

UNDERSTANDING THE RESOURCING OF THE GLOBAL “ANTI-GENDER IDEOLOGY” MOVEMENT

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



In recent decades, we have witnessed a confluence and re-framing of multiple longtime anti-rights movements under the banner of a global “anti-gender” movement which attempts to codify and enforce the concept that biological sex represents the “natural” order while gender is an invention and an “ideology.”

This framework is weaponized by conservative political and religious groups in furtherance of ongoing strategies to attack human rights and self-determination, deny climate science, and promote authoritarianism. Enormous financial resources are flowing to these anti-rights movements and the institutions that support them, leveraged into acceleration across global regions and yielding both the attrition of human rights infrastructures and the increasing rise of authoritarianism.

We use the terms anti-gender and anti-gender ideology interchangeably in this document.

Who are the lead actors in the global anti-gender movement?

The organized opposition to gender equality and equity, sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR), and LGBTI rights is a dynamic and adaptive movement, and the strategies and tactics of this movement have evolved in response to changes in the political and social landscape. There are a few key vectors or nexus points for the organization of the movement, including the **World Congress of Families**, an international conference that brings together thousands of anti-rights activists from across the world and **Agenda Europe**, an advocacy network that convenes a secretive annual summit of approximately 100-150 individuals representing various organizations associated with the anti-gender movement.

At the organizational level, several actors have played important roles in attacking the rights of LGBTI persons, women and girls, and other minorities. In the U.S., these include:

- the **International Organization for the Family**, which leads the organizing of the World Congress of Families.
- the **Alliance Defending Freedom**, which acts as a public interest law firm for the U.S. Christian Right and has a network of 3,300 allied attorneys, and the **American Center for Law and Justice (ACLJ)**, which has a litigation strategy targeting laws and policies that advance the rights of sexual and gender minorities in the U.S.
- The **Christian Broadcasting Network**, which provides a platform for the leading actors and organizations in the anti-gender movement and now operates in 138 countries across the world.

Many of the leading anti-gender opposition actors in the U.S. have influenced the spread of anti-gender movements in other parts of the world, either by establishing operations in other countries and/or financing other organizations and networks. Outside of the U.S., the anti-gender movement in Europe has been highly active in European countries during the past two decades, as well as anti-gender campaigns to oppose SRHR and LGBTI rights in several countries. There are three main funding streams for opposition actors associated with the anti-gender movement throughout South and Central America, including religious institutions such as the Catholic Church, private funding through wealthy individuals or corporations such as Grupo Bimbo, and funding through government institutions such as ministries of health or education.

How resourced is the global anti-gender movement?

The **aggregate revenue of U.S.-based organizations** associated with the anti-gender movement **during the ten-year span of 2008 to 2017 was \$6.2 billion USD** and in that same time period, **eleven United States organizations associated with the anti-gender movement funneled at least \$1 billion into countries across the globe.**

This amount is surely an undercount of the movement’s global funding for a number of reasons. For example, many aligned U.S. religious institutions are not required to report their funding activities. In addition to the U.S.-based funding, the global anti-gender movement and its regional campaigns receive additional support from local and regional entities including a number of significant European funders.¹

Alarming, the level of funding for actors in the anti-gender movement between 2013-2017 far outpaced funding to the global LGBTI moment in the same period. **Between 2013-2017, LGBTI movements worldwide received \$1.2 billion, while the anti-gender movement received \$3.7 billion.**² The table below (Table 1) shows the difference in funding levels in 2013-2017 by world region, based on our research into the funding of the global anti-gender movement and data from our biennial tracking report, *The Global Resources Report*.

¹ Global Philanthropy Project. (2021). *Meet the Moment: A Call for Progressive Philanthropic Response to the Anti-Gender Movement*, page 3.

² Global Philanthropy Project. (2021). *Meet the Moment: A Call for Progressive Philanthropic Response to the Anti-Gender Movement*, page 13.

Table 1

WORLD REGION	GRR 2013-2017 (5 YEARS)	AGM 2013-2017 (5 YEARS)
Africa	\$144 million	\$162 million
Asia and the Pacific	\$70 million	\$146 million
Europe	\$115 million	\$131 million
International/Multiregional	\$162 million	not listed
Latin America and the Caribbean	\$55 million	\$173 million
United States and Canada	\$643 million	\$3.1 billion
Total	\$1.2 billion	\$3.7 billion

The role of government donors in responding to the challenge of the global anti-gender movement

The rise of the anti-gender movement, which advocates for legal and social systems that are based on patriarchal and “traditional” values, presents a threat to progress made in advancing gender equality. Efforts to address LBQ, trans, and intersex issues are an important part of working towards gender equality. Indeed, many LBQ, trans, and intersex-led organizations and movements are advancing gender equality and responding to the threat of conservative, anti-rights movements at the local, national, and global levels.

However, many government and multilateral donors are only providing limited amounts of funding for LBQ, trans, and intersex issues, despite being the principal source of resources for addressing gender equality. In 2017–2018, donor government funds accounted for only four percent of global LBQ funding (\$2.7 million), four percent of global trans funding (\$1.9 million), and two percent of global intersex funding (\$274,000).³

The table below outlines the top donor government funders of global LBQ, trans, and intersex populations by total amount and highlights the percentage of overseas development assistance focused on gender equality. These figures demonstrate that the funding frameworks which inform ODA towards achieving gender equality need to become more inclusive of diverse sexual orientations, gender identities and sex characteristics.

Table 3

Government Donor	Combined LBQTI Funding 2017–2018 (in millions)	ODA Principally Targeting Gender Equality 2017–2018 (in millions)	LBQTI Funding as % of Gender Equality ODA 2017–2018
Sweden	\$1.7	\$1,157.2	0.15
United Kingdom	\$0	\$1,064.6	0
Netherlands	\$0.7	\$845.2	0.08
Norway	\$0.3	\$276.2	0.11
Finland	\$0	\$62.9	0
Canada	\$1.6	\$211.4	0.77
Denmark	\$0.3	\$218.1	0.14
Germany	\$0.2	\$434	0.05
France	\$0	\$421.9	0
Australia	\$0	\$625.5	0

³ Global Philanthropy Project. (2021). *Diving Deeper: Under the surface of LBQTI funding data*, page 10.

ABOUT GPP

Global Philanthropy Project (GPP) is a collaboration of funders and philanthropic advisors working to expand global philanthropic support to advance the human rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) people in the Global South and East. Established in 2009, GPP's 20 member organizations include many of the leading global funders and philanthropic advisors for LGBTI rights. As the first international cohort of LGBTI funders, GPP is internationally recognized as the primary thought leader and go-to partner for donor coordination around global LGBTI work.

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