



**F&M GLOBAL
BAROMETERS®**

Country Conditions Analysis of Transgender Human Rights in The United States of America

**Prepared by the F&M Global Barometers
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Introduction

The Franklin & Marshall Global Barometers® (FMGB) have four primary products: the F&M Global Barometer of Unified LGBT Rights™ (GBUR), the F&M Global Barometer of Gay Rights® (GBGR), the F&M Global Barometer of Transgender Rights™ (GBTR), and the F&M Global Barometers LGBTQI+ Perception Index™ (GBPI).

The GBGR and the GBTR track 27 and 17 items, respectively, to measure state protections and societal persecution of sexual orientation and gender identity minorities in 204 countries and territories. Both barometers assess five dimensions: *de facto* and *de jure* protections, the sanction or suppression of LGBT+ advocacy, socio-economic rights, and societal persecution of LGBT+ persons. The GBUR combines the items from the GBGR and GBTR (39 total) into a single score that reflects a comprehensive metric of the state of LGBT+ human rights.

The GBPI survey measures the lived human rights experiences of LGBTQI+ people worldwide through six questions on safety, acceptance, and experiences with discrimination and violence.

Methodology

The F&M Global Barometers (FMGB) combine a quantitative research design with a qualitative, real-world perspective. Fundamental principles of human rights based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights inform the items on the barometers, which are operationalized using binary variables (1 or 0). Each item in the FMGB is weighted equally. A country will receive a one (1) if evidence supports the item in the affirmative and a zero (0) if in the negative. For example, the item “No death penalty for sexual orientation” would receive a one (1) if there is no death penalty for sexual orientation; but if the country has the death penalty for sexual orientation, it would receive a zero (0).

Grades are calculated by summing the raw score for a particular year. The highest possible score on the **GBUR**, **GBGR**, and **GBTR** is 39/39, 27/27, and 17/17, respectively, while the lowest possible score is 0/39, 0/27, or 0/17. The raw score is then converted to a percentage score (0-100%) and assigned a letter grade (A-F) where 100 percent (A) is the most positive and zero percent (F) is the most negative (see **Figure 1**, below).

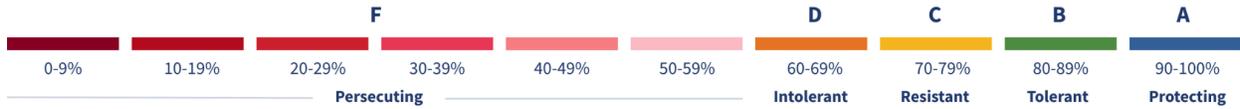


Figure 1. GBUR/GBGR/GBTR Grading Scale

GBUR/GBGR/GBTR data is collected and reviewed through a process of double-blind coding. A primary coder collects all of the sources and citations and scores each item accordingly, and then a second coder applies their own score based on the sources and citations provided by the first coder. If any discrepancies arise, the principal investigator acts as the third reviewer. This protocol expedites the review process and reduces the impact of human error or bias.

This report focuses exclusively on 2023 GBTR and 2024 GBPI data. The GBTR is comprised 5 dimensions:

The **De Jure Protections (DJ)** dimension measures the extent to which a country’s constitution and laws protect the fundamental human rights of gender identity (GI) minorities. While the *a priori* function of the state is to protect its citizens, states may discriminate in carrying out this responsibility by criminalizing GI minorities and denying them the right to legal gender recognition, for example.

Table 1. GBTR De Jure Protections Dimension Items

Item	Description
DJ-1	No criminalization of gender identity or expression
DJ-2	Country has legal gender recognition of gender identity
DJ-3	No physiological alteration requirement for legal gender recognition
DJ-4	No psychiatric diagnosis requirement for legal gender recognition
DJ-5	Gender identity minorities are not restricted or banned from serving in the military

The **De Facto Protections (DF)** dimension considers the ability of a state to implement laws that ensure the protection of GI minorities. It is assumed that states that do not criminalize GI minorities will also provide legal protections, such as freedom from arbitrary arrest. However, negative societal attitudes and the influence of anti-LGBT+ political elites may circumvent protective laws, creating conditions where GI minorities are deprived of legal protections.

Table 2. GBTR De Facto Protections Dimension Item

Item	Description
DF-6	Freedom from arbitrary arrest based on gender identity or expression

The **LGBT Rights Advocacy (RA)** dimension captures states’ sanction or suppression of sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI) minorities’ attempts to organize visibly in society. Effective LGBT organization is necessary to further SOGI human rights. States, with their monopoly on the use of legitimate force, may use police forces to protect or impede SOGI minorities’ freedom of association. Because most LGBT organizations advocate for both the LGB and transgender communities, the GBTR duplicates the items from the GBGR LGBT Rights Advocacy dimension.

Table 3. GBTR LGBT Rights Advocacy Dimension Items

Item	Description
RA-7	LGBT organizations are allowed to legally register by the state
RA-8	National LGBT organizations exist
RA-9	LGBT organizations are able to peacefully and safely assemble
RA-10	LGBT Pride events are allowed by the state
RA-11	Security forces provide protection to LGBT Pride participants

The **Socio-Economic Rights (SER)** dimension signals GI minorities’ ability to seek and enjoy socio-economic opportunities without discrimination. Anti-discrimination laws in employment and in access to housing and healthcare are baseline measures of a state’s commitment to protecting GI minorities’ socio-economic rights.

Table 4. GBTR Socio-Economic Rights Dimension Items

Item	Description
SER-12	Workplace anti-discrimination laws include gender identity
SER-13	Fair housing anti-discrimination laws include gender identity
SER-14	Healthcare anti-discrimination laws include gender identity

The **Societal Persecution (SP)** dimension gauges whether GI minorities are targeted for violence or murder based on their gender identity. It measures the ability of GI minorities to seek redress from state authorities in cases of unequal treatment or discriminatory violence. Analysis of this dimension will include commentary on the state’s ability to restore justice in such cases.

Table 5. GBTR Societal Persecution Dimension Items

Item	Description
SP-15	No known acts of murder against gender identity minorities
SP-16	No known acts of violence against gender identity minorities
SP-17	Crimes based on gender identity are reported to the police

GBTR Data on The United States

The most recent data available on the United States for the GBTR are from 2023. In 2023, the United States’ GBTR score was a **C-Resistant** with a grade of **76 percent**. **Table 6**, below, illustrates the scores for the GBTR from 2011 to 2023. Data on the United States and other countries in the world can be found on the F&M Global Barometers’ website:

<https://www.fandmglobalbarometers.org/countries/united-states/>.

Table 6. GBTR 2011–2023 - Scores for The United States

Country	Year	GBTR % Score	GBTR Tolerance Category
United States	2011	47%	F - Persecuting
United States	2012	47%	F - Persecuting
United States	2013	47%	F - Persecuting
United States	2014	47%	F - Persecuting
United States	2015	47%	F - Persecuting
United States	2016	53%	F - Persecuting
United States	2017	53%	F - Persecuting
United States	2018	53%	F - Persecuting
United States	2019	47%	F - Persecuting
United States	2020	59%	F - Persecuting
United States	2021	88%	B - Tolerant
United States	2022	76%	C - Resistant
United States	2023	76%	C - Resistant

(Source: F&M Global Barometers database, on file with author)

It is important to note that the GBTR takes a holistic approach in measuring how protective or persecuting a country is toward transgender people. Although the 2023 GBTR score is higher than earlier scores—the U.S. earned an F from 2011 to 2020—the 12 percent reduction in scores between 2021 and 2022 and the U.S.’s failure to recover from this regression signal clear deficits in the protections afforded to transgender individuals in the United States.

GBTR data reveal that the United States’ decrease in score between 2021 and 2022 is attributable to LGBT organizations’ inability to peacefully and safely assemble and to a reversal in healthcare anti-discrimination laws. In 2023, transgender individuals in the United States were entitled to legal gender recognition without prerequisite physiological alteration or psychiatric diagnosis and other anti-discriminatory measures which were nullified in 2025 and no longer exist in 2026.

These scores (**Table 6**) depict the legislative landscape and the existence or lack of societal protections in the United States for transgender people in 2023; and the F&M GBPI surveys individuals to measure their actual experiences in order to gather insight into the effects of human rights protections. In 2024, respondents on the GBPI indicated awareness and fear of legislative rights backsliding, a possibility which was realized shortly into January 2025 and persists over a year later.

F&M Global Barometers LGBTQI+ Perception Index (GBPI)

Data discussed below are based on the latest F&M Global Barometers LGBTQI+ Perception Index (GBPI) survey results (2024). In addition to supplemental questions related to non-consensual medical interventions and LGBTQI+ identity disclosure, the GBPI poses six questions focused on safety, safety in gathering, acceptance, experiences with discrimination, fear of security forces, and the likelihood of being a victim of violence (see **Table 7**, below). The global survey was live from August 19 to December 19, 2024.

Table 7. 2024 GBPI Survey Questions

Question 1 (Safety): How safe do you feel living as a lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and/or intersex person in your country?

Question 2 (Safety in Gathering): How safe do you feel gathering with other lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and/or intersex people in public?

Question 3 (Acceptance): How accepted do you feel as a lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and/or intersex person by your society?

Question 4 (Discrimination): How frequently have you experienced discrimination in your day-to-day life because you are a lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and/or intersex person?

Question 5 (Fear of Police): How fearful are you of being arrested, harassed, or blackmailed by security forces/police because you are a lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and/or intersex person?

Question 6 (Violence): How likely are you to be a victim of violence because you are a lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and/or intersex person?

Visibility Question: Do you share with others that you are a lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and/or intersex person?

Intersex Question: To your knowledge, were you subjected to harmful medical practices (including medically unnecessary surgeries) as a child without your consent?

The total number of transgender respondents from the United States on the 2024 GBPI was **620**, with varied response rates to individual questions (see **Figures 3–8**). While the United States’ 2024 average GBPI score among all LGBTQI+ respondents was **58 percent**, the average score among transgender respondents was **49 percent**; both percentage scores correlate to a failing grade on the GBPI. As such, although the legislative items outlined in the GBTR depict some protections for transgender people in the United States, these protections do not appear to be commensurately reflected in the experiences of surveyed individuals.

The human rights experiences of transgender people in the United States can be further distilled by examining the GBPI responses by individual question. The Likert scale depicted in **Figure 2**, below, summarizes the distribution of responses, negative (red) to positive (blue), by question.

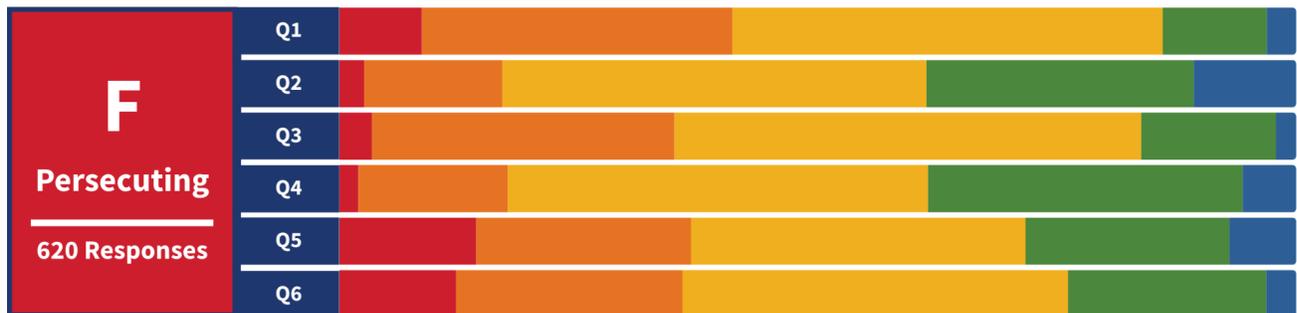


Figure 2. 2024 GBPI - Transgender Responses by Question

Question 1: Safety

For Question 1, gauging safety, **41 percent** of transgender survey respondents reported that they felt very unsafe or unsafe living as a transgender person, while only **14 percent** reported that they felt safe or very safe living as a transgender individual in the United States. **Forty-five percent** of respondents reported feeling somewhat safe (see **Figure 3**, below).

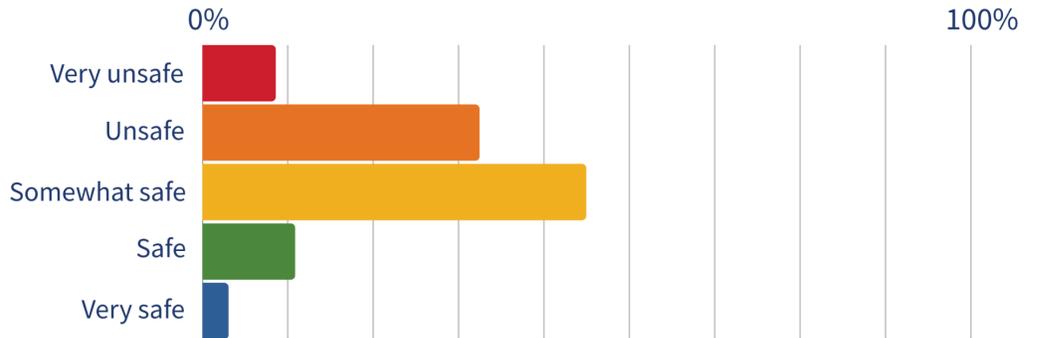


Figure 3. Question 1: How safe do you feel living as a lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and/or intersex person in your country? (n=616)

Question 2: Safety in Gathering

For Question 2, gauging safety in gathering, **17 percent** of transgender respondents reported that they felt very unsafe or unsafe gathering with other LGBTQI+ people in public, while **39 percent** felt safe or very safe gathering with other LGBTQI+ people. **Forty-four percent** of respondents felt somewhat safe (see **Figure 4**).

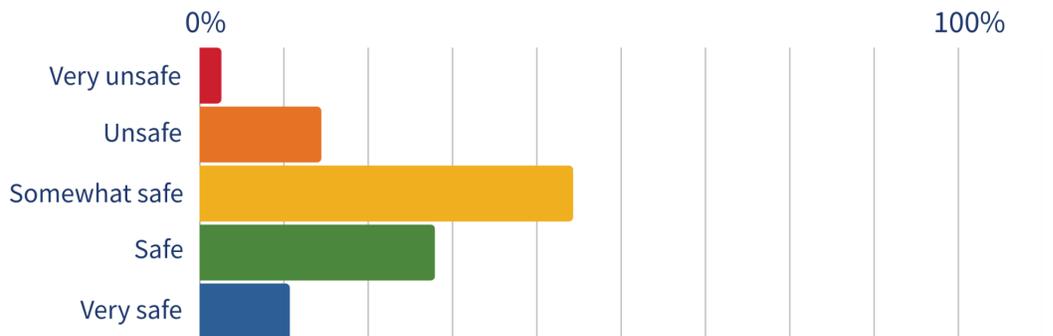


Figure 4. Question 2: How safe do you feel gathering with other lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and/or intersex people in public? (n=616)

Question 3: Acceptance

For Question 3, gauging societal acceptance, **35 percent** of transgender respondents rarely or never felt accepted, while only **16 percent** mostly or always felt accepted by society. **Forty-nine percent** of respondents felt somewhat accepted (see **Figure 5**).

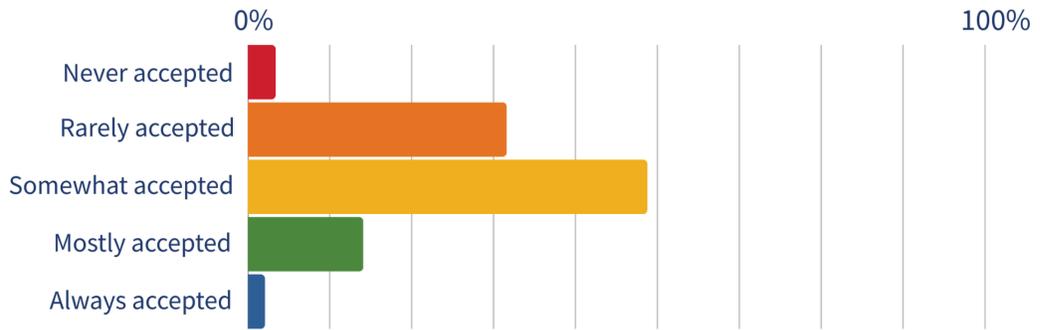


Figure 5. Question 3: How accepted do you feel as a lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and/or intersex person by your society? (n=617)

Question 4: Discrimination

For Question 4, **18 percent** of transgender respondents frequently or always experienced discrimination in their day-to-day life because of their gender identity, while **39 percent** indicated that they rarely or never experienced discrimination. **Forty-four percent** of respondents sometimes experienced discrimination (see **Figure 6**).

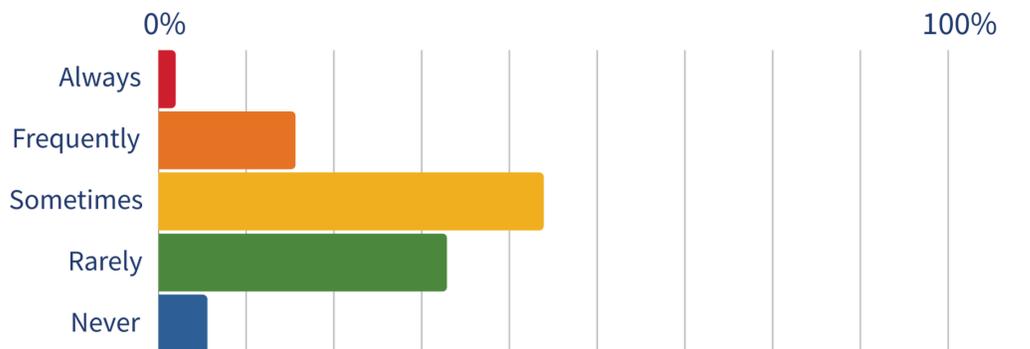


Figure 6. Question 4: How frequently have you experienced discrimination in your day-to-day life because you are a lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and/or intersex person? (n=608)

Question 5: Fear of Police

For Question 5, **37 percent** of transgender respondents reported feeling very fearful or fearful of being arrested, harassed or blackmailed by security forces/police because of their LGBTQI+ identity, while **28 percent** reported being not fearful or not at all fearful. **Thirty-five percent** of respondents were somewhat fearful (see **Figure 7**).

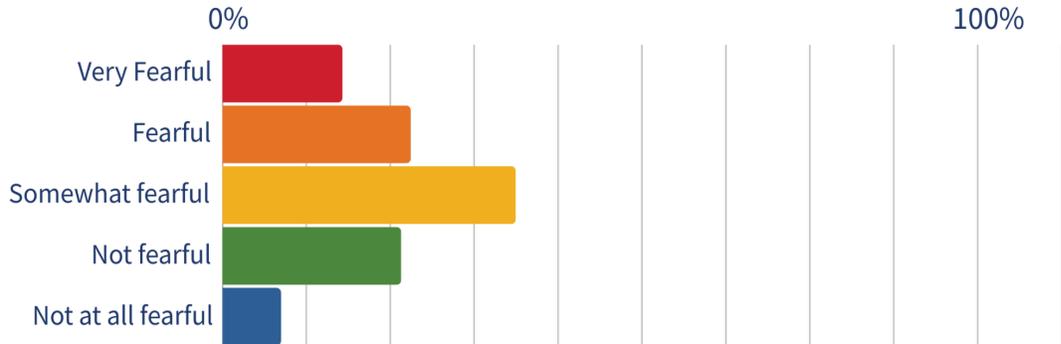


Figure 7. Question 5: How fearful are you of being arrested, harassed, or blackmailed by security forces/police because you are a lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and/or intersex person? (n=615)

Question 6: Victim of Violence

And finally, in Question 6, **36 percent** of transgender respondents indicated that they were very likely or likely to be a victim of violence because of their LGBTQI+ identity. **Twenty-four percent** indicated that it was very unlikely or unlikely that they would be a victim of violence, while **40 percent** of respondents indicated that they were somewhat likely to be victims of violence (see **Figure 8**).

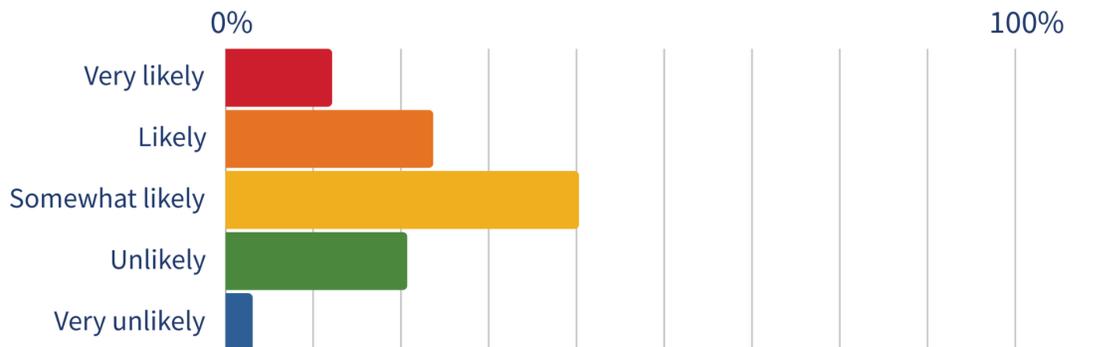


Figure 8. Question 6: How likely are you to be a victim of violence because you are a lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and/or intersex person? (n=608)

Visibility

It is also important to note how comfortable individual members of the transgender community felt about disclosing their LGBTQI+ identity. Respondents were asked to comment on whether they shared with others that they were a member of the LGBTQI+ community. The results in **Table 8**, below, indicate that **13 percent** of transgender respondents from the United States never or rarely shared their LGBTQI+ identity with others, while **45 percent** of respondents often or always shared their LGBTQI+ identity with others.

Table 8. 2024 GBPI - Identity Disclosure of Transgender Respondents in The United States

Breakdown by Response	# of respondents	Visibility by %
Never	11	2%
Rarely	67	11%
Sometimes	260	42%
Often	193	31%
Always	85	14%
Total Respondents	616	100%

Voices on the Ground

Many transgender respondents on the 2024 GBPI from the United States anonymously commented on their human rights experiences, particularly during and after November 2024. While reports of transphobic discrimination were ubiquitous, their prevalence varied by state. These negative experiences were compounded by fears of heightened prohibitive legislative and societal backlash following impending changes in states' and the federal government's administrations.

Individuals reported notably harsh conditions stemming from state-level legislation. Multiple respondents from Missouri highlighted discriminatory policies targeting the state's transgender population, specifically healthcare legislation. One individual commented,

“Missouri has made it illegal for me to get hormones on Medicaid. The progression of bathroom laws scares me; I feel like a political scapegoat. It's hard to get a job, and harder to keep it once it is discovered that I'm transgender. I feel like this state wants to ‘push me out’ of my home.”

Another respondent similarly said,

“In all likelihood, I will have to flee my home state of Missouri soon in order to continue receiving my Hormone Replacement Therapy medication.”

Both of the above comments were recorded on the GBPI survey in December 2024, and the respondents' concerns about worsening conditions were not unfounded. The past decade has seen a dramatic increase in the number of anti-transgender bills considered for legislation in the country: **In 2015, 21 bills were introduced** in the United States which aimed to restrict the rights of transgender people; **throughout 2025, 1,022 anti-transgender bills were introduced across 49 states**. As of March 17, 2026, the number of pieces of anti-transgender legislation being considered totals 740, already surpassing the total number of anti-transgender bills introduced in 2024 [1].

Comments from the GBPI reveal that even in 2024, many transgender individuals anticipated seeking asylum in other nations due to uncertainty regarding their human rights in the United States. The risk of displacement mounts in light of a growing number of states' invalidating transgender individuals' driver's licenses and birth certificates [2], and criminalizing the use of gender-affirming restrooms and changing rooms [3]. One respondent from the 2024 GBPI disclosed,

“I am more afraid of being myself than I have ever been before. I am considering leaving the country in an asylum capacity. I feel that intentional disinformation about transgender people is giving violent bigots in society permission to target transgender people...I am frightened because... there will be significant loss of life, freedom, and a rise in violence before anything can be done.”

Just as this individual predicted, violence against transgender people continues to rise in the United States. In 2025, GLAAD identified **1,042 anti-LGBTQ incidents** including violent assaults, threats of mass violence, vandalism, and arson attempts in 47 states and the District of Columbia. Over **half of all incidents targeted transgender and gender-nonconforming individuals**, a 10 percent increase from the number of anti-transgender incidents recorded in 2024 [4]. This downturn in civil rights protections signals bleak conditions in the United States for transgender and gender-nonconforming people.

Conclusion

Legislation and societal attitudes in the United States are prompting transgender individuals to consider and to seek asylum in other nations to escape repressive conditions worsening in the nation. The GBPI data, particularly comments recorded after November 2024, reveal a widespread deterioration of transgender individuals' ability to reside in states leveraging anti-transgender legislation. In 2026, transgender individuals face persecution at the hands of individual state governments and the federal government, as well as from society at large. These observations are supported by the F&M Global Barometers' data.

Notes

[1] “Tracking the rise of anti-trans bills in the U.S.,” Trans Legislation Tracker, accessed March 17, 2026, <https://translegislation.com/learn>.

[2] Jo Yurcaba, [NBCNews.com](https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/kansas-revoked-drivers-licenses-1700-transgender-residents-rcna262120), “Kansas revoked 1,700 transgender drivers’ licenses. Some are leaving the state,” March 11, 2026, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/kansas-revoked-drivers-licenses-1700-transgender-residents-rcna262120>.

[3] Marcos Guadarrama, [idahonews.com](https://idahonews.com/news/local/idaho-house-passes-transgender-bathroom-ban-bill), “Idaho House passes transgender bathroom ban bill,” March 16, 2026, <https://idahonews.com/news/local/idaho-house-passes-transgender-bathroom-ban-bill>

[4] “The 2025 ALERT Desk Report: An Overview of Our Key Findings,” The Alert Desk: GLAAD’s Anti-LGBTQ Extremism Reporting Tracker, GLAAD, accessed March 16, 2026, <https://glaad.org/anti-lgbtq-extremism-reporting-tracker/>.