IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF FLORIDA TAMPA DIVISION

ROBERT L. VAZZO, LMFT, etc. et. al.,

Plaintiffs,

v. CASE NO: 8:17-cv-02896-T-02AAS

CITY OF TAMPA, FLORIDA,

Defendant.
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DECLARATION OF JUDITH M. GLASSGOLD

Judith M. Glassgold, Psy.D, a licensed psychologist in New Jersey, declares the truth of the following under penalty of perjury, pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746:

1. I have personal knowledge of the contents of this declaration, and if called upon to testify, I could and would testify competently to the contents of this declaration. I have not received payment for preparing this document.

2. My background, experience, and scholarly publications are summarized in my curriculum vitae, which is attached as Exhibit A to this report.

3. I am a Lecturer and Clinical Supervisor at the Graduate School of Applied and Professional Psychology of Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey. I earned my Psy.D. in Clinical Psychology in 1989 from Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey. I have taught graduate and supervised graduate students at Rutgers in psychology and psychotherapy, especially in the area of sexual orientation and gender, as well as in the treatment of depression, anxiety, suicidality, and trauma.

4. I am a licensed psychologist in New Jersey. From 1991 to 2009, I maintained a clinical practice in New Jersey working with all ages on a broad range of psychological and mental health issues. I specialized in psychotherapy with lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) issues working with children, adolescents, and adults. In that capacity, I worked with hundreds of individuals struggling with sexual orientation and gender identity and expression.

5. I have extensive experience in public policy, including providing nonpartisan expertise on health issues for the U.S. Congress. In that capacity, I advised on health policy issues and provided policy consultations on sexual orientation, gender identity, sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE), and conversion therapy. I worked for the American Psychological Association as the Associate Executive Director in the Public Interest Directorate and developed public policies based on the science of psychology and represented the association to policy makers in Congress and federal agencies. One of the key areas I worked on were policies related to sexual orientation and gender identity. I am currently the Director of Professional Affairs at the New Jersey Psychological Association where I advise psychologists on clinical issues and the Association on legal, regulatory and practice issues, including the New Jersey law banning conversion therapy.

6. In my writing and policy work, I focus on public policy, mental health, and psychology. I have authored a number of papers, presentations, and trainings related to the harmful effects of conversion therapy as well as appropriate approaches for those distressed by their sexual orientation or who face conflicts between their religious beliefs and sexual orientation. I have written extensively on these topics, as my curriculum vitae reflects, including 20 professional articles, professional book chapters and books and presented over 60 trainings on psychotherapy of sexual orientation and gender identity.

7. I am member of the American Psychological Association (APA) and the New Jersey Psychological Association. I earned Fellow status of the American Psychological Association due to my expertise in sexual orientation and psychology of gender. I have received multiple professional honors and awards, including election to leadership positions in national associations, invitations to present at professional conferences, appointments to committees, the awarding of professional fellowships, and recognition of my scholarly achievement and public service.

8. My extensive and varied professional experiences have allowed me to develop a broad expertise in sexual orientation, gender identity, professional ethics, and related topics.

9. I served as the Chair of the American Psychological Association (APA) Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation (2007-2009) and wrote sections and edited the final report released in 2009 (the "APA Report," attached as Exhibit B).[1] The selection of the Task Force and the contents of the Report were defined by a charge of the APA Board of Directors that included among other tasks to: 1) Review and update the 1997 Resolution on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation (APA, 1998); 2) Generate a report that includes among other topics therapeutic interventions for children, adolescents, and adults who present a desire to change either their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both, or whose guardian expresses a desire for the minor to change. Task Force members were selected who could assist in accomplishing the charge and included experts with expertise in multiple areas including psychotherapy for lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals, heterosexual identity formation, the concerns of faith-based populations, and diverse populations.

[1] American Psychological Association (2009). *Report of the American Psychological Association Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation*.

Most importantly the Task Force included a research expert who could provide a impartial, rigorous, and unbiased appraisal of the pro-SOCE research. The final Report was published with an accompanying Resolution to inform mental health providers, patients and their families, policy makers, community organizations, and faith-based organizations on the appropriate treatment for those distressed by their sexual orientation. The report and resolution are cited in the findings of the Tampa Ordinance No. 2017-47.

10. I served as one of the APA staff coordinators for the expert consensus panel that provided the basis of the final report of the 2015 US Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) "Ending Conversion Therapy: Supporting and Affirming LGBT Youth" (Exhibit C).[2] I also contributed to the writing and editing of the final report. This report was undertaken to examine the research on children and youth and to educate providers on developmentally-appropriate treatment for children and adolescents who present in treatment with concerns regarding sexual orientation and gender identity. The expert panel who developed the consensus principles that are the foundation of the report was made up of experts in child and adolescent mental health from a wide range of disciplines, including psychiatrists, psychologists and social workers with expertise on gender, sexual orientation, gender development, psychotherapy, and religious faith.[3] After an independent review of the research and based on the panels' professional expertise, the report rejects the use of conversion therapy (CT) and provides the scientific basis for effective and safe treatments for children and adolescents. This report is cited as part of the legislative findings set forth in Tampa Ordinance No. 2017-47.

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[2] Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (2015). *Ending Conversion Therapy: Supporting and Affirming LGBTQ Youth*, HHS Publication No. (SMA) 15-4928.

[3] Ibid, p. 9.

11. Since the publication of both of these reports, I have provided extensive training at conferences for educators, mental health, medical and social service professionals on sexual orientation change efforts, conversion therapy and appropriate interventions for children, adolescents, and adults addressing distress or conflicts regarding sexual orientation and gender identity (see Exhibit A).

12. In the past 10 years, I have provided consultation on state legislation regarding sexual orientation, gender identity, and conversion therapy, advised interested parties on the risks and benefits of psychological interventions, and provided legal expert testimony by declaration in matters such as *Schwartz v The City of New York* and *King v. Christie* (2014). I was qualified as an expert in psychology in connection with proceedings in New Jersey Family Court, where I provided expert testimony on multiple occasions during the early 1990's.

I. Overview and Summary

13. I have read Tampa Ordinance No. 2017-47 ("Ordinance") and in my professional opinion it is well-designed to end harmful and ineffective treatment to minors by licensed mental health providers. The Ordinance, which is based on the best scientific evidence, is the right fit to achieve the city of Tampa's goals to protect the health and safety of minors.

14. This ordinance is supported by the best available scientific research relevant to children and adolescents, which is again cited in the legislative findings of the Ordinance. Specifically, current scientific evidence, including those cited in the findings, confirm unequivocally that conversion therapy (CT) in any form is ineffective and harmful.[4] The cited findings are careful and

[4] For example see, Weiss, E.M., Morehouse, J., Yeager, T, & Berry, T. (2010). A qualitative study of Ex-Gay and Ex-Ex-Gay Experiences. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Mental Health*, 14(4), 291-319, p. 318.

considered reviews of the scientific research and professional ethics. Sections II and III of this declaration discuss the relevant scientific research and certain ethical considerations.

15. Specifically, the Ordinance is consistent with the research reviews, practice guidelines and professional ethics and judgements in these areas of the leading U.S. and international medical and mental health associations that form the standard of care for this population. The scientific evidence cited as the basis for the Ordinance is comprehensive and includes the research reviews, professional guidelines and resolutions, and ethical statements of the leading medical and mental health associations and governing bodies relevant to this issue: medical associations such as the American College of Physicians (ACP), American Medical Association (AMA), American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP) and American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry (AACAP), American Psychiatric Association (APsyA), psychological associations such as the American Psychological Association (APA) and American Psychoanalytic Association, counselors such as the American School Counselor Association (ASCA), social workers such as the National Association of Social Workers (NASW), and international health organizations such as the Pan American Health Organization (of the World Health Organization), the World Psychiatric Association) and the U.S. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Association (SAMHSA) of the Department of Health and Human Services. These leading medical and mental health associations condemn conversion therapy (CT) and support psychotherapies that encourage developmentally-appropriate identity exploration and integration without a predetermined outcome, adaptive coping, and family acceptance to improve psychological well-being.

16. I have read the declarations submitted by the Plaintiff. They are inaccurate representations of the scientific literature, key professional reports, and the current professional consensus for the standard of care for children and adolescents. Fundamentally, there is no valid scientific evidence verifying conversion therapy ("CT")[5] claims to change of sexual orientation or gender identity. Rather, multiple empirical studies and reviews of the research literature including those since 2010 found that CT is ineffective and poses significant harms to individuals of all ages. Research on CT shows that CT does not have a valid scientific basis for its underlying theories or its interventions and is rejected by mainstream mental health practitioners and professional associations and guidelines. This is because CT (1) is unsupported by valid evidence of efficacy; and (2) significant valid evidence shows that it can pose harm to patients who receive it. A discussion of key issues that explain the scientific literature is found in this declaration.

17. In fact, the conclusions of the reports and policies reported in the findings of the Ordinance[6] have been strengthened over time by: a) new studies from separate research groups on individuals who participated in conversion therapy efforts published from 2010 summarized in

[5] Conversion therapy is also known as sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE) and gender identity change efforts (GICE).

[6] American College of Physicians (ACP), American Medical Association (AMA), American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP) and American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry (AACAP), American Psychiatric Association (APsyA)], psychological (American Psychological Association (APA) and American Psychoanalytic Association], counselors (American School Counselor Association (ASCA), social workers (National Association of Social Workers (NASW)], and international health organizations (Pan American Health Organization (of the World Health Organization), the World Psychiatric Assocaition) and the U.S. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Association (SAMHSA).

sections II and III;[7] b) independent evaluations of the research reflected in the professional guidelines and statements found in paragraphs 39 and 45; c) an assessment of similar research published in 2008;[8] d) the retraction by the author of a major study that claimed sexual orientation change was possible.[9] These points will be detailed in the following sections.

18. Recent research indicates increased rates of serious emotional distress among lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and questioning youth that is not a function of their sexual orientation or gender identity. Rather, these risks stem from the stresses of prejudice, discrimination, rejection, harassment, and violence. Some of these risks are mitigated by protecting youth from conversion therapy (CT) by licensed professionals. This ordinance permits mental health providers to deliver treatments that are proven to be effective in relieving distress and improving mental

[7] Bradshaw, K., Dehlin, J.P., Crowell, K.A. Galliher, R.V. & Bradshaw, W.S. (2015) Sexual Orientation Change Efforts Through Psychotherapy for LGBQ Individuals Affiliated With the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Journal of Sex & Marital Therapy, 41(4), 391-412; Dehlin, J. P., Galliher, R. V., Bradshaw, W. S., Hyde, D. C., & Crowell, K. A. (2015). Sexual orientation change efforts among current or former LDS church members. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 62, 95–105; Flentje, A., Heck, N. C., & Cochran, B. N. (2014). Experiences of ex-ex-gay individuals in sexual reorientation therapy: Reasons for seeking treatment, perceived helpfulness and harmfulness of treatment, and post-treatment identification. Journal of Homosexuality, 61, 1242–1268; Maccio, E.M. (2011). Self-Reported Sexual Orientation and Identity Before and After Sexual Reorientation Therapy, Journal of Gay and Lesbian Psychotherapy, 15(3), 242-259; Ryan, C., Toomey, R., Diaz, R.. & Russell, S. T. (2018). Parent-initiated sexual orientation change efforts with LGBT adolescents: Implications for young adult mental health and adjustment, Journal of Homosexuality DOI: 10.1080/00918369.2018.1538407; Weiss, E.M., Morehouse, J., Yeager, T, & Berry, T. (2010). A qualitative study of Ex-Gay and Ex-Ex-Gay Experiences. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Mental Health*, 14(4), 291-319.

[8] Cramer, R. J., Golom, F. D., LoPresto, C. T., & Kirkley, S. M. (2008). Weighing the evidence: Empirical assessment and ethical implications of conversion therapy. *Ethics & Behavior, 18*, 93-114.

[9] Spitzer, R. L. (2012). Spitzer reassesses his 2003 study of reparative therapy of homosexuality. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 41*(4), 757.

health.[10] The Ordinance permits therapeutic interventions from various perspectives, including those from diverse religious faiths,[11] and is supportive of family participation in children's lives.[12]

II. Background and Definitions

19. Sexual orientation is a well-established concept in psychology. Sexual orientation refers to an enduring pattern of emotional, romantic, and/or sexual attractions and behaviors directed to another person. Sexual orientation is an objective, human phenomenon that can be assessed and measured. Sexual orientation exists on a continuum, but is usually discussed in terms of four categories: heterosexual, lesbian, gay, and bisexual.

20. Decades of scientific research have shown unequivocally that heterosexual, gay, lesbian, and bisexual sexual identities are part of the normal spectrum of human sexual orientation and are not a mental illness or developmental defect.

21. Gender identity is an established concept in psychology, referring to an internal, deeply-rooted sense of oneself as belonging to a particular gender; it is distinct from sexual orientation. Gender expression refers to how an individual expresses their internal sense of identity, including through their demeanor, dress, and behavior. Most people have a gender identity that is

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[10] Burton, C.L., Wang, K., & Pachankis, J.E. (2017). Psychotherapy for the Spectrum of Sexual Minority Stress: Application and Technique of the ESTEEM Treatment Model, Cognitive and Behavioral Practice.

[11] For example, see: Ream, G.L. & Savin-Williams, R.C. (2006). Religious development in Adolescence, In Adams & Berzonsky (Eds.). *Blackwell Handbook of Adolescence*. NY: Wiley. Throckmorton, W. & Yarhouse, M. A. (2006). *Sexual identity therapy: Practice guidelines for managing sexual identity conflicts.* Unpublished paper. Retrieved August 21, 2008, from http://wthrockmorton.com/wp-content/ uploads/2007/04/sexualidentitytherapyframeworkfinal.pdf; Yarhouse, M. A. (2008). Narrative sexual identity therapy. *American Journal of Family Therapy, 39*, 196-210. Yarhouse, M. A., & Tan, E. S. N. (2005). Addressing religious conflicts in adolescents who experience sexual identity confusion. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, *6*, 530-536.

[12] For example, see: Ryan, C., Russell, S. T., Huebner, D. M., Diaz, R., & Sanchez, J. (2010). Family acceptance in adolescence and the health of LGBT young adults. Journal of Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Nursing, 23(4), 205-213. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA), (2014). *A Practitioner's Resource Guide: Helping Families to Support Their LGBT Children.* HHS Publication No. PEP14-LGBTKIDS. Rockville, MD.

congruent with their assigned sex at birth. For a transgender person, however, their gender identity does not match their assigned sex at birth. In addition, many people are gender-nonconforming—that is, their gender expression does not conform to traditional gender roles. Being gender non-conforming does not mean that a person is lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender. Gender identity is an objective, human phenomenon and can be assessed and measured.

22. Decades of scientific research has shown that variations in gender identity and expression are normal aspects of human diversity and do not constitute a mental disorder or developmental defect.[13]

23. Conversion therapy refers to psychological interventions that seek to change the treatment recipient's sexual orientation from gay, lesbian, or bisexual to heterosexual, or to change a transgender gender identity or gender non-conforming identity to match the sex assigned at birth or reduce gender non-conforming behaviors and demeanor. Currently, CT is attempted primarily by talk therapies including role plays, behavior modification through non-aversive techniques, psychoanalytic techniques, cognitive therapies, medical approaches, family therapy, and religious and spiritual efforts. CT can include non-aversive and aversive techniques.

24. CT is based on outdated, unscientific beliefs and false stereotypes about the causes and nature of sexual orientation and gender identity. CT aimed at changing sexual orientation and gender identity and expression is often based on the inaccurate and pernicious stereotyped notions that same-sex attractions and gender identity diversity are disorders and inferior to opposite-sex attractions and cisgender identification,[14] and that lesbian, bisexual, gay, and transgendered

[13] For summaries of the research, see professional guidelines and policy statements in paragraph 39 and 44.

[14] Cisgender means identifying with the gender that is the same as the biological sex identified at birth.

(LGBT) individuals are incapable of leading productive lives and engaging in stable sexual and family relationships. Many conversion therapists falsely claim, for example, that being gay, lesbian or bisexual, or transgender, is caused by problematic dynamics between parents and children, child abuse, or sexual abuse. These ideas have no basis in science and have been thoroughly discredited through decades of scientific research.[15] These ideas are inconsistent with an evidence-based understanding of sexual orientation and gender identity.

25. In children and adolescents, CT also includes attempts to change a child's or adolescent's sexual orientation or efforts to prevent the development of a same-sex sexual orientation and identity in adolescence and adulthood. CT also includes efforts to change gender expression in children (e.g., demeanor, actions, and dress associated with gender roles) and to suppress gender nonconforming behaviors in order to prevent or change gender nonconforming identities or transgender identities. Efforts to change gender expression in children and adolescents are sometimes applied in an effort to prevent a child from growing up to be lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender.

26. Survey data estimates that about 350,000 adults in the United States received CT when they were adolescents and about 20,000 youth (ages 13-17) will receive CT from a licensed health care professional before they reach the age of 18.[16]

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[15] See, for example, one of the earlier studies finding that these stereotypes are inaccurate, Bell, A.P., Weinberg, W.S. & Hammersmith, S.K. (1981). Sexual preference: Its development in Men and Women. Indiana University Press.

[16] Mallory, C., Brown, C.N.T., & Conron, K.J. (2018). Conversion therapy and LGBT youth. Los Angelos, The Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law. https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/demographics/conversion-therapy-and-lgbt-youth/

III. Conversion therapy treatment interventions are harmful and ineffective.

A. Core Aspects of Healthy Child and Adolescent Development.

27. In order to fully understand the profound harm experienced by children and adolescents subjected to CT, it is important first to explain some of the key developmental tasks related to sexual orientation and gender identity for all children. As will be further explained below, CT undermines and counteracts the building blocks of a healthy childhood, adolescence, and adulthood.

28. The development of gender identity and sexual orientation are universal processes that take place early in childhood. They are part of each phase of a child's cognitive, emotional and physical development. As a child matures, their cognitive ability and identity becomes more sophisticated. Family and cultural messages about difference and identity are more evident and understood and peer acceptance becomes more important. Sexual orientation development is heightened in adolescence during puberty when youth develop deeper friendships and intimate relationships, focus on a future occupation, achieve greater emotional independence from their parents, and develop their own values. Gender identity diversity and nonconforming behaviors start in early childhood, but with puberty, gender diverse adolescents are faced with an increased awareness of the discordance between their gender identity and physical body, potentially leading to heightened distress.

29. A fundamental basis of human development is the establishment of trusting human relationships early in life; children depend on families and communities for love, protection, and

safety. Most children thrive when provided with love and support, and know that others are committed to their growth to adulthood. It is important that young people have spaces in which they feel safe enough to explore core aspects of their identities.

30. However, children are vulnerable to the disapproval and rejection of others. They learn from an early age whether their feelings match cultural expectations. Sadly, even after decades of progress, sexual orientation and gender diversity are stigmatized—devalued, denigrated and seen as less-than. Positive images of gender and sexual orientation diversity are lacking, and children and adolescents are often not exposed to positive lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender (LGBT) role models. It is a double burden to grow up without positive role models and to protect one's self-esteem from these negative stereotypes.

31. At each stage of developmental change, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and questioning (LGBTQ) children often feel isolated and alone. Many LGBTQ children and adolescents must navigate the awareness and acceptance of their socially marginalized sexual orientation or gender identity without adequate information and support.

32. Adolescents face particular challenges. The teen years are a crucial time to explore, accept, and integrate sexual orientation and a mature gender identity into their developing lives. Key questions arise: How will I fit in? Will people reject me? Will I find a partner or create a family? Do I have a future being my true self? For those who experience their LGBT orientation and identity as "less-than," bad or inadequate, these questions are even harder. Such individuals will likely develop chronic feelings of shame and/or guilt. Many will avoid or postpone key tasks

of identity acceptance, integration, and family formation because the stress is so overwhelming.[17] This is harmful because delays in these adult milestones have long-term emotional, educational and employment effects resulting in a greater chance of emotional distress and lower levels of educational and vocational achievement.

33. Along with the isolation caused by disapproval and the shame imposed by the larger culture, many children and adolescents are exposed to actual discrimination and aggression that ranges from disrespect to bullying to even violence. Discrimination, cultural stigma, and exposure to or threat of violence create "minority stress," a phenomenon also experienced by other stigmatized minorities. Minority stress is linked to poor mental and physical health, particularly psychological distress.[18] In fact, this recent research on adolescents indicates that LGBT adolescents are at a greater risk of mental distress than their heterosexual peers because of the stress of anti-LGBT prejudice and discrimination.

34. Importantly, these increased risks of emotional distress are not a function of the sexual orientation or gender identity of LGBT children. Rather, these negative mental health outcomes stem from the harmful impact of prejudice, discrimination, rejection, harassment, and violence directed at those who are LGBTQ or are perceived to be LGBTQ.[19] Children and adolescents

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17 Russell, S. & Fish, J. (2016). Mental Health in Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Youth. Annual Review of Clinical Psychology, 12, 465-487.

18 Hatzenbuehler, M.L. & Pachankis, J.E. (2016). Stigma and minority stress as social determinants of health among lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender youth: Research evidence and clinical implications. Pediatric Clinics of North America, 63, 985–997.

19 Ibid.

experience these negative influences more profoundly than adults due to their increased emotional vulnerability and less developed capacity to cope effectively with the harm of discrimination.[20]

35. CT worsens minority stress by reinforcing negative societal stereotypes and conveying inaccurate information; this increases depression, self-hatred, blame, and hopelessness.[21] Rather than debunking these stereotypes, and reducing the shame and stigma faced by these children and adolescents, CT interventions undermine their self-esteem, identity acceptance and integration by telling them that their deeply-felt identity and ability to love are "wrong" and "bad."[22] Similarly, for young children who are struggling with gender issues, being pressured to change their gender expression or to conform to gender stereotypes can worsen their distress because it undermines their sense of self and creates deep-seated shame.[23]

36. Further, CT poses an additional significant risk of harm because it does not provide children and adolescents with the benefits of sound psychotherapy to bolster their mental health. In any psychotherapeutic intervention, children and youth need support, reassurance of their self-worth, and a sense that a professional is committed to helping them with openness and understanding of their conflicts and fears. CT does just the opposite. Individuals subjected to this negative

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[20] For example, see: Raifman, J, Moscoe, E., Austin, S.B., & McConnell M. (2017). Difference-in-differences analysis of the association between state same-sex marriage policies and adolescent suicide attempts JAMA Pediatrics

[21] American Psychological Association (2009); Nadal, K. L., Skolnik, A., & Wong, Y. (2012). Interpersonal and Systemic Microaggressions Toward Transgender People: Implications for Counseling. Journal of LGBT Issues in Counseling, 6, 5–82.

[22] Ryan, C., Toomey, R., Diaz, R.. & Russell, S. T. (2018). Parent-initiated sexual orientation change efforts with LGBT adolescents: Implications for young adult mental health and adjustment, Journal of Homosexuality DOI: 10.1080/00918369.2018.1538407; Ryan, C., Huebner, D., Diaz, R. M., & Sanchez, J. (2009).Family rejection as a predictor of negative health outcomes in white and Latino lesbian, gay and bisexual young adults. Pediatrics, 123(1), 346-352. See also American Association of Pediatrics, 1993.

[23] Rosenberg, M., & Jellinek, M. S. (2002). Children with gender identity issues and their parents in individual and group treatment. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*. 41, 619–21.

therapeutic experience in CT will be less likely to seek out psychotherapy in the future, an impediment that creates an additional risk to their mental health.[24]

37. CT also interferes with a healthy parent-child relationship. According to a decade of family research, CT gives parents false and harmful information. It encourages parents to interact with their children in damaging ways, which can lead to children feeling even more rejected by their family and even more alone. CT fails at the therapeutic goal of assisting families in providing a supportive environment for children and reducing behaviors that can harm children. To the contrary, CT teaches parents to invalidate a child's deeply felt feelings about who they are which leads to dangerous behaviors, such as suicidal ideation and suicide attempts.[25]

38. CT often includes efforts to ensure that gender expression (actions and dress associated with gender roles) conform to traditional gender roles as well as that gender identity is consistent with the sex assigned at birth. These efforts are sometimes termed gender identity change efforts ("GICE").

39. CT is fundamentally inconsistent with the consensus view of the medical, psychiatric, and psychological communities regarding the appropriate care of gender diverse and transgender individuals, and it poses a risk of significant harm. For example, the American Psy-

[24] Craig, S. L., Austin, A., Rashidi, M., & Adams, M. (2017). Fighting for survival: The experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and questioning students in religious colleges and universities. Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services, 1, 1-24.

[25] Ryan, C., et al. (2009).

chiatric Association and the American Psychoanalytic Association have explicitly rejected the theoretical basis of CT due to significant evidence that sexual orientation and gender diversity are normal human variations.[26]

40. CT is inconsistent with all existing guidelines for the treatment of gender diverse individuals of any age. The World Professional Association for Transgender Health (WPATH) promulgated Standards of Care (SOC) that are the internationally recognized guidelines and inform psychological and medical treatment throughout the world.[27] The WPATH Standards of Care are formulated and revised over a period of nearly 30 years by the foremost experts in the care of transgender and gender diverse individuals, informed by the available clinical data. These guidelines are evidenced-based and are supported by the leading medical and mental health associations in the United States and worldwide, including The American Medical Association, the Endocrine Society, the American Psychological Association the American Psychiatric Association, the World Health Organization, the American Academy of Family Physicians, the American Public Health Association, the National Association of Social Workers, the American College of Obstetrics and

[26] American Psychiatric Association, Board of Trustees and Assembly, *Position Statement on Issues Related to Homosexuality*, (2013). American Psychoanalytic Association (2012). 2012 - Position Statement on Attempts to Change Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity, or Gender Expression. Retrieved from: http://www.apsa.org/content/2012-position-statement-attempts-change-sexual-orientation-gender-identity-or-gender.

[27] Coleman, E. et al., The World Professional Association for Transgender Health, Standards of Care for the Health of Transsexual, Transgender, and Gender-Nonconforming People (7th ed. 2012).

Gynecology and the American Society of Plastic Surgeons. These associations all endorse protocols in accordance with the WPATH SOC.[28] The following associations have also developed independent guidelines on gender identity treatment that are consistent with those from WPATH: American Medical Association (2008) Resolution 122 n(A-08); Endocrine Treatment of Transsexual Persons: An Endocrine Society Clinical Practice Guideline (2009); American Psychological Association Policy Statement on Transgender, Gender Identity and Gender Expression Nondiscrimination (2009) and Guidelines for the Treatment of Transgender and Gender-Nonconforming Individuals (2015).

41. Scientific research indicates that CT poses harms for those seeking treatment for concerns involving gender identity, including an increase in suicidal ideation and attempts, self-mutilation, increased depression and anxiety, increased self-hatred, hopelessness, shame and an increase in substance abuse and high-risk sexual behaviors.[29]

B. The Medical and Scientific Research Demonstrates that Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Cannot be Changed.

42. All existing valid empirical research data shows that sexual orientation change efforts are ineffective. Two separate reviews of the literature (Cramer et al., 2008; APA, 2009) were conducted about ten years ago and found that there is no existing scientifically-valid research that

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[28] American Medical Association, *Resolution 122 (A-08): Removing Financial Barriers to Care for Transgender Patients* (2008); Wylie C. Hembree *et al.*, (2009). *Endocrine Treatment of Transsexual Persons: An Endocrine Society Clinical Practice Guideline*, 94 Journal of Clinical Endocrinology & Metabolism 3132; American Psychological Association. (2008). *Transgender, Gender Identity, & Gender Expression Non-Discrimination;* American Psychological Association. (2015).*Guidelines for Psychological Practice with Transgender and Gender Nonconforming People,* 70 American Psychologist 832.

[29] The American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, Committee on Health Care for Underserved women, *Committee Opinion Number 512: Health Care for Transgender Individuals,* (December 2011, reaffirmed 2019); Caitlin Ryan et al., *Parent-Initiated Sexual Orientation Change Efforts With LGBT Adolescents: Implications for Young Adult Mental Health and Adjustment*, Journal of Homosexuality (2018).

shows that sexual orientation in children, adolescents or adults can be changed by psychological interventions, or that CT can reduce same-sex sexual attractions or increase heterosexual attractions.[30] Nor is there is any valid scientific evidence of lasting change in sexual behaviors (i.e, a decrease in same-sex behaviors or increase in heterosexual behaviors). The APA Report thoroughly analyzed decades of peer-reviewed research[31] and concluded: "…the participants in this body of research continued to experience same-sex attractions following SOCE and did not report significant change to other-sex attractions that could be empirically validated."[32] Any efficacy claims made by providers of CT are unsubstantiated.[33]

43. Claims that CT can change gender identity are not scientifically supported as either effective or therapeutic practices.[34] CT that focuses on changing gender identity and expression is sometimes used to try to change current or future sexual orientation. There is no validity to this approach and these practices are perceived by participants as ineffective.[35]

[30] Cramer, R. J., Golom, F. D., LoPresto, C. T., & Kirkley, S. M. (2008). Weighing the evidence: Empirical assessment and ethical implications of conversion therapy. *Ethics & Behavior, 18,* 93-114. American Psychological Association (2009).

[31] The APA Report limited itself to peer-reviewed journal articles for its analysis of efficacy, benefits, and harms as this is the fundamental scientific standard accepted in mental and physical healthcare analysis and provides the best basis for evaluating causality (APA, 2009, pp. 26 FN, 26-43). Other types of sources were used to understand the perceptions of participants (including benefits and harms) and their motivations that included books and non-peer-reviewed sources (see APA, 2009, pp. 44-52). The final product was reviewed by over 30 experts in psychotherapy, including those of diverse backgrounds and perspectives on sexual orientation therapies (see, pp. 8-10).

[32] See American Psychological Association (2009), p.2.

[33] See Cramer et al., (2008).

[34] Rosenberg & Jelinek (2002); Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (2015).

[35] Bradshaw, K., Dehlin, J.P., Crowell, K.A. Galliher, R.V. & Bradshaw, W.S. (2015) Sexual Orientation Change Efforts Through Psychotherapy for LGBQ Individuals Affiliated With the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Journal of Sex & Marital Therapy, 41(4), 391-412; American Psychological Association (2009).

44. Research to assess the perceptions of CT participants conducted since Cramer et al. (2008) and the APA Report (2009) support these conclusions of ineffectiveness.[36] This research includes three different studies of members of the Church of Latter-Day Saints (persons highly motivated to change), including one study of over 1000 persons who experienced interventions to change sexual orientation. The study concluded that CT failed to change participants' self-reported sexual orientation.

45. The rejection of CT by all the major mental health, counseling, and health organizations in the United States, including those for children, as well as many international health associations and government entities is based on the entire body of evidence. For example, the American Psychiatric Association reiterated its opposition to sexual orientation change efforts in November 2018 and explicitly cited the dangers associated with SOCE originally published in 2013:

> "The American Psychiatric Association does not believe that same-sex orientation should or needs to be changed, and efforts to do so represent a significant risk of harm by subjecting individuals to forms of treatment which have not been scientifically validated and by undermining self-esteem when sexual orientation fails to change. No credible evidence exists that any mental health intervention can reliably and safely change sexual orientation; nor, from a mental health perspective does sexual orientation need to be changed."

46. Other medical and mental health associations worldwide have either explicitly rejected CT for LGBT individuals or have written guidelines for children, adolescents, and adults

[36] Dehlin, J. P., Galliher, R. V., Bradshaw, W. S., Hyde, D. C., & Crowell, K. A. (2015). Sexual orientation change efforts among current or former LDS church members. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 62, 95–105; Flentje, A., Heck, N. C., & Cochran, B. N. (2014). Experiences of ex-ex-gay individuals in sexual reorientation therapy: Reasons for seeking treatment, perceived helpfulness and harmfulness of treatment, and post-treatment identification. Journal of Homosexuality, 61, 1242–1268; Maccio, E.M. (2011).elf-Reported Sexual Orientation and Identity Before and After Sexual Reorientation Therapy, Journal of Gay and Lesbian Psychotherapy, 15(3), 242-259. Weiss et al., 2010.

excluding such approaches. The American Psychological Association, American Psychiatric Association, American Medical Association, American Academy of Family Physicians, American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, American Counseling Association, American Academy of Pediatrics, American Psychoanalytic Association, Australian Psychological Society, British Psychological Association, Endocrine Society, National Association of Social Workers, Psychological Society of Ireland, Psychological Society of South Africa, and the World Professional Association for Transgender Health, among others, have all published recommendations, resolutions or guidelines.

C. The Medical and Scientific Research Demonstrates that Conversion Therapy Poses A Substantial and Unacceptable Risk of Severe and Lasting Harm.

47. Research from authoritative scientific studies concludes that all forms of CT pose significant risks of harm, including aversive and nonaversive. Past studies (from 1960-2007), especially those of religious individuals, described in the APA Report indicate that the risks of harm to adults from both talk therapies that were non-aversive, as well as aversive approaches that are less common now, include feelings of distress, anxiety, depression, increased suicidal ideation and suicide attempts, increase in substance abuse, self-blame, guilt, and loss of hope, among other negative feelings, as well as disillusionment with religious faith, and harm to family relationships.[37]

[37] *See*, Beckstead, A. L., & Morrow, S. L. (2004). Mormon clients' experiences of conversion therapy: The need for a new treatment approach. *The Counseling Psychologist, 32*, 651- 690.

48. More recent research on adults who participated in CT since 2007 supports the reports of harm documented in the APA Report. One study found that 37% of all participants reported moderate and significant harms including those found in the APA Report, such as increased risk of suicidality, depression, self-blame, and disillusionment with faith.[38] These recent studies support the conclusions of earlier reviews of the literature such as the APA Report and the research review of Cramer et al. (2008).

49. This rate of reported harm from CT is higher compared to alternative approaches.[39] In this same study, those who received therapy that encouraged identity exploration found such approaches beneficial and not harmful as compared to those in CT.[40] This approach, as described in the research does not impose an outcome on the individual and is consistent with those from all backgrounds, from those with religious values to those with LGBT identities. This type of approach is permitted by this Ordinance "…provides acceptance, support, understanding of a person or facilitates a person's coping, social support, and development" (Ordinance No. 2017-47, p.5 lines 46-48).

50. Research shows that all forms of CT also poses a significant risk of harm to gender diverse people, including individuals who have a gender identity different from their sex assigned at birth. The available research shows that CT forces gender conformity and reinforces stigma and

38 Bradshaw, K., et al., 2015.
39 Ibid.
40 Bradshaw, K., et al., 2015.

discrimination toward gender diverse people. These practices are associated with poor psychosocial outcomes, such as heightened psychological distress and LGBT-based health disparities and compromised overall well-being.[41]

51. The risks posed by CT are demonstrably dangerous for adolescents. Research, published since the APA Report in 2009, on young adults who experienced such efforts in adolescence shows that these types of practices pose very serious psychological risks. Ryan et al. 2018, found that individuals reported significant harms from receiving CT in adolescence. Other recent research published in 2018 on young adults who reported that they had been subjected to CT in adolescence revealed serious harms. These individuals were *3 times* more likely to have attempted suicide and to have had suicidal ideation (thoughts of suicide) than LGBT adolescents who are not subjected to CT. Adolescents who had been subjected to CT reported being seriously depressed *3.5 times* more often than those who had not. Beyond the negative short-term mental health effects, participants also experienced negative long-term effects such as lowered life satisfaction, less social support, lower socioeconomic status, and other serious difficulties in their young adulthood that could impact them over the long term.[42] Another 2009 study showed that CT applied during adolescence is one of several types of rejecting parental behaviors that increase the rates of depression, suicidal ideation and suicide attempts in young adults. In fact, those who have had these rejecting experiences are twice as likely to experience depression, suicidal ideation, and suicide

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[41] SAMHSA (2015); American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry (2018). Conversion Therapy. https://www.aacap.org/AACAP/Policy_Statements/2018/Conversion_Therapy.asp.; Society of Adolescent Medicine (2013).Recommendations for promoting the health and well-being of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender adolescents: position paper of the Society for Adolescent Health and Medicine. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 52(4),506-10.

[42] Ryan, et al., 2018.

attempts as those LGBT individuals who have not experienced rejecting behaviors and the rates of depression, suicidal ideation and suicide attempts increase as the amount of rejection increases.[43]

52. Families often seek out CT when distressed about their child's sexual orientation and gender identity. In particular, gender nonconforming youth are more likely to be taken by their parents to receive CT to change their gender expression and identity.[44] As noted above, unlike other therapies that help parents support their children's unique developmental tasks, CT often encourages parents to engage in coercive, rejecting, and critical behaviors, based on false claims that these behaviors can change or influence a child's gender identity or sexual orientation. The rejection of an adolescent's gender identity and expression is harmful as it is associated with poorer emotional, social and vocational outcomes, and gender identity change efforts are clear examples of rejection.[45]

53. The risk of harm to children and adolescents from CT is heightened by additional considerations. Therapeutic interventions for children and adolescents must account for their physical, emotional and cognitive immaturity relative to adults. [46] It is therefore reasonable to be particularly concerned about the likelihood of serious risks to children where there is research demonstrating that CT also poses a serious risk of harm to adults. Children and adolescents are particularly in need of appropriate therapeutic interventions given their stage of psychological development. Young people subjected to CT are delaying or being denied effective treatment for the psychological distress they are experiencing, thus potentially increasing the risk of life-threatening

43 Ryan, C., et al. 2009.
44 Ryan, C., et al. 2018.
45 Ibid.
46 See Special Protections for Children as Research Subjects, Department of Health and Human Services https://www.hhs.gov/ohrp/regulations-and-policy/guidance/special-protections-for-children/index.html.

conditions such as suicidal ideation and suicide attempts. Indeed, for adolescents who are particularly vulnerable to hopelessness, being told they can change their sexual orientation or gender identity, and then discovering that such assurances lead to failure, only increases despair and hopelessness.

54. Due to these harms, sexual orientation and gender identity change efforts for children and adolescents are considered invalid. The US Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services of the Department of Health and Human Services has rejected CT for these populations and stated about gender identity change efforts:

> "Directing the child or adolescent to conform to any particular gender expression or identity, or directing parents and guardians to place pressure on the child or adolescent to conform to specific gender expressions and/or identities, is inappropriate and reinforces harmful gender stereotypes."[47]

D. Appropriate Interventions for Children and Adolescents

55. There are safe and effective psychotherapies for children, youth, and families confronting these issues. Such treatments are permitted under the Ordinance and illustrate that the Ordinance is an appropriate way to advance the health of minors. The standard of care for this population stresses acceptance of the child as a whole person and includes recognizing the validity of their identity conflicts, including those rooted in religious belief.[48] Appropriate therapy includes providing safety and protection from bullying, discrimination and harassment, and openness and

47 SAMHSA, 2015.
48 SAMHSA, 2014, 2015.

commitment to their welfare without having a specific sexual orientation or gender identity outcomes.[49] This requires a careful assessment of the child and their concerns, including identifying if there is distress and its origins, the gender identity or sexual orientation issues, the child's cognitive and emotional capacities in a developmental framework, and any mental health concerns.[50] Thus, the Ordinance is an excellent fit to the current research and public health problems.

56. Mental health professionals focus on reducing distress and increasing the child's capacity to cope with stigma or cultural invalidation, including LGBT stigma. The mental health provider assists the child in developmentally appropriate exploration of sexual orientation and gender identity. Under both practice standards and ethical guidelines, the emergence of a minor's unique identity should be allowed without interference from the therapist, such as a pre-set or imposed sexual orientation or gender identity outcome.[51]

57. Decades of studies, including recent randomly controlled evaluations of therapy, indicate that patients benefited from therapies that provide accurate information about sexual orientation and gender identity. Approaches that reduce the stigma, fear, and shame surrounding sexual orientation and gender diversity are effective at reducing mental health symptoms.[52] These

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[49] Those organizations with relevant treatment guidelines include American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry; American Academy of Pediatrics, American Psychological Association, American Counseling Association, Australian Psychological Association, New Zealand Psychological Association, Society for Adolescent Medicine, and the World Professional Association for Transgender Health.

[50] Adelson, S. L., & the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry (AACAP) Committee on Quality Issues (CQI). (2012). Practice parameter on gay, lesbian, or bisexual sexual orientation, gender non-conformity, and gender discordance in children and adolescents. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 51, 957– 974; SAMHSA, (2015).

[51] American Psychological Association, 2011; SAMHSA, 2015.

[52] See for example, Pachankis, J.E., Hatzenbuehler, M. L., Rendina, H. J., Safren, S. A., & Parsons, J. T. (2015) Pachankis J.E., Hatzenbuehler M.L., Rendina H.J., Safren S.A., Parsons J.T.: LGB-affirmative cognitive-behavioral therapy for young adult gay and bisexual men: A randomized controlled trial of a transdiagnostic minority stress approach. Journal of Consulting & Clinical Psychology, 83(5), 875-89.

treatments are based on a significant body of research that indicate that anti-LGBT stigma, and the stress of anti-LGBT prejudice and discrimination (often termed minority stress) can trigger chronic feelings of shame and/or guilt. Past and current exposure to negative social stereotypes; rejection or lack of support in family relationships, and discrimination at school, community organizations and work can trigger mental health symptoms and unhealthy coping behaviors.

58. These approaches have been rigorously evaluated and have been found to be effective, some under randomly-controlled design methods. Such approaches have been empirically validated in the reduction of the depression, anxiety and suicidal ideation that harm those who are LGBTQ or are conflicted.[53] These approaches are not simply accepting of an individual's distress or identities, but seek to change their cognitions and self-appraisals that lead to depression, anxiety, and suicidality. Therapies can similarly help families understand their child's conflicts and concerns and provide tools to communicate about these challenging issues without damage to the child's mental health. A child's distress can be reduced even when parents' do not approve or accept their child's sexual orientation or gender diversity.[54] These approaches can be provided to minors under the Ordinance.

59. Many children and adolescents may be uncertain about their gender identity or experience their sexual orientation as fluid, or be unsure how to label their identity. These children and youth benefit from psychotherapies that permit exploration and self-determination and provide

[53] Among the examples of randomized trials, a hallmark of the highest quality research, is Pachankis, Jet al., (2015); Burton, C.L., Wong, K., Pachankis, & Pachankis, J. (2017).

[54] Ryan, C., et al., (2010); Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (2014).

accurate information about sexual orientation and gender identity; CT is not an appropriate intervention for this population.[55] These exploratory approaches are permitted by the Ordinance, allow the provision of appropriate interventions, and illustrate that the Ordinance clearly bans harmful interventions while permitting safe and effective therapies. After careful review of the scientific research and clinical literature by a panel of child and adolescent psychiatrists specifically charged to review the evidence, the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry (2012) states:

> …based on the scientific evidence, the AACAP asserts that such "conversion therapies" (or other interventions imposed with the intent of promoting a particular sexual orientation and/or gender as a preferred outcome) lack scientific credibility and clinical utility. Additionally, there is evidence that such interventions are harmful. As a result, "conversion therapies" should not be part of any behavioral health treatment of children and adolescents. However, this in no way detracts from the s*tandard of care which requires that clinicians facilitate the developmentally appropriate, open exploration of sexual orientation, gender identity, and/or gender expression, without any pre-determined outcome*.[56] [emphasis added][57]

60. These types of approaches are detailed in the 2015 SAMHSA Report and existing professional guidelines by the major mental health associations previously cited in the findings section of the Ordinance. Specifically, the AAP, ASCP, AMA, APA, NASW, Pan American Health Organization, and SAMHSA support approaches that provide nonjudgemental exploration of sexual orientation and gender identity. These recommended approaches do not include any form of CT as these interventions attempt to direct or arrest an individual's sexual orientation or gender identity to one imposed outcome. For example, The AAP is the national association of

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55 SAMHSA, 2015. See also, AAP, AACAP and NASW documents cited in Ordinance findings.

56 *See* AACAP (2018) citing findings from AACAP (2012). https://www.aacap.org/aacap/policy_statements/2018/Conversion_Therapy.aspx.

57 AACAP completed a thorough review of the evidence. What is important about this review is that it focused on children and adolescents exclusively and its conclusions are tailored to that population and the unique developmental and health concerns of that population.

pediatricians who are experts in interventions in advancing the health and wellbeing of children and adolescents. The AAP (1993) statement includes guidance to professionals working with minors based on developmentally-sound approaches. The AAP considered guiding principles of child development and medical ethics. Its recommendations support the text of the Ordinance in that they stress treatment that assists in clarifying issues not CT; the latter is specifically rejected. The Pan American Health Association (2012) carefully reviewed the evidence, especially of reports of CT worldwide, and among its many recommendations states that conversion therapy not be provided to adolescents. ASCA reviewed the research and considered professional guidelines and roles for mental health and school professionals in child development and clearly expressed that the appropriate role of school counselors, not to try to change sexual orientation or gender identity, but to support identity exploration and safety, Specifically, school counselors " counsel students with feelings about their sexual orientation and gender identity as well as students' feelings about the identity of others in an accepting and nonjudgmental manner. NASW members work with families and children in a variety of settings and have special expertise in working with children and their families. NASW considered the scientific issues from its professional guidelines and supports therapies that provide "self-actualization" such as exploration of sexual orientation and gender identity and condemns the provision of CT.[58] The Ordinance permits appropriate forms of professional treatment for minors while banning those who pose a risk of harm to minors.

[58] *See*, https://www.socialworkers.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=IQYALknHU6s%3d&portalid=0.

61. The Ordinance implements the existing scientific and professional consensus on appropriate interventions with children and adolescents and fits with the goals of protecting children and adolescents while permitting their health concerns to be addressed. In my professional opinion, the Ordinance is an excellent fit to the best scientific findings and ethical guidelines.

62. Scientific research supports the position that there is no evidence that CT can produce an enduring change in sexual orientation, and that patients perceive a benefit when offered approaches that support, accept, and recognize important values, including religious concerns without imposing a particular outcome on the patient.[59] Such studies show that participants perceived efforts to be most helpful when they worked with a counselor to clarify their own values and goals without having a pre-set goal of sexual orientation change or acceptance.[60] Other studies of young adults and adolescents in research studies and published in a federal report recommend assisting families to communicate love and understanding while trying to assist their children with conflicts between values and sexual orientation and gender identity.[61] These type of approaches are examples of research-based approaches for those with conflicts between faith and sexual orientation and gender identity.[62] These well-accepted psychotherapy treatments provide these benefits without the risks of CT. Such interventions are permitted under this Ordinance.

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59 Bradshaw et al., 2015.

60 Ibid.

61 Ryan, C., et al., 2010; Ryan, C., & Rees, R. A. (2012). *Supportive families, healthy children: Helping Latter-day Saint families with lesbian, gay, bisexual & transgender children.* San Francisco, CA: Family Acceptance Project, Marian Wright Edelman Institute, San Francisco State University, 2012; SAMHSA, 2014.

62 Levy, D.L. & Reeves, P., (2011). *Resolving identity conflict: Gay, Lesbian, and Queer Individuals with a Christian upbringing*, Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services 5 23(1), 53-68; Sherry, A., Adelman, A, Whilde, M.R., & Quick, D. (2010). *Competing Selves: Negotiating the Intersection of Spiritual and Sexual Identities*, Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 41(2):112-119.

E. There are No Scientific or Ethical Justifications for any form of the Discredited Practice of Conversion Therapy.

63. CT proponents may claim that their treatments are effective, but these claims lack a sound scientific basis. Conversion therapists have utterly failed to carry out the types of research that could determine causal links between treatments and outcomes.[63] The APA Report examined CT research for its ability to validate its claims and a few key points will be discussed below. Other CT-proponents criticize evaluations of CT, but provide no evidence or research that CT is safe and effective.

64. The APA Report found that the pro-CT studies rarely made any effort to define what constitutes sexual orientation and confuse sexual orientation with sexual orientation identity, gender identity, and sexual behavior. One example is that CT does not assess bisexuality. Without an assessment model that acknowledges bisexuality (a capacity for different-sex and same-sex sexual orientation), bisexual individuals could be counted among those whose orientation had "changed" when it had not, as opposed to purported change in those who are exclusively oriented to the same-sex. More recent studies include all sexual orientations and gender identities and found that CT was ineffective and harmful.[64]

65. The APA Report and Cramer et al. (2008)[65] found that the subjects in studies purporting to validate CT were often referred by CT practitioners or were referred by "ex-gay" organizations. This "sampling bias" runs counter to the scientific standard of trying to find a broad

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63 Research design to determine causal links must be extremely rigorous (APA, 2009, pp. 26-33). In SOCE research participants were not randomly selected and specific treatments were not tested. For example, see: Panozzo, D. (2013). Advocating for an End to Reparative Therapy: Methodological Grounding and Blueprint for Change, J*ournal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services*, 25(3), 362-377.

64 Bradshaw et al. 2015; Dehlin et al., 2014; Ryan et al., 2018.

65 *See also* Panozzo, 2013.

sample of participants, and renders the results unreliable. When working with small communities or faith groups, participants should be randomly selected from as many potential participants to avoid bias. Selecting only participants who have been "chosen" by pro-SOCE practitioners or that are selected from a specific program risks selecting only those who are biased in favor of a particular result, or avoiding those who have been harmed or feel the experience is a failure. One report that used such methodology was retracted by its author citing is erroneous methods.[66]

66. As to claims of causality, the APA Report and Cramer et al., (2008) found that pro-CT studies on adults relied exclusively on self-reports of change, rather than objective measures, and typically asked them to assess their sexual orientation retrospectively — from many years in the past. This type of method is highly unreliable even in the best of circumstances. Many people will also find that their memory of specific events in the past has faded or is shaped by the outcome they wish had occurred. Nor do these studies offer any follow up about the longer-term results of such treatment, which would also be a method to determine the reports of change. For the adults in these studies, many of whom hold, and are part of communities with strong views about the undesirability of being gay, it is possible that they overstated their perceived success in changing their orientation.

[66] Spitzer, R. L. (2012). Spitzer reassesses his 2003 study of reparative therapy of homosexuality. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 41*(4), 757.

67. There are many issues with respect to data analysis in reports of those favoring CT. For example, pro-CT studies often ignore the extremely high dropout rates. This is significant because for those individuals, the treatment could well have been ineffective or harmful.[67]

68. The APA Report identified research showing that some individuals, in addition to reporting no changes in sexual orientation and gender identity, perceived they had been helped by CT with regard to reducing isolation, loneliness and lack of social support. This is a not an adequate assessment of efficacy as CT did not fulfill its claims of change. Many types of social support, fellowship, and therapy can provide such comfort. As the APA Report noted, "the benefits reported by participants in [conversion therapy] can be gained through approaches that do not attempt to change sexual orientation," or through standard mental health or support groups.[68]

69. Conversion therapists sometimes claim that their practices assist those whose sexual orientations have, in their view, been caused by sexual abuse. But there is no credible link between a same-sex sexual orientation and sexual abuse. The American Academy of Pediatrics has concluded that "[T]here is no scientific evidence that abnormal parenting, sexual abuse, or other adverse life events influence[s] sexual orientation."[69] Reporting that one has been sexually abused is not proof of causality. In any event, CT is not a scientifically valid treatment for sexual

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67 There are examples of conversion therapy research which did not set out to study harms, but participants reported experiencing significant harms through these approaches. This was discussed in the APA Report as well as more recent research that documented harms such as increased emotional distress, depression, health risks, substance use, and suicidality. American Psychological Association, 2009; Bradshaw et al., 2015; Ryan et al., 2018.

68 American Psychological Association, 2009; Bradshaw et al., 2015.

69 Frankowski, B. L., & The American Academy of Pediatrics Committee on Adolescence. (2004). Sexual orientation and adolescents, *Pediatrics, 111*(6), 1827-1832. This report also discusses the development of sexual orientation so early in childhood it is prior to such adverse events.

abuse. Evidence-based treatments for sexual abuse, and other abuse and trauma, focus on establishing safety and support and assisting survivors in managing post-traumatic stress and other mental health distress, reducing shame and self-blame, and resolving traumatic memories.[70] Changing sexual orientation is not part of these treatments and can increase shame and self-blame. The disclosure of sexual abuse in children and adolescents is a crisis and the overriding need is for emotional support. Comprehensive explanation guidelines for the treatment of sexual abuse and post-traumatic stress exclude CT and focus on sexual orientation and gender identity neutral approaches.[71]

70. Other attempted justifications for CT include the misrepresentation of positive values in therapy such as "self-determination" or "informed consent," by ignoring the well-established ethical limits on these values. While any competent, ethical therapist respects a client's right to self-determination, therapists cannot offer a "consumer choice" model of treatments because therapists are bound by medical and ethical guidelines to consider the efficacy of treatment and potential for harm. Ethically, therapists do not apply treatments that pose a significant risk of harm even if requested.[72] For example, when a patient requests treatment with a predetermined outcome (improved self-esteem, smoking cessation, trauma recovery), it is expected that a licensed mental or physical health care provider practitioner will rely on empirically-validated methods that are both effective and safe. CT does not meet these standards. Ethically, psychologists are bound to

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[70] Saunders, B.E., Berliner, L., & Hanson, R.F. (Eds.). (2003*). Child Physical and Sexual Abuse: Guidelines for Treatment. Final Report https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED472572*.

[71] For example, *see*: Forbes, D., Creamer, M. Bisson, J.I., Cohen, J.L. et al. (2010). A guide to guidelines for the treatment of PTSD and related conditions. https://doi.org/10.1002/jts.20565.

[72] American Psychiatric Association (2013).

respect and protect civil and human rights, and ensure that their treatments provide benefit, as well as avoid the risk of harm.[73]

71. Informed consent does not assist the case of CT practitioners. Informed consent requires that the client be provided accurate information on the condition and potential benefits and harms of intervention. In contrast, CT rests upon false, unscientific, and discredited information, such as that homosexuality is a disorder or a symptom of a disorder, that homosexuality does not exist, or that gay and transgender people's lives are unhappy and unfulfilling. Informed consent also requires a clear understanding of benefits and harms of any intervention. A treatment that poses a significant risk of harm without unique benefits fails to meet minimal standards of informed consent because a treatment can be offered only if it provides benefits.

72. Self-determination is maximized by providing effective and safe treatment that increases a patient's ability to cope, understand, acknowledge, explore, and integrate sexual orientation and gender identity into a self-chosen life in which a patient determines the ultimate manner, definition, and expression of these aspects of self. There are a variety of alternative treatment options for this population outlined in the various professional guidelines already cited that provide realistic alternatives for the patient to find ways to lead a productive and valued life.[74]

73. In addition, informed consent can be provided only when the therapy is voluntary and pursued without undue influence, such that the client should ultimately be able to *refuse* or

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[73] American Psychological Association (2016). Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct. Retrieved from: https://www.apa.org/ethics/code/index.aspx.

[74] These options are outlined in a variety of sources, including Yarhouse, 2007; Ritter, K. Y., & O'Neill, C. W. (1989). Moving through loss: The spiritual journey of gay men and lesbian women. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 68,* 9-14; APA, 2009, pp. 54-64.

accept treatment. Children and adolescents cannot legally consent to treatment due to their minority,[75] and in any event, may be taken to therapy regardless of their wishes, and lack the opportunity to refuse such treatment.

74. Informed consent requires the person to be competent to understand the short term and long-term consequences of the treatment. It is very unlikely that a child or adolescent can foresee the potential consequences or harms of these treatments. A minor's ability to understand long-term consequences of denying or changing their sexual orientation can be limited when they may not have reached puberty, or experienced sexual arousal, let alone fallen in love, or experienced the type of emotional intensity found in relationships. Likewise, gender identity is an aspect of self that has profound social and personal elements across one's lifespan; children and adolescents may not understand the emotional, social and personal impact of such change efforts.

75. This Ordinance is needed to protect children and adolescents from harmful and ineffective practices and fulfills the goal of protecting minors. Children and adolescents have little recourse when provided CT. Adults can file complaints, but the processes to file complaints to state professional boards or state boards of health are complex, including that in Florida, and may be daunting to minors. The information provided by Florida authorities illustrates its complexity: http://www.floridahealth.gov/licensing-and-regulation/enforcement/_documents/enforcement-process-chart.pdf, http://www.floridahealth.gov/licensing-and-regulation/enforcement/index.html and http://www.floridahealth.gov/licensing-and-regulation/enforcement/_documents/complaint-

[75] Florida law does permit children over the age of 13 to seek treatment in the case of a crisis, but limits such treatment and requires a parent or guardian to consent. See, 394.4784 Minors; access to outpatient crisis intervention services and treatment.

form-2015.pdf. The complaint requires paying for medical records, signing an attestation, and perhaps discussion of private issues with officials, which would be extremely difficult for most minors.

IV. Conclusion

76. There is no safe form of CT: all CT poses significant risk to health and well-being of minors. Ordinance No. 2017-47 protects children and adolescents from harmful practices while allowing mental health providers to deliver treatments that are safe and effective. Thus, the Ordinance is tailored to the best existing scientific studies, professional guidelines and statements of the leading medical and mental health associations and the goal of protecting the health and safety of minors. It fits with the existing evidence and is specific to the existing health risks of all forms of CT.

77. Specifically, CT interventions of all types aimed at changing an individual's sexual orientation and gender identity have not been empirically demonstrated to be effective or safe. CT, both SOCE and GICE, are ineffective no matter the demographics of the participants (e.g., age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, ability status, language, and socioeconomic status). CT poses significant risk of harm whether they are voluntary or involuntary, non-coercive or coercive, use words and "talk" or active interventions. Providing CT deprives minors of proven safe and effective treatment.

78. The major mental health professional organizations stand uniformly opposed to CT and instead recommend empirically-based approaches that address the stigma surrounding same-

sex orientation and gender diversity and emphasize acceptance, support, and recognition of important values, including religious faith. Alternatives that provide benefits without the risk of harm are available for all populations that are distressed.

79. These alternative approaches are based on the scientific evidence that sexual orientation and gender identity diversity are normal and positive variants of human sexuality and are not indicators of mental or developmental disorders. Further, gay men, lesbians, bisexual, and transgender individuals can live satisfying lives and form stable, committed relationships and families; and no empirical studies or peer-reviewed research supports theories attributing same-sex sexual orientation and gender diversity to family dysfunction or trauma.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States that the foregoing statements are true and accurate.

Executed this June 11, 2019.

Judith M. Glassgold, Psy.D
Judith M. Glassgold, Psy.D

EXHIBIT A

JUDITH M. GLASSGOLD, PSYD

4 Wertsville Road
Hillsborough, NJ
drjudith.glassgold@gmail.com 908-432-5540

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE

2017- PRESENT

RUTGERS—The State University. GRADUATE SCHOOL FOR APPLIED AND PROFESSIONAL PSYCHOLOGY,

- Part-time lecturer Masters Program in Appied Psychology.
- Teach Public Policy in Mental Health (18:544:512 Fall, 2018).
- Visiting Clinical Supervisor in doctoral program in clinical psychology.

1990-2009

RUTGERS—The State University. GRADUATE SCHOOL FOR APPLIED AND PROFESSIONAL PSYCHOLOGY, VISITING FACULTY 09/2007-09/2009. *CONTRIBUTING FACULTY* 09/1992-5/2007. VISITING LECTURER 09/1990-09/1992.

- Teaching, supervision of graduate student research, participation in scholarly activities, and psychotherapy supervision. Departmental governance, admissions, student evaluation,
- Courses: "Psychodynamic Psychotherapy with Diverse Clients", Community Psychology: Approaches to Diverse Populations", "Gender and Psychotherapy" and "Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Issues in Psychology" and "Psychotherapy with Women".

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY RUTGERS UNIVERSITY, The State University. VISITING LECTURER. 1990. Responsible for teaching advanced undergraduate electives: "Systems of Psychotherapy" and "Psychology of Women".

WOMEN'S STUDIES PROGRAM RUTGERS UNIVERSITY The State University. VISITING LECTURER—01/86-06/89. Responsible for teaching undergraduate courses: "Psychology and Women" and "Women, Culture and Society".

HEALTH & PUBLIC POLICY

New Jersey Psychological Association
Director of Professional Affairs, *West Orange, NJ* *06/2017 - present*
West Orange, NJ

- Advise and consult with members on clinical, ethical, health programs, insurance, legal, and regulatory affairs relevant to professional practice.
- Advise Executive Board and committees of policy developments and delivery innovations in practice of psychology, federal and state programs (Medicare, Medicaid, TRICARE), legal and regulatory issues.
- Write regulatory comments and legislation relevant to state and federal initiatives.

Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Policy
Princeton University, Princeton, NJ

Center for Health and Wellbeing *09/2019-06/2018*

- *Department Guest* *07/2017 - 06/2018*
- *Visiting Research Scholar* 09/2016 - 06/2017

Visiting Lecturer *01/2017-06/2017*

- Conduct research and scholarly activity related to mental health and substance use policies, LGBT health and civil rights policies
- Collaborate with other scholars and advise students
- Teach graduate level course: Mental Health and Substance use Policies in the US (**WWS 594A**)

Cabezon Group, Rockville, MD *04/2017-09/2017*
Project Lead

- Consultannt & Project lead for continuing education project on LGBT psychotherapy curiculum. Develop, coordinate multiple writers, edit and write. Logistical Support Services for Substance Abuse and Mental Health Servivces Administration: Office of Policy, Planning and Innovation (LHSS), U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

Associate Executive Director *08/2013 - 08/2016*
Government Relations
Director, Congressional Fellowship Program
Public Interest Directorate
American Psychological Association, Washington, DC

- Advocate for innovative evidence-based approaches that apply psychology to improve human health, welfare, mental and physical health, specializing in issues relating to the behavioral health of the following topics: aging, children, youth and families, civil rights, ethnic minority concerns, health disparities, healthcare access reform, HIV/AIDS, individuals with disabilities, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender issues, poverty and women's issues.
- Efforts resulted in
    - Worked with US Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration on public and professional education projects;
    - Successful changes to legislation health disparities among ethnic minorities and elements of integrated care, including S. 2680 Mental Health Reform Act of 2016 and HR 2646 Helping Families in Mental Health Crisis adopted in 21st Century Cures
    - Initiated association efforts on improving police/community relations and preventing gun violence
- Manage budget of close to $1 million
- Direct team of professional government relations, scientific staff, and graduate interns to achieve advocacy goals.
- Analyze legislation and regulations across entire portfolio, including mental and behavioral health and health disparities across federal agencies; appropriations and budget policies, including implementation of Affordable Care Act, Mental Health Parity and Addiction Equity Act, Medicare, and Medicaid for impact on mental and physical health disparities
- Provide testimony, public statements, public articles, presentations, legislative proposals and public comments on federal public policies.
- Represent association in meetings and briefings with members of Congress and their staff, Senior Executive Branch officials and other non-profit stakeholders to advocate for progressive mental and behavioral health, healthcare and civil rights policies.
- Advise Executive Management Team on federal policies.
- Ensure compliance with federal lobbying rules.

- Collaborate within association and with other external stakeholders, including community groups, stakeholders, and scientific and professional associations on areas of interest and other stakeholders in association on federal and state policy initiatives.
- Direct a Congressional Fellowship program for psychologists and internship program in public policy for graduate students.

Specialist in Health Policy (GS-15) *5/2012-8/2013*
Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, Washington, DC

- Provide objective, expert public policy analysis and consultation related to Congressional Committees, Members, and staff. Areas of specialization included broad range of health care issues across Department of Health and Human Services, including the Affordable Care Act, care delivery, mental and behavioral health, health disparities and LGBT health, chronic health, aging, medical ethics, pharmaceutical product, and regulations.
- Prepare objective, non-partisan analytical written products, reports and confidential memoranda on health policy issues of national or international significance.
- Provide in-person briefings, personal assistance as an expert on public policy issues to Members of Congress and staff throughout the legislative process, including analyzing, appraising, and evaluating legislative proposals; and planning and leading multi-disciplinary team research projects and seminars.

Senior Policy Advisor, Health and Domestic Social Policy *8/2010-5/2012*
Office of Representative Sander Levin, (MI-12) US House of Representatives

Policy initiatives related personal office and Committee on Ways and Means (Chair 2010, Ranking Member 2011-2012)

- Legislative analysis and policy development related to health care and domestic social policies, including the implementation of the Affordable Care Act, Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security, Unemployment, TANF, public health, health appropriations, mental health, women's and children's health.
- Passed legislation – H.R.2941 - To reauthorize and enhance Johanna's Law to increase public awareness and knowledge with respect to gynecologic cancers; Unemployment provisions of: Middle Class Tax Relief and Job Creation Act of 2012 (P.L. 112-96); American Taxpayer Relief Act of 2012 (P.L. 112-240).
- Regulatory changes: successful effort to have breast feeding equipment become an eligible expense for FSA's, HSA's, and itemized tax deduction.

American Psychological Association *9/2009-8/2010*
American Association for the Advancement of Science
Washington, DC
Office of Representative Xavier Becerra (CA-31), US House of Representatives. Vice-Chair Democratic Caucus; Committees: Ways and Means, Budget.

- Performed duties of Health legislative aide and responsibilities included analyzing, writing, legislation and policy proposals, including Affordable Care Act (110th HR 3200 and HR 3590, and revising HR 977 (109th); Medicare, Medicaid, health disparities, mental health, childcare, and biomedical legislation. Met with stakeholders, analyzed legislation, briefed member of Congress.

CLINICAL EXPERIENCE

New Jersey State License in Psychology, # 35SI0028710 1991- present; New York State License in Psychology # 010469, 1991 (inactive)

Independent Practice *1991-2009*
Professional Psychology *Highland Park, NJ*

- Psychotherapy with individuals, families and couples.
- Completed evaluation and assessments as Court-appointed expert witness and evaluator for child custody and other family matters. Division of Youth and Family Services approved evaluator for termination of parental rights needs assessment, and case management.
- Specializations include serious mental illness, psychology of women, gender issues in psychotherapy, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender issues depression and anxiety, substance abuse, assessment and treatment of trauma and sexual abuse in children, adolescents and adults. Licensed in New Jersey & New York.

Supervising Psychologist *1991-1993*
Community Mental Health Center *Flemington, NJ*
Hunterdon Medical Center

- Supervised psychological testing clinic, psychotherapy, and supervision of clinical staff on psychotherapy cases and evaluations.
- Provided expert testimony in areas of child custody and psychological evaluations. Coordinated and supervised psychological testing program providing forensic (child custody, probation and other assessments), as well as diagnostic evaluations, including cognitive, personality and projective measures.
- Provided individual and family psychotherapy to adults, children and adolescents.

Consulting Psychologist *1990-1991*
Institute for Evaluation and Planning *Freehold, NJ*

- Provided psychological services in three different residential programs for adolescents with serious emotional disturbance.
- Responsibilities included psychological assessment and evaluation, individual, group and family therapy, clinical consultation, staff supervision, and program evaluation and planning.
- Provided psychological assessment and therapy for sexual abuse (victims and perpetrators) on an outpatient basis for children, adolescents and families.
- Provided evaluations for Family Crisis Unit of Monmouth County Court and Division of Youth and Family Services.

Clinician *1987-1989*
The Community Mental Health Center *Piscataway, NJ*
University Of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey

- Provided individual psychotherapy with all ages, marital and family therapy, psychological assessment and crisis intervention.

EDUCATION

Graduate School of Applied and Professional Psychology *PsyD Clinical Psychology*
Rutgers University, The State University of New Jersey

Internship in Clinical/Community Psychology
Department of Psychiatry, Robert Wood Johnson Medical School

Harvard College BA - Cum Laude in Government
Cambridge, MA

Awards and Fellowships
Peterson Prize Rutgers University- Given to an alumna/alumnus who has made outstanding contributions to Professional Psychology
Alumni Association Award, Rutgers University – Outstanding accomplishment in professional psychology

Board of Trustees Fellowship for Graduate Study, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 1983-1986
Radcliffe College Fellowship, Harvard University, 1976
National Parkinson's Disease Foundation Fellowship, 1975

NON-PROFIT LEADERSHIP

Friends of Hillsborough. President & Board Chair *1995-2000*

- Led successful grass roots, community advocacy group focused on environment and land use planning in New Jersey.
- Won major legal case protecting environmentally sensitive land.
- Developed policy, political and legal strategies, wrote grants, managed legal case, and collaborated with state and collaboration with local non-governmental groups.

American Psychological Association
Membership and Divisional Activities

- Chair, Task Force on the Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation (2007-2009)
- President (08/2003-08/2004), Society for the Psychological Study of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Issues. Member of the Executive Committee 2002-2005.
- Fellow of the American Psychological Association, Division 44 (Society for the Psychological Study of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Issues, 1997)
- Fellow of the American Psychological Association, Division 35 (Psychology of Women), 2003.
- Committee on Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Concerns. Chair & Member, 1/2002- 01/1999.

New Jersey Psychological Association

- President: 2008. Executive Board: 2007-2009.
- Ethics Committee, Member, 2001-2006. Chair, 7/2003-12/2006
- Committee on Legislative Affairs, Member, 1997-1999
- Member at Large, Executive Board 1994.
- Committee on Lesbian, Bisexual and Gay Concerns, Founding Chair, 1991. Chair, 1992-1996.

PUBLIC POLICY PUBLICATIONS (Congressional Research Service)

Corby-Edwards, Feder, J., Glassgold, J., Heisler, E., McCallion, G. (2013, July 9). *Federal Survey Data Collection of Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Information*. Congressional Research Service Memorandum for Congress.

Glassgold, J. M. (2013, June 3). *Compounded Drugs*. Congressional Research Service Report for Congress.

Glassgold, J.M. & Salaam-Blyther, T. (2013, May 13*). Neglected Tropical Diseases: Definitions, Public Health, and Drug Treatments*. Congressional Research Service Memorandum for Congress.

Glassgold, J.M., Thaul, S. Kinzer, J. (2013, March 21). Selected Resources on Federal Oversight of Compounding Pharmacies. Congressional Research Service Report for Congress.

Bagalman, E. Corby-Edwards, A.K., & Glassgold, J. (2013, February 21). *Research on Violent Video Game Exposure and Gun Violence Perpetration, Interpersonal Physical Violence Perpetration, and Aggression*. Congressional Research Service Memorandum for Congress.

Thaul, S., Bagalman, E., Corby-Edwards, A.K, Glassgold, J.M., Johnson, J., Lister, S.A., Sarata, A.K, (2013, February 4).*The Food and Drug Administration Safety and Innovation Act (FDASIA, P.L. 112-144)*. Congressional Research Service Report for Congress.

Glassgold, J.M**.** (2013, January 22). *Living Organ Donors' Access to Health, Disability, and Life Insurance*. Congressional Research Service Memorandum for Congress.

Glassgold, J.M. and Napoli, A. (2013, January 9). *Literature Search: Symptom Validity Tests Used to Detect Malingering in Social Security Administration Disability Evaluations*. Congressional Research Service Memorandum for Congress.

Glassgold, J.M. and Liu, E. C. (2013, January 2). *Possible Effects of Flynn v. Holder on Hemapoietic Stem Cell Transplants*. Congressional Research Service Memorandum for Congress.

Glassgold, J. M. (2012, November 12). *International Issues in Diagnosis, Research, and Treatment of Dementia and Alzheimer's Disease***.** Congressional Research Service Memorandum for Congress.

Glassgold, J. M. (2012, October 26). *Federal Activities and Spending for Diabetes Prevention, Research, and Treatment*. Congressional Research Service Memorandum for Congress.

Thaul, S., Bagalman, E., Corby-Edwards, A.K, Glassgold, J.M., Johnson, J., Lister, S.A., Sarata, A.K, (2012, June 26). *FDA User Fees and the Regulation of Drugs, Biologics, and Devices: Comparative Analysis of S. 3187 and H.R. 5651*. Congressional Research Service Report for Congress.

Regulatory Comments

New Jersey Psychological Association (October, 2018). Letter to Attorney General Re: “Duty to Warn” legislation amendment to P.L. 2018, CHAPTER 34, approved June 13, 2018.

New Jersey Psychological Association (September 12, 2017). Letter to New Jersey Board of Psychological Examiners regarding, New Jersey P.L.2017.c117, authorizing health care providers to engage in telemedicine and telehealth.

American Psychological Association (March 24, 2016). Public comment on proposed rule of the Department of Labor for the Implementation of the Nondiscrimination and Equal Opportunity Provisions of the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act (WOIA) 29 CFR 28 RIN 1291-AA36.

American Psychological Association (December 31, 2015) Public Comment on National Coverage Analysis (NCA) Tracking Sheet for Gender Dysphoria and Gender Reassignment Surgery (CAG-00446N), Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, Department of Health and Human Services.

American Psychological Association (November 9, 2015). Public comment on proposed rule Nondiscrimination in Health Programs and Activities. A proposed rule by the Department of Health and Human Services (Section 1557 of the Affordable Care Act).

American Psychological Association (June 22, 2015) Public Comment on proposed rule Equal Employment Opportunity Commission 29 CFR Part 1630 RIN 3046–AB01 Amendments to Regulations Under the Americans With Disabilities Act.

American Psychological Association and American Psychological Association Practice Organization. (February 18, 2015). Public Comment on the draft criteria for Certified Community Behavioral Health Clinics.

Comments on behalf of the American Psychological Association. (April 24, 2014). RE: V. Other Topics for Consideration for the 2017 Edition Certification Criteria Rulemaking, 45 CFR Part 170, Voluntary 2015 Edition Electronic Health Record (EHR) Certification Criteria; Interoperability Updates and Regulatory Improve..

Comments on behalf of the American Psychological Association. (November 18, 2013). Request for Information (RFI): Inviting Comments and Suggestions on the Health and Health Research Needs. Specific Health Issues and Concerns for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex (LGBTI) Populations.

Testimony & Statements

American Psychological Association. (February 6, 2015). Written Statement for President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing. U.S. House of Representatives. Committee on Energy and Commerce, Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations.

Written Statement of the American Psychological Association at a Hearing "The State of Civil and Human Rights in the United States". U.S. Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights and Human Rights. December. 9, 2014.

Statement of Joel A. Dvoskin, PhD, ABPP. On behalf of the American Psychological Association At a Hearing "Suicide Prevention and Treatment: Helping Loved Ones in Mental Health Crisis. September 18, 2014.

Testimony on behalf of the American Psychological Association at a hearing "Oversight of Federal Programs for Equipping State and Local Law Enforcement". U.S. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs. September, 9, 2014.

Statement of Arthur C. Evans, Jr. PhD. Commissioner, Department of Behavioral Health and Intellectual disAbility Services. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania at a Hearing “Where Have All the Patients Gone? Examining the Psychiatric Bed Shortage" U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Energy and Commerce, Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations. March 26, 2014.

Federal Reports

U.S. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA). (October, 2015). Ending Conversion Therapy: Supporting and Affirming LGBTQ Youth. HHS Publication No. (SMA) 15-4928. Rockville, MD: Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. Roles: Project development, coordination, editing and writing.

Selected Presentations and Trainings – Psychology and Public Policy

Glassgold, J.M. (2018, November). Invited Lecture: “LGBTQ Mental Health Issues”. Psi Chi Chapter and PRIDE of College of St. Elizabeth, Madison, NJ.

Glassgold, J.M. (2018, August) Invited presentation: “Legislative Advocacy” in all-day pre-convention workshop sponsored by Division 44 of the American Psychological Association.

Glassgold, J.M. (2018, August). Discussant in Accepted program “When Faith Matters More Than Sexual Orientation---Challenges in Ethics, Training, and Psychotherapy”.

Glassgold, J.M. (2017, December). Understanding the New Jersey Telehealth Law. Presented at New Jersey Psychological Association Symposium

Glassgold, J.M. (2016, October 13). Invited Talk: *Mental Health and Substance Abuse Policies Post the Affordable Care Act*, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University.

Glassgold, J.M. (2016, August). *Social Justice Issues Approaches to Advocacy*. Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Denver, CO.

Glassgold, J.M. (2016, June 26). “*Giving” Psychology Away to Public Policies* in Symposium entitled: Psychology and Public Policy: Connections, Barriers, Opportunities. Presented as part of the Annual Conference of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, *Giving Psychology Away*, Minneapolis, MN.

Glassgold, J.M. (2016, June 16). *Supportive and Affirming Services for LGBTQ Youth*. Webinar presented by Child Welfare Capacity Building Collaborative funded by the Children’s Bureau, Department of Health and Human Services.

Glassgold, J.M. (2016, June 15). *LGBT Youth: Ensuring Supportive & Affirmative Approaches to Behavioral Health Services*. Webinar sponsored by the National Council on Behavioral Health, Washington DC.

Glassgold, J.M. (2016, March 30). *Legislative Advocacy Training for Women’s Leadership Institute of the American Psychological Association* -- American Psychological Association, Washington, DC

Glassgold, J.M. (2016, February 28). *Mobile Apps and Health Disparities*. Workshop presented at the 33rd Annual Winter Roundtable at Teacher’ College, Columbia University, New York City.

Kennedy, E.K, Glassgold, J. M., & Ryan, C. (2016, February 13). *Alternatives to Conversion Therapy: Supporting & Affirming LGBT Youth.* Workshop presented at *Time to Thrive, Human Rights Coalition,* Dallas, TX.

Kennedy, E.K & Glassgold, J. M. (2016, February 1). *Alternatives to Conversion Therapy: Supporting & Affirming LGBT Youth. 26th National Leadership Forum & SAMHSA's 12th Prevention Day. National Harbor, Maryland.*

Glassgold, J.M. & Kennedy, E. K. (2015, November 20). *Ending Conversion Therapy and Supporting LGBTQ Children & Youth: Affirming Models of Intervention*. Podcast created by Mormon Mental Health. Available at: http://www.mormonmentalhealth.org/082-ending-conversion-therapy.

Glassgold, J.M. (2015, November 17). *Legislative Advocacy Training for Public Interest Leadership Conference- Mental Health Reform*. American Psychological Association, Washington, DC.

Glassgold, J. M. (2015, November 13). Invited panelist to address disparities in mental and behavioral health in a session entitled*: Advancing the March Toward Health Equity- HEAA Legislation* presented at the 2015 Congressional Tri-Caucus Health Equity and Accountability Act Summit of the Congressional Black Caucus Braintrust. Charleston, SC.

Glassgold, J. M & Kennedy, E.K. (2015, November 9). *Ending Conversion Therapy and Supporting LGBTQ Children & Youth: Affirming Models of Intervention*. Webinar presented to Culture Consortium of the National Child Traumatic Stress Network.

Glassgold, J. M. (2015, October). Participant on panel: *Ending conversion therapy in America*". White House and Department of Agriculture Utah LGBT Rural Summit Series, Weber State University, Ogden, UT.

Glassgold, J.M. (2015, August). *Legislative Advocacy Training for Minority Fellowship Program*. Held at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, Canada.

Glassgold, J.M. (2015, January). "Access to Behavioral Health Care in Communities of Color: Role of ACA and MHPAEA", presented at the FAMILIESUSA Washington, DC conference "Health Action 2015: Building Real Progress.

Glassgold, J.M. (2014, December) *Addressing LGBT Behavioral Health Disparities by Improving Access to Care.* Presentation/Webinar jointed sponsored by the American Psychological Association and the US Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration.

Publications - Professional Journals - Psychology

Glassgold, J. M. (2010). A Process without End: Seeking the Unrealized Yet Irrepressible Aspects of Self. *Women & Therapy*. *33* (3-4), 246-263. In Special Issue: A Minyan of Women: Family Dynamics, Jewish Identity and Psychotherapy Practice.

Glassgold, J. M. (2009). The Case of Felix: An Example of Gay-Affirmative, Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy. *Pragmatic Case Studies in Psychotherapy,* www2.scc.rutgers.edu/journals/index.php/pcsp/article/.../995/2398

Report of the American Psychological Association Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation. (2009). Annual Conference of the American Psychological Association.

Glassgold, J. M. (2008). Bridging the Divide: Integrating Lesbian Identity and Orthodox Judaism. *Women & Therapy, 31*(1), 59-72.

Glassgold, J. M. & Knapp, S (2008). Ethical issues in screening clergy or candidates for religious professions for denominations that exclude homosexual clergy. *Professional Psychology, 39*(3), 346-352.

Glassgold, J. M. (2007). In dreams begin responsibilities: Psychology, agency and activism. *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Psychotherapy, 11*(3/4), 37-57.

Glassgold, J. M. (2007, Summer). Ethical issues when addressing diversity in psychological practice. *New Jersey Psychologist, 57(2), 28-30.*

Glassgold, J. M. (2007). Religious issues in psychological practice: ethical considerations. *New Jersey Psychologist, 57*(1), 16-18.

Glassgold, J. M. (2006). Ethics Column: Legal and Ethical issues and impairment in colleagues. *New Jersey Psychologist.*

Glassgold, J. M. (2005). Bullying and harassment of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender youth. In Special Section: Violence in the Schools: The issue of bullying. *New Jersey Psychologist,* 55(3), 28-30.

Berson, J. & Glassgold, J. M. (2005). Ethics Column: Ethics in family therapy. *New Jersey Psychologist*, 55(3), 14-15.

Glassgold, J. M. and Wahler L. (2005). Ethics Column: Termination of cases when endangered or threatened by a patient: Protection of Providers. *New Jersey Psychologist*, *55(1*), 14-15.

Glassgold, J. M. and Iasenza, S. (Eds.). (2004). The second wave: Lesbians, feminism, & psychoanalysis. *Journal of Lesbian Studies Special Issue*, 8(1/2). Jointly published by Harrington Park Press.

Glassgold, J. M. (2003). Ethics in brief: Insider trading. *New Jersey Psychologist,* 53(3), 29.

Glassgold, J. M., Fitzgerald, J., Haldeman, D. (2003). Letter to the editor: Response to Yarhouse & Throckmorton. *Psychotherapy: Research & Practice*, *40(1)*, 376-378.

Glassgold, J. M. (2002). Ethical issues in psychotherapy with lesbian, gay, and bisexual clients*. New Jersey Psychologist*, 52(4), 10-12.

Schneider, M. S, Brown, L. S. & Glassgold, J. M. (2002). Implementing the resolution on appropriate therapeutic responses to sexual orientation: A guide for the perplexed. *Professional Psychology*, *33*(3), 265-276.

Glassgold, J. M. (2002). Individual and systems concerns in therapy with same-sex couples. *New Jersey Psychologist*, 52 (1), 15-18.

Glassgold, J. M., Fitzgerald, J., Haldeman, D. (2002). Letter to the Editor. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training*, 39(4), 376-378.

Glassgold, J. M. (Ed.). (1993, Summer). Special Issue: Psychotherapy with Lesbians, Gay Men, and Bisexuals. New Jersey Psychologist, 43(3).

Glassgold, J. M. (1992, Spring). What's in a name? Reflections on sexual orientation. *Psychology of Women: Newsletter of Division 35, American Psychological Association*, 19(2), 3-4.

Tellerman, K., Astrow, A., Fahn, S., Snider, S.R., Snider, R.S. and Glassgold, J.M. (1979). Cerebellar control of catecholaminergic activities: Implications for drug therapy of movement disorders. *International Journal of Neurology*, 13,135-155.

Jackson, V., Glassgold, J.M., Miller, R., and Snider, S.R. (1977). Hypersensitivity of rats with chronic cerebellar lesions to abnormal behavior induced by apomorphine. *Neuroscience Abstracts*, 6(20), 205.4.

Levandowsky, M., Hauser, D.C.R. & Glassgold, J. (1975). Chemosensory responses of a protozoan are modified by antitubulins. *Journal of Bacteriology*, 124(2), 1037-1038.

Hauser, D.C.R., Levandowsky, M. and Glassgold, J. (1975). Ultrasensitive responses of protozoa to epinephrine and other neurochemicals. *Science*, 190(4211), 285-286.

Professional Books and Book Chapters

Glassgold, J.M. (in progress). Research On Sexual Orientation Change Efforts. In Sexual Orientation Change Efforts, D. Haldeman & M. Hendricks (Eds). Harrington Park Press.

Glassgold, J.M. & Ryan, C. (in progress). The Role of Families in Efforts to Change, Support, and Affirm Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and Expression in Children and Youth. In Sexual Orientation Change Efforts, D. Haldeman & M. Hendricks (Eds). Harrington Park Press.

Glassgold, J.M. (2017). *Conversion Therapy* in Nadal, K. L., Mazzula, S. L., & Rivera, D. P. (Eds.). The Sage Encyclopedia on Psychology and Gender. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Glassgold, J. M. (2010). A Process without End: Seeking the Unrealized Yet Irrepressible Aspects of Self. In B. Greene & D. Brodbar (Eds). *A Minyan of Women: Family Dynamics, Jewish Identity and Psychotherapy Practice*. NY: Routledge.

Glassgold, J. M. (2008). Bridging the Divide: Integrating Lesbian Identity and Orthodox Judaism. In A. Mahoney & O. Espin (Eds.), *Sin or Salvation: The relationship between sexuality and spirituality in psychotherapy*. Harrington Park Press. Jointly published as Women & Therapy, 31(1).

Glassgold, J. M and Drescher, J. (Eds.). (2007). *Activism in LGBT Psychology*. NY: Harrington Park Press. Jointly published as Journal of Gay and Lesbian Psychotherapy 11 (3/4).

Glassgold, J. M. and Iasenza, S. (Eds.). (2004). *The second wave: Lesbians, feminism, & psychoanalysis*. Harrington Park Press. Jointly published as *Journal of Lesbian Studies,* 8 (1/2).

Glassgold, J. M. (2000). Incest. In Bonnie Zimmerman (Ed.), *Lesbian Histories and Cultures: An Encyclopedia,* (p. 389-390). Encyclopedia of Lesbian and Gay Histories and Cultures (Vol. 1). NY: Garland Press.

Glassgold, J. M. & Iasenza S. (Eds.). (1995). *Lesbians and Psychoanalysis: Revolutions in Theory and Practice.* New York: The Free Press.

Glassgold, J. M. (1995). Psychoanalysis with lesbians: Agency and Subjectivity. In J. M. Glassgold & S. Iasenza (Eds.), *Lesbians and Psychoanalysis: Revolutions in Theory and Practice*, (pp. 203-228). New York: The Free Press

Glassgold, J. M. (1992). New directions in dynamic theories of lesbianism: From psychoanalysis to social constructionism. In J. Chrisler & D. Howard (Eds.). *New Directions in Feminist Psychology*, pp. 154-164. New York: Springer.

Glassgold, J. M. (1990). The construction of feminist psychoanalysis: An analysis of Nancy Chodorow's "The Reproduction of Mothering." [Dissertation Abstract] *Dissertation Abstracts International. 51*(2-B), Aug 1990, 984.

Selected Presentations and Trainings – Professional Psychology

Glassgold, J.M. (2017, February) Invited Speaker: "*The Psychology of Sexual Orientations and Gender Identities*" at a Conference entitled: Sexuality, Gender and the Jewish Family. Arizona State University, Phoenix, AZ.

Glassgold, J.M. & Crowder, R. III. (2016, June 25). Interactive discussion and film presentation: *Understanding Race Post Ferguson.* Presented as part of the Annual Conference of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, *Giving Psychology Away*, Minneapolis, MN.

Glassgold, J. M. (2015, August). Spiritually Sensitive and Affirmative Therapeutic Responses to Sexual and Gender Minorities. Paper presented at symposium entitled A Dialogue on the Intersection of Religion/Spirituality, Sexual Orientation, and Gender Identity at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, Canada.

Glassgold, J.M. (2015, August). Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation: Affirmative Practices. Continuing Education Training presented with K. Ritter and C. Ryan at APA Annual Conference, Washington, DC

Glassgold, J.M. (2015, August). APA's Congressional Fellowship Program. . Co-Chair of Symposium and presenter: APA Policy Fellowship Opportunities. Held at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Toronto Canada.

Glassgold, J.M. (2014, August). A dialogue on the intersection of religion/spirituality, sexual orientation, and gender identity. Presented as part of a Symposium of the Annual Conference of the American Psychological Association, Washington, DC.

Glassgold, J.M. (2014, August). APA's Congressional Fellowship Program: Psychology's Key to Policy. Co-Chair of Symposium on 40th Anniversary of Congressional Fellowship Program.

Glassgold, J.M. (2014, August). APA Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation: Affirmative Practices. Continuing Education Training presented with K. Ritter and C. Ryan at APA Annual Conference, Washington, DC.

Glassgold, J.M. (2013, August). A Framework for Affirmative Therapy for Those Distressed by their Same-Sexual Orientation. Presentation at Symposium entitled Responding to Sexual Orientation Change Efforts: Affirmative Policy and Treatment presented at the APA Annual Conference, Honolulu, HI.

Glassgold, J.M. (2013, August). "Issues for Children and Adolescents." In APA Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation: Affirmative Practices. Continuing Education Training presented with K. Ritter and T. Moragne at APA Annual Conference, Honolulu, HI.

Glassgold, J. M. (2012, April). Invited Lecture: "Coming Out Religious and LGBTQ," and Invited Seminar: "Activism and the Psychology of Women and Gender." Women's Studies Department, Northern Illinois University.

Glassgold, J. M. (2012, March). The Unethical Life of Reparative Therapy: The History and Ethics of Attempts to Cure Homosexuality. Lecture at Baltimore Country Community College. Part of the Community Connection Book Series. Awarded Outstanding Program of the Year.

Glassgold, J. M. (2009, August). Report of the American Psychological Association Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation. Annual Conference of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, CA.

Glassgold, J. M. (2009, January). Sexual orientation and religion: A difficult dialogue. Colloquium Long Island University, New York.

Glassgold, J. M. (2009, January). Transcending conflicts: Integrating religion and sexual orientation. In Colloquium: When aspects of client diversity collide: Ethical considerations. National Multicultural Conference and Summit, New Orleans, LA.

Glassgold, J. M. (2007, January). Steps for Creating a Transgender-Sensitive Climate & Positive Mental Health on College Campuses. Annual Conference of Rutgers University Health Services. New Brunswick, NJ.

Glassgold, J. M. (2006, April). Department of Child Psychiatry, Grand Rounds: Non-traditional sexual orientation and suicidality: Case reports and discussion. Robert Wood Johnson Medical School, University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey, Piscataway, NJ

Glassgold, J. M. (2005, October). Ethical Issues in Treating the Treater. Symposium at the Fall Meeting of the New Jersey Psychological Association. Woodbridge, NJ.

Glassgold, J.M. (2005, August). A Process without End: Seeking the Unrealized and Irrepressible Aspects of Self. Paper presented in symposium: Minyan of Women: Family dynamics, Jewish identities, & Psychotherapy practice. Annual Conference of the American Psychological Association, Washington, DC.

Glassgold, J. M. (2005, April). Psychoanalysis: Toward a liberatory practice/praxis. Paper Presented in Symposium: Lesbians, Feminism & Psychoanalysis: Toward the Second Wave. Midwinter Conference of Division 39, Psychoanalysis, of the American Psychological Association. NY, NY

Glassgold, J. M. (2004, August) Perceptions of the Other by the Other. Paper presented in symposium: Minyan of Women: Family dynamics, Jewish identities, & Psychotherapy practice. Annual Conference of the American Psychological Association, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Glassgold, J. M. (2004, July). Presidential Address, Society for the Psychological Study of Lesbian, Gay, & Bisexual Issues (Division 44 of the American Psychological Association). In Dreams begin Responsibilities: Psychology, Agency & Activism. Annual Conference of the American Psychological Association, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Glassgold, J. M. (2004, July). Lesbians, Feminism & Psychoanalysis: Affirming Integrations. Chair, Invited Symposium. Annual Conference of the American Psychological Association, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Glassgold, J. M. (2004, July). Supporting scientific integrity and freedom in behavioral health research. Chair, Invited Symposium. Annual Conference of the American Psychological Association, Honolulu, Hawaii. See related article, Monitor on Psychology, 35(9), October 2004, p. 38.

Glassgold, J. M. (2004, July). Discussant. Voices of heterosexual allies: Public discourse, activism, & research. Annual Conference of the American Psychological Association, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Glassgold, J. M. (2004, February). Perceptions of the Other by the Other. Paper presented in symposium: Minyan of Women: Family dynamics, Jewish identities, & Psychotherapy practice. Annual Meeting of the Association of Women in Psychology, Philadelphia, PA.

Glassgold, J. M. (2004, February). Lesbians, Feminism, and Psychoanalysis: Structured Discussion. Annual Conference of the Association of Women in Psychology. Philadelphia. PA.

Glassgold, J. M. (2003, November). Chair, Panel: Understanding Changes to the American Psychological Association Code of Ethics-2202. Bi-Annual Meeting New Jersey Psychological Association, Woodbridge, NJ.

Glassgold, J. M. (2003, August). Co-Chair: Symposium: Skeletons out of our Closet: Psychoanalytic and GLBT explorations. Annual Conference of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, CA.

Glassgold, J. M. (2003, August). Chair and Discussant: Film: Trembling Before G-D. Annual Conference of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, CA.

Glassgold, J. M. (2003, August). Juggling diverse practices: Psychodynamic, child & forensic. Paper presented as part of a symposium “Privately out of the closet: Lives and work of LGB therapists.” Annual Conference of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, CA.

Glassgold, J. M. (2003, August). Getting into APA leadership. Paper presented at Mentoring Workshop for LGBT Students. Annual Conference the American Psychological Association, Toronto, CA.

Glassgold, J. M. (2001, February 19). Gay and lesbian teenagers. Appearance on “Family Talk”, CN8, Comcast Cable Network.

Glassgold, J.M. (August, 2000). Discussant. Public Interest Miniconvention Valuing Diversity. Presented at the Annual Conference of the American Psychological Association, Washington, DC.

Glassgold, J. M. (April, 2000). Identity and a sense of belonging in adolescents. Invited Address at the 4th Annual Sarah van Alen Lecture Series. Collier School, Marlborough Twp, NJ.

Glassgold, J. M. (August, 1999). Conversation Hour: Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Therapists working with Bisexual Clients. Presented at the Annual Conference of the American Psychological Association, Boston, MA.

Glassgold, J. M. (August, 1999). Discussion: Promoting Research in Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Issues. Presented at the Annual Conference of the American Psychological Association, Boston, MA.

Glassgold, J. M. (February, 1997). Expressing Desire: Subjectivity and Agency in Female Desire. Paper presented at a conference of Division 39, Psychoanalysis, of The American Psychological Association. Denver, CO.

Glassgold, J. M. (November, 1996). Lesbian Identity Development: Theoretical Views from Psychoanalysis to Lesbian Affirmative Therapy. Presented at a Conference: The Treatment of Lesbians and Gay Men in Psychiatric Practice. American Psychiatric Association, 48th Institute on Psychiatric Services, Chicago, IL.

Glassgold, J. M. & Iasenza, S. (October, 1996). Psychoanalysis with Lesbians: Modern Approaches to Individual and Couples Therapy. Workshop Presented at the Fall Meeting of the New Jersey Psychological Asso-

ciation.

Glassgold, J. M. (March 1996). Increasing agency in lesbian women. Symposium: Lesbians and Psychoanalysis. .Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association of Women in Psychology. Portland OR.

Glassgold, J. M. (March, 1996). Dynamic psychotherapy with bisexual women. Symposium: Treatment issues with Bisexual Women. Presented at the annual meeting of the Association of Women in Psychology. Portland, OR.

Glassgold, J. M. (March, 1996). Addressing bisexuality in therapy. Presentation at Plenary Panel at the Conference: Psychotherapy with the Gay and Lesbian Community. Sponsored by the Institute for Human Identity, New York.

Glassgold, J. M. (August, 1995). Co-Chair, Lesbians and Psychoanalysis: New Directions in Theory and Practice. Critical Issues in Psychoanalysis with Lesbians. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the American Psychological Association. New York, NY.

Glassgold, J. M. (August, 1995). Organizing a Gay and Lesbian Committee in a Tolerant State. Paper presented
at Symposium: Confronting Sexual Orientation Concerns within and outside State Psychological Associations. Presented at the Annual Conference of the American Psychological Association, New York, NY.

Glassgold, J. M. & Iasenza, S. (March, 1995). Psychoanalysis and Lesbians. Workshop presented at the Annual Conference of the Association of Women in Psychology, Indianapolis, IN.

Glassgold, J. M. (November, 1993). Homophobia in the Therapist: Improving clinical services to the gay and Lesbian community. Workshop presented at Jewish Family Services of North Middlesex County, NJ.

Glassgold, J. M. (November, 1993). Reaching the sexual minority youth: Working with gay, lesbian and bisexual Youth. Part of training team sponsored by The Human Resource Development Institute & the Division of Youth and Family Services of New Jersey. Rider College, Lawrenceville, NJ.

Glassgold, J. M. (November, 1993). Psychological Perspectives on Homophobia. Invited Address at Plenary Panel: Perspectives on Diversity. Seton Hall University, West Orange, NJ.

Glassgold, J. M. (December, 1993). Sexual abuse as a risk factor in HIV transmission in women. Workshop presented at the annual conference of the Women and AIDS Coalition, Newark, NJ.

Glassgold, J. M. (August, 1993). Similarity and Difference in Psychotherapy. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association. Chair of Symposium: Addressing Difference in Therapist-Patient Sexual Orientation. Toronto, Canada.

Glassgold, J. M. (February, 1993). New directions in dynamic theories of lesbianism: From psychoanalysis to contextualism. Conference on Psychotherapy in the Gay and Lesbian Community. Sponsored by the Institute for Human Identity. New York, NY.

Glassgold, J. M. (December, 1992). LGBT Adolescents and the role of the school psychologist. Workshop presented at the Annual meeting of the National Association of School Psychologists—New Jersey Chapter. Clark, NJ.

Glassgold, J. M. (December, 1992). The social construction of family norms. Presentation at the Family Institute of New Jersey. Metuchen, NJ.

Glassgold, J. M. (May, 1992). Lesbian youth: Survival through resistance. Presentation at conference: “One in Ten III: Invisible Youth. Lesbian and Gay Adolescents in School, Community and Family. Newark, NJ.

Glassgold, J. M. (March, 1992). Models of Feminist Therapy: Applications for college students. Training presented at Rutgers College Counseling Center. New Brunswick, NJ.

Glassgold, J. M. (February, 1992). Plenary Panel: Living and Working in the same community. Conference on Psychotherapy in the Gay and Lesbian Community. Sponsored by the Institute for Human Identity: Exploring our many roles and relationships. New York, NY.

Glassgold, J. M. (February, 1992). Psychotherapy with lesbians and gay men. Presentation at the meeting of the Morris County Psychological Association. Morristown, NJ.

Glassgold, J. M. (January, 1992). The development of sexual orientation: Issues in the psychotherapy of women. Presentation at meeting of the New Jersey Association of Women Therapists. Berkeley Heights, NJ.

Glassgold, J. M. (November, 1991). Focal Issues in the treatment of lesbians and gay men. Chair of symposium and presenter. New Jersey Psychological Association Fall Meeting. Somerset, New Jersey.

Glassgold, J. M. (February, 1991). The development of sexual orientation: Issues for psychotherapists. Training presented at Rutgers College Counseling Center. New Brunswick, NJ.

Glassgold, J. M. (September, 1990). The role of support groups in graduate school training in professional psychology. Paper presented at the Colloquium series of the Department of Psychology, C.W. Post Campus, Long Island University.

Glassgold, J. M. (August, 1990). The role of peer support groups in fostering professional development. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association. Symposium entitled What they didn't teach you in clinical psychology graduate school: Making the transition from graduate student to full-fledged professional.

Glassgold, J. M. (August, 1989). The Construction of Lesbian Identity and Sexuality. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association. Symposium co-chair and presenter. Symposium entitled: Social Constructionism and the Psychology of Sexuality and Identity.

Glassgold, J. M. (August, 1989). An appraisal of feminist object-relations theory. Paper accepted for presentation at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association.

Glassgold, J. M. (March, 1989). Exploring Theoretical Models of Lesbianism. Paper presented at the annual conference of the Association of Women in Psychology: "The Many Faces of Feminist Psychology", Newport, Rhode Island.

Glassgold, J. M. (March, 1988). Lesbianism and Psychoanalysis. Paper presented and discussion session facilitated at the annual conference of the Association of Women in Psychology: "New Directions in Feminist Psychology", Bethesda, MD.

Glassgold, J. M. (August, 1987). Lesbianism and Psychoanalysis. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association of Lesbian and Gay Psychologists held concurrently with the American Psychological Association, New York, NY.

Glassgold, J. M. (April, 1987). Developmental Issues for Lesbians from a Family Systems Perspective. Paper presented at the University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey, Family Therapy Training Program, Piscataway, NJ. `

Glassgold, J. M. (April, 1987). Psychoanalysis and Lesbianism: A Critique of Theory. Paper presented at conference: "Therapy for the Lesbian and Gay Community", sponsored by the Institute for Human Identity, New York City, NY.

EXHIBIT B

American Psychological Association

Report of the American Psychological Association Task Force on

Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation

Report of the American Psychological Association Task Force on

Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation

Task Force Members

Judith M. Glassgold, PsyD, Chair
Lee Beckstead, PhD
Jack Drescher, MD
Beverly Greene, PhD
Robin Lin Miller, PhD
Roger L. Worthington, PhD

Clinton W. Anderson, PhD, Staff Liaison

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Printed copies available from:
Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Concerns Office
Public Interest Directorate
American Psychological Association
750 First Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002-4242
202-336-6041
lgbc@apa.org

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ABSTRACT

The American Psychological Association Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation conducted a systematic review of the peer-reviewed journal literature on sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE) and concluded that efforts to change sexual orientation are unlikely to be successful and involve some risk of harm, contrary to the claims of SOCE practitioners and advocates. Even though the research and clinical literature demonstrate that same-sex sexual and romantic attractions, feelings, and behaviors are normal and positive variations of human sexuality regardless of sexual orientation identity, the task force concluded that the population that undergoes SOCE tends to have strongly conservative religious views that lead them to seek to change their sexual orientation. Thus, the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for those who seek SOCE involves therapist acceptance, support, and understanding of clients and the facilitation of clients' active coping, social support, and identity exploration and development, without imposing a specific sexual orientation identity outcome.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In February 2007, the American Psychological Association (APA) established the Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation and charged the task force with three major tasks:

1. Review and update the 1997 Resolution on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation (APA, 1998).
2. Generate a report that includes discussion of the following:
   - The appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for children and adolescents who present a desire to change either their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both, or whose guardian expresses a desire for the minor to change.
   - The appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults who present a desire to change their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both.
   - The presence of adolescent inpatient facilities that offer coercive treatment designed to change sexual orientation or the behavioral expression of sexual orientation.
   - Education, training, and research issues as they pertain to such therapeutic interventions.
   - Recommendations regarding treatment protocols that promote stereotyped gender-normative behavior to mitigate behaviors that are perceived to be indicators that a child will develop a homosexual orientation in adolescence and adulthood.
3. Inform APA's response to groups that promote treatments to change sexual orientation or its behavioral expression and support public policy that furthers affirmative therapeutic interventions.

As part of the fulfillment of its charge, the task force undertook an extensive review of the recent literature on psychotherapy and the psychology of sexual orientation. There is a growing body of evidence concluding that sexual stigma, manifested as prejudice and discrimination directed at non-heterosexual sexual orientations and identities, is a major source of stress for sexual minorities.* This stress, known as *minority stress*, is a factor in mental health disparities found in some sexual minorities. The minority stress model also provides a framework for considering psychotherapy with sexual minorities, including understanding stress, distress, coping, resilience, and recovery. For instance, the affirmative approach to psychotherapy grew out of an awareness that sexual minorities benefit

* We use the term *sexual minority* (cf. Blumenfeld, 1992; McCarn & Fassinger, 1996; Ullerstam, 1966) to designate the entire group of individuals who experience significant erotic and romantic attractions to adult members of their own sex, including those who experience attractions to members of their own and of the other sex. This term is used because we recognize that not all sexual minority individuals adopt a lesbian, gay, or bisexual identity.

when the sexual stigma they experience is addressed in psychotherapy with interventions that reduce and counter internalized stigma and increase active coping.

The task force, in recognition of human diversity, conceptualized affirmative interventions within the domain of cultural competence, consistent with general multicultural approaches that acknowledge the importance of age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status. We see this multiculturally competent and affirmative approach as grounded in an acceptance of the following scientific facts:

- Same-sex sexual attractions, behavior, and orientations per se are normal and positive variants of human sexuality—in other words, they do not indicate either mental or developmental disorders.
- Homosexuality and bisexuality are stigmatized, and this stigma can have a variety of negative consequences (e.g., minority stress) throughout the life span.
- Same-sex sexual attractions and behavior occur in the context of a variety of sexual orientations and sexual orientation identities, and for some, sexual orientation identity (i.e., individual or group membership and affiliation, self-labeling) is fluid or has an indefinite outcome.
- Gay men, lesbians, and bisexual individuals form stable, committed relationships and families that are equivalent to heterosexual relationships and families in essential respects.
- Some individuals choose to live their lives in accordance with personal or religious values (i.e., telic congruence).

Summary of the Systematic Review of the Literature

Efficacy and Safety

In order to ascertain whether there was a research basis for revising the 1997 Resolution on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation (APA, 1998) and providing more specific recommendations to licensed mental health practitioners, the public, and policymakers, the task force performed a systematic review of the peer-reviewed literature to answer three questions:

- Are sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE)** effective at changing sexual orientation?
- Are SOCE harmful?
- Are there any additional benefits that can be reasonably attributed to SOCE?

The review covered the peer-reviewed journal articles in English from 1960 to 2007. Most studies in this area were conducted before 1981, and only a few studies have been conducted in the last 10 years. We found serious methodological problems in this area of research; only a few studies met the minimal standards for evaluating whether psychological treatments such as efforts to change sexual orientation are effective. Few studies—all conducted in the period from 1969 to 1978—could be considered true experiments or quasi-experiments that would isolate and control the factors that might effect change (Birk, Huddleston, Miller, & Cohler, 1971; S. James, 1978; McConaghy, 1969, 1976; McConaghy, Proctor, & Barr, 1972; Tanner, 1974, 1975). Only one of these studies (Tanner, 1974) actually compared people who received a treatment with people who did not and could therefore rule out the possibility that other things, such as being motivated to change, were the true cause of any change the researchers observed in the study participants.

None of the recent research (1999–2007) meets methodological standards that permit conclusions regarding efficacy or safety. The few high-quality studies of SOCE conducted recently are qualitative (e.g., Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001); although they aid in an understanding of the population that undergoes sexual orientation change, they do not provide the kind of information needed for definitive answers to questions of safety and efficacy. Given the limited amount of methodologically sound research, claims that recent SOCE is effective are not supported.

We concluded that the early high-quality evidence is the best basis for predicting what the outcome of valid interventions would be. These studies show that

** In this report, we use the term *sexual orientation change efforts* (SOCE) to describe methods (e.g., behavioral techniques, psychoanalytic techniques, medical approaches, religious and spiritual approaches) that aim to change a person's same-sex sexual orientation to other-sex, regardless of whether mental health professionals or lay individuals (including religious professionals, religious leaders, social groups, and other lay networks, such as self-help groups) are involved.

enduring change to an individual's sexual orientation is uncommon. The participants in this body of research continued to experience same-sex attractions following SOCE and did not report significant change to other-sex attractions that could be empirically validated, though some showed lessened physiological arousal to sexual stimuli. Compelling evidence of decreased same-sex sexual behavior and of engagement in sexual behavior with the other sex was rare. Few studies provided strong evidence that any changes produced in laboratory conditions translated to daily life. Thus, the results of scientifically valid research indicate that it is unlikely that individuals will be able to reduce same-sex attractions or increase other-sex sexual attractions through SOCE.

We found that there was some evidence to indicate that individuals experienced harm from SOCE. Early studies documented iatrogenic effects of aversive forms of SOCE. These negative side effects included loss of sexual feeling, depression, suicidality, and anxiety. High dropout rates characterized early aversive treatment studies and may be an indicator that research participants experienced these treatments as harmful. Recent research reports on religious and nonaversive efforts indicate that there are individuals who perceive they have been harmed. Across studies, it is unclear what specific individual characteristics and diagnostic criteria would prospectively distinguish those individuals who will later perceive that they been harmed by SOCE.

Individuals Who Seek SOCE and Their Experiences

Although the recent SOCE research cannot provide conclusions regarding efficacy or safety, it does provide some information on those individuals who participate in change efforts. SOCE research identified a population of individuals who experienced conflicts and distress related to same-sex attractions. The vast majority of people who participated in the early studies were adult White males, and many of these individuals were court-mandated to receive treatment. In the research conducted over the last 10 years, the population was mostly well-educated individuals, predominantly men, who consider religion to be an extremely important part of their lives and participate in traditional or conservative faiths (e.g., The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, evangelical Christianity, and Orthodox Judaism). These recent studies included a small number of participants who identified as members of ethnic minority groups, and a few studies included women.

Most of the individuals studied had tried a variety of methods to change their sexual orientation, including psychotherapy, support groups, and religious efforts. Many of the individuals studied were recruited from groups endorsing SOCE. The relation between the characteristics of the individuals in samples used in these studies and the entire population of people who seek SOCE is unknown because the studies have relied entirely on convenience samples.

Former participants in SOCE reported diverse evaluations of their experiences: Some individuals perceived that they had benefited from SOCE, while others perceived that they had been harmed. Individuals who failed to change sexual orientation, while believing they should have changed with such efforts, described their experiences as a significant cause of emotional and spiritual distress and negative self-image. Other individuals reported that SOCE was helpful—for example, it helped them live in a manner consistent with their faith. Some individuals described finding a sense of community through religious SOCE and valued having others with whom they could identify. These effects are similar to those provided by mutual support groups for a range of problems, and the positive benefits reported by participants in SOCE, such as reduction of isolation, alterations in how problems are viewed, and stress reduction, are consistent with the findings of the general mutual support group literature. The research literature indicates that the benefits of SOCE mutual support groups are not unique and can be provided within an affirmative and multiculturally competent framework, which can mitigate the harmful aspects of SOCE by addressing sexual stigma while understanding the importance of religion and social needs.

Recent studies of participants who have sought SOCE do not adequately distinguish between *sexual orientation* and *sexual orientation identity*. We concluded that the failure to distinguish these aspects of human sexuality has led SOCE research to obscure what actually can or cannot change in human sexuality. The available evidence of both early and recent studies suggests that although sexual orientation is unlikely to change, some individuals modified their sexual orientation identity (e.g., individual or group membership and affiliation, self-labeling) and other aspects of sexuality (e.g., values and behavior). They did so in a variety of ways and with varied and

unpredictable outcomes, some of which were temporary. For instance, in some research, individuals, through participating in SOCE, became skilled in ignoring or tolerating their same-sex attractions. Some individuals reported that they went on to lead outwardly heterosexual lives, developing a sexual relationship with an other-sex partner, and adopting a heterosexual identity. These results were less common for those with no prior heterosexual experience.

Literature on Children and Adolescents

To fulfill part of the task force charge, we reviewed the limited research on child and adolescent issues and drew the following conclusions: There is no research demonstrating that providing SOCE to children or adolescents has an impact on adult sexual orientation. The few studies of children with gender identity disorder found no evidence that psychotherapy provided to those children had an impact on adult sexual orientation. There is currently no evidence that teaching or reinforcing stereotyped gender-normative behavior in childhood or adolescence can alter sexual orientation. We have concerns that such interventions may increase self-stigma and minority stress and ultimately increase the distress of children and adolescents.

We were asked to report on adolescent inpatient facilities that offer coercive treatment designed to change sexual orientation or the behavioral expression of sexual orientation. The limited published literature on these programs suggests that many do not present accurate scientific information regarding same-sex sexual orientations to youths and families, are excessively fear-based, and have the potential to increase sexual stigma. These efforts pose challenges to best clinical practices and professional ethics, as they potentially violate current practice guidelines by not providing treatment in the least-restrictive setting possible, by not protecting client autonomy, and by ignoring current scientific information on sexual orientation.

Recommendations and Future Directions

Practice

The task force was asked to report on the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults who present a desire to change their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both. The clinical literature indicated that adults perceive a benefit when they are provided with client-centered, multicultural, evidence-based approaches that provide (a) acceptance and support, (b) a comprehensive assessment, (c) active coping, (d) social support, and (e) identity exploration and development. Acceptance and support include unconditional acceptance of and support for the various aspects of the client; respect for the client's values, beliefs, and needs; and a reduction in internalized sexual stigma. Comprehensive assessment involves an awareness of the complete person, including mental health concerns that could impact distress about sexual orientation. Active coping includes both cognitive and emotional strategies to manage stigma and conflicts, including the development of alternative cognitive frames to resolve cognitive dissonance and the facilitation of affective expression and resolution of losses. Social support, which can mitigate distress caused by isolation, rejection, and lack of role models, includes psychotherapy, self-help groups, or welcoming communities (e.g., ethnic communities, social groups, religious denominations). Identity exploration and development include offering permission and opportunity to explore a wide range of options and reducing the conflicts caused by dichotomous or conflicting conceptions of self and identity without prioritizing a particular outcome.

This framework is consistent with multicultural and evidence-based practices in psychotherapy and is built on three key findings:

- Our systematic review of the early research found that enduring change to an individual's sexual orientation was unlikely.
- Our review of the scholarly literature on individuals distressed by their sexual orientation indicated that clients perceived a benefit when offered interventions that emphasize acceptance, support, and recognition of important values and concerns.
- Studies indicate that experiences of stigma—such as self-stigma, shame, isolation and rejection from relationships and valued communities, lack of emotional support and accurate information, and conflicts between multiple identities and between values and attractions—played a role in creating distress in individuals. Many religious individuals desired to live their lives in a manner consistent with their values (telic congruence); however, telic

congruence based on stigma and shame is unlikely to result in psychological well-being.

In terms of formulating the goals of treatment, we propose that, on the basis of research on sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity, what appears to shift and evolve in some individuals' lives is sexual orientation identity, not sexual orientation. Given that there is diversity in how individuals define and express their sexual orientation identity, an affirmative approach is supportive of clients' identity development without an a priori treatment goal concerning how clients identify or live out their sexual orientation or spiritual beliefs. This type of therapy can provide a safe space where the different aspects of the evolving self can be acknowledged, explored, respected, and potentially rewoven into a more coherent sense of self that feels authentic to the client, and it can be helpful to those who accept, reject, or are ambivalent about their same-sex attractions. The treatment does not differ, although the outcome of the client's pathway to a sexual orientation identity does. Other potential targets of treatment are emotional adjustment, including shame and self-stigma, and personal beliefs, values, and norms.

We were asked to report on the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for children and adolescents who present a desire to change either their sexual orientation or the behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both, or whose parent or guardian expresses a desire for the minor to change. The framework proposed for adults (i.e., acceptance and support, a comprehensive assessment, active coping, social support, and identity exploration and development) is also pertinent—with unique relevant features—to children and adolescents. For instance, the clinical literature stresses interventions that accept and support the development of healthy self-esteem, facilitate the achievement of appropriate developmental milestones—including the development of a positive identity—and reduce internalized sexual stigma.

For parents who are concerned or distressed by their child's sexual orientation, licensed mental health providers (LMHP) can provide accurate information about sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity and can offer anticipatory guidance and psychotherapy that support family reconciliation.

Research indicates that family interventions that reduce rejection and increase acceptance of their child and adolescent are helpful. For parents who are concerned or distressed by their child's sexual orientation, licensed mental health providers (LMHP) can provide accurate information about sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity and can offer anticipatory guidance and psychotherapy that support family reconciliation (e.g., communication, understanding, and empathy) and maintenance of the child's total health and well-being.

Additionally, the research and clinical literature indicates that increasing social support for sexual minority children and youth by intervening in schools and communities to increase their acceptance and safety is important. Services for children and youth should support and respect age-appropriate issues of self-determination; services should also be provided in the least restrictive setting that is clinically possible and should maximize self-determination. At a minimum, the assent of the youth should be obtained, including whenever possible a developmentally appropriate informed consent to treatment.

Some religious individuals with same-sex attractions experience psychological distress and conflict due to the perceived irreconcilability of their sexual orientation and religious beliefs. The clinical and research literature encourages the provision of acceptance, support, and recognition of the importance of faith to individuals and communities while recognizing the science of sexual orientation. This includes an understanding of the client's faith and the psychology of religion, especially issues such as religious coping, motivation, and identity. Clients' exploration of possible life paths can address the reality of their sexual orientation and the possibilities for a religiously and spiritually meaningful and rewarding life. Such psychotherapy can enhance clients' search for meaning, significance, and a relationship with the sacred in their lives; increase positive religious coping; foster an understanding of religious motivations; help integrate religious and sexual orientation identities; and reframe sexual orientation identities to reduce self-stigma.

LMHP strive to provide interventions that are consistent with current ethical standards. The APA *Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct* (APA, 2002b) and relevant APA guidelines and resolutions (e.g., APA, 2000, 2002c, 2004, 2005a, 2007b) are resources for psychologists, especially Ethical Principles A (Beneficence and Nonmaleficense), D (Justice), and E (Respect for People's Rights and

Dignity, including self-determination). For instance, LMHP reduce potential harm and increase potential benefits by basing their scientific and professional judgments and actions on the most current and valid scientific evidence, such as the evidence provided in this report (see APA, 2002b, Standard 2.04, Bases for Scientific and Professional Judgments). LMHP enhance principles of social justice when they strive to understand the effects of sexual stigma, prejudice, and discrimination on the lives of individuals, families, and communities. Further, LMHP aspire to respect diversity in all aspects of their work, including age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, and socioeconomic status.

Self-determination is the process by which a person controls or determines the course of her or his own life (according to the *Oxford American Dictionary*, 2007). LMHP maximize self-determination by (a) providing effective psychotherapy that explores the client's assumptions and goals, without preconditions on the outcome; (b) providing resources to manage and reduce distress; and (c) permitting the client to decide the ultimate goal of how to self-identify and live out her or his sexual orientation. Although some accounts suggest that providing SOCE increases self-determination, we were not persuaded by this argument, as it encourages LMHP to provide treatment that has not provided evidence of efficacy, has the potential to be harmful, and delegates important professional decisions that should be based on qualified expertise and training—such as diagnosis and type of therapy. Rather, therapy that increases the client's ability to cope, understand, acknowledge, and integrate sexual orientation concerns into a self-chosen life is the measured approach.

Education and Training

The task force was asked to provide recommendations on education and training for LMHP working with this population. We recommend that mental health professionals working with individuals who are considering SOCE learn about evidence-based and multicultural interventions and obtain additional knowledge, awareness, and skills in the following areas:

- Sexuality, sexual orientation, and sexual identity development.
- Various perspectives on religion and spirituality, including models of faith development, religious coping, and the positive psychology of religion.
- Identity development, including integration of multiple identities and the resolution of identity conflicts.
- The intersections of age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status.
- Sexual stigma and minority stress.

We also recommend that APA (a) take steps to encourage community colleges, undergraduate programs, graduate school training programs, internship sites, and postdoctoral programs in psychology to include this report and other relevant material on lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) issues in their curriculum; (b) maintain the currently high standards for APA approval of continuing professional education providers and programs; (c) offer symposia and continuing professional education workshops at APA's annual convention that focus on treatment of individuals distressed by their same-sex attractions, especially those who struggle to integrate religious and spiritual beliefs with sexual orientation identities; and (d) disseminate this report widely, including publishing a version of this report in an appropriate journal or other publication.

The information available to the public about SOCE is highly variable and can be confusing and misleading. Sexual minorities, individuals aware of same-sex attractions, families, parents, caregivers, policymakers, the public, and religious leaders can benefit from accurate scientific information about sexual orientation and the appropriate interventions for individuals distressed by their same-sex attractions. We recommend that APA take the lead in creating informational materials for sexual minority individuals, families, parents, and other stakeholders, including religious organizations, on appropriate multiculturally competent and client-centered interventions for those distressed by their sexual orientation and who may seek SOCE. We also recommended that APA collaborate with other relevant organizations, especially religious organizations, to disseminate this information.

Research

The task force was asked to provide recommendations for future research. We recommend that researchers and practitioners investigate multiculturally competent and affirmative evidence-based treatments for sexual

minorities that do not aim to alter sexual orientation. For such individuals, the focus would be on frameworks that include acceptance and support, a comprehensive assessment, active coping, social support, and identity exploration and development without prioritizing one outcome over another.

The research on SOCE has not adequately assessed efficacy and safety. Any future research should conform to best-practice standards for the design of efficacy research. Research on SOCE would (a) use methods that are prospective and longitudinal; (b) employ sampling methods that allow proper generalization; (c) use appropriate, objective, and high-quality measures of sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity; (d) address preexisting and co-occurring conditions, mental health problems, other interventions, and life histories to test competing explanations for any changes; (e) address participants' biases and potential need for monitoring self-impression and life histories; and (f) include measures capable of assessing harm.

Policy

The task force was asked to inform (a) the association's response to groups that promote treatments to change sexual orientation or its behavioral expression and (b) public policy that furthers affirmative therapeutic interventions. We encourage APA to continue its advocacy for LGBT individuals and families and to oppose stigma, prejudice, discrimination, and violence directed at sexual minorities. We recommend that APA take a leadership role in opposing the distortion and selective use of scientific data about homosexuality by individuals and organizations and in supporting the dissemination of accurate scientific and professional information about sexual orientation in order to counteract bias. We encourage APA to engage in collaborative activities with religious communities in pursuit of shared prosocial goals when such collaboration can be done in a mutually respectful manner that is consistent with psychologists' professional and scientific roles.

The 1997 Resolution on Appropriate Responses to Sexual Orientation (APA, 1998) focuses on ethical issues for practitioners and still serves this purpose. However, on the basis of (a) our systematic review of efficacy and safety issues, (b) the presence of SOCE directed at children and adolescents, (c) the importance of religion for those who currently seek SOCE, and (d) the ideological and political disputes that affect this area, the task force recommended that the APA Council of Representatives adopt a new resolution, the **Resolution on Appropriate Affirmative Responses to Sexual Orientation Distress and Change Efforts**, to address these issues. [The Council adopted the resolution in August 2009.] (See Appendix A.)

PREFACE

In February 2007, the American Psychological Association (APA) established the Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation and charged the task force with three major tasks:

1. Review and update the 1997 Resolution on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation (APA, 1998);
2. Generate a report that includes discussion of the following:
   - The appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for children and adolescents who present a desire to change either their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both, or whose guardian expresses a desire for the minor to change.
   - The appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults who present a desire to change their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both.
   - The presence of adolescent inpatient facilities that offer coercive treatment designed to change sexual orientation or the behavioral expression of sexual orientation.
   - Education, training, and research issues as they pertain to such therapeutic interventions.
   - Recommendations regarding treatment protocols that promote stereotyped gender-normative behavior to mitigate behaviors that are perceived to be indicators that a child will develop a homosexual orientation in adolescence and adulthood.
3. Inform APA's response to groups that promote treatments to change sexual orientation or its behavioral expression and support public policy that furthers affirmative therapeutic interventions.

Nominations of task force members were solicited through an open process that was widely publicized through professional publications, electronic media, and organizations. The qualifications sought were (a) advanced knowledge of current theory and research on the development of sexual orientation; (b) advanced knowledge of current theory and research on therapies that aim to change sexual orientation; and (c) extensive expertise in affirmative mental health treatment for one or more of the following populations: children and adolescents who present with distress regarding their sexual orientation, religious individuals in distress regarding their sexual orientation, and adults who present with desires to their change sexual orientation or have undergone therapy to do so. An additional position was added for an expert in research design and methodology.

Nominations were open to psychologists, qualified counselors, psychiatrists, or social workers, including members and nonmembers of APA. Nominations of

ethnic minority psychologists, bisexual psychologists, psychologists with disabilities, transgender psychologists, and other psychologists who are members of underrepresented groups were welcomed. In April 2007, then-APA President Sharon Stephens Brehm, PhD, appointed the following people to serve on the task force: Judith M. Glassgold, PsyD (chair); Lee Beckstead, PhD; Jack Drescher, MD; Beverly Greene, PhD; Robin Lin Miller, PhD; and Roger L. Worthington, PhD.

The task force met face-to-face twice in 2007 and supplemented these meetings with consultation and collaboration via teleconference and the Internet. Initially, we reviewed our charge and defined necessary bodies of scientific and professional literature to review to meet that charge. In light of our charge to review the 1997 resolution, we concluded that the most important task was to review the existing scientific literature on treatment outcomes of sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE).

We also concluded that a review of research before 1997 as well as since 1997 was necessary to provide a complete and thorough evaluation of the scientific literature. Thus, we conducted a review of the available empirical research on treatment efficacy and results published in English from 1960 on and also used common databases such as PsycINFO and Medline, as well as other databases such as the ATLA Religion Database, LexisNexis, Social Work Abstracts, and Sociological Abstracts, to review evidence regarding harm and benefit from SOCE. The literature review for other areas of the report was also drawn from these databases and included lay sources such as GoogleScholar and material found through Internet searches. Due to our charge, we limited our review to sexual orientation and did not address gender identity, because the final report of another task force, the APA Task Force on Gender Identity and Gender Variance, was forthcoming (see APA, 2009).

The task force received comments from the public, professionals, and other organizations and read all comments received. We also welcomed submission of material from the interested public, mental health professionals, organizations, and scholarly communities. All nominated individuals who were not selected for the task force were invited to submit suggestions for articles and other material for us to review. We reviewed all material received. Finally, APA staff met with interested parties to understand their concerns.

The writing of the report was completed in 2008, with editing and revisions occurring in 2009. After a draft report was generated in 2008, we asked for professional review by noted scholars in the area who were also APA members. Additionally, APA boards and committees were asked to select reviewers to provide feedback. After these reviews were received, the report was revised in line with these comments. In 2009, a second draft was sent to a second group of reviewers, including those who had previously reviewed the report, scholars in the field (including some who were not members of APA), representatives of APA boards and committees, and APA staff. The task force consulted with Nathalie Gilfoyle, JD, of the APA Office of General Counsel, as well as with Stephen Behnke, PhD, JD, of the APA Ethics Office. Other staff members of APA were consulted as needed.

We would like to thank the following two individuals who were essential to the accomplishment of our charge: Clinton W. Anderson, PhD, and Charlene DeLong, Dr. Anderson's knowledge of the field of LGBT psychology as well as his sage counsel, organizational experience, and editorial advice and skills were indispensable. Ms. DeLong was fundamental in providing technological support and aid in coordinating the activities of the task force.

We appreciate the assistance of Maria T. Valenti, MA, in conducting the research review and in organizing the tables. Mary Campbell also provided editorial advice on the report, and Stephanie Liotta provided assistance in preparing the final manuscript. We are grateful to David Spears for designing the report.

We would also like to acknowledge 2007 APA President Sharon Stephens Brehm, PhD, who was supportive of our goals and provided invaluable perspective at our first meeting, and to thank Alan E. Kazdin, PhD, past president, James H. Bray, PhD, president, and Carol D. Goodheart, EdD, president-elect, for their support. Douglas C. Haldeman, PhD, served as the Board of Director's liaison to the task force in 2007–2008 and provided counsel and expertise. Melba J.T. Vasquez, PhD, Michael Wertheimer, PhD, and Armand R. Cerbone, PhD, members of the APA Board of Directors, also reviewed this report and provided feedback.

We would very much like to thank Gwendolyn Puryear Keita, PhD, the executive director of the APA Public Interest Directorate, for her advice, support, and expertise. In addition, we acknowledge Rhea Farberman, executive director, and Kim Mills, associate executive director, of the APA Public and Member Communications office, for their expertise and support. Stephen H. Behnke, PhD, director of the APA Ethics

Office, and Nathalie Gilfoyle, APA Office of the General Counsel, provided valuable feedback on the report.

We acknowledge the following individuals, who served as scholarly reviewers of the first and second drafts of the report; their feedback on the content was invaluable (in alphabetical order): Eleonora Bartoli, PhD; Rosie Phillips Bingham, PhD; Elizabeth D. Cardoso, PhD; June W. J. Ching, PhD; David Michael Corey, PhD; Isiaah Crawford, PhD; Anthony D'Augelli, PhD; Sari H. Dworkin, PhD; Randall D. Ehrbar, PsyD; Angela Rose Gillem, PhD; Terry Sai-Wah Gock, PhD; Marvin R. Goldfried, PhD; John C. Gonsiorek, PhD; Perry N. Halkitis, PhD; Kristin A. Hancock, PhD; J. Judd Harbin, PhD; William L. Hathaway, PhD; Gregory M. Herek, PhD; W. Brad Johnson, PhD; Jon S. Lasser, PhD; Alicia A. Lucksted, PhD; Connie R. Matthews, PhD; Kathleen M. Ritter, PhD; Darryl S. Salvador, PsyD; Jane M. Simoni, PhD; Lori C. Thomas, JD, PhD; Warren Throckmorton, PhD; Bianca D. M. Wilson, PhD; Mark A. Yarhouse, PsyD; and Hirokazu Yoshikawa, PhD.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the mid-1970s, on the basis of emerging scientific evidence and encouraged by the social movement for ending sexual orientation discrimination, the American Psychological Association (APA) and other professional organizations affirmed that homosexuality per se is not a mental disorder and rejected the stigma of mental illness that the medical and mental health professions had previously placed on sexual minorities.[1] This action, along with the earlier action of the American Psychiatric Association that removed *homosexuality* from the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (*DSM*; American Psychiatric Association, 1973), helped counter the social stigma that the mental illness concept had helped to create and maintain. Through the 1970s and 1980s, APA and its peer organizations not only adopted a range of position statements supporting nondiscrimination on the basis of sexual orientation (APA, 1975, 2005a; American Psychiatric Association, 1973; American Psychoanalytic Association, 1991, 1992; National Association of Social Workers [NASW], 2000) but also acted on the basis of those positions to advocate for legal and policy changes (APA, 2003, 2005a, 2008b; NASW, 2000). On the basis of growing scientific evidence (Gonsiorek, 1991), licensed mental health providers (LMHP)[2] of all professions increasingly took the perspective throughout this period that homosexuality per se is a normal variant[3] of human sexuality and that lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) people deserve to be affirmed and supported in their sexual orientation,[4] relationships, and social opportunities. This approach to psychotherapy is generally termed *affirmative*, *gay affirmative*, or *lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) affirmative*.

Consequently, the published literature on psychotherapeutic efforts to change sexual orientation that had been relatively common during the 1950s and 1960s began to decline, and approaches to psychotherapy that were not LGB affirmative came under increased scrutiny (cf. Mitchell, 1978; G.T. Wilson & Davison, 1974). The mainstream organizations for psychoanalysis and behavior therapy—the two types of therapeutic orientation most associated with the published literature on sexual orientation change therapies—publicly rejected these practices (American Psychoanalytic Association, 1991, 1992; Davison, 1976, 1978; Davison & Wilson, 1973; D. J. Martin, 2003).

[1] We use the term *sexual minority* (cf. Blumenfeld, 1992; McCarn & Fassinger, 1996; Ullerstam, 1966) to designate the entire group of individuals who experience significant erotic and romantic attractions to adult members of their own sex, including those who experience attractions to members of their own and of the other sex. This term is used because we recognize that not all sexual minority individuals adopt a lesbian, gay, or bisexual identity.

[2] We use the term *licensed mental health providers* (LMHP) to refer to professional providers of mental health services with a variety of educational credentials and training backgrounds, because state licensure is the basic credential for independent practice.

[3] We use the adjective *normal* to denote both the absence of a mental disorder and the presence of a positive and healthy outcome of human development.

[4] We define sexual orientation as an individual's patterns of erotic, sexual, romantic, and affectional arousal and desire for other persons based on those persons' gender and sex characteristics (see pp. 29–32 for a more detailed discussion).

In the early 1990s, some APA members began to express concerns about the resurgence of individuals and organizations that actively promoted the idea of homosexuality as a developmental defect or a spiritual and moral failing and that advocated psychotherapy and religious ministry to alter homosexual feelings and behaviors, because these practices seemed to be an attempt to repathologize sexual minorities (Drescher & Zucker, 2006; Haldeman, 1994; S. L. Morrow & Beckstead, 2004). Many of the individuals and organizations appeared to be embedded within conservative political and religious movements that supported the stigmatization of homosexuality (Drescher, 2003; Drescher & Zucker, 2006; Southern Poverty Law Center [SPLC], 2005).

The concerns led to APA's adoption in 1997 of the Resolution on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation (APA, 1998). In the resolution, APA reaffirmed the conclusion shared by all mainstream health and mental health professions that homosexuality is not a mental disorder and rejected any form of discrimination based on sexual orientation. In addition, APA highlighted the ethical issues that are raised for psychologists when clients present with a request to change their sexual orientation—issues such as bias, deception, competence, and informed consent (APA, 1998; Schneider, Brown, & Glassgold, 2002). APA reaffirmed in this resolution its opposition to "portrayals of lesbian, gay, and bisexual youths and adults as mentally ill due to their sexual orientation" and defined appropriate interventions as those that "counteract bias that is based in ignorance or unfounded beliefs about sexual orientation" (APA, 1998, p. 934).

In the years since APA's adoption of the 1997 resolution, there have been several developments that have led some APA members to believe that the resolution needed to be reevaluated. First, several professional mental health and medical associations adopted resolutions that opposed sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE)[5] on the basis that such efforts were ineffective and potentially harmful (e.g., American Counseling Association, 1998; American Psychiatric Association, 2000; American Psychoanalytic Association, 2000; NASW, 1997). In most cases, these statements were substantially different from APA's position, which did not address questions of efficacy or safety of SOCE.

Second, several highly publicized research reports on samples of individuals who had attempted sexual orientation change (e.g., Nicolosi, Byrd, & Potts, 2000; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Spitzer, 2003) and other empirical and theoretical advances in the understanding of sexual orientation were published (e.g., Blanchard, 2008; Chivers, Seto, & Blanchard, 2007; Cochran & Mays, 2006; Diamond, 2008; Diaz, Ayala, & Bein, 2004; DiPlacido, 1998; Harper, Jernewall, & Zea, 2004; Herek, 2009; Herek & Garnets, 2007; Mays & Cochran, 2001; Meyer, 2003; Mustanski, Chivers, & Bailey, 2002; Rahman & Wilson, 2005; Savic & Lindstrom 2008; Szymanski, Kashubeck-West, & Meyer, 2008).

Third, advocates who promote SOCE as well as those who oppose SOCE have asked that APA take action on the issue. On the one hand, professional organizations and advocacy groups that believe that sexual orientation change is unlikely, that homosexuality is a normal variant of human sexuality, and that efforts to change sexual orientation are potentially harmful[6] wanted APA to take a clearer stand and to clarify the conflicting media reports about the likelihood of sexual orientation change (cf. Drescher, 2003; Stålström & Nissinen, 2003). On the other hand, the proponents of SOCE that consist of organizations that adopt a disorder model of homosexuality and/or advocate a religious view of homosexuality as sinful or immoral wanted APA to clearly declare that consumers have the right to choose SOCE (Nicolosi, 2003; Nicolosi & Nicolosi, 2002; Rosik, 2001).

For these reasons, in 2007, APA established the Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation, with the following charge:

1. Revise and update the 1997 Resolution on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation (APA, 1998);

2. Generate a report that includes discussion of the following:
   - The appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for children and adolescents who present a desire to change either their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both, or

[5] In this report, we use the term *sexual orientation change efforts* (SOCE) to describe methods (e.g., behavioral techniques, psychoanalytic techniques, medical approaches, religious and spiritual approaches) that aim to change a person's same-sex sexual orientation to other-sex, regardless of whether mental health professionals or lay individuals (including religious professionals, religious leaders, social groups, and other lay networks, such as self-help groups) are involved.

[6] Two advocacy organizations (Truth Wins Out and Lambda Legal) are encouraging those who feel they were harmed by SOCE to seek legal action against their providers.

whose guardian expresses a desire for the minor to change.

- The appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults who present a desire to change their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both.
- The presence of adolescent inpatient facilities that offer coercive treatment designed to change sexual orientation or the behavioral expression of sexual orientation.
- Education, training, and research issues as they pertain to such therapeutic interventions.
- Recommendations regarding treatment protocols that promote stereotyped gender-normative behavior to mitigate behaviors that are perceived to be indicators that a child will develop a homosexual orientation in adolescence and adulthood.

3. Inform APA's response to groups that promote treatments to change sexual orientation or its behavioral expression and support public policy that furthers affirmative therapeutic interventions.

The task force addressed its charge by completing a review and analysis of the broad psychological literature in the field. After reviewing the existing 1997 resolution in light of this literature review, we concluded that a new resolution was necessary. The basis for this conclusion, including a review and analysis of the extant research, is presented in the body of this report, and a new resolution, adopted in August 2009 by the APA Council of Representatives, is presented in Appendix A.

The report starts with a brief review of the task force charge and the psychological issues that form the foundation of the report. The second chapter is a brief history of the evolution of psychotherapy, from treatments based on the idea that homosexuality is a disorder to those that focus on affirmative approaches to sexual orientation diversity. Chapters 3 and 4 are a review of the peer-reviewed research on SOCE: Chapter 3 provides a methodological evaluation of this research, and Chapter 4 reports on the outcomes of this research. Chapter 5 reviews a broader base of literature regarding the experience of individuals who seek SOCE in order to elucidate the nature of clients' distress and identity conflicts. Chapter 6 then examines affirmative approaches for psychotherapy practice with adults and presents a specific framework for interventions. Chapter 7 returns to the 1997 APA resolution and its focus on ethics to provide an updated discussion of the ethical issues surrounding SOCE. Chapter 8 considers the more limited body of research on SOCE and reports of affirmative psychotherapy with children, adolescents, and their families. Chapter 9 summarizes the report and presents recommendations for research, practice, education, and policy. The policy resolution that the task force recommended and that was adopted by the APA Council of Representatives on August, 5, 2009, is in Appendix A.

Laying the Foundation of the Report

Understanding Affirmative Therapeutic Interventions

The task force was asked to report on appropriate application of affirmative psychotherapeutic interventions for those who seek to change their sexual orientation. As some debates in the field frame SOCE and conservative religious values as competing viewpoints to affirmative approaches (cf. Throckmorton, 1998; Yarhouse, 1998a) and imply that there is an alternative "neutral" stance, we considered it necessary to explain the term *affirmative therapeutic interventions*, its history, its relationship to our charge and to current psychotherapy literature, and our application and definition of the term.

The concept of gay-affirmative therapeutic interventions emerged in the early literature on the psychological concerns of sexual minorities (Malyon, 1982; Paul, Weinrich, Gonsiorek, & Hotvedt, 1982), and its meaning has evolved over the last 25 years to include more diversity and complexity (APA, 2000; Bieschke, Perez, & DeBord, 2007; Firestein, 2007; Herek & Garnets, 2007; Perez, DeBord, & Bieschke, 2000; Ritter & Terndrup, 2002). The affirmative approach grew out of a perception that sexual minorities benefit from psychotherapeutic interventions that address the sexual stigma[7] they experience and the impacts of stigma on their lives (APA, 2000; Brown, 2006; Browning, Reynolds, & Dworkin, 1991; Davison, 1978; Malyon, 1982; Pachankis & Goldfried, 2004; Ritter & Terndrup, 2002; Shannon & Woods, 1991; Sophie, 1987). For example, Garnets, Hancock, Cochran, Goodchilds, and Peplau (1991) proposed that LHMP use an understanding of societal prejudice and

[7] See p. 15 for the definition of *sexual stigma*.

discrimination to guide treatment for sexual minority clients and help these clients overcome negative attitudes about themselves.

The most recent literature in the field (e.g., APA, 2000, 2002c, 2004, 2005b, 2007b; Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Brown, 2006; Herek & Garnets, 2007) places affirmative therapeutic interventions within the larger domain of cultural competence, consistent with general multicultural approaches. Multicultural approaches recognize that individuals, families, and communities exist in social, political, historical, and economic contexts (cf. APA, 2002b) and that human diversity is multifaceted and includes age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status. Understanding and incorporating these aspects of diversity are important to any intervention (APA, 2000, 2002c, 2004, 2005b, 2007b).

The task force takes the perspective that a multicultural competent and affirmative approach with sexual minorities is based on the scientific knowledge in key areas: (a) homosexuality and bisexuality are stigmatized, and this stigma can have a variety of negative consequences throughout the life span (D'Augelli & Patterson, 1995, 2001); (b) same-sex sexual attractions, behavior, and orientations per se are normal and positive variants of human sexuality and are not indicators of either mental or developmental disorders (American Psychiatric Association, 1973; APA, 2000; Gonsiorek, 1991); (c) same-sex sexual attractions and behavior can occur in the context of a variety of sexual orientation identities (Diamond, 2006, 2008; Klein, Sepekoff, & Wolf, 1985; McConaghy, 1999); and (d) lesbians, gay men, and bisexual people can live satisfying lives and form stable, committed relationships and families that are equivalent to heterosexuals' relationships and families in essential respects (APA, 2005c; Kurdek, 2001, 2003, 2004; Peplau & Fingerhut, 2007).

Although affirmative approaches have historically been conceptualized around helping sexual minorities accept and adopt a gay or lesbian identity (e.g., Browning et al., 1991; Shannon & Woods, 1991), the recent research on sexual orientation identity diversity illustrates that sexual behavior, sexual attraction, and sexual orientation identity are labeled and expressed in many different ways, some of which are fluid (e.g., Diamond, 2006, 2008; Firestein, 2007; Fox, 2004; Patterson, 2008; Savin-Williams, 2005; R. L. Worthington & Reynolds, 2009). We define an affirmative approach as supportive of clients' identity development without a priori treatment goals for how clients identify or express their sexual orientations. Thus, a multiculturally competent affirmative approach aspires to understand the diverse personal and cultural influences on clients and enables clients to determine (a) the ultimate goals for their identity process; (b) the behavioral expression of their sexual orientation; (c) their public and private social roles; (d) their gender roles, identities, and expression[8]; (e) the sex[9] and gender of their partner; and (f) the forms of their relationships.

We define an affirmative approach as supportive of clients' identity development without a priori treatment goals for how clients identify or express their sexual orientations.

EVIDENCE-BASED PRACTICE AND EMPIRICALLY SUPPORTED TREATMENTS

Interest in the efficacy,[10] effectiveness, and empirical basis of psychotherapeutic interventions has grown in the last decade. Levant and Hasan (2009) distinguished between two types of treatments: empirically supported treatments (EST) and evidence-based approaches to psychotherapy (EBPP). EST are interventions for individuals with specific disorders; these interventions have been demonstrated to be effective through rigorously controlled trials (Levant & Hasan, 2009). EBPP is, as defined by APA's Policy Statement on Evidence-Based Practice in Psychology[11] (2005a), "the integration of the best available research with clinical expertise in the context of patient characteristics, culture, and preferences" (p. 1; see also, Sackett, Rosenberg, Gray, Haynes, & Richardson, 1996).

We were not able to identify affirmative EST for this population (cf. Martell, Safran, & Prince, 2004).

[8] *Gender* refers to the cultural roles, behaviors, activities, and psychological attributes that a particular society considers appropriate for men and women. *Gender identity* is a person's own psychological sense of identification as male or female, another gender, or identifying with no gender. *Gender expression* is the activities and behaviors that purposely or inadvertently communicate one's gender identity to others, such as clothing, hairstyles, mannerisms, way of speaking, and social roles.

[9] We define *sex* as biological maleness and femaleness in contrast to gender, defined above.

[10] *Efficacy* is the measurable effect of an intervention, and *effectiveness* aims to determine whether interventions have measurable effects in real-world settings across populations (Nathan, Stuart, & Dolan, 2000).

[11] Discussion of the overall implications for practice can be found in Goodheart, Kazdin, and Sternberg (2006) and the *Report of the 2005 Presidential Task Force on Evidence-Based Practice* (APA, 2005b).

The lack of EST is a common dilemma when working with diverse populations for whom EST have not been developed or when minority populations have not been included in trials (Brown, 2006; Martell et al., 2004; Sue & Zane, 2006; Whaley & Davis, 2007). Thus, we provide an affirmative model in Chapter 6 that is consistent with APA's definition of EBPP in that it applies the most current and best evidence available to guide decisions about the care of this population (APA, 2005a; Sackett et al., 1996). We considered the APA EBPP resolution as utilizing a flexible concept of evidence, because it incorporates research based on well-designed studies with client values and clinical expertise. Given that the distress surrounding sexual orientation is not included in psychotherapy research (because it is not a clearly defined syndrome) and most treatment studies in psychology are for specific mental health disorders, not for problems of adjustment or identity relevant to sexual orientation concerns, we saw this flexibility as necessary (Brown, 2006). However, EST for specific disorders can be incorporated into this affirmative approach (cf. Martell et al., 2004). We acknowledge that the model presented in this report would benefit from rigorous evaluation.

Affirmative approaches, as understood by this task force, are evidence-based in three significant ways:

- They are based on the evidence that homosexuality is not a mental illness or disorder, which has a significant empirical foundation (APA, 2000; Gonsiorek, 1991).
- They are based on studies of the role of stigma in creating distress and health disparities in sexual minorities (Balsam & Mohr, 2007; Cochran & Mays, 2006; Omoto & Kurtzman, 2006; Pachankis, 2007; Pachankis, Goldfried, & Ramrattan, 2008; Safren & Heimberg, 1999; Syzmanski & Kashubeck-West, 2008).
- They are based on the literature that has shown the importance of the therapeutic alliance and relationship on outcomes in therapy and that these outcomes are linked to empathy, positive regard, honesty, and other factors encompassed in the affirmative perspective on therapeutic interventions (Ackerman & Hilsenroth, 2003; Brown, 2006; Farber & Lane, 2002; Horvath & Bedi, 2002; Norcross, 2002; Norcross & Hill, 2004).

The affirmative approach was the subject of a recent literature review that found that clients describe the safety, affirmation, empathy, and nonjudgmental acceptance inherent in the affirmative approach as helpful in their therapeutic process (M. King, Semlyen, Killaspy, Nazareth, & Osborn, 2007; see also, M. A. Jones & Gabriel, 1999). M. King et al. concluded that a knowledge base about sexual minorities' lives and social context is important for effective practice.

Sexual Stigma

To understand the mental health concerns of sexual minorities, one must understand the social psychological concept of stigma (Herek & Garnets, 2007). Goffman (1963) defined stigma as an undesirable difference that discredits the individual. Link and Phelan (2001) characterized stigma as occurring when (a) individual differences are labeled; (b) these differences are linked to undesirable traits or negative stereotypes; (c) labeled individuals are placed in distinct categories that separate them from the mainstream; and (d) labeled persons experience discrimination and loss of status that lead to unequal access to social, economic, and political power. This inequality is a consequence of stigma and discrimination rather than of the differences themselves (Herek, 2009). Stigma is a fact of the interpersonal, cultural, legal, political, and social climate in which sexual minorities live.

The stigma that defines sexual minorities has been termed *sexual stigma*[12]: "the stigma attached to any non-heterosexual behavior, identity, relationship or community" (Herek, 2009, p. 3). This stigma operates both at the societal level and the individual level. The impact of this stigma as a stressor may be the unique factor that characterizes sexual minorities as a group (Herek, 2009; Herek & Garnets, 2007; Katz, 1995).

Further, stigma has shaped the attitudes of mental health professions and related institutions toward this population (Drescher, 1998b; Haldeman, 1994; LeVay, 1996; Murphy, 1997; Silverstein, 1991). Moral and religious values in North America and Europe provided the initial rationale for criminalization, discrimination, and prejudice against same-

In the late modern period, the medical and mental health professions added a new type of stigmatization and discrimination by conceptualizing and treating homosexuality as a mental illness or disorder.

[12] Herek (2009) coined this term, and we use it because of the comprehensive analysis in which it is embedded. There are other terms for the same construct, such as Balsam and Mohr's (2007) *sexual orientation stigma*.

sex behaviors (Katz, 1995). In the late modern period, the medical and mental health professions added a new type of stigmatization and discrimination by conceptualizing and treating homosexuality as a mental illness or disorder (Brown, 1996; Katz, 1995).

Sexual minorities may face additional stigmas, as well, such as those related to age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status. At the societal level, sexual stigma is embedded in social structures through civil and criminal law, social policy, psychology, psychiatry, medicine, religion, and other social institutions. Sexual stigma is reflected in disparate legal and social treatment by institutions and is apparent in, for example, (a) the long history of criminalization of same-sex sexual behaviors; (b) the lack of legal protection for LGB individuals from discrimination in employment, health care, and housing; and (c) the lack of benefits for LGB relationships and families that would support their family formation, in contrast to the extensive benefits that accrue to heterosexual married couples and even sometimes to unmarried heterosexual couples.[13] The structural sexual stigma, called *heterosexism* in the scholarly literature, legitimizes and perpetuates stigma against sexual minorities and perpetuates the power differential between sexual minorities and others (Herek, 2007; see also Szymanski et al., 2008).

Expressions of stigma, such as violence, discrimination, rejection, and other negative interpersonal interactions, are *enacted stigma* (Herek, 2009). Individuals' expectations about the probability that stigma will be enacted in various situations is *felt stigma*. Individuals' efforts to avoid enacted and felt stigma may include withdrawing from self (e.g., self-denial or compartmentalization) and withdrawing from others (e.g., self-concealment or avoidance) (e.g., see Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Drescher, 1998b; Malyon, 1982; Pachankis, 2007; Pachankis et al., 2008; Troiden, 1993).

In Herek's (2009) model, *internalized stigma*[14] is the adoption of the social stigma applied to sexual minorities. Members of the stigmatized groups as well as nonmembers of the group can internalize these values. *Self-stigma* is internalized stigma in those individuals who experience same-sex sexual attractions and whose self-concept matches the stigmatizing interpretations of society. Examples of this self-stigma are (a) accepting society's negative evaluation and (b) harboring negative attitudes toward oneself and one's own same-sex sexual attractions. *Sexual prejudice* is the internalized sexual stigma held by the non-stigmatized majority.

The Impact of Stigma on Members of Stigmatized Groups

One of the assumptions of the stigma model is that social stigma influences the individual through its impact on the different settings, contexts, and relationships in which each human being takes part (D'Augelli, 1994). This assumption is supported by a body of literature comparing sexual minority populations to the general population that has found health disparities between the two (Cochran & Mays, 2006; Mays & Cochran, 2001). The concept of minority stress (e.g., DiPlacido, 1998; Hatzenbuehler, Nolen-Hoeksema, & Erickson, 2008; Meyer, 1995, 2003) has been increasingly used to explain these health disparities in much the same way that concepts of racism-derived stress and minority stress have been used to explain health disparities and mental health concerns in ethnic minority groups (Carter, 2007; Harrell, 2000; Mays, Cochran, & Barnes, 2007; Saldaina, 1994; Wei, Ku, Russell, Mallinckrodt, & Liao, 2008). Theoretically any minority group facing social stigma and prejudice, including stigma due to age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status, could develop minority stress.

In theory, minority stress—chronic stress experienced by members of minority groups—causes distress in

[13] Same-sex sexual behaviors were only recent universally decriminalized in the United States by Supreme Court action in *Lawrence v. Texas* (2003). There is no federal protection from employment and housing discrimination for LGB individuals, and only 20 states offer this protection. Only 6 states permit same-sex couples to marry; 6 states have broad recognition laws; 4 states have limited recognition laws; and 2 states recognize other states' marriages. For more examples, see National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, Reports & Research: http:// www.thetaskforce.org/reports_and_research/reports).

[14] Herek (2009) defined *internalization* as "the process whereby individuals adopt a social value, belief, regulation, or prescription for conduct as their own and experience it as part of themselves" (p. 7). The internalization of negative attitudes and assumptions concerning homosexuality has often been termed *internalized homophobia* (Malyon, 1982; Sophie, 1987; Weinberg, 1972). However, this term has been criticized because holding negative attitudes does not necessarily involve a phobia, in other words, "an exaggerated usually inexplicable and illogical fear of a particular object, class of objects, situation (*Merriam-Webster's Online Dictionary*).

certain sexual minority individuals (DiPlacido, 1998; Meyer, 1995, 2003). Meyer (2003) described these stress processes as due to (a) external objective events and conditions, such as discrimination and violence; (b) expectations of such events, and the vigilance that such expectations bring; and (c) internalization of negative social and cultural attitudes. For instance, mental health outcomes among gay men have been found to be influenced by negative appraisals of stigma-related stressors (Meyer, 1995).

The task force sees stigma and minority stress as playing a manifest role in the lives of individuals who seek to change their sexual orientation (Davison, 1978, 1982, 1991; Herek, Cogan, Gillis, & Glunt, 1998; Green, 2003; Silverstein, 1991; Tozer & Hayes, 2004). Davison, in particular, has argued that individuals who seek psychotherapy to change their sexual orientation do so because of the distress arising from the impact of stigma and discrimination. A survey of a small sample of former SOCE clients in Britain supports this hypothesis, as many of the former participants reported that hostile social and family attitudes and the criminalization of homosexual conduct were the reasons they sought treatment (G. Smith, Bartlett, & King, 2004).

One of the advantages of the minority stress model is that it provides a framework for considering the social context of stress, distress, coping, resilience (Allen, 2001; David & Knight, 2008; Herek, Gillis, & Cogan, 2009; Selvidge, Matthews, & Bridges, 2008; Levitt et al., 2009; Pachankis, 2007), and acceptance and goals of treatment (Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Bieschke, 2008; Frost & Meyer, 2009; Glassgold, 2007; Rostosky, Riggle, Horne, & Miller, 2009; Martell et al., 2004; Russell & Bohan, 2007). Some authors have proposed that LGB men and women improve their mental health and functioning through a process of positive coping, termed *stigma competence* (David & Knight, 2008). In this model, it is proposed that through actions such as personal acceptance of one's LGB identity and reduction of internalized stigma, an individual develops a greater ability to cope with stigma (cf. Crawford, Allison, Zamboni, & Soto, 2002; D'Augelli, 1994). For instance, Herek and Garnets (2007) proposed that collective identity (often termed *social identity*)[15] mitigates the impact of minority stress above and beyond the effects of individual factors such as coping skills, optimism, and resiliency. Individuals with a strong sense of positive collective identity integrate their group affiliation into their core self-concept and have community resources for responding to stigma (Balsam & Mohr, 2007; Crawford et al., 2002; Levitt et al., 2009). In support of this hypothesis, Balsam and Mohr (2007) found that collective identity, community participation, and identity confusion predicted coping with sexual stigma.

[15] A collective or social identity refers to an individual's sense of belonging to a group (the collective), and the collective or social identity forms a part of his or her personal identity.

Psychology, Religion, and Homosexuality

Most of the recent studies on SOCE focus on populations with strong religious beliefs (e.g., Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Ponticelli, 1999; Schaeffer, Hyde, Kroencke, McCormick, & Nottebaum, 2000; Spitzer, 2003; Tozer & Hayes, 2004; Wolkomir, 2001). Beliefs about sexual behavior and sexual orientation rooted in interpretations of traditional religious doctrine also guide some efforts to change others' sexual orientation as well as political opposition to the expansion of civil rights for LGB individuals and their relationships (Burack & Josephson, 2005; S. L. Morrow & Beckstead, 2004; Olyam & Nussbaum, 1998; Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, 2003; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2005). Some authors have documented an increase in the provision of reliously-based SOCE (Burack & Josephson, 2005; Cianciotto & Cahill, 2006). Religious beliefs, motivations, and struggles play a role in the motivations of individuals who currently engage in SOCE (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Ponticelli, 1999; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Wolkomir, 2001; Yarhouse, Tan, & Pawlowski, 2005). Thus, we considered an examination of issues in the psychology of religion to be an important part of fulfilling our charge.

Intersections of Psychology, Religion, and Sexual Orientation

World religions regard homosexuality from a spectrum of viewpoints. It is important to note that some religious denominations' beliefs and practices have changed over time, reflecting evolving scientific and civil rights perspectives on homosexuality and sexual orientation (see, e.g., Dorff, Nevins, & Reisner, 2006; Olyam & Nussbaum, 1998; see also Hebrew Union College, Institute for Judaism & Sexual Orientation [http://www.huc.edu/ijso], and Ontario Consultants on Religious Tolerance [http:://www.religioustolerance.org]). A number of religious denominations in the United States welcome LGB laity, and a smaller

number ordain LGB clergy (e.g., Reconstructionist Judaism, Reform Judaism, Conservative Judaism, Buddhist Peace Fellowship, Buddhist Churches of America, Episcopal Church of America, Friends General Conference, Unitarian Society, United Church of Christ Congregational) (Greenberg, 2004; Olyam & Nussbaum, 1998; see also Hebrew Union College, Institute for Judaism & Sexual Orientation [http://www.huc.edu/ijso], and Ontario Consultants on Religious Tolerance [http://www.religioustolerance.org]). However, others view homosexuality as immoral and sinful (e.g., Christian Reformed Church of North America, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Eastern Orthodox Christianity, Orthodox Judaism, Presbyterian Church in American, Roman Catholicism, Southern Baptist Convention, United Methodist Church) (see Ontario Consultants on Religious Tolerance: http://www.religioustolerance.org). These issues are being discussed within numerous denominations (e.g., Van Voorst, 2005), and some views are in flux (e.g., the Presbyterian Church [USA]) (see Ontario Consultants on Religious Tolerance: http://www.religioustolerance.org).

Several professional publications (e.g., *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Psychotherapy*, 2001, *5*[3/4]; *Professional Psychology*, 2002, *33*[3]; *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 2003, *32*[5]; *The Counseling Psychologist*, 2004, *32*[5]; *Journal of Psychology and Christianity*, 2005, *24*[4]) have specifically considered the interactions among scientific views of sexual orientation, religious beliefs, psychotherapy, and professional ethics. Some difficulties arise because the professional psychological community considers same-sex sexual attractions and behaviors to be a positive variant of human sexuality, while some traditional faiths continue to consider it a sin, a moral failing, or a disorder that needs to be changed.

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The conflict between psychology and traditional faiths may have its roots in different philosophical viewpoints. Some religions give priority to *telic congruence* (i.e., living consistently within one's valuative goals[16]) (W. Hathaway, personal communication, June 30, 2008; cf. Richards & Bergin, 2005). Some authors propose that for adherents of these religions, religious perspectives and values should be integrated into the goals of psychotherapy (Richards & Bergin, 2005; Throckmorton & Yarhouse, 2006). Affirmative and multicultural models of LGB psychology give priority to *organismic congruence* (i.e., living with a sense of wholeness in one's experiential self[17]) (W. Hathaway, personal communication, June 30, 2008; cf. Gonsiorek, 2004; Malyon, 1982). This perspective gives priority to the unfolding of developmental processes, including self-awareness and personal identity.

This difference in worldviews can impact psychotherapy. For instance, individuals who have strong religious beliefs can experience tensions and conflicts between their ideal self and beliefs and their sexual and affectional needs and desires (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; D. F. Morrow, 2003). The different worldviews would approach psychotherapy for these individuals from dissimilar perspectives: The telic strategy would prioritize values (Rosik, 2003; Yarhouse & Burkett, 2002), whereas the organismic approach would give priority to the development of self-awareness and identity (Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Gonsiorek, 2004; Haldeman, 2004).

It is important to note that the organismic worldview can be congruent with and respectful of religion (Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Glassgold, 2008; Gonsiorek, 2004; Haldeman, 2004; Mark, 2008; Ritter & O'Neil, 1995), and the telic worldview can be aware of sexual stigma and respectful of sexual orientation (Tan, 2008; Throckmorton & Yarhouse, 2006; Yarhouse, 2008). Understanding this philosophical difference may improve the dialogue between these two perspectives represented in the literature, as it refocuses the debate not on one group's perceived rejection of homosexuals or the other group's perceived minimization of religious viewpoints but on philosophical differences that extend beyond this particular subject matter. However, some of the differences between these philosophical assumptions may be difficult to bridge.

Contrasting views exist within psychology regarding religious views about homosexuality. One way in which psychology has traditionally examined the

[16] These conflicts are not unique to religious individuals but are applicable to individuals making commitments and decisions about how to live according to specific ethics and ideals (cf. Baumeister & Exline, 2000; Diener, 2000; Richards & Bergin, 2005; B. Schwartz, 2000).

[17] Such naturalistic and empirically based models stress the organization, unity, and integration of human beings expressed through each individual's inherent growth or developmental tendency (see, e.g., Rogers, 1961; R. M. Ryan, 1995).

intersections between religion and homosexuality is by studying the impact of religious beliefs and motivations on attitudes and framing the discussion in terms of tolerance and prejudice (Fulton, Gorsuch, & Maynard, 1999; Herek, 1987; Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005; Plugge-Foust & Strickland, 2000; J. P. Schwartz & Lindley, 2005). For instance, one finding is that religious fundamentalism is correlated with negative views of homosexuality, whereas a quest orientation is associated with decreased discriminatory or prejudicial attitudes (Batson, Flink, Schoenrade, Fultz, & Pych, 1986; Batson, Naifeh, & Pate, 1978; Fulton et al., 1999; Plugge-Foust & Strickland, 2000). However, some authors have argued, in contrast to this approach, that conservative religious moral beliefs and evaluations about same-sex sexual behaviors and LGB individuals and relationships should be treated as religious diversity rather than as sexual prejudice (e.g., Rosik, 2007; Yarhouse & Burkett, 2002; Yarhouse & Throckmorton, 2002).

APA Policies on the Intersection of Religion and Psychology

APA has addressed the interactions of religion and psychology in two recent resolutions: the Resolution Rejecting Intelligent Design as Scientific and Reaffirming Support for Evolutionary Theory (APA, 2008a) and the Resolution on Religious, Religion-Related, and/or Religion-Derived Prejudice (2008c). The first resolution articulates psychology's epistemological commitment: Hypothesis testing through rigorous scientific methods is the best means to gain new knowledge and to evaluate current practices, and psychologists base their theories on such research:

> While we are respectful of religion and individuals' right to their own religious beliefs, we also recognize that science and religion are separate and distinct. For a theory to be taught as science it must be testable, supported by empirical evidence and subject to disconfirmation. (APA, 2007a)

This is in contrast to viewpoints based on faith, as faith does not need confirmation through scientific evidence. Further, science assumes that some ideas can be rejected when proven false; faith and religious beliefs cannot be falsified in the eyes of adherents.

The APA Council of Representatives also passed a Resolution on Religious, Religion-Related, and/or Religion-Derived Prejudice (2008c). This resolution acknowledges the existence of two forms of prejudice related to religion: one derived from religious beliefs and another directed at religions and their adherents. The APA strongly condemns both forms of prejudice. The resolution affirms APA's position that prejudices directed at individuals because of their religious beliefs and prejudices derived from or justified by religion are harmful to individuals, society, and international relations.

In areas of conflicts between psychology and religion, as the APA Resolution on Religious, Religion-Related, and/or Religion-Derived Prejudice (2008c) states, psychology has no legitimate function in "arbitrating matters of faith and theology" or to "adjudicate religious or spiritual tenets" (p. 432) and psychologists are urged to limit themselves to speak to "psychological implications of religious/spiritual beliefs or practices when relevant psychological findings about those implications exist" (p. 433). Further, the resolution states that faith traditions "have no legitimate place arbitrating behavioral or other sciences" or to "adjudicate empirical scientific issues in psychology" (p. 432).

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The APA (2002b, 2008c) recommends that psychologists acknowledge the importance of religion and spirituality as forms of meaning-making, tradition, culture, identity, community, and diversity. Psychologists do not discriminate against individuals based on those factors. Further, when devising interventions and conducting research, psychologists consider the importance of religious beliefs and cultural values and, where appropriate, consider religiously and culturally sensitive techniques and approaches (APA, 2008c).

Psychology of Religion

Historically, some in psychology and psychiatry have held negative views of religion (Wulff, 1997). Yet, with the development of more sophisticated methodologies and conceptualizations, the field of the psychology of religion has flourished in the last 30 years (Emmons & Paloutzian, 2003), culminating in new interest in a diverse field (e.g., Koenig & Larson, 2001; Paloutzian & Park, 2005; Pargament, 2002; Pargament & Mahoney,

2005; Richards & Bergin, 2005; Sperry & Shafranske, 2004; Spilka, Hood, Hunsberger, & Gorsuch, 2003).

Many scholars have attempted to elucidate what is significant and unique about religious and spiritual faith, beliefs, and experiences (e.g., George, Larson, Koenig, & McCullough, 2000; McClennon, 1994). Pargament, Maygar-Russell, and Murray-Swank (2005) summarized religion's impact on people's lives as a unique form of motivation regarding how to live one's life and how to respond to self, others, and life events; a source of significance regarding what aspects of life one imbues with meaning and power; a contributor to mortality and health; a form of positive and negative coping; and a source of fulfillment and distress. Others, such as Fowler (1981, 1991) and colleagues (Oser, 1991; Streib, 2001, 2005) have posited developmental models of religious identity that are helpful in understanding personal faith.

Additionally, there is a growing literature on integrating spirituality into psychotherapy practice (Richards & Bergin, 2000, 2004, 2005; Shafranske, 2000; Sperry & Shafranske, 2004; E. L. Worthington, Kurusu, McCullough, & Sandage, 1996). These approaches include delineating how LMHP can work effectively with individuals from diverse religious traditions (Richards & Bergin, 2000, 2004; Sperry & Shafranske, 2004). Many of these techniques can be effective (McCullough, 1999) and improve outcomes in clinical treatment with religious clients (Probst, Ostrom, Watkins, Dean, & Mashburn, 1992; Richards, Berrett, Hardman, & Eggett, 2006; E. L. Worthington et al., 1996), even for clients in treatment with secular LMHP (Mayers, Leavey, Vallianatou, & Barker, 2007). These innovations point to ways that psychology can explore and understand religious beliefs and faith in an evidence-based and respectful manner.

There have been claims that some LMHP do not address the issues of conservative religious individuals who are distressed by their same-sex sexual attractions (e.g., Yarhouse, 1998a; Throckmorton, 2002; Yarhouse & Burkett, 2002; Yarhouse & Throckmorton, 2002). One of the problems in the field has been an either/or perspective in which sexual orientation and religion are seen as incompatible (Phillips, 2004). Certainly, some individuals may perceive their religion and their sexual orientation as incompatible, because in some faiths homosexuality is perceived as sinful and immoral. However, there is a growing body of evidence illustrating that many individuals do integrate their religious and sexual orientation identities (Coyle & Rafalin, 2000; Kerr, 1997; Mahaffy, 1996; Rodriguez, 2006; Rodriguez & Ouellette, 2000; Thumma, 1991; Yip, 2002, 2003, 2005). Thus, this dichotomy may be enabling a discourse that does not fully reflect the evidence and may be hindering progress to find a variety of viable solutions for clients.

Recently, some authors have suggested alternative frameworks, many of which are drawn from a variety of models of psychotherapy, such as multicultural views of psychology and the psychology of religion, that provide frames for appropriate psychotherapeutic interventions seeking to bridge this divide (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Buchanon, Dzelme, Harris, & Hecker, 2001; Glassgold, 2008; Gonsiorek; 2004; Haldeman, 2004; Lasser & Gottlieb, 2004; S. L. Morrow & Beckstead, 2004; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989; Tan, 2008; Throckmorton & Yarhouse, 2006; Yarhouse, 2008). For instance, a growing number of authors address the religious and spiritual needs of LGBT individuals from integrative and affirmative perspectives that provide resources for LMHP working with this population (Astramovich, 2003; Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 1996, 2004; Horne & Noffsinger-Frazier, 2003; Mark, 2008; D. F. Morrow, 2003; O'Neill & Ritter, 1992; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989; Throckmorton & Yarhouse, 2006; Yarhouse, 2008). On the basis of these scholarly contributions, we take the perspective that religious faith and psychology do not have to be seen as being opposed to each other. Further, psychotherapy that respects faith can also explore the psychological implications and impacts of such beliefs.

We take the perspective that religious faith and psychology do not have to be seen as being opposed to each other. Further, psychotherapy that respects faith can also explore the psychological implications and impacts of such beliefs.

We support affirmative and multiculturally competent approaches that integrate concepts from the psychology of religion and the modern psychology of sexual orientation. These perspectives are elaborated later in this report. In the next chapter we review the history of SOCE in order to provide a perspective on the foundation and evolution of these approaches.

2. A BRIEF HISTORY OF SEXUAL ORIENTATION CHANGE EFFORTS

Sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE)[18] within mental health fields originally developed from the science of sexuality in the middle of the 19th century (Katz, 1995). At that time, same-sex eroticism and gender-nonconforming behaviors came under increased medical and scientific scrutiny. New terms such as *urnings*, *inversion*, *homosexual*, and *homosexuality* emerged as scientists, social critics, and physicians sought to make sense of what was previously defined as sin or crime (Katz, 1995). This shift to a scientific approach did not challenge the underlying social values, however, and thus continued to reflect the existing sexual stigma, discrimination, criminalization, and heterosexism. Much of the medical and scientific work at that time conceptualized homosexual attractions and behaviors as abnormal or as an illness (Katz, 1995).

In that era, homosexuality was predominantly viewed as either a criminal act or a medical problem, or both (Krafft-Ebing, 1886/1965). Homosexuality was seen as caused by psychological immaturity (i.e., as a passing phase to be outgrown on the road to adult heterosexuality) or pathology (e.g., genetic defects, gender-based confusions, intrauterine hormonal exposure, too much parental control, insufficient parenting, hostile parenting, seduction, molestation, or decadent lifestyles) (Drescher, 1998b, 2002). The first treatments attempted to correct or repair the damage done by pathogenic factors or to facilitate maturity (Drescher, 1998b, 2002; LeVay, 1996; Murphy, 1992, 1997). These perspectives on homosexuality lasted into the first half of the 20th century, shaping the views of psychoanalysis, the dominant psychiatric paradigm of that time (Drescher, 1998b).

Homosexuality and Psychoanalysis

Initial psychotherapeutic approaches to homosexuality in the first half of the 20th century reflected psychoanalytic theory. Freud's own views on sexual orientation and homosexuality were complex. Freud viewed homosexuality as a developmental arrest and heterosexuality as the adult norm (Freud, 1905/1960). However, in a now-famous letter, Freud (1935/1960) reassured a mother writing to him about her son that homosexuality was "nothing to be ashamed of, no vice, no degradation, it cannot be classified as an illness, but a variation of sexual function" (p. 423). He further went on to say that psychoanalysts could not promise to "abolish homosexuality and make normal heterosexuality take its place" (p. 423), as the results of treatment could not be determined. Freud's only report (1920/1960) about his deliberate attempt to change someone's sexual orientation described his unsuccessful efforts at changing the sexual orientation of a young woman brought for involuntary treatment by her

[18] In this report, we use the term *sexual orientation change efforts* (SOCE) to describe methods (e.g., behavioral techniques, psychoanalytic techniques, medical approaches, religious and spiritual approaches) that aim to change a person's same-sex sexual orientation to other-sex, regardless of whether mental health professionals or lay individuals (including religious professionals, religious leaders, social groups, and other lay networks, such as self-help groups) are involved.

parents. At the end of this case, Freud concluded that attempts to change homosexual sexual orientation were likely to be unsuccessful.[19]

In the psychoanalysis that dominated the mental health fields after Freud, especially in the United States, homosexuality was viewed negatively, considered to be abnormal, and believed to be caused by family dynamics (Bieber et al., 1962; Rado, 1940; Socarides, 1968). Other approaches based loosely on psychoanalytic ideas advocated altering gender-role behaviors to increase conformity with traditional gender roles (Moberly, 1983; Nicolosi, 1991). Significantly impacting psychiatric thought in the mid-20th century, these theories were part of the rationale for including homosexuality as a mental illness in both the first (1952) and second (1968) editions of the American Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (*DSM*), thus reinforcing and exacerbating sexual stigma and sexual prejudice. It was during this period that the first attempts to study the efficacy of SOCE were conducted (e.g., Bieber et al., 1962).

Sexual Orientation Change Efforts

The pathologizing psychiatric and psychological conception of homosexuality and concomitant efforts to alter sexual orientation through psychoanalytic and behavior therapy were prevalent through the 1960s and into the early 1970s. Although behavior therapy emerged in the 1960s, adding a different set of techniques to psychotherapy, the goals of SOCE did not change. For example, Ovesey (1969) based his behavioral interventions on the belief that homosexuality developed from a phobia of taking on the normal qualities of one's gender and that sexual intercourse with the other[20] sex would cure the so-called phobia.

Behavior therapists tried a variety of aversion treatments, such as inducing nausea, vomiting, or paralysis; providing electric shocks; or having the individual snap an elastic band around the wrist when the individual became aroused to same-sex erotic images or thoughts. Other examples of aversive behavioral treatments included covert sensitization, shame aversion, systematic desensitization, orgasmic reconditioning, and satiation therapy (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; S. James, 1978; Katz, 1995; Langevin, 1983; LeVay, 1996; Murphy, 1992, 1997). Some nonaversive treatments used an educational process of dating skills, assertiveness, and affection training with physical and social reinforcement to increase other-sex sexual behaviors (Binder, 1977; Greenspoon & Lamal, 1987; Stevenson & Wolpe, 1960). Cognitive therapists attempted to change gay men's and lesbians' thought patterns by reframing desires, redirecting thoughts, or using hypnosis, with the goal of changing sexual arousal, behavior, and orientation (e.g., Ellis, 1956, 1959, 1965).

Affirmative Approaches: Kinsey; Ford and Beach; and Hooker

At the same time that the pathologizing views of homosexuality in American psychiatry and psychology were being codified, countervailing evidence was accumulating that this stigmatizing view was ill founded. The publication of *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin, & Gebhard, 1953) demonstrated that homosexuality was more common than previously assumed, thus suggesting that such behaviors were part of a continuum of sexual behaviors and orientations. C. S. Ford and Beach (1951) revealed that same-sex behaviors and homosexuality were present in a wide range of animal species and human cultures. This finding suggested that there was nothing unnatural about same-sex behaviors or homosexual sexual orientation.

Psychologist Evelyn Hooker's (1957) research put the idea of homosexuality as mental disorder to a scientific test. She studied a nonclinical sample of homosexual men and compared them with a matched sample of heterosexual men. Hooker found, among other things, that based on three projective measures (the Thematic Apperception Test, the Make-a-Picture Story test, and the Rorschach), the homosexual men were comparable to their matched heterosexual peers on ratings of adjustment. Strikingly, the experts who examined the Rorschach protocols could not

[19] Analyses of this case have focused on Freud's intense negative reactions to this young woman and his attempts to enforce social conformity—especially with regard to traditional female gender roles and sexuality (e.g., Lesser & Schoenberg, 1999; O'Connor & Ryan, 1993).

[20] We use *other sex* instead of *opposite sex*, as the latter term makes assumptions regarding the binary nature of male and female that are unsupported. We acknowledge that this term also has limitations, as there are fluid and diverse representations of sex and gender in many cultures.

distinguish the protocols of the homosexual cohort from the heterosexual cohort, a glaring inconsistency with the then-dominant understanding of homosexuality and projective assessment techniques. Armon (1960) performed research on homosexual women and found similar results.

In the years following Hooker's (1957) and Armon's (1960) research, inquiry into sexuality and sexual orientation proliferated. Two major developments marked an important change in the study of homosexuality. First, following Hooker's lead, more researchers conducted studies of nonclinical samples of homosexual men and women. Prior studies primarily included participants who were in distress or incarcerated. Second, quantitative methods to assess human personality (e.g., Eysenck Personality Inventory, Cattell's Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire [16PF]) and mental disorders (Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory [MMPI]) were developed and were a vast psychometric improvement over prior measures, such as the Rorschach, Thematic Apperception Test, and House-Tree-Person Test. Research conducted with these newly developed measures indicated that homosexual men and women were essentially similar to heterosexual men and women in adaptation and functioning (Siegelman, 1979; M. Wilson & Green, 1971; see also the review by Gonsiorek, 1991). Studies failed to support theories that regarded family dynamics, gender identity, or trauma as factors in the development of sexual orientation (e.g., Bell, Weinberg, & Hammersmith, 1981; Bene, 1965; Freund & Blanchard, 1983; Freund & Pinkava, 1961; Hooker, 1969; McCord, McCord, & Thurber, 1962; D. K. Peters & Cantrell, 1991; Siegelman, 1974, 1981; Townes, Ferguson, & Gillem, 1976). This research was a significant challenge to the model of homosexuality as psychopathology.

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Homosexuality Removed From the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual

In recognition of the legal nexus between psychiatric diagnosis and civil rights discrimination, especially for government employees, activists within the homophile[21] rights movement, including Frank Kameny and the Mattachine Society of Washington, DC, launched a campaign in late 1962 and early 1963 to remove homosexuality as a mental disorder from the American Psychiatric Association's *DSM* (D'Emilio, 1983; Kameny, 2009). This campaign grew stronger in the aftermath of the Stonewall riots in 1969. Those riots were a watershed, as the movement for gay and lesbian civil rights was embraced openly by thousands rather than limited to small activist groups (D'Emilio, 1983; Katz, 1995). In the area of mental health, given the results of research, activists within and outside of the professions led a large and vocal advocacy effort directed at mental health professional associations, such as the American Psychiatric Association, the American Psychological Association, and the American Association for Behavior Therapy, and called for the evaluation of prejudice and stigma within mental health associations and practices (D'Emilio, 1983; Kameny, 2009). At the same time, some LGB professionals and their allies encouraged the field of psychotherapy to assist sexual minority clients to accept their sexual orientation (Silverstein, 2007).

As a result of the research and the advocacy outside of and within the American Psychiatric Association, that association embarked upon an internal process of evaluating the literature to address the issue of homosexuality as a psychiatric disorder (Bayer, 1981; Drescher 2003; Drescher & Merlino, 2007; Sbordone, 2003; Silverstein, 2007). On the recommendation of its committee evaluating the research, the American Psychiatric Association Board of Trustees and general membership voted to remove homosexuality per se[22] from the *DSM* in December 1973 (Bayer, 1981). The American Psychiatric Association (1973) then issued a position statement supporting civil rights protection for gay people in employment, housing, public accommodation, and licensing, and the repeal of all sodomy laws.

In December 1974, the American Psychological Association (APA) passed a resolution affirming the resolution of the American Psychiatric Association. APA concluded:

[21] *Homophile* is an early term for what would become the gay rights or gay and lesbian rights movement.

[22] The diagnoses of sexual orientation disturbance and ego-dystonic homosexuality sequentially replaced homosexuality. These diagnoses, however, were ultimately removed, due to conceptual problems and psychiatry's evolving evidence-based approach to delineating a mental disorder (Drescher, Stein, & Byne, 2005).

> Homosexuality per se implies no impairment in judgment, stability, reliability, or general social and vocational capabilities. Further, the American Psychological Association urges all mental health professionals to take the lead in removing the stigma of mental illness that has long been associated with homosexual orientations. (APA, 1975, p. 633)

Since that time, the APA has passed numerous resolutions supporting LGB civil rights and psychological well-being (see APA, 2005a).

Other mental health associations, including the National Association of Social Workers and the American Counseling Association, and medical associations, including the American Medical Association and the American Academy of Pediatrics, have passed similar resolutions. Gradual shifts began to take place in the international mental health community as well. In 1992, the World Health Organization removed homosexuality per se from the *International Classification of Diseases* (Nakajima, 2003).

Decline of Sexual Orientation Change Efforts

Following the removal of homosexuality from the *DSM*, the publication of studies of SOCE decreased dramatically, and nonaffirming approaches to psychotherapy came under increased scrutiny. Behavior therapists became increasingly concerned that aversive therapies designed as SOCE for homosexuality were inappropriate, unethical, and inhumane (Bancroft, 2003; Davison, 1976, 1978; Davison & Wilson, 1973; M. King, Smith, & Bartlett, 2004; D. J. Martin, 2003; Silverstein, 1991, 2007). The Association for Behavioral and Cognitive Therapies (formerly the Association for Advancement of Behavior Therapy) as well as other associations affiliated with cognitive and behavior therapies currently reject the use of SOCE (D. J. Martin, 2003). Behavior therapy for LGB individuals now focuses on issues of increasing adjustment, as well as on addressing a variety of their mental health concerns (Campos & Goldfried, 2001; Hart & Heimberg, 2001; Martell et al., 2004; Pachankis & Goldfried, 2004; Safren & Rogers, 2001).

Prominent psychoanalytic practitioners (see, e.g., Mitchell, 1978, 1981) began questioning SOCE within their own profession and challenged therapies that started with assumptions of pathology. However, such a movement did not take hold until the late 1980s and early 1990s (Drescher, 1998a, 1998b; Glassgold & Iasenza, 1995). In 1991, the American Psychoanalytic Association (ApsaA) effectively ended stigmatization of homosexuality by mainstream psychoanalysis when it adopted a sexual orientation nondiscrimination policy regarding the selection of candidates for psychoanalytic training. This policy was revised in 1992 to include selection of faculty and training analysts as well (ApsaA, 1991, 1992). In 2000, ApsaA adopted a policy against SOCE, attempting to end that practice within the field:

> As in all psychoanalytic treatments, the goal of analysis with homosexual patients is understanding. Psychoanalytic technique does not encompass purposeful efforts to "convert" or "repair" an individual's sexual orientation. Such directed efforts are against fundamental principles of psychoanalytic treatment and often result in substantial psychological pain by reinforcing damaging internalized homophobic attitudes. (¶ 1)

Numerous publications document the theoretical limitations and problems with SOCE within psychoanalysis (Drescher, 1998a, 1998b; O'Connor & Ryan, 1993). In the last decade, many psychoanalytic publications have described an affirmative approach to sexual orientation variation and diversity.[23]

Currently, mainstream mental health professional associations support affirmative approaches that focus on helping sexual minorities cope with the impact of minority stress and stigma (American Counseling Association Governing Council, 1998; American Psychiatric Association, 2000; APA, 1997, 2000; NASW, 1997). The literature on affirmative psychotherapy has grown enormously during this time (e.g., Bieschke et al., 2007; Eubanks-Carter, Burckell, & Goldfried, 2005; Ritter & Terndrup, 2002). Included in this literature are publications that aim to support individuals with strong religious beliefs and same-sex sexual orientation in exploring ways to integrate the two (e.g., Astramovich, 2003; Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 1996, 2004; Horne & Noffsinger-Frazier, 2003; Mark, 2008; D. F. Morrow, 2003; O'Neill & Ritter, 1992; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995; Ritter & Terndrup, 2002; Tan, 2008; Throckmorton & Yarhouse, 2006; Yarhouse, 2008). These changes within the mental health fields are reflected in the larger society, where there have been increasing shifts in acceptance of LGB

[23] ApsaA and Divisions 39 (Psychoanalysis) and 44 (Society for the Psychological Study of Lesbian, Gay, & Bisexual Concerns) have collaborated on a bibliography of affirmative resources in psychoanalysis.

individuals (see National Gay and Lesbian Task Force: http://www.thetaskforce.org). For instance, in 2003, the U.S. Supreme Court made a landmark ruling in *Lawrence v. Texas* that declared as unconstitutional the sodomy laws of the 13 states that still criminalized homosexuality. However, issues such as same-sex marriage are still controversial (Phy-Olsen, 2006).

However, SOCE is still provided by LMHP. Some LMHP (Nicolosi, 2003, Nicolosi & Nicolosi, 2002; Rosik, 2001) advocate for SOCE to be provided to distressed individuals, and an organization was founded to advocate for these types of treatments (National Association for Research and Treatment of Homosexuality). Additionally, a survey of randomly selected British LMHP (psychologists, counselors, and psychiatrists) completed in 2003 found that 17% of the total sample of 1,328 had provided SOCE in the past and that 4% would consider providing such therapy upon client request in the future (Bartlett, King, & Phillips, 2001; cf. Liszcz & Yarhouse, 2005). Among those who provided such services, the number of clients provided SOCE had remained constant over time (Bartlett et al., 2001; cf. M. King et al., 2004).

Sexual Orientation Change Efforts Provided to Religious Individuals

The visibility of SOCE has increased in the last decade (Drescher, 2003; Drescher & Zucker, 2006; Herek, 2003). From our survey of recent publications and research, most SOCE currently seem directed to those holding conservative religious and political beliefs, and recent research on SOCE includes almost exclusively individuals who have strong religious beliefs (e.g., Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Ponticelli, 1999; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Spitzer, 2003). In an evolution for some religious communities, sexual minorities are not automatically expelled or shunned (Drescher & Zucker, 2006; Sanchez, 2007; SPLC, 2005). Instead, individuals with a same-sex sexual orientation are embraced for renouncing their homosexuality and seeking "healing" or change (Burack & Josephson, 2005; Erzen, 2006; Ponticelli, 1999). This development has led to a movement of religiously based self-help groups for distressed individuals who often refer to themselves as ex-gay (Erzen, 2006; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006). Individuals and organizations that promote religion-based efforts to change sexual orientation often target messages to adults, adolescents, and their families that portray homosexuality as negative (Burack & Josephson, 2005; Cianciotto & Cahill, 2006; Wolkomir, 2006). These efforts include religious outreach, support groups, and psychotherapy (Erzen, 2006, Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006).

Debates between those who advocate SOCE and those who oppose it have at times become polemical, with charges that professional psychology has not reflected the concerns of religious individuals,[24] and both supporters and opponents of SOCE have presented themselves as advocates for consumers (cf. Brooke, 2005). Despite the polarization, there have been recent attempts to envision alternate frameworks to address these issues (e.g., Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Benoit, 2005; Haldeman, 2004; McMinn, 2005; Phillips, 2004; Tan, 2008; Throckmorton & Yarhouse, 2006).

We concluded that these debates can only be resolved through an evidence-based appraisal of the potential benefits and harm of SOCE. In the next two chapters, we consider the research evidence on SOCE. In Chapter 3 we discuss methodological concerns, and in Chapter 4, the results that can be drawn from this literature.

[24] APA has received correspondence from individuals and organizations asserting this point.

3. A SYSTEMATIC REVIEW OF RESEARCH ON THE EFFICACY OF SEXUAL ORIENTATION CHANGE EFFORTS: OVERVIEW AND METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS

Although the charge given to the task force did not explicitly call for a systematic review of research on the efficacy and safety of sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE),[25] we decided in our initial deliberations that such a review was important to the fulfillment of our charge. First, the debate over SOCE has centered on the issues of efficacy, benefit, and harm. Thus, we believe it was incumbent on us to address those issues in our report. We attempted to answer the following questions in this review:

- Do SOCE alter sexual orientation?
- Are SOCE harmful?
- Do SOCE result in any outcomes other than changing sexual orientation?

Second, systematic literature reviews are frequently used to answer questions about the effectiveness of interventions in health care to provide the basis for informed treatment decisions (D. J. Cook, Mulrow, & Haynes, 1998; Petticrew, 2001). Current criteria for effective treatments and interventions are specific in stating that to be considered effective, an intervention has consistent positive effects without serious harmful side effects (Beutler, 2000; Flay et al., 2005). Based on Lilienfeld's (2007) comprehensive review of the issue of harm in psychotherapy, our systematic review examines harm in the following ways:

- Negative side effects of treatment (iatrogenic effects)
- Client reports of perceptions of harm from treatment
- High drop-out rates
- Indirect harm such as the costs (time, energy, money) of ineffective interventions

Finally, we were given the charge to "inform APA's response to groups that promote treatments to change sexual orientation or its behavioral expression and support public policy that furthers affirmative therapeutic interventions." We decided that a systematic review[26] would likely be the only effective basis for APA's response to advocacy groups for SOCE.

In our review, we considered only peer-reviewed research, in keeping with current standards for conducting scientific reviews (see Khan, Kunz, Kleijnen, & Antes, 2003), which exclude the grey literature[27] and lay material. In this chapter, we provide an overview of the review and a detailed report on the methodological concerns that affect the validity[28] of the conclusions

[25] In this report, we use the term *sexual orientation change efforts* (SOCE) to describe methods (e.g., behavioral techniques, psychoanalytic techniques, medical approaches, religious and spiritual approaches) that aim to change a person's same-sex sexual orientation to other-sex, regardless of whether mental health professionals or lay individuals (including religious professionals, religious leaders, social groups, and other lay networks, such as self-help groups) are involved.

[26] A systematic review starts with a clear question to be answered, strives to locate all relevant research, has clear inclusion and exclusion criteria, carefully assesses study quality, and synthesizes study results (Petticrew, 2001).

[27] Grey literature refers to any publication in any format published outside of peer-reviewed scientific journals.

[28] *Validity* is defined as the extent to which a study or group of studies produce information that is useful for a specific purpose. It also includes an overall evaluation of the plausibility of the intended

derived from the research. In the next chapter, we present our review of the outcomes of the research.

Overview of the Systematic Review

Our review included peer-reviewed empirical research on treatment outcomes published from 1960 to 2007. Studies were identified through systematic searches of scholarly databases, including PsycINFO and Medline, using such search terms as *reparative therapy*, *sexual orientation*, *homosexuality*, and *ex-gays* cross-referenced with treatment and therapy. Reference lists from all identified articles were searched for additional nonindexed, peer-reviewed material. We also obtained review articles and commentaries and searched the reference lists of these articles to identify refereed publications of original research investigations on SOCE that had not been identified via the aforementioned procedures. As noted earlier, in keeping with standards for systematic reviews, only empirically based, peer-reviewed articles addressing the key questions of this review regarding SOCE efficacy, safety, and harm were included in this section. Other research studies of children, adolescents, and adults, including the grey literature and clinical accounts, are included in other sections of this report, most notably Chapter 5 (Research on Adults Who Undergo Sexual Orientation Change Efforts) and Chapter 8 (Issues for Children, Adolescents, and Their Families). The studies that met our criteria and are mentioned in this chapter on the systematic review are listed in Appendix B.[29]

The vast majority of research on SOCE was conducted prior to 1981. This early research predominantly focused on evaluating behavioral interventions, including those using aversive methods. Following the declassification of homosexuality as a mental disorder in 1973 (American Psychiatric Association, 1973) and subsequent statements of other mental health professional associations, including APA (Conger, 1975), research on SOCE declined dramatically. Indeed, we found that the peer-reviewed empirical literature after 1981 contains no rigorous intervention trials on changing same-sex sexual attractions.

There is a small, more recent group of studies conducted since 1999 that assess perceived effects of SOCE among individuals who have participated in psychotherapy as well as efforts based in religious beliefs or practices, including support groups, faith healing, and prayer. There are distinct types of research within this recent literature. One type focused on evaluating individuals' positive accounts of sexual orientation change (Nicolosi et al., 2000; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Spitzer, 2003). Another type examined potential harm of SOCE and experiences of those who seek sexual orientation change (Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). A third type is high-quality[30] qualitative research investigations that provide insight into people's experiences of efforts aimed at altering their same-sex sexual attractions (e.g., Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkimir, 2001).[31]

In all areas of intervention evaluation, the quality of the methods used in the research affects the validity and credibility of any claims the researcher can make about whether the intervention works, for whom it works, and under what circumstances it works. Many have described methodological concerns regarding the research literature on sexual orientation change efforts (e.g., Cramer, Golom, LoPresto, & Kirkley, 2008; Haldeman, 1994; S. L. Morrow & Beckstead, 2004; Murphy, 1992; Sandfort, 2003). Overall, we found that the low quality of the research on SOCE is such that claims regarding its effectiveness and widespread applicability must be viewed skeptically.

Overall, we found that the low quality of the research on SOCE is such that claims regarding its effectiveness and widespread applicability must be viewed skeptically.

As shown in Appendix B, few studies on SOCE produced over the past 50 years of research rise to current scientific standards for demonstrating the efficacy of psychological interventions (cf. Chambless & Hollon, 1998; Chambless & Ollendick, 2001;

interpretations—in this case, does SOCE produce a change in sexual orientation (see American Educational Research Association, APA, & National Council on Measurement in Education, 1999).

[29] A meta-analytic review of 14 research articles (Byrd & Nicolosi, 2002) is not discussed in this report. The review suffers from significant methodological shortcomings and deviations from recommended meta-analytic practice (see, e.g., Durlak, Meerson, & Ewell Foster, 2003; Lipsey & Wilson, 2001) that preclude reliable conclusions being drawn from it. However, studies that were included in the meta-analysis and were published in refereed journals between 1960 and the present are included and described in the current review. Additionally, a recent study (Byrd, Nicolosi, & Potts, 2008) is not included, as it was published after the review period and appears to be a reworking of an earlier study by Nicolosi, Byrd, and Potts (2000).

[30] These studies meet the standards of research rigor that are used for the qualitative research paradigms that informed each of the studies (e.g., grounded theory, ethnomethodology, phenomenology).

[31] These studies are discussed more thoroughly in later sections of the report.

Flay et al., 2005; Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002; Society for Prevention Research, 2005) or provide for unambiguous causal evidence regarding intervention outcomes. Indeed, only six studies, all conducted in the early period of research, used rigorous experimental[32] procedures. Only one of these experiments (Tanner, 1974) assessed treatment outcomes in comparison to an untreated control group. Only three additional studies used strong quasi-experimental procedures such as a nonequivalent comparison group (see Appendix B). All of these studies were also from the early period. The rest of the studies that we reviewed are nonexperimental (see Appendix B). We thus concluded that there is little in the way of credible evidence that could clarify whether SOCE does or does not work in changing same-sex sexual attractions.

The studies in this area also include a highly select group of people who are unique among those who experience same-sex sexual attractions. Thus, psychologists should be extremely cautious in attributing success to SOCE and assuming that the findings of the studies of it can be applied to all sexual minorities. An overview of the methodological problems in determining the effects of SOCE and making treatment decisions based on findings from these studies follows.

Methodological Problems in the Research Literature on Sexual Orientation Change Efforts

Problems in Making Causal Claims

A principal goal of the available research on SOCE was to demonstrate that SOCE consistently and reliably produce changes in aspects of sexual orientation. Overall, due to weaknesses in the scientific validity of research on SOCE, the empirical research does not provide a sound basis for making compelling causal claims. A detailed analysis of these issues follows.

INTERNAL VALIDITY CONCERNS

Internally valid research convincingly demonstrates that a cause (such as SOCE) is the only plausible explanation for an observed outcome such as change in same-sex sexual attractions. Lack of internal validity limits certainty that observed changes in people's attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors are a function of the particular interventions to which they were exposed. A major limitation to research on SOCE, both the early and the recent research, stems from the use of weak research designs that are prone to threats to internal validity. Research on SOCE has rarely used designs that allow for confident conclusions regarding cause-and-effect relationships between exposure to SOCE and outcomes.

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As noted previously, true experiments and rigorous quasi-experiments are rare in the SOCE research. There are only a few studies in the early period that are experiments or quasi-experiments, and no true experiments or quasi-experiments exist within the recent research. Thus, none of these recent studies meet current best practice standards for experimental design and cannot establish whether SOCE is efficacious.

In early studies, comparison and no-treatment control groups were uncommon procedures, and early studies rarely employed multiple baseline assessments, randomization to condition, multiple long-term follow-up assessments, or other procedures to aid in making causal inferences. These procedures are widely accepted as providing the most compelling basis for ruling out the possibility that an alternative source is responsible for causing an observed or reported treatment effect.

Common threats to internal validity in early studies include history (i.e., other events occurring over the same time period as the treatment that could produce the results in the absence of the intervention), regression (i.e., extreme scores are typically less extreme on retest in the absence of intervention), and testing (i.e., taking a test once influences future scores on the test in the absence of intervention). Within-subject and patient case studies are the most common designs in the early SOCE research (see Appendix

[32] True experiments have more methodological rigor because study participants are randomly assigned to treatment groups such that individual differences are more equally distributed and are not confounded with any change resulting from the treatment. Experiments are also rigorous because they include a way for the researcher to determine what would have happened in the absence of any treatment (e.g., a counterfactual) through the use of a no-treatment control group. Quasi-experimental designs do not have random assignment but do incorporate a comparison of some kind. Although they are less rigorous than experiments, quasi-experiments, if appropriately designed and conducted, can still provide for reasonable causal conclusions to be made.

B). In these designs, an individual's scores or clinical status prior to treatment is compared with his or her scores or status following treatment. These designs are particularly vulnerable to internal validity threats.

Sample attrition

Early research is especially vulnerable to threats to internal validity related to sample attrition. The proportions of participants in these studies who dropped out of the intervention and were lost to follow-up are unacceptably high; drop-out rates go as high as 74% of the initial study sample. Authors also reported high rates of refusal to undergo treatment after participants were initially enrolled in the studies. For instance, 6 men in Bancroft's (1969) study refused to undergo treatment, leaving only 10 men in the study. Callahan and Leitenberg (1973) reported that of 23 men enrolled, 7 refused and 2 dropped out of treatment; 8 also showed inconsistent baseline responses in penile arousal to the experimental stimuli so could not be included in the analysis, leaving only 6 subjects on whom treatment analyses could be performed. Of 37 studies reviewed by H. E. Adams and Sturgis (1977), 31 studies lost from 36% to 58% of the sample. In many studies, therefore, what appear to be intervention effects may actually reflect systematic changes in the composition of the study sample; in the handful of available comparison group studies, differences between the groups in the studies in the rate of dropout and in the characteristics of those who drop out may be the true cause of any observed differences between the groups. Put simply, dropout may undermine the comparability of groups in ways that can bias study outcomes.

Retrospective pretest

With the exception of prospective ethnographic studies (e.g., Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001), the recent research (e.g., Nicolosi et al., 2000; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Spitzer, 2003) relies exclusively on uncontrolled retrospective pretest designs. In these studies, people who have been exposed to SOCE are asked to recall and report on their feelings, beliefs, and behaviors at an earlier age or time and are then asked to report on these same issues at present. Change is assessed by comparing contemporary scores with scores provided for the earlier time period based on retrospective recall. In a few studies, LMHP who perform SOCE reported their view of how their clients had changed. The design is problematic because all of the pretest measures are not true pretests but retrospective accounts of pretest status. Thus, the recent research studies on SOCE have even weaker designs than do nonexperimental studies from the early period of research on SOCE. Again, none of these recent studies can establish whether SOCE is efficacious.

An extensive body of research demonstrates the unreliability of retrospective pretests. For example, retrospective pretests are extremely vulnerable to response-shift biases resulting from recall distortion and degradation (C. E. Schwartz & Rapkin, 2004; Schwarz & Clore, 1985). People find it difficult to recall and report accurately on feelings, behaviors, and occurrences from long ago and, with the passage of time, will often distort the frequency, intensity, and salience of things they are asked to recall.

Retrospective pretests are also vulnerable to biases deriving from impression management (Fisher & Katz, 2000; Schwarz, Hippler, Deutsch, & Strack, 1985; A. E. Wilson & Ross, 2001), change expectancy (Hill & Betz, 2005; Lam & Bengo, 2003; Norman, 2003; M. A. Ross, 1989; Sprangers, 1989), and effort justification (Aronson & Mills, 1959; Beauvois & Joule, 1996; Festinger, 1957). Individuals tend to want to present themselves in a favorable light. As a result, people have a natural tendency to report on their current selves as improved over their prior selves (impression management). People will also report change under circumstances in which they have been led to expect that change will occur, even if no change actually does occur (change expectancy). In addition, people will seek to justify the time and effort that they have made in treatment to reduce any dissonance they may feel at experiencing no change or less than they had expected by overestimating the effectiveness of the treatment (effort justification). Effort justification has been demonstrated to become stronger as intervention experiences become more unpleasant. In combination, these factors lead to inaccurate self-reports and inflated estimates of treatment effects, distortions that are magnified in the context of retrospective pretest designs.

CONSTRUCT VALIDITY CONCERNS

Construct validity is also a significant concern in research on SOCE. Construct validity refers to the degree to which the abstract concepts that are investigated in the study are validly defined, how well these concepts are translated into the study's treatments and measures, and, in light of these definitional and operational decisions, whether the study findings are appropriately interpreted. For

instance, do the researchers adequately define and measure sexual orientation? Are their interpretations of the study results regarding change in sexual orientation appropriate, given how the constructs were defined and translated into measures? On the whole, research on SOCE presents serious concerns regarding construct validity.

Definition of sexual orientation

Sexual orientation is a complex human characteristic involving attractions, behaviors, emotions, and identity. Research on sexual orientation is usually seen as beginning with the Kinsey studies (Kinsey et al., 1948, 1953). Kinsey used a unidimensional, 7-category taxonomic continuum, from 0 (*exclusively heterosexual*) to 6 (*exclusively homosexual*), to classify his participants. As the research has developed since the Kinsey studies, the assessment of sexual orientation has focused largely on measuring three variables—identity, behavior, and attraction. Many studies measure only one or two, but very seldom all three, of these variables.

A key finding in the last 2 decades of research on sexual orientation is that sexual behavior, sexual attraction, and sexual orientation identity are labeled and expressed in many different ways (Carrillo, 2002; Diamond, 2003, 2006; Dunne, Bailey, Kirk, & Martin, 2000; Laumann, Gagnon, Michael, & Michals, 1994; Savin-Williams, 2005). For instance, individuals with sexual attractions may not act on them or may understand, define, and label their experiences differently than those with similar desires, because of the unique cultural and historical constructs regarding ethnicity, gender, and sexuality (Harper et al., 2004; Mays & Cochran, 1998; Walters, Simoni, & Horwath, 2001; Weinrich & Williams, 1991).

Further, a subset of individuals who engage in same-sex sexual behaviors or have same-sex sexual attractions do not self-identify as LGB or may remain unlabeled, and some self-identified lesbian and gay individuals may engage in other-sex sexual behaviors without self-identifying as bisexual or heterosexual (Beckstead, 2003; Carrillo, 2002; Diamond, 2003, 2008; Diamond & Savin-Williams, 2000; Dunne et al., 2000; Fox, 2004; Gonsiorek, Sell, & Weinrich, 1995; Hoburg, Konik, Williams, & Crawford, 2004; Kinsey et al., 1948, 1953; Klein et al., 1985; Masters & Johnson, 1979; McConaghy, 1987, 1999; McConaghy, Buhrich, & Silove, 1994; Storms, 1980; Thompson & Morgan, 2008). Thus, for some individuals, personal and social identities differ from sexual attraction, and sexual orientation identities may vary due to personal concerns, culture, contexts, ethnicity, nationality, and relationships.

As a result, a number of scholars have argued that the construct of sexual orientation would be more easily and reliably assessed and defined if it were disentangled from sexual orientation identity (e.g., Chang & Katayama, 1996; Drescher, 1998a, 1998b; Drescher, Stein, & Byne, 2005; Rust, 2003; Stein, 1999; R. L. Worthington, Savoy, Dillon, & Vernaglia, 2002). Recent research has found that distinguishing the constructs of sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity adds clarity to an understanding of the variability inherent in reports of these two variables (R. L. Worthington et al., 2002; R. L. Worthington & Reynolds, 2009).

We adopted this current understanding of sexuality to clarify issues in the research literature. For instance, *sexual orientation* refers to an individual's patterns of sexual, romantic, and affectional arousal and desire for other persons based on those persons' gender and sex characteristics. Sexual orientation is tied to physiological drives and biological systems that are beyond conscious choice and involve profound emotional feelings, such as "falling in love." Other dimensions commonly attributed to sexual orientation (e.g., sexual behavior with men and/or women, social affiliations with LGB or heterosexual individuals and communities, emotional attachment preferences for men or women, gender role and identity, lifestyle choices) are potential correlates of sexual orientation rather than principal dimensions of the construct.

Sexual orientation identity refers to acknowledgment and internalization of sexual orientation and reflects self-exploration, self-awareness, self-recognition, group membership and affiliation, culture, and self-stigma. Sexual orientation identity involves private and public ways of self-identifying and is a key element in determining relational and interpersonal decisions, as it creates a foundation for the formation of community, social support, role models, friendship, and partnering (APA, 2003; Jordan & Deluty, 1998; McCarn & Fassinger, 1996; Morris, 1997; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001).

Given this new understanding of sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity, a great deal of debate surrounds the question of how best to assess sexual orientation in research (Gonsiorek et al., 1995; Kinsey et al., 1948, 1953; Masters & Johnson, 1979; Sell, 1997). For example, some authors have criticized the Kinsey scale for dichotomizing sexual orientation—with heterosexuality and homosexuality as opposites along a single dimension and bisexuality in between—

thus implying that in increasing desire for one sex represents reduced desire for the other sex (Gonsiorek et al., 1995; Sell, 1997; R. L. Worthington, 2003; R. L. Worthington & Reynolds, 2009). An alternative that has been proposed suggests that same-sex and other-sex attractions and desires may coexist relatively independently and may not be mutually exclusive (Diamond, 2003, 2006; 2008; Fox, 2004; Klein et al., 1985,[33] Sell, 1997; Shively & DeCecco, 1977; Storms, 1980; R. L. Worthington, 2003; R. L. Worthington & Reynolds, 2009). Models with multiple dimensions that permit the rating of the intensity of an individual's sexual desire or arousal for other-sex individuals separately from the intensity of that individual's sexual desire or arousal for same-sex individuals allow individuals to have simultaneous levels of attractions. Some commentators believe such models allow for greater understanding of sexual diversity and its interactions with other aspects of identity and culture (Mays & Cochran, 1998; R. L. Worthington et al. 2002).

Considered in the context of the conceptual complexities of and debates over the assessment of sexual orientation, much of the SOCE research does not adequately define the construct of sexual orientation, does not differentiate it from sexual orientation identity, or has misleading definitions that do not accurately assess or acknowledge bisexual individuals. Early research that focuses on sexual arousal may be more precise than that which relies on self-report of behavior. Overall, recent research may actually measure sexual orientation identity (i.e., beliefs about sexual orientation, self-report of identity or group affiliation, self-report of behavior, and self-labeling) rather than sexual orientation.

Much of the SOCE research does not adequately define the construct of sexual orientation, does not differentiate it from sexual orientation identity, or has misleading definitions that do not accurately assess or acknowledge bisexual individuals.

Study treatments

In general, what constitutes SOCE in empirical research is quite varied. As we show in Appendix B, early studies tested a variety of interventions that include aversive conditioning techniques (e.g., electric shock, deprivation of food and liquids, smelling salts, chemically induced nausea), biofeedback, hypnosis, masturbation reconditioning, psychotherapy, systematic desensitization, and combinations of these approaches. A small number of early studies compare approaches alone or in combination. The more recent research includes an even wider variety of interventions (e.g., gender role reconditioning, support groups, prayer, psychotherapy) and providers (e.g., licensed and unlicensed LMHP in varied disciplines, pastoral counselors, laypersons). The recent studies were conducted in such a way that it is not possible to attribute results to any particular intervention component, approach, or provider. For instance, these interventions were provided simultaneously or sequentially, without specific separate evaluations of each intervention. The recent research and much of the early research cannot provide clarity regarding which specific efforts are associated with which specific outcomes.

Outcome measures

Regarding assessment mode, outcomes in early studies were assessed by one or more of the following: gauging an individual's physiological responses when presented with sexual stimuli, obtaining the person's self-report of recent sexual behavior and attractions, and using clinical opinion regarding improvement. In men especially, physiological measures are considered more dependable than self-report of sexual arousal or attraction (Freund, 1976; McConaghy, 1999). However, these measures have important limitations when studying sexual orientation. Some men are incapable of sexual arousal to any stimuli in the laboratory and must be excluded from research investigations in which the measure is the sole outcome measure. More recent research indicates that some penile circumference gauges are less consistent than penile volume gauges (Kuban, Barbaree, & Blanchard, 1999; McConaghy, 1999; Quinsey & Lalumiere, 2001; Seto, 2004) and that some men can intentionally produce false readings on the penile circumference gauges by suppressing their standard sexual arousal responses (Castonguay, Proulx, Aubut, McKibben, & Campbell, 1993; Lalumiere & Harris, 1998) or consciously making themselves aroused when presented with female erotic stimuli (Freund, 1971, 1976; Freund, Watson, & Rienzo, 1988; Lalumiere & Earls, 1992; McConaghy, 1999, 2003). The physiological measure used in all the SOCE experiements was the penile circumference gauge.

[33] Although Klein advanced the notion of sexual orientation as a multidimensional variable, his Sexual Orientation Grid confounds constructs of sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity, as it includes attraction; behavior; identification; and emotional, political, and social preferences.

McConaghy (1999) has questioned the validity of the results of SOCE research using this gauge and believes that data illustrating a reduction in same-sex sexual attraction should be viewed skeptically.

In recent research on SOCE, overreliance on self-report measures and/or on measures of unknown validity and reliability is common. Reliance on self-reports is especially vulnerable to a variety of reactivity biases such that shifts in an individual's score will reflect factors other than true change. Some of these biases are related to individual motivations, which have already been discussed, and others are due to features of the experimental situation. Knowing that one is being studied and what the experimenter hopes to find can heighten people's tendency to self-report in socially desirable ways and in ways that please the experimenter.

Measures used in early studies vary tremendously in their psychometric acceptability, particularly for attitudinal and mental health measures, with a limited number of studies using well-validated measures. Recent research has not advanced significantly in using psychometrically sound measures of important study variables such as depression, despite the widespread use of measures that permit accurate assessment of these variables in other studies. Measures in these studies are also sources of bias due to problems such as item wording and response anchors from which participants may have inferred that other-sex attraction is a normative standard, as well as from the exclusion of items related to healthy homosexual functioning to parallel items that ask for reports on healthy heterosexual functioning.

Study operations

Regarding the adequacy of study operations, few of the early studies attempted to overcome the demand characteristics associated with the interventionists' obtaining measures of change themselves. In other words, few studies sought to minimize the possibility that people receiving treatment would be motivated to please their treatment providers by providing them with reports that were consistent with what the providers were perceived to desire and expect. Issues in recruitment of participants may also contribute to this effect; subjects were aware of the goals of the study, were recruited by individuals with that knowledge, or were participating in treatment to avoid legal and/or religious sanction. Novelty effects associated with exposure to an experimental laboratory situation may also have influenced study results. People may become excited and energized by participating in a research investigation, and these reactions to being in the research environment may contribute to change in scores. Recent research is also vulnerable to demand characteristics as a function of how individuals are recruited into samples, which is discussed in more detail in the section on sampling concerns.

CONCLUSION VALIDITY CONCERNS

Conclusion validity concerns the validity of the inferences about the presence or absence of a relationship among variables that are drawn from statistical tests. Small sample sizes, sample heterogeneity, weak measures, and violations to the assumptions of statistical tests (e.g., non-normally distributed data) are central threats to drawing valid conclusions. In this body of research, conclusion validity is often severely compromised. Many of the studies from the early period are characterized by samples that are very small, containing on the average about 9 subjects (see Appendix B; see also H. E. Adams & Sturgis, 1977). Combined with high rates of attrition, skewed distributions, unreliable measures, and infrequent use of statistical tests designed for small and skewed samples, confidence in the statistical results of many of these studies may be misplaced. The recent research involved unreliable measures and inappropriate selection and performance of statistical tests, which are threats to their statistical conclusion validity,[34] even though these studies involved larger samples than the early research.

[34] For instance, to assess whether sexual orientation had changed, Nicolosi et al. (2000) performed a chi-square test of association on individuals' prior and current self-rated sexual orientation. Several features of the analysis are problematic. Specifically, the nature of the data and research question are inappropriate to a chi-square test of association, and it does not appear that the tests were properly performed. Chi-square tests of association assume that data are independent, yet these data are not independent because the row and column scores represent an individual's rating of his or her past and present self. Chi-square tests ought not to be performed if a cell in the contingency table includes fewer than five cases. Other tests, such as the nonparametric McNemar's test for dichotomous variables (McNemar, 1969) or the sign (Conover, 1980) or Wilcoxon signed-rank tests (Wilcoxon, 1945) for nominal and ordinal data, respectively, are used to assess whether there are significant differences between an individual's before and after score and are appropriate when data fail to meet the assumptions of independence and normality, as these data do and would have been more appropriate choices. Paired *t* tests for mean differences could also have been performed on these data. There are procedural problems in how Nicolosi et al. conducted the chi-square test, such as missing data, and the analyses were conducted without adjustment for chance, with different numbers of subjects responding to each item, and without corrections to the gain scores to address regression artifacts. Taken together, the problems associated with running so many tests without adjusting for chance associations

Problems in Generalizing Findings

A significant challenge to interpreting the research on SOCE is establishing external validity—that is, judging to whom and to what circumstances the results of any particular study might reasonably be generalized.

SAMPLE COMPOSITION

Concerns regarding the sample composition in these studies are common in critiques (e.g., Cramer et al., 2008). The studies from the early period are characterized by samples that are narrow in their demographic characteristics, composed almost exclusively of Caucasian males over the age of 18. No investigations are of children and adolescents exclusively, although adolescents are included in a very few study samples. Few SOCE studies in the early period include women. Although more recent research includes women and respondents of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds (e.g., Moran, 2007; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Ponticelli, 1999; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Spitzer, 2003; Wolkomir, 2001), White men continue to dominate recent study samples. Thus, the research findings from early and recent studies may have limited applicability to non-Whites, youth, or women. The samples in the recent research have been narrowly defined in other respects, focusing on well-educated, middle-class individuals to whom religion is extremely important (e.g., Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Pattison & Pattison, 1980; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Spitzer, 2003; Wolkomir, 2001). Same-sex sexual attraction and treatments are confounded with these particular demographic characteristics across the recent literature. These research findings may be most applicable to educated White men who consider themselves highly religious.

The research findings from early and recent studies may have limited applicability to non-Whites, youth, or women.

The early research sometimes included men who were receiving intervention involuntarily (e.g., Barlow, Agras, Abel, Blanchard, & Young, 1975; Callahan & Leitenberg, 1973; S. James, 1978; MacCulloch & Feldman, 1967; MacCulloch et al., 1965; McConaghy, 1969, 1976; McConaghy et al., 1972), usually men who were court referred as a result of convictions on charges related to criminalized acts of homosexual sex.[35] The samples also include men who were not receiving intervention because of same-sex sexual attractions; rather, some of the men receiving intervention are described as pedophiles, exhibitionists, transvestites, and fetishists (Callahan & Leitenberg, 1973; Conrad & Wincze, 1976; Fookes, 1960; Hallam & Rachman, 1972; Marquis, 1970; Thorpe, Schmidt, Brown, & Castell, 1964; Thorpe, Schmidt, & Castell, 1963). Thus, the early samples are notable for including men who may not be same-sex attracted at all or have been distressed by their attractions but who had to undergo intervention by court order or out of fear of being caught by law enforcement in the future.

Moreover, in the early research—to the extent that it was assessed—the samples contained individuals who varied widely along the spectrum of same-sex sexual orientation prior to intervention, so that the studies included men who were other-sex sexually attracted to varying degrees alongside men who were primarily or exclusively same-sex sexually attracted (Bancroft, 1969; Barlow et al., 1975; Birk, 1974; Conrad & Wincze, 1976; Fookes, 1960; Hallman & Rachman, 1972; Kendrick & MacCulloch, 1972; LoPiccolo, Stewart, & Watkins, 1972; Marquis, 1970; McCrady, 1973). Additionally, study samples included men with and without histories of current and prior sexual contact with men and women (Bancroft, 1969; Colson, 1972; Curtis & Presly, 1972; Fookes, 1960; Freeman & Meyer, 1975; Gray, 1970; Hallman & Rachman, 1972; Herman, Barlow, & Agras, 1974; Larson, 1970; Levin, Hirsch, Shugar, & Kapche, 1968; LoPiccolo et al., 1972; MacCulloch & Feldman, 1967; McConaghy, 1969; McConaghy, Armstrong, & Blaszcynski, 1981; McConaghy & Barr, 1973; McConaghy et al., 1972; Segal & Sims, 1972; Thorpe et al., 1964), so that men who were or had been sexually active with women and men, only women, only men, or neither were combined. Some recent studies of SOCE have similar problems (e.g., Spitzer, 2003). Including participants with attractions, sexual arousal, and behaviors to both sexes in the research on SOCE makes evaluating change more difficult (Diamond, 2003; Rust, 2003; Vasey & Rendell, 2003; R. L. Worthington, 2003).

Data analyses rarely adjust for preintervention factors such as voluntary pursuit of intervention, initial degree of other-sex attraction, or past and current other-sex and same-sex behaviors; in very few studies did investigators perform and report subgroup analyses to clarify how

or correcting for regression artifacts and having different respondents in nearly every test make it difficult to assess what changes in scores across these items actually reflect.

[35] Shidlo and Schroeder (2002) found that roughly 24% of their respondents perceived that SOCE was imposed on them rather than pursued voluntarily.

subpopulations fared as a result of intervention. The absence of these analyses obscures results for men who are primarily same-sex attracted and seeking intervention regarding these attractions versus any other group of men in these studies, such as men who could be characterized as bisexual in their attractions and behaviors or those on whom treatment was imposed. For these reasons, the external validity (generalizability) of the early studies is unclear, with selection–treatment interactions of particular concern. It is uncertain which effects observed in these studies would hold for which groups of same-sex attracted people.

SAMPLING AND RECRUITMENT PROCEDURES

Early and recent study samples are typically of convenience, so it is unclear precisely what populations these samples represent. Respondents in the recent studies were typically recruited through ex-gay ministries and advocates of SOCE rather than through population-based probability sampling strategies designed to obtain a representative sample of same-sex attracted people or the subset who experience their attractions as distressing and have sought and been exposed to SOCE. Additionally, study respondents are often invited to participate in these studies by LMHP who are proponents of SOCE, introducing unknown selection biases into the recruitment process (cf. Beckstead, 2003; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002).

Qualitative studies have been more successful in applying a variety of purposive stratified sampling strategies (e.g., Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001) and developing appropriate comparison samples. However, the qualitative studies were not undertaken with the purpose of determining if SOCE interventions are effective in changing sexual orientation. These studies focused on understanding aspects of the experience of participating in SOCE from the perspective of same-sex attracted people in distress.

As noted previously, recent research has used designs that are incapable of making attributions of intervention effects. In many of the recent studies, the nature of the procedures for recruiting samples is likely to have accentuated response-shift biases rather than to have minimized them, because study recruiters were open proponents of the techniques under scrutiny; it cannot be assumed that the recruiters sought to encourage the participation of those individuals whose experiences ran counter to their own view of the value of these approaches. Proponents of these efforts may also have limited access to the research for former clients who were perceived to have failed the intervention or who experienced it as harmful. Some of the recent research to assess harm resulting from these interventions (Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002) suffers from sampling weaknesses and biases of a similar nature.

Treatment Environments

Clinically trained professionals using reasonably well-described change efforts generally conducted early research in clinical laboratory settings. By contrast, the recent research included a wide variety of change efforts, providers, and settings in which these efforts may take place. The recent research has not been performed in a manner that permits examination of the interactions among characteristics of change efforts, providers, settings, and individuals seeking to change, nor does the research associate these patterns with outcomes.

Summary

Our analysis of the methodology of SOCE reveals substantial deficiencies. These deficiencies include limitations in making causal claims due to threats to internal validity (such as sample attrition, use of retrospective pretests); lack of construct validity, including definition and assessment of sexual orientation; and variability of study treatments and outcome measures. Additional limitations with recent research include problems with conclusion validity (the ability to make inferences from the data) due to small or skewed samples, unreliable measures, and inappropriate selection and performance of statistical tests. Due to these limitations, the recent empirical literature provides little basis for concluding whether SOCE has any effect on sexual orientation. Any reading of the literature on SOCE outcomes must take into account the limited generalizability of the study samples to the population of people who experience same-sex sexual attraction and are distressed by it. Taking into account the weaknesses and limitations of the evidence base, we next summarize the results from research in which same-sex sexual attraction and behavior have been treated.

The recent empirical literature provides little basis for concluding whether SOCE has any effect on sexual orientation.

4. A SYSTEMATIC REVIEW OF RESEARCH ON THE EFFICACY OF SEXUAL ORIENTATION CHANGE EFFORTS: OUTCOMES

In Chapter 3, we provided an overview of our systematic review of research on sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE)[36] and the results of the review for methodological concerns. In this chapter, we describe the evidence on outcomes associated with SOCE, whether beneficial or harmful. No studies reported effect size estimates or confidence intervals, and many studies did not report all of the information that would be required to compute effect sizes. As a result, statistical significance and methodology are considered in interpreting the importance of the findings. As the report will show, the peer-refereed empirical research on the outcomes of efforts to alter sexual orientation provides little evidence of efficacy and some evidence of harm. We first summarize the evidence of efficacy and then the evidence of unintended harmful effects.

Reports of Benefit

Sexual orientation change efforts have aimed to address distress in individuals with same-sex sexual attractions by achieving a variety of outcomes:

- Decreased interest in, sexual attraction to, and sexual behavior with same-sex sexual partners.
- Increased interest in, sexual attraction to, and sexual behavior with other-sex sexual partners.
- Increased healthy relationships and marriages with other-sex partners.
- Improved quality of life and mental health.

Although not all of these aims are equally well studied, these are the outcomes that have been studied frequently enough to be reported in this systematic review. One general point that we wish to emphasize as we begin the discussion of the outcomes that have been reported in this literature is that nonexperimental studies often find positive effects that do not hold up under the rigor of experimentation. The literature on SOCE is generally consistent with this point. In other words, the least rigorous studies in this body of research generally provide a more positive assessment of efficacy than do studies that meet even the most minimal standards of scientific rigor.

Decreasing Same-Sex Sexual Attraction

EARLY STUDIES

A number of investigators have assessed aversion therapy interventions to reduce physiological and self-reported sexual arousal in response to same-sex stimuli and self-reports of same-sex sexual attraction (see Appendix B).

[36] In this report, we use the term *sexual orientation change efforts* (SOCE) to describe methods (e.g., behavioral techniques, psychoanalytic techniques, medical approaches, religious and spiritual approaches) that aim to change a person's same-sex sexual orientation to other-sex, regardless of whether mental health professionals or lay individuals (including religious professionals, religious leaders, social groups, and other lay networks, such as self-help groups) are involved

Experimental studies

Results from the experimental studies of aversive techniques provide some evidence that these treatments can reduce self-reported and physiological sexual arousal for some men. The experimental studies that we reviewed showed lower rates of change in sexual arousal toward the same sex than did the quasi-experimental and nonexperimental studies. This finding was consistent with H. E. Adams and Sturgis's (1977) review of studies published through 1976.

In their review, H. E. Adams and Sturgis (1977) found that across the seven studies that they classified as controlled studies, 34% of the 179 subjects that were retained in these studies decreased their same-sex sexual arousal. McConaghy (1976) found that roughly half of the men who received one of four treatment regimens reported less intense sexual interest in men at 6 months. McConaghy et al. (1972) found reductions in penile response in the laboratory following treatment. Penile response to female nudes also declined for those men who initially responded to female stimuli. McConaghy (1969) similarly reported a decline in sexual arousal to all stimuli as a result of treatment for some men and that treatment also increased same-sex sexual arousal for some men. Overall, however, a majority of participants showed decreases in same-sex sexual arousal immediately following treatment. McConaghy and Barr (1973) found that about half of men reported that their same-sex sexual attractions were reduced. Tanner (1975) found that aversive shock could lessen erectile response to male stimuli.

An important caveat in considering the results of these experiments is that none compared treatment outcomes to an untreated control group. That is, these studies compared treatments to one another. The fact that four of these studies also involved men who were being treated by court referral should also be considered in interpreting the findings. These experiments cannot address whether men would have changed their sexual arousal pattern in the absence of treatment. Only one of the experiments that we identified compared treatment outcomes against the outcomes for an untreated control group. Tanner (1974) examined change in sexual arousal among 8 men receiving electric shock therapy. Tanner found that physiological arousal to male stimuli in the laboratory had declined at the 8-week follow-up, when scores among the 8 men in the treatment were compared with those of the 8 men in a control group. Changes were not achieved for all of the men, and there were no differences between the experimental and control groups in the frequency of same-sex sexual behavior.

The results of the experimental studies suggest that some men who participate in clinical treatment studies may be conditioned to control their sexual arousal response to sexual stimuli, although McConaghy's (cf. McConaghy, 1999) studies suggest that aversive treatments may affect sexual arousal indiscriminately. These studies found that not all men reduce their sexual arousal to these treatments and that changes in sexual arousal in the lab are not necessarily associated with changes in sexual behavior.

Quasi-experimental studies

The three quasi-experiments listed in Appendix B all compare treatment alternatives for nonequivalent groups of men. Birk et al. (1971) found that 5 (62%) of the 8 men in the aversive treatment condition reported decreased sexual feelings following treatment; one man out of the 8 (12%) demonstrated reduced sexual arousal at long-term follow-up. In comparing groups, the researchers found that reports of same-sex "cruising," same-sex sexual "petting," and orgasm declined significantly for men receiving shocks when compared with men receiving associative conditioning. McConaghy and colleagues (1981) found that 50% of respondents reported decreased sexual feelings at 1 year. S. James (1978) reported that anticipatory avoidance learning was relatively ineffective when compared with desensitization. In their review, H. E. Adams and Sturgis (1977) found that 50% of the 124 participants in what they termed uncontrolled studies reported reduced sexual arousal.

Nonexperimental studies

Nonexperimental studies, which lack sufficient rigor to assess efficacy but which may be useful in identifying potential treatment approaches, offer a similar view of the impact of aversive treatment on reductions in sexual arousal. For instance, Bancroft (1969), in a within-subject study without a comparison group, delivered electric shocks based on males' penile volume responses to photographs of nude men as they were fantasizing about homosexual sexual encounters. Research subjects underwent a minimum of 30 treatment sessions. Bancroft reported that of the men who were initially sexually attracted to both sexes, 30% (n = 3) of these men lessened their same-sex sexual interest over the long-term. Among those with no initial other-sex sexual attraction, no lasting changes were observed in sexual

arousal and attraction. Several other uncontrolled studies found reductions in participants' self-reported sexual attraction and physiological response under laboratory conditions (range = 7%–100%; average = 58%) (Callahan & Leitenberg, 1973; Feldman & MacCulloch, 1965; Fookes, 1960; Hallam & Rachman, 1972; MacCulloch & Feldman, 1967; Sandford, Tustin, & Priest, 1975).

As is typically found in intervention research, the average proportion of men who are reported to change in uncontrolled studies is roughly double the average proportion of men who are reported to change in controlled studies. For instance, as noted previously, results from controlled studies show that far less change can be produced in same-sex sexual arousal by aversion techniques. H.E. Adams and Sturgis (1977) reported that in the nonexperimental studies in their review, 68% of 47 participants reduced their same-sex sexual arousal, compared with 34% of participants in experimental studies.

The studies of nonaversive techniques as the primary treatment, such as biofeedback and hypnosis, were only assessed in the nonexperimental within-subject and patient case studies. For example, Blitch and Haynes (1972) treated a single female who was heterosexually experienced and whom they described as strongly committed to reducing her same-sex sexual attractions. Using relaxation, rehearsal, and masturbation reconditioning, she was reported to be able to masturbate without female fantasies 2 months after intervention. Curtis and Presly (1972) used covert sensitization to treat a married man who experienced guilt about his attraction to and extramarital engagement with men. After intervention, he showed reduced other-sex and same-sex sexual interest, as measured by questionnaire items. Huff (1970) treated a single male who was interested in becoming sexually attracted to women. Following desensitization, his journal entries showed that his same-sex sexual fantasies continued, though the ratio of other-sex to same-sex sexual fantasies changed by the 6-month follow-up to favor other-sex sexual fantasies. His MMPI scores showed improvement in his self-concept and reductions in his distress.

By contrast, among the 4 men exposed to orgasmic reconditioning by Conrad and Wincze (1976), all reported decreased same-sex sexual attractions immediately following intervention, but only one demonstrated a short-term measurable alteration in physiological responses to male stimuli. Indeed, one subject's sexual arousal to same-sex sexual stimuli increased rather than decreased, a result that was obtained for some men in the experimental studies. In a study by Barlow and colleagues (1975), among 3 men who were each exposed to unique biofeedback treatment regimens, all maintained same-sex sexual arousal patterns at follow-up, as measured by penile circumference change in response to photos of male stimuli.

Mintz (1966) found that 8 years after initiating group and individual therapy, 5 of his 10 research participants (50%) had dropped out of therapy. Mintz perceived that among those who remained, 20% (n = 1) were distressed, 40% (n = 2) accepted their same-sex sexual attractions, and 40% (n = 2) were free from conflict regarding same-sex sexual attractions. Birk (1974) assessed the impact of behavioral therapy on 66 men, of whom 60% (n = 40) had dropped out of intervention by 7 months. Among those who remained in the study, a majority shifted toward heterosexual scores on the Kinsey scale by 18 months.

Overall, the low degree of scientific rigor in these studies is likely to lead to overestimates of the benefits of these treatments on reductions in same-sex sexual arousal and attraction and may also explain the contradictory results obtained in nonexperimental studies.

Overall, the low degree of scientific rigor in these studies is likely to lead to overestimates of the benefits of these treatments on reductions in same-sex sexual arousal and attraction and may also explain the contradictory results obtained in nonexperimental studies.

RECENT STUDIES

Recent studies have investigated whether people who have participated in efforts to change their sexual orientation report decreased same-sex sexual attractions (Nicolosi et al., 2000; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Spitzer, 2003) or how people evaluate their overall experiences of SOCE (Beckstead & Morrow 2004; Pattison & Pattison, 1980; Ponticelli, 1999; Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Wolkomir, 2001). These studies all use designs that do not permit cause-and-effect attributions to be made. We conclude that although these studies may be useful in describing people who pursue SOCE and their experiences of SOCE, none of the recent studies can address the efficacy of SOCE or its promise as an intervention. These studies are therefore described elsewhere in the

report in places where they contribute to understanding respondents' motivations for and experiences of SOCE.

SUMMARY

Overall, early studies suggest that modest short-term effects on reducing same-sex sexual arousal in the laboratory may be obtained for a minority of study participants through some forms of SOCE, principally interventions involving aversion procedures such as electric shock. Short-term reductions in sexual arousal to other-sex stimuli were also reported for some treatments. When outcomes were described for individual participants or subgroups of participants, short-term reductions in same-sex sexual arousal patterns were more commonly reported for people described as having other-sex sexual attractions prior to intervention and high levels of motivation to change. Initial and sustained reductions in sexual arousal were reported less commonly for people who were described as having no other-sex sexual attraction prior to intervention. The results from the uncontrolled studies are more positive than those from the controlled studies, as would be expected. Yet these studies also found that reduction in sexual arousal may not occur for study participants. Recent studies provide no sound scientific basis for determining the impact of SOCE on decreasing same-sex sexual attraction.

Decreasing Same-Sex Sexual Behavior

EARLY STUDIES

Early studies show that SOCE have limited impact on same-sex sexual behavior, even in cases in which lab results show some reduction in same-sex sexual arousal.[37]

Experimental studies

In their review, H. E. Adams and Sturgis (1977) found that across the seven controlled studies published between 1960 and 1976, 18% of 179 subjects in these studies were reported to have decreased same-sex sexual behavior; the percentage reporting reductions in sexual arousal was nearly double that percentage, at 34%. In our review, we found that the results of the experimental studies that we reviewed provided a picture of the effects of aversive forms of SOCE similar to that painted by H. E. Adams & Sturgis.

For instance, in his study comparing aversion and aversion relief therapies,[38] McConaghy (1969) reported that about 20% of men had engaged in same-sex sexual behavior within 2 weeks following treatment. No longer-term follow-up data were reported. McConaghy (1976) found that 50% of men had reduced the frequency of their same-sex behavior, 25% had not changed their same-sex behavior, and 25% reported no same-sex behavior at 1 year. McConaghy and Barr (1973) reported that 25% of men had reduced their same-sex sexual behavior at 1-year. Tanner (1975) reported a significant decline in same-sex behavior across treatments. In the only untreated control group study that we identified, Tanner (1974) found that intervention had no effect on rates of same-sex behavior, even though the intervention did reduce changes in penile circumference in response to male stimuli in the lab.

Quasi-experimental studies

Birk and colleagues (1971) found that 2 of 18 men (11%) had avoided same-sex behavior at 36 months. McConaghy et al. (1981) reported that among the 11 men who were sexually active with same-sex partners, about 25% reduced their same-sex behavior. S. James (1978) did not report on behavior. In their review, H. E. Adams and Sturgis (1977) found that 50% of the 124 participants in what they called uncontrolled group studies reported reduced sexual arousal, and 42% reported less frequent same-sex sexual behavior. Among the quasi-experiments that we reviewed, the reported reductions in sexual behavior were lower (i.e., 11% and 25%) than what was reported by H. E. Adams and Sturgis. These differences may be due to our more rigorous criteria of what constitutes a quasi-experiment than the criteria employed by Adams and Sturgis.

Nonexperimental studies

Among the case and single-group within-subject studies, the results are mixed. Some studies found that people reported having abstained from same-sex behavior in the months immediately following intervention or having decreased its frequency. Bancroft (1969) found that 4 of the 10 men in his study had reduced their behavior at follow-up. Freeman and Meyer (1975) found that 7 of the 9 men in their study were abstinent at 18

[37] In considering the results of early studies on this outcome, readers are advised that data on this outcome are not always reported. In some cases, not all research participants in these studies had engaged in sexual activity with same-sex partners prior to treatment, though they may have fantasized about doing so. In other studies, reducing sexual arousal under lab conditions was examined and not behavior in daily life.

[38] Aversion therapy involves the application of a painful stimulus; aversion relief therapy involves the cessation of an aversive stimulus.

months. Other single-subject and case study subjects reported declines in or no same-sex behavior (Gray, 1970; Huff, 1970; B. James, 1962, 1963; Kendrick & McCullough, 1972; Larson, 1970; LoPiccolo, 1971; Segal & Sims, 1972).

Not all individuals, however, successfully abstained on every occasion of sexual opportunity (Colson, 1972; Rehm & Rozensky, 1974), and some relapse occurred within months following treatment (Bancroft, 1969; Freeman & Meyer, 1975; Hallam & Rachman, 1972; Levin et al., 1968; MacCulloch et al., 1965; Marquis, 1970). In other studies, the proportion reporting that they changed their sexual behavior was a minority. For instance, among Barlow et al.'s (1975) research participants, 2 of the 3 men demonstrated no change in their same-sex behavior. In the case studies, clients who were described as exclusively attracted to the same sex prior to treatment were most commonly reported to have failed to avoid same-sex sexual behavior following treatment.

RECENT STUDIES

As we have noted, recent studies provide no sound basis for attributing individual reports of their current behavior to SOCE. No results are reported for these studies.

SUMMARY

In the early studies with the greatest rigor, it appears that SOCE may have decreased short-term same-sex sexual behavior for a minority of men. However, in the only randomized control group trial, the intervention had no effect on same-sex sexual behavior. Quasi-experimental results found that a minority of men reported reductions in same-sex sexual behavior following SOCE. The nonexperimental studies found that study participants often reported reduced behavior but also found that reductions in same-sex sexual behavior, when reported, were not always sustained.

Increasing Other-Sex Sexual Attraction

Early studies provide limited evidence for reductions in sexual arousal to same-sex stimuli and for reductions in same-sex sexual behavior following aversive treatments. The impact of the use of aversive treatments for increasing other-sex sexual arousal is negligible.

EARLY STUDIES

Experimental studies

In many of the early experiments on aversive treatments, sexual arousal to female sexual stimuli was a desired outcome. McConaghy (1969) found that about 16% of 40 men increased their sexual arousal to female stimuli immediately following treatment and that 5% increased their sexual arousal to male stimuli. It is unclear how the 50% of men in this study who were aroused by females prior to the treatment were distributed among the men who increased their sexual arousal and among those who did not. In other words, it is possible that most of the men who changed were sexually aroused by women initially. In interviews following treatment, McConaghy (1976) reported that 25% of 157 men indicated that they felt more sexual arousal toward females than they did before treatment. McConaghy et al. (1972) found no change in rates of sexual arousal to female stimuli. McConaghy et al.'s (1972) research participants showed no change in penile volume in response to female stimuli after intervention.

In a randomized control trial, Tanner's (1974) 8 research participants reported increases in sexual fantasizing about other-sex partners after aversive conditioning. However, penile circumference data showed no increased sexual arousal to female stimuli. H. E. Adams and Sturgis (1977) found that 26% of 179 participants in the controlled studies that they reviewed increased their sexual arousal toward the other-sex.

Quasi-experimental studies

Birk and colleagues (1971) found no difference between their treatment groups in reported sexual arousal to women. Two men (11% of 18 participants) in the study reported sustained sexual interest in women following treatment. McConaghy and colleagues (1981) reported no significant improvement in attraction to females. S. James (1978) reported little impact of treatment on participants in anticipatory avoidance learning. He noted a general improvement among 80% of the 40 men undergoing desensitization to other-sex situations.

Nonexperimental studies

Among the nonexperimental studies, for men who were described as having some degree of other-sex sexual attraction and experience before the intervention, the balance of studies showed an increase in other-sex sexual attraction over time, although given the nonexperimental nature of these studies, this change

cannot be validly attributed to SOCE. For men with little or no preintervention other-sex sexual attraction, the research provides little evidence of increased other-sex sexual attraction.

As in some of the experimental studies, the results reported in the nonexperiments were not always in the desired direction. Studies occasionally showed that reductions in sexual arousal and interest may occur for same- and other-sex partners, suggesting the possibility that treatments may lower sexual arousal to sexual stimuli in general. For instance, Curtis and Presly's (1972) married male subject reported slightly lower rates of sexual arousal in response to women than before intervention, in addition to reduced same-sex sexual arousal.

Among early studies, many found little or no increases in other-sex sexual attraction among participants who showed limited or no other-sex sexual attraction to begin with. For instance, 2 of the 3 men in Barlow et al.'s (1975) within-subject biofeedback investigation reported little or no other-sex sexual interest prior to intervention. As measured by penile circumference, one of these men demonstrated negligible increases in other-sex sexual attraction; one other individual showed stable low other-sex sexual attraction, which contradicted his self-report.

In contrast, a handful of the early single-patient case studies found increases in other-sex attraction. For instance, Hanson and Adesso's (1972) research participant, who was reported to be primarily same-sex sexually attracted at the onset of intervention, increased his sexual arousal to women and ultimately reported that he enjoyed sex with women. Huff's (1970) male research participant also reported increased other-sex sexual attraction at 6 months following desensitization.

RECENT STUDIES

As we have noted, recent studies provide no sound basis for attributing individual reports of their current other-sex sexual attraction to SOCE. No results are reported for these studies.

SUMMARY

Taken together, the research provides little support for the ability of interventions to develop other-sex sexual attraction where it did not previously exist, though it may be possible to accentuate other-sex sexual attraction among those who already experience it.

Increasing Other-Sex Sexual Behavior

Studies on whether interventions can lead to other-sex sexual activity show limited results. These studies show more success for those who had some other-sex sexual orientation (e.g., sexual arousal) and were sexually experienced with members of the other sex prior to intervention than for those who had no other-sex sexual orientation and no history of other-sex sexual behavior. The results for this outcome suggest that some people can initiate other-sex sexual behavior whether or not they have any observed other-sex sexual orientation.

As previously noted, in the early studies many people were described as heterosexually experienced. From the data provided by H.E. Adam and Sturgis in their 1977 review, 61%–80% of male research participants appeared to have histories of dating women, and 33%–63% had sexual intercourse with women prior to intervention. Additionally, some of the men were married at the time of intervention. Because so many of the research participants in these studies had other-sex sexual attractions or intimate relationships at the outset, it is unclear how to interpret changes in their levels of other-sex sexual activity.

EARLY STUDIES

Experimental studies

According to H. E. Adams and Sturgis (1977), only 8% of participants in controlled studies are reported to have engaged in other-sex sexual behavior following SOCE. Among those studies we reviewed, only 2 participants showed a significant increase in other-sex sexual activity (McConaghy & Barr, 1973; Tanner, 1974). In Tanner's randomized controlled trial, men increased the frequency of intercourse with females but maintained the frequency of intercourse with males.

Quasi-experimental studies

McConaghy et al. (1981) found no difference in the frequency of other-sex sexual behavior following SOCE.

Nonexperimental studies

Among within-subject patient studies in which aversion techniques were used, some studies reported that a subset of 12%–40% of people in the multiple-subject studies and all people in single-patient studies engaged in other-sex sexual behavior following intervention (e.g., Bancroft, 1969; Fookes, 1960; Hallam & Rachman, 1972; Hanson & Adesso, 1972; Kendrick & McCullough, 1972; Larson, 1970). Regarding other techniques

studied in early intervention research, Barlow et al. (1975) reported that 1 of 3 research participants began to date women after biofeedback. Huff's (1970) research participant also began to date women after desensitization training. LoPiccolo (1971) used orgasmic reconditioning to treat a male–female couple. The male could not achieve an erection with his female partner and found sex with women dissatisfying. At 6 months, he was able to develop and maintain an erection and ejaculate intravaginally.

RECENT STUDIES

As previously noted, recent studies provide no sound basis for attributing individual reports of their current sexual behavior to SOCE. No results are reported for these studies.

SUMMARY

In general, the results from studies indicate that while some people who undergo SOCE do engage in other-sex sexual behavior afterward, the balance of the evidence suggests that SOCE is unlikely to increase other-sex sexual behavior. Findings show that the likelihood of having sex with other-sex partners for those research participants who possess no other-sex sexual orientation prior to the intervention is low.

Marriage

One outcome that some proponents of efforts to change sexual orientation are reported to value is entry into heterosexual marriage. Few early studies reported on whether people became heterosexually married after intervention. In a quasi-experimental study, Birk et al. (1971) found that 2 of 18 respondents (11%) were married at 36 months. Two uncontrolled studies (Birk, 1974; Larson, 1970) indicated that a minority of research participants ultimately married, though it is not clear what role, if any, intervention played in this outcome. Recent research provides more information on marriage, though research designs do not permit any attribution of marital outcomes to SOCE.

Improving Mental Health

The relationship between mental health, psychological well-being, sexual orientation, sexual orientation identity, and sexual behavior is important. Few studies report health and mental health outcomes, and those that do report outcomes tend to use psychometrically weak measures of these constructs and weak study designs. Among the early studies that report on mental health, three nonexperimental single-patient case studies report that clients were more self-assured (Blitch & Haynes, 1972) or less fearful and distressed (Hanson & Adesso, 1972; Huff, 1970).

Overall, the lack of high-quality data on mental health outcomes of efforts to change sexual orientation provide no sound basis for claims that people's mental health and quality of life improve. Indeed, these studies add little to understanding how SOCE affects people's long-term mental health.

Reports of Harm

Determining the efficacy of any intervention includes examination of its side effects and evidence of its harm (Flay et al., 2005; Lilienfeld, 2007). A central issue in the debates regarding efforts to change same-sex sexual attractions concerns the risk of harm to people that may result from attempts to change their sexual orientation. Here we consider evidence of harm in early and recent research.

EARLY STUDIES

Early research on efforts to change sexual orientation focused heavily on interventions that include aversion techniques. Many of these studies did not set out to investigate harm. Nonetheless, these studies provide some suggestion that harm can occur from aversive efforts to change sexual orientation.

EXPERIMENTAL STUDIES

In McConaghy and Barr's (1973) experiment, 1 respondent of 46 subjects is reported to have lost all sexual feeling and to have dropped out of the treatment as a result. Two participants reported experiencing severe depression, and 4 others experienced milder depression during treatment. No other experimental studies reported on iatrogenic effects.

QUASI-EXPERIMENTAL STUDIES

None reported on adverse events.

NONEXPERIMENTAL STUDIES

A majority of the reports on iatrogenic effects are provided in the nonexperimental studies. In the study conducted by Bancroft (1969), the negative outcomes reported include treatment-related anxiety (20% of 16

participants), suicidal ideation (10% of 16 participants), depression (40% of 16 participants), impotence (10% of 16 participants), and relationship dysfunction (10% of 16 participants). Overall, Bancroft reported the intervention had harmful effects on 50% of the 16 research subjects who were exposed to it. Quinn, Harbison, and McAllister (1970) and Thorpe et al. (1964) also reported cases of debilitating depression, gastric distress, nightmares, and anxiety. Herman and Prewett (1974) reported that following treatment, their research participant began to engage in abusive use of alcohol that required his rehospitalization. It is unclear to what extent and how his treatment failure may have contributed to his abusive drinking. B. James (1962) reported symptoms of severe dehydration (acetonuria), which forced treatment to be suspended.

Overall, although most early research provides little information on how research participants fared over the longer term and whether interventions were associated with long-term negative effects, negative effects of treatment are reported to have occurred for some people during and immediately following treatment.

High dropout rates characterize early treatment studies and may be an indicator that research participants experience these treatments as harmful. Lilienfeld's (2007) review of harm in psychotherapy identified dropout as not only an indicator of direct harm but also of treatment ineffectiveness.

RECENT STUDIES

Although the recent studies do not provide valid causal evidence of the efficacy of SOCE or of its harm, some recent studies document that there are people who perceive that they have been harmed through SOCE (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; G. Smith et al., 2004), just as other recent studies document that there are people who perceive that they have benefited from it (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Pattison & Pattison, 1980; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Spitzer, 2003). Among those studies reporting on the perceptions of harm, the reported negative social and emotional consequences include self-reports of anger, anxiety, confusion, depression, grief, guilt, hopelessness, deteriorated relationships with family, loss of social support, loss of faith, poor self-image, social isolation, intimacy difficulties, intrusive imagery, suicidal ideation, self-hatred, and sexual dysfunction. These reports of perceptions of harm are countered by accounts of perceptions of relief, happiness, improved relationships with God, and perceived improvement in mental health status, among other reported benefits. Many participants in studies by Beckstead and Morrow (2004) and Shidlo and Schroeder (2002) described experiencing first the positive effects and then experiencing or acknowledging the negative effects later.

Overall, the recent studies do not give an indication of the client characteristics that would lead to perceptions of harm or benefit. Although the nature of these studies precludes causal attributions for harm or benefit to SOCE, these studies underscore the diversity of and range in participants' perceptions and evaluations of their SOCE experiences.

Summary

We conclude that there is a dearth of scientifically sound research on the safety of SOCE. Early and recent research studies provide no clear indication of the prevalence of harmful outcomes among people who have undergone efforts to change their sexual orientation or the frequency of occurrence of harm because no study to date of adequate scientific rigor has been explicitly designed to do so. Thus, we cannot conclude how likely it is that harm will occur from SOCE. However, studies from both periods indicate that attempts to change sexual orientation may cause or exacerbate distress and poor mental health in some individuals, including depression and suicidal thoughts. The lack of rigorous research on the safety of SOCE represents a serious concern, as do studies that report perceptions of harm (cf. Lilienfeld, 2007).

Studies from both periods indicate that attempts to change sexual orientation may cause or exacerbate distress and poor mental health in some individuals, including depression and suicidal thoughts. The lack of rigorous research on the safety of SOCE represents a serious concern, as do studies that report perceptions of harm.

Conclusion

The limited number of rigorous early studies and complete lack of rigorous recent prospective research on SOCE limits claims for the efficacy and safety of SOCE. Within the early group of studies, there are a small number of rigorous studies of SOCE, and those focus on the use of aversive treatments. These studies show that

enduring change to an individual's sexual orientation is uncommon and that a very small minority of people in these studies showed any credible evidence of reduced same-sex sexual attraction, though some show lessened physiological arousal to all sexual stimuli. Compelling evidence of decreased same-sex sexual behavior and increased attraction to and engagement in sexual behavior with the other sex was rare. Few studies provided strong evidence that any changes produced in laboratory conditions translated to daily life. We found that nonaversive and recent approaches to SOCE have not been rigorously evaluated. Given the limited amount of methodologically sound research, we cannot draw a conclusion regarding whether recent forms of SOCE are or are not effective.

Few studies provided strong evidence that any changes produced in laboratory conditions translated to daily life.

We found that there was some evidence to indicate that individuals experienced harm from SOCE. Early studies do document iatrogenic effects of aversive forms of SOCE. High dropout rates characterize early aversive treatment studies and may be an indicator that research participants experience these treatments as harmful. Recent research reports indicate that there are individuals who perceive they have been harmed and others who perceive they have benefited from nonaversive SOCE. Across studies, it is unclear what specific individual characteristics and diagnostic criteria would prospectively distinguish those individuals who will later perceive that they have succeeded and benefited from nonaversive SOCE from those who will later perceive that they have failed or been harmed. In the next chapter, we explore the literature on individuals who seek to change their sexual orientation to better understand their concerns.

5. RESEARCH ON ADULTS WHO UNDERGO SEXUAL ORIENTATION CHANGE EFFORTS

In the preceding three chapters, we have focused on sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE),[39] because such interventions have been the primary focus of attention and contention in recent decades. Now we turn from the problem of sexual orientation change, as it has been defined by "expert" narratives of sin, crime, disorder, and dysfunction in previous chapters, to the problem of sexual orientation distress, as it exists in the lives of individuals who seek and participate in sexual orientation change. We try to present what the research literature reveals—and clarify what it does not—about the natural history of the phenomenon of people who present to LMHP seeking SOCE.

We do this for two major reasons. The first is to provide a scholarly basis for responding to the core task force charge: "the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions" for the population of those individuals who seek sexual orientation change. The second is our hope to step out of the polemic that has defined approaches to sexual orientation distress. As discussed in the introduction, some professional articles (e.g., Rosik, 2001, 2003; Yarhouse & Burkett, 2002), organizations, and accounts of debates (cf. Drescher, 2003) have argued that APA and mainstream psychology are ignoring the needs of those for whom same-sex sexual attractions are unwanted, especially for religious populations. We hope that an empathic and comprehensive review of the scholarly literature of the population that seeks and participates in SOCE can facilitate an increased understanding of the needs of this population so that an affirmative therapeutic approach may be developed.

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We decided to expand our review beyond empirical literature to have a fuller view of the population in question. Because of the lack of empirical research in this area, the conclusions must be viewed as tentative. The studies that are included in this discussion are (a) surveys and studies of individuals who participated in SOCE and their perceptions of change, benefit, and harm (e.g., S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Spitzer, 2003; Throckmorton & Welton, 2005)[40]; (b) high-quality qualitative studies of the concerns of participants and the dynamics of SOCE (e.g., Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Erzen, 2006; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006); (c) case reports, clinical articles, dissertations, and reviews in

[39] In this report, we use the term *sexual orientation change efforts* (SOCE) to describe methods (e.g., behavioral techniques, psychoanalytic techniques, medical approaches, religious and spiritual approaches) that aim to change a person's same-sex sexual orientation to other-sex, regardless of whether mental health professionals or lay individuals (including religious professionals, religious leaders, social groups, and other lay networks, such as self-help groups) are involved.

[40] As previously noted, these studies, due to their significant methodological issues, cannot assess whether actual sexual orientation change occurred.

which sexual orientation or sexual orientation identity change were considered or attempted (e.g., Borowich, 2008; Drescher, 1998b; Glassgold, 2008; Gonsiorek, 2004; Haldeman, 2004; Horlacher, 2006; Karten, 2006; Mark, 2008; Tan, 2008, Yarhouse et al., 2005; Yarhouse, 2008); and (d) scholarly articles, case reports, dissertations, and reviews on the concerns of religious individuals who are conflicted by their same-sex sexual attractions, some of whom accept their same-sex sexual orientation (e.g., Coyle & Rafalin, 2000, Horlacher, 2006; Kerr, 1997; Mahaffy, 1996; Mark, 2008, Moran, 2007; O'Neill & Ritter, 1992; Shallenberger, 1998; Tan, 2008; Thumma, 1991; Yarhouse, 2008; Yarhouse et al., 2005; Yip, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2005). We also reviewed a variety of additional scholarly articles on subtopics such as individuals in other-sex marriages and general literature on sexual orientation concerns.

Demographics

The majority of participants in research studies on SOCE have been Caucasian men. Early studies included some men who were court-referred and whose participation was not voluntary (S. James, 1978; McConaghy, 1969, 1976; McConaghy et al., 1972), but more recent research primarily included men who indicated that their religion is of central importance (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Wolkomir, 2001). Some studies included small numbers of women (22%–29%; Nicolosi et al., 2000; S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Spitzer, 2003), and two studies focused exclusively on women (Moran, 2007; Ponticelli, 1999). However, these studies do not examine if there are potential differences between the concerns of men and women.

To date, the research has not fully addressed age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, disability, language, and socioeconomic status in the population of distressed individuals who have sought SOCE.

Members of racial-ethnic groups are not included in some samples (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001) and are a small percentage (5%–14%) of the sample in other studies (S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Spitzer, 2003). In the recent studies, no comparisons were reported between the ethnic minorities in the sample and others. Thus, there is no evidence that can elucidate concerns of ethnic minority individuals who have sought SOCE. To date, the research has not fully addressed age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, disability, language, and socioeconomic status in the population of distressed individuals who have sought SOCE.

Samples in recent SOCE studies have been composed predominantly of individuals from conservative Christian denominations (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Erzen, 2006; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Ponticelli, 1999; Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Spitzer, 2003; Wolkomir, 2001). These studies included very few nonreligious individuals, and the concerns of religious individuals of faiths other than Christian are not described. Thus, the existing literature limits information to the concerns of a particular group of religious individuals. Finally, most individuals in studies of SOCE have tried multiple ways to change their sexual orientation, ranging from individual psychotherapy to religiously oriented groups, over long periods of time and with varying degrees of satisfaction and varying perceptions of success (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Comstock, 1996; Horlacher, 2006; S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Mark, 2008; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002).

Why Individuals Undergo Sexual Orientation Change Efforts

Because no research provides prevalence estimates of those participating in SOCE, we cannot determine how prevalent the wish to change sexual orientation is among the conservative Christian men who have predominated in the recent research, or among any other population. Clients' motivations to seek out and participate in SOCE seem to be complex and varied and may include mental health and personality issues, cultural concerns, religious faith, internalized stigma, as well as sexual orientation concerns (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Drescher, 1998b; Glassgold, 2008; Gonsiorek, 2004; Haldeman, 2004; Lasser & Gottlieb, 2004; S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Nicolosi et al., 2000). Some of the factors influencing a client's request for SOCE that have been identified in the literature include the following:

- Confusion or questions about one's sexuality and sexual orientation (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; G. Smith et al., 2004)
- Religious beliefs that consider homosexuality sinful or unacceptable (Erzen, 2006; Haldeman, 2004; S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Mark, 2008; Ponticelli, 1999; Tan, 2008; Tozer & Hayes, 2004; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006; Yarhouse, 2008)
- Fear, stress, and anxiety surrounding the implications of an LGB identity (especially the illegitimacy of such an identity within the client's religious faith or community) (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Mark, 2008; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002)
- Family pressure to be heterosexual and community rejection of those who are LGB (Haldeman, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Mark, 2008; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; G. Smith et al., 2004)

Some individuals who have pursued SOCE report having had only unsuccessful or unfulfilling same-sex sexual experiences in venues such as bars or sexual "cruising" areas (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). These experiences reflected and re-created restricted views that the "gay lifestyle" is nonspiritual, sexually desperate, or addicted, depressive, diseased, and lonely (Drescher, 1998b; Green, 2003; Rosik, 2003; Scasta, 1998). Many sexual minority individuals who do not seek SOCE are also affected by these factors. Thus, these findings do not explain why some people seek SOCE and others do not.

There are some initial findings that suggest differences between those who seek SOCE and those who resolve their sexual minority stress through other means. For example, Ponticelli (1999) and S. L. Jones and Yarhouse (2007) reported higher levels of self-reported family violence and sexual abuse in their samples than were reported by Laumann et al. (1994) in a population-based sample. Beckstead and Morrow (2004) and S. L. Jones and Yarhouse reported high levels of parental rejection or authoritarianism among their religious samples (see also G. Smith et al., 2004). Wolkomir (2001) found that distress surrounding nonconformity to traditional gender roles distinguished the men in her sample who did not accept their sexual orientation from those who did. Similarly, Beckstead and Morrow found that distress and questions about masculinity were an important appeal of SOCE; some men who sought SOCE described feeling distress about not acting more traditionally masculine. In reviewing the SOCE literature, Miville and Ferguson (2004) proposed that White, conservatively religious men might not feel adept at managing a minority status and thus seek out SOCE as a resolution.

The views of LMHP concerning SOCE and homosexuality appear to influence clients' decision making in choosing SOCE; some clients reported being urged by their provider to participate in SOCE (M. King et al. 2004; Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001; G. Smith et al., 2004). For example, G. Smith et al. (2004) found that some who had received SOCE had not requested it. These individuals stated they had presented with confusion and distress about their orientation due to cultural and relational conflicts and were offered SOCE as the solution.

Specific Concerns of Religious Individuals

In general, the participants in research on SOCE have come from faiths that believe heterosexuality and other-sex relationships are part of the natural order and are morally superior to homosexuality (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Ponticelli, 1999; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006). The literature on SOCE suggests that individuals reject or fear their same-sex sexual attractions because of the internalization of the values and attitudes of their religion that characterize homosexuality negatively and as something to avoid (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Erzen, 2006; Glassgold, 2008; Mark, 2008; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006).

The experiences of some conservative religious individuals with same-sex sexual attractions who undergo SOCE appear to involve significant stress due to the struggle to live life congruently with their religious beliefs (S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Yarhouse et al., 2005; Yarhouse & Tan, 2004). These individuals perceive homosexuality to be irreconcilable with their faith and do not wish to surrender or change their faith (Wolkomir, 2006). Some report fearing considerable shifts or losses in their core identity, role, purpose, and sense of order if they were to pursue an outward LGB identity (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Mark, 2008; O'Neill & Ritter, 1992; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995; Wolkomir, 2006). Some report difficulty coping with intense guilt over the failure to live a virtuous life and inability to stop committing unforgivable sins, as defined by their

religion (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Mark, 2008). Some struggled with their belief in God, perceiving that God was punishing or abandoning them—or would if they acted on their attractions; some expressed feelings of anger at the situation in which their God had placed them (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; cf. Exline, 2002; Pargament, Smith, Koenig, & Perez, 1998; Pargament et al., 2005).

Some individuals' distress took the form of a crisis of faith in which their religious beliefs that a same-sex sexual orientation and religious goodness are diametrically opposed led them to question their faith and themselves (Glassgold, 2008; Moran, 2007; Tozer & Hayes, 2004). Spiritual struggles also occurred for religious sexual minorities due to struggling with conservatively religious family, friends, and communities who thought differently than they did. The distress experienced by religious individuals appeared intense, for not only did they face sexual stigma from society at large but also messages from their faith that they were deficient, sinful, deviant, and possibly unworthy of salvation unless they changed sexual orientation (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004).

The distress experienced by religious individuals appeared intense, for not only did they face sexual stigma from society at large but also messages from their faith that they were deficient, sinful, deviant, and possibly unworthy of salvation unless they changed sexual orientation.

These spiritual struggles had mental health consequences. Clinical publications and studies of religious clients (both male and female) (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Mark, 2008) have described individuals who felt culpable, unacceptable, unforgiven, disillusioned, and distressed due to the conflict between their same-sex sexual attractions and religion. The inability to integrate religion and sexual orientation into a religiously sanctioned life (i.e., one that provides an option for positive self-esteem and religiously sanctioned sexuality and family life) has been described as causing great emotional distress (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Mark, 2008; D. F. Morrow, 2003). These spiritual struggles were sometimes associated with anxiety, panic disorders, depression, and suicidality, regardless of the level of religiosity or the perception of religion as a source of comfort and coping (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Horalcher, 2006). The emotional reactions reported in the literature on SOCE among religious individuals are consistent with those reported in the psychology of religion literature that describes both the impact of an inability to live up to religious motivations and the effects of religion and positive and negative religious coping (Ano & Vasconcelles, 2005; Exline, 2002; Pargament & Mahoney, 2002; Pargament et al., 2005; Trenholm, Trent, & Compton, 1998).

Some individuals coped by trying to compartmentalize their sexual orientation and religious identities and behaviors or to suppress one identity in favor of another (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Mark, 2008). Relief came as some sought repentance from their "sins," but others continued to feel isolated and unacceptable in both religious and sexual minority communities (Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Yarhouse & Beckstead, 2007). As an alternative, some with strong religious motivations and purpose were willing to make sexual abstinence a goal and to limit sexual and romantic needs in order to achieve congruence with their religious beliefs (S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Yarhouse et al., 2005; Yarhouse, 2008). These choices are consistent with the psychology of religion that emphasizes religious motivations and purpose (cf. Emmons, 1999; Emmons & Paloutzian, 2003; Hayduk, Stratkotter, & Rovers, 1997; Roccas, 2005). Success with this choice varied greatly and appeared successful in a minority of participants of studies, although not always in the long term, and both positive and negative mental heath effects have been reported (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Horlacher, 2006; S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002).

Some conservatively religious individuals felt a need to change their sexual orientation because of the positive benefits that some individuals found from religion (e.g., community, mode of life, values, sense of purpose) (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Borowich, 2008; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Mark, 2008; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Yarhouse, 2008). Others hoped that being heterosexual would permit them to avoid further negative emotions (e.g., self-hatred, unacceptability, isolation, confusion, rejection, and suicidality) and expulsion from their religious community (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Borowich, 2008; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Mark, 2008).

The literature on non-Christian religious denominations is very limited, and no detailed literature was found on most faiths that differed from the descriptions cited previously. There is limited information on the specific concerns of observant

and Orthodox Jews[41] (e.g., Blechner, 2008; Borowich, 2008; Glassgold, 2008; Mark, 2008; Wolowelsky & Weinstein, 1995). This work stresses the conflicts that emerge within a communal and insular culture that values obedience to religious law and separates itself from mainstream society and other faiths, including mainstream LGB communities, thus isolating those in conflict and distress (Glassgold, 2008; Mark, 2008). As marriage, family, and community are the central units of life within such a religious context, LGB individuals do not have a place in Orthodox Judaism and traditional Jewish society and may fear losing contact with family and society or bringing shame and negative consequences to their family if their sexual orientation is disclosed.[42] Many of the responses and concerns of the conservative Christian population appear relevant to those who are Orthodox Jews, especially those that arise from the conflicts of faith and sexual orientation, such as feelings of guilt, doubt, crisis of faith, unworthiness, and despair (Glassgold, 2008; Mark, 2008).

We found no scholarly psychological literature on sexual minority Muslims who seek SOCE. There is some literature on debates about homosexuality within Islam and cultural conflicts for those Muslims who live in Western societies with more progressive attitudes toward homosexuality (Halstead & Lewicka, 1998; Hekma, 2002; de Jong & Jivraj, 2002; Massad, 2002; Nahas, 2004). Additionally, there is some literature on ways in which individuals integrate LGBT identities with their Muslim faith (Minwalla, Rosser, Feldman, & Varga, 2005; Yip, 2005). We did not find scholarly articles about individuals from other faiths who sought SOCE, except for one article (Nicolosi et al., 2000) that that did not report any separate results for individuals from non-Christian faiths.

It is important to note that not all sexual minorities with strong religious beliefs experience sexual orientation distress, and some resolve such distress in other ways than SOCE.

It is important to note that not all sexual minorities with strong religious beliefs experience sexual orientation distress, and some resolve such distress in other ways than SOCE (Coyle & Rafalin, 2000; Mahaffy, 1996; O'Neill & Ritter, 1992; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995; Rodriguez, 2006; Rodriguez & Ouellette, 2000; Yip, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2005). For instance, some individuals are adherents of more accepting faiths and thus experience less distress. Some end their relationship with all religious institutions, although they may retain the religious and spiritual aspects of their original faiths that are essential to them. Others choose another form of religion or spirituality that is affirming of sexual minorities (Lease, Horne, & Noffsinger-Frazier, 2005; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995; Ritter & Terndrup, 2002; Rodriguez & Ouellette, 2000; Yip, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2004).

Conflicts of Individuals in Other-Sex Marriages or Relationships

There is indication that some individuals with same-sex sexual attractions in other-sex marriages or relationships may request SOCE. Many subjects in the early studies were married (H. E. Adams & Sturgis, 1977). In the more recent research, some individuals were married (e.g., Horlacher, 2006; Spitzer, 2003), and there are clinical reports of experiences of SOCE among other-sex married people (e.g., Glassgold, 2008; Isay, 1998). For some, the marriage to an other-sex person was described as based on socialization, religious views that deny same-sex sexual attractions, lack of awareness of alternatives, and hopes that marriage would change them (Gramick, 1984; Higgins, 2006; Isay, 1998; Malcolm, 2000; Ortiz & Scott, 1994; M. W. Ross, 1989). Others did not recognize or become aware of their sexuality, including same-sex sexual attractions, until after marriage, when they became sexually active (Bozett, 1982; Carlsson, 2007; Schneider et al., 2002). Others had attractions to both men and women (Brownfain, 1985; Coleman, 1989; Wyers, 1987).

For those who experienced distress with their other-sex relationship, some were at a loss as to how to decide what to do with their conflicting needs, roles, and responsibilities and experienced considerable guilt, shame, and confusion (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Bozett, 1982; Buxton, 1994, 2004, 2007; Gochros, 1989; Hays & Samuels, 1989; Isay, 1998; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Yarhouse & Seymore, 2006). Love for their spouse conflicted with desires to explore or act on same-sex romantic and sexual feelings and relationships or to connect with similar others (Bridges & Croteau, 1994; Coleman, 1981/1982; Yarhouse & Seymore, 2006).

[41] Among Jewish traditions, Orthodox Judaism is the most conservative and does not have a role for same-sex relationships or sexual orientation identities within its faith (Mark, 2008). Individuals in other denominations (e.g., Conservative, Reform, Reconstructionist) may not face this type of conflict or this degree of conflict.

[42] These conflicts may also be relevant to those whose religion and community are similarly intertwined and separate from larger society; see Cates (2007), for instance, regarding an individual from an Old Amish community.

However, many individuals wished to maintain their marriage and work at making that relationship last (Buxton, 2007; Glassgold, 2008; Yarhouse, Pawlowski, & Tan, 2003; Yarhouse & Seymore, 2006). Thus, the sexual minority individual sometimes felt frustrated and hopeless in facing feelings of loss and guilt that result from trying to decide whether to separate from or remain in the marriage as he or she balanced hopes and ambiguities (e.g., the chances of finding a same-sex romantic or sexual partner or the possibilities of experiencing further intimacy with one's heterosexual spouse) (Hernandez & Wilson, 2007).

Reported Impacts of Sexual Orientation Change Efforts

Perceived Positives of SOCE

In this section we review the perceptions of individuals who underwent SOCE in order to examine what may be perceived as being helpful or detrimental by such individuals, distinct from a scientific evaluation of the efficacy or harm associated with sexual orientation change efforts, as reported in Chapter 4.

Individuals have reported that SOCE provided several benefits: (a) a place to discuss their conflicts (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Erzen, 2006; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001); (b) cognitive frameworks that permitted them to reevaluate their sexual orientation identity, attractions, and selves in ways that lessened shame and distress and increased self-esteem (Erzen, 2006; Karten, 2006; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Ponticelli, 1999; Robinson, 1998; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Spitzer, 2003; Throckmorton, 2002); (c) social support and role models (Erzen, 2006; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006); and (d) strategies for living consistently with their religious faith and community (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Erzen, 2006; Horlacher, 2006; S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Ponticelli, 1999; Robinson, 1998; Throckmorton & Welton, 2005; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006).

For instance, participants reporting beneficial effects in some studies perceived changes to their sexuality, such as in their sexual orientation, gender identity, sexual behavior, sexual orientation identity (Beckstead, 2001; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Spitzer, 2003; Throckmorton & Welton, 2005), or improving nonsexual relationships with men (Karten, 2006). These changes in sexual self-views were described in a variety of ways (e.g., ex-gay, heterosexual, heterosexual with same-sex sexual attractions, heterosexual with a homosexual past) and with varied and unpredictable outcomes, some of which were temporary (Beckstead, 2003; Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). McConaghy (1999) reported that some men felt they had more control in their sexual behavior and struggled less with their attractions after interventions, although same-sex sexual attractions still existed (cf. Beckstead & Morrow, 2004). Additionally, some SOCE consumers noted that trying and failing to change their same-sex sexual orientation actually allowed them to accept their same-sex attractions (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; G. Smith et al., 2004).

Participants described the social support aspects of SOCE positively. Individuals reported as positive that their LMHP accepted their goals and objections and had similar values (i.e., believing that a gay or lesbian identity is bad, sick, or inferior and not supporting same-sex relationships) (Nicolosi et al., 2000; Throckmorton & Welton, 2005). Erzen (2006), Ponticelli (1999), and Wolkomir (2001) described these religiously oriented ex-gay groups as a refuge for those who were excluded from conservative churches and from their families because of their same-sex sexual attractions, as well as from gay organizations and social networks because of their conservative religious beliefs. In Erzen's experiences with these men, these organizations seemed to provide options for individuals to remain connected to others who shared their religious beliefs, despite ongoing same-sex sexual feelings and behaviors. Wolkomir (2006) found that ex-gay groups recast homosexuality as an ordinary sin, and thus salvation was still achievable. Erzen observed that such groups built hope, recovery, and relapse into an ex-gay identity, thus expecting same-sex sexual behaviors and conceiving them as opportunities for repentance and forgiveness.

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Some participants of SOCE reported what they perceived as other positive values and beliefs underlying SOCE treatments and theories, such as supporting celibacy, validating other-sex marriage, and encouraging and supporting other-sex sexual behaviors (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Throckmorton & Welton, 2005). For instance, many SOCE theories

and communities focus on supporting clients' values and views, often linked to religious beliefs and values (Nicolosi et al., 2000; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Throckmorton & Welton, 2005). According to Ponticelli (1999), ex-gay support groups provide alternate ways of viewing same-sex attractions that permit individuals to see themselves as heterosexual, which provided individuals a sense of possibility.

Participants' interpretations of their SOCE experiences and the outcomes of their experiences appeared to be shaped by their religious beliefs and by their motivations to be heterosexual. In Schaeffer et al. (2000), people whose motivation to change was strongly influenced by their Christian beliefs and convictions were more likely to perceive themselves as having a heterosexual sexual orientation after their efforts. Schaeffer et al. also found that those who were less religious were more likely to perceive themselves as having an LGB sexual orientation after the intervention. Some of the respondents in Spitzer's (2003) study concluded that they had altered their sexual orientation, although they continued to have same-sex sexual attractions. These findings underscore the importance of the nature and strength of participants' motivations, as well as the importance of religious identity in shaping self-reports of perceived sexual orientation change.

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A number of authors (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001; Yarhouse et al., 2005; Yarhouse & Tan, 2004) have found that identity exploration and reinterpretation were important parts of SOCE. Beckstead and Morrow (2004) described the identity development of their research participants who were or had been members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints and had undergone therapy to change their sexual orientation to heterosexual. In this research, those who experienced the most satisfaction with their lives seemed to undergo a developmental process that included the following aspects: (a) becoming disillusioned, questioning authorities, and reevaluating outside norms; (b) wavering between ex-gay, "out" gay, heterosexual, or celibate identities that depended on cultural norms and fears rather than on internally self-informed choices; and (c) resolving their conflicts through developing self-acceptance, creating a positive self-concept, and making decisions about their relationships, religion, and community affiliations based on expanded information, self-evaluations, and priorities. The participants had multiple endpoints, including LGB identity, "ex-gay" identity, no sexual orientation identity, and a unique self-identity. Some individuals chose actively to *disidentify* with a sexual minority identity so the individual's sexual orientation identity and sexual orientation could be incongruent (Wolkomir, 2001, 2006; Yarhouse, 2001; Yarhouse & Tan, 2004; Yarhouse et al., 2005).

Further, the findings suggest that some participants may have reconceptualized their *sexual orientation identity* as heterosexual but *not* achieved sexual orientation change, as they still experienced same-sex sexual attractions and desires (for a discussion of the distinction between sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity, see Chapter 3; see also R. L. Worthington, 2003; R. L. Worthington et al., 2002). For these individuals, sexual orientation identity may not reflect underlying attractions and desires (Beckstead, 2003; Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; McConaghy, 1999; Rust, 2003; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002).

Perceived Negatives of SOCE

Participants in the studies by Beckstead and Morrow (2004) and Shidlo and Schroeder (2002) described the harm they experienced as (a) decreased self-esteem and authenticity to others; (b) increased self-hatred and negative perceptions of homosexuality; (c) confusion, depression, guilt, helplessness, hopelessness, shame, social withdrawal, and suicidality; (d) anger at and a sense of betrayal by SOCE providers; (e) an increase in substance abuse and high-risk sexual behaviors; (f) a feeling of being dehumanized and untrue to self; (g) a loss of faith; and (h) a sense of having wasted time and resources. Interpreting SOCE failures as individual failures was also reported in this research, in that individuals blamed themselves for the failure (i.e., weakness, and lack of effort, commitment, faith, or worthiness in God's eyes). Intrusive images and sexual dysfunction were also reported, particularly among those who had experienced aversion techniques.

Participants in these studies related that their relationships with others were also harmed in the following ways: (a) hostility toward and blame of parents, believing their parents "caused" their homosexuality; (b) anger at and a sense of betrayal by SOCE providers; (c) loss of LGB friends and potential romantic partners because of the belief that they should

avoid sexual minority people; (d) problems in sexual and emotional intimacy with other-sex partners; (e) stress due to the negative emotions of spouses and family members because of expectations that SOCE would work (e.g., disappointment, self-blame for failure of change, perception of betrayal by partner) (see also J. G. Ford, 2001); and (f) guilt and confusion when they were sexually intimate with other same-sex members of the ex-gay groups to which they had turned for help in avoiding their attractions.

LMHP working with former participants in SOCE noted that when clients who formerly engaged in SOCE consider adopting an LGB identity or experience same-sex romantic and sexual relationships later in life, they have more difficulty with identity development due to delayed developmental tasks and dealing with any harm associated with SOCE (Haldeman, 2001; Isay, 2001). Such treatments can harm some men's understanding of their masculine identity (Haldeman, 2001; Schwartzberg & Rosenberg, 1998) and obscure other psychological issues that contribute to distress (Drescher, 1998b).

Schroeder and Shidlo (2001) identified aspects of SOCE that their participants perceived as negative, which included (a) receiving pejorative or false information regarding sexual orientation and the lives of LGB individuals; (b) encountering overly directive treatment (told not to be LGB) or to repress sexuality; (c) encountering treatments based on unsubstantiated theories or methods; (d) being misinformed about the likelihood of treatment outcomes (i.e., sexual orientation change); (e) receiving inadequate information about alternative options; and (f) being blamed for lack of progress of therapy. Some participants in Schroeder and Shidlo's (2001) study reported feeling coerced by their psychotherapist or religious institution to remain in treatment and pressured to represent to others that they had achieved a "successful reorientation" to heterosexuality.

Religiously Oriented Mutual Support Groups

Much of the literature discusses the specific dynamics and processes of religiously oriented mutual self-help groups. A reduction of distress through sexual orientation identity reconstruction or development is described in the literature of self-help or religious groups, both for individuals who reject (Erzen, 2006; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006) and for individuals who accept a minority sexual orientation identity (Kerr, 1997; Rodriguez, 2006; Rodriguez & Ouellette, 2000; Thumma, 1991; Wolkomir, 2006).

Ponticelli (1999) and Wolkomir (2001, 2006) found several emotional and cognitive processes that seemed central to the sexual orientation "identity reconstruction" (i.e., recasting oneself as ex-gay, heterosexual, disidentifying as LGB) (Ponticelli, 1999, p. 157) that appeared to relieve the distress caused by conflicts between religious values and sexual orientation (Ponticelli, 1999). Ponticelli identified certain conditions necessary for resolving identity conflicts, including (a) adopting a new discourse or worldview, (b) engaging in a biographical reconstruction, (c) embracing a new explanatory model, and (d) forming strong interpersonal ties. For those rejecting a sexual minority identity, these changes occurred by participants taking on "ex-gay" cultural norms and language and finding a community that enabled and reinforced their primary religious beliefs, values, and concerns. For instance, participants were encouraged to rely on literal interpretations of the Bible, Christian psychoanalytic theories about the causes of homosexuality, and "ex-gay" social relationships to guide and redefine their lives.

Interesting counterpoints to the SOCE support groups are LGB-affirming religious support groups. These groups employ similar emotional and cognitive strategies to provide emotional support, affirming ideologies, and identity reconstruction. Further, they appear to facilitate integration of same-sex sexual attractions and religious identities into LGB-affirming identities (Kerr, 1997; Thumma, 1991; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006).

Both sexual-minority-affirming and ex-gay mutual help groups potentially appear to offer benefits to their participants that are similar to those claimed for self-help groups, such as social support, fellowship, role models, and new ways to view a problem through unique philosophies or ideologies (cf. Levine, Perkins, & Perkins, 2004).

The philosophy of mutual help groups often gives a normalizing meaning to the individual's situation and may act as an "antidote" to a sense of deficiency (Antze, 1976). New scripts can shape how a member views and shares her or his life story by replacing existing personal or cultural scripts with the group ideology (Humphreys, 2004; Mankowski, 1997, 2000; Maton, 2000). For instance, individuals who are involved in SOCE or LGB-affirming groups may adopt a new explanation for their homosexuality that permits reconceptualizing themselves as heterosexual or acceptable as LGB people (Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006).

Remaining Issues

Ponticelli (1999) ended her article with the following questions: "What leads a person to choose Exodus and a frame that defined them as sinful and in need of change?" (p. 170). Why do some individuals choose SOCE over sexual-minority-affirming groups, and why are some individuals attracted to and able to find relief in a particular ideology or group over other alternatives?

There are some indications that the nature and type of religious motivation and faith play a role. In comparing individuals with intrinsic[43] and quest religious motivations, Tozer and Hayes (2004) proposed that those with a greater intrinsic religiosity may be motivated to seek out SOCE more than those with the quest motivation. However, within both groups (intrinsic and quest motivation), internalized stigma influenced who sought SOCE; those who sought SOCE had higher levels of internalized stigma. Tozer and Hayes (2004) and Mahaffy (1996) found that individuals in earlier stages of sexual minority identity development (see, e.g., Cass, 1979; Troiden, 1993) were more likely to pursue SOCE.

Wolkomir (2001, 2006) found some evidence that biographical factors may be central to these choices. Wolkomir (2006) found that motivations for participation in faith distinguished individuals who joined ex-gay groups from sexual-minority-affirming groups. For instance, men who joined conservative Christian communities as a solution to lives that had been lonely and disconnected and those who turned to faith when they felt overwhelmed by circumstance were more likely to join ex-gay groups. Wolkomir hypothesized that these men perceived homosexuality as a threat to the refuge that conservative faith provided (cf. Glassgold, 2008).

The other common path to an ex-gay (as well as, to some degree, to a sexual-minority-affirming) group was remaining in the community of faith in which one was raised and meeting the expectations of that faith, such as heterosexuality. The loss of a personal relationship or a betrayal by a loved one might influence an individual's choice of a group, and the stress of loss and the self-blame that accompany such a loss may constitute factors that lead someone to seek SOCE (Wolkomir, 2001, 2006).

Additionally, Wolkomir found that a sense of gender inadequacy (see also "gender role strain"; Levant, 1992; Pleck, 1995) made groups that embraced traditional gender roles and gender-based models of homosexuality appealing to some men. Gender-based internalized stigma and self-stigma increased distress in these men.

Finally, "contractual promises" to God (Wolkomir, 2001, p. 332) regarding other concerns (e.g., drug/alcohol abuse) increased the likelihood that men would choose ex-gay groups. However, these issues are as yet underresearched and remain unresolved.

Very little is known about the concerns of other religious faiths and diverse ethnicities and cultures (Harper et al., 2004; Miville & Ferguson, 2004). There are some studies in the empirical and theoretical literature, clinical cases, and material from other fields (e.g., anthropology, sociology) on sexual orientation among ethnic minorities and in different cultures and countries. Sexual orientation identity may be constructed differently in ethnic minority communities and internationally (Boykin, 1996; Carillo, 2002; Crawford et al., 2002; Harper et al., 2004; Mays, Cochran, & Zamudio, 2004; Miville & Ferguson, 2004; Walters, Evans-Campbell, Simoni, Ronquillo, & Bhuyan, 2006; B. D.Wilson & Miller, 2002; Zea, Diaz, & Reisen, 2003). There is some information that such populations experience distress or conflicts due to legal discrimination, cultural stigma, and other factors (McCormick, 2006), and in some other countries, homosexuality is still seen as a mental disorder or is illegal (Forstein, 2001; see also the publications of the International Gay & Lesbian Human Rights Commission: http://www.iglhrc.org). We did not identify empirical research on members of these populations who had sought or participated in SOCE other than as part of the research already cited.

Summary and Conclusion

The recent literature on those who participate in SOCE identifies a population of predominantly White men who are strongly religious and participate in conservative faiths. This contrasts with the early research that included primarily nonreligious individuals. There is a lack of research on non-Christian individuals and limited information on ethnic minority populations, women, and nonreligious populations.

The religious individuals in the recent literature report experiencing serious distress, including depression, identity confusion, and fear due to the strong prohibitions of their faith regarding same-sex sexual orientation, behaviors, and relationships.

[43] Internal motivation refers to a motivation that focuses on belief and values as ends in themselves, and quest sees religion as a process of exploration.

These individuals struggle to combine their faiths and their sexualities in meaningful personal and social identities. These struggles cause them significant distress, including frequent feelings of isolation from both religious organizations and sexual minority communities. The ensuing struggles with faith, sexuality, and identity lead many individuals to attempt sexual orientation change through professional interventions and faith-based efforts.

These individuals report a range of effects from their efforts to change their sexual orientation, including both benefits and harm. The benefits include social and spiritual support, a lessening of isolation, an understanding of values and faith, and sexual orientation identity reconstruction. The perceived harms include negative mental health effects (depression and suicidality), decreased self-esteem and authenticity to others, increased self-hatred and negative perceptions of homosexuality, a loss of faith, and a sense of having wasted time and resources.

Mutual self-help groups (whether affirming or rejecting of sexual minorities) may provide a means to resolve the distress caused by conflicts between religious values and sexual orientation.

Mutual self-help groups (whether affirming or rejecting of sexual minorities) may provide a means of resolving the distress caused by conflicts between religious values and sexual orientation (Erzen, 2006; Kerr, 1997; Ponticelli, 1999; Thumma, 1991; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006). Sexual orientation identity reconstruction found in such groups (Ponticelli, 1999; Thumma, 1991) and identity work in general may provide reduction in individual distress (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004). Individuals may seek out sexual-minority-affirming religious groups or SOCE in the form of ex-gay religious support groups due to (a) a lack of other sources of social support; (b) a desire for active coping, including both cognitive and emotional coping (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980); and (c) access to methods of sexual orientation identity exploration and reconstruction (Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001).

The limited information provided by the literature on individuals who experience distress with their sexual attractions and seek SOCE provides some direction to LMHP in formulating affirmative interventions for this population. The following appear to be helpful to clients:

- Finding social support and interacting with others in similar circumstances
- Experiencing understanding and recognition of the importance of religious beliefs and concerns
- Receiving empathy for their very difficult dilemmas and conflicts
- Being provided with affective and cognitive tools for identity exploration and development

Reports of clients' perceptions of harm also provide information about aspects of interventions to avoid:

- Overly directive treatment that insists on a particular outcome
- Inaccurate, stereotypic, or unscientific information or lack of positive information about sexual minorities and sexual orientation
- The use of unsound or unproven interventions
- Misinformation on treatment outcomes

It is important to note that the factors that are identified as benefits are not unique to SOCE. An affirmative and multiculturally competent framework can mitigate the harmful aspects of SOCE by addressing sexual stigma while understanding the importance of religion and social needs. An approach that integrates the information identified in this chapter as helpful is described in an affirmative model of psychotherapy in Chapter 6.

6. THE APPROPRIATE APPLICATION OF AFFIRMATIVE THERAPEUTIC INTERVENTIONS FOR ADULTS WHO SEEK SEXUAL ORIENTATION CHANGE EFFORTS

Our charge was to "generate a report that includes discussion of "the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for children, adolescents, and adults who present [themselves for treatment expressing] a desire to change either their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation." In this chapter, we report on affirmative interventions for adults. Affirmative interventions for children and adolescents are reported separately in Chapter 8.

The appropriate application of affirmative psychotherapy is based on the following scientific facts:

- Same-sex sexual attractions, behavior, and orientations per se are normal and positive variants of human sexuality; in other words, they are not indicators of mental or developmental disorders.
- Homosexuality and bisexuality are stigmatized, and this stigma can have a variety of negative consequences (e.g., minority stress) throughout the life span (D'Augelli & Patterson, 1995; DiPlacido, 1998; Herek & Garnets, 2007; Meyer, 1995, 2003).
- Same-sex sexual attractions and behavior can occur in the context of a variety of sexual orientations and sexual orientation identities (Diamond, 2006; Hoburg et al., 2004; Rust, 1996; Savin-Williams, 2005).
- Gay men, lesbians, and bisexual individuals can live satisfying lives as well as form stable, committed relationships and families that are equivalent to heterosexual relationships in essential respects (APA, 2005c; Kurdek, 2001, 2003, 2004; Peplau & Fingerhut, 2007).
- There are no empirical studies or peer-reviewed research that support theories attributing same-sex sexual orientation to family dysfunction or trauma (Bell et al., 1981; Bene, 1965; Freund & Blanchard, 1983; Freund & Pinkava, 1961; Hooker, 1969; McCord et al., 1962; D. K. Peters & Cantrell, 1991; Siegelman, 1974, 1981; Townes et al., 1976).

A Framework for the Appropriate Application of Affirmative Therapeutic Interventions

The task force findings that are relevant to the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults are the following:

1. Our systematic review of the research on sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE)[44] found that enduring change to an individual's sexual orientation as a result of SOCE was unlikely. Further, some participants were harmed by the interventions.

[44] In this report, we use the term *sexual orientation change efforts* (SOCE) to describe methods (e.g., behavioral techniques, psychoanalytic techniques, medical approaches, religious and spiritual approaches) that aim to change a person's same-sex sexual orientation to other-sex, regardless of whether mental health professionals or lay individuals (including religious professionals, religious leaders, social groups, and other lay networks, such as self-help groups) are involved.

2. What appears to shift and evolve in some individuals' lives is sexual orientation identity, not sexual orientation (Beckstead, 2003; Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Buchanan, et al., 2001; Cass, 1983/1984; Diamond, 1998, 2006; McConaghy, 1999; Ponticelli, 1999; Rust, 2003; Tan, 2008; Throckmorton & Yarhouse, 2006; Troiden, 1988; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006; R. L. Worthington, 2003, 2004).

3. Some participants in SOCE reported benefits, but the benefits were not specific to SOCE. Rather, clients perceived a benefit when offered interventions that emphasized acceptance, social support, and recognition of important values and concerns.

On the basis of theaw three findings and our comprehensive review of the research and clinical literature, we developed a framework for the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults that has the following central elements: (a) acceptance and support, (b) a comprehensive assessment, (c) active coping, (d) social support, and (e) identity exploration and development.

Acceptance and Support

In our review of the research and clinical literature, we found that the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults presenting with a desire to change their sexual orientation has been grounded in a client-centered approach[45] (e.g., Astramovich, 2003; Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Beckstead & Israel, 2007, Buchanan et al., 2001; Drescher, 1998b; Glassgold; 2008; Gonsiorek; 2004; Haldeman, 2004, Lasser & Gottlieb, 2004; Mark, 2008; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995; Tan, 2008; Throckmorton & Yarhouse, 2006; Yarhouse, 2008; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a). The client-centered approach (Rogers, 1957; cf. Brown, 2006) stresses (a) the LMHP's unconditional positive regard for and congruence and empathy with the client, (b) openness to the client's perspective as a means of understanding their concerns, and (c) encouragement of the client's positive self-concept. This approach incorporates aspects of the therapeutic relationship that have been shown in the research literature to have a positive benefit, such as empathy, positive regard, and honesty (APA, 2005a, 2005b; Lambert & Barley, 2001; Norcross, 2002; Norcross & Hill, 2004).

[45] We consider the client-centered approach not as the ultimate theoretical basis of our model but as a foundation that is consistent with a variety of theoretical approaches, as most psychotherapy focuses on acceptance and support as a foundation of interventions.

This approach consists of empathic attunement to concerns regarding sexual orientation identity that acknowledges the role of cultural context and diversity and allows the different aspects of the evolving self to be acknowledged, explored, respected, and potentially rewoven into a more coherent sense of self that feels authentic to the client (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Brown, 2006; Buchanan et al., 2001; Glassgold, 2008; Gonsiorek, 2004; Haldeman, 2004; Mark, 2008; Miville & Ferguson, 2004; Tan, 2008; Throckmorton & Yarhouse, 2006; Yarhouse, 2008). The empathic therapeutic environment aspires to be a place of compassionate caring and respect that facilitates development (Bronfennbrenner, 1979; Winnicott, 1965) by exploring issues without criticism or condemnation (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; McMinn, 2005; Throckmorton & Welton, 2005) and by reducing distress caused by isolation, stigma, and shame (Drescher, 1998b; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Isay, 2001).

The empathic therapeutic environment aspires to be a place of compassionate caring and respect that facilitates development... by exploring issues without criticism or condemnation and reducing distress caused by isolation, stigma, and shame.

This approach involves empathizing with the client's desire to change his or her sexual orientation while understanding that this outcome is unlikely (Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004). Haldeman (2004) cautioned that LMHP who turn down a client's request for SOCE at the onset of treatment without exploring and understanding the many reasons why the client may wish to change may instill hopelessness in the client, who already may feel at a loss about viable options. Haldeman emphasized that before coming to a conclusion regarding treatment goals, LMHP should seek to validate the client's wish to reduce suffering and normalize the conflicts at the root of distress, as well as create a therapeutic alliance that recognizes the issues important to the client (cf. Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Glassgold, 2008; Liddle, 1996; Yarhouse, 2008).

Affirmative client-centered approaches consider sexual orientation to be uniquely individual and inseparable from an individual's personality and sense of self (Glassgold, 1995, 2008). This includes (a) being aware of the client's unique personal, social, and historical context; (b) exploring and countering the harmful impact of stigma and stereotypes on the

client's self-concept (including the prejudice related to age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status); and (c) maintaining a broad view of acceptable life choices. LMHP who work with religious clients who are distressed by their sexual orientation may wish to consult the literature from the psychology of religion. This literature reminds us that religion is a complex way of making meaning that includes not only beliefs and values but also community, relationships, traditions, family ties, coping, and social identity (Mark, 2008; Pargament & Mahoney, 2002, 2005; Pargament et al., 2005; Park, 2005).

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A Comprehensive Assessment

In our review of the research and clinical literature, we found that the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults presenting with a desire to change their sexual orientation included providing a comprehensive assessment in order to obtain a fuller understanding of the multiple issues that influence that client's presentation. Such an assessment allows the LMHP and client to see the client's sexual orientation as part of the whole person and to develop interventions based on all significant variables (Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Gonsiorek, 2004; Haldeman, 2004; Lasser & Gottlieb, 2004). This comprehensive assessment includes understanding how a client's distress may involve (a) psychological disequilibrium from trying to manage the stressors (e.g., anxiety, depression, substance abuse and dependence, sexual compulsivity, posttraumatic stress disorder) and (b) negative effects from developmental experiences and traumas and the impact of cultural and family norms. Assessing the influence of factors such as age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, disability, language, and socioeconomic status on the experience and expression of sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity may aid the LMHP in understanding the complexity of the client's distress.

The literature indicated that most of the individuals who are extremely distressed about their same-sex sexual orientation and who are interested in SOCE have conservative religious beliefs. A first step to addressing the conflicts regarding faith and sexual orientation is a thorough assessment of clients' spiritual and religious beliefs, religious identity and motivations, and spiritual functioning (Exline, 2002; Hathaway, Scott, & Garver, 2004; Pargament et al., 2005). This helps the LMHP understand how the current dilemmas impact clients' spiritual functioning (and vice versa) and assess resources for growth and renewal.

This assessment could include (a) understanding the specific religious beliefs of the client; (b) assessing the religious and spiritual conflicts and distress experienced by the client (Hathaway et al., 2004); (c) assessing the client's religious goals (Emons & Paloutzian, 2003) and motivations (e.g., internal, external, quest, fundamentalism) and positive and negative ways of coping within his or her religion (Pargament, Koenig, Tasakeshwas, & Hahn, 2001; Pargament & Mahoney, 2005; Pargament et al., 1998); (d) seeking to understand the impact of religious beliefs and religious communities on the experience of the client's self-stigma, sexual prejudice, and sexual orientation identity (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Buchanan et al., 2001; Fulton et al., 1999; Herek, 1987; Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005; J. P. Schwartz & Lindley, 2005; Schulte & Battle, 2004); (e) developing an understanding of the client's faith identity development (Fowler, 1981, 1991; Oser, 1991; Reich, 1991; Streib, 2005) and its intersection with his or her sexual orientation identity development (Harris, Cook, & Kashubeck-West, 2008; Hoffman et al., 2007; Knight & Hoffman, 2007; Mahaffy, 1996; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a; Yarhouse et al., 2005); and (f) enhancing with the client, when applicable, the search for meaning, significance, and a relationship with the definitions of the sacred in his or her life (Fowler, 2001; Goldstein, 2007; Pargament & Mahoney, 2005; Shafranske, 2000). Finally, an awareness of the varieties of religious faith, issues for religious minorities, and the unique role of religion in ethnic minority communities is important (Trujillo, 2000; Zea, Mason, & Muruia, 2000).

Some individuals who present with requests for SOCE may have clinical concerns that go beyond their sexual orientation conflicts. These may include mental health disorders, personality disorders, or trauma-related conditions that influence the presentation of sexual orientation conflicts and distress (cf. Brown, 2006; Drescher, 1998b; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman,

2001; Iwasaki & Ristock, 2007; Lasser & Gottlieb, 2004; Mohr & Fassinger, 2003; S. L. Morrow, 2000; Pachankis et al., 2008; Schneider et al., 2002; Sherry, 2007; Szymanski & Kashubeck-West, 2008). Such conditions may require intervention separate from or in conjunction with the intervention directed at the sexual orientation distress. For instance, some clients who seek SOCE may have histories of trauma (Ponticelli, 1999), and in some individuals sexual abuse can cause sexual orientation identity confusion and other sexuality-related concerns (Gartner, 1999). Some heterosexual individuals may obsess over the fear of being gay and require a unique treatment model to help them accept their fear (M. Williams, 2008). Other individuals seeking SOCE may make homosexuality the explanation for all they feel is wrong with their lives (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Erzen, 2006; Ponticelli, 1999; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). This displacement of self-hatred onto homosexuality can be an attempt to resolve a sense of badness and shame (cf. Brandchaft, 2007; Drescher, 1998b), and clients may thus need effective interventions to deal with this self-hatred and shame (Brandchaft, 2007; Linehan, Dimeff, & Koerner, 2007; Zaslav, 1998).

Sexual stigma impacts a client's appraisal of sexuality, and since definitions and norms of healthy sexuality vary among individuals, LMHP, and religious and societal institutions, potential conflicts can arise for clients about what a person should do to be sexually acceptable and healthy. O'Sullivan, McCrudden, and Tolman (2006) emphasized that sexuality is an integral component of psychological health, involving mental and emotional health, physical health, and relational health.[46] Initiating sensitive but open and educated discussions with clients about their views of and experiences with sexuality may be helpful, especially for those who have never had the opportunity or the permission to talk about such issues (Schneider et al., 2002).

Active Coping

In our review of the research and clinical literature, we found that the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults presenting with a desire to change their sexual orientation seeks to increase clients' capacity for active coping to mitigate distress. Coping strategies refer to the efforts that individuals use to resolve, endure, or diminish stressful life experiences, and active coping strategies are efforts that include cognitive, behavioral, or emotional responses designed to change the nature of the stressor itself or how an individual perceives it (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980). Research has indicated that active coping is superior to other efforts, such as passive coping, and that individuals use both cognitive and emotional strategies to address stressful events (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980). These strategies are described in more depth in the following sections.

Active coping strategies are efforts that include cognitive, behavioral, or emotional responses designed to change the nature of the stressor itself or how an individual perceives it.

COGNITIVE STRATEGIES

Research on those individuals who resolve their sexual orientation conflicts indicate that cognitive strategies helped to reduce cognitive dissonance (Coyle & Rafalin, 2000; Mahaffy, 1996). One of the dilemmas for many clients who seek sexual orientation change is that they see their situation as a dichotomy. For instance, their same-sex sexual attractions make them unworthy or bad, and only if they are heterosexual can they be worthy (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Haldeman, 2001, 2004; Lasser & Gottlieb, 2004; D. F. Morrow, 2003; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006). Cognitive strategies can reduce the all-or-nothing thinking, mitigate self-stigma, and alter negative self-appraisals (Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Johnson, 2001, 2004; Lasser & Gottlieb, 2004; Martell et al., 2004). For example, Buchanan et al. (2001), using a narrative therapy approach, described a process of uncovering and deconstructing dominant worldviews and assumptions with conflicted clients that enabled them to redefine their attitudes toward their spirituality and sexuality (cf. Bright, 2004; Comstock, 1996; Graham, 1997; Yarhouse, 2008). Similarly, rejection of stereotypes about LGB individuals was found to be extremely important for increased psychological well-being in a mixed sample of LGB individuals (Luhtanen, 2003).

Recent developments in cognitive–behavior therapy, such as mindfulness-based cognitive therapy, dialectical

[46] The Pan American Health Organization and the World Health Organization (2000) defined sexual health in the following manner: "Sexual health is the ongoing process of physical, psychological, and sociocultural well-being in relationship to sexuality. Sexual health can be identified through the free and responsible expressions of sexual capabilities that foster harmonious personal and social wellness, enriching life within an ethical framework. It is not merely the absence of dysfunction, disease and/or infirmity. For sexual health to be attained and maintained it is necessary that sexual rights be recognized and exercised" (p. 9).

behavior therapy, and acceptance and commitment therapy techniques are relevant (e.g., Hayes, Strosahl, & Wilson, 2003; Linehan et al., 2007). Acceptance of the presence of same-sex sexual attractions and sexual orientation paired with exploring narratives or reframing cognitions, meanings, or assumptions about sexual attractions have been reported to be helpful (cf. Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Buchanan et al., 2001; Moran, 2007; Rodriguez, 2006; Tan, 2008; Yarhouse, 2005a, 2005c; Yarhouse & Beckstead, 2007). For instance, using these techniques, Beckstead and Morrow (2004) and Tan (2008) found that clients were able to cope with their sexual arousal experiences and live with them rather than negatively judge or fight against them. Male participants in Beckstead and Morrow's (2004) investigation, regardless of their ultimate sexual orientation identity, described their ability to accept, reframe, or "surrender" to their attractions as reducing their distress by decreasing their self-judgments and reducing their fear, anxiety, and shame. However, acceptance of same-sex sexual attractions and sexual orientation may not mean the formation of an LGB sexual orientation identity; alternate identities may develop instead (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Tan, 2008; Throckmorton & Yarhouse, 2006; Yarhouse, 2008; Yarhouse et al., 2005).

Acceptance of same-sex sexual attractions and sexual orientation may not mean the formation of an LGB sexual orientation identity; alternate identities may develop instead.

For clients with strong values (religious or secular), an LMHP may wish to incorporate techniques that promote positive meaning-making, an active process through which people revise or reappraise an event or series of events (Baumeister & Vohs, 2002; cf. Taylor, 1983) to resolve issues that arise out of crises, loss, and suffering (cf. Frankl, 1992; Nolen-Hoeksema & Davis, 2002; O'Neill & Ritter, 1992; Pargament et al., 2005; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995). Such new meanings involve creating a new purpose in life, rebuilding a sense of mastery, and increasing self-worth (Nolen-Hoeksema & Davis, 2002; Pargament & Mahoney, 2002).

EMOTION-FOCUSED STRATEGIES

For those who seek SOCE, the process of addressing one's sexual orientation can be very emotionally challenging, as the desired identity does not fit the individual's psychological, emotional, or sexual predispositions and needs. The experience of irreconcilability of one's sexual orientation to one's deeply felt values, life situation, and life goals may disrupt one's core sense of meaning, purpose, efficacy, and self-worth (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Yarhouse, 2008; cf. Baumeister & Vohs, 2002; L. A. King & Smith, 2004) and result in emotional conflict, loss, and suffering (Glassgold, 2008; O'Neill & Ritter, 1992; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995). Thus, emotion-focused strategies that facilitate mourning losses have reportedly been helpful to some (Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Glassgold, 2008; O'Neill & Ritter, 1992; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995; Yarhouse, 2008; cf. Wolkomir, 2001, 2006).

Therapeutic outcomes that have been reported include (a) coming to terms with the disappointments and losses and with the dissonances between psychological and emotional needs and possible and impossible selves (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Drescher, 1998b; L.A. King & Hicks, 2007; O'Neill & Ritter, 1992; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995); (b) clarifying and prioritizing values and needs (Glassgold, 2008; Yarhouse, 2008); and (c) learning to tolerate and adapt to the ambiguity, conflict, uncertainty, and multiplicity with a positive attitude (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Buchanan et al., 2001; Corbett, 2001; Drescher, 1998b; Glassgold, 2008; Halbertal & Koren, 2006; Haldeman, 2002; Miville & Ferguson, 2004).

RELIGIOUS STRATEGIES

Although many individuals desire to live their lives consistently with their values, primarily their religious values, we concluded that telic congruence grounded in self-stigma and shame was unlikely to result in psychological well-being (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Gonsiorek, 2004; Haldeman, 2004; Mark, 2008; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). Psychotherapeutic interventions can focus the client on positive religious coping (e.g., Ano & Vasconcelles, 2005; Pargament et al., 2005; Park, 2005; Silberman, 2005; T. B. Smith, McCullough, & Poll,

Connecting clients to core and overarching values and virtues such as charity, hope, forgiveness, gratitude, kindness, and compassion may shift the focus from their religion's rejection of homosexuality to the more accepting elements of their religion, which may provide more self-acceptance, direction, and peace.

2003) that may present the client with alternatives to the concreteness of the conflict between sexual orientation and religious values. For instance, several publications indicate that active engagement with religious texts can reduce identity conflicts by reducing the salience of negative messages about homosexuality and increasing self-authority or understanding (Brzezinski, 2000; Comstock, 1996; Coyle & Rafalin, 2000; Glassgold, 2008; Gross, 2008; Mahaffy, 1996; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995; Rodriguez, 2006; Rodriguez & Ouellette, 2000; Schnoor, 2006; Schuck & Liddle, 2001; Thumma, 1991; Wilcox, 2001, 2002; Yip, 2002, 2003, 2005). Additionally, connecting clients to core and overarching values and virtues such as charity, hope, forgiveness, gratitude, kindness, and compassion may shift the focus from their religion's rejection of homosexuality to the more accepting elements of their religion, which may provide more self-acceptance, direction, and peace (Lease et al., 2005; McMinn, 2005). Exploration of how to integrate religious values and virtues into their sexuality may further development (cf. Helminiak, 2004).

Reframing the meaning of suffering and the burden of being conflicted as spiritual challenges rather than as divine condemnation (Glassgold, 2008; Hall & Johnson, 2001) and believing that God continues to love and accept them, because of or despite their sexual orientation, may be helpful in resolving distress (Graham, 1997; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995). For some, reframing spiritual struggles not only as a crisis of faith but also as an opportunity to increase faith or delve more deeply into it may be productive (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; de la Huerta, 1999; Glassgold, 2008; Horne & Noffisnger-Frazier, 2003, Ritter & Terndrup, 2002).

Examining the intersection between mental health concerns and the presentation of religious beliefs can be helpful in understanding the client (Johnson, 2001, 2004; Nielsen, 2001; Pargament et al., 2005; Robb, 2001; Shrafranske, 2004). For instance, Johnson (2004) described a rational emotive behavior therapy case study that focused on reducing excessive self-criticism, which lessened the self-stigma surrounding same-sex sexual attractions. This approach seeks to understand the core depressive cognitive structures and other problematic schemata that can become associated with the clients' religious values or distort their religious values (Johnson, 2001, 2004; Nielsen, 2001; Robb, 2001).

Social Support

In our review of the research and clinical literature, we found that the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults presenting with a desire to change their sexual orientation seeks to increase clients' access to social support. As Coyle (1993) and others have noted (e.g., Wright & Perry, 2006), struggling with a devalued identity without adequate social support has the potential to erode psychological well-being. Increasing social support through psychotherapy, self-help groups, or welcoming communities (ethnic communities, social groups, religious denominations) may relieve some distress. For instance, participants reported benefits from mutual support groups, both sexual-minority-affirming and ex-gay groups (Kerr, 1997; Ponticelli, 1999; Rodriguez, 2006; Rodriguez & Ouellette, 2000; Rodriguez, 2006; Thumma, 1991; Wolkomir, 2001). These groups counteracted and buffered minority stress, marginalization, and isolation. Religious denominations that provide cognitive and affective strategies that aid in the resolution of cognitive dissonance and increase religious coping were helpful to religious individuals as well (Kerr, 1997; Maton, 2000; Ponticelli, 1999; Rodriguez & Ouellette, 2000: Wolkomir, 2001, 2006).

LMHP can provide clients with information about a wide range of diverse sexual minority communities and religious and faith organizations available locally, nationally, or internationally in person or over the Internet.[47] These settings can provide contexts in which clients may explore and integrate identities, find role models, and reduce self-stigma (Heinz, Gu, Inuzuka, & Zender, 2002; Johnson & Buhrke, 2006; Schneider et al., 2002). However, some groups may reinforce prejudice and stigma by providing inaccurate or stereotyped information about homosexuality, and LMHP may wish to weigh with clients alternative options in these circumstances (Schneider et al., 2002).

For those clients who cannot express all aspects of themselves in the community settings currently available to them, LMHP can help the client to consider more flexible and strategic ways of expressing the multiple aspects of self that include managing self-disclosure and multiple identities (Bing, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Halbertal & Koran, 2006; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). Social support may be difficult to find

[47] There are growing numbers of communities available that address unique concerns and identities (see, e.g., www.safraproject.org/ for Muslim women or http://www.al-fatiha.org/ for LGB Muslims; for Orthodox Jews, see http://tirtzah.wordpress.com/).

for clients whose communities stigmatize their sexual orientation identity and other identities (e.g., ethnic, racial, religious), and these clients may benefit from considering the alternate frame that the problem does not lie with the client but with the community that is not able to affirm their sexual orientation or particular identity or meet their developmental needs (Blechner, 2008; Buchanan et al., 2001; Lasser & Gottlieb, 2004; Mark, 2008; Tremble, 1989).

Individuals with same-sex attractions in other-sex marriages may struggle with the loss (or fear of the loss) of social support and important relationships. Several authors (e.g., Alessi, 2008; Auerback & Moser, 1987; Bridges & Croteau, 1994; Brownfain, 1985; Buxton, 1994, 2001, 2004, 2007; Carlsson, 2007; Coleman, 1989; Corley & Kort, 2006; Gochros, 1989; Hernandez & Wilson, 2007; Isay, 1998; Klein & Schwartz, 2001; Malcolm, 2000; Schneider et al. 2002; Treyger, Ehlers, Zajicek, & Trepper, 2008; Yarhouse et al., 2003) have laid out counseling strategies for individuals in marriages with the other sex who consider SOCE. These strategies for individual, couples, and group counseling do not focus solely on one outcome (e.g., divorce, marriage) but on exploring the underlying personal and contextual problems, motivations, realities, and hopes for being in, leaving, or restructuring the relationship.

Identity Exploration and Development

In our review of the research and clinical literature, we found that identity issues, particularly the ability to explore and integrate aspects of the self, are central to the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults presenting with a desire to change their sexual orientation. As described in earlier sections of this report, conflicts among disparate elements of identity appear to play a major role in the distress of those seeking SOCE, and identity exploration and development appear to be ways in which individuals resolve or avoid distress (e.g., Balsam & Mohr, 2007; Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Coyle & Rafakin, 2000; Drescher, 1998b; Glassgold, 2008; Herek & Garnets, 2007; Mahaffy, 1996; Yarhouse et al., 2005; Yip, 2002, 2003, 2005).

Ideally, identity comprises a coherent sense of one's needs, beliefs, values, and roles, including those aspects of oneself that are the bases of social stigma, such as age, gender, race, ethnicity, disability, national origin, socioeconomic status, religion, spirituality, and sexuality (G. R. Adams & Marshall, 1996; Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Baumeister & Vohs, 2002; LaFramboise et al., 1993; Marcia, 1966; Meyers et al., 1991; R. L. Worthington et al., 2002). Marcia (1966) generated a model in which identity development is an active process of exploring and assessing one's identity and establishing a commitment to an integrated identity. R. L. Worthington et al. (2002) hypothesized that sexual orientation identity could be conceptualized along these same lines and advanced a model of heterosexual identity development based on the assumption that congruence among the dimensions of individual identity is the most adaptive status, which is achieved by active exploration. There is some empirical research supporting this model (R. L. Worthington, Navarro, Savoy, & Hampton, 2008). Additionally, research has found that the formation of a collective identity has important mental health benefits for sexual minorities by buffering individuals from sexual stigma and increasing self-esteem (Balsam & Mohr, 2007; Crawford et al., 2002; Herek & Garnets, 2007).

An affirmative approach is supportive of clients' identity development without an a priori treatment goal for how clients identify or live out their sexual orientation.

An affirmative approach is supportive of clients' identity development without an a priori treatment goal for how clients identify or live out their sexual orientation. Sexual orientation identity exploration can be helpful for those who eventually accept or reject their same-sex sexual attractions; the treatment does not differ, although the outcome does. For instance, the existing research indicates that possible outcomes of sexual orientation identity exploration for those distressed by their sexual orientation may be:

- LGB identities (Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Mahaffy, 1996; Yarhouse, 2008)
- Heterosexual sexual orientation identity (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004)
- Disidentifying from LGB identities (e.g., ex-gay) (Yarhouse, 2008; Yarhouse & Tan, 2004; Yarhouse et al., 2005)
- Not specifying an identity (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Haldeman, 2004; Tan, 2008)

The research literature indicates that there are variations in how individuals express their sexual orientation and label their identities based on ethnicity,

culture, age and generation, gender, nationality, acculturation, and religion (Boykin, 1996; Carrillo, 2002; Chan, 1997; Crawford et al., 2002; Denizet-Lewis, 2003; Kimmel & Yi, 2004; Martinez & Hosek, 2005; Miville & Ferguson, 2004; Millett, Malebranche, Mason, & Spikes, 2005; Stokes, Miller, & Mundhenk, 1998; Toro-Alfonso, 2007; Weeks, 1995; Yarhouse, 2008; Yarhouse et al., 2005; Zea et al., 2003). Some authors have provided analyses of identity that take into account diversity in sexual identity development and ethnic identity formation (Helms, 1995; LaFramboise et al., 1993; Myers et al., 1991; Yi & Shorter-Gooden, 1999), religious identity (Fowler, 1981, 1991; Oser, 1991; Strieb, 2001), as well as combinations of religious and sexual orientation identities (Coyle & Rafalin, 2000; Hoffman et al., 2007; Kerr, 1997; Knight & Hoffman, 2007; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995; Thumma, 1991; Throckmorton & Yarhouse, 2006; Yarhouse & Tan 2004).

In some of the literature on SOCE, religious beliefs and identity are presented as fixed, whereas sexual orientation is considered changeable (cf. Rosik, 2003). Given that there is a likelihood that some individuals will change religious affiliations during their lifetime (Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, 2008) and that many scholars have found that both religious identity and sexual orientation identity evolve (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Fowler, 1981; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Mahaffy, 1996; Ritter & Terndrup, 2002; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005b), it is important for LMHP to explore the development of religious identity and sexual orientation identity (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008). Some authors hypothesize that developmental awareness or stage of religious or sexual orientation identity may play a role in identity outcomes (Knight & Hoffman, 2007; Mahaffy, 1996; cf. Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a). Other authors have described a developmental process that includes periods of crisis, mourning, reevaluation, identity deconstruction, and growth (Comstock, 1996; O'Neill & Ritter, 1992; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995). Others have found that individuals disidentify or reject LGB identities (Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006; Yarhouse et al., 2005). Thus, LMHP seeking to take an affirmative attitude recognize that individuals will define sexual orientation identities in a variety of ways (Beckstead, as cited in Shidlo, Schroeder, & Drescher, 2002; Diamond, 2003; 2006; 2008; Savin-Williams, 2005; Yarhouse et al., 2005).

Some religious individuals may wish to resolve the tension between values and sexual orientation by choosing celibacy (sexual abstinence), which in some faiths, but not all, may be a virtuous path (Olson, 2007). We found limited empirical research on the mental health consequences of that course of action.[48] Some clinical articles and surveys of individuals indicate that some may find such a life fulfilling (S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007); however, there are others who cannot achieve such a goal and might struggle with depression and loneliness (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2001; Horlacher, 2006; Rodriguez, 2006; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). In a similar way, acting on same-sex sexual attractions may not be fulfilling solutions for others (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Yarhouse, 2008).

LMHP may approach such a situation by neither rejecting nor promoting celibacy but by attempting to understand how this outcome is part of the process of exploration, sexual self-awareness, and understanding of core values and goals. The therapeutic process could entail exploration of what drives this goal for clients (assessing cultural, family, personal context and issues, sexual self-stigma), the possible short- and long-term consequences/rewards, and impacts on mental health while providing education about sexual health and exploring how a client will cope with the losses and gains of this decision (cf. L. A. King & Hicks, 2007; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995).

On the basis of the aforementioned analyses, we adopted a perspective that recognizes the following:

- The important functional aspects of identity (G. R. Adams & Marshall, 1996).
- The multiplicity inherent in experience and identity, including age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Miville & Ferguson, 2004; Myers et al., 1991).
- The influence of social context and the environment on identity (Baumeister & Muraven, 1996; Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Meeus, Iedema, Helsen, & Vollebergh, 1999; Myers et al., 1991; Steenbarger, 1991).
- That aspects of multiple identities are dynamic and can be in conflict (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Mark, 2008; D. F. Morrow, 2003; Tan, 2008; Yarhouse, 2008).

[48] However, Sipe (1990, 2003) has surveyed clergy and found difficulty in maintaining behavior consistent with aspirations. Other studies indicate that this goal is only achieved for a minority of participants who choose it (Brzezinski, 2000; S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007).

- Identities can be explored, experienced, or integrated without privileging or surrendering one or another at any age (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Glassgold, 2008; Gonsiorek, 2004; Haldeman, 2004; Myers et al., 1991; Phillips, 2004; Shallenberger, 1996).

Approaches based on models of biculturalism (LaFromboise et al., 1993) and pluralistic models of identity, including combining models of ethnic, sexual orientation, and religious identity that help individuals develop all aspects of self simultaneously or some sequentially, can encourage identity development and synthesis rather than identity conflict, foreclosure, or compartmentalization (Dworkin, 1997; Harris et al., 2008; Hoffman et al., 2007; Knight & Hoffman, 2007; Myers et al., 1991; Omer & Strenger, 1992; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995; Rosario, Schrimshaw, & Hunter, 2004; Rosario, Yali, Hunter, & Gwadz, 2006; Sophie, 1987; Troiden, 1988, 1993).

Sexual orientation identity exploration can help clients create a valued personal and social identity that provides self-esteem, belonging, meaning, direction, and future purpose, including the redefining of religious beliefs, identity, and motivations and the redefining of sexual values, norms, and behaviors (Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Mark, 2008; Tan, 2008; Yarhouse, 2008). We encourage LMHP to support clients in determining their own (a) goals for their identity process; (b) behavioral expression of sexual orientation; (c) public and private social roles; (d) gender role, identity, and expression; (e) sex and gender of partner; and (f) form of relationship(s).

Understanding gender roles and gender expression and developing a positive gender identity[49] continue to be concerns for many individuals who seek SOCE, especially as nonconformity with social expectations regarding gender can be a source of distress and stigma (APA, 2008e; Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Corbett, 1996, 1998; Wolkomir, 2001). Some SOCE teach men how to adopt traditional masculine behaviors as a means of altering their sexual orientation (e.g., Nicolosi, 1991, 1993) despite the absence of evidence that such interventions affect sexual orientation. Such theoretical positions have been characterized as products of stigma and bias that are without an evidentiary basis and may increase distress (American Psychoanalytic Association, 2000; Isay, 1987, 1999; Drescher, 1998b; Haldeman, 1994, 2001). For instance, Haldeman (2001) emphasized in his clinical work with men who had participated in SOCE that some men were taught that their homosexuality made them less masculine—a belief that was ultimately damaging to their self-esteem. Research on the impact of heterosexism and traditional gender roles indicates that an individual's adoption of traditional masculine norms increases sexual self-stigma and decreases self-esteem and emotional connection with others, thus negatively affecting mental health (Szymanski & Carr, 2008).

Advances in the psychology of men and masculinity provide more appropriate conceptual models for considering gender concerns—for instance, in such concepts as gender role strain or gender role stress (cf. Butler, 2004; Enns, 2008; Fischer & Good, 1997; Heppner & Heppner, 2008; Levant, 1992; Levant & Silverstein, 2006; O'Neil, 2008; Pleck, 1995; Wester, 2008). This literature suggests exploring with clients the role of traditional gender norms in distress and reconceptualizing gender in ways that feel more authentic to the client. Such approaches could also reduce the gender stereotypes associated with same-sex sexual orientation (Corbett, 1998; Haldeman, 2001; Schwartzberg & Rosenberg, 1998). Most literature in this area suggests that for clients who experience distress with their gender-role nonconformity, LMHP provide them with a more complex theory of gender that affirms a wider range of gender diversity and expands definitions and expressions of masculinity and femininity (Butler, 2004; Corbett, 1996, 1998, 2001; Haldeman, 2001; Levant & Silverstein, 2006).

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Some women find current categories for conceptualizing their sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity limiting, as concepts in popular culture and professional literature do not mirror their experiences of fluidity and variation in sexuality and relationships (Chivers et al., 2007; Diamond, 2006, 2008; Peplau & Garnets, 2000). Some women, for example, may experience relationships with others as

[49] *Gender* refers to the roles, behaviors, activities, and attributes that a particular society considers appropriate for men and women. *Gender identity* is a person's own psychological sense of identification as male or female, another gender, or identifying with no gender. *Gender expression* is the activities and behaviors that purposely or inadvertently communicate our gender identity to others, such as clothing, hairstyles, mannerisms, way of speaking, and social roles.

important parts of sexuality and may place sexuality, sexual orientation, and sexual orientation identity in the context of interpersonal bonds and contexts (Diamond, 2003, 2006, 2008; Diamond & Savin-Williams, 2000; Garnets & Peplau, 2000; Kinnish, Strassberg, & Turner 2005; Kitzinger, & Wilkinson, 1994; Miller, 1991; Morgan & Thompson, 2006; Peplau & Garnets, 2000; Surrey, 1991). Specific psychotherapy approaches that focus on an understanding of emotional and erotic interpersonal connections in sexuality rather than simply on sexual arousal can aide LMHP in providing a positive framework and goals for therapy with women (Garnets & Peplau, 2000; Glassgold, 2008; Miller, 1991; Surrey, 1991).

For many women, religious or cultural influences discourage exploration of sexuality and do not portray female sexuality as positive or self-directed (Brown, 2006; Espin, 2005; Fassinger & Arseneau, 2006; Mahoney & Espin, 2008; Moran, 2007; Stone, 2008). Treatment might involve deconstructing cultural scripts in order to explore possibilities for religion, sexuality, sexual orientation, identity, and relationships (Avishai, 2008; Biaggio, Coan, & Adams, 2002; Morgan & Thompson, 2006; Rose & Zand, 2000).

Conclusion

The appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions to adults is built on three key findings in the research: (a) An enduring change to an individual's sexual orientation as a result of SOCE was unlikely, and some participants were harmed by the interventions; (b) sexual orientation identity—not sexual orientation—appears to change via psychotherapy, support groups, and life events; and (c) clients perceive a benefit when offered interventions that emphasize acceptance, support, and recognition of important values and concerns.

On the basis of these findings and the clinical literature on this population, we suggest client-centered approaches grounded on the following scientific facts:

- Same-sex sexual attractions, behavior, and orientations per se are normal and positive variants of human sexuality—in other words, they are not indicators of mental or developmental disorders.
- Same-sex sexual attractions and behavior can occur in the context of a variety of sexual orientations and sexual orientation identities.
- Gay men, lesbians, and bisexual individuals can live satisfying lives as well as form stable, committed relationships and families that are equivalent to heterosexual relationships in essential respects.
- No empirical studies or peer-reviewed research support theories attributing same-sex sexual orientation to family dysfunction or trauma.

Affirmative client-centered approaches consider sexual orientation uniquely individual and inseparable from an individual's personality and sense of self (Glassgold, 1995, 2008). This includes (a) being aware of the client's unique personal, social, and historical context; (b) exploring and countering the harmful impact of stigma and stereotypes on the client's self-concept (including the prejudice related to age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status); and (c) maintaining a broad view of acceptable life choices.

Psychotherapy, self-help groups, or welcoming communities (ethnic communities, social groups, religious denominations) provide social support that can mitigate distress caused by isolation, rejection, and lack of role models.

We developed a framework for the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults that has the following central elements: (a) acceptance and support, (b) comprehensive assessment, (c) active coping, (d) social support, and (e) identity exploration and development.

Acceptance and support include (a) unconditional positive regard for and empathy with the client, (b) an openness to the client's perspective as a means of understanding their concerns, and (c) encouragement of the client's positive self-concept.

Comprehensive assessment includes an awareness of the complete person, including mental health concerns that could impact distress about sexual orientation.

Active coping strategies are efforts that include cognitive, behavioral, or emotional responses designed to change the nature of the stressor itself or how an individual perceives it and includes both cognitive and emotional strategies.

Psychotherapy, self-help groups, or welcoming communities (ethnic communities, social groups, religious denominations) provide social support that can

mitigate distress caused by isolation, rejection, and lack of role models.

Conflicts among disparate elements of identity play a major role in the conflicts and mental health concerns of those seeking SOCE. Identity exploration is an active process of exploring and assessing one's identity and establishing a commitment to an integrated identity that addresses the identity conflicts without an a priori treatment goal for how clients identify or live out their sexual orientation. The process may include a developmental process that includes periods of crisis, mourning, reevaluation, identity deconstruction, and growth.

LMHP address specific issues for religious clients by integrating aspects of the psychology of religion into their work, including obtaining a thorough assessment of clients' spiritual and religious beliefs, religious identity and motivations, and spiritual functioning; improving positive religious coping; and exploring the intersection of religious and sexual orientation identities. This framework is consistent with modern multiculturally competent approaches and evidence-based psychotherapy practices and can be integrated into a variety of theoretical systems.

7. ETHICAL CONCERNS AND DECISION MAKING IN PSYCHOTHERAPY WITH ADULTS[50]

Ethical concerns relevant to sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE)[51] have been a major theme in the literature and a central aspect of the debate around SOCE (e.g., Benoit, 2005; Cramer et al., 2008; Davison, 1976, 1978, 1991; Drescher, 1999, 2001, 2002; Gonsiorek, 2004; Haldeman, 1994, 2002, 2004; Herek, 2003; Lasser & Gottlieb, 2004; Rosik, 2003; Schreier, 1998; Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001; Sobocinski, 1990; Tozer & McClanahan, 1999; Wakefield, 2003; Yarhouse, 1998a; Yarhouse & Burkett, 2002; Yarhouse & Throckmorton, 2002). The major concerns raised in these publications have been (a) the potential for harm, (b) the client's right to choose SOCE and other issues generally related to the ethical issue of client autonomy, and (c) questions of how to appropriately balance respect for two aspects of diversity—religion and sexual orientation. SOCE presents an ethical dilemma to practitioners because these publications have urged LMHP to pursue multiple and incompatible courses of action (cf. Kitchener, 1984).

In 1997 APA adopted the Resolution on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation (APA, 1998). This resolution highlighted the provisions of the then-current *Ethical Principles for Psychologists and Code of Conduct* (APA, 1992) that APA believed to be relevant to situations in which clients request treatments to alter sexual orientation and psychologists provide such treatments, including the provisions regarding bias and discrimination, false or deceptive information, competence, and informed consent to treatment. For a discussion of the resolution's application to clinical situations, readers are referred to Schneider et al. (2002). In the resolution, APA also reaffirmed (a) its position that homosexuality is not a mental disorder; (b) its opposition to stigma, prejudice, and discrimination based on sexual orientation; and (c) its concern about the contribution of the promotion of SOCE to the continuation of sexual stigma in U.S. culture.

The APA's charge to the task force included "to review and update the APA Resolution on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation." In the process of fulfilling this aspect of our charge, we considered the possibility of recommending revisions to the 1997 resolution to update it with the specific principles and standards of the 2002 APA Ethics Code. Ultimately, we decided against a revision,[52] because the relevant concepts in the two versions of the principles and code are similar. Instead, this chapter examines the relevant sections of the 2002 APA *Ethical Principles for Psychologists and Code of Conduct* [hereafter referred to as the Ethics Code] in light of current debates regarding

[50] Ethical concerns for children and adolescents are considered in Chapter 8.

[51] In this report, we use the term *sexual orientation change efforts* (SOCE) to describe methods (e.g., behavioral techniques, psychoanalytic techniques, medical approaches, religious and spiritual approaches) that aim to change a person's same-sex sexual orientation to other-sex, regardless of whether mental health professionals or lay individuals (including religious professionals, religious leaders, social groups, and other lay networks, such as self-help groups) are involved.

[52] We developed a new resolution that APA adopted in August 2009 (see Appendix A)..

ethical decision making in this area.[53] We build our discussion on the concepts outlined in the 1997 resolution and discuss some of the ethical controversies in light of the newer APA Ethics Code (2002b) and of the systematic research review presented in Chapters 3 and 4 of this report. Although many of the principles and standards in the Ethics Code are potentially pertinent,[54] the principles and standards most relevant to this discussion are (in alphabetical order):

1. Bases for Scientific and Professional Judgments (Standard 2.04) and Competence (e.g., 2.01a, 2.01b)[55]
2. Principle A: Beneficence and Nonmaleficence
3. Principle D: Justice
4. Principle E: Respect for People's Rights and Dignity

Bases for Scientific and Professional Judgments and Competence

Many of the standards of the Ethics Code are derived from the ethical and valuative foundations found in the principles (Knapp & VandeCreek, 2004). Two of the more important standards are competence and the bases for scientific and professional judgments. These standards are linked, as competence is based on knowledge of the scientific evidence relevant to a case (Glassgold & Knapp, 2008). When practicing with those who seek sexual orientation change for themselves or for others, commentators on ethical practice have recommended that the practitioner understand the scientific research on sexual orientation and SOCE (Glassgold & Knapp, 2008; Schneider et al., 2002). It is obviously beyond the task force's scope to provide a systematic review of the whole body of research on sexual orientation, but we have tried to provide a systematic review of the research on SOCE in Chapters 3 and 4. From this review, we have drawn two key conclusions.

The first finding from our review is that there is insufficient evidence that SOCE are efficacious for changing sexual orientation. Furthermore, there is some evidence that such efforts cause harm. On the basis of this evidence, we consider it inappropriate for psychologists and other LMHP to foster or support in clients the expectation that they will change their sexual orientation if they participate in SOCE. We believe that among the various types of SOCE, the greatest level of ethical concern is raised by SOCE that presuppose that same-sex sexual orientation is a disorder or a symptom of a disorder.[56] Treatments based on such assumptions raise the greatest level of ethical scrutiny by LMHP because they are inconsistent with the scientific and professional consensus that homosexuality per se is not a mental disorder. Instead, we counsel LMHP to consider other treatment options when clients present with requests for sexual orientation change.

On the basis of this evidence, we consider it inappropriate for psychologists and other LMHP to foster or support in clients the expectation that they will change their sexual orientation if they participate in SOCE.

The second key finding from our review is that those who participate in SOCE, regardless of the intentions of these treatments, and those who resolve their distress through other means, may evolve during the course of their treatment in such areas as self-awareness, self-concept, and identity. These changes may include (a) sexual orientation identity, including changes in private and public identification, behavior, group membership, and affiliation; (b) emotional adjustment, including reducing self-stigma and shame; and (c) personal beliefs, values, and norms, including changes in religious and moral beliefs and behaviors and motivations (Buchanon et al., 2001; Diamond, 1998, 2006; Rust, 2003; Savin-Williams, 2004; R. L.

[53] This section is for descriptive and educational purposes. It is not designed to interpret the APA (2002b) Ethics Code. The APA Ethics Committee alone has the authority to interpret the APA (2002b) Ethics Code and render decisions about whether a course of treatment is ethical. Furthermore, this section is not intended to provide guidelines or standards for practice. Guidelines and standards for practice are created through a specific process that is outside the purview of the task force.

[54] The following are some of the pertinent standards: 2. Competence, 2.01 Boundaries of Competence, 2.03 Maintaining Competence, 2.04 Bases for Scientific and Professional Judgments; 3. Human Relations, 3.01 Unfair Discrimination, 3.03 Other Harassment, 3.04 Avoiding Harm, 3.10 Informed Consent; 5.01 Avoidance of False or Deceptive Statements, 5.04 Media Presentations; 7.01 Design of Education and Training Programs; 8.02 Informed Consent to Research; 10.01 Informed Consent to Therapy, 10.02 Therapy Involving Couples or Families.

[55] Knapp and VandeCreek (2004) proposed that Ethical Standard 2 (Competence) is derived from Principle A: Beneficence & Nonmaleficence, as it is more likely that an LMHP can provide benefit if he or she is competent; however, for our purposes, this chapter will discuss these issues sequentially.

[56] See, e.g., Socarides (1968), Hallman (2008), and Nicolosi (1991); these theories assume homosexuality is always a sign of developmental defect or mental disorder.

Worthington, 2002, 2004, 2005; Yarhouse, 2008). These areas become targets of LMHP interventions in order to reduce identity conflicts and distress and to explore and enhance the client's identity integration.

Because a large number of individuals who seek SOCE are from conservative faiths and indicate that religion is very important to them, integrating research on the psychology of religion into treatment may be helpful. For instance, individual religious motivations can be examined, positive religious coping increased, and religious identity and sexual orientation identity explored and integrated (Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Fowler, 1981; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Knight & Hoffman, 2007; O'Neill & Ritter, 1992; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a, 2005b). This is consistent with advances in the understanding of human diversity that place LGB-affirmative approaches within current multicultural perspectives that include age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status (e.g., Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Brown, 2006; Fowers & Davidov, 2006), consistent with Principle D (Justice) and Principle E (Respect for People's Rights and Dignity).

However, in some of the debates on these issues, there are tensions between conservative religious perspectives and affirmative and scientific perspectives (Haldeman, 2002; Rosik, 2003; Throckmorton & Welton, 2005; Yarhouse, 1998a; Yarhouse & Burkett, 2002; Yarhouse & Throckmorton, 2002). Although there are tensions between religious and scientific perspectives, the task force and other scholars do not view these perspectives as mutually exclusive (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; S. L. Morrow & Beckstead, 2004; Yarhouse, 2005b). As we noted in the introduction, in its Resolution on Religious, Religion-Related, and/or Religion-Derived Prejudice, APA (2008a) delineates a perspective that affirms the importance of science in exploring and understanding human behavior while respecting religion as an important aspect of human diversity. Scientific findings from the psychology of religion can be incorporated into treatment, thus respecting all aspects of diversity while providing therapy that is consistent with scientific research.

APA (2008a) delineates a perspective that affirms the importance of science in exploring and understanding human behavior while respecting religion as an important aspect of human diversity.

Most important, respecting religious values does not require using techniques that are unlikely to have an effect. We proposed an approach that respects religious values and welcomes all of the client's actual and potential identities by exploring conflicts and identities without preconceived outcomes. This approach does not prioritize one identity over another and may aide a client in creating a sexual orientation identity consistent with religious values (see Chapter 6) (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Glassgold, 2008; Gonsiorek, 2004; Haldeman, 2004; Tan, 2008; Yarhouse, 2008).

Benefit and Harm

Principle A of the APA Ethics Code, Beneficence and Nonmaleficence, establishes that psychologists aspire to provide services that maximize benefit and minimize harm (APA, 2002b). Many ethicists and scholars consider the avoidance of harm to be the priority of modern health care and medical ethics (Beauchamp & Childress, 2008; Herek, 2003; S. L. Morrow, 2000). The literature on effective treatments and interventions stresses that to be considered effective, interventions must not have serious negative side effects (Beutler, 2000; Flay et al., 2005). When applying this principle in the context of providing interventions, LMHP assess the risk of harm, weigh that risk with the potential benefits, and communicate this to clients through informed consent procedures that aspire to provide the client with an understanding of potential risks and benefits that are accurate and unbiased. Some of the published considerations of ethical issues related to SOCE have focused on the limited evidence for its efficacy, the potential for client harm, and the potential for misrepresentation of these issues by proponents of SOCE (Cramer et al., 2008; Haldeman, 1994, 2002, 2004; Herek, 2003; Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). Other discussions focus on other harms of SOCE, such as reinforcing bias, discrimination, and stigma against LGB individuals (Davison, 1976, 1978, 1991; Drescher, 1999, 2001, 2002; Gonsiorek, 2004).

In weighing the harm and benefit of SOCE, LMHP can review with clients the evidence presented in this report. Research on harm from SOCE is limited, and some of the research that exists suffers from methodological limitations that make broad and definitive conclusions difficult. Early well-designed experiments that used aversive and behavioral

interventions did cause inadvertent and harmful mental health effects such as increased anxiety, depression, suicidality, and loss of sexual functioning in some participants. Additionally, client dropout rate is sometimes an indication of harmful effects (Lilienfeld, 2007). Early studies with aversive procedures are characterized by very high dropout rates, perhaps indicating harmful effects, and substantial numbers of clients unwilling to participate further. Other perceptions of harm mentioned by recipients of SOCE include increased guilt and hopelessness due to the failure of the intervention, loss of spiritual faith, and a sense of personal failure and unworthiness (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Haldeman, 2001, 2004; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). Other indirect harms from SOCE include the time, energy, and cost of interventions that were not beneficial (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Lilienfeld, 2007; G. Smith et al., 2004).

We found limited research evidence of benefits from SOCE. There is qualitative research that describes clients' positive perceptions of such efforts, such as experiencing empathy and a supportive environment to discuss problems and share similar values, which seemed to reduce their stress about their same-sex sexual attractions (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001). The literature on SOCE support groups, for instance, illustrates results similar to those found for LGB-affirming groups and mutual help groups in general (e.g., Kerr, 1997; Levine et al., 2004; Thumma, 1991). The positive experiences clients report in SOCE are not unique. Rather, they are benefits that have been found in studies of therapeutic relationships and support groups in a number of different contexts (Levine et al., 2004; Norcross, 2002; Norcross & Hill, 2004). Thus, the benefits reported by participants in SOCE may be achieved through treatment approaches that do not attempt to change sexual orientation.

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Perceptions of risks and rewards of certain courses of action influence the individual's decisions, distress, and process of exploration in psychotherapy. The client and LMHP may define these risks and rewards differently, leading to different perceptions of benefit and harm. Recognizing, understanding, and clarifying these different perceptions of risks and rewards are crucial for a thorough ethical analysis of each client's unique situation and are aspects of client-centered approaches. For instance, an LMHP may attempt to provide information to the client to reduce sexual stigma and increase life options by informing the client about the research literature on same-sex couples. Such relationships may be threatening to the client when such a life course is perceived as being inconsistent with existing religious beliefs and motivations and potentially having negative repercussions on existing relationships with religious communities. Thus, the client and LMHP may perceive the benefits and harms of the same course of action differently. Yet, discussing positive coping resources with clients regarding how to manage such inconsistencies, stigma, and negative repercussions may provide the client with more informed and empowered solutions from which to choose, thus increasing benefit and autonomy and reducing harm.

Justice and Respect for Rights and Dignity

In this section, we focus on two concepts, Justice (Principle D) and Self-Determination (Principle E, Respect for People's Rights and Dignity). The first considers justice, both distributive and procedural justice (Knapp & VandeCreek, 2004), and the second focuses on recognizing diversity and maximizing a client's ability to choose. The APA Ethics Code uses the term *self-determination* to encompass the meanings for which many ethicists have used the term autonomy; we define self-determination as the process by which a person controls or determines the course of her or his own life (*Oxford American Dictionary*, 2007). Client self-determination encompasses the ability to seek treatment, consent to treatment, and refuse treatment. The informed consent process is one of the ways by which self-determination is maximized in psychotherapy.

Informed consent and self-determination cannot be considered without an understanding of the individual, community, and social contexts that shape the lives of sexual minorities. By understanding self-determination as context-specific and by working to increase clients' awareness of the influences of context on their decision making, the LMHP can increase clients' self-determination and thereby increase their ability to make informed life choices (Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Glassgold, 1995; 2008; Haldeman, 2004). For instance, some have suggested that social stigma and prejudice are fundamental reasons for sexual minorities' desire

to change their sexual orientation (Davison, 1976, 1978, 1982, 1991; Haldeman, 1994; Silverstein, 1991; G. Smith et al., 2004; Tozer & Hayes, 2004). As stigma, prejudice, and discrimination continue to be prevalent,[57] we recommend that LMHP strive to understand their clients' request for SOCE in the context of sexual stigma and minority stress (e.g., DiPlacido, 1998; Meyer, 2001). We further recommend that providers explore with their clients the impact of these factors on their clients' decision making in order to assess the extent to which self-determination is compromised (cf. G. Smith et al., 2004).

For instance, repressive, coercive, or invalidating cultural, social, political, and religious influences can limit autonomous expression of sexual orientation, including the awareness and exploration of options for expression of sexual orientation within an individual life (e.g., Glassgold, 2008; Mark, 2008; McCormick, 2006; G. Smith et al., 2004; Wax, 2008). We recommend that LMHP consider the impact of discrimination and stigma on the client and themselves (e.g., Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Haldeman, 2001, 2002). This consideration can become quite complex when the client or the community of the client or the LMHP believes that homosexuality is sinful and immoral (see Beckstead & Israel, 2007). Further exploration of religious beliefs and the cognitive assumptions underlying those beliefs may be helpful in understanding the client's beliefs and perception of choices (Buchanan et al., 2001; Fischer & DeBord, 2007; Johnson, 2004; Yarhouse, 2008; Yip, 2000, 2002, 2005).

The issue of self-determination has become controversial, and some have suggested that SOCE be offered in the spirit of maximizing client autonomy so that clients have access to a treatment they request (e.g., Rosik, 2003; Yarhouse & Throckmorton, 2002). Others have cautioned against providing interventions that have very limited evidence of effectiveness, run counter to current scientific knowledge, and have the potential for harm, despite client requests (Drescher, 1999, 2002; Forstein, 2001; Gonsiorek, 2004; Haldeman, 2002; Herek, 2003). With regard to claims that client autonomy is the defining concern in treatment decision making, elevating one aspect of ethical reasoning, such as autonomy, above all others is not consistent with the current framework of the APA Ethics Code or medical ethics that focus on the interrelatedness of ethical principles (Beauchamp & Childress, 2008; Knapp & VandeCreek, 2004).

For instance, current ethics guidance focuses on the interrelatedness of ethical principles and understanding a clinical situation fully so as to appropriately balance the various pertinent principles (e.g., Knapp & VandeCreek, 2004). Self-determination and autonomy can vary in degree due to interpersonal and intrapersonal concerns and can be considered in relation to other ethical principles, such as providing services that (a) are likely to provide benefit, (b) are not effective, or (c) have the potential for harm.

We believe that simply providing SOCE to clients who request it does not necessarily increase self-determination but rather abdicates the responsibility of LMHP to provide competent assessment and interventions that have the potential for benefit with a limited risk of harm. We also believe that LMHP are more likely to maximize their clients' self-determination by providing effective psychotherapy that increases a client's abilities to cope, understand, acknowledge, explore, and integrate sexual orientation concerns into a self-chosen life in which the client determines the ultimate manner in which he or she does or does not express sexual orientation (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Beckstead & Israel, 2007; S. L. Morrow & Beckstead, 2004; Haldeman, 2004; Tan, 2008; Throckmorton & Yarhouse, 2006; Yarhouse, 2008).

We also believe that LMHP are more likely to maximize their clients' self-determination by providing effective psychotherapy that increases a client's abilities to cope, understand, acknowledge, explore, and integrate sexual orientation concerns into a self-chosen life in which the client determines the ultimate manner in which he or she does or does not express sexual orientation.

Relational Issues in Treatment

Ideal or desired outcomes may not always be possible, and at times the client may face difficult decisions that

[57] For instance, the criminalization of certain forms of same-sex sexual behavior between consenting adults in private was constitutional in the United States until 2003 (see *Lawrence v. Texas*, 2003). The federal government and most U.S. states do not provide civil rights protections to LGB individuals and their families (National Gay and Lesbian Task Force: http://www.thetaskforce.org). In some other countries, homosexual behavior is still illegal and subject to extreme consequences, even death (e.g., Human Rights Watch, 2008; Wax, 2008; see also International Gay & Lesbian Human Rights Commission (IGLHRC): http://www.iglhrc.org). In extremely repressive environments, sexual orientation conversion efforts are provided in a coercive manner and have been the subject of human rights complaints (e.g., IGLHRC, 2001).

require different types and degrees of disappointment, distress, and sacrifice, as well as benefits, fulfillment, and rewards (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Yarhouse, 2008). LMHP may face strong emotions regarding the limits of their ability to provide relief from such difficult decisions or their consequences. Such emotions are understandable in this complex area, yet acting on such emotions within treatment has the potential to be harmful to the client (Knapp & VandeCreek, 2004; Pope & Vasquez, 2007). In these situations, in order to aid the client, the LMHP may have to address his or her own emotional reactions to the client's dilemmas. As the client must address regrets, losses (such as impossible and possible selves; see L. A. King & Hicks, 2007), and definitions of what is a fulfilling and worthwhile life, the LMHP must address his or her own values and beliefs about such issues. The LMHP's self-awareness, self-care, and judicious use of consultation can be helpful in these circumstances (Pope & Vasquez, 2007; Porter, 1995).

Moreover, LMHP may have their own internalized assumptions about sexual orientation, sexual orientation identity, sexuality, religion, race, ethnicity, and cultural issues (APA, 2000, 2002b; Garnets et al., 1991; McIntosh, 1990; Pharr, 1988; Richards & Bergin, 2005). The ethical principles of justice and respect for people's rights and dignity encourage LMHP to be aware of discrimination and prejudice so as to avoid condoning or colluding with the prejudices of others, including societal prejudices. As a way to increase awareness of their assumptions and promote the resolution of their own conflicts, R. L. Worthington, Dillon, and Becker-Schutte (2005) advised LMHP to develop their own competence surrounding sexual orientation, sexual minorities, and heterosexual privilege. Such competence requires self-reflection, contact with diverse sexual minority communities, and self-management of biases and sexual prejudice (cf. Israel, Ketz, Detrie, Burke, & Shulman, 2003).

Several authors (e.g., Faiver & Ingersoll, 2005; Lomax, Karff, & McKenny, 2002; Richards & Bergin, 2005; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a; Yarhouse & VanOrman, 1999) have described potential ethical concerns related to working with religious clients. LMHP can strive to be aware of how their own religious values affect treatment and can aspire to focus on the client's perspective and aspire to become informed about the importance and content of specific religious beliefs and the psychology of religion (Bartoli, 2007; Yarhouse & Fisher, 2002; Yarhouse & VanOrman, 1999). Yet, for LMHP, the goal of treatment is determined by mental health concerns rather than directed by religious values (Gonsiorek, 2004). Although LMHP strive to respect religious diversity and to be aware of the importance of religion to clients' worldviews, LMHP focus on scientific evidence and professional judgment in determining mental health interventions (APA, 2008a; Beckstead, 2001; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Yarhouse & Burkett, 2002).

Although LMHP strive to respect religious diversity and to be aware of the importance of religion to clients' worldviews, LMHP focus on scientific evidence and professional judgment in determining mental health interventions.

Summary

The principles and standards of the 2002 *Ethical Principles for Psychologists and Code of Conduct* most relevant to working with sexual minorities who seek to alter their sexual orientation are (a) Bases for Scientific and Professional Judgments (Standard 2.04) and Competence (2.01); (b) Beneficence and Nonmaleficence (Principle A); (c) Justice (Principle D); and (d) Respect for People's Rights and Dignity (Principle E). The key scientific findings relevant to the ethical concerns that are important in the area of SOCE are the limited evidence of efficacy or benefit and the potential for harm. LMHP are cautioned against promising sexual orientation change to clients. LMHP are encouraged to consider affirmative treatment options when clients present with requests for sexual orientation change. Such options include the therapeutic approaches included in Chapter 6. Self-determination is increased by approaches that support a client's exploration and development of sexual orientation identity. These approaches balance an understanding of the role of sexual stigma and respect other aspects of diversity in a client's exploration and maximize client self-determination.

8. ISSUES FOR CHILDREN, ADOLESCENTS, AND THEIR FAMILIES

Task Force Charge and Its Social Context

The task force was asked to report on three issues for children and adolescents:

- The appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for children and adolescents[58] who present a desire to change either their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both, or whose guardian expresses a desire for the minor to change.
- The presence of adolescent inpatient facilities that offer coercive treatment designed to change sexual orientation or the behavioral expression of sexual orientation.[59]
- Recommendations regarding treatment protocols that promote stereotyped gender-normative behavior to mitigate behaviors that are perceived to be indicators that a child will develop a homosexual orientation in adolescence and adulthood.

These issues reflected recent events in the current social context. Advocacy groups (Sanchez, 2007), law journals (Goishi, 1997; Morey, 2006; Weithorn, 1987), and the news media (A. Williams, 2005) have reported on involuntary[60] sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE)[61] among adolescents. Publications by LMHP directed at parents and outreach from religious organizations advocate SOCE for children and youth as interventions to prevent adult same-sex sexual orientation (e.g., Nicolosi & Nicolosi, 2002; Rekers, 1982; see also Cianciotto & Cahill, 2006; Kennedy & Cianciotto, 2006; Sanchez, 2007).

Reports by LGB advocacy groups (e.g., Cianciotto & Cahill, 2006; Kennedy & Cianciotto, 2006) have claimed that there has been an increase in attention to youths by religious organizations that believe homosexuality is a mental illness or an adverse developmental outcome. These reports further suggested that there has

[58] In this report, we define *adolescents* as individuals between the ages of 12 and 18 and children as individuals under age 12. The age of 18 was chosen because many jurisdictions in the United States use this age as the legal age of majority, which determines issues such as consent to treatment and other relevant issues.

[59] We define *coercive treatments* as practices that compel or manipulate a child or adolescent to submit to treatment through the use of threats, intimidation, trickery, or some other form of pressure or force. The threat of future harm leads to the cooperation or obedience. Threats of negative consequences can be physical or emotional, such as threats of rejection or abandonment from or disapproval by family, community, or peer-group; engendering feelings of guilt/obligation or loss of love; exploiting physical, emotional, or spiritual dependence.

[60] We define *involuntary treatment* as that which is performed without the individual's consent or assent and which may be contrary to his or her expressed wishes. Unlike coercive treatment, no threats or intimidation are involved.

[61] In this report, we use the term *sexual orientation change efforts* (SOCE) to describe methods (e.g., behavioral techniques, psychoanalytic techniques, medical approaches, religious and spiritual approaches) that aim to change a person's same-sex sexual orientation to other-sex, regardless of whether mental health professionals or lay individuals (including religious professionals,

been an increase in outreach to youths that portrays homosexuality in an extremely negative light and uses fear and shame to fuel this message. These reports expressed concern that such efforts have a negative impact on adolescents' and their parents' perceptions of their sexual orientation or potential sexual orientation, increase the perception that homosexuality and religion are incompatible, and increase the likelihood that some adolescents will be exposed to SOCE without information about evidence-based treatments.

One aspect of these concerns expressed by LGB advocacy groups has been the presence of residential programs in which adolescents have been placed by their parents, in some cases with reported lack of assent from the adolescent (e.g., Cianciotto & Cahill, 2006; Kennedy & Cianciotto, 2006). In addition, a longstanding concern raised by advocacy groups for both LGB people and transgender people has been the alleged use of residential psychiatric commitment and gender-normative behavioral treatments for children and adolescents whose expression of gender or sexuality violates gender norms (Goishi, 1997; Morey, 2006; Weithorn, 1988).

To fulfill our charge, we reviewed the literature on SOCE in children and adolescents and affirmative psychotherapy for children, adolescents, and their families. We considered the literature on best practices in child and adolescent treatment, inpatient treatment, and legal issues regarding involuntary or coercive treatments and consent to and refusal of treatment. We also reviewed the literature on the development of sexual orientation in children and adolescents.

Literature Review

Literature on Children

There is a lack of published research on SOCE among children. Research on sexuality in childhood is limited and seldom includes sexual orientation or sexual orientation identity (Perrin, 2002). Although LGB adults and others with same-sex sexual attractions often report emotional and sexual feelings and attractions from their childhood or early adolescence and recall a sense of being different even earlier in childhood (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Bell et al., 1981; D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993; Diamond & Savin-Williams, 2000; Troiden, 1989), such concerns have not been studied directly in young children (cf. Bailey & Zucker, 1995; Cohen & Savin-Williams, 2004).

There is no published research suggesting that children are distressed about their sexual orientation per se. Parental concern or distress about a child's behavior, mental health, and possible sexual orientation plays a central role in referrals for psychotherapy (Perrin, 2002; C. Ryan & Futterman, 1997). Parents may be concerned about behaviors in the child that are stereotypically associated with a same-sex sexual orientation (e.g., affection directed at another child of the same sex, lack of interest in the other sex, or behaviors that do not conform to traditional gender norms) (American Academy of Pediatrics [AAP], 1999; Haldeman, 2000). This situation contrasts with the condition of gender dysphoria in childhood and adolescence, for which there is clear evidence that some children and adolescents experience distress regarding their assigned sex, and some experience distress with the consequences of their gender and biological sex (i.e., youth struggling with social discrimination and stigma surrounding gender nonconformity) (APA, 2008e; R. Green, 1986, 1987; J. D. Menveille, 1998; E. J. Menveille & Tuerk, 2002; Zucker & Bradley, 1995).

Childhood interventions to prevent homosexuality have been presented in non-peer-reviewed literature (see Nicolosi & Nicolosi, 2002; Rekers, 1982).[62] These interventions are based on theories of gender and sexual orientation that conflate stereotypic gender roles or interests with heterosexuality and homosexuality or that assume that certain patterns of family relationships cause same-sex sexual orientation. These treatments focus on proxy symptoms (such as nonconforming gender behaviors), since sexual orientation as it is usually conceptualized does not emerge until puberty, with the onset of sexual desires and drives (see APA, 2002a; Perrin, 2002). These interventions assume a same-sex sexual orientation is caused by certain family relationships that form gender identity and assume that encouraging gender stereotypic behaviors and certain family relationships will alter sexual orientation (Burack & Josephson, 2005; see, e.g., Nicolosi & Nicolosi, 2002; Rekers, 1979, 1982).

[62] The only peer-reviewed literature did not focus on sexual orientation but rather on children with gender identity disorder or who exhibited nonconformity with gender roles (e.g., Rekers, 1979, 1981; Rekers, Bentler, Rosen, & Lovaas, 1977; Rekers, Kilgus, & Rosen, 1990; Rekers & Lovaas, 1974). However, the relevance of such work to this topic is limited, as none of these children reported experiencing same-sex sexual attractions or were followed into adulthood. Gender nonconformity differs from gender identity disorder, and children with gender identity disorder are not necessarily representative of the larger population of those children who will experience same-sex sexual attractions in adulthood (Bailey & Zucker, 1995; Bradley & Zucker, 1998; Zucker, 2008).

The theories on which these interventions are based have not been confirmed by empirical study (Perrin, 2002; Zucker, 2008; Zucker & Bradley, 1995). Although retrospective research indicates that some gay men and lesbians recall gender nonconformity in childhood (Bailey & Zucker, 1995; Bem, 1996; Mathy & Drescher, 2008), there is no research evidence that childhood gender nonconformity and adult homosexuality are identical or are necessarily sequential developmental phenomena (Bradley & Zucker, 1998; Zucker, 2008). Theories that certain patterns of family relationships cause same-sex sexual orientation have been discredited (Bell et al., 1981; Freund & Blanchard, 1983; R. R. Green, 1987; D. K. Peters & Cantrell, 1991).

The research that has been attempted to determine whether interventions in childhood affect adult sexual orientation exists only within the specific population of children with gender identity disorder (GID). R. Green (1986, 1987) and Zucker and Bradley (1995) (to a limited degree) examined prospectively whether psychotherapy in children with GID influenced adult or adolescent sexual orientation and concluded that it did not (for a review of the issues for children with GID, see APA, 2009, *Report of the Task Force on Gender Identity and Gender Variance*). Thus, we concluded that there is no existing research to support the hypothesis that psychotherapy in children alters adult sexual orientation.

Literature on Adolescents

We found no empirical research on adolescents who request SOCE, but there were a few clinical articles reporting cases of psychotherapy with religious adolescents who expressed confusion regarding their sexual orientation and conflicts between religious values and sexual orientation (Cates, 2007; Yarhouse, 1998b; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a; Yarhouse et al., 2005). In some of these cases, the adolescents or their families sought SOCE or considered SOCE (Cates, 2007; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a; Yarhouse et al., 2005). The general body of research on adolescents who identify themselves as same-sex oriented does not suggest that the normal development of a same-sex sexual orientation in adolescence is typically characterized by distress that results in requests for sexual orientation change (e.g., D'Augelli, 2002; Garofalo & Harper, 2003; Savin-Williams & Cohen, 2004).

The general body of research on adolescents who identify themselves as same-sex oriented does not suggest that the normal development of a same-sex sexual orientation in adolescence is typically characterized by distress that results in requests for sexual orientation change.

The absence of evidence for adolescent sexual orientation distress that results in requests for SOCE and the few studies in the literature on religious adolescents seeking psychotherapy related to sexual orientation suggest that sexual orientation distress is most likely to occur among adolescents in families for whom religious views that homosexuality is sinful and undesirable are important. Yarhouse and colleagues (Yarhouse, 1998b; Yarhouse, Brooke, Pisano, & Tan, 2005; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a) discussed clinical examples of distress caused by conflicts between faith and sexual orientation identity. For instance, a female adolescent client struggled with guilt and shame and fears that God would not love her, and a male adolescent experienced a conflict between believing God created him with same-sex feelings and believing that God prohibited their expression (Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a). Cates (2007) described three cases of Caucasian males who were referred by schools, courts, or parents for concerns that included their sexual orientation. All three youths perceived that within their faith community and family, an LGB identity was unacceptable and would probably result in exclusion and rejection (Cates, 2007). Because of the primacy of religious beliefs, the adolescents or their families requested religiously based therapy or SOCE. For instance, Cates described the treatment of an adolescent who belonged to the Old Amish Community and who requested SOCE. The young man perceived that there was no place for him in his faith community as a gay man and did not want to leave that community.

Research on Parents' Concerns About Their Children's Sexual Orientation

We did not find specific research on the characteristics of parents who bring their children to SOCE. Thus, we do not know whether this population is similar to or different from the more general population of parents who may have concerns or questions regarding their children's sexual orientation or future sexual orientation. We cannot conclude that parents who present to LMHP with a request for SOCE are motivated by factors that cause distress in other parents of adolescents with emerging LGB identities.

As reported in case studies and clinical papers, parents' religious beliefs appear to be factors in their request for SOCE for their children. These articles identified a population of parents who have strong conservative religious beliefs that reject LGB identities and perceive homosexuality as sinful (Cates, 2007; Yarhouse, 1998b; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a; Yarhouse et al., 2005).

Other reports suggest that parents of adolescents with emerging same-sex sexual orientation and conservative religious beliefs that perceive homosexuality negatively appear to be influenced by religious authorities and LMHP who promote SOCE. For instance, Burack and Josephson (2005) and Cianciotto and Cahill (2006) reported that fear and stereotypes appeared to be contributing factors in parents who resort to residential SOCE or other related coercive treatment on youth. Cianciotto and Cahill found that some advocacy groups do outreach to parents that encourages commitment to SOCE residential programs even if the children do not assent. These programs also appear to provide information to parents that stresses that sexual orientation can be changed (Burack & Josephson, 2005; Cianciotto & Cahill, 2006), despite the very limited empirical evidence for that assertion.

Residential and Inpatient Services

We were asked to report on "the presence of adolescent inpatient facilities that offer coercive treatment designed to change sexual orientation or the behavioral expression of sexual orientation." We performed a thorough review of the literature on these programs. Upon completion of this review, we decided that the best way to address this task was to evaluate issues of the appropriateness of these programs for adolescents in light of issues of harm and benefit based on the literature on adolescent development, standards for inpatient and residential treatment, and ethical issues such as informed consent.

There are several accounts of inpatient and residential treatment, sometimes involuntary or coerced, for adolescents who were LGB-identified, confused or questioning their sexual orientation, gender nonconforming, or transgender (Arriola, 1998; Burack & Josephson, 2005; Goishi, 1997; Molnar, 1997; Weithorn, 1988). These incidents mostly occurred because the parent or guardian was distressed regarding the child's actual sexual orientation or potential and perceived sexual orientation. An account of an adolescent boy who was placed in a program sponsored by Love in Action, a religious-based program, was reported widely in the press (A. Williams, 2005). This program was reported to focus on religious approaches to SOCE as well as approaches that stress conformity to traditional gender roles and behaviors.

Concerns have arisen over the conduct of some private psychiatric hospitals that use alternative diagnoses—such as GID, conduct disorders, oppositional defiant disorders, or behaviors identified as self-defeating or self-destructive—to justify hospitalization of LGB and questioning youth and expose adolescents to SOCE (Arriola, 1998; Morey, 2006). Data on these issues are incomplete, as each state has different reporting requirements for public and private hospitals, and laws regarding confidentiality understandably protect client information.

ADOLESCENTS' RIGHTS TO CONSENT TO TREATMENT

In researching involuntary treatment, we reviewed the recent literature on the growing movement to increase adolescents' rights to consent to outpatient and inpatient mental health treatment so as to reduce involuntary hospitalization (Mutcherson, 2006; Redding, 1993). It is now recognized that adolescents are cognitively able to participate in some health care treatment decisions, and such participation is helpful (Hartman, 2000, 2002; Mutcherson, 2006; Redding, 1993). The APA *Guidelines for Psychotherapy for Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Clients* (2000) and the APA Ethics Code (2002b) encourage professionals to seek the assent of minor clients for treatment. Within the field of adolescent mental health and psychiatry, there are developmental assessment models to determine an adolescent's competence to assent or consent to and potentially refuse treatment (Forehand & Ciccone, 2004; Redding, 1993; Rosner, 2004a, 2004b). Some states now permit adolescents some rights regarding choosing or refusing inpatient treatment, participating in certain interventions, and control over disclosure of records (Koocher, 2003).

It is now recognized that adolescents are cognitively able to participate in some health care treatment decisions, and such participation is helpful.

INPATIENT TREATMENT

The use of inpatient and residential treatments for SOCE is inconsistent with the recommendations of the

field. For instance, the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry (1989) recommended that inpatient treatment, when it does occur, be of the shortest possible duration and reserved for the most serious psychiatric illnesses, such as those of a psychotic nature or where there is an acute danger to self or others. For less serious mental health conditions, the Academy recommended that inpatient hospitalization occur only after less restrictive alternatives (i.e., outpatient and community resources) are shown to be ineffective. In *Best Practice Guidelines: Serving LGBT Youth in Out-of-Home Care* (Wilber, Ryan, & Marksamer, 2006), the Child Welfare League of America recommended that, if necessary, hospitalization or residential substance abuse treatment for adolescents be in a setting that provides mental health treatments that are affirmative of LGB people and for which the staff is competent to provide such services. Further, in a review of the psychiatric literature, Weithorn (1988) concluded that the deprivation of normal social contacts and prevention of attendance at school and other normal social settings can be harmful as well as punitive.

PROGRAMS WITH RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS

Programs such as Love in Action's Refuge[63] provided religiously based interventions that claimed to change sexual orientation, control sexual behavior, or prevent the development of same-sex sexual orientation (Burack & Josephson, 2005; Sanchez, 2007; A. Williams, 2005). Because such programs are religious in nature and are not explicitly mental health facilities,[64] they are not licensed or regulated by state authorities. Burack and Josephson reported that there was effort by religious organizations and sponsors of these programs to communicate to parents that homosexuality is abnormal and sinful and could be changed.[65] Such religious organizations, according to the authors of the report, encouraged parents to seek treatment for their children. Based on anecdotal accounts of current and past residents, these programs, to influence adolescents' life decisions, allegedly used fear and even threats about negative spiritual, health, and life consequences and thus are viewed as coercive (Burack & Josephson, 2005; Sanchez, 2007).

To provide an overview of the issues with residential programs for youth, we reviewed information gathered by the APA (2002a) Committee on Children, Youth, and Families in collaboration with the APA State Advocacy Office and the testimony and subsequent published report by members of the U.S. General Accounting Office before the Committee on Education and Labor of the U.S. House of Representatives (Kutz & O'Connell, 2007). These reports and testimony evaluated some current problems in adolescent residential mental health care. There are a large number of unlicensed and unregulated programs marketed to parents struggling to find behavioral or mental health programs for their adolescent children. Although many of these programs avoid regulation by not identifying themselves as mental health programs, they do advertise mental health, behavioral, and/or educational goals, especially for those youth perceived as troubled by their parents. Many of these programs are involuntary and coercive and use seclusion or isolation and escort services to transport unwilling youth to program locations (Kutz & O'Connell, 2007). The testimony and report described the negative mental health impacts of these programs and expressed grave concerns about them, including questions about quality of care and harm caused by coercive or involuntary measures (Kutz & O'Connell, 2007).

Although religious doctrines themselves are not the purview of psychologists, how religious doctrine is inculcated through educational and socialization practices is a psychological issue and an appropriate subject of psychological examination, especially if there are concerns regarding substantiation of benefit or harm, unlicensed and unregulated facilities, and coercive and involuntary treatment.

Thus, residential and outpatient programs that are involuntary and coercive and provide inaccurate scientific information about sexual orientation or are excessively fear-based pose both clinical and ethical concerns, whether or not they are based on religious doctrine. Although religious doctrines themselves are not the purview of psychologists, how religious doctrine is inculcated through educational and socialization practices is a psychological issue and an appropriate subject of psychological examination, especially if there are concerns regarding substantiation of benefit

[63] The program "Refuge," directed at adolescents, was closed in 2007 and is no longer advertised. However, Love in Action still sponsors residential programs for adults.

[64] These programs advertise helping with addiction, "negative self-talk and irrational belief systems," and behavior change (see www.loveinaction.org.

[65] See www.loveinaction.org.

or harm, unlicensed and unregulated facilities, and coercive and involuntary treatment.

As noted earlier, we define coercive treatments as practices that compel or manipulate an individual to submit to treatment through the use of threats, intimidation, manipulation, trickery, or some other form of pressure, including threats of future harm. Harm can be physical or psychological. Harmful psychological consequences include disapproval; loss of love; rejection or abandonment by family, community, or peer group; feelings of guilt/obligation; and exploitation of physical, emotional, or spiritual dependence. Working with a variety of client populations presents ethical dilemmas for providers (APA, 2002b; Beauchamp & Childress, 2008; Davis, 2002); however, with children and adolescents, such concerns are heightened (Molnar, 1997; Weithorn, 1988). Children and adolescents are more vulnerable to such treatments because of the lack of legal rights and cognitive and emotional maturity and emotional and physical dependence on parents, guardians, and LMHP (Molnar, 1997; Weithorn, 1988). The involuntary nature of particular programs raises issues similar to those of other involuntary mental health settings; however, because they are religious programs, not mental health programs, they pose complex issues for licensure and regulation (A. Williams, 2005). On the basis of ethical principles (APA, 2002b; Beauchamp & Childress, 2008), LMHP should strive to maximize autonomous decision making and self-determination and avoid coercive and involuntary treatments.

Appropriate Application of Affirmative Interventions With Children and Adolescents

Multicultural and Client-Centered Approaches for Adolescents

A number of researchers and practitioners have advised LMHP that when working with children or adolescents and their families, they should address concerns regarding sexual orientation and base their interventions on the current developmental literature on children and adolescents and the scholarly literature on parents' responses to their child's sexual orientation (e.g., Ben-Ari, 1995; Bernstein, 1990; Holtzen & Agriesti, 1990; Mattison & McWhirter, 1995; Perrin, 2002; C. Ryan, Huebner, Diaz, & Sanchez, 2009; Salzburg, 2004, 2007; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a).[66] This literature recommends that LMHP learn about the law and scholarship on developmental factors in informed consent and take steps to ensure that minor clients have a developmentally appropriate understanding of treatment, are afforded complete information about their rights, and are provided treatment in the least restrictive environment. LMHP can review the recommendations for assent to treatment recommended in the *Guidelines for Psychotherapy for Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Clients* (APA, 2000) and can seek an adolescent's consent consistent with evolving considerations of developmental factors (Forehand & Ciccone, 2004; Redding, 1993; Rosner, 2004a, 2004b).

APA policies (APA, 1993, 2000) and the vast majority of current publications on therapy for LGB and questioning adolescents who are concerned about their sexual orientation recommend that LMHP support adolescents' exploration of identity by

- accepting homosexuality and bisexuality as normal and positive variants of human sexual orientation,
- accepting and supporting youths as they address the stigma and isolation of being a sexual minority,
- using person-centered approaches as youths explore their identities and experience important developmental milestones (e.g., exploring sexual values, dating, and socializing openly),
- reducing family and peer rejection and increasing family and peer support (e.g., APA, 2000, 2002a; D'Augelli & Patterson, 2001; Floyd & Stein, 2002; Fontaine & Hammond, 1996; Hart & Heimberg, 2001; Hetrick & Martin, 1987; Lemoire & Chen, 2005; Mallon, 2001; A. D. Martin, 1982; Perrin, 2002; Radkowsky & Siegel, 1997; C. Ryan, 2001; C. Ryan et al., 2009; C. Ryan & Diaz, 2005; C. Ryan & Futterman, 1997; Schneider, 1991; Slater, 1988; Wilber, Ryan & Marksamer, 2006; Savin-Williams & Cohen, 2004; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a).

When sexual minority and questioning youth require residential or inpatient treatment for mental health, behavioral, or family issues, it has been recommended that such treatment be safe from discrimination and

[66] Due to the limited research on children, adolescents, and families who seek SOCE, our recommendations for affirmative therapy for children, youth, and their families distressed about sexual orientation are based on general research and clinical articles addressing these and other issues, not on research specific to those who specifically request SOCE. We acknowledge that limitation in our recommendations.

prejudice and affirming of sexual orientation diversity by staff who are knowledgeable about LGB identities and life choices (Mallon, 2001; Wilber et al., 2006).

Other aspects of human diversity, such as age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, disability, language, and socioeconomic status, may be relevant to an adolescent's identity development, and these differences may intersect with sexual orientation identity (Diamond & Savin-Williams, 2000; Rosario, Rotheram-Borus, & Reid, 1996; Rosario, Schrimshaw, & Hunter, 2004; Rosario, Schrimshaw, Hunter, & Braun, 2006). Some adolescents are more comfortable with fluid or flexible identities due to gender differences and generational or developmental concerns, and their sexual orientation identities may not be exclusive or dichotomous (Diamond, 2006; Morgan & Thompson, 2006; Savin-Williams, 2005).

Only a few articles addressed the specific conflicts between religious identities and sexual orientation identities among youth (Cates, 2007; Yarhouse, 1998b; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a). For instance, Yarhouse and Tan proposed solutions that respect religious beliefs and emphasized nondirective exploration of religious and sexual orientation identity that does not advocate a particular sexual orientation identity outcome. As adolescents may experience a crisis of faith and distress linked to religious and spiritual beliefs, the authors explored interventions that integrate the psychology of religion into interventions that stress improving the client's positive religious coping and relationship with the sacred (e.g., Exline, 2002; Pargament & Mahoney, 2005; Pargament et al., 1998, 2005). Cates (2007), from a more secular frame, emphasized a client-centered approach that stresses the LMHP's unconditional acceptance of the client and client choices even if the client cannot accept his or her own sexual orientation.

The ethical issues outlined in Chapter 7 are also relevant to children and adolescents; however, working with adolescents presents unique ethical dilemmas to LMHP (Koocher, 2003). Children and adolescents are often unable to anticipate the future consequences of a course of action and are emotionally and financially dependent on adults. Further, they are in the midst of developmental processes in which the ultimate outcome is unknown. Efforts to alter that developmental path may have unanticipated consequences (Perrin, 2002). LMHP should strive to be mindful of these issues, particularly as these concerns affect assent and consent to treatment and goals of treatment (Koocher, 2003; Rosner, 2004a, 2004b; Sobocinski, 1990). Possible approaches include open-ended and scientifically based age-appropriate exploration with children, adolescents, and parents regarding these issues.

Multicultural and Client-Centered Approaches for Parents and Families

Parental attitudes and behaviors play a significant role in children's and adolescents' adjustment (Radkowsky & Siegel, 1997; C. Ryan & Diaz, 2005; C. Ryan et al., 2009; Savin-Williams, 1989b, 1998; Wilber et al., 2006; Yarhouse, 1998b). One retrospective research study of adults indicated that LGB children are more likely to be abused by their families than by nonrelated individuals (Corliss, Cochran, & Mays, 2002). Another found that family rejection is a key predictor of negative health outcomes in White and Latino LGB young adults (C. Ryan et al., 2009). Reducing parental rejection, hostility, and violence (verbal or physical) may contribute to the mental health and safety of the adolescent (Remafedi et al., 1991; C. Ryan et al., 2009; Savin-Williams, 1994; Wilber et al., 2006). Further, to improve parents' responses, LMHP can find ways to ameliorate parents' distress about their children's sexual orientation. Exploring parental attributions and values regarding same-sex sexual orientation is especially important in order to facilitate engagement in treatment, resolution of ethical dilemmas, and more beneficial psychotherapy (Morrissey-Kane & Prinz, 1999; Sobocinski, 1990).

Reducing parental rejection, hostility, and violence (verbal or physical) may contribute to the mental health and safety of the adolescent.

Family therapy for families who are distressed by their child's sexual orientation may be helpful in facilitating dialogues, increasing acceptance and support, reducing rejection, and improving management of conflicts or misinformation that may exacerbate an adolescent's distress (Mattison & McWhirter, 1995; C. Ryan et al., 2009; Salzburg, 2004, 2007). Such therapy can include family psychoeducation to provide accurate information and teach coping skills and problem-solving strategies for dealing more effectively with the challenges sexual minority youth may face and the concerns the families and caretakers may have (Ben-Ari, 1995; Perrin, 2002; C. Ryan & Diaz, 2005; Ryan & Futterman, 1997; C. Ryan et al., 2009; Salzburg, 2004, 2007; Yarhouse, 1998b). C. Ryan and Futterman (1997) termed this *anticipatory*

guidance: LMHP provide family members with accurate information regarding same-sex sexual orientation and dispel myths regarding the lives, health, and psychological well-being of LGB individuals.

Perrin (2002) recommended that providers, when working with families of preadolescent children, counsel parents who are concerned that their young children may grow up to be lesbian or gay to tolerate the ambiguity inherent in the limited knowledge of development. In addition, Perrin suggested a two-pronged approach: (a) provide information to reduce heterosexism within the family and increase the family's capacity to provide support and (b) introduce information about LGB issues into family discussions to aid the child's own self-awareness and self-acceptance and to counter stigma. For adolescents, C. Ryan et al. (2009) recommended that LMHP assess family reactions to LGB youth, specifically the presence of family rejection. Further, the authors advocated explaining to families the link between family rejection and negative health problems in children and adolescents, providing anticipatory guidance to families that includes recommendations for support on the part of the family, and helping families to modify highly rejecting behaviors.

Families with strong religious beliefs that condemn homosexuality may struggle with a child's same-sex sexual orientation (Cates, 2007; Yarhouse, 1998b; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a). Yarhouse and Tan (2005a) suggested that family therapy reframe the religious beliefs to focus on aspects of faith that encourage love and acceptance of their child rather than on a religion's prohibitions. The authors stressed that these positive elements of faith can lay a constructive foundation for communication and problem solving and reduce family discord and rejection.

Providing anticipatory guidance to parents to address their unique personal concerns can be helpful (C. Ryan & Futterman, 1997). The LMHP can help the parents plan in an affirmative way for the unique life challenges that they may face as parents of a sexual minority child. Parents must deal with their own unique choices and process of "coming out" and resolve fears of enacted stigma if they risk disclosure within their communities, at work, and to other family members (Bernstein, 1990). Further, the LMHP can address other stresses, such as managing life celebrations and transitions and coping with feelings of loss, and aid parents in advocating for their children in school situations—for example, when they face bullying or harassment. Multiple family groups led by LMHP might be helpful to counter the isolation that many parents experience (J. D. Menveille & Tuerk, 2002).

Community Approaches for Children, Adolescents, and Families

Research has illuminated the potential that school-based and community interventions have for increasing safety and tolerance of sexual minorities, preventing distress and negative mental health consequences, and increasing the psychological well-being and health of sexual minority youth (APA, 1993; D'Augelli & Patterson, 2001; Goodenow, Szalacha, & Westheimer, 2006; Harper, Jamil, & Wilson, 2007; Kosciw & Diaz, 2006; A. J. Peters, 2003; Roffman, 2000; Safren & Heimberg, 1999; Schneider, 1991; Treadway & Yoakum, 1992). For instance, sexual minority adolescents in schools with support groups for LGB students reported lower rates of suicide attempts and victimization than those without such groups (Goodenow et al., 2006; Kosciw & Diaz, 2006; Szalacha, 2003). Kosciw and Diaz (2006) found that such support groups were related to improved academic performance and college attendance. The support groups that were examined in the research provided accurate affirmative information and social support, and the groups' presence was also related to increased school tolerance and safety for LGB youth (Goodenow et al., 2006; Kosciw & Diaz, 2006; Szalacha, 2003). School policies that increased staff support and positive school climate have been found to moderate suicidality and to positively affect sexual minority youth school achievement and mental health (Goodenow et al., 2006).

School and community interventions have the potential for introducing other sources of peer and adult support that may buffer children and adolescents from rejection that may occur in certain family, community, and religious contexts. These school and community interventions may provide alternative sources of information regarding LGB identities and lives. However, such school and community interventions are unlikely to directly affect the core attitudes and beliefs of the religious institutions and communities in which sexual orientation distress and family rejection might occur. These programs may have an indirect effect on communities and religious institutions because of their potential to change the general social context in which families deal with conflicts between their children's emerging sexual orientations and identities. We hope that such change will reduce the level of psychological

distress that such conflicts between religion and sexuality create and reduce the level of hostility and punitiveness to which some children and adolescents are exposed as a result of their sexual orientation.

For families, groups such as Parents, Families, and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG) and the Straight Spouse Network may also provide a safe, nonjudgmental space in which to discuss their concerns, receive accurate information, reduce isolation, and reduce feelings of perceived stigma (Goldfried & Goldfried, 2001). PFLAG offers extensive literature for parents based on affirmative approaches to same-sex sexual attractions as well as a nationwide network of support groups. Such groups, by providing affirmative sources of information, could reduce the distress for parents that is and increase family support of their sexual minority children, thus positively affecting sexual minority youth and children whose families are concerned about their future sexual orientation.

Parents who are religious may benefit from finding support through religious organizations and groups. One concern is that some groups may provide parents with information that presents same-sex sexual orientation in a negative light (e.g., defective, "broken"), which could increase stigma and rejection of children and adolescents; thus, such groups should rarely be considered. Alternatively, some groups provide resources that are both LGB affirming and religious.[67]

Conclusion

We were asked to report on three issues for children and adolescents. First, we were asked to provide recommendations regarding treatment protocols that attempt to prevent homosexuality in adulthood by promoting stereotyped gender-normative behavior in children to mitigate behaviors that are perceived to be indicators that a child will develop a homosexual orientation in adolescence and adulthood. We found no empirical evidence that providing any type of therapy in childhood can alter adult same-sex sexual orientation. Some advocates of these treatments see homosexuality as a mental disorder, a concept that has been rejected by the mental health professions for more than 35 years. Further, the theories that such efforts are based on have not been corroborated by scientific evidence or evaluated for harm. Thus, we recommend that LMHP avoid such efforts and provide instead multicultural, client-centered, and affirmative treatments that are developmentally appropriate (Perrin, 2002).

Some advocates of these treatments see homosexuality as a mental disorder, a concept that has been rejected by the mental health professions for more than 35 years.

Second, we were asked to comment on the presence of adolescent inpatient facilities that offer coercive treatment designed to change sexual orientation or the behavioral expression of sexual orientation. We found that serious questions are raised by involuntary and coercive interventions and residential centers for adolescents due to their advocacy of treatments that have no scientific basis and potential for harm due to coercion, stigmatization, inappropriateness of treatment level and type, and restriction of liberty. Although the prevalence of these treatment centers is unknown, we recommend that some form of oversight be established for such youth facilities, such as licensure and monitoring, especially as a means of reporting abuse or neglect.

States have different requirements and standards for obtaining informed consent to treatment for adolescents; however, it is recognized that adolescents are cognitively able to participate in some health care treatment decisions and that such participation is helpful. We recommend that when it comes to treatment that purports to have an impact on sexual orientation, LMHP assess the adolescent's ability to understand treatment options, provide developmentally appropriate informed consent to treatment, and, at a minimum, obtain the youth's assent to treatment. SOCE that focus on negative representations of homosexuality and lack a theoretical or evidence base provide no documented benefits and can pose harm through increasing sexual stigma and providing inaccurate information. We further concluded that involuntary or coercive residential or inpatient programs that provide SOCE to children and adolescents may pose serious risk of harm, are potentially in conflict with ethical imperatives to maximize autonomous decision making and client self-determination, and have no documented benefits. Thus, we recommend that parents, guardians, or youth not consider such treatments.

Finally, we were asked to report on the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for children and adolescents who present a desire to change their sexual orientation or their behavioral

[67] See, e.g., "Family Fellowship" (www.ldsfamilyfellowship.org/) for parents who belong to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. The Institute of for Sexual Orientation and Judaism also lists resources: www.huc.edu/ijso/.

expression of their sexual orientation, or both, or whose guardian expresses a desire for the minor to change.

We recommend that LMHP provide multiculturally competent and client-centered therapies to children, adolescents, and their families rather than SOCE.

We recommend that LMHP provide multiculturally competent and client-centered therapies to children, adolescents, and their families rather than SOCE. Such approaches include an awareness of the interrelatedness of multiple identities in individual development as well an understanding of cultural, ethnic, and religious variation in families. Specific approaches can include (a) supporting children and youth in their developmental processes and milestones, (b) reducing internalized stigma in children and sexual stigma in parents, and (c) providing affirmative information and education on LGB identities and lives.

These approaches would support children and youth in identity exploration and development without seeking predetermined outcomes. Interventions that incorporate knowledge from the psychology of religion and that increase acceptance, love, and understanding among individuals, families, and communities are recommended for populations for whom religion is important. Family therapy that provides anticipatory guidance to parents to increase their support and reduce rejection of children and youth addressing these issues is essential. School and community interventions are also recommended to reduce societal-level stigma and provide information and social support to children and youth.

9. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

APA's charge to the task force included three major tasks that this report has addressed:

1. Review and update the 1997 Resolution on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation (APA, 1998).
2. Generate a report that includes discussion of the following:
   - The appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for children and adolescents who present a desire to change either their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both, or whose guardian expresses a desire for the minor to change.
   - The appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults who present a desire to change their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both.
   - The presence of adolescent inpatient facilities that offer coercive treatment designed to change sexual orientation or the behavioral expression of sexual orientation.
   - Education, training, and research issues as they pertain to such therapeutic interventions.
   - Recommendations regarding treatment protocols that promote stereotyped gender-normative behavior to mitigate behaviors that are perceived to be indicators that a child will develop a homosexual orientation in adolescence and adulthood.
3. Inform APA's response to groups that promote treatments to change sexual orientation or its behavioral expression and support public policy that furthers affirmative therapeutic interventions.

The substance of the second task has been achieved in the preceding chapters of this report. In Chapters 3 and 4, we reviewed the body of research on the efficacy and safety of sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE).[68] In Chapter 5 we synthesized the literature on the nature of distress and identified conflicts in adults, which provided the basis for our recommendations for affirmative approaches to psychotherapy practice that are described in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 discussed ethical issues in SOCE for adults. In Chapter 8 we considered the more limited body of research on children and adolescents, including a review of SOCE with children and adolescents and affirmative approaches for psychotherapy.

In this final chapter, we summarize the report and focus on those two tasks—one and three—that have not been addressed in the report. With regard to the policy, we recommended that the 1997 policy be retained and

[68] In this report, we use the term *sexual orientation change efforts* (SOCE) to describe methods (e.g., behavioral techniques, psychoanalytic techniques, medical approaches, religious and spiritual approaches) that aim to change a person's same-sex sexual orientation to other-sex, regardless of whether mental health professionals or lay individuals (including religious professionals, religious leaders, social groups, and other lay networks, such as self-help groups) are involved.

that a new policy be adopted to complement it. The new policy that we proposed (see Appendix A) was adopted by APA's Council of Representatives in August 2009. With regard to APA's response to groups that advocate for SOCE, we provide those recommendations at the end of this chapter in the section on policy.

To achieve the charge given by APA, we decided to conduct a systematic review of the empirical literature on SOCE. This review covered the peer-reviewed journal articles in English from 1960 to 2007.[69] The review is reported in Chapters 3 and 4: Chapter 3 addresses methodological issues in the research; and Chapter 4, the outcomes, such as safety, efficacy, benefit, and harm of SOCE.

We also reviewed the recent literature on the psychology of sexual orientation. There is a growing body of literature that concludes that social stigma, known specifically as sexual stigma, manifested as prejudice and discrimination directed at same-sex sexual orientations and identities, is a major source of stress for sexual minorities. This stress, known as minority stress, is a major cause of the mental health disparities of sexual minorities. On the basis of this literature, we recommend that all interventions and policy for these populations include efforts to mitigate minority stress and reduce stigma.

Further, we found that religious individuals with beliefs that homosexuality is sinful and morally unacceptable are prominent in the population that currently undergoes SOCE. These individuals seek SOCE because the disapproving stance of their faiths toward homosexuality produces conflicts between, on the one hand, their beliefs and values and, on the other, their sexual orientation. These conflicts result in significant distress due to clients' perceptions that they are unable to integrate their faith and sexual orientation. To respond as well as possible to this population, we included in our review some of the empirical and theoretical literature from the psychology of religion, recently adopted APA policies on religion and science, and specific interventions that have been proposed in the literature for religious populations.

SOCE has been quite controversial, and the controversy has at times become polemical because of clashes between differing political viewpoints about LGB individuals and communities and the differing values between some faith-based organizations and scientific and professional organizations (Drescher, 2003; Zucker, 2008). Psychology, as a science, and various faith traditions, as theological systems, can acknowledge and respect their profoundly different methodological and philosophical viewpoints. The APA has affirmed that proven methods of scientific inquiry are the best methods to explore and understand human behavior and are the basis for the association's policies (APA, 2007a, 2008a). The APA affirms that discrimination directed at religions and their adherents or derived from religious beliefs is unacceptable and that religious faith should be respected as an aspect of human diversity (APA, 2008c).

APA has affirmed that proven methods of scientific inquiry are the best methods to explore and understand human behavior and are the basis for the association's policies.

Summary of the Systematic Review of the Literature

To fulfill the charge given by APA, we undertook a systematic review to address the key questions: What are the outcomes of SOCE and their potential benefits and harms? Is SOCE effective or safe? The first step was to evaluate the research to determine if such conclusions could be drawn from the research—in other words, was the research performed with the appropriate degree of methodological rigor to provide such answers? The next question was to determine, if such research existed, what answers it provided.

Efficacy and Safety

We found few scientifically rigorous studies that could be used to answer the questions regarding safety, efficacy, benefit, and harm (e.g., Birk et al., 1971; S. James, 1978; McConaghy, 1969, 1976; McConaghy et al., 1972; Tanner, 1974, 1975). Few studies could be considered true experiments or quasi-experiments that would isolate and control the factors that might effect change (see the list of studies in Appendix B). These studies were all conducted in the period from 1969 to 1978 and used aversive or other behavioral methods.

Recent SOCE differ from those interventions explored in the early research studies. The recent nonreligious interventions are based on the assumption that homosexuality and bisexuality are mental

[69] The articles in English include material on populations outside the United States, including Canada, Mexico, Western Europe, and some material on Middle Eastern, South Asian, and East Asian populations. No articles based on new research have been published since 2007. One article published in 2008 is a restatement of Schaeffer et al. (2000).

disorders or deficits and are based on older discredited psychoanalytic theories (e.g., Socarides, 1968; see American Psychoanalytic Association, 1991, 1992, 2000; Drescher, 1998b; Mitchell, 1978, 1981). Some focus on increasing behavioral consistency with gender norms and stereotypes (e.g., Nicolosi, 1991). None of these approaches is based on a credible scientific theory, as these ideas have been directly discredited through evidence or rendered obsolete. There is longstanding scientific evidence that homosexuality per se is not a mental disorder (American Psychiatric Association, 1973; Bell & Weinberg, 1978; Bell et al., 1981; Conger, 1975; Gonsiorek, 1991; Hooker, 1957), and there are a number of alternate theories of sexual orientation and gender consistent with this evidence (Bem, 1996; Butler, 2004; Chivers et al., 2007; Corbett, 1996, 1998, 2001; Diamond, 1998, 2006; Drescher, 1998b; Enns, 2008; Heppner & Heppner, 2008; Levant & Silverstein, 2006; Mustanksi et al., 2002; O'Neil, 2008; Peplau & Garnets, 2000; Pleck, 1995; Rahman & Wilson, 2005; Wester, 2008).

Other forms of recent SOCE are religious, are not based on theories that can be scientifically evaluated, and have not been subjected to rigorous examination of efficacy and safety. These approaches are based on religious beliefs that homosexuality is sinful and immoral and, consequently, that identities and life paths based on same-sex sexual orientation are not religiously acceptable. The few high-quality studies of SOCE conducted from 1999 to 2004 are qualitative (e.g., Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001) and these, due to the research questions explored, aid in understanding the population that seeks sexual orientation change but do not provide the kind of information needed for definitive answers to questions of the safety and efficacy of SOCE.

Thus, we concluded that the early evidence, though extremely limited, is the best basis for predicting what would be the outcome of psychological interventions. Scientifically rigorous older work in this area (e.g., Birk et al., 1971; S. James, 1978; McConaghy, 1969, 1976; McConaghy et al., 1972; Tanner, 1974, 1975) shows that enduring change to an individual's sexual orientation is uncommon and that only a very small number of people in these studies show any credible evidence of reduced same-sex sexual attraction, though some show lessened physiological arousal to all sexual stimuli. Compelling evidence of decreased same-sex sexual behavior and increased sexual attraction to and engagement in sexual behavior with the other sex was rare. Few studies provided strong evidence that any changes produced in laboratory conditions translated to daily life. Many individuals continued to experience same-sex sexual attractions following SOCE and seldom reported significant change to other-sex sexual attractions. Thus, we concluded the following about SOCE: *The results of scientifically valid research indicate that it is unlikely that individuals will be able to reduce same-sex sexual attractions or increase other-sex attractions through SOCE.*

The few early research investigations that were conducted with scientific rigor raise concerns about the safety of SOCE, as some participants suffered unintended harmful side effects from the interventions. These negative side effects included loss of sexual feeling, depression, suicidality, and anxiety. The high dropout rate in these studies may indicate that some research participants may have experienced these treatments as harmful and discontinued treatment (Lilienfeld, 2007). There are no scientifically rigorous studies of recent SOCE that would enable us to make a definitive statement about whether recent SOCE is safe or harmful and for whom.

Individuals Who Undergo SOCE and Their Experiences

Although scientific evidence shows that SOCE is not likely to produce its intended outcomes and can produce harm for some of its participants, there is a population of consumers who participate in SOCE. To address the questions of appropriate application of affirmative interventions for this population, which was a major aspect of APA's charge to the task force, we returned to the research literature on SOCE, expanding beyond the scope of the systematic review to include other literature in order to develop an understanding of the current population that participates in SOCE. The research does reveal something about those individuals who undergo SOCE, how they evaluate their experiences, and why they may seek SOCE, even if the research does not indicate whether SOCE has anything to do with the changes some clients perceive themselves have experienced. We sought this information to be as comprehensive as possible and to develop an information base that would serve as a basis for considering affirmative interventions.

SOCE research identifies a population of individuals who experience conflicts and distress related to same-sex sexual attractions. The population of adults included in recent SOCE research is highly religious, participating

in faiths that many would consider traditional or conservative (e.g., the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints [Mormon], evangelical Christian, or Orthodox Jewish). Most of the participants in recent studies are White men who report that their religion is extremely important to them (Nicolosi et al., 2000; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Spitzer, 2003). These recent studies include a small number of participants who identify as members of ethnic minority groups. Recent studies include more women than in early studies, and one qualitative study focused exclusively on women (Ponticelli, 1999). Most of the individuals studied tried a variety of methods to change their sexual orientation, including psychotherapy, support groups, and religious efforts. Many of the individuals studied were recruited from groups endorsing SOCE. The body of literature overall is based on convenience samples; thus, the relationship between the characteristics of these individuals compared to the entire population of people who seek SOCE is unknown.

Comparisons of the early and recent research indicate changes in the demographics of those who seek SOCE. The individuals who participated in early research on SOCE were also predominantly White males, but those studies included men who were court-referred to treatment, men who were referred to treatment for a range of psychiatric and sexual concerns, and men who were fearful of criminal or legal sanctions, in addition to men who were distressed by their sexual attractions. There are no data on the religious beliefs of those in the early studies. As noted previously, the individuals in recent studies indicated that religion is very important to them.

We concluded that some of the controversy surrounding SOCE can be explained by different understandings of the nature of sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity. Recent research in the field of sexual orientation indicates a range of sexual attractions and desires, sexual orientations, and multiple ways of self-labeling and self-identifying (e.g., Carrillo, 2002; Diamond, 1998, 2006, 2008; Fox, 1995; Hoburg et al., 2004; Savin-Williams, 2005). Some researchers have found that distinguishing the constructs of sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity adds clarity to an understanding of the variability in reports of these two variables (R. L. Worthington & Reynolds, 2009). *Sexual orientation* refers to an individual's patterns of sexual, romantic, and affectional arousal and desire for other persons based on those persons' gender and sex characteristics. Sexual orientation is tied to physiological drives and biological systems that are beyond conscious choice and involve profound emotional feelings such as "falling in love" and emotional attachment. Other dimensions commonly attributed to sexual orientation (e.g., sexual behavior with men and/or women; sexual values, norms, and motivations; social affiliations with LGB or heterosexual individuals and communities; emotional attachment preferences for men or women; gender role and identity; lifestyle choices) are potential correlates of sexual orientation rather than principal dimensions of the construct. *Sexual orientation identity* refers to recognition and internalization of sexual orientation and reflects self-awareness, self-recognition, self-labeling, group membership and affiliation, culture, and self-stigma. Sexual orientation identity is a key element in determining relational and interpersonal decisions, as it creates a foundation for the formation of community, social support, role models, friendship, and partnering (APA, 2003; Jordan & Deluty, 1998; McCarn & Fassinger, 1996; Morris, 1997).

Recent studies of SOCE participants frequently do not distinguish between sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity. We concluded that the failure to distinguish these aspects of human sexuality in this recent SOCE research has obscured an understanding of what aspects of human sexuality might and might not change through intervention. The available evidence, from both early and recent studies, suggests that although sexual orientation is unlikely to change, some individuals modified their sexual orientation identity (i.e., individual or group membership and affiliation, self-labeling) and other aspects of sexuality (i.e., values and behavior). They did so in a variety of ways and with varied and unpredictable outcomes, some of which were temporary (Beckstead, 2003; Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). For instance, in recent research, many individuals claim that through participating in SOCE, they became skilled in ignoring or tolerating their attractions or limiting the impact of their attractions on their sexual behavior (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; McConaghy, 1976; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). Early nonexperimental case studies described

The available evidence, from both early and recent studies, suggests that although sexual orientation is unlikely to change, some individuals modified their sexual orientation identity (i.e., individual or group membership and affiliation, self-labeling) and other aspects of sexuality (i.e., values and behavior).

individuals who reported that they went on to lead outwardly heterosexual lives, including, for some, developing a sexual relationship with an other-sex partner and adopting a heterosexual identity (Birk, 1974; Larson, 1970). Some of these individuals reported heterosexual experience prior to treatment. People whose sexual attractions were initially limited to people of the same sex report much lower increases (if any) in other-sex attractions compared to those who report initial attractions to both men and women (Barlow et al., 1975). However, the low degree of scientific rigor in these studies makes any conclusion tentative.

Recent research indicates that former participants in SOCE report diverse evaluations of their experiences. Some individuals perceive that they have benefited from SOCE, while other individuals perceive that they have been harmed by SOCE (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). Across studies, it is unclear what specific individual characteristics and diagnostic criteria would prospectively distinguish those individuals who will later perceive that they have succeeded and benefited from SOCE from those who will later perceive that they have failed or been harmed.

Some individuals who participated in the early research reported negative side effects such as loss of sexual arousal, impotence, depression, anxiety, and relationship dysfunction. Individuals who participated in recent research and who failed to change sexual orientation, while believing they should have changed with such efforts, described their experiences as a significant cause of emotional distress and negative self-image (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). Overall, those in this recent research who indicated that they were harmed reported feelings of distress, anxiety, depression, suicidal ideation, self-blame, guilt, and loss of hope among other negative feelings. Some who experienced religious interventions and perceived them negatively said that they felt disillusioned with religion; others felt they had failed their religion by having same-sex attraction (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). Indirect harm from the associated costs (time, effort, money, disillusionment with psychotherapy) spent in ineffective treatment is significant. Both the early and recent research provide little clarity on the associations between claims to modify sexual orientation from same-sex to other-sex and subsequent improvements or harm to mental health.

Other individuals reported that they perceived SOCE to be helpful by providing a place to discuss their conflicts, reduce isolation, and receive support (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Ponticelli, 1999; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Spitzer, 2003; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006). Some reported that SOCE helped them view their sexual orientation in a different light that permitted them to live in a manner consistent with their faith, which they perceived as positive (Nicolosi et al., 2000). Some individuals described finding a sense of support and community through SOCE and valued having others with whom they could identify (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001). These effects mirror those provided by mutual support groups for a range of problems. And the positive benefits reported by participants in SOCE, such as reduction of isolation, change of meaning, and stress reduction, are consistent with the findings of social support literature (Levine et al., 2004). Given the findings of limited efficacy of change of sexual orientation, it is unlikely that SOCE provides any unique benefits other than those documented for the social support mechanisms of mutual help groups. For those who had received psychotherapy, the positive perceptions of SOCE seem inconsistent with the documented effects of the supportive function of psychotherapy relationships (e.g., Norcross, 2002).

Literature on Children and Adolescents

The task force was asked to report on the following: (a) the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for children and adolescents who present a desire to change either their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both, or whose guardian expresses a desire for the minor to change; (b) the presence of adolescent inpatient facilities that offer coercive treatment designed to change sexual orientation or the behavioral expression of sexual orientation; and (c) recommendations regarding treatment protocols that promote stereotyped gender-normative behavior to mitigate behaviors that are perceived to be indicators that a child will develop a homosexual orientation in adolescence and adulthood.

We reviewed the limited research on child and adolescent issues and drew the following conclusions: There is no research demonstrating that providing SOCE to children or adolescents has an impact on adult sexual orientation. The few studies of children with gender identity disorder found no evidence that psychotherapy provided to those children had an impact on adult sexual orientation (R. Green, 1986,

1987; Zucker, 2008; Zucker & Bradley, 1995). There is currently no evidence that teaching or reinforcing stereotyped gender-normative behavior in childhood or adolescence can alter sexual orientation (Mathy & Drescher, 2008). We are concerned that such interventions may increase the self-stigma, minority stress, and ultimately the distress of children and adolescents. We have serious concerns that the coercive or involuntary treatment of children or adolescents has the potential to be harmful and may potentially violate current clinical and practice guidelines, standards for ethical practice, and human rights.

Recommendations and Future Directions

Affirmative Psychotherapy With Adults

The appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions with adults is built on three key findings in the research: (a) an enduring change to an individual's sexual orientation as a result of SOCE was unlikely, and some participants were harmed by the interventions; (b) for some individuals, sexual orientation identity, not sexual orientation, shifted and evolved via psychotherapy, support groups, or life events; and (c) clients benefit from psychotherapeutic approaches that emphasize acceptance, support, and recognition of important values and concerns.

On the basis of these findings and the clinical literature on this population, we suggest client-centered, multiculturally competent approaches grounded in the following scientific facts: (a) same-sex sexual attractions, behavior, and orientations per se are normal and positive variants of human sexuality—in other words, they are not indicators of mental or developmental disorders; (b) same-sex sexual attractions and behavior can occur in the context of a variety of sexual orientations and sexual orientation identities; (c) gay men, lesbians, and bisexual individuals can live satisfying lives and form stable, committed relationships and families that are equivalent to those of heterosexual individuals in essential respects; and (d) no empirical studies or peer-reviewed research supports theories attributing same-sex sexual orientation to family dysfunction or trauma.

Based on these findings summarized above and our comprehensive review of the research and clinical literature, we developed a framework for the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults that has the following central elements:

- Acceptance and support
- A comprehensive assessment
- Active coping
- Social support
- Identity exploration and development

Acceptance and support include (a) unconditional positive regard for and empathy with the client, (b) openness to the client's perspective as a means of understanding his or her concerns, and (c) encouragement of the client's positive self-concept.

A comprehensive assessment considers sexual orientation uniquely individual and inseparable from an individual's personality and sense of self. This includes (a) being aware of the client's unique personal, social, and historical context and (b) exploring and countering the harmful impact of stigma and stereotypes on the client's self-concept (including the prejudice related to age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status).

Active coping strategies are efforts that include cognitive, behavioral, or emotional responses designed to change the nature of the stressor itself or how an individual perceives it and include both cognitive and emotional strategies. These may include cognitive strategies to reframe conflicts and emotional strategies to manage potential losses.

Psychotherapy, self-help groups, or welcoming communities (ethnic communities, social groups, religious denominations) provide social support that can mitigate distress caused by isolation, rejection, and lack of role models. Conflicts among disparate elements of identity play a major role in the conflicts and mental health concerns of those seeking SOCE (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Beckstead & Morrow, 2004).

Identity exploration is an active process of exploring and assessing one's identity and establishing a commitment to an integrated identity. LMHP facilitate this exploration by not having an a priori treatment goal for how clients identify or live out their sexual orientation. The process may include a developmental process that includes periods of crisis, mourning, reevaluation, identity deconstruction and reconstruction, and growth.

Treatments that are based on the assumption that homosexuality or same-sex sexual attractions are a mental disorder or based on inaccurate stereotypes regarding LGB people are to be avoided because they run counter to empirical data and because reports of harm suggest that such treatments can reinforce restricting stereotypes, increase internalized stigma, and limit a client's development (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Haldeman, 2001; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; G. Smith et al., 2004; see Lilienfeld, 2007, for information on psychotherapy harms).

Psychotherapy With Children and Adolescents

We were asked to report on the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for children and adolescents who present a desire to change either their sexual orientation or the behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both, or whose guardian expresses a desire for the minor to change. Consistent with the current scientific evidence, those working with children and adolescents strive to have a developmentally appropriate perspective that includes a client-centered multicultural perspective to reduce self-stigma and mitigate minority stress. This includes interventions that (a) reduce stigma and isolation, (b) support the exploration and development of identity, (c) facilitate achievement of developmental milestones, and (d) respect age-appropriate issues regarding self-determination. Such services are ideally provided in the least restrictive setting and with, at a minimum, the assent of the youth. However, LMHP are encouraged to acquire developmentally appropriate informed consent to treatment.

Affirmative approaches encourage families to reduce rejection and increase acceptance of their child and adolescent (Perrin, 2002; Ryan et al., 2009). Parents who are concerned or distressed by their children's sexual orientation can be provided accurate information about sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity and offered anticipatory guidance and psychotherapy that supports family reconciliation (e.g., communication, understanding, and empathy) and maintenance of their child's total health and well-being. Interventions that increase family, school, and community acceptance and safety of sexual minority children and youth appear particularly helpful. Such interventions are offered in ways that are consistent with aspects of diversity such as age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status.

Special Concerns of Religious Individuals and Families

Many religious sexual minorities experience significant psychological distress and conflict due to the divergence between their sexual orientation and religious beliefs. To support clients who have these concerns, LMHP can provide psychological acceptance, support, and recognition of the importance of faith to individuals and communities while recognizing the science of sexual orientation. LMHP working with religious individuals and families can incorporate research from the psychology of religion into the client-centered multicultural framework summarized previously. The goal of treatment is for the client to explore possible life paths that address the reality of his or her sexual orientation while considering the possibilities for a religiously and spiritually meaningful and rewarding life. Such psychotherapy can enhance clients' search for meaning, significance, and a relationship with the sacred in their lives (e.g., Pargament & Maloney, 2005). Such an approach would focus on increasing positive religious coping, understanding religious motivations, integrating religious and sexual orientation identities, and reframing sexual orientation identities to reduce or eliminate self-stigma.

The goal of treatment is for the client to explore possible life paths that address the reality of his or her sexual orientation while considering the possibilities for a religiously and spiritually meaningful and rewarding life.

Ethical Considerations

LMHP strive to provide interventions that benefit clients and avoid harm, consistent with current professional ethics. Psychologists aspire to provide treatment that is consistent with the APA *Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct* (APA, 2002b) and relevant APA guidelines and resolutions (e.g., APA, 2000, 2002c, 2004, 2005a, 2007b) with a special focus on ethical principles such as Beneficence and Nonmaleficence; Justice; and Respect for People's Rights and Dignity (including self-determination). LMHP reduce potential harms and increase potential benefits by basing their professional judgments

and actions on the most current and valid scientific evidence, such as that provided in this report (see APA, 2002b, Standard 2.04, Bases for Scientific and Professional Judgments).

LMHP enhance principles of social justice when they strive to understand and mitigate the effects of sexual stigma, prejudice, and discrimination on the lives of individuals, families, and communities. Further, LMHP aspire to respect diversity in all aspects of their work, including age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, and socioeconomic status.

Self-determination is the process by which a person controls or determines the course of her or his own life (*Oxford American Dictionary*, 2007). LMHP maximize self-determination by (a) providing effective psychotherapy that explores the client's assumptions and goals, without preconditions on the outcome; (b) providing resources to manage and reduce distress; and (c) permitting the client herself or himself to decide the ultimate goal of how to self-identify and live out her or his sexual orientation. We were not persuaded by some accounts that suggest that providing SOCE increases self-determination, because these suggestions encourage LMHP to offer treatment that (a) has not provided evidence of efficacy; (b) has the potential to be harmful; and (c) delegates important professional decisions that should be based on qualified expertise and training—such as diagnosis and the type of intervention. Rather, therapy that increases the client's ability to cope, understand, acknowledge, and integrate sexual orientation concerns into a self-chosen life is the measured approach.

. . . therapy that increases the client's ability to cope, understand, acknowledge, and integrate sexual orientation concerns into a self-chosen life is the measured approach.

Education, Training, and Research

We were asked to provide recommendations for education, training, and research as they pertain to such affirmative interventions. We examine these areas separately.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Professional education and training

Training of LMHP to provide affirmative, evidence-based, and multicultural interventions with individuals distressed by their same-sex sexual attractions is critical. Research on LMHP behaviors indicates a range of interventions, some of which are based on attitudes and beliefs rather than evidence, especially as some LMHP may have been educated during the period when homosexuality was pathologized (cf. Bartlett et al., 2001; Beutler, 2000; M. King et al., 2004; Liszcz & Yarhouse, 2005). We recommend that LMHP increase their awareness of their own assumptions and attitudes toward sexual minorities (APA, 2000; R. L. Worthington et al., 2005). This occurs by increasing knowledge about the diversity of sexual minorities (e.g., age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status), as well as the management of the LMHP's own biases in order to avoid colluding with clients' internalized stigma and with the negating environments in which clients and LMHP live (APA, 2000; Dillon et al., 2004; Israel & Hackett, 2004; R. L. Worthington et al., 2005). We recommend that training in affirmative, evidence-based, and multiculturally informed interventions for sexual minorities be offered at all graduate schools and postgraduate training programs.

An important resource for LMHP is the APA (2000) *Guidelines for Psychotherapy With Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Clients*,[70] which advises LMHP to be competent in a variety of domains, including knowledge of the impact of stigma on mental health, the unique issues facing same-sex relationships and families, and the range of diversity concerns for sexual minority individuals. We recommend that several areas in which LMHP working with clients seeking SOCE obtain additional knowledge and skills include: (a) sexuality, sexual orientation, and sexual identity development; (b) the psychology of religion and spirituality, including models of faith development, religious coping, and the positive psychology of religion; (c) identity development models, including those that integrate multiple identities and facilitate identity conflict resolution; and (d) adaptive ways to manage stigma, minority stress, and multiple aspects of identity. We also recommend that practitioners review publications that explicate the above-mentioned topics and evidence-based, LGB-affirmative, and multicultural approaches to psychological interventions (APA, 2000, 2002a, 2002c, 2004, 2005b, 2006, 2007b, 2008a; Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Brown, 2006; Fowers & Davidov, 2006; Schneider et al., 2002).

[70] These guidelines are being revised, and a new version will be available in 2010.

Those less familiar with religious perspectives can broaden their views on religion and religious individuals and reduce their potential biases by seeking relevant information on religious faith and the psychology of religion (e.g., Ano & Vasconcelles, 2005; Exline, 2002; Emmons, 1999; Emmons & Paloutzian, 2003; Fowler, 2001; Goldstein, 2007; Pargament & Mahoney, 2005; Pargament et al., 1998, 2005). Training programs for practitioners can increase competencies in these areas by including comprehensive material on religion and spirituality (Bartoli, 2007; Hage, 2006; Hathaway et al., 2004; Yarhouse & Fisher, 2002; Yarhouse & VanOrman, 1999) and on ways to incorporate religious approaches into psychotherapy (see, e.g., Richards & Bergin, 2000, 2004; Sperry & Shafranske, 2004). Additionally, publications that illustrate affirmative integration and resolution of religious and sexual minority identity are helpful (Astramovich, 2003; Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Ritter & O'Neil, 1989, 1995).

Conservative religious practitioners can increase their compassionate and understanding responses to sexual minorities. Some focus on increasing compassionate responses toward sexual minorities by conservative religious students or individuals (Bassett et al., 2005; Benoit, 2005; Fischer & DeBord, 2007; McMinn, 2005; Yarhouse, Burkett, & Kreeft, 2001; Zahniser & Boyd, 2008; Zahniser & Cagle, 2007). One study found an evolution of positive attitudes toward sexual minorities among LMHP who hold conservative religious values (E. Adams, Longoria, Hitter, & Savage, 2009). These perspectives are based on established social psychology research, such as the contact hypothesis, where increasing personal contact with members of minority groups of equal status reduces bias, including attitudes toward sexual minorities (e.g., Herek & Capitanio, 1996; Herek & Glunt, 1993; Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, 2003).

Finally, although this report has limited information regarding sexual minorities in other countries, the research review and practice recommendations may be helpful to professionals. We recommend dissemination of this report to international mental health organizations and LGBT advocacy groups.

We recommend the following steps be taken by the APA to educate LMHP and support training programs in providing education:

1. Disseminate this report to accredited doctoral programs, internships, and other postdoctoral programs in psychology both in the United States and other countries to encourage the incorporation of this report and other relevant material on LGBT issues into graduate school training programs and internship sites.
2. Disseminate information to faculty in psychology departments in community colleges, colleges, and university programs as information and for use in curriculum development.
3. Maintain the currently high standards for APA approval of continuing professional education providers and programs.
4. Offer symposia and continuing professional education workshops at APA's annual convention that focus on treatment of individuals distressed by their same-sex sexual attractions, especially those who struggle to integrate religious and spiritual beliefs with sexual orientation identity.
5. Pursue the publication of a version of this report in an appropriate journal or other publication.

Public education

The information available to the public about SOCE and sexual orientation is highly variable and can be confusing. In those information sources that encourage SOCE, the portrayals of homosexuality and sexual minorities tend to be negative and at times to emphasize inaccurate and misleading stereotypes (Kennedy & Cianciotto, 2006; SPLC, 2005). Sexual minorities, individuals aware of same-sex sexual attractions, families, parents, caregivers, policymakers, religious leaders, and society at large can benefit from accurate scientific information about sexual orientation and about appropriate interventions for individuals distressed by their same-sex sexual attractions both in the United States and internationally. We recommend that APA:

1. Create informational materials for sexual minority individuals, families, parents, and other stakeholders on appropriate multiculturally competent and client-centered interventions for those distressed by their sexual orientation who may seek SOCE.
2. Create informational materials on sexual orientation, sexual orientation identity, and religion for all stakeholders, including the public and institutions of faith.
3. Create informational materials focused on the integration of ethnic, racial, national origin and

cultural issues, and sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity.

4. Integrate the conclusions of this report into existing APA public information resources, including print, media, and the Internet.

5. Collaborate with other relevant organizations, especially religious organizations, to disseminate this information.

RESEARCH

Our systematic review of research has highlighted the methodological problems pervasive in recent research on SOCE. This raises two issues: (a) the publication of poorly designed research and (b) whether more research on SOCE should be conducted to pursue questions of benefit, harm, and safety. These two issues are addressed separately.

Much of the recent research on SOCE has had serious methodological problems. Although this research area presents serious challenges (e.g., obtaining a representative sample, finding appropriate measures, and using evidence-based constructs), many of the problems were avoidable. Problems included (a) inappropriate use of statistical tests, (b) poor measurement, and (c) designs that did not permit valid causal conclusions to be drawn.

Hunt and Carlson (2007) have argued that studies with immediate social relevance that have an impact on social policy or social issues should be held to a higher standard because this literature has the potential to influence policymakers and the public, and incomplete or misleading information has serious costs. Research published on SOCE needs to meet current best-practice research standards. Many of the problems in published SOCE research indicate the need for improvement in the journal review process. It is recommended that professional and scientific journals retain reviewers and editors with expertise in this area to maintain the standards of published research.

We concluded that research on SOCE (psychotherapy, mutual self-help groups, religious techniques) has not answered basic questions of whether it is safe or effective and for whom. Any future research should conform to best-practice standards for the design of efficacy research. Additionally, research into harm and safety is essential. Certain key issues are worth highlighting. Future research must use methods that are prospective and longitudinal, allow for conclusions about cause and effect to be confidently drawn, and employ sampling methods that allow proper generalization.[71]

Future research should also include appropriate measures in terms of specificity of measurement of sexual orientation, sexual orientation identity and outcomes, and psychometric adequacy. Mixed-method research, in which methods and measures with offsetting weaknesses are simultaneously employed, may be especially advantageous. Alternative physiological means of measuring sexual orientation objectively may also be helpful. Recent research has used alternatives to genital gauges for the assessment of sexual orientation in men and women, such as functional magnetic resonance imaging (Ponseti et al., 2006). Physiological measures often use visual portrayals of nude individuals that some religious individuals may find morally unacceptable. Jlang, Costello, Fang, Huang, and He (2006) have explored the use of invisible images and have measured selective inattention/attention as an alternative to assess sexual arousal. Such methods or the development of methods that are less intrusive and are more consistent with religious values would be helpful to develop for this population.

Additionally, preexisting and co-occurring conditions, mental health problems, participants' need for monitoring self-impression, other interventions, and life histories would have to be given appropriate consideration so that research can better account for and test competing explanations for any changes observed in study participants over time. Specific conceptual and methodological challenges exist in research related to sexual minority populations, such as the conceptualization of sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity and obtaining representative samples. Researchers would be advised to consider and compensate for the unique conceptual and

[71] A published study that appeared in the grey literature in 2007 (S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007) has been described by SOCE advocates and its authors as having successfully addressed many of the methodological problems that affect other recent studies, specifically the lack of prospective research. The study is a convenience sample of self-referred populations from religious self-help groups. The authors claim to have found a positive effect for some study respondents in different goals such as decreasing same-sex sexual attractions, increasing other-sex attractions, and maintaining celibacy. However, upon close examination, the methodological problems described in Chapter 3 (our critique of recent studies) are characteristic of this work, most notably the absence of a control or comparison group and the threats to internal, external, construct, and statistical validity. Best-practice analytical techniques were not performed in the study, and there are significant deficiencies in the analysis of longitudinal data, use of statistical measures, and choice of assessment measures. The authors' claim of finding change in sexual orientation is unpersuasive due to their study's methodological problems.

methodological challenges in this area (Meyer & Wilson, 2009; Moradi, Mohr, Worthington, Fassinger, 2009).

Safety issues continue to be important areas of study. As noted previously, early research indicates that aversive techniques have been found to have very limited benefits as well as potentially harmful effects. These documented harms were serious. An additional finding is that these treatments had extremely high dropout rates, which has been linked to adverse effects. Some individuals report harm from recent nonaversive techniques, and some individuals report benefits.

Some authors have stated that SOCE should not be investigated or practiced until safety issues have been resolved (Davison, 1976, 1991; Herek, 2003), as it is still unclear which techniques or methods may or may not be harmful. Assessing the safety of recent practices is a high priority given that this research is the least rigorous. Given that types of harm can be multiple, outcome studies with measures capable of assessing deterioration in mental health, appearance of new symptoms, heightened concern regarding existing symptoms, excessive dependency on the LMHP, and reluctance to seek out new treatment are important to include in future research (Lilienfeld, 2007). Other areas to assess are types of harm to others (e.g., some individuals have noted that advocating other-sex marriage or promising sexual orientation change may negatively affect spouses, potential spouses, and children) (Buxton, 1994, 2007; Wolkomir, 2006).

Finally, LMHP must be mindful of the indirect harms of SOCE, such as the "opportunity costs" (Lilienfeld, 2007) and the time, energy, effort, and expense of interventions that offer limited benefit and have the potential to cause disillusionment in psychotherapy. However, as concerns regarding harm have been raised, addressing risks to research participants and concerns regarding voluntary participation (see Standard 8.02 in APA, 2002b) must be carefully considered in any future research.

Research that meets these scientific standards and addresses efficacy and safety might help to clarify the issues. Even so, scientific research may not help to resolve the issues unless it can better account for the complexity of the concerns of the current population. The results of current research are complicated by the belief system of many of the participants whose religious faith and beliefs may be intricately tied to the possibility of change. Future research will have to better account for the motivations and beliefs of participants in SOCE.

Emerging research reveals that affirmative interventions show promise for alleviating the distress of children, adolescents, and families around sexual orientation and identity concerns (D'Augelli, 2002, 2003; Goodenow et al., 2006; Perrin, 2002; C. Ryan et al., 2009). However, sexual minority adolescents are underrepresented in research on evidence-based approaches, and sexual orientation issues in children are virtually unexamined (APA, 2008d). Specific research on sexual minority adolescents and children has identified that stigma can be reduced through community interventions, supportive client-centered approaches, and family reconciliation techniques that focus on strengthening the emotional ties of family members to each other, reducing rejection, and increasing acceptance (D'Augelli, 2003; Goodenow et al., 2006; C. Ryan et al., 2009). This line of research should be continued and expanded to include conservatively religious youth and their families.

Finally, we presented a framework for therapy with this population. Although this model is based on accepted principles of psychotherapy and is consistent with evidence-based approaches to psychotherapy, it has not been evaluated for safety and efficacy. Such studies would have to be conducted in the same manner as research on SOCE and in ways that are consistent with current standards (see, e.g., Flay et al., 2005).

Recommendations for basic research

To advance knowledge in the field and improve the lives of individuals distressed by same-sex sexual attractions who seek SOCE, it is recommended that researchers, research-funding organizations, and other stakeholders, including those who establish funding priorities, work together to improve our knowledge of sexuality, sexual orientation, and sexual orientation identity in the following areas:

1. The nature and development of sexuality, sexual orientation, sexual orientation identity across the life span and the correlates to these variables, incorporating differences across age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status.

2. Religious identity and faith development (inclusive of all world religions) and their intersection with other aspects of human life and identity, such as sexual orientation, sexual orientation identity, and the multiple social identity statuses related to privilege and stigma.

3. Identity integration, reduction in distress, and positive mental health for populations of religious sexual minorities and ethnic minority populations.
4. Culture, gender, religion, and race/ethnicity in the experience and construction of sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity.
5. Mental health outcomes of those who choose not to act on their sexual orientation by living celibately or in relationships with other-sex partners.

Recommendations for research in psychotherapy

We recommend that researchers and practitioners rigorously investigate multiculturally competent and affirmative evidence-based treatments for sexual minorities and those distressed by their sexual orientation that do not aim to alter sexual orientation but rather focus on sexual orientation identity exploration, development, and integration without prioritizing one outcome over another, for the following populations:

1. Sexual minorities who have traditional religious beliefs
2. Sexual minorities who are members of ethnic minority and culturally diverse communities both in the United States and internationally
3. Children and adolescents who are sexual minorities or questioning their sexual orientation
4. Parents who are distressed by their children's perceived future sexual orientation
5. Populations with any combination of the above demographics

Policy

We were asked to make recommendations to APA to inform the association's response to groups that promote treatments to change sexual orientation or its behavioral expression and to support public policy that furthers affirmative therapeutic interventions.

The debate surrounding SOCE has become mired in ideological disputes and competing political agendas (Drescher, 2003; Drescher & Zucker, 2006). Some organizations opposing civil rights for LGBT individuals advocate SOCE (SPLC, 2005). Other policy concerns involve religious or socially conservative agendas where issues of religious morality conflict with scientific-based conceptions of positive and healthy development. We encourage APA to continue its advocacy for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender individuals and families and to oppose prejudice against sexual minorities (APA, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2008b). We encourage collaborative activities in pursuit of shared prosocial goals between psychologists and religious communities when such collaboration can be done in a mutually respectful manner that is consistent with psychologists' professional and scientific roles. These collaborative relationships can be designed to integrate humanitarian perspectives and professional expertise (Tyler, Pargament, & Gatz, 1983).

Thus, the task force urges APA to:

1. Actively oppose the distortion and selective use of scientific data about homosexuality by individuals and organizations seeking to influence public policy and public opinion and take a leadership role in responding to such distortions.
2. Support the dissemination of accurate scientific and professional information about sexual orientation in order to counteract bias that is based on lack of scientific knowledge about sexual orientation.
3. Encourage advocacy groups, elected officials, policymakers, religious leaders, and other organizations to seek accurate information and avoid promulgating inaccurate information about sexual minorities.
4. Seek areas where collaboration with religious leaders, institutions, and organizations can promote the well-being of sexual minorities through the use of accurate scientific data regarding sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity.
5. Encourage the Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Concerns to prioritize initiatives that address religious and spiritual concerns and the concerns of sexual minorities from conservative faiths.
6. Adopt a new resolution: the Resolution on Appropriate Affirmative Responses to Sexual Orientation Distress and Change Efforts (see Appendix A).[72]

[72] The resolution was adopted by the APA Council of Representatives in August 2009.

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APPENDIX A: RESOLUTION ON APPROPRIATE AFFIRMATIVE RESPONSES TO SEXUAL ORIENTATION DISTRESS AND CHANGE EFFORTS

Research Summary

The longstanding consensus of the behavioral and social sciences and the health and mental health professions is that homosexuality per se is a normal and positive variation of human sexual orientation (Bell, Weinberg, & Hammersmith, 1981; Bullough, 1976; Ford & Beach 1951; Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948; Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin, & Gebhard, 1953). Homosexuality per se is not a mental disorder (APA, 1975). Since 1974, the American Psychological Association (APA) has opposed stigma, prejudice, discrimination, and violence on the basis of sexual orientation and has taken a leadership role in supporting the equal rights of lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals (APA, 2005).

APA is concerned about ongoing efforts to mischaracterize homosexuality and promote the notion that sexual orientation can be changed and about the resurgence of sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE).[A1] SOCE has been controversial due to tensions between the values held by some faith-based organizations, on the one hand, and those held by lesbian, gay, and bisexual rights organizations and professional and scientific organizations, on the other (Drescher, 2003; Drescher & Zucker, 2006).

[A1] APA uses the term *sexual orientation change efforts* (SOCE) to describe methods (e.g., behavioral techniques, psychoanalytic techniques, medical approaches, religious and spiritual approaches) that aim to change a same-sex sexual orientation to heterosexual, regardless of whether mental health professionals or lay individuals (including religious professionals, religious leaders, social groups, and other lay networks, such as self-help groups) are involved.

Some individuals and groups have promoted the idea of homosexuality as symptomatic of developmental defects or spiritual and moral failings and have argued that SOCE, including psychotherapy and religious efforts, could alter homosexual feelings and behaviors (Drescher & Zucker, 2006; Morrow & Beckstead, 2004). Many of these individuals and groups appeared to be embedded within the larger context of conservative religious political movements that have supported the stigmatization of homosexuality on political or religious grounds (Drescher, 2003; Drescher & Zucker, 2006; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2005). Psychology, as a science, and various faith traditions, as theological systems, can acknowledge and respect their profoundly different methodological and philosophical viewpoints. The APA concludes that psychology must rely on proven methods of scientific inquiry based on empirical data, on which hypotheses and propositions are confirmed or disconfirmed, as the basis to explore and understand human behavior (APA, 2008a, 2008c).

In response to these concerns, APA appointed the Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation to review the available research on SOCE and to provide recommendations to the association. The task force reached the following findings.

Recent studies of participants in SOCE identify a population of individuals who experience serious distress related to same-sex sexual attractions. Most of these participants are Caucasian males who report that their religion is extremely important to them (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Nicolosi, Byrd, & Potts,

2000; Schaeffer, Hyde, Kroencke, McCormick, & Nottebaum, 2000; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002, Spitzer, 2003). These individuals report having pursued a variety of religious and secular efforts intended to help them change their sexual orientation. To date, the research has not fully addressed age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, disability, language, and socioeconomic status in the population of distressed individuals.

There are no studies of adequate scientific rigor to conclude whether or not recent SOCE do or do not work to change a person's sexual orientation. Scientifically rigorous older work in this area (e.g., Birk, Huddleston, Miller, & Cohler, 1971; James, 1978; McConaghy, 1969, 1976; McConaghy, Proctor, & Barr, 1972; Tanner, 1974, 1975) found that sexual orientation (i.e., erotic attractions and sexual arousal oriented to one sex or the other, or both) was unlikely to change due to efforts designed for this purpose. Some individuals appeared to learn how to ignore or limit their attractions. However, this was much less likely to be true for people whose sexual attractions were initially limited to people of the same sex.

Although sound data on the safety of SOCE are extremely limited, some individuals reported being harmed by SOCE. Distress and depression were exacerbated. Belief in the hope of sexual orientation change followed by the failure of the treatment was identified as a significant cause of distress and negative self-image (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002).

Although there is insufficient evidence to support the use of psychological interventions to change sexual orientation, some individuals modified their sexual orientation identity (i.e., group membership and affiliation), behavior, and values (Nicolosi et al., 2000). They did so in a variety of ways and with varied and unpredictable outcomes, some of which were temporary (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). Based on the available data, additional claims about the meaning of those outcomes are scientifically unsupported.

On the basis of the task force's findings, the APA encourages mental health professionals to provide assistance to those who seek sexual orientation change by utilizing affirmative multiculturally competent (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Brown, 2006) and client-centered approaches (e.g., Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Lasser & Gottlieb, 2004) that recognize the negative impact of social stigma on sexual minorities (Herek, 2009; Herek & Garnets, 2007)[A2] and balance ethical principles of beneficence and nonmaleficence, justice, and respect for people's rights and dignity (APA, 1998, 2002; Davison, 1976; Haldeman, 2002; Schneider, Brown, & Glassgold, 2002).

Resolution

WHEREAS, The American Psychological Association expressly opposes prejudice (defined broadly) and discrimination based on age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, or socioeconomic status (APA, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2008c);

WHEREAS, The American Psychological Association takes a leadership role in opposing prejudice and discrimination (APA, 2008b, 2008c), including prejudice based on or derived from religion or spirituality, and encourages commensurate consideration of religion and spirituality as diversity variables (APA, 2008c);

WHEREAS, Psychologists respect human diversity including age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status (APA, 2002) and psychologists strive to prevent bias from their own spiritual, religious, or nonreligious beliefs from taking precedence over professional practice and standards or scientific findings in their work as psychologists (APA, 2008c);

WHEREAS, Psychologists are encouraged to recognize that it is outside the role and expertise of psychologists, as psychologists, to adjudicate religious or spiritual tenets, while also recognizing that psychologists can appropriately speak to the psychological implications of religious/spiritual beliefs or practices when relevant psychological findings about those implications exist (APA, 2008c);

WHEREAS, Those operating from religious/spiritual traditions are encouraged to recognize that it is outside their role and expertise to adjudicate empirical scientific issues in psychology, while

[A2] We use the term *sexual minority* (cf. Blumenfeld, 1992; McCarn & Fassinger, 1996; Ullerstam, 1966) to designate the entire group of individuals who experience significant erotic and romantic attractions to adult members of their own sex, including those who experience attractions to members of both their own and the other sex. This term is used because we recognize that not all sexual minority individuals adopt an LGB bisexual identity.

also recognizing they can appropriately speak to theological implications of psychological science (APA, 2008c);

WHEREAS, The American Psychological Association encourages collaborative activities in pursuit of shared prosocial goals between psychologists and religious communities when such collaboration can be done in a mutually respectful manner that is consistent with psychologists' professional and scientific roles (APA, 2008c);

WHEREAS, Societal ignorance and prejudice about a same-sex sexual orientation places some sexual minorities at risk for seeking sexual orientation change due to personal, family, or religious conflicts, or lack of information (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Haldeman, 1994; Ponticelli, 1999; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Wolkomir, 2001);

WHEREAS, Some mental health professionals advocate treatments based on the premise that homosexuality is a mental disorder (e.g., Nicolosi, 1991; Socarides, 1968);

WHEREAS, Sexual minority children and youth are especially vulnerable populations with unique developmental tasks (Perrin, 2002; Ryan & Futterman, 1997) who lack adequate legal protection from involuntary or coercive treatment (Arriola, 1998; Burack & Josephson, 2005; Molnar, 1997) and whose parents and guardians need accurate information to make informed decisions regarding their development and well-being (Cianciatto & Cahill, 2006; Ryan & Futterman, 1997); and

WHEREAS, Research has shown that family rejection is a predictor of negative outcomes (Remafedi, Farrow, & Deisher, 1991; Ryan, Huebner, Diaz, & Sanchez, 2009; Savin-Williams, 1994; Wilber, Ryan, & Marksamer, 2006) and that parental acceptance and school support are protective factors (D'Augelli, 2003; D'Augelli, Hershberger, & Pilkington, 1998; Goodenow, Szalacha, & Westheimer, 2006; Savin-Williams, 1989) for sexual minority youth;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Psychological Association affirms that same-sex sexual and romantic attractions, feelings, and behaviors are normal and positive variations of human sexuality regardless of sexual orientation identity;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Psychological Association reaffirms its position that homosexuality per se is not a mental disorder and opposes portrayals of sexual minority youths and adults as mentally ill due to their sexual orientation;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Psychological Association concludes that there is insufficient evidence to support the use of psychological interventions to change sexual orientation;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Psychological Association encourages mental health professionals to avoid misrepresenting the efficacy of sexual orientation change efforts by promoting or promising change in sexual orientation when providing assistance to individuals distressed by their own or others' sexual orientation;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Psychological Association concludes that the benefits reported by participants in sexual orientation change efforts can be gained through approaches that do not attempt to change sexual orientation;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Psychological Association concludes that the emerging knowledge on affirmative multiculturally competent treatment provides a foundation for an appropriate evidence-based practice with children, adolescents and adults who are distressed by or seek to change their sexual orientation (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Brown, 2006; Martell, Safren, & Prince, 2004; Norcross, 2002; Ryan & Futterman, 1997);

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Psychological Association advises parents, guardians, young people, and their families to avoid sexual orientation change efforts that portray homosexuality as a mental illness or developmental disorder and to seek psychotherapy, social support and educational services that provide accurate information on sexual orientation and sexuality, increase family and school support, and reduce rejection of sexual minority youth;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Psychological Association encourages practitioners to consider the ethical concerns outlined in the 1997 APA Resolution on Appropriate Therapeutic Response to Sexual Orientation (APA, 1998), in particular the following standards and principles:

Bases for Scientific and Professional Judgments, Beneficence and Harm, Justice, and Respect for People's Rights and Dignity;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Psychological Association encourages practitioners to be aware that age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, disability, language, and socioeconomic status may interact with sexual stigma and contribute to variations in sexual orientation identity development, expression, and experience;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Psychological Association opposes the distortion and selective use of scientific data about homosexuality by individuals and organizations seeking to influence public policy and public opinion and will take a leadership role in responding to such distortions;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Psychological Association supports the dissemination of accurate scientific and professional information about sexual orientation in order to counteract bias that is based in lack of knowledge about sexual orientation; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Psychological Association encourages advocacy groups, elected officials, mental health professionals, policymakers, religious professionals and organizations, and other organizations to seek areas of collaboration that may promote the well-being of sexual minorities.

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APPENDIX B: STUDIES INCLUDED (*N* = 55) IN THE SYSTEMATIC REVIEW (CHAPTERS 3 AND 4)

Study	*N*	% Males	Sample	Retention & treatment withdrawals	Research design	Treatment	Outcome measure
Experimental studies							
McConaghy, 1969	40	100	Clinical (6 by court order; 18 with arrest history)	3 withdrawals	4 treatment group randomized experiment	Immediate and delayed aversion apomorphine therapy and aversion relief therapy	Penile circumference
McConaghy, 1976	157	100	Clinical (21 by court order)	None reported	4 experimental substudies (*n*s = 40, 40, 46, 31, respectively) with random assignment to one of two or three treatment alternatives	Aversive apomorphine therapy or aversion-relief; aversive therapy or apomorphine or avoidance conditioning; classical, or avoidance, or backward conditioning; classical aversive therapy or positive conditioning	Sexual feelings; sexual behavior; penile circumference; sexual orientation
McConaghy & Barr, 1973	46	100	Clinical	26 had incomplete treatment exposure; 2 of 20 with complete exposure lost to follow-up	3 treatment group randomized experiment	Classical conditioning, avoidance conditioning, backward conditioning	Heart rate; penile circumference; galvanic skin response
McConaghy, Proctor, & Barr, 1972	40	100	Clinical (police and psychiatric referrals)	16 with incomplete follow-up data and 2 withdrawals	4 treatment group randomized experiment	Immediate and delayed aversive apomorphine therapy; immediate and delayed anticipatory avoidance learning	Penile circumference
Tanner, 1974	16	100	Clinical	None reported	Random assignment experiment with wait list control	Aversive shock therapy	Penile circumference; sexual behavior; personality
Tanner, 1975	10	100	Clinical	None reported	2 treatment group randomized experiment	Aversive shock therapy with/without booster sessions	Penile circumference; self-reported arousal; sexual behavior; personality

Study	*N*	% Males	Sample	Retention & treatment withdrawals	Research design	Treatment	Outcome measure
Quasi-experimental studies							
Birk, Huddleston, Miller, & Cohler, 1971	18	100	Clinical	2 withdrew participation	Nonequivalent 2 treatment group comparison design	Aversive shock therapy vs. associative conditioning	Sexual behavior; clinical judgment; personality
S. James, 1978	40	100	Court-referred	None reported	Nonequivalent 2 treatment group comparison design	Anticipatory avoidance, desensitization, hypnosis, anticipatory avoidance	Sexual orientation; personality
McConaghy, Armstrong, & Blaszczynski, 1981	20	100	Clinical	None reported	Nonequivalent 2 treatment group comparison design	Aversive therapy; covert sensitization	Sexual feelings
Nonexperimental studies							
Bancroft, 1969	16	100	Clinical	6 withdrew participation prior to treatment and 1 during treatment	Case study	Aversive shock therapy	Sexual behavior
Barlow & Agras, 1973	3	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Fading	Penile circumference; sexual urges; sexual fantasies
Barlow, Agrus, Abel, Blanchard, & Young, 1975	3	100	Clinical	None reported	Single case pre–post within-subject	Biofeeback	Penile circumference
Beckstead & Morrow, 2004	50	80	Purposive	None	Qualitative retrospective, grounded theory	Conversion therapy, ex-gay ministries, and/or support groups	Subjective experiences of treatment; subjective appraisal of sexual orientation identity, attraction, & behavior
Birk, 1974	66	100	Clinical	13 withdrew participation	Pre–post within-subject	Psychotherapy	Sexual orientation
Blitch & Haynes, 1972	1	0	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Relaxation therapy and masturbation reconditioning	Sexual behavior
Callahan & Leitenberg, 1973	23	100	Clinical with 2 by court order	9 men withdrew participation and 8 excluded from data analyses	Pre–post within-subject	Aversion shock therapy and covert sensitization	Penile circumference
Colson, 1972	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Olfactory aversion therapy	Sexual behavior

Study	N	% Males	Sample	Retention & treatment withdrawals	Research design	Treatment	Outcome measure
Conrad & Wincze, 1976	4	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Orgasmic reconditioning	Sexual behavior; sexual fantasies; penile circumference
Curtis & Presly, 1972	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Covert sensitization	Sexual orientation
Feldman & MacCulloch, 1965	43	100	Clinical	7 withdrawals	Pre–post within-subject	Anticipatory avoidance	Sexual orientation
Fookes, 1960	27	100	Clinical (7 exhibitionists, 5 fetishists, and 15 bisexual and homosexual men)	None reported	Pre–post within-subject	Aversion shock therapy and calorie deprivation	Clinical judgment
Freeman & Meyer, 1975	9	100	Clinical	None reported	Pre–post within-subject	Aversion shock therapy and masturbation reconditioning	Sexual behavior; sexual orientation
Freund, 1960	67	100	Clinical	20 withdrawals	Pre–post within-subject	Aversion apomorphine therapy	Clinical judgment
Gray, 1970	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Desensitization and masturbation reconditioning	Sexual behavior
Hallam & Rachman, 1972	7	100	Clinical (2 pedophiles, 1 fetishist, 3 bisexual and homosexual men, and 1 voyeur)	None reported	Pre–post within-subject	Aversion shock therapy	Heart rate; galvanic skin response
Hanson & Adesso, 1972	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Desensitization and aversive counter-conditioning	Sexual behavior
Herman, Barlow, & Agras, 1974	4	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Counter-conditioning	Penile circumference; self-reported arousal
Herman & Prewett, 1974	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Biofeedback	Penile circumference
Huff, 1970	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Desensitization	Sexual behavior; personality
B. James, 1962	1	100	Clinical	Treatment stopped due to adverse reaction	Case study	Aversion apomorphine therapy	Sexual fantasies; sexual behavior
Kendrick & McCullough, 1972	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Covert sensitization	Sexual fantasies; sexual behavior
Larson, 1970	3	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Anticipatory avoidance	Sexual fantasies; sexual behavior
Levin, Hirsch, Shugar, & Kapche, 1968	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Desensitization, avoidance conditioning	Personality

Study	N	% Males	Sample	Retention & treatment withdrawals	Research design	Treatment	Outcome measure
LoPiccolo, 1971	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Desensitization	Masturbation fantasies
LoPiccolo, Stewart, & Watkins, 1972	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Orgasmic reconditioning	Sexual behavior
MacCulloch & Feldman, 1967	43	?	Clinical (18 by court order and 4 psychiatric referrals)	7 withdrawals	Pre–post within-subject	Anticipatory avoidance with aversion shock therapy	Sexual orientation; sexual behavior
MacCulloch, Feldman, & Pinshoff, 1965	4	100	Clinical (3 by court order)	1 withdrawal	Case study	Anticipatory avoidance with aversion shock therapy	Attractions; pulse rate
Marquis, 1970	14	79	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Orgasmic reconditioning	Clinical judgment
McCrady, 1973	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Forward fading	Sexual preference, sexual behavior
Mintz, 1966	10	100	Clinical	5 withdrawals	Case study	Therapy	Clinical judgment
Nicolosi, Byrd, & Potts, 2000	882	78	Convenience (NARTH and ex-gay ministry members)	None reported	Retrospective pretest	Conversion therapy	Sexual orientation; sexual behavior
Pattison & Pattison, 1980	11	100	Convenience	None reported; 19 declines to participate	Qualitative retrospective case study	Religious folk therapy	Subjective experience
Ponticelli, 1999	15	0	Purposive (ex-gay ministry)	None reported	Ethnography	Ex-gay ministry	None
Quinn, Harbison, & McAllister, 1970	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Desensitization and hydration deprivation	Penile circumference
Rehm & Rozensky, 1974	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Therapy and orgasmic reconditioning	Sexual behavior
Sandford, Tustin, & Priest, 1975	2	100%	Clinical	1 withdrawal reported	Case study	Differential reinforcement and punishment	Penile circumference
Schaeffer, Hyde, Kroencke, McCormick, & Nottebaum, 2000	248	74	Convenience (Exodus International conference attendees)	None reported	Retrospective pretest	Varied counseling and conversion therapies	Sexual behavior; sexual feelings; sexual orientation identity
Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001	150	91	Convenience	None reported	Qualitative retrospective case study	Varied, including behavior therapy; psychoanalysis; aversive therapies; hypnosis; spiritual counseling; psychotropic medication; in-patient treatment.	Perceived harmfulness or helpfulness of SOCE

Study	N	% Males	Sample	Retention & treatment withdrawals	Research design	Treatment	Outcome measure
Segal & Sims, 1972	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Covert sensitization	Self-report of continued need for treatment
Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002	202	90	Convenience	None reported	Qualitative retrospective case study	Varied including behavior therapy; psychoanalysis; aversive therapies; hypnosis; spiritual counseling; psychotropic medication; in-patient treatment.	Sexual orientation; sexual orientation identity
Solyom & Miller, 1965	6	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Aversive shock therapy	Galvanic skin responses; penile circumference
Spitzer, 2003	200	71	Convenience (Ex-gay ministry members)	None reported; 74 not eligible	Retrospective pretest	Varied including ex-gay and religious support groups and therapy.	Sexual attraction; sexual orientation identity; sexual behavior;
Thorpe, Schmidt, & Castell, 1963	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Classical conditioning	Sexual fantasy; ability to orgasm in response to female stimuli
Thorpe, Schmidt, Brown, & Castell, 1964	8	75	Clinical (referred for variety of mental health concerns)	2 withdrawals	Case study	Aversion relief	Anxiety; personality
Wolkomir, 2001	n/a		Purposive	None reported	Ethnography	2 Bible study support groups	Subjective experience

EXHIBIT C

Ending Conversion Therapy: Supporting and Affirming LGBTQ Youth

October 2015

Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration
SAMHSA

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Ending Conversion Therapy: Supporting and Affirming LGBTQ Youth

October 2015

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Contents

Executive Summary

Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and *transgender* youth, and those who are *questioning* their sexual orientation or gender identity (*LGBTQ* youth) experience significant health and behavioral health disparities. Negative social attitudes and discrimination related to an individual's LGBTQ identity can contribute to these disparities, and may result in institutional, interpersonal, and individual stressors that affect mental health and well-being. (Bockting, Miner, Swinburne Romine, Hamilton, & Coleman, 2013; Meyer, 2003). This stress, as well as limited opportunities for support, are encountered by *sexual and gender minority*[1] youth in their families, communities, and school settings. Additionally, some transgender youth experience gender dysphoria – psychological distress due to the incongruence between one's body and gender identity (Coleman et al., 2012).

SAMHSA is committed to eliminating health disparities facing vulnerable communities, including sexual and gender minority communities. One key factor to preventing these adverse outcomes is positive family (including guardians and caregivers) and community engagement and appropriate interventions by medical and behavioral health care providers. Supporting optimal development of children and adolescents with regard to sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression is vital to ensuring their health and well-being.

The purpose of this report, *Ending Conversion Therapy: Supporting and Affirming LGBTQ outh*, is to provide mental health professionals and families with accurate information about effective and ineffective therapeutic practices related to children's and adolescent's sexual orientation and gender identity. Specifically, this report addresses the issue of conversion therapy for minors. The conclusions in this report are based on professional consensus statements arrived at by experts in the field. Specifically, conversion therapy—efforts to change an individual's sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression[2]—is a practice that is not supported by credible evidence and has been disavowed by behavioral health experts and associations. Conversion therapy perpetuates outdated views of gender roles and identities as well as the negative stereotype that being a sexual or gender minority or identifying as LGBTQ is an abnormal aspect of human development. Most importantly, it may put young people at risk of serious harm.

Key Findings

This report and its recommendations are based on consensus statements developed by experts in the field after a careful review of existing research, professional health association reports and summaries, and expert clinical guidance. The consensus statements highlight areas of the ethical and scientific foundations most relevant to the practice of conversion therapy with minors. A full list of the consensus statements is found in the body of this report; key statements that form the underpinnings of the guidance in this report are provided here.

- Same-gender[3] sexual orientation (including identity, behavior, and attraction) and variations in gender identity and gender expression are a part of the normal spectrum of human diversity and do not constitute a mental disorder.
- There is limited research on conversion therapy efforts among children and adolescents; however, none of the existing research supports the premise that mental or behavioral health interventions can alter gender identity or sexual orientation.
- Interventions aimed at a fixed outcome, such as gender conformity or heterosexual orientation, including those aimed at changing gender identity, gender expression, and sexual orientation are coercive, can be harmful, and should not be part of behavioral health treatment. (American Psychiatric Association, 2013b; American Psychological Association, 2010; National Association of Social Workers, 2008).

Understanding Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity in Children and Youth

Behavioral health providers, parents, schools, and communities can best provide support to children, adolescents, and their families when they have access to the most current information about sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression in youth. The following overview presents the best current evidence regarding understandings of child and adolescent sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression.

Sexuality occurs across a continuum; same-gender attraction and relationships are normal variations of human sexuality (Diamond, 2015; Vrangalova & Savin-Williams, 2012). Similarly, a gender identity that is incongruent with assigned sex at birth, as well as a gender expression that diverges from stereotypical cultural norms for a particular gender, are normal variations of human gender (American Psychological Association, 2015a; Knudson, De Cuypere, & Bockting, 2010). Being a sexual or gender minority, or identifying as LGBTQ, is not pathological (American Psychological Association, 2015a; APA Task Force on Gender Identity and Gender Variance, 2009; Coleman et al., 2012).

There is not a single developmental trajectory for either sexual minority or gender minority youth. Compared to the 20th century, in the 21st century, youth started realizing and disclosing a minority sexual orientation and/or identifying as lesbian, gay, or bisexual at younger ages than in previous generations (Diamond & Savin-Williams, 2000; Floyd & Bakeman, 2006; Grov, Bimbi, Nanín, & Parsons, 2006; R. C. Savin-Williams, 2001). Though aspects of sexuality are displayed beginning in infancy, little is known about sexual orientation among pre-pubertal children (Adelson & American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry (AACAP) Committee on Quality Issues (CQI), 2012). Children are rarely if ever distressed about their current or future sexual orientation; more commonly, parents and guardians are distressed about a child's perceived current or future sexual orientation and seek the assistance of behavioral health providers (American Psychological Association, 2009). Sexual minority adolescents face the same developmental tasks that accompany adolescence for all youth, including sexual orientation identity development. Unlike those with a heterosexual orientation, however, adolescents with a minority sexual orientation must navigate awareness and acceptance of a socially marginalized sexual identity; potentially without family, community, or societal support. In comparison with their heterosexual counterparts, sexual minority adolescents are at increased risk for psychological distress and substance use behaviors, including depressive symptoms, increased rates of substance use and abuse, suicidal ideation and attempts, as well as increased likelihood of experiencing victimization, violence, and homelessness (Corliss et al., 2010; Friedman et al., 2011; Goldbach, Tanner-Smith, Bagwell, & Dunlap, 2014; Hatzenbuehler, 2011; Institute of Medicine, 2011; Kann et al., 2011; Marshal et al., 2011; Russell, 2003). Supportive families, peers, and school and community environments are associated with improved psychosocial outcomes for sexual minority youth (Bouris et al., 2010; Kosciw, Greytak, Palmer, & Boesen, 2014; Lease, Horne, & Noffsinger-Frazier, 2005).

Gender development begins in infancy and continues progressively throughout childhood. Gender diversity or signs of gender dysphoria may emerge as early as a child's preschool years, or as late as adolescence (Cohen-Kettenis, 2005). For many gender minority children, gender dysphoria will not persist, and they will develop a *cisgender* identity in adolescence or adulthood; a majority of these children will identify as lesbian, gay, or bisexual in adulthood (Bailey & Zucker, 1995; Drescher, 2014; Leibowitz & Spack, 2011; Wallien & Cohen-Kettenis, 2008). Whether or not these individuals continue to have a diverse gender expression is unknown. For other gender minority children, gender dysphoria will persist and usually worsen with the physical changes of adolescence; these youth generally identify as transgender (or another gender identity that differs from their assigned sex at birth) in adolescence and adulthood

(Byne et al., 2012; Coleman, et al., 2012). For still another group, gender dysphoria emerges in post-puberty without any childhood history of gender dysphoria gender diversity (Edwards-Leeper & Spack, 2012). Gender dysphoria that worsens with the onset of puberty is unlikely to remit later in adolescence or adulthood, especially among youth with a childhood onset, and long-term identification as transgender is likely (American Psychological Association, 2015a; American Psychological Association, 2008; Byne, et al., 2012).

While most adolescents with gender dysphoria score within normal ranges on psychological tests (Cohen-Kettenis & van Goozen, 1997; de Vries, Doreleijers, Steensma, & Cohen-Kettenis, 2011; Smith, van Goozen, & Cohen-Kettenis, 2001), some gender minority children and adolescents have elevated risk of depression, anxiety, and behavioral issues. These psychosocial issues are likely related to if not caused by negative social attitudes or rejection (Vance, Ehrensaft, & Rosenthal, 2014). As with sexual minority adolescents, other issues of clinical relevance for gender minority adolescents include increased risk of experiencing victimization and violence, suicidal ideation and attempts, and homelessness (Coleman, et al., 2012; Garofalo, Deleon, Osmer, Doll, & Harper, 2006; Institute of Medicine, 2011; Mustanski, Garofalo, & Emerson, 2010; Simons, Leibowitz, & Hidalgo, 2014). Improved psychosocial outcomes are seen among youth when social supports are put in place to recognize and affirm gender minority youth's gender identities (Vance, et al., 2014).

Therapeutic Efforts with Sexual and Gender Minority Youth[4]

Given the professional consensus that conversion therapy efforts are inappropriate, the following behavioral health approaches are consistent with the expert consensus statements and current research, and are recommended by professional associations (American Psychological Association, 2015a; APA Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation, 2009; Byne, et al., 2012). When providing services to children, adolescents, and families, appropriate therapeutic approaches include: providing accurate information on the development of sexual orientation and gender identity and expression; increasing family and school support; and reducing family, community, and social rejection of sexual and gender minority children and adolescents. Approaches should be client-centered and developmentally-appropriate with the goal of treatment being the best possible level of psychological functioning, rather than any specific gender identity, gender expression, or sexual orientation. Appropriate therapeutic approaches with sexual and gender minority youth should include a comprehensive evaluation and focus on identity development and exploration that allows the child or adolescent the freedom of self-discovery within a context of acceptance and support. It is important to identify the sources of any distress experienced by sexual and gender minority youth and their families, and work to reduce this distress. Working with parents and guardians is important as parental behaviors and attitudes have a significant effect on the mental health and well-being of sexual and gender minority children and adolescents. School and community interventions may also be necessary and appropriate.

In addition to the appropriate therapeutic approaches described above – comprehensive evaluation, support in identity exploration and development without an *a priori* goal of any particular gender identity or expression, and facilitation of family and community support – social transition and medical intervention are therapeutic approaches that are appropriate for some gender minority youth. Careful evaluation and developmentally-appropriate informed consent of youth and their families, including a weighing of potential risks and benefits are vital when considering medical intervention with gender minority youth.

Eliminating the practice of conversion therapy with sexual and gender minority minors is an important step, but it will not alleviate the myriad of stressors they experience as a result of interpersonal, institutional, and societal bias and discrimination against sexual and gender minorities.

LGBTQ youth still need additional support to promote positive development in the face of such stressors. Supportive family, community, school, and health care environments have been shown to have great positive impacts on both the short- and long-term health and well-being of LGBTQ youth. Families and others working with LGBTQ children and adolescents can benefit from guidance and resources to increase support for sexual and gender minority minors and to help facilitate the best possible outcomes for these youth.

Ending the Use of Conversion Therapy for Minors

Given that conversion therapy is not an appropriate therapeutic intervention; efforts should be taken to end the practice of conversion therapy. Efforts to end the practice have included policy efforts to reduce the negative attitudes and discrimination directed at LGBTQ individuals and families; affirmative public information about LGBTQ individuals, particularly directed at families and youth; resolutions and guidelines by professional associations to inform providers that conversion efforts are inappropriate and to provide guidance on appropriate interventions; and, state and federal legislation and legal action to end the practice of conversion therapy. Future efforts may include improved provider training, federal regulatory action, advancement of legislation at the state and federal level, and additional activities by the Administration, which issued a public statement supporting efforts to ban the use of conversion therapy for minors in the spring of 2015.

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Introduction

This report, *Ending Conversion Therapy: Supporting and Affirming LGBTQ outh*, provides an overview of the current state of scientific understanding of the development of sexual orientation and gender identity in children and adolescents as well as the professional consensus on clinical best practices with these populations. Specifically, this report addresses the issue of conversion therapy for minors. Conversion therapy—efforts to change an individual's sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression[5]—is a practice that is not supported by credible evidence, and has been disavowed by behavioral health experts and associations. Importantly, this report also provides a nuanced overview of appropriate supportive interventions to assist families in exploring the sometimes difficult issues associated with sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression.

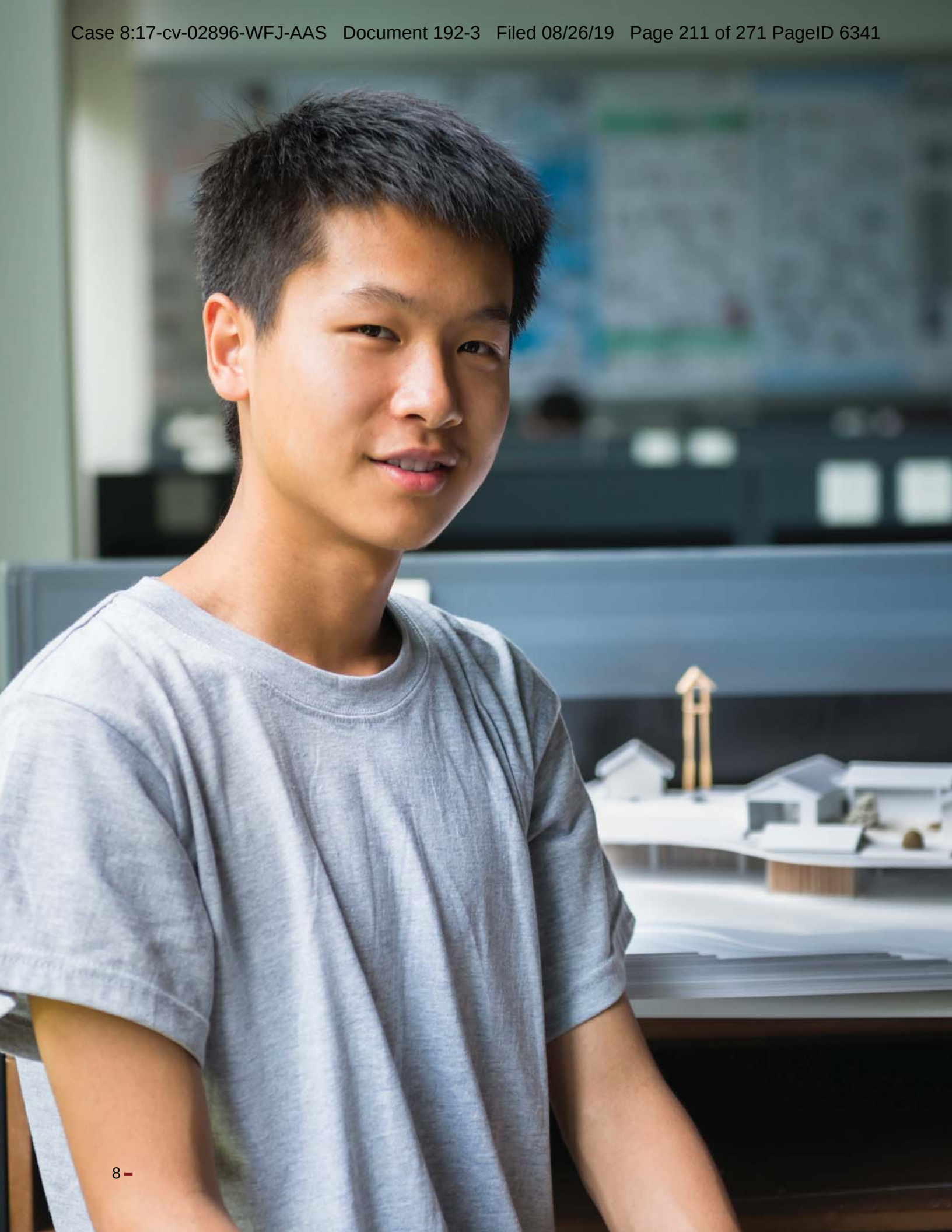
This work is the result of a collaboration between the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) and the American Psychological Association (APA), which convened a panel of behavioral health professionals (e.g., psychologists, researchers and clinicians from psychology, social work, and psychiatry) with expertise in the fields of gender development, gender identity, and sexual orientation in children and adolescents in July 2015. That convening, which is discussed in greater depth below, aimed to establish consensus with respect to conversion therapy for minors, based on the best available research and scholarly material available, as well as the clinical experience of experts in the field. The resultant statements of professional consensus are printed in their entirety in the following section.

In addition, this report highlights areas of opportunity for future research, and provides an overview of mechanisms to eliminate the use of harmful therapies. In an effort to provide useful tools for families, practitioners, and educators, the report also provides resources on several topics, including: *Family and Community Acceptance*, *School-Based Issues*, *Pediatric Considerations*, and *Affirmative Exploratory Therap* . In addressing these four topics, SAMHSA aims to enable families, providers, educators, and community members to take actions that will reduce the health risks and disparities facing this vulnerable population.

> "Being gay is not a disorder. Being transgender is not a malady that requires a cure."
>
> **—Vice Admiral Vivek H. Murthy, 19th U.S. Surgeon General**

SAMHSA is committed to eliminating health disparities facing vulnerable communities, including sexual and gender minority communities. In addressing the issues included in this report that have a significant impact on the lives and well-being of sexual and gender minority youth, SAMHSA aims to enable families, providers, and educators to take actions that will reduce the health risks and disparities facing this vulnerable population

SAMHSA's mission is to improve the behavioral health of the nation. As such, SAMHSA endeavors to improve public health and eliminate health disparities facing all vulnerable communities, including sexual and gender minority populations.[6]As will be addressed in detail below, conversion therapy perpetuates outdated gender roles and negative stereotypes that being a sexual or gender minority or identifying as LGBTQ is an abnormal aspect of human development. Most importantly, it may put young people at risk of serious harm. This report is one of many steps SAMHSA is taking to improve the health and well-being of sexual and gender minority children and youth.



Professional Consensus Process

In early April 2015, representatives from SAMHSA and APA agreed to collaborate to address the concerns of professional associations, policy makers, and the public regarding efforts to change gender identity and sexual orientation in children and adolescents (also referred to as conversion therapy). Through the support of the Federal Agencies Project, APA hosted an expert consensus convening on this topic in July 2015, which significantly informed this report. The research overview and clinical expertise highlighted throughout serve as the foundation from which the consensus statements were developed. Both the process of achieving consensus and the results of the meeting are published below.

APA initially developed a list of the areas of expertise to be used in identifying potential experts to participate in the consensus panel based on existing professional guidelines and resolutions related to sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression, as well as published research. APA solicited nominations from specialists in the field with expertise in gender, sexuality and sexual orientation, child and adolescent development and mental health, and the psychology of religion. Additionally, APA solicited nominations from professional associations representing the major mental health and health professions. Using the input received from these sources, APA extended invitations to a short list of highly recommended group of experts. This initial expert pool nominated additional experts based on their assessment of the expertise needed to achieve the goals of the meeting. The final panel of 13 experts consisted of ten psychologists, two social workers, and one psychiatrist. These individuals included researchers and practitioners in child and adolescent mental health with a strong background in gender development, gender identity, and sexual orientation in children and adolescents. The panel also included experts with a background in family therapy, ethics, and the psychology of religion. Among others, the panel included: Sheri Berenbaum, PhD; Celia B. Fisher, PhD; Laura Edwards-Leeper, PhD; Marco A. Hidalgo, PhD; David Huebner, PhD; Colton L. Keo-Meier, PhD; Scott Leibowitz, MD; Robin Lin Miller, PhD; Caitlin Ryan, PhD, ACSW; Josh Wolff, PhD; and Mark Yarhouse, PsyD. APA activities were coordinated by Clinton W. Anderson, PhD and Judith Glassgold, PsyD.

Based on published literature on consensus methods, APA developed an iterative process that culminated in a two-day meeting in Washington, DC on July 7 and 8, 2015. During the meeting, panelist-led discussions considered the relevant research, professional guidelines and clinical knowledge-base for each of the topics. The panel developed consensus statements on sexual orientation change efforts as well as gender identity change efforts in children and adolescents for each of the relevant developmental stages: pre-pubertal children, peri-pubertal adolescents, and pubertal and post-pubertal adolescents.

Panelists agreed that unanimous consensus was a strong priority, but that if unanimity could not be reached, 80 percent support would consitute consensus. The panelists also agreed that minority opinions should be reflected in the record if any dissenting expert wished to issue such an opinion. Unanimous consensus was reached in nearly all instances. No dissenting opinions were formally registered. The statements of professional consensus are printed in *Section 3* of this report.

Observers from interested federal agencies, health and human services professional organizations, foundations, and LGBTQ human rights organizations also attended the meeting. These observers were offered an opportunity to submit written questions, which the panel addressed throughout the course of the meeting.

"PFR "created something that was groundbreaking. It was the best piece of work ever created by the federal government."

Sue Thau

Statements of Professional Consensus

The following are the statements of professional consensus regarding sexual orientation and gender identity and expression that were developed during the July 2015 APA consensus convening. After initially developing separate statements regarding issues relating to the development of sexual orientation and gender identity and gender expression, the panel developed a set of three key summary statements. The panel also developed a statement regarding the guiding human rights and scientific principles that provide a foundation for behavioral health professionals' work in this area.

Guiding Principles

Behavioral health professionals respect human dignity and rights. The foundational ethical principle of "self-determination" requires that children and adolescents be supported in their right to explore, define, and articulate their own identity. The principles of "justice" and "beneficence and nonmaleficence" require that all children and adolescents have access to behavioral health treatments that will promote their health and welfare. Children and adolescents have the right to participate in decisions that affect their treatment and future. Behavioral health professionals respect human diversity and strive to incorporate multicultural awareness into their work.

These guiding principles are based upon the codes of ethics for the professional fields of Psychology, Psychiatry, and Social Work (American Psychiatric Association, 2013b; American Psychological Association, 2010; National Association of Social Workers, 2008).

Professional Consensus on Conversion Therapy with Minors

1. Same-gender[7]sexual orientation (including identity, behavior, and/or attraction) and variations in gender identity and gender expression are a part of the normal spectrum of human diversity and do not constitute a mental disorder.
2. There is limited research on conversion therapy efforts among children and adolescents; however, none of the existing research supports the premise that mental or behavioral health interventions can alter gender identity or sexual orientation.
3. Interventions aimed at a fixed outcome, such as gender conformity or heterosexual orientation, including those aimed at changing gender identity, gender expression, and sexual orientation are coercive, can be harmful, and should not be part of behavioral health treatments. Directing the child to be conforming to any gender expression or sexual orientation, or directing the parents to place pressure for specific gender expressions, gender identities, and sexual orientations are inappropriate and reinforce harmful gender and sexual orientation stereotypes.

Professional Consensus on Sexual Orientation in Youth

1. Same-gender sexual identity, behavior, and attraction are not mental disorders. Same-gender sexual attractions are part of the normal spectrum of sexual orientation. Sexual orientation change in children and adolescents should not be a goal of mental health and behavioral interventions.
2. Sexual minority children and adolescents are especially vulnerable populations with unique developmental tasks who lack protections from involuntary or coercive treatment, and whose parents and guardians need accurate information to make informed decisions about behavioral health treatment.
3. There is a lack of published research on efforts to change sexual orientation among children and adolescents; no existing research supports that mental health and behavioral interventions with children and adolescents alter sexual orientation. Given the research on the secondary outcomes of such efforts, the potential for risk of harm suggests the need for other models of behavioral health treatment.
4. Behavioral health professionals provide accurate information on sexual orientation, gender identity, and expression; increase family and school support; and, reduce rejection of sexual minority youth. Behavioral health practitioners identify sources of distress and work to reduce distress experienced by children and adolescents. Behavioral health professionals provide efforts to encourage identity exploration and integration, adaptive coping, and family acceptance to improve psychological well-being.

Professional Consensus on Gender Identity and Gender Expression in Youth

Consensus on the Overall Phenomena of Gender Identity and Gender Expression

1. Variations in gender identity and expression are normal aspects of human diversity and do not constitute a mental disorder. Binary definitions of gender may not reflect emerging gender identities.
2. Pre-pubertal children and peri-pubertal adolescents who present with diverse gender expressions or gender dysphoria may or may not develop a transgender identity in adolescence or adulthood. In pubertal and post-pubertal adolescents, diverse gender expressions and transgender identity usually continue into adulthood.

Consensus on Efforts to Change Gender Identity

3. There is a lack of published research on efforts to change gender identity among children and adolescents; no existing research supports that mental health and behavioral interventions with children and adolescents alter gender identity.
4. It is clinically inappropriate for behavioral health professionals to have a prescriptive goal related to gender identity, gender expression, or sexual orientation for the ultimate developmental outcome of a child's or adolescent's gender identity or gender expression.
5. Mental health and behavioral interventions aimed at achieving a fixed outcome, such as gender conformity, including those aimed at changing gender identity or gender expression, are coercive, can be harmful, and should not be part of treatment. Directing the child or adolescent to conform to any particular gender expression or identity, or directing parents and guardians to place pressure on the child or adolescent to conform to specific gender expressions and/or identities, is inappropriate and reinforces harmful gender stereotypes.

Consensus on Appropriate Therapeutic Intervention for Youth with Gender-Related Concerns

6. Children and adolescents experiencing gender-related concerns are an especially vulnerable population with unique developmental tasks. Parents and guardians need accurate scientific information to make informed decisions about appropriate mental health and behavioral interventions, including whether or not to initiate a social gender transition or, in the case of peri-pubertal, pubertal, and post-pubertal adolescents, medical intervention. Treatment discussions should respect the child's and adolescent's developing autonomy, recognizing that adolescents are still transitioning into adult decision-making capacities.
7. Approaches that focus on developmentally-appropriate identity exploration, integration, the reduction of distress, adaptive coping, and family acceptance to improve psychological well-being are recommended for children and adolescents of all ages experiencing gender-related concerns.

Pre-Pubertal Children

8. Gender expression and gender identity are interrelated and difficult to differentiate in pre-pubertal children, and are aspects of identity that develop throughout childhood. Therefore, a detailed psychological assessment should be offered to children and families to better understand the present status of a child's gender identity and gender expression, as well as any associated distress.

Peri-Pubertal Adolescents

9. For peri-pubertal adolescents, the purpose of pubertal suppression is to provide time to support identity exploration, to alleviate or avoid potential distress associated with physical maturation and secondary sex characteristics[8], and to improve future healthy adjustment. If pubertal suppression is being considered, it is strongly recommended that parents or guardians and medical providers obtain an assessment by a licensed behavioral health provider to understand the present status of a peri-pubertal adolescent's gender identity or gender expression and associated distress, as well as to provide developmentally-appropriate information to the peri-pubertal adolescent, parents or guardians, and other health care professionals involved in the peri-pubertal adolescent's care. The purpose of the assessment is to advise and inform treatment decisions regarding pubertal suppression after sharing details of the potential risks, benefits, and implications of pubertal suppression, including the effects of pubertal suppression on behavioral health disorders, cognitive and emotional development, and future physical and sexual health.

Pubertal and Post-Pubertal Adolescents

10. Decision-making regarding one's developing gender identity is a highly individualized process and takes many forms. For pubertal and post-pubertal adolescents, if physical gender transition (such as hormone therapy or gender affirming surgeries) is being considered, it is strongly recommended that adolescents, parents, and providers obtain an assessment by a licensed behavioral health provider to understand the present status of an adolescent's gender identity and gender expression and associated distress, as well as to provide developmentally-appropriate information to adolescents, parents or guardians, and other health care professionals involved in the pubertal or post-pubertal adolescent's care. If physical transition is indicated, the potential risks, benefits, and implications of the transition-related procedures being considered – including the effects on behavioral health disorders, cognitive and emotional development, and potentially irreversible effects on physical health, fertility, and sexual health – are presented to the adolescent and parents or guardians.

    Withholding timely physical gender transition interventions for pubertal and post-pubertal adolescents, when such interventions are clinically indicated, prolongs gender dysphoria and exacerbates emotional distress.

Research Overview

Sexual Orientation

Sexual orientation is a multidimensional construct that consists of sexual identity, sexual and romantic attraction, and sexual behavior. Great shifts in the understanding of sexual orientation have occurred over the past century (Herek, 2010). Though a minority sexual orientation was once considered abnormal or a medical problem, scientists now understand that sexuality occurs on a continuum and variations in sexual orientation are part of the normal range of human sexuality (American Psychological Association, 2009; Diamond, 2015; Vrangalova & Savin-Williams, 2012). In 1973, homosexuality was removed as a diagnostic category in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders with a declaration of support for the civil rights of lesbian, gay, and bisexual people from the American Psychiatric Association. Many health organizations followed suit in passing resolutions that affirmed their support for the civil rights of lesbian, gay, and bisexual people, including the American Psychological Association, the National Association for Social Workers, the American Counseling Association, the American Medical Association, the American Psychoanalytic Association, and the American Academy of Pediatrics. In 1992, the World Health Organization removed homosexuality from the International Classification of Diseases (Nakajima, 2003; World Health Organization, 1992)[9].

Gender

Gender is a ubiquitous and multi-faceted social category. When discussing the concept of gender, scientists distinguish between biological sex, gender identity, and gender expression. Biological sex refers to one's physical sex characteristics (Hughes, Houk, Ahmed, & Lee, 2006). Infants' biological sex is labeled at birth, almost always based solely on external genital appearance; this is referred to as one's assigned sex at birth[10]. Gender identity refers to a person's deeply felt, inherent sense of being a girl, woman or female; a boy, a man or male; a blend of male or female; or an alternative gender (Bethea, 2013; Institute of Medicine, 2011). Gender expression refers to the ways a person communicates their gender within a given culture, including clothing, communication patterns, and interests; a person's gender expression may or may not be consistent with socially prescribed gender roles or assigned sex at birth, and may or may not reflect his or her gender identity (American Psychological Association, 2008).

Similar to sexual orientation, significant changes have occurred over time in the scientific understanding of gender. Though one's biological sex, gender identity, and gender expression are distinct constructs, society expects that they will align, and for most individuals this is true – that is, most individuals who are assigned female at birth identify as girls or women and adopt a feminine gender expression, while most individuals who are assigned male at birth identify as boys or men and adopt a masculine gender expression[11](American Psychological Association, 2015a). However, for some individuals, these constructs do not align. The term transgender refers to individuals whose gender identity is not consistent with their sex assigned at birth. The term gender diverse (or gender nonconforming) refers to individuals whose gender expression does not conform to the stereotypical norms in their culture for their assigned sex at birth. Research in recent decades has also challenged the perception of gender as a binary construct with mutually exclusive categories of male or female, boy or girl, man or woman (American Psychological Association, 2015a; Steensma, Kreukels, de Vries, & Cohen-Kettenis, 2013). It has also often been assumed that one's gender identity – that is, the deeply felt, inherent sense of one's gender – always aligns with sex assigned as birth (American Psychological Association, 2015a). Scientists now recognize that a wide spectrum of gender identities and gender expressions exist (and have always existed), including people who identify as either man or woman, neither man nor woman,

a blend of man and woman, or a unique gender identity (Harrison, Grant, & Herman, 2012; Kuper, Nussbaum, & Mustanski, 2012).

Furthermore, scientists and clinicians now understand that identifying with a gender that does not align with sex assigned at birth, as well as a gender expression that varies from that which is stereotypical for one's gender or sex assigned at birth, is not inherently pathological (American Psychological Association, 2015a; Coleman, et al., 2012; Knudson, De Cuypere, & Bockting, 2010) and does not always require clinical attention (Steensma, Kreukels, et al., 2013). However, people may experience distress associated with discordance between their gender identity and their body or sex assigned at birth (i.e., gender dysphoria) as well distress associated with negative social attitudes and discrimination (Coleman, et al., 2012). This paradigmatic shift in the understanding of diverse gender identities and expressions was reflected in the replacement of Gender Identity Disorder with Gender Dysphoria in the 2013 edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (American Psychiatric Association, 2013a). The diagnosis of Gender Dysphoria, which is marked in children and adolescents by clinically significant distress encountered by the discordance between biological sex and gender identity that disrupts school or social functioning, depathologizes diverse gender identities and expressions, instead focusing on the potential psychosocial challenges associated with gender diversity (American Psychiatric Association, 2013a; Simons, et al., 2014; Vance, et al., 2014).

Sexual Orientation and Gender in Childhood

Sexual Orientation in Childhood

Sexual orientation, as usually conceptualized, begins at or near adolescence with the development of sexual feelings (APA Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation, 2009). While children display aspects of sexuality from infancy, and almost universally develop sexual feelings by adolescence or earlier, the limited research focused on children's sexuality generally does not assess sexual orientation (Adelson & AACAP CQI, 2012). Therefore, little is known about sexual orientation in pre-pubertal children, and no direct research on sexual orientation in pre-pubertal children has been conducted. Studies that have retrospectively asked lesbian, gay, and bisexual adults about their childhood experiences have reported that LGB adults often describe having had same-gender emotional and sexual feelings and attractions from childhood or early adolescence; many recall a sense of being different even earlier in childhood (APA Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation, 2009).

Gender Identity and Gender Expression in Childhood

Gender-related development begins in infancy and continues progressively throughout childhood. Research has focused on three key concepts: gender constancy, gender consistency, and gender identity. On average, children develop gender constancy – stability across time in identification of their gender – between ages 3 to 4 (Kohlberg, 1966) and gender consistency – recognition that gender remains the same across situations – between ages 4 to 7 (Siegal & Robinson, 1987). The development of gender identity appears to be the result of a complex interplay between biological, environmental, and psychological factors (Steensma, Kreukels, et al., 2013). For most people, gender identity develops in alignment with one's sex assigned at birth. However, for some individuals, gender identity may not align with one's assigned sex at birth, and the period during which gender identity is clarified and solidified is unclear (Diamond & Butterworth, 2008; Steensma, Kreukels, et al., 2013). There is no single trajectory of gender identity development for gender minority children.

It is important to note that research on gender identity issues among children is largely clinical in nature and focuses on the treatment and intervention of Gender Dysphoria and, previously, Gender Identity Disorder[12](APA Task Force on Gender Identity and Gender Variance, 2009). Though there

have been no epidemiological studies to determine the prevalence of gender diverse and transgender children or adolescents, there has been a notable increase in the number of gender minority youth presenting to specialty gender clinics in the past decade (Vance, et al., 2014). Recent evidence indicates that as a culture becomes more supportive of gender diversity, more children are affirming a transgender identity or diverse gender expressions (Vance, et al., 2014).

Some gender non-conforming children experience significant distress, currently termed *gender dysphoria*. Signs of gender dysphoria may emerge as early as the preschool years; children as young as two years may indicate that they want to be another gender, express dislike for the gender associated with their sex assigned at birth, express anatomic dysphoria, and state that they want to be another gender as soon as they can express language (Cohen-Kettenis, 2005). For most gender minority children, gender dysphoria does not persist through adolescence. Existing research suggests that between 12 percent and 50 percent of children attending a specialty clinic for gender dysphoria may persist in their identification with a gender different than sex assigned at birth into late adolescence and young adulthood (Drummond, Bradley, Peterson-Badali, & Zucker, 2008; Steensma, McGuire, Kreukels, Beekman, & Cohen-Kettenis, 2013; Wallien & Cohen-Kettenis, 2008). These studies were based on clinical samples of youth and many of the researchers categorized youth no longer attending the clinics (whose gender identity may be unknown) as no longer gender dysphoric, and so this research likely underestimates the percentage of youth who persist with a cross-gender or transgender identity (American Psychological Association, 2015a).

The fact that a large proportion of gender minority children do eventually develop a gender identity consistent with their sex assigned at birth has been viewed as evidence of the malleability of gender identity (Zucker, 2004; Zucker & Bradley, 1995). However, this conclusion has been challenged in recent years by some scholars. These researchers and clinicians have pointed out that the diagnostic criteria for Gender Dysphoria (and, previously, Gender Identity Disorder) in Childhood includes indicators that might denote gender dysphoria or gender identity, but might also simply be markers of diverse gender expression (for example, children's play preferences; Steensma, Biemond, de Boer, & Cohen-Kettenis, 2011; Steensma, McGuire, et al., 2013). These scholars have suggested that the inclusion in study samples of many children with diverse gender expressions who may not have gender dysphoria could explain the large proportion of gender minority children who eventually do not meet the diagnostic criteria in adolescence (Hidalgo et al., 2013; Wallien & Cohen-Kettenis, 2008).

One of gender's greatest complexities is that some people never identify with the sex they were assigned at birth, some people consistently identify with the sex they were assigned at birth, and still others vary over time. Gender minority children follow two trajectories[13]: On the first, children will experience gender dysphoria through adolescence and adulthood (unless dysphoria is mitigated through social or medical transition) and will identify as transgender or as a gender different from that assigned at birth. On the other trajectory, gender minority children will develop to be cisgender individuals, i.e., they will eventually identify with a gender consistent with their sex assigned at birth (Simons, et al., 2014). Gender minority children who eventually develop a cisgender identity are more likely to identify as lesbian, gay, or bisexual in adolescence and young adulthood (Bailey & Zucker, 1995; Drescher, 2014; Leibowitz & Spack, 2011; Wallien & Cohen-Kettenis, 2008). It is unknown whether gender minority children who develop a cisgender identity continue to express their gender in ways that do not conform to stereotypical gender norms, as this has not been studied. No prospective data exist on factors that might predict for any particular child which trajectory they will follow. There is, however, recent retrospective evidence identifying factors that are more common among children who eventually identify as transgender: early cognitive ("I am a girl") rather than affective ("I feel like a girl") assertion of gender; consistent and firm gender-

fluid or gender-crossing expressions and identity; and distress about the incongruence between their physical sex characteristics and affirmed gender (Steensma, Biemond, de Boer, & Cohen-Kettenis, 2011; Steensma, McGuire, et al., 2013; Vance, et al., 2014).

Clinical Issues in Childhood

Researchers have not systematically investigated whether children experience distress related to their sexual orientation. No published research suggests that children are distressed about their sexual orientation. When pre-pubertal children are referred to behavioral health professionals for concerns related to sexual orientation, such referrals are often precipitated by a parent or guardian's concern or distress about a child's behavior – generally, a failure to conform to stereotypical gender role behaviors – and possible future sexual orientation (APA Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation, 2009). Research has shown that gender diverse children who develop a cisgender identity do have a higher likelihood of identifying as a sexual minority in adulthood, and that some (but not all) sexual minority adults recall gender nonconforming behaviors in childhood (APA Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation, 2009). It is unknown whether cisgender lesbian, gay, and bisexual adults who were treated by behavioral health providers as youth experienced distress related to their gender nonconformity (APA Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation, 2009).

Gender minority children are not a monolithic group: some gender diverse children are distressed; while others are not distressed, but may be referred for mental health care because of parental concerns related to their gender or perceived future sexual orientation. Among those who are distressed, the source of distress varies. Some gender diverse children are distressed by their primary sex characteristics or by the anticipation of future sex characteristics, while others are not (Coleman, et al., 2012; Vance, et al., 2014). In addition to anatomical dysphoria, children's feelings of gender typicality, gender contentedness, and pressure to conform to stereotypical gender norms also appear related to children's psychosocial adjustment. Researchers have reported on the relationships between these various components of gender identity and indicators of children's psychosocial adjustment, such as self-esteem, internalizing and externalizing problems, and social competence with peers (Carver, Yunger, & Perry, 2003; Egan & Perry, 2001; Yunger, Carver, & Perry, 2004).

Gender minority children, on average, have poorer relationships with parents (Adelson & AACAP CQI, 2012; Alanko et al., 2009) and peers (Smith & Leaper, 2006; Zucker, 2005), experience high rates of mistreatment from peers (D'Augelli, Grossman, & Starks, 2006), and are at increased risk of physical and sexual abuse in childhood, as compared to their gender conforming peers (Roberts, Rosario, Corliss, Koenen, & Austin, 2012). Clinical samples of gender minority children with gender dysphoria have increased rates of internalizing disorders, such as depression and anxiety (de Vries, et al., 2011; Spack et al., 2012) and behavioral problems (Simons, et al., 2014; Zucker, 2004), as compared to the general population of children. Behavioral issues among those with gender dysphoria increase with age; poor peer relations explain most of the variance in behavioral problems among children with gender dysphoria (Zucker, 2004). Negative social attitudes or rejection are likely related if not the direct causes of these psychological difficulties (Vance, et al., 2014). Additionally, autism spectrum disorders appear to occur more commonly among clinical samples of children with gender dysphoria than among children in the general population, though the reason for this increased co-occurrence, and whether this increased co-occurrence also occurs outside of clinic populations, is not fully understood (de Vries, et al., 2010; Edwards-Leeper & Spack, 2012).

Sexual Orientation and Gender in Adolescence

Sexual Orientation in Adolescence

Significant physical, cognitive, and social development occurs during adolescence. Sexual minority adolescents face the same developmental tasks that accompany adolescence for all youth, including sexual identity development. Unlike those with a heterosexual orientation, however, adolescents with a minority sexual orientation must navigate awareness and acceptance of a socially marginalized sexual identity; potentially without family, community, or societal support. Various factors affect the trajectory of development related to sexual orientation, and there is not a single or simple trajectory experienced by all individuals (Diamond, 2006, 2008; Diamond & Savin-Williams, 2000; Dube & Savin-Williams, 1999; Horowitz & Newcomb, 2001). In a large prospective cohort study of adolescents living throughout the U.S., 12 percent of males and 22 percent of females at one point indicated a minority sexual orientation identity (i.e., mostly heterosexual, bisexual, mostly homosexual, or completely homosexual; Ott, Corliss, Wypij, Rosario, & Austin, 2010)[14]. Compared to earlier cohorts, today's sexual minority adolescents are developing an awareness of their sexual orientation and disclosing their sexual orientation to others earlier than previous generations, frequently disclosing their sexual orientation or "coming out" as lesbian, gay, or bisexual in middle or high school (Diamond & Savin-Williams, 2000; Floyd & Bakeman, 2006; Grov, et al., 2006; R. C. Savin-Williams, 2001; R.C. Savin-Williams, 2005). This earlier disclosure means that adolescents are now often coming out while still dependent on their families and communities for emotional and instrumental support.

Gender Identity in Adolescence

Gender minority adolescents include both youth who realized a transgender identity or gender diverse presentation in childhood (i.e., early-onset individuals) and youth for whom gender dysphoria first emerges in adolescence (i.e., later-onset individuals). Adolescence is a crucial period for the consolidation of gender identity and persistence of gender dysphoria in early-onset individuals and for the initiation of gender dysphoria in later-onset individuals (Steensma, McGuire, et al., 2013). Youth for whom gender dysphoria first emerges in adolescence may have no history of a gender diverse expression or gender identity questioning in childhood (Edwards-Leeper & Spack, 2012; Wallien & Cohen-Kettenis, 2008). The onset of typical physical changes associated with puberty is often associated with worsening of anatomical dysphoria and distress in adolescents with gender dysphoria (Byne, et al., 2012; Coleman, et al., 2012). Increasing numbers of adolescents have already starting living in their desired gender role upon entering high school (Cohen-Kettenis & Pfäfflin, 2003) and many (but not all) adolescents with gender dysphoria express a strong desire for hormone therapy and gender affirming surgeries (Coleman, et al., 2012).

When gender dysphoria persists through childhood and intensifies into adolescence, the likelihood of long-term persistence of gender dysphoria and identification as transgender in adulthood increases. Two different follow up studies reported that 50-67 percent of adolescents attending a specialty clinic for gender dysphoria went on to have gender affirming surgeries, suggesting high rates of persistence (Cohen-Kettenis & van Goozen, 1997; Smith, van Goozen, & Cohen-Kettenis, 2001). Since not all individuals with gender dysphoria have gender affirming surgeries, the percentage of adolescents in these study samples who continued to experience gender dysphoria is likely higher than 50-67 percent; in fact, the Smith et al. (2001) study suggested that a considerable number of the patients who did not have gender affirming surgeries still experienced gender dysphoria four years later.

Clinical Issues in Adolescence

Although many sexual and gender minority youth successfully navigate the challenges of adolescence, others experience a variety of mental health and psychosocial concerns. In comparison with their heterosexual and cisgender counterparts, sexual and gender minority adolescents are at increased risk for psychological distress and substance use behaviors, including depressive symptoms, increased rates of substance use and abuse, suicidal ideation and attempts, as well as increased likelihood of experiencing victimization, violence, and homelessness (Coleman, et al., 2012; Corliss, et al., 2010; Friedman, et al., 2011; Garofalo, et al., 2006; Goldbach, et al., 2014; Hatzenbuehler, 2011; Institute of Medicine, 2011; Kann, et al., 2011; Liu & Mustanski, 2012; Marshal, et al., 2011; Mustanski, et al., 2010; S. T. Russell, 2003; Simons, et al., 2014). Sexual and gender minority youth who lack supportive environments are especially vulnerable to these negative outcomes (for example, research from Kosciw, et al., (2014), Ryan, Huebner, Diaz, & Sanchez, (2009), and Travers, et al. (2012)).

Pubertal development can be especially distressing for transgender adolescents and can set off a cascade of mental health problems during adolescence (Byne, et al., 2012; Coleman, et al., 2012). Mental health challenges are more common among adolescents with gender dysphoria than among children with gender dysphoria (Byne et al., 2012), which may be due to peer ostracism that increases with age (APA Task Force on Gender Identity and Gender Variance, 2009). Additionally, as with children, the prevalence of autism spectrum disorders appears to be higher among clinical samples of adolescents with gender dysphoria than among the general population of adolescents (de Vries, et al., 2010; Edwards-Leeper & Spack, 2012). Adolescents with autism spectrum disorders (ASD) would benefit from careful assessment distinguishing between symptomatology related to gender dysphoria and symptoms related to ASD. de Vries, et al. (2010) reported a rate of autism spectrum disorders 10 times higher among children and adolescents referred to their gender clinic in Amsterdam, Netherlands as compared to the general population. This research only examined cases of severe autism and not milder versions such as Asperger's disorder, which Edwards-Leeper and Spack (2012) reported being more commonly seen among patients in the GeMS clinic in Boston, especially among those with a late-onset of gender dysphoria. The question of whether gender dysphoria is simply a symptom of autism spectrum disorder among youth with ASD has been raised by behavioral health providers; Edwards-Leeper and Spack (2012) suggest that it is also worth questioning validity of the autism diagnosis among transgender youth, particularly those with Asperger's disorder, as it is possible that social awkwardness and lack of peer relationships are the result of feeling isolated and rejected due to gender identity and expression (Edwards-Leeper & Spack, 2012). More research is needed into appropriate treatment for sexual and gender minority children and adolescents with developmental disabilities as well; behavioral health providers should not presume that young people with developmental disabilities cannot also be sexual and gender minorities.

Influences on Health and Well-Being

The increased risks faced by sexual or gender minority youth are not a function of their identity. Rather, these risks stem from the stresses of prejudice, discrimination, rejection, harassment, and violence (Bockting et al., 2013; Harper & Schneider, 2003; Hendricks & Testa, 2012; Meyer, 1995). The presence of sexual orientation- and gender-related stressors – and opportunities for support – encompasses multiple social systems, including family, school, and religious networks (U. Bronfenbrenner, 1979; U. Bronfenbrenner, 2005; Harper, 2007); Mustanski, Birkett, Greene, Hatzenbuehler, & Newcomb, 2013)[15]. Therefore, when a distressed sexual and gender minority adolescent is evaluated by a behavioral health provider, it is imperative to assess the broader family and community systems in which the child lives, in addition to individual issues. Assessing

not only the adolescent's level of distress, but also identifying the source(s) of distress and support are vital components of a comprehensive assessment.

Family

Family response to an adolescent's sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression has a significant impact on the adolescent's wellbeing. Parents can serve as both a source of stress and a source of support for sexual and gender minority youth (Bouris, et al., 2010; Ryan, Russell, Huebner, Diaz, & Sanchez, 2010; Travers et al., 2012). Negative parental responses to sexual orientation or gender are associated with young people's psychological distress; however, parent-child relationships characterized by closeness and support, however, are an important correlate of mental well-being. Research by Doty, Willoughby, Lindahl and Malik (2010) has emphasized the benefits of sexuality-specific family and peer support to sexual minority adolescents' well-being.

Sexual and gender minority adolescents are at increased risk for experiencing violence and victimization, including psychological, physical, and sexual abuse from those within their families compared to adolescents from the general population (Friedman, et al., 2011; Roberts, et al., 2012). Past parental verbal and physical abuse has been associated with suicide attempts in transgender adolescents (Grossman & D'Augelli, 2007). These adolescents may also be ejected from their homes or run away, contributing to the overrepresentation of sexual and gender minority adolescents among the nation's homeless youth; 20-40 percent of all homeless youth identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (Durso & Gates, 2012; Ray & National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, 2006). Some data suggest that, compared to cisgender youth who conform to stereotypical gender norms, transgender and other adolescents whose gender expressions do not conform to stereotypical norms have a higher risk of abuse from family members (Roberts, et al., 2012; Roberts, Rosario, Slopen, Calzo, & Austin, 2013).

Furthermore, the level of family acceptance or rejection an adolescent experiences appears to have effects that extend into young adulthood. Data from the Family Acceptance Project have shown that sexual and gender minority young adults who experienced high levels of family rejection during adolescence fared significantly worse than those who experience low levels of family rejection in terms of depression, substance abuse, sexual risk behaviors, and suicide attempts (Ryan, Huebner, Diaz, & Sanchez, 2009); conversely, high levels of family acceptance in adolescence predicted greater self-esteem, social support, and general health status, and protected against depression, substance abuse, and suicidal ideation and behaviors in young adulthood as compared to those with low levels of family acceptance in adolescence (Ryan, et al., 2010).

Religion & Spirituality

When considering family and community influences, an adolescent's religious background is also an important factor. Religious beliefs and background are far-reaching influences that encompass multiple arenas of one's life, including: personal and family religious identity, beliefs and coping; family attitudes, beliefs and relationships; and community character and support. Religious views of homosexuality in the United States vary widely (Moon, 2014), and religion can have a large influence on sexual minority adolescents' mental health and wellbeing (cf. Ream & Savin-Williams, 2005; Page, Lindahl, & Malik, 2013). Though research on who seeks conversion therapy to change sexual orientation is lacking, it appears that such requests occur primarily among religious communities that view minority sexual orientations as undesirable or morally wrong (APA Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation, 2009).

Though religiosity is often associated with better psychosocial adjustment among young people in general, sexual minority youth may feel rejected by their religion or experience conflict between their sexual orientation and religious identities (Cotton, Zebracki, Rosenthal, Tsevat, & Drotar,

2006). However, various ways in which adolescents and young adults reconcile this conflict have been identified (Meanley, Pingel, & Bauermiester, 2015; Ream & Savin-Williams, 2005). Sexual minority youth growing up in more conservatively religious families are, on average, exposed to more messages that portray minority sexual orientations as undesirable or morally wrong (Schope & Eliason, 2000), which are associated with shame, guilt, and internalized homophobia (Ream & Savin-Williams, 2005). Sexual minority adolescents with religious parents may be less likely to disclose their sexual orientation to others (Schope, 2002; Stewart, Heck, & Cochran, 2015). Some research has indicated that involvement with religious or spiritual belief systems that cast rejecting or disapproving messages about sexual minorities is associated with greater psychosocial challenges, including increased internalized homophobia (Meanley, Pingel, & Bauermeister, 2015; Page, Lindahl, & Malik, 2013).

Religiosity or spirituality can be a deeply affirming and supportive aspect of identity, including for sexual minorities from faith communities. Research with adults indicates that affirming religious environments – that is, those that are inclusive and supportive of sexual minorities –may be associated with improved psychological wellbeing and reduced internalized homophobia (e.g., research from Lease, et al. (2005) and Yakushko (2005). Research from Hatzenbuehler, Pachankis, and Wolff (2012) supports the benefit of affirming religious environments for youth as well; the researchers reported that lesbian, gay, and bisexual high school students who lived in Oregon counties with a supportive religious climate (i.e., counties where the majority of religious individuals adhered to a religious denomination supportive of minority sexual orientations) had significantly fewer alcohol abuse symptoms and fewer sexual risk behaviors than those living in counties with a less supportive religious climate.

It is important not to reify categories within faiths such as “traditional”, “liberal”, “affirming” and “non-affirming”; religion and spirituality are complex, nuanced aspects of human diversity. Parents from faith backgrounds have reactions that are similar in essential ways to all parents (e.g., sense of loss, desire for information, coming to terms with difference between hopes and reality; Maslowe and Yarhouse, 2015). Research indicates that families who identify superordinate goals such as unconditional love, mercy, forgiveness, and respect for all human beings can remain connected to their children in positive ways (Ryan et al, 2009; Maslowe & Yarhouse, 2015).

Given the great potential impact of religion on the lives of sexual and gender minority youth, little research has been done in this area with sexual minority adolescents and almost none has been completed with gender minority adolescents; further, almost no research has focused on sexual minority youth or adults in the United States from non-Christian religious backgrounds (cf. Harari, Glenwick, & Cecero, 2014; Siraj, 2012). It is unknown whether similar relationships between various aspects of religion and well-being would be seen among gender minority youth and among sexual and gender minority youth from non-Christian religious backgrounds.

School

Sexual and gender minority adolescents may also experience a myriad of sexual orientation and gender-related stressors in the school environment, where they spend a large portion of their time. The climates of U.S. middle and high schools are generally unsupportive and unsafe for many sexual and gender minority youth, who experience high levels of verbal and physical harassment and assault, sexual harassment, social exclusion and isolation, and other interpersonal problems with peers (Kosciw, Greytak, & Diaz, 2009). In the most recent National School Climate Survey, the Gay, Lesbian & Straight Education Network (GLSEN) found that 55.5 percent of surveyed sexual and gender minority students felt unsafe at school because of their sexual orientation and 37.8 percent felt unsafe because of their gender expression (Kosciw, et al., 2014). Most students reported hearing homophobic remarks and negative remarks about their gender expression at school

from fellow students and teachers or other school staff; a third of students reported hearing negative remarks specifically about transgender people. Of the students surveyed, 74.1 percent of surveyed students were verbally harassed, 36.2 percent were physically harassed, 16.5 percent were physically assaulted, and 49.0 percent were cyberbullied in the past year because of their sexual orientation. On average, sexual minority students of color and students who did not conform to stereotypical gender roles experienced higher frequencies of victimization. Over half of the students surveyed experienced policies that were discriminatory based on sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression at school. Transgender students were particularly targeted by some discriminatory policies: 42.2 percent of transgender students had been prevented from using their preferred name; 59.2 percent were required to use a bathroom or locker room of their legal sex; and 31.6 percent were not allowed to wear clothes consistent with their gender identity.

This mistreatment has a significant effect on sexual and gender minority adolescents' mental health and wellbeing. Those who experience victimization due to sexual orientation or gender expression are more likely to report depressive symptoms, suicidality, and low self-esteem (Burton, Marshal, Chisolm, Sucato, & Friedman, 2013; Kosciw, et al., 2014). Experiences of victimization and discrimination are linked to negative academic outcomes, including missing school, lower grades, and not planning to pursue post-secondary education (Kosciw, et al., 2014). Further, these effects may last into young adulthood (Russell, Ryan, Toomey, Diaz, & Sanchez, 2011). Victimization from peers and school staff, combined with discriminatory policies, likely contributes to the over-representation of sexual and gender minorities in the juvenile justice system: though sexual and gender minority youth comprise only five to seven percent of the nation's youth, it is estimated that 13 to 15 percent of youth in the juvenile justice system are sexual and gender minority youth (Majd, Marksamer, & Reyes, 2009).

School and peer networks can also be a place where sexual and gender minority youth find support. The presence of friends to whom youth can be out about their sexual orientation or gender identity has been linked to mental health and wellbeing (Doty & Brian, 2010; Elizur & Ziv, 2001). Sexual and gender minority friends may be of particular importance, as they are more likely than heterosexual and cisgender friends to provide support for sexuality-related stress, which is associated with lower levels of both emotional distress and sexuality distress (Doty, et al., 2010; Snapp, Watson, Russell, Diaz, & Ryan, 2015). Additionally, both the presence of and participation in a Gay-Straight-Alliance (GSA) – a student-led, school-based club aiming to provide a safe place for LGBTQ students – has beneficial outcomes for sexual and gender minority students (for example, research from Goodenow, Szalacha, and Westheimer (2006), Kosciw, Greytak, Diaz, and Bartkiewicz (2010), Toomey, Ryan, Diaz, and Russell (2011), and Walls, Kane, and Wisneski (2010)).

Identity Development

Sexual and gender minority adolescents may experience identity conflict when reconciling a sexual minority identity that may conflict with the expectations of their family, peers, and community. Difficulty with the identity development process, such as difficulty accepting one's sexual orientation and dissonance between one's self-image and societal beliefs about sexual minorities, can increase internalized homophobia (Page et al., 2013). Sexual orientation conflict has been linked to negative psychosocial outcomes in adolescents and young adults (Willoughby, Doty, & Malik, 2010). Furthermore, a negative self-image as a sexual minority contributes to the relationship between sexuality-specific stressors, including family rejection and victimization, to poorer mental health outcomes (Page, et al., 2013; Willoughby, et al., 2010).

Though less research has been done with gender minority adolescents overall, and especially on topics related to identity, internalized transphobia is expected to have a deleterious effect on mental health (Hendricks & Testa, 2012). Therefore,

important areas of focus for behavioral health professionals who work with sexual and gender minority adolescents include internalized homophobia, transphobia, and clients' minority identity.

Intersecting Identities

Finally, sexual and gender minority adolescents are not a single, homogenous population; individuals may hold multiple minority identities. Race, ethnicity, sex assigned at birth, social class, religion, disability, and immigration status may each confer their own unique minority identities, stressors, and strengths that interact with those related to sexual orientation and gender identity and expression. Sexual and gender minority youth have multiple, interlocking identities defined by relative sociocultural power and privilege that shape individual and collective identities and experiences (Crenshaw, 1991; Parent, DeBlaere, & Moradi, 2013; Shields, 2008; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005). Though a full review is beyond the scope of this report, research has begun to identify some of the ways that sexual and gender minority adolescents' experiences vary by race/ethnicity (Corby, Hodges, & Perry, 2007; Grov, et al., 2006; Kosciw, et al., 2014; Ryan, et al., 2009; Ryan, et al., 2010), immigration status (Daley, Solomon, Newman, & Mishna, 2008; Ryan, et al., 2009; Ryan, et al., 2010), gender (Bontempo & D'Augelli, 2002; Ryan, et al., 2009), gender expression (Hidalgo, Kuhns, Kwon, Mustanski, & Garofalo, 2015; Roberts, et al., 2012; Roberts, et al., 2013; Toomey, Ryan, Diaz, Card, & Russell, 2010), and socioeconomic status (Kosciw, et al., 2009; Ryan, et al., 2009; Ryan, et al., 2010). Behavioral health professionals working with sexual and gender minority youth should be aware of and responsive to the intersecting identities held by young people when considering the effects of minority stress on mental health and wellbeing. Given the gaps in our understanding, more research on the experiences of adolescents who hold multiple marginalized identities is needed in order to understand both the unique strengths and sources resilience, as well as the stressors youth and their families may experience.

Therapeutic Efforts with Sexual and Gender Minority Youth

Introduction[16]

Despite dramatic social changes in the recognition of same-gender relationships and families and transgender identities, sexual and gender minority children and adolescents and their families face misinformation, negative social attitudes and discrimination that can pose challenges for child development and family acceptance. Behavioral health providers may receive referrals for treatment that include requests to change a child or adolescent's actual, perceived, or future sexual orientation or same-gender sexual behaviors, gender identity, or gender expression. Requests for conversion therapy most often come from a parent or guardian, or more rarely, a child or adolescent.

In providing services to children, adolescents, and families experiencing distress related to sexual orientation or gender, behavioral health providers should consider the following as the scientific basis of treatment[17]:

- Same-gender sexual identity, behavior, and attraction do not constitute a mental disorder;
- Transgender identities and diverse gender expressions do not constitute a mental disorder;
- Same-gender sexual attractions are part of the normal spectrum of sexual orientation and occur in the context of a variety of sexual orientations and gender identities;
- Variations in gender identity and expression are normal aspects of human diversity, and binary definitions of gender may not reflect emerging gender identities;
- Gay men, lesbians, bisexual and transgender individuals can lead satisfying lives as well as form stable, committed relationships and families.

Conversion Therapy

Lesbian, gay, and bisexual orientations are normal variations of human sexuality and are not mental health disorders; therefore, treatment seeking to

change an individual's sexual orientation is not indicated. Thus, behavioral health efforts that attempt to change an individual's sexual orientation are inappropriate. In 2009, the APA Taskforce on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation Change Efforts conducted a thorough review of peer-reviewed literature published on conversion therapy. The APA Taskforce concluded that no methodologically-sound research on adults undergoing conversion therapy has demonstrated its effectiveness in changing sexual orientation. There have been no studies on the effects of conversion therapy on children, though adults' retrospective accounts of their experiences of conversion therapy during childhood or adolescence suggests that many were harmed (American Psychological Association, 2009). No new studies have been published that would change the conclusions reached in the APA Taskforce's 2009 review.

Given the lack of evidence of efficacy and the potential risk of serious harm, every major medical, psychiatric, psychological, and professional mental health organization, including the American Psychological Association, the American Psychiatric Association, the National Association for Social Work, the Pan American Health Organization, and the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, has taken measures to end conversion therapy efforts to change sexual orientation. To the extent that children and adolescents experience distress related to their sexual orientation, treatment efforts should focus on identifying and ameliorating the sources of distress.

The discussion surrounding conversion therapy with gender minority youth is complicated by the fact that though diverse gender expressions and transgender identities are now understood to be part of the normal spectrum of human gender (American Psychological Association, 2015a; Coleman, et al., 2012; Knudson, De Cuypere, & Bockting, 2010), there remains a related psychiatric diagnosis: Gender Dysphoria (formerly Gender Identity Disorder (American Psychiatric Association, 2013a). Although there is much debate over whether Gender Dysphoria should remain a psychiatric diagnosis (for example, see Bockting & Ehrbar (2005)), such a discussion is beyond the scope of this report. However, the shift from Gender Identity Disorder to Gender Dysphoria in version five of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders does reflect a shift away from a pathological view of gender diversity towards a focus on the distress experienced as a result of the incongruence between one's physical body and gender identity (American Psychiatric Association, 2013a; Simons, et al., 2014; Vance, et al., 2014). Thus, the distress remains the target of intervention, rather than gender identity. There is also scientific consensus that for many people, medical intervention in the form of hormone therapy or gender affirming surgeries may be medically necessary to alleviate gender dysphoria (American Medical Association, 2008; American Psychological Association, 2008; Anton, 2009; World Professional Association for Transgender Health, 2008).

Historically, conversion therapy efforts to make children's behaviors, dress, and mannerisms more consistent with those stereotypically expected of their assigned sex at birth (i.e., more stereotypically masculine expression for those assigned male at birth and more stereotypically feminine expression for those assigned female at birth) were the primary clinical approach used with children experiencing gender dysphoria (Vance, et al., 2014; Zucker, 2004). Efforts to change children's gender expression have been made with the goal of preventing a transgender identity, as well as with the goal of preventing a future minority sexual orientation. Such efforts were based on the belief that variations in gender identity and expression are pathological and that certain patterns of family relationships cause a transgender identity or minority sexual orientation; research has not supported these theories or interventions (American Psychological Association, 2009). Because there is scientific consensus that gender dysphoria in adolescence is unlikely to remit without medical intervention, even those who support gender identity change efforts with pre-pubertal children generally do not attempt such efforts with adolescents experiencing gender dysphoria

(Adelson & AACAP CQI, 2012; American Psychological Association, 2008). Alternative affirmative and supportive approaches to therapy with transgender and gender diverse children have been developed and are becoming increasingly common (Edwards-Leeper, Leibowitz, & Sangganjanavanich, in press; Hidalgo, et al., 2013; Lev, 2005; Menvielle & Tuerk, 2002; Menvielle, Tuerk, & Perrin, 2005).

No research has been published in the peer-reviewed literature that demonstrates the efficacy of conversion therapy efforts with gender minority youth, nor any benefits of such interventions to children and their families. Researchers have reported that these interventions are ineffective in decreasing the likelihood of a future same-gender sexual orientation or minority sexual identity (Zucker & Bradley, 1995). In addition to a lack of evidence for the efficacy of conversion therapy with gender minority youth, there are concerns about the ethics of this practice (Byne, et al., 2012; Coleman, et al., 2012) as well as the practice's potential for harm (Minter, 2012; Wallace & Russell, 2013). Although no research demonstrating the harms of conversion therapy with gender minority youth has been published, the potential harms of conversion therapy are suggested by clinicians' observations that the behavioral issues and psychological distress of many children and adolescents with gender dysphoria improves markedly when their gender identities and expressions are affirmed through social and/or medical transition (de Vries, Steensma, Doreleijers, & Cohen-Kettenis, 2011; Edwards-Leeper & Spack, 2012), as well as by the body of literature demonstrating the negative effects of both rejection and a lack of support on the health and well-being of gender minority youth (e.g., research from Kosciw, et al. (2014), Ryan, et al. (2010), and Travers, et al. (2012)).

In conclusion, given the lack of evidence for the efficacy conversion therapy and the fact that conversion therapy efforts are based on a view of gender diversity that runs counter to scientific consensus, in addition to evidence that rejecting behaviors and a lack of support have adverse effects on the psychological well-being of gender minority youth – conversion therapy, as well as any therapeutic intervention with an *a priori* goal for a child's or adolescent's gender expression, gender identity, or sexual orientation, is inappropriate. Given the potential for harm associated with conversion therapy efforts, other affirmative behavioral health interventions are recommended for individual or family distress associated with sexual orientation and gender identity.

Appropriate Interventions for Distress in Children, Adolescents, and Families[18]

Behavioral health providers are in a unique position to provide accurate information on the development of sexual orientation and gender identity and expression; to increase family and school support; and to reduce family, community and social rejection of sexual and gender minority children and adolescents. The descriptions of interventions below provide general guidance to behavioral health providers working in this area.

Client-Centered Individual Approaches

Behavioral health providers should provide children, adolescents and their families with developmentally-appropriate multiculturally-competent and client-centered interventions that emphasize acceptance, support, assessment, and understanding. A clear treatment goal is to identify sources of distress and work to reduce any distress experienced by children, adolescents and their families.

Appropriate approaches support children and adolescents in identity exploration and development without seeking predetermined outcomes related to sexual orientation, sexual identity, gender identity, or gender expression. Such approaches include an awareness of the interrelatedness of multiple identities in individual development as well an understanding of cultural, ethnic, and religious variation in families. Specific approaches can include (a) providing a developmentally-informed cognitive, emotional, mental health

and social assessment of the child and family; (b) supporting children and adolescents in their developmental processes and age-appropriate milestones and facilitiating adaptive coping; (c) providing developmentally-appropriate affirmative information and education on sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, sexuality, and the identities and lives of *lesbian*, *gay*, *bisexual*, *transgender* people and those who are *questioning* their sexual orientation or gender identity (LGBTQ) to children and adolescents, parents or guardians and community organizations; and, (d) reducing internalized negative attitudes toward same-gender attractions, gender diversity, and LGBTQ identities in children and youth and in parents or guardians and community institutions (e.g., schools and community social groups).

Behavioral health providers should provide developmentally-sensitive interventions to children and adolescents. Such interventions include a comprehensive evaluation taking into account appropriate developmental emotional and cognitive capacities, developmental milestones, and emerging or existing behavioral health concerns. Specific evaluation procedures for children and adolescents with persistent gender concerns have been described by Leibowitz and Telingator (2012).

Behavioral health providers should not have an *a priori* goal for sexual orientation or gender expression, or identity outcomes. The goal of treatment should be the best level of psychological functioning not a specific orientation or identity. Rather, behavioral health providers should focus on identity development and exploration that allows the child or adolescent the freedom of self-discovery within a context of acceptance and support.

Behavioral health providers should strive to incorporate multicultural awareness into their treatment, considering age, ethnicity and race, gender and gender identity, sexual orientation and attraction, ability and disability issues, religion and spirituality, generation, geographic issues and other notable factors. A key aim is to dispel negative stereotypes and to provide accurate information in developmentally-appropriate terms for children and adolescents. Identity development is multifaceted and may include multiple and intersecting identities, such as ethnic and racial and religious and spiritual identities. Sexual orientation, gender identity and expression are fluid concepts and in flux, requiring the consideration of generational changes and norms. Supporting youth in age-appropriate tasks such as developing positive peer relationships, positive parent and family relations, dating, exploring gender expression, sexuality, multiple identity development and disclosure as appropriate is a critical consideration. Behavioral health providers should take into consideration potential sources of social support and community resources. Client-centered and exploratory approaches specific to gender minority youth have been discussed in numerous publications (Edwards-Leeper, et al., in press; Hidalgo, et al., 2013; Lev, 2005; Menvielle & Tuerk, 2002; Menvielle, et al., 2005; Yarhouse, 2015c).

Behavioral health providers should describe their treatment plan and interventions to children, adolescents and their families and to ensure the goals of treatment as well as potential benefits and risks are understood. Where appropriate developmentally, behavioral health providers should obtain informed consent with all parties to treatment. If informed consent is not a developmentally appropriate option (as the child cannot cognitively or legally provide consent), behavioral health providers should explain treatment in a developmentally appropriate manner and receive assent for treatment. Interventions that are involuntary, especially those in inpatient or residential settings, are potentially harmful and inappropriate. In addition, interventions that attempt to change sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, or any other form of conversion therapy are also inappropriate and may cause harm. Informed consent cannot be provided for an intervention that does not have a benefit to the client.

Family Approaches

Parental attitudes and behaviors play a significant role in children's and adolescents' adjustment and parents' distress often is the cause of a referral for treatment (APA Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation, 2009; Ryan et al., 2009, 2010). Family rejection, hostility, and violence are key predictors of negative health outcomes in LGBTQ children and adolescents (Ryan, et al., 2009; Ryan & Rees, 2012). Reducing parental rejection, hostility, and violence (verbal or physical) contributes to the mental health and safety of the child and adolescent (Ryan, et al., 2009; R. Savin-Williams, 1994; Wilbur, Ryan, & Marksamer, 2006).

Family therapy that provides anticipatory guidance to parents and guardians to increase their support and reduce rejection of children and adolescents is essential. Interventions that increase family and community support and understanding while decreasing LGBTQ-directed rejection are recommended for families. School and community interventions are also recommended to reduce societal-level negative attitudes, behaviors and policies, as well as provide accurate information and social support to children, adolescents, and families.

A key focus of treatment should be addressing parental concerns regarding current or future sexual orientation and gender identity. Behavioral health providers should provide family members with accurate developmentally-appropriate information regarding minority sexual orientations and strive to dispel myths regarding the lives, health, and psychological well-being of sexual and gender minority individuals.

Ryan, et al. (2010) recommended that behavioral health providers assess family reactions to LGBTQ children and adolescents, specifically the presence of family rejection. Further, behavioral health providers should attempt to modify highly rejecting behaviors, providing anticipatory guidance to families that include recommendations for support on the part of the family, and explaining the link between family rejection and negative health problems in children and adolescents. Behavioral health providers should seek ways to ameliorate parents' distress about their children's sexual orientation and/or gender, such as exploring parental attributions and values regarding minority sexual orientations and gender diversity. Family therapy may be helpful in facilitating dialogues, increasing acceptance and support, reducing rejection, and improving management of conflicts or misinformation that may exacerbate a child or adolescent's distress (Mattison & McWhirter, 1995; Ryan, et al., 2009; Salzburg, 2004, 2007). Such therapy can include family psychoeducation to provide accurate information and teach coping skills and problem-solving strategies for dealing more effectively with the challenges sexual and gender minority youth may face and the concerns the families and caretakers may have (Ben-Ari, 1995; Perrin, 2002; Ryan & Diaz, 2005; Ryan & Futterman, 1998; Ryan, et al., 2009; Salzburg, 2004, 2007; Yarhouse, 1998).

When working with families of young children, behavioral health providers should counsel parents who are concerned that their children may grow up to be lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender to tolerate the ambiguity inherent in the limited scientific knowledge of development. A two-prong approach may be helpful: (a) provide information to reduce heterosexism and cisgenderism (that is, attitudes and actions that a heterosexual orientation and gender identity and expression that conform to stereotypical norms are preferable to a same-gender sexual orientation, transgender identity, or diverse gender expression) within the family and increase the family's capacity to provide support; and (b) introduce information about sexual and gender minority issues into family discussions to increase the child's own self-awareness and self-acceptance and to counter negative attitudes directed toward the self that might reduce self-esteem. For example, consider ways in which respect and value of all persons is frequently a shared goal. Even in cases in which family members may disagree about decisions each person may make, there may be opportunity to agree on broader principles and

concepts that can lead to mutual understanding (Yarhouse, 2015b).

Families with strong beliefs who see same-gender attractions or relationships and gender diversity as undesirable and contrary to those beliefs may struggle with a child's emerging minority sexual orientation or gender. Ryan and Rees (2012) and Yarhouse (1998; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005; Maslowe & Yarhouse, 2015) have suggested that family therapy focus encouraging love of their child. This involves focusing on superordinate values such as unconditional love and changing behaviors to reduce rejection. The authors stress that these positive steps can lay a constructive foundation for communication and problem solving and reduce family discord and rejection (Yarhouse & Tan, 2005). Ryan, et al. (2009) and Ryan and Rees (2012) focus on reframing family concerns as a manifestation of care and love and focus on teaching non-rejecting ways to communicate those positive emotions. For example, providers can help the family create an atmosphere of mutual respect that ensures the safety of each person from being hurt or bullied as a natural extension of seeing each person as having intrinsic worth (Yarhouse, 2015b). One of the most important messages that can be communicated to a young person is that their safety is important to the provider and to the family. It is helpful to set an atmosphere of mutual respect for one another in the home and then to see the value of extending that to other settings, such as neighborhood, school, and places of worship. Safety in this context is not just physical safety, but also emotional safety (Yarhouse, 2015b).

Many families may feel they have to choose between competence (in a provider) and deeply held beliefs. It is ideal when a family can work with competent providers who also share their deeply held beliefs and who are affirming of sexual orientation and gender diversity. However, when such providers are not available, it is important for families to work with competent providers who will be sensitive to the family's deeply held beliefs and values while offering competent, appropriate services for sexual and gender minority minors (Yarhouse, 2015b). Thus, behavioral health providers may wish to increase their own competence in working with certain communities with deeply held beliefs and focus on viewing these beliefs through the imperative of multicultural competence and mutual respect (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008). This is includes understanding how to translate between psychology and deeply held beliefs rather than judging those beliefs. Certain language, such as acceptance, might not resonate with communities that have strongly held beliefs, whereas the concept of unconditional love might (Yarhouse, 2015a).

Providing multiculturally-sensitive anticipatory guidance to all parents to address their unique personal concerns can be helpful (Ryan & Futterman, 1998). Behavioral health providers can help the parents plan in an affirmative way for the unique life challenges that they may face as parents of a sexual or gender minority child. Also, parents must deal with their own process of "coming out" and resolve fears of discrimination or negative social reactions if they risk disclosure within their communities, at work, and to other family members (Ryan & Rees, 2012). Further, behavioral health providers can address other stresses, such as managing life celebrations and transitions and coping feelings of loss, and aid parents in advocating for their children in school situations—for example, when they face bullying or harassment. Multiple family groups led by behavioral health providers might be helpful to counter the isolation that many parents experience (Menveille & Tuerk, 2002).

School and Community Interventions

Research has illustrated the potential that school-based and community interventions have for increasing safety and tolerance of sexual and gender minorities, preventing distress and negative mental health consequences, and increasing the psychological well-being and health of sexual minority children and adolescents (American Psychological Association, 2015c; D'Augelli & Patterson, 2001; Goodenow, et al., 2006; Harper, Jamil, & Wilson, 2007; Kosciw & Diaz, 2006; Safren & Heimberg, 1999). For instance, sexual

and gender minority adolescents in schools with support groups for LGBTQ students reported lower rates of suicide attempts and victimization than those without such groups (Goodenow, et al., 2006; Kosciw & Diaz, 2006; Szalacha, 2003; Toomey, et al., 2011).

These support groups provided accurate affirmative information and social support, and the groups' presence was also related to increased school tolerance and safety for LGB adolescents (Goodenow, et al., 2006; Kosciw & Diaz, 2006; Szalacha, 2003; Toomey, et al., 2011). School policies that increased staff support and positive school climate have been found to moderate suicidality and to positively affect sexual minority children's and adolescents' school achievement and mental health (Goodenow, et al., 2006).

Additional Appropriate Approaches with Gender Minority Youth

In addition to the appropriate therapeutic approaches described above – comprehensive evaluation, support in identity exploration and development without an *a priori* goal of any particular gender identity or expression, and facilitation of family and community support – social transition and medical intervention are therapeutic approaches that are appropriate for some gender minority youth.

Social Transition

Social transition refers to adopting a gender expression, name, and pronouns consistent with one's gender identity. Over the past ten years, the age at which individuals socially transition has decreased dramatically, and it has become increasingly common for children to present to specialty gender clinics having already socially transitioned (Cohen-Kettenis & Klink, 2015; Steensma & Cohen-Kettenis, 2011). There is less controversy around social transition with adolescents, for whom gender identity is typically more stable and desistence of gender dysphoria (without social transition or medical intervention) is less common. Gender specialists recommended that adolescents socially transition at or before the time they begin medically transitioning with hormone therapy, though many adolescents will socially transition earlier (Cohen-Kettenis & Klink, 2015).

There is no research evidence on the benefits vs. risks of social transition among pre-pubertal children, and the impact of social transition on likelihood of persistence or desistence of gender dysphoria has not yet been studied (Adelson & AACAP CQI, 2012; Leibowitz & Telingator, 2012). A divergence of expert opinion exists among specialists treating gender minority children (Adelson & AACAP CQI, 2012; Leibowitz & Telingator, 2012). Given the lack of data on the risks and benefits of social transition in childhood, the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry suggests that concerns related to social transition in school environments should be weighed against the risks of not doing so, including distress, social isolation, depression, or suicide due to lack of social support (Adelson & AACAP CQI, 2012). Edwards-Leeper and Spack (2012) outline several factors that need to be considered in determining when and if a child should socially transition, including the child's needs, the potential impact on the child's siblings, whether it is safe for the child to socially transition in his or her community, and emphasizing to the child and family the possibility that the child's gender identity and gender expression may change as development continues.

Medical Intervention

The appropriateness of medical interventions vary by the age of the child. No medical interventions are currently undertaken or recommended for children with gender dysphoria before the initial onset of puberty. Medical intervention has proven efficacious in improving the well-being of young adolescents with gender dysphoria both during and well after treatment (Cohen-Kettenis & van Goozen, 1997; de Vries, et al., 2011; Smith, et al., 2001), and most adolescents who seek medical intervention usually have extreme forms of gender dysphoria beginning in childhood (Cohen-Kettenis & Klink, 2015). Pubertal suppression and hormone

therapy are medical interventions used to treat gender dysphoria in adolescents.

Medical intervention with gender dysphoric adolescents is a multi-disclipinary endeavor including Behavioral health providers, pediatricians, and often pediatric endocrinologists (Hembree et al., 2009; Leibowitz & Telingator, 2012). A comprehensive assessment, including assessment of the degree of an individual adolescent's gender dysphoria and desire to seek gender reassignment, helps determine the risks and benefits of medical interventions (for featured examples of assessments with children and adolescents, see Leibowitz and Telingator (2012)). Importantly, not all individuals who experience gender incongruence or gender dysphoria necessarily experience a complete cross-gender identity, want hormone therapy as well as gender affirming surgeries, or want to live as the other gender permanently or completely (Coleman et al., 2012).

If a diagnosis of gender dysphoria is assigned and the adolescent desires and is eligible for treatment, readiness for medical treatment must be considered (Cohen-Kettenis & Klink, 2015). Adolescents and their parents or guardians must be informed about possibilities and limitations of pubertal suppression, hormone therapy, and other types of treatment, such as psychological interventions, in order to give full informed consent (Coleman et al., 2012; Vance et al., 2014). Taking into account developmental considerations when working with adolescents is key. Youth should realize that medical intervention or a complement of hormone therapy and gender affirming surgeries are not the only treatment option to solve gender dysphoria, and should realize that gender dysphoria may exist in many forms and intensities (Cohen-Kettenis, Delemarre-van de Waal, & Gooren, 2008). Continued mental health treatment should be offered when an adolescents' gender incongruence requires further exploration and/or when other psychological, psychiatric, or family problems exist. Adolescents receiving medical intervention without these additional concerns may also benefit from continued psychological treatment (Vance et al., 2014); given that pubertal suppression or administration of hormone therapy occurs over many years during important developmental periods, the need for psychological treatment may change with time as new questions arise (Cohen-Kettenis & Klink, 2015).

Pubertal suppression using gonadotrophin-releasing hormone (GnRH) analogues prevents the development of unwanted secondary sex characteristics in a peri-pubertal adolescent, which are irreversible and highly distressing for some adolescents with gender dysphoria (Leibowitz & Telingator, 2012). Pubertal suppression is fully reversible and serves as an extended diagnostic period, providing additional time for gender exploration as well as cognitive and emotional development that allows adolescents to become psychologically and neurologically mature enough to make decisions regarding their gender and to provide informed consent years later for the partially irreversible treatment interventions (e.g., hormone therapy) without having to experience distressful, irreversible changes of puberty (Hembree et al., 2009; Edwards-Leeper & Spack, 2012; Leibowitz & Telingator, 2012). Pubertal suppression also has therapeutic effects, often resulting in a large reduction in the distress the physical changes of puberty were producing (de Vries et al., 2011; Edwards-Leeper & Spack, 2012).

Pubertal suppression for young adolescents remains controversial, with concern over whether adolescents are able to make far-reaching decisions and understand the impact of pubertal suppression on their lives and over the lack of robust research on the long-term effects of pubertal suppression on brain and bone development in these populations (Cohen-Kettenis & Klink, 2015; Leibowitz & Telingator, 2012). However, results of preliminary research on the long-term effects of pubertal suppression are promising (Delemarre-van de Waal & Cohen-Kettenis, 2006; Cohen-Kettenis, Schagen, et al., 2011; Staphorsius et al., 2015). Abstaining from treatment in adolescence comes with risks as well: adolescents can experience refusal for treatment and the progression of secondary sex characteristic development as extremely psychologically painful, and a refusal

of medical intervention can lead to worse psychological adjustment and risky behaviors (e.g., self-mutilation, self-medication, or suicide; Cohen-Kettenis & Klink, 2015; Leibowitz & Telingator, 2012; Vance et al., 2014). Given the current evidence that diagnosis can be made reliably in adolescence, that gender dysphoria that worsens with puberty rarely subsides afterwards, and that – with careful diagnostic procedures – early pubertal suppression leads to good outcomes with young adults, withholding GnRHa is not considered a neutral option (Cohen-Kettenis & Klink, 2015). According to the Endocrine Society Guidelines, pubertal suppression with GnRH analogues is considered a medical standard of care for adolescents in Tanner stage 2 or 3 of puberty, once appropriate mental health assessments and recommendations are in place (Hembree et al., 2009). However, the importance of full informed consent for both adolescents and their parents or guardians is important and must include awareness and consideration of the risks and benefits involved, as well as an emphasis on continued exploration of gender identity.

The initiation of hormone therapy (estrogen and testosterone blocking medication for those assigned male at birth and testosterone for those assigned female at birth) around age 16 promotes the development of secondary sexual characteristics consistent with one's gender identity (Coleman et al., 2012; Hembree et al., 2009). While a minimum age of 16 was previously a requirement, the optimal time for initiation of hormone therapy is now determined by duration of GnRH analogue use (when used) and the adolescent's psychological state (Cohen-Kettenis & Klink, 2015). Unlike GnRH analogues, which are completely reversible, hormone therapy is only partially reversible. Again, once hormone therapy is indicated and an adolescent has been carefully assessed for readiness, care must be taken to get the informed consent of the adolescent and his or her parents or guardians before hormone therapy is initiated, including a full understanding of the potential risks and benefits of hormone therapy and the impact of hormone therapy on future fertility and options related to fertility (Cohen-Kettenis & Klink, 2015; Edwards-Leeper & Spack, 2012; Leibowitz & Telingator, 2012). The support of a behavioral health professional during this process can aid an adolescent in adjusting to their changing physical characteristics and the response from people in different aspects of the adolescent's life.

In addition to hormone therapy, some transgender adolescents desire and will eventually pursue gender affirming surgeries. The age of legal consent for surgery is 18, so most surgeries are not performed on adolescents, though behavioral health providers and medical providers working with adolescents may need to obtain and provide knowledge of the surgical processes in order to assist in navigating the emotional issues leading up to gender affirming surgeries; additionally, those assigned female sex at birth may be considered for virilizing mammoplasty beginning at age 16 (Edwards-Leeper & Spack, 2012; Leibowitz & Telingator, 2012).

Future Directions for Research

Areas of opportunity for future research, as well as the validity and quality of extant research are discussed in several sections of this report and were topics of conversation during the APA Consensus Panel Meeting in July, 2015. Methodologically rigorous, longitudinal, and peer reviewed research is vital to improving our understanding of the complexities of sexual orientation and gender identity and expression among children and adolescents. Several potential areas for future research are identified below.

Development of sexual orientation and gender identity

Little is known about the development of sexual orientation and gender identity in childhood and adolescence. Basic research on the developmental pathways of these fundamental issues is necessary. How these identities are embedded in cognitive and emotional development and other developmental processes would aid in the understanding of human development as well as appropriate interventions.

Culturally-specific mitigation of distress relating to sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression

More targeted research that acknowledges the intersections of identity, including race, ethnicity, faith, and class, among others, could shed light on positive and appropriate whole-family therapeutic approaches to addressing these issues. Researchers should evaluate these practices and integrate them into behavioral health care. Researchers should also work collaboratively with young people and families from faith communities to better understand the interplay between deeply held religious beliefs and the importance of ensuring the safety and well-being of LGBTQ young people. The work of the Family Acceptance Project, cited throughout this report, speaks to the necessity of an increased focus on approaches specific to various communities including culturally diverse communities and those with deeply held morals and values that include conversations about sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression.

Addressing the needs of disconnected LGBTQ youth

LGBTQ youth experiencing homelessness, in juvenile justice facilities, or otherwise in out-of-home care may lack permanent and stable family connections in part because of family distress around issues relating to their LGBTQ identity. These vulnerable populations, as well as low-income and racial and ethnic minority LGBTQ youth, are often neglected in research studies that most often recruit youth who are already connected to clinics or providers. This need for more representative sampling and better recruitment efforts should be addressed by future researchers interested in sexual orientation and gender identify among youth.

Long-term Outcomes

More research is necessary to explore the developmental trajectory of sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression, in addition to the long-term medical and behavioral health outcomes associated with early experiences of family and community distress due to sexual orientation and gender identity and expression. Other recommended areas of opportunity for long-term research topics include:

- A nuanced exploration of the factors that may differentiate children and adolescents who continue to experience gender dysphoria into adolescence and those who do not.
- Long-term outcomes from early social transition and pubertal suppression (including effects on brain development, sexual health function, fertility, etc.).
- Rigorous evaluation of current practices and protocols, including affirmative models, structural interventions, and culturally-specific models, among others.
- Prospective research focusing on younger children, in partnership with pediatric clinics.
- Sources of distress among sexual and gender minority youth, focusing on distinguishing between internal and external factors that may drive gender dysphoria.
- Methods of supporting positive behavioral health for LGBTQ youth, including building resiliency against suicidality, self-harm and risky behaviors, depression, anxiety, substance abuse, and other behavioral health issues.

Integration, Collaboration, and Dissemination

Researchers and clinicians should examine and evaluate the best methods of integrating and disseminating best and promising practices for addressing sexual orientation and gender identity and expression among children and youth, and

how to successfully collaborate with parents and guardians, caregivers and providers, and community leaders. This could include conducting studies with these populations focused on knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs relating to efforts to change sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression.

Finally, the behavioral health community can work to support community-based organizations to develop common ground and consensus on these topics and promote the health and well-being of youth. This could also include the development of treatment registries, support for sexual health research across the country, and the inclusion of LGBT-specific questions in national behavioral and mental health surveys.

Based on careful review of the research and the consensus of clinical experts in this field, conversion therapy is not an appropriate therapeutic intervention. Consequently, efforts should be taken to end the practice. The Administration has issued a public statement supporting efforts to ban the use of conversion therapy for minors, stating in part:

> *"When assessing the validity of conversion therapy, or other practices that seek to change an individual's gender identity or sexual orientation, it is as imperative to seek guidance from certified medical experts. The overwhelming scientific evidence demonstrates that conversion therapy, especially when it is practiced on young people, is neither medically nor ethically appropriate and can cause substantial harm.*
>
> *As part of our dedication to protecting America's youth, this Administration supports efforts to ban the use of conversion therapy for minors."* (Jarrett, 2015)

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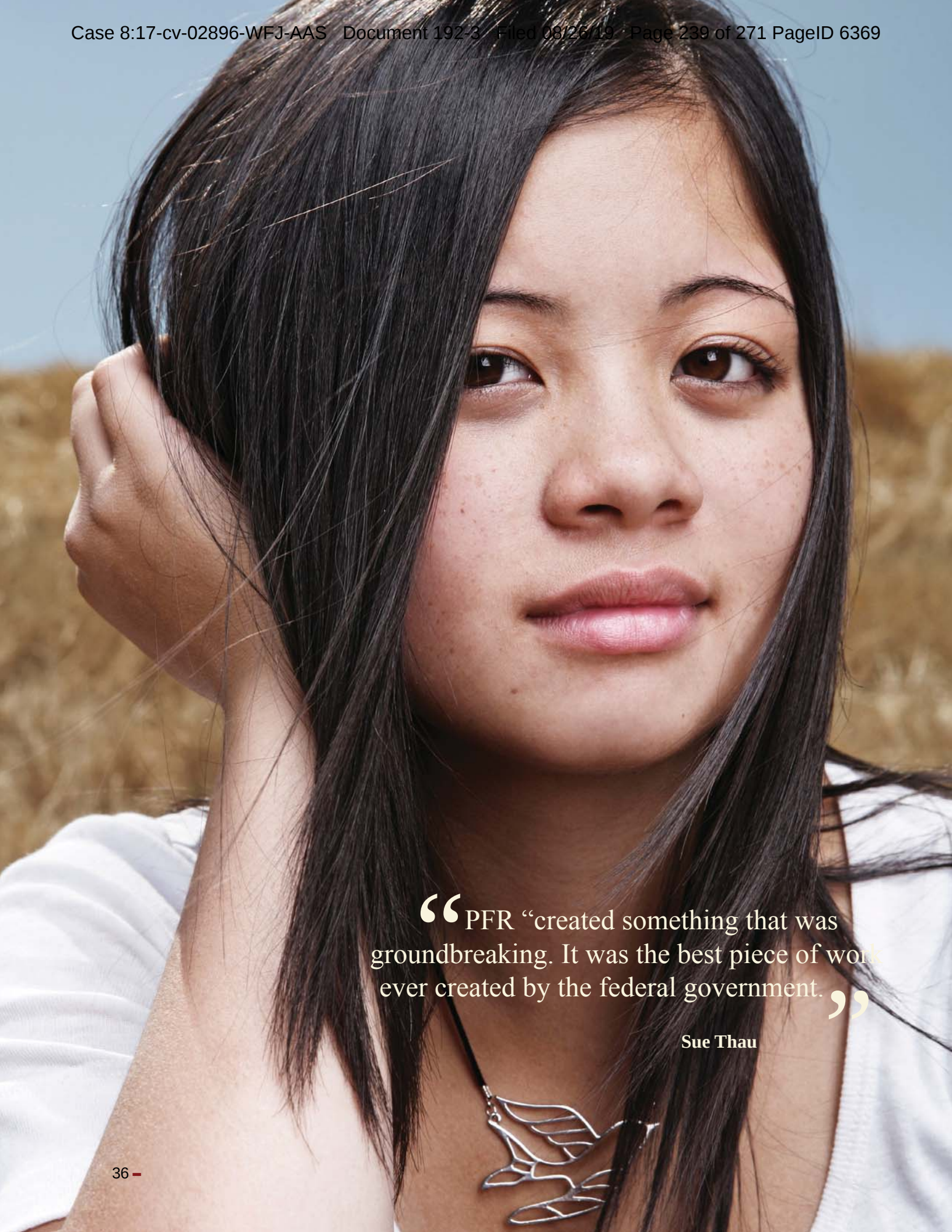

"PFR "created something that was groundbreaking. It was the best piece of work ever created by the federal government."

Sue Thau

Approaches to Ending the Use of Conversion Therapy

Several approaches have been employed as mechanisms for eliminating the use of harmful practices, and encouraging positive and appropriate alternatives to discussing issues related to sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression with children and adolescents. These efforts will be reviewed in depth in this section:

1. Reducing discrimination and negative social attitudes towards LGBT identities and individuals
    - Adoption of public policies that end discrimination
    - Increasing access to health care
    - Publication of affirmative, culturally competent resources for the public on LGBT individuals and families.
2. Dissemination of information, training and education for behavioral health providers
    - Dissemination of professional association and federal agency documents and resolutions related to ending conversion therapy
    - Guidelines by professional associations on affirmative approaches to LGBTQ children and youth as well as LGBT adults
    - Inclusion of affirmative information and treatment models in professional training curriculum
    - Continuing education on elements of ethical codes and licensing laws relevant to these issues.
3. Legislative, regulatory, and legal efforts
    - State and federal legislation that bans sexual orientation and gender identity change efforts
    - Federal and state regulatory actions and additional Administration activities
    - Legal action

Reducing discrimination and negative social attitudes towards LGBT identities and individuals

Reducing the discrimination and negative social attitudes that many LGBTQ children and adolescents experience can improve health outcomes. As previously discussed, negative social attitudes are stressors that can result in poor mental health. Working with individuals, families, communities, and diverse populations to increase family acceptance and change cultural norms that are unsupportive of sexual and gender minority identities is one way to improve health and well-being overall.

The Administration has taken significant steps to reduce discrimination and negative social attitudes towards and increase support for LGBT communities,[19]including improving access to health care. Among other notable signals of social acceptance and support, the Administration has:

- Ended the "Don't Ask, Don't' Tell" policy in military service for lesbian, gay, and bisexual people, and taken steps to remove barriers to service for transgender people;
- Supported same-sex marriage and ensured that same-sex couples and their families have full access to federal benefits;
- Prevented employment discrimination by federal contractors;
- Advanced policies that expand access to quality healthcare for millions of Americans, including LGBT Americans; and
- Supported public information campaigns, such as the "It Gets Better" Project, which aims to gives LGBTQ youth hope and build public support.

Broad dissemination of supportive actions such as those outlined above serves to both mitigate negative social attitudes, and to build more

accepting ones. SAMHSA, in addition to partner organizations and professional associations, has developed targeted resources geared towards providers working with sexual and gender minority youth and their families.[20]

Dissemination of information, training and education for behavioral health providers

The major health associations have issued policy statements critical of conversion therapy including the World Health Organization, the American Medical Association, the American Academy of Pediatrics, the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, the American Psychological Association, American Counseling Association, American Psychoanalytic Association, and the National Association of Social Workers, among others. Other Association publications include professional guidelines on affirmative practices for this population (APA, 2011; APA 2015a).

In addition, some professional associations, including the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatrists, American Psychiatric Association, and the American Psychological Association, have published reports and professional practice guidelines on appropriate therapeutic efforts for this population. These documents provide important resources for providers on the types of interventions that are appropriate for sexual and gender minority children and youth as well as for LGBT adults.[21]

Professional mental health, medical, and social services organizations can require training that includes appropriate interventions for this population. For example, The American Association of Medical Colleges (AAMC) produced a report on *Implementing Curricular and Institutional Climate Changes to Improve Health Care for Individuals Who are LGBT, Gender Nonconforming, or Born with DSD.* As part of this publication, the association indicates that "doctors should be able to demonstrate an investigatory and analytic approach to clinical situations by […] identifying various harmful practices (e.g., historical practice of using 'reparative' therapy to attempt to change sexual orientation; withholding hormone therapy from transgender individuals) that perpetuate the health disparities for [LGBT] patients."

Professional health and mental health associations also have ethical codes (American Psychiatric Association, 2013; American Psychological Association, 2010; National Association of Social Workers, 2008). These codes include provisions that stress aspirational principles and standards for practice that can be applied to sexual and gender minority youth and LGBT individuals broadly. Many of these codes are integrated into state licensing laws and thus govern standards of professional practice.

Experts have suggested that the use of conversion therapy to change the sexual orientation or gender identity of clients may be inconsistent with the aspirational principles of behavioral health professions. For example, conversion therapy might violate the principle of "*Do No Harm*" through techniques that are deleterious rather than beneficial to mental health. Additionally, conversion therapy may be inconsistent with professional standards that treatment be based on the best scientific knowledge and standards of professional competence, in its use of treatments that cannot be justified by established scientific and clinical knowledge in the field, and which imply that variations in sexual orientation and gender identity are not normative. Experts have also suggested that conversion therapy is inconsistent with principles of non-discrimination and justice that guarantee all clients, including sexual and gender minorities, equal access to the benefits of psychology and to equal quality of services. Finally, by denying the inherent worth of LGBT individuals and engaging in an intervention based on negative social or cultural attitudes, practitioners of conversion therapy could potentially violate principles that dictate respect for people's dignity.

Legislative, regulatory, and legal efforts

Many individuals, organizations, and several state legislatures have taken steps to regulate and eliminate the practice of conversion therapy. Efforts to end the practice of conversion therapy have included legislative bans and causes of action alleging consumer fraud, among others. Future efforts may include federal regulatory action, advancement of legislation at the state and federal level, and additional activities by the Administration.

As of August 2015, four states and the District of Columbia have passed laws banning the practice of conversion therapy for minors, and 21 other states have introduced similar legislation. All of the bills bar mental health providers from practicing conversion therapy on minors; some also include protections for vulnerable adults, restrictions on the use of state funds, and consumer protection provisions.

There is currently no federal ban on conversion therapy. Several bills and resolutions have been introduced in 2015, including H.R. 2450: Therapeutic Fraud Prevention Act; S.Res. 184: Stop Harming Our Kids Resolution of 2015; HR 3060 Stop Child Abuse in Residential Programs for Teens Act of 2015; and H.Con.Res. 36: Expressing the sense of Congress that conversion therapy, including efforts by mental health practitioners to change an individual's sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression, is dangerous and harmful and should be prohibited from being practiced on minors. These efforts discourage or ban conversion therapy or require non-discrimination in the provision of services to sexual and gender minority minors.

Stakeholders have also suggested the following as potential federal actions to end conversion therapy:

- Restrictions on the use of federal or state funding for conversion therapy by federal programs, by recipients of such funding, or through health insurance reimbursements.
- Policies for institutions that house out-of-home youth (such as juvenile justice and foster care programs) that prohibit conversion therapy efforts on minors in care. These entities are often licensed by states or receive federal funding.
- Clarification of existing non-discrimination policies to extend to prohibitions on conversion therapy

In addition to legislative and regulatory action, legal action has been explored as a mechanism for ending the use of conversion therapy. Most notably, a jury found in favor of a claim brought under New Jersey's consumer fraud law, finding that a "conversion therapy" program that offered services purported to change people from gay to straight was fraudulent and unconscionable.[23]

In addition, potential claims of discrimination have been raised under the theory that the provision of ineffective and potentially harmful therapy is due solely to an individual's sexual orientation or gender identity.

Notably, the American Bar Association also passed a resolution urging "all federal, state, local, territorial, and tribal governments to enact laws that prohibit state-licensed professionals from using conversion therapy on minors," as well as "to protect minors, particularly minors in their care, from being subjected to conversion therapy by state-licensed professionals."[24]

Guidance for Families, Providers, and Educators

Being a sexual or gender minority, or identifying as LGBTQ, does not constitute a mental disorder. Sexual or gender minority status, however, is associated with increased risk of psychosocial issues such as psychological distress, mistreatment, and discrimination. Social support, as well as a lack of rejection, in family, community, school, and health care environments has been shown to have great positive impacts on both the short- and long-term health and well-being of LGBTQ youth (see *Research Overview Section 3.2*). Beyond eliminating the practice of conversion therapy with sexual and gender minority minors, LGBTQ youth need additional support to promote resilience and positive development in the spite of the still-pervasive interpersonal, institutional, and societal bias and discrimination against sexual and gender minorities. The following portions of this report provide families and others working with LGBTQ children and adolescents with guidance and additional resources to help facilitate the best possible outcomes for these youth. The information in these sections is based on research findings as well as clinical expertise.

Promoting Family and Community Acceptance and Support

As children and adolescents increasingly experience and integrate LGBTQ and gender diverse identities during childhood and adolescence, it is critical to provide support to reduce risk and promote well-being across social institutions and systems. This includes families, peers, schools, religious institutions, health and social systems and community services.

Over the past decade, the concept of "connectedness" has been seen by researchers and clinicians as an essential aspect in helping to protect against risk and promote wellness for individuals in families and communities. For LGBTQ youth, family, peer and community support have been shown to be important sources of support, and among these, family support and acceptance during adolescence were found to have the strongest influence on overall adjustment and well-being in young adulthood. Because most young people are nurtured through diverse family, caregiver and kinship systems, LGBTQ and gender diverse children and adolescents need support in the context of their families, cultures and faith communities. Access to accurate information about sexual orientation and gender identity development is critical for families and caregivers who often have limited and inaccurate information about these core aspects of human development. This is particularly important for families and caregivers who believe that LGBTQ identities and gender diversity may be at odds with or disavowed by their religious and cultural values and beliefs.

In 2014, SAMHSA worked with the Family Acceptance Project to publish a resource guide to help practitioners to provide support for families with LGBTQ children. The Family Acceptance Project has developed a family support model and research-based resources to help diverse families, including conservative families, to support their LGBTQ children in the context of their values and beliefs.

Key Points:

- Family reactions to learning that a child is lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender range from highly rejecting to highly accepting. The largest proportion of families are ambivalent about having an LGBTQ or gender diverse child, and rejecting families become less rejecting over time. Families can learn to support their LGBTQ children – and do so more quickly – when guidance and services are provided in ways that resonate for them, including education presented in the context of cultural and deeply held values.

- All families and caregivers need to receive accurate information about sexual orientation and gender identity and expression in children and adolescents, and they need to understand that how they respond to their LGBTQ children matters. For example, family rejecting behaviors during adolescence – including attempts to change an adolescent's sexual orientation – have been linked with health risks, including suicidal behavior and risk for HIV, during young adulthood. In addition, family supportive and accepting behaviors during adolescence, which include supporting a child's gender expression, have been found to help protect against health risks and to help promote well-being for LGBTQ young adults. As family rejecting and supportive behaviors increase, so, too, does the level of health risks and protective role of family acceptance in promoting an LGBTQ child's overall health and well-being.
- Parents and families with LGBTQ and gender diverse children need to be heard and understood by providers, educators and others who provide services and support for their children and family. This means meeting parents and families where they are, supporting their need to express their feelings, perceptions, hopes and concerns for their LGBTQ child in the context of their cultural and religious perspectives, and being sensitive to how deeply held values shape reactions and responses to having an LGBTQ or gender diverse child.
- Parents and caregivers who are perceived as rejecting their LGBTQ children and who engage in rejecting behaviors (such as trying to change their child's sexual orientation or gender expression, using deeply held values and morals to prevent or change an adolescent's identity or preventing them from participating in LGBTQ support groups) are typically motivated by trying to help their LGBTQ child "fit in," have a good life and be accepted by others. The Family Acceptance Project's research-informed approach to providing services and care for LGBTQ children and adolescents uses a strengths-based framework that views families and caregivers as potential allies in reducing risk, promoting well-being, and creating healthy futures for their LGBTQ children. The family's cultural values, including deeply-held morals and values, are viewed as strengths. Research findings related to family accepting and rejecting behaviors are aligned with underlying deeply held morals and cultural values (such as supporting an individual's dignity and self-worth) to help families understand that it is specific family reactions and communication patterns that contribute to both their LGBTQ child's risk and their well-being.
- Families that are struggling with having an LGBTQ or gender diverse child don't have to choose between their LGBTQ child and their culture or their morals and values. Many parents who are struggling believe that responding with positive reactions such as expressing affection once they learn that a child is LGBTQ will condone or encourage a behavior or identity that is at odds with their beliefs. However, expressing affection for an LGBTQ child is a key supportive behavior that helps protect their child against health risks and increases connectedness. In addition, parents that are struggling can respond with other supportive behaviors that help increase parent-child connectedness and have been identified in research to help protect against risk and help promote an LGBTQ child's well-being - without "accepting" an identity they believe is wrong. This includes behaviors such as talking with their child and listening respectfully to understand their child's experiences; requiring that other family members treat their child with respect even if they disagree; ensuring their child's safety by standing up for their child when others hurt, mistreat or discriminate against their LGBTQ or gender diverse child because of who they are. These behaviors also reflect the key values of dignity, mercy, and compassion.

Resources

Family Acceptance Project: http://familyproject.sfsu.edu/

Gender Spectrum: www.genderspectrum.org

Institute for the Study of Sexual Identity: www.sexualidentityinstitute.org

PFLAG: www.pflag.org

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Bullying, Harassment, and Other School-Based Issues

Children and adolescents spend the vast majority of their time in schools and other institutional settings. Research has shown that students with positive school experiences achieve healthier outcomes across a range of variables. Conversely, negative experiences in school can have a detrimental impact on educational attainment, in addition to numerous health-related outcomes. LGBTQ young people in schools experience disproportionately high levels of bullying, harassment, and discrimination. This puts them at higher risk of depression, anxiety, suicidal ideation and attempt, substance use, and other mental health problems, in addition to negative educational outcomes. Families, guardians, and school-based professionals can and should take steps to mitigate issues that arise because students are, or are perceived to be, LGBTQ. Safe and supportive school environments are an important factor in ensuring the health and well-being of all students, including LGBTQ students.

Key points:

- Much of the distress that LGBTQ children and adolescents experience is not the result of their gender non-conformity or LGBTQ identity – in other words, it is not *being* LGBTQ that causes the distress, but rather the way they are *treated* for being LGBTQ that does. This can include being bullied, harassed, or otherwise

mistreated, in addition to experiences with structural barriers such as the lack of access to an appropriate restroom for a transgender student. School-based professionals can help minimize mental health issues for LGBTQ students by taking steps to eliminate structural barriers and proactively working to create a positive school climate, which can include measures such as LGBTQ-inclusive curriculum and intervening to stop bullying and harassment.

- School-based mental health professionals may often be one of the few trusted adults with whom young people can be open about who they are and what barriers they are facing as a result. Some LGBTQ young people may not be in a position to discuss their sexual orientation or gender identity with their families, whether because their family has already made it clear that such conversations are not welcome, or because of fears of family rejection if they come out. In addition to providing a safe and welcoming atmosphere, school-based mental health professionals can equip themselves with LGBTQ-related resources, know the warning signs for identity-based mistreatment, and be prepared to serve as one of the primary adults with whom LGBTQ youth can discuss these issues.
- It is important to understand that confidentiality is essential; students should not be outed to their parents or to their peers, and professionals should not assume that the name, pronouns, or manner of dress that a student uses in school is the same at home; often times, school may be the only place where a young person feels comfortable being out or expressing their gender in a certain way. Students should be asked how they would like to be addressed and in which context. Safety and support should be of paramount concern.
- Students should never be asked to change gender non-conforming behavior as a means of resolving issues arising in school. Beyond the potential for increasing psychological distress, such requests occur within the context of a system that already frequently penalizes LGBTQ youth. This population is disproportionately disciplined in schools, and is over-represented in the juvenile justice system. While five to seven percent of youth are estimated to be LGBTQ, they represent 15 percent of the juvenile justice population, and up to 40 percent of homeless youth. Helping to ensure that LGBTQ youth can be who they are *and* stay in school is a life-changing and potentially life-saving intervention.
- One of the most important steps that families and schools can take is to ensure that schools have inclusive and supportive policies for LGBTQ youth that are implemented effectively. Numerous resources have been developed (several are listed below) that walk through all of the ways in which a school can make system-wide changes that benefit all students, including LGBTQ students. Beyond simply being in the best interest of LGBTQ students and their behavioral health, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 protects transgender and gender nonconforming students from discrimination. Proactive adoption of inclusive policies can prevent costly and time-consuming efforts to remedy issues after damage has already occurred.

Resources:

Centers for Disease Control, Division of Adolescent and School Health (DASH): www.cdc.gov/HealthyYouth/

GLSEN: www.glsen.org

Human Rights Campaign, Welcoming Schools Initiative: www.welcomingschools.org

National Center for Lesbian Rights, Youth Project: www.nclrights.org/our-work/youth

National Association for School Psychologists, Committee on GLBTQ Issues: www.nasponline.org/advocacy/glb.apsx

PFLAG : www.pflag.org

Safe & Supportive Schools Project: http://www.apa.org/pi/lgbt/programs/safe-supportive/default.aspx

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> “When I came out to my parents, they found me a conversion therapist who told me transgender people were sick and belonged in mental hospitals. He forced me to throw away all my girl’s clothes as part of my treatment, but, having to dress as a male sent me into complete despair, hopelessness, and depression. Thankfully, one of my friends recognized the warning signs and called social services, which intervened and got me the housing and medical care I needed. It is always darkest before the dawn, but I’m living proof that a smart bystander can save a life.”
>
> **—Amy**

Pediatric Care Considerations for LGBTQ Children and Adolescents

Pediatricians are often the first health professional that families turn to when they need help addressing issues that have arisen because their child is, or is perceived to be, LGBTQ. Families often develop a longstanding, trusting relationship with their family pediatrician and may feel more comfortable discussing issues with them before reaching out to a behavioral health professional. They may rely also on them for referrals to other appropriate professionals. Consequently, it is important for pediatricians to understand appropriate therapeutic approaches when working with LGBTQ children and their families.

In 2014, the Association of American Medical Colleges (AAMC) published a set of thirty gender, sex anatomy, and sexuality competencies that physicians should be able to demonstrate in their practices (Association of American Medical Colleges, 2014). Additionally, the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry published a set of practice parameters pertaining to the care of LGBTQ youth that speaks to the importance of addressing family dynamics when working with families with LGBTQ youth (Adelson & AACAP CQI, 2012). Specifically for eligible transgender adolescents who meet criteria for gender dysphoria (GD), the World Professional Association of Transgender Health Standards of Care, 7th Edition, recommends that family involvement in the consent process is crucial for physical interventions that are prescribed by health professionals who are not behavioral health professionals. The following key principles can be drawn from these resources as they apply to pediatricians and family practice physicians when youth who are, or are perceived to be, LGBTQ present in clinical practice.

Key points:

- *Families need accurate information about LGBTQ identities as being normal variants of the human experience.* Specifically, this is important in helping pediatricians respond to family and parent questions about the healthiness or normality of their child's or adolescent's behavior or identity is inherently pathological and whether these behaviors or identities can or should be changed. This can be particularly important for transgender and gender nonconforming youth, who may be seeking medical interventions to help mitigate the effects of untreated gender dysphoria, as some parents might hold the belief that their youth's gender identity is inherently pathological. In fact, it is the associated gender identity-sex anatomy discrepancy that characterizes gender dysphoria, and which is the treatable phenomena, not the gender identity itself. This information is readily available (several resources are listed below), and sharing it may be the most important way a pediatrician can support the healthy development of sexual and gender minority youth.
- *Practices should provide office climates that allow all youth to feel comfortable disclosing their gender identity or sexual orientation, whether it differs from societal expectations and cultural norms or not.* Steps to do so can include a number of things, ranging from changing intake forms to include both gender identity and sex assigned at birth, routinely asking about pronoun preferences when with youth alone, training frontline staff to use youths' preferred name and pronoun (and when it is safe and appropriate to do so), to forming partnerships with local LGBTQ organizations and building relationships with LGBTQ community providers to whom they can refer youth and families to when appropriate.
- *Family dynamics are particularly important to address as they pertain to attitudes and beliefs about gender identity and sexual orientation.* Research has shown that LGBTQ youth who come from highly rejecting families are nearly nine times more likely to engage in suicidal behavior when compared to their LGBTQ youth counterparts who come from accepting families (Ryan, et al., 2009). Pediatricians should be aware of the various types of

reactions from family members towards their child or adolescent which can range from subtle forms of rejection (e.g., calling their child's identity a "phase") to more overt forms of rejection (e.g., kicking their youth out of the home or physical abuse). Pediatricians should encourage whole-family resolutions of issues with which they are confronted, including referral to mental health professionals who can work with young people as well as for individual family members who may be struggling with the idea that their child or adolescent is or may be LGBTQ. Partnering with parents or family members who are struggling with their youths' gender identity or sexual orientation may sometimes be necessary in order to gain family members' trust, increasing adherence and reducing resistance to the pediatrician's future recommendations.

- *Pediatricians should be careful not to reinforce gender stereotypes when working with LGBTQ and gender nonconforming youth and their families.* This can require recognizing your own implicit biases and working to change ingrained patterns, such as giving certain stereotypically masculine toys to boys and others to girls, or asking adolescents specifically whether they have a boyfriend or a girlfriend instead of determining the information in a manner that does not presuppose the gender of their romantic or sexual interest or attraction.
- *Pediatricians should be aware of the situations when it is necessary to enlist an interdisciplinary team of providers to address the health of some LGBTQ youth.* While some issues may be resolved through the simple provision of information, it may be necessary to establish an interdisciplinary team that includes qualified behavioral health professionals and ongoing collaboration. For all LGBTQ youth, recognizing and detecting signs of emotional distress and psychiatric co-occurring diagnoses (such as depression, anxiety, substance abuse), requires astute screening (particularly in the case of suicide), detection of psychiatric conditions, and prompt referral to a behavioral health provider. As is addressed in depth in the *Affirmative Care* section, for adolescents with gender dysphoria, it is important to coordinate the care with a qualified behavioral health provider and endocrinologist in determining eligibility and readiness for physical interventions such as pubertal suppression or cross-gender hormone therapy. In some situations, coordination of care with the behavioral health provider and surgeon may be necessary as well when considering surgical interventions for eligible adolescents with gender dysphoria as described in the WPATH standards of care (Coleman et al., 2012).

Resources:

American Academy of Pediatrics. (2013). Policy Statement: Office-based care for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and questioning youth. *Pediatrics, 132*(1), 198 -203 doi: 10.1542/peds.2013-1282

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> “Having my family reject me because I’m trans broke my heart into more pieces than I could have imagined. Even more painful was the feeling they no longer loved or valued me. Having my Grandmother take me in restored my belief in love. To have her arms to fall into meant that I no longer was alone, that death did not seem like the only road to stablility, comfort, and joy. That perhaps I should build a future because I again had someone to help me do so and enjoy it with me.”
>
> **—Malachi**

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Affirmative Care for Gender Minority Youth

Increasingly, families, providers, and researchers alike are realizing that providing supportive, affirmative care to transgender children and adolescents results in better outcomes for youth. This positive development has resulted in a significant increase in the number of families and providers seeking accurate information about appropriate treatment protocols for working with gender minority (transgender and gender diverse) youth, including information about socially transitioning youth, and about medical interventions for adolescents.

It is important to ensure that supportive behavioral health and medical care take an affirmative approach which aims to facilitate in children and adolescents the time and space they need to develop and transition in whatever way that might make sense for them, whenever they are ready.

In this approach, children and adolescents are encouraged to actively explore their gender identity and gender expression at home, with peers, and within the context of supportive therapy. This approach encourages children, adolescents, and families to move away from the gender binary and accept the child’s developing gender identity and sexual orientation at whatever point they are in their own trajectory. With young children, this may include exploring all options related to social transitioning. For example, perhaps the child is assigned male at birth and prefers feminine clothing and toys but is not pushing for a female name and pronouns. Rather than assume the child should undergo a full social transition, an affirmative approach would allow the child to continue sorting out their gender identity over time. For an adolescent uninterested in medical interventions, an affirmative approach might include encouraging them to consider non-body altering ways of living in their affirmed gender and helping them explore the variety of ways to live in their individualized gender identity.

Here are a few key points to keep in mind when considering a supportive and balanced approach for transgender and gender diverse, or gender minority, youth:

- Affirmative work with gender non-conforming young children should consider the option of socially transitioning for each child individually, carefully exploring the pros and cons in a client-centered approach. The existing research should be discussed with parents, with acknowledgement that many gender non-conforming children do not persist to become transgender adolescents and adults.
- Affirmative work with gender minority adolescents involves offering puberty blocking medication (at Tanner Stage 2-3) and cross-sex medical interventions (generally offered around the age of 16). However, the research showing positive effects for these interventions are based on protocols that require supportive, gender-clarifying therapy **and** a psychological/readiness evaluation. Offering these medical interventions in the absence of an interdisciplinary team that provides the mental health component does not have empirical support and carries risks (e.g., greater chance of regret).
- While lowering the age requirement for hormone treatment may be in the best interest of some adolescent patients, this decision carries risks as most adolescents prior to age 16 are still solidifying their identities and have underdeveloped neurological and cognitive functioning that allows for mature long-term decision making. Mental health involvement, most importantly a formal readiness evaluation, is always recommended in these cases.
- Research shows that gender minority children and adolescents are most likely to thrive when they have the support of their parents. For this reason, an affirmative approach should involve parents in the process.
- Medical interventions (puberty blockers and cross-sex hormone therapy) have been shown to be helpful in decreasing gender dysphoria and improving quality of life for transgender and gender minority youth when the youth treated follow a specific protocol that involves two important steps: (1) gender exploring therapy with a qualified mental health provider, and (2) a comprehensive evaluation to determine readiness for a medical intervention.
- Because of the potential impact that hormone therapy may have on fertility, this topic should be discussed at length with any adolescent seeking medical interventions and should occur with both their mental health and medical providers. Parents should also be made aware of these potential side effects. Additionally, because many gender minority young adolescents who are prescribed puberty blocking medication eventually pursue hormone treatment, the conversation about fertility should happen prior to starting blockers as well.
- Although many young adolescents who are prescribed puberty blockers will eventually pursue hormone treatment, blockers are not intended as the first step in the physical/medical transition process. The affirmative client-centered approach reminds parents, youth (and providers) that the primary purpose of the blockers is to give the adolescent more time to continue exploring their gender identity in an effort to help them make the best decision for themselves regarding initiation of other medical interventions in the future. Adults that are unable to or are uncomfortable with the possibility that an adolescent on blockers could change their mind may explicitly or inexplicitly make an adolescent feel "stuck" in a gender identity.
- Affirmative care encourages providers, patients, and families to critically examine their own values and beliefs about gender and the gender binary specifically. Providers and parents are encouraged to accept a more fluid expression of gender and allow their child or adolescent the freedom to explore their developing gender identity without pressure to select one of two options.

- Due to the complexity that exists for most transgender and gender diverse youth, due to their evolving gender identity and sexual orientation, their rapidly changing and developing bodies and brains, along with a rapidly shifting societal landscape around acceptance of and treatment for transgender and gender diverse people, an affirmative approach recognizes the importance of providing care within an interdisciplinary team, wherein each provider's input is valued and perceived as equally critical to the care of the individual patients served.

Resources

TransYouth Family Allies: www.imatyfa.org/

Trans Youth Equality Foundation: www.transyouthequality.org

PFLAG Transgender Network: http://community.pflag.org/transgender

Gender Spectrum: www.genderspectrum.org

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Hidalgo et al., 2013. The gender affirmative model: What we know and what we aim to learn. *Human Development*, *56*, 285-290.

> "During my senior year of high school, my English teacher would sit with me every day after school and listen as I told him how confused I was over my sexuality. He was one of the very few I told about being in conversion therapy. He told me that I had to listen to my heart and follow it, and not to try and force any specific outcome. He was the only person in my life at the time who gave me any assurance that I was going to make it through this."
>
> **—Mathew**

Summary and Conclusion

SAMHSA is committed to eliminating health disparities facing vulnerable communities, including sexual and gender minority children and youth. To build a healthy and supportive environment for all children and adolescents, families and providers need resources and accurate information to help inform healthy decision making. Two key strategies that can help prevent adverse outcomes and support healthy development for LGBTQ youth are: strong and positive family and community engagement, and appropriate and supportive therapeutic interventions by health and behavioral health care providers.

These strategies are grounded in psychological research. Being a sexual or gender minority, or identifying as LGBTQ, is not a mental disorder. Variations in sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression are normal. Sexual and gender minority children have unique health and behavioral health needs, and may experience distress related to their sexual orientation or gender, as well as others' responses to their current, future, or perceived sexual orientation, gender expression, or gender identity. In addition, gender minority youth may experience distress caused by the incongruence between their gender identity and physical body.

The research, clinical expertise, and expert consensus make it clear that conversion therapy efforts to change a child's or adolescent's gender identity, gender expression, or sexual orientation are not an appropriate therapeutic intervention. No evidence supports the efficacy of such interventions to change sexual orientation or gender identity, and such interventions are potentially harmful. Appropriate therapeutic approaches to working with sexual and gender minority youth include: providing accurate information on the development of sexual orientation and gender identity and expression, increasing family and school support, and reducing family, community, and social rejection of sexual and gender minority children and adolescents. Social transition and medical interventions, including pubertal suppression and hormone therapy, are additional therapeutic approaches that are appropriate for some gender minority youth. Careful evaluation, developmentally-appropriate informed consent of youth and their families, and a weighing of potential risks and benefits are vital when considering interventions with gender minority youth.

Beyond ending potentially harmful practices, it is important to also build greater social acceptance of LGBTQ youth; to adopt appropriate and supportive therapies; and to provide targeted resources and accurate information for children, adolescents, their families, and their providers. Building better supportive environments and working to eliminate negative social attitudes will reduce health disparities and improve the health and well-being of all LGBTQ youth.

> "It is nearly impossible to describe walking into a therapist's office after surviving conversion therapy. The problem is that we need help from a system we have only known to hurt us. Hearing that I would be okay and that my new therapist could help me learn to cope with the pain of my conversion therapy experience was like getting a second chance at life."
>
> **—Sam**

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Appendix A: Glossary of Terms

Cisgender: A person whose gender identity, gender expression, and sex assigned at birth all align.

Conversion therapy: Efforts to change an individual's sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression through behavioral health or medical interventions. Any effort with an *a priori* goal of a gender expression that aligns with stereotypical norms, cisgender identity, and/or heterosexual orientation, identity, and sexual behaviors.

Gender dysphoria: Psychological distress due to the incongruence between one's body and gender identity.

Gender expression: The way a person expresses their gender identity (e.g., through dress, clothing, body movement, etc.). Young children express their gender through choices for personal items such as toys and clothes, as well as hairstyle, colors, etc.

Gender identity: A person's internal sense of being male, female, or something else. Gender identity is internal, so it is not necessarily visible to others. Gender identity is also very personal, so some people may not identify as male or female while others may identify as both male and female.

Gender nonconforming, gender diverse: A person whose gender expression differs from how their family, culture, or society expects them to behave, dress, and act.

Intersex: Individuals with medically defined biological attributes that are not exclusively male or female; frequently "assigned" a gender a birth which may or may not differ from their gender identity later in life.

Questioning: Individuals who are uncertain about their sexual orientation and/or gender identity. Also used as a verb to describe the process of exploring ones sexual orientation and/or gender identity.

Sex assigned at birth: The sex designation given to an individual at birth.

Sexual orientation: A person's emotional, sexual, and/or relational attraction to others. Sexual orientation is usually classified as heterosexual, bisexual, or homosexual (lesbian and gay), and includes components of attraction, behavior, and identity (Laumann et al., 1994). Sexual orientation is expressed in relationship to others to meet basic human needs for love, attachment, and intimacy (Institute of Medicine, 2011). Thus, young people can be aware of their sexual orientation as feelings of attachment and connection to others before they become sexually active. Sexual orientation identity is how someone labels and identifies their sexual orientation either publicly or privately. Sexual orientation, sexual orientation identity, and sexual behaviors are not always congruent.

Transgender: A person who feels that their gender identity does not match their physical body and differs from the gender that others observed and gave them at birth (assigned or birth gender).

Transition: A term used to describe the process of moving from one gender to another; in adolescents and adults, can be characterized by medical intervention such as the use of cross-sex hormone therapy or gender affirming surgeries. For all people, can include social transition, which is the process of outwardly beginning to present as a different gender, which can include changes in name, pronouns, and appearance.

Appendix B: Acknowledgments

This report was prepared for the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) by Abt Associates under contract number HHSS283200700008I/HHSS28342001T with SAMHSA, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). David Lamont Wilson served as the Government Project Officer. Elliot Kennedy served as the Task Lead.

The lead scientific writer for this report was Laura Jadwin-Cakmak, MPH with support from W. Alexander Orr, MPH as the Task Lead from Abt Associates.

The Expert Consensus Panel was convened by the American Psychological Association (APA) from July 7 – 8, 2015 in Washington, DC and funded by a grant by the Federal Agencies Project. The APA activities were coordinated by Clinton W. Anderson, PhD (Associate Executive Director, Public Interest Directorate, Director LGBT Office) and Judith Glassgold, PsyD (Associate Executive Director, Government Relations, Public Interest Directorate).

The Expert Panel consisted of a panel of researchers and practitioners in child and adolescent mental health with a strong background in gender development, gender identity, and sexual orientation in children and adolescents. The panel included experts with a background in family therapy and the psychology of religion. Among others, the panel included: Sheri Berenbaum, PhD; Celia B. Fisher, PhD; Laura Edwards-Leeper, PhD; Marco A. Hidalgo, PhD; David Huebner, PhD; Colton L. Keo-Meier, PhD; Scott Leibowitz, MD; Robin Lin Miller, PhD; Caitlin Ryan, PhD, ACSW; Josh Wolff, PhD; and Mark A. Yarhouse, PsyD.

Endnotes

1. The term "sexual and gender minority" is an umbrella term. "Sexual minority" refers to individuals who have a same-gender (i.e., gay or lesbian) or bisexual orientation. "Gender minority" refers to individuals whose gender identity differs from their assigned sex at birth or whose gender expression does not conform to stereotypical cultural norms. Sexual and gender minority populations are also referred to as lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) populations, as many (though not all) sexual and gender minority individuals identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender. At times, the phrase LGBTQ - lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and questioning – is used to be inclusive of individuals who are questioning aspects of their gender or sexual orientation, and is particularly common when youth are the population of focus, as here.
2. Conversion therapy consists of any efforts to change an individual's sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression through behavioral health or medical interventions. Any effort with an *a priori* goal of a gender expression that aligns with stereotypical norms, cisgender identity, and/or heterosexual orientation, identity, and sexual behaviors. For a full glossary of terms, see Appendix A.
3. To be inclusive of transgender populations, the term "same-gender" (as opposed to "same-sex") is used throughout this report in order to clearly distinguish between the constructs of gender and assigned sex and to recognize that individuals generally label their sexual orientation with regard to their gender identity as opposed to assigned sex at birth.
4. This section is based on the consensus statements developed by an expert panel convened by the American Psychological Association, July 2015. These statements are based on the best available research and scholarly material available.
5. Efforts to change an individual's sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression through behavioral health or medical interventions. Any effort with an *a priori* goal of a gender expression that aligns with stereotypical norms, cisgender identity, and/or heterosexual orientation, identity, and sexual behaviors. For a full glossary of terms, see Appendix A.
6. The term "sexual and gender minority" is an umbrella term. "Sexual minority" refers to individuals who have a same-gender (i.e., homosexual) or bisexual orientation. "Gender minority" refers to individuals whose gender identity differs from their assigned sex at birth or whose gender expression does not conform to stereotypical cultural norms. Sexual and gender minority populations are also referred to as lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) populations, as many (though not all) sexual and gender minority individuals identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender. At times, the phrase LGBTQ - lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and questioning – is used to be inclusive of individuals who are questioning aspects of their gender or sexual orientation, particularly common when youth are the population of focus.
7. To be inclusive of transgender populations, the term "same-gender" (as opposed to "same-sex") is used throughout this report in order to clearly distinguish between the constructs of gender and assigned sex and to recognize that individuals generally label their sexual orientation with regard to their gender identity as opposed to assigned sex at birth.
8. Secondary sex characteristics refer to sexually dimorphic phenotypic traits that develop due to increased sex hormones in puberty. Changes due to increase in androgens includes growth of the testicles and penis, increased height, increased muscle mass, changes in body shape and weight distribution (e.g., broadening of the shoulders and chest), growth of facial and body hair, and enlargement of the larynx and deepening of the voice. Changes due to increase in estrogens includes breast development, changes in body shape and weight distribution (e.g., widening of the hips and narrowing of the waist), growth of underarm and pubic hair, and the onset of menses (Lee 1980).
9. Homosexuality per se was removed from the International Classification of Diseases and it is explicitly stated that "sexual orientation by itself is not to be considered a disorder." Certain homosexuality-related diagnoses remain in the ICD, although there is some movement underway to remove them in the next edition of ICD (Cochran, S. D., Drescher, J., Kismödi, Giami, García-Moreno, Atalla, …, & Reed, 2014).
10. Biological sex is itself a multidimensional construct, as the chromosomal, gonadal, and anatomical indicators of biological sex do not always align, such as in intersex individuals/individuals with disorders of sex development (Hughes et al., 2006).
11. It should be noted that what behaviors, activities, and appearances are considered feminine or masculine, as well as the expected degree of conformity to gender expressions stereotypically associated with one's assigned sex at birth, varies by culture and over time. The alignment of assigned sex at birth, gender identity, and gender expression has been assumed in many, but not all, cultures and religious traditions. Historically several different cultures have recognized, accepted, and sometimes revered diversity in gender identity and gender expression (American Psychological Association, 2015b). This includes Two Spirit individuals within American Indian communities.

12. The diagnosis of Gender Identity Disorder was eliminated and replaced with the diagnosis of Gender Dysphoria in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders in 2013. Though no longer the current diagnosis, almost all existing research includes participants who were diagnosed using the earlier criteria for Gender Identity Disorder. In addition to the diagnostic category of Gender Dysphoria (capitalized), the term "gender dysphoria" (lowercase) is used to broadly describe the discomfort or distress caused by the discrepancy between a person's gender identity and that person's sex assigned at birth and/or primary or secondary sex characteristics. We will use the term "individuals with gender dysphoria" throughout the report as inclusive of individuals diagnosed under both current and earlier diagnostic criteria, while recognizing that future research findings focused on individuals with Gender Dysphoria may differ from that focused on individuals previously diagnosed with Gender Identity Disorder.
13. There is a third trajectory, in which individuals do not experience gender dysphoria or a diverse gender expression in childhood, but experience the onset of gender dysphoria in adolescence or later. This trajectory is discussed in the section on Gender in Adolescence.
14. Scientists now understand that while sexual orientation is not malleable to external pressures to change (American Psychological Association, 2009), some individuals experience internal changes in sexual attraction and/or changes in what sexual orientation identity label they use (e.g., straight, bisexual, gay) throughout adolescence and adulthood; this concept is referred to as sexual fluidity (Diamond & Butterworth, 2008; Savin-Williams & Ream, 2006). For findings related to the stability of sexual orientation identity in adolescence and young adulthood, refer to research by Ott et al. (2010).
15. Though opportunities for sexuality- and gender-related stressors and supports also occur throughout these social systems within the lives of sexual and gender minority children, research in these areas has generally not included pre-pubertal children.
16. This section is based on the statements of professional consensus developed by an expert panel convened by the American Psychological Association, July 2015 at the request of the US Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. These statements, listed in *Section 2*, are based on the best available research and scholarly material available.
17. See American Psychological Association (2009, 2012, and 2015a)
18. This section is based on reports by American Psychological Association (2012 and 2015a) and APA Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation (2009).
19. For more information see White House sources Strengthening Protection against Discrimination.
20. For example, "A Practitioner's Resource Guide: Helping Families to Support Their LGBT Children" http://store.samhsa.gov/product/A-Practitioner-s-Resource-Guide-Helping-Families-to-Support-Their-LGBT-Children/PEP14-LGBTKIDS. Another helpful resources is "Helping Families Support Their Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Children" http://nccc.georgetown.edu/documents/LGBT_Brief.pdf.
21. See for instance, American Psychological Association (2011). Guidelines for Psychological Practice with Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Clients.
22. Association of American Medical Colleges, 2014. Implementing Curricular and Institutional Climate Changes to Improve Health Care for Individuals Who are LGBT, Gender Nonconforming, or Born with DSD. Available at https://www.aamc.org/download/414172/data/lgbt.pdf.
23. Ferguson v. JONAH, Law Div., Hudson Cy. (Bariso, J.S.C.), HUD-L-5473-12, February 5, 2015.
24. American Bar Association, 2015. Resolution 112., available at https://www.americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/images/abanews/2015annualresolutions/112.pdf.

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