

116TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# S. 1791

To prohibit discrimination on the basis of religion, sex (including sexual orientation and gender identity), and marital status in the administration and provision of child welfare services, to improve safety, well-being, and permanency for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer or questioning foster youth, and for other purposes.

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## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JUNE 11, 2019

Mrs. GILLIBRAND (for herself, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. MURPHY, Ms. HARRIS, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. SANDERS, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Ms. ROSEN, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. LEAHY, Mr. WYDEN, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, Mr. MERKLEY, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, and Mr. DURBIN) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Finance

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## A BILL

To prohibit discrimination on the basis of religion, sex (including sexual orientation and gender identity), and marital status in the administration and provision of child welfare services, to improve safety, well-being, and permanency for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer or questioning foster youth, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

1 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

2 This Act may be cited as the “Every Child Deserves  
3 a Family Act”.

4 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS AND PURPOSE.**

5 (a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

6 (1) Every child or youth unable to live with  
7 their family of origin is entitled to a supportive and  
8 affirming foster care placement. Federal law re-  
9 quires, and child welfare experts recommend, that  
10 children and youth be placed with a family or in the  
11 most family-like setting available.

12 (2) Thousands of children and youth lack a sta-  
13 ble, safe, and loving temporary or permanent home  
14 and have been placed in a congregate care setting,  
15 which is associated with more placements, poorer  
16 educational outcomes, and greater risk of further  
17 trauma. More homes are needed to accommodate the  
18 growing number of children and youth involved with  
19 child welfare services.

20 (3) In 2017, there were an estimated 443,000  
21 children and youth in the United States foster care  
22 system, and 123,000 were eligible and waiting to be  
23 adopted. Tragically, approximately 20,000 “aged  
24 out” of the child welfare system without a forever  
25 family, placing them at higher risk of negative out-

1 comes including poverty, homelessness, incarceration,  
2 ation, and early parenthood.

3 (4) Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42  
4 U.S.C. 2000d et seq.) protects people from discrimi-  
5 nation based on race, color, or national origin in  
6 programs, activities, and services administered or  
7 performed by child welfare agencies. Eliminating dis-  
8 crimination in child welfare based on religion, sex  
9 (including sexual orientation and gender identity),  
10 and marital status would increase the number and  
11 diversity of foster and adoptive homes able to meet  
12 the individual needs of children and youth removed  
13 from their homes.

14 (5) Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and  
15 queer or questioning (referred to in this Act as  
16 “LGBTQ”) youth are overrepresented in the foster  
17 care system by at least a factor of 2, comprising at  
18 least 22 to 30 percent of children and youth in fos-  
19 ter care.

20 (A) While some LGBTQ youth enter foster  
21 care for similar reasons as non-LGBTQ youth,  
22 the 2 most common reasons for LGBTQ youth  
23 are high rates of physical abuse and conflict  
24 with parents.

1 (B) LGBTQ foster youth report twice the  
2 rate of poor treatment while in care experienced  
3 by foster youth who do not identify as LGBTQ  
4 and are more likely to experience discrimina-  
5 tion, harassment, and violence in the child wel-  
6 fare system than their LGBTQ peers not in the  
7 child welfare system.

8 (C) Because of high levels of bias, LGBTQ  
9 foster youth have a higher average number of  
10 placements and higher likelihood of living in a  
11 group home than their non-LGBTQ peers, neg-  
12 atively affecting mental health outcomes and  
13 long-term prospects.

14 (D) Approximately 60 percent of homeless  
15 LGBTQ youth were previously in foster care,  
16 and many reported that living on the streets  
17 felt safer than living in a group or foster home.

18 (6) “Conversion therapy” is a form of discrimi-  
19 nation that harms LGBTQ people. It undermines an  
20 individual’s sense of self-worth, increases suicide ide-  
21 ation and substance abuse, exacerbates family con-  
22 flict, and contributes to second-class status. No sci-  
23 entifically valid evidence supports this discredited  
24 practice, which is prohibited by many States and  
25 foreign nations. Approximately 350,000 LGBTQ

1 adults were subjected to so-called “conversion ther-  
2 apy” as adolescents, and an estimated 20,000  
3 LGBTQ youth ages 13 to 17 will be subjected to it  
4 by a licensed health care professional before age 18.

5 (7) Many youth, especially LGBTQ youth, in-  
6 volved with child welfare services identify with a  
7 cross-section of marginalized communities. Youth of  
8 color are overrepresented in the foster care system,  
9 and the majority of LGBTQ foster youth are youth  
10 of color. Children and youth with multiple margina-  
11 lized identities often experience more stress and  
12 trauma than other youth, compounding the negative  
13 effects of discrimination and increasing the likeli-  
14 hood of negative outcomes.

15 (8) Prospective parents who experience the  
16 heartbreak and dignitary harm of discrimination  
17 based on religion, sex (including sexual orientation  
18 and gender identity), or marital status may not be  
19 able or willing to apply at another agency, resulting  
20 in fewer available homes, and knowing that discrimi-  
21 nation exists may deter them from even attempting  
22 to foster or adopt.

23 (9) Professional organizations that serve chil-  
24 dren in the fields of medicine, psychology, law, and

1 child welfare oppose discrimination against prospec-  
2 tive parents in adoption and foster care.

3 (10) Religious organizations play a critical role  
4 in providing child welfare services. Most welcome all  
5 children, youth, and families and affirm a diversity  
6 of religions and faiths. State assessments, planning,  
7 and counseling should connect children and youth  
8 for whom spirituality and religion are important  
9 with affirming, faith-based resources consistent with  
10 the faith of the child or youth.

11 (11) Child welfare agencies that refuse to serve  
12 same-sex couples and LGBTQ individuals reduce the  
13 pool of qualified and available homes for children  
14 and youth who need placement on a temporary or  
15 permanent basis.

16 (A) Same-sex couples are 7 times more  
17 likely to foster and adopt than their different-  
18 sex counterparts.

19 (B) Same-sex couples raising adopted chil-  
20 dren tend to be older than, just as educated as,  
21 and have access to the same economic resources  
22 as other adoptive parents.

23 (C) Research shows that sexual orientation  
24 is a nondeterminative factor in parental success  
25 and that children with same-sex parents have

1 the same advantages and expectations for  
2 health, social, and psychological development as  
3 children whose parents are different-sex.

4 (D) Discrimination against qualified pro-  
5 spective foster and adoptive parents for non-  
6 merit related reasons denies religious minority,  
7 LGBTQ, and unmarried relatives the oppor-  
8 tunity to become foster and adoptive parents  
9 for their own kin in care, including grand-  
10 children.

11 (12) LGBTQ families of origin are at risk for  
12 discrimination in child welfare referrals, investiga-  
13 tions, removals, reunification, kinship placements,  
14 and other case management services. A study of low-  
15 income African-American mothers showed that those  
16 who identified as lesbian or bisexual were 4 times  
17 more likely than their non-LGBTQ counterparts to  
18 lose custody of their children in child welfare pro-  
19 ceedings. LGBTQ-positive services are necessary to  
20 shield families and protect parents' rights to reunifi-  
21 cation.

22 (13) Single people are more likely than couples  
23 to experience challenges in adopting due to biases  
24 that persist against single-parent adoption. In 2017,  
25 28 percent of adoptions from foster care were com-

1       pleted by unmarried single people, including adop-  
2       tions from almost 2,000 single men and over 14,800  
3       single women. Studies show that the outcomes for  
4       children adopted and raised by single parents are  
5       just as good as, if not better than, outcomes for chil-  
6       dren adopted by couples.

7               (14) More nationwide data about the experi-  
8       ences of LGBTQ children and youth involved with  
9       child welfare services is needed to understand fully  
10      the extent and impact of discrimination and ensure  
11      accountability. States must report and researchers  
12      must collect this sensitive data in an ethical, affirm-  
13      ing, and non-intrusive manner, with appropriate  
14      safeguards to protect respondents.

15      (b) PURPOSE.—The purposes of this Act are—

16              (1) to prohibit discrimination on the basis of re-  
17      ligion, sex (including sexual orientation and gender  
18      identity), and marital status in the administration  
19      and provision of child welfare services that receive  
20      Federal funds; and

21              (2) to improve safety, well-being, and perma-  
22      nency for LGBTQ children and youth involved with  
23      child welfare services.

1 **SEC. 3. EVERY CHILD DESERVES A FAMILY.**

2 (a) PROHIBITION.—No child or youth involved with  
3 child welfare services, family, or individual shall, on the  
4 grounds of religion, sex (including sexual orientation and  
5 gender identity), or marital status, be excluded from par-  
6 ticipation in, denied the benefits of, or be subjected to dis-  
7 crimination in the administration or provision of child wel-  
8 fare programs and services by a covered entity.

9 (b) PRIVATE RIGHT OF ACTION.—Any individual who  
10 is aggrieved by a violation of this Act may bring a civil  
11 action seeking relief in an appropriate United States dis-  
12 trict court. The court shall award a plaintiff prevailing in  
13 such an action all appropriate relief, including injunctive,  
14 declaratory, and other equitable relief necessary to carry  
15 out this Act, attorneys' fees, and such other relief as the  
16 court determines appropriate.

17 (c) FEDERAL GUIDANCE.—Not later than 6 months  
18 after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary  
19 shall publish and disseminate guidance with respect to  
20 compliance with this Act.

21 (d) TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE.—In order to ensure  
22 compliance with and understanding of the legal, practice,  
23 and cultural changes required by this Act, the Secretary  
24 shall provide technical assistance to all covered entities,  
25 including—

1           (1) identifying State laws and regulations in-  
2           consistent with this Act, and providing guidance and  
3           training to ensure the State laws and regulations are  
4           brought into compliance with this Act by the appli-  
5           cable compliance deadline in effect under subsection  
6           (h);

7           (2) identifying casework practices and proce-  
8           dures inconsistent with this Act and providing guid-  
9           ance and training to ensure the practices and proce-  
10          dures are brought into compliance with this Act by  
11          the applicable compliance deadline;

12          (3) providing guidance in expansion of recruit-  
13          ment efforts to ensure consideration of all prospec-  
14          tive adoptive and foster parents regardless of the re-  
15          ligion, sex (including sexual orientation and gender  
16          identity), or marital status of the prospective parent;

17          (4) creating comprehensive cultural competency  
18          training for covered entities and prospective adoptive  
19          and foster parents; and

20          (5) training judges and attorneys involved in  
21          foster care, guardianship, and adoption cases on the  
22          findings and purposes of this Act.

23          (e) SERVICE DELIVERY AND TRAINING.—

24                 (1) IN GENERAL.—A covered entity shall pro-  
25                 vide service delivery to children and youth involved

1 with child welfare services, families, and adults, and  
2 staff training, that—

3 (A) comprehensively addresses the indi-  
4 vidual strengths and needs of children and  
5 youth involved with child welfare services; and

6 (B) is language appropriate, gender appro-  
7 priate, and culturally sensitive and respectful of  
8 the complex social identities of the children and  
9 youth, families, and adults currently or prospec-  
10 tively participating in or receiving child welfare  
11 services.

12 (2) SOCIAL IDENTITY.—In this subsection, the  
13 term “social identity” includes an individual’s race,  
14 ethnicity, nationality, age, religion (including spiritu-  
15 ality), sex (including gender identity and sexual ori-  
16 entation), socioeconomic status, physical or cognitive  
17 ability, language, beliefs, values, behavior patterns,  
18 and customs.

19 (f) DATA COLLECTION.—Using developmentally ap-  
20 propriate best practices, the Secretary shall collect data  
21 through the Adoption and Foster Care Analysis and Re-  
22 porting System on—

23 (1) the sexual orientation and gender identity of  
24 children and youth involved with child welfare serv-  
25 ices and foster and adoptive parents; and

1           (2) whether family conflict related to the sexual  
2           orientation or gender identity of a child or youth  
3           was a factor in the removal of the child or youth  
4           from the family.

5           (g) NATIONAL RESOURCE CENTER ON SAFETY,  
6 WELL-BEING, PLACEMENT STABILITY, AND PERMA-  
7 NENCY FOR LGBTQ CHILDREN AND YOUTH INVOLVED  
8 WITH CHILD WELFARE SERVICES.—

9           (1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary shall establish  
10          and maintain the National Resource Center on Safe-  
11          ty, Well-Being, Placement Stability, and Perma-  
12          nency for LGBTQ Children and Youth Involved with  
13          Child Welfare Services (referred to in this Act as the  
14          “National Resource Center”) that will promote well-  
15          being, safety, permanency, stability, and family  
16          placement for LGBTQ children and youth involved  
17          with child welfare services, through training, tech-  
18          nical assistance, actions, and guidance that—

19                 (A) increase LGBTQ cultural competency  
20                 among the staff of covered entities, and foster,  
21                 adoptive, and relative parents, guardians, and  
22                 caregivers;

23                 (B) promote the provision of child welfare  
24                 services that address the specific needs of

1           LGBTQ children and youth involved with child  
2           welfare services and their families;

3           (C) promote effective and responsible col-  
4           lection and management of data on the sexual  
5           orientation and gender identity of children and  
6           youth in the child welfare system, with appro-  
7           priate safeguards to protect the data;

8           (D) identify and promote promising prac-  
9           tices and evidence-based models of engagement  
10          and appropriate collective and individual serv-  
11          ices and interventions that can be linked to im-  
12          proved outcomes for LGBTQ children and  
13          youth in the child welfare system;

14          (E) endorse best practices for human re-  
15          source activities of covered entities, including in  
16          hiring, staff development, and implementing a  
17          system of accountability to carry out those best  
18          practices; and

19          (F) initiate other actions that improve  
20          safety, well-being, placement stability, and per-  
21          manency outcomes for LGBTQ children and  
22          youth involved with child welfare services at the  
23          State and local level.

1           (2) ACTIVITIES.—The Secretary shall carry out  
2 the collection and analysis of data and the dissemi-  
3 nation of research to carry out this subsection.

4           (3) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—  
5 There are authorized to be appropriated to the Sec-  
6 retary such sums as may be necessary to establish  
7 and maintain the National Resource Center and  
8 carry out the activities described in this subsection.

9           (h) DEADLINE FOR COMPLIANCE.—

10           (1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in para-  
11 graph (2), a covered entity shall comply with this  
12 section not later than 6 months after publication of  
13 the guidance referred to in subsection (c), or 1 year  
14 after the date of the enactment of this Act, which-  
15 ever occurs first.

16           (2) AUTHORITY TO EXTEND DEADLINE.—If a  
17 State demonstrates to the satisfaction of the Sec-  
18 retary that it is necessary to amend State law in  
19 order to change a particular practice that is incon-  
20 sistent with this Act, the Secretary may extend the  
21 compliance date for the State and any covered enti-  
22 ties in the State a reasonable number of days after  
23 the close of the first State legislative session begin-  
24 ning after the date the guidance referred to in sub-  
25 section (c) is published.

1           (3) AUTHORITY TO WITHHOLD FUNDS.—If the  
2 Secretary finds that a covered entity has failed to  
3 comply with this Act, the Secretary may withhold  
4 payment to the State of amounts otherwise payable  
5 to the State under part B or E of title IV of the  
6 Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 621 et seq.; 42  
7 U.S.C. 670 et seq.), to the extent determined by the  
8 Secretary.

9           (i) GAO STUDY.—

10           (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 3 years after  
11 the date of enactment of this Act, the Comptroller  
12 General of the United States shall conduct a study  
13 to determine whether the States have substantially  
14 complied with this Act, including specifically whether  
15 the States have—

16                   (A) eliminated all policies, practices, or  
17 laws that permit a covered entity to violate sub-  
18 section (a);

19                   (B) provided necessary training and tech-  
20 nical support to covered entities to ensure all  
21 services to children and youth involved with  
22 child welfare services are carried out in a non-  
23 discriminatory, affirming, safe, and culturally  
24 competent manner;

1 (C) collected data necessary to accom-  
2 plishing the purposes of this Act, and ensured  
3 that the data is appropriately safeguarded, in-  
4 cluding data related to—

5 (i) the sexual orientation and gender  
6 identity of children and youth involved  
7 with child welfare services;

8 (ii) the permanency and placement  
9 outcomes and rates for those children and  
10 youth, as compared to their non-LGBTQ  
11 peers;

12 (iii) the rates at which those children  
13 and youth are placed in family homes as  
14 compared to congregate or group homes;

15 (iv) the sexual orientation, gender  
16 identity, and marital status of foster and  
17 adoptive parents, as well as the placement  
18 rates and wait periods for those foster and  
19 adoptive parents; and

20 (D) ensured that covered entities—

21 (i) are in compliance with this Act;  
22 and

23 (ii) have implemented procedures for  
24 children and youth involved with child wel-  
25 fare services, or individuals or families par-

1            participating in, or seeking to participate in,  
2            child welfare services, to report violations  
3            of this Act.

4            (2) REPORT TO THE CONGRESS.—Not later  
5            than 6 months after completing the study required  
6            by paragraph (1), the Comptroller General shall sub-  
7            mit to the Committee on Ways and Means of the  
8            House of Representatives and the Committee on Fi-  
9            nance of the Senate a written report that contains  
10           the results of the study.

11          (j) RELATION TO OTHER LAWS.—

12            (1) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this  
13            Act shall be construed to invalidate or limit rights,  
14            remedies, or legal standards under title VI of the  
15            Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. 2000d et seq.).

16            (2) CERTAIN CLAIMS.—The Religious Freedom  
17            Restoration Act of 1993 (42 U.S.C. 2000bb et seq.)  
18            shall not provide a claim concerning, or a defense to  
19            a claim under, this Act, or provide a basis for chal-  
20            lenging the application or enforcement of this Act.

21          (k) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

22            (1) CHILD OR YOUTH INVOLVED WITH CHILD  
23            WELFARE SERVICES.—The term “child or youth in-  
24            volved with child welfare services” means an indi-  
25            vidual, aged 23 or younger, who participates in child

1 welfare programs or services that receive Federal fi-  
2 nancial assistance under part A, B, or E of title IV;  
3 title XIX; or title XX of the Social Security Act.

4 (2) CONVERSION THERAPY.—

5 (A) IN GENERAL.—The term “conversion  
6 therapy” means a form of discrimination that  
7 includes any practice or treatment which seeks  
8 to change the sexual orientation or gender iden-  
9 tity of an individual, including efforts to change  
10 behaviors or gender expressions or to eliminate  
11 or reduce sexual or romantic attractions or feel-  
12 ings toward individuals of the same gender.

13 (B) EXCLUSIONS.—The term “conversion  
14 therapy” does not include counseling that pro-  
15 vides assistance to an individual undergoing  
16 gender transition, or counseling that provides  
17 acceptance, support, and understanding of an  
18 individual or facilitates an individual with cop-  
19 ing, social support, and identity exploration and  
20 development, including sexual orientation-neu-  
21 tral interventions to prevent or address unlaw-  
22 ful conduct or unsafe sexual practices.

23 (3) COVERED ENTITY.—The term “covered en-  
24 tity” means an entity that—

1 (A) receives Federal financial assistance  
2 under part A, B, or E of title IV of the Social  
3 Security Act (42 U.S.C. 601 et seq.; 42 U.S.C.  
4 621 et seq.; 42 U.S.C. 670 et seq.), title XIX  
5 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396 et  
6 seq.), or title XX of the Social Security Act (42  
7 U.S.C. 1397 et seq.); and

8 (B) is involved in the administration or  
9 provision of child welfare programs or services.

10 (4) GENDER IDENTITY.—The term “gender  
11 identity” means the gender-related identity, appear-  
12 ance, mannerisms, or other gender-related character-  
13 istics of an individual, regardless of the designated  
14 sex of the individual at birth.

15 (5) RELIGION; SEX (INCLUDING SEXUAL ORI-  
16 ENTATION AND GENDER IDENTITY), OR MARITAL  
17 STATUS.—The term “religion, sex (including sexual  
18 orientation and gender identity), or marital status”,  
19 used with respect to an individual, includes—

20 (A) the religion, sex (including sexual ori-  
21 entation and gender identity), or marital status,  
22 respectively, of another person with whom the  
23 individual is or has been associated; and

24 (B) a perception or belief, even if inac-  
25 curate, concerning the religion, sex (including

1           sexual orientation and gender identity), or mar-  
2           ital status, respectively, of the individual.

3           (6) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means  
4           the Secretary of Health and Human Services.

5           (7) SEX.—The term “sex” includes—

6                   (A) a sex stereotype;

7                   (B) pregnancy, childbirth, or a related  
8           medical condition;

9                   (C) sexual orientation or gender identity;  
10          and

11                  (D) sex characteristics, including intersex  
12          traits.

13          (8) SEXUAL ORIENTATION.—The term “sexual  
14          orientation” means homosexuality, heterosexuality,  
15          or bisexuality.

16          (9) STATE.—The term “State” means each of  
17          the 50 States of the United States, the District of  
18          Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the  
19          United States Virgin Islands, Guam, the Common-  
20          wealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, and Amer-  
21          ican Samoa.

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