

# Marginalized and Advantaged Parents' Perceptions of Identity-Safety Cues in K-12 Classrooms

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## Abstract

Across four studies ( $N = 1,427$ ), we examined the impact of identity-safety cues (Black Lives Matter or Pride posters) on marginalized (Black, LGBTQ+) and advantaged (White, cisgender-heterosexual) parents' evaluations of elementary classrooms. Black (Study 1) and LGBTQ+ parents (Studies 2 and 3a) perceived identity-relevant safety cues as more appropriate and as prompting more positive education-related outcomes (child belonging, classroom interest) than advantaged parents, who preferred control classrooms. Effects among cisgender-heterosexual parents were consistent between third- and eighth-grade classrooms (Study 3b); despite expressing less classroom interest in and finding Pride classrooms inappropriate across grades, cisgender-heterosexual parents' expectations of child belonging, child grade, and teacher support did not differ between classrooms. Brief qualitative analyses assessed parents' beliefs on appropriate inclusive imagery and who should educate on diversity-related information. We highlight identity-based disparities in perceptions of educational inclusivity efforts in the context of current movements toward heightened parental control in education.

## Keywords

DEI, diversity structures, inclusion, academic spaces, LGBTQ+

A legislative onslaught targeting diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) practices is underway in American K–12 education, including 417 anti-LGBTQ+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer) bills stifling gender, and sexuality education for students in kindergarten through the third grade (American Civil Liberties Union [ACLU], 2023; Human Rights Campaign, 2023; Mervosh, 2023). Similar anti-critical race theory (CRT) policy initiatives are impacting elementary education (e.g., teaching slavery as being “beneficial” for Black people; Planas, 2023), with 44 states enacting legislation limiting teaching about race and racism (Schwarz, 2023).

Banning DEI-related discussions in K–12 education harms marginalized students and reinforces educational disparities (e.g., Hornbeck & Malin, 2023; Kaerwer & Pritchett, 2023). Conversely, inclusive policies and curricula are associated with more supportive educational environments and improved school-related outcomes (e.g., perceptions of school climate, grades) among marginalized children and youth (Blazar, 2021; Day et al., 2019; Dee & Penner, 2021; Piper, 2019). In addition to policy and curricular initiatives, environmental signals of inclusivity (e.g., “Safe-Zone” stickers signaling teacher’s LGBTQ+ competence) may serve as important cues for belonging for

marginalized youth in classrooms (e.g., Evans, 2002; Katz et al., 2016).

## Examining Perceptions of Safety Cues in K–12 Spaces

Environmental cues impact expectations of how one will be treated based on their social identities (i.e., social identity contingencies; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). These *identity-safety cues* (ISCs; e.g., LGBTQ+ Pride flag) effectively boost expectations of belonging and performance in higher-education classrooms where historical exclusion has occurred (Howansky et al., 2022; Murphy et al., 2007). Among marginalized adult samples in organizational settings, ISCs serve as signals of inclusive values, eliciting

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expectations of equitable treatment for marginalized and advantaged personnel (*procedural fairness*; Chaney et al., 2019; Chaney & Sanchez, 2018). Expectations of belonging, performance (e.g., grades), and procedural fairness are thus critical indicators of the perceived efficacy for ISC in K–12 classrooms.

Parents may resist inclusive education efforts, claiming such efforts are divisive (e.g., Clark, 2023; Kaerwer & Pritchett, 2023), concede that certain topics belong in public education (e.g., slavery, Gawthrop & Helmstetter, 2022), or generally support diversity education (Hobby et al., 2021). “Parents’ rights” have played an important role in recent debates over curriculum, with politicized movements invoking these rights to shape curriculum (e.g., excluding race, sexuality, and gender-related topics; Foran, 2022; Walsh, 2022). Thus, K–12 ISCs should be empirically examined from the perspective of both marginalized and advantaged parents. The current work examines whether the presence or absence of visual ISCs (e.g., Black Lives Matter [BLM] or LGBTQ+ Pride poster) in K–12 classrooms shifts parents’ expected identity-safety for one’s child and family. We examine these outcomes from a parental perspective and integrate lay theories of topic age-appropriateness with theoretical frameworks of ISCs.

### Perceived Appropriateness: Parent Identity and Anticipated Psychological Safety or Threat

Parents often misperceive the age at which children recognize race and other social categories (Sullivan et al., 2021); Nevertheless, parent’s beliefs about the age-appropriateness of LGBTQ+ and race-related topics impact their likelihood of discussing these topics with their children (Chaney et al., 2024; Sullivan et al., 2021, 2022). Parental identity further shapes such beliefs; LGBTQ+ parents believe LGBTQ+ topics are more appropriate at a younger age than cisgender-heterosexual parents (Chaney et al., 2024). Recent policies suggest that, in addition to discussion of these topics, the display of ISCs related to sexual orientation and race is “inappropriate” for children (“Don’t say gay” bill, HB 1557). Yet, parents’ perceived appropriateness of ISCs for children has not been empirically examined.

ISCs elicit differing safety and threat perceptions depending on perceiver identity. For example, minority representation bolsters expectations of identity-safety for marginalized groups (Kruk & Matsick, 2021; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008; Wilton et al., 2020). When examining visual stimuli of Black male faces, Black men reported greater identity-safety, whereas White people reported less feelings of safety with Black male representation (Oswald et al., 2024). This suggests that, outside of broader environmental constraints, such as workplace settings, the same stimulus may be threatening- or safety-promoting,

depending on the identity of the perceiver (Oswald & Adams, 2023; Oswald et al., 2024).

Thus, ISCs may evoke threat among socially advantaged parents (e.g., *symbolic threat*, outgroup representation conflicts with ingroup’s social values, or *realistic threat*, outgroup may limit resources that one’s ingroup can access; Renfro et al., 2006; Stephan et al., 2002). White identity management theories highlight that perceived psychological threats toward one’s racial ingroup’s image can evoke defensive actions toward the marginalized outgroup (Knowles et al., 2014; Renfro et al., 2006; Shuman et al., 2024). Such threat responses can occur when White people hear narratives of racial minorities social advancement (Wilkins et al., 2016; Wilkins & Kaiser, 2014).<sup>1</sup>; see also Wilkins et al., 2022).

Consequently, the presence of ISCs in K–12 classrooms may elicit psychological threat for advantaged parents. Specifically, ISC classrooms may pose a symbolic threat by signaling their advantaged group’s values and norms are *not* the cultural default in classrooms, captured by perceptions of ISCs as less appropriate and expressing less interest in their child attending an ISC classroom, compared with a non-ISC classroom. Furthermore, perceived realistic threat may be captured by advantaged parents’ lower expectations of fair family treatment, such as classroom practices that favor marginalized children and families in ISC classrooms, compared with non-ISC classrooms. In contrast and aligned with research on adult samples assessing their own identity-safety, marginalized parents may perceive classrooms with ISCs as identity-safe classrooms for their children. Taken together, we contend that perceived age-appropriateness and classroom interest reactions to an ISC classroom are essential for capturing potential disparate reactions between marginalized and advantaged parents.

### Current Research

In four studies, we examined how marginalized (Black, LGBTQ+) and advantaged (White, cisgender-heterosexual) parents perceived K–12 classrooms with or without an ISC (BLM poster; Pride rainbow flag). We hypothesized that parents with the targeted marginalized identity (Study 1, Black; Studies 2 and 3a, LGBTQ+) would perceive the ISC as more appropriate than advantaged parents (Study 1, White; Studies 2 and 3b, cisgender-heterosexual). Furthermore, we hypothesized that marginalized parents would report greater child identity-safety and interest in their child being in the ISC classroom, compared with the control classroom, but that advantaged parents would report greater expectations of child identity-safety and fair family treatment when ISCs were absent. We included open-ended questions to assess parents’ beliefs about diversity-related topics in schools (Studies 3a and 3b).

All research was conducted with Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval; data and materials are available at

**Table 1.** Demographic Summary

Demographic information	Study 1 <i>n</i> (%)	Study 2 <i>n</i> (%)	Study 3a <i>n</i> (%)	Study 3b <i>n</i> (%)
<b>Gender</b>				
Women (cisgender and transgender, Studies 1–3a)	247 (62.1%)	283 (70.7%)	189 (62.2%)	195 (63.9%)
Men	144 (36.4%)	124 (29.4%)	92 (30.5%)	110 (36.1%)
Non-binary/Genderqueer	4 (1.0%)	7 (1.7%)	16 (5.3%)	—
Transgender identifying	7 (1.8%)	12 (2.8%)	9 (2.9%)	—
Questions/Don't Know	—	2 (0.5%)	4 (1.3%)	—
Self-identified	2 (0.5%)	6 (1.4%)	3 (1.0%)	—
<b>Race/ethnicity</b>				
Black or African American	197 (49.7%)	58 (13.7%)	106 (34.9%)	49 (16.1%)
White	199 (50.3%)	322 (76.3%)	181 (59.3%)	229 (75.1%)
American Indian or Alaska Native	—	10 (2.4%)	11 (3.6%)	5 (1.6%)
East Asian	—	9 (2.1%)	4 (1.3%)	4 (1.3%)
South Asian	—	2 (0.5%)	—	2 (0.7%)
Southeast Asian	—	5 (1.2%)	1 (0.3%)	3 (1.0%)
Hispanic or Latino/x/e	—	38 (9.0%)	20 (6.6%)	16 (5.2%)
Middle Eastern or North African	—	1 (0.2%)	1 (0.3%)	1 (0.3%)
Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	—	2 (0.5%)	1 (0.3%)	1 (0.3%)
Biracial/Multiracial/More than one race/ethnicity	—	9 (2.1%)	11 (3.6%)	8 (2.6%)
<b>Sexual orientation</b>				
Lesbian/gay	15 (3.8%)	14 (3.3%)	62 (20.4%)	—
Bisexual	57 (14.4%)	145 (34.4%)	186 (61.2%)	—
Pansexual	4 (1.0%)	26 (6.2%)	35 (11.5%)	—
Queer	1 (0.3%)	2 (0.5%)	7 (2.3%)	—
Questioning/not sure	2 (0.5%)	4 (0.9%)	4 (1.3%)	—
Asexual	1 (0.3%)	4 (0.9%)	6 (2.0%)	—
Heterosexual	315 (79.5%)	223 (52.8%)	1 (0.3%)	305 (100%)
Self-identified	1 (0.3%)	4 (0.9%)	3 (1.0%)	—
	Study 1, <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	Study 2, <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	Study 3a, <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	Study 3b, <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )
Participants' age (in years)	43.17 (10.65)	41.73 (11.28)	42.59 (12.17)	48.11 (12.84)
Political Orientation ( <i>Strongly conservative</i> – <i>Strongly liberal</i> )	4.75 (1.79)	4.89 (1.83)	5.70 (1.51)	4.20 (1.83)
Age of participants' youngest child (in years, Study 1), Number of children enrolled in elementary school (0–5 or more children, Studies 2–3a–3b)	9.86 (7.21)	0.76 (0.76)	1.72 (0.83)	1.48 (0.77)

[https://osf.io/gba27/?view\\_only=7964db3290414717a641d5d0caf7562f](https://osf.io/gba27/?view_only=7964db3290414717a641d5d0caf7562f). All conditions, measures, and exclusions are reported in the main text or Supplemental Material. Studies 2 and 3 were preregistered.

## Study 1

Study 1 examined White and Black American parents' perceptions of a BLM ISC (or a control cue) in a third-grade classroom. Third grade was examined as many curriculum policies target K–3 education (e.g., Human Rights Campaign, 2023).

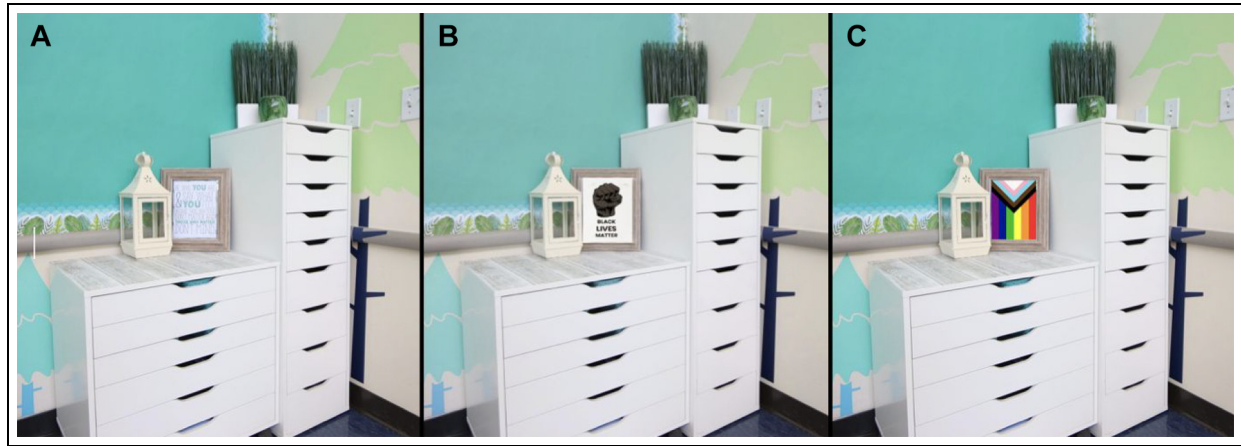
## Method

**Participants.** An *a priori* power analysis (G\*Power; Faul et al., 2007) indicated 351 participants for a 2 × 2 between-subjects design with 80% power to detect a small effect size ( $f = 0.15$ ). We oversampled 415 participants to account for exclusions. Black or White American parents living with at least one child were recruited via Prolific.

Those who failed attention checks ( $n = 10$ ), did not have at least one child ( $n = 4$ ), or did not identify as White or Black ( $n = 5$ ) were excluded, resulting in an analytic sample of 396. Table 1 displays sample demographics.

**Procedure.** Upon consenting, participants viewed a virtual tour of a prospective third-grade classroom. Participants viewed the series of real classroom images, including one image depicting the critical condition-specific photo-shopped poster. Based on random assignment, participants viewed either the control condition, where a poster provided an identity-irrelevant belonging message, or the BLM ISC cue condition, where a poster depicted a BLM motif and the words “Black Lives Matter” (see Figure 1).

Participants evaluated the appropriateness of the décor across two images, including the critical cue image. Next, participants imagined they had a child enrolled in the class and completed the measures below in the order listed. Unless otherwise stated, measures were assessed on a 1 (*Strongly disagree*)–7 (*Strongly agree*) scale.



**Figure 1.** Study 1-3, Critical Control and Safety-Cue Classroom Images

Note. Figure 1a depicts the control cue from Studies 1 to 3. Figure 1b depicts the critical safety cue from Study 1, whereas Figure 1c depicts the critical safety cue from Studies 2 and 3.

**Table 2.** Study 1, ANOVA Results

Outcome	Classroom main effect			Parent race main effect			Classroom $\times$ Parent Race interaction		
	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
Poster appropriateness	51.10	< .001	0.72	10.48	.001	0.33	14.57	< .001	0.40
Classroom interest	25.15	< .001	0.51	22.69	< .001	0.48	13.55	< .001	0.37
Child belonging	9.90	.002	0.32	25.37	< .001	0.51	15.11	< .001	0.39
Child treatment	8.90	.003	0.30	23.10	< .001	0.49	6.36	.012	0.26

Note.  $F(1, 391)$  for all except anticipated treatment:  $F(1, 387)$  due to missing responses. ANOVA = analysis of variance.

### Measures

**Perceived Poster Appropriateness.** Participants reported their agreement with three statements about the appropriateness of the classroom decor (e.g., “The decor is appropriate for a 3<sup>rd</sup> grade classroom”;  $\alpha_{\text{neutral}} = .945$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{condition\_poster}} = .986$ ).

**Anticipated Interest.** On six items, participants indicated their interest in having their child in the class (e.g., “I would want my child to be instructed in this classroom”;  $\alpha = .958$ ).

**Anticipated Child Belonging (adapted from Purdie-Vaughns et al. (2008)).** Participants responded to three items about the anticipated comfort of their child in the classroom (e.g., “My child would feel that they belong in this classroom”;  $\alpha = .955$ ).

**Anticipated Child Treatment (adapted from Pietri et al. (2018)).** Participants reported their agreement with three items about the anticipated treatment of their child in the classroom (e.g., “My child would be treated fairly in this classroom”;  $\alpha = .926$ ).

### Results

Analyses were conducted as 2(Classroom: BLM, control)  $\times$  2(Parent Race: White, Black) between-subject analyses of variance (ANOVAs).<sup>2</sup> Across all outcomes, significant interactions emerged and were probed by classroom condition, and then parent identity. See Table 2 for ANOVA statistics, Table 3 for simple effect statistics, and Table 4 for descriptive statistics.

**Simple Effects by Classroom Condition.** Compared with White parents, Black parents in the BLM condition reported greater perceived appropriateness, classroom interest, child belonging, and treatment (see Figure 2). Black and White parents did not significantly differ in the control classroom across all outcomes.

**Simple Effects by Parent Identity.** The control poster was rated as more appropriate than the BLM poster among both White and Black parents, even though this effect was greater for White than Black parents. While Black parents’ classroom interest, anticipated child belonging, and treatment did not differ by condition, White parents reported

**Table 3.** Study 1, Simple Effects

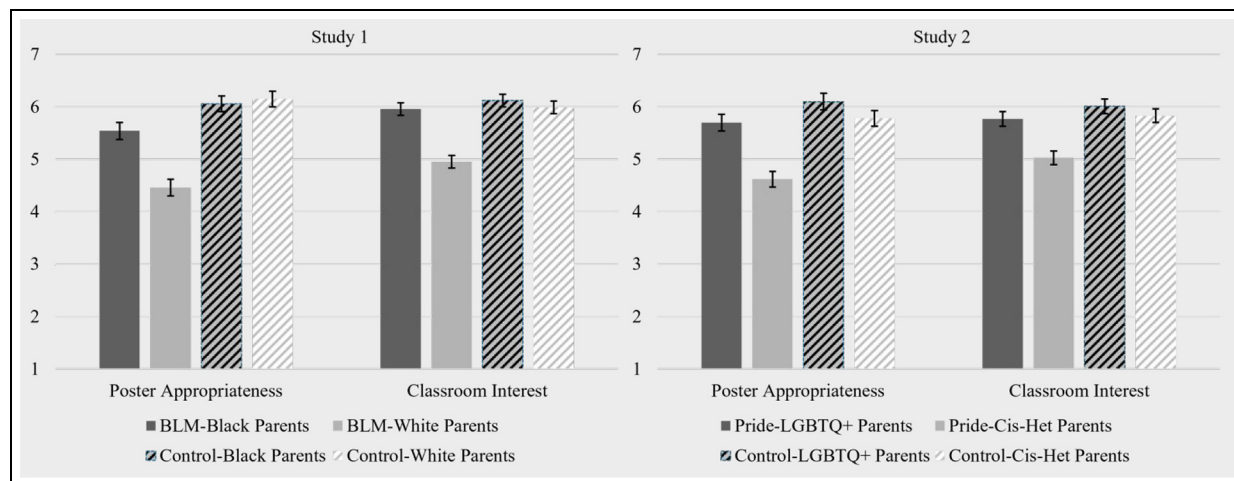
Outcome	Simple effects by classroom condition						Simple effects by parent identity					
	BLM classroom			Control classroom			White parents			Black parents		
	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
Appropriateness	24.43	<.001	0.50	0.17	.678	0.00	60.24	<.001	0.79	5.54	.019	0.24
Class interest	35.03	<.001	0.60	0.60	.441	0.09	37.89	<.001	0.62	0.89	.347	0.09
Child belong.	39.12	<.001	0.63	0.67	.412	0.09	24.78	<.001	0.51	0.27	.601	0.06
Treat.	26.25	<.001	0.52	2.67	.103	0.17	15.18	<.001	0.40	0.11	.745	0.00

Note.  $F(1, 391)$  for all except treatment:  $F(1, 387)$  due to missing responses. BLM = Black lives matter.

**Table 4.** Study 1, Descriptive Statistics

Outcome	BLM classroom		Control classroom	
	Black parents ( <i>M, SD</i> )	White parents ( <i>M, SD</i> )	Black parents ( <i>M, SD</i> )	White parents ( <i>M, SD</i> )
Poster appropriateness	5.54 (1.60)	4.46 (2.20)	6.06 (1.07)	6.15 (0.99)
Classroom interest	5.96 (1.03)	4.95 (1.77)	6.12 (0.84)	5.99 (0.90)
Child belonging	6.17 (0.84)	5.14 (1.73)	6.09 (0.85)	5.95 (0.97)
Child treatment	5.99 (0.94)	5.13 (1.70)	6.05 (0.90)	5.78 (0.96)

Note. BLM = Black lives matter.

**Figure 2.** Study 1 and 2, Perceived Poster Appropriateness and Classroom Interest

Note. Error bars denote standard error.

greater interest, child belonging, and treatment in the control classroom than the BLM classroom.

## Discussion

Initial evidence demonstrates that parent racial identity influences perceptions of race-specific ISC appropriateness in elementary classrooms. White parents perceived the BLM poster in a third-grade classroom as significantly less appropriate than Black parents, whereas perceptions of the

control cue did not differ by parent identity. Black, relative to White, parents demonstrated greater classroom interest, anticipated treatment, and belonging of their child in the BLM classroom.

## Study 2

Study 2 examined cisgender-heterosexual and LGBTQ+ parents' perceptions of a Pride flag (or a control cue) in a third-grade classroom. Preregistered hypotheses for

**Table 5.** Study 2, ANOVA Results

Outcome	Classroom Main Effect			Parent Identity Main Effect			Classroom × Parent Identity interaction		
	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
Appropriate	25.22	<.001	0.49	20.49	<.001	0.44	5.95	.015	0.24
Classroom interest	14.27	<.001	0.37	11.13	<.001	0.33	4.28	.039	0.20
Child belonging	1.11	.294	0.11	15.89	<.001	0.39	4.42	.036	0.20
Child treatment	2.89	.090	0.17	13.77	<.001	0.36	3.45	.064	0.18
Fair family treatment	16.44	<.001	0.40	7.53	.006	0.27	0.81	.368	0.09

Note. *F*(1, 418) except for anticipated treatment; *F*(1, 417) due to missing response. ANOVA = analysis of variance.

**Table 6.** Study 2, Simple Effect Statistics

Outcome	Simple effects by classroom condition						Simple effects by parent identity					
	Pride classroom			Control classroom			LGBTQ+ parents			Cisgender-heterosexual parents		
	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
Appropriate	23.99	<.001	0.48	2.21	.138	0.14	3.16	.076	0.17	29.52	<.001	0.53
Class interest	14.45	<.001	0.37	0.81	.368	0.09	1.38	.241	0.11	18.13	<.001	0.42
Child belonging	18.33	<.001	0.42	1.80	.181	0.13	0.52	.471	0.07	5.27	.022	0.22

Note. *F*(1, 418).

perceived poster appropriateness, classroom interest, child belonging, and anticipated treatment mirrored Study 1 ([https://osf.io/gjrxz/?view\\_only=2b0f89b6fd4e21b3619900014fdea8](https://osf.io/gjrxz/?view_only=2b0f89b6fd4e21b3619900014fdea8)). Exploratory moderated mediation analyses are reported in Supplemental Material.

To assess perceptions of the classroom ISC as boosting equitable and fair treatment for LGBTQ+ families, we included a measure of classroom procedural fairness, a measure typically assessed in organizational settings to see whether internal procedures are applied consistently across marginalized and advantaged workers (e.g., Chaney et al., 2016; Johnson et al., 2021). We hypothesized that LGBTQ+ parents would anticipate greater fair family treatment in the Pride poster conditions compared with cisgender-heterosexual parents, but no differences would emerge for parents in the control conditions.

## Method

**Participants.** Cisgender-heterosexual or LGBTQ+ American parents living with at least one child were recruited via Prolific. An a priori power analysis for a 2 × 2 between-subjects ANOVA with 95% power to detect a small-medium effect ( $f = 0.20$ ) revealed a desired sample size of 327. We oversampled 439 participants to account for exclusions. Those who failed attention checks ( $n = 12$ ), did not have at least one child ( $n = 2$ ), or did not report gender or sexual orientation ( $n = 11$ ) were excluded, resulting in an analytic sample of 422. Table 1 displays demographics.

**Procedure.** The procedure was identical to Study 1 with a Pride flag ISC (see Figure 1C). Participants completed the same measures as in Study 1, adapted as needed to assess LGBTQ+ issues. All measures demonstrated high reliability ( $\alpha > .86$ ). New to Study 2, participants indicated their agreement with four items addressing anticipated procedural fairness toward LGBTQ+ families from the instructor (e.g., fair family treatment, “The teacher of this classroom treats students with LGBTQ+ families with respect,”  $\alpha = .894$ ).<sup>3</sup>

## Results

Between-subjects ANOVAs, 2(Classroom: Pride, Control) × 2(Parent Identity: Cisgender-Heterosexual, LGBTQ+), were conducted.<sup>4</sup> ANOVA results are reported in Table 5, simple effects in Table 6, and condition descriptive statistics in Table 7.

Significant main effects of condition on poster appropriateness, classroom interest, and child belonging were qualified by significant interactions. Simple effects revealed LGBTQ+ parents rated the Pride poster as more appropriate and reported greater classroom interest, and child belonging than cisgender-heterosexual parents; LGBTQ+ and cisgender-heterosexual parents did not significantly differ in the control classroom. Examining simple effects instead by parent identity revealed that LGBTQ+ parents did not differ by condition, though cisgender-heterosexual parents reported the control classroom was more appropriate and had greater interest and anticipated child belonging in the control than Pride classroom.

**Table 7.** Study 2, Interaction and Main Effects Descriptive Statistics

Outcome	Pride classroom		Control classroom	
	LGBTQ+ parents ( <i>M</i> , <i>SD</i> )	Cisgender-heterosexual parents ( <i>M</i> , <i>SD</i> )	LGBTQ+ parents ( <i>M</i> , <i>SD</i> )	Cisgender-heterosexual parents ( <i>M</i> , <i>SD</i> )
Poster appropriateness	5.70 (1.64)	4.62 (2.19)	6.10 (0.91)	5.78 (1.27)
Classroom interest	5.77 (1.60)	5.03 (1.87)	5.83 (1.03)	6.00 (0.84)
Child belonging	6.11 (1.28)	5.36 (1.62)	5.98 (1.04)	5.75 (1.00)

Only a significant main effect of parent identity emerged on treatment. LGBTQ+ parents reported better anticipated child treatment ( $M = 5.78$ ,  $SD = 1.88$ ) than cisgender-heterosexual parents ( $M = 5.30$ ,  $SD = 1.42$ ). Treatment estimates were high in the Pride ( $M = 5.41$ ,  $SD = 1.56$ ) and control conditions ( $M = 5.65$ ,  $SD = 1.05$ ).

Regarding LGBTQ+ fair family treatment, significant main effects of parent identity and condition emerged. LGBTQ+ parents reported greater fair treatment for LGBTQ+ families ( $M = 5.71$ ,  $SD = 1.15$ ) than cisgender-heterosexual parents ( $M = 5.42$ ,  $SD = 1.10$ ). Parents also reported greater fair treatment for LGBTQ+ families in the Pride classroom ( $M = 5.77$ ,  $SD = 1.12$ ) than the control classroom ( $M = 5.34$ ,  $SD = 1.10$ ).

### Discussion

LGBTQ+ parents perceived a Pride poster in a third-grade classroom as significantly more appropriate and reported greater classroom interest and child belonging than cisgender-heterosexual parents, whereas perceptions of the control poster did not differ by parent identity. While Studies 1 and 2 were intended to examine the utility of an ISC for children from marginalized families, results largely demonstrated a reactive response to BLM and Pride cues from advantaged group parents (e.g., lower classroom interest vs. control). Lack of identity-safety effects may be the result of elementary classrooms largely being perceived as safe and inclusive spaces by marginalized parents, evidenced by high levels of anticipated belonging and classroom interest (Studies 1 and 2). Studies 3a and 3b thus examine the effect of Pride posters in classrooms where identity-threat may be more salient (e.g., invoking state-level anti-LGBTQ+ curriculum laws). Because Study 2 demonstrated the cisgender-heterosexual parents also report higher ages as appropriate for children to learn about LGBTQ+ topics compared with LGBTQ+ parents (see Footnote 3, Chaney et al., 2024), Studies 3a and 3b examined perceptions of both elementary and middle school LGBTQ+ -inclusive classrooms.

### Study 3

Study 3 examined LGBTQ+ (Study 3a) and cisgender-heterosexual (Study 3b) parents' perceptions of a classroom

with a Pride or neutral poster in a state with proposed legislation to limit discussion of LGBTQ+ identities in educational contexts. Information was provided indicating the classroom teacher was heterosexual. Across Studies 3a and 3b, an a priori power analysis for a  $2 \times 2$  between-subjects ANOVA with 80% power to detect a small-medium effect ( $f = 0.20$ ) revealed a desired sample of 309 participants. Studies 3a and 3b added a new factor of classroom grade, and novel outcome of anticipated child performance. While Studies 1 and 2 focused on third-grade classroom, Studies 3a and 3b examined effects across grade (third- or eighth-grade classroom). Study 2 revealed that cisgender-heterosexual parents indicated LGBTQ+ topics are appropriate for children ~10 years old. We opted for eighth grade to exceed this age and reach the next educational milestone of middle school (ages 11–14). Furthermore, Studies 3a and 3b included open-ended qualitative analysis to assess parents' beliefs about when it is appropriate for children to learn about diversity-related topics and the role of schools in discussing diversity.

### Study 3a

Our hypotheses for poster condition mirror Studies 1 and 2. We did not expect LGBTQ+ parents' effects to vary by classroom grade, as LGBTQ+ parents reported that LGBTQ+ topics were appropriate at around 8 years of age (i.e., third grade) in Study 2. This study was preregistered ([https://osf.io/4snzt/?view\\_only=8639b72ce85c4ef086cc9c6df446b54e](https://osf.io/4snzt/?view_only=8639b72ce85c4ef086cc9c6df446b54e)).

### Method

**Participants.** We oversampled 312 participants to account for exclusions. LGBTQ+ American parents living with at least one child were recruited via Prolific. Those who failed attention checks ( $n = 2$ ), did not have a child ( $n = 5$ ), or did not indicate how many children they had ( $n = 1$ ) were excluded from analyses, resulting in a sample of 304 (see Table 1 for demographics).

**Materials.** Participants read a brief description of the school environment, including filler information (e.g., “the school has approximately 150 students per grade”) and LGBTQ+



**Table 8.** Study 3a, ANOVA Results

Outcome	Grade main effect $F(1, 300)$			Poster main effect $F(1, 300)$			Interaction $F(1, 300)$		
	$F$	$p$	$d$	$F$	$p$	$d$	$F$	$P$	$d$
Appropriate	0.84	.362	0.11	0.06	.804	0.00	0.02	.877	0.00
Class interest	0.17	.685	0.06	4.97	.026	0.26	0.63	.427	0.09
Child belonging	0.36	.850	0.00	20.07	<.001	0.52	0.04	.842	0.00
Child treatment	0.43	.513	0.06	18.03	<.001	0.49	0.02	.877	0.00
Family fair treatment	0.28	.597	0.06	54.66	<.001	0.85	0.09	.769	0.00
Teacher support	0.57	.450	0.09	16.75	<.001	0.47	0.18	.675	0.06
Child grade	0.11	.739	0.00	0.28	.600	0.06	0.00	.973	0.00

Note. ANOVA = analysis of variance.

**Table 9.** Study 3a, Descriptive Statistics

Outcome	Pride poster ( $M, SD$ )	Control poster ( $M, SD$ )	Third grade ( $M, SD$ )	Eighth grade ( $M, SD$ )
Poster appropriateness	5.94 (1.28)	5.91 (1.10)	5.99 (1.14)	5.86 (1.24)
Class interest	5.89 (1.09)	5.60 (1.21)	5.77 (1.16)	5.72 (1.15)
Child belonging	6.17 (0.96)	5.54 (1.35)	5.88 (1.23)	5.83 (1.19)
Child treatment	5.88 (1.03)	5.30 (1.33)	5.63 (1.25)	5.56 (1.20)
Family fair treatment	6.03 (0.91)	4.99 (1.48)	5.54 (1.32)	5.48 (1.34)
Teacher support	6.10 (0.82)	5.58 (1.29)	5.79 (1.17)	5.89 (1.05)
Child grade	1.95 (1.19)	2.02 (1.23)	1.96 (1.20)	2.01 (1.22)

identity-threatening information (i.e., “the school is located in a state where legislation has recently been proposed to limit discussion of sexual orientation and gender identities in K-12 classrooms”). Participants then viewed a teacher biography, which among filler information indicated that the teacher “enjoys vacationing with her husband.” The teacher’s profile was the same across conditions, except she was listed as teaching either third or eighth grade. Classroom images were identical to Study 2, though the eighth-grade condition images were slightly modified for a more mature color palette. See Supplemental Material for details.

**Measures.** Participants completed measures from previous studies, including perceived poster appropriateness, classroom interest, anticipated child belonging, child treatment, and fair family treatment ( $\alpha > .871$ ). New measures are reported below.

**Anticipated Teacher Support** (adapted from Malecki et al. (1999)). Participants indicated the extent to which they believe their child would experience support from the instructor of the classroom with six items (e.g., “The teacher will listen to my child if they are upset,”  $\alpha = .956$ ).

**Anticipated Child Grade** (adapted from Weisskirch (2018)). Participants indicated the grade they expected their child to receive in this classroom on an A to F scale.

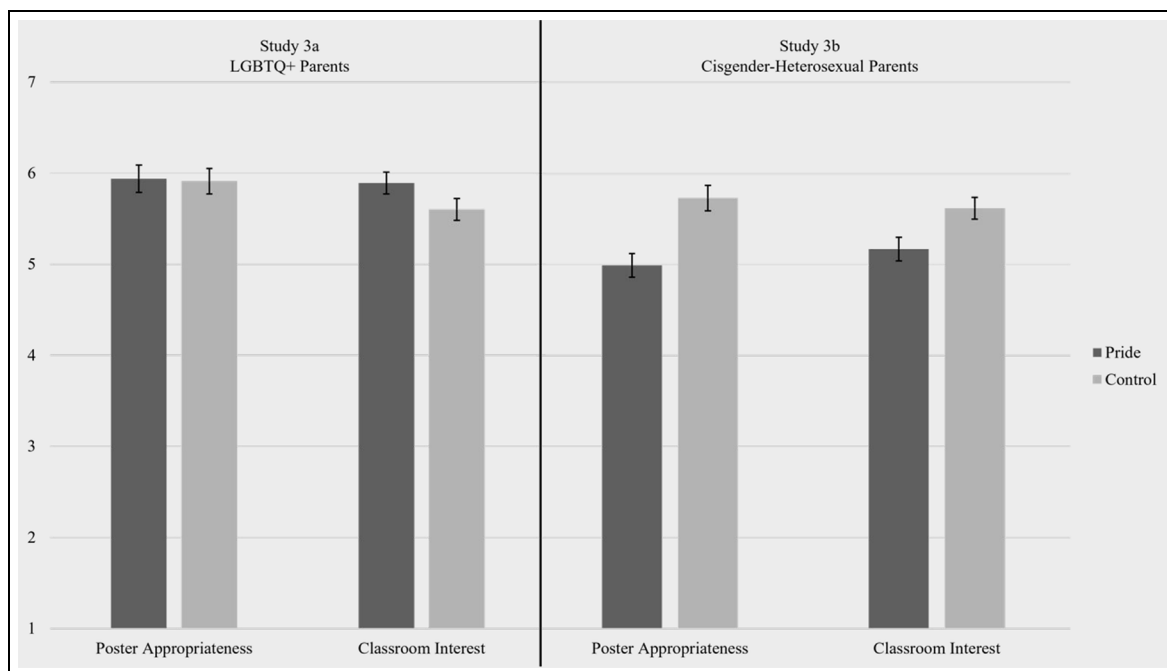
## Results

We conducted 2(Classroom Poster: Pride, Control)  $\times$  2(Classroom Grade: 3rd, 8th) between-subjects ANOVAs, see Tables 8 and 9. The ANOVA for poster appropriateness revealed no main effects and no significant interactions. Posters were rated as appropriate across conditions. The ANOVAs for classroom interest, child belonging, child treatment, fair family treatment, and teacher support revealed only main effects of poster condition (see Figure 3). In the Pride poster classroom, parents reported greater classroom interest, child belonging, treatment, fair family treatment, and teacher support compared with the control poster classroom. No main effects of condition or interactions emerged for anticipated child grade. Parents anticipated their child getting around a B across conditions.

## Study 3b

Study 3b replicated Study 3a with cisgender-heterosexual parents. Based on Study 2 effects, we expected that cisgender-heterosexual parents would perceive the Pride classroom as less appropriate, indicate lower classroom interest, and expect less child belonging, less family fairness, worse child treatment, and less teacher support relative to the control classroom. Despite cisgender-heterosexual parents saying LGBTQ+ topics are appropriate around age





**Figure 3.** Study 3a and Study 3b, Poster Appropriateness and Classroom Interest  
Note. Error bars denote standard error.

**Table 10.** Study 3b, ANOVA Results

Outcome	Class grade main effect $F(1, 301)$			Poster main effect $F(1, 301)$			Interaction $F(1, 301)$		
	$F$	$p$	$d$	$F$	$p$	$d$	$F$	$p$	$d$
Poster appropriateness	0.01	.931	0.00	16.08	<.001	0.46	0.39	.533	0.06
Classroom interest	0.61	.434	0.09	8.34	.004	0.33	0.85	.357	0.11
Child belonging	0.33	.567	0.06	3.77	.053	0.22	0.36	.550	0.06
Child treatment	0.01	.921	0.00	4.50	.035	0.25	0.46	.500	0.09
Fair family treatment	0.44	.510	0.06	6.35	.012	0.30	0.48	.490	0.09
Teacher support	0.01	.906	0.00	0.01	.992	0.00	0.03	.873	0.00
Child grade	0.72	.399	0.09	0.09	.761	0.00	1.26	.263	0.13

Note. ANOVA = analysis of variance.

10 (Study 2; Chaney et al., 2024), we did not anticipate differences across grade level given evidence that age-appropriateness concerns are a guise for limiting conversations about LGBTQ+ topics (Chaney et al., 2024). This study was preregistered ([https://osf.io/xagj9/?view\\_only=f57fc25ec8ff4d9d85b9db5754bf6a07](https://osf.io/xagj9/?view_only=f57fc25ec8ff4d9d85b9db5754bf6a07)). Preregistered moderated mediations are reported in the Supplemental Material.

## Method

**Participants.** Cisgender-heterosexual American parents living with at least one child were recruited via Prolific. We oversampled 318 participants to account for exclusions. Those who failed attention checks ( $n = 2$ ), did not have at

least one child ( $n = 3$ ) or did not identify as cisgender and heterosexual ( $n = 8$ ) were excluded from analyses, resulting in an analytic sample of 305.

**Materials and Measures.** The procedure was identical to Study 3 (scale  $\alpha s > .892$ ).

## Results

We conducted 2(Classroom Poster: Pride, Control)  $\times$  2(Classroom Grade: third, eighth) between-subjects ANOVAs, see Tables 10 and 11. ANOVAs for poster appropriateness, classroom interest, child treatment, and family treatment revealed only a significant main effect of

**Table 11.** Study 3b, Descriptive Statistics

Outcome	Pride poster ( <i>M, SD</i> )	Control poster ( <i>M, SD</i> )	Third-grade classroom ( <i>M, SD</i> )	Eighth-grade classroom ( <i>M, SD</i> )
Poster appropriateness	4.99 (1.82)	5.73 (1.11)	5.34 (1.53)	5.36 (1.58)
Classroom interest	5.17 (1.60)	5.62 (1.04)	5.32 (1.41)	5.45 (1.32)
Child belonging	5.58 (1.39)	5.84 (0.94)	5.67 (1.22)	5.75 (1.17)
Child treatment	5.26 (1.43)	5.56 (1.00)	5.42 (1.22)	5.40 (1.28)
Fair family treatment	5.56 (1.15)	5.22 (1.23)	5.44 (1.13)	5.35 (1.27)
Teacher support	5.71 (1.15)	5.72 (1.07)	5.71 (1.03)	5.73 (1.18)
Child grade	1.80 (1.18)	1.84 (1.11)	1.77 (1.10)	1.88 (1.18)

**Table 12.** DEI Appropriateness and Influence Open-Ended Questions

DEI appropriateness question	DEI influence question
“To what extent do you believe inclusive signals, such as rainbow pride flags or Black Lives Matter stickers, are appropriate to display in school classrooms? When (i.e., what age) and where do you believe children should be exposed to diversity-related ideas?”	“Who do you believe should have the primary influence over a child’s learning about sensitive subjects related to gender, sexuality, race, and other diversity-related topics? What level of control or involvement do you feel parents should have in determining the curriculum content and discussions about these diversity-related subjects?”

Note. DEI = diversity, equity, and inclusion.

poster condition. Cisgender-heterosexual parents reported that the poster was less appropriate, reported less classroom interest, and less anticipated fair child treatment in the Pride versus control poster condition. However, cisgender-heterosexual parents indicated greater anticipated fair family treatment in the Pride classroom than the control classroom.

No significant main effects or interactions emerged for child belonging, anticipated teacher support, or child grade. Parents anticipated relatively high child belonging, teacher support, and child grade across conditions.

## Discussion

While Pride posters in both third- and eighth-grade classrooms were perceived as appropriate among LGBTQ+ parents (Study 3a), Pride posters in third- and eighth-grade classrooms were perceived as less appropriate relative to a control poster among cisgender-heterosexual parents (Study 3b). Thus, contrary to Study 2’s findings that cisgender-heterosexual parents believed LGBTQ+ topics to be appropriate for older children, no significant effects of grade emerged: Pride posters were not rated as more appropriate in an eighth compared with third-grade classroom.

In line with hypotheses, LGBTQ+ parents demonstrated greater anticipated identity-safety in the Pride than control classroom. Yet, cisgender-heterosexual parents again demonstrated less class interest and worse anticipated child treatment in the Pride than control condition, despite recognizing that the Pride classroom would elicit greater

family fairness than the control classroom. Classroom condition did not shift expectations of teacher support, suggesting cisgender-heterosexual parents do not expect unfair treatment in inclusive classrooms.

## Integrative Qualitative Analysis: Studies 3a and 3b

In Studies 3a and 3b, we included two open-ended questions to assess participant perceptions of appropriateness of inclusive signals and the role of schools in teaching DEI topics in classroom spaces (see Table 12).

We analyzed data using a consensual qualitative research–modified (CQR-M; Spangler et al., 2012) approach. We coded our two qualitative items separately, developing unique codes to characterize each set of responses; responses from Studies 3a and 3b were combined to allow comparison across LGBTQ+ and cisgender-heterosexual samples. We extracted themes pertaining to (a) the age parents perceived inclusive signals and related content as appropriate for children and (b) beliefs about the role of schools in children’s learning about DEI.

For age of appropriateness, we identified five common themes in responses (Table 13). LGBTQ+ parents generally endorsed a lower age at which exposure was appropriate than did cisgender-heterosexual parents (Table 14).

For beliefs about the role of schools in exposure to inclusion and diversity-related content, we identified four common themes in responses (Table 15). LGBTQ+ and

**Table 13.** DEI Appropriateness Coding Domains

Coding domain	Domain description	Example quote
Any age/early as possible	Inclusive signals and diversity-related content are appropriate at any age or as early as possible	"I believe children should be exposed to diversity-related ideas pretty much at birth," <i>White bisexual cisgender woman, 40</i>
Elementary school	During elementary school, inclusive signals and diversity-related content are appropriate for children	"... I think 2 <sup>nd</sup> and 3 <sup>rd</sup> grade are not too early to start discussions and displays of these inclusivity movements." <i>White cisgender heterosexual woman, 54</i>
Middle/High school	During teenage years in middle or high school, inclusive signals are appropriate	"I think children should be at least teenagers before they are exposed to these things." <i>White pansexual cisgender man, 29</i>
College/adults only	Inclusive signals and diversity-related content are appropriate during college or adulthood	"I believe that is more appropriate in college aged classrooms where the students are more mature and capable of understanding these topics, not in elementary or k-12 classrooms." <i>Hispanic cisgender heterosexual woman, 37</i>
Never appropriate	Inclusive signals and diversity-related content are never appropriate in a classroom context	They should NOT be in ANY classroom... These are POLITICAL TOPICS used to create division and my child will have NO PART of it even if I have to remove them from the public school system!" <i>White [FEMALE I REFUSE TO USE YOUR CIS SLURS] [WHY DO YOU CARE WHO I HAVE SEX WITH], 42</i>

Note. DEI = diversity, equity, and inclusion.

**Table 14.** Perceived Age of Appropriateness for Inclusive Content by Parent Identity

Age of appropriateness	Cisgender-heterosexual parents, %	LGBTQ+ Parents, %	Comparison
Any Age/early as possible (<5)	11.25	32.89	$\chi^2(1) = 41.72, p < .001$
Elementary school (5–10)	9.97	18.80	$\chi^2(1) = 9.67, p = .002$
Middle/High school (11–17)	16.40	12.75	$\chi^2(1) = 1.62, p = .203$
College/adults only (18+)	1.61	2.01	$\chi^2(1) = 0.14, p = .707$
Never appropriate	32.15	3.36	$\chi^2(1) = 85.28, p < .001$

Note. Columns do not add to 100% because not all participants responded to open-ended items or provided a specific age range in response to this question.

cisgender-heterosexual parents predominantly endorsed that parents should have the primary influence over children's exposure to diversity-related content, although this belief was endorsed by more cisgender-heterosexual parents (see Table 16).

## General Discussion

Increasing restrictions and public discourse about the appropriateness of topics related to LGBTQ+ and Black Americans for K–12 education may increasingly render K–12 classrooms an identity-threatening space for LGBTQ+ and Black parents. As such, ISCs like BLM or Pride posters are increasingly important signals of inclusion, particularly in U.S. states restricting DEI in educational spaces. In four experiments, parent identity influenced perceptions of

inclusive signals in school classroom environments: Parents with marginalized identities perceived inclusive signals as more appropriate for classrooms and as having more potential positive outcomes for their children relative to advantaged parents. These effects were consistent across race- and sexual orientation/gender-based identities and cues, and across grades (third and eighth grades).

The present research was designed to examine perceptions of ISCs in elementary classrooms. Yet, Studies 1 and 2 revealed limited identity-safety expectations for marginalized parents' children. Marginalized parents at times reported the ISC classroom was less appropriate than the control (Studies 1 and 2). However, once an identity-threat was introduced (Study 3), the Pride poster promoted identity-safety across anticipated child treatment, family treatment, and child performance relative to the control

**Table 15.** Role of Schools in Teaching DEI Coding Domains

Coding domain	Domain description	Example quote
Home/parents influence	Exposure to DEI content should be taught in home and parents should have primary control	"I believe parents should have the primary influence over a child's learning about sensitive subjects related to gender, sexuality, race, and other diversity-related topics." <i>Southeast Asian cisgender heterosexual man, 57</i>
School/parents influence	DEI content should be taught in schools with parents having control over what is taught	"The opportunity to make decisions on curricular contents and matters pertaining to diversity should be granted to parents." <i>Black cisgender bisexual man, 27</i>
School/teachers influence	DEI content should be taught in schools but teachers have primary control over what is taught	"I feel that teachers should have primary influence over a child learning sensitive subjects related to diversity. I don't believe that parents should have influence in determining curriculum content." <i>Black and Southeast Asian bisexual cisgender woman, 28</i>
Multiple contexts/influences	DEI content should be taught in collaboration by parents, teachers, and other community members	"The entire village forms a child, so the responsibility lies with everyone: parents, educators, society." <i>White cisgender heterosexual woman, 46</i>

Note. DEI = diversity, equity, and inclusion.

**Table 16.** Perceived Appropriate Context/Influence for Inclusive Content by Parent Identity

Appropriate context/Influence	Cisgender-heterosexual parents, %	LGBTQ+ parents, %	Comparison
Home/Parents influence	63.02	52.01	$\chi^2(1) = 7.55, p = .006$
School/Parents influence	7.40	7.38	$\chi^2(1) = 0.00, p = .995$
School/Teachers influence	7.40	8.72	$\chi^2(1) = 0.36, p = .547$
Multiple contexts/influences	12.54	14.43	$\chi^2(1) = 0.46, p = .495$

Note. Columns do not add to 100% because not all participants responded to open-ended items or provided a specific response to this question.

among LGBTQ+ parents. Critically, this is the first research to expand anticipated identity-safety (and threat) to a secondhand perspective, assessing parents' beliefs about outcomes for their children based on ISCs. We provide novel evidence that parental backlash and desire to control children's education applies not only to academic content, but also to context.

### Parents' Rights and Expectations of Identity-Safety or Psychological Threat

Backlash effects among advantaged parents were particularly salient. White and cisgender-heterosexual parents rated ISC posters as less appropriate than control posters. Advantaged parents also reported less interest in their child being in an ISC, relative to control, classroom (Studies 1–3). Qualitative analyses highlighted beliefs among cisgender-heterosexual parents that race and LGBTQ+ topics should not be discussed in schools. Furthermore, while cisgender-heterosexual parents reported that these topics were, on average, appropriate for children aged

around 10 years (Study 2), they still found inclusive signals to be inappropriate in an eighth-grade classroom (aged ~13–14; Study 3b). Together, these findings are consistent with perceived symbolic threat (e.g., Renfro et al., 2006; Stephan et al., 2002)—advantaged parents' perceiving less age-appropriateness and interest in ISC classrooms indicate backlash toward inclusive procedures that elevate marginalized groups.

This threat is complex, as cisgender-heterosexual parents reported less interest and appropriateness but greater fair family treatment expectations in ISC classrooms compared with control, but noted no differences in the teacher support their child would receive across ISC or control classrooms. Perceived realistic threat thus seemed not to be elicited in ISC classrooms in the same way as perceived symbolic threat. Further research is needed to examine how varied ISC representation in K–12 classrooms (e.g., storybooks with two moms or history lessons discussing LGBTQ+ civil rights) may elicit either, or both, perceived symbolic and realistic threats toward advantaged parents.

Age-appropriateness may be used as a guise for limiting public discussion of LGBTQ+ topics and shifting responsibility for these discussions to parents (Chaney et al., 2024), who—particularly among cisgender-heterosexual people—feel that they should control their children’s knowledge and exposure surrounding these topics. Given exposure to LGBTQ+ topics, it plays an important role in children’s safe identity-development (e.g., Olson et al., 2016) and in shaping beliefs about sexual-minority issues (Harkness & Israel, 2018), it is of dire concern that many cisgender-heterosexual parents wish for their children not to be exposed to these topics.

### Limitations and Future Directions

The present findings are limited to a U.S. context. However, similar sociopolitical climates in other countries, including backlash toward LGBTQ+ -relevant curriculum in Canada (Lazzam, 2023) and Ireland (O’Brien, 2023) suggest this work’s broader relevancy. Furthermore, findings are limited to LGBTQ+ and racial minority groups, yet existing work suggests that ISCs can transfer—that is, a cue directed toward one marginalized group can also improve identity-safety among members of different marginalized groups (Chaney et al., 2016). Implementing classroom ISCs may thus have a positive effect on children from a range of marginalized backgrounds.

Although identity-safety findings were similar for LGBTQ+ and racial minority parents, distinctions in parent perceptions may emerge. Children are likely to share their racial identity with their parents, whereas children’s gender and sexual identity may not match their parents.’ However, children of LGBTQ+ families may report stigma in school contexts where anti-LGBTQ+ legislation is enacted (e.g., associative stigma, Goldberg & Abreu, 2024). Even if children do not share identities with their parents, children’s expectations of how their family members with that marginalized identity are treated are relevant. Among advantaged parents, race and LGBTQ+ identity appear to elicit differing levels of backlash, with LGBTQ+ topics seen as particularly inappropriate for K–12 education (Oswald et al., 2025). Future research should examine how individual differences, such as implicit racial bias and knowledge of structural racism, may facilitate greater support for some inclusive educational practices than others (e.g., supporting racially inclusive curriculum content over LGBTQ+ content). Educational interventions that mitigate inclusion of marginalized groups as a perceived threat (e.g., dispelling myths about zero-sum beliefs on group resources; Wellman et al., 2016) may be fruitful for reducing high-status parents’ perceived threat in the face of ISC classrooms.

Although we manipulated individual classrooms, maintaining inclusive practices should not be shouldered by teachers, who report social cost concerns from parents and administration for implementing inclusive curriculum (e.g.,

Lin et al., 2024). Institutional support and guidance should come from school or district-level administrators to set inclusive norms and supplement classroom-level actions (e.g., Phipps, 2023). Even though enacting inclusive curriculum is particularly divisive given anti-diversity political movements (Foran, 2022; Nossel, 2022), its educational and identity-safety benefits for children are clear (Kaerwer & Pritchett, 2023; Snapp et al., 2015).

### Conclusion

Across four studies, parents with marginalized identities perceived ISCs in K–12 classrooms as more appropriate and as prompting more positive outcomes than did parents with advantaged identities, who preferred a control classroom. We highlight identity-related disparities in perceptions of educational DEI efforts in the context of current movements toward heightened parental control in education.

### Authors’ Note

Izilda Pereira-Jorge and Dr. Kimberly E. Chaney have moved to the University at Buffalo (SUNY) from the University of Connecticut since the completion of this project. Dr. Flora Oswald has moved to the University of South Carolina from the University of Connecticut since the completion of this project.




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### Supplemental Material

Supplemental material for this article is available online.

### Notes

1. It is worth nothing in a high-powered replication, such findings were not replicated (Crawford et al., 2019).
2. Effects did not significantly change when controlling for age of youngest child that parents had. See Supplemental Material.
3. Parents also indicated agreement with three items assessing perceived appropriate age for children to learn about sexual orientation topics (e.g., “At what age . . . do you believe

it is appropriate for children to learn about . . . bullying against LGBTQ+ people,"  $\alpha = .903$ ). This measure and outcomes were used in designing Study 3 conditions. Overall, LGBTQ+ parents endorsed lower ages ( $M = 7.55$ ,  $SD = 4.10$ ) than cisgender-heterosexual parents ( $M = 9.56$ ,  $SD = 4.48$ ) as appropriate to discuss LGBTQ+ topics. There was no effect of classroom condition (Control:  $M = 8.23$ ,  $SD = 4.40$ ; Pride:  $M = 9.00$ ,  $SD = 4.41$ ).

4. Note, effects do not significantly change when controlling for a number of children parents have that are currently enrolled in elementary school. See Supplemental Material.

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