

Building Durable Movements

Shifting Definitions of Winning and Strategy Diversity

July 2026

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Plan for Today

- ▶ Introductions
- ▶ Context: Where We Are
- ▶ Redefining Winning
- ▶ Strategy Diversity
- ▶ Strengthening Movement Leadership
- ▶ Putting It Together

A little about us



A little about us



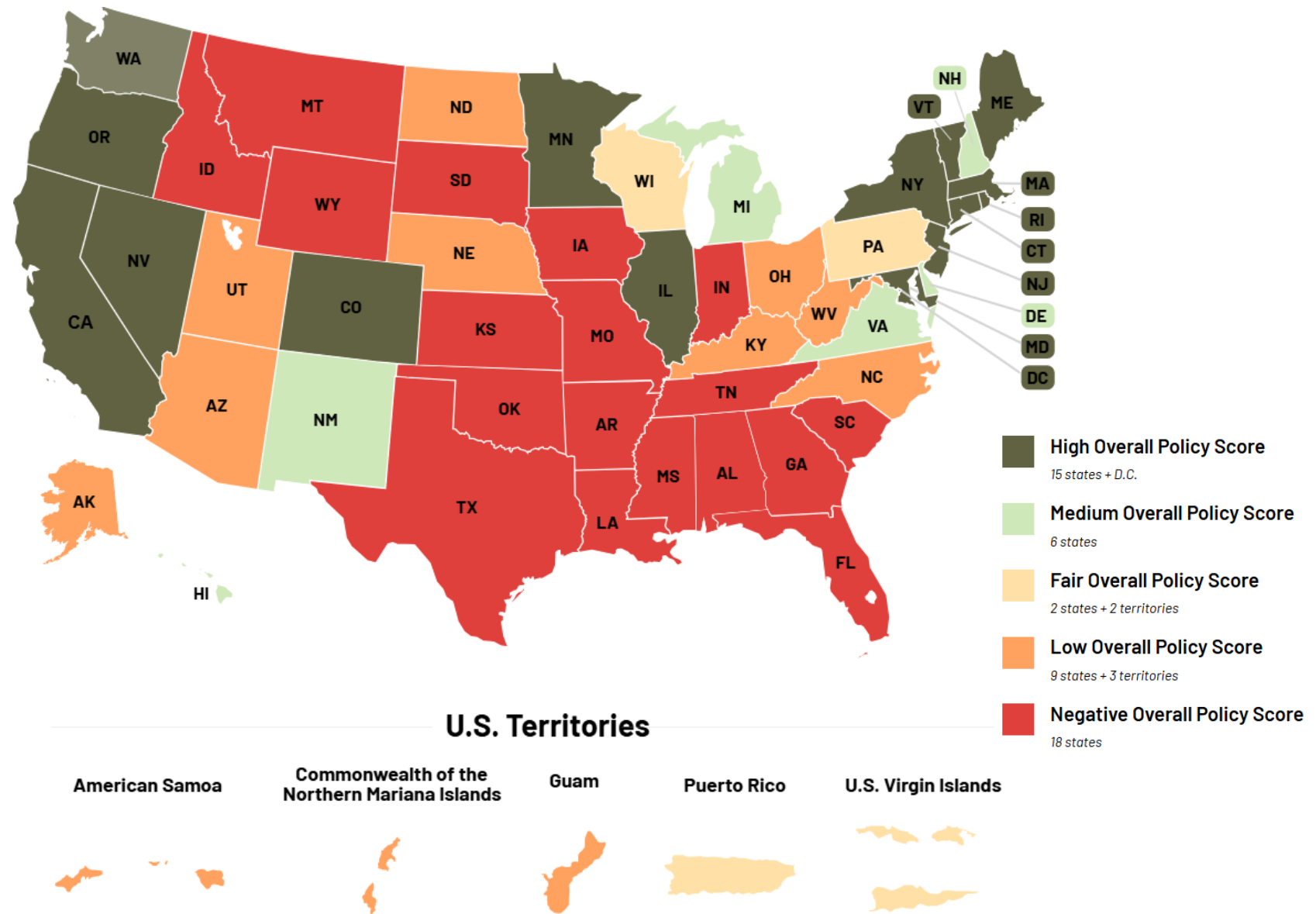
About MAP



Part I: Where are we today?

Where are we in June 2026?

- Complicated patchwork
- Rapid spread of anti-trans laws in recent years



January 2020:

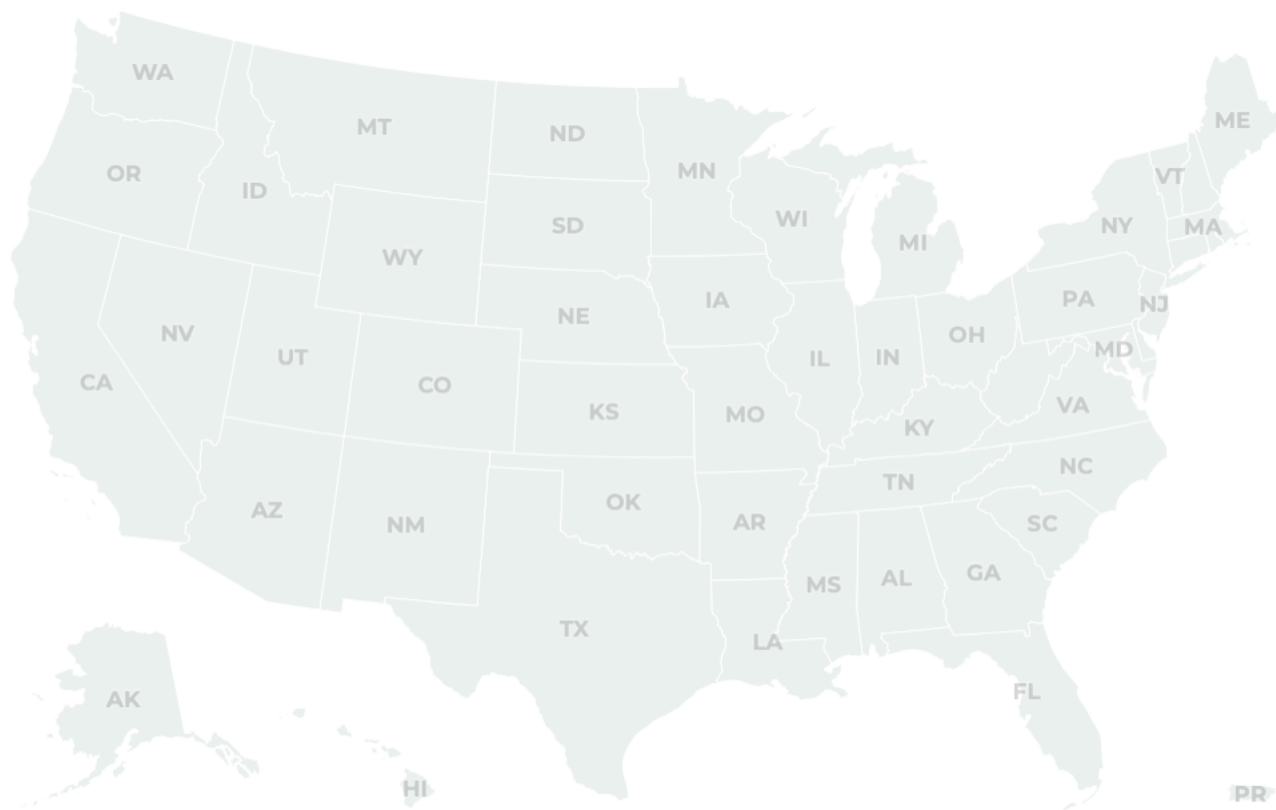
with any of these four types

Refresh

Replace

Open in Flourish

on transgender youth medical care, sports bans, bathroom bans, or gender regulation
2020



Source: [MAP](#) • As of January 1, 2020.

This map reflects legislation only and does not include agency policy or executive orders.

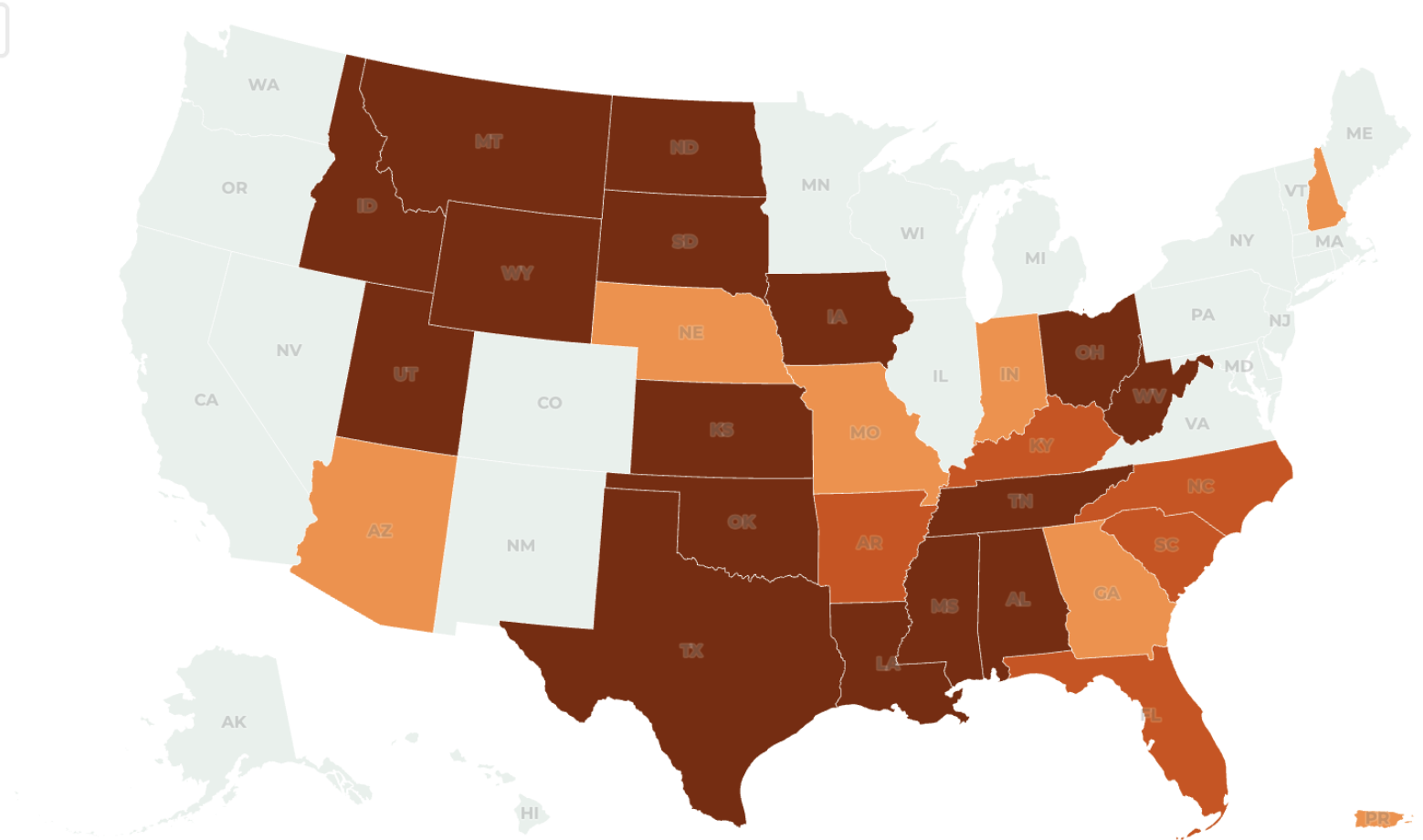
Proliferation of Anti-Trans Laws

States enacting bans on transgender youth medical care, sports bans, bathroom bans, or gender regulation laws -- as of June 1, 2026

0 4



- 27 states + PR with any of these four
- 16 states with all four
- Nearly half (46%) of transgender people live in one of these 27 states



Source: [MAP](#) • As of June 1, 2026.

This map reflects legislation only and does not include agency policy or executive orders.





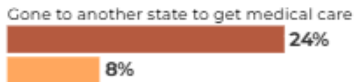
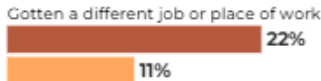
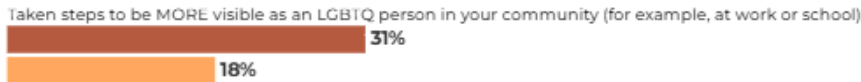
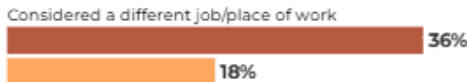
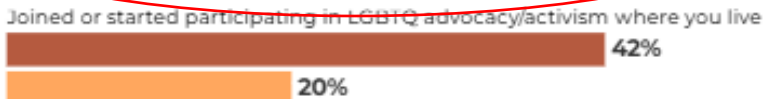
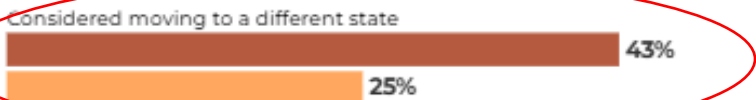
Drastic shifts from Biden Admin to Trump Admin

Significant life decisions for LGBTQ people

More than 8 in 10 **Transgender & Nonbinary People**, And the Majority of **All LGBTQ People**, Have Made Life Decisions Due to LGBTQ-Related Politics Since the November Election

% of respondents saying that LGBTQ-related politics or laws have made them or their family take each action since the November 2024 election

■ Transgender & nonbinary people
■ All LGBTQ people



Source: MAP/NORC survey of 1,055 LGBTQ U.S. adults, conducted May 29 - June 13, 2025.



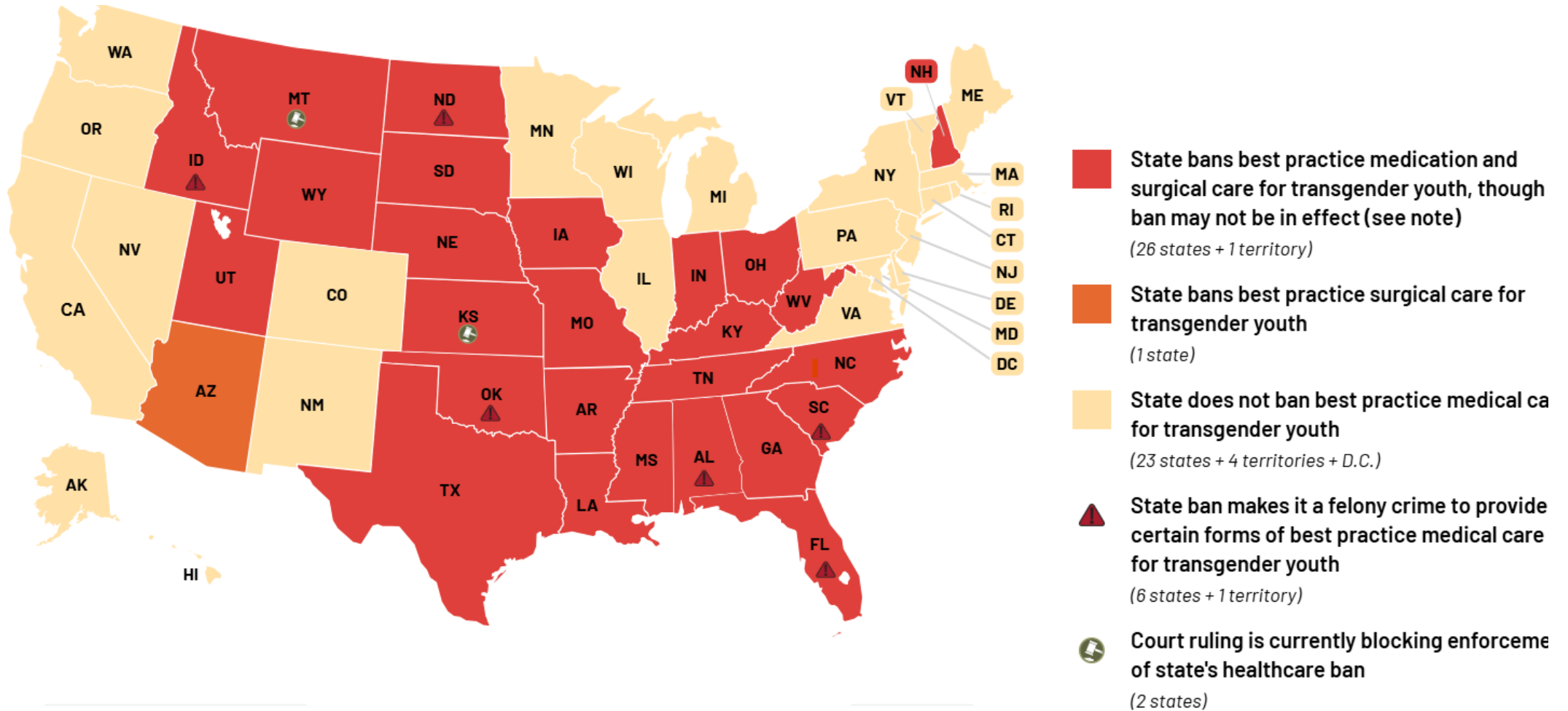
Part II:

How do we redefine winning?

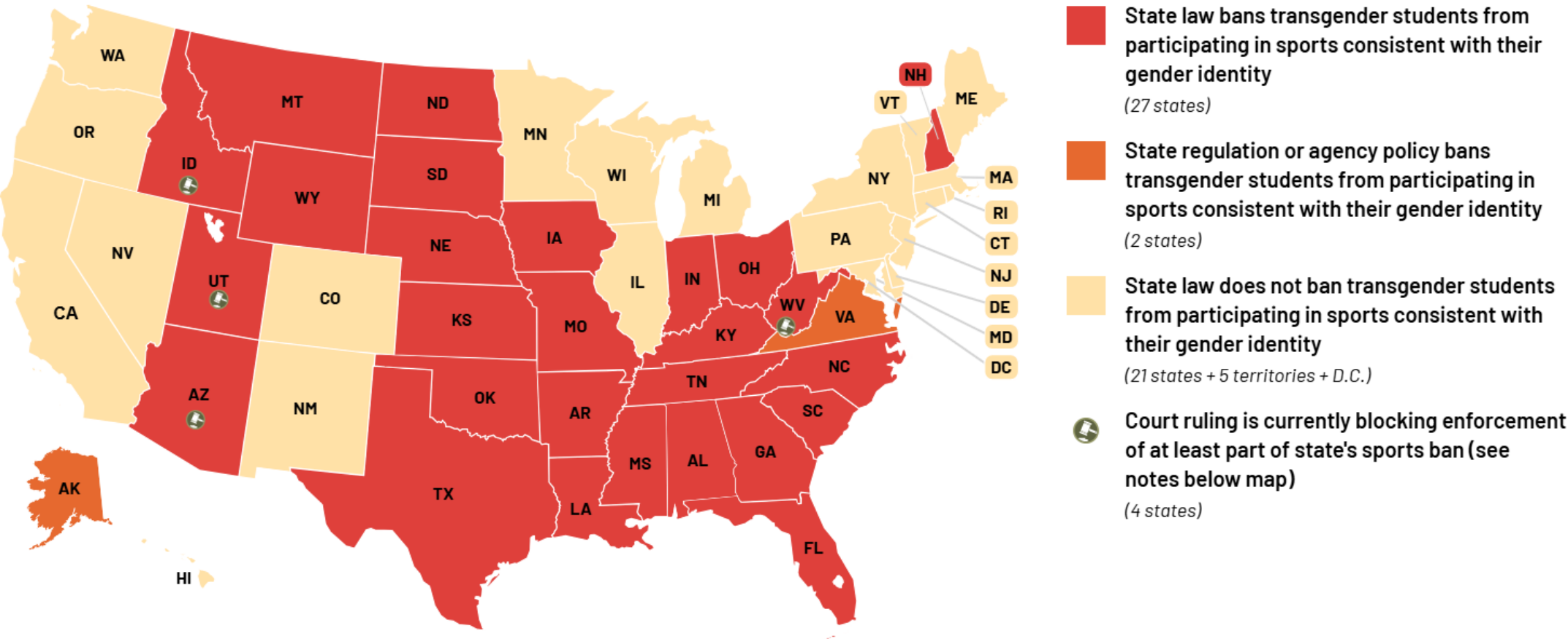
AKA: What does success look like in moments like *these*?

Case Study #1: Rapidly Changing Policy Landscapes

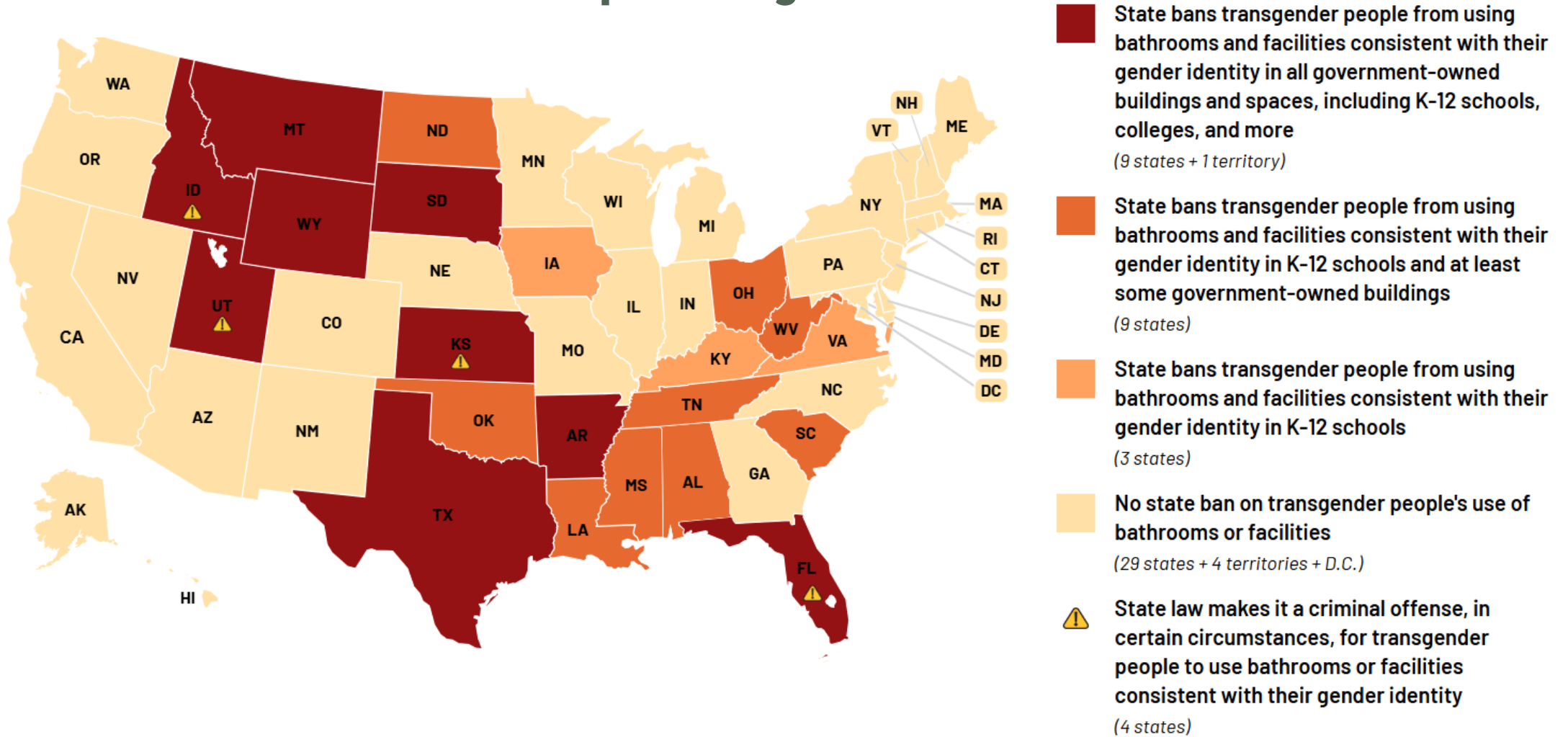
State Laws: Banning Best Practice Medical Care for Trans Youth



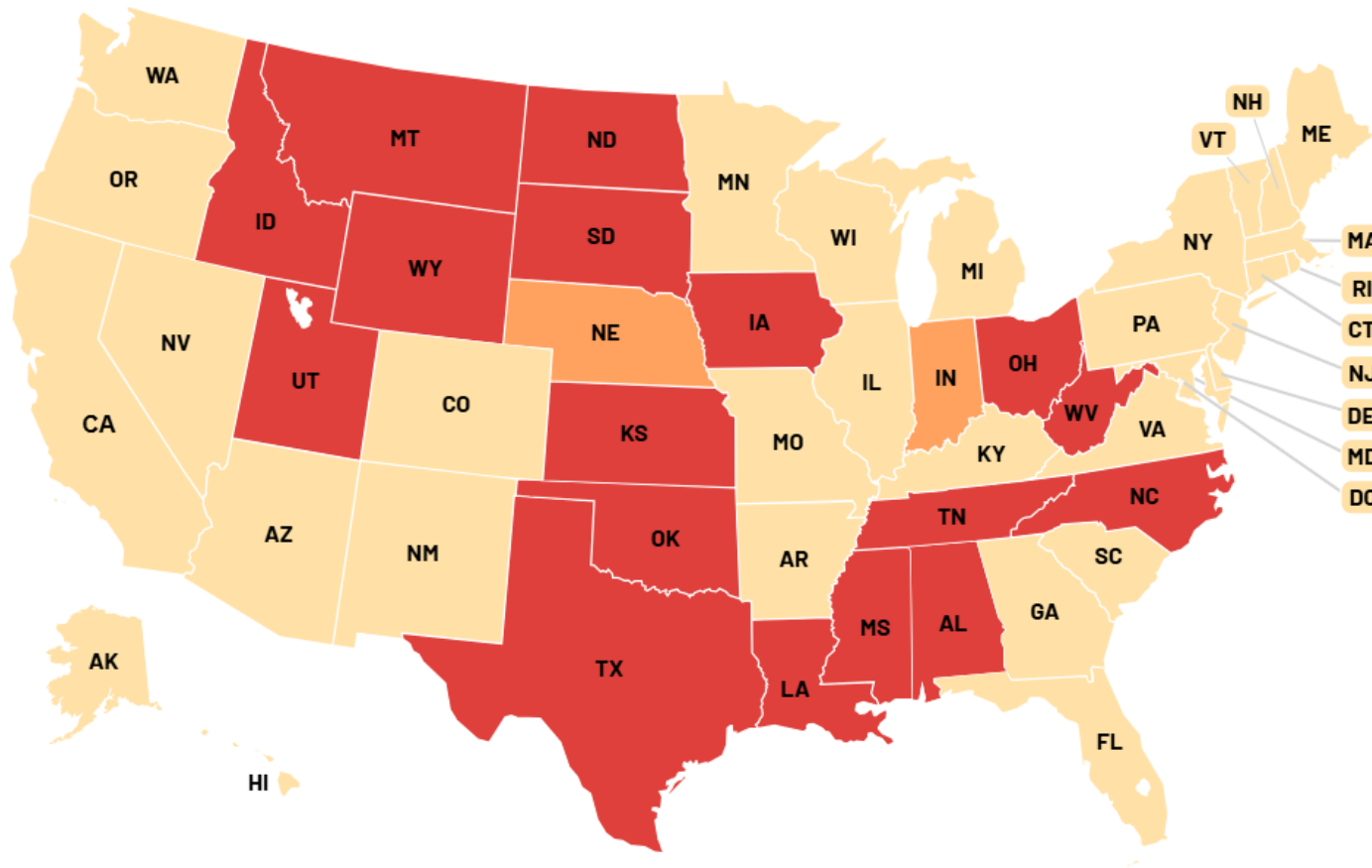
State Laws: Bans on Trans Youth Sports Participation



State Laws: Bans on Trans People Using Restrooms



State Laws: Defining Sex to Permit Discrimination



State law explicitly regulates gender throughout state law to allow discrimination against transgender people

(17 states)

State executive order explicitly regulates gender throughout state law to allow discrimination against transgender people

(2 states)

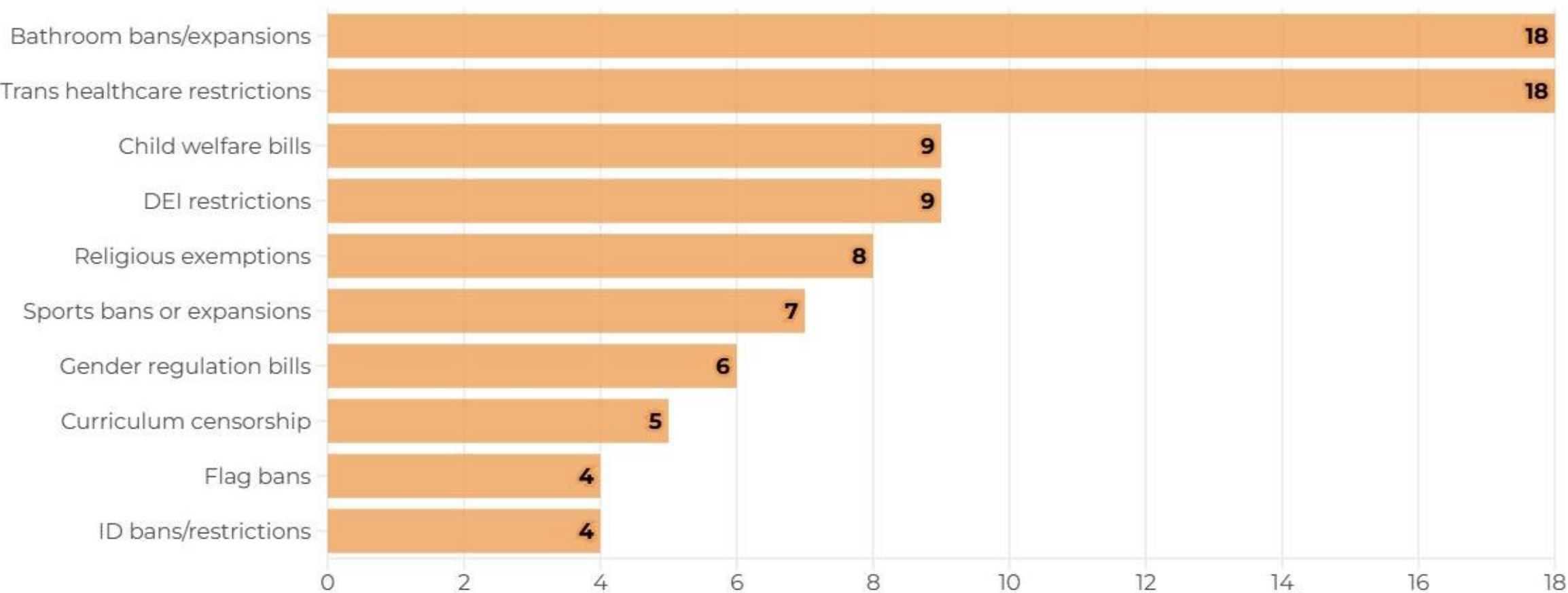
State does not explicitly regulate gender throughout state law to allow discrimination against transgender people

(31 states + 5 territories + D.C.)

Citations & More Information

Other Key Areas of State Action

of anti-LGBTQ bills enacted in 2025, by type



Full group:

“Where do you stand?”

**Move to reflect your answers
to the following questions.**

Strongly agree ← → Strongly Disagree

- [insert statements here]

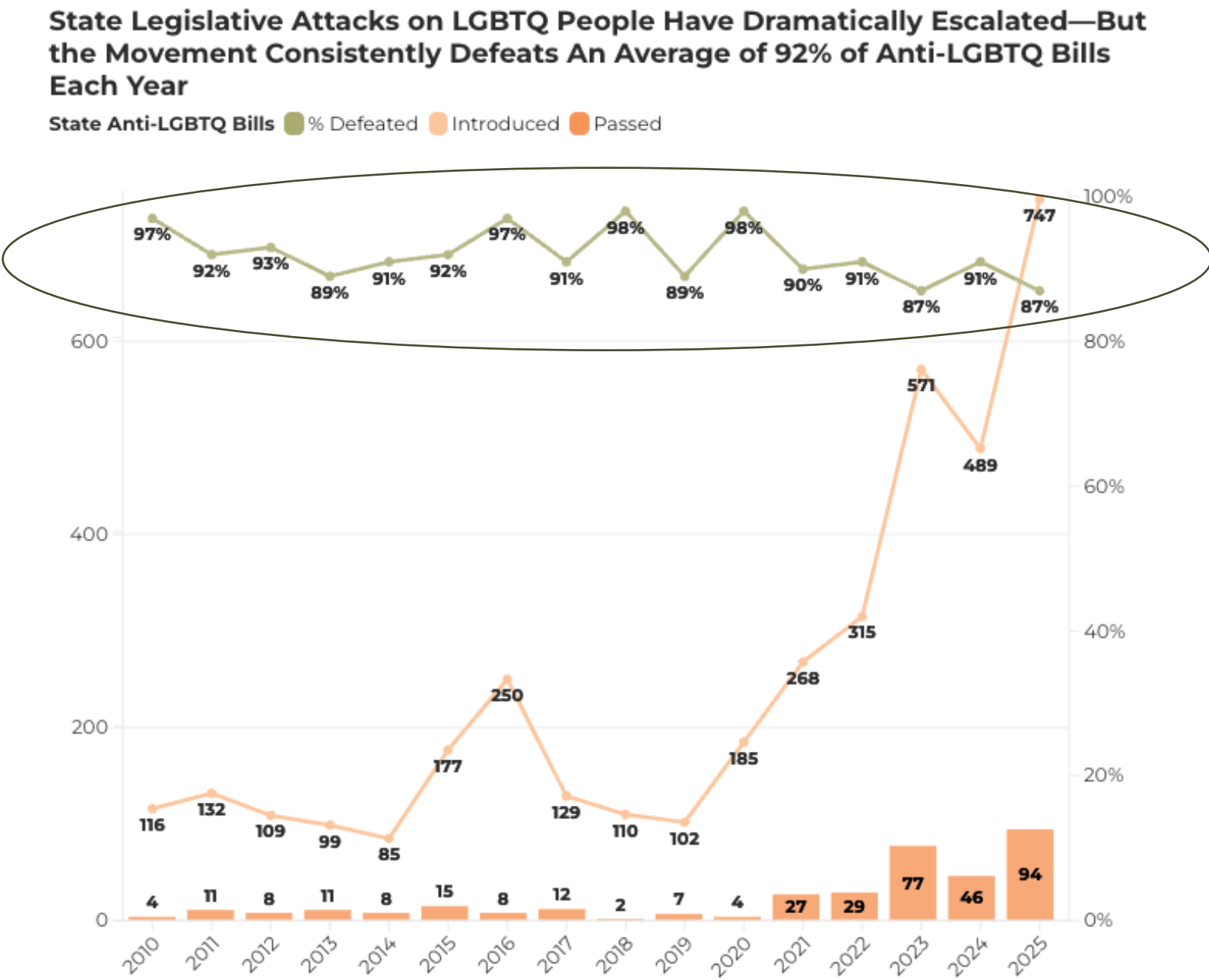
In small groups:

What is a wider view of success in the policy context?

How else could we define "winning"?

(5-10 min)

(Re)Defining What Winning Looks Like: Stopping Bills



2010-2024 data from HRC & Equality Federation's State Equality Index, 2025 data & visual from MAP
Note: In 2024, Texas, Montana, North Dakota, and Nevada were not in session. Data as of 1/1/2026.



(Re)Defining What Winning Looks Like: Stopping Bills

Legislative Highlight

Georgia defeated all 15 anti-LGBTQ+ bills this legislative session!

Legislative Highlight

All anti-trans bills introduced in Nebraska this legislative session have been defeated!

Legislative Highlight

In Minnesota, every anti-LGBTQ+ bill & amendment proposed this legislative session was defeated!

Legislative Highlight

All 58 anti-LGBTQ+ bills filed in Missouri this legislative session were defeated!

Legislative Highlight

The fifth year in a row, Virginia defeated all anti-trans bills introduced this legislative session!

(Re)Defining What Winning Looks Like: Moving What We Can, Where We Can

Legislative Highlight

Colorado lawmakers preserved protections against conversion therapy for LGBTQ+ youth, marking an important milestone after the SCOTUS ruling in *Chiles v. Salazar*.

Legislative Highlight

Virginia signed HB60 & HB38 into law, establishing protections for people on PrEP from insurance discrimination & advancing mental health support in schools.

Legislative Highlight

In Georgia, Governor Kemp signed SB 195 into law, which expands access to HIV prevention medications by allowing pharmacists to dispense PrEP and PEP.

Legislative Highlight

In New Jersey, Governor Murphy signed S2019/A6293 into law, which makes HIV medications like PrEP and PEP more accessible in the state.

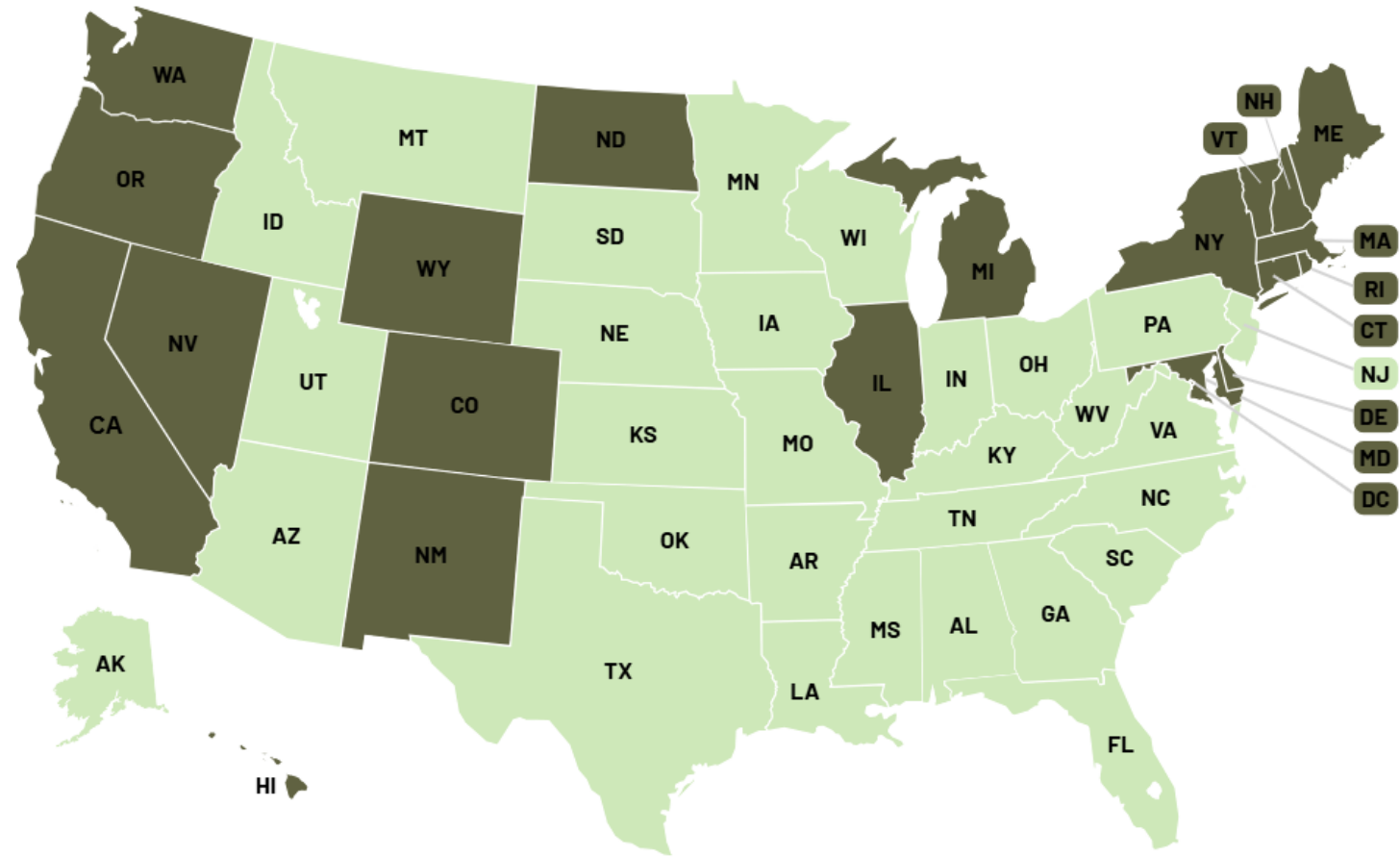
Legislative Highlight

Florida restored access to HIV care for over 10,000 people via the AIDS Drug Assistance Program (ADAP) earlier this year.

Florida lawmakers will soon reconvene for a special session where advocates are pushing for the ADAP to become permanent.

Other Key Areas of State Action

- ▶ PrEP and PEP access
- ▶ Shield laws
- ▶ **Parentage modernization efforts**
- ▶ Fertility healthcare coverage
- ▶ Updating ID documents



(Re)Defining What Winning Looks Like: Preserving Legal Theories, Delaying Harm

Federal judge voids RFK Jr’s “cruel” attempt to end gender-affirming youth care nationwide

The judge said the health secretary’s threat to defund gender-affirming health centers is illegal, cruel, and “harmed kids.”



Daniel Villarreal (he/him)

April 20, 2026, 8:00 am EDT · Updated on April 23, 2026

**In Montana, a statewide
policy that would have
blocked transgender
and nonbinary folks from
accessing accurate IDs
was blocked by the
Montana Supreme Court.**

(Slip Opinion)

OCTOBER TERM, 2025

1

Syllabus

NOTE: Where it is feasible, a syllabus (headnote) will be released, as is being done in connection with this case, at the time the opinion is issued. The syllabus constitutes no part of the opinion of the Court but has been prepared by the Reporter of Decisions for the convenience of the reader. See *United States v. Detroit Timber & Lumber Co.*, 200 U. S. 321, 337.

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

Syllabus

CHILES *v.* SALAZAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE
COLORADO DEPARTMENT OF REGULATORY
AGENCIES, ET AL.

CERTIORARI TO THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR
THE TENTH CIRCUIT

No. 24–539. Argued October 7, 2025—Decided March 31, 2026

(Re)Defining What Winning Looks Like: Building a Bigger “We”



Part III:

How do we meet – and move through – this moment?

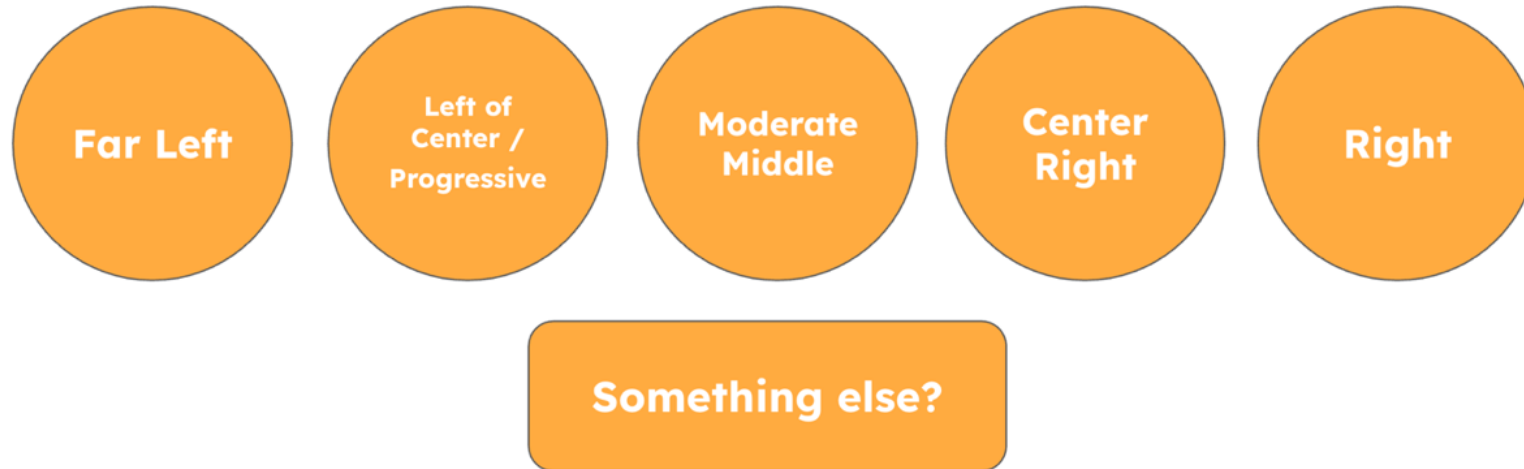
AKA: Strategy diversity and finding multiple paths up the mountain

Movements Need Diverse Strategies & Tactics

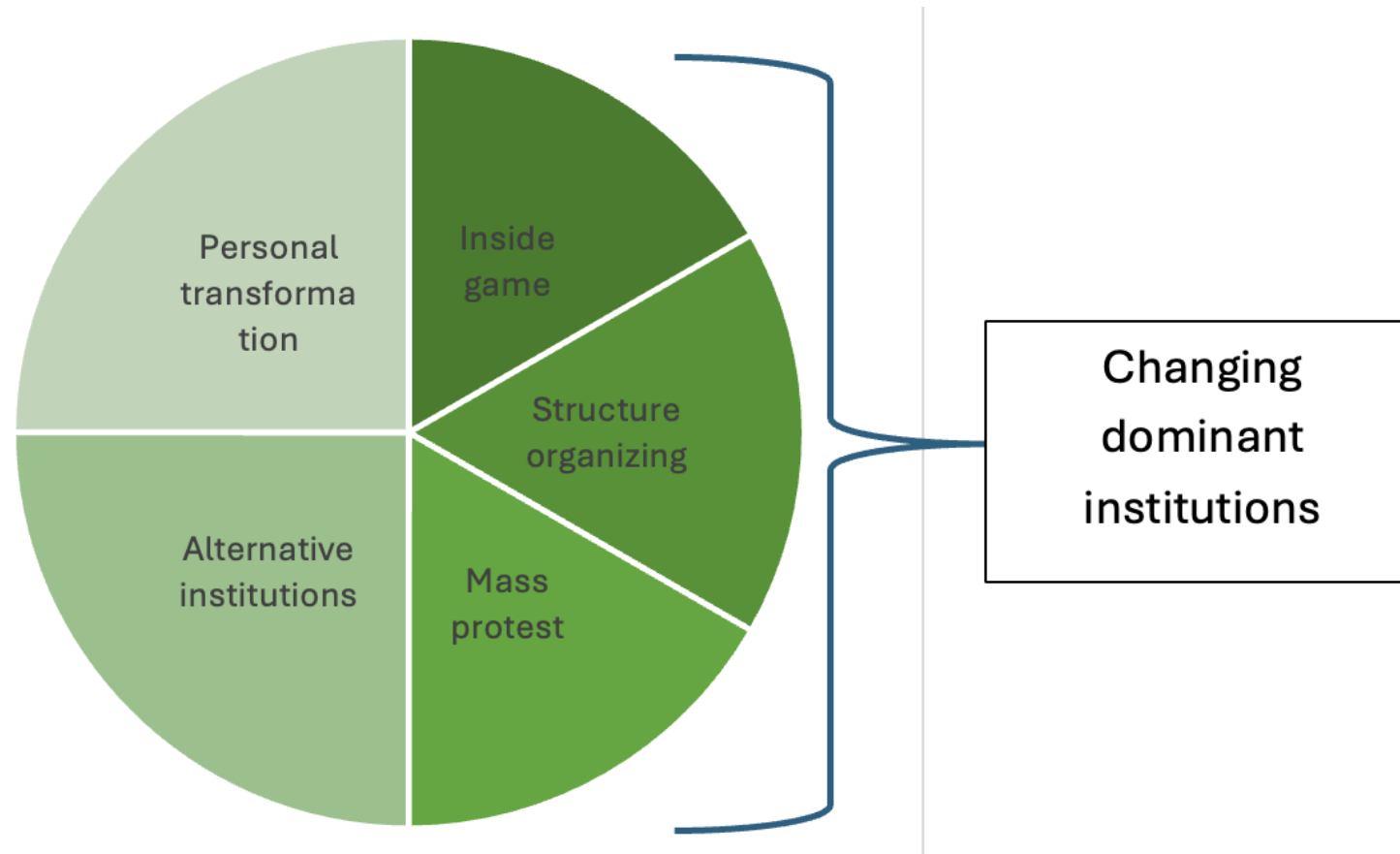


Movements Need Diverse Strategies & Tactics

**What is your Organization's "voice"?
Who is your messaging aimed at?**



Movements Need Diverse Strategies & Tactics



Case Study #2: Declining Public Opinion and Strong Opposition



BREATHE

Face the Reality of Where We Are – And How it Happened

Americans' views of laws and policies related to transgender people have changed in recent years

% saying they would favor/strongly favor laws or policies that ...



Casey Parks

@caseyparks

Final tally: According to data from @Ad_Impact, Republicans spent nearly \$215 million on network TV ads that paint trans people as a national threat. This figure does not include cable or streaming ads. There are 1.6 million trans people over the age of 13 in the U.S.

Note: Other response options included "Oppose," "Strongly oppose" and "Neither favor nor oppose." Refer to topline for full wording of each item.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Feb. 10-17, 2025.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

In Small Groups: Strategy Mapping

Campaign description

Identify both:

- a short-term win pathway, and
- a long-term power-building pathway

Then, identify:

- Where do these reinforce each other?
- Where do these conflict?
- How could they come into more alignment?

For us at MAP

- ▶ **Meeting (some) people where they are**
- ▶ **Finding shared values**
- ▶ **Acknowledging lack of familiarity**
- ▶ **Sharing journey stories**

Taking Care of Each Other & Finding Space for Connection



Recognizing What We're Capable Of



Part IV: Strengthening Movement Leadership

AKA: Building durable movements

At your table...

Reflect on your mentor(s) and how you came into this work. Write down their name(s).

What could you do for a mentee, or to bring someone else into this work?

Case Study #3: Ballot Initiatives as Movement Building Opportunity

Part V:

Synthesis & Closing

A few volunteers:

“I Used to Think / Now I Think”

What are you newly thinking about, or how has your thinking changed about something specific, after today’s workshop?



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