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Before the
Iowa House Education Committee

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Thank you for the opportunity to submit testimony on behalf of the National Women’s Law Center (NWLC) in opposition to H.F. 2309. NWLC is one of the leading national organizations that has been working since Congress passed Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 to protect students’ rights to learn and participate in athletics free from sex-based discrimination. NWLC has participated in all major Title IX cases before the Supreme Court as counsel or amicus and routinely files amicus briefs in Title IX cases in support of transgender students who experience sex-based discrimination. We believe that ending all forms of sex-based discrimination and harassment is crucial to protecting the opportunities of all students in education and for the rest of their lives.

We strongly urge you to oppose H.F. 2309, which would ban transgender girls from playing on girls’ sports teams.¹ This bill would exacerbate the already high rates of sex discrimination, including sexual assault, that girls who are transgender face in school. Further, by imposing a wholesale ban on girls who are transgender from participating in athletics consistent with their gender identity, H.F. 2309 would force schools to violate both the U.S. Constitution and Title IX, which would, in turn, jeopardize Iowa’s federal funding. Transgender girls already live and go to school in Iowa, where the current polices against transgender exclusion have benefited all girls, including cisgender girls. Yet H.F. 2309 would not only exclude transgender girls from sports but would also harm cisgender girls, particularly Black and brown girls. There are numerous problems of sex discrimination harming girls in sports, but banning transgender girls would not solve any of them. Our testimony echoes the position of many other women’s rights organizations that overwhelmingly support full inclusion of transgender students in athletics. We urge you to reject this dangerous bill.

¹ I.A. 2309, § 1, 89th Leg., (I.A. 2022).
1. Transgender girls face alarmingly high rates of sex discrimination, including physical and sexual assault.

Transgender girls suffer exceedingly high rates of sex-based harassment and other forms of sex discrimination in schools. According to a 2015 study of more than 27,000 transgender adults, 77 percent of those who were out or perceived as transgender while in K-12 schools faced mistreatment in school due to their gender identity—54 percent were verbally harassed, 24 percent were physically attacked, and 13 percent were sexually assaulted.\(^2\) Transgender women are twice as likely to have been physically attacked or sexually assaulted while in K-12 schools because of their gender identity as transgender men and nonbinary people.\(^3\)

Anti-transgender victimization in schools has devastating effects on transgender students’ safety and wellbeing. Among transgender adults who were out or perceived as transgender in K-12 school, 17 percent of them left at least one school because of the anti-transgender mistreatment they faced.\(^4\) Transgender women are 1.5 times more likely to have left at least one K-12 school and nearly twice as likely to have been expelled from a K-12 school because of anti-transgender mistreatment than transgender men and nonbinary people.\(^5\) These experiences often had life-threatening consequences: for example, more than 52 percent of transgender adults who faced anti-transgender mistreatment in K-12 education had attempted suicide at least once by the time they took the survey, compared to 37 percent of transgender adults who had not been mistreated in K-12 school and 4.6 percent of their cisgender peers.\(^6\) (Importantly, the survey did not capture the experiences of the many transgender students who died by suicide.)

2. H.F. 2309 would further deprive transgender girls of educational access and could place them at greater risk of sexual assault.

H.F. 2309 would exclude many transgender girls in Iowa from athletics altogether, depriving them of the educational benefits of sports. Students who play sports are more likely to graduate from high school, score higher on standardized tests,
and have higher grades.\textsuperscript{7} They are also more likely to have higher levels of confidence, more positive body image, greater psychological well-being, and lower levels of depression.\textsuperscript{8} H.F. 2309 would exacerbate educational inequity for transgender girls—who are already subjected to myriad forms of sex-based discrimination that negatively affect their educational outcomes—by barring them from school sports.

Furthermore, if H.F. 2309 were interpreted to also relegate transgender girls who are athletes to locker rooms that do not match their gender identity, this bill could place them at greater risk of sexual assault. In a 2019 study of more than 3,600 transgender and nonbinary students in grades 7-12 published by the American Academy of Pediatrics, students who were banned from using locker rooms and restrooms that matched their gender identity were significantly more likely to have been sexually assaulted during the previous 12 months.\textsuperscript{9} This increased risk of sexual assault was 2.5 times higher for transgender girls, 1.3 times higher for transgender boys, and 1.4 times higher for nonbinary adolescents who were designated female at birth.\textsuperscript{10} If H.F. 2309 is interpreted as requiring transgender girls who play sports to use locker rooms inconsistent with their gender identity, it could further endanger them.

3. H.F. 2309 would require schools to violate the Constitution and Title IX, thereby jeopardizing Iowa’s federal funding.

H.F. 2309 would give Iowa’s school districts and institutions of higher education an unpalatable choice: comply with state law or federal law.

Schools would be forced to violate the U.S. Constitution in order to comply with H.F. 2309. Two state bills similar to H.F. 2309 in Idaho and West Virginia have already been found to likely violate the Fourteenth Amendment’s Equal Protection Clause. When Idaho passed H.B. 500 in 2020,\textsuperscript{11} two students immediately sued to reverse the state law—Jane Doe, a 17-year-old cisgender girl in high school, and Lindsay Hecox, a transgender woman in college.\textsuperscript{12} A federal court in Idaho court reached “the inescapable conclusion that [H.B. 500] discriminates on the basis of transgender status” and thus

\textsuperscript{7} In fact, a statewide, three-year study in North Carolina found that student athletes had grade point averages that were nearly a full point higher than their non-athlete peers. National Coalition for Women and Girls in Education, \textit{Title IX at 45: Advancing Opportunity through Equity in Education} 41-42 (2017), available at https://www.ncwge.org/index.html.

\textsuperscript{8} \textit{Id.} at 41.


\textsuperscript{10} \textit{Id.} at 5.

\textsuperscript{11} H.B. 500, 65th Leg., 2nd Reg. Sess. (Id. 2020).

triggered heightened equal protection scrutiny under the Constitution.\textsuperscript{13} The court then issued a preliminary injunction against the anti-transgender ban, noting “the absence of any empirical evidence that sex inequality or access to athletic opportunities are threatened by transgender women athletes” and instead finding “compelling evidence that equality in sports is not jeopardized" by Idaho’s previous standard.\textsuperscript{14} The court concluded that Idaho had “not identified a legitimate interest … other than an invalid interest of excluding transgender women and girls from women’s sports entirely.”\textsuperscript{15}

Similarly, when West Virginia passed H.B. 3293 in 2021,\textsuperscript{16} an 11-year-old transgender girl, Becky Pepper-Jackson, filed suit.\textsuperscript{17} In elementary school, Becky had already been a member of the cheer team for her local youth football league, but the new law would ban her from trying out for the girls’ cross-country team in middle school.\textsuperscript{18} As she explained: “I just want to run[,] I come from a family of runners. … I know how hurtful a law like this is to all kids like me who just want to play sports with their classmates, and I’m doing this for them. Trans kids deserve better.”\textsuperscript{19} A federal judge in West Virginia agreed, finding that Becky was likely to win in her constitutional claim, and issued a preliminary injunction against the ban. The judge explained that “permitting [Becky] to participate on the girls’ teams would not take away athletic opportunities from other girls” and that “this law cannot possibly protect the physical safety of other girl athletes.”\textsuperscript{20} Moreover, the judge pointed out, “I have been provided with scant evidence that this law addresses any problem at all, let alone an important problem.”\textsuperscript{21} Iowa’s H.F. 2309, which would impose a similar ban on transgender girls, suffers from the same flaws as Idaho’s H.B. 500 and West Virginia’s H.B. 3293 and will also likely be found to violate the U.S. Constitution.

H.F. 2309 would also violate Title IX. Nearly 50 years ago, Congress enacted Title IX to prohibit all forms of sex discrimination in education programs and activities.\textsuperscript{22}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{13} United States v. Virginia, 518 U.S. 515, 555 (1996); Hecox, 479 F. Supp. 3d at 975.
\item \textsuperscript{14} Id. at 979 (emphasis in original).
\item \textsuperscript{15} Id. at 984-85.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Id. at *1.
\item \textsuperscript{22} 20 U.S.C. § 1681(a). Although Title IX’s implementing regulations allow schools to maintain sex-separated athletics teams for competitive and contact sports, this does not mean that student athletics
For decades, courts have affirmed that discrimination on the basis of gender identity and transgender status is a form of sex discrimination, including when it occurs in gender-separated education programs.\(^{23}\) In 2020, the U.S. Supreme Court confirmed in \textit{Bostock v. Clayton County} that discrimination based on gender identity “necessarily entails discrimination based on sex; the first cannot happen without the second.”\(^{24}\) Within months of the Supreme Court’s decision, the Fourth Circuit applied \textit{Bostock}’s reasoning to reject a Virginia school district’s policy that prohibited transgender students from using sex-separated restrooms matching their gender identity, finding that the policy violated Title IX.\(^{25}\) Likewise, a federal judge in West Virginia found that the new state law banning transgender girls and women from playing on girls’ and women’s teams was also likely to violate Title IX.\(^{26}\) As the judge explained, “I have little difficulty finding that [Becky] is harmed by this law. … [I]t both stigmatizes and isolates her. … [She] will be treated worse than girls with whom she is similarly situated because she alone cannot join the team corresponding to her gender identity.” Iowa’s H.F. 2309, which would impose a similar ban on transgender girls, is also unlikely to survive a Title IX challenge.

The Biden-Harris administration has also made clear that it intends to enforce Title IX consistent with the Supreme Court’s holding in \textit{Bostock}.\(^{27}\) This means that if H.F. 2309 were to be enacted, Iowa would likely face not only litigation by private parties but also by the federal government. Violating Title IX would not only cost the state substantially in litigation costs but would also put the state’s federal education funding at risk. In FY 2022, Iowa will receive $732 million from the U.S. Department of Education in the form of formula grants and federally supported loans and may receive additional funding in the form of competitive grants.\(^{28}\)

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\(^{24}\) \textit{Bostock v. Clayton Cnty.}, 140 S. Ct. 1731, 1747 (2020).


\(^{26}\) B. P. J., 2021 WL 3081883, at *7.


4. Iowa—and many other states—already have trans-inclusive athletics policies, which have benefited both cisgender and transgender girls.

Since August 2014, Iowa’s state athletics policies have suggested that local school districts allow transgender girls to participate on the school sports team matching their gender identity. The Iowa Girls High School Athletic Union looks to whether transgender girls consistently identify as girls at school, home, and socially, not the gender listed in their student records. In the years since this policy was adopted, there has been no dominance by transgender athletes or threat to girls’ sports in Iowa.

Iowa’s policy is already more restrictive towards transgender and nonbinary K-12 students than many other states. Athletics associations in sixteen states and the District of Columbia have adopted fully trans-inclusive policies that allow student athletes in K-12 schools to play on teams consistent with their gender identity. Furthermore, fifteen states and the District of Columbia have passed laws protecting transgender students’ rights to pursue an education free from discrimination, including in school sports. In the past 14 years since these laws and association policies were adopted, there has been no categorical dominance by transgender athletes or threat to girls’ sports in these states—despite hundreds, if not thousands, of transgender girls competing in girls’ sports.

Yet H.F. 2309 would impose an extremist ban on transgender girls as young as age 5—far more restrictive than even the strictest rules that govern the most elite levels of sports around the world. In many elite post-season high school competitions, transgender girls are allowed to play on girls’ teams after undergoing some testosterone suppression. Even at the Olympic level (which is outside the scope of H.F. 2309), transgender athletes have been allowed to compete since 2004 with restrictions that are quite onerous, yet still less extreme than the outright ban proposed in H.F. 2309.

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There has been no categorical dominance by transgender girls or women at any of these levels of competition. In fact, no transgender athlete has medaled to date at the Olympics, and the only U.S. transgender athlete ever selected for the national team in a World Championship was Chris Mosier, a transgender man.\textsuperscript{35}

Furthermore, a 2021 study found that in states with trans-inclusive athletics policies, girls' overall participation in high school sports either increased or remained the same after those policies were enacted—even in states where boys' participation declined during the same period.\textsuperscript{36} In contrast, girls’ overall participation in high school sports has declined over the past decade in states with trans-exclusionary policies.\textsuperscript{37}

In other words, H.F. 2309 is a false solution in search of a nonexistent problem.

5. **H.F. 2309 will lead to more discrimination against cis, trans, nonbinary, and intersex girls, especially Black and brown girls.**

H.F. 2309 relies on overbroad stereotypes about transgender girls' and women's bodies. All athletes' bodies are different, and these differences can be advantageous or disadvantageous depending on the sport. For example, professional gymnast Simone Biles is 4 feet, 8 inches tall, and professional basketball player Brittney Griner is 6 feet, 9 inches tall.\textsuperscript{38} Both athletes, who are cisgender, have achieved great success, including Olympic gold medals, in part because of their respective heights.\textsuperscript{39} Similarly, transgender athletes do not have a single body type, and their bodies do not automatically confer absolute advantages over cisgender athletes. In fact, many transgender athletes, especially transgender children, have physiological traits that are more typical of their gender identity than their assigned sex at birth. This means that many transgender girls have more physiological traits in common with cisgender girls than cisgender boys.\textsuperscript{40} As a result, any data purporting to compare the athletic abilities of cisgender girls and cisgender boys simply does not apply to most transgender youth.

H.F. 2309 would also categorically exclude many nonbinary students who are neither boys nor girls. And the bill would exclude many intersex students, who are born

\textsuperscript{35} CAP Report, supra note 32, at 17.

\textsuperscript{36} CAP Report, supra note 32, at 15-16.

\textsuperscript{37} Id. at 14-15.


\textsuperscript{39} Team USA, supra note 38; WNBA, supra note 38.

\textsuperscript{40} See, e.g., Hecox, 479 F. Supp. 3d at 980 (finding that “there is a population of transgender girls who, as a result of puberty blockers at the start of puberty and gender affirming hormone therapy afterward, never go through a typical male puberty at all”).
with physical traits that do not conform to binary notions of “male” or “female” bodies and whose sex assigned at birth may be different from the gender identity they have known and lived their whole lives.

Black and brown girls—who are routinely targeted for not conforming to society’s expectations of white femininity—would be especially vulnerable to the gender scrutiny invited by H.F. 2309. For example, Serena Williams, a cisgender Black woman, has faced decades of dehumanization, including invasive questions about her gender.\textsuperscript{41} Gender- and race-based stereotypes, which frequently impute a greater perception of culpability onto Black women, have also caused Williams to be subjected to “randomized” drug-testing at a much higher rate than her white peers.\textsuperscript{42} In 2018, Williams was even docked a full game point in 2018 for expressing frustration in an insufficiently “feminine” manner.\textsuperscript{43} By relying on overbroad stereotypes about transgender girls’ and women’s bodies, H.F. 2309 would perpetuate harmful racist and sexist stereotypes that routinely deprive Black and brown girls and women of equal athletic opportunities.

6. H.F. 2309 does nothing to address the many real and urgent problems of sex discrimination in athletics.

Girls face numerous actual gender disparities in school sports that H.F. 2309 fails to address. High school girls receive over 1 million fewer opportunities than boys to participate in sports.\textsuperscript{44} Girls’ teams across the country are given second-class treatment by their schools when it comes to facilities, equipment, travel, and other benefits and services, and they have been hit especially hard by the COVID-19 pandemic.\textsuperscript{45} Girls of color also receive far fewer chances to play on school sports teams than boys and white girls.\textsuperscript{46} And as brought to light in high-profile cases like Larry Nassar’s, student athletes

\textsuperscript{41} Lydia Slater, \textit{Queen Serena: The power and the glory}, HARPER’S BAZAAR (May 30, 2018), https://www.harpersbazaar.com/uk/fashion/fashion-news/a20961002/serena-williams-july-issue-cover-shoot (“People would say I was born a guy, all because of my arms, or because I’m strong”).

\textsuperscript{42} Serena Williams, drug tested more than other top players this year, cites "discrimination", CBS NEWS (July 25, 2018), https://www.cbsnews.com/news/serena-williams-doping-tests-more-often-than-other-top-players-cites-discrimination.


of all ages and genders face high levels of gender-based verbal harassment and sexual abuse, at the hands of their teammates, coaches, and physicians.47

Banning transgender girls from school sports solves none of these urgent problems of sex discrimination. In fact, as mentioned above, anti-transgender bans have been linked to lower athletics participation by cisgender girls and higher rates of sexual assault of transgender girls.48 H.F. 2309 claims to protect girls in sports, but it does the exact opposite by using “fairness in girls’ sports” as a cudgel against transgender girls—while inadvertently harming cisgender girls as well. Iowa legislators should not let this bill distract them from taking meaningful steps to close the gender and racial disparities in athletics and protect student athletes from sexual abuse.

7. Women’s rights organizations overwhelmingly support full inclusion of transgender students in school sports.

In recent years, women’s rights organizations and elite athletes have repeatedly voiced their unequivocal support of transgender inclusion in athletics:

- In March 2021, 94 women’s rights and gender justice organizations expressed their support of transgender girls and women athletes.49
- In February 2021, the National Coalition for Women and Girls in Education—which includes organizations like American Association of University Women (AAUW), Girls Inc., and YWCA USA—issued a statement announcing the coalition’s support of transgender and nonbinary students’ “full and equal access to sex-separated activities and facilities consistent with their gender identity, including athletics teams.”50


48 See supra notes 9-10, 36-37 and accompanying text.


50 National Coalition for Women and Girls in Education, NCWGE Supports Transgender and Nonbinary Students’ Full and Equal Participation in All Education Programs and Activities (Feb. 12, 2021), https://www.ncwge.org/activities.html.
In December 2020, Billie Jean King, Megan Rapinoe, and Candace Parker joined nearly 200 athletes in an amicus brief opposing the Idaho anti-transgender sports ban.51

In April 2019, 23 national women’s rights and gender justice organizations issued a public letter in support of “Full and Equal Access to Participation in Athletics for Transgender People,” including the National Organization for Women, Women Leaders in College Sports, and Women’s Sports Foundation.52

The National Women’s Law Center supports the full inclusion of transgender girls in sports because we recognize, as courts and scientists overwhelmingly have stated, that transgender girls are girls. Youth who are transgender join sports for the same reasons that all young people do: to have fun, challenge themselves, and be part of a team where they feel included and accepted. And in the instances where a transgender girl is successful in her sport, we celebrate her victory as a victory for all girls.

* * *

A few years ago, anti-transgender bills were focused on the supposed threat of transgender girls and women in restrooms. Now they are focused on the supposed threat of transgender girls and women in athletics. None of the threats fearmongered by supporters of the restroom bills came to pass53 because transgender girls and women use restrooms for the same reason as everyone else: to go to the restroom and go about their day. Likewise, none of the purported threats to girls and women’s athletics posed by transgender inclusion are rooted in reality.


Students who are transgender deserve the chance to succeed and thrive like any other student. We urge you to vote no on H.F. 2309.

Thank you,

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