



ISSUE BRIEF

Anti-Trans Legislation: A Tool to Erode U.S. Democracy

JULY 2026

The **EQUALITY** Fund
AT THE BOSTON FOUNDATION

The Equality Fund at the Boston Foundation
sponsored the development of this issue brief.

CALL TO ACTION

This is a philanthropic inflection point.

The rapid expansion of legislation targeting transgender people is one of the defining tests facing philanthropy today. Since 2021, state legislatures have introduced thousands of bills restricting gender-affirming care, limiting participation in public life, and undermining the dignity, safety, and rights of transgender, nonbinary, and gender diverse people across the country. **Families are making impossible decisions about where they can safely live. Young people are questioning whether they will have access to healthcare and supportive schools. Community organizations are being asked to meet growing needs with shrinking resources.**

This is not a series of isolated skirmishes or policy debates. It is a coordinated, well-funded effort to reshape democracy by determining who belongs in public life. The pattern is familiar. Across generations and across the globe, campaigns to erode the rights of historically marginalized communities have tested legal theories, refined public narratives, and advanced state-by-state before seeking broader national impact. Today, transgender communities are at the center of that effort in the United States. Philanthropy has faced moments like this before, and we know what makes movements resilient: sustained investment, community leadership, and the courage to remain engaged when the stakes are highest.

In January 2026, the Equality Fund convened 35 leaders from transgender, nonbinary, and gender diverse communities and organizations serving them to answer a simple question: **What does this moment require of philanthropy?** Their response was unequivocal:

- ▶ **Protect communities.** Move resources before crises escalate by streamlining grantmaking and investing in rapid-response infrastructure, including emergency grants, legal defense funds, and safety-net services. Fund organizations responding to legislative attacks in states where they are advancing, while also investing in communities welcoming transgender people and families seeking safety, where demand for health care, housing, legal services, and community support continues to outpace available resources.
- ▶ **Build movement power.** Commit to multi-year, unrestricted funding for trans-led organizations, particularly those led by Black, Indigenous, and other transgender people of color, so they can build sustainable capacity rather than operate in perpetual crisis. Strengthen the movement ecosystem by investing in organizing, leadership development, litigation, research, essential services, and community care.
- ▶ **Shape the future.** Invest in research, storytelling, communications, and narrative strategies that counter misinformation, deepen public understanding, and build the public and political will necessary to expand freedom, belonging, and equality. Use your institution's voice and influence to mobilize additional funders and catalyze collective philanthropic action grounded in equity, solidarity, and human rights.

The data presented in this brief documents the scale of the challenge. But data alone will not determine what happens next. The choices funders make today will help shape whether trans communities simply endure this period of coordinated attack or have the resources, power, and partnerships they need to build enduring movements for generations to come.

Transgender communities are already leading. They are not waiting for permission, a new funding initiative, or for political conditions to improve before protecting one another, caring for their communities, and creating a world they deserve. **Neither should philanthropy.**

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Experiences of Discrimination Among Transgender People in the U.S.

- **As of 2023, 2.8 million people over the age of 13 years old in the U.S. identify as transgender**, which is 1% of the total U.S. population over the age of 13.¹
 - Roughly 33% are transgender women, 34% are transgender men, and 33% are transgender non-binary adults.
 - **Among all youth aged 13-17 in the country, 3.3%, or 724,000 identify as transgender.** On average, transgender individuals in the U.S. are younger than the U.S. population. Transgender youth make up 25.3% of all people who identify as transgender, and 7.7% of the total U.S. population in this age range.²
 - ▶ The higher proportion of youth who identify as transgender compared to previous eras can likely be attributed to increased social acceptance of LGBTQ people in the last 20 years, with more state and federal protections as well as more visibility of LGBTQ people in the media. Further, more young people are connecting with online communities and support systems, making it safer for many LGBTQ young people to be their full selves.³
- Across the U.S., **transgender people experience high rates of discrimination** in healthcare, employment, and school settings.
 - A 2024 survey found that 62% of transgender adults had experienced some form of discrimination in the past year, and nearly half of all transgender adults had reported experiencing discrimination in stores, restaurants, public transportation, and restrooms. The same survey found that 36% of LGBTQ adults in general experienced some kind of discrimination in the previous year.⁴
 - The 2022 U.S. Trans Survey (USTS) found that 9% of respondents had been denied equal treatment or services due to their gender identity or expression in the last 12 months. In addition, nearly 30% of respondents reported that they had been verbally harassed, 39% had experienced harassment online, and 3% had been physically attacked due to their gender identity or expression in the last 12 months.⁵
 - **Mistreatment of transgender people across the U.S. is on the rise.** For example, between May 2024 and May 2025, there were at least 485 incidents of hate and harassment that targeted transgender and gender non-conforming people (52% of all anti-LGBTQ incidents recorded in this time period). This amounted to a 14% increase in anti-trans incidents compared to the previous year.⁶

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1. Jody L. Herman & Andrew R. Flores. (2025, August). How Many Adults and Youth Identify as Transgender in the United States? *Williams Institute*. <https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/publications/trans-adults-united-states/>

2. Jody L. Herman & Andrew R. Flores. (2025, August). How Many Adults and Youth Identify as Transgender in the United States? *Williams Institute*. <https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/publications/trans-adults-united-states/>

3. Movement Advancement Project. (2025). *In Their Own Words: Learning from LGBTQ Youth Experiences to Tell a New Story*. <https://mapresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/11/MAP-2025-youth-report-narrative.pdf>

4. Caleb Smith & Haley Norris. (2025, March 12). The LGBTQI+ Community Reported High Rates of Discrimination in 2024. *Center for American Progress*. <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/the-lgbtqi-community-reported-high-rates-of-discrimination-in-2024/>; Sandy E. James, Jody L. Herman, Laura E. Durso, & Rodrigo Heng-Lehtinen. (2024, February). 2022 U.S. Trans Survey: Early Insights. *US Trans Survey*. <https://ustranssurvey.org/>

5. Caleb Smith & Haley Norris. (2025, March 12). The LGBTQI+ Community Reported High Rates of Discrimination in 2024. *Center for American Progress*. <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/the-lgbtqi-community-reported-high-rates-of-discrimination-in-2024/>; Sandy E. James, Jody L. Herman, Laura E. Durso, & Rodrigo Heng-Lehtinen. (2024, February). 2022 U.S. Trans Survey: Early Insights. *US Trans Survey*. <https://ustranssurvey.org/>

6. GLAAD. (2025). 2025 GLAAD ALERT Desk Report. <https://glaad.org/2025-alert-desk/>

- ▶ Transgender people of color, particularly Black transgender people, face increased safety risks due to their gender identity and race. Transgender people of color are more likely to be physically attacked than white transgender people. **In 2024, 78% of incidents of fatal violence against transgender people were among transgender people of color; and 56% were among Black transgender women, specifically.**⁷
- According to the 2022 U.S. Trans Survey, **fewer transgender people reported excellent, very good, or good health (66%) compared to the general adult population (81%).** Additionally, 45% of transgender adults in the survey postponed seeking health care due to the cost of care, and 35% transgender adults avoided care when they were sick or injured due to the fear of experiencing discrimination by health care workers.⁸
 - Furthermore, as many people in the U.S. access health insurance through their employer, employment discrimination further impacts and exacerbates transgender individuals' access to health care. In a study conducted from 2019-2020 regarding employment discrimination among transgender women, **10% of transgender women were fired and 32% transgender women had trouble finding a job because of their gender identity.** Difficulty finding a job was linked to lack of health insurance, being reliant on Medicaid, or having an unmet need for medical care, including gender-affirming care.⁹
- Almost half of transgender and nonbinary youth have also experienced discrimination due to their gender identity. Recent escalating political attacks on transgender youth have exacerbated these risks; the Trevor Project reported an increase in crisis hotline calls in response to the 2025 Presidential Inauguration and in the weeks following. As a result of these factors, **transgender youth report higher rates of mental health concerns.** A survey conducted by the Trevor Project found that 40% of transgender and nonbinary young people have considered attempting suicide in the past year; transgender and nonbinary youth who could not access hormones were twice as likely to attempt suicide as those who accessed them. **Over half of transgender and nonbinary youth experience depression, and 65% experience anxiety. In comparison, 36% of LGBTQ people in general had considered attempting suicide in the last year.**¹⁰

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7. Joshua Arrayales & Christy Mallory. (2026, March). Hate Crimes and Violence Against Transgender People in California and the US. *Williams Institute*. <https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/publications/hate-crimes-lit-review-ca-us/>; HRC Foundation. (n.d.). *Fatal Violence Against the Transgender and Gender-Expansive Community*.... Human Rights Campaign. Retrieved July 3, 2026, from <https://www.hrc.org/resources/fatal-violence-against-the-transgender-and-gender-expansive-community-in-2024>

8. Caleb Smith & Haley Norris. (2025, March 12). The LGBTQI+ Community Reported High Rates of Discrimination in 2024. *Center for American Progress*. <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/the-lgbtqi-community-reported-high-rates-of-discrimination-in-2024/>;

Rastogi, A., Menard, L., Miller, G. H., Cole, W., Laurison, D., Caballero, J., & Heng-Lehtinen, R. (2025). *Health and Wellbeing: A Report of the 2022 U.S. Transgender Survey*. https://transequality.org/sites/default/files/2025-06/USTS_2022Health%26WellbeingReport_WEB.pdf

9. Baugher, A. R. (2024). Prevalence of Discrimination and the Association Between Employment Discrimination and Health Care Access and Use — National HIV Behavioral Surveillance Among Transgender Women, Seven Urban Areas, United States, 2019–2020. *MMWR Supplements*, 73. <https://doi.org/10.15585/mmwr.su7301a6>

10. Trevor News. (2025, January 22). The Trevor Project's Crisis Line Volume Continues to Increase Following Inauguration Day. The Trevor Project. <https://www.thetrevorproject.org/blog/the-trevor-projects-crisis-line-volume-continues-to-increase-following-inauguration-day/>; The Trevor Project. (2026, May 6). 2025 U.S. National Survey on the Mental Health of LGBTQ+ Young People. <https://www.thetrevorproject.org/survey-2025/>

- **In 2023, 21% of Black transgender and nonbinary youth reported a suicide attempt in the past year**, which was more than double the number of Black cisgender LGBTQ youth (8%) who reported the same. Black transgender and nonbinary youth who experienced discrimination related to their gender identity or expression in the past year were twice as likely to report a suicide attempt in the past year compared to Black transgender and nonbinary youth who did not experience discrimination related to their gender identity or expression.¹¹

- Despite political attacks and disinformation, **gender-affirming care is a globally accepted and evidence-based standard of medical care for trans youth and adults**. Gender-affirming care includes nonjudgmental primary care from healthcare professionals, assessment of transgender and gender diverse people by a healthcare professional, mental health therapy, hormone therapy and puberty blockers, and surgery.¹²

- The benefits of gender-affirming care are significant. Transgender youth who had hormone therapy and/or puberty blockers had significantly lower odds of depression or suicidal ideation compared to youth who wanted this care but could not access it. **Transgender adults who socially or medically transitioned were more likely to report being in good health.**¹³

Across the U.S., transgender people experience **high rates of discrimination** in healthcare, employment, and school settings.

In 2024, **78%** of incidents of fatal violence against transgender people were among transgender people of color; and **56%** were among Black transgender women, specifically.

11. Discrimination among Black LGBTQ+ Young People and Suicide Risk. (2024, February 13). *The Trevor Project*. <https://www.thetrevorproject.org/research-briefs/discrimination-among-black-lgbtq-young-people-and-suicide-risk/>

12. Poteat, T., Davis, A. M., & Gonzalez, A. (2023). Standards of Care for Transgender and Gender Diverse People. *JAMA*, 329(21), 1872–1874. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2023.8121>

13. Tordoff, D. M., Wanta, J. W., Collin, A., Stepney, C., Inwards-Breland, D. J., & Ahrens, K. (2022). Mental Health Outcomes in Transgender and Nonbinary Youths Receiving Gender-Affirming Care. *JAMA Network Open*, 5(2), e220978. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2022.0978>; Green, A. E., DeChants, J. P., Price, M. N., & Davis, C. K. (2022). Association of Gender-Affirming Hormone Therapy With Depression, Thoughts of Suicide, and Attempted Suicide Among Transgender and Nonbinary Youth. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 70(4), 643–649. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2021.10.036>; Sandy E. James, Jody L. Herman, Laura E. Durso, & Rodrigo Heng-Lehtinen. (2024, February). 2022 U.S. Trans Survey: Early Insights. *US Trans Survey*. <https://ustranssurvey.org/>

Transgender youth who had hormone therapy and/or puberty blockers had **significantly lower odds of depression or suicidal ideation** compared to youth who wanted this care but could not access.

Recent Trends in Anti-LGBTQ Legislation + Executive Actions

- **Anti-LGBTQ legislative attacks at the state level have dramatically increased in recent years, both in number and extremity.** Though advocates have consistently defeated an average of 92% of these attacks each year, this legislation causes confusion and distress for queer and trans people living in these states.¹⁴
 - **As of June 2026, 529 anti-LGBTQ bills have been proposed in state legislatures across the United States.** Many of these bills target transgender people, and transgender youth in particular. These include bills that limit people's ability to update gender information on identification documents, restrict or ban gender-affirming care for youth, block federal funding for gender-affirming care, prohibit transgender people from using public facilities, or ban transgender students from participating in school sports.¹⁵
- **Anti-transgender legislation, specifically, largely focuses on youth, school settings, and access to health care.**¹⁶ Some legislation tracking efforts estimate that there could be as many as 767 attacks on transgender rights at both the state and federal levels as of June 2026.¹⁷
 - Over the last few years, anti-transgender legislation has had a significant impact on transgender youth living in the U.S. **As of 2025, over half of all transgender youth (53%, or around 383,000 transgender youth aged 13-17) lived in one of the 29 states that have passed at least one of the following types of anti-transgender law: bans or restrictions on gender-affirming care, school sports participation, bathroom access, and use of gender-affirming pronouns in schools.**¹⁸
 - **More than one in three (36%, or almost 263,000) transgender youth live in one of the 16 states that have enacted anti-transgender laws across all four of those categories.** Transgender youth living in restrictive states are also more likely to be living in the South and Midwest than in any other region of the U.S.¹⁹

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14. Movement Advancement Project. (2025, February 26). Despite the Attacks Against Us, LGBTQ People Know How to Win. *Medium*. <https://lgbtmap.medium.com/despite-the-attacks-against-us-lgbtq-people-know-how-to-win-d66893da9f37>; Dallara, A. (2026, January 29). Taking the Fight to the Statehouses in 2026: Overview of LGBTQ-Related Bills and Current Activations | GLAAD. <https://glaad.org/taking-the-fight-to-the-statehouses-in-2026-overview-of-lgbtq-related-bills-and-current-activations/>

15. American Civil Liberties Union. (2026, April 24). Mapping Attacks on LGBTQ Rights in U.S. State Legislatures in 2026. *American Civil Liberties Union*. <https://www.aclu.org/legislative-attacks-on-lgbtq-rights-2026>

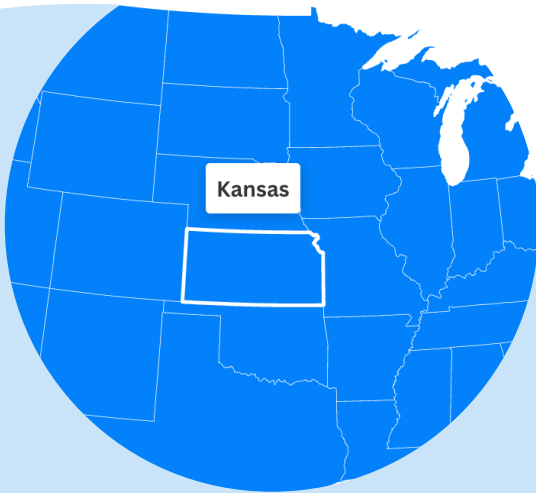
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17. Trans Legislation Tracker. (2026). 2026 Anti-Trans Bills: Trans Legislation Tracker. <https://translegislation.com>

18. Joshua Arrayales & Elana Redfield. (n.d.). The Impact of 2025 Anti-Transgender Legislation on Youth. *Williams Institute*. Retrieved April 26, 2026, from <https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/publications/anti-trans-legislation-youth/>

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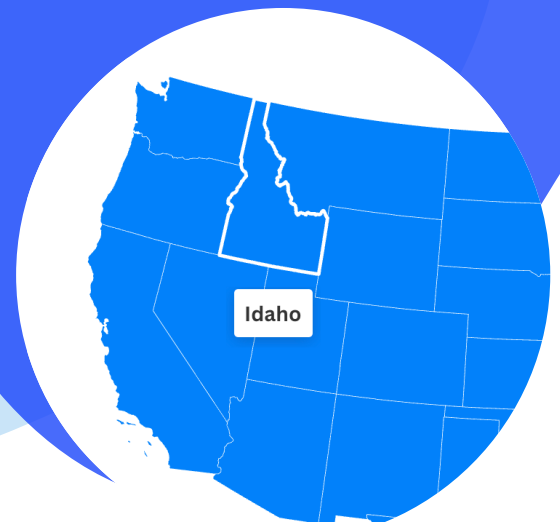
Examples of Anti-Trans Laws Passed so far in 2026



In February 2026, Kansas enacted SB 244, which banned changes to sex markers on identification documents with no grace period, and retroactively invalidated licenses that had been changed legally before the law went into effect. The law also bans transgender people from using bathrooms, locker rooms, and other public facilities that align with their gender identity, imposing financial penalties, criminal charges for repeat offenses, and civil suits against transgender individuals who use the bathroom that aligns with their gender identity.²⁰

In March 2026, Governor Brad Little of Idaho signed HB 752, a strict bathroom bill creating criminal charges for transgender people using bathrooms that align with their gender identity.

Under this law, a first offense carries a penalty of up to one year of imprisonment, and a second offense within five years is a felony with a penalty of up to five years in prison.²¹



20. Santucci, J. & Jason Alattidd. (2026, February 26). *First-of-its-kind law revokes IDs and enacts bathroom rules*. USA TODAY. <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2026/02/26/kansas-transgender-law-drivers-licenses-bathroom-bill/88876772007/>

21. Pfannenstiel, K. (2026, April 1). Idaho governor signs bill to criminalize trans people using bathrooms that align with their identity · Idaho Capital Sun. *Idaho Capital Sun*. <https://idahocapitalsun.com/2026/03/31/idaho-governor-signs-bill-to-criminalize-trans-people-using-bathrooms-that-align-with-their-identity/>

- **The Trump-Vance administration has also implemented actions that restrict transgender individuals' human rights at the national level.** Since taking office in January 2025, the Administration has implemented Executive Orders that define gender as a binary, attempt to prohibit transgender women and girls from participating in women's and girls' sports teams, ban transgender individuals from serving in the U.S. armed forces, and withhold federal funding and access to gender-affirming care for transgender youth. While there have been extensive legal challenges to all anti-LGBTQ and anti-transgender actions at the federal level, parts of these Executive Orders are currently in effect and are being implemented.²²
 - For example, the Trump-Vance administration formally moved to restrict gender-affirming care for youth at the end of 2025. The Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) issued a declaration and two new rules through the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services (CMS) to limit transgender youth's access to gender-affirming care—particularly puberty blockers, hormone therapy, and surgery. The CMS rules prohibit hospitals that provide gender-affirming care for youth from receiving Medicare and Medicaid funding, and prohibit federal Medicaid funds or the Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) from covering gender-affirming care for people under the age of 18. The HHS declaration released in conjunction with these rules claims that gender-affirming care for young people is against professionally recognized standards of health care, providing the agency with the power to exclude any healthcare provider or facility that provides this type of care from participating in any federally-funded health program.²³
 - These actions led 40 health centers across the country to cease providing care to transgender youth. However, in April of 2026, a U.S. District Judge struck down the HHS declaration, stating that it overstepped the agency's authority and bypassed the required notice and comment periods for actions that would shut down healthcare programs. However, the threat of losing federal funds has taken its toll; many hospitals and health centers that rely on this funding have failed to resume providing gender-affirming care to transgender youth, even if they are located in otherwise supportive states for LGBTQ rights.²⁴
 - ▶ For example, Baystate Health in Springfield, Massachusetts stopped providing gender-affirming medications to minors in February of 2026, even though the state of Massachusetts challenged the HHS and CMS actions. Several health clinics across liberal states have similarly shut down gender-affirming programs for youth, demonstrating the chilling effect of the Administration's anti-transgender actions even if they have been challenged in court.²⁵

22. Trump Anti-LGBTQ+ Executive Order Litigation Tracker. (n.d.). The National LGBTQ+ Bar Association. Retrieved May 16, 2026, from <https://lgbtqbar.org/programs/advocacy-resources/trump-executive-order-tracker/>

23. Lindsey Dawson & Scott Hulver. (2025, December 22). New Trump Administration Proposals Would Further Limit Gender Affirming Care for Young People by Restricting Providers and Reducing Coverage. *KFF*. <https://www.kff.org/lgbtq/new-trump-administration-proposals-would-further-limit-gender-affirming-care-for-young-people-by-restricting-providers-and-reducing-coverage/>

24. Reed, E. (2026, April 20). Federal Judge Vacates Kennedy Declaration, Permanently Blocks Trump's Trans Youth Care Hospital Threats. <https://www.erininthemorning.com/p/federal-judge-vacates-kennedy-declaration>

25. Brown, K. (2026, April 17). Families left reeling after hospitals in blue states drop transgender care for youth. *NPR*. <https://www.npr.org/2026/04/17/nx-s1-5780011/blue-state-hospitals-drop-transgender-affirming-care-minors>

The rise in anti-LGBTQ and anti-transgender legislation coincides with an increase in attacks and hate crimes against transgender people in the U.S.²⁶

Connections to (Anti-)Abortion Advocacy

- **As of the time of publication, the rights of transgender people and access to abortion are two of the most politically contentious issues related to personal freedom and bodily autonomy in the U.S., and both issues are inextricably tied together.** In 2024, 11% of transgender adults reported delaying family planning due to laws banning abortion or access to reproductive health care. As a result of these laws, 21% of transgender adults decided not to have children.²⁷
- **There are also many similarities between anti-abortion policy and anti-transgender policy activism, with both movements attacking the right to bodily autonomy.** For example, both movements target Planned Parenthood as a provider of both reproductive health care and gender-affirming care. Both movements also target bodily autonomy for youth by requiring parental consent for abortion for minors or for gender-affirming care for minors.²⁸
 - **Anti-abortion and anti-transgender rights movements use similar tactics to achieve their goals,** including state surveillance of personal health care decisions, limiting young people's autonomy, and the criminalization of abortion or gender-affirming care. As of May 2026, 13 states have enforced total abortion bans, and 24 states have enforced total bans on gender-affirming care for minors. In states where these services have not been totally banned, the threat of criminalization or loss of federal funds disincentivizes healthcare providers from offering abortion or gender-affirming services.²⁹
 - In the 2026 midterm elections, voters in Missouri will vote on Amendment 3, a ballot measure that would ban nearly all abortions and gender-affirming care to minors under the state constitution. This action comes after voters overturned Missouri's abortion ban in 2024. While the majority of voters support abortion in the first eight weeks of pregnancy, the same level of support is not extended to gender-affirming care for minors. **Far-right actors are seeking to exploit anti-trans sentiment to attack bodily autonomy and longstanding civil rights, drawing parallels to similar tactics that have been used to advance anti-immigrant and anti-abortion legislation.**³⁰

26. GLAAD. (2025). 2025 GLAAD ALERT Desk Report. <https://glaad.org/2025-alert-desk/>

27. Caleb Smith & Haley Norris. (2025, March 12). The LGBTQI+ Community Reported High Rates of Discrimination in 2024. Center for American Progress. <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/the-lgbtqi-community-reported-high-rates-of-discrimination-in-2024/>

28. Geonzon, J. (2025, September 29). From their tactics to prominent speakers, the anti-trans and anti-abortion movements are impossible to untangle. Reproaction. <https://reproaction.org/anti-trans-anti-abortion-impossible-to-untangle/>

29. Meera Rajput. (2026, April 7). Attacks on abortion and gender-affirming care are inextricably linked | Guttmacher Institute. <https://www.guttmacher.org/article/2026/04/attacks-abortion-and-gender-affirming-care-are-inextricably-linked>

30. Spoerre, A. (2026, May 27). Abortion-rights coalition launches campaign against Missouri's Amendment 3. Missouri Independent. <https://missouriindependent.com/2026/05/27/abortion-rights-coalition-launches-campaign-against-missouri-amendment-3/>

Low birth rates in the U.S. and many European countries in recent years has also led to an increase in pronatalist policies to increase birth rates which drives much of Project 2025 and the Trump-Vance Administration's anti-abortion and anti-LGBTQ policies. This urgency and propaganda around gender issues also gives cover to authoritarians in the U.S. and globally to take actions that erode democracy.³¹

The pronatalism and anti-transgender movements have attracted unexpected allies. For example, the LGB Alliance in the United Kingdom promotes anti-transgender rhetoric across the country and has successfully rolled back nationwide protections for transgender people in the U.K. Groups that identify as “gender-critical” feminists or trans-exclusionary radical feminists (TERFs) distance themselves from intersectional feminist narratives that prioritize rights for transgender people. TERFs use the language of “rights” and “protection” to promote the false narrative that transgender people, transgender women in particular, pose a threat to women’s rights. **Organizations such as the Women’s Liberation Front in the United States actively campaign against the inclusion of transgender women in women’s homeless shelters, public facilities, and in workplaces.** Similarly, there has been a rise in women taking a stand against the advances of modern-day feminism, or so-called “tradwives” who help promote the pronatalist narrative and, in turn, support anti-transgender and anti-abortion policies.³²

31. Pronatalist policies aim to incentivize population growth, though in practice, they incentivize certain kinds of population growth, largely among white, heteronormative families, by stirring panic about economic decline due to a shrinking population and a so-called “invasion” of non-white immigrants and LGBTQ people. Under this philosophy, anti-abortion and anti-transgender policies are proposed and enacted under the guise of a false urgency to respond to a birth rate crisis. McNeill, Z. (2026, January 22). Funders Must Support Advocates Fighting Back Against Pronatalism. *Nonprofit Quarterly | Civic News. Empowering Nonprofits. Advancing Justice.* <https://nonprofitquarterly.org/funders-must-support-advocates-fighting-back-against-pronatalism/>

32. *LGB without the T?: The dangerous rise of transphobia, TERFism, and anti-transgender rhetoric across the United Kingdom—EST.* (2024, May 20). <https://esthinktank.com/2024/05/20/lgb-without-the-t-the-dangerous-rise-of-transphobia-terfism-and-anti-transgender-rhetoric-across-the-united-kingdom/>; Burns, K. (2019, September 5). *The rise of anti-trans “radical” feminists, explained.* Vox. <https://www.vox.com/identities/2019/9/5/20840101/terfs-radical-feminists-gender-critical>; Goldberg, E. (2025, April 17). *The Women Who Think the World Needs More Babies.* *The New York Times.* <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/04/17/style/women-pronatalist-movement.html>

Connections to Anti-Democracy Goals

- **As Political attacks on transgender people—and LGBTQ people more broadly—are part of a larger, coordinated campaign to radically reshape American society and government.**³³

For example, the basis for the current influx of anti-transgender policies is contained in the Heritage Foundation's Project 2025 strategy. Project 2025's proposed policies are an executive branch roadmap to bypass Congressional oversight and the appropriations process through executive action. While Project 2025's goals are wide-reaching and touch virtually every aspect of American life, the LGBTQ-specific components include extreme proposals that would roll back recent progress for LGBTQ people and punish and criminalize gender diversity. Its ultimate goals include instilling conservative gender and sexual norms through the force of law and eliminating both the visibility of transgender people in society and their ability to access healthcare.³⁴

- Project 2025 also includes extreme anti-democratic proposals that would dramatically reshape American elections and our democracy itself.
 - **States that have passed laws threatening democracy—including restricting the right to vote, imposing barriers on people's ability to elect their leaders, and disenfranchising younger voters and voters of color—also have weaker protections for LGBTQ people.** By undermining democracy and people's ability to hold politicians accountable through elections, anti-LGBTQ institutions can more easily undermine civil rights for LGBTQ people.³⁵

Philanthropic Context

- **U.S. foundation funding for LGBTQ communities is in decline.** Foundations based in the U.S. awarded a total of \$178.2 million in LGBTQ grants in calendar year 2024, a decrease of \$31.2 million, or 15%, from the previous year. When adjusted for inflation, LGBTQ grant funding fell by 17% across the country.³⁶
 - **LGBTQ grant funding specifically for transgender, gender nonconforming, and nonbinary (TGNCNBi) communities decreased by 9% from \$36.4 million in 2023 to \$33.3 million in 2024.**

(continued on next page)

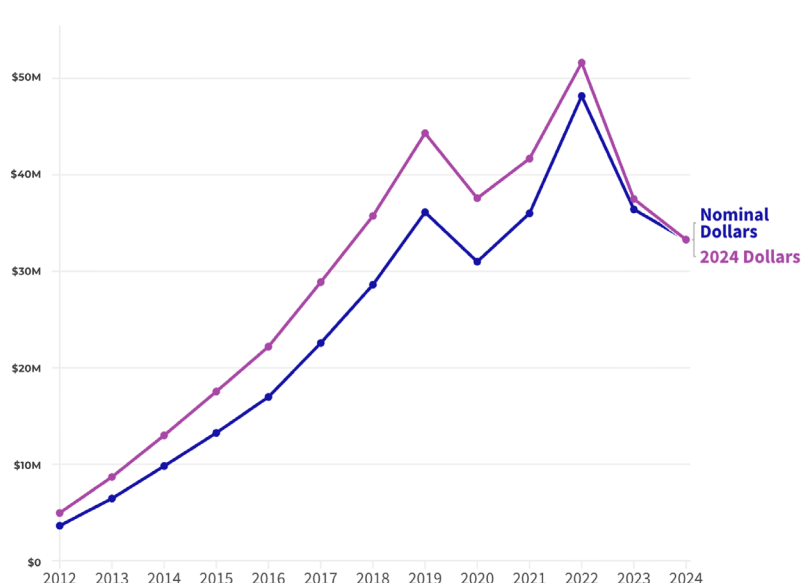
33. Movement Advancement Project. (2023, February). Under Fire: The War on LGBTQ People in America. <https://mapresearch.org/report/under-fire-series-the-war-on-lgbtq-people-in-america/>.

34. Quinan, C. (2025). From criminalization to erasure: Project 2025 and anti-trans legislation in the US. *Crime, Media, Culture*, 21(4), 529–547. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17416590241312149>

35. Democracy Maps. (2024, June 27). A Shared Fight: Protecting Democracy Means Protecting LGBTQ+ Rights. *Medium*. <https://democracymaps.medium.com/a-shared-fight-protecting-democracy-means-protecting-lgbtq-rights-604a7cf13cf9>

36. For a full analysis of the latest resource tracking data for LGBTQ communities and issues in the United States that builds on the analysis presented in this issue brief, please see: Lawther, A. and Luffy, S. (2026, June 8). *2024 Resource Tracking Report: LGBTQ Grantmaking by U.S. Foundations*. <https://lgbtfunders.org/research-item/2024-tracking-report/>

U.S. LGBTQ Grant Funding for TGNCNBi Communities and Issues Over Time, 2012-2024



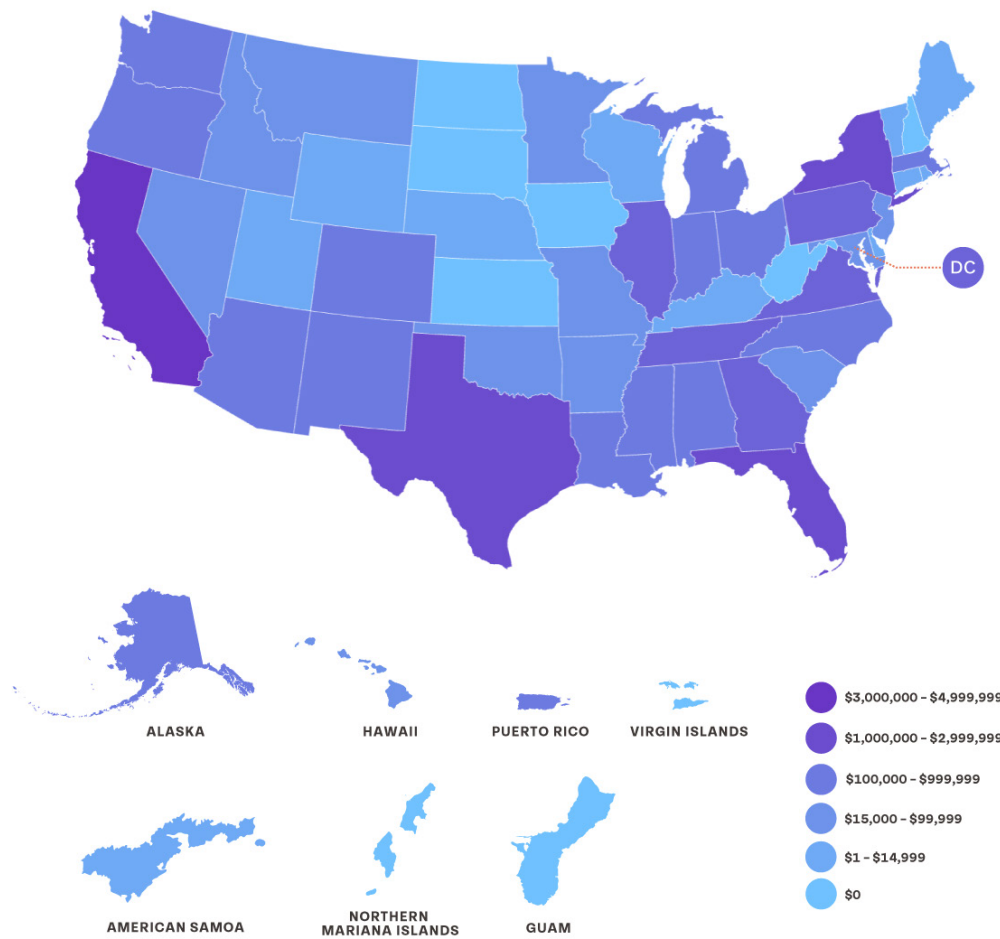
	Adjusted for Inflation	
	Nominal Dollars	2024 Dollars
2012	\$ 3,624,394	\$ 4,952,100
2013	\$ 6,448,133	\$ 8,683,059
2014	\$ 9,806,873	\$ 12,995,134
2015	\$ 13,246,083	\$ 17,531,638
2016	\$ 16,976,892	\$ 22,189,473
2017	\$ 22,564,755	\$ 28,877,952
2018	\$ 28,604,972	\$ 35,736,279
2019	\$ 36,121,652	\$ 44,315,065
2020	\$ 30,996,642	\$ 37,572,050
2021	\$ 36,006,256	\$ 41,679,566
2022	\$ 48,165,252	\$ 51,620,907
2023	\$ 36,420,404	\$ 37,496,163
2024	\$ 33,280,110	\$ 33,280,110

*The totals presented in this graph exclude funds awarded for the purpose of regranting. Nominal dollars are not adjusted for inflation; 2024 dollars are based on the Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumer Price Index.

- Similar to 2023 LGBTQ grantmaking data, philanthropic support for TGNCNBi communities and issues varied widely across U.S. states and territories in 2024. The most funding for TGNCNBi communities was awarded to grantees whose work focused in California (\$3.2 million), New York (\$1.8 million), Florida (\$1.1 million), and Texas (\$1.1 million). No dedicated grants were awarded for TGNCNBi communities in the following states in 2024 even though many anti-trans bills had been introduced in many of these states that year: Iowa, Kansas, New Hampshire, North and South Dakota, and West Virginia.

- Grant funding specifically to support TGNCNBi-serving organizations across all states and territories is vital to ensure that grantees can run programs to meet the needs of their communities, as well as push back against anti-trans bills and ballot measures.** This funding should be sustained equitably across all states regardless of how many anti-trans bills have been introduced because trans communities exist in every state and they need multiple types of support: from multi-year general operating support to strengthen movement infrastructure to rapid response funds to prevent or thwart anti-trans bills or ballot measures. **As a sector, we must resource strong trans movements in each state that can both serve their community and also lead legislative and political change that protects trans people; funding only one or the other approach is insufficient and would keep trans communities at risk of continued attack.**

Density Map of U.S. LGBTQ Grant Funding for TGNCNBi Communities and Issues, by State or Territory, 2024



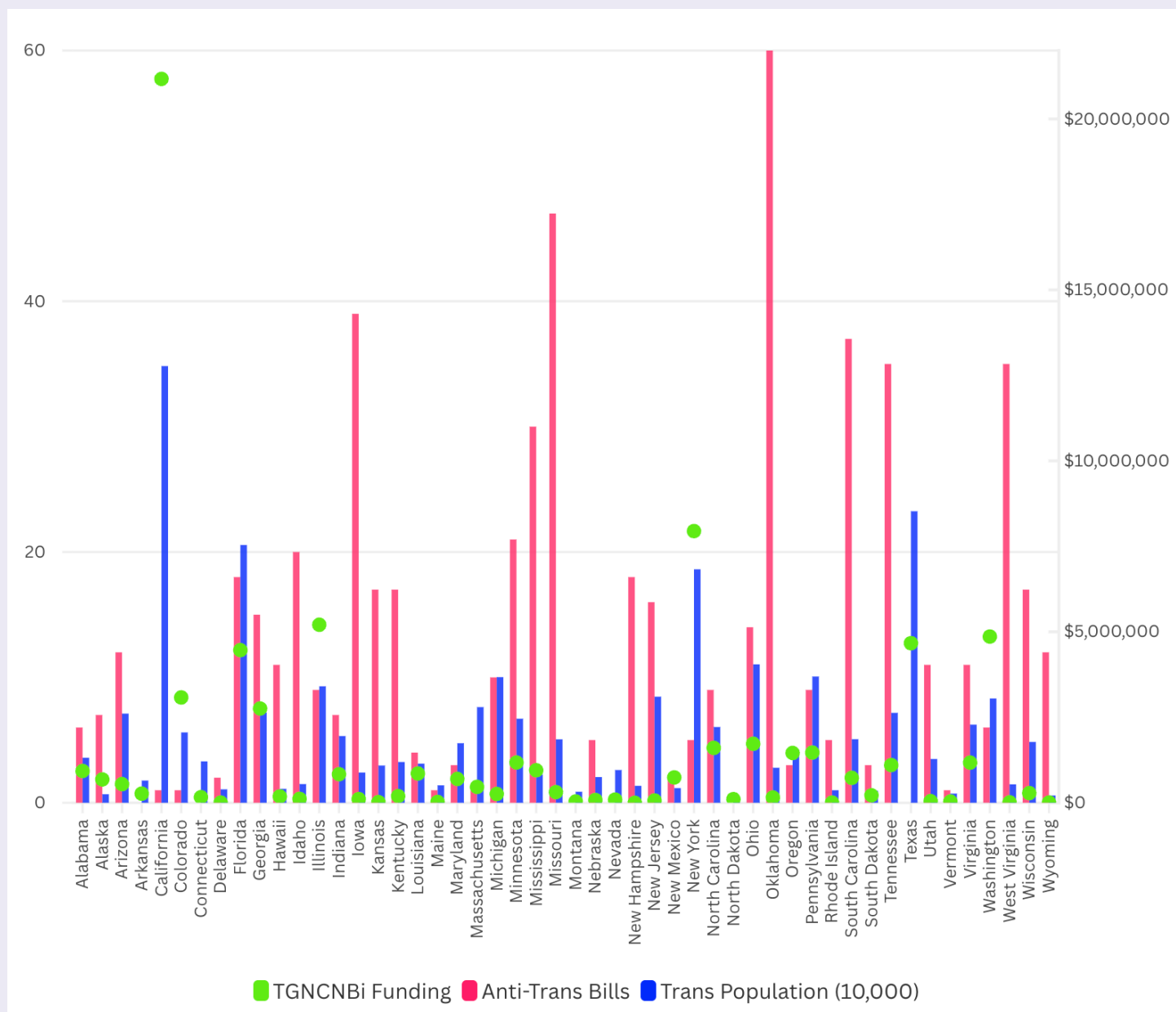
Alabama	\$ 106,267
Alaska	\$ 506,267
American Samoa	\$ 6,267
Arizona	\$ 313,674
Arkansas	\$ 22,535
California	\$ 3,187,644
Colorado	\$ 204,502
Connecticut	\$ 6,267
Delaware	\$ 6,267
District of Columbia	\$ 446,372
Florida	\$ 1,114,910
Georgia	\$ 544,778
Guam	\$ 0
Hawaii	\$ 37,604
Idaho	\$ 16,267
Illinois	\$ 878,837
Indiana	\$ 220,000
Iowa	\$ 0
Kansas	\$ 0

Kentucky	\$ 6,267
Louisiana	\$ 333,872
Maine	\$ 12,535
Maryland	\$ 68,941
Massachusetts	\$ 243,872
Michigan	\$ 112,813
Minnesota	\$ 31,337
Mississippi	\$ 258,285
Missouri	\$ 50,139
Montana	\$ 37,604
Nebraska	\$ 6,267
Nevada	\$ 18,802
New Hampshire	\$ 0
New Jersey	\$ 25,070
New Mexico	\$ 462,674
New York	\$ 1,791,444
North Carolina	\$ 130,278
North Dakota	\$ 0
Northern Mariana Islands	\$ 0

Ohio	\$ 271,516
Oklahoma	\$ 18,802
Oregon	\$ 131,407
Pennsylvania	\$ 624,813
Puerto Rico	\$ 215,506
Rhode Island	\$ 6,267
South Carolina	\$ 81,302
South Dakota	\$ 0
Tennessee	\$ 610,139
Texas	\$ 1,055,048
Utah	\$ 12,535
Vermont	\$ 6,267
U.S. Virgin Islands	\$ 0
Virginia	\$ 943,926
Washington	\$ 340,191
West Virginia	\$ 0
Wisconsin	\$ 12,535
Wyoming	\$ 6,267

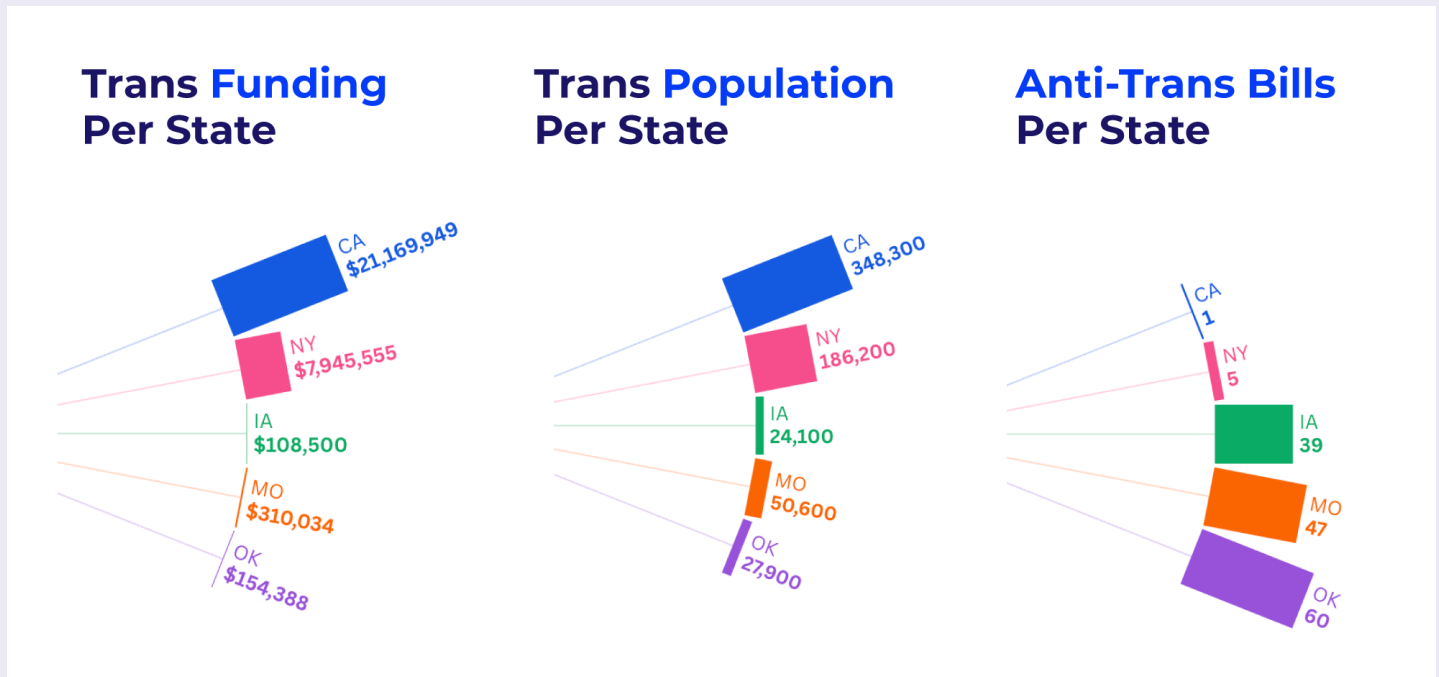
**This graphic excludes funds awarded for the purpose of regranting.*

Comparison of Trans Grant Funding, Trans Population Estimates, and Anti-Trans Bills³⁷ across All U.S. States, 2024



37. Funders for LGBTQ Issues reviewed multiple anti-LGBTQ bill trackers to develop this analysis. While we recognize the [ACLU Anti-LGBTQ Bill Mapping Project](#) recorded a total of 533 anti-LGBTQ bills introduced at the state level in 2024, we decided to use data from the Trans Legislation Tracker for this analysis because of the latter's specific focus on tracking anti-trans bills at the national and state level. The Trans Legislation Tracker recorded 701 anti-trans bills that were introduced in 2024 (of which 88 were national bills). The goal of the analysis herein is to highlight the relationship between state-level trans populations, dedicated philanthropic funding for TGNCNBi communities, and anti-trans bills, so opted to include Trans Legislation Tracker data rather than ACLU data that does not differentiate between bills that specifically target trans communities compared to the LGBTQ communities generally. For more information, please see: Trans Legislation Tracker (n.d.). *2024 anti-trans bills tracker*. <https://translegislation.com/bills/2024>

Comparison of Trans Grant Funding, Trans Population Estimates, and Anti-Trans Bills across Five U.S. States, 2024



- Research conducted by the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy (NCRP) found that, on average, regressive foundations gave \$223 million annually to organizations working to limit the rights of LGBTQ people between 2020-2023—during which Funders for LGBTQ Issues Resource Tracking Reports have identified an average of \$229 million in LGBTQ grantmaking during those same years.³⁸
 - The 114 organizations on the Advisory Board of Project 2025 have a combined annual revenue of approximately \$1.4 billion from a variety of sources, including from well-known conservative philanthropic institutions.³⁹ **Anti-LGBTQ sentiment is one of the defining tenets that unites this disparate coalition, which poses an “existential risk” to transgender people and their families.**⁴⁰

38. Note: Philanthropy is not the only source of funding of anti-LGBTQ organizations, so we estimate that these organizations also receive funding through churches, corporations, and other mechanisms that have fewer or no tax reporting requirements. For more information, please see: Ponce, K. (2025, December 2). *The Rise of Regressive Philanthropy in the 21st Century*. National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy (NCRP). <https://ncrp.org/2025/12/the-rise-of-regressive-philanthropy-in-the-21st-century/>

39. Besen, W.R. (2025). *Behind the Mask: The Project 2025 Organizations Reshaping America, Vol. 1*. Truth Wins Out. <https://truthwinsout.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/10/Behind-The-Mask-Vol-1.pdf>

40. Besen, W.R. (2025). *Behind the Mask: The Project 2025 Organizations Reshaping America, Vol. 1*. Truth Wins Out. <https://truthwinsout.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/10/Behind-The-Mask-Vol-1.pdf>

RECOMMENDATIONS

For Grantmakers

- Use the latest resource tracking data to organize within your institutions and **make strategic funding decisions to diversify funding sources for grantees**, maximize the impact and efficacy of every grant dollar, and help stabilize support for LGBTQ communities and issues in the long term.
 - **Get resources as close to the ground as possible**, including through grantees that are trans- and BIPOC-led. If you would like suggestions of community foundations and other intermediary entities that fund grantees working at this intersection, please contact us at Funders for LGBTQ Issues.
 - **Support LGBTQ communities that are not adequately funded**, including lesbians and queer women, as well as intersex, two-spirit, bisexual, and asexual people; people of color who identify as AAPI, Indigenous, or Middle Eastern; those that live in the U.S. territories; queer immigrants and refugees; and sex workers.
 - **Increase flexible, general operating support and multi-year giving** to decrease grantees' overhead expenses and demand on their staff capacity, thereby more effectively supporting grantees to achieve the long-term social change they seek to make.
 - ▶ Fund state-based campaigns to **restore or protect federal funding for programs and services that support LGBTQ communities**, especially in the U.S. South.
 - ▶ Fund grantees that are leading communications campaigns to **counter anti-trans and anti-immigrant propaganda and disinformation**.
- **Submit your LGBTQ grantmaking data** directly to Funders for LGBTQ Issues to ensure that your foundation's work is reflected in future Resource Tracking Reports. Please review our [data security policy document](#) to see how we use and protect your data.
- **Join Funders United for Democracy and Trans Justice (DTJ)**, an initiative that builds new learning spaces for philanthropic organizers to learn about the systemic threats facing trans communities and strategize to mobilize resources accordingly.
- **Sign onto the Grantmakers United for Trans Communities (GUTC) Pledge** to publicly express your foundation's support for and solidarity with trans communities and identify action steps to build a more trans inclusive workplace.
- **For Grantmakers in the U.S. Southeast or with a regional commitment to the South:** Learn more about how to more effectively serve LGBTQ communities in the region with support from the [Out in the South Program](#).

For Movement Organizations

- **Increase your involvement in pro-LGBTQ and pro-democracy efforts** and stay up-to-date on LGBTQ-, election-, and voting-related policies in the state(s) where you operate.⁴¹
- **Use the latest resource tracking data** to inform your organization's programs and fundraising strategies.
- Contact the Research Team at Funders for LGBTQ Issues at research@lgbtfunders.org if you have any questions about the data or want to discuss ideas for how to use this information to support your work.
- Refer to relevant reports for support in **navigating the LGBTQ philanthropic landscape**.⁴²

For Individuals

- **Share this resource with your networks**, particularly those who may not be familiar with LGBTQ issues, the connections between LGBTQ equality and democracy, or social justice issues more broadly.
- **Connect with Funders for LGBTQ Issues (@lgbtfunders) and Movement Advancement Project (@lgbtmap)** on social media to learn more about LGBTQ philanthropy and to stay informed about the latest updates in LGBTQ and democracy policy.

41. Movement Advancement Project. (n.d.). *Democracy Program*. <https://mapresearch.org/democracy/>; Equality Federation. (n.d.). *State Legislation Tracker*. <https://www.equalityfederation.org/news-resources/state-legislation-tracker>

42. Funding LGBTQ+ Projects: Navigating the U.S. Philanthropic Landscape, Dale, E., Dorothy A. Johnson Center for Philanthropy at Grand Valley State University, 2026.

ABOUT THESE ISSUE BRIEFS

In the past several years, LGBTQ⁴³ communities have been at the crosshairs of a coordinated and vicious strategy to strip away our rights. In the United States, these attacks on bodily autonomy have taken the shape of executive actions and state legislation seeking to criminalize queer and trans existence—from the administration’s [targeting of trans youth](#), to blocking global aid recipients from supporting [trans rights and diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts](#), and the [nearly 500 anti-LGBTQ bills proposed](#) in state legislatures across the country thus far in 2026, an intersectional response from philanthropy is needed.

The impact of these attacks are vast and far-reaching, with Black and Brown people, immigrants, and not only rural, but global LGBTQ communities left most vulnerable. In this context, Funders for LGBTQ Issues’ [2024 Annual Resource Tracking Report](#) found a 15% decrease in philanthropic investment for LGBTQ communities and issues in the United States. This translates to a staggering \$31.2 million drop from 2023 during a time when our communities are under attack. Similarly, funding awarded for transgender, gender non-conforming, and non-binary communities decreased by 9% from 2023 to 2024 as TGNC communities are being relentlessly targeted.

To strengthen philanthropy’s understanding of how the needs of LGBTQ communities intersect with related social justice issues and make the case for increased investment during this time of crisis, **Funders for LGBTQ Issues is releasing a series of issue briefs offering a queer lens to intersectional topics, such as immigration, disability justice, and HIV/AIDS.** The briefs will include relevant data at the intersection of the issue and LGBTQ communities, as well as provide actionable steps for grantmakers to center these issues in their grantmaking strategies. We believe this series will offer a critical case-making tool for funders across the philanthropic sector to engage more proactively in the urgent needs of our communities.

43. Throughout this resource, the acronym “LGBTQ” is inclusive of LGBTQ communities and individuals in all our diversity, including lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and questioning, intersex, asexual, agender, two-spirit, non-binary, gender non-conforming, and all persons who identify as LGBTQ+.