

Expelled from Home

*Persecution of Transgender Americans, Internal Displacement, and
The Road Map for a Resettlement Response*



GENDER JUSTICE LEAGUE
COMMUNITY · SAFETY · POWER

Photo: Mike Newbry / Unsplash



ABOUT GENDER JUSTICE LEAGUE

Gender Justice League is a 501(c)(3) charitable organization founded in Seattle in 2012. Gender Justice League supports the agency and safety of Two-Spirit, Trans, and Gender Diverse survivors of gender based violence, sexual assault, and victims of crime. We build community through Trans Pride Seattle, the state's largest annual celebration of transgender lives, and have built power for human rights by producing Trans Advocacy Day in Olympia, and co-founding the No Hate in WA State and Washington Won't Discriminate Ballot Measure Campaigns. Over fourteen years, GJL has served more than 3,000 trans people from 27+ states in seeking safety, community, and building the power to win human rights.

A NOTE ON METHOD AND OUR FRAMING REGARDING COMPARISONS

Every factual claim in this paper is attributed to a source in the endnotes. Where evidence is contested or extrapolated from surveys rather than counted directly, we say so. Historical and international comparisons are offered as structural and analytical tools — for understanding legislative velocity, constitutional dynamics, and how other governments respond to displacement — never as claims of moral or experiential equivalence with slavery, Jim Crow, the Holocaust, armed conflict, or any other atrocity. Precision about what the evidence shows, and what it does not, is a condition of this paper's usefulness. Where official data do not exist, we rely on polling and peer-reviewed research, and we identify each instance.

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Contents

Foreword	4		
Key Takeaways	5		
Glossary of Terms	6		
Executive Summary — A Displacement Without a Name	7		
Our Recommendations	9		
Part I — Internal Displacement: The Origin of Flight	10		
1.1 The Legislative Ratchet	11		
1.2 Federal Attacks Lit the Fuse of Flight	12		
1.3 The Constitutional Turn	13		
1.4 The Flight From Persecution	15		
1.5 The Geography of Displacement	16		
1.6 Relocation Pressure Is Uneven	17		
1.7 The Receiving States: Another Great Migration	19		
1.8 The Amplifier: Media Hysteria Has Accelerated Displacement	20		
Part II — Displacement Is a Global Reality, and the United States Helped Write the Principles	21		
2.1 From Domestic Civil Rights to International Human Rights	22		
2.2 What Governments Do When Their Citizens Are Displaced	23		
2.3 The American Exception	24		
Part III — Why Washington State	25		
3.1 Element One: A Deliberate Architecture of LGBTQ Refuge	26		
3.2 Element Two: One of America's Largest Trans Communities	26		
3.3 Element Three: Cost of Living Among Few Protective States	28		
3.4 The Commission Letter and the City's Answer	29		
3.5 Provider Capacity: The System That Is Actually Responding	30		
3.6 The Community Is Already Carrying Disparities	31		
3.7 The Money Supporting Providers Is Collapsing	32		
3.8 The Data Vacuum and Who Fills It	35		
		Part IV — The Limited Existing Systems	36
		4.1 The Displacement Literature: Distrust Is a Common Thread	37
		4.2 The Shelter System Is Being Closed by Rule	38
		4.3 The Homelessness System Is the Costliest Possible Landing	38
		Part V — The Model for a Response Already Exists	39
		5.1 How Resettlement Support Can Actually Work	40
		5.2 The Asylum Asymmetry	41
		5.3 Washington Has Already Expanded Eligibility, Let's Do It Again	42
		Part VI — Recommendations: A Staged Response	43
		Stage 1 — Establish a Count	44
		Stage 2 — Fund Trusted Responders	45
		Stage 3 — Institutionalize a Response	46
		The Actor Matrix	47
		Part VII — Our Methodology and Evidence Standards	48
		Endnotes	49

EXPULSED FROM HOME

Foreword



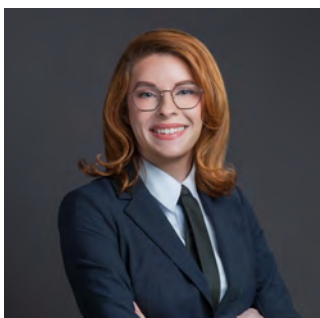
Advocates on the Capitol steps, Trans Advocacy Day 2026, Olympia. (Photo: Mel Ponder for Gender Justice League)

Gender Justice League has served Two-Spirit, Trans, and Gender Diverse people for fourteen years. In all that time, we have never experienced anything like the last twenty months.

Requests arriving at our Community Security Program intended for victims of crime and domestic violence have grown more than six-fold since 2022. Behind each call is a person who weighed everything they had against everything their legislature had taken from them, and chose to leave home. They are not economic migrants chasing opportunity. They are Americans displaced by American law — and they are arriving in a state that promised them refuge before it planned for what that promise would cost.

This paper gives the displacement of its proper name, measures it with the best evidence available, and shows that the response system needed to support new arrivals is one that already exists. What we ask of the City of Seattle, King County, and the State of Washington is not the invention of a new program, but a decision to expand existing services to new populations before the current informal reception network responding now collapses.

Washington has built its reputation as a refuge for LGBTQ people over decades. Many believed the promise we made and came seeking safety. Whether that promise was true or not is now a question with a deadline.



Danni Askini

Executive Director
Gender Justice League

Key Takeaways

1

The displacement is real, large, and hardest on the poor. An estimated 401,000 transgender Americans moved states in a seven-month window. Four independent surveys converge on the same pattern, and Washington consistently ranks among the most-named destinations.

2

The 14th Amendment backstop is gone. Two supreme court cases: *Skrametti* and *B.P.J.* have validate hostile states anti-trans laws and the next wave of even harsher laws is already drafted. More trans people will flee new laws.

3

No government agency counts Trans People Research shows that displaced people avoid the few government systems that exist because they have fled state persecution. Trusted by-and-for community organizations are the informal reception system newcomers trust. This fact helps hide the scale of the internal displacement.

4

The response architecture already exists

We offer reception funding, transitional cash, and case management for people displaced across international borders. This support has already been extended once to asylum seekers in Washington outside federal eligibility criteria. We propose the same response for IDPs arriving in Washington.

5

Front-loaded stabilization is dramatically cheaper than homelessness services.

\$2,275 per person is the stabilization funding currently provided to new arrivals, compared to \$11,200 to \$35,578 a year once a household enters the homelessness system according to King County data.

6

Private Funding Is Evaporating Rapidly

Washington Trans Non-Profits saw a 63% decline in foundation support in a single year according to Funders for LGBTQ issues, while overall LGBTQ funding greatly increased. The same persecution forcing flight is eroding the safety net new arrivals rely on.

7

What remains is political will to Act

Washington has built its reputation as a refuge for LGBTQ people over decades. The infrastructure already exists to support internally displaced people. The political will to stand for human rights with a dollar figure is what remains the obstetrical. Policy makers should view people fleeing persecution similarly regardless of their origins.

Glossary of Terms

Internal displacement / internally displaced persons (IDPs). The UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (1998), defines IDPs as persons forced to flee their homes including by violations of human rights who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border. The doctrine's core, "sovereignty as responsibility", places the duty to protect IDPs on national and subnational authorities. A refugee has crossed a border fleeing persecution; an IDP has not. Importantly U.S. citizens are almost never granted asylum abroad.

Integration Supporting newcomers: immigrants, refugees, and internally displaced people alike to establish housing, work, legal footing, and community connections quickly so arrival never becomes crisis.

Reception & Placement (R&P) / Refugee Cash Assistance (RCA). The resettlement system's two instruments: a one-time \$2,275 per-person arrival

grant for the first 30–90 days, and transitional cash for refugees ineligible for TANF (Washington average: roughly \$437 a month).

ORIA. The Office of Refugee and Immigrant Assistance Washington's state resettlement office, within DSHS.

OIRA. The City of Seattle's Office of Immigrant and Refugee Affairs the city's standing integration infrastructure.

Hub-and-spoke network. The 2024 asylum seeker appropriation's delivery model: a coordinating hub contracts with the community organizations that hold the trust relationships.

By-and-for organization. An organization led by members of the community it serves.

Shield Law. Washington ESHB 1469 (2023): bars state cooperation with out-of-state actions targeting lawful gender-affirming or reproductive care.



Trans Pride Seattle, founded by Gender Justice League in 2013, now draws more than 35,000 participants annually. (Photo: Mel Ponder for Gender Justice League)

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A Displacement Without a Name

401,000

estimated trans Americans who moved states, Nov. 2024–June 2025 (MAP/NORC)

290+

anti-transgender laws enacted since 2021 a record 109 in 2025 alone

8,000– 15,000

GJL estimated range of trans IDPs that have arrived in Washington State since Nov. 2024

\$2,275

per-person cost of arrival-stage stabilization vs. \$35,578 /yr for homelessness costs.

Between November 2024 and June 2025, roughly nine percent of transgender Americans, an estimated 401,000 people moved to a different state.¹ They did not move for jobs, family, school, or the charming Seattle weather. They moved because state legislatures have enacted more than 290 anti-transgender laws since 2021, a record 109 of them in 2025 alone;²² because the Supreme Court upheld bans on their healthcare in *United States v. Skrmetti* and their exclusion from school athletics in *West Virginia v. B.P.J.* and *Little v. Hecox*;³⁴ because federal executive orders stripped them of accurate passports, military careers, and federally funded healthcare;⁵ and because eight states in a single year redefined "sex" across their legal codes to erase transgender people from law entirely.⁶ Gender Justice League's working planning range is 8,000 to 15,000 trans internally displaced people arriving in Washington since November 2024 — a derived range, method stated in Part VII.

Under the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, people forced from their homes by human rights violations who remain within their own country are internally displaced persons — IDPs.⁷ On March 31, 2026, the Seattle LGBTQ Commission became the first municipal advisory body in the United States to formally adopt that framework, asking the City to declare a civil emergency.⁸ Mayor Wilson declined but convened an interdepartmental review, with a funding decision expected by the end of August 2026.⁹¹⁰

That review is the decision window this paper addresses. The paper makes five arguments.

First: The displacement is real, large, and hardest on those who can least afford to move.

Four independent survey efforts converge on the same pattern this displacement is real and happening at an unprecedented scale. Washington consistently ranks among the most-named destinations. Lower-income trans people in hostile states are far more likely to want to leave (73 percent versus 46 percent) and are far less able to afford it.¹¹ Those who arrive, arrive financially depleted.



"Decriminalize trans identity." The push factors documented in Part I have played out in public. (Photo: Aiden Craver / Unsplash)

Second, the constitutional backstop is gone, and the next wave of anti-trans laws are already drafted.

Skrmetti reviewed a categorical healthcare ban under rational basis review – the lowest bar; *B.P.J.* held that trans athletic exclusion survives even intermediate scrutiny, meaning the state is justified to exclude trans people. Together these two rulings validate the doctrinal pathways that hostile states have used and are seeking to expand. The Court has twice declined to treat transgender status as a protected class under the 14th amendment and trans people have keenly taken note. Adult care bans, identity-document restrictions, and child-welfare investigations targeting of supportive parents are the published agenda of the organizations that just won these two cases.⁴¹² Far worse laws that seek to expand criminalization of transgender people and ban their existence from public life are already drafted.

Third, no government agency counts the newly arrived, and displaced people avoid the few systems that exist. Seattle, King County, and Washington State maintain no data on trans arrivals or trans residents at all.¹³ This is a policy decision, one perhaps rooted in caution or concern but a decision that makes invisibles any crisis in the trans community. Displacement research explains why counting through mainstream systems would fail anyway: when the state is the persecutor, displaced people reach help through trusted community organizations first.¹⁴ The federal government is actively dismantling the data infrastructure that would make this mass internal displacement visible, and treating "radical gender ideology" as a domestic-terrorism indicator, chilling the philanthropy those organizations depend on to address this crisis.¹⁵

Fourth, the response architecture already exists in Washington, just for a different population.

The refugee resettlement system delivers exactly what displaced trans people need: reception funding, transitional cash assistance, case management, housing navigation, and career supports. Washington's program is contracted through community organizations and coordinated by a dedicated state office. In 2024 the Legislature expanded this model, appropriating roughly \$32.7 million for asylum seekers outside federal eligibility.¹⁶ Trans Americans fleeing the criminalization of their lives and healthcare face the same displacement dynamics – flight from persecution based on a social group, however they have no possibility of international protection we afford others because they haven't crossed a border.

Fifth, front-loaded stabilization is dramatically cheaper than the alternative.

The resettlement model's initial investment is about \$2,275 per person, plus transitional assistance averaging \$437 a month.¹⁷ The region spends roughly \$11,200 per counted person per year through its homelessness coordinating agency alone; all-in costs of chronic homelessness run \$35,000 or more.¹⁸¹⁹ Stabilizing an arriving household upstream costs one to two orders of magnitude less than absorbing it into a homelessness system that lost 689 shelter beds last year.²⁰

Washington built its reputation as a refuge over decades — the Shield Law, insurance parity, a conversion therapy ban, civil society. People believed the promise and came. The question before our region's governments is whether that promise was infrastructure or decoration. This paper shows the infrastructure already exists; what remains is the decision to extend it to transgender U.S. citizens.



Our Recommendations

Gender Justice League views the current internal displacement as a predictable outcome of a decade of political attacks and persecution. However, each year millions of Americans are displaced by natural disasters. We anticipate Internal displacement events will increase in the coming years with climate change. We support a forward looking investments that not only addresses the unique displacement we lay out in this white paper, but responses that anticipates and prepare for future displacement events.

Recommendation 1 — Establish a count of internal displacement now at little cost.

We encourage the adding state-of-origin, arrival-in-state date, and reason-for-relocation items to publicly funded provider intakes, the regional HMIS database, social service grant databases, and Washington's state-controlled population surveys. The absence of data on Internal Displacement is a policy choice that allows internal displacement events go uncounted, unseen, and often unaddressed.

Recommendation 2 — Expand Immigrant and Refugee Services to address Displacement.

Internal Displacement exists on a continuum of human flight from persecution and we believe the systems designed to support immigrants, asylum seekers, and refugees are best adapted to support IDPs. This white paper focuses on the current trans internal displacement of trans Americans, but each year millions of Americans are displaced by natural disasters. As climate change worsens, natural disasters will create new waves of internally displacement that will impact our state. Our recommendations will help create government systems prepared to absorb future displacement events.

Recommendation 3 - Fund the trusted responders supporting internally displaced people.

We recommend a one-time \$2 million General Fund appropriation to create a new position at OIRA to coordinate a community and government response through a competitively awarded grants program. This network will help ensure newly arrived people are supported in a cost-effective manner and do not end up in the homeless services system which is extremely costly.

Recommendation 4— Institutionalize ongoing support for Internal Displacement.

We believe the city, county, and state need line items modeled on the 2024 state asylum-seeker appropriation at a much smaller scale and to be hosted at ORIA that will create an evergreen response system prepared to absorb future IDPs from other displacement events. We support a community grants-based approach as outlined by the Seattle LGBTQ Commission, and modeled at the county and state levels after Immigrant and Refugee supports.

A large crowd of people is gathered in front of the U.S. Capitol building, holding a massive rainbow flag. The flag is held high, and the Capitol building is visible in the background. The scene is set on a sunny day with a clear blue sky. The flag is held by many people, and the Capitol building is a prominent feature in the background.

I

PART ONE

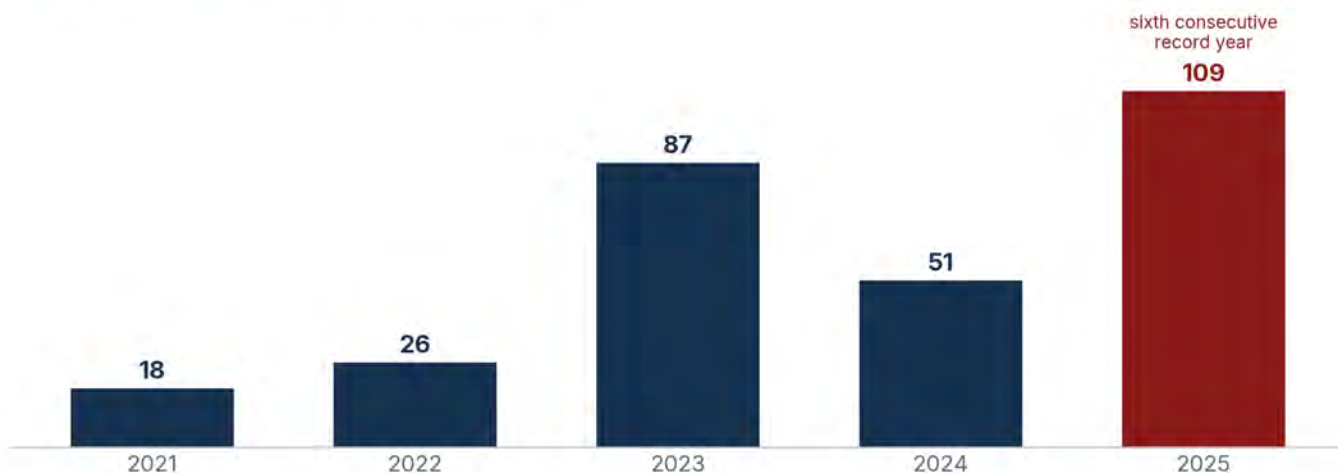
Internal Displacement: The Origin of Flight

**FIGHT LIKE A
MOTHER
FOR TRANS RIGHTS**

The Origins of Flight

Mass displacement most often begins with a push factor: a natural disaster, conflict, or in this case official and unofficial acts that violate human rights. The push factors that have given rise to the recent mass flight of transgender people have happened in public: a decade long political and legislative campaign targeting transgender people across all aspects of life that has accelerated past every historical reference point we examined when looking for similar legislative attacks. Even anti-marriage equality attacks of the 1990's and 2000s took nearly two decades to establish only 30% of the legislative record accumulated in the last 5 years.

Anti-transgender laws enacted per year



1.1 The Legislative Ratchet

Harvard Law School Professor Alejandra Caraballo describes the legislative attack on transgender life as "the Ratchet": escalation that often starts with widely supported policies such as sports ban or youth gender affirming care bans and, once passed, gives rise to dozens of new bills targeting every aspect of transgender existence.

In 2015, state legislatures considered 75 anti-LGBTQ bills, 27 of those targeting gender identity. By 2025 legislatures in 49 states considered 1,059 bills, with 851 targeting gender identity alone; a thirty-one-fold increase in a decade.² Enactments followed: by the Trans Legislation Tracker's conservative count, 87 laws in 2023, 51 in 2024, and a record 109 in 2025, the sixth consecutive record year, for more than 290 laws restricting transgender healthcare, education, public facilities, and legal identity since 2020.²²

The broader LegiAlerts count, which includes all anti-LGBTQ measures, runs higher still: as of

mid-July 2026, its tracker records 805 bills in the current sessions alone 65 passed, 453 failed, 267 pending.²¹

The composition of these laws matters as much as the overall count. The largest categories: youth healthcare bans and sports bans are now constitutionally upheld; and behind them come bathroom restrictions, identity-document revocations, "don't say gay/trans" laws, pronoun use bans, forced-outing in school bills, drag performance bans, LGBTQ book bans, and overly broad religious refusal laws. Iowa became the first state in American history to repeal gender identity from its non-discrimination code outright.

The most consequential development of the 2024 – 2026 sessions are the "sex definition" bills: statutes redefining sex as immutable, binary, and assigned at birth across an entire state code at once, eliminating any legal category in which a trans person can exist. Eight states adopted such laws in 2025 alone.⁶ The maneuver is deliberate: rather than litigate whether anti-trans discrimination is sex discrimination under *Bostock v. Clayton County*.



President Trump Signs a ban on Trans Youth in Sports, Feb. 2025. Photo Joshua Sukoff

1.2 Federal Attacks Lit the Fuse of Flight

Until 2023 the attacks were almost entirely a state phenomenon; the Trans Legislation Tracker counted zero national anti-trans bills in 2022, 88 by 2024, and 113 in 2025.²⁴ Many trans people and families held out hope that federal courts or federal agencies would overrule their legislatures. Since January 2025, federal action has instead moved faster than the states:

Executive Order 14168 (Jan. 20, 2025) directed the federal government to recognize only two sexes, required identity documents to reflect sex assigned at birth, barred federal funds for "gender ideology," and mandated single-sex federal facilities including prisons and shelters.⁵ The State Department stopped issuing accurate passports; the Supreme Court allowed enforcement in November 2025.²⁵

The care-ban order (Jan. 28, 2025) directed agencies to end support for gender-affirming care for people under nineteen; proposed CMS rules would bar Medicare- and Medicaid-certified hospitals from providing that care to minors, and the Department of Justice has subpoenaed more than twenty providers, including Washington institutions.^{26 27} The Williams Institute estimated the order could affect more than 180,000 youth plus 276,000 trans adults insured through Medicaid and Medicare. However

Washington law requires Apple Health coverage regardless of the policy change.²⁸ This fact is widely noted by transgender new arrivals fearing a loss of healthcare access.

The military ban was reinstated in January 2025 and took effect that May when the Supreme Court stayed the injunction in Gender Justice League's own lawsuit, *Shilling v. Trump*.²⁹

The 988 Lifeline's specialized LGBTQ+ youth service was terminated in July 2025, removing the dedicated crisis pathway for the population these laws target.³⁰

HUD's proposed Equal Access rollback (Apr. 28, 2026) would let single-sex shelters demand "reasonable assurances or evidence to establish a person's sex," functionally closing much of the emergency shelter system to trans people in hostile states.³¹ Dozens of smaller agency actions scrubbed websites, erased public-health data, rescinded guidance accompanied these orders. Whatever hope remained that the federal government would check the states vanished with the administration that had been litigating against them. For many transgender people facing local persecution, watching a federal government erasing transgender people from public life and history has been a compelling reason to flee to safer states.



PART I — THE DISPLACEMENT

1.3 The Constitutional Turn: *Skrmetti*, *B.P.J.*, and the Velocity of What Follows

For fifty years, the implicit wager of American civil rights strategy has been that when legislatures go too far, the federal courts intervene. The 2025 and 2026 Supreme Court terms have settled that wager firmly against transgender Americans. The mechanics of each ruling matters because they foretell what comes next.

United States v. Skrmetti (June 18, 2025) upheld Tennessee's ban on puberty blockers and hormone therapy for minors. The conservative majority did not view the law as discrimination against transgender people at all: it characterized the statute as a classification based on age and medical use, and applied rational-basis review — the most deferential standard in constitutional law — and declined to extend their ruling in *Bostock v. Clayton County* which protects transgender people from workplace discrimination. Concurrences by Justices Barrett and Thomas argued transgender status is not a suspect classification. Twenty-five state care bans stood as a result, and adult gender affirming care bans are likely to follow.³

West Virginia v. B.P.J. and *Little v. Hecox* (June 30, 2026) closed the other doctrinal door under the 14th amendment equal protection clause. Writing

for a 6–3 majority, Justice Kavanaugh held that "the States may maintain women's and girls' sports for biological females," that "sex" in Title IX "cannot plausibly be interpreted to refer to anything other than biological sex," and — critically — that the challenged laws survive intermediate scrutiny. Intermediate scrutiny has been the foundation of civil rights review that has largely protected women in many instances. Additionally, the majority refused individualized exemptions even for athletes who had undergone puberty suppression before playing, reasoning that legislatures, not courts, should design policy for transgender people. Justice Thomas, concurring, wrote that "transgender status is not a suspect class requiring heightened equal-protection scrutiny" and likened it to "a mental illness."⁴

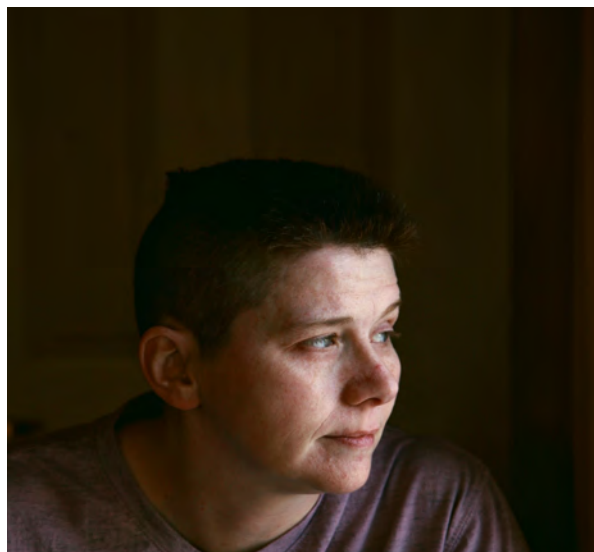
Read together, the rulings validate two clear pathways that hostile states can use to further expel transgender people from public life. If law makers frame a law as medical regulation, and *Skrmetti* supplies the rational basis review approach to uphold it. Frame a law as mere a sex classification, and *B.P.J.* shows that the law can survive intermediate scrutiny by satisfying any generalized state interests. For trans people in

hostile states, the equal-protection guarantee of the 14th Amendment that grounded nearly every American civil rights victory since *Brown* is for all practical purposes, no longer available.

Defenders of these rulings emphasize their formal narrowness: *B.P.J.* concerns athletics, reserves other questions in a footnote, permits but does not require exclusion.³² While this observation is accurate it is also beside the point. *Plessy v. Ferguson* was similarly formally narrow — merely a case about railway carriages — however its function was not confined to railcars.

What such rulings create is a legal permission structure: a constitutional green light under which a patchwork of statutes targeting various rights hardens into a legal order of separate and unequal.³³ For instance, the same gender affirming care denied to transgender young people under *Skrmetti* is still fully available to cisgender youth for precocious puberty or other indications. The Jim Crow architecture took nine decades to be assembled and received its sanction in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. A statutory architecture for excluding transgender Americans from public life was assembled in a little over five years and has received its Supreme Court sanction in thirteen months. Measured strictly as legislative velocity, nothing in the modern American record matches the record of the anti-trans laws we have seen passed. We offer this comparison merely for a structural and speed analysis and in no way a moral equivalence to the horrors of Jim Crow.

To many transgender people arriving in Seattle, the speed of these attacks has created a deep sense of panic: now supported by the Supreme Court, it is unclear just where and when the line will be drawn. What if states declare transgender people ‘mentally ill’ and allow involuntary commitment? What about removal of children from transgender parents or of transgender children from supportive non-transgender parents? Many of those arriving have expressed not just fear of what has already passed, but a sense that in single party states there is no bottom to the



"It is not one bill that breaks people. It is the sum of thousands." (Photo: Shane / Unsplash)

indignities and human rights violations they may be asked to endure in the coming years.

Researchers at Over Zero and Protect Democracy have documented the political function of the campaign: scapegoating a small, recognizable minority to mobilize a base, polarize the public, and normalize political violence — the sequence executed in Hungary and Russia, where anti-LGBTQ law was the opening move of broader democratic rollback, and where a domestic press covering each escalation as ordinary policy debate supplied the permission structure.^{34, 48} Attacks on trans people are not the end goal, they are the demonstration that a government can strip a class of citizens of legal recognition while the courts simply watch.

The escalation since *Skrmetti* is already the ratchet the term implies. Within months, states moved from youth care bans toward adult restrictions and facility criminalization.² Kansas revoked trans residents' driver's licenses overnight, without notice or hearing; next door, Idaho made using a public restroom inconsistent with birth sex a felony.¹⁰ Both would have sounded alarmist as predictions two years ago. It is not one bill that breaks people. It is the sum of thousands of bills, plus federal action, plus a Court that has set down the tools to restrain either. And many trans people have looked at that whole and decided to leave before it is too late.

1.4 The Flight From Persecution

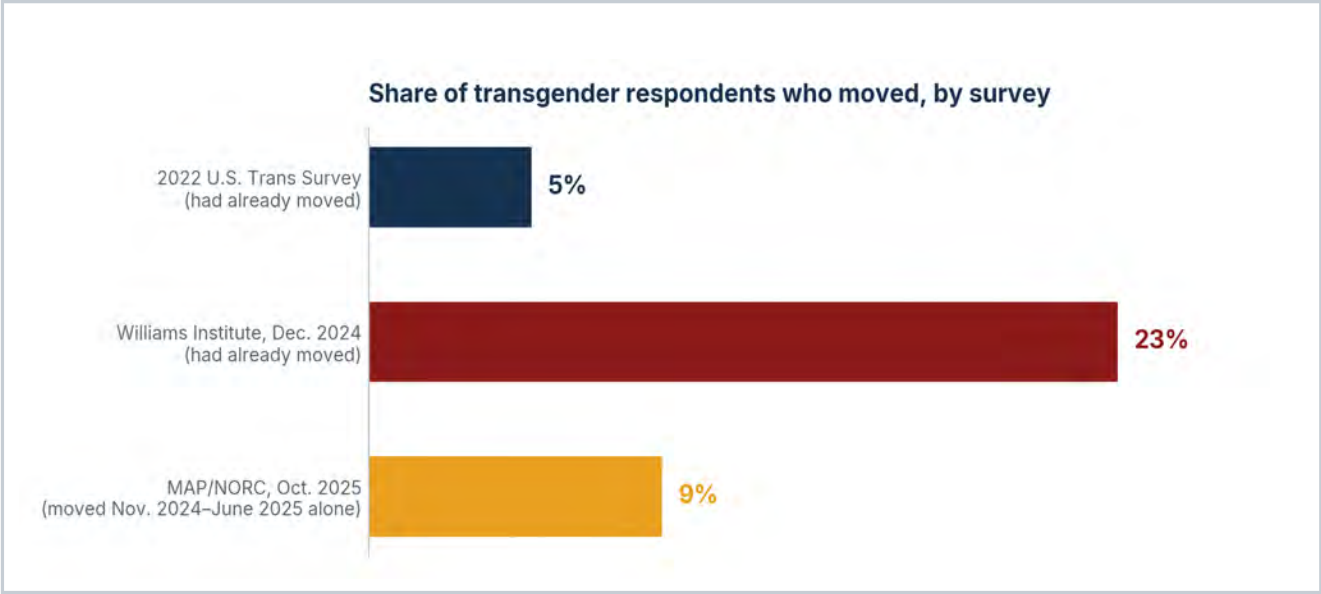


Figure 2 • Four surveys, one pattern: share of trans respondents who moved or considered moving. 2022 U.S. Trans Survey (Advocates for Trans Equality); Data for Progress (2023); Williams Institute relocation study (May 2025; surveyed Dec. 2024); MAP/NORC LGBTQ+ household poll (Oct. 2025; "moved" covers Nov. 2024–June 2025 only). All are non-probability samples; see Part VII.

No agency in the United States counts transgender people, let alone their interstate migration, so the available evidence is survey-based, a limitation this paper treats seriously rather than hiding. What makes the evidence credible is convergence: four independent efforts, four sponsors, different methods, one direction, escalating magnitude.

The 2022 U.S. Trans Survey — at 92,329 respondents the largest survey of trans people ever conducted — found nearly half had considered leaving their state, and about five percent already had, most commonly departing Texas, Florida, Tennessee, Ohio, and Missouri.³⁵ By late 2024 the Williams Institute found 23 percent of respondents had already moved.¹¹ By October 2025, MAP/NORC measured nine percent moving in a seven-month window — the basis of the 401,000 estimate.¹ The same poll found 84 percent of trans and nonbinary respondents had made major life decisions — moving, changing jobs, crossing state lines for care — because of LGBTQ policy since November 2024.³⁶ By July 2026 the pattern reached the national press, in Washington Post reporting on Seattle's receiving organizations (Section 3.5).¹⁰

Internal Displacement is largely divided by income. Among lower-income trans respondents in less-supportive states, 73 percent wanted to relocate; among higher-income respondents, 46 percent.

The barriers are predictable: the cost of the move itself (82 percent), destination cost of living (64 percent), employment (56 percent), housing (49 percent).¹¹ The population most endangered by hostile laws are the population least able to escape, and the households that do manage the move arrive having spent whatever cushion they had.

They arrive into a community already carrying an extraordinary disparities. The U.S. Trans Survey Washington 2015 report recorded 34 percent trans adults in poverty; 18 percent unemployment; 30 percent lifetime homelessness; 40 percent reporting a lifetime suicide attempt, nearly nine times the general population rate; 58 percent mistreated by police officers who knew they were trans; 62 percent uncomfortable asking police for help.³⁷ These are the numbers a receiving system must plan around. They are also the numbers that explain why displaced trans people do not walk into government offices.

1.5 The Geography of Displacement

The legal assault on transgender people is not evenly distributed; it has partitioned the country in two. Figure 3 maps Gender Justice League's Trans Legal Risk Index, a six-tier classification of all fifty states and the District of Columbia across the six domains in which state law now determines transgender people's ability to live publicly.³⁸

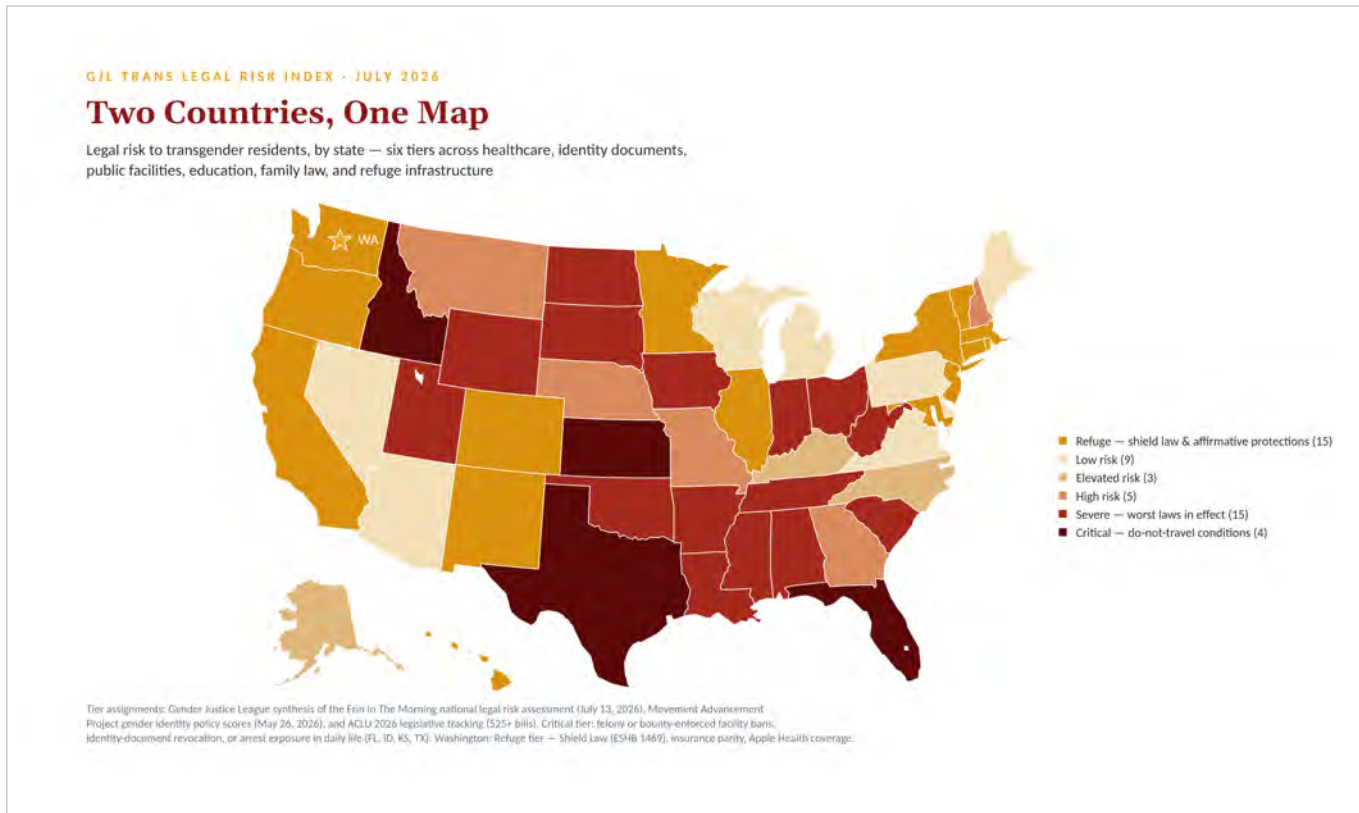


Figure 3 · GJL Trans Legal Risk Index: Two Countries, One Map. Legal risk to transgender residents by state, six tiers across healthcare, identity documents, public facilities, education, family law, and refuge infrastructure. Tiers: Refuge — shield law and affirmative protections (15 states); Low risk (9); Elevated (3); High (5); Severe — worst laws in effect (15); Critical — do-not-travel conditions (FL, ID, KS, TX). Washington is Refuge tier. Tier assignments: GJL synthesis of the Erin In The Morning legal risk assessment (July 13, 2026), Movement Advancement Project policy scores (May 26, 2026), and ACLU 2026 legislative tracking; full dataset available from GJL.³⁸

Four states meet the Critical tier's conditions — conditions under which national legal observers advise transgender people not to travel through the state at all. Kansas invalidated trans residents' driver's licenses statewide and authorizes any private citizen to sue a person they suspect of being transgender for using a restroom in a government building. Idaho attaches felony exposure of up to five years to restroom use inconsistent with birth sex. Florida treats a driver's license reflecting a trans person's lived identity as grounds for fraud charges. Texas enforces a statewide facility ban that has already produced detainments while maintaining a database of residents who sought identity-document changes.³⁸

Fifteen further states occupy the Severe tier. Together, Critical and Severe are home to an estimated 731,700 transgender adults — more than a third of the national adult transgender population.^{38, 39}

The Index's second product is a demand model (Figures 4 and 5): Williams Institute state population estimates multiplied by survey-anchored relocation-consideration rates, stratified by risk tier. The model estimates approximately 562,000 transgender adults nationally who have considered or are considering interstate relocation — conservative against the measured record of 401,000 movers in a single seven-month window.⁴⁰

1.6 Relocation Pressure Is Uneven

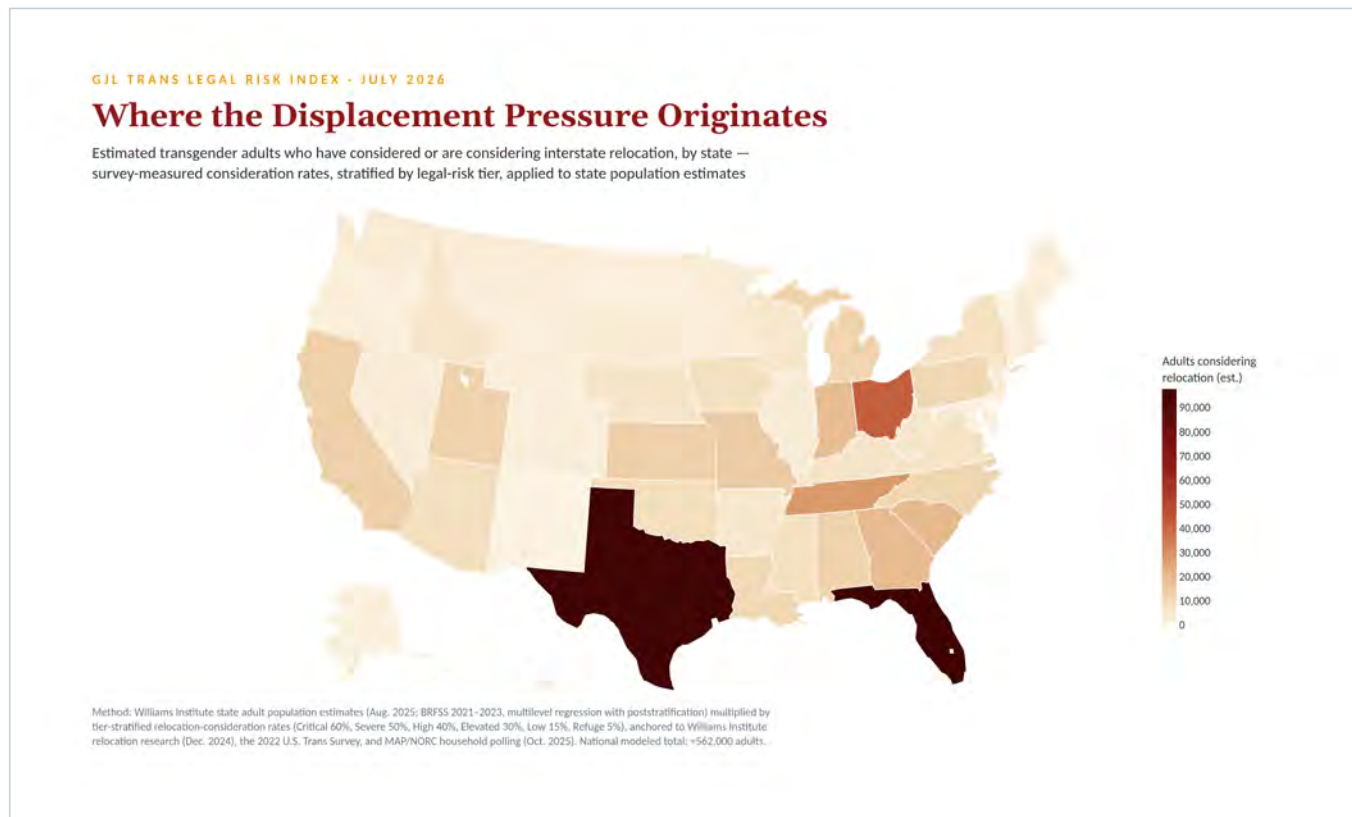


Figure 4 • Relocation Demand Model: Where the Displacement Pressure Originates. Estimated transgender adults who have considered or are considering interstate relocation, by state: Williams Institute population estimates (Aug. 2025) multiplied by tier-stratified consideration rates (Critical 60%, Severe 50%, High 40%, Elevated 30%, Low 15%, Refuge 5%), anchored to the Williams relocation study, the 2022 U.S. Trans Survey, and MAP/NORC polling. National modeled total: ≈562,000 adults.⁴⁰

Displacement pressure is not a national average; it is generated in particular places, by particular statutes, at rates that track legal risk and Figure 4 shows how sharply it concentrates. The four Critical-tier states and the fifteen Severe-tier states are home to an estimated 731,700 transgender adults, more than a third of the national adult transgender population, and they generate the majority of the demand based on Gender Justice League’s models. Florida and Texas alone account for roughly 194,000 adults weighing departure.

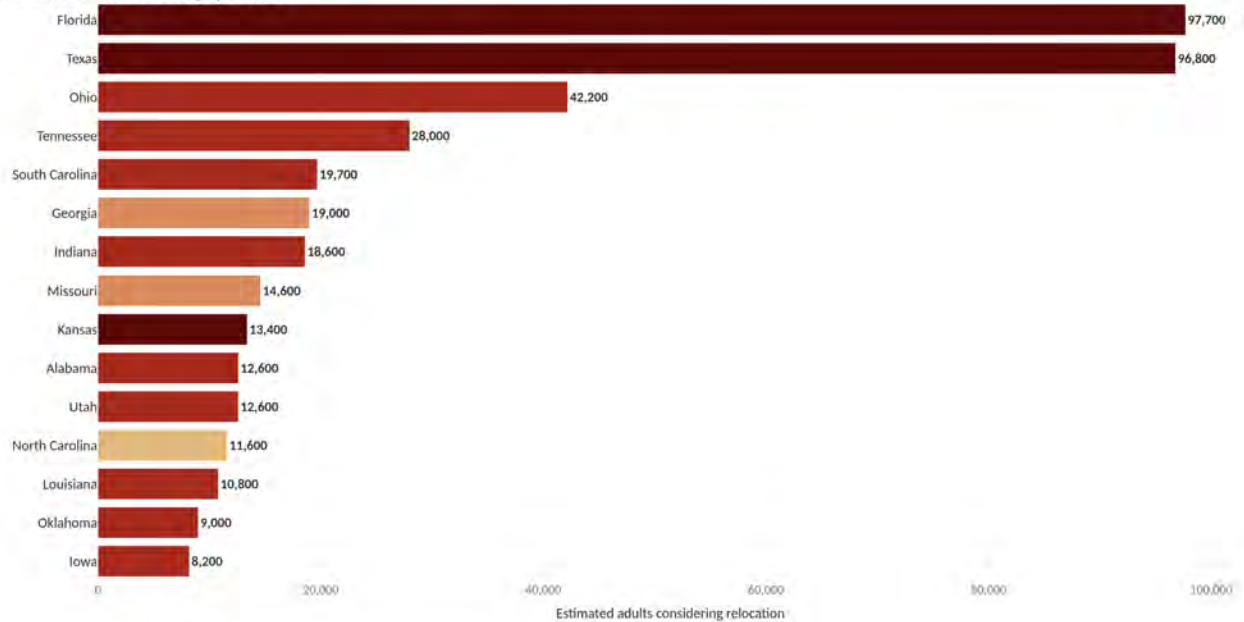
The receiving side concentrates further. Fifteen Refuge tier states stand opposite the rest of the map, and displacement flows toward protection: toward shield statutes, functioning identity document systems, established gender affirming healthcare systems, and the community infrastructure that makes a new life navigable. The

states generating the displacement bear none of its costs. The fifteen states’ local communities absorbing the displacement carry nearly all of the expense and no federal mechanism exists to allocate that burden, an asymmetry this paper’s recommendations are built to address. A caution the model states about itself: these are planning ranges, not actual predictions. The surveys we based this on asked about considerations of moving, which is not the same as actual departure. Leaving takes money, work, housing, and often a medical or custody calculus that resolves over months, which is why arrival counts lag pressure and why the modeled 562,000 should be read against the measured record of 401,000 movers in a single seven-month window. Based on survey responses, we consider this a conservative planning figure, not an upper bound.

FIGURE · RELOCATION DEMAND MODEL

The Fifteen Largest Origin States

Estimated transgender adults considering interstate relocation, hostile-climate states — Florida and Texas alone account for roughly 194,000



Source: Williams Institute state population estimates (Aug. 2025) + tier-stratified consideration rates anchored to Williams Institute relocation research (Dec. 2024), 2022 U.S. Trans Survey, and MAJ/NOHC polling (Oct. 2025). Tier colors follow the GLS Trans Legal Risk Index: burgundy = Critical, red = Severe, orange = High, tan = Elevated. USTS 2022 origin-state reporting (Texas, Florida, Tennessee, Ohio, Missouri most departed) and Seattle LGBTQ Commission arrival reporting (TX, FL, TN, KS, ID) corroborate the ordering.

Figure 5 · The Fifteen Largest Origin States. Estimated transgender adults considering relocation from hostile-climate states; Florida and Texas alone account for roughly 194,000. Tier colors follow the Index. USTS origin-state reporting and Seattle LGBTQ Commission arrival reporting corroborate the ordering.^{40, 41}

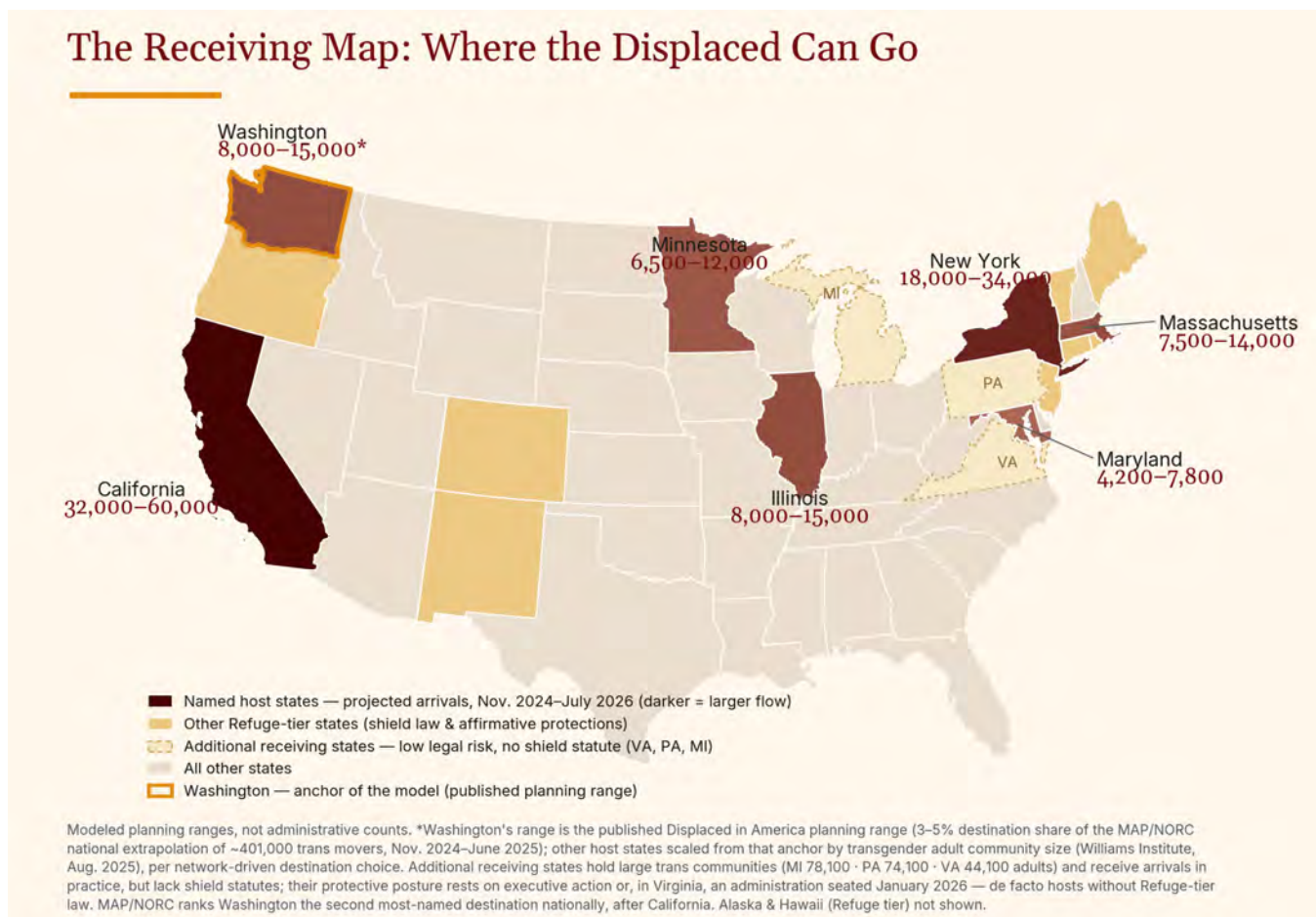
The model is corroborated at both ends of the journey. Its largest origin states reproduce, without being fitted to, the most-departed states in the U.S. Trans Survey and the origin states the Seattle LGBTQ Commission named in its March 2026 letter.⁴¹ And because destination choice follows networks, protection, and price (Sections 3.1–3.3), a significant share of that demand routes toward the fifteen Refuge-tier states of which Washington is consistently the second most-named destination in the country.⁴⁰ The Index will be republished after each legislative session, with every input stated, because a displacement this large should never again be deniable for want of a map.

What the map cannot supply is timing. The law gives people the reason to leave; the surrounding climate gives them the moment. Consideration becomes departure when fear crosses a personal threshold: a license invalidated, a detainment at a facility, a felony statute attached to daily life.

The thresholds are crossed in waves, not on schedules. That is what makes the pressure in Figures 4 and 5 a planning problem rather than an abstraction: the demand is real, the conversion rate is governed by fear, and fear, in this displacement, is manufactured. The next section examines the machinery that manufactures it.

We believe based on our conversations with partner organizations in Ohio, Texas, Tennessee, Georgia, and Florida that some of these estimates may be conservative. While we cannot anticipate the exact timing, we strongly suspect these numbers will only accelerate in coming legislative sessions as legislatures pass increasingly hostile mechanisms impacting employment, identity documents, healthcare, public existence, and licensed professions. As with other mass migration events, as more people displace to a location their friends who share trans identity are far more likely to follow. Without an official count, this migration will happen in silence.

1.7 The Receiving States: Another Great Migration



Between the First World War and 1970, roughly six million Black Americans left the South. They did not migrate evenly. They followed rail lines and kin Mississippi to Chicago, Florida to Harlem, Texas and Louisiana to California landing where someone they knew had already landed, where a plant was hiring, and where the law was marginally less willing to destroy them. Isabel Wilkerson called it the great underreported story of the century: displacement driven by terror at the origin and choice at the destination, funneled by wages, networks, and law into a short list of cities.⁹²

The transgender migration now underway answers to the same three forces. The scales differ and the histories are very distinct; the mechanism is almost identical. People do not flee toward the map's empty spaces. They move toward protection they can name, community they can find, and work they can find, the communities they can afford and those overlap in very few places.

The demand is very real: some 401,000 transgender adults relocated across state lines between November 2024 and June 2025, and Florida and Texas alone are pushing out roughly 194,000 more (Figure 4). The map above shows where Gender Justice League believes they can actually go, and the map is small. Of fifty states, only sixteen clear the Refuge-tier bar (apologies to Hawaii missing from our map); our model funnels the flow into seven named hosts, with Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Michigan receiving arrivals on executive action alone which is precarious at best, these people have no shield law behind them. That is the entire receiving geography for a displacement the size of a mid-sized American city. It is not a safety net, It is seven states and a set of promises. The states driving people out bear none of the cost; the receiving states and the community organizations inside them carry nearly all of it.

1.8 The Amplifier: Media Hysteria Has Accelerated Displacement

This displacement is driven by law, but it is decided in a climate of hostility, and two measured media mechanisms manufacture that climate. The first is saturation. Fox News published more articles referencing transgender people in 2025 than any other U.S. after the February 2025 sports order aired more than 424 weekday segments on trans athletes while giving the deadliest year on record for anti-trans violence two minutes of coverage.^{43, 44} The asymmetry is a business model with a political outlet, including the LGBTQ+ press;⁴² in the first thirty-one days of the second Trump term it devoted more airtime to the anti-trans executive orders than CNN and MSNBC combined, booking exactly one transgender guest, and in four months output: Republican campaigns converted it into nearly \$215 million in anti-trans television advertising in 2024, and the legislative wave of 2025–2026 followed.⁴⁵

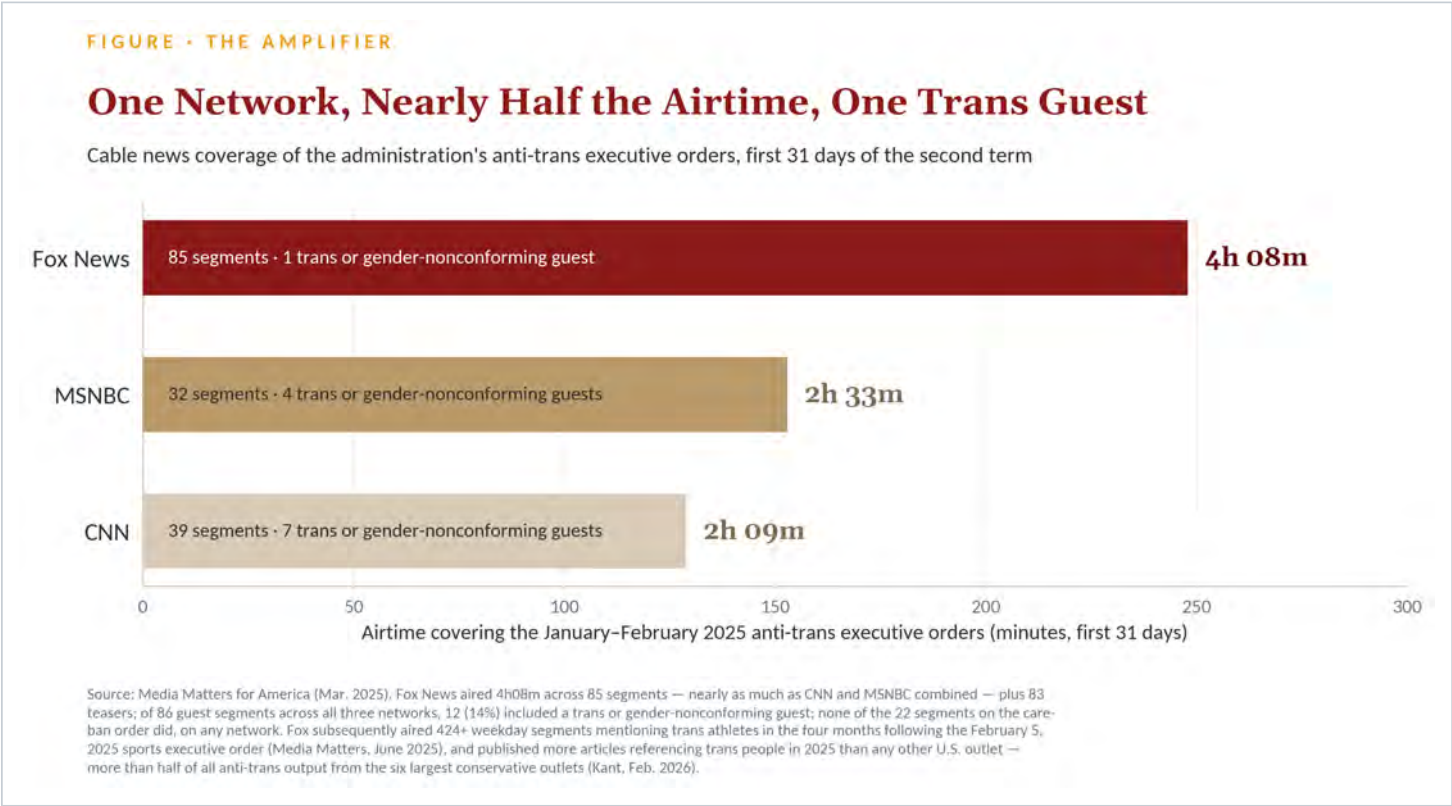


Figure 6 • The Amplifier: One Network, Nearly Half the Airtime, One Trans Guest. Cable news coverage of the administration's anti-trans executive orders, first 31 days of the second term. Fox News aired nearly as much coverage as CNN and MSNBC combined and featured one transgender guest; none of the 22 segments on the healthcare order, on any network, included a transgender voice. Source: Media Matters for America (Mar. 2025).⁴³

The second mechanism is legitimization. A June 2026 corpus analysis of 3,242 New York Times articles on transgender topics, 2014–2026, found coverage that leaned protective for eight consecutive years inverted beginning in 2022 and was, by 2025, net-skeptical of the rights of the people it covered, with anti-trans voices rising to near-parity and conflict framing nearly tripling.⁴⁶

The consequence is legal, not reputational: state attorneys general and federal judges — including in filings before the Supreme Court — have cited Times coverage in support of restricting transgender rights.^{46 47} A media apparatus that saturates the airwaves with a population as threat, while excluding that population from speaking, is not reporting on displacement. It is producing it.

II

PART TWO

Displacement Is a Global Reality — and the United States Helped Write the Principles



2.1 From Domestic Civil Rights to International Human Rights

American policy debate defaults to a domestic civil rights frame: discrimination, litigation, the arc of legal doctrine. Part I showed why that frame no longer describes the situation as the most commonly available legal doctrine has closed. What remains is the older and larger framework: international human rights law, which does not depend on the Fourteenth Amendment, and the displacement architecture the United States helped design in international law, and funds on four continents, has never applied to its own citizens.



The signs of a movement, stacked between hearings. Trans Advocacy Day 2026, Olympia. (Photo: Mel Ponder for Gender Justice League)

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights guarantees freedom of movement and residence within one's own country, recognition everywhere as a person before the law, and equal protection; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, ratified by the United States in 1992, binds it to parallel guarantees.⁴⁹ The Yogyakarta Principles specify that these protections extend to legal recognition of gender identity and to protection from persecution on that basis.⁵⁰ None of these instruments waits on the U.S. Supreme Court. When constitutional remedies close, human rights law is the framework that names what is happening: the progressive withdrawal of legal personhood from a class of citizens — and assigns responsibility for the people who flee it.

The instrument that assigns that responsibility most precisely is the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (1998), which define IDPs as

persons "forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border."⁷ Their doctrinal core is sovereignty as responsibility: the duty to protect the internally displaced rests with national and, by extension, subnational authorities. Drafted with sustained American diplomatic and financial support and incorporated into the domestic law of dozens of countries, the Principles are the closest thing the world has to a common operating standard.⁷ The United States championed them abroad. It has never once applied them at home — because admitting an internal displacement is admitting that what happens in other countries is happening here.

2.2 What Governments Do When Their Citizens Are Displaced



450 Trans Advocates at Trans Advocacy Day 2025
Olympia. (Photo: Mel Ponder for Gender Justice League)

Three national responses show the standard in practice. The comparison is institutional, not experiential: lessons about state machinery, under the framing rule stated in the front matter.

Colombia: the count came first, and a court forced it. In decision T-025 (2004), Colombia's Constitutional Court declared the state's fragmented response an "unconstitutional state of affairs" and ordered the government to register the displaced, budget for them, and coordinate across agencies. Registration unlocked every subsequent protection and under-registration by IDPs who distrusted the state that failed them meant civil society remained the indispensable first point of contact.^{14 51}

Ukraine: registration as the gateway. After 2014, Ukraine built a dedicated IDP framework — a registration certificate keyed to cash assistance, pension portability, and services and scaled it after the 2022 invasion. The state did not wait for displaced citizens to fall into existing poverty systems; it created a category, counted it, and attached portable benefits to the count.⁵²

Bosnia: displacement response written into the settlement itself. Annex 7 of the Dayton Agreement made the right of the displaced to return or resettle with support a structural element of the peace, restoring hundreds of thousands of homes through adjudicated claims. Documents, property, and legal identity are what displacement destroys; restoring them is the state's work, not charity's.⁵³

Four elements, every functioning response. Across every serious national response, four elements recur: recognition (the state names the category), a count (registration or systematic data), assistance through trusted channels (civil society under state contract, because displaced people avoid the institutions implicated in their displacement), and durable-solutions planning (integration, not indefinite emergency). These are, precisely, Stages 1 through 3 of Part VI. Washington would not be improvising. It would be adopting the standard that has successfully been used at a much larger scale by many other countries that have faced similar displacements.

2.3 The American Exception



The United States has experienced mass internal displacement before — the Dust Bowl, the Great Migration driven substantially by racial terror, and Hurricane Katrina, after which researchers and UN officials applied the IDP framework to American citizens for the first time at scale. Federal officials resisted the term; no standing framework resulted; each episode was handled ad hoc, with failures that fell hardest on the poorest.⁵⁴

What distinguishes the present displacement is its driver. Disaster displacement ends when the water displaced person under the only definition the world has agreed on, inside the one wealthy democracy that has never operationalized that definition for its own people. Part V shows

recedes; economic migration follows opportunity. Displacement driven by law persists as long as the law does, and expands each time the law does — which is why the international system treats persecution-driven displacement as its gravest category. When Hungary and Russia enacted their anti-LGBTQ regimes, LGBTQ citizens who crossed borders were recognized as refugees, including by the United States.³⁴ A transgender Texan fleeing identical legal dynamics has crossed no border and can be a refugee nowhere. She is an internally Washington already runs the machinery. What it lacks is the decision.

III

PART THREE

Why Washington State

Photo: Stephen Plopper / Unsplash

3. The Pull Factors: What draws trans people to Washington

Washington did not become a destination for trans people by accident. The state, driven largely by a politically active trans community, has built a legal architecture of refuge for LGBTQ people; the region hosts one of the largest and most institutionally developed trans communities in the country; and the combination of legal protection, community, and comparative affordability and high wages as compared to California and New York has created a pull that survey after survey confirms. This part quantifies the receiving community and documents what is happening to the systems receiving people.

3.1 Element One: A Deliberate Architecture of LGBTQ Refuge

Washington's Shield Law (ESHB 1469), signed April 27, 2023 with an emergency clause, bars state law enforcement and agencies from cooperating with out-of-state actions targeting lawful gender-affirming or reproductive care, with Attorney General enforcement.⁵⁵ Apple Health, the state Medicaid program covers all medically necessary gender-affirming care under RCW 74.09.675; the Gender Affirming Treatment Act (2021) which also requires insurance parity in every plan offered in the state; the Washington Law Against Discrimination protects gender identity in housing, employment, education, credit, and public accommodation; and the state joined Oregon and Minnesota in February 2025 to sue over the federal youth care-ban order.⁵⁶ The Williams Institute lists Washington among the five most-named destination states; MAP/NORC polling consistently places it second among actual destinations.¹¹¹



Washington pairs the strongest protection tier with comparative affordability among coastal refuge states. (Photo: Caleb Riston / Unsplash)

3.2 Element Two: One of America's Largest Trans Communities

Displaced people go where community already exists; the displacement literature calls it network-driven destination choice, and it is why the size of the receiving community is itself policy-relevant data.⁵⁷ That size is established by the strongest demographic evidence available for any American subpopulation of its kind. The Williams Institute's August 2025 estimates built on pooled 2021–2023 Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System data (n = 802,721 across 41 states) and the 2023 national Youth Risk Behavior Survey, using a multilevel regression with post stratification, the same methodology underlying the population evidence cited to the Supreme Court in Skrametti place Washington State's transgender population at roughly 66,300 adults (1.07 percent) and 16,900 youth aged 13 to 17 (3.39 percent): approximately 83,200 Washingtonians aged 13 and older, making it among the five highest state rates in the nation.³⁹ Gender Justice League believes this is a conservative estimate that may capture only those willing to identify as transgender to government collection instruments, but uses it as authoritative. Applied to King County's age structure, those rates establish the county's transgender population within tiered confidence bands in Figure 7 on the next page.

FIGURE • POPULATION ESTIMATE

The Receiving Community: Transgender King County, Ages 13+

Tiered confidence bands, derived from the highest-quality population data available

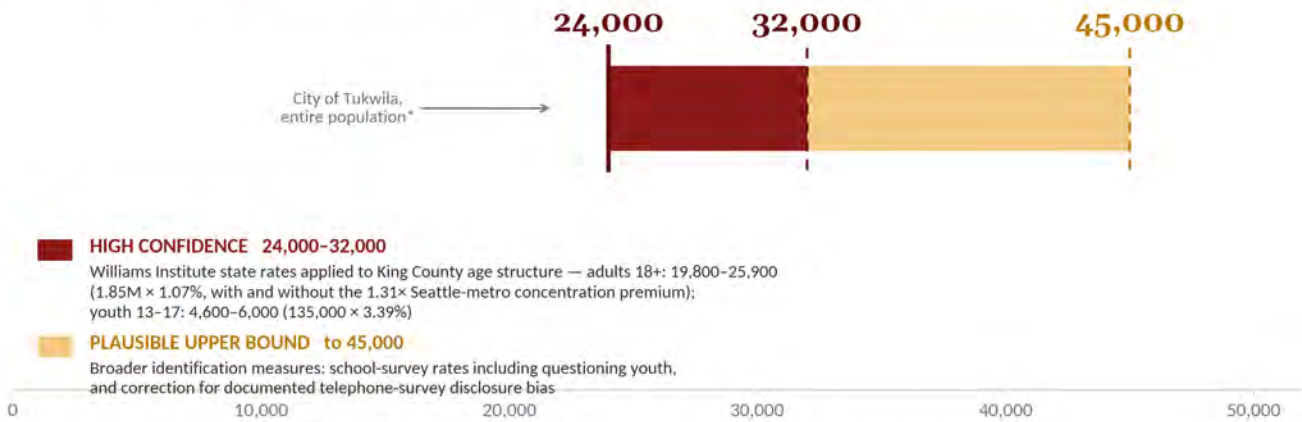


Figure 7 • The Receiving Community: Transgender King County, Ages 13+. Tiered confidence bands from the highest-quality population data available. High confidence: 24,000–32,000 — Williams Institute state rates applied to King County's age structure (adults 18+: 19,800–25,900; youth 13–17: 4,600–6,000), with and without the measured 1.31× Seattle-metro concentration premium. Plausible upper bound: 45,000, under school-survey identification measures and correction for documented telephone-survey disclosure bias. At any point in the range, the population exceeds the entire City of Tukwila (21,798, 2020 Census). Sources: Williams Institute (Aug. 2025); Census Household Pulse Survey per Puget Sound Regional Council; CDC YRBS 2023 and WA Healthy Youth Survey 2023; Census/OFM denominators. ^{39, 58, 59, 60}

At high confidence, 24,000 to 32,000 transgender, nonbinary, and gender-diverse residents aged 13 and older. The floor applies the Williams state rates directly to King County's roughly 1.85 million adults and 135,000 residents aged 13 to 17. The upper figure incorporates the measured Seattle-metro concentration effect: Census Household Pulse Survey data show LGBTQ+ identification in the Seattle metropolitan area running approximately 30 percent above the national rate, a premium consistent with six decades of documented LGBTQ+ concentration in urban receiving regions.⁵⁸

A plausible upper bound of 45,000 under broader identification measures: school-administered instruments — the CDC's Youth Risk Behavior Survey and Washington's own Healthy Youth Survey — record trans and questioning identification among youth at rates substantially above the modeled estimate, and telephone-survey disclosure bias is documented to depress adult counts.⁵⁹

At any point in that range, the population exceeds the entire City of Tukwila (21,798 residents at the 2020 Census) — the city to which the Legislature directed \$2.5 million in the 2024 asylum-seeker

appropriation this paper examines in Part V.⁶⁰ The derivation is conservative by construction: the lowest-variance federal estimate as base, plus only measured, documented adjustments.

The estimate is also consistent with the region's institutional history. Seattle is home to Ingersoll Gender Center, the oldest continuously operating transgender organization in the country, meeting since 1977. Trans Pride Seattle is the second largest trans event in the nation. Communities do not build fifty-year institutions around statistical noise. The community also has a composition a receiving system must plan around.

Washington's trans distribution is unique: it runs 26.3 percent trans women, 36.0 percent trans men, and 37.6 percent nonbinary, one of the largest nonbinary shares in the country; service models built for a binary population will miss Washington's largest subgroup, a design fact that connects directly to Seattle/King County One-Time Count's findings. The population is also very young. 6.4 percent of adults aged 18 to 24 identify as transgender, against 0.34 percent of those 65 and older, meaning arriving and receiving populations alike need housing, employment, and education infrastructure first. ³⁹

FIGURE • THE DRAW

Why displaced trans people choose Seattle

How Seattle compares with the other major sanctuary metros trans people flee to

METRO	MEDIAN 1-BR RENT	TOP STATE INCOME TAX	LGBTQ SHARE OF ADULTS
New York	\$4,660	10.9%	4.5%
San Francisco	\$4,060	13.3%	6.7%
Boston	\$2,950	9.0%†	4.9%
Chicago	\$2,200	4.95%	4.1%
Los Angeles	\$2,200	13.3%	5.1%
Seattle	\$1,980	None	5.2%
Minneapolis	\$1,280	9.85%	4.2%

THE SEATTLE ADVANTAGE

Only Seattle pairs a top-tier LGBTQ community — second only to San Francisco — with no state income tax, at roughly half the rent of New York or San Francisco.

35,000+

Trans Pride Seattle, annual participants

Est. 1977

Ingersoll Gender Center, nation's oldest trans org

Sources: Median 1-BR asking rent — Zumper National Rent Report, June 2026. Top marginal state income-tax rate, 2026 (Tax Foundation); Washington levies no tax on wage income (†7% excise applies to certain capital gains); Massachusetts is 5% plus a 4% surtax on income over ~\$1.05M. LGBTQ share of metro adults — Williams Institute / Gallup metro brief.

3.3 Element Three: Cost of Living Among Few Protective States

Protection alone does not determine destination; price does, destination cost of living is the second most-cited barrier to moving (64 percent), behind only the cost of the move itself.¹¹ Washington pairs the strongest protection tier with no state income tax, the highest minimum wage, and housing costs materially below the Bay Area, New York, and Boston metros that anchor the other coastal refuge states.⁶¹ For a displaced household optimizing safety, community, and solvency at once, Washington is consistently the second most common answer in the country which means the inflow is not a Seattle anomaly but a structural equilibrium that will persist as long as the push does.¹ Households arriving after spending their savings on the move itself (Section 1.6) then meet Seattle housing prices: the fiscal case for arrival-stage stabilization.



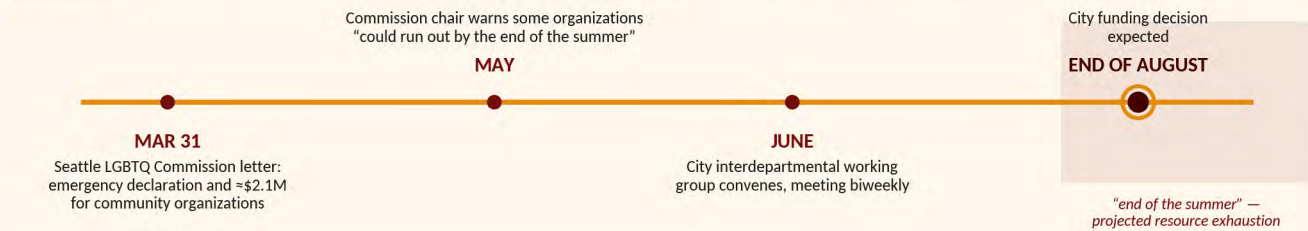
Seattle. Destination cost of living is the second most-cited barrier to moving. (Photo: Erin Hervey / Unsplash)

3.4 The Commission Letter and the City's Answer

SEATTLE'S RESPONSE TO THE COMMISSION LETTER • 2026

The August Window

Five months from formal request to funding decision — as provider resources approach exhaustion.



Precedent: the City approved ≈8 million dollars in emergency assistance when federal food-stamp cuts hit — eight months earlier.

Sources: Seattle LGBTQ Commission letter (Mar. 31, 2026); FOX 13 Seattle (May 2026); City of Seattle. See §3.4 endnotes.

On Trans Day of Visibility, March 31, 2026, the Seattle LGBTQ Commission submitted a formal letter to the Mayor's Office, City Council, and City Attorney requesting a civil emergency declaration for LGBTQ+ people fleeing hostile states naming arrivals from Texas, Florida, Tennessee, Kansas, and Idaho, adopting the internally-displaced-persons framework explicitly, and describing "a form of internal displacement unrecognized within Seattle's current emergency response systems."⁸ Its enumerated requests are stated in the letter itself; Commissioners have attached a figure

community organizations and cited the 2015 homelessness emergency as precedent for how a declaration unlocks funds.^{8 10}

"There are some community organizations rapidly losing resources that could run out by the end of the summer." — Chris Curia, Chair, Seattle LGBTQ Commission, to FOX 13 Seattle (May 2026)

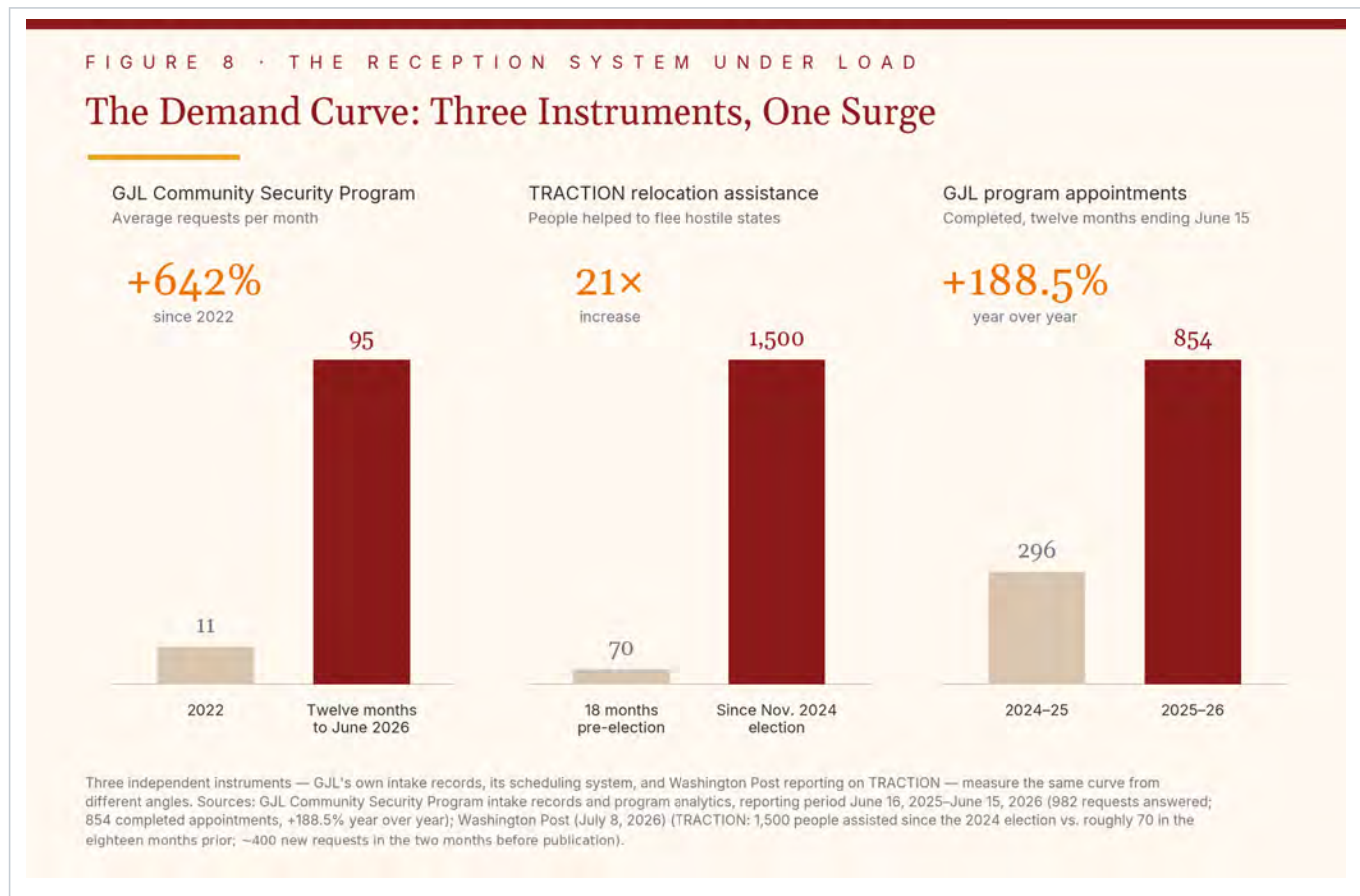
Mayor Katie Wilson declined to declare an emergency, citing a \$175 million structural deficit projected for 2027, and instead committed the City to "fortify critical services," convening an interdepartmental working group that has met biweekly since June, with a funding decision expected by the end of August 2026.^{9 10} The City

has moved emergency money on comparable timelines before: eight months earlier it approved roughly \$8 million in emergency assistance when federal food-stamp cuts hit Seattle residents.¹⁰ There is also a genuine legal-fit question the Commission itself acknowledged: Seattle's municipal code frames civil emergencies around attack, fire, flood, and disaster.⁹ This paper's recommendations work with or without a declaration. Gender Justice League is neutral on the declaration itself; what matters is public acknowledgment of the displacement, and funding approximately \$2.1 million in emergency funding that arrives before the reception network fails



Community and civil-liberties organizations at Trans Pride Seattle. The Commission named the organizations already receiving arrivals. (Photo: Mel Ponder for Gender Justice League)

3.5 Provider Capacity: The System That Is Actually Responding



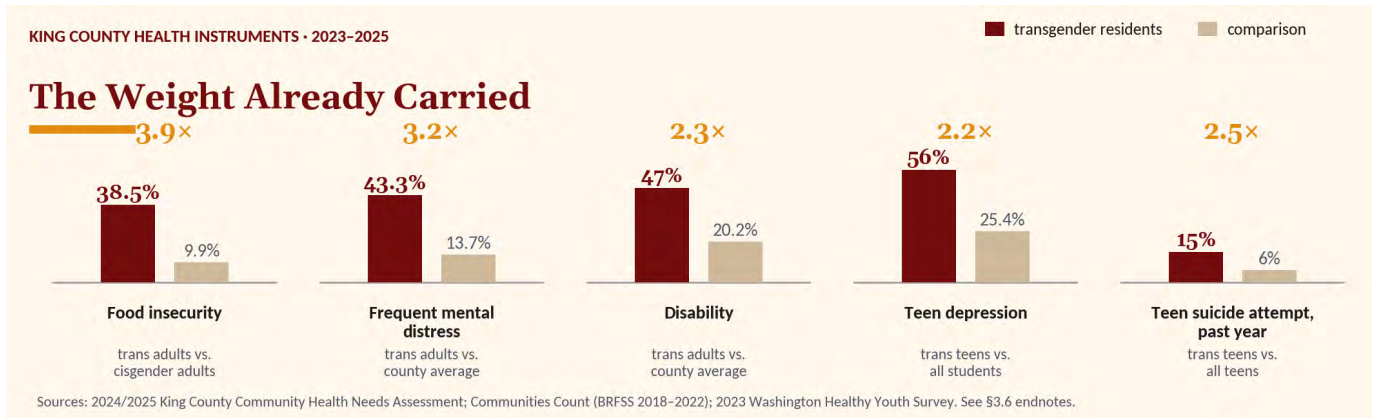
Washington Post reporting put numbers on what they are absorbing. TRACTION has helped 1,500 people flee hostile states since the 2024 election, against roughly 70 in the eighteen months prior; requests now arrive at roughly 400 per two months; its pre-election annual revenue was under \$84,000, and of twelve grant applications filed since, two were funded, for a combined \$17,500.¹⁰ KOI executive director Violet Kawaguchi describes the model bluntly: "all broke trans people helping broke trans people," with mutual-aid networks "reaching their breaking point."⁶² A Seattle youth shelter reports turning away ten or more young trans people a night.¹⁰

Gender Justice League's own intake data confirms the trend from the inside. Requests to GJL's Community Security Program have risen 642 percent since 2022: 982 requests answered in the last year, 95 per month, up from 10 to 12 in 2022, with 23 percent of participants reporting they

moved to Seattle within the past year. The program's scheduling system independently corroborates the curve: 854 completed appointments in the twelve months ending June 15, 2026, up 188.5 percent year over year.⁶³

Public funding has not reached this system in any serious way. The explicitly trans-labeled public funding identifiable across all three levels of government totals roughly: \$250,000 in Seattle's 2026 adopted budget for Black trans and gender-diverse services — about 0.0125 percent of the general fund; King County support for two housing sites plus \$50,000 in the June 2026 supplemental; and a reported \$2 million biennial state capacity appropriation for trans youth, whose proviso details remain to be verified.⁶⁴ Everything else flows through population-neutral streams such as Victims of Crime Act dollars: invisible in budget documents and undefended when cuts come.

3.6 The Community Is Already Carrying Disparities



The 2024/2025 King County Community Health Needs Assessment and related county instruments document the baseline the arriving population lands on:⁶⁵

- **Food insecurity:** 38.5 percent of transgender adults versus 9.9 percent of cisgender adults — nearly fourfold, and consistent with the UW WAFOOD surveys' 44 percent statewide finding.⁶⁶



The Seattle Trans and Nonbinary Choral Ensemble performs at Trans Pride Seattle. Communities do not build fifty-year institutions around statistical noise. (Photo: Mel Ponder for Gender Justice League)

- **Mental distress:** 43.3 percent report frequent mental distress versus a 13.7 percent county average — a threefold disparity that follows the 2021 closure of Seattle Counseling Service, the city's LGBTQ counseling center.

- **Disability:** 47.0 percent live with a disability, more than double the county average of 20.2 percent.
- **Youth:** 56 percent of King County transgender teens report depression versus 25.4 percent of students overall; 15 percent report a past-year suicide attempt versus 6 percent.
- **Homelessness:** Seattle/King County recorded the highest nonbinary homeless population of any Continuum of Care in the nation, with 82 percent of nonbinary homeless individuals unsheltered nationally.⁶⁷

The state's own commissioned research corroborates the county instruments at scale. The Washington LGBTQ+ Survey — fielded by a Washington State University–led team to nearly 7,000 2SLGBTQIA+ Washingtonians from every county — matches the county data point for point: roughly 70 percent of respondents experienced suicidal ideation in the past year, half avoid medical care expecting discrimination, 17 percent are in temporary housing, and 22 percent have been victims of hate crimes. The same survey measures the pull directly: 87 percent feel safe as LGBTQ+ people in Washington, and 95 percent feel connected to an LGBTQ+ community here.⁶⁸

These disparities predate the migration wave. Trans IDPs arrive carrying the cumulative weight of them — plus the trauma of losing family, social, and community support, fleeing for their safety rather than relocating for opportunity — into a service infrastructure already operating beyond capacity.

3.7 The Money Supporting Providers Is Collapsing

Community organizations can absorb displacement only as long as someone funds them to do so, and the money is leaving as need spikes. U.S. foundation giving to LGBTQ communities fell from its \$258.1 million peak in 2022 to \$178.2 million in 2024 down 31 percent in two years while trans-specific funding fell in parallel, from \$48.2 million to \$33.3 million, and state-level grants dropped 22 percent in the year legislatures set enactment records (Figure 9).^{69, 70} The one line item growing rapid-response funding, up 27 percent to \$8.5 million validates the pooled mechanism Part VI recommends, at nowhere near the required scale.⁷⁰

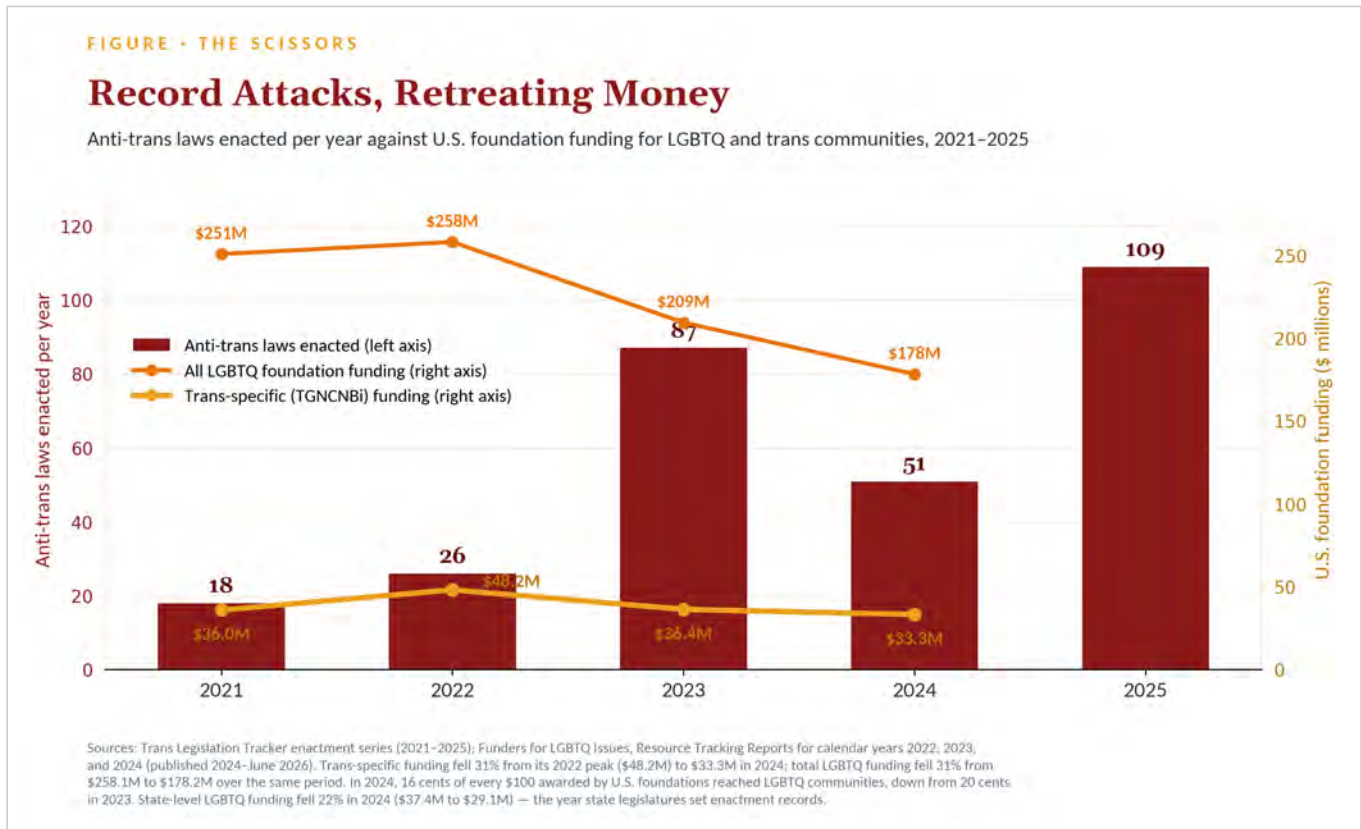


Figure 9 • The Scissors: Record Attacks, Retreating Money. Anti-trans laws enacted per year (Trans Legislation Tracker, 2021–2025) against U.S. foundation funding for LGBTQ and trans communities (Funders for LGBTQ Issues Resource Tracking Reports, 2021–2024). Philanthropy surged once, in 2022, as the first legislative wave broke, then retreated every year since, while enactments set records.^{69, 70}

Washington's own line is the sharpest version of the story. All-LGBTQ funding for Washington focused work climbed from twenty-third in the country in 2022 to fourth in 2024 behind only California, New York, and Illinois while trans specific funding fell 63 percent in a single year, from \$909,922 to \$340,191, and from 24% to just 7% of the state's LGBTQ philanthropy (Figure 9a).⁸⁹ Philanthropy has decided Washington is worth funding. It has not decided trans Washingtonians are the reason.

Gender Justice League's ledger shows what the aggregate means on the ground: 80 percent of its private foundation funding — support that took more than a decade to build — gone in a single year, from \$210,000 to \$40,000, as every major institutional funder it held (Wellspring, Arcus, Borealis, Gill, Tides, and the Haas, Jr. Fund) left LGBTQ issues, left the region, or stopped funding trans organizations outright.⁷¹ The Department of Justice has repeatedly moved to cancel GJL's Victims of Crime Act funding; two lawsuits keep it alive.⁷¹ The national safety net is contracting with

FIGURE • THE WASHINGTON SCISSORS

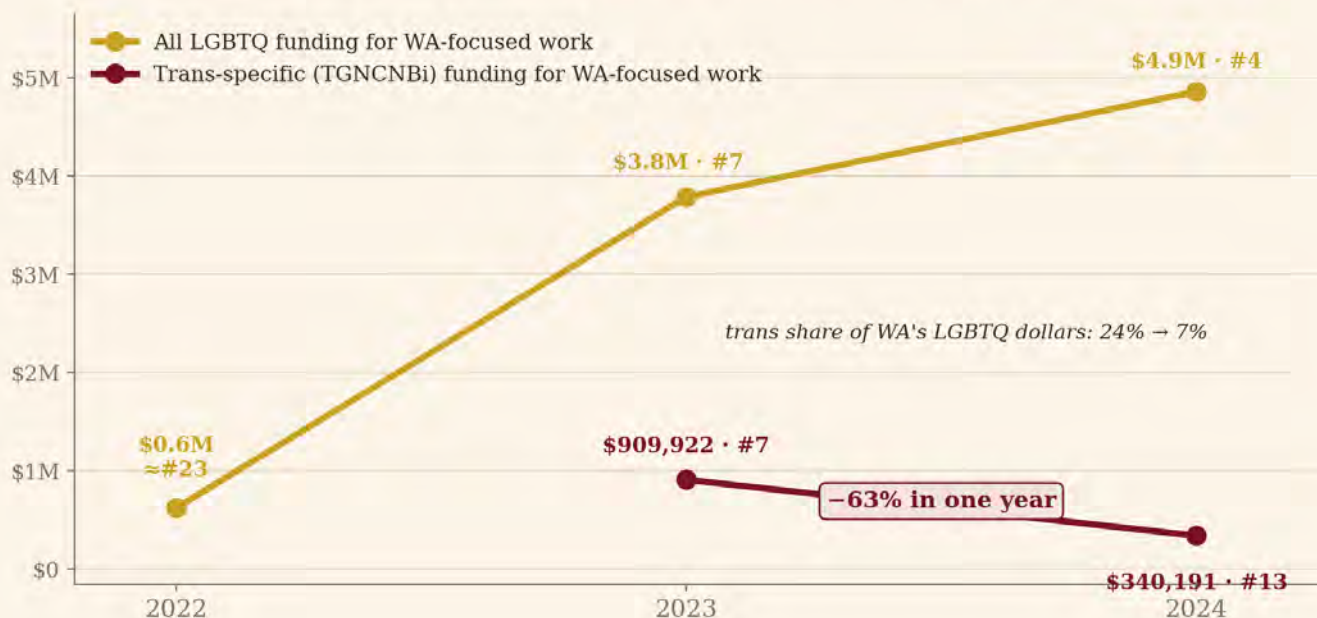
More Money for LGBTQ Washington, Less of It for Trans Washingtonians

Figure 9a • The Washington Scissors. Foundation funding for Washington-focused work, 2022–2024: all-LGBTQ funding rose to fourth nationally while trans-specific funding fell 63 percent — from \$909,922 to \$340,191 — dropping Washington to thirteenth. Sources: Funders for LGBTQ Issues Resource Tracking Reports; ranks and shares are Gender Justice League calculations.⁸⁹

the money — the Human Rights Campaign cut a fifth of its staff, GLSEN three-fifths, the National LGBTQ Task Force a quarter, and more than 23,000 nonprofit positions have been eliminated since January 2025⁷² — while individual giving to the eleven largest U.S. trans organizations, three of them in Seattle, fell 22 to 26 percent in a year.⁷³

Behind the retreat sits something more systematic. Executive Order 14168 directs every federal agency to ensure federal funds do not "promote gender ideology" — a term the order never defines — and agencies spent 2025 writing that restriction into the boilerplate of American public finance, from arts and research grants to housing, transit, health, and nutrition programs (Figure 9b).⁵⁹ Nine trans-serving health organizations have sued over terminated grants and hold a preliminary injunction now on appeal.⁷⁴ The mechanism matters: every federal dollar a Washington government might route toward displaced trans people now arrives, by default, conditioned on refusing to name them. Seattle and Washington State know, because both

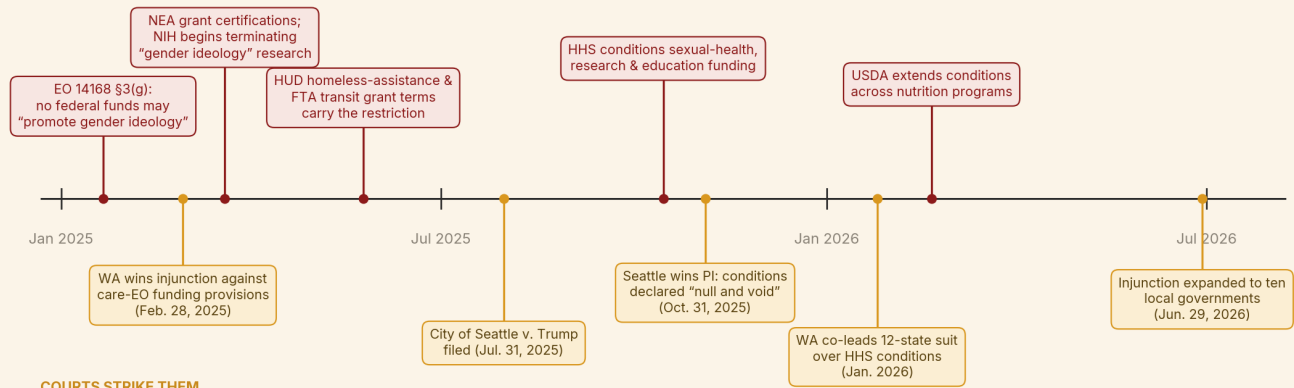
are in federal court to strip those conditions from their own funding. City Attorney Ann Davison filed *City of Seattle v. Trump* in July 2025; Judge Barbara Rothstein found the "gender ideology" restriction undefined and chilling, declared its implementation null and void, and in June 2026 extended the injunction to ten local governments.⁹⁰ Washington won the first injunction in the country against the care-ban order's funding provisions and has since sued over the same conditions on sexual-health, victims-of-crime, and nutrition funding; the Attorney General counts sixty-one federal cases and more than \$15 billion in Washington funding at issue.⁹¹

The enforcement arm arrived in the fall. National Security Presidential Memorandum-7 lists "extremism on ... gender" among domestic-terrorism indicators; the Attorney General's implementation memo names "radical gender ideology" a prioritized threat; by spring 2026 an FBI-IRS initiative was investigating nonprofits for domestic-terrorism links.¹⁵ The chill is measurable:

FIGURE · THE CONDITIONED DOLLAR

Every Dollar Now Arrives With a Condition Attached

CONDITIONS IMPOSED



COURTS STRIKE THEM

Figure 9b · The Conditioned Dollar: Every Dollar Now Arrives With a Condition Attached. Federal funding conditions imposed under Executive Order 14168 §3(g) and agency implementing terms, January 2025–July 2026, set against the litigation striking them down, including *City of Seattle v. Trump* and the June 2026 extension of the injunction to ten local governments. Sources as documented in §3.7, endnotes 59, 90, and 91.

The timeline above is the mechanism of Section 3.7 in a single view. Conditions arrive from the top: an executive order, then agency boilerplate that spreads the restriction through arts, research, housing, transit, health, and nutrition grants. The courts answer from below. Seattle and Washington have won the leading rounds, including the injunction Judge Rothstein extended to ten local governments in June 2026, but each round takes months, and the money stays conditioned while the litigation runs. That asymmetry, not any single order, is why the funding architecture in Part VI rests on city, county, and state dollars rather than federal ones.

Gender Justice League has also made note of the newest exclusionary riders being attached to the NDAA – The National Defense Authorization Act and many other federal bills explicitly targeting federal funding for gender affirming care, trans youth in sports, and increasingly federal funding bans reflecting state based restrictions.

While it may be easy for local and state lawmakers to simply assume that the courts will continue to strike down such restrictions on funding, each new budget cycle, reconciliation, and must pass bill that works its way through Congress gains new exclusions that were first put in place by the Executive.

The funding scenario is therefore a bleak one with regards to federal support for transgender communities, indeed even non-transgender social service providers have received a clear message: "serve trans people, talk about trans people, and risk your federal funding." No where is this more obvious than Children's Hospitals in dozens of states including Washington who ceased providing gender affirming care. This was in violation of state law, all at the mere threat of lost funding. The Attorney General's office has taken no action against these providers, thereby condoning their actions and to many trans people making the WLAD a feckless document with no real teeth.

Funders for LGBTQ Issues withheld its top funder and grantee names for the first time in decades, and 95 percent of Lambda Legal's record \$285 million campaign came from individuals, not institutions.^{69, 75} Federal money will not support newly arrived internally displaced people; appropriations are state and local by necessity, not preference. And a city that has told a federal court the "gender ideology" restriction chills essential services cannot coherently decline to fund those services itself. Gender Justice League projects a 50 percent reduction from 2024 levels of trans-led regional services by the end of 2026, against a 25 to 40 percent increase in the population needing them. The math does not work without the City of Seattle, King County, and the State of Washington.

3.8 The Data Vacuum and Who Fills It

No city, county, or state agency counts transgender arrivals. The King County Regional Homelessness Authority deliberately suppresses small transgender counts in its Point-in-Time data — a defensible privacy practice that nonetheless means the region's homelessness system cannot report on trans people at all.¹³ The federal instruments that briefly made trans hardship visible are being dismantled: the Census Household Pulse Survey collected gender identity data from July 2021 until its 2025 relaunch stripped the measures under Executive Order 14168, one of roughly 360 federal data collections affected.⁷⁶

Opponents have moved into the vacuum. Conservative commentary on the Commission

letter emphasizes that "specific numbers on trans migration to Seattle haven't been studied" and reduces the local evidence to a single volunteer's count.⁷⁷ The criticism lands only because the region has chosen not to collect the data. The estimate in Section 3.2 and the intake data in Section 3.5 are what a community organization can build without subpoena power; an actual count requires the government instruments Stage 1 describes — instruments Washington already controls and could extend at trivial cost.⁶⁸ A jurisdiction that will not count a population cannot budget for it, and cannot defend the budget it does propose.



Advocates at the Washington State Capitol, Trans Advocacy Day 2026. (Photo: Mel Ponder for Gender Justice League)

IV

PART FOUR

The Limited Existing Systems



Photo: Vatsal Patni / Pexels

4.1 The Displacement Literature: Distrust Is a Common Thread

In initial conversations with policymakers, trans advocates have repeatedly been asked why existing systems are not enough. The instinctive answer given by policy makers is to route arrivals through the homelessness and shelter systems that already exist fails on three independent grounds: 1. Displaced people fleeing state persecution avoid state systems. 2. The shelter system is being legally closed to trans people and King County's own data has erased trans people from homelessness counts, and 3. The homelessness system including emergency rooms are the most expensive and least helpful possible place for newcomers to land.



Three decades of research under the Guiding Principles document a consistent pattern. Displaced people avoid registration with state systems they perceive as implicated in their displacement: in Colombia, so many IDPs declined to register "for perceived self-protection" that the official count was a recognized undercount for years.¹⁴ Distrust compounds through bureaucratic delay,⁷⁸ and host-community organizations not government agencies function as the first responders through which formal assistance eventually flows.⁵⁷

The pattern transfers to this population with uncomfortable precision. The persecuting authority here is governmental: legislatures, attorneys general, federal agencies. And trans Americans carry their own documented distrust: 58 percent of U.S. Trans Survey respondents who interacted with police who knew they were trans reported mistreatment; 62 percent are uncomfortable seeking police help.³⁷ A response routed exclusively through mainstream systems would fail to find the people it exists to serve. The literature's prescription — fund the trusted community organizations; let the state coordinate

and resource rather than gatekeep — is the same conclusion the Seattle LGBTQ Commission reached from the ground. One caution, stated plainly: applying the Guiding Principles domestically is a novel analytic lens, not a claim of legal status (Part VII).⁷



Seattle's LGBTQ+ Center at Trans Pride Seattle. Host-community organizations are the first responders through which formal assistance eventually flows. (Photo: Mel Ponder for Gender Justice League)

4.2 The Shelter System Is Being Closed by Rule

Emergency shelter is disproportionately operated by religious providers, and trans people's records the Municipality of Anchorage's settlement of a transgender shelter-discrimination suit.³¹ HUD's Equal Access Rule, which since 2012 guaranteed shelter access regardless of gender identity, is now in formal rescission: enforcement halted by Secretary memo in February 2025, and the April 2026 proposed rule would let single-sex

documented experience in shelters ranges from unsafe to litigated; the Federal Register itself shelters demand "reasonable assurances or evidence to establish a person's sex."³¹ One in three transgender people experiences homelessness in their lifetime; the federal government is removing their access to the emergency system built for exactly that event.⁷⁹

4.3 The Homelessness System Is the Costliest Possible Landing

King County's 2026 Point-in-Time count found 18,365 people experiencing homelessness — up roughly nine percent since 2024 — while shelter beds fell from 5,958 to 5,269.²⁰ The Regional Homelessness Authority's proposed 2026 budget of roughly \$205 million works out to about \$11,200 per counted person per year through one coordinating agency alone, excluding city direct spending, county behavioral health, Medicaid, jails, and emergency departments.¹⁸ The research literature's fuller figures are grimmer: a median Housing First cost of \$16,479 per person per year, and an average public cost of unaddressed chronic homelessness around \$35,578.¹⁹

The authority itself is in crisis: an April 2026 forensic audit found a negative cash position of \$44.7 million and \$12.26 million unaccounted for, with a governance decision pending.⁸⁰ Two implications follow. A trans-displacement response should not be routed through KCRHA while those findings are unresolved; direct City and County contracts with community organizations are the cleaner vehicle. And the predictable counterargument — "the region already spends heavily on homelessness with poor results" — is answered, not defeated, by this proposal: it is prevention spending outside the strained system, designed to keep arriving households from ever entering it.

Part IV in one paragraph. Displaced people do not walk into the systems of the government that displaced them; the federal government is closing the shelter door by rule anyway; and every household that falls through to the homelessness system costs the public five to fifteen times what front-end stabilization would have. The only channel that reaches this population — trans-led community organizations — is the one channel nobody funds.



Community members and advocates in conversation, Trans Advocacy Day 2026. (Photo: Mel Ponder for Gender Justice League)

V

PART FIVE

The Model for a Response Already Exists



5.1 How Resettlement Support Can Actually Work

Washington does not need to invent a new displacement-response system. It already operates one for people displaced across international borders. The architecture is concrete, priced, and proven. The missing component is the decision to recognize and use that system to address internal displacements.

Front-loaded stabilization vs. downstream crisis costs (per person)

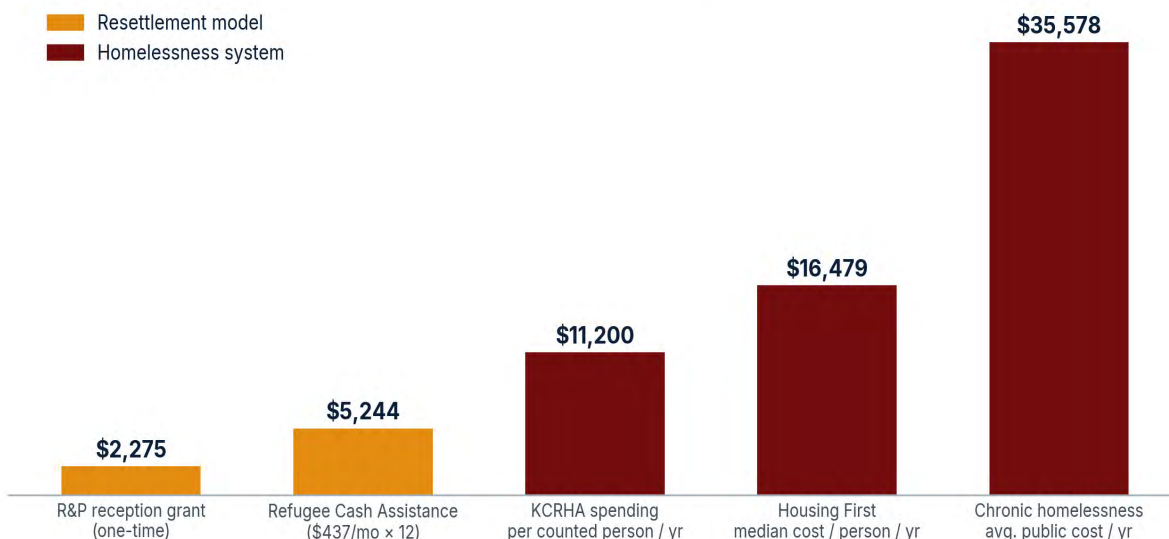


Figure 10 · The Fiscal Comparison: Front-Loaded Stabilization vs. Downstream Crisis Costs (per person). Resettlement-model costs (gold): \$2,275 one-time Reception & Placement grant; \$437/month transitional cash. Downstream costs (crimson): ~\$11,200/year per counted person through the regional homelessness agency alone; \$16,479/year median Housing First cost; ~\$35,578/year average public cost of chronic homelessness. Sources: CRS R47399; DSHS ESA Briefing Book SFY2025; KCRHA proposed 2026 budget ÷ 2026 PIT count; Community Guide systematic review; National Alliance to End Homelessness.^{17, 18, 19.}

The U.S. system pairs short-term reception with transitional integration support. On arrival, a local resettlement agency receives a one-time Reception & Placement grant — \$2,275 per person, at least \$1,225 of it spent on direct support in the first 30–90 days.¹⁷ The Office of Refugee Resettlement then funds Refugee Cash Assistance for those ineligible for TANF, Refugee Medical Assistance, formula grants to states, and a Matching Grant employment alternative.⁸¹ Delivery is contracted to community-based agencies case management, housing navigation, employment services, mental health support and coordinated in Washington by ORIA within DSHS. The state has resettled more than 30,000 refugees over the past decade and reports an average RCA caseload of 2,208 per month at an average grant of \$437.⁸² The federal side is itself being dismantled — admissions suspended, cash-assistance eligibility cut from twelve months to

four, the FY2026 ceiling set at 7,500, which is precisely why this paper cites it as architecture rather than as a funding source.⁸³



UTOPIA Washington at Trans Pride Seattle. Delivery is contracted to community-based agencies the architecture this paper asks Washington to extend. (Photo: Mel Ponder)

5.2 The Asylum Asymmetry

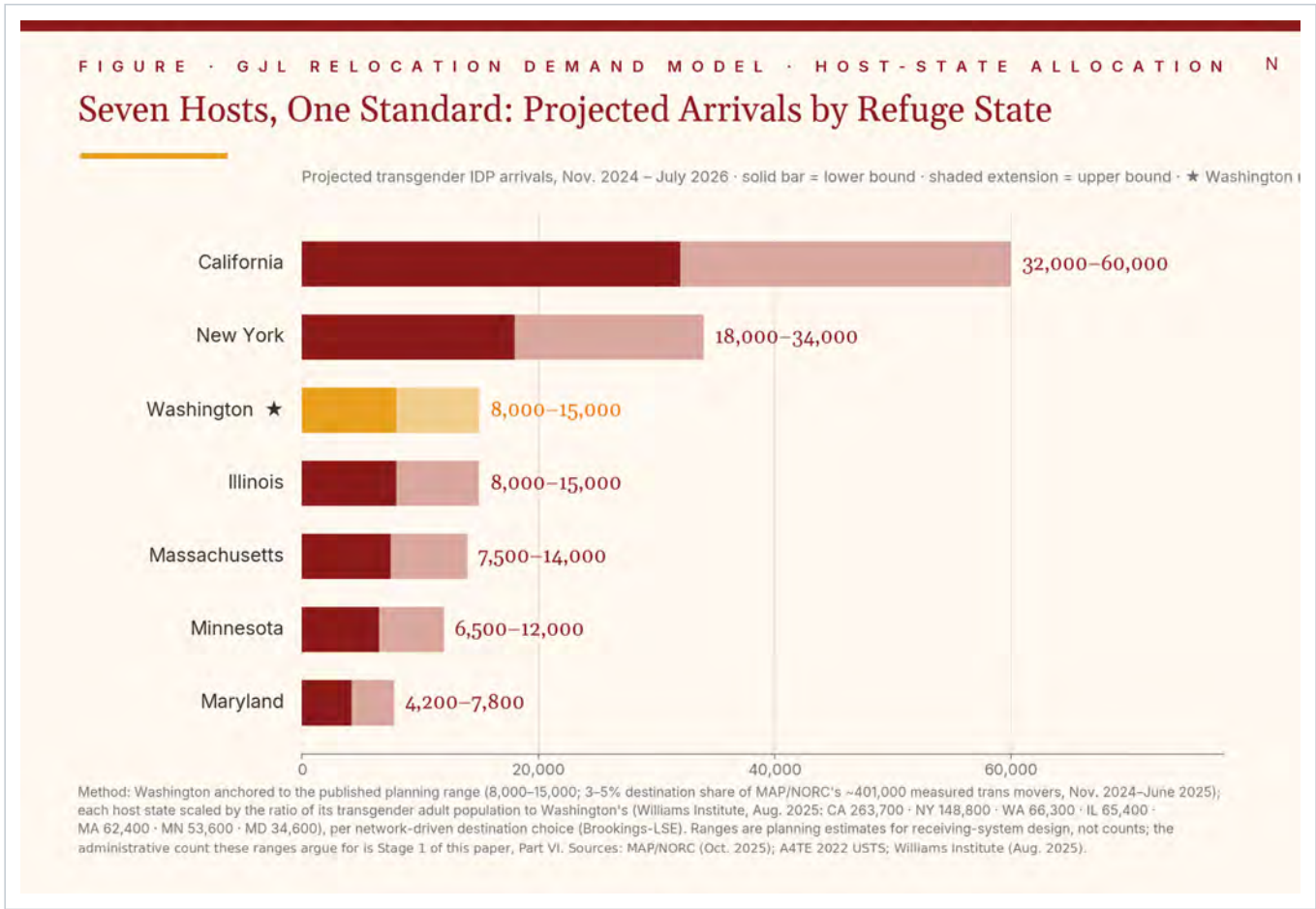


Figure 11 · Seven Hosts, One Standard: Projected Arrivals by Refuge State. Modeled planning ranges for the named host states, November 2024–July 2026; Washington’s range is the published 8,000–15,000 planning figure. Method and sources as published in the GJL relocation demand model; see Part VII and endnote 40.

International protection for those fleeing persecution, also known as asylum, is governed by international law and requires crossing a border. Those who cross an international boundary fleeing persecution can be refugees; those who flee the same persecution but remain internally are IDPs, entitled under the Guiding Principles to only protection by their own governments and to nothing from the international system.⁷ A transgender Texan whose healthcare is criminalized, whose identity documents are voided, and whose family faces child-welfare investigation for supporting her cannot, in any practical sense, obtain asylum abroad: U.S. citizens are almost never granted it because other countries regard the United States as “a safe country.” In this

meaning, the United States has a court system, NGOs, and a functioning criminal justice system. Her only refuge is another American state, one that has no formal process to identify people fleeing persecution. The states that hold themselves out as that refuge — Washington State among them — therefore inherit the responsibility international law assigns to receiving governments, but without any of the machinery that usually shares the load in many other countries. That is the moral and structural core of this paper: the same flight from persecution and criminalization that would qualify a foreign national for resettlement support earns a displaced American nothing at all.

5.3 Washington Has Already Expanded Eligibility, Let's Do It Again

The decisive in-state precedent is the 2024 asylum-seeker appropriation. Asylum seekers are not eligible for federal refugee benefits; the Legislature funded them anyway: roughly \$32.7 million, including \$25.2 million through ORIA, of which \$20 million flowed to community organizations in a statewide hub-and-spoke network for legal aid, housing, and culturally responsive case management, plus \$7.5 million through Commerce, \$2.5 million directly to the City of Tukwila, and \$1 million to school districts.¹⁶ Every design element a trans internal-displacement program needs is present in that appropriation: a state line item, a displaced population outside federal eligibility, delivery through trusted community organizations, and regional coordination. Washington welcomes all and our economy has thrived on trans tech talent with hundreds of local companies benefiting from trans workers, like immigrants, displaced Americans contribute to our economy.

The comparison we make to costs of doing nothing is deliberately conservative: the homelessness figures exclude jails, emergency departments, and Medicaid, while the resettlement figures assume a full year of transitional cash that current federal rules no longer even provide. Even so, stabilizing an arriving household through the resettlement model costs between one-fifth and one-fifteenth of what the same household costs the public once it enters the homelessness system

Suicide-prevention economics point the same direction. The clinical evidence base is anchored in King County: the Seattle Children's Gender Clinic prospective cohort published in JAMA Network Open found gender-affirming care associated with 60 percent lower odds of depression and 73 percent lower odds of suicidality over twelve months.⁸⁴ National difference-in-differences research in Nature Human Behaviour associates anti-trans law enactment with increases in past-year suicide attempts among trans and nonbinary young people of up to 72 percent.⁸⁵ Whatever the true coefficient, a receiving system that stabilizes rather than strands arriving youth is operating on the right side of it.



Photo: Yan Liu / Unsplash

VI

PART SIX

Recommendations: A Staged Response



Photo: Mercedes Mehling / Unsplash

Our Recommendations to Policy Makers

These recommendations are sequenced over the next 24 months so that each stage generates the evidence the next stage needs as justification for a continued response. We are focusing on the short term request by the City of Seattle for input, however our view is broader. None of our recommendations depend on a civil emergency declaration; however each step would be accelerated by an all-of-government approach.

STAGE 1 · Q3 2026 · Establish the Count Seattle & County: Standardized intake items: state of origin, arrival date, and reason for relocation. Implement across funded providers and the regional HMIS; confirm and extend state survey instruments (BRFSS, HYS,WAFOOD, WA LGBTQ+ Survey).	STAGE 2 · 2026 SUPP. / 2027 BUDGETS Fund Trusted Responders Seattle: one-time \$2M allocation \$250K OIRA coordinating FTE + \$1.75M competitive community grants across seven Guiding-Principles priorities. County: direct DCHS contracts at resettlement-model rates. Philanthropy: replace the retreat.	STAGE 3 · 2027 SESSION Institutionalize Governors Office: Name an internal displacement along with a line item at ORIA, modeled clause-for-clause on the 2024 asylum-seeker appropriation, triggered on recognition of an Internal Displacement Event. We recommend small funds with an emphasis outside King County.
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Stage 1 Establish a Count

Intake questions. The interdepartmental team should direct City and County-funded service providers, and the regional HMIS, to add two or three standardized intake items: Sex at Birth, Gender Identity, State of Origin, Date of Arrival in Washington, and Reason for Relocation. With aggregate-only reporting and the small-cell suppression for data that may be identifying. This is the single cheapest action available to answer the question of how many people are arriving, and it converts the region's central evidentiary weakness into administrative data within one to two quarters which will make a compelling data set. This serves key planning and political objectives to name a human rights crisis in real terms.

State survey instruments. The Washington Department of Health should confirm the BRFSS gender-identity module remains on the 2026–2027 instrument, add a relocation item to the BRFSS and the 2027 Healthy Youth Survey, and release trans-specific (not merged LGBTQ+) crosstabs from the 2025 HYS, including King County breakouts. The UW WAFOOD team at UW/WSU should be asked to publish the trans/nonbinary cross tab from its 2024 wave and add a displacement question to any future surveys; the Washington LGBTQ+ Survey's next wave should carry displacement items or state of origin. With federal SOGI data collection dismantled under EO 14168, state-controlled instruments are the only reliable vehicles left.^{76, 68}

Stage 2 Fund Trusted Responders (2026 supplemental & 2027)

The City of Seattle: a \$2 million integration appropriation. Gender Justice League's companion letter to Mayor Wilson, Acting Director Vu, and the City Council asks the City to identify a one-time \$2 million General Fund appropriation in two parts.⁸⁶ The first, \$250,000, funds one dedicated FTE at the Office of Immigrant and Refugee Affairs to coordinate the City's trans displacement response. The second, \$1,750,000, funds a community grants program administered through OIRA and awarded by open, competitively scored RFP to qualified by-and-for organizations, in grants of roughly \$150,000 to \$500,000, across seven priorities grounded in the Guiding Principles — housing stabilization, employment access, healthcare navigation, mental health services, youth and family support, resource navigation and legal services, and food security.^{86, 87}

Why OIRA is the right home. Nothing in this request asks the City to build a service it does not already run. OIRA's programs already deliver legal navigation, employment connection, and resource navigation for Seattle's newcomers⁸⁷ — item for item, what displaced trans people ask Gender Justice League for: a landlord who will accept an out-of-state reference, an employer who will look past a résumé gap explained by flight, a sealed name change, identity documents restored after a home state voided them, and a way into the social life of a city where they know no one.⁸⁶ The ask is that Seattle expand its working definition of integration to include Americans displaced within their own country. The community has already named the low-cost program elements: a newcomers support group, and a monthly one-stop shop in City Hall modeled on OIRA's own citizenship clinics.⁸⁶

Safeguards and offsets. The structural safeguards are built in: no sole-source awards and no proviso naming a single organization either would expose grantee and City alike to a federal administration looking to make an example; selection by a community review panel modeled on the Equitable Development Initiative process; public outcome reporting aligned to State Auditor standards; and a scalability clause making out-year funding contingent on documented outcomes and verified inflow data.⁸⁸ GJL's companion briefing identifies ten one-time funding sources sufficient to offset the appropriation in full, without touching base services, sworn hiring, or any program serving another community in need.⁸⁶ The grants total sits inside HSD's existing \$1M–\$4.25M targeted-population investment range a range that has funded trafficking response, gun violence prevention, and gender-based violence services, and has never once been directed to trans community services.⁸⁸

King County: direct contracts, clean controls. Seattle HSD and King County DCHS should contract directly with trans-led community organizations for the seven priority areas outlined in the Seattle LGBTQ Commission Letter utilizing standard fiscal controls. We do not recommend pass-through via KCRHA while the April 2026 audit findings are unresolved.⁸⁰ Price the contracts against the resettlement model's actual price points: roughly \$2,275 per person plus \$437 per month for a defined period on a reimbursement basis to organizations who conduct a standardized intake. Compare this cost against the \$11,200-and-up annual cost of the same household entering the homelessness system.^{17, 18} A pilot serving 500 arriving households at resettlement-model rates costs roughly what the homelessness system spends on 150 people in a year. Timing is part of

the design: the Commission's warning has a date on it organizational resources "that could run out by the end of the summer."⁶² Funds moved in Q3 2026 keep the reception network intact; funds moved in 2027 build a sustainable system that can be used for other displacement events.

Philanthropy: Replace the Retreat.

Foundations should replace the documented two-year, 31 percent retreat with multi-year flexible general operating support, pooled rapid-response funds, and dedicated legal-defense resources for organizations facing politically motivated investigation under the NSPM-7 apparatus.^{70, 15} The 27 percent growth in rapid-response giving demonstrates the mechanism; what it lacks is scale. Anonymity may be a defensible survival tactic but withdrawal is not. Failure of philanthropy to respond will only further invite attacks into other sectors that are vulnerable to politicization and retreat of civil society.

Stage 3 Institutionalize A Response in the State of Washington, 2027 legislative session

We recommend a named line item, housed where the expertise lives in ORIA.

The Legislature should enact an internal-displacement response appropriation modeled clause-for-clause on the 2024 asylum-seeker appropriation and hosted at ORIA, which administered \$25.2 million of that appropriation and moved \$20 million through the community hub-and-spoke network.¹⁶ The same office, running the same architecture with small stabilization grants, transitional assistance, case management, legal navigation, delivered through contracted community organizations is the state-level mirror of the City program Stage 2 describes.

⁸² This appropriation could be triggered by the ORIA Director or Governor recognizing an Internal Displacement Event and be structured as grants on a reimbursement basis. The line item must be named to response to trans displacement in this first year however, unlabeled funding streams leave trans services untraceable in budgets and undefended in future cuts.

Coordinate with existing supports.

We support each office building a program with local Trans community partners against Washington's already standing architecture: The Shield Law's protection from out-of-state process, Apple Health's coverage of medically necessary gender affirming care care, the state LGBTQ Commission's convening role so new arriving households connect to coverage and protection, and not merely to cash. Each office can convene local, regional, and statewide stakeholders in a monthly coalition call to identify systems gaps and identify key partners to address those areas.

Prepare and Respond to Escalation Triggers.

Local and State government should closely monitor continued legislative and executive escalation (805 tracked bills by mid-July 2026), and be prepared to respond should each trigger event produce a larger standing wave of new arrivals. In particular we are watching CMMS, DHHS, and HUD closely for federal funding bans and homeless shelter exclusion requirements. Every federal door that closes redirects demand to the states that must remain open. ^{21, 31}

The Actor Matrix

	Now — Q3/Q4 2026	Next — 2027
City of Seattle	Adopt intake questions via the interdepartmental team; move contingency funds to named providers; publish a trans-serving contract inventory.	Appropriate the \$1.75M seven-priority framework through a competitive RFP; expand the \$250K Black trans and gender-diverse services line to program scale.
King County	Add displacement items to HMIS; direct DCHS contracts to trans-led providers; release the suppressed-data methodology note.	VSHSL and Health Through Housing expansion for trans-specific housing capacity, building on Sharyn Grayson House.
Washington State	Confirm BRFSS/HYS gender-identity measures; DOH crosstab release; verify the trans-youth proviso and ORIA capacity.	Named internal-displacement appropriation on the 2024 asylum-seeker model; durable data mandate.



(Photo: Nicola Dowie / Unsplash)

Our Methodology and Evidence Standards

This paper's credibility rests on how its numbers are built, so this part states the method behind each class of evidence.

Population estimates are derived, and the derivations are shown.

The King County estimate applies the highest-quality federal population data in existence probability-based, peer-reviewed methodology used in evidence before the Supreme Court — to Census age structure, with each adjustment measured and sourced.^{39,58,59} We believe these figures are not easily dismissed, but they can only be improved by the administrative count that we have included in our recommendation.

Arrival figures are planning ranges and we label them as such.

The working figure of 8,000–15,000 trans IDPs arriving in Washington since November 2024 applies a stated 3–5 percent destination share to the MAP/NORC national extrapolation. Both inputs are survey-derived and published; Stage 1's count exists to replace the range with a number.

The Survey evidence draws its weight from convergence.

The USTS, MAP/NORC, Data for Progress, and Williams relocation surveys are non-probability samples, and the paper says so wherever they are cited. Four independent efforts move in the same direction at escalating magnitude; the persuasive weight sits in that agreement, not in any single point estimate.

The demand model is published in full.

The Trans Legal Risk Index and its demand model state every input: tier rubric, tier-stratified consideration rates, population base.^{38, 40} The modeled national total of roughly 562,000 is conservative against the 401,000 measured movers, and the dataset is available from GJL for independent computation.

Terminology is used with legal precision.

"Refugee" is legally inaccurate for intra-U.S. movement; this paper uses "internally displaced person" throughout. Applying the Guiding Principles domestically is a novel analytic lens, stated as such not a claim of legal status and Part II's case studies are institutional comparisons, never equivalence claims.

Judicial holdings are separated from GJL analysis.

The account of *Skrmetti*, *B.P.J.*, and *Hecox* is drawn from the slip opinions and contemporaneous legal reporting; the "second wave" predictions are GJL's analysis of proponents' published agendas such as Project 2025 by the Heritage Foundation and Alliance Defending Freedoms 2026 published agendas, we have labeled them as such. Advocates quoting this paper should preserve the distinction between what the Court held (rational basis in *Skrmetti*; intermediate scrutiny satisfied in *B.P.J.*; suspect-class status declined, not decided) and what GJL predicts will follow. Suicide-prevention evidence is stated clearly with its clinical sources, in Section 5.3.^{84, 85}

Dated figures are flagged in place.

The R&P per-capita amount (\$2,275) is the January 2023 CRS figure, flagged for reverification following the program's transfer to ORR. The \$2 million trans-youth proviso, ORIA's total budget, and King County's contract values are identified in the endnotes as pending primary-document verification; Section 3.3's cost-of-living characterization is to be anchored to current C2ER and Zillow/HUD figures before quotation in testimony. The ~\$11,200 homelessness figure divides one agency's budget by a one-night count that undercounts; the paper presents it as a single-agency floor, and excludes circulating advocacy-derived figures above \$118,000 as unreliable in the opposite direction. Remaining verification items the Commission letter text, Seattle's forecast documents, SAMHSA's 988 primary sources, slip-opinion pagination, HUD's final HMIS standards, the MAP/NORC methodology report, and the county CHNA table sources — are consolidated in GJL's internal research foundation.

SOURCES

Endnotes

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3. *United States v. Skrametti*, 605 U.S. ____ (June 18, 2025); KFF, "What Are the Implications of the Skrametti Ruling for Minors' Access to Gender-Affirming Care?"
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6. Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law, "The Impact of 2025 Anti-Transgender Legislation on Youth" (Jan. 2026).
7. UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (1998), E/CN.4/1998/53/Add. 2; UNHCR, "IDP Definition"; Brookings, "Introduction to the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement"; 2005 World Summit Outcome, A/RES/60/1, ¶132.
8. Seattle LGBTQ Commission, letter of recommendation (Mar. 31, 2026), reported in *Seattle Gay News* (May 12, 2026), sgn.org/story/166221; *The Advocate*, advocate.com/politics/states/seattle-emergency-transgender-support.
9. LGBTQ Nation, "LGBTQ Commission Asks Seattle to Declare State of Emergency" (May 2026); Mayor Wilson's written response quoted therein; deficit figures per Budget Director Aly Pennucci via KIRO 7 (primary forecast document pending).
10. *Washington Post*, "Trans People Are Fleeing Red States for Seattle. The City Can't Keep Up." (July 8, 2026) (republished by the *Seattle Times*): TRACTION service volumes, grant record, and volunteer growth; Commission \$2.1M figure; end-of-August decision timeline; biweekly interdepartmental meetings; \$8M food-assistance emergency precedent; Kansas license revocations and Idaho restroom felony; Queer Power Alliance cost figures; youth shelter turnaways.
11. Williams Institute, "The Impact of Anti-Transgender Policy and Public Opinion on Travel and Relocation" (May 2025; surveyed Dec. 2024; n=302).
12. Alliance Defending Freedom litigation and policy statements post-Skrametti; The Heritage Foundation, *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise* (Project 2025) (2023), HHS and DOJ chapters. Categorization of anticipated legislation is Gender Justice League analysis of these published agendas.
13. King County Regional Homelessness Authority, Point-in-Time Count reports (small-cell suppression of transgender counts), kcrha.org.
14. Shultz et al., "Internal Displacement in Colombia," PMC (2014) (registration avoidance "for perceived self-protection"); ACAPS, *Colombia Analysis Hub* (Dec. 2, 2024); Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement.
15. National Security Presidential Memorandum-7 (Sept. 25, 2025); Attorney General memorandum, "Implementing NSPM-7" (Dec. 4, 2025); ACLU, "How NSPM-7 Seeks to Use 'Domestic Terrorism' to Target Nonprofits and Activists" (Oct. 2025); Charity & Security Network (Apr. 2026), citing CBS News (Mar. 18, 2026); FBI NSPM-7 Joint Mission Center operational status per the same reporting.
16. *Washington State Standard*, "How WA Plans to Use \$32 Million to Help Asylum Seekers" (June 14, 2024); KUOW; KNKX (Mar. 25, 2024).
17. Congressional Research Service, R47399, "U.S. Refugee Admissions Program" (Jan. 2023) (R&P per-capita \$2,275; verify current amount following the program's Oct. 31, 2025 transfer to ORR).
18. KCRHA proposed 2026 budget (~\$205M) per Capitol Hill Seattle (Apr. 23, 2026) and *Seattle Weekly* (Apr. 28, 2026), divided by the 2026 Point-in-Time count of 18,365. Single-agency figure; see Part VII.
19. Community Guide systematic review of Housing First interventions (17 U.S. studies; median \$16,479/person/year), PMC8863642; National Alliance to End Homelessness (~\$35,578 average annual public cost of chronic homelessness).
20. KCRHA, King County Point-in-Time Count 2026 (18,365); MyNorthwest reporting on shelter bed decline (5,958 to 5,269, 2025–2026).
21. LegiAlerts.org 2026 tracker (805 bills as of mid-July 2026: 65 passed, 453 failed, 267 under consideration), tracker.legialerts.org.
22. Trans Legislation Tracker, translegislation.com (cumulative enactments 2021–2025: 18, 26, 87, 51, 109; 3,100+ bills introduced since 2020; 645 bills under consideration in 2026).
23. Samantha Riedel, "Anti-Transgender Legislation Accelerates in Early 2026," *Prism Reports* (Feb. 9, 2026); *Bostock v. Clayton County*, 590 U.S. 644 (2020).
24. Trans Legislation Tracker, translegislation.com/bills/2025 (national bill counts).
25. SCOTUSblog, "Supreme Court Sides With Trump Administration on Sex Designations on Passports" (Nov. 6, 2025); NPR (Feb. 21, 2025).
26. Exec. Order 14187 (Jan. 28, 2025); HHS guidance rescission (Feb. 20, 2025); OPM FEHB/PSHB coverage exclusion effective 2026.
27. CMS proposed rules (Dec. 18, 2025) (Medicare/Medicaid conditions of participation, gender-affirming care for minors); DOJ subpoenas of 20+ providers of trans healthcare, including Washington institutions, per contemporaneous reporting and GJL direct knowledge.

28. Williams Institute, "The Impact of the Gender-Affirming Care Ban Executive Order" (2025).
29. Exec. Order, "Prioritizing Military Excellence and Readiness" (Jan. 27, 2025); Supreme Court order permitting enforcement (May 2025), via CNN.
30. HHS FY2026 budget eliminating the 988 LGBTQ+ specialized service; The Trevor Project, "What to Know About 988 Funding" (2025–26); service termination July 2025. SAMHSA primary confirmation pending.
31. HUD, "Equal Access to Housing in HUD Programs Revisions," 91 Fed. Reg. (Apr. 28, 2026), federalregister.gov/documents/2026/04/28/2026-08244; National Alliance to End Homelessness, "HUD's Equal Access Rule"; enforcement-halt memo (Feb. 10, 2025).
32. See, e.g., contemporaneous analyses characterizing the ruling as formally narrow: the majority reserves non-athletics questions, does not require exclusion, and repeatedly distinguishes the sports context. Education Week, "What Schools Need to Know About the Supreme Court's Transgender Sports Ruling" (July 2026).
33. C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (1955; 3d rev. ed. 1974); *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896); *Mississippi Const. of 1890* (the "Mississippi Plan"). Chronology offered as structural comparison of legislative velocity only; see front matter and Part VII.
34. Over Zero, *Decoding LGBTQ Scapegoating* (2024); *Protect Democracy* analyses of minority scapegoating in democratic backsliding; documentation of anti-LGBTQ law as an instrument of consolidation in Hungary and Russia, including refugee recognition of LGBTQ nationals of both states.
35. 2022 U.S. Trans Survey (Advocates for Trans Equality; n=92,329), *Early Insights Report* (Feb. 2024); NBC News; *The Hill* (movers' origin states).
36. FOX 13 Seattle, "Seattle LGBTQ Commission Requests State of Emergency" (2026) (84% major-life-decisions figure, MAP data; Curia quotation).
37. 2022 USTS Early Insights (poverty, unemployment, homelessness, healthcare, policing); 2015 USTS Executive Summary (40% lifetime suicide attempt; 58% police mistreatment), transequality.org.
38. GJL Trans Legal Risk Index tier assignments: Gender Justice League synthesis of (a) Erin Reed, "Anti-Trans National Legal Risk Assessment Map: July 2026," *Erin In The Morning* (July 13, 2026) (Idaho fourth "Do Not Travel" designation; complete state assignments); (b) Movement Advancement Project, *LGBTQ Equality Maps*, gender identity policy scores and May 26, 2026 update (Kansas SB 244 driver's license invalidation and bounty enforcement; Idaho H752 felony facility ban and H822 forced-outing law, both effective July 1, 2026; Oklahoma HB 1225 birth-certificate marker prohibition); (c) ACLU, "Mapping Attacks on LGBTQ Rights in U.S. State Legislatures in 2026" (525+ bills tracked; *Doe v. State of Kansas* challenge to SB 244). Full dataset: GJL_Trans_Legal_Risk_Index_Jul2026.csv, available from Gender Justice League.
39. Jody L. Herman & Andrew R. Flores, *How Many Adults and Youth Identify as Transgender in the United States?* (Los Angeles: Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law, Aug. 2025), Tables 4–5 and Appendix (95% confidence intervals): pooled 2021–2023 BRFSS (n = 802,721, 41 states) and 2021/2023 YRBS, multilevel regression with poststratification. Washington: 66,300 adults (1.07%); 16,900 youth 13–17 (3.39%); gender distribution 26.3% trans women, 36.0% trans men, 37.6% nonbinary; age gradient 3.64% (18–24) to 0.34% (65+). State adult rates range 0.41% (New Mexico) to 1.21% (Minnesota); Washington is exceeded only by Minnesota (1.21%), Vermont (1.14%), Delaware (1.12%), and Massachusetts (1.10%). williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/Trans-Pop-Update-Aug-2025.pdf
40. Demand model inputs: Herman & Flores (2025) state adult population estimates; consideration rates stratified by Index tier (Critical 60%, Severe 50%, High 40%, Elevated 30%, Low 15%, Refuge 5%); anchor surveys and measured rates per endnotes 11, 35, and 1 (73% lower-income consideration; 47% USTS consideration; 9% measured seven-month movement). Washington's rank as second most-named destination: MAP/NORC polling series and Williams relocation study.
41. Origin-state corroboration: 2022 USTS Early Insights (most-departed states: Texas, Florida, Tennessee, Ohio, Missouri); Seattle LGBTQ Commission letter of recommendation (Mar. 31, 2026) (arrivals from Texas, Florida, Tennessee, Kansas, and Idaho).
42. Jessica Kant, analysis of 2025 anti-trans coverage volume across U.S. outlets (Feb. 8, 2026), as reported in *PinkNews* (Feb. 10, 2026): Fox News published more articles referencing transgender people in 2025 than any other U.S. outlet; more than half of all anti-trans coverage produced by the six largest conservative outlets; articles containing "transgender" approaching 1,000 for the year.
43. Media Matters for America, "Fox News Outstripped CNN and MSNBC in First Month Covering Trump's Anti-Trans Executive Orders" (Mar. 2025): Fox 4h08m/85 segments/83 teasers vs. CNN 2h09m/39 and MSNBC 2h33m/32; 12 of 86 guest segments (14%) across the three networks included a trans or gender-nonconforming guest; Fox's sole such guest was contributor Caitlyn Jenner; zero trans guests in the 22 segments on the gender-affirming-care order on any network. Media Matters, "Fox News Aired More Than 400 Weekday Segments Mentioning Trans Athletes Over Just Four Months" (June 2025): 424+ segments since Feb. 5, 2025; peak 59 segments the week of Mar. 3; sustained coverage of a 16-year-old athlete following her doxing by a school board official.
44. Media Matters for America, TV news coverage of anti-transgender violence in 2021 (2022): 19 segments and 43 minutes total across ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, Fox News, and MSNBC in the deadliest year on record (57 deaths per HRC tracking); Fox News: two segments, two minutes.
45. Zane McNeill, "Republicans Spent Nearly \$215M on TV Ads Attacking Trans Rights This Election," *Truthout* (Nov. 5, 2024).
46. Alejandra Caraballo, "How The New York Times Changed Its Coverage of Trans People," *The Dissident* (June 19, 2026), with data and methodology at nytimes.lgbt:corpus of 3,242 articles (Jan. 2014–2026) assembled via the Times' Article Search and Archive APIs including all 2,266 articles carrying the paper's own editor-applied transgender subject descriptors; full text recovered for 3,200; each article scored against a fixed rubric independently by three models (Claude Haiku 4.5, Gemini 2.5 Flash-Lite, and open-weights Qwen 2.5-32B), cross-checked against a deterministic NLP baseline (VADER); dataset published for independent validation. Topic prominence migrated from personal stories and culture (3.6→2.9; 3.9→2.2) to politics, legal, youth, and medical coverage (2.4→4.5; 2.6→4.0; 1.4→2.9; 0.9→2.0), 2014–16 vs. 2024–26 averages.
47. Vesper Henry & Ari Drennen, "Seen but Not Heard," Media Matters for America (Mar. 26, 2024) (Times failed to quote trans

people in over 60% of 2023 stories on anti-trans legislation); GLAAD, analysis of trans-voice inclusion in New York Times coverage (2024); Letter from New York Times contributors to Assoc. Managing Editor for Standards Philip B. Corbett (Feb. 15, 2023), nylletter.com; Assigned Media, New York Times trans quotes tracker (June 8, 2026).

48. Alejandra Caraballo, “The Laundering: How Western Media Built the Permission Structure for Anti-Gender Authoritarianism,” *The Dissident* (Apr. 9, 2026); Judith Butler, “Why Is the Idea of ‘Gender’ Provoking Backlash the World Over?,” *The Guardian* (Oct. 23, 2021); Freedom House, Nations in Transit (Hungary 2020 downgrade; Georgia 2024); Human Rights Watch reporting on the Russian (2023) and Hungarian (2021) anti-LGBT laws. See Part II and the Over Zero/Protect Democracy sources cited above for the scapegoating-sequence literature this record extends.

49. Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), arts. 6, 7, 13; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ratified by the U.S. 1992), arts. 12, 16, 26.

50. Yogyakarta Principles (2006) and Yogyakarta Principles plus 10 (2017), principles 3, 23, 31.

51. Constitutional Court of Colombia, Sentencia T-025 de 2004 (declaring an “estado de cosas inconstitucional” in the state’s response to internal displacement); Ley 1448 de 2011 (Victims and Land Restitution Law); Registro Único de Víctimas cumulative registration figures.

52. Law of Ukraine No. 1706-VII “On Ensuring the Rights and Freedoms of Internally Displaced Persons” (2014, as amended); IOM Ukraine displacement reporting (2022–2024); Ministry for Reintegration of the Temporarily Occupied Territories program descriptions.

53. General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Dayton, 1995), Annex 7; OSCE/UNHCR Property Law Implementation Plan (PLIP) reporting on property restitution.

54. Brookings Institution and Inter-Agency reporting applying the IDP framework to Hurricane Katrina displacement (2005–2006); estimates of more than one million displaced Gulf Coast residents; contemporaneous federal resistance to the “internally displaced” designation documented in press accounts.

55. Engrossed Substitute HB 1469 (2023), signed Apr. 27, 2023; Washington Attorney General shield-law guidance, atg.wa.gov.

56. RCW 74.09.675; Gender Affirming Treatment Act (2021); Seattle Times, “What Protections Do Transgender People Have in Washington?”; multistate litigation reporting (Feb. 2025).

57. Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement, “Under the Radar: Internally Displaced Persons in Non-Camp Settings” (Oct. 2013) (network-driven destination choice; host-community organizations as first responders).

58. U.S. Census Bureau Household Pulse Survey (July 2021–May 2023), Seattle MSA LGBTQ+ identification (~17% vs. ~13% national), per Puget Sound Regional Council analysis (June 2023); King County population denominators per Census Bureau and Washington OFM estimates (~1.85M adults; ~135,000 residents aged 13–17).

59. CDC, Youth Risk Behavior Survey (2023): 3.3% of U.S. high school students identify as transgender and 2.2% questioning (MMWR, 2024); Washington Healthy Youth Survey (2023), gender identity items with King County breakouts, askhys.net. On adult telephone-survey disclosure bias: Herman & Flores (2025), Methods, and Meerwijk & Sevelius, *AJPH* 107(2) (2017) (measurement and disclosure effects on population estimates).

60. City of Tukwila population: 21,798 (2020 Census). 2024 asylum-seeker appropriation allocations including \$2.5M to the City of Tukwila: Washington State Standard (June 14, 2024).

61. Structural facts: Washington levies no personal income tax (Wash. Const. and RCW Title 82); comparative metro housing-cost relationships per C2ER Cost of Living Index and Zillow Home Value Index for the Seattle, San Francisco, San Jose, New York, and Boston metros — anchor to current-quarter figures before quotation; see Part VII.

62. Assigned Media, “Seattle Organizers Rally for State of Emergency as Trans People Flee Oppression” (2026) (TRACTION/Project Open Arms; Kawaguchi quotations); FOX 13 Seattle (Curia quotation).

63. Gender Justice League, Community Security Program intake records and Calendly program analytics, reporting period June 16, 2025–June 15, 2026 (854 completed appointments, +188.5% year over year; 343 community security intake meetings; 923 created events, +195.8%). Intake counts (982 requests; 95/month average; 23% arrived within past year) from

GJL program records; documentation available on request.

64. Seattle City Council, 2026 adopted budget summary (Nov. 20, 2025) (\$250,000 Black trans and gender-diverse services); King County Council supplemental release (June 23, 2026); Lavender Rights Project (Sharyn Grayson House; reported \$2M state trans-youth capacity appropriation — proviso verification pending, see Part VII).

65. Public Health — Seattle & King County and King County Hospitals for a Healthier Community, 2024/2025 Community Health Needs Assessment; Communities Count (BRFSS 2018–2022 pooled, frequent mental distress); King County Healthy Youth Survey (2023). Table-level sourcing consolidated in GJL research files.

66. UW Nutritional Sciences, WAFOOD Brief 11 (waves 1–2, 2020–21; n=5,330; 44% food insecurity among transgender/nonbinary respondents; convenience sample).

67. National Alliance to End Homelessness, State of Homelessness data on nonbinary populations by Continuum of Care (82% of nonbinary homeless individuals unsheltered nationally; Seattle/King County highest nonbinary CoC count).

68. Gillig, T. K., Crain, C., Janssen, C., Price, E., Warren, O. E., Zarcone, A., & Moreno, Z., Washington LGBTQ+ Survey Report 2025 (Washington State University, 2025), walgbtqsurvey.com. Commissioned by the Washington State LGBTQ Commission; fielded June 1, 2024–January 31, 2025; nearly 7,000 2SLGBTQIA+ respondents ages 11–98 from every Washington county; WSIRB-approved. Figures cited: depression and anxiety diagnoses (~50% each); past-year suicidal ideation (~70%); care avoidance due to expected discrimination (~50%); adolescent medical discrimination (~80%, vs. 60% ages 18–64); insurance barriers to gender-affirming procedures (~50%); individual income at or below \$15,000 (14%); home ownership below 50% vs. >60% statewide; temporary housing (17%); workplace discrimination (~50%); hate-crime victimization (22%); feeling safe in Washington (87%); community connection (95%).

69. Funders for LGBTQ Issues, 2023 Resource Tracking Report (June 30, 2025), lgbtfunders.org/research; decline figures and funder anonymization as reported by The Advocate (July 8, 2025).

70. Funders for LGBTQ Issues, 2024 Resource Tracking Report: LGBTQ Grantmaking by U.S. Foundations (June 8, 2026): 2024 total \$178.2M (-15% nominal,

-17% inflation-adjusted; 445 foundations, 5,043 grants, 2,408 grantees); TGNCNBi-specific \$33.3M (-9% from 2023; -31% from the 2022 peak of \$48.2M); private foundation LGBTQ giving \$101M→\$68.2M (-33%); state-level grants \$37.4M→\$29.1M (-22%); 16 cents per \$100 of all U.S. foundation giving (from 20 cents); rapid-response funding +27% to \$8.5M (42 foundations, 231 grants, 154 grantees). Prior-year series: 2023 Resource Tracking Report (June 30, 2025) (\$209.4M total; \$36.4M trans-specific); 2022 Resource Tracking Report (2024) (\$258.1M all-time high; \$48.2M trans-specific, +34% from \$36.0M in 2021, substantially attributable to the Trans Futures Funding Campaign). Enactment series: Trans Legislation Tracker (18/26/87/51/109, 2021–2025).

71. Gender Justice League financial records, FY2024–FY2026 (foundation revenue \$210,000 to \$40,000; funder-by-funder disposition); GJL litigation records (two suits concerning Victims of Crime Act–funded programs). Documentation available on request under standard confidentiality terms.

72. The Advocate (HRC, GLSEN, Trevor Project layoffs); National LGBTQ Task Force staff reduction per organizational announcements; Chronicle of Philanthropy, nonprofit layoff tracker (23,000+ documented positions since Jan. 2025); TransOhio resource listings (Trans Lifeline reduced hours).

73. Movement Advancement Project annual organizational survey (2024–2025 budget-year comparison; 22–26% estimated reduction in individual giving across the eleven U.S. trans organizations with budgets above \$1 million). Methodology memo pending; see Part VII.

74. Mission Local, “We Are on Pins and Needles”: S.F. Trans Orgs Face Funding Uncertainty” (Apr. 2, 2026) (nine-organization suit; June 2025 preliminary injunction; government appeal).

75. The Advocate (Lambda Legal \$285M campaign; 95% individual donors).

76. The Census Project, “Standard Deviations: LGBTQ Data at the Census Bureau” (Mar. 3, 2026) (HPS gender-identity removal in the 2025 HTOPS relaunch; ~360 affected collections per Williams Institute analysis).

77. MyNorthwest/SeattleRed commentary (Rantz), mynorthwest.com/local/seattle-transgender-refugee — cited as the

opposition record, not as an evidentiary source.

78. ACAPS, Colombia Analysis Hub (Dec. 2, 2024) (institutional distrust and bureaucratic delay).

79. National Low Income Housing Coalition, Equal Access Rule advocacy materials (lifetime homelessness prevalence; LGBTQ+ youth share of homeless youth).

80. Clark Nuber forensic audit of KCRHA, reported by Capitol Hill Seattle (Apr. 23, 2026) and KIRO 7 (June 2026) (\$44.7M negative cash position; \$12.26M unaccounted for).

81. ORR Dear Colleague Letter 24-14 (FY2024 RSS \$307M; Transitional and Medical Services \$564M); DSHS, Refugee Cash Assistance program pages.

82. DSHS ESA Briefing Book SFY2025 (RCA caseload 2,208/mo; average grant \$437; five national resettlement agencies with WA offices; 30,000+ resettled over the past decade).

83. Exec. Order 14163 (Jan. 20, 2025) (USRAP suspension); ORR Policy Letter 25-04; National Immigration Forum, “Fact Sheet: U.S. Refugee Resettlement” (Dec. 2025) (FY2026 determination of 7,500; R&P transfer to ORR Oct. 31, 2025).

84. Tordoff DM, Wanta JW, Collin A, Stepney C, Inwards-Breland DJ, Ahrens K, “Mental Health Outcomes in Transgender and Nonbinary Youths Receiving Gender-Affirming Care,” JAMA Network Open 5(2):e220978 (2022) (prospective cohort, Seattle Children's Gender Clinic; 60% lower odds of depression, 73% lower odds of suicidality over 12 months).

85. Lee et al., “State-Level Anti-Transgender Laws Increase Past-Year Suicide Attempts Among Transgender and Non-Binary Young People,” Nature Human Behaviour 8:2096–2106 (2024) (increases of up to 72% among ages 13–17 in the second year post-enactment); Matters Arising critique and authors' reply (May 2026).

86. Gender Justice League, letter to Mayor Katie Wilson, Acting Director Cuc Vu (Office of Immigrant and Refugee Affairs), and the Seattle City Council, “City of Seattle's Trans Displacement Response” (July 14, 2026) (one-time \$2,000,000 General Fund appropriation: \$250,000 to OIRA including one dedicated coordinating FTE; \$1,750,000 community grants program administered through OIRA by open, competitively scored RFP; program elements including a newcomers support group and a monthly

one-stop shop in City Hall's Bertha Knight Landis Room; ten one-time offsetting funding sources identified in the companion briefing).

87. City of Seattle, Office of Immigrant and Refugee Affairs: department overview and 2026 proposed budget (seattle.gov/iandaffairs; seattle.gov/documents/Departments/FinanceDepartment/2026proposedbudget/OIRA.pdf); Ready to Work program (established 2015; ESL instruction paired with case management toward employment and economic stability; \$700,000 in the adopted budget); Seattle Legal Defense Network (immigration legal advice and representation for low-income residents, students, and workers; expanded by \$1.25M/year); New Citizen Program (naturalization assistance through ten community-based partner organizations across King County).

88. Seattle Office of Planning & Community Development, Equitable Development Initiative award history (\$116M+, 77+ projects since 2016; ~\$29.3M in 2026); Seattle Participatory Budgeting program records (\$30M; \$27.25M in 2025–2026 projects); Seattle 2025 Adopted Budget (HSD targeted-population additions: \$2M trafficking response, \$4.25M gun violence prevention, \$1.9M Third Avenue Project, \$1.4M runaway and homeless youth, \$1M gender-based violence services); Washington State Auditor, accountability review of the Black Brilliance Research Project contract (“only the bare minimum of accountability and transparency”).

89. Washington state-level funding series: Funders for LGBTQ Issues, 2023 Resource Tracking Report (June 30, 2025), state density tables (TGNCNBi funding by state, WA \$909,922; local- and state-level LGBTQ funding by state, WA \$3,788,400); 2024 Resource Tracking Report and Data Explorer (June 8, 2026), state maps (WA TGNCNBi \$340,191; WA all-LGBTQ \$4,860,208); 2022 Resource Tracking Report (2024), state table (WA \$623,081; trans-specific funding was not reported by state before the 2023 edition). National ranks, funding shares, and the per-capita comparison (~\$4.09 per trans Washingtonian against ~\$12 nationally, using the Williams Institute Aug. 2025 estimate of ~83,200 trans Washingtonians aged 13+, endnote 39) are Gender Justice League calculations from the reports' state-level tables; figures reflect the geographic focus of each grant, not the grantee's location.

90. City of Seattle v. Trump (W.D. Wash., filed July 31, 2025), challenging grant conditions implementing Exec. Order 14168

§3(g) and Exec. Order 14173 §3(b)(iv); preliminary injunction granted Oct. 31, 2025 (Rothstein, J.), finding the “gender ideology” restriction undefined and chilling, holding the conditions exceeded statutory authority, and declaring past implementation actions null and void; injunction extended June 29, 2026 to nine additional local-government plaintiffs (Cleveland, Columbus, Durham, Portland, and Shoreline; Allegheny, Hennepin, Prince George’s, and Ramsey counties). Agency implementation in the record includes HUD homeless-assistance grant terms adopted under the McKinney-Vento Act’s catchall provision and the April 2025 Federal Transit Administration Master Agreement. Seattle City Attorney press

release (Oct. 31, 2025), [news.seattle.gov](https://www.seattle.gov/news); Courthouse News Service (June 29, 2026); National Law Review (Nov. 5, 2025).

91. Washington Attorney General’s federal funding-conditions litigation: *Washington v. Trump* (W.D. Wash.) preliminary injunction, Feb. 28, 2025 (see endnote 56), argued Ninth Circuit Mar. 2026 (KOMO News, Mar. 6, 2026, quoting DOJ counsel); 16-state and D.C. suit over HHS “gender ideology” conditions on PREP and Title V sexual-health education funding (Sept. 26, 2025; Washington receives more than \$2.6 million annually through PREP), atg.wa.gov; 12-state suit (D.R.I., Jan. 2026) challenging HHS’s conditioning of health, education, and research funding on compliance with EO 14168 — the office’s 50th federal case; *State of New Jersey v. U.S. Dep’t of Justice* (Aug. 18, 2025), 20 states and D.C. challenging conditions on more than \$1 billion in Victims of Crime Act funding; *Commonwealth of Massachusetts v. USDA* (Mar. 23, 2026), 21 attorneys general challenging conditions on USDA programs; National Institutes of Health grant-termination suit (Apr. 4, 2025; University of Washington grants reinstated following district-court ruling). Totals per the Washington Attorney General’s Federal Litigation Tracker (as of June 10, 2026: 61 cases filed; more than \$15 billion in funding at issue), atg.wa.gov.

92. Isabel Wilkerson, *The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America’s Great Migration* (Random House, 2010). Scale (~6 million) and period (WWI–1970) are the standard historical record; the geographic streams follow Wilkerson’s framing.

Every day, transgender Americans are forced from their homes by the laws of their own states — displaced inside their own country. **Gender Justice League documents this displacement, supports the people living through it, and works to build the response system they deserve.**

Join us as we work to make Washington's promise of refuge real.



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