



Who Wants To Say “Gay?” Public Opinion About LGBT Issues in the Curriculum

Morgan Polikoff
University of Southern California

Michael Fienberg
University of Southern California

Daniel Silver
University of Southern California

Marshall Garland
University of Southern California

Anna Saavedra
University of Southern California

Amie Rapaport
University of Southern California

Public schools are currently a source of major political conflict, specifically with regard to issues related to LGBT representation in the curriculum. We report on a large nationally representative survey of American households focusing on their views on what LGBT topics are and should be taught, and what LGBT-themed books should be assigned and available. We report results overall and broken down by demographic, partisan, and geographic variables. We find that Americans report that they largely do not know what topics are being taught in schools, but they do not think LGBT topics are being taught to elementary children. There is widespread opposition to teaching about LGBT issues in elementary school, with more mixed support in high school. Voters are much more opposed to LGBT-themed books being assigned to students than available to them. There are very large splits in attitudes toward LGBT issues in schools, especially along political and religious lines and across states and counties based on partisan lean. We discuss implications of these findings for education policy and urge greater understanding of Americans' views about controversial topics in the curriculum.

VERSION: September 2023

Who Wants To Say “Gay?” Public Opinion About LGBT Issues in the Curriculum

Morgan Polikoff, Michael Fienberg, Daniel Silver, Marshall Garland, Anna Saavedra, Amie

Rapaport¹

University of Southern California

Public schools have always been a site for culture war issues. The period from the 1990s through 2020 had seen some easing of these tensions, as Republicans and Democrats came together to enact a policy agenda around high standards, test-based accountability, and various forms of school choice (see e.g., McDonnell, 2005). But cultural and political battles have always played out in America’s schools (Ravitch, 2013; Zimmerman, 2022), so the recent détente is more of an aberration than is commonly thought.

Still, the last two years, especially since Glenn Youngkin’s campaign for and election as governor of Virginia in 2021, have seen a heightened level of salience of cultural divides in America’s public schools. Broadly, current culture war concerns are playing out around two main topics—the ways schools talk about race and racism, and the ways schools handle lesbian, gay, bisexual, and trans-related (LGBT) issues in the curriculum.

After a period of relative quietude on cultural issues, the renewed attention to these two topics has seemingly spiraled rapidly, with legislation aiming to clamp down on local curriculum decisions proliferating in Republican-controlled states. For example:

- In Florida, the 2021 “Parental Rights in Education” law, sometimes dubbed by its detractors as the “Don’t Say Gay” law, is leading to real and perceived restrictions on

¹ We gratefully acknowledge financial support from the National Science Foundation Grants No.2037179, 2120194, and 2214168, and the Hewlett Foundation. Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the funding organizations.

which topics teachers and students can discuss in class without written parental consent (Natanson, 2022).

- Similarly in Tennessee, also since 2021, parents must be informed if their children may learn about LGBT topics and have the opportunity to opt them out (Ronan, 2021).
- In Texas, since 2021, public school teachers have been prohibited from discussion with children under age 12 of LGBT topics, or those related to sexuality more generally, regardless of parental stance (Beeferman, 2022).

On the other hand, some blue states have enacted laws encouraging or mandating the teaching of LGBT-related content; an example is California's FAIR Education Act, which requires age-appropriate LGBT-related content across the content areas (Leno, 2013). According to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), as of early 2023, nearly 400 anti-LGBT bills are pending in the U.S. (ACLU, 2023), over ten per state in many Republican-led states.

Even within blue states, these issues are proving locally controversial in school districts located in redder locales. For instance, school districts in Chino and Murrieta California have recently enacted policies that would require educators to notify guardians that their child identifies as transgender (Hernandez, 2023). And the Temecula Valley Unified School District in California initially rejected a state-approved curriculum material that included Harvey Milk before ultimately relenting under pressure from Governor Gavin Newsom (Ryan, 2023).

Beyond legislation, these curriculum topics are a subject of fierce national discussion that is being played out in the news media. One particularly prominent example on the issue of race and racism was the *New York Times' 1619 Project* (Hannah-Jones, 2019), which has been either adopted (e.g., Chicago Public Schools) or restricted (e.g., Iowa) in states and districts nationwide. While there has been no similarly prominent national curriculum example related to

LGBT topics (and indeed LGBT topics are almost certainly less emphasized in the K-12 curriculum than topics related to race/ethnicity), there remains a great deal of attention on this issue, both in the media and legislatively.

One of the main ways in which advocates of race- and LGBT-related curriculum bans frame their opposition to these “controversial” topics is through the language of “parents’ rights.” Setting aside that the current backlash against controversial topics is one-sided in that regard (i.e., that the current parents’ rights push prioritizes the rights of parents who do not want these topics taught over the rights of parents who do), the framing also seems to assume that parents do not want these topics taught without providing evidence to that effect.

We wondered to what extent American adults (parents of k-12 children and adults without k-12 children living in the household) really support the teaching of controversial topics in the curriculum. In August 2022, we fielded a survey asking adults about their beliefs about what children should be learning, book bans, and who should control education in the context of a large, existing nationally representative panel, the Understanding America Study (UAS). The majority of the survey was focused on race- and LGBT-related issues, though we also asked about other potentially controversial topics like gun control, abortion, and immigrants’ rights. We published a report in October 2022 (Polikoff et al., 2022), with our results widely covered in the media (e.g., Hawkins, 2022; Meckler, 2022; Schwartz, 2022).

While our report was comprehensive, we had to make difficult decisions about which analyses to include given the large number of potential subgroups to consider. For our report - which we timed for release just before the November 2022 midterm elections—we focused overwhelmingly on partisanship, finding large differences between Democrats and Republicans on a range of attitudes, and smaller differences on others. For instance, Democrats and

Republicans were relatively well aligned regarding whether most controversial topics should be taught in k-12 schools, though with the largest splits for topics related to sexual orientation and gender identity.

In this analysis, we narrow our focus to the LGBT topics, planning a separate paper focused on racial/ethnic topics. We seek to understand differences in support for teaching LGBT topics in much more detail, focusing our analysis on individual demographics (e.g., race/ethnicity, parental status, education level, political identity) and location (e.g., urbanicity, state partisanship). With this approach, we hope to shed light on the likely success of current political efforts to restrict the teaching of LGBT topics, and to point to areas of common ground and disagreement. Specifically, we answer the following research questions:

1. What LGBT-related content do Americans think is currently taught in elementary and secondary schools?
2. What LGBT-related content do Americans think should be taught, and how do beliefs differ by grade span (elementary versus secondary?)
3. What LGBT-themed books do Americans think should be assigned and available in schools, and how do these answers differ by grade?
4. How do all of the above answers differ by individual demographics and local/state politics?

For the rest of the paper, we first review what is known about public opinion related to LGBT issues in K-12 schools and more generally in the greater U.S. society. Next, we describe the UAS, our controversial topics survey, and our analytic approach. Finally, we examine support and opposition, overall and for demographic and geographic groups, and discuss the implications of our results.

Relevant Literature

Social acceptance of LGBT individuals has increased dramatically and rapidly over the past several decades. As recently as the late 1980s, for instance, support for same-sex marriage stood at just 11% nationwide; plurality support for equal marriage rights did not occur until 2010 (Smith, 2011). Support for marriage equality has increased to approximately 70% as of 2022 (McCarthy, 2022). While some have speculated that these increases may be reflective of survey participants responding in ways that are perceived as socially desirable, Lax and colleagues (2016) found that the rise in support was indicative of changing American attitudes.

Despite this marked increase, there is still substantial disagreement in American society about the roles and rights of LGBT individuals. For instance, recent studies (Gallup, 2022; Lewis et al., 2022) have found:

- 25% of Americans believe “gay and lesbian relations” are morally wrong;
- 35% of Americans believe that businesses should be able to refuse service to transgender individuals based on religious beliefs;
- 38% of Americans believe that transgender people should not be allowed to “openly serve in the military;”
- 51% of Americans believe “changing one’s gender” is morally wrong;
- 52-63% of Americans believe that laws should require people to use public restrooms corresponding to their birth gender;
- 62% of Americans believe that athletes should only be allowed to play on sports teams that match their birth gender;

Clearly, especially on trans-related issues, there is still a great deal of concern among Americans, with a recent study finding that attitudes towards trans issues were particularly negative for those

that were more religious and for those that self-identified as Republicans (Lewis et al., 2022). These issues are also far from resolved politically, as evidenced by the Supreme Court's recent decision in *303 Creative v. Elenis*, protecting the right of a web designer to discriminate against gay couples by refusing to make websites for their weddings.

With respect to school issues, there is less public opinion research, perhaps because of the relative newness of the idea of any kind of LGBT inclusion in the curriculum. One topic that has received relatively more attention is the inclusion of LGBT issues in sexuality education. Even 15 years ago, parents in national surveys were majority supportive of inclusion of sexual orientation in sexuality education, with majority agreement that such coverage should begin in middle school (Eisenberg et al., 2008).

But outside of sexuality education, what little evidence exists suggests ambivalence about, or hostility toward, the inclusion of LGBT issues in the curriculum. A March 2022 survey found that most Americans opposed laws prohibiting classroom lessons about sexual orientation or gender identity in elementary school (Ipsos, 2022), though we note the difference between opposing a prohibition and supporting inclusion. A 2021 national survey of teachers found that one-third of teachers do not believe the history and experiences of LGBTQ+ people should be included in the school curriculum (Educators for Excellence, 2022), echoing the finding of another national survey showing this was the topic with the lowest support among educators and the greatest reported parent opposition (Najarro, 2021). We know of no public opinion research asking fine-grained questions about LGBT topics in the school curriculum, nor research that analyzes results across a range of demographic subgroups. We also believe our sample is the largest ever for a survey related to LGBT curriculum issues.

Issues of LGBT inclusion in schools matter for a variety of reasons. For one, there is substantial discrimination against LGBT students in America's schools. GLSEN's annual School Climate Survey (e.g., Kosciw et al., 2021) provides evidence of the scale of the problem. For instance, nearly all LGBT students report hearing anti-gay or anti-trans comments in their schools, and more than half report hearing such comments from teachers. LGBT students are also more likely than non-LGBT students to report physical threats or assault, and to report missing school as a consequence of fears related to their identities. Reports from teachers (e.g., Educators for Excellence, 2022) confirm that schools are often not meeting the needs of their LGBT students, and that the situation has gotten worse in recent years (perhaps as a result of the increasingly hostile climate engendered by new state laws). Research confirms substantial disparities between LGBT and non-LGBT students on a range of mental health, behavioral, and academic outcomes, and indicates that school experiences contribute to these disparities (e.g., Corliss et al., Eisenberg et al., 2017; Marshal et al., 2011).

Issues related to LGBT identity and sexuality are also systematically excluded from school curricula and extracurricular activities. The 2021 GLSEN survey reports (Kosciw et al., 2022), for instance, that:

- Just 35% of LGBT youth are in schools with active gay-straight alliances.
- Just 28% of LGBT youth say LGBT-related topics have been included at all in their school curriculum.
- Fewer than half of LGBT youth even report having access in school libraries to LGBT-related books.

Even in schools that explicitly include LGBT curricula, students can find such efforts lacking, with students in Chicago Public Schools reporting that LGBT content in sexual health education

was “too limited” (Jarpe-Ratner et al., 2022). In contrast, LGBT youth overwhelmingly report that they know of LGBT-friendly school staff, though smaller majorities feel comfortable discussing LGBT issues with educators in their schools.

LGBT-inclusive curriculum is intended to support LGBT and questioning children, as well as children with LGBT family members, in various ways (American Psychological Association, n.d.). A meta-study of curricula that addresses LGBT issues found that inclusive curricula was important in creating safe spaces within schools for LGBT youth (Abreu et al., 2021). Inclusive curriculum is also intended to support empathy and understanding among non-LGBT youth. Research suggests that schools with more inclusive curricula are also schools where LGBT students feel safer, are physically and verbally bullied less often, and have better academic and mental and physical health outcomes (Abreu et al., 2021; Kosciw et al., 2022; Madireddy & Madireddy, 2021).

Data and Methods

This report uses data from the UAS, an ongoing nationally representative research panel of U.S. households. Since 2014, the University of Southern California Dornsife Center for Economic and Social Research has administered the UAS. Though historically primarily focused on economic issues related to employment and household economic activities, health, and aging, over time the UAS has broadened to cover a wide range of political, educational, and other social topics. The current full UAS sample is approximately 10,000 respondents, though the sample is consistently growing over time. Panel members are recruited via “Address-based Sampling” (Lavrakas, 2008), and panelists receive compensation for their participation in each wave. To ensure that the UAS fully covers the U.S. population, households without internet and/or devices

received both as part of their participation in the panel. All UAS data are made publicly available to licensed researchers shortly after they are collected.

At the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, our research team (Haderlein et al., 2021) began conducting research on the educational experiences of UAS households during COVID. Our team has published our results widely, mainly in public-facing outlets, describing how the pandemic has played out for American children. For instance, we have reported on the low interest in COVID-recovery interventions (Silver et al., 2022), support for school-masking and other COVID mitigation policies (Haderlein et al., 2020), and support for the resumption of standardized testing (Silver & Polikoff, 2021). For our education work, we generated our own nationally representative sample of households containing k-12 children, which we have tracked throughout the pandemic (refreshing each year as new children enter and exit the ages of interest). In general, our UAS education surveys have included approximately 1700 respondents per wave. The UAS education data and our prior research can be found at <https://uasdata.usc.edu/page/UnderStanding+America+Study+Education+Project>.

Sample

For the current analysis, we sought not only to capture the views of our UAS households with k-12 children, but also of the broader population of American households. Thus, we recruited 3,751 respondents to represent these two groups. Our survey had a response rate of 86%, which is in line with typical UAS response rates. After applying survey weights, our sample is demographically similar to the population of U.S. households. Table 1 shows the UAS sample for the survey, alongside comparisons to national figures.

Table 1
Weighted Sample Descriptive Statistics and Comparisons to National Averages

	Weighted full sample proportion	National Average
Gender		
Female	51.3%	50.4%
Male	48.7%	49.6%
Parent Status		
Not a Parent	28.8%	
Parent	71.2%	
Race		
NH White	61.9%	58.9%
NH Black	12.1%	13.6%
NH Asian	5.0%	6.3%
NH Other	3.9%	4.6%
Hispanic	17.2%	19.1%
Education		
HS or Less	38.7%	37.3%
Some College	26.3%	25.0%
BA or More	34.9%	37.7%
Age		
Under 40	37.3%	38.0%
40-59	32.2%	35.1%
60+	30.5%	26.9%
Political ID		
Democrat	40.1%	26.0%
Republican	35.7%	25.0%
Neither	24.3%	47.0%
Religion		
Evangelical	17.5%	13.6%
Protestant	17.4%	27.7%
Catholic	18.7%	23.1%
Other	12.0%	2.8%
Non-Christian	5.9%	6.0%
Atheist	6.6%	
No Religion	22.0%	26.8%
Urbanicity		
Rural	21.6%	14.0%
Mixed	49.2%	55.0%
Urban	29.2%	31.0%
State Political Lean		
Strong R	4.9%	
Leans R	20.2%	
Purple	42.6%	
Leans D	29.1%	
Strong D	3.3%	
County Political Lean		
Strong R	24.8%	
Leans R	19.7%	
Purple	20.2%	
Leans D	16.4%	
Strong D	18.9%	

Note. Sources:

<https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/US/LFE046221>

<https://www.census.gov/data/tables/2022/demo/educational-attainment/cps-detailed-tables.html>

<https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/popest/2020s-national-detail.html>

<https://news.gallup.com/poll/15370/party-affiliation.aspx>

<https://www.prii.org/spotlight/prri-2022-american-values-atlas-religious-affiliation-updates-and-trends/>

<https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2020/07/29/prior-to-covid-19-urban-core-counties-in-the-u-s-were-gaining-vitality-on-key-measures/>

Survey

We fielded the controversial topics survey from August 15 to September 12, 2022. We constructed the survey to measure Americans’ attitudes toward controversial topics in four broad categories (the order of these blocks was randomized across respondents). The first category was respondents’ knowledge of and views about critical race theory. The second category was their views about *topics* in the curriculum—for a list of 24 topics, we asked whether each topic *is currently* being taught in k-12 schools and we asked whether each topic *should* be taught. We asked these questions separately for elementary and secondary school. The third category was their views about *books* in the school—for a list of 18 types of book content, we asked whether books of these types should be *assigned* to students and whether they should be *available* to students, again separately by elementary and secondary. Finally, the fourth category was a short section about respondents’ views about who controls the curriculum and who should control the curriculum. For this paper, we focus on the second and third categories of questions, but the full results are available in our report (Polikoff et al., 2022).

For the question about topics, the wording of the questions was as follows: “Are students in [elementary/high] school today learning about the following topics?” and “Should students in [elementary/high] schools today learn about the following topics?” We asked about four topics relevant to LGBT issues: a) gay rights; b) trans rights; c) sexual orientation; d) gender identity. The responses to the “are” question were Yes, No, and I Don’t Know. The responses to the “should” question were just Yes and No.

For the questions about books, the wording was as follows: “Should students in [elementary/high] schools today be assigned to read books about/depicting the following topics?” and “Should students in [elementary/high] schools today have books about/depicting the

following topics available to read? (e.g., in the school library).” The responses to both questions were just Yes or No.

Because the UAS is a longitudinal panel, we have extensive background data on our respondents, which we use for analyses in this paper. We examine personal demographics and geographic indicators. In terms of personal demographics, we include the following characteristics: respondent gender (male, female); parental status (parent of a k-12 child, not); race/ethnicity (Asian, Black, Hispanic, White, other); education level (high school or less, some college, bachelor’s or more); individual party identification (Democrat or lean Democrat, Republican or lean Republican, lean neither party); age (under 40, 40-59, 60+); and religious affiliation (Evangelical, Protestant, Catholic, other Christian, non-Christian, Atheist/Agnostic, no religion). In terms of geographic indicators we include the following: state partisan voting index (PVI) lean (solid red, lean red, purple, lean blue, solid blue); county PVI lean (solid red, lean red, purple, lean blue, solid blue); and urbanicity (rural, mixed, urban).

Analysis

We focus on descriptive results throughout, reporting on crosstabs of questions of interest against demographic groups. We report omnibus tests of statistical significance in tables (e.g., testing whether the set of racial groups significantly differ from one another using a Wald test). Results we discuss in the text are all statistically significant differences at the .05 level. We apply appropriate survey weights to all analyses to ensure results are nationally representative. Where we discuss results across demographic and geographic groups, we emphasize consistent patterns over more idiosyncratic findings; thus, we do not discuss every single statistically significant difference in the text (in practice, given the large samples and the large differences in opinion, virtually all of the differences are statistically significant for the last three research questions).

Results

Are LGBT Topics Being Taught?

As shown in Figure 1, very few Americans think LGBT topics are being taught to elementary school students. Depending on the topic, between 11% and 14% of respondents indicated that they were being taught in the elementary grades, as compared to 38% to 41% of respondents who said they were not being taught. The plurality response, however, was “don’t know,” with 48% to 50% of respondents indicating they did not know whether these topics were being taught. In terms of high school students, more respondents think these topics are being taught than think they are not being taught (generally approximately 30% vs. approximately 20%), though still the plurality response is “don’t know.” Clearly, the view that LGBT topics are being taught is a minority view, and this true for both sexual orientation- and gender identity-related topics.

In terms of demographic differences in beliefs about whether these topics are being taught, there are a few consistent patterns (see full results in Table 2). Male respondents are always more likely than female respondents to report these topics are being taught at both elementary and high school grades, and they are less likely to report they don’t know. These differences are generally small in magnitude—3 to 8 percentage points. Republicans are almost always more likely than Democrats to report these topics are being taught (with independents in the middle, and differences a bit larger of up to 12 percentage points). There are similarly large differences by religion, with most Christian groups more likely to say these topics are being taught and no religion/atheist/agnostic less likely. And there are geographic differences, especially in terms of local geography and the high school questions, with blue-county respondents much more likely to think these topics are being taught than red-county respondents.

(The magnitude of the differences based on state partisanship are similar, but these state-level differences are mostly not statistically significant because there are relatively few respondents in “strong D” and “strong R” states on the PVI.)

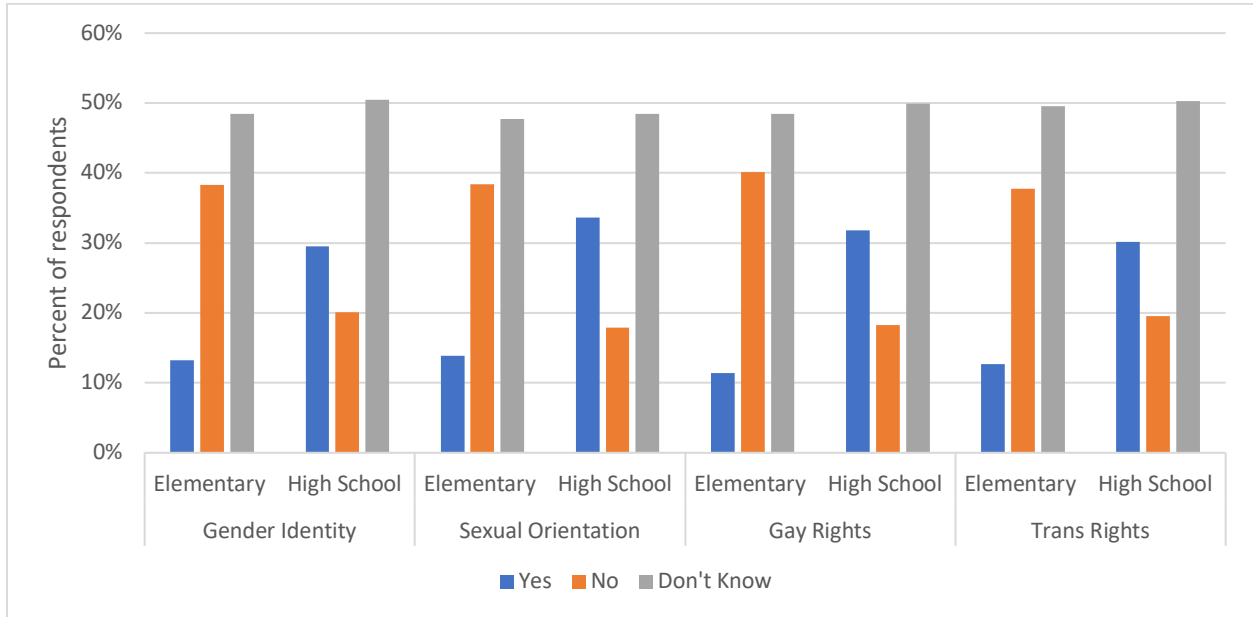


Figure 1. Respondent beliefs about whether topics are being taught

Table 2
Are LGBT Topics Being Taught? Percent Responding Yes

	Gender identity		Sexual orientation		Gay rights		Trans rights	
	Elem	High	Elem	High	Elem	High	Elem	High
Overall	13.7	29.7	13.2	33.2	11.7	31.7	13.1	30.0
Female	11.5	25.9	11.3	29.4	9.5	28.0	11.8	27.7
Male	16.0	33.6	15.2	37.2	14.0	35.5	14.4	32.5
Non-parent	14.5	30.7	14.3	32.9	13.2	34.1	12.7	30.0
Parent	13.4	29.3	12.7	33.4	11.1	30.7	13.2	30.1
White	13.4	29.0	13.3	33.1	11.7	31.2	13.4	29.8
Black	16.8	35.8	16.6	37.6	11.8	35.1	16.8	35.0
Asian	10.3	34.0	10.5	38.7	7.6	38.9	5.5	35.6
Other	14.1	26.9	12.7	35.2	11.4	27.2	16.3	32.2
Hispanic	13.4	27.0	11.1	28.4	13.0	29.9	10.5	25.4
HS degree or less	12.1	28.5	11.2	30.6	10.8	28.8	13.4	29.8
Some college	15.1	30.3	13.0	34.1	11.6	30.5	13.0	28.3
Bachelors or more	14.4	30.4	15.4	35.4	12.8	35.8	12.7	31.5
Under 40	13.0	25.0	12.1	28.6	12.8	29.9	11.6	26.4
40-59	13.8	29.6	14.5	33.6	10.9	29.8	13.7	28.8
60 or more	14.4	35.4	13.1	38.4	11.3	35.9	14.2	35.7
Democrat	8.9	28.7	8.5	32.4	7.5	31.3	8.5	28.4
Republican	19.6	33.0	19.1	36.7	16.2	33.5	18.8	33.8
Neither/independent	13.1	26.4	12.6	29.4	12.0	29.5	12.3	27.2
Evangelical	18.0	30.9	18.1	35.5	13.4	32.1	16.7	33.9
Protestant	15.9	31.1	15.6	34.1	14.3	31.0	19.0	34.9
Catholic	13.8	30.2	11.3	34.6	10.9	33.5	12.0	29.6
Other Christian	19.3	37.0	19.4	40.8	18.4	38.8	19.2	36.5
Non-Christian	16.1	34.8	15.9	38.5	9.1	33.4	11.6	30.0
Atheist/Agnostic	5.8	24.3	9.6	28.0	7.0	24.6	6.5	22.6
No religion	10.0	25.5	8.5	29.8	10.0	29.3	8.7	27.1
Rural	9.4	26.0	10.6	30.9	8.6	28.1	11.2	30.0
Mixed	16.8	31.0	14.3	34.1	13.6	33.5	14.9	30.5
Urban	13.3	30.9	14.3	36.4	12.0	31.2	13.0	32.1
State strong R	8.2	22.5	12.0	32.7	7.2	26.8	9.1	30.3
State lean R	11.6	28.5	12.9	31.2	11.5	29.2	13.0	29.0
State purple	14.0	27.8	11.8	31.0	11.4	30.9	12.7	28.1
State lean D	15.5	32.8	14.8	36.7	12.5	34.7	14.4	32.5
State strong D	15.2	43.4	19.4	44.5	16.6	37.6	12.8	40.2
County strong R	11.0	23.5	10.8	25.6	10.0	25.7	10.8	23.4
County lean R	14.1	30.3	12.9	33.5	12.4	32.3	13.7	30.3
County purple	14.3	31.2	13.2	36.1	10.5	33.6	11.9	31.7
County lean D	14.2	32.7	14.8	36.9	14.1	34.8	16.7	34.4
County strong D	15.9	33.0	15.3	37.2	12.7	34.8	13.7	33.3

Note. Shaded cells indicate statistically significant ($p < .05$) subgroup differences based on a Wald test of joint significance of the group of indicators corresponding to the levels of each predictor.

Should LGBT Topics Be Taught?

Respondents are mixed on whether LGBT topics should be taught, opposing such teaching in elementary schools and supporting it in high schools (see Table 3). Just 27% to 30% of respondents support teaching about LGBT issues in elementary schools (depending on the specific topic we asked about), as compared to 58% to 65% for high school. While there are no

differences across the topics at elementary school in terms of level of support (small but non-significantly higher rates of support for gender-related topics than sexual-orientation), respondents are more supportive of topics related to sexual orientation than gender identity at the high school grades.

Table 3
Should LGBT Topics Be Taught? Percent Responding Yes

	Gender identity		Sexual orientation		Gay rights		Trans rights	
	Elem	High	Elem	High	Elem	High	Elem	High
Overall	28.5	59.3	26.8	63.0	28.0	64.7	29.7	58.8
Female	31.5	60.0	28.7	62.6	29.4	66.0	33.6	61.3
Male	25.4	58.5	24.9	63.4	26.4	63.4	25.7	56.1
Non-parent	37.7	65.2	36.4	69.8	38.5	72.4	39.5	66.1
Parent	24.9	56.8	23.0	60.2	23.8	61.5	25.7	55.5
White	23.2	53.0	23.0	56.8	24.5	60.4	25.4	52.7
Black	43.1	76.8	36.0	76.5	33.0	75.7	42.4	75.6
Asian	44.1	86.8	36.9	90.7	43.6	89.1	40.9	85.9
Other	31.6	55.9	29.7	66.7	31.1	64.5	29.6	64.2
Hispanic	32.5	62.8	30.6	67.2	31.4	65.6	33.2	60.1
HS degree or less	22.8	53.5	22.2	53.9	22.1	57.4	26.8	53.3
Some college	27.1	58.6	25.4	64.7	26.8	64.0	28.0	58.5
Bachelors or more	36.1	66.3	33.1	71.8	35.3	73.3	34.3	65.1
Under 40	33.0	59.4	29.9	65.6	34.0	67.2	33.1	60.4
40-59	28.6	57.5	27.2	60.3	25.6	62.7	28.0	56.7
60 or more	23.0	61.0	22.8	62.7	23.1	63.8	27.3	59.0
Democrat	49.0	84.2	45.8	85.9	46.4	86.4	48.6	83.6
Republican	8.4	31.6	8.1	36.5	8.1	39.1	9.4	30.3
Neither/independent	24.5	58.5	23.4	63.5	26.4	66.0	28.0	58.8
Evangelical	14.7	39.4	14.9	44.4	11.4	44.3	15.9	37.6
Protestant	20.9	49.5	21.4	54.1	18.9	56.2	22.4	50.8
Catholic	27.3	62.2	29.2	68.4	27.1	68.4	29.0	59.7
Other Christian	15.1	43.3	11.0	49.2	13.0	49.7	18.6	43.5
Non-Christian	53.1	80.7	41.9	83.2	44.0	81.8	55.0	80.2
Atheist/Agnostic	54.1	84.5	47.7	87.3	56.4	90.9	52.8	84.0
No religion	32.2	68.1	29.0	68.1	35.0	73.2	34.3	66.2
Rural	16.3	44.1	15.6	47.0	15.6	51.4	18.6	45.7
Mixed	24.5	57.0	23.2	60.1	25.4	61.8	27.1	54.9
Urban	39.3	69.2	35.5	72.3	34.2	72.5	38.5	66.8
State strong R	18.4	49.4	18.2	59.7	17.7	59.4	26.7	52.0
State lean R	19.2	48.5	17.5	50.5	20.2	54.8	21.5	50.3
State purple	26.8	57.9	25.4	60.2	26.8	62.5	27.2	56.5
State lean D	36.5	67.4	34.2	73.0	33.8	73.1	36.3	65.6
State strong D	53.6	87.1	50.8	91.5	54.6	90.2	60.4	91.1
County strong R	12.9	41.0	13.5	43.8	16.1	49.6	16.9	42.8
County lean R	23.6	55.0	23.2	60.0	25.3	63.2	26.9	56.7
County purple	28.5	62.0	28.4	67.4	28.9	65.9	29.1	61.0
County lean D	34.3	67.5	30.7	73.9	31.0	72.4	35.0	64.9
County strong D	49.2	77.7	43.1	77.2	42.3	78.5	45.4	74.2

Note. Shaded cells indicate statistically significant ($p < .05$) subgroup differences based on a Wald test of joint significance of the group of indicators corresponding to the levels of each predictor.

There are statistically significant gaps across all demographic and geographic splits on nearly all topics at both grades. However, with relatively few exceptions, there is *directional* agreement across respondent groups (i.e., all respondent groups are majority support or majority oppose); I discuss these exceptions where they appear. In terms of individual demographics, female respondents are more supportive of some of these topics being taught than male respondents, though in all cases these gaps are less than 8 percentage points. Nonparents are always more supportive of these topics being taught than parents are, and these gaps are 9 to 15 percentage points (slightly larger in elementary school). Black and Asian respondents are typically the most supportive of these topics being taught, White respondents are typically the least supportive, and Hispanic and other race respondents are typically in the middle, with gaps as large as 24 percentage points. Racial gaps are larger in high school, and the racial groups are directionally in agreement in all cases. More educated respondents are always more likely than less educated respondents to support these topics being taught, with gaps typically around 10 to 15 percentage points. Younger respondents are more likely than older respondents to say these topics should be taught in elementary school than older respondents, but the gaps are not consistent for high school.

The two largest individual demographic gaps are, perhaps not surprisingly, for partisanship and religion. Republicans are overwhelmingly opposed to LGBT topics being taught to elementary school children, with less than 10% support for each topic. This is as compared to approximately a quarter of independents and half of Democrats (i.e., even among Democrats there is ambivalence about LGBT topics in the elementary grades, with equal support and opposition). For high school, Republicans are still majority opposed, with 30% to 39% support (slightly more for sexual orientation topics than gender identity). In contrast, independents and

Democrats are majority in favor of LGBT topics being taught, with independents at around two-thirds support and Democrats at about 85%. In terms of religion, non-Christians and atheists/agnostics are approximately split (40-60% support) for teaching these topics in elementary school and overwhelmingly in favor of teaching them in high school, while Evangelicals and “other Christians” are majority opposed to these topics being taught at either grade level.

In terms of geographic differences, these are large and always statistically significant as well. In general, respondents in all but deep blue states are majority opposed to the teaching of LGBT topics to elementary children, whereas in those deepest blue states respondents are split 50/50. For high school, the opposite pattern is true—in all but the red states, a majority of respondents supports LGBT topics being taught, whereas in those solid and lean red states respondents are split more like 50/50. Again there are some small but notable differences across categories, with “gay rights” being the most widely supported of the four topics and seeing majority support in all states. The directional patterns are the same for county partisanship. In terms of urbanicity, urban respondents are consistently 20 to 25 percentage points more likely to support these topics being taught than rural respondents, with “mixed” location respondents in the middle.

Should LGBT-Themed Books Be Assigned?

Respondents on average oppose assigning schoolchildren books with LGBT topics, and this is true regardless of the grade span and regardless of the topic (with just one exception, see Table 4). For elementary children there is very little support. The most supported topic is “families containing same-sex parents,” which 25% of respondents support assigning. The least supported topics are depictions of sex (between people of the same sex or the opposite sex), with

about 8% support. And books related to the experiences of trans people or gay and lesbian people are supported by 16-18% of respondents. There is more support for assigning these books in high school, but still majority opposition (28% to 44% support, depending on topic) for all categories except “families with same-sex relationships”, which has 53% support. Again, books containing depictions of sex are the least popular.

Table 4
Should Books Containing LGBT Topics Be Assigned? Percent Responding Yes

	Gay/Lesbian Experience		Trans Experience		Depictions of same-sex sex		Depictions of opposite-sex sex		Families with same-sex parents	
	Elem	High	Elem	High	Elem	High	Elem	High	Elem	High
Overall	18.0	37.7	16.3	36.9	7.3	18.0	8.1	20.1	25.1	52.7
Female	18.5	37.3	18.0	37.7	7.9	17.4	8.7	20.0	27.5	54.8
Male	17.4	38.1	14.6	36.1	6.7	18.7	7.5	20.2	22.5	50.6
Non-parent	26.4	48.3	23.1	45.4	10.5	24.8	11.3	26.7	33.3	58.2
Parent	14.7	33.6	13.7	33.6	6.1	15.3	6.8	17.4	21.9	50.7
White	14.8	35.5	13.2	35.4	4.4	15.9	4.4	17.4	22.0	52.1
Black	22.7	39.9	23.2	39.8	12.7	22.1	15.6	24.9	32.0	52.2
Asian	24.1	48.8	26.2	50.5	16.4	27.2	17.8	30.3	27.6	59.0
Other	23.3	42.4	19.6	42.5	8.6	14.5	14.8	21.9	33.2	52.6
Hispanic	23.2	40.0	19.5	35.1	11.3	21.1	12.0	23.0	28.8	53.6
HS degree or less	13.1	25.8	13.3	28.0	7.8	16.8	8.3	19.3	18.8	42.2
Some college	17.2	39.0	15.0	36.8	6.8	17.4	8.4	20.9	24.7	53.8
Bachelors or more	24.0	50.0	20.6	46.8	7.1	19.9	7.6	20.2	32.3	63.6
Under 40	23.0	44.5	19.6	41.6	9.1	21.5	9.9	23.0	27.6	56.7
40-59	18.7	36.5	17.1	36.7	8.4	16.6	9.4	19.2	26.8	53.7
60 or more	11.2	30.8	11.7	31.4	4.0	15.2	4.6	17.3	20.2	47.0
Democrat	29.0	57.0	27.2	55.9	9.8	26.5	11.1	27.6	39.7	71.2
Republican	7.2	17.9	6.1	16.5	4.8	8.8	4.2	9.9	11.2	32.9
Neither/independent	15.8	35.1	13.5	35.7	7.0	17.5	9.0	22.7	21.6	51.7
Evangelical	7.3	18.0	9.3	19.9	3.5	9.4	3.6	7.3	12.1	33.3
Protestant	11.5	28.3	13.4	29.2	5.5	14.0	8.4	17.6	16.7	43.1
Catholic	19.6	39.7	13.7	34.2	9.5	18.6	9.7	18.6	25.3	56.2
Other Christian	7.7	23.9	7.8	24.2	5.7	9.7	4.7	12.0	13.6	37.4
Non-Christian	34.4	56.2	29.5	54.6	13.6	26.4	13.6	28.2	42.9	70.3
Atheist/Agnostic	35.0	72.1	34.1	72.6	9.3	36.4	7.4	34.9	44.8	82.1
No religion	19.1	43.5	18.3	43.3	6.8	20.8	10.6	27.5	31.9	60.6
Rural	8.3	23.1	9.2	23.6	4.4	10.3	5.2	11.9	14.5	36.5
Mixed	16.0	36.8	15.6	36.1	7.1	18.5	7.6	20.4	22.2	53.2
Urban	22.0	43.4	20.2	42.8	10.0	20.6	11.8	23.3	32.3	57.2
State strong R	11.9	26.7	11.9	32.0	4.6	15.2	6.8	16.6	21.1	41.6
State lean R	9.8	27.1	11.0	29.0	5.6	13.8	6.8	15.3	18.0	45.6
State purple	16.6	36.1	14.5	35.7	6.4	16.6	6.7	18.0	22.7	50.7
State lean D	25.5	46.9	22.6	42.4	9.9	22.2	10.3	24.9	32.7	60.4
State strong D	28.1	61.2	24.6	60.2	12.1	30.8	17.8	39.0	38.7	72.1
County strong R	7.2	22.3	8.2	24.4	4.4	11.0	4.3	12.6	11.9	39.4
County lean R	15.1	34.7	14.6	35.8	6.6	16.6	8.1	18.8	22.0	51.3
County purple	17.8	38.4	15.6	36.0	6.5	18.7	8.2	19.7	27.6	54.2
County lean D	20.8	45.7	17.1	42.2	8.5	21.0	7.8	21.5	30.8	60.5
County strong D	32.4	53.5	28.3	50.5	11.6	25.5	13.2	30.4	37.6	63.4

Note. Shaded cells indicate statistically significant ($p < .05$) subgroup differences based on a Wald test of joint significance of the group of indicators corresponding to the levels of each predictor.

There are demographic splits broadly mirroring responses about topic coverage, though the magnitudes of the splits are smaller for book assignment. Still, virtually all are statistically significant. Again, nonparents are consistently more supportive of assigning books with LGBT topics than parents. Asian parents are the most supportive of assigning books with LGBT topics and White parents the least (these gaps are up to 14 percentage points). On topics except depictions of sex, more educated respondents are consistently more likely to support students being assigned LGBT topics than less educated respondents. Younger respondents are consistently more supportive of assigning books of all topics.

Again there are large gaps on individual partisan and religious variables as well. All groups are opposed to assigning books with LGBT topics to elementary students, but Republicans are nearly unanimous whereas Democrats are split 30/70 or 40/60 on the topics other than “depictions of sex.” As for high school, only Democrats express majority support for assigning books on LGBT topics, but not for the topics including depictions of sex. Republicans remain overwhelmingly opposed to assigning these books to high schoolers, with just 15% to 25% support. Atheists/agnostics and non-Christians are also especially likely to support assigning books on LGBT topics to high schoolers.

In terms of local or state partisanship, there are of course large gaps as well. But there is only majority support for assigning books containing LGBT topics to high schoolers in solid blue and sometimes lean blue states, and then only for the topics other than “depictions of sex.” Approximately 65% of respondents in solid blue states think high schoolers should be assigned books about the experiences of gays and lesbians and including depictions of same-sex families. On other topics and for elementary grades there is majority opposition. Rural respondents are majority opposed to assigning books with any of these LGBT topics to students of any age.

Should LGBT-themed Books Be Available?

Respondents are considerably more favorable toward LGBT-themed books being available to children (see Table 5). Respondents remain strongly opposed to books with depictions of sex being available to elementary children (about 30% support). For books about the experiences of LGBT individuals and containing depictions of families with same-sex parents there is about 40% support. For high school children, 57% to 73% of respondents support all types of books being available, with the lowest support for books containing depictions of sex between same-sex people.

The patterns of demographic differences in support for book availability are not as sharp as for book assignment, but they are typically in the same direction and again almost always statistically significant. Nonparents and more educated respondents are more likely to support availability of most types of books, though both parents and nonparents express majority support for all book types being available to high schoolers and majority opposition for all book types being available to elementary schoolers. As on other issues reported throughout, Asian respondents are generally the most supportive across all items, expressing support for all types of books being available at both grade levels. Non-Christians and Atheists/agnostics are also especially likely to endorse book availability across topics.

Based on individual partisanship, Democrats are supportive of all topics except depictions of sex being available to both elementary and high school students, whereas Republicans are majority opposed for elementary school but approximately evenly split for high school, with small majorities favoring books about the gay and lesbian experience and families with same-sex parents being available to high schoolers. Democrats overwhelmingly think high

school students should have access to books of all types, even those containing depictions of sex (about 75% support).

Table 5
Should Books Containing LGBT Topics Be Available? Percent Responding Yes

	Gay/Lesbian Experience		Trans Experience		Depictions of same-sex sex		Depictions of opposite-sex sex		Families with same-sex parents	
	Elem	High	Elem	High	Elem	High	Elem	High	Elem	High
	Overall	38.3	68.4	35.6	67.2	28.4	56.7	34.1	63.3	41.2
Female	37.2	66.0	36.0	66.5	27.5	54.5	32.0	60.5	41.9	72.3
Male	39.5	70.9	35.3	68.0	29.3	59.0	36.3	66.3	40.5	73.0
Non-parent	47.1	72.4	43.9	72.2	33.9	62.5	40.5	69.5	48.7	75.2
Parent	34.9	66.9	32.2	65.4	26.2	54.3	31.2	60.8	38.2	71.7
White	33.6	66.4	31.1	64.5	22.5	53.4	28.9	61.0	36.7	71.6
Black	47.0	70.2	46.9	71.0	42.7	60.1	43.1	62.2	54.0	73.2
Asian	65.7	91.5	60.1	93.0	51.1	83.2	60.3	85.3	62.1	89.4
Other	37.9	77.6	37.9	72.8	32.7	61.9	38.9	66.7	51.0	78.4
Hispanic	41.7	65.6	36.6	65.8	32.6	57.3	38.1	65.6	40.7	70.1
HS degree or less	30.4	56.2	30.6	57.4	26.4	48.4	32.7	57.5	34.0	63.4
Some college	38.7	68.2	36.1	66.4	28.8	56.6	34.9	61.8	40.5	72.8
Bachelors or more	46.9	81.9	40.9	78.8	30.3	66.0	35.1	71.0	49.9	82.9
Under 40	41.5	72.2	36.7	68.5	30.8	61.1	36.3	67.0	41.9	74.3
40-59	38.2	66.7	35.0	68.5	28.5	55.6	33.7	62.9	41.8	73.3
60 or more	34.6	65.5	35.1	64.4	25.4	52.6	31.8	59.4	39.9	70.1
Democrat	56.8	84.4	53.0	84.0	40.1	73.8	45.1	75.8	59.2	87.3
Republican	18.5	50.3	17.5	47.9	15.8	37.0	22.3	47.9	22.7	55.4
Neither/independent	37.1	68.7	33.6	68.7	27.9	57.4	33.1	65.6	38.8	73.8
Evangelical	20.3	52.1	22.2	51.1	15.8	37.2	22.1	48.2	25.9	57.5
Protestant	28.3	61.5	29.6	61.1	22.9	49.3	26.4	57.6	32.6	67.9
Catholic	40.9	72.2	34.6	71.7	32.5	61.8	35.9	65.5	43.1	76.9
Other Christian	19.6	54.4	18.1	50.7	18.5	40.2	23.1	47.0	25.5	59.7
Non-Christian	65.2	80.8	60.6	81.9	44.8	74.1	53.7	76.9	70.0	85.3
Atheist/Agnostic	66.0	94.8	57.5	89.6	39.4	83.8	44.6	88.6	62.5	94.3
No religion	44.1	74.7	44.0	72.9	32.8	62.7	41.0	68.8	48.6	78.9
Rural	22.8	49.4	23.4	49.3	20.7	40.6	27.2	50.9	26.0	57.5
Mixed	35.4	68.1	33.8	67.1	25.3	55.3	30.5	61.8	37.8	72.7
Urban	47.6	76.8	43.6	73.8	36.3	64.0	41.6	68.8	53.5	79.3
State strong R	27.2	61.0	28.7	63.1	20.8	43.8	29.0	58.7	30.4	64.0
State lean R	30.1	60.2	28.3	60.0	25.1	51.0	27.9	57.5	35.2	66.2
State purple	35.3	66.5	32.2	63.5	24.7	54.0	30.6	61.2	37.9	70.4
State lean D	47.2	75.4	44.3	75.6	34.9	64.0	42.0	69.4	49.9	79.8
State strong D	67.9	92.9	59.8	93.8	50.8	83.5	55.7	80.6	63.0	91.9
County strong R	20.9	52.4	20.4	52.0	17.2	41.9	21.4	51.2	24.8	58.3
County lean R	35.0	67.8	33.5	67.8	25.7	53.5	31.1	60.2	37.9	73.3
County purple	38.1	71.5	35.5	69.2	24.9	58.1	34.6	63.8	39.6	75.8
County lean D	48.8	75.3	41.4	74.8	38.9	66.1	42.2	71.2	52.3	78.4
County strong D	55.7	80.6	52.9	78.0	40.2	70.0	46.5	75.2	58.5	82.7

Note. Shaded cells indicate statistically significant ($p < .05$) subgroup differences based on a Wald test of joint significance of the group of indicators corresponding to the levels of each predictor.

For local and state partisanship, majorities are opposed to elementary school students having access to books on LGBT topics in all but the deepest blue states. On the other hand, for high school, with the exception of “depictions of sex between people of the same sex,” majorities support high school students having access to books on LGBT topics in all but the deepest red

states. Perhaps the type of book that is most mentioned in the media for elementary students—“families with same sex parents”—approximately 50% or more of respondents are supportive of elementary students having access to those books in blue states but not in other states.

Discussion

This paper reports on the results of a large, nationally-representative survey about Americans’ views on controversial LGBT topics in the curriculum; we believe it is the largest and most detailed survey ever conducted on this topic. Looking across the set of results we reach several broad conclusions.

First, the refrain, largely driven by right-wing media and state leaders such as Ron DeSantis, that schools are teaching students “woke” content related to LGBT issues appears not to be widely believed. About half of respondents say they don’t know what is being taught in schools related to these topics (almost certainly an understatement of how many people truly don’t know, insofar as people who don’t know something are much more likely to say they do know it than vice versa). Even *parents* say they don’t know what is being taught, and at equivalent rates as nonparents. And virtually no one thinks elementary students are being taught LGBT topics, though this was the focal age range for Florida’s recent related curriculum laws as originally enacted. We do not have data on whether these topics were really being taught in schools prior to the onslaught of recent laws, as data on what curriculum is being used where is hard to come by (Polikoff, 2021). But we suspect that respondents are correct that these topics were never being taught to any great degree in elementary schools. LGBT-related topics are more likely to be taught in high schools, though still not anywhere close to universally given that just a few states require or even encourage teaching of these topics (e.g., California, Colorado, Illinois, New Jersey, Oregon, Washington).

Second, and setting aside the reality of whether these topics were being taught, laws restricting the teaching of LGBT-related content in elementary schools are likely to be popular, as virtually all demographic groups are majority opposed to the teaching of this kind of content to children of that age. This is true with very few exceptions—Democrats, respondents in deep blue states, and atheists/agnostics. The flip side is true for high school, however; laws restricting the teaching of LGBT-related topics would be opposed in purple and blue states and by majorities of demographic groups by race/ethnicity, education level, parental status, and gender (whereas Republicans and some religious groups majority oppose teaching any of these topics to children of any age level). In other words, there are sharp grade-level differences in attitudes toward content appropriateness.

Third, there is little support for *assigning* books about LGBT topics (especially in elementary school), so these kinds of books are highly likely to be targeted as part of “parents’ bill of rights” complaints. Even at the high school level, there are relatively few demographic groups—Asian respondents, Democrats, atheists/agnostics, and those in solid blue states—who express consistent support for teachers assigning books on these topics. If “book ban” is understood to mean “remove books with LGBT content from the curriculum,” (i.e., not remove from the school library), that is likely to be a popular position in most places and for most groups, even when thinking about high schoolers.

And fourth, there is considerably more support for making books with LGBT topics *available* to children. This is certainly true in high school, where almost all groups in almost all locations support books containing almost all types of LGBT content being available to students. In elementary school there is only consistently majority support for these books being available in strongly blue areas and among Democrats and atheists/agnostics. Thus, laws that seek to

remove books with controversial LGBT content from elementary libraries are likely to be popular (though not overwhelmingly so), whereas removing books from high school libraries would be quite unpopular in almost all locations.

Stepping back from the data, we think these results reflect both partisan scaremongering and very real differences among Americans about what is appropriate for children to be learning in school. While research certainly suggests that children who currently or will someday identify as LGBT are harmed when their representations are stripped from the curriculum, with related discussion deemed inappropriate or even restricted, progressive-minded educators and policymakers must grapple with the realities of public opinion on these topics. Thus, if we think these representations and discussions are important for children, advocates for LGBT inclusion must work to change attitudes about these topics. Just as attitudes toward same-sex marriage were changed over time through increased visibility of LGBT individuals (e.g., in the media), political and legal changes, and greater familiarity with LGBT individuals as friends, family, and colleagues, so we think attitudes toward inclusiveness in the school curriculum can be changed as well. We also note there is useful signal in looking across items in our survey, for instance in demonstrating that respondents are more supportive of “depictions of families with gay or lesbian parents” than other LGBT topics, including in elementary school. Identifying the kinds of representations that are most widely acceptable and leveraging that knowledge to improve representation is a potentially fruitful strategy in the short term.

Because ours is among the first major studies of this topic, we think future research could proceed in any number of directions. One important extension is to collect more fine-grained data about the kinds of curriculum and book content that Americans are more and less comfortable with. While our survey was detailed in the topics we asked about, the categories

were still necessarily coarse and somewhat general. Studying more specific examples would be useful. Another important extension is to see how these attitudes can be affected, both in the natural setting (e.g., by politicians' words or the laws they enact) or in a more controlled setting (e.g., by testing the impact of messaging strategies or media reporting using experimental designs). Finally, we think talking to children about these issues could be illuminating, as we suspect that the debates adults are having about these issues are not reflective of how children are thinking about LGBT issues in schools. Qualitative work involving interviews and focus groups would be a valuable complement to the survey-based work we have done here.

References

- Abreu, R. L., Audette, L., Mitchell, Y., Simpson, I., Ward, J. L., Ackerman, L., Gonzalez, K. A., & Washington, K. E. (2021). LGBTQ student experiences in schools from 2009–2019: A systematic review of study characteristics and recommendations for prevention and intervention in school psychology journals. *Psychology in the Schools, 59*(1), 115–151. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pits.22508>
- ACLU. (2023). *Mapping attacks on LGBTQ rights*. Author. <https://www.aclu.org/legislative-attacks-on-lgbtq-rights>.
- American Psychological Association. (n.d.). *LGBTQ+ inclusive curriculum*. Author. <https://www.apa.org/topics/lgbtq/lgbtq-inclusive-curricula>.
- Beeferman, J. (2022, April 6). Critics of Texas’ push for a “Don’t Say Gay” bill say acknowledging LGBTQ people isn’t the same as teaching kids about sex. *Texas Tribune*.
- Educators for Excellence. (2022). *Leveraging teachers’ perspectives and federal opportunities to build inclusive environments for LGBTQ+ students*. Author.
- Eisenberg, M. E., Bernat, D. H., Bearinger, L. H., & Resnick, M. D. (2008). Support for comprehensive sexuality education: Perspectives from parents of school-age youth. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 42*(4), 352-359.
- Eisenberg, M. E., Gower, A. L., McMorris, B. J., Rider, G. N., Shea, G., & Coleman, E. (2017). Risk and protective factors in the lives of transgender/gender nonconforming adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 61*(4), 521-526.
- Gallup. (2022). *LGBT rights*. Author. <https://news.gallup.com/poll/1651/gay-lesbian-rights.aspx>.

- Haderlein, S. K., Saavedra, A. R., Polikoff, M. S., Silver, D., Rapaport, A., & Garland, M. (2021). Disparities in educational access in the time of COVID: Evidence from a nationally representative panel of American families. *AERA Open*, 7(1), 1-21.
- Haderlein, S. K., & Polikoff, M. S. (2020, December 23). For schools to open in Spring 2021, teachers and students need to mask up. *Education Next*.
<https://www.educationnext.org/for-schools-to-open-spring-2021-teachers-students-need-to-mask-up/>.
- Hannah-Jones, N. (2019). The 1619 Project. *New York Times*.
- Harris, R., Wilson-Daily, A. E., & Fuller, G. (2021). ‘I just want to feel like I’m part of everyone else’: how schools unintentionally contribute to the isolation of students who identify as LGBT+. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 52(2), 155–173.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/0305764x.2021.1965091>
- Hawkins, B. (2022, October 12). Poll: Half of Americans know little about CRT, what’s actually taught in schools. *The 74 Million*.
- Hernandez, S. (2023, August 16). Orange Unified may mandate telling parents if their child is transgender, as policy spreads. *Los Angeles Times*.
- Ipsos. (2022, March 13). *Americans continue to support ban on Russian oil*. Author.
- Jarpe-Ratner, E., Marshall, B., Choudry, M., Wishart, M., Reid, B., Perez, E., & Fagen, M. C. (2021). Strategies to support LGBTQ+ students in high schools: What did we learn in Chicago public schools? *Health Promotion Practice*, 23(4), 686–698.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/15248399211006492>

- Jones, P., Brewer, P. R., Hoffman, L. H., Lambe, J., & Young, D. G. (2018). Explaining public opinion toward transgender people, rights, and candidates. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 82(2), 252–278. <https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfy009>
- Kosciw, J. G., Clark, C. M., & Menard, L. (2022). *The 2021 National School Climate Survey: The experiences of LGBTQ+ youth in our nation's schools*. GLSEN.
- Lavrakas, P. J. (2008) Address-based sampling. In *Encyclopedia of survey research methods*. (Vols. 1-0). SAGE. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412963947>
- Lax, J. R., Phillips, J., & Stollwerk, A. F. (2016). Are survey respondents lying about their support for same-sex marriage? Lessons from a list experiment. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 80(2), 510–533. <https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfv056>
- Leno, S. M. (2013). California's FAIR Education Act: addressing the bullying epidemic by ending the exclusion of LGBT people and historical events in textbooks and classrooms. *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking*, 105-110.
- Lewis, D. C., Flores, A. R., Haider-Markel, D. P., Miller, P. R., & Taylor, J. K. (2022). Transitioning opinion? Assessing the dynamics of public attitudes toward transgender rights. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 86(2), 343–368.
- Madireddy, S., & Madireddy, S. (2020). Strategies for schools to prevent psychosocial stress, stigma, and suicidality risks among LGBTQ+ students. *American Journal of Educational Research*, 8(9), 659–667. <https://doi.org/10.12691/education-8-9-7>
- Marshal, M. P., Dietz, L. J., Friedman, M. S., Stall, R., Smith, H. A., McGinley, J., Thoma, B. C., Murray, P. J., D'Augelli, A. R. and Brent, D. A. (2011). Suicidality and depression

- disparities between sexual minority and heterosexual youth: A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 49*(2), 115-123.
- Martino, W. (2022). Supporting transgender students and Gender-Expansive education in schools: Investigating policy, pedagogy, and curricular implications. *Teachers College Record, 124*(8), 3–16. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01614681221121513>
- McCarthy, J. (2022). *Same-sex marriage support inches up to new high of 71%*. Gallup.
- McDonnell, L.M. (2005). No Child Left Behind and the federal role in education: Evolution or revolution? *Peabody Journal of Education, 80*(2), 19-38.
- Meckler, L. (2022, October 12). Poll finds sharp partisan divides over teaching LGBTQ issues. *Washington Post*.
- Najarro, I. (2021, December 15). Teachers are divided on teaching LGBTQ topics. *Education Week*.
- Natanson, H. (2022, May 19). This Florida teacher married a woman. Now she's not a teacher anymore. *Washington Post*.
- Polikoff, M. (2021). *Beyond standards: The fragmentation of education governance and the promise of curriculum reform*. Harvard Education Press.
- Polikoff, M., Silver, D., Rapaport, A., Saavedra, A., & Garland, M. (2022). *A House divided? What Americans really think about controversial topics in schools*. University of Southern California.
- Ravitch, D. (2013). *Reign of error: The hoax of the privatization movement and the danger to America's public schools*. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.
- Ronan, W. (2021, May 4). Tennessee Gov. Bill Lee signs anti-LGBTQ legislation into law. *Human Rights Campaign*.

- Ryan, H. (2023, July 22). Temecula school board adopts studies curriculum, avoids fine but faces civil rights inquiry. *Los Angeles Times*.
- Schwartz, S. (2022, October 12). Republicans and Democrats agree: High schools should teach 'controversial' topics. *Education Week*.
- Silver, D., & Polikoff, M. (2021, December 6). With students back in school, latest data finds parental support for state testing rebounding. *The 74 Million*.
<https://www.the74million.org/article/silver-polikoff-with-students-back-in-school-latest-data-finds-parental-support-for-state-testing-rebounding/>.
- Silver, D., Saavedra, A., & Polikoff, M. (2022, August 16). Low parent interest in COVID-recovery interventions should worry educators and policymakers alike. *Brown Center Chalkboard*. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/brown-center-chalkboard/2022/08/16/low-parent-interest-in-covid-recovery-interventions-should-worry-educators-and-policymakers-alike/>.
- Smith, T. W. (2011). *Public attitudes toward homosexuality*. NORC/University of Chicago.
- Zimmerman, J. (2022). *Whose America?: Culture wars in the public schools*. University of Chicago Press.