



## **SORVO Case Study**

Anti-Transgender Entities  
& Trans+ People



# Abstract

**T**his case study applies the Systemic Oppression, Reverse Victim and Offender (SORVO) framework to examine how trans+ people in the United States are oppressed within political discourse, media narratives, and public policy.

SORVO identifies eight pillars of narrative manipulation: exaggerate, sensationalize, falsify, redefine, deny, omit, erase, and de-define. These pillars are used as tools by oppressive groups to recast marginalized populations as perpetrators while positioning themselves as victims (reversing victim and offender).

Drawing on policy analysis, media examples, and legislation, this report explores how these tactics are used to depict trans+ people as

threats, particularly through false or exaggerated claims that they commit sexual violence. These narratives are then used to justify oppressive policies such as bathroom bans and limits on gender-affirming care.

Simultaneously, violence against the trans+ community includes high levels of sexual violence committed on individual, institutional, and systemic levels. This violence is then obscured or minimized through denial, omission, and erasure.

Understanding SORVO provides a framework for identifying and challenging these narratives as well as advancing stronger approaches to sexual violence prevention and ending violence against trans+ people.



# Authors

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## About the Sexual Violence Prevention Association (SVPA)

The Sexual Violence Prevention Association (SVPA) is a national nonprofit dedicated to preventing sexual violence systemically. Founded and led by marginalized survivors, we advocate for policy, research effective solutions, build coalitions, and reform institutions. We understand sexual violence is caused by power imbalances and systemic inequity. Sexual violence will not end until systemic oppression ends and vice versa. Preventing sexual violence dismantles a tool of power, control, and oppression.

## Our Partners, FORGE

FORGE is a national nonprofit that reduces the impact of trauma on trans/nonbinary survivors and communities by empowering service providers, advocating for systems reform, and connecting survivors to healing possibilities. FORGE provided expertise, editing, and funding for the creation of this report.

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# Table of Contents

<b>Content Warning</b> .....	<b>5</b>
<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>7</b>
Definition of Sexual Violence .....	8
Historical Context .....	9
SORVO Infographic .....	10
<b>Systemic Oppression</b> .....	<b>11</b>
<b>Reverse Victim and Offender</b> .....	<b>14</b>
Exaggerate, Sensationalize, Redefine, Falsify.....	15
Deny, Omit, Erase, De-define.....	23
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	<b>32</b>

## Content Warning

**T**his report contains content that may be distressing or disturbing for some readers. It discusses sexual violence in reference to various forms of oppression, specifically as it relates to the trans+ community. This includes descriptions of systemic, institutional, and individual acts of sexual violence. The report also discusses the ways in which anti-trans entities deny, omit, erase, and redefine their acts of sexual violence against trans+ people. Passing over sections that may be triggering and reading other case studies from the main SORVO report will still provide readers with an accurate understanding of SORVO as a framework.

The report examines how false narratives of sexual violence are used to justify the oppression of the trans+ community. The analysis covers false claims of sexual violence surrounding trans+ participation in drag performance, single-sex bathrooms, women's sports, sexual activity, and gender affirming care. It discusses how such narratives are promoted through the media, legislation, and stereotypes. There are also descriptions of how federal protections of the trans+ community are being weakened. The report contains various headlines, statistics, and graphics that may be distressing. Please see the following page for a comprehensive list of resources.



## Resources

This report contains discussion, imagery, propaganda, and quotes that may be distressing. If at any point you feel overwhelmed, consider taking a break, seeking support from trusted individuals, or referring to the following resources:

### Non-Exhaustive List of Resources for Support and Assistance:

- [FORGE](#): Offers support for transgender and non-binary individuals, survivors of violence, and family and friends, as well as training and technical assistance for professionals who work with transgender individuals.
- [Anti-Violence Project](#): Offers support for LGBTQ+ survivors of violence.
- [The LGBT National Help Center](#): Offers support for LGBTQ+ individuals, including survivors.
- [Trans Lifeline](#): Connects transgender individuals to community support and resources.
- [In Our Own Voices](#): Works to ensure the physical, mental, spiritual, political, cultural and economic survival and growth of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender people of color communities.
- [The Trevor Project](#): Offers support for LGBTQ+ individuals, particular young people.
- [The Okra Project](#): Provides mutual aid to Black trans individuals.
- [Alliance for Immigrant Survivors](#): Works to ensure immigrant survivors of domestic violence, sexual assault, trafficking, and other gender-based abuses have access to life-saving protections
- [Ujima](#): Provides support for Black women survivors of violence.
- [Black Men Heal](#): Offers mental health resources for Black men, including survivors.
- [We As Ourselves](#): Offers support and advocacy for Black survivors of sexual violence.
- [National Indigenous Women's Resource Center](#): Offers support for Indigenous survivors of violence.
- [National LGBTQ Institute on Intimate Partner Violence](#): Survivor-centered LGBTQ intimate partner violence intervention and prevention services.
- [Resources for Immigrant Survivors](#): ASISTA offers assistance and resources for immigrant survivors of violence.

# Introduction



# Definition of Sexual Violence

A robust understanding of the definition of sexual violence is foundational to the SORVO framework.

Sexual violence includes all forms of rape, sexual assault, harassment, and abuse. Sexual violence is both the result of existing power imbalances and a tool used to gain and maintain power, control, and oppression. This can be on an individual, institutional, or systemic level or a combination thereof.

## Systemic



The source of power is systemic oppression and marginalization of victims.

### Source of Power

Societal power to act without accountability or to create systems to act with impunity while removing resources and support for victims or exploiting the lack thereof.

### Example

For example, a white cis man committing sexual violence against a Black trans woman because he knows she won't be believed or supported. Thus, he can get away with it.

## Institutional



The source of power is from an institutional position or material control.

### Source of Power

Position of power as a superior within an institution or other form of control over someone's career, financial situation, housing, food, or quality of life.

### Example

For example, a supervisor exploiting their power over an employee's career to commit sexual violence. Another example is a landlord exploiting their power over a tenant.

## Individual



The source of power is a characteristic, attribute, or weapon.

### Source of Power

Physical capabilities, mental abilities, intoxication, weapons, or other individual characteristics, states of being, or possessions.

### Example

For example, a perpetrator who uses their physical strength or a weapon to commit sexual violence. Also, a perpetrator lacing their victim's drink or an adult targeting a young child.

# Introduction

## Historical Context

Systemic Oppression Reverse Victim and Offender, or SORVO, is a tactic employed by oppressive groups to weaponize sexual violence, and accusations thereof, to justify their oppression. This framework was created by the Sexual Violence Prevention Association (SVPA) to explore the ways in which oppressive groups falsely claim that an oppressed group commits high rates of sexual violence, therefore allowing the oppressive group to use this claim as justification for further oppression of the oppressed group. Furthermore, this oppression includes widespread sexual violence at the individual, institutional, and systemic levels by the oppressive group.

There are eight narrative manipulation tools oppressive groups use to execute SORVO: oppressive groups deny, omit, erase, and de-define their acts of sexual violence while sensationalizing, exaggerating, falsifying, and re-defining the actions of the groups they oppress. In the SORVO Case Study: Jim Crow, we explain how white women made false accusations of sexual victimization by Black men, a fabricated narrative that white leadership legitimized and spread. This was then used to rationalize segregation and extreme violence against the Black community, increasing sympathy for white Americans while dehumanizing Black

Americans. In using this narrative manipulation strategy, the roles of victim and offender are effectively reversed, increasing support for oppressive acts including segregation, settler colonialism, genocide, and systemic sexual violence.

This research will explore the implementation of SORVO to analyze how anti-trans+ entities have crafted a false narrative surrounding the trans+ community. Political leaders, influencers, and anti-trans+ media organizations continue to use their power as oppressors through state actions and media manipulation to garner support for the violence, including sexual violence, committed against trans+ people.

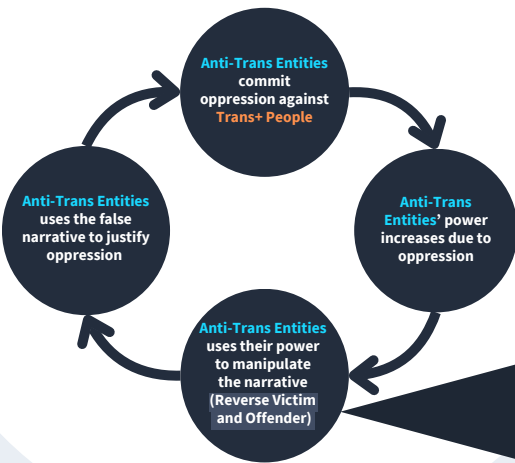
This analysis will carefully examine the rhetoric from American political leaders, media entities, and others to uncover the propaganda and motivations behind it. In addition, this report will investigate how exploitative rhetoric and transphobia have been deployed, as well as the selective inclusion and exclusion of LGBTQ+ voices.



# SORVO Infographic

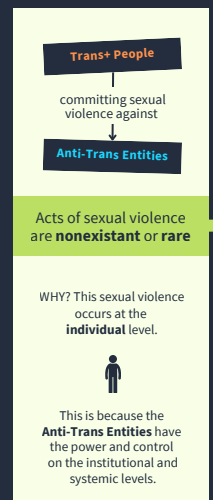
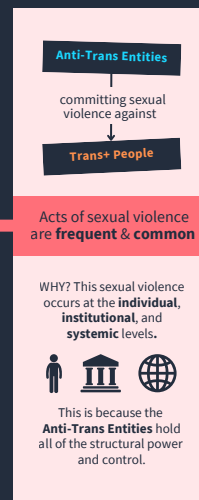
SORVO is a framework identifying how sexual violence, and accusations thereof, are weaponized to justify oppression.

## Systemic Oppression



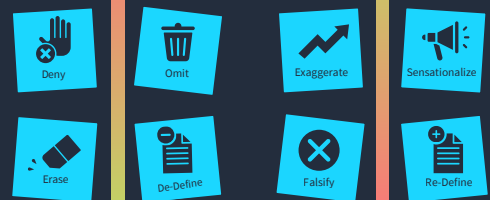
## Reverse Victim & Offender

### Reality



### Narrative Manipulation

Anti-Trans Entities shift the narrative using the following tactics:



### False Narrative



## Narrative Manipulation Tactics

**Deny**  
Anti-trans entities deny committing sexual violence against Trans+ People.



**Exaggerate**  
Trans+ people's acts of sexual violence are overblown, inflated, or outsized.

**Omit**  
Anti-trans entities omit Trans+ People from data, research, and reports to cover up their sexual violence.



**Sensationalize**  
Trans+ people's acts of sexual violence are portrayed emotionally, vividly, and covered frequently.

**Erase**  
Anti-trans entities erase evidence of their sexual violence against Trans+ People by destroying evidence, killing witnesses, silencing reporters, and discrediting reports.



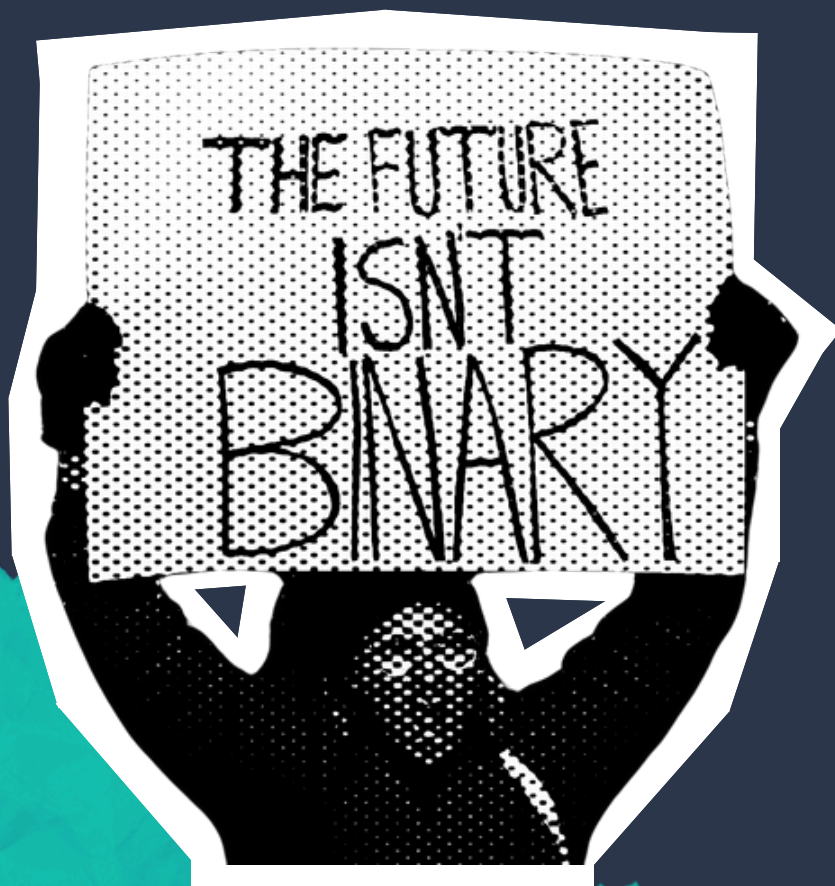
**Falsify**  
Trans+ people's acts of sexual violence against are fabricated, vague, and baseless.

**De-Define**  
Anti-trans entities' acts of sexual violence against Trans+ People are not defined as sexual violence.



**Re-Define**  
Trans+ people's non-sexual acts or consensual sexual acts are redefined as sexual violence.

# Systemic Oppression



# Systemic Oppression

**T**rans+ communities have always existed; with evidence dating back to approximately 5000 BCE, seen in both archaeology and anthropology.<sup>1</sup> Colonizing powers have worked to systematically eradicate these communities. In pre-colonial America, it is estimated that over 150 indigenous nations recognized third gender categories.<sup>2</sup> Many individuals outside the gender binary have traditionally taken on roles within their tribe in medicine, education, and storytelling.<sup>3</sup> However, as Christian Europeans colonized Native land, they imposed a binary gender framework, condemning gender variance as sinful, and further dehumanizing the Indigenous groups.<sup>4</sup>

A particularly harmful aspect of colonial erasure was the introduction of residential schools, which punished Indigenous children for speaking their languages and practicing their cultural traditions, including any nonbinary gender expression or holding varying gender identities.<sup>5</sup> The Code of Indian Offenses, introduced in 1883, made participation in traditional dances and sacred ceremonies punishable by loss of government rations or imprisonment.<sup>6</sup>

This code worked to further diminish the public existence of nonbinary Indigenous people. Despite this erasure, gender

non-conforming Native people have resisted this binary construct throughout history. Two-Spirit, for instance, is an identity used by some indigenous people to describe a variety of genders and sexualities that are connected to indigenous identity and are outside of the male-female, heterosexual binary.<sup>7</sup> This is a newer term created both to have a cross-tribal vocabulary and because many Indigenous languages have been erased, which has caused many people to lose their tribe-specific terminology.<sup>8</sup> Indigenous peoples may also use gender terms in their own languages, terms such as transgender or nonbinary, or any other words to describe their identities.<sup>9</sup> Two-Spirit and other trans+ communities are disproportionately oppressed populations, targeted by colonizing entities through physical and sexual violence.<sup>10</sup>



*“In pre-colonial America, it is estimated that over 150 indigenous nations recognized third gender categories.” - Ana Flores*



<sup>1</sup> Human Rights Campaign, “Seven Things About Transgender People That You Didn’t Know”, Human Rights Campaign Foundation, last updated April 26, 2024, accessed March 5, 2026, <https://www.hrc.org/resources/seven-things-about-transgender-people-that-you-didnt-know>.

<sup>2</sup> Ana Flores, “Two Spirit and LGBTQ+ Identities: Today and Centuries Ago,” Human Rights Campaign, November 23, 2020, accessed November 17, 2025, <https://www.hrc.org/news/two-spirit-and-lgbtq-identities-today-and-centuries-ago>.

<sup>3</sup> Flores, 2020.

<sup>4</sup> Flores, 2020.

<sup>5</sup> Thurston, Isabella. “The History of Two-Spirit Folks.” The Indigenous Foundation, June 29, 2022. <https://www.theindigenousfoundation.org/articles/the-history-of-two-spirit-folks>

<sup>6</sup> Holcomb, Victor H. “Prosecution of Non-Indians for Non-Serious Offenses Committed against Indians in Indian Country.” North Dakota Law Review 75, no. 4 (1999): 761-782. HeinOnline.

<sup>7</sup> Zaiilee Beauchamp, Matthew Fischer, and Jessy Dame, Two-Spirit Terminology Guide (Community-Based Research Centre, 2022), PDF file, [https://assets.nationbuilder.com/cbrc/pages/2301/attachments/original/1649805476/Final\\_Two-Spirit\\_Terminology\\_guide-v4.pdf](https://assets.nationbuilder.com/cbrc/pages/2301/attachments/original/1649805476/Final_Two-Spirit_Terminology_guide-v4.pdf).

<sup>8</sup> Beauchamp, Fischer, and Dame, 2022.

<sup>9</sup> Beauchamp, Fischer, and Dame, 2022.

<sup>10</sup> Brogan, 2022.

# Systemic Oppression

Contemporary historical narratives systematically erase the existence of transgender and non-binary individuals in Indigenous populations. Their stories are often overlooked, and oppressive actors have deliberately constructed a narrative that trans+ individuals are just now emerging. These actors promote the falsehood that these communities are newly appearing, thus establishing a framework that permits violence against them. The normalization of these narratives serves to justify the systemic oppression of trans+ individuals.

Discriminatory anti-trans policies have escalated dramatically over the past decade. In 2016, the first anti-trans bathroom legislation was enacted: North Carolina House Bill 2.<sup>11</sup> The bill stated that individuals had to use the bathroom and changing facilities that aligned with the sex on their birth certificate.<sup>12</sup> Despite the historical continuity of trans+ communities, the emergence of these laws, among other campaigns and propaganda, have intensified baseless stigmatization and transphobia.



*In 2024 alone, 701 anti-transgender laws were introduced, 51 of which passed.*  
- Trans Legislation Tracker, 2024



In recent years, oppression of trans+ communities has been conducted through direct violence, targeted propaganda, and

repressive legislation. In 2024, 701 anti-transgender bills were introduced at the state and federal levels, 51 of which passed.<sup>13</sup> Among these were Louisiana’s Women’s Safety and Protection Act, Mississippi’s SAFER Act, and Ohio’s Save Women’s Sports Act and Protect All Students Act.<sup>14</sup> These bills collectively mandate that bathrooms, locker rooms, sports teams, and other public or government spaces are separated by sex assigned at birth.<sup>15</sup> Advocates for these policies often inaccurately claim that “women’s” spaces must be protected from people who will lie about being transgender in order to access those spaces to be violent. No evidence supports these claims.

Of the **1,020** anti-trans bills proposed in 2025

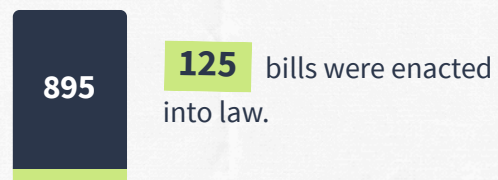


Figure 1. In 2025, state and federal legislators proposed over 1,000 anti-trans bills. Of these, 125 were enacted into law. The SVPA created this data visual with data from the Trans Legislation Tracker.

In 2025, legislators in the US proposed an unprecedented 1,020 anti-trans bills, 125 of which were enacted into law.<sup>16</sup> That is a 46% increase in introduced legislation from the previous year. These bills instill fear around the trans+ community while simultaneously constraining their autonomy.

<sup>11</sup> Deena Prichep, “Transgender Bathroom Bills Are Back, Gaining Traction After Past Boycotts,” *NPR*, May 6, 2024, accessed November 15, 2025, <https://www.npr.org/2024/05/06/1249406353/transgender-bathroom-bill-republican-states>.

<sup>12</sup> Prichep, 2024.

<sup>13</sup> Trans Legislation Tracker, “2024 Anti-Trans Bills,” *Trans Legislation*, accessed November 15, 2025, <https://translegislation.com/bills/2024>.

<sup>14</sup> Trans Legislation Tracker, 2024.

<sup>15</sup> Trans Legislation Tracker, 2024.

<sup>16</sup> Trans Legislation Tracker, 2024.

# Reverse Victim and Offender



# Reverse Victim and Offender

## Exaggerate, Sensationalize, Redefine, Falsify

The success of anti-trans policies relies on the promotion of false narratives that trans+ individuals are dangerous and sexually deviant. To legitimize the systemic oppression of the trans+ community, political leaders cultivate a public image portraying trans+ individuals as dangerous. Trans+ individuals are misrepresented as committing disproportionately high rates of sexual violence, despite no evidence supporting this claim. This is done using the tactics of exaggeration, sensationalization, falsification, and re-defining behavior as sexual violence. These tools are used to convince the public that trans+ individuals are dangerous.

### Exaggerate

The narrative manipulation tool of exaggerate is typically used by an oppressive entity to inflate and outsize any acts of sexual violence that have been committed by the group they are trying to oppress. Trans+ individuals statistically commit sexual violence at low rates partly due to the fact that this community has no institutional or systemic power in the US. In fact, when conducting research for this paper, the SVPA found little to no instances of sexual violence committed by trans+ individuals that anti-trans entities could use to exaggerate and manufacture fear around the community.

This does not mean that trans+ people do not commit sexual violence. This does happen, and many survivors struggle to find safety and support afterward. Survivors may worry that their experience may be used to vilify all trans+ people, that they will not be believed due to either their gender or the gender of the perpetrator, or that what happened does not constitute sexual violence since it does not look like mainstream depictions of violence.<sup>17</sup>

This report focuses on the outsized and baseless claims made by anti-trans entities and political actors regarding the threat posed by trans+ individuals. Such exaggerated allegations are used to target trans+ communities and inspire legislation to oppress them and keep them out of traditionally same-sex areas.

### Sensationalize

Oppressive actors sensationalize threats of sexual violence by marginalized communities to upend power dynamics and recast the oppressed as offenders. When this tactic is used, isolated incidents involving trans+ individuals receive disproportionate media coverage characterized by sensationalized and emotionally charged framing. Given their lack of institutional and systemic power, the trans+ community is only capable of committing sexual violence on the individual level, with such occurrences being rare. In fact, the authors of this report identified scarce examples of sexual violence committed by the trans+ community.

<sup>17</sup> Rudicell, Emil. Expert consult, FORGE Forward, 2026.

# Reverse Victim and Offender

Anti-trans actors strategically portray drag performers in the media in an insulting or derogatory manner. Drag performers are often presented as one and the same with trans women. Drag is generally characterized by artistic or “over the top” expressions of gender. It is an art form that is used to play with and explore concepts of gender, and may or may not be related to the performer’s actual gender.<sup>18</sup> While overlap between trans+ identity and drag does exist, the oppressive narrative uses imagery that trans gender identity is the same as drag for the purpose of sensationalizing the trans+ experience.

This rhetoric is harmful and oppressive to all members of the LGBTQ+ community, and it has been a homophobic falsehood for decades. Furthermore, such rhetoric undermines research and policies to prevent the real problem of grooming and child sexual abuse.

Grooming involves perpetrators cultivating victim trust and compliance to facilitate abuse while ensuring silence.<sup>20</sup> There is no evidence of grooming by drag performers at significant or disproportionate rates. Anti-trans entities use these false allegations of drag performers grooming children to produce an emotionally charged response from the public and align the group with pedophilia. This is then used to justify the oppression of the trans+ community.

This narrative also reduces drag performers and trans individuals to their sexuality, which is a common tool used by oppressors to dehumanize people and define them based on a singular descriptor.

In reality, drag performances often have the intention of providing entertainment through stylized gender presentation and exaggerated performativity.<sup>21</sup> These performances are often traced to Shakespearean times when women’s roles were played by men on stage.<sup>22</sup> Despite this deep history, drag queens in particular have been recent targets of emotionally charged media coverage and false allegations of deviance.



Figure 2. In 2022, Tucker Carlson claimed that drag queens reading to children is threatening and predatory.<sup>19</sup> These false allegations sensationalize the normal act of reading to children to elicit an emotional response from the public.

Anti-trans media coverage often promotes false allegations that drag performers are attempting to sexualize and groom children.

<sup>18</sup> Rudicell, 2026.

<sup>19</sup> Josephine Harvey, “Tucker Carlson Suggests Teaching Kids About LGBTQ Issues Is a ‘Sex Crime,’” HuffPost, September 20, 2022, [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/tucker-carlson-lgbtq-sex-crime\\_n\\_63294f20e4b0ed991abc64e4](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/tucker-carlson-lgbtq-sex-crime_n_63294f20e4b0ed991abc64e4).

<sup>20</sup> Bravehearts, “What Is Grooming?” Bravehearts, accessed November 29, 2025, <https://bravehearts.org.au/about-child-sexual-abuse/what-is-grooming/>.

<sup>21</sup> Jeff McMillan, “Analysis: Political Rhetoric, False Claims Obscure the History of Drag Performance,” PBS NewsHour, October 30, 2022, accessed November 29, 2025, <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/political-rhetoric-false-claims-obscure-the-history-of-drag-performance>.

<sup>22</sup> McMillan, 2022.

# Reverse Victim and Offender

Drag Queen Story Hour is an organization that has specifically been targeted by fabricated and sensationalized allegations of sexual violence.<sup>23</sup> This project hosts kid-friendly storytime events with drag queens in public spaces.<sup>24</sup> In 2019, an abundance of social media posts surfaced, claiming that a drag performer flashed their genitals to children at a Drag Queen Story Hour event at a Minnesota library.<sup>25</sup> In reality, the performer was dressed in several layers and nude tights, but images had been edited prior to being posted to social media, adding a “censored” sticker in between the performer's legs to suggest that the area was exposed.<sup>26</sup>



*“In reality, the performer was dressed in several layers and nude tights, but images had been edited prior to being posted to social media, adding a ‘censored’ sticker in between the performer’s legs to suggest that area was exposed.” - Ali Swenson, AP News, June 13, 2022*



Another instance occurred in 2022 when it was publicly stated that the head of Drag Queen Story Hour was arrested for child pornography.<sup>27</sup>

In reality, the individual who was arrested under these charges was a nonprofit fiscal sponsor for Drag Queen Story Hour, someone who did not work for the organization and had never even attended an event.<sup>28</sup> Political actors use these fabricated and sensationalized claims of sexual violence to convince the public that they need to be protected from all LGBTQ+ individuals.

100%

of the federal bills pertaining to drag performances redefine drag as a danger to children

This has led to federal legislation banning drag performances. SVPA analyzed all federal bills introduced in 2025 pertaining to transgender people or gender identity. Of the five federal bills regarding drag performances, 100% redefine drag performers and events as a danger to children.

## Falsify

Falsify is a narrative manipulation tool used by those in power to fabricate baseless claims that the trans+ community commits high rates of sexual violence.

<sup>23</sup> Drag Story Hour, DragStoryHour.org, accessed February 6, 2026, <https://www.dragstoryhour.org/>.

<sup>24</sup> Ali Swenson, “Man Charged for Child Porn Didn’t Work for Drag Queen Story Hour,” AP News, June 22, 2022, accessed November 30, 2025, <https://www.apnews.com/article/fact-check-drag-queen-story-hour-not-arrested-416945160416>.

<sup>25</sup> Ali Swenson, “Posts Falsely Claim Drag Performer Exposed Self to Children at Story Hour,” AP News, June 13, 2022, accessed November 30, 2025, <https://www.apnews.com/article/fact-check-drag-queen-story-hour-photo-965766299271>.

<sup>26</sup> Swenson, June 13, 2022.

<sup>27</sup> Swenson, June 22, 2022.

<sup>28</sup> Swenson, June 22, 2022.

# Reverse Victim and Offender

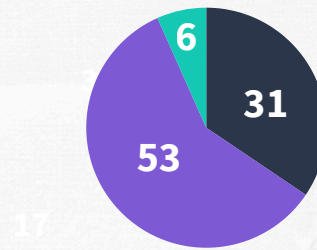
These false narratives are used to fill the media with stories that will scare the public into believing that the trans+ community must be oppressed in order to keep cisgender people safe. In recent years, these narratives have been used to argue that it is not safe for trans+ individuals to access same-sex spaces, such as bathrooms and all-women sports leagues.

To quantify the scope of the ways in which falsified claims of sexual violence have been used to oppress the trans+ community, the SVPA analyzed the 90 federal bills introduced in 2025 that mentioned transgender people or gender identity. Of these bills, 57 used SORVO to oppress trans+ people.

Of the bills that employed SORVO, 39, or 68%, used the terms “protect” “prevent” or “save” to describe the need to protect children or ciswomen from trans+ people. The titles of these bills include the Gender-Affirming Child Abuse Prevention Act,<sup>29</sup> the Protecting Women’s Private Spaces Act,<sup>30</sup> and the Keep Our Girls Safe Act of 2025.<sup>31</sup>

These inflammatory bill titles are designed to suggest that ciswomen and children need to be protected from trans+ people. Although the claims of high rates of sexual violence by trans+ people are false, these legislative actions serve the dual purpose of validating the false claims and oppressing trans+ people as a result.

Of the **90 Federal Bills** introduced in 2025 pertaining to **trans+ people:**



**59%** discuss protecting the public from trans+ people

*The rest protect trans people, remain neutral, or are unrelated.*

**7%** discuss protecting trans+ people from harm

*The rest do not mention protection or safety.*

Figure 4. The SVPA analyzed all bills introduced in Congress in 2025. Ninety bills pertained to trans+ people. Of those, 53 (59%) aimed to protect the public from trans+ people. Only 6 (7%) aimed to protect trans+ people from harm.

There is no evidence that allowing trans+ people to use the restroom that aligns with their gender identity produces any risk for cisgender occupants.<sup>32</sup> Despite this fact there has been a recent uproar in policies denying them this freedom.

<sup>29</sup> H.R. 4953, *Gender-Affirming Child Abuse Prevention Act*, 119th Cong., 1st sess., introduced August 12, 2025, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/119th-congress/house-bill/4953/text>.

<sup>30</sup> H.R. 1016, *Protecting Women’s Private Spaces Act*, 119th Cong., 1st sess., introduced February 5, 2025, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/119th-congress/house-bill/1016/text>.

<sup>31</sup> H.R. 2452, *Keep Our Girls Safe Act of 2025*, 119th Cong., 1st sess., introduced March 27, 2025, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/119th-congress/house-bill/2452/text>.

<sup>32</sup> Jody L. Herman, Andrew R. Flores, and Elana Redfield, “Safety and Privacy in Public Restrooms and Other Gendered Facilities,” Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law, February 2025, accessed December 5, 2025, <https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/publications/safety-in-restrooms-and-facilities/>.

# Reverse Victim and Offender

## A BILL

To provide that for purposes of determining compliance with title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, locker room facilities in active use in connection with an education program or activity may be in use only by individuals of the same sex as determined solely on each individual's reproductive biology and genetics at birth.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Keep Our Girls Safe Act of 2025".

### SEC. 2. PROHIBITION.

It shall be unlawful under title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 ([20 U.S.C. 1681 et seq.](#)) for an individual of one sex (as determined solely on reproductive biology and genetics at birth) to use a locker room while such room is in active use by individuals of a different sex in connection with an education program or activity.

Figure 5. The bill "Keep Our Girls Safe Act of 2025" prohibits trans+ individuals from using locker rooms that don't align with their sex assigned at birth. This builds off the falsified narrative that trans+ people use same-sex spaces to perpetrate sexual violence.

This legislative trend originated in 2016 with North Carolina's House Bill 2, which mandated bathroom use be based on one's sex assigned at birth.<sup>33</sup> Nearly a decade later, 28 bathroom related bills restricting trans+ access were enacted in 2024,<sup>34</sup> with an additional 59 such bills proposed in 2025.<sup>35</sup>

These bills rely on false claims that trans+ individuals are using same sex spaces, such as bathrooms, to perpetrate violence, despite there being no evidence of this occurring.

This narrative cultivates fear in the public, and that fear that is used to justify oppressive policy measures against the trans+ community. When legislative action is taken to protect trans+ individuals' rights to use the restrooms that align with their gender identity, anti-trans entities double down on their false claims of trans+ deviance. For example, when the Houston Equal Rights Ordinance proposal was developed to ensure that trans+ could use their preferred bathroom, propagandists created false stories of violent transgender people to scare the public. The Equal Rights ordinance was proposed as a method to prohibit discrimination in city employment and services, including bathrooms and locker rooms, but ignited a backlash.<sup>36</sup>

Campaign for Houston, an opposition party to the Equal Rights ordinance, created a commercial that urged individuals to vote "no" on the proposal.<sup>37</sup> The commercial describes how this ordinance would allow "any man at any time," including registered sex offenders, to enter a women's bathroom under the claim that they are "a woman that day."<sup>38</sup> The camera follows a cisman who enters a women's bathroom and follows a young girl into a stall.<sup>39</sup> Through its imagery and wording, this ad promotes a rhetoric of fear and suggests that an ordinance meant to prohibit discrimination would instead increase sexual violence.

<sup>33</sup> Prichep, 2024.

<sup>34</sup> Trans Legislation Tracker, 2024.

<sup>35</sup> Trans Legislation Tracker, 2024.

<sup>36</sup> Dart, 2015.

<sup>37</sup> Campaign for Houston, Campaign for Houston – TV Spot 1, YouTube video, 0:30, posted October 13, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D7th0vSvC4E>.

<sup>38</sup> Campaign for Houston, 2015.

<sup>39</sup> Campaign for Houston, 2015.

# Reverse Victim and Offender



Figure 6. In October 2015, an ad was presented to build fear around the Houston legislation that would accept trans+ bathroom access. The ad falsely claimed that allowing trans+ people to use the bathroom that aligns with their gender identity will increase rates of sexual violence.

The ad claims that voting “no” on the ordinance will “protect women’s privacy (and) prevent danger.”<sup>40</sup> This campaign built on fabricated claims that transgender people commit high rates of sexual violence. Anti-trans backlash forced the trans+ community into defending both their identity and their character against baseless accusations.<sup>41</sup>

Falsified accounts and fabricated fear have also been used to ban trans+ individuals from participating in women’s sports leagues. In February of 2025, the White House signed an Executive Order entitled “Keeping Men Out of Women’s Sports” with the goal of ending “the war on women’s sports.”<sup>42</sup> This order, authorized by the Department of Education, prohibits programs that receive federal funding from allowing transgender athletes to compete in women’s sports.<sup>43</sup> If a school is found to have violated this rule they could be

marked as ineligible for federal funding.<sup>44</sup> Orders such as this are made on the claim that allowing transgender individuals to participate in women’s sports goes against Title IX,<sup>45</sup> which prohibits discrimination based on sex in any educational program or activity.<sup>46</sup>

Not only does the executive order “Keeping Men Out of Women’s Sports” invalidate the identity of transgender women by referring to them as men, it also promotes false rhetoric that trans+ individuals pose a threat to ciswomen in sports. The order implies that allowing transgender people to participate in women’s sports is “dangerous to women and girls,” and that banning them from sports provides a needed protection.<sup>47</sup> This builds off a longstanding myth that trans women who participate in women’s sports have an unfair advantage over cis athletes.<sup>48</sup>



Figure 7. On February 5, 2025, the Trump administration signed an Executive Order that prohibits programs that allow transgender athletes to compete in women’s sports from receiving federal funding. This is based on the falsified claim that trans+ individuals join women’s sports leagues to perpetrate sexual violence.

<sup>40</sup> Campaign for Houston, 2015.

<sup>41</sup> Timothy Wang and Sean Cahill, “Antitransgender Political Backlash Threatens Health and Access to Care,” *American Journal of Public Health* 108, no. 5 (2018): 609–10, <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2018.304359>.

<sup>42</sup> Will Graves, “Trump Signs Executive Order Intended to Bar Transgender Athletes from Girls’ and Women’s Sports,” AP News, February 5, 2025, accessed November 29, 2025, <https://www.apnews.com/article/donald-trump-transgender-athletes-3606411fc12effec95a893351624e1b>.

<sup>43</sup> Graves, 2025.

<sup>44</sup> Graves, 2025.

<sup>45</sup> U.S. Department of Justice, “Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972,” Civil Rights Division, last updated November 13, 2000, accessed November 15, 2025, <https://www.justice.gov/crt/title-ix-education-amendments-1972>.

<sup>46</sup> Graves, 2025.

<sup>47</sup> The White House, “Keeping Men Out of Women’s Sports,” Presidential Actions, February 5, 2025, accessed November 15, 2025, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2025/02/keeping-men-out-of-womens-sports/>.

<sup>48</sup> Gender Justice, *Trans Inclusion in Sports Toolkit*, accessed February 6, 2026, <https://www.genderjustice.us/toolkits/trans-inclusion-sports/>.

# Reverse Victim and Offender

This claim has been debunked many times. Research finds that trans athletes perform similarly to cisgender athletes.<sup>49</sup>

It is false arguments such as these that have opened the door to more false rhetoric regarding the threat trans+ athletes pose in sports. A falsified narrative that is currently gaining traction is that transgender women join female sports teams with the intention of perpetrating violence. In a 2024 speech, Senator John Kennedy stated, “No girl, no woman... should end up on the bench with her arm in a sling because... a biological man wanted to feel included.”<sup>50</sup> This claim also has no evidence behind it, but is still promoted through policies such as the executive order “Keeping Men Out of Women’s Sports.” Furthermore, implications that trans+ inclusion in sports could lead to sexual violence against ciswomen and girls is an underlying part of the propaganda.

## Redefine

The groups in power further manipulate the narrative by taking consensual or nonsexual acts committed by trans+ individuals and redefining them as sexually violent. Doing so creates the falsehood that trans+ individuals are committing disproportionately high rates of sexual violence, and are therefore in need of being controlled.

This trend of redefining has opened the gates for increased victim blaming of trans+ individuals who experience

violence, and justification for those who committed the violent acts. This phenomenon has become known as “trans panic,” a defense used to excuse violent crimes committed against trans+ individuals on the grounds that their gender identity inspired the violent reaction.<sup>51</sup>



Figure 8. In February 2025, the Trump administration added text to hundreds of government webpages claiming that trans+ people are a harmful threat to ciswomen and girls.

Recent rhetoric has begun to claim that a trans+ person engaging in sexual activity with another person without disclosing their gender identity and/or sex assigned at birth, should be classified as sexual violence or

<sup>49</sup> Gender Justice, 2026.

<sup>50</sup> John Kennedy, “Kennedy Calls on Congress to Protect Women’s Sports from Transgender Activists: ‘It’s Fundamentally Unfair,’” U.S. Senate press release, May 8, 2024.

<sup>51</sup> Movement Advancement Project, “Equality Maps: Panic Defense Bans,” Equality Maps, accessed February 6, 2026, [https://www.lgbtmap.org/equality-maps/panic\\_defense\\_bans](https://www.lgbtmap.org/equality-maps/panic_defense_bans).

# Reverse Victim and Offender

rape by fraud.”<sup>52</sup> Even national organizations, such as Consent Awareness Network (CAN), have shared this harmful claim. In a blog post, since taken down, CAN argued that trans+ people must disclose their identity prior to sex for the act to be consensual. Comments posted by members of the public on a CAN discussion board further amplified this rhetoric until they were also taken down.<sup>53</sup>

Another common target of redefining tactics is gender affirming care. House Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene, for instance, has publicly made claims that gender affirming care is “genital mutilation”, requiring legislative action to protect children.<sup>54</sup> In this case, she is redefining gender affirming care, and anyone in support of these procedures, as sexual violence.

In January of 2025, President Donald Trump released an Executive Order titled “Protecting Children From Chemical and Surgical Mutilation.”<sup>55</sup> This order makes the claim that medical professionals throughout the country are “maiming and sterilizing a growing number of impressionable children” through gender-affirming care, once again redefining the care as sexual violence.<sup>56</sup>

In reality, gender-affirming care is a supportive form of healthcare that

encompasses medical, surgical, mental health, and nonmedical services for transgender and nonbinary people.<sup>57</sup>

Research demonstrates that this care improves the mental health and overall wellbeing of trans+ youth.<sup>58</sup> However, the Executive Order goes on to defund medical institutions that provide gender-affirming care as well as exclude the procedure from health care coverage.<sup>59</sup>

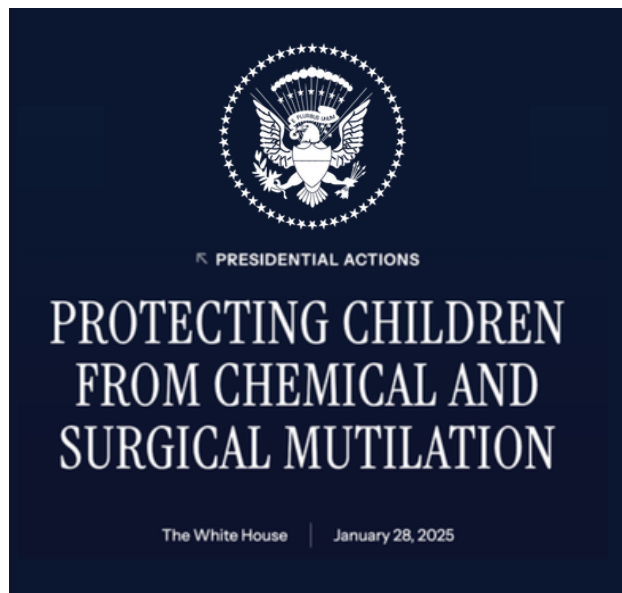


Figure 9. In January 2025, the Trump administration signed an Executive Order that cuts funding and support for gender-affirming care from the federal government. It redefines gender-affirming care as an act of sexual violence by calling it “chemical and surgical mutilation”.

<sup>52</sup> Consent Awareness Network, *ConsentAwareness.net*, accessed February 6, 2026, <https://consentawareness.net/>.

<sup>53</sup> Consent Awareness Network, “Blog,” *ConsentAwareness.net*, accessed February 6, 2026, <https://consentawareness.net/blog-2/>.

<sup>54</sup> Peter Kasperowicz, “Marjorie Taylor Greene: GOP Must Be ‘the Party That Protects Children’ from Transgender Ideology,” *Fox News*, March 3, 2023, accessed December 5, 2025, <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/marjorie-taylor-greene-gop-party-protects-children-transgender-ideology>.

<sup>55</sup> The White House, “Protecting Children from Chemical and Surgical Mutilation,” *Presidential Actions*, January 28, 2025, accessed December 5, 2025, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2025/01/protecting-children-from-chemical-and-surgical-mutilation/>.

<sup>56</sup> The White House, 2025.

<sup>57</sup> U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Office of Population Affairs, *Gender-Affirming Care and Young People*, PDF (August 2023), <https://opa.hhs.gov/sites/default/files/2023-08/gender-affirming-care-young-people.pdf>.

<sup>58</sup> Green, A. E., DeChants, J. P., Price, M. N., and Davis, C. K. (2021). Association of Gender-Affirming Hormone Therapy With Depression, Thoughts of Suicide, and Attempted Suicide Among Transgender and Nonbinary Youth. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 70(4). <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2021.10.036>.

<sup>59</sup> The White House, 2025.

# Reverse Victim and Offender

Of the **22 Federal Bills** introduced in 2025 pertaining to **transgender medical care:**

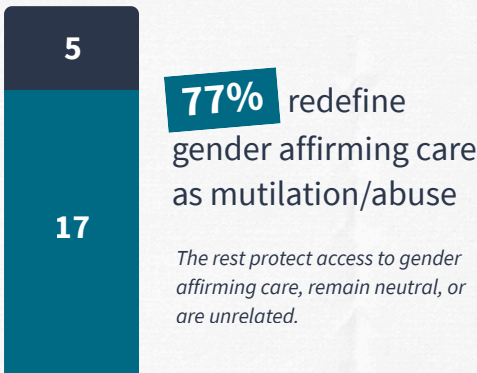


Figure 10. The SVPA analyzed all bills introduced in Congress in 2025. Twenty-two bills pertained to trans+ medical care. Of those, 17 (77%) redefined trans+ medical care as sexual violence, using words such as "mutilation" or "abuse."

Redefining gender affirming care as sexual violence, not only in the media but in legislation, acts as a form of justification for the oppression of trans+ individuals. Denying one their bodily autonomy by banning gender affirming care procedures is a clear act of oppression.

## Deny, Omit, Erase, Dedefine

Due to the fact that trans+ individuals only have power at the individual level, they are not committing high rates of sexual violence. In contrast, those who do have power reinforce imbalances by committing sexual violence against the trans+ community on the individual, institutional, and systemic levels. Evidence includes a surge in restrictive healthcare legislation that limits access to sexual healthcare and bodily autonomy, long term systemic discrimination in housing, employment, and daily life, and disproportionately high rates of violence, including sexual violence, intimate partner violence, and bias-motivated crimes against trans+ individuals.<sup>60,61</sup>

Trans+ people of color in particular experience disproportionately high levels of violence. Between 2013 and 2024, the Human Rights Campaign documented 372 fatal violent incidents against transgender Americans. Seventy-three percent of the victims were transgender women of color.<sup>62</sup> This statistic is also likely undercounted due to misgendering that occurs in police and media reports.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Movement Advancement Project. Equality Maps: Bans on Best Practice Medical Care for Transgender Youth (2025).

<sup>61</sup> Williams Institute, Anti-LGBT Victimization in the United States (2025).

<sup>62</sup> Jarred Keller, "HRCF's 2024 Epidemic of Violence Report: Fatal Violence Against Transgender and Gender Non-Conforming People Continues, with Black Trans Women Comprising Nearly Half of the Deaths," press release, Human Rights Campaign Foundation, November 19, 2024, <https://www.hrc.org/press-releases/hrcf-2024-epidemic-of-violence-report-fatal-violence-against-transgender-and-gender-non-conforming-people-continues-with-black-trans-women-comprising-nearly-half-of-the-deaths>.

<sup>63</sup> Pamela Halliwell et al., "Fatal Violence Against Black Transgender Women in the United States," CHPRC, November 18, 2024, accessed December 5, 2025, <https://chprc.org/publications/fatal-violence-against-black-transgender-women-in-the-united-states/>.

# Reverse Victim and Offender

47%

of trans/nonbinary individuals experience sexual assault during their lifetime.

## Deny

In the United States, political and institutional actors systematically deny committing any sexual violence against the trans+ community. This denial functions as a mechanism of oppression. If the public only sees trans+ individuals as perpetrators of violence in the media, and never as victims, it is easier for them to believe the narrative that is being pushed on them.

Trans+ individuals face higher rates of violence, including sexual violence, than cisgender people. According to the Williams Institute, transgender people are over four times more likely to be victims of violent crime, including rape, sexual assault, and assault.<sup>64</sup> Additionally, it is estimated that nearly half of all assaults perpetrated against trans people are not reported to the police.<sup>65</sup>

Approximately 47% of trans/nonbinary individuals experience sexual assault during their lifetime.<sup>66</sup> The Department of Human Development and Family Studies found a correlation between youth sexual assault

rates and schools that restricted access to locker rooms and restrooms for transgender students. In environments in which bathroom and locker rooms were restricted, there was an increase risk for sexual assault for trans youth.<sup>67</sup> These findings indicate that denying access to spaces for trans+ people increases the risk of violence against them, rather than protecting anyone else.

A critical dimension of SORVO involves the construction of white ciswomen as perpetual victims requiring protection. Through Jim Crow, the Holocaust, Apartheid, and the Palestine conflict, oppressed groups have been vilified and cast as violent specifically toward white ciswomen. This continues with the use of SORVO against trans+ people in the US.

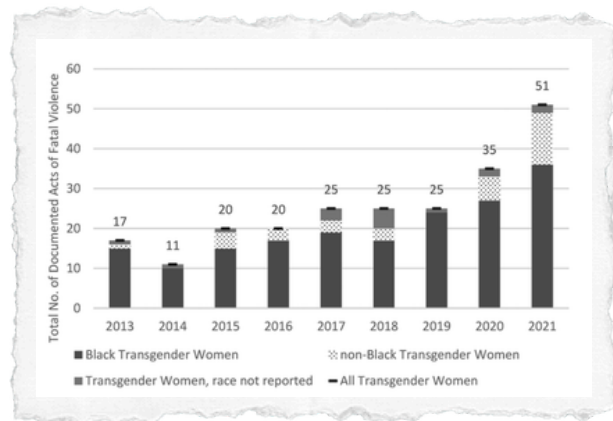


Figure 12. A 2022 study of violence against trans+ people found that 4 out of 5 transgender people murdered in the US are trans women of color. Oppressive groups intentionally cast transwomen as men, and that men of color are seeking to harm cisgender white women.

<sup>64</sup> Williams Institute at UCLA School of Law. "Transgender People Over Four Times More Likely Than Cisgender People to Be Victims of Violent Crime." Press release, March 23, 2021, Williams Institute at UCLA School of Law. <https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/press/ncvs-trans-press-release/>.

<sup>65</sup> Williams Institute at UCLA School of Law, 2021.

<sup>66</sup> Winters, Breckan Erdman. "Violence Against Trans and Non-Binary People." In *Serving Trans and Non-Binary Survivors of Domestic and Sexual Violence*, Special Collection, published November 1, 2017. VAWnet: The National Online Resource Center on Violence Against Women. <https://vawnet.org/sc/serving-trans-and-non-binary-survivors-domestic-and-sexual-violence/violence-against-trans-and->

<sup>67</sup> Murchison, Gabriel R., Madina Agénor, Sari L. Reisner, and Ryan J. Watson. "School Restroom/Locker Rooms Restrictions and Sexual Assault Risk Among Transgender Youth." *Pediatrics* 143, no. 6 (May 6, 2019): e20182902. <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2018-2902>. Accessed January 23, 2026. PMID: PMC8849575.

# Reverse Victim and Offender

The propaganda depicting trans+ people as threatening almost always includes a white, cis woman or girl as the hypothetical victim. Additionally, transgender people of color are most frequently cast as the perpetrators.<sup>68</sup> Because oppressive groups intentionally cast transwomen as men, a longstanding, harmful stereotype can be applied: that men of color are violent and a threat to white women.

This intersectional framework operates globally and reflects deep-rooted histories of white supremacy and transphobia within the United States. This also leads to high levels of violence, particularly for Black trans women. Four out of five transgender people who are murdered in the US are trans women of color.<sup>69</sup> While political leadership hyperfocuses on the false threat that trans+ people pose, they are permitting and sometimes even encouraging violence against them. The denial of such violence constitutes institutional complicity.

Many LGBTQ+ safety resources, including suicide prevention hotlines, have been defunded recently. On July 17th, 2025, the US government's Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) ended specialized services for these callers.<sup>70</sup> The Rape and Incest National Network (RAINN), the US's largest national anti-sexual violence organization and operator of the National Sexual Assault hotline recently removed all resources for

LGBTQ+ people.<sup>71</sup> This is active denial that there is outsized oppression and violence against the trans+ community.

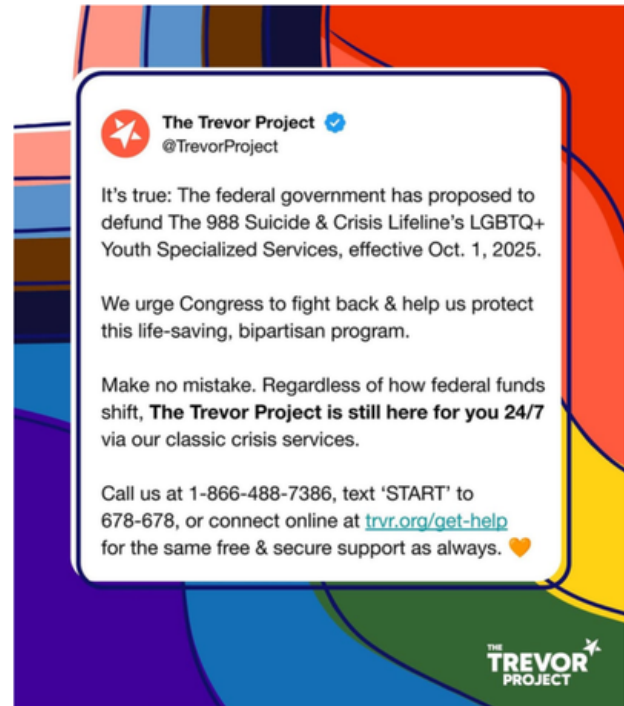


Figure 13. In April 2025, the Trump Administration proposed to defund the 988 LGBTQ+ Youth Specialized Services. According to NPR, the services officially ended in July 2025. This federal action denies violence is being committed against LGBTQ+ youth.

## Omit

Often, US entities who have influence over the public narrative omit any acts of sexual violence against trans+ individuals from public coverage. By excluding these instances

<sup>68</sup> Leitner, Maxyn, Rebecca Dorn, Fred Morstatter & Kristina Lerman. 2025. Characterizing Network Structure of Anti-Trans Actors on TikTok. arXiv.

<sup>69</sup> Halliwell, Pamuela, Jill Blumenthal, Rebecca Kennedy, Lauren Lahn, and Laramie R. Smith. "Characterizing the Prevalence and Perpetrators of Documented Fatal Violence Against Black Transgender Women in the United States (2013–2021)." *Violence Against Women* 31, no. 14 (2025): 3756–3779. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10778012241289425>.

<sup>70</sup> Chatterjee, Rhitu, and Selena Simmons-Duffin. "Trump Administration Cuts Specialized Suicide Prevention Service for LGBTQ+ Youth." NPR, June 18, 2025. Summary of article accessed via NPR affiliate reporting.

<sup>71</sup> Maggie Astor, "Top Sexual Assault Hotline Drops Resources After Trump Orders," *New York Times*, May 15, 2025, <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/05/15/well/rainn-dei-trump-executive-orders.html>.

# Reverse Victim and Offender

and including sensationalized anti-trans falsehoods, they amplify the story of trans+ individuals being sexually violent. This prevents the public from seeing them as people in need of protection.

Among the influx of anti-trans bills that have been passed in 2024 and 2025, there has been an increase in bills that define the terms of “sex” and “gender” to only include the two categories of male and female. Among these are Idaho H0421,<sup>72</sup> West Virginia HB4233,<sup>73</sup> and North Carolina H805.<sup>74</sup>

## Idaho H0421

CIVIL RIGHTS PASSED

Amends existing law to define terms and to revise definitions regarding “sex” and “gender.”

INDIVIDUAL'S SEX -- Amends existing law to define terms and to revise definitions regarding “sex” and “gender.”

Figure 14. Idaho H0421, passed in 2024, amends existing law to redefine “sex” and “gender” to include only male and female. This causes trans+ individuals to be omitted from reports related to sexual violence.

Idaho H0421 was enacted to amend all existing laws to redefine the terms of sex and gender to only include male and female.<sup>75</sup> North Carolina H805 takes similar action by declaring only two sexes shall be recognized in administrative rules, regulations, and public policies in the state.<sup>76</sup> And West Virginia HB4233 proclaims that a child’s birth certificate shall list one’s sex at birth as either male or female, and may not use the term “non-binary.”<sup>77</sup>

Such legislative definitions of sex and gender omit trans+ individuals from national discussions and policies. This is a harmful action taken on many fronts, including in relation to sexual violence. Removing trans+ identities from state-wide definitions not only allows but requires such individuals to be omitted from reports on sexual violence perpetration.

In 2025, Center for Disease Control (CDC) websites that referenced transgender people, gender identity, and LGBTQ+ health were removed or edited following directives tied to executive orders recognizing only two genders.<sup>78</sup>

Other important datasets for policymakers also include such statistical erasure. The US Census, for example, still does not directly assess gender identity,<sup>79</sup> and data regarding

<sup>72</sup> Trans Legislation Tracker, 2024.

<sup>73</sup> Trans Legislation Tracker, 2024.

<sup>74</sup> Trans Legislation Tracker, 2024.

<sup>75</sup> Trans Legislation Tracker, “ID H0421,” Trans Legislation, accessed December 7, 2025, <https://translegislation.com/bills/2024/ID/H0421>.

<sup>76</sup> Trans Legislation Tracker, “NC H805 (Prevent Sexual Exploitation/Women and Minors),” Trans Legislation (2025–2026 session), accessed December 7, 2025, <https://translegislation.com/bills/2025/NC/H805>.

<sup>77</sup> Trans Legislation Tracker, “WV HB4233 (Non-binary Not Permitted on Birth Certificates),” Trans Legislation, accessed December 7, 2025, <https://translegislation.com/bills/2024/WV/HB4233>.

<sup>78</sup> The Washington Post, Lena H. Sun, Dan Keating, and Fenit Nirappil, “CDC Removes Gender, Equity References in Public Health Material,” The Washington Post, February 1, 2025, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/2025/01/31/cdc-website-gender-lgbtq-data/>.

<sup>79</sup> Congressional Research Service, Proposed Expanded Collection of Statistics on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity by the Federal Government, CRS Insight No. IN12342 (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, April 2, 2024), <https://www.congress.gov/crs-product/IN12342>.

# Reverse Victim and Offender

**The Washington Post**

## CDC removes gender, equity references in public health material

Large sets of data are being scrubbed of references to transgender and LGBTQ+ people, among others, which could compromise their use in research.

February 1, 2025



Figure 15. In February 2025, the CDC removed its websites that referenced transgender, gender identity, and LGBTQ+ related health. This omits such communities from important conversations and research.

shelters, domestic violence statistics, and crisis centers have historically operated under binary assumptions. Any recognition of sexual violence committed against the trans+ community is then omitted from the public narrative. This is a state-sanctioned action, and it creates the conditions for those in

power to only mention the trans+ community in media and reports when it fits the oppressive agenda. Typically, this portrayal paints the community as sexually deviant and a threat to the public.

Of the 90 federal bills introduced in 2025 that pertain to trans+ people, the SVPA found that 46 bills (51%) specifically defined trans+ people out of existence by defining a gender and sex binary.

Titles of these bills include the End Taxpayer Funding of Gender Experimentation Act of 2025,<sup>80</sup> the Restoring Biological Truth in Government Act,<sup>81</sup> the Male or Female Only Act,<sup>82</sup> the Defining Male and Female Act of 2025,<sup>83</sup> and the Truth in Gender Act of 2025.<sup>84</sup> These bills were all introduced with the intention of omitting trans+ people from recognition, which is oppression in the form of erasure, silencing, and through the removal of the community from research and policies that may be designed to understand their specific issues and protect them.

**51%** of the federal bills related to sex/gender define trans and intersex people out of existence by establishing a sex/gender binary

<sup>80</sup> S. 977 (119th Congress), *End Taxpayer Funding of Gender Experimentation Act of 2025*, introduced March 12, 2025, United States Congress, accessed March 9, 2026, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/119th-congress/senate-bill/977/text>.

<sup>81</sup> U.S. House of Representatives, *H.R. 4138—Restoring Biological Truth in Government Act*, 119th Cong., 1st sess. (introduced June 25, 2025), accessed March 9, 2026, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/119th-congress/house-bill/4138/text>.

<sup>82</sup> U.S. House of Representatives, *H.R. 6144—Male or Female Only Act*, 119th Cong., 1st sess. (introduced November 19, 2025), accessed March 9, 2026, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/119th-congress/house-bill/6144/text>.

<sup>83</sup> U.S. House of Representatives, *H.R. 2378—Defining Male and Female Act of 2025*, 119th Cong., 1st sess. (introduced March 26, 2025), accessed March 9, 2026, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/119th-congress/house-bill/2378/text>.

<sup>84</sup> U.S. House of Representatives, *H.R. 3950—Truth in Gender Act of 2025*, 119th Cong., 1st sess. (introduced June 12, 2025), accessed March 9, 2026, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/119th-congress/house-bill/3950/text>.

# Reverse Victim and Offender

## Erase

The groups in power in the US use their influence to erase any evidence of them committing sexual violence against the trans+ community. This is done by destroying evidence, killing witnesses, silencing reporters, and discrediting reports. This was seen on a monumental level when the Department of Justice (DOJ) removed any questions on gender identity-related hate crimes specific to transgender individuals from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) in March of 2025.<sup>85</sup>

The NCVS is the main source of information on criminal victimization in the US, so this information is used to determine what policies and programs are needed to prevent violence in the nation.<sup>86</sup> Therefore, excluding trans+ individuals from this data not only erases evidence of the violence committed against them from the public narrative, it also obstructs the creation of any programs to support the community. This erasure allows political actors to portray trans+ individuals solely as threats, while obscuring their need for heightened protection.

### THE APPEAL

## Trump DOJ Erases Trans People from Crime Data Surveys

The Justice Department has removed questions about gender identity from the National Crime Victimization Survey, the Survey on Sexual Victimization, and the Survey of Inmates in Local Jails.

May 5, 2025



Figure 17. In 2025, the Trump administration systematically removed questions on gender identity and hate crime from the National Crime Victimization Survey, the Survey on Sexual Victimization, and the Survey of Inmates in Local Jails. This erases evidence of sexual violence committed against trans+ individuals.

Executive Order 14168, passed in March of 2025, is entitled the “Defending Women from Gender Ideology Extremism and Restoring Biological Truth to the Federal Government” Act. The use of the word “defend” is intentional, as it implies that somehow trans+ people, or even transgender identity more broadly, is a threat to women. However, one of the real intentions of this order was revealed with a DOJ memo removing protections for incarcerated trans+ people.

On December 2nd, 2025, the DOJ sent a memo to staff members at federal, state, and local prisons instructing them to ignore current protections for transgender and intersex inmates.<sup>87</sup> The Prison Rape Elimination Act (PREA) establishes that incarcerated trans+ individuals should have basic safeguards such as appropriate searches, access to safe showering and changing areas, and the requirement that staff treat them with basic dignity.<sup>88</sup> The memo

<sup>85</sup> League of Women Voters of the United States, “LWVUS Joins Letter Opposing Removal of Gender Identity and Anti-trans Hate Crimes Data in National Crime Victimization Survey,” June 5, 2025, accessed December 12, 2025, <https://www.lwv.org/equal-rights/lwvus-joins-letter-opposing-removal-gender-identity-and-anti-trans-hate-crimes-data-in-national-crime-victimization-survey/>.

<sup>86</sup> League of Women Voters of the United States, 2025.

<sup>87</sup> Jaclyn Diaz, “DOJ Orders Prison Inspectors to Stop Considering LGBTQ Safety Standards,” NPR, December 4, 2025, <https://www.npr.org/2025/12/04/nx-s1-5630490/prison-doj-safety-memo-changes-trans-lgbtq-inmates>.

<sup>88</sup> Prison Rape Elimination Act of 2003, Pub. L. No. 108-79, 117 Stat. 972 (2003).

# Reverse Victim and Offender

stated that PREA auditors and other staff, by upholding these protections, were in violation of Executive Order 14168, which denies the existence of trans+ people at all.<sup>89</sup>



## Trump administration plans to end prison rape protections for trans and intersex people, memo says

A Department of Justice memo obtained by Prism says certain standards under the Prison Rape Elimination Act do not align with Trump's Jan. 20 anti-trans executive order

Figure 18. In December 2025, the DOJ sent a memo to prisons and jails throughout the country informing them that PREA protections for trans+ individuals conflict with Executive Order 14168 and should no longer be followed. This attempts to erase the fact that trans+ inmates are targeted by sexual violence. Approximately 35% of transgender inmates experience sexual assault each year of detention – a rate ten times higher than cisgender incarcerated individuals.<sup>92</sup>

This policy both eliminates trans+ institutional recognition and obscures disproportionate violence perpetrated against these populations. Trans and intersex people experience some of the highest rates of sexual assault in incarceration. The Bureau of Justice Statistics has found that approximately 35% of transgender inmates experience sexual assault during each year that they are in detention.<sup>90</sup> This rate is ten times higher than that of cisgender incarcerated individuals.<sup>91</sup> Erasing protections for them increases sexual violence against them and erases the record of these assaults from public attention.

**35%** of transgender inmates experience sexual assault during each year that they are in detention.

This can be seen as a state sexual violence sentence for trans and intersex inmates. Furthermore, prison staff and PREA auditors face threats to their jobs and funding if they do not comply, which erases the impact through mixed reporting and inconsistent enforcement.

<sup>89</sup> Executive Order 14168, *Defending Women From Gender Ideology Extremism and Restoring Biological Truth to the Federal Government*, January 20, 2025, 90 Fed. Reg. 8615 (Jan. 30, 2025).

<sup>90</sup> U.S. House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Crime and Federal Government Surveillance and Subcommittee on Oversight of the Committee on the Judiciary, "Survey: Transgender Inmates More Likely to Be Victims of Sexual Assault," HHRG-119-JU08-SD009-U9, May 6, 2025, 119th Cong., 1st sess., PDF file, <https://www.congress.gov/119/meeting/house/118184/documents/HHRG-119-JU08-20250506-SD009-U9.pdf>.

<sup>91</sup> Beth Schwartzapel, "3 Things to Know About Prison Violence Against Transgender People," The Marshall Project, November 13, 2024, <https://www.themarshallproject.org/2024/11/13/trans-prison-violence-prea-politics>.

<sup>92</sup> West Virginia Medical Practice Act, S.B. 299, 119th Congress (2025).

# Reverse Victim and Offender

## Dedefine

In the United States, the trans+ community experiences disproportionately high rates of sexual violence. This occurs at the individual, institutional, and systemic levels. But this reality is obstructed from the public narrative through de-definition. The acts of sexual violence committed against the trans+ community by those in power in the US are not defined or labeled as sexual violence. In fact, some of these actions are defined as protections.

United States elected officials and legislators have stated on multiple occasions that banning gender-affirming care is an act take to protect children. In reality, these restrictions are acts of sexual violence, committed by refusing individuals their right to bodily autonomy.

Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene has proudly stated that the Republican party needs to “be the party to protect children” from the “disturbing ideology” that is gender affirming care.<sup>93</sup>

In January of 2025 the White House presented a presidential order titled “Protecting Children from Chemical and Surgical Mutilation.”<sup>94</sup> This policy declares that the US will not “fund, sponsor, promote, assist, or support” gender-affirming care, and that it will “rigorously enforce all laws that prohibit or limit these destructive and life-altering procedures.”<sup>95</sup>

It is claimed that this action is needed because medical professionals across the country are “maiming and sterilizing a growing number of impressionable children.”<sup>96</sup> Not only is there no evidence to back up this claim, such statements also de-define the banning of gender affirming care as sexual violence, instead claiming that it is a needed protection.

## West Virginia SB299

HEALTHCARE PASSED

Modifying WV regulations on pubertal modulation, hormonal therapy, and gender reassignment

The purpose of this bill is to update the state's regulation of pubertal modulation and hormonal therapy to better protect the health and safety of minors in light of recent scientific developments that further demonstrate the harm of these drugs and surgeries on minors. The bill also applies the enumerated prohibitions to physician assistants and advance practice registered nurses.

Figure 19. West Virginia SB299, passed in 2025, prohibits physician assistants from assisting in gender reassignment surgery or the administration of gender-altering medication to individuals under the age of 18. It de-defines this as sexual violence and states it is intended to “protect the health and safety of minors.”

<sup>93</sup> Kasperowicz, 2023.

<sup>94</sup> The White House, 2025.

<sup>95</sup> The White House, 2025.

<sup>96</sup> The White House, 2025.

# Reverse Victim and Offender

West Virginia SB299, passed in 2025, prohibits physician assistants in West Virginia from assisting in gender reassignment surgery or the administration of gender altering medication to an individual under the age of 18.<sup>97</sup> It is stated that this action is being taken to “protect the health and safety of minors.”<sup>98</sup> Banning gender affirming care is in fact a form of sexual violence, done by restricting one’s bodily autonomy.

De-defining these occurrences and labeling them as protection allows those in power in the US to gain justification and approval from the public, who have not been properly informed on the true violence that is being committed against trans+ individuals.



<sup>97</sup> Trans Legislation Tracker, “WV SB299 (Modifying Regulations on Pubertal Modulation, Hormonal Therapy, and Gender Reassignment),” Trans Legislation, accessed December 12, 2025, <https://translegislation.com/bills/2025/WV/SB299>.

<sup>98</sup> Trans Legislation Tracker, 2024.

# Conclusion

**PROTECT  
TRANS  
YOUTH**



# Conclusion

**S**ORVO has been used by those in power in the US to oppress trans+ individuals since the country was colonized. The attempted eradication of Indigenous trans+ communities, such as Two-Spirit individuals, is ongoing. Political and media leaders produce the narrative that “transgender ideology” is a new and growing mindset being pushed on children. This is often accompanied by accusations of sexual violence, such as grooming. The promotion of this idea, using exaggerated, sensationalized, and falsified accounts of sexual violence committed by the trans+ community, produces fear in the public and justifies oppressive actions taken against them.

against trans+ individuals of the individual, institutional, and systemic levels. These instances are not covered in the public narrative. This is because those in power have control of the narrative and are therefore able to deny, omit, erase, and re-define any actions of sexual violence they commit against the trans+ community. SORVO is only successful through narrative manipulation and propaganda. Without this, those in power would not be able to justify their oppressive actions. Combating SORVO against the trans+ community will require passing policies to protect such individuals, and spreading public education on the realities that transgender and gender non-conforming individuals face in the US.

Of the **90 Federal Bills** introduced in 2025 pertaining to **trans+ people:**



*The rest protect trans people, remain neutral, or are unrelated.*

Figure 20. The SVPA analyzed all bills introduced in Congress in 2025. Ninety bills pertained to trans+ people. Of those, 57 (63%) employed SORVO to oppress the trans+ community.

While the people in power in the US are creating false narratives of the trans+ community committing sexual violence, they themselves are perpetrating sexual violence



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