$).

5.3. Findings

Interpretative phenomenological analysis generated the following main themes: 1) A deep desire for motherhood and the emphasis upon having a biological connection with their prospective child; 2) Motherhood as an expected significant life course change that requires planning; 3) Thinking about forming a two-mother family and how to convey this family formation to the prospective child; 4) The need to feel accepted as an LB woman and supported as a prospective mother by the family of origin; 5) Making sense of being stigmatised as an LB woman and prospective mother in a Chilean social context; and 6) Feeling in a disadvantaged political position within society yet anticipating the achievement of equality . See Table 7 containing the themes and sub-themes originated from the IPA.

TABLE 7 Themes and subthemes for Study 2: Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

Themes & Sub-themes	
1	A deep desire for motherhood and the emphasis upon having a biological connection with their prospective child
1.1	<i>A deep desire for motherhood</i>
1.2	<i>The emphasis upon having a biological connection with their prospective child</i>
2	Motherhood as an expected significant life course change that requires planning
2.1	<i>Planning motherhood as part of a life course project</i>
2.2	<i>The expected responsibilities of upbringing</i>

-
- 2.3 *The need to resolve practical issues to be prepared for motherhood*
 - 3 Thinking about forming a two-mother family and how to convey this family formation to the prospective child**
 - 3.1 *The desire to build a two-mother family*
 - 3.2 *Thinking about how to convey a two-mother family to the prospective children*
 - 3.3 *Thinking about the need of masculine gender role models for children*
 - 4 The need to feel accepted as an LB woman and supported as a prospective mother by the family of origin**
 - 4.1 *The need for acceptance as an LB woman*
 - 4.2 *The need for support for motherhood as a prospective LB mother*
 - 5 Making sense of being stigmatised as an LB woman and prospective mother in a Chilean social context**
 - 5.1 *Dealing with social expectations about heterosexuality*
 - 5.2 *Dealing with sexual prejudice and the rejection of same-gender parenting by society*
 - 5.3 *Thinking about how to deal with prejudice as a future LB mother*
 - 6 Feeling in a disadvantaged political position within society yet anticipating the achievement of equality**
 - 6.1 *The complexity of legal barriers and the lack of recognition as a legal parent*
 - 6.2 *The anticipated achievement of equality*
 - 6.3 *Dealing with the legally privileged heterosexual family model*
-

5.3.1. A deep desire for motherhood and the emphasis upon having a biological connection with their prospective child

Prospective LB mothers' accounts revealed the significance these participants gave to their desire for motherhood and the connection or relationship they were expecting to have with their prospective child. This theme split into two sub-themes: *A deep desire for motherhood* and *The emphasis upon having a biological connection with their prospective child*.

5.3.1.1. A deep desire for motherhood

The six prospective LB mother participants conveyed how meaningful or "deep" their desire for motherhood was for them. Loreto used a metaphorical language to portray her desire for motherhood as an uncontrollable desire or as an inner essential drive. She said that her motherhood desire was like a river which she was trying to control with the reason:

Loreto: In the depths of my soul I know that I will want at some point

Marcos: She has a very motherly soul

Loreto: So, it's inevitable, it's like a river that one tries to control with reason (FG1: L 93-95)

Similarly, Soraya conveyed how meaningful the achievement of motherhood as future life project was for her. Soraya said that she was expecting to feel fulfilled with prospective motherhood and that her children would be her priority in life:

Soraya: I hope to feel fulfilled, so the day I decide to be a mother I will put myself in the second place and my children will be the priority in my life (...) being a mother for me is to abstract myself, and dedicate myself to give everything I am as person... (FG1: L 431-434)

It seems that motherhood was a challenging life course project and an expected path for self-realisation for these lesbian and bisexual women. Indeed, in the focus groups female participants were more explicit than male participants on their expected personal fulfillment or happiness when describing their prospective motherhood desires.

Estela, who was the only female participant who explicitly stated that she did not want to have children, narrated a story about the strong emotional connection she had with her nephew in which she described herself as in a "mother's role" and so

she was possibly fulfilled in this respect. Estela's account revealed how a strong emotional relationship with a child based on love could be seen to be as that of a mother: "...Sometimes I realise that I fill a mother's role, I think there may be a mother role because of the love, the affection, being a guide in life, a referent for him, I think it's like being a referent in terms of principles and values" (FG2: L 460-462).

The significance of motherhood desire also was reflected in the importance some prospective LB mothers participants gave to lineage as part of the goal of motherhood. Andrea described how her motherhood desire was based in her aim of giving continuation to her small family: "I think I've always wanted to have a son or daughter because my family is very small, we are very few. Then I've always wanted to... I know that it will be a strain that is going to be extinguished at some point" (FG2: L 67-69). Again, interestingly Estela as the only female participant who explicitly did not want to have children herself had a close connection to her nephew she did not highlight this in terms of lineage but clearly her genealogical line would continue through her nephew.

Interestingly, while some prospective LB mothers mentioned their desire to provide continuation for their family line, some prospective male parents participants emphasised the importance of legacy as a goal for fatherhood. The following passage illustrated how Vicente conveyed the importance of leaving something from his life to be passed on into the future. Loreto who was his friend helped him during this focus group conversation to indicate that he was referring to legacy:

Vicente: I've always thought about what people say, that you have to write a book, plant a tree, and have a child, like what you will leave from your life, It's like... no inheritance, but...

Loreto: The legacy

Vicente: The legacy, exactly, and I've always proposed myself that I'd love to be a father

5.3.1.2. The emphasis upon having a biological connection with their prospective child.

As it was previously mentioned, the second significant aspect of motherhood that prospective LB mothers conveyed in their accounts was the importance of feeling biologically connected with a prospective child. In conveying this significant aspect of motherhood, Antonia and Carola who were a couple, commented how important it was for them to have a biological connection with their future child:

Esteban: So how will you both do it?

Carola: With my eggs, she is going to carry my eggs, and I don't know, we are seeking for donors

Esteban: That's good (FG3: L 337-339).

Antonia: It would be like being a biological surrogate

Carola: Right, it's like the child is going to have my genes. But as the baby will depend on you [Antonia], your food, your care [during pregnancy]... It's like the way we both found to be a part of it [motherhood achievement] (FG3: L 357-360).

Carola's and Antonia's account illustrated not only how important was the biological connection with their future child but also and how this connection was interpreted in relation to being part of the child's life during pregnancy: physically

growing the child within the womb was an important part of being a mother too and could be shared as part of establishing biological relatedness. Similarly, Soraya conveyed how important it was for her to have her own biological child or for her partner to have a biological child. She mentioned how different it was for her to have a biological child through insemination compared to adopting a child: "If I had to choose, I'd prefer Carmen [Soraya's partner] or me having the child... (FG1: L 228) Because he [sic.] will be our child... well, it's my point of view, but adoption for me is like having a child who is not yours" (FG1: L 272-273).

The greater likelihood for some of the prospective LB mothers of being able to have their own biological children was described as an advantage by some participants. For instance, Carmen clearly stated the advantage of being two reproductive women when she and Soraya were discussing their future motherhood together: "We even have two uteruses, so we could do it if we wanted" (FG1: L 633).

The importance that prospective LB mothers gave to the possibility of having biological children was a distinctive aspect of the accounts of lesbian and bisexual participants. Indeed, although the expected biological connections with their future children was mentioned by prospective fathers in the focus groups, gay men felt more constrained than did the lesbian and bisexual women interviewed because, as they said, the goal of becoming a parent was more difficult to achieve for them. Pedro, who was Esteban's partner, explicitly contrasted the experiences of gay men and lesbian women when planning parenthood: "I feel a bit like in that sense you [Antonia and Carola] can have it a little easier than both of us [Esteban and Pedro], because actually you can carry

the baby inside you... like we have... I feel that we have more limitations" (FG3: L 357-360).

This is one of instances within the analysis that caught my attention as a researcher adopting a reflexive stance. LB prospective mothers in this study felt closer than gay men to becoming a parent. This especially struck me as like the gay men in Study 2. I myself felt distant from parenting after identifying as gay. Perhaps the limited options to become a gay father within Chilean society led me unknowingly to build a trajectory as a childless gay man early on in my identity development. This reflexive point encouraged me to explore why younger generations of LB women (and to some extent gay men) felt closer to becoming a parent in the context of contemporary Chilean society.

Donor insemination was the preferred route to motherhood for these prospective LB mothers because of the importance they gave to having their own biological connections with their prospective children. In contrast, prospective father participants were more open to consider the possibility of having children without any biological connection to themselves, such as through adoption. Only two female participants considered adoption as a possibility, yet even these two would still prefer having a biological connection with a future child. Loreto mentioned that adoption was a possibility for her because it was a way to give love to a child who might need it. Loreto's account reflected how some prospective LB mothers also placed an important value to creating family relationships based in love:

Loreto: I don't know, I feel adoption is very nice too, because it's like a child who is going to be there, with other children perhaps without having the close love of a family... perhaps it might be nice to adopt him [sic.]... but from a selfish point of view, it's nice to feel that the child come from you (FG1: L 199-202).

Andrea clearly stated that she did not have a preference between donor insemination and adoption. Interestingly, Andrea reported that her own mother expected to have a biological connection with a prospective grandchild, revealing Andrea's family of origin expectations concerning Andrea's prospective motherhood. Andrea's account also showed how her mother had accepted and supported Andrea's desire to become a lesbian mother:

Andrea: I don't know how to do it, I don't know if he or she will be adopted, or if it will be via in vitro fertilisation. I have talked with my mom and I have told my mom that I will have a child with my partner or when single. And in her opinion, she prefers to have a child of her blood (FG2: L 71-75).

5.3.2. Motherhood as an expected significant life course change that requires planning

As prospective LB mothers described planning motherhood as part of a life course project was a challenge for them. This theme split into three sub-themes: *Planning motherhood as part of a life course project; The expected responsibilities of upbringing; and The need to resolve practical issues to be prepared for motherhood.*

5.3.2.1. Planning motherhood as part of a life course project

All the prospective LB mothers in the focus groups mentioned that motherhood needed to be planned in advance because of the associated responsibilities of childrearing or the consequent changes they expected in their own life courses. However, at the time of their focus group interview only Antonia and Carola were actively planning motherhood as a couple. Interestingly, the need to plan motherhood was seen as an advantage by some lesbian and bisexual women. As a lesbian couple, Antonia and Carola were not expecting to cope with an unplanned pregnancy, and Antonia saw the process of preparation for motherhood as an advantage for them as a same-gender couple: "And we are fully preparing ourselves, and that is clearly something very, very positive, so we [as lesbians] have advantages in many situations, and this is one, not all is so bad (laughs)" (FG3: L 534-535).

Carmen conveyed the importance of being prepared for a permanent change in her life with motherhood. She anticipated changes in many important aspect of her life such as expectations for her future everyday life demands and even anticipated some of the bodily changes of pregnancy. Thus, Carmen account revealed how motherhood was seen by her as a whole life course change:

Carmen: Yes, everything changes from the conception. Well, think about the insemination, your body, your life, your feeding, your dreams, we can't stay up until 5am watching movies with Soraya, because at some point I will have to rest, my feet will swell, it's not the same. Then, when the baby arrives your whole life changes, because the drama of no sleeping begins, no rest... Everything changes and it changes forever, that's the point (FG1: L 505-510)... I think, ideally, if

you do things right, this break will be as untraumatic as possible (FG1: L 521).

5.3.2.2. The expected responsibilities of upbringing

The importance of planning motherhood also was associated with being ready to take on the expected responsibilities of upbringing by some prospective LB mothers. Andrea mentioned that childrearing was a significant responsibility because the child's life depends on the mother, who at the same time has the responsibility of raising a person of integrity. Avoiding mistakes during the child's formative years was seen as a key challenge by Andrea. Her account revealed the importance prospective LB mother gave to being prepared to provide the child with an appropriate upbringing. The expected responsibilities associated with childrearing or the children's formation was a prominent aspect of both women's and men's accounts in the focus group:

Andrea: [on being mother] It's to assume a great responsibility, I think it makes me feel scared because it is too big, because there is a life apart from yours that depends entirely on you, so if you make a mistake you will not only affect yourself but also someone else (...) so returning to the idea of responsibility, you have to form [to raise] an integral [human] being as possible (FG2: L 470-474).

Similarly, Carmen also made sense of childrearing as formative process. She implied that childrearing was giving the child the tools for his life for example in teaching the child about autonomy, responsibility and self-confidence. Carmen's account showed how participants connected with their own childrearing

experiences to form and justify their prospective childrearing plans. Carmen wanted to improve upon her own upbringing in bringing up her prospective child:

Carmen: I really agree with Marcos, I mean, as a parent you have to give your child the tools for life... and to try teaching him [sic.] everything your parents didn't teach you, to teach him [sic.] to be autonomous, to be responsible, and to believe in himself [sic.] (FG1: L 321-324).

Nevertheless, prospective LB mothers thought that mistakes were inevitably part of the childrearing process and that this aspect of childrearing was independent of parental sexual orientation. For example, following on Carmen's point about the inevitability of making mistakes, Loreto stated that good childrearing was a challenge for heterosexual as well as for non-heterosexual couples which Soraya echoed for emphasis:

Carmen: So I tend to think that you don't want to make the same mistakes, but that's gonna happen anyway (...)

Loreto: So no one has the formula, neither heterosexual couples nor gay couples, single people, nobody.

Carmen: Nobody

Soraya: Nobody (FG1: L 334-342).

5.3.2.3. *The need to resolve practical issues to be prepared for motherhood*

When prospective LB mothers thought about planning motherhood they also assessed various aspects that they considered relevant: Becoming a mother within an appropriate time, having adequate accommodation, and the achievement of economic stability. Carmen's account revealed that she wanted to become a mother soon because of her childbearing age. Like Carmen, other prospective LB

mothers also expected to have children being young. As Carmen was thinking about becoming a mother soon she also felt under pressure because she thought she had not achieved the level of economic stability she desired for motherhood:

Carmen: Well, I want to be a mom, basically because I am 30 and I know that I have no more than five years of childbearing age (FG1: L 10-11). But we don't have the money, so there are many issues, we still have to see too many things. But I'm too motivated, but I know that I'm up against the clock, and that we have to have the money to carry out the medical procedure, but also we have to have a house, a home, stability, a job (L 17-21)

As Carmen's account showed, having the money to get access to donor insemination at a clinic was seen as a challenge by her. Some prospective LB mothers conveyed the complexity of the achievement of motherhood through donor insemination because of the high cost of the medical procedure. Carola mentioned that she and Antonia had made appointments to visit two fertility clinics to ask about donor insemination and to see what was the best medical treatment option for them given their limited financial resources. Carola and Antonia described how they were thinking about making a bartering agreement with one of the clinics because the treatment was expensive for them, so Carola had thought about doing egg donation to get access to the treatment. Interestingly, Antonia conveyed that in spite of the need to resolve more practical issues her desire to achieve motherhood was stronger than before:

Carola: The first is the IDIMI [the clinic] I don't know if you know it? (...) that would be the cheapest option out there (...) the other is called IVI, IVI clinic, I know that it's highly recommended and very good, but we know that it's expensive (...) I will donate eggs at the IVI, it's an economic issue, I mean, I want to see, I don't know, I'm just thinking...

Antonia: We want to barter (laughs)

Carola: "I give you all my eggs and you give me" [the access to donor insemination]... so that's what we want to see (FG3: L 421-436).

Antonia: From a rational side I had the idea that "ok neither am I young nor am I mature, but I need the house, the car, and that, and this one" but the love and desire of as being [a mother] were stronger (L 455-457).

5.3.3. Thinking about forming a two-mother family and how to convey this family formation to the prospective child

Another important aspect of motherhood intentions among this group of prospective LB mothers was the decision to share, or not to share, childrearing with a partner. This theme split into three subthemes: *The desire to build a two-mother family; Thinking about how to convey a two-mother family to the prospective children; and Thinking about the need of masculine gender role models for children.*

5.3.3.1. *The desire to build a two-mother family*

Four participants, that is to say the two lesbian couples interviewed, mentioned that the best option for them was to plan motherhood within the context of their couple relationship. The other two prospective lesbian mothers, who had not thought in as much detail about their motherhood plans, also said that sharing motherhood with a lesbian partner would be the most desirable option for them. The two-mother family was thus considered the best model for making a family with children in this group of LB prospective mothers. Antonia said that she was

planning her motherhood with Carola and that she herself was preparing to be the pregnant mother. As they both were thinking about having a child, they came to the conclusion that they would build a family with two mothers: "In fact we are now as full preparing ourselves for the issue of motherhood. I'm getting ready to have the baby in the belly. But we are also realising that we two are both going to be mothers" (FG3: L 292-294).

Loreto, who had not made motherhood plans, told the focus group how her desire for motherhood had emerged only recently after having a lesbian relationship. Loreto's account revealed how the experience of being involved in couple relationship triggered her desire for motherhood that she had not experienced or at least acknowledged this before:

Loreto: It's another thing that basically leads someone to think about whether or not to have children. Well, I have a couple relationship, and I imagine myself in the situation, like "oh, how cute it would be..." and "how would she raise him [sic.]" I mean, I haven't questioned myself before, but lately yes. Although, it's not something that I think it will be tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, but I see it as a possibility (FG1: L 96-100).

Of this group of prospective LB mothers, only Andrea explicitly stated that she had still not decided about having a child as a single parent or with a lesbian partner. Nonetheless, Andrea emphasised that having a child with a woman to whom she felt emotionally involved would make her feel happy, indicating that having a child in the context of a lesbian relationship was still an expected and significant experience for Andrea whereas having a child as a single parent was only "okay":

Andrea: I might not feel as radical as Fabian about having a child alone... I still have not considered that aspect of the plan, I only mentioned the age and I hope to do it within time I've set... But I would be happy having a child with a woman who shares my emotions, if not, it's ok... (FG2: L 83-86).

Andrea's passage above also revealed how Andrea saw her expectation as very different from Fabian's clear idea of himself as a single parenthood, which he had stated in the focus group. Indeed, while prospective LB mothers mainly implied that they preferred to have children in the context of a couple relationship, prospective gay fathers were less concerned about having children in a two-parent model family. For some gay men in the focus group, single parenthood and shared childrearing with lesbian friends (biological mothers) were also placed as good options, alongside bringing up a child with a male partner. The following interaction revealed how the women in the focus group showed their disagreement with Vicente's idea about sharing parenthood with a lesbian couple. In the extract below two of the women positioned themselves as either more realistic and pragmatic than Vicente (Loreto) or more preoccupied with their own personal motherhood, which Soraya viewed as the important relationship for a child not whether the child has other parent or not.

Vicente: So, I'd like to see my child having two dads and two moms (FG1: L 120)... So ideally that's what I'd like, if not, I'd also like to be a single dad and to see the possibility of adoption or renting a belly (L 130-131)

Carmen: It's too complex, it's the opposite

Vicente: Ah?

Loreto: I find your idea is a bit implausible

Vicente: Why?

Loreto: Because at the moment when you are raising children it's even difficult to agree with your partner in some things, such as in life perspectives (L 148-153)

Soraya: I've always thought that assisted fertilisation is the most impersonal way, because unlike Vicente, I'm not interested that my child loves other parents (L 232-233).

5.3.3.2. Thinking about how to convey a two-mother family to the prospective children

As prospective LB mothers thought about the idea of forming a two-mother family they also made sense of how they would convey their particular family formations to their prospective children. Four participants implied that children should be taught about their particular family formation in order to help them to normalise the fact of having two mothers and to prepare them for dealing with society. Carmen said that she was thinking about teaching her children about their biological origins and that she would say that donor insemination was a common procedure used by women to become mothers:

Carmen: So "This is our reality, we are two, that's what we are". So from a young age you can tell the children "that's what it was, it was an insemination (...) And it has nothing to do with the sexual preferences, but it was because there was not a seed, no more". Many single women in the world decide to have children in this way (FG1: L 258-263).

Antonia said that it was important to prepare her future child to deal with his [sic.] social context and that this preparation would be best carried out at home by her and Carola. Antonia's account revealed how the positive views conveyed at home

about a two-mother family might be different to the views the child would encounter outside the home. But while Antonia thought that she would have to monitor what other people outside home said, Antonia also felt that positive views conveyed within the family would form a protective buffer against outside stigma:

Antonia: The work begins at home, always. So, from a loving language, trying to prepare your child to cope with what he [sic.] will have to face because of the fact of having two moms (...) So if we fill him [sic.] with it at home, it [the social pressure] shouldn't affect him [sic.] outside. Of course one has to pay attention to that, but one is free to choose the relationships one has (FG3: L 833-839).

5.3.3.3. Thinking about the need of masculine gender role models for children

Prospective LB mothers also made sense of how (the need) to provide children with masculine gender role models. In particular, four participants discussed the importance of masculine models for boys. Participants frequently used the pronoun he (“él”) in reference to the child, and this pronoun in Spanish sometimes is used with regard to both genders. Thus, it seemed that in the majority of instances participants used this pronoun in reference to a boy (“niño”) or a girl (“niña”). However, when participants discussed the need of masculine models for a child it seemed that they mostly referred particularly to boys. Following on from her discussion about teaching children about their biological origins, Carmen said that the fact of having two mothers would not imply that her child would not have a father or a masculine gender role model. She conveyed that other men within the prospective child's extended family could act as masculine models for her child:

Carmen: And it's ok, it's an option [having children through donor insemination]. We don't believe that he will be without of a father model, because he will have an uncle, and he will have the rest of the family, and he will not need to have a father to get a masculine image (FG1: L 264-266).

Similarly, Antonia conveyed that she and Carola were willing to integrate masculinity and femininity in their parenting to provide their son with both gender role models. In particular, Antonia said that she wanted to avoid her future child questioning them later with his need for a masculine model. Antonia's account also revealed how she and Carola defied at least in this respect traditional gender roles expected for women as mothers in Chilean society:

Antonia: We are willing to be mom and dad, we accept our femininity and our masculinity (FG3: L 279-280). Actually, symbolically we want to fill that masculine and feminine cultural space, and then he will not have to feel like "I need the masculine part" later in his life. No, because we have it [masculinity] as super integrated. (FG3: L 326-328).

Antonia's account above also showed that a gendered socialisation was considered as a relevant aspect of children's upbringing. Antonia also conveyed, that she and Carola also thought that their future child would integrate their masculinity and femininity into his gender own roles expressions. Thus Antonia and Carola did not see having a two-mother family as limitation for their future child in terms of his gender development because they had this covered.

Antonia's account revealed how she and Carola thought that it was useful for both boys and girls to be able to have both gender role repertoires: "We also understand that that boy or girl also has his or her other [gender] side, and surely if she is a

girl she will also have a masculine character, and if he is a boy he can also develop his femininity" (FG3: L 380-382).

5.3.4. The need to feel accepted as an LB woman and supported as a prospective LB mother by the family of origin

Prospective LB mothers' accounts revealed that their own family of origin was a central aspect of their motherhood intentions and planning. They conveyed how they were seen as lesbian women and prospective lesbian mothers by their own family of origin. Participants talked about family members' reactions toward their sexual identity and their desire to be a mother. In particular, they conveyed how significant acceptance and support from their family of origin was for them, especially from their parents. This theme split into two sub-themes: *The need for acceptance as an LB woman* and *The need for support for motherhood as a prospective LB mother*

5.3.4.1. The need for acceptance as an LB woman

As was previously mentioned, Andrea had received the support and acceptance from her mother regarding Andrea's desire of having children as a lesbian woman. Indeed, Andrea also conveyed that she had felt accepted as lesbian woman by her family of origin from an early age. She implied that she herself had accepted her lesbian identity due to her family's support. Notwithstanding, when Andrea started to think about becoming mother, she then started to think that her motherhood as a lesbian woman was a more complex issue:

Andrea: I became aware of myself very young [13 years old], my family came to know [that she was lesbian] about the same time. They support me one hundred percent, I never had such problems of identity, but when I thought about forming a family it was more complicated (FG2: L 277-279).

Although Andrea's mother had supported Andrea's lesbian identity and motherhood desire, Andrea mentioned that her brother was more conservative regarding same-gender sexualities. As Andrea said, she had a small family because she had been raised only by her mother and had only one brother. Her brother's views about same-gender sexualities were an important issue for her:

Andrea: My brother became a father at 20 and he's too conservative, for example, once he told his son that being a hairdresser was being fag, and I kept looking at him like "Really? This doesn't help me with my situation" I talked to him later (FG2: L 517-519).

In spite of Antonia and Carola feeling supported by Carola's parents, Carola mentioned that she had not been explicit about her lesbian identity with her father. Carola said that her father was aware about Carola's plan of becoming mother together with Antonia, yet Carola's mother asked Carola to not disclose her sexual identity to Carola's father because he was an old man and the disclosure could impact his health negatively. Thus, Carola's mother supported Carola, but still thought that lesbianism should be something that Carola should keep hidden because it could threaten conventional family members. Indeed, when Carola came out [one year before the interview], her mother had told Carola that being lesbian was a defect. Carola portrayed how she turned from being an ideal daughter to a "defective" lesbian daughter in her mother's view. Carola's narrative here also indicated how a lesbian partnership and a baby could be incorporated

into Chilean extended family life without actually being named or accepted by some family members as her father knew Antonia [Carola's partner] and their plan to have a baby together but without this being formally named as a lesbian-led family.

Carola: And she [her mother] was so proud about me, I'm the youngest, I was similar to her. She used to consent to everything I wanted. So I was like her ideal daughter, I was like the perfect daughter. So, like she told me [after Carola's disclosure] "Damn, you had to have a defect" Connoting something negative (FG3: L 668-671)... And then she told me "But don't tell your dad": That my dad was an old man, that he would suffer an attack, that he would die, and all those kind of things. So finally, I haven't told him "Look dad, I'm a lesbian". But he knows that Antonia is my partner, that we are going to have a baby, but officially, I mean, I haven't said anything in words to him (L 677-681).

While just feeling accepted and supported by family members was significant for some prospective LB mothers, the need to feel recognised by family members as a lesbian woman and prospective mother was more important for other participants. Carmen, who had a clear intention of becoming mother with Soraya, conveyed that their family members had not yet acknowledged their lesbian relationship. Carmen and Soraya implied that some of their family members could not verbalise the word "girlfriend" to signify their relationship to each other. Instead, some relatives preferred to say "friend" which made Carmen think that their lesbian relationship was not acknowledged by their families. Similarly, during the same segment of the focus group conversation, Loreto also chipped in to convey the lack of recognition of lesbianism by family members. Loreto implied that family members expressed a sort of resignation in the face of their daughter'

sexual identity, perhaps because they could not do something to 'solve' the issue of lesbianism therefore the family of origin had to accept the partner into the family because they continued acknowledging their daughter but did not directly recognise the lesbian partnership as such:

Carmen: I think you can see it in the family. For example it's so clear that no one sees it when they say "Well, we accept the girls because they are a couple and it's ok" but...

Soraya: And people say "Hello, how is your friend?"

Marcos: I can't believe

*Carmen: Yes, within the family, close people. For example, someone... the adult person in the family can't say "And your girlfriend?" (...)
"Ok, we accept them, we love them, they are part of the family, and also Carmen" but...*

Loreto: "If they are like this [lesbians], what can we do?" (FG1: L 614-624).

5.3.4.2. The need for support for motherhood as a prospective LB mother

Carola and Antonia, who were already planning their motherhood, also felt supported by Carola's family. They both were living at Carola's parents' home. Antonia reported how she had felt supported by Carola's family and how this support was important for their plan of becoming mothers.

Antonia: Actually, we live in her [Carola] parents' house. And I say "Good, he [sic.] is going to grow his [sic.] first months, his [sic.] early years, with the best grandparents of the world. Cool"

Esteban: That's cute

Antonia: So why I'm going to be there, in my house, alone, no. I want to be with her, and they [Carola's parents] are happy. Indeed, we are

all preparing among us, like "Ok, you have to eat more of this" "Don't do this"

Carola: Yes, they reprimand her,

Antonia: So what else? He [sic.] won't lack of anything

Carola: Every day we all treat her as a pregnant [woman] (laughs)

(FG3: L 458-466).

But as Carola's account in subsection "The need for acceptance as an LB woman" showed, negotiating sexual identity disclosure and the revelation of a motherhood desire to the family of origin was a complex pathway on which they had to tip-toe carefully revealing only partial, or caveated disclosures, in order to retain family support. Indeed, Antonia, who had felt supported by Carola's family, was expecting less support from her own family of origin regarding her plan of being mother. Antonia said that she had felt proud about being lesbian since her adolescence and that her family already knew about her lesbian identity. However, she thought that her family would not support a lesbian motherhood project because they held more traditional values than did Carola's family. Antonia mentioned that she was taught about the value of virginity to convey the traditional upbringing she had received from her parents, although Pedro conveyed that was out of date:

Carola: That issue [social pressures] does not bother you.

Antonia: Yes, like I've always been more rebellious, more confrontational with that sort of thing. Since I was a lesbian teen I was so proud. And my family knows, like all of them. But I know I can't... I wouldn't have a full support now with the issue of the pregnancy. Why? Because they will have a prejudice (...) but it's a purely cultural issue, and that comes from further back, that you have to marry being virgin...

Pedro: Nobody marries as a virgin (laughs) (FG3: L 631-645).

Carmen also felt that some of Soraya's family members did not see their motherhood intentions as a real possibility for them because Soraya had a relationship with a woman. In particular, Soraya's mother had told Carmen that she had resigned herself to not becoming a grandmother because her daughter had a lesbian partner. Carmen then felt that Soraya's family "annulled" the fact that they both were able to become mothers as a same-gender couple:

Carmen: And there is another part of the family that says "Well, I have resigned myself that I will never be a grandmother because..."

Marcos: Ok, so they don't see it at all, ok

Carmen: No, "because the girls... how?... never" For example, I've been set at the [dinner] table and I've said "So why do you entirely annul it?" Perhaps we may not achieve it [having a child together], we may not want, we may not agree, but annulling it as if we wouldn't have the possibility... (FG1: L 626-632).

As prospective LB mothers' accounts have revealed, family of origin' views about lesbianism were important when these participants tried to make sense of their situation for prospective motherhood. In particular, parents' reactions toward participants' sexual identity, couple relationships, and motherhood intentions were significantly important for participants. However, only Carola reported on her extended family's views towards her lesbian identity and how she thought they would react to her motherhood. Carola's account showed the emotional impact that acceptance from her extended family members had had on her. Her report also revealed how Carola was expecting to feel accepted and recognised as a future lesbian mother by some members of her extended family but not others. She mentioned that she had felt rejected by some aunts and that she thought that

she would be criticised again by them after becoming a mother. Carola put on a carping sarcastic tone when she explained using her aunt's words:

Carola: One or two aunts came to know that I'm lesbian and since then like they don't talk to me as they used to do before, I feel like they moved away, it happens. Then with the issue of motherhood, when they make comments... because they'll know at some point, maybe I won't tell them directly, but they will see it, and I will also get questions like "And is he really your son [sic.] or she [Carola's partner] inseminated?" I believe or "Why weren't you the one who got pregnant?" and "Why has it to be with her?" and why all the time, why, why, why, why, and no one will say "Oh, cool, you're gonna be a mom, congratulations" (FG3: L 705-711).

5.3.5. Making sense of being stigmatised as an LB woman and prospective mother in a Chilean social context

Prospective LB mothers conveyed how they thought they were seen as non-heterosexual woman and how in turn they would be seen as a mother within their social context. The following participants' accounts revealed the way in which other people's views toward non-heterosexual women and mothers impacted upon how prospective LB mothers made sense of their own identities in a Chilean social context. Although these participants were not mothers yet, they were anticipating and making sense of how they would cope in society after becoming mothers. This theme split into three sub-themes: *Dealing with social expectations about heterosexuality*; *Dealing with sexual prejudice and the rejection of same-gender parenting by society*; and *Thinking about how to deal with prejudice as a future LB mother*.

5.3.5.1. Dealing with social expectations about heterosexuality

Prospective LB mothers implied that only in recent times have lesbian women become more visible in Chilean society. Heterosexual people were still not expecting to see expressions of lesbian sexuality in society. For instance, Loreto, Carmen and Soraya mentioned that same-gender attracted women were not expected to be visible, or to express their relationship in public places in recent times. They had heard some people expressing surprise at the visibility of lesbian women in society. Paula referred to people's reactions as akin to reactions to a sensational soap opera show on television:

Loreto: Because now they [people] are seeing it [lesbianism], like "Ohhh, there are homosexual people, that's terrible, look the soap opera"

Marcos: So they have seen it for a while.

Carmen: "They are going to marry and they will be kissing in the streets"

Loreto: "Look at those girls, they are holding their hands" (FG1: L 540-543).

Soraya: If you hold your partner's hands in the street even, they could kill you (L 829).

These previous accounts above have revealed how the expression of same-gender attraction was seen as transgression of social norms had shaped couple relationship formation in Chilean society. Similarly, Antonia implied that visibility of lesbian couples was sometimes seen as a transgression of moral norms. Antonia said that people could interpret lesbian affective expressions either as a "perversion" or an expression of love. She thought that it was a parent's role to teach children about sexual diversity and that people's prejudice should not affect her own desire to express her affection for her partner:

Antonia: So if we kiss each other on the street and there is a little girl next to us. I say it's a parents' work to explain it to the child,

Carola: Ah yes, it happened once (...)

Antonia: I can't back up the prejudice of that child "Ok, I will not kiss you" "If I love you, I kiss you" And if the dad says that it's an expression of love or tells the child that it's a perversion... the task begins at home (FG1: L 857-864).

Furthermore, Loreto conveyed that even the sexuality of lesbian women was not acknowledged by some people. From that premise, Loreto thought that it was even more difficult for people to acknowledge lesbian motherhood or gay fatherhood as acceptable parenting models:

Loreto: Yes, like they [people] annul the issue [of lesbian motherhood and gay fatherhood]. It's like "Ok, there are gays and lesbians..." But people are so ignorant as they don't understand the sexuality for example of lesbians, they don't imagine within their heads how is it

Marcos: Yes that's true

Loreto: It's like "What do they do if it's not possible?"

Marcos: Yes, that's true

Loreto: So if they go until that point, it's impossible to acknowledge gay fatherhood or lesbian motherhood (FG1: L 605-613).

5.3.5.2. Dealing with sexual prejudice and the rejection of same-gender parenting by society

All prospective LB mothers conveyed that some heterosexual people held at least some prejudice toward LGBT people and that these prejudices were behind people's rejection of lesbian and gay parenting. People's prejudices were visible to participants through the stigmas and stereotypes they had heard were associated

with non-heterosexual people. Some prospective LB mothers said that they had heard that LGBT people were sometimes associated with being potential child abusers. Andrea, who was part of a LGBT organisation said that they [as a group] had received messages from an Evangelical minister stating that LGBT people were "paedophiles" and "perverted". These messages had been sent when same-sex marriage civil partnership was being discussed in the Chilean parliament. Although Andrea indicated that this level of prejudice was an extreme position, her account revealed how she made sense of how she was being seen as a lesbian woman by conservative people in Chile:

Andrea: I think they [people] see it [LGBT demands] from fear, from ignorance, and some conservative people might associate it with the paedophilia (...) There is an evangelical pastor who sent messages to us, the Iguales foundation, and the Movilh, that we are perverse, and we're going to go to hell. And I say well if that's the perversion, I happy to be perverse (laughter). There are extremes [positions against LGBT people] (FG2: L 533-540).

Similarly, Loreto had felt stigmatised by her teacher when she went to her teacher's office asking her teacher for support when Loreto was working as a trainee teacher and was needing for support as a lesbian student. Loreto said that her teacher brought into the conversation the fact that most abusers or child molester were heterosexuals so as lesbian students they should not be concerned about the possibility of being accused of abuse. Loreto interpreted her teacher comment as very stigmatising as in her view her teacher was associating the fact she was lesbian with the possibility of being seen as a potential child abuser in a school setting:

Loreto: So we asked her how the School of Pedagogy would protect us because we were lesbians and we were doing the [professional] practice, and she said two sentences like "we would support you" and then she said "because actually the problem of rape or abuse always comes from heterosexuals"

Vicente: Ohhh

Marcos: "From heterosexual couples, not from homosexual couples, so don't worry girls"

Loreto: So she quickly made a mental link "the problem would be that you could abuse a person, a kid" that's what she said between lines [subtle] (FG1: L 746-754).

As prospective LB mothers' accounts have revealed a primary concern that they thought people had regarding LGBT people becoming parents was the possibility of LGBT individuals being child molesters. Furthermore, prospective LB mothers conveyed that other people were concerned about the possibility of lesbian and gay parents influencing their children's sexual orientation. Carola, who was still concealing her lesbian identity in some social settings, said that she had asked other people about what they thought about lesbians and gays raising children. Carola conveyed that some people thought that lesbian and gay parents would raise gay children. Carola's questioning of other people's views also revealed how important other's views were for her own identity in terms of how she saw herself as a future lesbian mother.

Carola: I've talked about this issue with people who think I'm straight, and what I've seen... I don't know, for example, I tell them "If a couple of [lesbian or gay] friends want to have a child, What would you think? And they say "They would raise another gay more" (...)

Esteban: Multiplied

Carola: Of course, and then it will be filled of gays, saying it in pretty words because... (laughs)

Pedro: Fagots (FG3: L 747-753).

5.3.5.3. Thinking about how to deal with prejudice as a future LB mother

Since prospective LB mothers thought that others held prejudices, stereotypes and stigmatic attitudes toward lesbian and gay people and parents, they conveyed that it would be difficult to cope with this non-supportive society, if they themselves became mothers. Carmen reported that she felt afraid of the possibility of her child being discriminated against because of her lesbian identity. Carmen's account revealed how other people's views and prejudices associated with LGBT people had impacted the way Carmen had constructed future lesbian motherhood:

Carmen: Because you are afraid that your children will be discriminated against, even more than you, because nobody will tell you in your face "Hey fagot, hahaha" But they will tell your child [sic.] "Your mom is tortifleta [Chilean colloquial word to refer to lesbian]" (FG3: L 817-819).

Similarly, Andrea said that she and her prospective child would not feel happy living in a Chilean context. Andrea's report showed how the prejudice had pervaded Andrea's understanding of future lesbian motherhood. She was expecting her child to have problems in the school context and with neighbours. Andrea also thought that she could be questioned as a mother by social services and social workers whose attention could be attracted. Her account revealed how identifying as a stigmatised prospective lesbian mother produced feelings of frustration in Andrea when she thought about her intentions of becoming mother:

Andrea: When I've thought about having a family the first thought that comes to my mind... I remember that I can't have a child here, because he [sic.] will not be happy, I will not be happy, the boy or the girl will not be happy. Why? Because here there is no freedom, there are neither legal nor factual possibilities to allow him [sic.] to develop normally.

Interviewer: When you say here what do you mean?

Andrea: In this country... because as Roberto said, maybe he [sic.] will have problem at school, in the street I don't know what, the neighbours, the SENAME [Chilean National Service for Children], the social worker (...) So I don't get it and it causes me some frustration (FG2: L 251-263).

Although prospective LB mothers thought that being a mother in a Chilean context would be difficult, some of them were reframing the difficulty as a challenge that they should feel proud of taking on. Interestingly, Andrea, who mentioned her feelings of frustration and worries about not feeling happy, also said she should cope with society by feeling proud of herself as a lesbian mother in a parallel way to how she had done as a lesbian woman:

Andrea: If I have a son or a daughter I'm going to tell him or her how I am from the beginning (...) And if she or he gets a doubt, I will respond in the most natural way possible (FG2: L 399-402)... And it [overprotecting children] wouldn't be good, I don't know, like lowering the head because you don't meet the standard and feeling that you are doing something wrong, or that the family you have is not accepted, and going through life without pride. I would tackle it as I've done so far, so proud of what I am (L 638-641).

Andrea's account seemed to contain a contradiction regarding how she would deal with her social context: her report clearly showed how Andrea oscillated between frustration because of social rejection and her desire to feel proud about standing

up for her motherhood intentions in a non-supportive social context. Andrea's account also revealed the efforts participants made to accept their own identity and to defend their desire to be a mother against other people's prejudices toward lesbian and gay parenting. Antonia clearly stated that identifying as "gay" in Chilean society implied the assumption of the social consequences of such an identification, and that achieving this goal in a non-supportive context required resilience: "I mean, when one already identifies as gay, one also assumes everything that this is going to lead to socially (...) So, in the end we have to develop I don't know which part of the brain, or which part of our soul, like being ultra resilient" (FG3: L 758-761).

5.3.6. Feeling in a disadvantaged political position within society yet anticipating the achievement of equality

Participants talked about how oppressed they felt because of the lack of legal recognition of same-gender parented families in Chile. This theme split into three sub-themes: *The complexity of legal barriers and the lack of recognition as a legal parent; The anticipated achievement of equality; and Dealing with the legally privileged heterosexual family model.*

5.3.6.1. The complexity of legal barriers and the lack of recognition as a legal parent

When prospective LB mothers made sense of their desire to have children, and considered the routes available to achieve this goal, they felt constrained by the

legal barriers they observed in the Chilean legal context. Carmen, who gave the same value to having a biological or a non-biological child, said that donor insemination was her preferred option because of the complexity of the legal recognition of two lesbian mothers and a biological father. Nevertheless, Carmen also said that if she and Soraya were allowed to adopt a child as a same-gender couple, adoption would be a good viable option for her too. But as adoption by same-gender couples was not possible in Chile, Carmen thought that the best option for her was donor insemination:

Carmen: In that sense it's the same for me, if he is a biological son [sic.] or not, but I feel attracted to the idea of insemination for practical and legal reasons, it's already an issue, the fact of being two legal moms, so adding another legal drama, because there will be a father (...) but if we were allowed to adopt... from my point of view, which is not Soraya's view... I wouldn't have any problem with adoption (FG1: L 274-280).

Carmen's account showed how legal barriers shaped the way in which this group of prospective LB mothers thought about their possibilities of achieving their goal of motherhood. Similarly, Loreto anxiously observed that her possibility of achieving motherhood was limited because of the legal constraints. She thought that these limited possibilities were associated with her lesbian identity:

Loreto: I worry in the sense that... Well, I have many issues to solve regarding this matter... I mean about my [lesbian] identity and everything has to do with that, so when I think about it [her identity] I see it [motherhood] even more difficult because there is a legal issue in between. I mean, I don't know if there are adoption possibilities, I don't know if there are chances for in vitro fertilisation, I don't know. So I think, it's very difficult, and I see it as very complex (FG1: L 101-106).

Prospective LB mothers also thought that they would encounter some barriers because of the lack of legal protection for their future children. Carmen felt that her future child would be disadvantaged in comparison to the child of a heterosexual family. Carmen's account revealed how she thought she would feel unprotected by the Chilean law because of the lack of legal recognition of future lesbian mother family relationships. She thought that being a lesbian co-mother in particular would put her in a vulnerable position because she would not be able to access society's provision in times of needs:

Carmen: I panic, I panic having a child because my son [sic.] won't have the same legal safeguards like the son [sic.] of a heterosexual family. So, of course, of course, I panic, because for example if Soraya has a child, who will be biologically her child, and she is not in the city at the time when the kid falls off a chair, and he [sic.] has to be operated upon because his arm was fractured, being alone I won't have the possibility of signing in the clinic and the child won't be operated?

Loreto: Or if you want to take him out of the country (FG1: L648-654).

Prospective LB mothers understood that one of the main legal limitations on them was the lack of recognition as a legal mother. For instance, in the case of a donor insemination, only the biological mother would be recognised as the legal mother according to Chilean legislation at the time of the focus groups. Similarly, in the case of adoption, which was available only for single people or married heterosexual couples in Chile, only one member of the same-gender couple would be recognised as a legal mother. Andrea therefore thought that if she was able to adopt a child, her partner would not be recognised as a legal mother. Andrea saw this lack of recognition as degrading treatment from the Chilean state:

Andrea: For example, if Roberto or me gain the adoption... I think you [Roberto] mentioned it briefly... the partner will not be able to be recognised as a parent to the child, then what will happen with that? Because the state doesn't recognize the homoparental family (...) It is too degrading (FG2: L 319-324).

5.3.6.2. The anticipated achievement of equality

Andrea's account also revealed how this group of prospective LB mothers positioned themselves as disadvantaged political subjects within Chilean society. Indeed, all prospective LB mothers conveyed to some degree being aware of their disadvantaged political position in society. The following focus group conversation extracts showed how meaningful the achievement of equal rights was for participants. Prospective LB mothers argued that they should have access both to same-sex marriage and to same-sex adoption to safeguard their rights as a same-gender couple parenting:

Soraya: The rest of the society [i.e., LGBT people] has to have the option [to marry]

Loreto: The possibility has to exist

Carmen: It has to exist in every sense, there has to be [same-sex] marriage, there has to be [same-sex] adoption, there have to be all the constitutional ways open to become absolutely equal, because we are not second place beings, neither do we have recognition within the country, nor are we sub-citizens (FG1: L 797-802).

Furthermore, some prospective LB mothers conveyed that they were actively working for the achievement of their desired equality within Chilean society. For example, Andrea said that when she started to study law she started to learn how

the legal system worked. Then she began to work for the achievement of equal rights for LGBT people:

Andrea: When I started university, and because I studied law, I began to understand how the system works. In the lectures I began to generate arguments to support ourselves [LGBT people] or to find ways to solve the problem. So I am now at a stage of working to change this situation of inequality (FG1: L 270-272).

When prospective LB mothers made sense of future motherhood they thought that it would be a challenge to live as an LB mother in a traditional society where the heterosexual family was the ideal model. Soraya conveyed that legal changes to protect the children of same-gender couples would make her feel safer and more protected than in the current situation, but she did not expect quick cultural changes as a consequence of possible legal changes. Soraya implied that prejudice was an issue that she as future lesbian mother would have to deal with anyway:

Soraya: Maybe in 15 or 20 years more there will be homosexual parents raising children in a calm manner, but now, whether or not there was a law won't change anyone, maybe one will feel safer, a little more sheltered, in quotes, but I think actually that's a challenge that one has to take on as a person, knowing what one will have to put up with (FG1: L 832-836).

5.3.6.3. Dealing with the legally privileged heterosexual family model

Prospective LB mothers also thought that the Chilean political system favoured the traditional heterosexual family model and that the denial of equal rights for LGBT people was based in the prejudice people held regarding non-heterosexual people. Participants thought that lesbian mothers or gay fathers were not seen as

positive models for children. Since LGBT people were associated with the transgression of moral norms, society then sought to protect children against potential deviation in their moral upbringing. Antonia conveyed how people's rejection of lesbian and gay parenting was associated with the thought of potential interference in the moral education of children. Antonia thought that this stigma also was behind people's disapproval of same-sex marriage. She implied that the aim of those who were against same-sex marriage was to prevent lesbian and gay people from forming their own families:

Antonia: The aim [same-sex marriage denial] is to deny the issue of family

Esteban: Sure

Antonia: Maybe if we all the gays signed "I am committed to not having children" Then they would say "Ok, they can get married, because they aren't going to dirty children's minds"

Esteban: Of course

Carola: Of course (FG3: L 596-601).

As participants' accounts have revealed, this group of prospective LB mothers felt that by forming a two-mother family they would not fit in with the traditional heterosexual family model of Chilean society. Instead of seeing same-gender parenting as bringing lesbian and gay relationships closer to the “socially respectable” model of a two-parent heterosexual family with children Chilean society would only allow for same-gender relationship equal rights if no children were involved. These participants thought that the families of lesbian mothers or gay fathers were not recognised as families by society. The following focus group conversation revealed how participants felt that lesbian or gay parenting was bypassed in Chilean society:

Carmen: Why? because what they [law makers] are trying to rescue is the [heterosexual] family, "because the family is the cornerstone of the nation" [as said by other people]

Vicente: "And the nucleus of the society"

Loreto: "of the society"

Carmen: "And there has to be a mom and a dad" therefore lesbian motherhood or gay fatherhood, no (FG1: L 708-713).

5.4. Discussion

The purpose of Study 2 was to investigate motherhood desire in a younger generation of Chilean LB women in order to explore how contemporary young LB women were thinking about having their own children within a changing socio-legal context. I also examined how religious/moral discourses about family formation and the ideal of motherhood played a significant role in the motherhood expectations of young LB women.

The findings of Study 2 have revealed a deep desire for motherhood in a group of prospective LB mothers and shown the significant value they placed on planning motherhood. These participants also conveyed their desire to form a family based on a biological maternal relationship with their child within a partnership in which both women would ideally be acknowledged as mothers. Donor insemination was then the preferred option for these prospective LB mothers to achieve this motherhood goal. Although adoption was also mentioned as viable motherhood option by some women, adoption was less desirable because of the emphasis upon having a biological connection with their prospective child and the lack of an equal legally relationship to their child for both parents in a same-gender couple.

Prospective LB mothers also understood that forming a two-mother family did not fit within the traditional family model of Chilean society. They had encountered prejudices, stigmas and stereotypes associated with lesbian and gay people as individuals and parents within their local social contexts. Some participants then thought that it would be difficult to deal with this non-supportive society as parents, yet they also thought they should face a hostile and resistant social context by feeling proud about their identities. Participants' accounts revealed how important acceptance, recognition and support from their family of origin was for them. Prospective LB mothers finally conveyed how aware they were of their disadvantaged political position in society and were expecting to achieve equal rights in having legal safeguards and to protect their future children.

Some prospective LG mothers associated their desire for motherhood with feelings of deep fulfillment and happiness, revealing how deep and meaningful this desire was for them (e.g., Palma et al., 2012). These participants saw motherhood as a strong life course expectation and some described being a mother as a vehicle for self-realisation. When they constructed their prospective motherhood, they connected it with their own experiences in their family of origin. In addition, some prospective LB mother signified the importance of lineage (e.g., Herrera, 2009) portraying motherhood as transgenerational experience. These findings revealed how these participants saw motherhood as transformative experience within their life course project.

Prospective lesbian mothers' accounts also revealed how both biological and non-biological parenthood were considered when participants thought about creating their own family relationships (e.g. Brown and Perlesz 2008; Perlesz et

al., 2006a; Swainson & Tasker, 2005; Tasker & Granville, 2011; Tasker & Patterson, 2007). Nevertheless, having biological connections or relationships with their future children was at the core of their accounts (e.g., Ben-Ari & Livni, 2006; Herrera, 2009; Libson, 2012). Some participants saw having a biological child as having their own genetic child and/or as having a child who came from (inside) them. These understandings of either genetic or gestational mother-child relationship revealed the primacy of biology when these participants defined prospective family relationships. The centrality of biological ties also was visible when participants spoke about their family of origin's expectations regarding participants' motherhood intentions.

As prospective LB mothers gave a significant importance to having biological relationships with their future children, they also conveyed that donor insemination was the preferred route to motherhood. Donor insemination would allow participants to have their own biological children and give them the possibility of feeling part of the pregnancy process (e.g., Ben-Ari & Livni, 2006; Herrera, 2009; Libson, 2012). These participants saw their possibility of pregnancy as a distinctive aspect of their female condition and some thought that being a two-woman couple was a reproductive advantage for them. Prospective LB mothers' accounts conveyed that they felt parenthood was more likely option for them compared to the gay men who also participated in the focus groups.

When prospective LB mothers thought about their intention of becoming mothers they stressed the importance of planning parenthood. Some participants saw the need to plan motherhood as an advantage for same-gender couples parenting because they would not have to deal with an unplanned pregnancy as

some heterosexual couples had to do. According to participants' accounts the planning process would allow them to prepare for motherhood in advance. Prospective LB mothers saw childrearing as significant responsibility and as an important life changing event. They conveyed that childrearing was a big responsibility because it implied taking care of the child's life and because would involve providing the child with the tools to face his/her life - particularly in a Chilean context that was likely to be prejudiced to the children of LB mothers. Participants saw caring and socialisation as two key aspect of childrearing. They thought that good childrearing was not related to parental sexual orientation. Given the significant responsibility that childrearing involved, prospective LB mothers thought that bringing up their children would become their top priority in life. Notably the emphasis on prioritising and planning for children was more apparent in the accounts of the lesbian and bisexual women participants in the focus groups as compared to those of the gay men.

Prospective LB mothers also thought that childrearing would require them to have a level of economic stability and appropriate conditions for bringing up children. Some of them felt constrained because they had not yet achieved an economic stability on which to predicate their motherhood goal. One of the main limitations LB participants conveyed were the financial costs of access to donor insemination implying that they would seek a medically assisted route (e.g., Palma et al., 2012). As their accounts showed, donor insemination was highly expensive for them. A two-mother family was seen as the most appealing family form by most of group of prospective LB mothers (e.g., Herrera, 2009). Whether through donor insemination or adoption, these participants thought that they should convey their family formation to their future children as something natural

and normal. They also said that they should teach future children about the particularities of their family type in order to emotionally protect them from possible experiences of discrimination or stigmatisation (e.g., Gartrell et al., 2000; Jara & Araujo, 2011; Mitchell, 1998). Participants were aware that their two-mother family plan did not fit with the traditional heterosexual family model, so teaching children about being proud of their family formation was one of the strategies prospective LB mothers proposed as useful in dealing with a non-supportive Chilean society (e.g., Mitchell, 1998).

Even though participants were aware that their prospective two-mother model was not accepted by Chilean society, they themselves held positive views about their family formation project. Some women saw themselves as being able to provide their children with a conventional upbringing. For example, some participants conveyed that their future children could find a male role model within their own extended family (e.g., Polášková, 2007). Thus participants implied that having a parental model of the same child's gender was important and could be met in other ways by a two mother family. Other participants thought about integrating both masculinity and femininity in their parenting in order to provide children with integrated gendered parenting. These participants also implied that their future children might integrate masculinity and femininity within their own gender roles expressions. Thus, having a two-mother family was not seen as problematic for children according any of the prospective LB mothers. Some understandings of gender clearly differed from traditional notions of gender roles where mother and father roles are associated with femininity and masculinity respectively. But all participants saw gender socialisation as important for children.

Prospective LB mothers conveyed how important acceptance, recognition and support was for them from their family of origin. Participants mainly reported current acceptance (e.g., Lynch & Murray, 2000; Swainson & Tasker, 2005) and support from their family of origin as LB women (e.g., Jara & Araujo, 2011; Lynch & Murray, 2000; Sánchez et al., 2004), although some of them had felt stigmatised at some point in their life by some family members and in some families at least some family members avoided discussion of lesbian matters (e.g., Acosta, 2008, 2010; Asencio, 2009; Espín, 1987; Sánchez et al., 2004). Family of origin was a context in which participants sometimes had heard stereotypes and derogatory terms regarding non-heterosexual people. Interestingly, prospective LB mothers did not report direct experiences of rejection from their family of origin as LB women but not challenging or even raising the issue with some family members directly clearly played a part in how rejection was avoided (e.g., Acosta, 2010). While some participants were asked to be silent about their sexual identity within a family context, other prospective LB mothers participants felt that they were not recognised as a same-gender couple. Participants reported that family members avoided the use of the word "girlfriend" and preferred to say "friend" because they could not acknowledge participants' same-gender relationships (e.g., Sánchez et al., 2004). These findings are consistent with previous studies with US Latina LB women that have shown how Latino families might have difficulties to acknowledge women's non-heterosexuality in spite being aware of it (Acosta, 2008, 2010; Asencio, 2009; Espín, 1987). Notwithstanding, and again this is consistent with previous studies, that have revealed that families mainly continued supported participants after sexual identity disclosure (Acosta, 2008, 2010; Asencio, 2009; Espín, 1987).

Furthermore, while some prospective LB mothers conveyed that their family of origin had accepted and recognised their intentions of becoming mothers, other participants reported that their family members would be much more resistant to the idea of participants raising their own children in the context of a same-gender relationship. One participant implied that she had felt annulled by her family in her desire of motherhood, while another interviewee conveyed that she would not be supported by their family of origin in her motherhood plans. This participant said that her family members held more traditional views regarding family formation and sexuality. She mentioned how she had been taught about the value of virginity in order to portray the conservative beliefs of her family of origin. The value of virginity as a principle of sexual morality for Latina women has been clearly delineated in the literature about Latina and Chilean women sexuality (Espín, 1987; Greene, 1994; Valdés, 2005).

Prospective LB mothers also conveyed how they thought they were seen as LB women and how they thought they would be seen as LB mothers by other people outside their family context. Participants reported that lesbian women were only recently visible in Chilean society and that people still showed their rejection of this visibility. For instance, participants felt that they could be criticised by other people if they expressed their same-gender feelings in a public. One participant even mentioned a fear of being killed as a cause of prejudice. Some participants conveyed that same-gender affective expressions were seen as perversions by some people, revealing the heterosexist context in which these participants lived.

Findings also showed the way in which others' views influenced how these prospective LB mothers saw themselves in social context. As same-gender attraction was still seen as a perversion by some people in Chilean society, some participants thought that others would think that lesbian and gay people were inappropriate models for children (e.g., Herrera, 2009; Santos & Alves de Toledo, 2006). Participants had encountered stigmas and stereotypes against LGBT people e.g. that LGBT people were potential child abusers or that lesbian and gay parents could influence their children's sexual orientation. Participants then had concluded that these prejudices were behind people's rejection of lesbian and gay parents raising children. Participants' accounts revealed how LB motherhood might contest the traditional family model of Chilean society by defying the heterosexual model as principle of sexual morality.

Prospective lesbian mothers thought that it would be difficult to cope within this non-supportive society after becoming mothers. Some participants reported expecting to feel afraid, or unhappy, on becoming a mother within Chilean society. Here participants were concerned about the possibility that their future children would be discriminated against because of their two-mother family background (e.g., Gartrell et al., 1999; Herrera, 2009; Santos & Alves de Toledo, 2006). Participants also thought that they could encounter difficulties at child's school, or with neighbours, or that they could be questioned about their parenting capabilities by social services personnel working with children. In spite of these uncomfortable expected feelings, some participants thought that they could cope with society despite it being a challenge for them. Prospective LB mothers' accounts revealed how some participants had moved from feelings of frustration to re-conceptualising their struggle as a challenge that they would feel proud to

overcome. These findings revealed how participants together began to feel resilient when trying to overcome their unsupportive social contexts.

When prospective LB mothers thought about their intentions of becoming mothers, they became aware of the legal barriers to achieving their motherhood goal: the lack of recognition of two legal mothers within Chilean legal system (e.g., Jara & Araujo, 2011; Herrera, 2009). Specifically, they felt limited when they thought of donor insemination because the non-biological mother would not be recognised as a legal mother (e.g., Ben-Ari & Livni, 2006; Wilson, 2000). Similarly, they could not both access legal parenting rights through adoption as a same-gender couple. Prospective LB mothers thought that the lack of legal recognition would affect their future children's protection, such as the access to medical provision in time of need (e.g., Jara & Araujo, 2011; Sánchez et al., 2004). These participants then felt in a vulnerable position and some of them thought that this lack of recognition was degrading treatment from the Chilean state. By living in Chilean legal context, prospective LB mothers felt in a disadvantaged position within society. Thus seeking to achieve equal rights was a significant aspect of participants' accounts.

Prospective LB mothers also thought that policies and laws had been conceived in order to protect the traditional family model formed by married heterosexual parents. Some participants thought that the denial of same-sex marriage bill was based in the belief that lesbian and gay people were not positive role models for children. According to participants' accounts some people believed that children should be protected against potential moral deviation. These

findings showed how participants thought that their two-mother family formation project had no place within the Chilean legal context in which they lived in.

The finding of this study revealed how these prospective LB mothers had deep desires and clear intentions of becoming mothers, in spite of living in a non-supportive society. Although participants felt afraid, or sometimes frustrated, when they tried to make motherhood plans, they still presented proud of their sexual identity and were willing to face the heterosexist Chilean society. Support for motherhood from their own family of origin had been a significant source of emotional support to subvert the barriers to achieve their motherhood within an oppressive socio-cultural context. In spite of the expected legal changes, participants felt that they would have to deal with the cultural resistance to their LB motherhood under any circumstance. Participants' accounts revealed how heterosexuality as a principle of sexual morality was the strongest cultural barrier these prospective LB mothers found to achieve their motherhood goal without being stigmatised as "immoral" or "perverted" mothers within Chilean society.

An additional life course theoretical analysis (Allen & Henderson, 2016) indicates that participants in this study encountered more positive reactions from their family of origin than did the lesbian mothers in Study 1. For instance, LB prospective mothers mainly reported current acceptance and support from their family of origin as LB women. This is different from the experiences reported by lesbian mothers in Study 1, who mainly reported negative reactions from their parents regarding their sexual orientation. Furthermore, LB prospective mothers also confirmed that lesbian women had achieved social visibility only in recent

years in Chilean society, which suggests that these younger group of LB women seemingly encountered shared experiences with other LB women in their social context, something that lesbian mothers in Study 1 rarely found when they were young women.

Despite current experiences of acceptance and support from their family of origin that LB prospective mothers encountered, they also described experiences of stigmatisation over their life courses. Some participants had heard stereotypes and derogatory terms relating to homosexuality and negative views about lesbian and gay parents, often portrayed as inappropriate/immoral models for children, by some heterosexual people. Thus, in some respect, participants felt afraid of becoming mothers because they expected that they and their future children would be discriminated against in their social context. This revealed how lesbian and mother identities interacted to create a stigmatised social status (Cole, 2009). Furthermore, some participants were asked to be silent about their sexual orientation by their parents, and others felt not recognised as a same/gender couple together with their partners. Again, this is highly significant considering that the expectations of rejection, concealment and internalised homophobia can affect negatively the mental health (Meyer, 2003).

Interestingly, LB prospective mothers in Study 2 thought that they should face the homophobic context in which they lived by feeling proud about their identities. This contrasted significantly with the position of most the lesbian mothers in Study 1, who struggled for a long period to identify as a lesbian and to disclose to significant others. It seemed that participants in Study 1 and 2 encountered different social contexts regarding societal sexual stigma available to them at

various points over their life courses (Allen & Henderson, 2016).

Notwithstanding, participants in Study 2 felt in disadvantaged social and political positions as future LB mothers within Chilean society and thought that achieving equal rights was a significant goal to achieve for them.

Chapter 6: Heterosexual Women's views on Lesbian and Gay Parenting

In this chapter, I present Study 3 regarding Chilean heterosexual women's attitudes toward lesbian and gay parenting. Firstly, I briefly review the existing research on attitudes toward LG people and parents in ESWE and Latino countries. I also examine research studies conducted in Chile in order to provide an overview of the social context in which Chilean lesbian and prospective mothers have been forming or planning their own families. Secondly, I describe the methodological features of Study 3 by detailing which parts of the procedures or research methods used were similar to those employed in Studies 1 or 2. Thirdly, I present the findings of the Thematic Analysis based on participants' accounts provided during focus group conversations. Finally, I discuss the main findings of the TA in relation to existing knowledge in the field.

6.1. Research on attitudes toward LG people and parents

An emerging body of research is increasingly focused on studying the attitudes of heterosexual people toward LG parenting in order to explore the social context in which LG parents are raising their children. Quantitative studies have shown an association between negative perceptions of parenting capabilities and developmental outcomes in children with high levels prejudice against sexual minorities (Fraser, Fish, & Mackenzie, 1995; Massey, 2007; Massey, Merriwether, & Garcia, 2013; Morse, McLaren, & McLachlan, 2007). Thus,

sexual prejudice seems to be a strong predictor of holding negative attitudes toward lesbian and gay parenting. The purpose of the present study was to explore Chilean heterosexual women's views about lesbian and gay parenting in order to analyse the context in which lesbian mothers and prospective lesbian mothers were creating or planning their own lesbian family project. As sexual prejudice has been found to be a powerful predictor of negative attitudes toward LG parenting, both research topics will be reviewed in this section.

In Chile, the disapproval toward sexual minorities has steadily declined during the last years according to population-based surveys (ICSO, 2012b; Smith, 2011; WVS, 2006). For instance, according to a national public survey the rate of men agreeing or strongly agreeing with the statement "homosexuality is a choice as valid as any other" increased from 35.5% in 2005 (ICSO, 2005) to 59.2% in 2012 (ICSO, 2012b). The same dataset revealed that rate of acceptance was higher in younger people, with a mean of 64.9% in the cohort between 18 and 29 years old (ICSO, 2012b). These findings thus support the proposition that current generations of youths are more tolerant toward sexual minority people in Chile than are older generations. Nevertheless, research has continued to record high levels of stigmatisation in Chilean sexual minorities (Barrientos, Silva, Catalan, Gómez, & Longueira, 2010; Gómez & Barrientos, 2012).

Broader research on sexual prejudice (mainly in the U.S.) has linked more negative attitudes toward LG people with several factors, including gender, with men revealing more prejudiced attitudes than women (Herek, 2000; Kite & Whitley, 1996). In particular, heterosexual men have been found to hold more negative attitudes toward gay men than to lesbians (Davies, 2004; Herek, 2000).

Negative attitudes toward LG people also have been associated with other factors in U.S. research, including high level of religiosity (Whitley, 2009), older cohort of people (Herek, 1994), lower educational level (Herek, 2006), conservative political ideology (Whitley, 1999), and less previous contact with sexual minorities (Smith, Axelton, & Saucier, 2009b). Quantitative studies conducted with Chilean undergraduate students have revealed that men tend to be more negative than women and a strong association of negative attitudes toward sexual minorities with being more religious (Barra, 2002; Cárdenas & Barrientos, 2008; Cárdenas, Barrientos, Gómez, & Frías-Navarro, 2012; Nierman, Thompson, Bryan, & Mahaffey, 2007). Thus, gender and religiosity seemed to be powerful predictors of attitudes toward sexual minorities in Chile also.

International research on attitudes toward lesbian and gay parenting conducted in the U.S. (Crawford, McLeod, Zamboni, & Jordan, 1999; Crawford & Solliday, 1996; King & Black, 1999), Canada (Fraser et al., 1995; Rye, & Meaney, 2010), Australia (Morse et al., 2007) and Europe (Baiocco, Nardelli, Pezzuti, & Lingiardi, 2013; Gato & Fontaine, 2013) have revealed that heterosexual people tend to evaluate parenting in same-gender couples less favourably than in heterosexual couples. However, other studies conducted also in the U.S. have found contradictory finding, showing that same-gender couples were not more negatively evaluated than other-gender couples (Massey, 2007; Massey et al., 2013; McLeod, Crawford, & Zechmeister, 1999). Thus, further research is needed to analyse the extent to which lesbian and gay parents are evaluated more negatively than heterosexual parents and the variables that might function as moderators. In a similar fashion to research on sexual prejudice generally, research studies on attitudes to LG parenting have found that being a man (Fraser

et al., 1995; Gato & Fontaine, 2013; Morse et al., 2007; Rye & Meaney, 2010), being older (Baiocco, et al., 2013; Morse, et al., 2007) and more religious observance (Crawford & Solliday, 1996) were all associated with more negative attitudes.

Notwithstanding, a few research studies evaluating attitudes toward LG parents and their children have been carried out in non-ESWE countries. For example, two studies have been conducted in Latin American countries. One study was conducted in Mexico with 100 male participants (of which 96% identified as heterosexual) founding that younger men held less negative attitudes than did older men toward adoption by gay men (Colli, Osorno, Quintal, & Chan, 2011). The other study was carried out in Chile and revealed that being man, and holding traditional and sexist views were associated with greater rejection of lesbian and gay parenting (Frías, Barrientos, Badenes, Monterde-i-Bort, & Cárdenas, 2014). The same study also revealed that the contact with sexual minorities was inversely related to the rejection of non-heterosexual parents.

Given the strong evidence of gender differences in heterosexual people's attitudes not only to same-gender parenting but also in relation to sexual minority people generally, I decided to explore how participants as women might have a particular view toward LG parenting and then to consider religious/moral discourses were associated with participants' ideas about lesbian and gay parenting. Furthermore, despite the rich insight quantitative research studies have provided to the understanding of attitudes toward lesbian and gay parenting, there is still a need to know which key ideas or sets of cultural values are behind negative views toward same-gender parenting. For instance, a qualitative study conducted in the U.K.

analysed a variety of people's arguments against lesbian and gay parenting (Clarke, 2001). Clarke analysed data collected from six focus group carried out with 44 undergraduate students (37 women and seven men) and reviewed data from 116 media representations of lesbian and gay parents (95 newspaper and magazine articles and 21 talk shows). The study revealed that people's arguments were related with people's own understanding of what was in the best interest of the child, religious beliefs, and moral discourses. For instance, arguments were related to the selfishness of lesbian and gay parents because they ignored the best interest of the child. Other ideas portrayed lesbian and gay parenting as a sin (against Biblical prescriptions) and as something unnatural. Finally, a last group of arguments focused on the impact of lesbian and gay parenting on children development, suggesting that children of LG parents would grow up to be lesbian and gay themselves, that LG parents could not provide appropriate role models, and/or that the children of LG parents would be bullied.

Thus, the present study explored Chilean heterosexual women's views on LG parenting with a particular focus on participants' understandings of family, children's development, and views on adoption. Participants' understandings of gender and sexual orientation, and religious/moral discourses were also investigated. The research questions were: How do Chilean heterosexual women give meaning to LG parented families? What do heterosexual women think about children growing up with LG parents? What are challenges/difficulties heterosexual women think LG parents and their children would have to cope with by living in Chilean society? How do moral/religious discourses of the family, gender and sexuality shape the views of Chilean heterosexual women on LG parenting?

6.2. Method

6.2.1. Participants

Interviewees in this study were 18 Chilean heterosexual women who were first-year psychology students of an evening university program. The college was located in the city of Concepcion. Participants were aged between 19 and 45 years old, with a mean age of 32 years old. Out of the 18 interviewees, 17 identified as heterosexual and one identified as pansexual. Women and men were invited to participate in this study. However, only women volunteered to take part in the focus group. Men self-excluded themselves from the study. No other inclusion criteria were considered during the recruitment.

Four focus groups were conducted for data collection. Out of the four focus groups, three were included in the analyses. The focus group with the woman who identified as pansexual was excluded from the analysis as the initial study's purpose was to explore heterosexual psychology students' views on LG parenting and her presence seemed to give a different character to the data presented in this group. Focusing on heterosexual participants gave homogeneity to the selected sample. Furthermore, given that only women took part of the focus groups, the current study focused on heterosexual women's views on LG parenting. This provided the possibility of contrasting the findings of this study with the findings of Study 1 and 2, which were conducted with non-heterosexual women.

The final sample consisted of 15 heterosexual women aged between 24 to 45 years old, with an average age of 33 years. Ten participants were single, and five were married. Eleven participants lived within the Borough of Concepcion, and

four participants lived within the neighbouring Borough of Talcahuano. Six participants had previously completed undergraduate studies and nine were undertaking undergraduate studies for the first time. Nine participants reported having a religious affiliation (seven Catholic, one Christian, and one Evangelical), two mentioned that they simply had religious beliefs, and four stated no religious affiliation or beliefs. All fifteen participants identified as middle-class and non-disabled women. A summary of each participant's details and the pseudonyms given to participants are listed in Table 8.

6.2.2. Recruitment

The recruitment was conducted through the collaboration of the Department of Psychology of the University selected in this study. I received approval from the Director of that department after presenting a proposal for this study (see Appendix 38). Identifying information concerning the university has not been presented in this thesis in order to protect the confidentiality of participants.

Women psychology students were recruited by an oral invitation (a brief introduction to the study and request for participants from myself) during evening lectures. Time and dates for the focus group were planned according to the availability of a room at the university. Four focus groups up to eight participants were planned in advance to provide different time options for students. Interviews were volunteers and were not paid for their participation.

TABLE 8 Demographic Information for Participants in Study 3

Focus Group	Participant	Age	City of residence	Marital Status	Educational level	Religion
1	Maria	37	Concepcion	Married	Bachelor	Catholic
1	Monica	37	Concepcion	Single	Bachelor	No
1	Rebeca	38	Concepcion	Single	Bachelor	Yes
2	Chiara	30	Concepcion	Married	Undergraduate Student	Yes
2	Adriana	29	Talcahuano	Married	Undergraduate Student	Catholic
2	Romina	24	Talcahuano	Single	Bachelor	No
2	Ester	36	Concepcion	Single	Bachelor	Christian
2	Amparo	34	Talcahuano	Single	Undergraduate Student	No
2	Marta	24	Concepcion	Single	Undergraduate Student	No
2	Tamara	32	Concepcion	Single	Bachelor	Catholic
3	Pamela	45	Concepcion	Married	Undergraduate Student	Catholic
3	Elena	28	Talcahuano	Married	Undergraduate Student	Evangelical
3	Amanda	42	Concepcion	Single	Undergraduate Student	Catholic
3	Cecilia	27	Concepcion	Single	Undergraduate Student	Catholic
3	Victoria	26	Concepcion	Single	Undergraduate Student	Catholic

6.2.3. Focus group procedure

The focus groups were conducted during July 2014, were carried out in Spanish, and took between 45 and 90 minutes in duration. Following Wilkinson's (2008) suggestions for conducting focus groups (see Chapter 5), at the start of each focus group session, participants were informed about the purpose of the study and that the confidentiality and anonymity were assured (see Appendix 39 containing the information sheet for Study 3). Participants then were asked to sign an informed consent and to provide demographic information on a questionnaire (see Appendix 40), including their sexual orientation. Furthermore, participants were

informed of the focus group ground rules (see Chapter 5). The four focus groups were carried as planned without any problems occurring.

6.2.4. Ethical considerations

With each participant's consent, each focus group was audio recorded (see consent form attached in Appendix 41). I also planned to provide a back-up preliminary psychological support if required following the steps presented in Study 1 (see Chapter 4). After the preliminary session, participants could then be referred on to the Centre for Psychological Counselling of the university in which the study was conducted if necessary. I used Study 2's procedure for confidential data storage and handling of information. The study was approved by the ethics committee of the Department of Psychological Sciences of Birkbeck, University of London (see Appendix 42 and 43 containing the ethic form and the ethical approval). Ethical approval was received in July 2013 and the recruitment process began in July 2014.

6.2.5. Thematic Analysis procedure

I followed the model of six stages proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006) for conducting TA within psychology: First, I read the verbatim transcript of each focus group several times noting down initial ideas. Second, I created initial codes systematically across the entire data set. Here, I also used Smith's et al. (2009a) useful suggestion of registering descriptive, linguistic, and conceptual comments and observations in order to highlight the distinctness of the different levels of

analysis/interpretation (see Appendix 44). Third, I collated my codes into potential themes selecting all the relevant data to each potential theme (see Appendix 45 and 46). Fourth, I created a primary thematic map with all the themes generated in the previous stage (see Appendix 47). Fifth, I defined and named the major themes and subthemes, and I refined the map of themes (see Appendix 48 containing the final map of themes). Sixth, I wrote down the analysis of each theme pushing the analysis on to a more interpretative level, by reviewing and following my research questions and using the Life Course Theory as an overarching theoretical framework. Analyses were conducted in Spanish, and only themes and subthemes, as well as, verbatim excerpts were translated into English.

6.2.6. Independent Researcher Audit

Similarly to the procedure used in Study 2 (see Chapter 5), the findings of study 3 were audited by one independent researcher. The auditor was an experienced Chilean researcher in the field of masculinity who had used qualitative methodologies in his investigations. The audit procedure was similar to the researcher audit of Study 2. The auditor received a non-randomly chosen Spanish transcript of one focus group with the whole Thematic Analysis and the corresponding demographic data (see Appendix 49 containing the table of sub-themes sent to the auditor). The Excel file containing the audit was returned as planned. Data was analysed and re-coded as explained in Study 1 (see Appendix 50 containing auditor's and researcher's coding after re-coding). The Kappa value

revealed a significant agreement between the auditor's ratings and my original ratings ($Kappa = 0.79, p < 0.001$).

6.2.7. Participant Audit (Member checking)

The procedure for participant audit was similar than in Study 1 (see Chapter 4). Participants were sent a link to complete the audit through an online survey (see Appendix 51). The survey consisted of one section containing the findings of the Thematic Analysis. Out of the 15 participants, three completed the audit within the given time frame: two participants of the Focus Group 3 and one participant of Focus Group 1. Data was analysed and re-coded as explained in Study 1 (See Appendix 50 containing participants' coding after re-coding). The low response rate of 20% (3/15) probably reflected the lower level of commitment of Study 3 student participants to the study. Notwithstanding the low response rate, the Kappa value revealed a significant agreement between my original coding and participant auditors ($Kappa = 0.55, p < 0.001$).

6.3. Findings

The thematic analysis generated the following main themes: 1) Family structure: Defining family through biological, emotional or social ties; 2) Family functioning: The impact of parenting on children's development; 3) Parents and modelling: The importance of parents' gender, sexual orientation and sexual behaviours on children development; and 4) Family in social context: LG parents

and their children being discriminated against. See Table 9 containing the themes and sub-themes originated from the TA.

TABLE 9 Themes and subthemes for Study 3: Thematic Analysis

Themes & Sub-themes	
1	Family structure: Defining family through biological, emotional or social ties
1.1	<i>Moving beyond the ideal family with two parents of different genders</i>
1.2	<i>Valuing the family with two parents of different genders</i>
1.3	<i>Children of same-gender parents seeing, or not seeing, their family as a normal family</i>
1.4	<i>Valuing the importance of emotional and social ties</i>
2	Family functioning: The impact of parenting on children's development
2.1	<i>The 'other families' as (dys)functional families</i>
2.2	<i>The positive impact of affection, values and support on children's development</i>
2.3	<i>LG parents being able to have a positive impact on children's development but society is not supportive</i>
3	Parents and modelling: The importance of parents' gender, sexual orientation and sexual behaviours on children development
3.1	<i>Children do, or do not, need different gender role models</i>
3.2	<i>(Not)accepting same-gender parents raising children in the absence of one gender role model</i>
3.3	<i>LG parents influencing, or not influencing, their children's sexual orientation</i>
3.4	<i>LG parents' sexual behaviours might be risky for children</i>
4	Family in social context: LG parents and their children being discriminated against
4.1	<i>Children of LG parents being discriminated against by their peers</i> Questioning LG parents adopting children because of the possibility of children being discriminated against Discrimination might or might not be harmful for children
4.2	<i>LG parents being discriminated against by other adults</i>
4.3	<i>Generational differences, social class and religiosity affecting people's attitudes toward same-gender parents</i>

6.3.1. Family structure: Defining family through biological, emotional or social ties

Participants' accounts revealed different understandings regarding what defines a family. Notwithstanding, all participants conveyed that there were different types of family forms and that biological, emotional or social ties were all important when creating family relationships . This theme split into four sub-themes:

Moving beyond the ideal family with two parents of different genders; Valuing the family with two parents of different genders; Children of same-gender parents seeing, or not seeing, their family as a normal family; and Valuing the importance of emotional and social ties.

6.3.1.1. Moving beyond the ideal family with two parents of different genders

Although participants described different family constellations, most interviewees implied that the ideal family model in Chilean society was the family formed by two parents of different genders. Then when participants described 'other families'²¹ types they mainly defined these other family forms in reference to or as moving beyond the ideal family model. For example, in Focus Group 2, Amparo said that there were different types of families apart from the family model with a mother, a father and their children. She mentioned that childless married couples and grandparents raising their grandchildren were also other types of families to be recognised. During the same focus group conversation, Adriana added that single parents with their children were yet another family type. Interestingly, eight

²¹ I use the term 'other families' in order to refer to those families that were not headed by two parents of different genders.

participants across all focus groups specifically mentioned that single mothers and their children were another family type. Similarly, Tamara who also took part in the Focus Group 2 discussion drew on her own personal experience to affirm that she, as a single mother, had a family with her son. It seems that her personal experience helped Tamara to define what a family was for her:

Amparo: Well, in Chile, as she (Romina) says, that's mainly the perception, father, mother and children, but there are other types of families... Married couples without children are also a family, or grandparents living with and raising their grandchildren are also a family... It depends, there are different realities (...).

Adriana: Either the mom alone, or sometimes the dad alone.

Tamara: Because not always... For example, in my case I'm alone with my son, and for me we are a family.

Adriana: Of course (FG 2, L 17-26).

Similarly, in Focus Group 1 Maria conveyed that other family forms moved beyond the model of two different-gender married couples with their children. She mentioned that solo parent families might be an alternative family model:

Maria: The norm is that it has to be a man and a woman who have to marry and have children... But they (parents) don't necessarily have to be married or have to be of different sexes... Nor even have to be two, because now even you don't need two [people] to have a child. Like a man who can rent a womb as happens in other countries, well, it happens also in Chile, but it is not legal... So basically they want to form their own family with their child (...) Or a woman who decides to have a child, and she does through in vitro fertilisation, or by sperm donation, it could also be an alternative type of family, because she is not with a man (FG 1, L 197-204).

As Maria implied that a family might not necessarily be formed by parents of different-genders, when in the quote above she implicitly acknowledged that

same-gender couples might be considered as another family type that moved beyond the ideal family model. Similarly, in Focus Group 3 Amanda also said that childless couples might be defined as a family. Yet, Amanda was explicit about mentioning that childless "homosexual" couples could be defined as a family when the couple was without children:

Amanda: We might be homosexuals or heterosexuals, but if we are two, we both are a family.

Cecilia: Of course, I totally agree (FG 3, L 422-424).

As did Amanda and Cecilia above, all participants acknowledged that same-gender couples formed a particular type of family in Chilean society. Some participants even had had close contact with families formed by non-heterosexual people. Tamara, who had two gay friends, said that her friends had their own family with their own children. She said that her gay friends' children had been born in the context of their previous heterosexual relationships. Tamara's account also revealed how she had a positive view of her gay friends forming their own family:

Tamara: For example, I have two friends who are gay, and before... Well, I think they were gay all their life, but they had a [female] partner... And they both are parents, one has a little boy, and the other has a little girl, and they are a couple, and they take their children to their home over the weekend. So their family is formed by my two friends, the daughter and the little boy, so they're a family. I don't know, I find it wonderful (FG 2, L 172-176).

6.3.1.2. Valuing the family with two parents of different genders

Despite all participants recognising the existence of the 'other families' in Chilean society and considering that these families moved beyond the ideal family model, the value some participant gave to these other families was different to that given to the traditional "ideal" family. Thus, it is important to distinguish between participants' own understanding of family definition and participants' own personal views or values regarding family formation. Although all participants acknowledged that family configurations were diverse, not all participants gave a positive value to 'other families'. Indeed, four participants (Romina, Pamela, Elena and Victoria) specifically mentioned that the family formed by two different-gender parents was the ideal model for them. In Focus Group 3 Elena said that in her own view a family had to be formed by a man and a woman, who ideally should have children together:

Elena: For me a family consists of a father, a mother, and children if possible, otherwise... But always a father and a mother...

Cecilia: You mean the ideal family?

Elena: That's a family for me (FG 3, L 4-7).

Interestingly, three of the four participants that gave a more positive value than did other participants to family formed by a different-gender couple (Pamela, Elena and Victoria) said that this ideal model was based on their Christian religious beliefs. In Focus Group 3 Pamela mentioned that her ideal family model with a mother and a father was based on her Christian beliefs. She implied that Jesus' family was the ideal family model for her: "As Victoria says... I think there is a religious idea, this model from Nazareth [Jesus' family]... At least I'm

Catholic, so this is model, with a father [Joseph] and a mother [Mary]..." (FG 3, L 84-85).

It seems that this Christian ideal family model was incompatible with the 'other families', and particularly, with those families formed by same-gender couples. For instance, Elena said that two women were not "designed" to have children as a man and a woman were. Elena's account clearly revealed her religious understandings of human reproduction and the linkage of biological parenthood with social parenting. It seems that biological parenthood was the preeminent aspect of the family formation mentioned by participants who supported the ideal family model:

Elena: Two women can't have a child because they are not designed to have it, it has to be a man who has to join with a woman to produce a child. Then I am assuming that both [the man and the woman] will contribute with something different to form a family... But this is the ideal [family] (FG 3, L 96-99).

6.3.1.3. Children of same-gender parents seeing, or not seeing, their family as a normal family

The concern regarding how to explain family structure to children of same-gender parents was mentioned by three (Romina, Pamela and Elena) of the participants who thought that the ideal family model was formed by a man and a woman. In Focus Group 2 Romina said that it might be difficult to explain children that their family was not formed by a mother and a father. Romina stated that children of

same-gender couples would be told by other people that "normal" families were formed by two different-gender parents:

Romina: But that's what people will say them, that a normal family should be formed by a father and a mother, or perhaps only a mom, and that he had a dad who died, or who separated from her mother, but that he had a dad, or that he had a mother, but not that he was born from the relationship between [two men or two women]... It's complex to explain that, how do I explain that? (FG 2, L 727-730).

In contrast with these participants' negative views and incomprehension of families formed by lesbian or gay couples, four other participants (Tamara, Marta, Ester and Adriana) mentioned that children of same-gender couples would grow up seeing their family as something normal. In Focus Group 2 Marta and Ester conveyed that growing up with same-gender parents would allow children to understand and to accept their family structure:

Marta: But the child will understand in his adolescence

Ester: Maybe the child is going to accept them [their parents] because he is going to grow up with them as parents (FG 2, L 345-346).

6.3.1.4. Valuing the importance of emotional and social ties

As mentioned above, biological parenthood was a key aspect of family formation for the four participants who supported the ideal family model. In contrast, the rest of participants said that families might also be formed by emotional or social ties. In Focus Group 1 Rebeca conveyed that families were not only formed through biological ties but also that emotional bonds might be important when defining what a family was: "For me a family is a group of people who have

something in common, which is a blood tie or an emotional bond, because families are not only built from blood ties" (FG 1, L 9-10).

Similarly, in Focus Group 1 Monica, who also said that families might be formed beyond biological ties, conveyed that even parent-child relationships, regardless the gender of the parent, were not the only aspect that defined a family. She implied that close friends can also be considered as a family. Including Monica, four participants mentioned that friends can be part of the family. Monica's somewhat hesitant account showed how social ties were essential for her to define what a family was:

Monica: I think family goes beyond man-woman-children; man-man-children; or woman-woman-children, because it goes beyond that bond, which can be of blood, to put it in some way, I think family can also be... There are families that one chooses, to put it in some way, beyond the family in which you were born and grew up (...).

Rebeca: And they are as valid as the blood [family].

Monica: Sure, there are also families that one chooses, to say something, your friends, but friends like brothers, that is those who are always there for you and that you are always there for them (FG 1, L 211-219).

6.3.2. Family functioning: The impact of parenting on children's development

Participants' accounts revealed that family functioning was seen by participants as an essential aspect of the family that might impact children's development. This theme split into three sub-themes: *The 'other families' as (dys)functional families;* *The positive impact of affection, values and support on children's development;*

and LG parents being able to have a positive impact on children's development but society is not supportive.

6.3.2.1. The 'other families' as (dys)functional families

Although participants considered that 'other families' moved beyond the ideal family model of two parents of different gender, most of the participants implied that these other family forms might also have a positive impact on children. Indeed, seven participants explicitly mentioned that parents in the 'other families' might do well as parents because what was essential for children's development was how the family functioned as a unit not the composition of the family. Further, in Focus Group 2 Chiara implied that families formed by a father, a mother and children were not always functional families, and that other family structures might function well as families:

Chiara: I think most people think that a well structured family is the one with a dad, a mom, and a child, but that's complicated because it's not always that this family structure works well, I don't know. Well, at least in my case, I have a mom and a dad, and I have my own family, with my husband and my children, and it's ok, but I know families that are like she [Tamara] says, only with the mother, or sometimes with uncles, aunts, or people who have had to take care of children unexpectedly, for whatever reason, and it [the family] works well (FG 2, L 46-51).

Similarly, Monica conveyed that families with parents of different gender as well as other family forms might be functional families. In particular, Monica said that single parents and same-gender parents might form a "good" family in order to portray that the gender of parents did not matter when referring to family

functioning. In addition, Rebeca implied that the success of a family formed by a same-gender couple would depend on the tools parents taught their children to deal with their social context:

Monica: I think a good family can be both mom and dad, as well as, one mom, one dad, two dads or two moms, I mean, a good family is independent of gender [of parents], it's other things that make...

Rebeca: I guess the success of that [same-gender] family will depend on the tools parents teach the child [to deal with teasing] (FG 1, L 439-443).

In contrast with participants' positive views regarding the functioning of the 'other families', two participants (Romina and Elena) considered that families which were not formed by two parents of different gender might produce disadvantages in children. Elena said that the outcomes of children who had been raised in families with a mother and father were different to the results found in studies (unspecified) of children in single parent families. She implied that children of single parents might have some disadvantages during their development:

Elena: According to what I've read in some areas, the outcomes of children who have grown up with a mom and a dad are different from those of children who have been raised either only with the mom or just with the dad, in some aspects, personality or some other deficiency, which can be bypassed, but not fully (FG 3, L 330-334).

6.3.2.2. The positive impact of affection, values and support on children's development

When participants discussed the importance of family functioning for children's development they mainly focused on three aspects of childrearing: affection, values and support. The most mentioned aspect of family functioning was affection. Eleven participants mentioned that affection was an essential aspect for children's development. Amparo and Romina talked about the importance of affection during the child's development, while Tamara relied on her personal experience as a single mother to convey how important the parent-child affection was for her. Tamara implied that she expressed affection for her child by playing with and spending time with him:

Amparo: I think affection is the most important aspect for the child's development.

Romina: Yes, and indeed at the younger ages affective stimulation is so important.

Tamara: I work and study all the day, and I live alone with my baby, but every day I play with him, I spent time with him (FG 2, L 677-680).

The second most mentioned aspect of childrearing was giving moral values to children. Eight participants said that providing children with positive values was an important aspect for children's development. Victoria conveyed that the core of the family functioning was the moral compass of life-long values that parents imported to children:

Victoria: I think the main thing, like the centre of the family, are the values which are given within the family (...) I always say that what I am as a person is due to the values my parents gave me. So I think that's the paramount in a family, because actually it's like what guides one to know

how to deal with life, or to know or to learn how to deal with different things, and I think that's so important in my opinion (FG 3, L 123-128).

The third element that participants considered as a central aspect of family functioning was the giving and receiving of support and care among family members. Seven participants mentioned that the support was an important aspect of family functioning. Adriana relied on her personal experience to imply that the support she received from her husband was essential for her personal sense of what it meant to be a family for her. She conveyed that family functioning to provide mutual support for family members was more important than having a family structure formed by two parents of different genders. Adriana's account also revealed how a shared history of partnership and taking care of someone else was an essential aspect for her when building family relationships:

Adriana: I think people have a misconception because... I find... Because they [people] believe that having dad, mom, and child is cute, and it's not like that, it's much further, I feel that... For example, I have my husband... It's the support, to have a story together, to get ahead, as Tamara says, sometimes taking over [of someone else]... For example, I raise my niece, and I only have one son, but we had to take this task, and we have undertaken together (FG 3, L 53-58).

6.3.2.3. LG parents being able to have a positive impact on children's development but society is not supportive

The previous participants' accounts revealed how participants saw family functioning as essential for children's development and that the 'other families' were mainly perceived as still having the potential to be functional families. In

particular, some participants specifically referred to families headed by same gender-parents as functional families in being able to provide these three important aspects of family functioning: affection, values, and support.

For example, Ester said that the support among family members, which was essential for family functioning, could also be found in families headed by same-gender couples. Additionally, during the same focus group conversation, Adriana endorsed Ester's points and Chiara conveyed that the affection was the most important aspect of family functioning:

Ester: But now that we see that the support is the ideal, as Adriana said, that it's essential, we can find it [the support] in a couple which is not formed by a mom and a dad.

Adriana: Of course.

Ester: Because if the support is essential, then that can be found in a same-sex couple, because it's supposed to be what matters most.

Adriana: Of course.

Chiara: I think what prevails is... I don't know, the love between people, above all (FG 2, L 96-103).

Interestingly, 11 out of 15 participants described positive developmental outcomes for children of same-gender parents. In the following focus group discussion participants clearly conveyed that children of lesbian and gay parents would develop normally because they saw same-gender couples as competent parents. Ester and Adriana conveyed that lesbian and gay parents would be caring parents because same-gender couples would have wanted to have children in the first place. In addition, Chiara implied that children of lesbian and gay parents would develop normally, yet she was concerned about how other people would react to these children:

Ester: I think those [same-gender] parents are going to be caring, they will be better [parents].

Adriana: Of course, if they want them [children] is for something.

Ester: They are wanted children.

Chiara: I think, I come back with the same, the child will be a normal child, he will grow normally, but he will always... It's the rest [of people].

Marta: As subjected by the society.

Chiara: It's not the family, the two homosexual parents and the child... He will be a normal child.

Adriana: Happy maybe.

Chiara: Even happier than with a heterosexual couple (FG 2, L786-795).

Furthermore, Rebeca also implied that children of same-gender parents will receive the same values and affection that children of different-gender parents did. Yet Rebeca, as Chiara above, was concerned about the possibility of children of lesbian and gay parents being prejudiced in their social context: "The child may be very happy in his [sic.] family, he [sic.] will receive the same values, the same love and affection of a father and mother, but the context is not prepared, the context will point the finger at them" (FG 1, L 427-429).

6.3.3. Parents and modelling: The importance of parents' gender, sexual orientation and sexual behaviours on children development

Participants reflected on how the model presented by same-gender parents' modelling might impact upon children's development. In particular, interviewees discussed about how parents' gender, sexual orientation, or sexual behaviour would affect children's gender or sexual development. This theme split into four

sub-themes: *Children do, or do not, need different gender role models;*
(Not)accepting same-gender parents raising children in the absence of one gender
role model; LG parents influencing, or not influencing, their children's sexual
orientation; and LG parents' sexual behaviours might be risky for children.

6.3.3.1. Children do, or do not, need different gender role models

The most discussed aspect of parental modelling was how parental gender might affect children. Ten participants reported that children should have two different gender role models and that the parental role during childrearing was associated with a parent's gender. Nevertheless, eight of the participants conveyed that gender role models need not necessarily be the child's parents and that other family members or relatives could represent a gender model in the absence of a parental gender role model. Monica's implied that children should have a feminine and a masculine gender model and that these parental figures could be represented by other family members or friends. Monica also conveyed that parental roles were associated with parental gender and said that she as a woman would not be able to teach certain things to a son. Monica's account revealed how she saw feminine and masculine gender roles as essentially (and biologically) different and that this difference was reflected in parenting roles:

Monica: [Children need] a feminine and a masculine model who don't have to be the father and the mother, it may be the grandmother, it may be an aunt, it may be even a parent's close friend, because I think there are certain things that... Well, two women are not going to be able to teach a male child what a male model could... I'm not saying it's bad, not at all, but as a woman I can't... I talking about me, as a woman I can teach many

things to my children, but there are things that are not within my feminine nature, I don't know how to explain it... (FG 1, L 247-253).

In contrast with participants who mentioned that children should have two gender role models, other four participants conveyed that children did not necessarily need to be raised with two different gender role models. Nevertheless, while these participants were open about the possibility of children being raised without one gender role model, some traditional understanding of gender roles were still visible in their accounts. For example, Rebeca relied on her personal experience both of being raised only by her mother and her own experience as a single mother herself. She implied that the lack of a gender role model did not necessarily affect child's gender development. She also implied that having been raised only by a woman did not affect her womanhood as she felt as "normal" woman. However, Rebeca still conveyed that she would have loved to have grown up with a mother and a father. Rebeca's account also revealed how the achievement of a feminine gender identity was still an important developmental goal for her in the absence of a masculine gender role model. Rebeca's extract below reflects how difficult it was for her to assert a less traditional gender role model within the focus group discussion: Despite believing that only one parent is needed to raise a child, Rebeca still needed to affirm and emphasise that this would not affect a child's appropriate gender development and in the example below she illustrated this with her own story:

Rebeca: I disagree with that [the need of two gender role models], because I was raised just by a woman, and of course, I would have loved to have a mom and a dad, but that doesn't make me... I mean, I am neither more nor less a woman than another person, I feel super normal. I've accomplished what I wanted, well, I've delayed a bit more for certain things that happened

during my life, I had my son when I was young, and I raised him alone, I'm the mom and the dad of my son until today, he is 19 years old (FG 2, L 879-884).

Interestingly, three of the four participants who argued that children did not necessarily need two different gender role models were single mothers. Amanda, who was indeed a single mother herself, argued that parents' gendered roles were socially defined and that she as a single mother fulfilled both gender roles in her child's upbringing. Amanda implied that the role of providing her daughter with affection and protection was different from the role of controlling her daughter's behaviour. Amanda also tried to convey that she felt more pressured in trying to fulfill these two different gendered roles:

Amanda: But basically it [gender roles] is something social, I fulfill both [female and male] roles, thank God, obviously with the support of my parents, because I can work, I can study and I feel quiet, because I know she's in good hands, but it really hurts me to come back home and reprehend my daughter when I have to fulfill the other role of affection and protection (...) Sometimes that carries more weight because sometimes one wouldn't like to reprehend or punish. I think the fact of educating her [her daughter] becomes heavier, well, not heavier, perhaps difficult, because you don't have a [male] partner to put the blame on each other (FG 3, L 197-204).

In the extract above Amanda conveyed that being a single parent was a difficult task for her as she needed to fulfill both gender roles. She implied that normally mothers are loving and not harsh and judgmental, but she has to do this and because she sees herself as a “normal” mother/woman it hurts her. Thus, the support of her parents and the blessing of God helped her fulfill both feminine and masculine parental roles.

6.3.3.2. (Not)accepting same-gender parents raising children in the absence of one gender role model

Although Monica conveyed that two lesbian mothers could not teach a son masculine things like a man, she implied that she did not have a negative view on same-gender couples raising children. Interestingly, six of the ten participants who argued that children needed two different gender role models did not report negative views about lesbian and/o gay parents raising children. For instance, Monica later explicitly mentioned that same-gender parents could also raise their own children, but that the absent gender model should be replaced by another person: "Which doesn't mean that the child can't be raised by two women or two men, but it must have a complement on that side" (FG 1, L 837-838).

The other four participants who also implied that children needed two different gender role models reported a negative view regarding same-gender parents raising children specifically because of the lack of one gender. Ester implied that being raised by two parents of the same gender might disrupt the child's sexual development. She also argued that gay parents might teach their children that non-traditional gender expressions were fine or something to be seen as normal. But Ester's account revealed how she herself saw gender non-conforming behaviours as something pathological. Furthermore, gender and sexual identity are tied together in Ester's account because she thinks of gay men being able to be together because they have or adopt complementary feminine and masculine gender roles:

Ester: The boy might not have the inclination [same-gender attraction], but this [having two fathers] might disrupt his sexuality, because actually these two men... Sometimes one is more feminine and the other is more masculine,

so it will be pathological, because probably they are going to teach him that it's ok, that they liked each other, I don't know how they're going to explain that (FG 2, L 733-736).

Participants who were against the idea of same-gender parents raising children because of the lack of one gender role model also held traditional understanding of gender roles and thought that the lack of a gender model could have negative consequences on children development. Pamela conveyed that men and women had gendered roles within the family context. She implied that women were generally better than men within the domestic context and that men's role was outside home. In the extract below Pamela relied on her ideas about an ancestral gender division of labour within the family context. She also implied that men felt more detached from childcare, while the woman's important role was in giving love to her children:

*Pamela: I'm thinking about the domestic sphere, sometimes women do... I think most women do it [domestic activities] better, why? for the upbringing, for many factors, I am talking about the generality... the issue that men work outside home... It has been always thought that the man was outside [home] and the woman inside, so when she goes outside... Ask a father if he goes with his heart tightened when he leaves the child, there might be very few, because their role is outside... And he goes hunting, think about the ancestors, the man went hunting and the woman stayed inside (...)
I think dad gives something to the son, and the mother gives something different, the love (FG 3, L 383-389).*

Similarly, Romina also conveyed that men and women had gendered roles within the home and with childrearing. She relied on her personal experience in working with children to argue that the absence of the father within the family context caused defiance and behavioural problems in children. Romina's account revealed

how she considered the father's role as essential for childrearing, particularly for controlling a child's behaviour:

Romina: I work with children at school, and the fact that the child lives only with the mother causes so much defiance in children, many behavioural problems, regardless of the mother saying "Yes, I do the dad's and the mom's roles" which is fine, but the child's need of a paternal figure it's reflected in the school, yes, because sometimes kids...

Ester: Regardless of whether it was the father who has begotten him, he needs to have the [father] role.

Romina: Always...

Chiara: There must be a father figure.

Romina: Of course (FG 2, L 603-611).

6.3.3.3. LG parents influencing, or not influencing, their children's sexual orientation

As it was previously mentioned, some participants expressed concern about how same-gender parents might impact children's sexual development. In particular, four participants implied that lesbian and gay parents could affect children's sexual orientation. Tamara said that because she did not herself have a clear idea about the origin of homosexuality, she was concerned about the possibility of children of gay parents becoming homosexuals as a consequence of their parents' sexual orientation. Tamara's account showed how she saw heterosexuality as the child's normal developmental pathway and homosexuality as deviation from expected heterosexuality. Thus, Tamara predicated her concern about the possibility of gay men adopting children. In addition, during the same focus

group discussion, Romina argued that children might imitate their parents, trying to convey that children might imitate parents' sexual orientation:

Romina: Yes, because children always imitate their parents

Tamara: I still believe that even we aren't clear whether a homosexual is born or not, I think once... I have no problem with the issue of homosexuality, but I'm thinking about the issue of adoption among men (...) We don't know if the child may be born normal and because he sees a homosexual relationship he can be guided and do the same in the future, which is what we... in my case, I wouldn't like it (FG 2, L 485-493).

In contrast with these previous participants' accounts, five participants conveyed that lesbian and gay parents would not affect children's sexual orientation development. Chiara implied that although parents might influence their children in some way that did not necessarily mean that children would imitate their parents' sexual orientation. Similarly, Marta mentioned examples of gay fathers having heterosexual sons in order to convey that children's sexual orientation did not depend on parents' sexual preferences:

Chiara: I think it doesn't mean that the child wants to be like the parents, or to say "ok, because my dad is gay I'm gonna be gay" no, I think the child is a child, and is independent, and a being apart.

Romina: But you always want to be just like your parents.

Marta: But there are cases where the father is gay and the son likes women.

Chiara: Obviously parents influence their children in some way, but the child can think autonomously (FG 2, L 742-748).

As these previous participants' accounts revealed, interviewees held different understandings of sexual orientation development. While some participants believed that lesbian and gay parents might influence their children's sexual orientation, other interviewees thought that children would develop their sexual

orientation independently of parents' sexual preferences. Nevertheless, participants who believed that children's sexual orientation might be affected as a consequence of being raised by same-gender parents held a negative view regarding children developing same-gender attraction. These participants saw children's same-gender attraction as a negative developmental outcome, revealing their negative views regarding non-heterosexuality.

Listening participants' negative views of homosexuality was another instance that led me to reflect on my own role as a gay man investigating lesbian and gay parenting within a Chilean cultural context. When participants openly expressed their disgust or displeasure with homosexuality I was aware that they were talking about their own understandings of same-gender attraction within the context of a strongly heteronormative society. However, in some regards, I felt that were expressing their displeasure at me as a person. So at these points I tried to keep focused on my research lens in order to avoid feeling outraged with what participants were saying. Thus, I tried to keep open to hearing what participants brought to the focus groups and did not shut down discussion. However, I did not engage with the discussion by arguing against the points they made.

6.3.3.4. LG parents' sexual behaviours might be risky for children

Interestingly, only two out of 15 participants questioned the possibility of non-heterosexual people raising children because of their sexual behaviours and the potential risk children might be exposed to because of their parents' sexuality. In the following focus group conversation Marta and Adriana mentioned that they had seen old gay men meeting young men in gay clubs. Marta added that

sometimes these older men were married and had children, and that these men did not feel fulfilled with their “heterosexual life”. Romina later argued that given those behaviours of gay men she considered that it was not appropriate for gay couples to raise children:

Marta: There are men who are married and have children and they also like the other thing [men]... And he [an old man] goes to a club, and has sex with a boy [young man], and then he returns to his family (...) Or his wife doesn't fulfill him and he doesn't have sex with his wife, but he's still there at home for their children.

Ester: For the ideal family.

Adriana: It's the same for me if my [gay] cousin meets another guy of the same age, it's fine, but as Marta says, seeing very old men with children [young men]?

Romina: But seeing all what you have said so far, everything what they [gay men] do, how their life is, would it be appropriate for a gay couple to form a family?

Marta: But I'm from another time, so yes, I think so.

Romina: I think it's not [appropriate] (FG 2, L 570-585).

In contrast, Cecilia discussed about the possibility of same-gender couples adopting children. Although Cecilia approved of same-gender parents adopting children, she considered that these prospective parents should first participate in a deep psychological evaluation, because she thought some of the applicants might have been sexually abused during childhood. Cecilia tried to convey that seeing homosexual parents as abusers was of itself a part of sexual minority prejudice, yet she still considered that it was important to explore same-gender couples' parenting desires in detail because same-gender parenting was not natural and biological. Neither Cecilia nor any of the other participants raised this in terms of heterosexual people adopting:

Cecilia: I do agree [with adoption], but I think the couple must be evaluated very well, because there will always be the prejudice of being [sexual] abusers, because there are studies supporting that many people who have homosexual tendencies have been [sexually] abused in their childhood... To tell the truth I wouldn't agree because... Well, the thing is that it has to be a well assessed couple... The factors that led them to make that decision have to be explored in detail, because it's not something natural and biological (FG 3, L 542-548).

6.3.4. Family in social context: LG parents and their children being discriminated against

Participants discussed about how they thought other people would react toward lesbian and gay parents and their children. In particular, most participants conveyed that same-gender parents and their children would be discriminated against in their social contexts. This theme split into three sub-themes: *Children of LG parents being discriminated against by their peers; LG parent being discriminated against by other adults; and Generational differences, social class and religiosity affecting people's attitudes toward same-gender parents.*

6.3.4.1. Children of LG parents being discriminated against by their peers

The possibility of children of same-gender parents being discriminated against as a consequence of parents' sexual orientation was the major concern for this group of participants. Indeed, 13 out of 15 participants reported that children of lesbian and gay parents would be discriminated by their peers because of their parents' sexuality. Some participants implied that children would be discriminated by

school classmates and/or their neighbours. Romina conveyed that children of gay fathers would be questioned about their family configuration because of the presence of two fathers and the lack of a mother. Similarly, Chiara reported that she was concerned about the discrimination children of same-gender parents would have to cope with in their social contexts:

Romina: They will grow up being discriminated against by their classmates

Chiara: Yes, that's what worries me.

Romina: By their neighbourhood friends, people will tell them "Why do you live with two fathers, and don't have a mother?"

Chiara: There is an important issue here, and it's that children are cruel, they are so cruel.

Romina: The bullying today is so strong (FG 2, L 347-352).

Furthermore, ten out of 13 participants who mentioned that children of same-gender parents would be discriminated against by their peers questioned the possibility of lesbian and gay parents raising their own children, for instance these participants disagreed with same-sex adoption in Chile in order to avoid children being exposed to discrimination. In particular, three of these participants implied that discrimination might be harmful for children. The following focus group discussion revealed how participants opposed to same-sex adoption because they thought Chilean society was not prepared to accept families headed by same-gender parents and their children:

Interviewer: Do you think same-sex couples should adopt children?

Chiara: I don't think so.

Adriana: It's difficult.

Amparo: Not at the moment.

Marta: Sure, not at this time.

Tamara: No, we're not culturally ready for that yet.

Ester: For the sake of children, because we are not prepared as a society.

Tamara: I think from my son onwards people are going to have another view.

Adriana: I think so, but not now.

Ester: Because children have to understand, in general, everyone, not just children who live that.

Romina: It would be harmful for children and that's not fair to them (FG 2, L 695-703).

In contrast to those participants who mentioned that discrimination would be harmful for children, three participants conveyed that discrimination would not necessarily be harmful for children. Interestingly, these three participants also supported childrearing and adoption by same-gender couples. Cecilia implied that same-gender parents might overcome the discrimination by providing their children with more supportive social contexts: "If parents overcome all the above, school, society... If they are able to raise the children in a context that respects them, people who understand their nuclear family, it shouldn't be a problem" (FG 3, L 568-570).

Similarly, Rebeca and Monica conveyed that same-gender parents might prepare their children to cope with discrimination by teaching them about their family form. Rebeca and Monica also implied that the effects of discrimination on children depended on other factors such as child's self-esteem and character, or the tools that same-gender parents can give to children to deal with their social contexts:

Rebeca: There may be children who are bothered, but they might be so clear about which is their family and how it's formed, and the reason why their family is in that way. So a child might ignore what others say to him, and that also happens in other situations, for example, a child who is teased

for being fat, small... If he has a good self-esteem, it won't affect him... It will also depend on the child's character.

Monica: Sure, it goes beyond, it depends on the tools that can be given [to the child].

Rebeca: Of course.

Monica: There are so many things that come into play, so it can't be said that the child will be traumatised because he comes from an alternative family (FG 1, L 443-451).

Furthermore, Monica conveyed that children might be able to find a supportive context in their school. She mentioned that she had been working in a school where there were two lesbian mothers whose daughter did not experience discrimination by her peers. Monica implied that children might be taught from an early age about tolerance:

Monica: There was never an issue of discrimination or a problem with the girl. It was surprising for me, not shocking, but surprising, like "oh, that's crazy" I had never seen a family with two moms... But they (children) were so adjusted, and they (children) were so respectful about them too. So if children are taught from an early age, of course the transition is more natural (FG 1, L 309-314).

6.3.4.2. LG parents being discriminated against by other adults

Eight participants reported that lesbian and gay parents would be discriminated as consequence of their sexual orientation. These participants conveyed that same-gender parents would be discriminated by other adults in contexts such as at children's school and in their neighbourhood. Maria, who did not support same-gender adoption in order to protect children from discrimination, also mentioned that lesbian and gay parents would be discriminated in their social contexts. She

talked about the discrimination experiences of her neighbour who was a lesbian mother and had a female partner. Similarly, Rebeca, who supported same-gender adoption, added that same-gender parents would have to cope with social stigma at children's school:

Maria: I have a [female] neighbour who separated [from her husband] and she's living with a female partner now, and for example, no one talks to them in the neighbourhood, and I'm the only one who talks to them, it's the same for me, but everyone else says rude things to them.

Rebeca: It's the social stigma.

Monica: The discrimination.

Rebeca: Yes, these [same-gender] parents will be observed when they go to a parents' meeting at the school.

Maria: They will be teased in the beginning.

Rebeca: Yes, by their neighbours as you said... (FG 1, L 593-599).

Interestingly two participants mentioned that lesbian mothers would have to deal with less discrimination than gay fathers. These participants conveyed that two men living together would be likely to encounter more prejudice against them in Chilean society than would two women living together. Marta implied that it would be difficult for gay couples to have a child together (presumably through assisted reproductive technology) and that adoption would not be granted for same-gender couples by society nowadays. Similarly, Amparo said that two women living together might be seen as friends and so escape prejudiced attention, while two men living together would be seen as gay men. In addition, Marta conveyed that gay fathers might be seen as child abusers, while lesbian mothers may be seen simply as female friends living with a child:

Marta: I think it's easy for women [to have children] and difficult for men. It's more difficult for men because...

Amparo: Because it's obvious that they are different.

Marta: They [gay couples] can't have a baby unless they adopt a child, and the society today is not going to allow them to adopt a child.

Amparo: Of course, two women living together are camouflaged if they don't want to tell others [that they are lesbians]... They are just friends, and they can have a life together inside the house. But if two men live together... For example, two male friends live on my street, and everyone says... And it's rumoured that they are gay (FG 2, L 323-331).

Marta: And because when people associate two men with a child "Oh, he [the child] could be raped by them" However if people associate two women with a child then "Ah, they are friends, good" (FG 2, L 366-367).

6.3.4.3. Generational differences, social class and religiosity affecting people's attitudes toward same-gender parents

On the other hand, thirteen out of 15 participants mentioned at least one factor that they thought would affect other people's attitudes toward lesbian and gay parents and their children. For example, participants said that people's views about same-gender parents and their children were associated with generational differences, social class and religiosity. As previously mentioned, some participants conveyed that Chilean society was not yet ready to accept families headed by same-gender parents. Indeed, eight participants implied that the next generation would be more tolerant toward lesbian and gay parenting than current generations. Maria conveyed that social change was a slow process. She thought that the first generation of children of lesbian and gay parents would be affected by the stigmatisation:

Maria: And people will say "he's the son of the lesbians, this is the son of fagots" that's how they will treat him. So I think this is a long way (...) and

many generations will pass, maybe two or three generations, in which the next [generation of] children will not suffer that, but the first [generations] will suffer this [the stigmatisation] (FG 1, L 362-368).

Furthermore, five participants mentioned that people's attitudes toward families headed by same-gender parents varied according to people's socio-economic level. These participants conveyed that people from a high socio-economic level were more tolerant toward lesbian and gay parenting than were people from a low socio-economic level. Amparo implied that gay men from a low socio-economic status group were more exposed to stigmatisation and derogatory terms than gay men from a high socio-economic status group. Amparo then thought that a gay father of a high socio-economic status, who had professional success, would be less stigmatised than a gay father with a low socio-economic status:

Amparo: Well, I'm thinking about what you are talking about, the social classes... For example, in Chile today a homosexual person who is poor is fagot, a middle class person is homosexual, and someone who is from a high level is gay, and if he has professional success and has a good economic status, and he comes to adopt or to have a child, he won't be so badly regarded as a poor person will, because the concept of people varies by their economic status (FG 2, L 416-421).

Moreover, four participants mentioned that the Church and religion had an important impact on people's attitudes toward lesbian and gay parenting. These participants implied that religious teachings were negative regarding families headed by same-gender parents. Maria conveyed there would always be people rejecting lesbian and gay parenting because of the Church's teachings. In addition, Rebeca implied that any deviation from the ideal model of two parents of different gender was prohibited by Church:

Maria: You might be Catholic, or any religion, but from the Church it is instilled that's bad.

Rebeca: Yes, only man-woman is allowed, and nothing else.

Maria: Yes, so maybe there will be people who will accept it [same-gender parents raising children], but there will be people who will never accept it.

Rebeca: Of course.

Maria: People who will never change their thinking, because they have their dogmas.

Rebeca: Their religion prevents them (FG 1, L 338-344).

6.4. Discussion

Study 3 aimed to explore how Chilean heterosexual women who were psychology students thought about lesbian and gay parents raising children and then to consider religious/moral discourses or sets of cultural values that were behind participants' ideas about LG parenting. The findings of this study revealed that among young heterosexual women different understandings were held of what defines a family. Although participants conveyed that family structures might be diverse, they mainly implied that the family formed by two parents of different genders with their children was the ideal family model in Chilean society. Participants then described the "other families" as moving beyond this heteronormative family model. Notwithstanding, most interviewees gave a positive value to these "other families". Indeed, participants mainly conveyed that what was essential for children's development was the family functioning, including the affection, values and support regardless the family form. In particular, most participants recognised the families headed by same-gender

parents as another valid family type and described children of non-heterosexual parents as achieving positive developmental outcomes.

In contrast, a few participants questioned same-gender parents as valid models for children. For instance, some participants thought that the absence of one gender model would produce disadvantage in children, while others were concerned about how same-gender parents' could disrupt children' gender and sexual orientation development. Despite these concerns, only a few participants reported some kind of concern. Most interviews reported that parental gender or sexual orientation was not a limitation to be against the possibility of same-gender parents raising their children.

The major concern reported by this group of heterosexual women was the possibility of children of same-gender parents being discriminated against as a consequence of parents' sexual orientation. Indeed, most participants thought that children of lesbian and parents would be discriminated against by peers at school. Furthermore, some of these participants questioned the possibility of same-gender couples adopting children in order to avoid children being exposed to discrimination. Participants considered that the Chilean society was not prepared to accept the children of lesbian and gay parents and some interviewees reported that this discrimination would be harmful for children's wellbeing.

Although the Chilean family has experienced different transformations during the last few decades, such as the decrease of marriage and the increase of single mother families (Olavarría, 2000; Valdés, 2005), this study showed that the family formed by two parents of different gender and their children continued to be the ideal family model in Chilean society. Nevertheless, diverse family forms were

being increasingly accepted as revealed by the accounts of this group of participants. Indeed, most participants held positive views regarding diverse family types such as those families formed by single parents, grandparents raising children, and same-gender parents. Participants' personal accounts revealed how the contact with these diverse family types helped some participants to hold positive views regarding various family configurations. The contact with minority groups has been found to be important in reducing people's prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; 2008).

Although most participants held positive views about "other families", a few participants gave a positive value only to the families formed by two parents of different genders. These participants mainly connected biological parenthood with social parenting and thought that families should be originally formed by a mother and a father. Furthermore, some of these participants based their ideal model of the family in their religious beliefs. For instance, one participant conveyed that men and women had been created (by God) to ensure sexual reproduction. Within this religious understanding some participants saw same-gender couples having children as something unnatural as some participants did in Clarke's (2001) qualitative study with U.K. students. It is interesting how these participants conflated biological parenthood with social parenting and understood that only different-gender couples should have and raise their own biological children (see Golombok, 2015). Despite lesbian and gay parents being increasingly visible as parents in Chilean society, this finding revealed that some people continued to portray same-gender couples as unable to be parents because they could not have their own biological children. It also revealed how Christian religious teaching

regarding reproduction and parenting continued to pervade some people's assumption about family formation in Chilean society.

The majority of participants went beyond biological ties as the bases for family formation. These participants considered that families might also define their relationships through emotional or social ties. These interviewees thought that parents should not necessarily be biologically related with their children, and that other people, such close friends, could be considered as a part of the family. This flexible understanding of family formation is coherent with participants' positive views regarding diverse family forms and the recognition of same-gender parented families as another valid family type presented within Chilean society. This is a crucial aspect of societal recognition and acceptance considering that studies have revealed that lesbian and gay people have been building their families beyond biological relationships to include non-biological relationships within their family structure (Brown & Perlesz, 2007; Haces, 2006; Herrera, 2009; Jara & Araujo, 2011; Perlesz et al., 2006a; Swainson & Tasker, 2005; Tasker & Granville, 2011; Wilson, 2000). Same-gender parents also encounter a major challenge in Chile today as lesbian and gay non-biological parents are still not recognised as parents by the law. The study of Herrera (2009) showed the importance the other mother (biological mother's partner) gave to be recognised as a parent by Chilean society.

The present study also showed that the acceptance of lesbian and gay parented families in Chilean society is an ongoing process. Although most participants thought that the children of lesbian parents might be discriminated against by their peers, the majority of participants held positive views regarding lesbian and

parents and their children. Indeed, most interviewees described children of lesbian and gay parents as achieving positive developmental outcomes. These participants saw children of same-gender parents as developing normally and growing up seeing their families as something normal. Some interviewees also described lesbian and gay parents as caring parents, and pointed out the fact that same-gender parents would have wanted children (Golombok, 2015). Participants also conveyed that what was essential for children development was the family functioning. For instance, some participants implied that lesbian and gay parents would be able to provide their children with affection, values and support, and saw same-gender parented families as functional families. Thus, this study revealed that same-gender parents were mainly seen as competent parents by this group of female psychology students. Interestingly, family processes have been found to be more important than family structure for children' psychological adjustment in studies conducted with families headed by lesbian and gay parents (Goldberg, 2010; Golombok, 2015; Patterson, 1992, 1998; Telingator & Patterson, 2008). Perhaps developmental research and the role of media in disseminating these studies might have played an important role in helping student participants to have positive views regarding the competences of same-gender couples as parents. Before the focus groups were conducted a couple of media reports had been published in Chile (Noseda, 2012; Saavedra & Fuster, 2013).

Only a few participants reported that growing up without two gender role models might produce developmental disadvantages in children. In fact, one participant mentioned that any child of a single parent might have some disadvantages when compared with children of two parents of different genders. However, such an

assumption is not currently supported by developmental studies conducted with children of solo mothers by choice. As Golombok (2015) has suggested, the children of solo mothers by choice might not necessarily have had any stressful transitions, parental conflict, and financial hardship that the children of single parents after divorce or separation could have experienced.

Furthermore, a few participants reported that children growing up in same-gender parented families might have some adjustment problems due to the lack of a gender model. For instance, one participant mentioned that the absence of a father might cause defiance and behavioural problems in children because they lacked a father's presence which was supposedly needed to control the child's behaviour. These participants relied on traditional understandings of gender roles and saw the gender division of labour as essential for family functioning and children's wellbeing. From this viewpoint, fathers were mainly seen as working outside home (breadwinner), controlling child's behaviour and detached from childcare, while mothers were mainly seen as working inside home (homemaker), providing affection to the children and organised childcare (Chant, 2002; Chant & Craske, 2003; Oyarzún, 2005; Valdés, 2005). However, developmental research has not supported the assumption that the gender division of parenting roles is essential for children's psychological adjustment. In fact, studies conducted with children of lesbian mothers and gay fathers have revealed that neither a mother nor a father but simply good parenting is essential for children's psychological wellbeing (Golombok, 2015).

The importance of gender models during childrearing was mentioned by the majority of participants. Interviewees implied that children should have two

gender role models and that parenting roles were associated with parents' gender. Nevertheless, not all participants thought that gender models should necessarily be the children's parents. Some participants conveyed that other family members, relatives or friends could represent the absent children's gender model in families headed by same-gender parents. However, despite this flexible understanding from some participants regarding who could represent a gender model for children, most participants' general assumption that children's thrive best in a traditional two heterosexual parent family reflected the significant importance most participants gave to gender role models as synonymous with mothering and fathering and good childrearing. The importance of gender roles within Latino culture has been widely described in studies with Latino families (Espín, 1987; Greene, 1994; Zavella, 2003). In particular, Chilean society has been described as a strongly gendered society (Olavarría, 2001; Oyarzún, 2005; Palacios & Martínez, 2006; Valdés, 2005, 2008; Valdés & Olavarría, 1998) in which the naturalness of gender roles permeate how people think about their gender, sexuality, and their roles within the family.

Furthermore, a few participants reported some concerns regarding same-gender parents raising children because of parents' gender-related behaviours and sexual. These participants saw any deviation from traditional gender roles as something "pathological" and believed that children of same-gender parents might imitate their parents' "abnormal" gender behaviours. Some of these participants also were concerned about children of lesbian and gay parents growing up to see their parents' non-conforming gender behaviours as something normal. Moreover, some interviewees implied that growing up with lesbian or gay parents might disrupt children's sexual orientation development (Clarke, 2001). These participants

thought that children might be born "normal" (heterosexual) and then become homosexuals as a result of "imitating" their parents. These findings revealed that some participants saw homosexuality as an undesirable developmental outcome showing the strong prejudice against non-heterosexuality present in Chilean society even among young women studying psychology. It also showed participants' misunderstandings of gender and sexual orientation development as studies comparing children of lesbian mothers, gay fathers and heterosexual parents have found minor or no differences in children's gender-typed behaviours (Farr, Forssell, & Patterson, 2010; Goldberg, Kashy, & Smith, 2012; Golombok et al., 2003) and sexual orientation identity (Bailey, Bobrow, Wolfe, & Mikach, 1995; Gartrell, Bos, & Goldberg, 2011, 2012; Golombok & Tasker, 1996).

Additionally, a minority of participants conveyed that same-gender parents were not appropriate models for children because of their sexual behaviours and the potential risks children might be exposed to during childrearing. Behaviours such as older gay men meeting young men or married men hiding homosexual behaviours were noted by participants to portray gay men as inappropriate models for children. These participants' accounts revealed that some participants saw same-gender sexuality as something immoral or perhaps uncontrolled and consequently thought that children should not be exposed to non-heterosexual relationships. In addition, a few participants reported that gay men might be seen as sexual abusers by some people. One participant said that if adoption was made available to same-gender couples in Chile prospective parents should first participate in a deep psychological evaluation in order to explore their "unnatural" desires and reasons for parenthood. These findings revealed how some participants stigmatised lesbian and gay people as "deviant" due to the perceived

transgression of moral and sexual values since no such reference was made to evaluating the sexual behaviour of heterosexual married couples. Despite changes in gender, sexual and family values that have been observed in Chilean society (Olavarría, 2000, 2001; Oyarzún, 2005; Palma, 2006; Valdés, 2005), this study revealed that some Chilean people continued to hold traditional homonegative understandings of sexual morality.

Nonetheless, most participants did not question lesbian and gay parents raising children because of parents' gender, sexual orientation or sexual behaviours. For example, although the majority of participants held traditional understandings of gender roles and thought that children should have two gender role models, the lack of one gender model in a same-gender couple was not seen as reason to deny lesbian and gay parents the possibility to raise children. Indeed, developmental scholars also have noted that children of lesbian and gay parents might be exposed to a wide range of range of gender models in their lives, such as teachers, babysitters, extended family members or parents' friends (Goldberg & Gartrell, 2014; Tasker, 2010). Furthermore, some participants argued that lesbian and gay parents would not affect their children's sexual orientation. These participants thought that children's sexual orientation was not the result of the influence of parents' sexual preferences. Perhaps, the recent media interest in developmental studies about the outcomes of children of same-gender parents might have played an important role in clarifying participants' understandings of children's gender and sexual orientation development.

As previously mentioned, what caused major concern to most participants was the possibility of children of lesbian and gay parents being discriminated against by

their school classmates and/or their neighbours because of having same-gender parents. However, various studies examining the levels of teasing and bullying that children of same-gender parents have been exposed to have revealed contrasting results. While some studies have found high rates of reported bullying in children of same-gender parents (Kosciw & Diaz, 2008), other studies have found no differences between children raised by same-gender and other-gender parents (MacCallum & Golombok, 2004; Rivers, Poteat, & Noret, 2008). Nonetheless, participants' assumption about children of same-gender parents experiencing victimisation by peers still need further empirical research in contexts such as Chilean society. No published research has looked at experiences of victimisation by peers in children of same-gender parents in Latino countries.

Interestingly, some participants implied that parents' teaching, as well as child's self-esteem and character might protect children of same-gender parents from discriminatory contexts. Participants also mentioned that children of lesbian and gay parents might look out for and find supportive social contexts, such schools where children were taught about tolerance. Thus, these participants thought that discrimination would not necessarily be harmful for children and these participants were also those who agreed with the possibility of same-gender parents adopting children. Although some studies have suggested that stigma and bullying by peers might affect the wellbeing of children of lesbian mothers (Bos & van Balen, 2008; Gartrell, Rodas, Deck, Peyser, & Banks, 2005), attending LGBT supportive school and having positive parent-child relationships have been found to reduce the impact of stigma on children's wellbeing (Bos & Gartrell, 2010; Bos, Gartrell, Peyser, & van Balen, 2008).

A few participants thought that lesbian mothers would be less discriminated than gay fathers. These participants thought that two women living together might be able to hide their same-gender relationship and being seen as friends, while two men living together might be exposed to more prejudice than a female couple. Studies with Latina (Palma et al., 2012) and Chilean lesbian mothers (Jara & Araujo, 2011) have revealed that presenting a female partner as a friend was a common strategy used by lesbian mothers to hide their lesbian relationships within the extended family context. In addition, studies with Latino (Almaguer, 1993; Carrier, 1989, 1995; Guarnero, 2007; Sandfort, Melendez, & Diaz, 2007) and Chilean gay men (Caro & Guajardo, 1997; Carrasco, 2006; Figueroa & Tasker, 2014) have revealed that gay men received strong cultural pressures to conform to traditional masculine roles given the hegemonic masculinity. This might explain why participants in this study thought that gay fathers might experience more stigmatisation than lesbian mothers in their communities if same-gender couple live together. However, further research is needed in order to compare the level of victimisation that lesbian mothers and gay fathers might experience in Chilean society and the extent to which this is associated with visibility factors.

Although most participants thought that Chilean society was not prepared to accept the children of same-gender parents, and that children would be discriminated by their peers, participants acknowledged that people's attitudes toward lesbian and gay parents and their children might be diverse in contemporary Chile. Interviewees conveyed that Chilean people's attitudes might vary across generations, social classes and people's religiosity. Participants thought that future generations would be more tolerant toward lesbian and gay

parenting than were current generations. In addition, interviewees thought that same-gender parents from higher socio-economic level would be less stigmatised than same-gender parents from lower socio-economic levels. Finally, participants implied that religious teachings had contributed to people's rejection of lesbian and gay parenting by prohibiting any deviation from the ideal model of the Christian family formed by two parents of different genders and children. Consistent with participants' accounts, previous studies have shown that being older (Baiocco, et al., 2013; Morse, et al., 2007) and more religious observance (Crawford & Solliday, 1996) were both associated with holding more negative attitudes toward same-gender parents and their children.

Overall this study revealed that most of the young women psychology students interviewed saw the families headed by same-gender parents as a valid family type and thought that children of lesbian and gay parents would develop normally. Furthermore, the majority of participants did not mention concerns regarding same-gender parents as model for children. Most participants themselves saw same-gender parents as competent and caring parents and thought that the family functioning was essential for children wellbeing regardless the family structure.

Only a minority of participants considered that lesbian and gay parents were not an appropriate family form for bringing up children and believed that growing up in these families would be detrimental for children's development. Almost the same group of participants were those who also thought that lesbian and gay parents were not appropriate models for children because of their gender, sexual

orientation and sexual behaviours. These participants clearly saw homosexuality as something unnatural, pathological, and a deviation of sexual morality.

Interestingly, these conservative opinions were more present in participants who reported religious observance. Out of the five participants who thought that lesbian and gay parents were not appropriate models for children, two reported being Catholic, one Evangelical and one Christian. Nonetheless, the other five participants who reported Catholic observance believed that growing up with lesbian and gay parents would not be detrimental for children's development. Thus, religious observance itself cannot explain participants' rejection of lesbian and gay parenting, yet two of the homonegative participants explicitly stated that their opinions were embedded in their Christian beliefs.

Finally, most participants were concerned about the possibility of same-gender parents and their children being discriminated against because of the society was not prepared to accept this non-traditional family and this concern was irrespective of whether participants themselves thought that children would be negatively affected by same-gender parenting.

A further life course theoretical analysis might provide new understandings about how LG parents were seen by heterosexual women in this study (Cohler, 2005; Demo & Allen, 1996). Lesbian mothers in Study 1 and participants in Study 3 belonged to a similar cohort and, interestingly, participants in both studies implied that concealment was a necessary strategy to avoid discrimination within a Chilean homophobic context. This contrasted with the younger participants in Study 2 who mainly conveyed the importance of feeling

proud about their identities and the value of being open in the public domain²².

However, participants in Study 3 mentioned that younger generations of heterosexual people were more accepting of sexual minorities than older generations, which again was consistent with the findings of Study 1 and 2 that indicated that young LB women encountered more social acceptance and family support than lesbian mothers did.

Despite the growing level of acceptance of homosexuality, participants in Study 3 conveyed that LG parents and their children would be almost inevitable discriminated in their social contexts and that this discrimination would be eventually risky for children's well-being. Thus, participants' accounts in study 3 confirmed, to more or lesser extent, what lesbian mothers in Study 1 and LB prospective mothers in Study 2 mentioned: LG parents were still seen as inappropriate models for children because they represented a transgression of moral and sexual values by some heterosexual people, especially for those who based their opinions on their Christian religious beliefs. Finally, an intersectional examination might suggest that participants in study 3 felt in a privileged social position (Cole, 2009) as heterosexual women because they were able to judge LG parents' ability and suitability to raise and adopt children.

²² This is consistent with studies conducted in ESWE countries that have revealed that de novo lesbian mothers often stressed the importance of being open about their identities (Gartrell et al., 1999, 2000; Perlesz et al., 2006a, b; Wilson, 2000).

Chapter 7: General Discussion and Conclusions

In this chapter, I present the discussion of the findings across all three studies conducted. Firstly, I summarise the main findings of each study followed by an integrative analysis of all three studies relying on the life course perspective. Secondly, I provide a detailed evaluation of the quality of the studies conducted following Yardley's (2015) suggestions for enhancing and demonstrating validity in qualitative research. Thirdly, I discuss strengths, limitations and future research ideas, and presents general conclusions and practical recommendations.

7.1. Summary of the findings

This thesis has examined lesbian motherhood within a Chilean socio-cultural and historical context. In the substantive work of this thesis, I have formulated three studies that investigated the lesbian motherhood from the perspective of three different groups of Chilean women. Study 1 explored the life course identity projects of eight lesbian women aged between 27 to 40 years old (mean age of 33 years) who became mothers through a previous heterosexual relationship. This study also examined the intersection of the identities of woman, mother and lesbian in the context of contemporary Chilean society. Study 2 explored the motherhood expectations of six childless lesbian and bisexual women who had thought about having their own children. Participants in this study represented a younger cohort of Chilean non-heterosexual women with ages ranging from 22 to 30 years old (mean age of 25 years) who spoke about their motherhood intentions

in mixed gender focus groups. Study 3 analysed the different understandings of lesbian and gay parenting raised by a group of 15 heterosexual women. Participants in this study were first-year psychology student of an evening university program with ages ranging from 24 to 45 years old (mean age of 33 years). Overall, the three studies presented in this thesis aimed to investigate the narratives of lesbian motherhood in Chile with a particular focus on the impact of religious/moral discourses about family formation and the ideal of motherhood. I also examined how conventional discourses of gender, heteronormative/homophobia, and the legal/political context have played a significant role in the narrated stories of lesbian motherhood in Chile.

Through a Labovian narrative analysis of participants' life stories, Study 1 retrospectively examined the developmental trajectories of Chilean lesbian mothers since they started to experience their first same-gender feelings through to the time of their interviews. The study showed that in conforming with family and social expectations, participants opted for a heterosexual trajectory during the early period of their life course identity project (Jara & Araujo, 2011).

Participants' parents' expectations of normative heterosexuality were often conveyed as exerting strong pressure to conform to the heterosexual mandate of Chilean society. Consistent with previous studies conducted with Latina lesbian women (Acosta, 2008, 2010; Asencio, 2009; Espín, 1987), Study 1 revealed that participants' parents' expectations were often associated with traditional understandings of gender roles, normative heterosexuality, and Christian religious values.

Furthermore, consistent with Jara and Araujo's (2011) study conducted with Chilean lesbian mothers, Study 1 revealed the power of family and social influences in shaping the developmental trajectories of Chilean lesbian women that led them to build a heterosexual family project. All participants in Study 1 had experienced at least one heterosexual relationship and formed a family unit with a man when they became mothers. Following the premises of the Life Course Theory, the study revealed the power of linked lives within Chilean families that pressured these lesbian women to follow heterosexual trajectories. However, despite strong family pressure to conform to the prescribed heterosexuality, most participants were able to dissolve their heterosexual family project when they started to affirm a lesbian identity. This significant life course turning point marked the beginning of a new trajectory in which participants tried to accommodate the family they had built with their children into an out lesbian identity project. Participants' attempts to subvert the culturally prescribed normative heterosexuality clearly reflected the Life Course Theory premise of the role of human agency in exerting an influence on life course trajectory.

Moreover, a thematic narrative analysis of lesbian mothers' stories revealed the struggles of participants to express their same-gender feelings either within their immediate or extended family context or in other social settings. At the core of participants' stories was how difficult it was for them to express their lesbian identity openly because they already had children. The incompatibility of being seen as a mother and a lesbian reflected the strong sexual stigma still existing in contemporary Chilean society. Indeed, participants reported other people's discourses that portrayed lesbian women as "sick" and "deviant" and consequently as inappropriate models for children – the antithesis of the Catholic Chilean

portrayal of motherhood. Consistent with previous studies conducted with Latina (Palma et al., 2012; Santos & Alves de Toledo, 2006) and Chilean lesbian mothers (Herrera, 2009; Jara & Araujo, 2011), Study 1 revealed how social forces (sexual stigma) permeated the family life of lesbian mothers affecting their level of disclosure in the public domain. In particular, previous studies indicated that Chilean lesbian mothers tended to remain hidden in order to avoid losing the custody of their children and to protect them from discrimination (Herrera, 2009; Jara & Araujo, 2011). Nevertheless, my study showed that contemporary Chilean lesbian mothers seemed to be less concerned about losing the custody of their children. Furthermore, the lesbian mothers I interviewed seemed more willing to negotiate different levels of coming out outside the home (see Perlesz et al., 2006b), despite their worries about the possibility of their children being discriminated against. Probably, historical changes, including the rising level of acceptance of homosexuality in mainstream Chilean society (ICSO, 2005, 2012b; Smith, 2011; WVS, 2006), prompted some of the lesbian mothers I interviewed to disclose to their children, family of origin, friends, colleagues and children's classmates' parents. Most participants felt proud about their lesbian identity and remarked that having children was their only reason to be careful about disclosure. Additionally, the 2012 IACHR ruling against the Chilean State that favoured Karen Atala (see Chapter 1) might have helped this group of contemporary Chilean lesbian mothers to feel secure about maintaining the custody of their children. Although this was not explicitly stated by participants, it is likely that historical transitions such as legal changes and the growing social approval impacted the life stories of Chilean lesbian mothers.

Study 2, conducted with childless lesbian and bisexual women, revealed that younger generations of Chilean non-heterosexual women seemed to be more willing to build their family project within a non-heterosexual developmental trajectory (see Libson, 2013). Indeed, participants reported having a deep desire for motherhood in the context of a two-mother family. Participants mainly reported a desire to have their own biological children through donor insemination (e.g., Ben-Ari & Livni, 2006), but also mentioned adoption as a route to parenthood. These findings are substantially different to Study 1's results on the life stories of group of lesbian mothers who conceived their children through a previous heterosexual relationship. It seemed that legal changes such the approval of antidiscrimination law (2012) might have helped prospective LB mothers to affirm their LB identity projects which included family formation and having children. Furthermore, although the civil partnership law had not been passed when the focus group interviews were conducted, the bill was being intensively discussed in the Parliament at this point and given extensive media coverage. Thus, these impending legal changes to protect same-gender couples might also have supported LB women's family projects. Now that the civil partnership law has been approved in Chile (2015), it might be interesting in a future project to see how motherhood expectations might have changed again after the law approval.

The findings of Study 2 also are consistent with Libson's (2013) study conducted with Argentinean lesbian mothers and gay fathers. Libson suggested that younger generations of LG parents and prospective parents mainly reported stories of 'choice' regarding their plans to achieve parenthood. Indeed, most parents in Libson's sample conceived their children through assisted reproduction. Libson noted that the Argentinian political movements played a fundamental role in

promoting the visibility of lesbian mothers' demands, which were pushed along in the wake of approval of the same-sex civil partnership act in 2002 and same-sex marriage law in 2010. Thus, it is perhaps no surprise that political and legal transformations seem to be opening a new window for Chilean LB women's expectations of motherhood. Interestingly, Study 2 revealed how LB prospective mothers tended to demand equal rights in the focus groups and were clearly hunting for legal safeguards to protect their future children. Additionally, LB prospective mothers markedly conveyed their intentions to face a hostile and resistant Chilean society by feeling proud about their identities. This may have been particularly emphasised in the mixed focus group interview context in which women were both challenged but also supported in giving their views and sharing their hopes and expectations.

Study 3 provided a substantially different route to understanding lesbian and gay parenting in Chilean socio-cultural and historical context. This study revealed how lesbian mothers, gay fathers and their children were seen by a group of young heterosexual women. The study showed that most of the young women psychology students interviewed saw families formed by same-gender parents as a valid family type. Indeed, most participants portrayed same-gender parents as competent and caring parents and conveyed that it was parenting per se that was essential for children's wellbeing. Thus, Study 3 participants mainly prioritised family functioning regardless of family structure just as the academic literature is beginning to do (Golombok, 2015). Nevertheless, a minority of participants saw LG parents as inappropriate models for children: these participants thought that LG parents might disrupt children's gender and sexual orientation development (Clarke, 2001). Although these ideas reflect unsubstantiated assumptions

regarding gender and sexual orientation development, they also indicate that these participants saw gender non-conforming behaviours and homosexuality as undesirable outcomes for children, and consequently as something pathological and abnormal. Interestingly, two of these participants based their negative views about homosexuality on their religious beliefs. Previous studies conducted with lesbian mothers (Jara & Araujo, 2011), lesbian women (Herrera, 2007) and gay men (Figueroa & Tasker, 2014) in Chile have revealed how family members' negative views of homosexuality were strongly related to Christian religious teaching, particularly, Catholic and Evangelical.

Despite the differences in participants' views, the findings of Study 3 revealed that most of these educated heterosexual women had positive views regarding LG parenting and envisaged that the children of LG parents would develop normally. Notwithstanding, the majority of participants were concerned about the possibility of same-gender parents and their children being discriminated against. Most heterosexual women conveyed that Chilean society was not prepared to accept this non-traditional family type. It is interesting how most participants reported positive expectations about the development of children of LG parents but still did not agree with the possibility of LG parents raising their own children. This contradiction reflected that participants thought that the best interests of the child would be supported by avoiding the negative impact of discrimination on children's social development and psychological adjustment. These findings suggest that despite heterosexual people perceiving LG parents as competent caregivers they still might strongly question the suitability of LG parenting in the context of contemporary Chilean society.

Taking together, the three studies indicated that negative moral and religious discourses against lesbian motherhood were still present in Chilean society. These negative views strongly permeated the narratives of lesbian mothers in Study 1 and the motherhood expectations of LB women in Study 2. Lesbian mothers in Study 1 had withdrawn themselves at various points to avoid disclosure in either the private or public domain in order to protect their children from discrimination. Some lesbian mothers had heard some family members or other people use words such as "aberrations", "degenerated", and "nasty, dirty women" when speaking about lesbian women. Prospective LB mothers in Study 2 reported that some people saw homosexuality as a perversion and viewed LGBT people as potential child abusers. Thus, these young LB women thought that it would be difficult to cope in a non-supportive society after becoming mothers. Furthermore, some participants mentioned expecting to feel afraid, frustrated, or unhappy on becoming a mother within Chilean society.

Negative views toward lesbian and gay parenting also were expressed by some heterosexual young Chilean women in Study 3. Some heterosexual women implied that gender non-conforming and homosexual behaviours were pathological expressions and that children of lesbian and gay parents would be exposed to immoral sexual behaviours. These heterosexual women were concerned about children growing up with lesbian and gay parents because this might disrupt children's gender and sexual orientation development. The views expressed in Study 3 therefore echoed the prejudiced experienced by participants in Study 1 and 2. Thus, the findings of all three studies suggest that some Chilean heterosexual people still considered that lesbian mothers might disrupt children's sexual orientation, gender identity and moral development. These findings also

indicated that heterosexuality was still viewed as a fundamental principle of sexual morality by some Chilean heterosexual people, and that this cultural mandate was to some extent rooted in Christian religious beliefs. Interestingly, these moral and religious discourses regarding a mandatory heterosexuality were glimpsed in the margins of Study 3 and were only represented by a minority of participants. Nevertheless, these conservative discourses had a powerful effect in permeating the narratives of lesbian mothers and the motherhood expectations of young LB women in studies 1 and 2 and exerted an influence on what these women felt they could reasonably do in Chilean society or what they expected to happen.

Despite the pervasive impact of moral and religious discourses on the life course identity projects of Chilean lesbian mothers and LB prospective mothers, it seemed that an increasing acceptance of homosexuality coupled with ongoing legal changes in Chilean society were playing a crucial role in enabling Study 1 and 2 participants to either rebuild or plan a motherhood project in the course of lesbian identity trajectory. Furthermore, all participants in Study 1 and 2 reported at least one experience of acceptance by at least some family members and friends and this was portrayed as a significant life course experience in the accounts given. Additionally, some of the lesbian mothers in Study 1 reported that feeling accepted as a lesbian by their children was a major achievement in their coming out process. Thus, these findings indicate that positive social forces, including rising levels of acceptance, legal changes, and family's and friends' acceptance may plausibly have prompted lesbian mothers and LB prospective mothers to rebuild or plan their own family project as a non-heterosexual woman in the context of contemporary Chilean society.

An additional life course theoretical analysis might illustrate how support and oppression as opposite social forces created a unique Latino scenario within which Chilean lesbian mothers and prospective LB mothers navigated. While lesbian women were still regarded as morally inappropriate models for children by some heterosexual people, messages of support and acceptance conveyed by significant others, together with the growing societal approval and law changes, might have prompted most lesbian mothers and prospective LB mothers to feel proud about their identities. More importantly, the findings of these studies suggest that positive social forces has succeeded in prompting most lesbian mothers and prospective LB mothers to achieve their own acceptance and pursue their own non-heterosexual life course identity project. Only one lesbian mother had not dissolved her heterosexual marriage and relationship because she was afraid of causing harm or disappointment for her daughter and losing the economic support of her husband. Here it seemed that internalised homophobia and economic dependence strengthened oppressive forces to relegate this lesbian mother to an undesired heterosexual life. Nevertheless, this mother was making efforts to fulfill her same-gender desire by having a hidden lesbian relationship.

Despite positive social forces seemingly having a strong effect on the narrative of lesbian mothers in Study 1 and the motherhood expectations of LB women in Study 2, participants still saw social stigma as a major challenge and were concerned about the possibility of their children or future children being discriminated against. Most lesbian mothers in Study 1 reported that they had not disclosed to almost anyone connected with their children's school because they thought that children could be targeted by friends or classmates. Some participants also thought that discrimination and stigmatisation might negatively impact upon

their children's wellbeing. Nevertheless, none of the participants in their interview reported that their children actually had experienced any discrimination.

Similarly, participants in Study 2 also mentioned being concerned about the possibility that their future children would be discriminated against because of their two-mother family background. Prospective LB mothers also thought that they could be questioned about their parenting capabilities by social services personnel working with children. Thus, anticipated discrimination against children was a major concern for participants in both Studies 1 and 2.

Expected discrimination against the children of lesbian and gay parents also was mentioned by most heterosexual women in Study 3. Consequently, most heterosexual women were specifically against the possibility of lesbian and gay parents being allowed to adopt children, and some participants in Study 3 argued that this discrimination would be harmful for children. Nonetheless, other interviewees did not see discrimination as a risk for children's development and interestingly these interviewees were also those who agreed with the possibility of same-gender parents adopting children. This suggests that at least among educated young heterosexual women attending courses in Psychology at a Chilean university that messages about the general findings on the positive psychological development of children of lesbian and gay parents might be having an effect on attitudes. Although participants did not directly mention studies conducted with children of same-gender parents, it seemed that some participants were able to recognise the primacy of family functioning in promoting children's wellbeing and that discrimination may be overcome through family and community support.

Overall my three studies revealed that there was a strong belief related to the possibility of children of lesbian mothers being discriminated against as a consequence of being raised within a lesbian-led family. Nevertheless, we have no direct empirical data to support the assumption that children of Chilean lesbian mothers will necessarily be discriminated against or that this discrimination would affect children's psychological wellbeing. International studies have revealed that attending an LGBT supportive school and having positive parent-child relationships, have been found to reduce the impact of stigma on children's wellbeing (Bos et al., 2008; Bos & Gartrell, 2010). Certainly, further studies are needed to explore experiences of discrimination and the psychological well-being of children of lesbian mothers within a specifically Chilean or general Latino cultural context.

Finally, the findings of the three studies together have provided a general picture regarding the cultural understanding of lesbian motherhood within Chilean society. Consistent with previous studies conducted with Latina lesbian mothers, the studies presented in this thesis have revealed that normative discourses of gender, heteronormativity and the legal/political context played a crucial role in the ways in which lesbian motherhood was understood in the context of Chilean society. Furthermore, these three studies have pushed the field of LGBT-led family research forward by revealing the powerful impact of moral and religious discourses on the life course family projects of lesbian mothers and LB prospective mothers beyond Western-White European understandings, particularly within a Latino scenario. The richness of these findings is strengthened by the accounts of three different groups of Chilean women which provided a triangulation of different viewpoints to the cultural understanding of

lesbian motherhood presented in this thesis. Although Jara and Araujo's (2011) study showed how parents' religious beliefs affected the lesbian identity formation of the Chilean lesbian mothers, my study with another group of lesbian mothers illustrated how moral and religious discourses impacted experiences of participants during the course of the motherhood and impacted upon their lesbian identity trajectory. These moral and religious discourses were present in the accounts of participants in all three studies. Based on the substantive work of the thesis, I argue that social discourses against lesbian motherhood in Chilean society were based on a sexual morality that at its most benign considered heterosexuality as the only valid sexual orientation and ignored other non-heterosexual relationship possibilities. At worst Chilean social discourses placed homosexuality as an immoral and reproachable behaviour.

7.2. Evaluating the research

Although each qualitative study is different, and qualitative research methods vary considerably, various qualitative scholars have outlined specific suggestions for enhancing and demonstrating validity in qualitative research (e.g. Cohen & Crabtree, 2008; Tong, Sainsbury, & Craig, 2007; Yardley, 2000, 2015). In this section, I have demonstrated the steps I have taken to denote validity of the three qualitative studies presented in relation to Yardley's (2015) suggestions for evaluating the validity of qualitative psychology studies. Firstly, I evaluate the validity of my three studies by reviewing Yardley's five procedures for enhancing validity in qualitative research: conducting triangulation, comparing research coding, receiving participant feedback, disconfirming case analysis, and creating a

paper trail. Yardley has noted that these particular procedures are flexible and can be adapted to different methodological approaches. Secondly, I assess the thesis by discussing four principles for demonstrating the validity of qualitative research: sensitivity to context, commitment and rigour, coherence and transparency, and impact and importance. Nevertheless, I keep in mind that it is not easy to find common criteria that can be used to judge the validity of all qualitative studies because different approaches are based on different assumptions and employ different procedures. Furthermore, I agree with Yardley's assertion that guidelines for evaluating validity in qualitative research should not be used as a set of rigid rules and that the core of qualitative research quality (the depth and the insight of the analysis) is not easily captured by checklist criteria.

7.2.1. Procedures for enhancing validity

7.2.1.1. Triangulation

Triangulation is a method for enriching the understanding of a phenomenon from different perspectives. It can be achieved by gathering data from different groups of people (Carlson, 2010; Mays & Pope, 2000; Yardley, 2015). In this thesis, I have endeavoured to enrich the understanding of the phenomenon of 'lesbian motherhood' within a Chilean cultural context from the differing perspectives of three groups of Chilean women. In Study 1, I explored how lesbian mothers' narrated their own stories of lesbian motherhood. In Study 2, I examined young lesbian and bisexual women's expectations of a future lesbian motherhood project. In Study 3, I critically analysed heterosexual women's views on lesbian

motherhood (and gay fatherhood). This three-way analytical approach allowed me to paint a panoramic picture regarding how lesbian motherhood was experienced, expected and viewed within a Chilean cultural context. Although the findings of each of the three qualitative studies were substantially different in many respects, common aspects across the three studies emerged during the data analysis process. As mentioned in the previous section (i.e., summary of the findings), the three studies revealed the moral transgression that lesbian motherhood implied and the expected discrimination that children of lesbian mothers would without doubt encounter by living in Chilean society. Thus, this research strategy provided a comprehensive understanding of how lesbian motherhood was represented by three different groups of Chilean women in contemporary Chilean society.

7.2.1.2. Comparing researcher's coding with that of independent qualitative researchers

In qualitative research, comparing the research coding of two or more researchers is a step towards ensuring that the analysis is not confined to one researcher's perspective and that it makes sense to other people (Barbour 2001; Yardley, 2015). In a more formal procedure, more than one researcher codes the data and the level of agreement between researchers' codes is calculated by Cohen's kappa to determine 'inter-rater reliability' (Boyatzis, 1998). In another more flexible form, one researcher codes the data and discusses the emerging codes with other researchers involved in the study a practice consistent with a social constructionist epistemological position. Based on Yardley's assertion that criteria for evaluating quality in qualitative research is not a set of rigid rules, but a flexible proposition

for ensuring validity, I adopted a more flexible stance to evaluate inter-rater reliability and discuss emerging codes with another researcher. Firstly, during the entire course of the analysis process of the three studies, I discussed the emerging themes and sub-themes with my primary supervisor. Each step of the analysis was carefully discussed during supervisions in order to ensure that my interpretation was close to participants' accounts. Furthermore, I repeated the same procedure with my second supervisor specifically to benefit from her expertise on IPA focus group analysis in Study 2. Although, given the time limit, only one transcript per study was analysed and discussed in full detail. The rest of the transcripts were analysed only by me, yet all the developing themes and sub-themes were discussed with both supervisors. Secondly, after completing the table of themes of the three studies, I carried out an audit of the themes and subthemes with external auditors each of whom were experienced in qualitative research. A total of five auditors read one transcript of each of the three studies and then rated whether each subtheme was present or absent in the transcript data. Both procedures, discussing the developing themes with supervisors and checking inter-rater reliability with external auditors, allowed me to ensure that my interpretation was pertinent to participants' accounts. Lastly, the reader may judge with their own criteria if my interpretations are reflected adequately in the extracts I have provided to illustrate themes and sub-themes within the data.

7.2.1.3. Participant feedback

Participants feedback, also known as 'respondent validation' (Mays & Pope, 2000) or 'member checking' (Carlson, 2010), is a qualitative research validity

strategy in which participants are asked to comment on the analysis (Andrews, Squire, & Tamboukou, 2013; Yardley, 2015). This procedure is a valuable tool for engaging participants in qualitative research and ensuring that their viewpoints are not misrepresented. I used a modified version of respondent validation considering the time limits for this doctoral research. I adopted a similar strategy to that applied during the audit process with independent qualitative researchers. After completing the final table of themes, I invited each participant of the three studies and asked them to rate if each subtheme of the table represented her own view as conveyed during her participation in the interview or focus group. Thus, there was no prior selection of participants as to who to contact for feedback, although each participant self-selected in responding or not to my email invitation. A total of 13 participants took part in the respondent validation exercise: Seven lesbian mothers in Study 1 (87%), three LB prospective mothers in Study 2 (50%), and three heterosexual women in Study 3 (20%).

A first look of the participants' feedback rate suggests that lesbian women in Study 1 felt more engaged with the validation of the analysis than had the interviewees in either Study 2 or Study 3. This is perhaps not surprising when considering that participants in Study 1 took part of an individual interview and were those who had direct experience of lesbian motherhood, whereas participants in Studies 2 and 3 participated in focus group interviews and had not had a direct experience with lesbian motherhood. Nevertheless, participants' feedback across the three studies revealed their commitment to the research purpose and their interest in validating the results of the study they had taken part in. This qualitative research strategy allowed me to evaluate the extent to which my analysis was embedded in the data. The high level of consistency between

participants' feedback and my own coding in each of the three studies indicated that my interpretations seemed to be close to participants' representation of lesbian motherhood as depicted during the interviews and focus groups (see results presented earlier in Chapter 4, 5 and 6).

7.2.1.4. Disconfirming case analysis

Qualitative research analysis typically implies a process of identifying themes and patterns within data. A complementary process of seeking disconfirming cases ('deviant cases' or 'negative cases') involves searching for data that does not fit the themes or patterns that have been identified (Mays & Pope, 2000; Yardley, 2015). This strategy also provides an indication of the limits of the generalisability of the findings. I presented a disconfirming case analysis in Study 1: although one of the lesbian mothers I interviewed had shared experiences with the rest of participants, there were however some instances in which this participant's experience and reflections on it departed from the rest of the interviewees. This negative case was noted during the analysis and then again within the previous section (i.e., summary of the findings) of this discussion chapter. This participant's account differed from those of the other lesbian mothers because she had not dissolved her heterosexual marriage and was still living with her daughter's father. Although she reported that she felt unhappy with her family situation she considered that the "best interest" of her child was to live with both her mother and her father. This participant's current different-gender relationship trajectory was substantially different from the rest of interviewees who had already separated their children's father. This finding suggests that building a lesbian family project might not be an

alternative for some lesbian mothers living in a Chilean cultural context. It also reflects that the findings of this study might only be representative of some Chilean lesbian mothers who had been able to subvert to some extent the heterosexual imperative for family life.

Disconfirming cases were less visible in Study 2 than in Study 1. Nonetheless, particular instances in which some prospective LB mothers' accounts differed from the predominant pattern were mentioned during the analysis. For example, Study 2's findings suggest that LG prospective mothers had a deep desire for motherhood. However, it was noted during the analysis that one participant did not have a clear idea about becoming mother, although she felt a kind of inner "natural desire" to have a child. Similarly, not all LB prospective mothers were thinking about having a biological child or saw donor insemination as the unique path to become mothers. Some participants mentioned that they were open to adopt a child.

Study 3 also revealed some instances of disconfirming cases. While most participants saw LG parents as appropriate models for children, a few participants conveyed that LG parents were inadequate models for children's gender, sexual orientation, and moral development. Each instance in which this tension was identified was mentioned during the analysis. Indeed, opposing participants' views were the central criteria for defining some of the sub-themes in this study. All the instances in which tensions and opposite views were identified were noted within the analysis. Thus, identifying disconfirming cases was a validity strategy used across all the three studies in order to highlight the scope of the findings.

7.2.1.5. Paper trail construction

Constructing a paper trail is a useful qualitative research strategy to allow other researchers to examine or audit the analysis. It provides evidence that the study has been completed and documented carefully and professionally (Mays & Pope, 2000; Riessman, 2008; Smith et al., 2009a; Yardley, 2015) It is possible to identified three particular instances in which creating a paper trail has been a useful strategy for this doctoral research. Firstly, my research supervisors were provided with analysis records during all the steps of the analysis process. Secondly, auditors were provided with the transcripts and all the analysis records related with the study they were asked to audit, giving auditors the opportunity to track the analyses procedures to reassure themselves the themes and sub-themes had been developed adequately and justifiably. Thirdly, records of my analyses are provided in the appendices of this thesis to provide the reader with relevant background information about the whole analytic procedures across the three studies. Thus, providing paper trails in this thesis has allowed the reader to retrace all the stages of the analysis based on a set of coded transcripts and records of thematic developments.

7.2.2. Principles for demonstrating validity

7.2.2.1. Sensitivity to context

A primary principle for qualitative research validity is to demonstrate sensitivity to context. This criteria implies that qualitative researchers, who aim to claim for

the validity of their qualitative studies, should consider relevant theoretical and empirical literature, analyse the interactive effect of context and time, and engage with participants to create new understandings of an underexplored phenomenon (Yardley, 2015). In this thesis, I tried to address these three validity aspects in order to demonstrate sensitivity to context in the three qualitative studies I conducted.

Firstly, as mentioned in the literature review, the phenomenon of lesbian motherhood is still a poorly explored topic in non-ESWE countries. In particular, few studies have been conducted in Latin America, with only two studies conducted in Chile. However, despite the limited knowledge about Latina lesbian mothers, I provided a detailed review of the existing empirical studies exploring lesbian motherhood within a broader Latino context. This literature reviewed revealed that cultural understandings of gender, homophobia, and national political contexts have greatly impacted the family life of Latina lesbian mothers. However, little was known about how religious discourses have influenced the family life of lesbian mothers living in Latino societies. As the Catholic Church has been highly influential in national policies privileging heterosexuality across Latin American countries, I tried to explore the extent to which religious teaching and discourses have impacted cultural understandings of lesbian motherhood in Chilean society. As suggested by Yardley (2015), I tried to formulate questions that address the gap in our current knowledge of lesbian motherhood, rather than re-'discovering' what has already been studied.

Secondly, in this thesis I tried to be sensitive to the socio-cultural context in which participants were embedded. By addressing a life course perspective, I tried to

locate participants' understandings of lesbian motherhood within a socio-cultural and historical context. As mentioned in the previous section, the findings of this doctoral research represent a particular snapshot of lesbian motherhood within contemporary Chilean society. Indeed, generational differences between the lesbian mothers in my study and those interviewed by Herrera (2009) were highlighted in order to demonstrate how the current generation of Chilean lesbian mothers were displaying greater levels of confidence and openness than previous generations. Differences between the lesbian mothers and the prospective LB mothers I interviewed also were noted within the previous section of this chapter. Consistent with Libson's (2013) study of Argentinean lesbian mothers, I found that the current generation of Chilean prospective LB mothers were thinking about having children as they pictured a future lesbian identity trajectory. Furthermore, study three provided information about how lesbian mothers were seen in the context of Chilean society indicating a diversity of views displayed by a student population. Thus, the interacting effect of context and time was a central aspect addressed across the three studies presented in this thesis.

Thirdly, conducting semi-structured individual and group interviews with open-ended questions allowed me to consider issues not raised in advance. This gave participants the opportunity to respond freely and talk about what was important for them (Yardley, 2015). Indeed, although patterns across participants' reports were identified, all participants' interviews and reports were different and unique in their contributions to the final analyses presented. As suggested by IPA and qualitative psychology scholars (e.g. Ashworth, 2015; Smith et al., 2009a; Smith & Osborn, 2008; Tomkins & Eatough, 2010), I adopted an idiographic commitment to the data, particularly in Studies 1 and 2. Indeed, each participant's

contribution was examined individually during the analysis process. This idiographic commitment allowed me to explore the uniqueness of each participant's story, experiences or sense making processes. Thus, I tried to portray each participant's contribution to the analysis in the overall table of themes of each study. This idiographic focus implies that the validity of this doctoral research is based on the richness of the analysis and the theoretical relevance of the findings for particular experiences retold by an often stigmatised and oppressed group of people, rather than in the representative of the sample or the generalisation of the findings.

Furthermore, engaging with participants to create new understandings of a particular phenomenon is itself an interactive process in qualitative research. Yardley (2015) has suggested that an important aspect of demonstrating sensitivity to context is to consider the possible impact on participants of the characteristic of the researcher and the setting in which the research is carried out. I had to reflect on the ways in which my role as a researcher might have impacted upon how participants engaged with each study (Carlson, 2010; Mays & Pope, 2000; Yardley, 2015). For example, in Study 1 two participants asked to be interviewed with their lesbian partner when we met in a cafe in the centre of Santiago. One of these participants (who was the first participant to be interviewed in Study 1) explicitly stated her need to feel secure during the interview. She wanted to be assured that my interview's purpose was that which was expressed in information sheet and did not have another possible hate-motivated aim. Obviously, I gave her the possibility to be interviewed with her partner. I was aware that a recent connotated hate crime on a gay man in Santiago (see Chapter 1) might have provoked on her the fear of being attacked, especially

as I was a man whom she has never met before. Even though I was aware of gender inequalities that exist in Chilean society before then, and had thought about how this power imbalance has oppressed women in society, I was not aware the extent to which the individual experience of participants as lesbian and women might have been impacted by living in a patriarchal society, and this was particularly striking instance of this. This increased both my awareness of fear in the lesbian community and my awareness of the interactive process of data collection and the ways in which my role as a researcher might have impacted participants' engagement with the study. Nevertheless, no other participants expressed the same overt fear. In fact, six of the eight participants in the main sample of Study 1 were interviewed individually in different locations (e.g. home, workplace, a LGBT organisation, and different cafes). Nevertheless, I tried to be receptive to participants' particular requests. For example, all participants were given the possibility to be interviewed in a place of their choosing. Perhaps, my personal experience of dealing with an oppressive gay identity as a Chilean man helped me to be sensitive with the particularities of participants' experiences as lesbian women living in Chile.

During the interviews, I tried to be non-directive and avoid locating myself in an expert position and in Study 1 and 2 this might have been easier to convey as a gay man interviewing lesbians. I tried to establish non-hierarchical conversations around participants' personal experiences or thoughts (Gergen, 2010). I adopted this non-directive position across all three studies in being open to exploring what participants brought to their interviews. However, there was an important difference between the Studies 1 and 2, and Study 3 regarding the stance I adopted during the analysis. As mentioned in the method section of Study 3, the

Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2013) was conducted from a 'critical qualitative' stance because my aim was to interrogate the meanings expressed in the data in order to explore the topic of heterosexual women's prejudice toward LG parenting. In contrast, in Study 1 and 2, I adopted an 'experiential qualitative' stance when performing the Narrative Analysis (Riessman, 2008) and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (Smith et al., 2009a; Tomkins & Eatough, 2010) because my purpose was to validate and prioritise participants' meanings and interpretations. I tried to be sensitive to participants' own experiences as sexual minority women, and tried to avoid hindering their particular stories and meanings with my own previous experience as a sexual minority man. More specifically, I tried to explore the ways in which their different identities as woman, lesbian and mother intersected each other within the context of a heteronormative Chilean society.

Giving voice to participants' views in Study 1 and 2 as an oppressed group was a major value of this doctoral research as it aimed to empower participants as women, lesbian and mothers (or prospective mothers in Study 2). As Swigonski (1995) suggested previously simply "claiming a lesbian identity in a heterosexist culture is an act of empowerment in the struggle against oppression" (p. 413). Thus, I argue that claiming a lesbian identity in a Chilean heterosexist society is also an act of empowerment in a struggle against oppression (e.g. Lassiter, Dew, Newton, Hays, & Yarbrough, 2006). I tried to empower participants to claim their intersecting identities as mother and a lesbian in a patriarchal society. Feminist scholars have suggested that family is an excellent arena in which to challenge gender norms and change societal structures based on power and oppression (Allen, & Jaramillo-Sierra, 2015; Kaestle, 2016). Thus, this thesis aimed to

explore how cultural understandings of the family based on religious and moral discourses have oppressed participants' experiences as mothers or future mothers. Notwithstanding, I tried to emphasise the ways in which participants have subverted the heterosexist Chilean context in order to feel accepted and proud of their own different intersecting identities.

7.2.2.2. Commitment and rigour

A second principle to demonstrate validity in a qualitative study is the commitment and rigour with the data which were collected and the analysis conducted. Yardley (2015) also suggested that a careful sample selection is a relevant aspect of validity for a qualitative study that aims to provide bounded answer to a theoretically important phenomenon. I selected a homogenous sample for each of the three research studies I conducted in order to enhance the theoretical relevance of the findings for a particular group of people (Coyne, 1997). In Study 1, I conducted 16 interviews with lesbian mothers. Nevertheless, after conducting a preliminary analysis of participants' macro- and micro-narratives, I selected eight participants for my final sample for in-depth narrative analyses. All of these participants had their children within the context of a previous heterosexual relationship, were currently raising children of school age or adolescents, had been involved in a lesbian couple relationship, identified as middle- or high-class women, and did not identify themselves specifically as an activist for sexual minority rights. Thus, the findings of Study 1 have a theoretical relevance for Chilean lesbian mothers who share similar characteristics. Therefore, my findings might be less applicable to other groups of Chilean lesbian

mothers, such as those who have had their children in the context of a lesbian relationship, have adult children, have never been involved in a lesbian relationship, identify as working class women, or are sexual minority activist. Notwithstanding these limitations of the sample, the findings of Study 1 provide useful information about how Chilean lesbian mothers deal with a strongly heterosexist social context.

In study 2, I conducted six focus groups with lesbian and bisexual women, and gay men. However, I selected the three focus groups that had a mixture of both female and male participants in my analysis because these data allowed me to explore the extent to which a mixed gender interactive context provided contrasting information to distinguish the particularities of lesbian and bisexual women's views of a future motherhood project. Indeed, contrasting views between female and male participants were evident and highlighted during the analysis of Study 2. For example, women felt closer than men to plan a parenting project because women were aware of their capacity to get pregnant and needed only a donor to carry out a sperm insemination. Also women were more aware of the ticking of their own biological clock and the need to avoid delay if their fertility was going to be achieved. Men in contrast, felt more constrained than women in achieving parenthood because they not only needed an egg donor but also needed a woman willing to carry out the pregnancy through a surrogacy arrangement. Additionally, when women talked about routes to becoming a mother they mainly placed biological parenthood in first place, while some men mentioned adoption as a primary option. Regarding the homogeneity of the sample, out of the seven LB women who took part in the three selected focus groups, six were included in the final sample. These participants all reported a desire to be mothers. In contrast,

the participant who was excluded from the analysis explicitly reported that she did not want to be a mother, and consequently did not mention a plan or desire to build a two-mother family with children as the rest of participants did. Thus, the findings of Study 2 are particularly relevant for Chilean LB women who have a desire to have children (within a lesbian couple relationship), and might less applicable for those LB women who have chosen to remain child-free.

Nevertheless, Study 2 provided useful information about how the social and political context permeates the family project of LB women in contemporary Chilean society.

The selected sample of Study 3 also had homogeneous features built into its design. For instance, participants in this study were all first-year psychology students who identified as heterosexual and middle-class women. Out of the four focus groups conducted, one was excluded from the final analysis because one participant in this focus group identified as pansexual and was a sexual minority activist. It would have been interesting to contrast her views on LG parenting with those of the heterosexual participants, but this focus group had unique features, and because Study 3 aimed to explore the topic of heterosexual women's prejudice toward LG parenting, I opted to exclude this focus group from the final analysis. Thus, it remains unknown the extent to which the presence of a non-heterosexual female participant might have impacted the heterosexual women's accounts about LG parenting within the focus group interaction. The findings of Study 3 are theoretically relevant for heterosexual women who are undergraduate psychology students. Nevertheless, Study 3's findings also are a valuable source of information about future psychologists' views in Chile because as professionals they are likely to encounter LG parents in evaluation settings such during

adoption or foster care applications. Massey et al. (2013) have suggested that subtle forms of prejudices against LG parents are likely to be manifested in evaluation settings. Hence, exploring how heterosexual women who were training psychologists saw LG parenting has provided useful information about the need to incorporate LGBT affirmative topics into the training of future Chilean psychologists.

Another important aspect of commitment and rigour in qualitative research is the need to show the breadth and/or depth of the analysis. According to Yardley (2015), the unique insights gleaned from of the analyses should display theoretical sophistication, empathic understanding of participants' perspectives, and/or painstaking application of the chosen analytical method. Yardley has suggested that is not necessary or even possible for a single study to show all these qualities, but that it might be useful to explore in which form(s) of rigorous analysis a qualitative researcher is aiming to excel in. I am aware that demonstrating the rigour of a qualitative is still a topic that is being discussed by qualitative scholars (Barbour 2001; Mays & Pope, 2000; Yardley, 2015). Thus, the reader may judge if the studies presented in this thesis were conducted with enough rigour to claim for validity. My aim is to provide the reader with sufficient information to appreciate the commitment and rigour I tried to adopt during the analysis process of my doctoral research studies by addressing each of the three aspects of commitment and rigour that Yardley (2015) identified.

Firstly, in the previous section of this discussion chapter (i.e., summary of the findings), I have provided a theoretical examination of the research findings by presenting a summary of each of the three studies conducted and an overall review

of the common aspects among them. I conducted this examination by addressing the Life Course Theory as a developmental theoretical framework in order to locate participants' accounts within a socio-cultural and historical context. I carried out this refined analysis to enhance the richness of the findings presented in each study chapter and to provide the reader with an overview of the theoretical implications of the research findings. The Life Course Theory helped me to describe the differences between the experiences of the lesbian mothers in Study 1 and prospective LB mothers in Study 2. Specifically, the current generation of prospective LB women seemed to be more willing to initiate their motherhood project within the context of a same-gender relationship than were the older generation of lesbian mothers. Thus, temporal distinctions of generational, and social/historical time enriched the understanding of the experiences of two different groups of Chilean lesbian women. Furthermore, Life Course Theory engendered sensitivity to cultural influences on individual development provided a useful tool to understand how moral and religious homophobic discourses and the associated expected discrimination permeated the accounts' of lesbian mothers and prospective LB mothers. It also contextualised the views on LG parenting of some of the heterosexual women in Study 3.

Secondly, as mentioned before, I adopted an experiential 'qualitative stance' in Studies 1 and 2 to validate participants' meanings and interpretations. This interactive engagement with participants implies that I tried to be empathic with participants' perspectives. The non-directive approach during individual and focus group semi-structured interviews, the idiographic commitment during the analysis, and the reflexivity of my role as a researcher during the entire research process without a doubt helped me to be empathic with participants' perspectives.

During the development of themes in my analyses of findings, I tried to keep close to participants' understanding by retaining participants' meanings and representations to help me engage more extensively and thoughtfully with participants' accounts across all three studies. This strategy implied that the themes were carefully elaborated and refined in order to provide a theoretical significance but also to capture a vivid picture of participants' accounts frequently using "in vivo" coding, i.e., using Grounded Theory technique (Charmaz, 2016). As study 1 and 2 were experiential in essence, the themes developed were closely ingrained in participants' accounts. Although the themes developed in Study 3 were more theoretically driven than those elaborated in Study 1 and 2, I made an effort to keep the themes close to participants' representations of LG parenting.

Thirdly, Yardley (2015) argued that the analysis might yield insights through the painstaking application of a detailed analytical method. The studies presented in this thesis were analysed with three different qualitative techniques. In order to demonstrate the value of each analysis method, I provided an overview of its theoretical foundation in the method section of each study. I used three different qualitative techniques because the purpose of each study was different. Study 1 aimed to explore the life course experiences of lesbian mothers and the intersection of their identities as a woman, a lesbian and a mother. Thus, Narrative Analysis (Riessman, 2008) represented an appropriate tool to explore the life stories of lesbian mothers. Study 2 sought to examine how young LB women made sense of a future motherhood project. Hence, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (Smith et al., 2009a; Tomkins & Eatough, 2010) seemed to be a suitable method to investigate how young LB women gave meaning to their motherhood desires and expectations. Study 3, was intended to

analyse heterosexual women's representations of LG parenting. Therefore, Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) appeared to be a proper strategy to examine the sexual prejudice from a 'qualitative critical' stance (Braun & Clarke, 2013). The three methods selected have been regarded as highly influential analysis techniques within qualitative psychology.

As was previously mentioned, I adopted a social constructionist approach to the analysis because I understand the construction of knowledge as an interactive process between the participants and researcher (Gergen, 2010). Thus, instead of following scholars' suggestions for conducting qualitative analysis as a rigid set of rules, I embraced a more flexible position (Yardley, 2015), and I slightly adapted the three qualitative techniques in order to enhance their features following the recommendations and good practices of other qualitative scholars. For instance, I started with a line-by-line analysis in all three studies to conduct an inductive grounded analysis as Grounded Theory scholars have suggested (e.g. Charmaz, 2016). Furthermore, In Study 1, I combined the suggestions of Labov (1972), Murray (2008), Riessman (2008, 2010), and Williams (1984) for conducting Narrative Analysis. Similarly, in Study 2, I combined the propositions of Smith et al. (2009a), and Smith and Osborn (2008) to carry out an Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, as well as the suggestions of Palmer et al. (2010) and Tomkins and Eatough (2010) for conducting IPA with focus group data. Finally, the analysis of Study 3 was carried out by following the suggestions of Braun and Clarke (2006). Yet I also used Smith's et al. (2009a) recommendations about registering descriptive, linguistic, and conceptual comments and observations during the initial coding in order to highlight the distinctness of the different levels of analysis/interpretation.

7.2.2.3. Coherence and transparency

Coherence and transparency are two principles for demonstrating validity in qualitative research (Barbour 2001; Carlson, 2010; Yardley, 2015). Coherence refers to the extent to which a qualitative study makes sense as a consistent whole (Yardley, 2015). It can be displayed by the clarity and the power of the argument the researcher makes for the way a qualitative study was carried out. A valid qualitative study requires a consistency between the theoretical approach, the research question, the methods, and the interpretation of data. I took into account the coherence of my qualitative studies during the entire research process. Firstly, as I endorsed the Life Course Theory as an overall theoretical framework for my research studies, I elaborated research questions by considering the socio-cultural and historical location of the phenomenon being investigated. Secondly, I chose qualitative data collection techniques and analysis methods coherent with the Life Course Theory and the social constructionist approach (which I endorsed during the analysis process). For instance, semi-structured interviews (Hugh-Jones, 2010) and focus groups (Kitzinger, 1995; Wilkinson, 2008) have been widely acknowledged as useful data collection techniques for a variety of qualitative research approaches. Furthermore, qualitative researchers have noted the fit of social constructionism with Narrative Analysis (Riessman, 2008), IPA (Eatough & Smith, 2008), and Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thirdly, I interpreted the findings of the three studies following the principles of the Life Course Theory as has already been described in the previous section (i.e., commitment and rigour).

The transparency of a qualitative research report refers to how well the reader can see accurately what was done and why (Yardley, 2015). It can be shown by providing sufficient information of the method used (usually supported by a paper trail described in the appendices), being explicit about reflexivity (as discussed in sub-section sensitivity to context), and presenting enough data to show the reader what the analyses and interpretations are based on. To give sufficient to support my analysis this thesis contains transcript excerpts, tables summarising demographic data and themes, and figures related to the thematic map of the findings.

7.2.2.4. Impact and importance

The impact and importance are the last principles mentioned by Yardley (2015) for demonstrating validity in qualitative research. A qualitative study might have practical and theoretical implications. Regarding practical implications, it might be argued that the findings of this thesis may have implications at different levels. Firstly, clinical psychologists, social workers, and school teachers might benefit from the findings of this doctoral research as it has provided a deep examination of how lesbian motherhood has been understood within a Chilean cultural context. Professionals working with families in different social settings also might find in this thesis a rich source to support lesbian mothers and prospective LB mothers in building and carrying out their motherhood and family projects. Secondly, sexual minority organisations and political movements might find in this thesis insights as to how lesbian mothers and prospective LB mothers have been dealing with a strongly heteronormative society. Thirdly, politicians and lawmakers might find in this doctoral research a panoramic view of needs and demands of lesbian

mothers and prospective LB mothers. Lastly, lesbian mothers and prospective LB mothers might recognise in this doctoral work an illustrative example of the challenges they and other Chilean lesbian mothers have encountered when navigating through mainstream society.

Concerning theoretical implications, as was mentioned in the previous section (i.e., summary of the findings), this doctoral research has pushed the field of LGBT-led family research further by describing the phenomenon of lesbian motherhood within a Latino cultural context. The studies presented in this thesis have revealed the powerful impact of moral and religious homophobic discourses on the life course family projects of lesbian mothers and LB prospective mothers living in Chilean society. Scholars working with LGBT-led families from a cultural perspective might find in this thesis a good example about the power of cultural influences in permeating the family life of lesbian mothers and the motherhood expectations of LB women. Latino scholars working with LGBT-led families might find in this thesis a good source to compare the experiences of lesbian mothers and LB prospective mothers living in other Latino contexts. Finally, social psychologists interested in the attitudes towards LGBT people living in Latino context might find in this thesis a valuable examination of prejudice toward lesbian motherhood still existing in Chilean society.

7.3. Strengths, limitations and possible future research

Having provided a careful review of the findings and validity of the three qualitative studies, next I consider the general strengths and limitations of my

thesis, as well as, offering practical suggestions for possible future research within the field of LGBT-family studies. My suggestions for potential future research will concentrate on questions emerged from the scope of the findings.

The case-centered (Riessman, 2010) or the idiographic (Smith et al., 2009a; Tomkins & Eatough, 2010) commitment to analysing participants' accounts in Studies 1 and 2 are perhaps major strengths of this doctoral research. This qualitative approach for data analysis, together with a line-by-line analysis across all three studies, enabled the development of insightful understandings of the life course experiences of lesbian mothers, the motherhood expectations of young LB women, and the views that contextualise LG parenting within contemporary Chilean society. Careful selection homogeneous samples also contributed to this accomplishment. As Smith and Osborn (2008) have noted, purposive and homogeneous sampling allow for a detailed examination of participants accounts. The primary aim of using this qualitative approach was to proclaim the theoretical significance of the findings for particular groups of people.

Nevertheless, the findings might have a limited generalisability and might be less applicable for Chilean non-heterosexual and heterosexual women who do not fit with features of the samples selected. Based on this limitation, it would be worth conducting research with lesbian mothers who have had their children in the context of a lesbian relationship, and those who identify as working class women, as well as with LB lesbian who have chosen to remain child-free. Similarly, conducting studies with heterosexual women from the general population, and those who are beginning undergraduate studies in health or education, might further enrich our knowledge about the attitudes of heterosexual women toward

LG parenting. Furthermore, given my focus in the thesis on lesbian, and to some extent bisexual motherhood, there is still a need to know about experiences, expectations and views of gay fatherhood within a Chilean cultural context as well as the attitudes of heterosexual men toward LG parenting. It may be also relevant to examine the experiences of children of Chilean lesbian mothers and gay father and the extent to which they are exposed to discrimination and how such negative social forces might impact on children's well-being.

Although the findings of this doctoral research represented my own interpretation of participants' experiences, expectations and views related to lesbian motherhood, they were to some extent confirmed by some participants and validated by external research auditors. Nonetheless, I am aware that the themes and subthemes developed during the analyses are subjective and do not represent the real true of the phenomenon of lesbian motherhood in Chilean society.

Different researchers might develop other themes using the same data.

Furthermore, the findings of these studies still represent a group of people who voluntarily agreed to take part in these studies. People who did not participate or would not participate in studies like these might not feel represented by the findings presented in this thesis.

The findings of three studies in this thesis represented the understandings of lesbian motherhood within a particular socio-historical time and context. Thus, future generations of lesbian mothers might encounter different experiences over their life courses by navigating in changed social contexts. It might worth to conduct studies with a longitudinal design to explore how social and legal changes might impact representations of lesbian motherhood within Chilean society.

Additionally, experiences, expectations and views of lesbian motherhood might be substantially different in others Latino countries. Yet, considering the strong impact of religious and moral discourses on the cultural understandings of lesbian motherhood in Chilean society revealed in this thesis, the findings of these studies might also be applicable in Latino countries in which there is still a strong influence of Christian Churches on gender, sexual and family values.

7.4. Conclusions and recommendations

The findings of this doctoral research have revealed the strong impact of homophobia on the life course experiences of lesbian mothers and the motherhood expectations of young LB women in Chilean society. In particular, pathologising views of homosexuality, and consequently of LG parenting, were often associated with religious and moral discourses coming from Chilean heterosexual people. Negative discourses of homosexuality and LG parenting were minimal in Study 1 and 2 participants' accounts and only expressed by a minority of heterosexual women in Study 3, suggesting that enacted forms of sexual stigma (Herek, Gillis, & Cogan, 2009) seemed to be marginal in participants' accounts. However, these conservative discourses exerted a substantial influence on what lesbian mothers felt they could reasonably do in their social contexts and what prospective LB mothers expected to happen, revealing how participants had internalised the sexual stigma still existing in Chilean society.

Furthermore, as lesbian mothers and prospective LB mothers were aware of negative discourses of homosexuality and LG parenting, they anticipated that their

(future) children might be exposed to discrimination. Heterosexual women in Study 3 also were aware of enacted forms of sexual stigma and consequently were concerned about the possibility of children of LG parents being discriminated against. Thus, the findings of three studies conducted revealed that anticipated discrimination of children of LG parents seemed to be a major concern for participants in these studies. Despite lesbian mothers' concerns relating to the anticipated discrimination of their children, no participant in study 1 reported that their children had encountered experiences of discrimination. Additionally, all the participants in Study 1 and 2 reported at least one experience of acceptance by significant others such as family members and friends, revealing the polarisation of participants' experiences and/or expectations, and the tensions between oppressive and supportive social forces.

Clinical psychologists and social workers working with LG parents should help lesbian mothers and prospective LB mothers to become aware of the impact of internalised sexual stigma on their family decisions, plans, and/or expectations. Social and/or emotional support might help lesbian mothers and prospective LB mothers to cope with enacted or internalised forms of sexual stigma presented in Chilean society. Children of lesbian mothers might also benefit if their mothers acknowledge the importance of family and community support in coping with an oppressive social context. It would also be worthwhile to train school teachers or health care providers about the impact of discrimination/support on the family life of lesbian mothers and their children. Finally, politicians and lawmakers should acknowledge that there is still much to do to reduce enacted and subtle forms of sexual stigma in Chilean society, that LG parents and their children need specialised programs to attend their particular needs, and that young prospective

LB mothers are claiming their equal right to build their own family project and protect their future children.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Reflexive notes for Study 1 and 2

Reflexive notes (example 1)

Study 1: Lesbian mothers

Date: September 2013 - January 2014

1. Some participants experienced psychological (and physical) abuse in the context of a previous heterosexual relationship. In some cases, the abuse started before they came out as a lesbian to their ex HT partner. Other participants were subjected to psychological abuse because their ex HT partners realised about participants' same-gender attraction. Do lesbian mothers coming from a previous HT relationship experience the patriarchal exercise of the violence from men to women in the context of a gender-normative Chilean society? Are gay men less like to experience psychological or physical abuse in the context of a previous HT relationship or after their coming out to their partners? What might explain the psychological abuse experienced by lesbian mothers after their coming out to their ex HT partners?
2. It seems that participants' ex HT partners' intense rejection of lesbianism reflects the strong machismo still existing in Chilean society. Some participants' ex HT partners tried to make participants' lesbian identity invisible. For instance, some participants' ex HT partners tried to control participants' lesbian expression by "marking the territory" as if they were the "dominant" male of the relationship. Does lesbianism threaten hegemonic masculinity in the context of Chilean hetero-normative society? Is trying to control women's behaviours, decisions and desires a particular strategy used by Chilean HT men to preserve their status as masculine men in the context of Chilean society?
3. Participants mainly used passive/private disclosure strategies outside home. They mostly reported experiences of coming out within the private domain, including children, family of origin and close friends. Lesbian mothers concealed their lesbian identity by avoiding using words to define their same-gender relationships (they did not want to make their identity clear), a sort of passive strategy. Are passive disclosure strategies a common aspect of Latina lesbians? How does the mother role affect participants' coming out as a lesbian woman? Does the mother's role demand that women have to be heterosexual to avoid being stigmatized as "bad" models for children? How does the coming out of lesbian mothers and lesbian women without children differ in particular ways in the context of Chilean society? How different are the coming out experiences of lesbian mothers and gay fathers in Chile?
4. Participants usually asked psychologists for help in order to know how and when to disclose to their children. How likely are participants to find affirmative or non-supportive interventions in the context of Chilean society? Psychologists usually asked participants to use passive disclosure strategies with their children. They considered that disclosure should occur within an "appropriate" child's developmental period. Is there an appropriate development period for coming out to children as a lesbian mother coming from a previous HT relationship? Are pathologizing discourses behind Chilean therapists' understanding of a suitable age for coming out as a lesbian mother? How are pathologizing discourses of homosexuality extended to lesbian or gay parenting in Chile? Is lesbian or gay parenting seen as pathological to children by Chilean heterosexual people?

Reflexive notes (example 2)

Study 2: Lesbian and bisexual prospective mothers

Date: March 2014 – August 2014

1. While some LB women talked about donor insemination as a valid route to parenthood, one gay man questioned the fact that children grew up without one biological parent. This participant stated that at some point children would like to know about their origin. Thus, he said that separating the children from one of their biological parents was a selfish act and that prospective LGB parents should think about children needs and not only about their own desires of parenthood. Is a desire to have children a selfish desire? Should prospective parents only think about what they will give to their children? How do cultural discourses of the family permeate participants' understanding of parenting or parenting desires? Do legal barriers influence how LB women or gay men think about parenting in the context of Chilean society? How different or similar are the parenthood expectations of LB women or gay men without children in Chile?
2. LB women (not gay men) sometimes used words to note that they were talking about both genders. When they referred to the child, they said "he" or "she" in order to highlight that they were talking about a girl or a boy. In the Spanish language, a masculine word might refer to both gender, this is a culturally common language expression in the Spanish world. But feminist scholars have noted the importance of making explicit when a person is talking about both genders. How has the feminist scholarship impacted on LB women's accounts? Are LB women more aware of gender inequalities that still exist in Chilean society? How aware are gay men about the oppression of LB as women in Chilean society? Does patriarchal oppression shape the experiences of LB women in Chilean society?
3. LB women said that "sacrificing" for children was an important aspect of being a good mother. How do cultural discourses of motherhood permeate the parenthood expectations of LB women? How do the experiences of LB women and gay men differ in this regard? Is the sacrificial aspect of motherhood to some extent related to Christian understandings of motherhood? How do religious discourses influence LB women's understandings of motherhood? Do gay men think that gay fatherhood requires sacrificing for children?
4. Participants talked about cultural discourses of parenthood. They stated that people thought that conception was a naturally occurring process and that LG people could not be reproductive beings. It seems that the only valid way to become a parent in Chilean society is through "natural conception". Thus, LG people are seen as non-reproductive and unable to have "natural" children. How do these cultural understandings of the routes to parenthood affect how LB women or gay men see themselves as prospective parents. How do the experiences of LB women and gay men differ in this respect? Is "natural conception" the only valid/genuine way to becoming a parent in Chile? How does the social context react if LGB people use non-conventional routes to parenthood? Has this "natural" understanding of parenthood permeated the parenting desires (or decisions to remain childfree) of LB women and gay men in the context of Chilean society?

Appendix 2: Interview schedule for Study 1

This is the English version of the original Spanish document which is available upon request from the author.

Interview Schedule

Title of Study: Lesbian motherhood in a Chilean context
Name of researcher: *Victor Figueroa Guñez.*

There are no a big list of question in this study. I just want you to tell me about how you have experienced your motherhood and how you came to define yourself as lesbian mother, as it was a story with a beginning, a middle and how you see your life developing. Please, to tell me your story as you want, there is no best way to do it, just tell me as much as you feel comfortable in doing. Now, let's hear your story... How did it all begin for you as a lesbian mother?

In case the participant has trouble getting started

To help you think about what you want to tell me, I can think of a few questions:

- When did you decide or start to think about being a mother? Had you thought of becoming a parent before you actually did? How did you parenting came about?
- Tell me about your children? Do you or have you lived with them? What's is your role in their life?
- Could you describe your roles as family member and the tasks associated with it? Have these roles changed over time?
- When did you first become aware or begin to define yourself as lesbian? Have this definition change over time? Have you tell other people about being lesbian?
- There are different way to do parenting. How do you manage your motherhood and your lesbian identity in your everyday life?
- How these two identities fit in other areas such as work, children's school, extended family, friend?

During the interview I may ask further questions about your experiences, examples below:

- Could you describe what does this means for you?
- What do you think about that? What do your children (or partner, family) think about this?
- How did you feel during this time? / about that? What the experience like for you?
- Can you tell me a little more about this? Were there any other times that happened?
- Is there anything else that it would be useful for me to hear about your motherhood?

Family map: Interview conversation & participant draws family map (pencil and A4 paper will be provided)

- I'd like you to draw, or help me draw, a map of your family. Who you would put in your family?
- Who comes into your mind when you think about your family? What comes into your mind?
- How do you describe their relationships to you? Is there anyone else you want to put in?
- Are there people that you haven't included on your family map? Please tell me about your decisions here?
- Are there any other important people for you? Are they like family or not in any way?

Appendix 3: Focus group schedule for Study 2

Focus group Schedule (English version)

Questions

1. Have anyone of you thought about being a mother/father?
2. Have you thought about the pathways to became a mother/father? What do you think about?
3. Could you describe what does rearing a child involve? Do you think rearing should be shared with other person?
4. Could you describe what does it mean to be a mother/father for you? How do you feel when you think about being a mother/father? prompt: emotionally
5. Do you think mother/father-hood could affect your everyday life? prompt: work, interests, relationships, sexuality
6. How do you feel when you think about rearing your own child? What do you think about?
7. What do think about Chilean people's views about lesbian and gay parenting? How should parenting be negotiated in this context?
8. How should lesbian and gay parents present their sexuality to children?

Focus group Schedule (Spanish version)

1. ¿Alguno de ustedes ha pensado en ser madre / padre?
2. ¿Han pensado en los vías a través de las cuales ser madre / padre? ¿Qué piensan ustedes acerca de esto?
3. ¿Podrían describir lo que implica la crianza de un niño? ¿Creen ustedes que la crianza debe compartirse con otra persona?
4. ¿Podrían describir lo que significa ser madre / padre para ustedes? ¿Cómo se sienten cuando piensan en ser madre / padre? estímulo: emocionalmente
5. ¿Creen ustedes que la maternidad/paternidad podría afectar su estilo de vida? estímulo: el trabajo, los intereses, las relaciones, la sexualidad
6. ¿Cómo se sienten cuando piensan en la posibilidad de criar tu hijo/a? ¿Qué piensan ustedes acerca de esto?
7. ¿Cómo creen que los chilenos ven la maternidad/paternidad en lesbianas y gay? ¿Cómo deberían los padres negociar la parentalidad en este contexto?
8. ¿Cómo deberían los padres gay y madres lesbianas presentar su sexualidad a los niños?

Appendix 4: Focus group schedule for Study 3

Focus group Schedule (English version)

1. Could you describe what a family is according to your views?
2. What do you think the word 'family' refers to? What makes a good family?
3. Do think families are currently changing?
4. What do you understand by the term 'alternative families'?
5. Do you think children need a mother and a father?
6. What difficulties can you imagine a single parent and her/his children facing?
7. Should lesbians and gay men be allowed to raise or adopt children?
8. What difficulties can you imagine a lesbian/gay parent and her/his children facing?
9. Can you imagine any advantages for children growing up in a lesbian/gay family?

Spanish version

1. ¿Podrían describir lo que es una familia de acuerdo a sus puntos de vista?
2. ¿A qué creen que se refiere la palabra "familia"? ¿Qué hace que una familia sea buena?
3. ¿Creen que las familias están cambiando actualmente?
4. ¿Qué entienden por el término "familias alternativas"?
5. ¿Creen ustedes que los niños necesitan un padre y una madre?
6. ¿Qué dificultades puede imaginar que enfrenta una madre/padre soltera/o y su/sus hijo(s)?
7. ¿Se les debería permitir a las lesbianas y gay criar o adoptar niños?
8. ¿Qué dificultades puede imaginar que enfrenta una madre lesbiana o un padre gay y su/sus hijo(s)?
9. ¿Pueden imaginar alguna ventaja para los niños que crecen en una familia con una madre lesbiana o un padre gay?

Appendix 5: Study 1's participants' micro- and macro-narratives

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T
1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16			
2	Teresa Camila Karen Cecilia Fabiola Julia Carla Constan: Paula Leticia Jimena Marcela Erica Beatriz Elena Antonia																		
3	36	29	38	34	49	35	31	56	38	37	27	32	32	40	27	47			
4	Context HT rel																		
5	Age of awareness of being lesbian 14 25 15 21 30 31 16 14 16 18 23 20 18 21 15 42																		
6	Age of first pregnancy 23 22 17 27 24 30 22 22 25 22 33 22 22 23 25 27 30																		
7																			
8	NARRATIVES																		
9	PERSONAL & FAMILY IDENTITIES																		
10	I wasn't expecting being mother before (not within life p 1 1 0 1 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 7 7 7																		
11	I didn't plan my pregnancy (first) 1 1 1 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 8 1 9																		
12	I planned my pregnancy (first) 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 1 1 0 0 1 1 6 6 6																		
13	I knew I was lesbian before being mother 1 0 1 1 0 0 0 1 1 1 1 0 1 1 1 1 0 11 11 11																		
14	I was mother before define as lesbian 0 1 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 5 5 5																		
15	I know something was not normal before being mother.. 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 1 4 2 6																		
16	I was trying to build a 'normal' family 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 0 7 2 9																		
17	I thought I was not possible to live as lesbian in this cor 1 1 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 3 8 11																		
18	Feeling identified with LG on Media or Context 0 M 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 6 6																		
19	I am not going through the world saying 'I'm lesbian (or 1 H 0 0 1 1 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 5 7 12																		
20	Building a family/life project with another woman 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 0 0 1 0 9 5 14																		
21	I live with my female partner 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 1 1 0 0 0 1 0 6 1 7																		
22	I lived with my female partner 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 4 4 4																		
23	Lesbians are/were less visible in society A 1 0 1 1 1 1 1 1 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 7 2 9																		
24	This is the first time I talk about this (other than partner) 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 3 3 3																		
25	CHILDREN																		
26	CHILDREN																		
27	Child were not ready to know the truth 1 1 0 0 0 1 1 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 8 1 9																		
28	It's not/wasn't normal for children having a lesbian mo 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 3 1 4																		
29	Children know partner as friend 1 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 5 5 5																		
30	Children knew partner as friend 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 4 1 5																		
31	I teach my children to be tolerant 1 A A 1 A 1 1 1 1 0 1 1 1 1 1 1 11 3 14																		
32	I haven't told my children I am lesbian 1 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 0 1 1 0 1 1 7 7 7																		
33	I didn't want to confuse my child 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 4 1 5																		
34	I am/was afraid of losing my children 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 3 3 3																		
35	I am concern about the possibility of children being stig 1 1 1 0 0 1 A 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 7 3 10																		
36	I cannot assume my daughter is also lesbian 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 1																		
37	I could be nice to receive orientation about child educa 0 0 1 0 1 1 1 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 5 5 5																		
38	Children understood lesbianism (less visible) as being 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 3 3 3																		
39	Being mother involve a lot of responsibilities regardless 0 A A 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 0 6 6 12																		
40	My children know/knew my partner - share/d time 1 1 Pa 1 0 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 0 13 1 14																		
41	My partner help me to raise children 0 1 0 1 0 1 0 1 A 0 0 1 1 0 0 1 0 6 1 7																		
42	My partner is also her mom 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 3 3 3																		
43	8 7 3 5 3 10 9 1 7 4 7 4 7 4 6 5 3 3																		

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
	Teresa	Camila	Karen	Cecilia	Fabiola	Julia	Carla	Constan	Paula	Leticia	Jimena	Alicia	Erica	Beatriz	Elena	Antonia	
45																	
46																	
47	EX HT PARTNER																
48	1	A	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4
49	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
50	1	1	A	0	1	0	1	A	1	0	1	A	A	1	0	1	8
51	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	5
52	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	6
53	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	4
54	A	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	4
55	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	7
56	1	0	A	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	5
57	5	6	2	0	3	4	4	0	5	0	8	1	0	5	0	2	
58	FAMILY OF ORIGIN																
59	1	1	N/A	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	11
60	0	1	N/A	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
61	0	1	N/A	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
62	0	1	N/A	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	6
63																	
64	SOCIAL CONTEXT																
65	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	10
66	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
67	1	1	N/A	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	9
68	1	A	A	A	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	5
69	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	7
70	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
71	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	6
72	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
73	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4
74	W	0	0	0	0	F/Ex	0	S	0	S	0	0	0	W/F	S/H	0	6
75	A	1	0	0	1	0	1	A	1	0	1	A	0	A	0	A	5
76	0	1	0	A	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	7
77	0	1	1	1	0	A	0	0	0	0	1	Ch	0	Ch	1	0	8
78	A	0	A	A	1	1	A	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	4

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
	Teresa	Camila	Karen	Cecilia	Fabiola	Julia	Carla	Constan	Paula	Leticia	Jimena	Alicia	Erica	Beatriz	Elena	Antonia
80																
81																
82																
83	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
84	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
85	1	1	1	0	1	0	A	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
86	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
87	1	A	A	0	1	A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
88	0	LE	0	0	0	0	P	LO	0	0	0	0	P	Le	0	0
89	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
90	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
91	0	0	A	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
92																
93																
94	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
95	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
96																
97																
98	56	62	26	39	40	56	65	31	59	43	73	56	55	67	55	56

Appendix 6: Study 1's demographic information sheet (Spanish)

Datos Demográficos: Maternidad Lésbica en Chile

Edad:	Nacionalidad:
Lugar de origen:	Lugar de residencia:
¿otro país?:	¿Tiempo?:
Nivel educacional:	Ocupación:
Religión:	¿Participa?:
Discapacidad (¿Efecto?):	Estado Marital
Ingresos	Ingreso per cápita

Hijos

Sexo	Edad	Curso	Religión
------	------	-------	----------

Relación

Vive con:	Tiempo	Separación Si-No	Edad
-----------	--------	------------------	------

Concepción

Otro sexo	Mismo sexo	Adopción	Otro
-----------	------------	----------	------

Vías maternidad

Biológica Si-No	Planificada Si-No	Otro	Co-madre
-----------------	-------------------	------	----------

Inseminación Si-No

Artificial	Auto	Quién	Dónde
------------	------	-------	-------

Rol parental

Crianza	Económico	Tiempo	Otro:
---------	-----------	--------	-------

Rol progenitor biológico

Crianza	Económico	Tiempo	Otro:
---------	-----------	--------	-------

Relación de pareja:

Pareja Si-No	Duración	Cohabitación Si-No	Duración	Rol dado
--------------	----------	--------------------	----------	----------

Rol con hijo/a

Emocional	Crianza	Económico	Otro
-----------	---------	-----------	------

Identidad sexual

Lesbiana	Mayor lesbiana	bisexual	otro
----------	----------------	----------	------

Desarrollo identidad

1as exp.	Conciencia	Aceptación	Salir del clóset
----------	------------	------------	------------------

Familia origen

Aceptación Orient Si-No	Contacto Si-No		
-------------------------	----------------	--	--

Soporte Fam. origen

Emocional	Crianza	Económico	Otro
-----------	---------	-----------	------

Vivienda

Propia	Arrendada	Familiar	Otro
--------	-----------	----------	------

Appendix 7: Study 1's participants' details

Participants' Developmental Milestones of Sexual Identity					
Participant	Age of First cognizance	Age of Awareness	Age of Self-Acceptance	Age of Coming out	Age of first pregnancy
Teresa	14	14	33	33	23
Camila	12	25	26	26	22
Julia	33	33	33	33	30
Carla	8	16	28	16	22
Paula	11	18	30	35	22
Jimena	12	23	23	23	22
Marcela	11	20	21	No	22
Beatriz	16	21	34	38	25

Participants' Sexual Identity Disclosure					
Participant	Age of first pregnancy	Disclosure to the children	Disclosure at School	Disclosure at Work	Worried about child discrimination
Teresa	23	Planned	Private	Open	Yes
Camila	22	Yes	Selective	Selective	Yes
Julia	30	Planned	Selective	Open	Yes
Carla	22	Planned	Private	Private	Not stated
Paula	22	Yes	Private	Private	Yes
Jimena	22	Planned	Selective	Private	Yes
Marcela	22	No Planned	Private	Private	Not stated
Beatriz	25	yes	Private	Private	Not stated

Appendix 8: Study 1's Invitation for participants

This is the English version of the original Spanish document which is available upon request from the author.

YOU ARE INVITED

To participate in an interview as a part of a study about how lesbians experience their motherhood in Chile. This study is part of a PhD degree in Psychology, and it has received ethical approval by the Department of Psychological Sciences of Birkbeck, University of London.

From whom we need help

- Chilean lesbian mothers
- Aged 18 years and above

What will you do

- Answer an interview
- The interview will last approximately 2 hours

What you should know

- Your participation is completely voluntary
- All results are confidential
- Schedule your appointment at a time that is convenient for you

Place: MOVILH, Coquimbo N° 1410, Santiago Centro**

Time: Starting on July, 2013

If interested: contact vfxxxx@hotmail.com

Víctor Figueroa, Psychologist

Appendix 9: Study 1's Facebook page for recruitment

The screenshot shows the Facebook page for 'Maternidad Lésbica Chile'. The page header includes the name, profile picture, and cover photo. The main content area features a post from January 28, 2014, with the text: '¿Eres madre lesbiana y vives en región? Inscríbete en nuestro estudio sobre maternidad lésbica en Chile. - Queremos tener una representación de la realidad nacional - Queremos conocer cómo se vive la maternidad lésbica en regiones - Queremos dar acceso a aquellas personas que viven en lugares alejados'. The post has 8,184 likes and 58 comments. The page also shows a navigation menu with options like 'Inicio', 'Fotos', 'Eventos', 'Me gusta', 'Videos', and 'Publicaciones'. A sidebar on the right contains information about the page, including the number of followers (1,531) and a link to the website.

Appendix 10: Information Sheet for Study 1

This is the English version of the original Spanish document which is available upon request from the author.

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCES BIRKBECK UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

Title of Study: "Lesbian motherhood in a Chilean context"
Name of researcher: *Víctor Figueroa Guíñez.*

Dear X

The study is being done as part of a degree in the Department of Psychological Sciences, Birkbeck University of London. The study has received ethical approval.

This study is about how lesbians give meanings to parenting in Chile. If you agree to participate you will take part in a study which involves answering questions on topics related to your motherhood and life story. The interview/focus group will take about 2 hours. In the interview you will be asked to tell me about what you feel are the important moments in your life story that emphasized your identity and experiences as a lesbian mother. Further, during the interview you will also be asked to help me draw a map to give me a picture of important family relationships in your life. You can see the types of questions that will be asked in the interview schedule attached.

A code will be attached to the data so it remains totally anonymous and identifying information will be removed and the interview will be treated with the utmost confidentiality. The interview can be arranged in a place of your choosing (your home, MOVILH or Iguales' premises, or any place you feel comfortable with). You will be given an opportunity to check the transcript from your interview for the study, have a copy of your family map, and give your final consent for quotes from your transcript to be used in the findings of our research.

The results of the study will be written up in a report of the study for my degree. You will not be identifiable in the write up or any publication which might ensue.

You are free to withdraw and stop your participation at any time of the study. If you experience any distress by the nature of the questions you will have access to psychological support with the psychologist of MOVILH.

The study is supervised by Dr. Fiona Tasker and Dr. Virginia Eatough. If you wish to contact the supervisors, contact details are:

Departmental address: Department of Psychological Sciences, Birkbeck University of London, Malet St, London WC1E 7HX TEL: 0044 020 7079 0868

Researcher contact: Eleuterio Ramírez N° Santiago. TEL: Chile). Malet St, London WC1E 7HX TEL: 0044 07751415078 (UK). EMAIL:

Appendix 11: Study 1's consent form

This is the English version of the original Spanish document which is available upon request from the author.

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCES BIRKBECK UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

Title of Study: Lesbian and gay parenting in a Chilean context
Name of researcher: *Victor Figueroa Guíñez.*

I have had the details of the study explained to me and willingly consent to take part.

My questions have been answered to my satisfaction and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand that I will remain anonymous and that all the information I give will be used for this study only.

I understand that I may withdraw my consent for the study at any time and to decline to answer any particular questions.

I agree/do not agree to the interview/focus group being audio recorded.

I understand that I have the right to ask for the audio recording to be turned off at any time during the interview.

I understand that I have access to psychological support if any distress arises by the nature of interview.

I confirm that I am over 16 years of age.

Name.....

Signature..... (Participant)

Name.....

Signature..... (Researcher)

Date.....

There should be two signed copies, one for the participant, one retained by researcher for records

Appendix 12: Study 1's participants' macro stories

Participant's Macro-Story

2. Camila: "Within these four walls, there is no secret" (L 868)

Background information

Camila is a 29 nine-year-old middle class woman. At the time of Camila's interview she was living with her seven years old daughter and her lesbian partner in XXXX. She and her daughter did not participate in any religious activity. Camila had broken off the cohabitation with her child's father four years ago. She was working as a XXXX and finishing her Master's Degree. Camila was receiving practical support from her lesbian partner and her mother, who took care of Camila's child for part of her working week.

Interview context

I interviewed Camila in her home. She contacted me through Facebook and told me she had recently come out as a lesbian, she wanted to be sure about the confidentiality of the interview because she was working as a XXXX. We met during the XXXX holidays. Her child was also at home during the interview, but was not in the room when the interview was conducted. Camila provided a welcoming atmosphere as she was very motivated to participate in the study and was very careful about providing a full account about her life story.

Beginning

During her adolescence, Camila started to feel that "*something was not working normally*" because she had not had many boyfriends. Nevertheless, during Camila's adolescent years her feelings for women were not clearly identified and she thought feeling attracted to women "*wasn't within the possibilities of twelve/fifteen-year old girl*". Later Camila started a relationship with her daughter's father because "*he insisted*" then when she was 23 years old she became pregnant and tried to form a "*normal family with a man and a child*". However, shortly after her daughter was born she started to feel "*depressed*" because she realized she was not prepare to be a mother at that point.

Middle

When Camila was 25 years old she started to realize there were other women who lived as lesbians. She then started to feel that lesbianism was a general possibility but not an option for her because she had planned a life with a man. However, her curiosity about the "*lesbian world*" continued to increase and then she decided to ask her child's father for some separate time, without telling him about her lesbian desire. Later, she started her first lesbian couple relationships but at this point she did not define as lesbian: It was her ex-heterosexual partner who realized about Camila's lesbianism. She had many discussions with her child's father and some disagreements about bringing up their child. During the interview, Camila said he still had not accepted she having relationships with women.

End

Camila said it had been a "*difficult and long and process*" to project herself into a future with a woman and defining as a lesbian herself. However, when she felt in love with her most recent lesbian partner she decided to define herself as lesbian mother. When Camila and her partner decided to live together, they had not disclosed to Camila's child. Camila was "*scared*" about her child talking to other people about her mother being a lesbian and her daughter being "*teased*" as consequence. Although subsequently Camila had disclosed to her child, she was still concerned about how her child would be perceived in various contexts if this information were to be known. Camila generally kept information about her sexuality private both in relation to child's school and her work.

Narrative summary

The story narrated by Camila can be seen as conveying the process through which she began to identify as lesbian mother over her life course. Her narrative is chronologically well organized, beginning with her early questioning of her own unclear same-sex feelings and finally moved to detail her adulthood when she recognized her need to identify as a lesbian mother and then started to re-build her family with a lesbian partner. Camila also was able to incorporate others' views and actions within her story, providing an integrated consideration of her interactions within various her social contexts. Camila said that various significant people had accepted her sexual orientation: her daughter, her friends and her therapist. In contrast, those who had rejected Camila's lesbianism were her child's father and his family, and Camila's own mother.

Appendix 13: Ethic form for Study 1 and 2

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCES BIRKBECK UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

2012-13

ETHICAL APPROVAL FORM FOR RESEARCH INVOLVING ADULTS (over 16 years)

Please fill out this form carefully and enter 'X' in the boxes that apply, below. Please ensure that you answer **EVERY** question and that both you and your supervisor (if applicable) sign at the end. Incomplete forms will be returned and will delay the approval process.

Please enter 'X' in the boxes that apply and confirm below that you are completing the correct form:

A. I intend to carry our research with adults (over 16 yrs)	Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
B. I intend to carry out research with minors (under 16 yrs)	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
C. I intend to carry out research using the fMRI	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

Please note if you have answered **YES** to **B** then you need to complete the form for minors. If you have answered **YES** to **C** then you need to see Fred Dick and apply to UCL ethics committee.

D. Is this application ROUTINE	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
E. Is this application NON ROUTINE	Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please note that all students should discuss with their supervisor whether their application is routine or non routine. An application is NON ROUTINE if the proposed research raises ethical issues for which the researcher/supervisor does not have existing ethical approval. An application is ROUTINE if the proposed study is so close to a previous one which has received ethical approval that there are no new ethical issues to be considered. If this is the case, the approval number for the approved study **MUST** be given below (students should ask supervisors for the appropriate number which is available from the departmental ethics web pages).

Approval number of all previously related approved applications

Please note that routine applications may be submitted at any time. They are reviewed monthly by the chair of the ethics committee and you will not receive any correspondence from the committee. Dates for submitting non-routine applications are on the departmental ethics web pages. For these applications you will receive a letter informing you of the committee's decision.

Please submit all applications electronically to ethics@psychology.bbk.ac.uk

Please indicate in the subject title if the application is ROUTINE or NON ROUTINE

Please provide full information

Tick one box:

Staff	<input type="checkbox"/>	Postgraduate	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Undergraduate	<input type="checkbox"/>
-------	--------------------------	--------------	-------------------------------------	---------------	--------------------------

Title of Project	Lesbian and gay parenting in a Chilean context
Name(s) of Researcher(s)	Victor Figueroa Guinez
Name of supervisor and	

programme (for student research)	Dr. Fiona Tasker; Dr. Virginia Eatough / PhD Psychology
Date of Application	17th of June, 2013
Address where approval certificate is to be sent (for non routine projects only)	Malet St, London WC1E 7HX, Institute for the Study of Children, Families and Social Issues, 6th floor.
Email address	

Please answer all questions

1. I intend to carry out research with adults (over 16 yrs) Yes No

If **YES** please provide details of the committee and the stage of process/decision made. All relevant documentation must be attached.

2. Give a brief description of the aims/objectives of the research

The study of lesbian and gay parented families is a well established field of research. Early research compared children raised by lesbian mothers after the ending of a prior heterosexual relationship post-heterosexual separation with children of single heterosexual mothers (Golombok, 2007). Until now, most research has focused in the comparison of children of lesbian mothers conceived in the context of their lesbian mother's previous of heterosexual relationship or by insemination within lesbian planned families with children of heterosexual parents (Goldberg, 2010). A minority of studies have been conducted on the children of gay fathers, bisexual parents, transgender parents, and lesbian- and gay-parent step families (Goldberg, 2010).

Notwithstanding, most research studies in the field have been conducted in European and English-speaking countries (Golombok, 2007). Thus, the cultural context of gays and lesbian parenting has been a neglected topic (Tasker & Patterson, 2007). Cross-cultural comparisons have shown that socio-legal contexts may influence the experience of lesbian families, such worries about discrimination (Shapiro, Peterson, & Stewart, 2009), and contexts with more positive climate regarding lesbian/gay people and same-sex marriage may have influences on children's psychosocial adjustment (Bos, Gartrell, van Balen, Peyser, & Sandfort, 2008). Hence, the exploration of different national contexts may enrich the understanding of socio-cultural influences on lesbian and gay parented families.

The field also has advanced through an increasing in the number of studies using qualitative analysis in recent years. These studies have highlighted variations in the context of gay and lesbian parenting and rich nuances in family life (Tasker & Patterson, 2007). A few research studies have been conducted in Latin American countries revealing some communalities in the region (Lubbe, 2013). The Catholic Church has been highly influential in national legislations that privilege heteronormative assumptions of family formation (Vaggione, 2010). In consequence, families based on heterosexual parents and traditional gender roles are the norm and lesbian and gay parents are generally seem as a transgression of traditional values (Herrera, 2009; Uziel, 2001).

The purpose of this research is to expand the existing field by exploring lesbian and gay parenting in a Chilean cultural context. Life course theory (Bengston & Allen, 1993; Elder, 1998) and social constructionist perspectives (Gergen, 1985) will be used to address this aim. Two separate qualitative studies will be conducted. Study 1 will explore how lesbian mothers construct their identity over their life course and experience their motherhood. Study 2 will focus in the meaning

of parenting for lesbians and gay men without children (See table 1 containing a summary of the proposed research work on page 8). Other two studies will be conducted to explore the Chilean cultural context toward lesbian and gay parenting. However, I will apply for ethical approval separately because of these studies will sample a different population using different methods.

3. Give a description of the participants (recruitment methods, number, age, gender, exclusion/inclusion criteria etc). Please attach relevant recruitment documents such as leaflets, letters, notices etc.

Recruitment of participants will be conducted through the collaboration of the 'Movement of Homosexual Integration and Liberation' (MOVILH) and Equal Foundation (Iguales), two widely known LGBT organizations based in Santiago (see the two letters provided by the institutions in Appendix 1 and 2²³). Both institutions, MOVILH and Iguales supported my previous MSc dissertation research on the family influences on sexual identity of Chilean gay men. This dissertation research was conducted last year and supervised by Dr. Fiona Tasker. This previous study was an introductory study of the field of LGBT families and was approved by the Ethics committee of the Department of Psychological Sciences. The recruitment of participants was conducted as planned and no substantial problem were encountered.

The present research will recruit adult participants. The sample will be 30 Chilean lesbian mothers, and 10 lesbian or gay men without children. Participants will be contacted by invitations published at MOVILH and Iguales' official website, facebook, and premises (see the content of the invitations and its Spanish version in Appendix 3 and 4). Recruitment will also be conducted to through snowballing technique by contacts already made during the previous research with volunteers of both organizations. A research study conducted in 2003 in Chile recruited 10 lesbian mothers by snowballing technique (Herrera, 2009). Currently there is greater visibility of lesbian mothers in the Chilean national context. Both, MOVILH and Iguales, have contact with informal groups of lesbian mothers who meet regularly for mutual support. Further, legal context and policies have also changed since 2003. Thus, it is expected that recruitment should be completed during a period of one year.

4. Where will the research be carried out?

Research interviews in study 1 will be conducted in each participant's home, or in place of their choosing. Due care and attention will paid to the personal safety of the researcher as well as the participant in arranging interviews venues. Participants might choose to be interviewed in MOVILH and Iguales' premises located in Santiago de Chile. Both institutions are situated near to underground stations, making it easily accessible. The institutions will provide a room for conducting interviews. These places were chosen in order to provide a comfortable, confidential and welcoming space for participants. I conducted my dissertation research in these premises last year. The institutions provide an adequate infrastructure to the requirements of this research. Study two will also be conducted in MOVILH and Iguales' premises.

Address:

MOVILH, Coquimbo N° 1410, Santiago Centro.

Iguales, Parque Bustamente N° 250, Flat 102-B, Providencia.

5. Give a brief but FULL description of what participation in the research will involve (methods, procedures, time involved in participation, equipment, facilities etc) in up to 500 words. Please include details of how you will debrief participants and ensure there have been no adverse effects.

²³ MOVILH will provide its letter on Tuesday 18th of June. The letter provided in this form is the MOVILH's letter for my MSc Dissertation. I will provide the new letter for the Ethic committee during this week.

The research will be conducted with a qualitative methodology, using an 'Interview' for study 1, and a 'Focus group' for study 2. Recruitment for interviews and focus group will start on July 2013 after ethical approval. Date and time for interviews and focus group will be defined once people are contacted, according to their time availability and the availability of rooms in MOVILH or Iguales. After the recruitment, participants will be contacted to attend the interview or focus group at MOVILH or Iguales' premises. Participants will be provided with the information about study's purpose. In study 1, participants will be informed about the study's aim and the interview questions in advance (see Appendix 5 containing the information sheet for the interview). In study 2, participants will be informed about the study's purpose in the beginning of the focus group (see Appendix 6 containing the information sheet for the focus group).

The interviews and focus group will be carried out in Spanish and it is estimated that these will take up to two hours. After the first hour, there will be a break of 15 minutes to enable participants to take a short break if required. With each participant's consent, the interviews and focus group will be audio recorded. Participants will be informed that they have the possibility to access to psychological support if required after completion of either the interview or focus group (see the consent form for the study 1 and 2 in Appendix 7).

6. Give a brief description of tests, questionnaires, interview schedules etc. Non standard procedures, questionnaires and indicative interview schedules must be attached. If appropriate, please address any ethical issues raised by the content of questions (eg sensitive topics which might cause distress) and explain why their use is justified.

Study 1 will be conducted using a semi-structured interview, which has been designed for research purposes (see Appendix 8 containing the interview schedule and its Spanish version). Interviews will be carried out according to the suggestions of Hugh-Jones (2010) for conducting semi-structured interviews. Although schedule was designed in advance, interviewees will be free to raise issues not necessarily anticipated by the interviewer. Interviews will address the constructions of meanings of lesbian motherhood from a life course perspective, and the experiences of being a lesbian mother in a Chilean context. The genogram technique will also be used to map participants' family relationships by the beginning of the interview. According to Swainson & Tasker (2005) the traditional genogram presents difficulties to depict the variety of relationships in lesbian families. Thus, participants will be asked to draw their own family map or will direct the researcher in drawing the genogram. Participants also will be asked to provide demographic information (see Appendix 9 containing demographic information will be required)

Study 2 will be carry out using focus group as a data collection technique (see Appendix 10 containing the focus group schedule and its Spanish version). Focus groups have been widely used as technique for collecting data in psychology research (Wilkinson, 2008). Yet, this research study will address recent proposals for conducting focus groups by using 'Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis' (IPA) (Tomkins & Eatough, 2010). In particular the model of Palmer, Larkin, de Visser, and Fadden (2010) will guide the procedure for conducting the focus group. Palmer et al., (2010) have argued that intersubjective and shared experiences are consistent with the hermeneutic phenomenological approach of IPA. This study will explore how participants make sense of parenting from a phenomelological perspective.

This research will use qualitative mixed methods for the analysis of participants accounts. In particular, 'Narrative Analysis' (NA) will be used in study 1 (Elliott, 2005; Murray, 2008; Patterson, 2008), and IPA will be used in studies 1 and 2 (Eatough & Smith, 2008; Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009; Smith & Osborn, 2008). Gabb (2013) has suggested that qualitative mixed methods are particularly useful to study of lesbian and gay families since they provide a multidimensional understanding of identities in LGBT parents. In particular, NA will be used to explore how participants give meanings to their motherhood and sexual identity over their life courses. While, IPA will be used to analyze the experiences of parenting in a Chilean context.

According to Murray (2008), NA focus on how individuals make sense in a changing world. People define themselves through narratives which bring a sense of order and temporal continuity (Murray, 2008). In particular, the analysis in this research will be guided by the 'Labovian narrative analysis' approach. Patterson has suggested (2008) that this method provide a comprehensive analyses and interpretation of a full range of varieties of personal narratives. This structural model contents six narrative elements (AOCERC): Abstract (summary of the subject of the story), Orientation (particular context; time, place, situation, participants), Complicating action (what happened), Evaluation (the meaning and significance of the happening), Result (how the story ends), and Coda (returns to the present time) (Patterson, 2008).

On the other hand, the aim of IPA is to explore in detail how participants make sense of their social and personal world by focusing on particular experiences, events, states hold by participants (Smith & Osborn, 2008). Eatough and Smith (2008) have suggested that IPA seems to have a "*natural affinity*" with some kind of narratives analysis (p. 185). Narratives may be seem as an instrument of the mind in the construction of reality. Similarly, IPA is concern about how the world is experienced, not only in how narratives are constructed (Eatough & Smith, 2008). The analysis will be conducted taking into account the model proposed by Smith et al., (2009). This model considers six stages: reading and re-reading, initial noting, developing emergent themes, searching for connections across emergent themes, moving to the next case, and looking for patterns across cases.

In these research studies, interview and focus group questions are addressed directly to explore experiences in relation to parenting and personal identities. Thus, some distress might arise because of questions explore intimate aspects of personal life. For this reason, participants' emotional states will be observed during the course of the interview in order to stop the interview or focus group if necessary. I will provide a preliminary psychological support as required. Prior to start my studies in the U.K. on 2011, I worked in public mental health services in Chile providing psychotherapy and emotional support for adults patients with mental health and drug problems. This previous clinical experience and training as practicing psychologist provided me with some clinical skills. After that, participants will be referred to psychological support at MOVILH according to their wishes.

7. Please attach documentation for informing participants about the study prior to obtaining their consent. This should include (a) information about the proposed study (in lay terms), (b) details about the researchers including how they can be contacted (and names and contact details of supervisors if appropriate), (c) confidentiality of the data and right to withdraw, (d) any risks involved, (e) anything else that participants might reasonably expect to know in order to make an informed decision about participation. Please indicate how this information will be given (eg letters to each participant, displayed on a computer screen, header of questionnaire). *A template information sheet is available at the end of this form which should be modified for appropriate use in the proposed study.*

Documentation attached (tick box):

X

8. Please attach documentation for participation consent arrangements. A typical checklist might include that (a) their participation is voluntary; (b) they are aware of what participation involves; (c) they are aware of any potential risks; (d) their questions concerning the study have been answered satisfactorily. The researcher should talk through consent with the participant and both should sign two copies (one to be kept by the participant, one to be retained by the researcher). *A template consent form is available at the end of this form which should be modified for appropriate use in the proposed study. Please note that when using online/postal questionnaires completion of questionnaire indicates consent*

Documentation attached (tick box):

X

In addition, if using interviews it is good practice to record

X

discussion of consent and information arrangements.

Tick the box to confirm this will be done:

9. Give a brief description of how participants will be assured that all information given will be treated with the utmost confidentiality and their anonymity respected. Please include how (a) any identifying information will be kept separate (if possible) from the data (eg coding the data and keeping the key which links codes and participants' identity separate); (b) where data will be stored (especially identifying information); (c) who will have access to the data; (d) what use will be made of the data. In addition, if using interview data please describe how you will ensure that all identifying information is removed from the transcripts (eg the use of pseudonyms and changing of location, occupation etc).

The information from interviews and focus group (audio and transcripts) will be stored directly by the researcher on his personal computer files password protected. Transcripts will be encoded by the researcher. This data will be stored by a pseudonym, and any identifiable information will be removed. The access to research information, such as audio and transcripts will be accessible only for the researcher and both supervisors. It will only be quoted excerpts from the transcripts in the final research report with any potentially identifiable details disguised, with the aim to illustrate the analysis and contrast with the existing literature. The identification of the participants will also be protected by using pseudonyms in any article or report resulting from this research. In particular, participants in study 1 will be given an opportunity to check the transcript from the interview, have a copy of their family map, and give their final consent for quotes from transcripts to be used in research reports.

10. There is a duty of care on researchers to avoid any adverse effects of their research on participants. Please answer the following questions (A-I). If you have ticked YES to any of them, please give an explanation below.

	DOES THE RESEARCH INVOLVE:	YES	NO	N/A
A	Unpleasant stimuli and/or situation		X	
B	Invasive procedures		X	
C	Deprivation or restriction (eg. sleep, food, water)		X	
D	Drug administration		X	
E	Any other procedure which might cause harm/distress		X	
F	Vulnerable participants whose physical/mental health might be at risk		X	
G	Actively misleading or deceiving the participants		X	
H	Withholding information about the nature or outcome of the research		X	
I	Any inducement or payment		X	

11. If you think that there is any realistic risk of participants experiencing either physical or psychological distress or discomfort (due to the nature of the topic or form of data collection), please give details and describe what safeguards you will put in place. These might include what you will do if participants become distressed and information on

who they can contact for help and support. **NB If using qualitative in-depth interviews this question must be addressed.**

The following steps will be considered to address any emergent distress: appreciate the emotional state of the participants throughout the course of the interview and focus group, gently explore the emotional state of the participant if any concern was detected, offer emotional support during the interview or focus group if any stress arises, switch off the recorder if necessary, ask if the participant wishes to be contacted by a friend or relative, and/or be referred to MOVILH psychologist for emotional support if necessary.

Participants will have access to psychological support provided by the psychologists of MOVILH, Constanza Acevedo, Lorena Monsalve, Alvaro Canobra who can be contacted through the following means:

Address: Coquimbo N° 1410, Santiago de Chile. Phone: (56-2) 6714855 Email: psicologo@movilh.cl

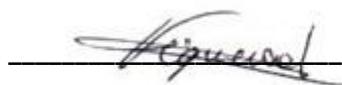
12. Please describe any other issues with ethical implications not covered by the above questions

If you are the RESEARCHER please enter 'X' in the boxes that apply, below, and sign/date the form

I CONFIRM THAT	YES	NO	N/A
The proposed research should be considered routine and the relevant approval number has been provided		X	
The proposed research should be considered non-routine	X		
All documentation regarding participant information arrangements is attached		X	
All documentation regarding participant consent information arrangements is attached		X	
All non standard procedures, questionnaires and indicative interview schedules are attached		X	
I consider the proposed research conforms with ethical practices in psychological research		X	

PLEASE SIGN ELECTRONICALLY BELOW BY TYPING YOUR FULL NAME. THIS ELECTRONIC SIGNATURE REPRESENTS YOUR HAND-SIGNED SIGNATURE

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCHER



DATE

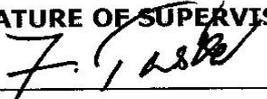
16th June 2013

If you are the SUPERVISOR please enter 'X' in the boxes that apply, below, and sign/date the form

I HAVE READ THE APPLICATION AND CONFIRM THAT THE PROPOSED RESEARCH	YES	NO
Addresses all ethical issues	X	
Be considered routine because it raises no ethical issues beyond those of a study I have already received departmental ethical approval		X
Has the appropriate ethical approval number		X
Be considered non routine and should be reviewed by the ethics committee	X	

PLEASE SIGN ELECTRONICALLY BELOW BY TYPING YOUR FULL NAME. THIS ELECTRONIC SIGNATURE REPRESENTS YOUR HAND-SIGNED SIGNATURE

SIGNATURE OF SUPERVISOR



DATE

14th June 2013

Letter provided by IGUALES
(Presented with the Ethic Form)

Fundación Iguales
Parque Bustamante N° 250, 102-B,
Providencia - Santiago
(56-2) 8941402

20th May, 2013

Víctor Figueroa Guíñez
PhD Psychology Student
Birkbeck, University of London

Dear Victor,

We would like to inform you that we will continue providing support for your research study. We are willing to help you with the recruitment of participants for your study of Chilean LGB families. It is our pleasure to support you for this research since it will expand our understanding about the family lives in our community. We will invite our foundation's members and contacts to participate in your study. We will also provide you with a room in our premises to carry out the interviews.

Yours truly,



Andrés Soffia Vega

Executive Director

Fundación Iguales

Letter provided by MOVILH
(Presented with the Ethic Form)

Movimiento de Integración y Liberación Homosexual (MOVILH)
Coquimbo N° 1410, Santiago – RM, Chile
Fono: (56-2) 6714855

Friday 27th of April, 2012

Mr. Víctor Figueroa Guíñez
Student, Master in Gender, Sexuality and Society
Birkbeck, University of London

Dear Mr. Figueroa:

This is to response to your letter request dated 13rd of April, 2012, in which you ask for our help to support your research project. We want to inform you that we have approved your request, and we can provide support for your project. Here we mention the facilities we can provide for you:

1. A link our Internet services (facebook and website) with an invitation for those who want to participate in the interviews.
2. A room to conduct the interviews.
3. Psychological support for participants as required after the interviews.

Sincerely,



Rolando Jiménez Pérez

President, Movilh

CORPORACION
MOVILH
Movimiento de Integración y Liberación Homosexual
Coquimbo 1410 - Santiago

Appendix 14: Certificate of ethical approval for Study 1 and 2



**Departmental Ethics Committee
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCES
BIRKBECK COLLEGE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON**

CLASSIFICATION OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL

Date of Submission: July 2013
Investigator: Victor Figueroa Guíñez
Reference Number: 121377
Title of project: Lesbian and gay parenting in a Chilean context

Dear Victor

The above application has been given ethical approval by the departmental ethics committee.

You should be aware that it is your responsibility to report any unexpected problems or events arising from the research which might have adverse consequences for you and/or your participants. In the first instance, please discuss with your supervisor who will advise you as to whether the problem causes a change to the planned research and needs further ethical approval from the committee. If so, please submit a revised application giving details of why this is necessary.

Approval for this study expires July 2016. If the study is still ongoing at this time please submit a renewal of ethical approval form which can be found on the departmental webpage.

Please retain this certificate for your records.

Good luck with the research.

Virginia Eatough
Chair of the departmental ethics committee

Date: 28-07-2013

Department of Psychological
Sciences

Malet Street
Bloomsbury
London
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Appendix 15: Study 1's example of participants' micro-stories from the transcript

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
1	Psé							Camila					
2	Code							2					
3	Type							Face to Face					
4	Place							Home					
5	Lab Line	R	S	P	E	I	C	Idea Units	T	Micro-Story	S	Stanzas	Observations
85	AB	80			F			because I'm embarrassed about			15	about lesbian life	It is embarrassing
86	AB	81	F	1				how I discovered that lesbianism was a possibility,					
87	EV	82	R	1				because for me it wasn't			16	it was not possible	
88	EV	83		T				at some point, it never was,					
89	EV	84		T				or it didn't exist,					
90								in fact it's a world that...					
91	EV	86		6	T			O I think normal people in quotes			17	No an option for normal	Other people views, social context
92	EV	87						O don't see it as an option					
93	EV	88						O "so, how does...it's not possible",					
94	EV	89		R	7	T	I	then for me it wasn't an option.					
95	OR	90						At that time					
96	OR	91		R				NF when I had my daughter, I had my partner,					
97	OR	92		4	A			NF we were living together					
98	EV	93	F	4	I			NF and we were building a future together...					
99	CA	94		7	T			and it began to arise,					
100	CD	95			T			look the nonsense I will tell you,					
101	EV	96		7	F			that's embarrassing (laughs)					
102	CA	97		3				CH my daughter likes music a lot,					
103	CA	98		4	A			CH and we were watching... looking for music on YouTube,					
104	CA	99		4				CH and we begin to watch some videos of Mekano [Chilean TV Show for youths]					
105	CA	100		7				and some videos were shown					
106	OR	101						among some videos,					
107	CA	102		4	T			we heard that typical stupid song "A woman again a woman"					
108		103						[famous Spanish band's song about lesbian relationships]...					
109	OR	104		7	R	O		and some pictures of lesbian couples were shown on TV					
110	EV	105		1	T			I have never thought in my life that existed...					
111	EV	106	F	R	7	T		within my little world at that time it wasn't an option.					
112	OR	107		6				Then some couples started to be presented, some Spanish couples,					
113	EV	108		1				and I stayed like...					
114	EV	109			T			with the doubt,					
115	EV	110	F	7	T			and doubt began to grow as more, more, and more,					
116	CA	111		1	T			and I began to find out more, more and more,					
117	CA	112		1	T			until I realized there were many lesbian series...					
118	OR	113						O series in Spain, USA,					
119	CA	114		1	A			and I started to follow them.					

Appendix 16: Codes used for SNA in Study 1

	A	B	C	D	E
1					
2	Coding			E	Others Narrative Elements
3	(p)	Pause		F	Feelings
4	()	within interview		E	Events
5	[]	extra interview		T	Thoughts
6	/	arbitrary break		A	Actions
7					
8				C	Characters
9	Lab	Labov's model		CH	Children
10	AB	Abstract: what is the story about?		PA	Partner
11	OR	Orientation: who, when, where?		PC	Partner & Children
12	CA	Complicating action: then what happened?		M	Mother
13	EV	Evaluation: so what?		F	Father
14	RE	Result: What finally happened?		EP	Ex partner
15	Cd	Coda: returns to the listener		NF	Nuclear family
16				EF	Extended family
17	R	Language Resources		FR	Friends
18	M	Metaphor		S	School
19	F	Figurative Language		H	Health
20				W	Work
21	S	Language Structure		J	Justice
22	A	Aside		T	Therapist
23	FF	Flash Forwards		OL	Other lesbians
24	FB	Flash Back		O	Other people or agent
25	R	Recurrence			
26				I	Identity process
27	P	Gramatical person		I	Identity
28		1 First person singular		R	Relevant
29		2 Second person singular			
30		3 Third person singular			
31		4 First person plural			
32		6 Third person plural			
33		7 Third person singular neuter			

Appendix 17: Study 1's example of participants' micro-narrative and clauses

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
1		Pseu						Camila				
2		Code						2				
3		Type						Face to Face				
4		Place						Home				
5	Lab Line	R S P E I C						Narrative 1		T	Micro-story	S
6								Re-thinking the life from pregnancy onwards				
7												
8								Micro-narrative 1				
9								Building a normal family with a man after pregnancy				
10												
11	AB	20	1	I				I mean, I became a mother / before I define myself as a lesbian,		1	Family	1
12	CA	22	1	I				I mean, I had a daughter, / I got pregnant... / I had a partner, / a man,		1	Family	1
13	CA	32	4	EP				and we decided to have Fran,		1	Family	3
14	CA	61	1	I				I didn't continue looking for. [about her feelings]		3	Having an HT relationship	10
15	CA	65	1	I				Like previously I hadn't had many boyfriends,		3	Having an HT relationship	11
16	CA	67	3	EP				but as he insisted,		3	Having an HT relationship	11
17	EV	35	1	F				I feel like ashamed of telling it (laughs) (I-laughs)		2	Meaning of being lesbian	4
18	EV	37	1	I				I think one always has the idea that something is not working as it should work,		2	Meaning of being lesbian	5
19	EV	40	1	I				I said, it's like it doesn't have explanation,		2	Meaning of being lesbian	5
20	EV	48	7	I				that is not within the possibilities of a girl of 15 years, 12 years (I-Mmm)		2	Meaning of being lesbian	7
21	EV	66	R	7				like that wasn't working [having boyfriends]		3	Having an HT relationship	11
22	EV	70	F	7				then the possibilities were even more closed, [after pregnancy]		3	Having an HT relationship	13
23	EV	71	1	I				because my life was as more normal		3	Having an HT relationship	13
24	OR	23	3	CH				when I was 23 Fran was born, / and now I will be 30 (I-Yeah)		1	Family	1
25	OR	33	4	EP				we lived together like three years more or less, / I continued living, / the years passed,		1	Family	3
26	RE	73	4	I	NF			I had a daughter, I had a partner, we lived together, we had a family... (I-Yeah)		3	Having an HT relationship	13
27	RE	78	R	1	A			Then I spent the time with him,		3	Having an HT relationship	14
28												
29								Micro-narrative 2				
30								A new world open: Lesbianism as a possibility				
31												
32	AB	80	F					because I'm embarrassed about		4	Finding out lesbianism while being mother	15
33	AB	81	1					how I discovered that lesbianism was a possibility,		4	Finding out lesbianism while being mother	15
34	CA	94	7	T				and it began to arise, [lesbian issues]		4	Finding out lesbianism while being mother	19
35	CA	98	4	A	CH			and we were watching... looking for music on YouTube,		4	Finding out lesbianism while being mother	20

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	
Lab Line	R	S	P	E	I	C	Narrative 1			T	Micro-story	S
36	CA	112	1	I				until I realized there were many lesbian series... and at one point I stopped studying to follow series (laughs)...	4	Finding out lesbianism while being mother	23	
37	CA	123	1	A				look the nonsense I will tell you, [about watching videos]	4	Finding out lesbianism while being mother	25	
38	CD	95	F	T				then for me it wasn't an option.	4	Finding out lesbianism while being mother	19	
39	EV	89	R	7	I			and we were building a future together... [with a daughter and man partner]	4	Finding out lesbianism while being mother	18	
40	EV	93	F	4	I	NF		I have never thought in my life that existed... [lesbian life style]	4	Finding out lesbianism while being mother	18	
41	EV	105	1					I we were living together [with a daughter and man partner]	4	Finding out lesbianism while being mother	21	
42	OR	92	4					I was doing my master at the time...	4	Finding out lesbianism while being mother	18	
43	OR	115	A	1	A			"What I am doing?" [watching videos instead studying]	4	Finding out lesbianism while being mother	24	
44	RE	124	1					And a world began to be open to me.	4	Finding out lesbianism while being mother	25	
45	RE	127	F	7	I				4	Finding out lesbianism while being mother	26	
46												
47								Micro-narrative 3				
48								Breaking down the relationship with the male parter: A deep depression				
49												
50	AB	130	1	I				I didn't know what it was yet,	5	Questioning maternal desire	27	
51	AB	131	1	A	I			but I told him "I need time, like to be alone"...	5	Questioning maternal desire	27	
52	CA	132	1	E				and I was going through a very deep depression at the time,	5	Questioning maternal desire	28	
53	CA	133	1	A				I was going to the psychologist, / -135- I had gone to the doctor,	5	Questioning maternal desire	28	
54	CA	171	A	1	A			I started to work as a cashier in a supermarket,	6	Ending up the relationship	39	
55	CA	172	1					I didn't have a job as a graduated in history, of course,	6	Ending up the relationship	39	
56	CA	207	1	T				actually, I didn't finish it [the relationship], I was super coward,	6	Ending up the relationship	46	
57	CA	210	3			EP		and he became angry	6	Ending up the relationship	47	
58	CA	211	3			EP		and told me "oh well, if you want time, take it all"	6	Ending up the relationship	47	
59	CD	151	2					and you know that a degree in history is a very demanding career /	5	Questioning maternal desire	34	
60	EV	141						many themes emerged [in therapy]	5	Questioning maternal desire	30	
61	EV	143				I		with my difficulty of accepting my motherhood,	5	Questioning maternal desire	30	
62	EV	144	1			I		because when I got pregnant I hadn't decided to be a mom,	5	Questioning maternal desire	30	
63	EV	146	F	3		I	CH	then Fran came to break a lot of plans I had for the future that...	5	Questioning maternal desire	31	
64	EV	155	1	F				At some point I felt that I was not capable,	5	Questioning maternal desire	35	
65	EV	158	M	1	F			I started to feel like that hopefully the world continued without me and I could be in a	5	Questioning maternal desire	35	
66	EV	159	F					and hopefully anyone could found me	5	Questioning maternal desire	35	
67	EV	167	1					because I had to see how I re-build my life from there, [after birth]	6	Ending up the relationship	38	
68	EV	185	7					and many topics regarding my future starting to be clarified,	6	Ending up the relationship	42	
69	EV	198	1					I said [myself] "I need a time, because here I am wrong, I'm lost",	6	Ending up the relationship	44	
70	EV	199	1			I		I mean "I cannot continue with this family ,	6	Ending up the relationship	44	
71	OR	139	R	1	A			I had been one year in psychotherapy weekly.	5	Questioning maternal desire	29	
72	OR	161				CH		shortly after the baby was born, [depression]	5	Questioning maternal desire	36	
73	RE	212	4					and we ended and I said "ok, we end",	6	Ending up the relationship	47	

Appendix 18: Study 1's example of participants' macro- and micro-narratives

A		B		C
7	Lab	LABOVIAN SUMMARY		Lines
1	Pseu	Camila		
2	Code	2		
3	Type	Face to Face		
4	Place	Home		
5				
6				
7	Lab	LABOVIAN SUMMARY		Lines
8				
9		MACRO-NARRATIVE 1		
10		Re-thinking the life from pregnancy onwards		
11				
12		MICRO-NARRATIVES		
13	1	Building a normal family with a man after pregnancy		
14	2	A new world open: Lesbianism as a possibility		
15	3	Breaking down the relationship with the male partner: A deep depression		
16				
17	AB	Camila became mother before define herself as lesbian		20/21
18	OR	At 12-15 years old she thought it was not within her possibilities to like women		48
19		Her daughter (Fran) was born when she was 23, now she is 30		23
20		She lived with her man partner (Jose) around three years to rise the child		33
21		She was in therapy one year (when she finished her HT relationship and started the lesbian one)		139
22	CA	She did not have many boyfriends before, like that did not work. "Something is not working as it should" but because Jose insisted they started a relationship		65/66/37 67
23		While watching videos on YouTube she realized lesbianism it was a possibility. Still not an option		98/81/89
24		She felt the possibilities were more closed because she had a normal family life (with a man and a child)		70/71/73
25	EV	She was depressed because she felt she could not conciliate rearing and career		132/155
26		She realized about her difficulties accepting her motherhood. She felt the child broke her plans		143/144/146
27		After, she started to re-built her life from pregnancy. At the time a new (lesbian) world was open		167/127
28		She asked Jose for time because she felt she could not continue with that family		139/212
29	RE			
30				
31				
32		MACRO-NARRATIVE 2		
33		Meeting first female partners and disclosure		
34				
35		MICRO-NARRATIVES		
36	1	First couple relationships: Knowing the lesbian world		
37	2	Ex HT partner's reaction to disclosure and couple relationships		
38	2	Mother's reaction to disclosure and couple relationships		

	A	B	C
7	Lab	LABOVIAN SUMMARY	Lines
39			
40	AB	She met her first lesbian partner (Antonia) after one month she finished with Jose	218/239
41	OR	They were together around five months,	231
42		At the time she was still living with her mother	278
43	CA	She had fun with Antonia, went out a lot, and knew a lot of the lesbian world with her	264/221
44		When her ex man partner realized he said "it doesn't matter"	223/226
45		but when she told him she had met others women, he became angry	317/318
46		Her mother was crying in the corners when Camila told her	275/280
47	EV	Camila felt her life began again as living in another world, she felt happy. She had been mom 22 to 26	232/256/231/260
48		She was clear about her attraction to women, but did not define as lesbian. "it was a long process"	292/285/287
49	RE	She continued for the same route <i>[meeting women]</i>	294
50		While her mother and ex man partner had not accepted her sexual orientation yet <i>[until the interview]</i>	284/224
51			
52			
53		MACRO-NARRATIVE 3	
54		Falling in love and leaving home	
55			
56		MICRO-NARRATIVES	
57	1	Meeting Marce without defining as lesbian mother	
58	2	Going to live together after the accident and discussions with partner about ex male partner	
59			
60			
61	AB	She met Marce and fell in love with her	337/340
62	OR	They had been together three years and a half <i>[until interview]</i>	338
63		When they were traveling to Valparaiso they had a car accident. Having being together around six months	508/518/369
64	CA	She told Marce she hoped to be bored of being with women when she was old. Marce got mad	377/398
65		She told Jose she loved him as friend but she was happy with Marce	497
66		Marce was very angry about Jose's conversation. They (C-M) had a discussion when the accident occurred	507/515
67	EV	She thought it was hard to define as lesbian mother and forming a family with a woman at the time	374/401
68		She conceived a family with a man. Jose meant the stability and normality. She would not be accepted	402/383/384
69		She also had in mind her mother's reaction and the support she had received from her	435/436
70	RE	She asked Marce to live together after the accident, and they did	521/523
71	CD	"i'm super honest with you... I made several mistakes... <i>[telling Marce about old age wishes]</i>	371/372
72		"My partner doesn't know some of these things" <i>[about the conversation with Jose]</i>	481

	A	B
7	Lab	LABOVIAN SUMMARY
128		OUTLINE
129		
130		NARRATIVE 1
131		Re-thinking the life from pregnancy onwards
132		
133		MICRO-NARRATIVES
134	1	Building a normal family with a man after pregnancy
135	2	A new world open: Lesbianism as a possibility
136	3	Breaking down the relationship with the male partner: A deep depression
137		
138		NARRATIVE 2
139		Meeting first female partners and disclosure
140		
141		MICRO-NARRATIVES
142	1	First couple relationships: Knowing the lesbian world
143	2	Ex HT partner's reaction to disclosure and couple relationships
144	2	Mother's reaction to disclosure and couple relationships
145		
146		NARRATIVE 3
147		Falling in love and leaving home
148		
149		MICRO-NARRATIVES
150	1	Meeting Marce without defining as lesbian mother
151	2	Going to live together after the accident and discussions with partner about ex male partner
152		
153		NARRATIVE 4
154		Defining as lesbian while being mother
155		
156		MICRO-NARRATIVES
157	1	"It was my turn"
158	1	Taking the child to live together
159	2	Thinking about how telling the child
160	3	Disclosing to the child and asking her for privacy
161	4	Talking to the child about the lesbian word
162		
163		NARRATIVE 5
164		Facing the social context
165		
166		MICRO-NARRATIVES
167	1	Concerns about how the child inserts within society
168	2	Having a nanny
169	3	Mothers' reactions to a lesbian couple living with a girl
170	4	Being supported by therapist
171	5	Disclosing in family mediation
172	6	Problems with Ex HT partner about child issues
173		

Appendix 19: Study 1's example of participants' thematic narrative analysis

II. Thematic Narrative Analysis (What: the narrative content)

1. What was she talking about?

	What was she trying to say?	Why was she trying to say that?
1	How she realized that lesbianism was a possibility while being mother and what it meant for her. It was not an option because she had a family.	Camila tried to say that she had not noticed it before because it was not within her possibilities as happens to normal people. She had built a family which was normal for her.
2	She was in therapy for a depression because of the incompatibility of her professional expectations and parenting demands.	She tried to explain that the main reason for her depression had to do with the incompatibility of their expectations and parenting (<i>perhaps in more extent than the emerging possibility of lesbianism</i>). Although later she revealed the resolution of his depression had to do with her coming out.
3	How she explored the lesbian world and lived her first experiences with female partners. She felt happy and depression relented.	Camila explained how she experienced her exploration with lesbian couples in order to described the long process she went through to define as lesbian
4	Mother and ex HT partner's reactions to her lesbianism were relevant for her.	Being with a female partner was not only a personal issue but her environment also reacted to. Former partner and mother rejected she being with women.
5	How difficult it was to accept a lesbian identity despite being in a formal relationship.	She tried to express that she still felt that normality and stability would be achieved with a man. In addition the fears of not being accepted, and concerns about how she would face the world with a daughter affected her decisions. Also the commitment she felt with her mother, who continued to support her.
6	How she became to define as a lesbian mother after moving in with partner and daughter.	It was the when she felt she should fight for her lesbian relationship and try to build a family.
7	How experienced the disclosure with her daughter and how she handled it. The disclosure also implied that daughter was "confused". So she wanted a mixed environment.	The disclosure with her daughter was an issue she had to face at some point because she had decided to live with her partner. Also, she expressed how hard the disclosure with her daughter was taking into account the possible reactions from the environment. If her daughter talked or imitated her behaviours that could lead to her daughter being discriminated

		.
8	She was still concerned about how her daughter interacted with society.	She perceived the society is religious and it does not accept lesbianism and lesbian raising children. She had heard others talking negatively about that (partner's family, mother, child's mates' mothers).
9	Selective disclosure and other people's reactions (Open with therapist, justice and friends / Selective in school, work and child's mates' mothers / Subtitled with nana). She can be seen as a single mother at work.	While there were people who accepted lesbianism, many did not, and some of them expressed it. It was difficult to live as openly lesbian mother in this context.

2. Some relevant assumptions

	Assumptions	Where do assumptions come from?
1	Lesbianism not possible, not normal, not accepted in society	Her interpretation of the values and norms of their social environment
2	Definition and acceptance as a long process	Her own experience
3	Child should be prepared to know the truth	Discourses of others and her beliefs
4	Possible stigmatization or discrimination of her daughter	Beliefs about environmental reactions to lesbian headed families.
5	Chile as a religious society where lesbianism has no place	Her interpretation
6	Child confused. She had to provide a mixed environment in which child did not feel she had to be lesbian	Her beliefs
Where assumptions were rooted? (this aspect is common for participants)		
Societal context		
<p>Low level of approval for same-gender couples raising children Neither civil partnership nor marriage for same-gender couples were available Neither adoption nor reproductive technologies for same-gender couples were legally regulated Civil partnership and marriage for same-gender couples were being debated by political groups Media contribution made lesbian mothers more visible</p>		
Cultural context		
Traditional values regarding family, gender and sexuality, and the heteronormativity of Chilean and Latino culture. The influence of religious discourses		
Historical context		
<p>Transition to an increasing visibility of LGBT movements and their fight for equal rights. Transition to a higher level of approval of sexual minority people by Chilean population.</p>		

3. Identity narrative

How lesbian identity was understood or constructed through the life course?

1. It is not possible, not normal
2. It is possible, but not an option because of family (depression)
3. A stable attraction to women
4. Being with women could make you feel happy and in love
5. It is difficult to accept, because you could not be accepted
6. Defining as lesbian is a long process
7. It could be accepted and integrated within family life
8. It could be disclosed to some people. Disclosure is important for resolution
9. Some people accepted it, but most people do not
10. It could influence child gender attraction
11. A child with a lesbian mother could be stigmatized and discriminated

4. Narrative Summary

5. Some interpretative relevant points

1. Heteronormativity and invisibility of lesbianism in the Chilean context. Then it was difficult to realize what she felt for the women.
2. Camila grew up within a social context where the traditional family model was represented by a mother and a father. Then the heterosexual family represented normality and stability for her.
3. Mother continued to provide support despite she did not accept Camila being lesbian. The familism in Latino culture.
4. Camila moved from non-acceptance and identity confusion to acceptance and coming out. The definition of lesbian identity was seen as a long process.
5. The non-acceptance period had impact on her mental health.
6. Camila accepted her identity but she was selective in her coming out in order to protect her daughter, she believed her daughter may be discriminated. Her fears were based on her own interpretation about the environment and the reaction of others she had observed.
7. Camila built a new type of family that opposed to the traditional heterosexual family model. She understood society as a Christian and religious context that neither accepted lesbianism nor a lesbian raising a daughter.
8. Acceptance from friends, job mates and the therapist probably contributed to her own self- acceptance.
9. Camila believed parents and the environment might influence child gender attraction.
10. Camila believed child must reach an age of maturity to know the sexual orientation of parents. However in her daughter was given naturally.

11. Having a child allowed her for heterosexual passing. Although she did not identify with the traditional woman model.
12. [*Pay attention to*] the interaction of different identities such as woman, lesbian and mother, also educational level and socioeconomic position. Although identities as a woman and a lesbian interacted with her ex HT male partner position, she was able to overcome his attempts to control her. The educational level and economic independence probably facilitated Camila making her own decisions in spite of her child's father intimidation.

6. How the interviewer might be seen by the narrator (Following Labovian Coda clauses)

1. Someone able to listen in detail
2. Some able to understand what she want express
3. Someone who provides confidentiality and allows to talk about intimacy

Appendix 20: Study 1's example of thematic narrative analysis across cases

Identity Life Course	Teresa	Camila	Julia	Carla	Paula	Jimena	Marcela	Beatriz
Code	1	2	6	7	9	11	12	14
Age	36	29	35	31	38	27	32	40
Interview place	Cafe	Home	Work	Movilh	Cafe	Cafe	Cafe	Cafe
City of residence	Santiago	Santiago	Santiago	Santiago	Santiago	Santiago	Talcahuano	Rancagua
	Partner	Partner	Partner	Partner	Partner	Partner	Partner	Past
1. Identity incompatibility for social context because of children	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Compatible roles. Difficil tener pareja por ser madre- A7	No opción siendo madre. Cómo enfrentar el mundo con una hija. Contexto religioso.	Siendo precavida en develación L 215-219	Era madre. Le preocupaba hija. A3 L 64-66. Es difícil ser madre y lesbiana A7 L145	Difficil conciliar lesbianismo con maternidad. No fácil manejar el tema L18-24-27	A10 S57 Apoyo a hijos si se ven afectados por madre lesbiana	Hija con padre y madre L35/ miedo a causar daño a hija L95/375-379. Más complicado ser madre lesbiana. Si fuera conocido sería más difícil. Hija en colegio católico L521	Es difícil ser madre y lesbiana, y dejar entrar a alguien. Hijas primero L31
a. Keeping children	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
b. Losing the custody	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
2. Assessing other people's views								
Critics as lesbian & mother	Yes	Yes	Yes	Subtitled	Yes	Yes	Appl.	Yes
It is not good for children being raised by a lesbian	Recognized	Yes			Yes			
	Posición social como madre y lesbiana (juicio). Reacción neg. padre hijos. Pienso que la iba	Reacciones del entorno. Querían llevarse a hija L953. Rechazo madre (aberrante)	Difficil con ex (criteriosa A8 L427). Madre pide discreción A8. Psiquiatra pide discreción	Como explicar resto. A3. Vulnerabilidad en el rol. Le preocupa que padre quite	Temor a reacciones de padre L73. Doble vida con hijos. L25. Amenazas y	Bullying a hijo L327. Rechazo y prejuicio padre hijo. (orientación de hijo) L31 L156-159-Le decía a	Es imposible decir. Me echarían de la casa. Que no se casen esos degenerados	Le quitaron hijos L13- L15/81/227-240. No madre moralmente adecuada L270-
Abnormal								

	a matar. 423. Enferma 445 A12	Relig. L938-948 Y madre de pareja, porque eran lesbianas y estaban con una niña. No lesbiana para ella. Una lesbiana con hija? Niñas se vuelven lesbianas (desviación)	L159.- No da cabida a críticas A15. Se ha sentido un poco discriminada L207	tuición L114/123-132/139. No quiere que hija sepa A7	ocultamiento. L234 -238. Temor a perder hijos por padre L16-22-24. Por eso no cuenta en tribunales L532	otros L165. ella se había desviado L169-170 (sólo reacciones negativas). No familiar, la estigmatizaba. S32-33 A10. No lo demanda L82	Relig. L431-433 Suegra católica L435. HS enfermedad L447. Hablan de HS, SIDA y promiscuidad 242	281 Sin apoyo de familia. Sola. Expresan rechazo. La miraban como pedófila 304. en colegio católico L372 No modelo gen Ex la persigue. orgias L65-74 Hijas lesbianas L87-91-93
Something normal an natural	Sera un shock, pero normal. Cuidadosa con entorno. vecinos. apoderados A13 B13. No estereotipar B16	Ella normal L222 Vida normal L401	No es necesario develar a todos. L301/L311/322 Le gustaría expresar en lugares públicos A11 L324-327/339					
3. Negotiating lesbianism in social context		No andar diciendo como le gusta la vida en la cama	S45. L241. Qué va a pasar cuando vivan juntas L247					L189. una pseudo mentira para que no las separen. No de la mano L476
Being careful about to whom and when to disclose	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Concerns about conseq of disclosure on children: a	Yes	Yes	Aplc	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Aplc
a. Discrimination	Yes	Hija podía hablar y ser discriminada L659. Interacción de hija L693-761 Aterrada L693	Bajo perfil. Temor discriminación hijos S43-44 L226 No tienen heramientas	Bullying a hijo.	Sexualidad guardada 60 A hija le importa lo que opinen de ella, por eso se resguarda			
More vulnerable	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Apl
(Ex) HT partner	Yes	Yes	No	Private. No relación visible L	Private. Single mother L297 Le	No	Private. Exigen matrimonio.	Yes
School	Selective	Compañeras de	Selective. No tema A14. No	Private. No decir soy lesbiana.				Private

Appendix 21: Study 1's table of sub-themes sent to auditors

A	B	C
1	Table of Themes Study 1	
2	Sub-themes	What does the sub-theme mean?
3		Participants talked about how they experienced their first same-sex erotic or emotional feelings. While some participants became aware about their attraction to women during their adolescence, other interviewees did not realize about their same-sex attraction until adulthood (although they retrospectively examined their previously unclear feelings during their interview).
3.1.1	<i>First cognizance of same-gender erotic or emotional feeling</i>	Participants implied that they did not express, select or realize about lesbianism during a first life course period. Some participants did not recognize lesbianism as a possibility for themselves during this period, while others tried to hide their feelings because they feared the consequences of being seen as a lesbian.
4	1.2 <i>Lesbianism not expressed or selected as a life course project</i>	Participants said that they opted for having a relationship and building a family with a man during a first life course period. In particular, participants tried to build a family with their child's father. However, only some participants had previously planned to build a family with a man. Other interviewees started to think about building a family with the child's father during pregnancy or after becoming mothers.
5	1.3 <i>Building a relationship and a family with a man</i>	Participants conveyed that the lesbian desire (re)emerged during motherhood as a prominent desire. Consequently, participants began to view lesbianism as an available option for them and later they affirmed their lesbian identity.
6	2.1 <i>Rethinking lesbianism as a life course identity project</i>	Participants said that at some point during their life course the lack of attraction to their male partners became more visible, or evaporated in those who previously had felt attracted to them. Consequently, they questioned or finished their heterosexual relationship.
7	2.2 <i>Questioning the heterosexual family life project</i>	As participants recognized their need to express their lesbianism and began to build lesbian relationships, they started to re-think the way they had conveyed their identity to their children. Initially, participants used strategies to hide their lesbian relationships from their children.
8	3.1 <i>Avoiding the disclosure of lesbian relationships to the children</i>	Participants said they had presented their first female partner to their children as a friend to conceal their sexuality.
9	Presenting lesbian partner as friend	Some participants reported their attempts to hide lesbian affective expressions from their children.
10	Hiding lesbian affective expressions	Disclosure to their children was a significant goal of participants' sexual identity life courses. While some participants started to think about how to disclose their sexual identity to their children and how to prepare children for that, other interviewees had already disclosed to them.
11	3.2 <i>Preparing the child for coming out as a lesbian mother</i>	An important strategy in order to prepare children for the disclosure was the teaching of tolerance to their children.
12	Teaching children to be tolerant	While some participants had disclosed their sexual identity to their children at the time of their interviews, other interviewees had already planned to do it later.
13	(Planning) disclosure to the children	

A	B	C
1	Table of Themes Study 1	
2	Sub-themes	What does the sub-theme mean?
14	4.1 <i>Negotiating lesbian identity with family of origin</i>	While some participants mentioned that they had disclosed their sexual identity to at least one member of their family of origin, other interviewees reported that they had not disclosed to their family of origin.
15	4.2 <i>Negotiating lesbian identity with friends</i>	Disclosure to and acceptance by friends was a significant aspect within participants' sexual identity life course.
16	4.3 <i>Negotiating lesbian identity with the child(ren)'s father</i>	While some participants had disclosed their sexual identity to her child's father or were confronted by their ex-male partners to acknowledge their sexual orientation, other had not disclosed to them. In spite of this difference, most participants struggled when conveying their sexual identity to her child's father.
17	1.1 <i>Women expected to be heterosexual mothers</i>	Some participants talked about others' expectations of being mothers in the context of a heterosexual relationship. For instance, participants portrayed in their accounts that as a woman they were expected to marry a man (or at least have a male partner) and be a good wife (or a partner), and to have children and be a good mother.
18	1.2 <i>Women expected to be subjugated to men</i>	Some participants talked about their own experiences and others' expectations of being subjugated to men.
19	1.3 <i>Women experiencing psychological abuse by men</i>	Some participants narrated their own experiences of being subjected to psychological abuse by their ex-male partners at some point of their lives.
20	2.1 <i>Homosexuality as abnormality, illness or deviation</i>	Participants talked about others' holding negative views on homosexuality. For instance, participants had heard other people talking about homosexuality as an abnormality, an illness or a deviation.
21	2.2 <i>Lesbian mothers seen as inappropriate models for children</i>	Participants talked about others' negative views regarding lesbian mothers raising children. For instance, some participants had heard that they as lesbians were not appropriate models for children's gender, sexuality or morality.
22	3.1 <i>Thinking about how to be identified by others as a lesbian while being a mother</i>	An important concern that participants tried to convey in their narratives was the incompatibility between being seen as a lesbian woman and a mother raising children. When participants started to (re-) affirm their lesbian identities they considered that it was difficult to be seen as a lesbian because they already had children.
23	3.2 <i>Thinking about how to include a lesbian partner within the family</i>	Participants had thought about the possibility of including a lesbian partner within the family they had with their child(ren). In particular, some participants conveyed in their narratives how difficult it was for them to reconcile having a lesbian couple relationship with being a mother.
24	4.1 <i>Concerns about children being discriminated against</i>	Participants were concerned about the possibility of their child(ren) being discriminated against as consequence of participants being known as a lesbian in the public domain.
25	Children are more vulnerable to discrimination	Some participants said that children were more vulnerable to discrimination than were adults and that perhaps children had less emotional tools to cope with negative social reactions.
26	4.2 <i>Being careful about where and when to disclose</i>	As participants recognized the incompatibility of being seen as mothers and lesbians, they were careful about where and when to disclose their sexual identity in different social settings. Participants said that their children's school context was the main social setting in which they had hidden their sexual orientation to some extent. In particular, while some

Appendix 22: Study 1's codes from auditors, participants and researcher after re-coding

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T
1	Table of Themes Study 1																		
2	R: researcher	P: participant	A: independent auditor																
3	Participant's Code	R	P	R	P	R	P	R	P	A	R	P	A	R	R	P	R	P	A
4	Age	1	1	2	2	3	4	4	4	4	5	5	5	6	7	7	8	8	8
5	1.1 <i>First cognizance of same-gender erotic or emotional feeling</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
6	1.2 <i>Lesbianism not expressed or selected as a life course project</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
7	1.3 <i>Building a relationship and a family with a man</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
8	2.1 <i>Rethinking lesbianism as a life course identity project</i>	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
9	2.2 <i>Questioning the heterosexual family life project</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
10	3.1 <i>Avoiding the disclosure of lesbian relationships to the children</i>	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2
11	<i>Presenting lesbian partner as friend</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
12	<i>Hiding lesbian affective expressions</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2
13	3.2 <i>Preparing the child for coming out as a lesbian mother</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2
14	<i>Teaching children to be tolerant</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	1
15	<i>(Planning) disclosure to the children</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2
16	4.1 <i>Negotiating lesbian identity with family of origin</i>	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
17	4.2 <i>Negotiating lesbian identity with friends</i>	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
18	4.3 <i>Negotiating lesbian identity with the child(ren)'s father</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
19	1.1 <i>Women expected to be heterosexual mothers</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2
20	1.2 <i>Women expected to be subjugated to men</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
21	1.3 <i>Women experiencing psychological abuse by men</i>	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
22	2.1 <i>Homosexuality as abnormality, illness or deviation</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
23	2.2 <i>Lesbian mothers seen as inappropriate models for children</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
24	3.1 <i>Thinking about how to be identified by others as a lesbian while being a mother</i>	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
25	3.2 <i>Thinking about how to include a lesbian partner within the family</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	2
26	4.1 <i>Concerns about children being discriminated against</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
27	<i>Children are more vulnerable to discrimination</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
28	4.2 <i>Being careful about where and when to disclose</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
29	<i>Negotiating sexual identity at children's school</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
30	<i>Negotiating sexual identity at the work place</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2

Appendix 23: Study 1's online survey sent to participants for audit

PREGUNTAS RESPUESTAS 7

Sección 1 de 3

Estudio 1: Validación de Resultados. Participante

Tengo mucho agrado de darte a conocer los resultados preliminares del estudio en el cual participaste. Además te agradezco enormemente que hayas accedido a la validación de los resultados. Te recuerdo que los datos son absolutamente confidenciales. Esta información sólo será conocida por mí (Víctor Figueroa) y luego se presentarán los datos en mi tesis doctoral y futuras publicaciones, pero en ningún caso se te identificará a ti como participante. Tu participación continúa siendo absolutamente anónima. Nuevamente agradezco tu enorme colaboración y participación en este estudio. Por favor no dudes en contactarme si tienes cualquier duda al respecto.

A continuación encontrarás un cuestionario que está dividido en dos secciones. Cada sección contiene los resultados del estudio agrupados por temas y subtemas. Cada tema y subtema tiene un nombre que permite identificar su contenido temático. A su vez, cada subtema está asociado a un resumen que tiene por finalidad darte a conocer en forma breve el contenido del subtema. El subtema contiene lo que las participantes en su conjunto comentaron, dijeron, o dieron a conocer durante las entrevistas. Por lo tanto, este cuestionario contiene los resultados del análisis total de todas las entrevistas.

El objetivo de este cuestionario es que tú puedas señalar en qué medida te sientes identificada con lo señalado en cada subtema o enunciado. Debes tener en cuenta lo que tú comentaste durante la entrevista y el momento en el cual ésta se llevo a cabo. Además podrás agregar un comentario debajo de cada subtema o enunciado en caso de que quieras sugerir o indicar algo que consideres relevante para el estudio. Los comentarios son sólo aclaratorios, por lo que no es necesario que los completes si no lo deseas.

Santiago, Marzo de 2016

Ingresar tu código de participante *

Esto me permitirá identificar tus respuestas

Sección 1: La identidad sexual a lo largo del ciclo vital

En esta sección encontrarás 4 temas relacionados con los principales hitos del desarrollo de la identidad sexual de las participantes a lo largo de su ciclo vital.

Tema 1: Asumiendo la esperada trayectoria heterosexual

Descripción (opcional)

Sub-tema 1.1. Dándose cuenta de las primeras sensaciones eróticas o emocionales por el mismo sexo *

Las participantes hablaron acerca de cómo ellas experimentaron sus primeros sentimientos eróticos o emocionales por el mismo sexo. Mientras que algunas participantes se dieron cuenta de su atracción por las mujeres durante su adolescencia, otras entrevistadas no se dieron cuenta de su atracción por el mismo sexo hasta la edad adulta (aunque examinaron retrospectivamente sus sentimientos previos poco definidos durante su entrevista).

- 2. Me siento claramente representada por el sub-tema
- 1. Me siento en alguna medida representada por el sub-tema
- 0. No me siento representada por el sub-tema

Comentario

(Aquí podrás agregar algún comentario relacionado con el subtema o enunciado)

Appendix 24: Study 2's invitation for participants

This is the English version of the original Spanish document which is available upon request from the author.

YOU ARE INVITED

To participate in a focus group as a part of a study about the meanings of parenting in lesbian and gay men without children. This study is part of a PhD degree in Psychology, and it has received ethical approval by the Department of Psychological Sciences of Birkbeck, University of London.

From whom we need help

- Chilean lesbians and gay men without children
- Aged 18 years and above

What will you do

- Answer an group interview
- The focus group will last approximately 2 hours

What you should know

- Your participation is completely voluntary
- All results are confidential
- Schedule will be planned according to participants availability

Place: IGUALES, Parque Bustamante N° 250, 102-B, Providencia**

Time: Starting on July, 2013

If interested: contact vfpsico@hotmail.com

Víctor Figueroa, Psychologist

Appendix 25: Study 2's demographic questionnaire (Spanish)



DEPARTAMENTO DE CIENCIAS PSICOLÓGICAS
BIRKBECK UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

DATOS DEMOGRÁFICOS

Título del Estudio: "Paternidad gay y maternidad lésbica en el contexto chileno"

Nombre del Investigador: *Víctor Figueroa.*

Fecha: 06 de marzo de 2014

1. Edad	
2. Sexo	
2. Nacionalidad	
3. Ciudad de residencia	
4. Ciudad de origen	
5. ¿Has vivido fuera de Chile?, ¿Dónde?, ¿Cuánto tiempo?	
6. Estado civil	
7. Nivel de estudios	
8. Ocupación	
9. ¿Tienen alguna creencia religiosa o participas de alguna religión?	
10. ¿Presentas algún grado de discapacidad?, ¿De qué tipo?	
11. ¿Cómo te identificas de acuerdo a tu orientación sexual?	
12. ¿Con cuál nivel socioeconómico te identificas?	__ Bajo __ Medio __ Alto

Appendix 26: Information Sheet for Study 2

This is the English version of the original Spanish document which is available upon request from the author.

**DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCES
BIRKBECK UNIVERSITY OF LONDON**

Title of Study: "Lesbian and gay parenting in a Chilean context"
Name of researcher: *Víctor Figueroa Guíñez.*

Dear X

The study is being done as part of a degree in the Department of Psychological Sciences, Birkbeck University of London. The study has received ethical approval.

This study is about how lesbians and gay men give meanings to parenting in Chile. If you agree to participate you will take part in a study which involves answering questions related to your views about lesbian and gay parenting and your expectations about being a mother/father. The focus group will take about 2 hours. You are free to withdraw and stop your participation at any time of the study. If you experience any distress by the nature of the questions you will have access to psychological support with the psychologist of MOVILH.

A code will be attached to the data so it remains totally anonymous and identifying information will be removed and the interview will be treated with the utmost confidentiality.

The results of the study will be written up in a report of the study for my degree. You will not be identifiable in the write up or any publication which might ensue.

The study is supervised by Dr. Fiona Tasker and Dr. Virginia Eatough. If you wish to contact the supervisors, contact details are:

Departmental address: Department of Psychological Sciences, Birkbeck University of London, Malet St, London WC1E 7HX TEL: 0044 020 7079 0868

Researcher contact: Eleuterio Ramírez N° Santiago. TEL: (Chile). Malet St, London WC1E 7HX TEL: 0044 07751415078 (UK). EMAIL:

Appendix 27: Study 2's consent form

This is the English version of the original Spanish document which is available upon request from the author.

**DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCES
BIRKBECK UNIVERSITY OF LONDON**

Title of Study: Lesbian and gay parenting in a Chilean context
Name of researcher: *Victor Figueroa Guíñez.*

I have had the details of the study explained to me and willingly consent to take part.

My questions have been answered to my satisfaction and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand that I will remain anonymous and that all the information I give will be used for this study only.

I understand that I may withdraw my consent for the study at any time and to decline to answer any particular questions.

I agree/do not agree to the interview/focus group being audio recorded.

I understand that I have the right to ask for the audio recording to be turned off at any time during the interview.

I understand that I have access to psychological support if any distress arises by the nature of interview.

I confirm that I am over 16 years of age.

Name.....

Signature..... (Participant)

Name.....

Signature..... (Researcher)

Date.....

There should be two signed copies, one for the participant, one retained by researcher for records

Appendix 29: Study 2's example of emergent themes in IPA

8	T	ST	ET	Emergent themes	P	Line	Original Transcript
237	2	16	74	The primacy of oneself biological ties with the child	2	228	SORAYA If I had to choose, I'd prefer Carmen or me <i>having the child</i> ,
238	2	13			2	229	I think <i>adoption</i> would be the <i>last option</i> , and I don't know if there is another method more fabulous,
239	2	12			2	230	so I'd prefer it was Carmen or me, either by <i>assisted fertilization</i>
240	2	15			2	231	or making an <i>agreement</i> with someone.
241	2	12	75	But excluding the other biological parent	2	232	I've always thought that assisted fertilization is the most <i>impersonal way</i> ,
242	2	20	76	Shared vs non-shared parenting and child's love	2	233	because <i>unlike Vicente</i> , I'm not interesting in that my child <i>loves other parents</i> ,
243	2	20			2	234	because he already has <i>his mom and his mom</i> .
244	2	20	77	Multiple parents: the complexity of different ideas	1	235	CARMEN We will have enough trying to agree between us,
245	2	21	78	Conveying family formation to children <i>difficult</i>	2	236	SORAYA And it will already <i>be a work</i> to explain him that his family consists of two moms,
246	2	21	79	Multiple parents: difficult to explain family formation to <i>child</i>	2	237	so adding that he has a father, who is symbolic,
247	2	21			2	238	who was at some particular point and won't be any more...
248	2	20			2	239	Then I think that having two dads or two moms, or a mom or a dad, <i>it's enough</i> ,
249	2	20	80	Multiple parent unnecessary (<i>for child or for 2 Ms</i>)	2	240	having three or four I think... thinking in the child, I think it's not necessary, that is,
250	2	12			2	241	I think the most impersonal way is the <i>assisted fertilization</i>
251	2	20			1	242	CARMEN Yes, as Soraya says... I've thought a lot about it...
252	2	20			1	243	we are older and have had more time to think about it
253	2	20			1	244	so, after thinking a lot about it and seeing many friends' experiences
254	2	20	81	The complexity of family with multiple parents	1	245	we realized that actually asking a friend to do a favour [<i>donation</i>] it's always <i>complicated</i> ,
255	2	20			1	246	because after... as Vicente talked about the <i>selfishness...</i> [<i>selfishness or claiming a state?</i>]
256	2	20	82	Biological ties & the contested parenthood	1	247	"no, because he's also my child, don't forget that I <i>put the seed</i> "
257	2	20			1	248	It causes a <i>conflict</i> , because all of them will want to <i>claim the paternity</i> ,

Appendix 30: Study 2's example of superordinate themes in IPA

		C									
A	B	TABLE OF THEMES									
1	2	T: Super-ordinate themes									
3	4	ST: Sub-themes									
5	6	Participant:	Ca	So	Pa	Ma	Vi	7	8	9	10
7	8	Age:	1	2	3	4	5	9	10	11	12
9	10	Gender:	30	26	22	22	23	10	0	91,95	-75
11	12		F	F	F	M	M	10	0	91,95	-75
13	14							35	34,43	-88,9	-70,-7
15	16							19,46	-25,-4	469,40	55,57
17	18							9,461	-23	97	84
19	20							20,2127	101	78,82	0
21	22							488,5490	0	514,5497,5	
23	24										
25	26										
27	28										
		T 1.1. Lesbian motherhood & gay fatherhood as a life course project									
		A deep desire [essential drive] of M/Fhood									
		M/Fhood as a life course plan or as a future life project									
		Valuing being a young Mother/Father [time, subjective]									
		M/Fhood as a couple project									
		M/Fhood possibilities [money, 2 bellies, lesbian identity] & responsibilities [stability]									
		Expecting a long lasting change with child's arrival [life course changes, body & psych]									
		T 1.2. Childrearing as a formative process & the primacy of "how to be a good parent"									
		Childrearing & fulfillment for the future [legacy, happy, model, child priority]									
		Childrearing as formative [giving love, values, emotional support, tools for life, the best, how to be a good parent]									
		Connecting parenting with own childrearing experiences [correcting own childrearing, improving, mistakes, making good]									
		Childrearing own expectations vs child self-determination									
		Expecting child similarities [grandparents, biological, adoptive, imitation, like you]									
		T 2. Expecting to create family relationships from love & biological ties									
		Artificial insemination									
		Adoption									
		Surrogacy									
		Friends' agreement [self-insemination & friend donor]									
		The expected roots for M/Fhood & family formation: the importance of biological ties									
		Valuing non-biological ties: family relationships based on love and friendship									
		The primacy of childrearing over roots to M/Fhood									

A B		C						D	E	F	G	H
1		TABLE OF THEMES										
2		T: Super-ordinate themes										
3		ST: Sub-themes										
4		Participant:										
5		Age:										
6		Gender:										
		Ca	So	Pa	Ma	Vi	Focus Group 6					
		1	2	3	4	5						
		30	26	22	22	23						
		F	F	F	M	M						
28	2	18	Legal difficulties	[difficult roots to M/Fhood and the complexity of M/F legal status]	250	0	104	0				
29	2	19	Valuing shared parenthood:	A family with multiple parents	0	0	0	0	117,1			
30	2	20	The disadvantages of multiple parented families:	the complexity of different ideas about parenting	148,1160,2	150,10	0					
31	2	21	Conveying family formation to the children & the roots [biological] to M/Fhood		259,2236	0	0	122				
32			T 3. Dealing with family and cultural expectations: L & G parents as defying sexual morality									
33	3	22	Ideal/perfect family: man, woman and one/two children [the gendered family]		712	587	586	576,540				
34	3	23	Dealing with family of origin expectations about sexuality & heterosexual family formation		622,60	624	0	555,5				
35	3	24	Chilean society & family of origin ignore/annul L&G life, sexuality, M/Fhood,		538,6617	539,5	589,6	544,7				
36	3	25	Dealing with stigmas, stereotypes & derogatory expressions from society and family of origin		546,7742,7	561,7	751,7	547,5				
37	3	26	Breaking the social order: the defiance of sexual morality of L&G and L&G as parents		542,70	540,50	735					
38	3	27	Different Chilean contexts: Supportive high-class vs discriminatory low-class		878,50	933	0	924,5				
39	3	28	Expecting a [slow/protracted] socio-cultural change & a real acceptance [not tolerance]		599,5831	598,5	593,8	911,5				
40	3	29	Visibility and the expected socio-cultural change		643	0	0	590,6	551,5			
41	3	30	Teaching children to deal with social context		0	0	0	864	851			
42	3	31	Achieving a positive parenting against a negative Chilean context vs. Being afraid of child rearing		-814	835	0	860	0			
43	3	32	Media contribution to visibility		0	0	540	0	548			
44			T 4. Expecting legal safeguards & being recognized as a legal parent									
45	4	33	The complexity of the lack of legal safeguards & recognition as a legal parent		646,60	654,6	667,129,6					
46	4	34	The expected legal changes and the achievement of equality		672,6797,8	798	675	123,6				
47	4	35	Having a political aim the personal activism		785,70	835	0	-915				
48	4	36	The privileged heterosexual marriage & family: religion & the shaping of society by the law		649,70	702,70	693,7					
49	4	37	Law changes vs cultural changes		811	826,80	0	841				

Appendix 31: Study 2's superordinate themes across focus groups in IPA

	A	B	C					D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	
2			TABLE OF THEMES					Participants														
3			T: Super-ordinate themes					Focus Group 6					Focus Group 1					Focus Group 2				
4			ST: Sub-themes OT: Original theme					Ca	So	Pa	Ma	Vi	An	Ja	Es	Ro	Fa	An	Ca	Pe	Es	
5			Participant:					1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
6			Age:					30	26	22	22	23	20	47	24	28	18	24	23	22	28	
7			Gender:					F	F	F	M	M	F	M	F	M	M	F	F	M	M	
9			T 1. The personal meanings of being a mother/father																			
10			ST 1: A deep desire of parenthood																			
11	1	1	A deep desire [essential drive] of M/Fhood & forming a family happy, model for realization, child priority, giving yourself/everything, sacrifice					10	0	91,9	-75	42,4	67,2	-116	-91,4	18,2	51	371,	432,	5,15	6,13	
12	1	6						481	431,	0	0	42,4	69,1	0	107,	41	55	0	404	9,11	98,1	
13			ST 2: The primacy of biological routes to parenthood																			
14	2	12	Artificial insemination					255,	230,	0	0	0	72,7	0	0	0	0	354,	338,	33,8	0	
15	2	13	Adoption					279	229,	199	386	114	71,3	-117	244	25,2	202	-397	0	-34,-	-35,	
16	2	14	Surrogacy					0	0	0	0	114	0	0	433	23,2	0	293,	338	33,8	85,8	
17	2	15	Friends' agreement [self-insemination & friend donor]					0	231	0	0	115	0	0	0	64	0	0	0	0	0	30
18	2	39	Valuing multiples path to parenthood vs only one					1	1	1	1	1	425,	0	430,	0	202	388	401	0	0	
19	2	16	The expected roots for M/Fhood & family formation: the importance of biological ties					212	228,	202	382	119	69,7	-118	0	27,2	0	293,	338,	33,3	49,3	
20	2	17	Valuing non-biological ties: family relationships based on love and friendship					274	0	0	0	120	0	-118	242	31,1	0	0	0	48,7	46,	
21	2	38	The primacy of childrearing over roots to M/Fhood and family					281	0	0	388	138	426,	0	289,	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
22			T 2. Making sense of childrearing																			
23			ST 3: Parenting as a big responsibility that requires planning																			
24	3	2	M/Fhood as a life course plan or as a future life project [of L & G people? Diff than HT] not a naturally occurring process					35	34,4	-88,	-70,	37	67,8	-115	-97,	16,4	49	285,	300,	8,11	14,9	
25	3	3	Valuing being a young Mother/Father [time, subjective] [There is an appropriate time]					19,4	-25,-	469,	0	55,5	77,7	0	0	-131	0	479,	478,	93,4	445	
26	3	5	M/Fhood possibilities and practical barriers [money] & responsibilities [stability, conditions for living]					20,2	0	0	78,8	0	155,	119,-	93,	17,2	201	456,	430,	18,2	20,2	
27	3	11	Expecting a long lasting change with child's arrival [life course changes, body & psych]					488,	490	0	514,	497	0	0	0	0	0	484,	0	483,	483	
28	3	4	M/Fhood as a couple or single project					9,46	-23	97	84	120	74,8	0	0	22,3	-53,	0	296,	149,	012	
29	3	19	Valuing shared parenthood: A family with multiple parents					0	0	0	0	117	0	0	436	165	0	0	0	0	0	0
30	3	20	The disadvantages of multiple parented families: the complexity of different ideas about parenting					148,	160,	150,	0	0	0	0	437,	0	421,	0	0	0	29,	
31			ST 4: Childrearing and children needs																			
32	4	7	Childrearing as formative [giving love, values, emotional support, tools for life, the best, how to be a good parent, model, care, how to live the life, gender roles, discipline]					289,	436	291,	287,	50,5	95,4	0	452,	38,1	55,4	279,	520	096,	097,	
33	4	8	Connecting parenting with the own childrearing [correcting own childrearing, improving, mistakes, making good], life course experiences & personality					323,	0	336	301,	45,3	78,4	0	448	0	645	284,	298,	010,	127,	
34	4	9	Childrearing own expectations vs child self-determination					421	435	355	368	0	96	577	589	0	0	0	0	177,	258	
35	4	10	The [un]expected child similarities [grandparents, biological, adoptive, imitation, like you]					372,	0	-370	362,	414	0	0	0	173	0	0	668,	0	0	

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
2	TABLE OF THEMES			Participants													
3	T: Super-ordinate themes			Focus Group 6					Focus Group 1					Focus Group 2			
4	ST: Sub-themes OT: Original theme			Ca	So	Pa	Ma	Vi	An	Ja	Es	Ro	Fa	An	Ca	Pe	Es
5	Participant:			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
6	Age:			30	26	22	22	23	20	47	24	28	18	24	23	22	28
7	Gender:			F	F	F	M	M	F	M	F	M	M	F	F	M	M
36			T 3. Making sense of being a lesbian mother / gay father in context														
37			ST 5: Dealing with family context														
38	5	42	Dealing with <i>family of origin</i> expectations about gender, sexuality & (heterosexual) family formation [negotiating]	622	0	624	0	555	73,7	44	0	39,2	50,3	462	464	547	200
39	5	43	<i>Family of origin</i> ignores/annuls/doesn't know L&G life, sexuality, M/Fhood,	614	617	0	0	544	0	0	0	0	0	0	696	576	0
40	5	44	Dealing with <i>stigmas</i> , stereotypes & derogatory expressions from <i>family of origin</i>	546	0	561	0	547	517	0	0	0	0	0	670	0	0
41			ST 6: Dealing with social context														
42	6	23	Dealing with <i>social</i> expectations about gender, sexuality & (heterosexual) family formation [negotiating]	0	0	0	0	0	257	288	241	61,1	0	325	631	211	207
43	6	24	Chilean <i>society</i> ignores/annuls/doesn't know L&G life,	538	0	539	589	731	246	567	0	194	0	0	660	726	718
44	6	25	Dealing with <i>stigmas</i> , stereotypes & derogatory	756	742	721	751	717	537	364	499	0	587	0	750	753	498
45	6	26	Breaking the social order: the defiance of sexual morality of L&G and L&G as parents	542	0	540	0	735	156	0	463	178	0	599	601	719	600
46			T 4. Expectations about social context and how to deal with it														
47			ST 7: Preparing children to deal with social context														
48	7	21	Conveying family formation to the children & the roots [biological] to M/Fhood	259	236	0	0	122	400	225	227	233	383	325	0	0	0
49	7	41	contagious & expectations about gender and sexual orientation	968	0	406	0	0	547	0	546	0	588	378	383	128	126
50	7	30	Teaching children to deal with social context	0	0	0	864	851	0	0	0	0	0	834	0	0	780
51	6	31	context vs. Being afraid of child rearing or children being discriminated against	-814	835	0	860	0	252	0	622	0	645	646	784	786	781
52			ST 8: The ongoing cultural change														
53	8	27	discriminatory low-class. Rural areas vs urban cities. Younger vs older generations	878	0	933	0	924	670	144	0	145	589	637	663	562	0
54	8	28	Expecting a [slow/protracted] socio-cultural change & a real acceptance [not tolerance] Cultural change in progress	599	831	598	593	911	250	144	621	0	586	857	859	714	618
55	8	29	Visibility and the expected socio-cultural change	643	0	0	590	551	396	0	0	0	0	862	859	814	0
56	8	32	Media contribution to visibility	0	0	540	0	548	294	0	0	0	0	759	363	603	0
57	8	40	The need of feeling supported	0	0	0	0	0	295	0	617	0	0	845	846	0	0
58			ST 9: The expected legal changes														
59	9	18	Legal difficulties [difficult roots to M/Fhood and the complexity of M/F legal status]	250	0	104	0	0	0	167	160	153	198	334	343	52,5	51,5
60	9	33	The complexity of the lack of legal safeguards & recognition as a legal parent	646	0	654	667	129	254	0	0	180	0	621	0	0	620
61	9	34	The expected legal changes and the achievement of	672	797	798	675	123	260	311	0	32,1	0	0	0	146	147
62	9	35	Having a political aim the personal activism	785	0	835	0	-915	272	310	695	32	0	770	0	713	0
63	9	22	Ideal/perfect family: man, woman and one/two children [the gendered family]	712	587	586	576	0	248	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			The privileged heterosexual marriage & family: religion &														

Appendix 32: Study 2's example of one participant's contribution in IPA

1				Victor Figueroa	Pseu	1) Carmen, 2) Soraya, 3) Paula, 4) Marcos, 5) Vicente
2				PhD Student	Age	30, 26, 22, 22, 23
3				26/05/2015	Code	6
4				Study 2	Type	Group interview
5				Focus Group 6	Place	Temuco, Chile
6				Analysis	Date	13/08/2014
7						
8	T	ST	ET	Emergent themes	P	Line
28	1	3	3	A sense of time pressure	1	19 but I know that I'm <i>against the time</i> ,
29	1	5	4	<i>Money for ART</i>	1	20 and that we have to have the money to carry out the medical procedure,
30	1	5	5	Looking for stability	1	21 but also we have to have a house, a home, <i>stability</i> , a job
39	1	2			1	30 CARMEN Anyway, what happens is that we also have the idea of travelling, going out,
40	1	2	8	Enjoying the life vs motherhood	1	31 <i>enjoying the life</i> , living,
41	1	2			1	32 then we start to think "ok, but where are we going to travel first?"
42	1	2			1	33 "a baby is forever, so he should come after the travel" you know
44	1	2	10	The advantage of planned motherhood	1	35 CARMEN Sure
65	1				1	56 CARMEN Like delaying the issue
157	2	20	48	The complexity of family with multiple parents	1	148 CARMEN it's <i>too complex</i> , it's the opposite
163	2				1	154 CARMEN Paula, can I say one thing? just to add an idea to the other's view
165	2	19			1	156 CARMEN I'm closer to Paula's idea, but <i>it really exists</i> ,
166	2	19			1	157 In fact we know friends who [share parenting]...
167	2	19	50	Shared parenthood: An affordable path to parenthood	1	158 and why that happens? because it's the <i>easiest way</i> ,
168	2	19			1	159 <i>economically</i> , it's much easier asking a friend to do the favour
170	2	20	52	<i>More than two parents is a crazy family</i>	1	161 CARMEN Yes, in fact I have some friends that are raising children with four people, and <i>it's crazy</i> .
171	2	19			1	162 Anyway, it's something that people do, and it's much <i>quicker</i> , yes...
172	2				1	163 Ok, you can continue with your point.
195	2				1	186 CARMEN In the same house
199	2				1	190 CARMEN Like every family
221	2	16	67	The primacy of biological roots (not denying roots)	1	212 CARMEN No, <i>it shouldn't be</i> at all, it can't be, it can't be
244	2	20	77	Multiple parents: the complexity of different ideas	1	235 CARMEN We will have enough trying to agree between us,

Appendix 33: Study 2's example of one participant's contribution

organised by thematic blocks in IPA

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1				Victor Figueroa	Pseu	1) Carmen, 2) Soraya, 3) Paula, 4) Marcos, 5) Vicente	
2				PhD Student	Age	30, 26, 22, 22, 23	
3				26/05/2015	Code	6	
4				Study 2	Type	Group interview	
5				Focus Group 6	Place	Temuco, Chile	
6				Analysis	Date	13/08/2014	
7							
8	T	ST	ET	Emergent themes	P	Line	Original Transcript
168	2	19		Shared parenthood: An affordable path to parenthood	1	159	economically, it's much easier asking a friend to do the favour
244	2	20	77	Multiple parents: the complexity of different ideas	1	235	CARMEN We will have enough trying to agree between us,
254	2	20	81	The complexity of family with multiple parents	1	245	we realized that actually asking a friend to do a favour [donation] it's always complicated,
259	2	18		Thinking about child's needs/rights vs selfishness	1	250	and all of them will claim for their rights as parents,
260	2	18	83	Thinking about child's needs/rights vs selfishness	1	251	rather than for the rights of the child as an individual, with needs of independence, autonomy,
264	2	12	84	Insemination: avoiding contested parenthood	1	255	so, I feel far the insemination is always the best option,
265	2	12			1	256	because you forget about the issue, there is no a symbolic dad that sometimes remembers that
266	2	12			1	257	he has children, and sometime he forgets that he has children,
267	2	12	85	Stating claim to lesbian motherhood	1	258	so "this is our reality, we are two, that's what we are"
273	2	21		Insemination simply a practical biological necessity, nothing more than that	1	264	and it's ok, it's an option, we don't believe that he will be without of a father image,
279	2	12	90	Insemination: Autonomy & avoiding father pressure	1	270	CARMEN Because it gives us autonomy, and it let us to do it when we want,
280	2	12			1	271	the day we want, and without the father's pressure...
283	2	17	92	Valuing multiple paths for parenthood	1	274	CARMEN It that sense it's the same for me, if he is a biological son or not,
286	2	18	94	Insemination: minimizing the complexity of legal paternity	1	277	so adding another legal drama, because there will be a father,
410	1	10		Expected similarities: beyond biological ties	1	401	CARMEN Especially when a child knows that he is adopted,
472	1	3		Solving couple conflict: expecting balance	1	463	So I'm closer to Vicente's idea, I don't pretend to be an old mom [traditional or old-fashioned]
474	1	3	156	Don't want to be an older mum	1	465	but I don't expect to be a middle-age woman with a baby in her arms
475	1	3	157	A sense of time pressure: Avoiding a generational gap with child	1	466	and to have a so different stance compared to him because we will be from different generations (can't keep up as an older parent)
490	1	6	162	Freer & happier: ready to have a child	1	481	I feel that now I'm freer, and that I live happier,

Appendix 34: Study 2's superordinate themes across focus groups after idiographic analysis in IPA

	A	B	C
1			TABLE OF THEMES
2			T: Super-ordinate themes
3			ST: Sub-themes
4			Participant:
5			Age:
6			Gender:
7	0	0	Making sense of the intersection of parenting with sexual orientation & sexual identity
8	T	ST	T 1.1. Lesbian motherhood & gay fatherhood as a life course project
9	1	1	A deep desire [essential drive] of M/Fhood & forming a family
10	1	2	M/Fhood as a life course plan or as a future life project [of L & G people? Diff than HT] not a naturally occurring process
11	1	3	Valuing being a young Mother/Father [time, subjective] [There is an appropriate M/Fhood possibilities and practical barriers [money] & responsibilities [stability, conditions for living]
12	1	5	
13	1	11	Expecting a long lasting change with child's arrival [life course changes, body & psych]
14			T 1.2. Childrearing as a formative process & the primacy of "how to be a good parent"
15	1	6	Childrearing & fulfillment for the future [legacy/ lineage , happy, model for realization, child priority, giving yourself/everything, sacrifice]
16	1	7	Childrearing as formative [giving love, values, emotional support, tools for life, the best, how to be a good parent, model, care, how to live the life, gender roles, discipline]
17	1	8	Connecting parenting with the own childrearing [correcting own childrearing, improving, mistakes, making good], life course experiences & personality
18	1	9	Childrearing own expectations vs child self-determination
19	1	10	The [un]expected child similarities [grandparents, biological, adoptive, imitation, like you]
20			T 2. Expecting to create family relationships from love & biological ties
21	2	12	Artificial insemination
22	2	13	Adoption
23	2	14	Surrogacy
24	2	15	Friends' agreement [self-insemination & friend donor]
25	2	39	Valuing multiples path to parenthood vs only one
26	2	16	The expected roots for M/Fhood & family formation: the importance of biological ties
27	2	17	Valuing non-biological ties: family relationships based on love and friendship
28	2	38	The primacy of childrearing over roots to M/Fhood and family formation
29	2	18	Legal difficulties [difficult roots to M/Fhood and the complexity of M/F legal status]
30	2	4	M/Fhood as a couple or single project
31	2	19	Valuing shared parenthood: A family with multiple parents
			The disadvantages of multiple parented families: the complexity of different ideas

	A	B	C
1			TABLE OF THEMES
2			T: Super-ordinate themes
3			ST: Sub-themes
4			Participant:
5			Age:
6			Gender:
33	2	21	Conveying family formation to the children & the roots [biological] to M/Fhood
34	2	41	The outcomes of children of L&G parents [model, contagious] & expectations about gender and sexual orientation
35			T 3. Dealing with family expectations
36	3	42	Dealing with family of origin expectations about gender, sexuality & (heterosexual) family formation [negotiating]
37	3	43	Family of origin ignores/annuls/doesn't know L&G life, sexuality, M/Fhood,
38	3	44	Dealing with stigmas, stereotypes & derogatory expressions from family of origin
39			T 3. Dealing cultural expectations: L & G parents as defying sexual morality
40	3	23	Dealing with social expectations about gender, sexuality & (heterosexual) family formation [negotiating]
41	3	24	Chilean society ignores/annuls/doesn't know L&G life, sexuality, M/Fhood,
42	3	25	Dealing with stigmas, stereotypes & derogatory expressions from society
43	3	26	Breaking the social order: the defiance of sexual morality of L&G and L&G as parents
44	3	27	Different Chilean contexts: Supportive high-class vs discriminatory low-class. Rural areas vs urban cities. Younger vs older generations
45	3	28	Expecting a [slow/protracted] socio-cultural change & a real acceptance [not tolerance] Cultural change in progress
46	3	29	Visibility and the expected socio-cultural change
47	3	30	Teaching children to deal with social context
48	3	31	Achieving a positive parenting against a negative Chilean context vs. Being afraid of child rearing or children being discriminated against
49	3	32	Media contribution to visibility
50	3	40	The need of feeling supported
51			T 4. Expecting legal safeguards & being recognized as a legal parent
52	4	33	The complexity of the lack of legal safeguards & recognition as a legal parent
53	4	34	The expected legal changes and the achievement of equality
54	4	35	Having a political aim the personal activism
55	4	22	Ideal/perfect family: man, woman and one/two children [the gendered family]
56	4	36	The privileged heterosexual marriage & family: religion & the shaping of the society by the law
57	4	37	Law changes vs cultural changes

Appendix 35: Study 2's table of sub-themes sent to auditor

Table of Themes Study 2		What does the sub-theme mean?
	Sub-themes	
1		
2		Participants talked about their deep desire to be a mother at some point in their life course. Motherhood was a challenging project and an expected path for self-realization for these lesbian and bisexual women.
3	1.1.1	A deep desire for motherhood
4	2.1.2	The emphasis upon having a biological connection with their prospective child
5	3.2.1	Planning motherhood as part of a life course project
6	4.2.2	The expected responsibilities of upbringing
7	5.2.3	The need to resolve practical issues and being prepared for motherhood
8	6.3.1	The desire to build a two-mother family
9	7.3.2	Thinking about how to convey a two-mother family to the prospective children
10	8.3.3	Thinking about the need of masculine gender role models for children
11	9.4.1	The need of acceptance as a LB woman
12	10.4.2	The need of support as a prospective LB mother
13	11.5.1	Dealing with social expectations about heterosexuality
14	12.5.2	Dealing with sexual prejudice and the rejection of same-sex parenting by society
15	13.5.3	Thinking about how to deal with prejudice as a future LB mother
16	14.6.1	The complexity of legal barriers and the lack of recognition as a legal mother
17	15.6.2	The expected achievement of equality
18	16.6.3	Dealing with the legally privileged heterosexual family model

Appendix 36: Study 2's codes from auditor, participants and researcher after re-coding

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
1			Table of Themes Study 2	R	P	A	R	P	A	R	A	R	P	R	R
2			R: researcher P: participant A: independent auditor												
3			Participant's Code	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	3	4	4	5	6
4	1	1.1	<i>A deep desire for motherhood</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
5	2	1.2	<i>The emphasis upon having a biological connection with their prospective child</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
6	3	2.1	<i>Planning motherhood as part of a life course project</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2
7	4	2.2	<i>The expected responsibilities of upbringing</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
8	5	2.3	<i>The need to resolve practical issues and being prepared for motherhood</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2
9	6	3.1	<i>The desire to build a two-mother family</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
10	7	3.2	<i>Thinking about how to convey a two-mother family to the prospective children</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	1
11	8	3.3	<i>Thinking about the need of masculine gender role models for children</i>	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
12	9	4.1	<i>The need of acceptance as a LB woman</i>	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	2
13	10	4.2	<i>The need of support as a prospective LB mother</i>	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	2	2
14	11	5.1	<i>Dealing with social expectations about heterosexuality</i>	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
15	12	5.2	<i>Dealing with sexual prejudice and the rejection of same-sex parenting by society</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2
16	13	5.3	<i>Thinking about how to deal with prejudice as a future LB mother</i>	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	2	2
17	14	6.1	<i>The complexity of legal barriers and the lack of recognition as a legal mother</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
18	15	6.2	<i>The expected achievement of equality</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
19	16	6.3	<i>Dealing with the legally privileged heterosexual family model</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2

Appendix 37: Study 2's online survey sent to participants for audit

PREGUNTAS RESPUESTAS 3

Sección 1 de 2

Estudio 2: Validación de Resultados. Participante

Tengo mucho agrado de darte a conocer los resultados preliminares del estudio en el cual participaste. Además te agradezco enormemente que hayas accedido a la validación de los resultados. Te recuerdo que los datos son absolutamente confidenciales. Esta información sólo será conocida por mí (Víctor Figueroa) y luego se presentarán los datos en mi tesis doctoral y futuras publicaciones, pero en ningún caso se te identificará a ti como participante. Tu participación continúa siendo absolutamente anónima. Nuevamente agradezco tu enorme colaboración y participación en este estudio. Por favor no dudes en contactarme si tienes cualquier duda al respecto.

A continuación encontrarás un cuestionario que contiene los resultados del estudio agrupados por temas y subtemas. Cada tema y subtema tiene un nombre que permite identificar su contenido temático. A su vez, cada subtema está asociado a un resumen que tiene por finalidad darte a conocer en forma breve el contenido del subtema. El subtema contiene lo que las participantes en su conjunto comentaron, dijeron, o dieron a conocer durante las entrevistas. Por lo tanto, este cuestionario contiene los resultados del análisis total de todas las entrevistas.

El objetivo de este cuestionario es que tú puedas señalar en qué medida te sientes identificada con lo señalado en cada subtema. Debes tener en cuenta lo que tú comentaste durante la entrevista y el momento en el cual ésta se llevo a cabo. Además podrás agregar un comentario debajo de cada subtema en caso de que quieras sugerir o indicar algo que consideres relevante para el estudio. Los comentarios son sólo aclaratorios, por lo que no es necesario que los completes si no lo deseas.

Santiago, Marzo de 2016

Ingresar tu código de participante *

Esto me permitirá identificar tus respuestas

Texto de respuesta breve



El camino hacia una maternidad lésbica/bisexual

En esta sección encontrarás los 6 temas relacionados con las expectativas hacia la maternidad de las participantes

Tema 1: Un profundo deseo de maternidad y el énfasis en tener una conexión biológica con el/la futuro/a hijo/a

Descripción (opcional)

Sub-tema 1.1. Un profundo deseo de maternidad *

Las participantes hablaron acerca de su profundo deseo de ser madres en algún momento de su ciclo vital. La maternidad fue un proyecto desafiante y una trayectoria esperada para la auto-realización de las entrevistadas.

2. Me siento claramente representada por el sub-tema
1. Me siento en alguna medida representada por el sub-tema
0. No me siento representada por el sub-tema

Comentario

(Aquí podrás agregar algún comentario relacionado con el subtema)

Texto de respuesta largo

Appendix 38: Letter provided by university to support Study 3

Universidad de
Concepción, Chile
Fono: 56-041-

Friday 16th of May, 2013

Mr. Víctor Figueroa Guñez
PhD Student in Psychology
Birkbeck, University of London

Dear Mr. Figueroa:

We are delighted to inform you that we are able to support your cross-national study of the attitudes of Chilean and British psychology students towards parenting in diverse family structures. Regarding evening courses, we want to let you know that students will be finishing their first academic semester in August, thus we recommend you to carry out your research after this month. Please, let us know the dates in which you will start the recruitment of participants. It will be interesting to organize a presentation of your study's results in our Institution after completing your research.

Regards,



A.

Director

Department of Psychology

Appendix 39: Information sheet for Study 3

This is the English version of the original Spanish document which is available upon request from the author.

**DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCES
BIRKBECK UNIVERSITY OF LONDON**

Title of Study: "Undergraduate psychology students' views on diverse family forms"
Name of researcher: *Victor Figueroa Guíñez.*

Dear X

The study is being done as part of a degree in the Department of Psychological Sciences, Birkbeck University of London. The study has received ethical approval.

If you agree to participate in this study you will take part in a study which involves answering questions on topics related with different family forms. The focus group will take about 1 hours. You are free to withdraw and stop your participation at any time of the study. If you experience any distress by the nature of the questions you will have access to psychological support with a psychologist from Center for Psychosocial Counselling of the Universidad de las Américas.

A code will be attached to the data so it remains totally anonymous and identifying information will be removed and the interview will be treated with the utmost confidentiality.

The results of the study will be written up in a report of the study for my degree. You will not be identifiable in the write up or any publication which might ensue.

The study is supervised by Dr. Fiona Tasker and Dr. Virginia Eatough. If you wish to contact the supervisors, contact details are:

Departmental address: Department of Psychological Sciences, Birkbeck University of London, Malet St, London WC1E 7HX TEL: 0044 020 7079 0868

Researcher contact: Eleuterio Ramírez N° , Santiago. TEL: (Chile). Malet St, London WC1E 7HX TEL: 0044 07751415078 (UK). EMAIL:

Appendix 40: Study 3's demographic questionnaire (Spanish)



DEPARTAMENTO DE CIENCIAS PSICOLÓGICAS
BIRKBECK UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
DATOS DEMOGRÁFICOS

Título del Estudio: "Percepciones de estudiantes de psicología acerca de diferentes tipos de familias"

Nombre del Investigador: *Víctor Figueroa.*

Fecha: ___ Junio de 2014

1. Edad	
2. Sexo	
2. Nacionalidad	
3. Ciudad de residencia	
4. Ciudad de origen	
5. ¿Has vivido fuera de Chile?, ¿Dónde?, ¿Cuánto tiempo?	
6. Estado civil	
7. Nivel de estudios	
8. Ocupación	
9. ¿Tienes alguna creencia religiosa o participas de alguna religión?	
10. ¿Presentas algún grado de discapacidad?, ¿De qué tipo?	
11. ¿Cómo te identificas de acuerdo a tu orientación sexual?	
12. ¿Con cuál nivel socioeconómico te identificas?	__ Bajo __ Medio __ Alto

Appendix 41: Study 3's consent form

This is the English version of the original Spanish document which is available upon request from the author.

**DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCES
BIRKBECK UNIVERSITY OF LONDON**

Title of Study: Undergraduate psychology students' views on diverse family forms
Name of researcher: *Víctor Figueroa Guiñez.*

I have had the details of the study explained to me and willingly consent to take part.

My questions have been answered to my satisfaction and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand that I will remain anonymous and that all the information I give will be used for this study only.

I understand that I may withdraw my consent for the study at any time and to decline to answer any particular questions.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio recorded

I understand that I have the right to ask for the audio recording to be turned off at any time during the interview

I understand that I have access to psychological support if any distress arises by the nature of interview.

I confirm that I am over 16 years of age.

Name..... Signature..... (Participant)

Name..... Signature..... (Researcher)

Date.....

There should be two signed copies, one for the participant, one retained by researcher for records

Appendix 42: Ethic form for Study 3

**DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCES
BIRKBECK UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
2012-13**

ETHICAL APPROVAL FORM FOR RESEARCH INVOLVING ADULTS (over 16 years)

Please fill out this form carefully and enter 'X' in the boxes that apply, below. Please ensure that you answer **EVERY** question and that both you and your supervisor (if applicable) sign at the end. Incomplete forms will be returned and will delay the approval process.

Please enter 'X' in the boxes that apply and confirm below that you are completing the correct form:

F. I intend to carry our research with adults (over 16 yrs)	Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
G. I intend to carry out research with minors (under 16 yrs)	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
H. I intend to carry out research using the fMRI	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

Please note if you have answered **YES** to **B** then you need to complete the form for minors. If you have answered **YES** to **C** then you need to see Fred Dick and apply to UCL ethics committee.

I. Is this application ROUTINE	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
J. Is this application NON ROUTINE	Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please note that all students should discuss with their supervisor whether their application is routine or non routine. An application is NON ROUTINE if the proposed research raises ethical issues for which the researcher/supervisor does not have existing ethical approval. An application is ROUTINE if the proposed study is so close to a previous one which has received ethical approval that there are no new ethical issues to be considered. If this is the case, the approval number for the approved study **MUST** be given below (students should ask supervisors for the appropriate number which is available from the departmental ethics web pages).

Approval number of all previously related approved applications

Please note that routine applications may be submitted at any time. They are reviewed monthly by the chair of the ethics committee and you will not receive any correspondence from the committee. Dates for submitting non-routine applications are on the departmental ethics web pages. For these applications you will receive a letter informing you of the committee's decision.

**Please submit all applications electronically to ethics@psychology.bbk.ac.uk
Please indicate in the subject title if the application is ROUTINE or NON ROUTINE**

Please provide full information

Tick one box: Staff	<input type="checkbox"/>	Postgraduate	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Undergraduate	<input type="checkbox"/>
------------------------	--------------------------	--------------	-------------------------------------	---------------	--------------------------

Title of Project	Cross-national variations in attitudes toward lesbian and gay parenting
Name(s) of Researcher(s)	Victor Figueroa Guinez
Name of supervisor and programme (for student research)	Dr. Fiona Tasker; Dr. Virginia Eatough / PhD Psychology
Date of Application	17th of June, 2013
Address where approval certificate is to be sent (for non routine projects only)	Malet St, London WC1E 7HX, Institute for the Study of Children, Families and Social Issues, 6th floor, office:
Email address	

Please answer all questions

13. I intend to carry out research with adults (over 16 yrs) Yes No

If **YES** please provide details of the committee and the stage of process/decision made. All relevant documentation must be attached.

14. Give a brief description of the aims/objectives of the research

The study of sexual prejudice has mainly focused on heterosexuals' attitudes toward LGB people and their civil rights (Herek & McLemore, 2013; Herek, Roy, & Cogan, 2009). Significantly less attention has been paid to the study of attitudes toward lesbian and gay parents and their children. Nevertheless, some studies have been conducted in the U.S., Europe, Latin American countries, and other English Speaking countries (Hollekim, Slaatten, & Anderssen, 2012; Magaña, & Carolina, 2011; Massey, 2007; Massey, Merriwether, & Garcia, 2013; Morse, McLaren, & McLachlan, 2007). As these are individual studies that have evaluated attitudes in different cultural contexts, cross-national comparisons are still needed to understand cultural influences on attitudes toward lesbian and gay parenting.

This research study will explore how attitudes toward lesbian and gay parents are socially constructed and vary culturally. Two studies will be conducted to address this aim. Study 1 will compare factors associated with heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbian and gay parents and their children in Chile, Britain and Spain. Given that the main purpose of this PhD research is to study LGB parenting in a Chilean context, Study 2 will explore Chilean people's views on lesbian and gay families using a qualitative methodology (See table 1 containing a summary of the proposed research work on page 9). Other two studies will be conducted with lesbian mothers, and lesbians and gay men without children. However, I will apply for ethical approval separately because of differences in population and proposed methods.

Cross-national variability in public opinion toward sexual minorities has been found to be mediated by economic development and the modernization process (Adamczyk & Pitt, 2009; Gerhards, 2010; Štulhofer & Rimac, 2009). For instance, according to World Values Survey (WVS, 2006, 2007) British and Spanish people tend to be less prejudiced toward sexual minorities than Chilean people. However, sexual prejudice may also be moderated by the historical heritage of religions (Gerhards, 2010; Štulhofer & Rimac, 2009). In fact, North European Protestant countries such as Netherlands and Scandinavian countries (e.g., Denmark and Sweden), have been found to be more tolerant toward sexual minorities than Catholic and Orthodox European countries (Štulhofer & Rimac, 2009; Gerhards, 2010).

Recent studies on the attitudes toward lesbian and gay parents have shown an association between high levels of sexual prejudice and negative perceptions of parenting capabilities and developmental outcomes in children (Fraser, Fish, & Mackenzie, 1995; Massey, 2007; Massey et al., 2013; Morse et al., 2007). Studies also have revealed that heterosexual people tend to evaluate parenting in same-sex couples less favorably than in heterosexual couples (Crawford, McLeod, Zamboni, & Jordan, 1999; Crawford & Solliday, 1996; Fraser et al., 1995; King & Black, 1999; Morse et al., 2007; Rye, & Meaney, 2010). However, other studies in the U.S. have not found same-sex couples being evaluated more negatively than opposite-sex couples (Massey, 2007; Massey et al., 2013; McLeod, Crawford, & Zechmeister, 1999). Thus a cross-national comparison might clarify variables may be related with evaluations of lesbian and gay families.

The broader field of research on sexual prejudice (mainly in the U.S.) has linked more negative attitudes toward LGB people with several factors, including gender, with men revealing more prejudiced attitudes than women (Herek, 2000; Kite & Whitley, 1996). In particular, heterosexual men have been found to hold more negative attitudes toward gay men than to lesbians (Davies, 2004; Herek, 2000). Indeed, men have been found to hold more traditional gender roles beliefs than women, which has been linked with their more negative attitudes toward sexual minorities (Cárdenas, Barrientos, Gómez, & Frías-Navarro, 2012; Kite & Whitley, 1996). Furthermore, negative attitudes toward LGB people also have been associated with other factor, including high level of religiosity (Whitley, 2009), older cohort of people (Petersen & Hyde, 2010), lower educational level (Herek, 2002), conservative political ideology (Whitley, 1999), and less previous contact with sexual minorities (Smith, Axelson, & Saucier, 2009).

This study will evaluate all these variables, with a particular focus on gender roles beliefs and religiosity, given the strong association of these two factors with sexual prejudice in different cultural contexts (Herek & McLemore, 2013). The mediating role of these variables in attitudes toward parents' capabilities and expected developmental outcomes in children will be explored separately, given the differences that previous studies have found in attitudes toward children and their LGB parents (King, 2001; King & Black, 1999).

15. Give a description of the participants (recruitment methods, number, age, gender, exclusion/inclusion criteria etc). Please attach relevant recruitment documents such as leaflets, letters, notices etc.

In study 1, participants will be undergraduate psychology students of Universidad XXXX, Chile (<http://www.????>) and Birkbeck, University of London. This study will use a convenience sample of 400 participants, 200 students of each university. 200 participants will be recruited in both university during 2013, and the other 200 students will be recruited during a second wave of this study in 2014. Moreover, undergraduate psychology students from the University of Seville will probably be included after the approval of this University for this cross-national research. Contacts have already been made with this aim, with Dr. María González, a qualified and experienced researcher in the field of LGBT families in Spain (http://www.us.es/acerca/directorio/ppdi/personal_5517).

The recruitment will be conducted through the department of psychology of each university. I have the approval from the Department of Psychology of Universidad de las Américas to carry out this study (see the letter provided by the institution in Appendix 1). The study was approved by the Director of the Department of Psychology, Mr. XXXX, after presenting a proposal for this study and given my previous work as lecturer on the course of "Couple therapy and sexuality" in this institution. This university has some similarities with Birkbeck regarding student population as both universities provide evening courses for undergraduate level training of psychologists.

Participants from Universidad de XXXX will be recruited by an oral invitation by myself during evening lectures and information will be provided to get access for an online survey. Time and dates for this recruitment will be planned with the Director of the Department of Psychology.

Participants from Birkbeck will be asked to participate in this research through the Birkbeck psychology research online platform. Regarding inclusion criteria, participants of both genders will be recruited. They will be asked to record their sexual orientation and only heterosexual participants will be included in the statistical analysis given the purpose of this study.

In study 2, participants also will be undergraduate psychology students of Universidad de XXXX. Students of both genders will be invited to participate in a focus group. Participants for this study will be recruited by an oral invitation by myself during evening lectures. Time and dates for the focus group will be planned according the availability of room at the university. Four focus groups up to 8 participants will be planned in advance to provide different time options for students. Participants will be volunteer and they will not be paid for their participation.

16. Where will the research be carried out?

In study 1, participants will be asked to answer an online survey. Thus, they will be able to get access to the survey at university, home or any place comfortable for them. In study 2, focus groups will be conducted at Universidad de XXXX premises. The university provides comfortable and confidential atmosphere to carry out the study. The institution also presents an adequate infrastructure to the requirements of this research.

Address Universidad de XXXX:
XXXX, Concepción, Chile.

17. Give a brief but FULL description of what participation in the research will involve (methods, procedures, time involved in participation, equipment, facilities etc) in up to 500 words. Please include details of how you will debrief participants and ensure there have been no adverse effects.

In study 1, the survey will take between 20 and 30 minutes to be completed. Dates for conducting surveys will be planned with each university. Survey will be online for a period of two months in wave 1 and 2. The survey for Chilean students will be conducted in Spanish, while surveys for British students will be carried out in English. Information for participant about the purpose of the study will be displayed on a computer screen (see the information template for the online survey in Appendix 2). In study 2, recruitment for focus group will start on September, 2013. The focus groups will be carried out in Spanish and the focus groups should take up to one hour (see the information sheet for the focus group in Appendix 3). With each participant's consent, focus group will be audio recorded (consent form attached in Appendix 4).

18. Give a brief description of tests, questionnaires, interview schedules etc. Non standard procedures, questionnaires and indicative interview schedules must be attached. If appropriate, please address any ethical issues raised by the content of questions (eg sensitive topics which might cause distress) and explain why their use is justified.

Study 1 will be conducted using different measures, including a vignette depicting a family situation (Massey, 2007), the Gender Role Beliefs Scale (Kerr & Holden 1996), and questions to assess the level of religiosity (Cárdenas et al., 2012), political beliefs, and previous contact with lesbians or gay men (Barron, Struckman-Johnson, Quevillon, & Banka, 2008). Participants also will be asked to provided demographic data (see Appendix 5 containing demographic questions).

Vignettes have been used in previous research to evaluate attitudes towards lesbian and gay parents and their children in samples of undergraduate psychology students, both in the U.S. (Crawford, & Solliday, 1996; Massey, 2007; Massey et al., 2013; McLeod et al., 1999) and Canada (Fraser, et al., 1995; Rye & Meaney, 2010). Other studies in the U.S. have assessed attitudes in sample of practicing psychologists (Crawford et al., 1999). Only the study of Morse et al., (2007) used vignettes with a community sample of Australian heterosexuals.

Participants will be asked to read vignettes designed by Massey, et al. (2013) to evaluate attitudes towards lesbian and gay families (see Appendix 6 containing the vignettes). The vignettes depict a situation in a restaurant with a child and both parents, one presenting a positive parenting situation and the other a negative parenting situation. In the positive situation, child gets upset and one parent respond with calm. In the negative situation the child also gets upset but one parent angrily strikes the child. The rest of vignette keeps all elements constant with the exception of parent' sexual orientation (heterosexual, lesbian or gay couples) and the parent who interacts with the child (in the heterosexual couple). The variations in the vignettes result in a total of eight possible vignettes. All different vignette will be randomized. After that, participant should complete a panel of question used by Massey (2007) to evaluate the quality of parenting and the attribution of child behaviour. The scale contains 7 Likert-type items with response alternatives ranging from 1 to 7 (e.g., from very unskilled to very skilled).

Given that each participant received a different vignette individuals are no asked to express their prejudice directly. Hence, Massey et al., (2013) has suggested that vignettes are effective to assess modern sexual prejudice, a particular expression of prejudice characterized by the probability to deny discrimination (Massey, 2009). This kind of modern anti-homosexual prejudice may have implications when parenting capabilities are evaluated in school, judicial and social service settings (Massey, 2007; Massey et al., 2013). Thus, vignettes have been found to be a useful strategy to explore more subtle form of prejudice such as negative evaluations of lesbian and gay parents capabilities.

The Gender Role Beliefs Scale (GRBS) will be used to assess traditional 'gender role beliefs' (Kerr & Holden 1996). The scale consists in 20 items regarding traditional gender role expectations (e.g., It is disrespectful for a man to swear in the presence of a lady). The scale contains Likert-type items with alternatives ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Higher scores indicate more traditional attitudes about gender roles. The scale has been translated from English into Spanish by Nierman, Thompson, Bryan, & Mahaffey (2007) and had acceptable reliability in a sample of Chilean undergraduate students ($\alpha=.88$) (see Appendix 7 containing the GRBS and its Spanish version).

'Religiosity' will be assessed with questions addressing religious identity, the importance of religion and the attendance to religious services. These kind of questions have been widely used in research exploring religiosity (Herek, 2002, Brint & Abrutyn, 2010; Cárdenas et al., 2012). This variable will be assessed by questions used by Cárdenas et al. (2012) in a sample of undergraduate Chilean students. First, a single question about whether the participant considers himself/herself a religious person will be included. Second, religious attendance will be measured by another single question. Third, a measure of four-item scale will be added to assess the importance of religion in his/her life. The measure contains Likert-type items with response alternatives ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Higher scores indicate higher level of religiosity (see Appendix 8 containing the panel of questions and its Spanish version).

'Political beliefs' and 'previous contact with lesbians or gay men' will be assessed with single question measures developed by Barron et al., (2008). First, participants will be asked to indicate their political inclinations (How do you identify yourself regarding your political beliefs?). The measure contains a Likert-type item with response alternatives ranging from 1 (liberal) to 7 (conservative). Second, participants will required to respond to a question to identify whether or not a previous meaningful contact with a lesbian or gay man has occurred. The measure contains a Likert-type item with alternatives ranging from 1 to 7. Each anchor point will be given a behavioural description (see Appendix 9 containing the response alternatives).

Statistical analyses will conducted by using ANOVA to investigate differences among countries in overall lesbian and gay parenting evaluation. Analysis will also be carry out to explore differences in parenting evaluation regarding parenting condition (positive and negative) and sexual orientation of couple. ANOVA will also be conducted to explore differences in overall lesbian and gay parenting evaluation for different variables in each country. The variables considered to investigate differences in parenting evaluation will be: age, gender, marital status, participant's

religion, religiosity, gender role beliefs, political inclinations, and contact with lesbians or gay men. Mediational analyses will also be conducted using Structural Equation Modeling.

Study 2 will be conducted with a qualitative methodology as previously mentioned. Few qualitative studies have been conducted to explore the attitudes toward lesbian and gay families. Some studies have used individual interviews while other have used focus group as data collection techniques (Hicks, 2006; Pennington & Knight, 2010; Clarke, 2001). The focus group in this study will be conducted taking into account the suggestions of Wilkinson (2008) to conduct focus group. Data collected by the focus group will be analyzed by using 'Thematic Analysis' (TA) (Clarke, 2001; Wilkinson, 2008; Braun & Clarke, 2006). TA will be conducted addressing the social constructionist approach (Gergen, 1985). The model of six stages proposed by Braun & Clarke (2006) will be used: familiarizing yourself with your data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the report. The focus group schedule was developed for research purpose taking examples from the focus group conducted by Clarke (2005) to explore British undergraduate students' views on lesbian and gay families (see Appendix 10 containing the focus group schedule its Spanish version).

Focus group questions are addressed directly to explore participants' opinions toward diverse family forms, in particular toward families headed by lesbians and gay men. Thus, some distress might arise because of the sensitive nature of the questions. For this reason, participants' emotional states will be observed during the course of the focus group in order to stop if necessary. I will provide a preliminary psychological support as required. Prior to start my studies in the U.K. on 2011, I worked in public mental health services in Chile conducting therapeutic groups for people with drug problems. This previous clinical experience and training as practicing psychologist provided me with some clinical skills. After that, participants could be referred to Center for Psychosocial Counselling of the Universidad de XXXX according to their wishes (<http://edu.???cl>)

19. Please attach documentation for informing participants about the study prior to obtaining their consent. This should include (a) information about the proposed study (in lay terms), (b) details about the researchers including how they can be contacted (and names and contact details of supervisors if appropriate), (c) confidentiality of the data and right to withdraw, (d) any risks involved, (e) anything else that participants might reasonably expect to know in order to make an informed decision about participation. Please indicate how this information will be given (eg letters to each participant, displayed on a computer screen, header of questionnaire). *A template information sheet is available at the end of this form which should be modified for appropriate use in the proposed study.*

Documentation attached (tick box):

20. Please attach documentation for participation consent arrangements. A typical checklist might include that (a) their participation is voluntary; (b) they are aware of what participation involves; (c) they are aware of any potential risks; (d) their questions concerning the study have been answered satisfactorily. The researcher should talk through consent with the participant and both should sign two copies (one to be kept by the participant, one to be retained by the researcher). *A template consent form is available at the end of this form which should be modified for appropriate use in the proposed study. Please note that when using online/postal questionnaires completion of questionnaire indicates consent*

X

NOTE:

Information about consent has been included in the template for each online questionnaire (see the information in Appendix 2)

Documentation attached (tick box):

X

In addition, if using interviews it is good practice to record

X

discussion of consent and information arrangements.

Tick the box to confirm this will be done:

21. Give a brief description of how participants will be assured that all information given will be treated with the utmost confidentiality and their anonymity respected. Please include how (a) any identifying information will be kept separate (if possible) from the data (eg coding the data and keeping the key which links codes and participants' identity separate); (b) where data will be stored (especially identifying information); (c) who will have access to the data; (d) what use will be made of the data. In addition, if using interview data please describe how you will ensure that all identifying information is removed from the transcripts (eg the use of pseudonyms and changing of location, occupation etc).

In study 1, participants will be notified that participation is anonymous and confidential. No identifying information will be collected. Participants will also be informed that they could skip question(s) they do not wish to answer. Participant will be also permitted to finish the survey at any time, without any negative consequence.

In study 2, the information from focus group (audio and transcripts) will be stored directly by the researcher on his personal computer files password protected. Transcripts will be encoded by the researcher. Data collected will be stored by codes, and any identifiable information will be removed. The access to research information, such as audio and transcripts, will be accessible only to the researcher and both supervisors. It will only be quoted excerpts from the transcripts in the final research report with any potentially identifiable details disguised, with the aim to illustrate the analysis and contrast with the existing literature. The identification of the participants will also be protected by using pseudonyms in any article or report resulting from this research.

22. There is a duty of care on researchers to avoid any adverse effects of their research on participants. Please answer the following questions (A-I). If you have ticked YES to any of them, please give an explanation below.

	DOES THE RESEARCH INVOLVE:	YES	NO	N/A
A	Unpleasant stimuli and/or situation		X	
B	Invasive procedures		X	
C	Deprivation or restriction (eg. sleep, food, water)		X	
D	Drug administration		X	
E	Any other procedure which might cause harm/distress		X	
F	Vulnerable participants whose physical/mental health might be at risk		X	
G	Actively misleading or deceiving the participants		X	
H	Withholding information about the nature or outcome of the research		X	
I	Any inducement or payment		X	

23. If you think that there is any realistic risk of participants experiencing either physical or psychological distress or discomfort (due to the nature of the topic or form of data collection), please give details and describe what safeguards you will put in place. These might include what you will do if participants become distressed and information on who they can contact for help and support. **NB If using qualitative in-depth interviews this question must be addressed.**

The following steps will be considered to address any emergent distress: appreciate the emotional state of the participants throughout the course of the focus group, gently explore the emotional state of the participant if any concern was detected, offer emotional support during the focus group if any stress arise, switch off the recorder if necessary, ask if the participant wishes to be contacted by a friend or relative, and/or be referred to a psychologist from Center for Psychosocial Counselling as previously mentioned.

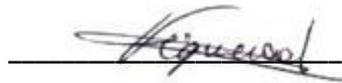
24. Please describe any other issues with ethical implications not covered by the above questions

If you are the RESEARCHER please enter 'X' in the boxes that apply, below, and sign/date the form

I CONFIRM THAT	YES	NO	N/A
The proposed research should be considered routine and the relevant approval number has been provided		X	
The proposed research should be considered non-routine	X		
All documentation regarding participant information arrangements is attached		X	
All documentation regarding participant consent information arrangements is attached		X	
All non standard procedures, questionnaires and indicative interview schedules are attached		X	
I consider the proposed research conforms with ethical practices in psychological research		X	

PLEASE SIGN ELECTRONICALLY BELOW BY TYPING YOUR FULL NAME. THIS ELECTRONIC SIGNATURE REPRESENTS YOUR HAND-SIGNED SIGNATURE

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCHER



DATE

16th June 2013

If you are the SUPERVISOR please enter 'X' in the boxes that apply, below, and sign/date the form

I HAVE READ THE APPLICATION AND CONFIRM THAT THE PROPOSED RESEARCH	YES	NO
Addresses all ethical issues	X	
Be considered routine because it raises no ethical issues beyond those of a study I have already received departmental ethical approval		X

Has the appropriate ethical approval number		X
Be considered non routine and should be reviewed by the ethics committee	X	

PLEASE SIGN ELECTRONICALLY BELOW BY TYPING YOUR FULL NAME. THIS ELECTRONIC SIGNATURE REPRESENTS YOUR HAND-SIGNED SIGNATURE

SIGNATURE OF SUPERVISOR

F. Foster

DATE

14th June 2013

Appendix 43: Certificate of ethical approval for Study 3



**Departmental Ethics Committee
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCES
BIRKBECK COLLEGE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON**

CLASSIFICATION OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL

Date of Submission: July 2013
Investigator: Victor Figueroa Guíñez
Reference Number: 121378
Title of project: Cross-national variations in attitudes toward lesbian and gay parenting

Dear Victor

The above application has been given ethical approval by the departmental ethics committee.

You should be aware that it is your responsibility to report any unexpected problems or events arising from the research which might have adverse consequences for you and/or your participants. In the first instance, please discuss with your supervisor who will advise you as to whether the problem causes a change to the planned research and needs further ethical approval from the committee. If so, please submit a revised application giving details of why this is necessary.

Approval for this study expires July 2016. If the study is still ongoing at this time please submit a renewal of ethical approval form which can be found on the departmental webpage.

Please retain this certificate for your records.

Good luck with the research.

Virginia Eatough
Chair of the departmental ethics committee

Date: 28-07-2013

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Sciences

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Appendix 44: Study 3's example of comments and observations in TA

I used the following symbols for comments and observations:

-----[] {} () //

-----[Descriptive comments] {} () //

-----[] { Linguistic comments } () //

-----[] {} (Conceptual comments) //

-----[] {} () / Observations /

727. ROMINA pero es que la gente le va a decir eso, que una familia normal debería estar constituida
728. por un papá y una mamá,

-----[The child will be told by other that the normal family is having two HT parents] {} () //

-----[] {} (Will realizing about the family difference affect the child?) //

o quizás la pura mamá y que tuvo un papá y se le murió, que se separaron,

729. pero que tuvo un papá, o que tuvo una mamá, pero no que él nació producto de la relación entre...

730. es complejo explicarle eso, cómo le explico

-----[Even is better to hear that the dad died or separated from his mother] {} () //

-----[] {} (The importance of having the expected biological origin within the context of a two HT parents

731. ESTELA yo creo que aquí es la psicología del niño, porque una, a lo mejor va a ver al padre en adopción,

732. aquí ninguno de los dos va hacer el papa verdadero, o sea biológico,

733. pero eso de que a lo mejor este niño no tenga inclinación y él tenga como que se desvirtúe su sexualidad

-----[A gay couple might disrupt the child's sexuality and become gay] {} () //

734. porque en realidad estos dos hombres, a veces uno es más femenino y uno es más masculino,

735. entonces va ser como medio patológico, porque a lo mejor le van a enseñar que es así,

736. que se gustaron, no sé cómo se lo van a explicar, por un desconocimiento de...

-----[A gay couple might have a masculine and feminine member and that is pathological] {} () //

-----[They will teach the child that that is normal. How to explain that to the child] {} () //

-----[] {} ("Children should be teach about things that are not normal") //

737. ANDREA o sea el problema es que... yo siento por lo que dicen mis compañeras

738. que el problema sería que el niño fuera otro homosexual para ellos

-----[OV> people are concerned about a child of gay parents becoming gay] {} () //

739. ROMINA es que lo que pasa es que los niños siempre, siempre quieren ser igual que sus papás

740. para ellos sus papás son un modelo a seguir, el papá o su mamá

741. el complejo de edipo, o el complejo de electra 57.29

-----[yes, because the parents are models for their children. Then the child will imitate gay parents] {} () //

-----[] {} (Do imitation of gay parents is not accepted, not normal) //

-----[] {} (Why do children of gay parents cannot imitate their parents as children of HT parents do?) //

742. CARMEN yo creo que no pasa por un tema de que el niño quiera ser igual que los papás,

743. o que diga ya, porque mi papá es gay yo voy a ser gay, no,

744. yo creo que el niño, es niño, y es independiente y un ser aparte

-----[Gay parents will not influence children's sexual orientation] {} () //

Appendix 45: Study 3's example of initial themes in TA

I used the following symbols for themes:

|<<001 Tema emergente|...|001 Tema emergente>>|

- |<<002 The ideal two HT parents family model|4. ELENA para mí una familia está constituida por padre, madre, hijos si es que es posible, de lo contrario, 5. pero si siempre un padre y una madre
 -----[Father and mother as the base of family definition, children if possible] {} 0 //
 |<<004 Family concept as relative|6. CECILIA la familia ideal
 -----[Two HT parents is an ideal of family] {} 0 //004 Family concept as relative >>|
7. ELENA es que eso para mí es una familia
 -----[PE> having a personal definition of family] {} 0 // 002 The ideal two HT parents family model >>|
- |<<001 Valuing different family types beyond two HT parents|8. CECILIA porque yo opino que también familia puede ser un abuelo con su hija, y la hija de la hija, 9. claro su nieto, esa puede ser una familia, dos hermanas quedaron sin padres, 10. también puede ser una familia, hay distintos tipos de familias,
 -----[There different types of family beyond two HT parents and children.] {} 0 //
 -----[] {} (Families e.g. grandparents raising grandchildren, children without parents) //
 -----[] {} (Valuing different family types) //001 Valuing different family types beyond two HT parents >>|
- |<<009 Family members are connected by ties|11. porque lo importante es la unión y la conexión que hay dentro de las personas que integran, 12. más que los nombres, padre, madre,
 -----[Family relationship as the most important aspect in defining family] {} 0 //
 -----[] {} (Family relationship more important than roles/structure) //009 Family members are connected by ties >>|
- |<<008 Single parents as a family|o una madre que puede ser padre a la vez,
 -----[e.g. single mother or father] {} 0 //
 -----[] {} (A mother or father can do both gender roles) //
 |<<076 Families as people giving values to children|para mí eso es familia, 008 Single parents as a family >>|personas que entregan valores
 -----[Defining family beyond roles/structure] {} 0 //
 -----[] {} (Giving values another important aspect when defining family) //
14. VALERIA son súper importantes los valores en la familia, o sea por lo menos a mí también...|076 Families as people giving values to children >>|
 15. pero bueno ahora con lo que nos han hecho saber en una clase en realidad,
 16. también sabemos que hay familias de una sola persona, |<<001 Valuing different family types beyond two HT parents|<<076 Families as people giving values to
 17. familia es igual un grupo familiar, ya sea de madre, padre e hijos, abuelos, tíos, nietos, de todo,
 18. que aporten valores importantes
 -----[Defining family as people giving values to children] {} 0 //
 -----[] {} (Defining family beyond two HT parents model, including extended family) //
 -----[] {} 0 /Background about family definition|001 Valuing different family types beyond two HT parents >>|076 Families as people giving values to children >>|

9 Codings of "060 LG parents influencing children's sexual orientation"

Focus_Group_2_7p [102099:102226]

745. ROMINA pero uno siempre quiere ser igual que los papás

-----[Children always want to be like parents] {} 0 //

[Back](#)

Focus_Group_2_7p [102721:103132]

750. ESTELA y ponte tú sí es lo contrario después, y que hayan estadísticas de que sí pasa

-----[What will happen if studies reveal that gay parents might influence children sexual orientation] {} 0 //

-----[] {} (Do influencing children sexual orientation is necessarily a negative outcome?) //

-----[] {} 0 /Same-sex sexuality seen as a deficit and as an unexpected outcome/

[Back](#)

Focus_Group_2_7p [103918:104284]

757. ANDREA yo siento que más que la sociedad, nosotros mismos,

758. porque todo el rato que hemos estado hablando en definitiva ustedes están dando cuenta

759. de que es el peligro es que el niño sea homosexual, porque eso no es normal,

-----[Acknowledging prejudice within the FG. Homosexual as an abnormal outcome of children of gay parents] {} 0 //

[Back](#)

Focus_Group_3_5p [77646: 78100]

582. yo parto entendiendo algo de una identidad, o sea él después en un minuto o ella va a decir

583. voy a repetir esto, o como lo hago, cómo lo voy a enfrentar,

584. yo creo que sí le genera una complicación interna

Parents as models for children

13 | 3 | 11 | 69 | 066 | Children do not need two gender role models
93 | 1 | 2 | 85 | 082 | Parents' gender roles are socially defined

6 | 3 | 19 | 68 | 065 | Children need two gender roles models
22 | 3 | 8 | 72 | 069 | Children need a model of the same gender
32 | 2 | 15 | 84 | 081 | Parents have gendered roles
38 | 2 | 10 | 31 | 028 | Questioning non-conforming gender behaviours
42 | 2 | 9 | 82 | 079 | Men and women are essentially different
60 | 2 | 4 | 70 | 067 | Mothers are more skilled for childrearing than men

61 | 2 | 4 | 88 | 085 | Discipline a different parenting roles

68 | 2 | 3 | 71 | 068 | Fathers might be less affective than mothers
94 | 1 | 2 | 93 | 090 | Men have a role outside home
112 | 1 | 1 | 107 | 103 | LG parents might disrupt children's identity

76 | 1 | 8 | 63 | 060 | LG parents influencing children's sexual orientation

44 | 2 | 8 | 74 | 071 | LG not influencing children's sexual orientation

82 | 1 | 4 | 64 | 061 | Questioning LG people's sexual behaviours

110 | 1 | 1 | 104 | 101 | LG parents might be potential abusers

69 | 2 | 3 | 80 | 077 | Men as potential abuser

Family interaction with society

3 | 3 | 24 | 54 | 051 | Children of LG parents might be discriminated against
5 | 3 | 21 | 46 | 043 | Chile as a non-supportive country for LG parenting
37 | 2 | 11 | 95 | 092 | LG parents might be discriminated against

31 | 3 | 4 | 47 | 044 | People being more accepting of LG people
33 | 2 | 12 | 56 | 053 | Children should be taught about LG families and tolerance
48 | 2 | 7 | 97 | 094 | LG parents might find supportive context

43 | 2 | 8 | 50 | 047 | LG people being stigmatized
47 | 2 | 7 | 58 | 055 | Social classes and support

50 | 2 | 6 | 55 | 052 | Parents teach discrimination to children
51 | 2 | 6 | 59 | 056 | Next generations will be more accepting

54 | 2 | 5 | 101 | 098 | Generational differences in attitudes
55 | 2 | 5 | 102 | 099 | Prejudice associated with personal values

57 | 2 | 4 | 37 | 034 | New generations being more accepting

58 | 2 | 4 | 38 | 035 | G people being rejected by parents
62 | 2 | 4 | 96 | 093 | Lesbian mothers being stigmatized

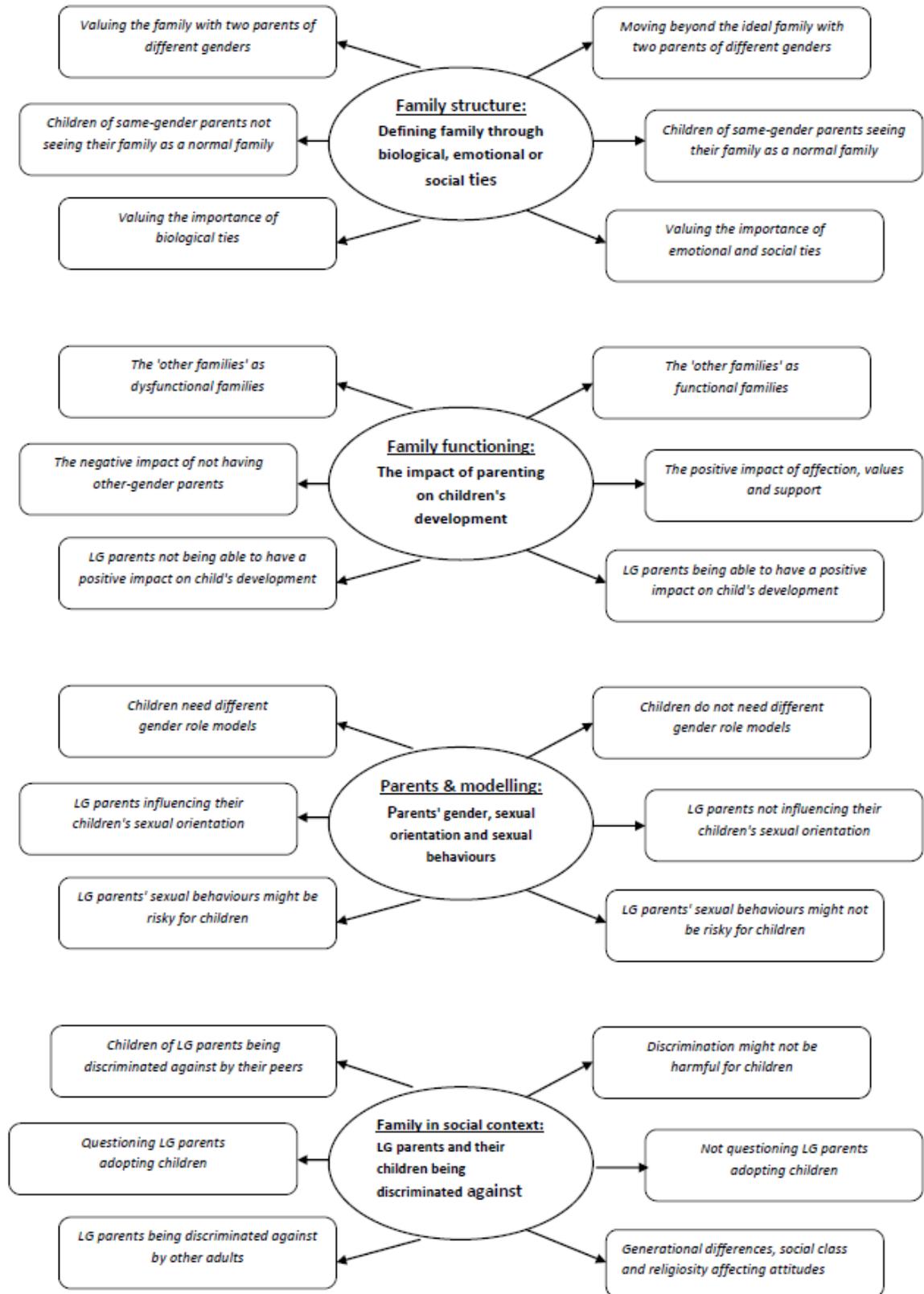
79 | 1 | 4 | 49 | 046 | Lesbian mothers might be less stigmatized

80 | 1 | 4 | 52 | 049 | Gay fathers being stigmatized
81 | 1 | 4 | 61 | 058 | Access to education and tolerance

88 | 1 | 3 | 118 | 114 | Church and prejudice

87 | 1 | 3 | 114 | 110 | LG parents might prepare their children to cope with discrimination

Appendix 48: Study 3's final map of themes in TA



Appendix 49: Study 3's table of sub-themes sent to auditor

A	B Sub-themes	C What does the sub-theme mean?
1		Participants implied that there were different types of families and had moved beyond the ideal family model with two parents of different gender. However, when participants described different family constellations they mainly defined these 'other families' (families without two parents of different genders) in reference to the ideal family model.
2	1.1	Some participants explicitly mentioned that the family formed by two different-gender parents was the ideal model for them.
3	1.2	While some participants implied that children of LG parents would see their family as something normal, other interviewees said that it was not normal for children to be raised by same-gender parents and that it would be difficult to explain children about their particular family type.
4	1.3	Some participants said that families might be formed by emotional or social ties. These participants considered that family relationships were not only formed by biological ties.
5	1.4	While some participants saw the 'other families' as functional families and having a positive impact on children's development, other interviewees said that children without two parents of different gender would be disadvantaged children.
6	2.1	Some participants implied that families with LG parents were able to have a positive impact on children's development. They saw families headed by same gender-parents as functional families and described positive developmental outcomes in children of LG parents.
7	2.3	While some participants implied that children needed to grow up with two gender role models, other interviewees said that two gender role models were not necessary for children's upbringing.
8	3.1	Some participants conveyed that gender role models should not necessarily be children's own parents and that other family members or relatives could represent a gender role model in the absence of one child's parent.
9		While some participants were against the idea of LG parents raising children because of the lack of one gender role model, other interviewees said that this was not a reason to deny LG people the possibility of raising children.
10	3.2	While some participants implied that LG parents might influence their children's sexual orientation, other interviewees disagreed with this assertion. In particular, participants who believed that children's sexual orientation might be affected as a consequence of being raised by LG parents held a negative view regarding children developing same-sex behaviours or the potential risk their children might be exposed to because of their parents' sexuality.
11	3.3	Participants implied that they were concerned about the possibility of children of LG parents being discriminated against by their peers.
12	3.4	Participants were against the possibility of LG parents adopting children because of the possibility of children being discriminated against.
13	4.1	While some participants mentioned that discrimination might be harmful for children, other interviewees said that discrimination might not necessarily be harmful for children's wellbeing.
14		Participants conveyed that same-gender parents would be discriminated by other adults in contexts such as their children's school and their neighbourhood.
15		
16	4.2	

Appendix 50: Study 3' codes from auditor, participants and researcher after re-coding

	A	B																									
		C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y			
1	Table of Themes Study 3																										
2	R: researcher P: participant A: independent auditor	R	R	P	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	P	A	R	A	R	P	A	R	A	R	A	
3	Participant's Code	1	2	3	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	11	12	12	12	13	13	14	14	14	15	15	15		
4																											
5	1.1 Moving beyond the ideal family with two parents of different gender	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2		
6	1.2 Valuing the family with two parents of different gender	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	2		
7	1.3 Children of same-gender parents seeing or not seeing their family as something normal	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	3	2	1	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	2	2	2	2	2	2		
8	1.4 Valuing the importance of emotional and social ties	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2		
9	2.1 The 'other families' as (dys)functional families	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	3	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1		
10	The importance of affection	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1		
11	The importance of values	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2		
12	The importance of support	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	1		
13	2.3 LG parents being able to have a positive impact on children's development	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	1		
14	3.1 Children do or do not need two gender role models	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	1	3	1	2	2	2		
15	Gender role models might not necessarily be children's parents	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1		
16	3.2 (Not)accepting same-gender parents raising children in the absence of one gender role model	1	2	2	3	1	2	2	3	3	1	2	3	2	3	2	3	1	3	3	3	3	2	2	1		
17	3.3 LG parents influencing or not influencing their children's sexual orientation	3	3	1	3	2	3	1	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	3	1	1	1		
18	3.4 LG parents' sexual behaviours might be risky for their children of LG parents being discriminated against by their peers	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1		
19	4.1 Questioning LG parents adopting children because of the possibility of children being discriminated against	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1		
20	Discrimination might or might not be harmful for children	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1		
21	LG parents being discriminated against by other adults	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	3	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	1	1		
22	4.2 Generational differences	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1		
23	Social class	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	2		
24	Religiosity	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	1		
25	1 = Not present 2 = Present 3 = Present in the opposite direction	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	1		
26																											

Appendix 51: Study 3's online survey sent to participants for audit

PREGUNTAS RESPUESTAS 3

Sección 1 de 2

Estudio 3: Validación de Resultados. Participante

Tengo mucho agrado de darte a conocer los resultados preliminares del estudio en el cual participaste. Además te agradezco enormemente que hayas accedido a la validación de los resultados. Te recuerdo que los datos son absolutamente confidenciales. Esta información sólo será conocida por mí (Víctor Figueroa) y luego se presentarán los datos en mi tesis doctoral y futuras publicaciones, pero en ningún caso se te identificará a ti como participante. Tu participación continúa siendo absolutamente anónima. Nuevamente agradezco tu enorme colaboración y participación en este estudio. Por favor no dudes en contactarme si tienes cualquier duda al respecto.

A continuación encontrarás un cuestionario que contiene los resultados del estudio agrupados por temas y subtemas. Cada tema y subtema tiene un nombre que permite identificar su contenido temático. A su vez, cada subtema está asociado a un resumen que tiene por finalidad darte a conocer en forma breve el contenido del subtema. El subtema contiene lo que las participantes en su conjunto comentaron, dijeron, o dieron a conocer durante las entrevistas. Por lo tanto, este cuestionario contiene los resultados del análisis total de todas las entrevistas.

El objetivo de este cuestionario es que tú puedas señalar en qué medida te sientes identificada con lo señalado en cada subtema o enunciado. Algunos subtemas o enunciados tienen puntos de vista opuestos (una afirmación y una negación). En este caso debes señalar si te sientes identificada con la 1ra. o la 2da. parte del subtema o enunciado. Debes tener en cuenta lo que tú comentaste durante la entrevista y el momento en el cual ésta se llevo a cabo. Además podrás agregar un comentario debajo de cada subtema o enunciado en caso de que quieras sugerir o indicar algo que consideres relevante para el estudio. Los comentarios son sólo aclaratorios, por lo que no es necesario que los completes si no lo deseas.

Santiago, Marzo de 2016

Ingresar tu código de participante *

Esto me permitirá identificar tus respuestas

Texto de respuesta breve



Familias diversas en el contexto chileno

En esta sección encontrarás los 4 temas relacionados con las visiones de las participantes acerca de las familias diversas en el contexto chileno.

Tema 1: La estructura familiar: Definiendo la familia a través de los lazos biológicos, emocionales o sociales

Descripción (opcional)

Sub-tema 1.1. Yendo más allá de la familia ideal con dos padres de distinto género *

Las participantes dieron a entender que habían diferentes tipos de familias y fueron más allá del modelo ideal de familia con dos padres de distinto género.

- 2. Me siento claramente representada por el sub-tema
- 1. Me siento en alguna medida representada por el sub-tema
- 0. No me siento representada por el sub-tema

Comentario

(Aquí podrás agregar algún comentario relacionado con el subtema)

Texto de respuesta largo