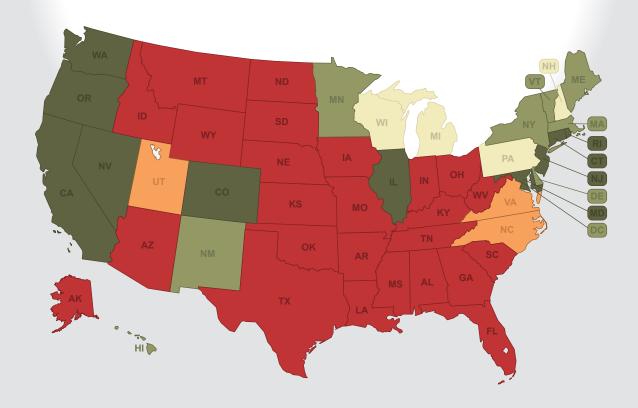
LGBTQ POLICY TALLY:



of LGBTQ youth live in states with High LGBTQ Youth Overall Tally (10 states)

of LGBTQ youth live in states with Medium LGBTQ Youth Overall Tally (8 states + D.C.)

9%

of LGBTQ youth live in states with Fair LGBTQ Youth Overall Tally (4 states + 1 territory)

of LGBTQ youth live in states with Low LGBTQ Youth Overall Tally (3 states + 4 territories)

of LGBTQ youth live in states with Negative LGBTQ Youth Overall Tally (25 states)

Data as of August 1, 2025.

















This report was authored by:

Movement Advancement Project (MAP)

MAP's mission is to provide independent and rigorous research, insight, and communications that help speed equality and opportunity for all people. MAP works to ensure that all people have a fair chance to pursue health and happiness, earn a living, take care of the ones they love, be safe in their communities, and participate in civic life. For more information, visit www.mapresearch.org.

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This report was developed in partnership with the following organizations:

Advocates for Trans Equality

Advocates for Trans Equality fights for the legal and political rights of transgender people in America. Leveraging decades of experience on the frontlines of power, we shift government and society towards a future where we are no less than equal.

Advocates for Youth

Advocates for Youth partners with young people and their adult allies to champion youth rights to bodily autonomy and build power to transform policies, programs and systems to secure sexual health and equity for all youth.

Equality Federation

Equality Federation is an advocacy accelerator rooted in social justice, building power in our network of state-based lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ+) advocacy organizations.

GLSEN

GLSEN's mission is to ensure that every student has the right to a safe, supportive, and LGBTQ-inclusive K-12 education. We are a national network of educators, students, and local GLSEN Chapters working to make this right a reality.

PFLAG National

PFLAG is an organization of LGBTQ+ people, parents, families, and allies who work together to create an equitable and inclusive world. With hundreds of thousands of people and hundreds of chapters from coast to coast, PFLAG supports families, educates allies, and advocates for just, equitable, and inclusive legislation and policies. Since its founding in 1973, PFLAG works every day to ensure LGBTQ+ people everywhere are safe, celebrated, empowered and loved.

The Trevor Project

The Trevor Project is the leading suicide prevention and crisis intervention nonprofit organization for LGBTQ+ young people.

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Notes on Language

This report focuses on policies impacting LGBTQ young people. When we use the phrases "LGBTQ youth" or "LGBTQ young people," we are generally referring to the broad cohort of LGBTQ people below the age of 25. This broader age range allows us to examine the experiences of those under age 18, as well as to examine the ways that people's experiences as minors often continue to shape their lives as young adults, such as the experiences of young people aging out of foster care, entering the workforce, obtaining housing, and more.

In some parts of the report, we rely on demographic data or other research that is limited to specific age ranges, such as youth ages 13-17. In these instances, we specify the age range reflected by the data or research being cited.

Throughout this report we use various terms to refer to the sexual orientations and gender identities of LGBTQ youth. Generally, when we use "LGBTQ" we mean this to include lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer youth, as well as other identities not explicitly included in this common acronym, such as intersex, asexual, Two-Spirit, and more. Further, where we use the term "transgender," we mean this to include nonbinary youth unless stated otherwise.

For more information on these and other related terms, please refer to the definitions in the Advocates For Trans Equality resource, "Understanding Transgender People: The Basics" and the glossary of terms in GLAAD's "Glossary of Terms."

Companion Report



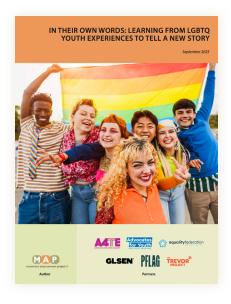
This is a companion report to <u>In their Own Words: Learning from LGBTQ Youth Experiences to Tell a New Story.</u> Please also see that report for a fuller discussion of LGBTQ youth's lives today, including beyond the policy setting.

INTRODUCTION

Like all young people, LGBTQ youth have dreams, goals, struggles, triumphs, good days, and bad ones. They want to be embraced by their family, peers, and wider communities, for who they are, as they are. Like all young people, LGBTQ youth need safety, community, and support, and they deserve peace and joy. But for LGBTQ youth in particular, their surroundings do not always grant this—and instead they often face significant social and structural obstacles, from stigma and isolation to discriminatory laws and leaders. While LGBTQ youth and their allies often find ways to meet their own needs regardless, they should not have to fight against the world around them simply to live freely and safely.

As discussed throughout this report, since 2020, political attacks on and debates about LGBTQ youth have rapidly escalated. Often, these debates revolve around specific policy issues like transgender youth's access to school sports teams or medically necessary health care, or discussion of LGBTQ topics in school settings. But for as much as LGBTQ youth have been debated, and particularly in the context of these specific policy issues, there has been relatively little holistic discussion about LGBTQ youth's lives.

This report's companion, <u>In their Own Words:</u> <u>Learning from LGBTQ Youth Experiences to Tell a New Story</u>, explores in greater detail key areas of life shaping LGBTQ youth's experiences today, including youth's home and family life, education, health care, and broader community life. The report often draws on the perspectives of LGBTQ youth themselves to help tell a more holistic story of LGBTQ youth today.



Similarly, this report offers a more holistic examination of the many state-level laws and policies shaping LGBTQ youth's lives—including laws and policies less commonly in news headlines in recent years. Through a unique measure that includes 16 such laws across different aspects of youth's lives, this report offers a more holistic look at the broader state policy landscape and the patchwork of both protections and harmful laws that LGBTQ youth face, depending on where they live.

More than 2 million youth ages 13 to 17—or roughly 9.5% of all youth—in the United States identify as LGBTQ, according to recent estimates.¹ This report discusses the rapidly escalating introduction of state legislation targeting LGBTQ youth in recent years, and examines key laws affecting LGBTQ youth in each state, the District of Columbia, and the populated U.S. territories. The report also takes a close look at regional differences in these state laws and what this patchwork of protections means for LGBTQ youth across the country. Finally, the report makes recommendations for advocates and state policymakers to adopt laws that create more safety, equality, and wellbeing for LGBTQ youth, and to work to repeal laws that are harmful.

LGBTQ youth need and deserve the same things as all young people: the opportunity to learn, grow, and discover who they are and who they want to be, in environments that are safe and supportive. The laws where LGBTQ youth live play a significant role in whether or not LGBTQ youth have these chances.

POLITICAL ATTACKS ON LGBTQ PEOPLE, ESPECIALLY YOUTH, ARE ESCALATING

As this report's next section will show, the state policy landscape for LGBTQ youth varies dramatically from one state to the next, leading to significantly different life experiences and opportunities depending on where an LGBTQ young person happens to live. But focusing on the *current* landscape alone makes it easy to overlook just how rapidly this landscape is *changing*, even over just the past few years. This section discusses these rapid shifts in recent years, offering important context to the next section's deeper dive into the current state policy landscape shaping LGBTQ youth's lives.

Legislative Attacks on LGBTQ Youth Are Rising

Since 2020, political attacks on and debates about LGBTQ youth have rapidly escalated. Often, these debates have revolved around specific, and often seemingly siloed, policy issues, like "Don't Say LGBTQ" laws censoring school curriculum, or transgender youth's access to medically necessary health care. But these seemingly individual attacks are part of a larger, coordinated campaign attacking LGBTQ youth—and LGBTQ people as a whole—more broadly.²

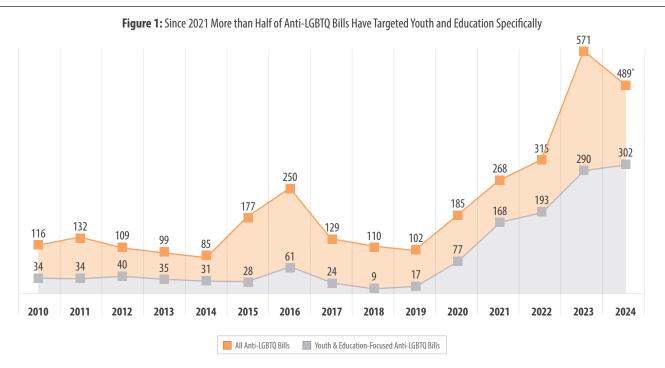
As shown in *Figure 1*, multiple trends illustrate the targeting of LGBTQ youth in recent years:

- Since 2020, the number of anti-LGBTQ state bills overall, as well as anti-LGBTQ bills specifically focused on youth and education, have both sharply increased.^{3,a}
- In fact, from 2020 to 2024, the total number of anti-LGBTQ bills focused on youth has more than tripled, from 77 such bills introduced in 2020 to 302 bills of this type in 2024.⁴
- For each year after 2020, the majority of anti-LGBTQ bills have focused on youth specifically. Put another way, over the last five years, youth-focused bills are among the most common type of anti-LGBTQ bills being considered.

In other words, the number of anti-LGBTQ bills focusing on youth has not only increased, but more than tripled since 2020. And, for the last five years, bills targeting LGBTQ youth are among the most common type of anti-LGBTQ bill.

A different data source strongly suggests **all these trends have continued in 2025**. As of August 2025, the

While 2024 saw a slight decline in the overall number of anti-LGBTQ bills, it is important to note that four states' legislatures (Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, and Texas) were not in session in 2024. The ACLU reports that in 2025, Texas alone introduced nearly 100 anti-LGBTQ bills (as of August 8, 2025); this suggests that the slight overall decline in 2024 is due only to these states not being in session, rather than an actual decline in state attacks on LGBTQ people.



Source: HRC and Equality Federation's State Equality Index

ACLU reports over 600 anti-LGBTQ bills introduced⁵—exceeding any previous record shown in Figure 1. While the ACLU's tracking does not include a general "Youth and Education" category, the ACLU does categorize more than half of these 600+ bills as "Restricting Student and Educator Rights" and "Health Care Restrictions"—categories that primarily impact LGBTQ youth.⁶

More Than Half of States Have Enacted an Anti-LGBTO Youth Law Since 2020

Although on average 92% of anti-LGBTQ state bills are defeated every year,⁷ many states have managed to pass policies targeting LGBTQ youth, and especially transgender youth, into law in recent years. For example, since 2020 alone:

- 29 states have enacted bans on transgender youth's participation in sports, whether through legislation or agency policies;⁸
- 27 states and 1 territory passed bans or restrictions on best practice medical care for transgender youth;⁹
- 15 states have passed laws or state regulations that require school staff to out transgender youth to their parents in various circumstances;¹⁰ and
- 12 states have enacted "Don't Say LGBTQ" curriculum censorship laws.¹¹

Overall, over half of states (27) have passed at least one anti-LGBTQ law targeting youth in the last five years, as shown in *Figure 2.*^{12,b} What's more, almost half (48%) of all LGBTQ youth live in these states, illustrating the wide-sweeping reach of these rapid changes.

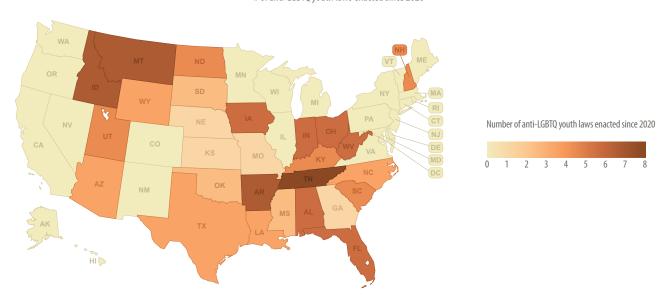
These are swift and significant changes that shape the policy landscape that LGBTQ youth must navigate today.¹³

The Harms Caused by These Attacks Go Beyond Policy

These trends suggest that opponents of LGBTQ equality believe that they can exploit society's collective concerns and care for young people—such as our shared concern for young people's safety and wellbeing at schools, online, and more—for their own political agenda. But in doing so, these actors have inflamed a destructive wave of stigmatization towards an already vulnerable population.¹⁴

These political attacks and discriminatory laws can directly harm LGBTQ people, their families, and

Figure 2: More than Half of States (27) Have Enacted at Least One Anti-LGBTQ Youth-Specific Law Since 2020
of anti-LGBTQ youth laws enacted since 2020



Source: MAP • As of August 1, 2025.

This map reflects legislation only and does not include agency policy or executive orders. This map includes only policies covered in this report; see the report appendices for more details.

b This map is based on legislation only, and does not include agency policy or executive orders. Some states, such as Alaska and Virginia, have enacted anti-LGBTQ youth-related policies since 2020, but not via legislation. Additionally, the map only reflects the youth-specific policies included in this report, such as curriculum censorship laws, school bathroom bans, bans on transgender youth's access to medical care, and others. However, it is important to note that there are many additional policies that may shape LGBTQ youth's lives, and so this is only a minimum estimate of the number of harmful policies passed in recent years.

their communities. These direct harms can include, for example, undermining the ability of schools to provide supportive school environments or historically accurate and inclusive education; preventing access to medically necessary health care; excluding young people from public spaces or activities simply because of who they are; and more.

Importantly, however, these bills can cause clear harms even if they do not become law. By publicly debating LGBTQ people and their rights, these political attacks can impact youth's mental health, contribute to a more hostile school environment, and even lead LGBTQ young people and their families to uproot their lives in search of safer places to live.

For example, LGBTQ youth are paying attention to what politicians and other anti-LGBTQ opponents are saying about them, including in these legislative attacks: a 2023 national survey by The Trevor Project found that as many as 85% of LGBTQ youth reported paying some or a lot of attention to media reports about LGBTQ rights.¹⁵ That same national survey found that 90% of LGBTQ youth reported that recent politics have negatively impacted their wellbeing¹⁶—up from an already too-high 71% of LGBTQ youth in 2022.17 What's more, nearly one in three LGBTQ young people said their mental health was poor always or most of the time due to these anti-LGBTQ policy debates.18 And, given that these political attacks have continued to increase in the years since this study (as discussed above), these numbers may be even higher today.

Other research shows that in states across the country-including states with protective or LGBTQinclusive laws—LGBTQ youth are experiencing growing rates of bullying and harassment in schools in recent years.¹⁹ The fact that these rates are growing even in states with protective laws shows that the broader political debates surrounding anti-LGBTQ bills can shift public discussions and how people treat each other, even when these bills do not become law and even in places where these bills are less frequently introduced. Importantly, these data show an increase in bullying and harassment from 2019 to 2021; but as discussed above (e.g., Figure 2), the volume of political attacks on LGBTQ youth has only increased since then, suggesting again that bullying and harassment in schools may have increased even further.

A 2023 survey found that

90% of LGBTQ youth

said recent politics have negatively impacted their wellbeing.

Source: The Trevor Project. (2024). <u>2024 U.S. National Survey</u> on the Mental Health of LGBTQ+ Young People.

Perhaps most striking, anti-LGBTQ bills and similar attacks are driving many LGBTQ people and their families to uproot their lives and move to a different state or community entirely. For example, the Trevor Project's 2023 nationwide survey found that nearly two in five (39%) LGBTQ young people (ages 13-24) and their families had considered moving to a different state due to LGBTQ-related politics in their home state.²⁰ While only 4% reported actually moving to another state, this suggests that roughly 266,000 LGBTQ+ young people and their families had already moved by late 2023²¹—and, once more, it is likely that these numbers are even higher today given the continued escalation of attacks across the country in the years since.



Federal Policies Targeting LGBTQ Youth

While this report is primarily focused on how state level policies impact LGBTQ youth, it is important to also be aware of what is happening at the federal level that affects these youth.

The current administration moved quickly to target LGBTQ people, especially transgender people, with discriminatory policy and talking points. On his first day in office President Trump signed a pair of executive orders ("EOs") targeting transgender people, including youth. The first attempts to define sex for the purposes of federal law in an exclusionary way as either male or female and that conflates sex with gender, thus threatening nondiscrimination protections based on gender identity, among other impacts. The second EO targeted transgender youths' ability to access medical care by directing federal agencies to pull funding from any medical providers that offer transgender-related medical care to anyone under age 19. The administration followed these up with additional EOs that targeted transgender youth participating in sports on teams that align with their gender identity, and that threatened funding for K-12 schools that discuss gender, race, and sexual orientation in their curricula or classrooms. It is important to note that executive orders are not themselves laws, and do not change people's rights or protections. Instead, they direct federal agencies to take actions that may ultimately have these impacts. The administrative agency policies that have stemmed from these EOs targeting transgender people have been challenged by advocacy organizations, legal organizations, and a number of state governments, and many are currently under court injunctions. However, the EOs have created confusion and had chilling effects on the services and protections that transgender youth are able to access with some institutions preemptively complying with the wishes of the administration. Advocates are working hard to make sure that people know their rights, are clear on what these policies actually change, and to make sure that service providers and institutions understand what they are actually legally required to do and what they can do to continue to support the LGBTQ people they serve.iii

Another notable change under the current administration was the decision to cease funding the national 988 Suicide and Crisis Lifeline's LGBTQ youth-focused subprogram. This program enabled people in crisis calling the lifeline to be directed to counselors specializing in supporting LGBTQ youth in crisis or at risk of suicide. As of July 17, 2025, the program was ended after having served over 1 million LGBTQ youth ages 25 and under. Work is underway to persuade members of congress to restore funding to this program so that specialists can resume the work of providing culturally competent support to LGBTQ youth in need.

Apart from the administrative branch of the government, the federal judiciary has also weighed in on policies that affect transgender youth. In June of 2025, Supreme Court ruled in <u>U.S. v. Skrmetti</u> to uphold a Tennessee ban on medical treatments for transgender minors. vii The decision does not affect access to care for youth in states without bans, however 26 states and one U.S. Territory have laws that ban best practice medical care for transgender youth and may be negatively impacted by the <u>Skrmetti</u> decision. There are other legal challenges to these kinds of laws underway, and it is likely that the issue will be before the Supreme Court again in the future.

Overall, federal policy and rhetoric have become more hostile toward LGBTQ youth, and this intersects with some of the policy changes that have taken place at the state level. Advocates, allies, and LGBTQ youth themselves continue to push back against these developments and move instead toward a policy landscape that better supports these young people and protects their wellbeing.

Movement Advancement Project. "Cutting Through the Noise: An Overview of the President's First 100 Days." May 1, 2025.

Democracy 2025. "Response Center." Accessed August 15, 2025.

GLAD Law. "Making Sense of the Trump Administration's Anti-LGBTQ+ Executive Orders." February 4, 2025.

The Trevor Project. "Trump Administration Orders Termination of National LGBTQ+ Youth Suicide Lifeline, Effective July 17th." June 18, 2025.

V Ibid.

vi Ibid.

vii GLAD Law. "GLAD Law and NCLR Respond to the Skrmetti Supreme Court Ruling." June 18, 2025.

Movement Advancement Project. "Equality Maps: Bans on Best Practice Medical Care for Transgender Youth." Data as of August 1, 2025.

ACLU. "ACLU, Lambda Legal Respond to Supreme Court Ruling in U.S. v. Skrmetti." June 18, 2025.

NATIONAL OVERVIEW OF THE LGBTQ YOUTH POLICY TALLY: LGBTQ YOUTH FACE DRAMATICALLY DIFFERENT POLICY ENVIRONMENTS DEPENDING ON WHERE THEY LIVE

It is critical that LGBTQ youth receive the care and support that all youth deserve, no matter where they live. Unfortunately, state laws and policies affecting LGBTQ youth differ significantly across the country. This section provides a national overview of the state policy landscape affecting LGBTQ youth, and the next section looks more closely at regional differences in these policies. Taken together, these analyses help to highlight where work is still needed to make life better for LGBTQ youth, as well as where state policies are excelling at supporting these youth—though there remains work to do even beyond these policy protections to ensure lived equality, as well as legal equality, for LGBTQ youth.

To help understand the state policy landscape affecting LGBTQ youth, MAP created the LGBTQ Youth Policy Tally. In this original measure, every state and D.C. were scored based on whether they have adopted any of the 16 key policies—both protective and harmful—in the infographic shown here.

Policies that harm or discriminate against LGBTQ youth received negative scores, and policies that support or protect LGBTQ youths' wellbeing got positive scores. These individual policy scores were added up to create an Overall LGBTQ Youth Policy Score for each state. The lowest possible state score was -15, and the highest was 13. Then, we split these number scores into simpler categories—Negative, Low, Fair, Medium, and High—based on the percent of total points possible, as shown in *Table 1* on the following page. This gives a big-picture view of the policy landscape across the country.

These policies were also evaluated based on their relevance to sexual orientation and/or gender identity, leading to additional separate scores for Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity (the sum of which add up to the Overall Policy Score). Looking at states' policies on sexual orientation and gender identity side by side shows how, for example, in this moment of increasing attacks on LGBTQ youth, transgender youth are being singled out especially harshly by policymakers in some states.

Figure 3 on the next page shows the current landscape of LGBTQ youth policies across the country overall.

KEY POLICIES IMPACTING LGBTQ YOUTH

Protective Policies

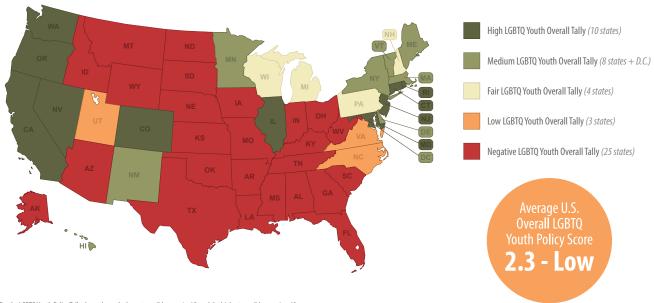
- ✓ LGBTQ-Inclusive School Anti-Bullying Policies
- LGBTQ-Inclusive School Nondiscrimination Policies
- LGBTQ-Inclusive Curricular Standards
- ✓ LGBTQ-Inclusive Sex Education Standards
- ✓ Protecting Youth from Conversion "Therapy"
- Child Welfare Nondiscrimination Protections
- Shield Laws Protecting Access to Medical Care for Transgender Youth

Harmful Policies

- **X** Bans on Medical Care for Transgender Youth
- School Bathroom Bans
- **X** Bans on Transgender Youths' Sports Participation
- Forced Outing of Transgender Students
- Child Welfare Religious Exemptions
- "Don't Say LGBTQ" Laws
- Discriminatory Sex Education Laws
- Rarental Notification and Opt-Out/Opt-In of Inclusive Curricula
- Anti-Enumeration Laws Preventing Schools from Including LGBTQ Youth in Anti-Bullying or Nondiscrimination Protections

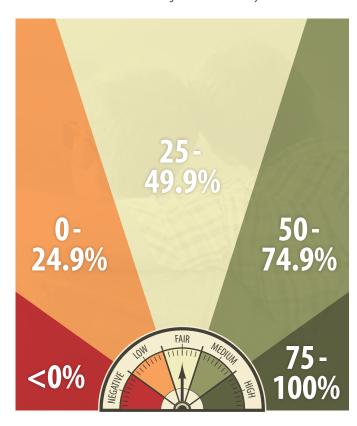
For a detailed breakdown of the methodology behind MAP's policy scores, refer to Appendix A. For more information about each type of law, see Appendix C and MAP's Equality Maps at www.mapresearch.org/equality-maps.

Figure 3: LGBTQ Youth Policies Differ Dramatically Across the Country, But Over Half of All States Have a Negative or Low Overall LGBTQ Youth Policy Score



Note: For the LGBTQ Youth Policy Tally shown here, the lowest possible score is -15, and the highest possible score is +13. Source: State laws based on MAP's Equality Maps, as of August 1, 2025.

Table 1: Scoring Cutoffs for Each Tally



Percentages are based on total points possible

Note: These scores reflect only laws on the books. The scores do not reflect bills introduced but not passed, social climate, the efforts of advocates to prevent further negative laws from happening, or the opportunities for future change. States with low scores might shift rapidly with an influx of resources, and states with higher scores might continue to expand equality for LGBTQ people in ways that can provide models for other states—or they might backslide in the wake of new or continued attacks. In other words, while this is an excellent measure of the LGBTQ youth policy landscape, it is not the

only relevant measure of LGBTQ youth's lives. See our companion report, to *In their Own Words:* Learning from LGBTQ Youth Experiences to Tell a New Story, for more discussion of LGBTQ youth's lives.



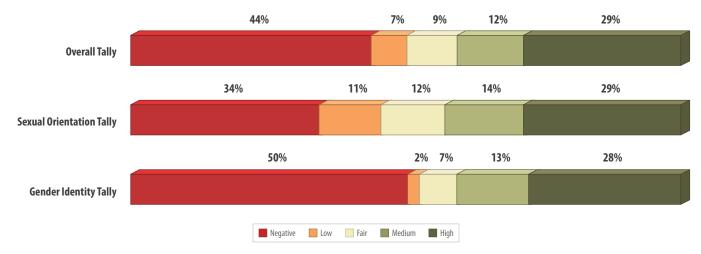
Notably, the majority of states (28 total) scored negative (25) or low (3). This means that the majority of states—which are home to the majority (51%) of all LGBTQ youth in the country—have particularly hostile policy environments for LGBTQ youth. Thus, although it should not be the case, policy supports for LGBTQ youth vary highly based on where they live.

Looking at these data a different way, through the separate Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Scores, we can also see another important pattern: states' gender identity scores are significantly lower, as reflected by the 28 states with a negative gender identity score compared to 15 states with a negative sexual orientation score, as shown in *Figure 4*. This helps illustrate that, while many states' policies are hostile to LGBTQ youth as a whole, their policies are especially hostile to transgender youth.

When thinking about how these policies affect LGBTQ youth, it is important to consider how this population is spread across the country. *Figure 5* shows that the majority of LGBTQ youth (51%) live in states with low or negative overall scores.

Figure 4: Nearly Twice As Many States Have Negative Gender Identity Policy Scores, Compared to Sexual Orientation Scores Number of states in each category of each tally 25 15 11 10 10 10 9 States 6 & D.C. 8 States & D.C. & D.C. 3 2 2 Overall (Combined) **Sexual Orientation Gender Identity** Low Fair High Negative Medium Source: State laws based on MAP's Equality Maps, as of August 1, 2025.

Figure 5: About Half of LGBTQ Youth Ages 13-17 Live in Low Or Negative Scoring States % of LGBTQ youth population living in each category of state



Note: These percentages only include the 50 states and D.C. May not sum to 100 due to rounding.

 $Source: State\ laws\ based\ on\ MAP's\ Equality\ Maps,\ as\ of\ August\ 1,2025.\ Population\ data\ from\ the\ Williams\ Institute.$

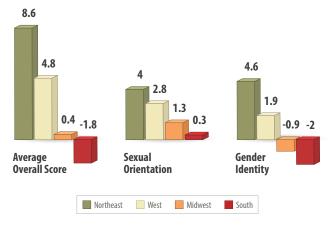
REGIONAL DIFFERENCES: LGBTQ YOUTH POLICIES ARE LEAST SUPPORTIVE IN THE REGIONS WHERE THE GREATEST SHARE OF LGBTO YOUTH LIVE

The national overview shows that states' LGBTQ youth policies vary dramatically across the country and, further, that many states' gender identity policies are especially hostile. Looking at the regional differences in state policies offers additional insight.

While no region's average score rose into the high scoring category (though ten individual states did meet that bar; see Figures 3 or 4), some regions of the country clearly have more supportive policies, on average, for LGBTQ youth. As shown in *Figure 6*, the average Overall LGBTQ Youth Policy state score was highest in the Northeast (and fell in the medium category on our

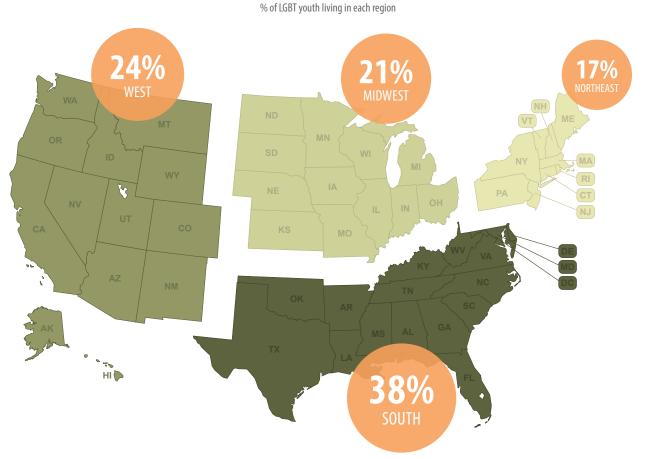
Figure 6: Across All Three LGBTQ Youth Policy Measures, The Northeast Has the Highest Average Score and the South the Lowest

Average state score on overall, sexual orientation, and gender identity LGBTQ youth tallies, by region



Source: State laws based on MAP's Equality Maps, as of August 1, 2025.

Figure 7: The South is Home to the Largest Share of LGBT Youth



Source: The Williams Institute. Regions as defined by the U.S. Census Bureau.

tally), followed by the West (fair), the Midwest (low), and finally the South (negative). This regional ordering remains consistent whether looking at the Overall Tally, the Sexual Orientation Tally, or the Gender Identity Tally, as shown in Figure 6.

This regional trend—and particularly the fact that the South has the lowest average scores across all three measures—is especially notable given that the South is home to the largest share of both LGBTQ youth overall and transgender youth specifically. *Figure* 7 on the previous page shows that the largest share of LGBTQ youth live in the South (38%), followed by the West (24%), the Midwest (21%), and the Northeast (17%).

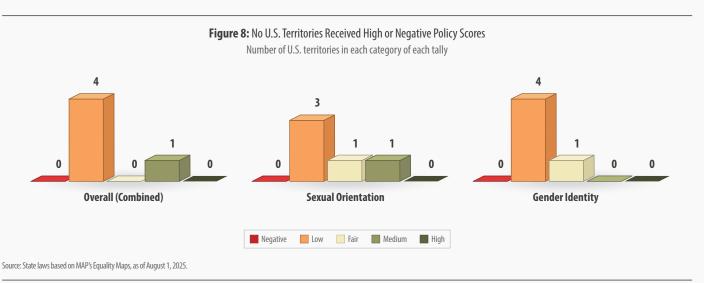
Considering that the Midwest and South have the two lowest average scores and are consistently in the low or negative categories on our tallies, this means that nearly six in 10 (59%) LGBTQ youth live in places that have the least supportive policies.



The LGBTQ Youth Policy Scores in the U.S. Territories

MAP's analysis of LGBTQ youth policies in the U.S. territories is slightly different from the analysis of the 50 states and D.C. There are not LGBTQ youth population data available for the territories, so looking at how many youth are affected by the policies in each of these jurisdictions is not currently possible. Nevertheless, across the territories MAP looked at all of the same policies as in the states, except that there are no data for all of the territories regarding the inclusiveness of their sex education policies. This means that the territories' policies were scored on a slightly different scale than the rest of the country. Their highest possible overall score was 11, and their lowest possible score was -14.

Despite these limitations, we can glean some interesting takeaways from looking at the laws on the books in the territories. No U.S. territories were in either the negative or high scoring categories, as shown in *Figure 8*. Also, in each of the three tallies (Overall, Sexual Orientation, and Gender Identity) Puerto Rico was in a higher score category than other territories. Notably, for most of the policies that we analyzed the territories do not have any laws on the books. One way of understanding this is that for the most part, the U.S. territories have not been swept up in the wave of anti-LGBTQ education and anti-transgender legislation that has taken place at the national level. The one exception to this is that in January of 2025 Puerto Rico enacted a ban on best practice medical care for transgender youth under the age of 21. For the precise scores of each territory, see Appendix B.



States Have Made Progress in Adopting Policies that Support LGBTQ Youth Despite the Political Climate

While much of the conversation about policies affecting LGBTQ young people is focused on laws that have negative effects, it is important to also look at policies that support LGBTQ youths' wellbeing. Below, *Figure 9* shows supportive education-focused laws, and *Figure 10* shows additional supportive laws beyond the education setting.

As shown in Figure 9, and generally (though not universally) consistent with the regional trend shown in Figure 6 above, supportive education-focused laws are

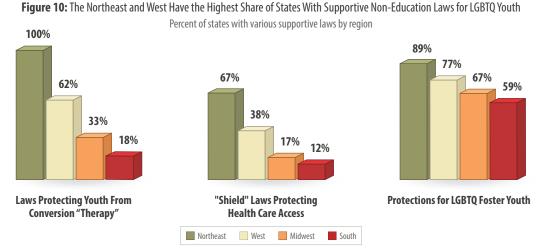
most widely adopted in the Northeast and the West. That said, roughly a quarter of states in both the Midwest and the South have adopted LGBTQ-inclusive anti-bullying laws (Figure 9), making those the most commonly adopted supportive education laws in those regions.

Importantly, Figure 9 shows that supportive education laws focusing on how LGBTQ youth are treated (i.e., anti-bullying and nondiscrimination policies) are more commonly adopted in all regions, compared to supportive laws focused on curricular content itself (i.e., inclusive curricular standards). For example, even within the Northeast, many more states have adopted anti-bullying and nondiscrimination laws than have adopted LGBTQ-inclusive curricular standards.

Figure 9: The Northeast and West Have the Highest Ratio of States With Supportive Education Laws for LGBTQ Youth Percent of states with various supportive education laws by region 89% 78% **54**% 46% 38% 25% 25% 24% 23% 22% 18% 11% 12% 8% **Anti-Bullying School Nondiscrimination LGBTQ-inclusive Sex Education LGBTQ-inclusive Curricular Standards Standards** Northeast West Midwest South

Source: State laws based on MAP's Equality Maps, as of August 1, 2025. Regions as defined by U.S. Census Bureau.

Note: These percentages only include states with policies that are fully inclusive of protections for both sexual orientation and gender identity. There are two Midwestern states (IA, WI) with school nondiscrimination laws only protecting students based on sexual orientation not included here.



Source: State laws based on MAP's Equality Maps, as of August 1, 2025. Regions as defined by U.S. Census Bureau.

Note: These percentages only include states with policies that are fully inclusive of protections for both sexual orientation and gender identity. There are seven states (MO, LA, MT, SC, VA, WI, and WY) with child welfare laws only protecting youth based on sexual orientation not included here.



The Shifting Landscape Around Conversion "Therapy"

In recent years there have been notable developments in the practice and policies around conversion "therapy." First, while many states have banned the practice for state-licensed care providers with bi-partisan support, it should be noted that as of 2023 over 1,300 active practitioners of this harmful, discredited practice were identified by researchers at The Trevor Project.* These practitioners were identified in 48 states and the District of Columbia.

Second, despite the fact that in the media conversion "therapy" is often represented as focusing on attempts to change its victims' sexual orientation, it must be noted that transgender youth are also subjected to these practices. In recent years the people who engage in these practices have increasingly referred to their work by a different name, adding to the complexity of tracking the use of conversion "therapy." Some are calling it "gender exploratory therapy" and falsely hold out their work as neutral, judgement-free, and harmless, though decades of research to the contrary makes it clear that these practices—by any name—are dangerous and damaging. But uptake of state legislation to outlaw conversion "therapy" is slowing down, and in some cases previously enacted laws are being repealed. To learn more about recent developments surrounding these practices, read MAP's 2025 policy spotlight on Laws Protecting LGBTQ Youth from Conversion "Therapy."

When looking at supportive laws that are not focused on education – i.e. laws protecting LGBTQ youth from conversion "therapy," shield laws protecting access to medical care for transgender youth, and child welfare nondiscrimination protections – Figure 10 shows there is a similar pattern of greater policy adoption in the Northeast and the West. Protections for LGBTQ youth in foster care are particularly popular, with more than half of states in every region having enacted these laws.

Policies Targeting Transgender Youth Are a Central Focus of State Laws Harming LGBTQ Youth Today

As shown earlier in Figure 1 on page 2, recent years' wave of anti-LGBTQ legislation, including bills focused on LGBTQ youth and education, has grown most every year. A central part of this wave has been an intense focus on passing laws that discriminate against transgender youth specifically. Many of these bills focus on school, with laws being passed that ban transgender youths' participation in sports, restrict their access to sex-segregated facilities like bathrooms and locker rooms, and that require school staff to out transgender students to their parents. In

addition to these, many states have passed laws banning best practice medical care for transgender youth, with some states going so far as to make it a felony crime for medical service providers to offer care.

Figure 11 on the following page shows that these anti-transgender youth laws are most common in the South and the Midwest, although every region has at least one state with at least one of these laws. Recent population estimates from the Williams Institute found that there are approximately 724,000 transgender youth ages 13-17 in the U.S.²² These data show that nearly two out of every five transgender youth (39%) live in the South, where states are most likely to have adopted harmful policies that target them.²³

Anti-LGBTQ Youth Policies that Cut Across Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Are Also Causing Harm

Among harmful policies that are not exclusively focused on transgender youth, most are focused on education, except for religious exemptions in child welfare services.

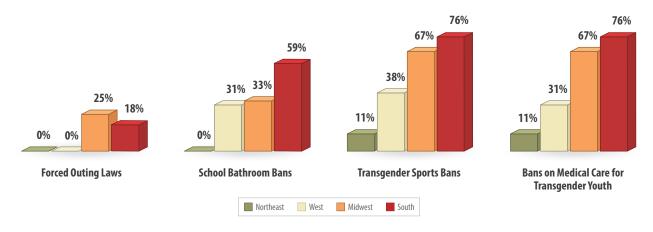
^{*} The Trevor Project. 2023. It's Still Happening A Report on Practitioners of So-Called Conversion "Therapy" in the U.S.

Three of the five policies in this category are most dominant in the South, as shown in *Figure 12* on the following page. While laws that require parental notification of curricular content about LGBTQ people and history are most common in the West—counter to the

broader regional trends shown throughout this report it is important to note that these are effectively less extreme (though still harmful) laws than Don't Say LGBTQ laws, which are most common in the South. Parental notification laws still allow for inclusive curricula to be

Figure 11: The South and the Midwest Have the Highest Share of States with Discriminatory Laws Targeting Transgender Youth

Percent of states with various anti-transgender laws by region



Source: State laws based on MAP's Equality Maps, as of August 1, 2025. Regions as defined by U.S. Census Bureau.



Laws Regulating Gender to Allow Discrimination

Among the increasing legislative attacks on transgender people are sex definition laws that work to define gender in such a way as to allow for discrimination against transgender people. While these policies are not specific to transgender youth (and therefore not included in this report's LGBTQ Youth Policy Tally), they certainly affect these young people.

These laws define sex throughout state law as only male or female, based on a person's presumed reproductive anatomy, chromosomes, hormones, or other physical characteristics at birth.*ii These laws also conflate sex and gender and hold sex out to be an unchanging characteristic. Taken together this implies that transgender people's gender identity could never be recognized in these states. These laws completely ignore the fact that some people are neither male nor female, leaving them in legal limbo.*iii Furthermore these laws are dangerous because they may allow for discrimination against transgender people even if those states have not passed topic-specific antitransgender legislation like bathroom bans and sports bans. Because the laws are written vaguely and are relatively new, there is still a lot to learn about how states will implement them. The first of these laws was passed in 2023, and already, 16 states across the South, West, and Midwest have enacted their own version.*iv In addition, governors in two states have signed executive orders aiming to do the same thing.

xi Movement Advancement Project. March 2024. "Freedom Under Fire: The Far Right's Battle to Control America."

Movement Advancement Project. "Equality Maps: Regulating Gender to Allow Discrimination." Data as of August 1, 2025.

xiii *Ibid.*, note xi.

xiv Ibid., note xii.

taught, but require notification of this content and require parents to either opt their children in or allow parents to opt their children out of those lessons. In contrast, Don't Say LGBTQ laws are blanket censorship laws that do not allow inclusive curricula to be taught at all. These more extreme and far-reaching laws are most common in the South, as shown in Figure 12.^d

Notably, anti-enumeration laws that prohibit protections for LGBTQ youth in anti-bullying and nondiscrimination policies only exist in the Midwest.

An important insight from looking at these harmful policies overall is that across all regions, fewer than half of states have adopted any of these policies. This is in stark contrast to the harmful policies that target transgender youth specifically where more than half of states in the South and Midwest have passed some of those laws; see Figure 12. This underscores policymakers' intense fixation on passing anti-LGBTQ policies that target transgender youth.

That said, many of these laws—including all 12 states with Don't Say LGBTQ laws—have been passed since 2020 (see also Figure 5 on page 8), further illustrating policymakers' recent fervor in targeting LGBTQ youth.

Overall, the data show some significant regional differences in the policies impacting LGBTQ youth, and there are some important takeaways that advocates can look to regarding maximizing their impact. First, while there were some individually high scoring states, all regions could benefit from more supportive policies being enacted, and negative policies being rescinded. And second, because of the geographic population distribution of LGBTQ youth, the impact of progress toward supports for LGBTQ youth in the Midwest and the South will affect the largest number of LGBTQ youth, where 59% of those aged 13-17 live.

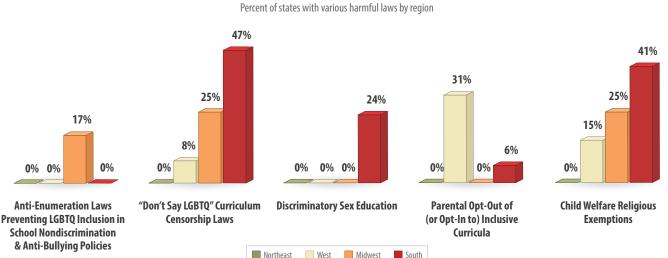


Figure 12: The South and the Midwest Generally Have the Highest Ratio of States with Harmful Laws for LGBTQ Youth

Source: State laws based on MAP's Equality Maps, as of August 1, 2025. Regions as defined by U.S. Census Bureau. Discriminatory sex education laws based on SIECUS research, as of 2023.

Note: While laws that require parental notification of curricular content about LGBTQ people and history are most common in the West, it is important to note that these are effectively less extreme (though still harmful) laws than "Don't Say LGBTQ" laws, which are most common in the South. See MAP's Equality Maps: LGBTQ Curricular Laws for more information.

^d For more detail on the differences between these policies, and on any other policy included in this report, please see Appendix C and MAP's Equality Maps at <u>www.mapresearch.org/equality-maps.</u>

RECOMMENDATIONS: SUPPORTIVE POLICIES FOR LGBTQ YOUTH

Whether or not LGBTQ youth have access to things like quality health care, inclusive schools, and protection from discrimination should not be dependent on where they live. Yet today LGBTQ youth face a patchwork of policy protections and an unfortunately growing number of policy attacks.

But advocates and allied policymakers do not have to reinvent the wheel to improve life for LGBTQ youth across the country. We know the kinds of policies that are supportive and those that cause harm. The positive policies that have already passed in several states can be used as models when there is opportunity for proactive legislation. In addition, advocacy organizations have drafted gold standard model legislation on many of the areas covered in this report. These include:

State Policies

- Model State Anti-bullying and Harassment Legislation GLSEN
- Model Inclusive Curricular Standards Legislation GLSEN
- Model Sex Education Legislation The Sex Education Collaborative
- Model Legislation to Protect Youth from Conversion Therapy The Human Rights Campaign & The National Center for LGBTQ Rights

Local Education Policies

- Model Policy on K-12 Nondiscrimination Protections GLSEN
- Model School District Policy on Transgender and Nonbinary Students GLSEN & Advocates for Trans Equality
- Model School District Policy on Suicide Prevention The Trevor Project

In addition to passing policies that support LGBTQ youth, advocates and policymakers who want to improve life for these young people must continue the work of pushing back against the policies that do harm. Working to prevent these bills from becoming laws whenever possible and doing the groundwork and relationship-building that it will take to one day repeal harmful policies is an important part of the work ahead to ensure that no matter where they live, LGBTQ youth are in a policy environment that supports their ability to thrive.

For additional recommendations (beyond policy or legislation) to support LGBTQ youth, please see this report's companion, In their Own Words: Learning from LGBTQ Youth Experiences to Tell a New Story (2025).

APPENDIX A: LGBTQ YOUTH POLICY TALLY METHODOLOGY

For this report MAP analyzed 16 LGBTQ youth-related laws and policies in all 50 states, Washington D.C., and the five populated U.S. territories. For these policies, MAP assigns a point value and then adds them to create a policy score for each state. These policy scores are also divided into simple categories (negative, low, fair, medium, and high; based on a percentage of total points possible) to be able to quickly and easily compare the overall LGBTQ youth policy climate across the country.

The laws covered by the policy tally included policies that are protective of or harmful toward LGBTQ youth.

Protective Policies

- 1. LGBTQ-Inclusive School Anti-Bullying Policies
- 2. LGBTQ-Inclusive School Nondiscrimination Policies
- 3. LGBTQ-Inclusive Sex Education Standards
- 4. LGBTQ-Inclusive Curricular Standards
- **5.** Protecting Youth from Conversion "Therapy"
- 6. Child Welfare Nondiscrimination Protections
- 7. Shield Laws Protecting Access to Medical Care for Transgender Youth

Harmful Policies

- 1. Bans on Medical Care for Transgender Youth
- 2. School Restroom Bans
- 3. Bans on Transgender Youths' Sports Participation
- **4.** Forced Outing of Transgender Students
- 5. Child Welfare Religious Exemptions
- 6. Don't Say LGBTQ Laws
- 7. Discriminatory Sex Education Laws
- 8. Parental Notification and Opt-Out/Opt-In of Inclusive Curricula
- 9. Anti-Enumeration Laws

Harmful or discriminatory policies earn negative points or point deductions, while LGBTQ-inclusive or protective laws earn positive points. Fractions of a point may be awarded for states that have enacted a portion of a law, or in cases where local laws provide some protection but do not cover the entire state population. Quarter-points are the smallest increment.

Policies are evaluated and scored based on their relevance to sexual orientation and gender identity. As a result, each state has three scores: a Sexual Orientation Score, a Gender Identity Score, and then an Overall (combined) Score. Having both the sexual orientation and gender identity scoring illustrates how LGBQ-related versus transgender-related policies are progressing differently both within a state and across the country.

States are also categorized as "negative," "low," "fair," "medium," or "high," based on their score relative to the total points possible. This categorization allows for additional and easy big-picture comparisons of the LGBTQ policy landscape across states. Categorizations are based on a percentage of the total positive points possible, as shown below.

Depending on a state's score, the state could have the same categorization for all three tallies or different categorizations for each. *Table 2* on the following page shows the cut-offs for each categorization in each of the three tallies.

Note that the scores only include existing laws. They do not look at the social climate, nor do they take into account implementation of each state's laws. The scores also do not reflect the efforts of advocates and/or opportunities for future change. States with low scores might shift rapidly with an influx of resources, and states with higher scores might continue to expand equality for LGBTQ people in ways that can provide models for other states—or they might backslide in the wake of new or continued attacks.

Additionally, note that because data regarding sex education laws in the U.S. territories are not available for all territories, their total points possible are 5 for the sexual orientation score, 6 for the gender identity score, and 11 for the overall score.

Table 2					
	Sexual Orientation Score	Gender Identity Score	Overall Score		
High (75-100% of total points possible)	4.5+	5.25+	9.75+		
Medium (50-74.9% of total points possible)	3 to 4.25	3.5 to 5	6.5 to 9.5		
Fair (25-49.9% of total points possible)	1.5 to 2.75	1.75 to 3.25	3.25-6.25		
Low (0-24.5% of total points possible)	0 to 1.25 0 to 1.5		0 to 3		
Negative (<0 points)	<0	<0	<0		
Total points possible	6	7	13		

Note: The lowest possible negative scores for each policy category were a Sexual Orientation Policy Score of -6, a Gender Identity Policy Score of -9, and an Overall Policy Score of -15.

APPENDIX B: LGBTQ YOUTH POLICY SCORES BY STATE

All data as of 08/01/2025

	State	LGBTQ Youth Overall Policy Score	LGBTQ Youth Sexual Orientation Policy Score	LGBTQ Youth Gender Identity Policy Score
1	Alabama	-6.5	-1.5	-5
2	Alaska	-0.25	0.25	-0.5
3	Arizona	-1.25	-0.25	-1
4	Arkansas	-6.25	-1.5	-4.75
5	California	13	6	7
6	Colorado	12	5.5	6.5
7	Connecticut	10	4.5	5.5
8	Delaware	7.25	3.5	3.75
9	District of Columbia	9	4	5
10	Florida	-4.5	-1	-3.5
11	Georgia	-2	0	-2
12	Hawaii	7	3.5	3.5
13	Idaho	-7.25	-2	-5.25
14	Illinois	12	5.5	6.5
15	Indiana	-5	-1	-4
16	lowa	-0.75	2.25	-3
17	Kansas	-4	-1	-3
18	Kentucky	-2.5	0.25	-2.75
19	Louisiana	-5	-1	-4
20	Maine	9	4	5
21	Maryland	11	5	6
22	Massachusetts	9	4	5
23	Michigan	5	2.5	2.5
24	Minnesota	9	4	5
25	Mississippi	-4	-1	-3
26	Missouri	-3	0	-3
27	Montana	-4.25	0	-4.25
28	Nebraska	-1.75	0.25	-2
29	Nevada	10	5	5
30	New Hampshire	5	3.5	1.5

	State	LGBTQ Youth Overall Policy Score	LGBTQ Youth Sexual Orientation Policy Score	LGBTQ Youth Gender Identity Policy Score		
31	New Jersey	12.75	6	6.75		
32	New Mexico	9	4	5		
33	New York	9	4	5		
34	North Carolina	0.75	1.25	-0.5		
35	North Dakota	-0.5	1.5	-2		
36	Ohio	-5	-0.5	-4.5		
37	Oklahoma	-4	-1	-3		
38	Oregon	13	6	7		
39	Pennsylvania	3.5	1.75	1.75		
40	Rhode Island	10	4.5	5.5		
41	South Carolina	-7	-1	-6		
42	South Dakota	-5	-1	-4		
43	Tennessee	-6	-1	-5		
44	Texas	-7	-3	-4		
45	Utah	1.75	2.5	-0.75		
46	Vermont	9	4	5		
47	Virginia	0.75	1.75	-1		
48	Washington	13	6	7		
49	West Virginia	-3	0.5	-3.5		
50	Wisconsin	4	3	1		
51	Wyoming	-4	0	-4		
	U.S. Territories					
52	American Samoa	0	0	0		
53	Guam	1	1	0		
54	Northern Mariana Islands	1.5	1	0.5		
55	Puerto Rico	5.5	3.25	2.25		
56	U.S. Virgin Islands	2.5	1.75	0.75		

APPENDIX C: DESCRIPTIONS OF POLICIES AFFECTING LGBTQ YOUTH

The following briefly describes each of the policy areas included in the LGBTQ Youth Policy Tally in this report. For additional details about each policy—including maps of the current state-by-state status of these policies, updated in real time and transparently cited and sourced—please visit www.mapresearch.org/equality-maps or use the links offered below.

Protective Policies

Laws protecting youth from conversion "therapy" prohibit licensed mental health practitioners from subjecting LGBTQ minors to harmful conversion "therapy" practices that attempt to change their sexual orientation or gender identity. See MAP's Equality Map here.

Child welfare nondiscrimination laws prohibit discrimination against youth in the child welfare system based on their sexual orientation and gender identity. See MAP's Equality Map here.

LGBTQ-inclusive school anti-bullying policies protect LGBTQ students from bullying by other students, teachers, and school staff on the basis of their sexual orientation and/or gender identity. This means that the school anti-bullying policies regarding support for students, intervention by educators, and disciplinary practices must be applied if students are victimized based on their actual or presumed LGBTQ identities. See MAP's Equality Map here.

LGBTQ-inclusive school nondiscrimination policies protect LGBTQ students from discrimination in school, including being unfairly denied access to facilities, sports teams, or clubs based on their sexual orientation or gender identity. In schools, nondiscrimination differs from bullying in that it is not so much about being victimized but about being treated differently. While the bullying laws cover victimization by both students and school personnel, the nondiscrimination laws only apply to differential treatment by school staff and within school practices and programs. See MAP's Equality Map here.

LGBTQ-inclusive curricular standards explicitly require the state's curricula to include LGBTQ people and history, in subjects like civics, social studies, and other such classes. Inclusive curriculum helps LGBTQ youth see themselves represented in classroom content, and it is also an opportunity for other youth to learn from experiences different from their own. See MAP's Equality Map here.

LGBTQ-inclusive sex education standards require that schools teach sex education that is LGBTQ inclusive. Some laws do not rise to the level of requiring inclusivity but do prohibit teaching that stigmatizes sexual orientation or gender identity. See SIECUS's resources here.

Shield laws protecting access to medical care for transgender youth: These laws, or in some cases state executive orders, protect transgender youth, their families, and their medical providers against penalties from other states that have banned access to transgender-related health care. States began adopting these policies in direct response to the increased legislation banning access to care for transgender youth and threatening punishments for service providers or family members who help youth get the care that they need. See MAP's Equality Map here.

Harmful Policies

Policies forcing school staff to out transgender students to their parents create harm by risking the wellbeing of youth for whom it may not be safe to share their gender identity at home. The situations that trigger an obligation to out students differ across states. See MAP's Equality Map here.

Bathroom bans prohibit transgender youth from using bathrooms and facilities—such as locker rooms, shower rooms, changing rooms, and other sex-segregated spaces—according to their gender identity in certain circumstances or places. All of these laws apply to K-12 school settings, and some apply even more broadly to other government-owned buildings and spaces. See MAP's Equality Map here.

Bans on transgender youths' participation in sports consistent with their gender identity are unnecessary and harmful. Research shows that these bans deprive transgender youth all of the benefits that come with athletic

participation in school, including physical development, social skills, psychological wellbeing, and a greater sense of school belonging. See MAP's Equality Map here.

Bans on best practice medical care for transgender youth generally prohibit medically necessary medicine and surgical care for transgender youth, despite the fact that this health care is evidence-based, safe, and supported by major U.S. medical associations, including the American Academy of Pediatrics, the American Medical Association, and the American Psychological Association. In most states these medical care bans apply to care for transgender youth under age 18, but Alabama and Nebraska ban care for youth under age 19, and Florida's ban has some provisions obstructing access to care for people 18 and older. Some of these bans make it a criminal felony for health care professionals to provide certain forms of best practice care for transgender youth. See MAP's Equality Map here.

Anti-enumeration laws prevent schools or districts from listing any specific protected classes of people, including LGBTQ people, in their nondiscrimination and anti-bullying policies. Research shows that schools' policies on bullying and discrimination are not as effective at protecting students from these harms when they do not explicitly enumerate protected classes. See MAP's Equality Map here.

Don't Say LGBTQ laws (sometimes also referred to as "Don't Say Gay" laws) censor discussions of LGBTQ people or issues throughout all school curricula. See MAP's Equality Map here.

Discriminatory sex education laws, sometimes referred to as "No Promo Homo" laws, are older school censorship policies that prohibit curriculum that "promotes homosexuality," and were emphasized in the context of sex education. Though many states have repealed these older laws, four states in the South—Louisiana, Oklahoma, Mississippi, and Texas—still have these policies on the books. <u>See MAP's Equality Map here</u>.

Parental notification and opt-out/opt-in of inclusive curricula: These laws require parents to get advance notice of any LGBTQ-related curricula and allow parents to opt their children out (or require that they opt-into) these class lessons. These laws do not limit their requirements to sex education, but rather they apply to all lessons that contain any content including LGBTQ people or parts of LGBTQ history whatsoever. These laws serve to further stigmatize LGBTQ people and are an obstacle to LGBTQ youth and all youth receiving an education that is both inclusive and historically accurate. See MAP's Equality Map here.

Child welfare religious exemptions permit state-licensed child welfare agencies to refuse to place and provide services to children and families, including LGBTQ people and same-sex couples, if doing so conflicts with their religious beliefs. See MAP's Equality Map here.

ENDNOTES

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ABOUT THIS SPOTLIGHT
This report is part of an ongoing series that will provide in-depth analyses of laws and policies tracked at the Movement Advancement Project's
"Equality Maps," found at www.mapresearch.org/equality-maps . The information in this report is current as of the date of publication.
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