

# MEET THE MOMENT:

## A Call for Progressive Philanthropic Response to the Anti-Gender Movement





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# LETTER FROM THE GPP DIRECTOR

Dear Colleagues,

We have much work ahead to resource our movements in defense against the attacks and destabilization wrought by the “anti-gender” movement, and to build towards the visions of a more just, free, and peaceful world that are core to all of our work.<sup>1</sup>

This report is intended to share the analysis and related learning of the Global Philanthropy Project (GPP) and our members and partners, developed through a concurrent review of the global anti-gender movement funding and the progressive philanthropic response.

## Mapping Comparative Funding

**The findings offer a clear call to action: progressive movements and their philanthropic partners are being outspent by hundreds of millions of dollars each year, and the institutions providing that opposition funding have developed sophisticated and coordinated systems to learn, co-fund, and expand their influence.**

Specifically, our research found that:

- 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.<sup>2</sup>
- 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 explored in this document. Among them, 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.

**There are a number of key coordinated progressive philanthropic responses in development.**

Looking ahead, our researchers were able to identify an estimated total of about \$45 million that is planned for future distribution focused on this issue area – a significant increase compared to previous years, though vastly outpaced by the opposition’s funding levels.

However, in our research looking at field philanthropic responses focused on anti-gender movements, **we found that the majority of progressive funders did not yet have a focused strategy for this work, and the overall field development in this area is nascent.**

Additionally, we offer an overview of global LGBTI funding levels in contrast to the funding of the anti-gender movement.

Global Philanthropy Project publishes a report every two years in collaboration with Funders for LGBTQ Issues providing detailed data on the distribution of LGBTI funding by geography, issue, strategy, and population focus. The *2017-2018 Global Resources Report: Government and Philanthropic Support for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex Communities*<sup>3</sup> (Global Resources Report or GRR) offers insight into six documented years of LGBTI global funding, 2013-2018.<sup>4</sup> The report includes all documented funding from over 800 philanthropic, corporate, government, and multilateral agencies for LGBTI human rights, health, and all other LGBTI issues and strategies.

While the anti-gender movement works in opposition to a wide span of human rights and environmental justice movements, we found that use of the LGBTI funding dataset can provide a specific and illustrative lens into the challenges facing our movements.<sup>5</sup>

We are able to directly compare annual funding data from the five-year span of 2013-2017 which is documented in the Global Resources Report with our report on the funding of the anti-gender movement in that same time period. Looking at this comparison, the urgency of the funding gap is clear.

<sup>3</sup> See [globalresourcesreport.org](https://globalresourcesreport.org) for the full report and supplemental materials.

<sup>4</sup> [https://globalphilanthropyproject.org/GRR17-18\\_PDF](https://globalphilanthropyproject.org/GRR17-18_PDF) (page 25)

<sup>5</sup> The progressive philanthropic field would benefit from additional analyses of this type, including comparisons of the funding around women’s rights, sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR), and others which are outside of the scope of this brief.

<sup>1</sup> For definition and context of the “anti-gender” movement, please see our terminology note on page 5.

<sup>2</sup> All currency is listed in US Dollars.

**We found that between 2013-2017, LGBTI movements worldwide received \$1.2 billion, while the anti-gender movement received \$3.7 billion – more than triple the LGBTI funding.**

## **What is GPP's role in this work?**

Over the last several years, in response to growing concern among our members and their grantees around these issues, GPP has developed significant leadership in mobilizing well-informed and coordinated philanthropic responses to the “anti-gender” or “anti-gender ideology” movement. In this time, GPP has engaged over 500 grantmakers and an additional 100+ civil society thought leaders in related convenings, webinars, and other organizing spaces. GPP is a critical part of the ecosystem of grantmakers, thought leaders, philanthropic networks, and other systems of decision-makers engaged in this work.

GPP is launching an ambitious two-year plan to learn, leverage, and activate new investments in response to the anti-gender movement. The plan is informed by recommendations from our research, convenings, and other engagements over recent years and is intended as a road map for a coordinated response by LGBTI and Women's Rights Funders, and other philanthropic partners.

In this work, GPP serves LGBTI and wider rights-based philanthropy in a few key ways: as a hub for research development; a philanthropic field-organizing resource; a key informant and catalyst; and a resource for relevant grantee cohort(s).

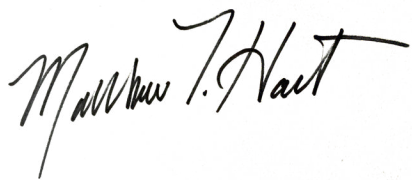
## **Where to from here?**

Grantmakers are part of movements, and our movements deserve philanthropic actors that respond in new ways, re-envisioning old ideas about silos, spending levels, types of support, and models of collaboration.

Let us seize this remarkable opportunity to work together and engage our collective learning, spending power, and institutional knowledge to help transform the conditions of our communities.

Together we can leverage the collective power that this generational crisis demands.

GPP invites you to dig into this new comparative report and rise to the challenges of this time.



Matthew Hart  
Director, Global Philanthropy Project



# INTRODUCTION

## Global Philanthropy Project

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 21 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.

In recent years, GPP has convened grantmakers in a number of global and regional meetings and has published a number of reports aiming to build shared analysis and strategy within and across philanthropy and to inform and mobilize support for the progressive response. While many of GPP's publications and activities are developed for a limited audience of human rights-focused grantmakers, our publicly-available research includes the 2018 report *Religious Conservatism on the Global Stage: Threats and Challenges for LGBTI Rights*<sup>6</sup> (available in English and Spanish) and our 2016 report *The Perfect Storm: The closing space for LGBT civil society in Kyrgyzstan, Indonesia, Kenya, and Hungary*<sup>7 8</sup> (available in English and French). GPP also maintains a resource page with collected references related to anti-gender ideology on our site.<sup>9</sup>

## Defining “Anti-Gender ideology”

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.

Related movements and campaigns oppose gender equality and equity, sexual and reproductive health and rights (SHRH), the human rights of LGBTI persons, and various other goals and values of progressive and feminist movements.

These anti-gender movements have been gaining power at the global, regional, national, and local levels since the term was invented by the Vatican in the 1990s. The “anti-gender” concept is used to mobilize a range of longtime anti-rights agendas under a shared banner, with new, nimble, and sophisticated approaches.

## This Report

In early 2020, Global Philanthropy Project worked with a number of our member organizations and additional philanthropic partners to develop two related pieces of research: 1) a report mapping the funding of the global anti-gender ideology movement, and 2) a report mapping the progressive philanthropic response to anti-gender movements.

Both reports offer context, original analysis, and recommendations. Each report was developed by consulting researchers and informed by advisory committees including content experts from philanthropy and civil society. **While the distribution of these reports is limited to a specific audience of grantmakers, we offer the following document to a broader set of stakeholders in order to share key learning and to offer additional analysis gained in the comparison of the two reports.**

Additionally, we share insights based on comparing global and regional LGBTI funding data as documented in the *2017-2018 Global Resources Report: Government and Philanthropic Support for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex Communities*, a biennial report developed by GPP with Funders for LGBTQ Issues.<sup>10</sup>

What do we see when we look at the big picture, overlaying the learning from these reports? What themes, opportunities, and risks emerge? Borrowing from the texts of the two mapping studies, this report offers a synopsis and key point overview of each, with comparative funding analysis between the two mapping reports and LGBTI global and regional funding.

This report was developed by Ezra Nepon, GPP Senior Program Officer for Knowledge and Learning, with the support of GPP staff.

## Terminology note

The concept of “gender ideology” and the opposition to that “ideology,” framed as being “anti-gender” or “anti-gender ideology,” are terms designed for rhetorical, political, and cultural attacks on human rights, self-determination, and the kind of embodied diversity that is truly natural. The framing of these “anti-” terms can lead to confusion: which side is opposing whose ideology? Is it not ideological to be

<sup>6</sup> <https://globalphilanthropyproject.org/religiousconservatismreport>

<sup>7</sup> <https://globalphilanthropyproject.org/perfectstorm>

<sup>8</sup> [https://globalphilanthropyproject.org/au\\_couer\\_de\\_lorage](https://globalphilanthropyproject.org/au_couer_de_lorage)

<sup>9</sup> [https://globalphilanthropyproject.org/ragi\\_resources](https://globalphilanthropyproject.org/ragi_resources)

<sup>10</sup> See [globalresourcesreport.org](https://globalresourcesreport.org) for the full report and supplemental materials.

“anti-gender” or to claim that the lived experience of gender does not exist? For this reason, we often place these conceptual “anti-” terms in quotations. However, in order to avoid overcomplicating this text, we will generally remove the quotations in the body of this report.

Please also note that we use anti-gender and anti-gender ideology interchangeably, and sometimes refer to the same movement as “the opposition.” These movements are further defined and contextualized in the following section.

Additionally, we refer to progressive philanthropy. With this umbrella term, we point to a landscape of interconnected human rights-oriented<sup>11</sup> funders and funding networks, including (and beyond) the members of Ariadne: European Funders for Social Change and Human Rights, EDGE Funders Alliance, Funders Concerned About AIDS, Elevate Children’s Funder Group, Funders for Reproductive Equity, Funders’ Initiative for Civil Society, Global Philanthropy Project, Human Rights Funders Network, Peace and Security Funders Group, Philanthropy Advancing Women’s Human Rights, and the Prospera International Network of Women’s Funds. Representatives of these networks were surveyed or interviewed for this research and/or these groups are engaged in related programmatic work.

11 HRFN, Ariadne, and PAHWR offer [Human Rights Funding Principles](#).

These philanthropic networks are generally made up of public, private, and corporate foundations. In describing “progressive philanthropy,” GPP also includes a number of donor governments and multilateral funders supporting human rights work. For example, the Equality Fund<sup>12</sup> was launched in 2019, supported by an historic \$300 million contribution from the Government of Canada to build a new global funding mechanism and leverage more resources for gender equality around the world. The Equality Fund partnership includes a number of feminist funders and philanthropic networks.<sup>13</sup>

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12 <https://equalityfund.ca/>

13 The Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice offers “[Feminist Funding Principles](#).” See also “[Toward a feminist funding ecosystem: A framework and practical guide](#)” produced by the Association for Women’s Rights in Development (AWID).





# KEY FINDINGS: Mapping the Funding of the Global Anti-Gender Ideology Movement

Full report author: Teddy Wilson  
Excerpted by GPP

## Report Introduction & Context

The global anti-gender ideology movement is a dynamic and adaptive movement. The strategies and tactics of this movement have evolved in response to changes in the political and social landscape. While religious fundamentalism, patriarchy, and authoritarianism remain at the core, the organized opposition has reframed the movement as seeking only to protect and defend what is “natural,” from “natural law” to the “natural family.” **An extensive network of organizations is associated with the so-called global “anti-gender” movement, and various diverse funding streams support this network of organizations.<sup>14</sup> This financial architecture includes a variety of sources, including wealthy individuals, nonprofit organizations, and religious institutions. Funding is funneled through private donations, contributions through nonprofit charitable foundations, and financial sponsorships of events and projects.**

Our research aimed to map the organizational networks and financial architecture of the influential organizations, prominent individuals, and supportive institutions that comprise the global anti-gender movement. This included a network analysis of the opposition actors associated with the anti-gender movement within the United States and throughout countries in Africa, Europe, and Central and South America.<sup>15</sup> The research also included original financial analysis of the organizational revenues, expenditures, and contributions that support the organizations associated with the anti-gender movement.

A vast progressive research landscape informed this report, including the work of organizations such as AIDS Foundation of South Africa; Association for Women’s Rights in Development (AWID); Canadian Civil Liberties Association (CCLA); CREA; Dejusticia; Global Interfaith Network (GIN); European Parliamentary Forum for Sexual

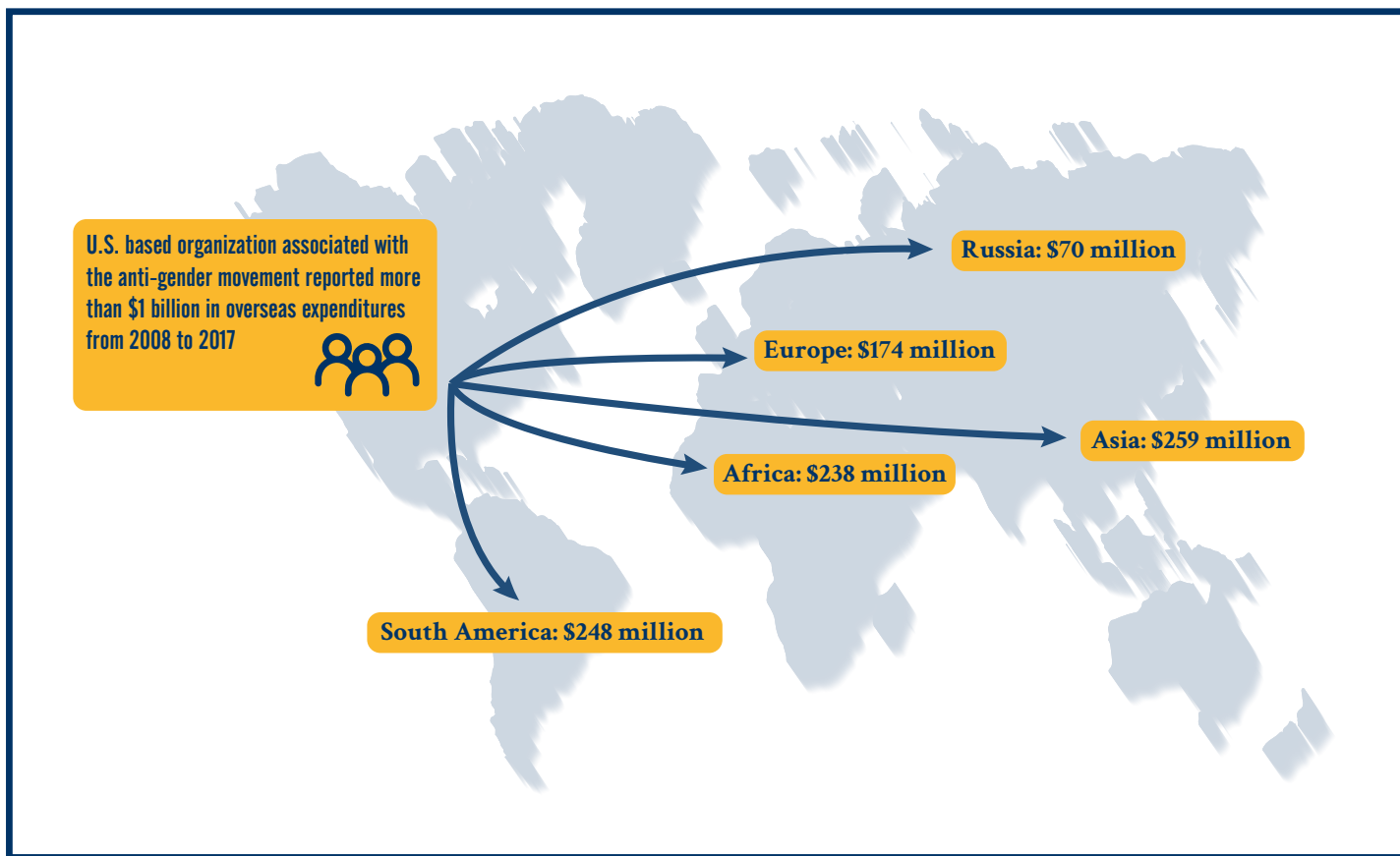
& Reproductive Rights (EPF); Ibis Reproductive Health; International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA); Ipas; Just Associates (JASS); Jinsiang; JustLabs; M Booth Health; Media Matters for America (MMFA); Mesoamerican Women Human Rights Defenders Initiative (IM-Defensoras); openDemocracy; OutRight Action International; Political Research Associates (PRA); PROMSEX; Right Wing Watch; Sexuality Policy Watch; Soulforce; Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC); and Women’s Link Worldwide.

## U.S. Funding

- **Through an analysis of publicly available financial disclosures, the aggregate revenue of U.S.-based organizations associated with the anti-gender movement from 2008 to 2017 was \$6.2 billion.**
- An enormous financial architecture provides funding for the organizations associated with the anti-gender movement in the United States, and this funding is primarily delivered through donations from private individuals, contributions from nonprofit charitable foundations including wealthy family’s foundations and donor-advised funds, and financial support from religiously affiliated organizations, including financial support from churches of various denominations (primarily from the Catholic Church and evangelical Protestant denominations). Some of the biggest institutions in this network include The National Christian Foundation (NCF), and The Christian Community Foundation (branded as WaterStone). **For example, in 2017 NCF reported more than \$1.5 billion in revenue and awarded \$1.3 billion in grants to organizations associated with the anti-gender movement.**
- Major recipients of this funding include groups such as Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF) American Center for Law and Justice (ACLJ), and Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN).

<sup>14</sup> Organizations associated with the anti-gender movement were identified through focus on the most influential networks opposing SRHR and LGBTQI rights, and working to oppose international agreements such as the Istanbul Convention. The primary associations used in this research were organizations that partnered with or sponsored the World Congress of Families organizations and/or that were allied organizations of the Alliance Defending Freedom.

<sup>15</sup> Funding from the U.S. to Mexico was not included in this regional focus due to challenges of disaggregating funding flows within the region of North America.



## U.S. Funding of the International Movement

- **United States organizations associated with the anti-gender movement have funneled more than \$1 billion into countries across the globe**, according to an analysis in our report that builds and expands on the investigative research of openDemocracy.<sup>16</sup>
- That \$1 billion estimate is surely an undercount, representing the documented funding of only 11 U.S.-based organizations. Many aligned U.S. religious institutions are not required to report their funding activities.
- Among the organizations with documented overseas expenditures analyzed for our report, Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN) accounts for more international funding than all of the other organizations combined. **From 2008 to 2017, CBN distributed more than \$986 million in financial support overseas.**

- Public-interest law firms associated with the anti-gender movement have distributed significant amounts of funding overseas in support of various activities, including supporting litigation and lobbying. **From 2008 to 2017, the American Center for Law and Justice (ACLJ) distributed \$15.3 million overseas.**
- **Additional major players documented for relevant 2008-2017 overseas funding included Focus on the Family (\$14.3 million) and Human Life International (\$10.3 million).**
- An examination of publicly available documents of organizations associated with the anti-gender movement reveals that between 2008-2017: **\$259 million has been distributed to countries throughout Asia and the Pacific, including Australia; At least \$248 million into countries in South America; \$238 million into countries in Africa; \$174 million into countries in Europe; \$94 million into Central America; and \$70 million into Russia.**<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Provost, Claire and Ramsay, Adam, "Revealed: Trump-linked US Christian 'fundamentalists' pour millions of 'dark money' into Europe, boosting the far right," openDemocracy, March 27, 2019. See also Provost, Claire and Archer, Nandini, "Revealed: \$280m 'dark money' spent by US Christian right groups globally," openDemocracy, October 27, 2020.

<sup>17</sup> An analysis of IRS 990 tax filings from 2008 to 2017 of U.S.-based organizations associated with the anti-gender movement revealed more than \$1 billion in overseas expenditures. These figures represent the aggregate totals of organizational expenditures disclosed on the IRS 990 Schedule F (Statement of Activities Outside the United States).



## European Funding

- While significant financial support from opposition actors in the United States is funneled to organizations associated with the anti-gender movement in Europe, there is also a network of wealthy funders supporting the anti-gender movement in countries throughout Europe. The laws that govern financial transparency of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and campaign finance disclosures vary significantly by country, and this creates a significant barrier to the collection of accurate and comprehensive financial data of organizations associated with the anti-gender movement in Europe. However, some reporting has revealed that organizations associated with the European anti-gender movement receive funding through sources including religious institutions, wealthy aristocratic families, and Russian oligarchs. Researchers interviewed for our report provided accounts of these possible funding streams, and among the most often cited possible sources of funding were Russian oligarchs Konstantin Malofeev and Vladimir Yakunin. Interviewees also referenced possible funding by members of various European royal families, many of whom are connected to the Tradition, Family and Property movement associated with the Catholic Right.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### Further research:

- A comprehensive mapping of the Global Right, including identification of the opposition's power structures, political connections, and financial architecture. This would include additional funding detail documented at regional and national levels.
- Prioritization of collaborative projects and institutions that increase the capacity of movements responding to anti-gender forces.

### Philanthropic Response:

- Robust and coordinated collaboration through regular information sharing and ongoing research.
- Development of a coordinated process to refine a set of shared goals for coordination and co-funding.
- Development of co-funding mechanisms to foster philanthropic learning, reduce duplication, and adapt to changes.
- Internal foundation leadership stakeholder education (including Senior Directors, C level leadership, and Boards of Directors)

# KEY FINDINGS: Mapping the Progressive Philanthropic Response to Anti-Gender Movements

FULL REPORT AUTHORS: JENNA CAPECI AND GITTA ZOMORODI  
EXCERPTED BY GPP

## Report Introduction & Context

This time calls for daring philanthropy. Given the immense funding of the global anti-gender movement, and its own well-coordinated and adaptive infrastructures, we have much work ahead to turn back the tide of this regressive movement. This report aimed to provide a first look at the current landscape of philanthropic responses and offers recommendations to activate increased, informed, and coordinated investment in this area.

The urgency of a well-coordinated progressive philanthropic response to anti-gender movements has been exacerbated by the COVID-19 crisis, which came into global consciousness as we developed this research. Some of the impacts of COVID-19 on human rights movements are already clear, and many more will emerge in the coming months and years. As funding flows shift, interconnected progressive philanthropy must leverage opportunities to bolster movements for human rights and the needs of those already under attack. The research and recommendations in this report aim to provide clear and actionable guidance and propose key practices to transform the work, move critically important resources, and build a just future.

The report was developed through a desk review of relevant reports and articles; one-on-one interviews with funders, funder network representatives, and civil society representatives; and an online survey of funders. The research team interviewed 17 funders, 3 funder network representatives, and 7 people from civil society organizations involved in work to counter the anti-gender movement at the national, regional, and international levels. The survey was distributed via funder networks on LGBTI rights, women's rights, reproductive equity, and civic space, and was completed by 47 individuals representing 40 funding institutions.<sup>18</sup>

## Progressive Funding in Response to Anti-Gender Ideology: Challenges and Opportunities

- **70% of the funders we surveyed said that while their institutions are responding,**

<sup>18</sup> Most of the funders interviewed are based in the U.S., U.K., and other European countries. The breakdown of survey respondents is similar, though there was greater representation of funders based in Latin America. While this sample of donors may not be complete, thorough efforts were made to include those funders invested in and/or thinking critically about work to counter the anti-gender agenda. At this time, this survey represents the most cohesive data available to survey philanthropic response to the anti-gender movement.

**they do not have an explicit strategy for countering the global anti-gender movement.**

Funders included in this research have varied perspectives on work to counter the anti-gender movement. Some view it as inextricably linked to their existing work to promote LGBTI rights, SRHR, and women's rights – not a reason to change their funding strategies. Others see it as a problem that demands investment in particular targeted strategies. Several funders' investments are driven by a combination of these approaches. Several said that they are in the process of developing funding strategies or projects that respond more directly to anti-gender ideology, given the growing threat it poses to the issues within their funding focus.

- It is also difficult to estimate the overall amount of funding that institutions are currently devoting to countering the anti-gender movement. Because few funders have explicit strategies for this work, grants are not coded in a way that allows for easy identification. For others, general support or other flexible funding to grantees may cover activities related to countering anti-gender ideology, but this funding would be difficult to disaggregate.
- Looking forward, there may be more focused funding on the horizon. **According to survey data collected in March and early April 2020, at least six private foundations are planning major increases in funding to counter the anti-gender movement. This combined potential new funding in 2020 could total as much as \$25-35 million.** Including those six foundations, survey data documented an estimated total of about \$45 million overall that is planned for future distribution focused on this issue area. *However, it is not yet clear how the COVID-19 crisis may impact funders' planned investments.*<sup>19</sup>

While there is much possibility for improvement, there are also indications of increased and strengthening collaboration

<sup>19</sup> GPP is tracking the impacts of COVID-19 on global LGBTI funding at [globalphilanthropyproject.org/covid19](https://globalphilanthropyproject.org/covid19).

among programs within some grantmaking institutions. Several funders shared that they are making connections between issues and across regions. **Funders are: sharing information and strategizing with their colleagues; co-funding individual grantees; creating internal pooled funds; creating opportunities for grantees funded through different portfolios to come together, for example, bringing together grantees working on gender justice with those working on democracy and human rights.**

There is also an indication of increased collaboration among progressive movements at the philanthropic network level. The GPP 2018 “Growing Solidarity” convening brought together a global group of grantmakers and civil society experts across regions and funding areas to engage around “Funding at the Intersection of Faith, Religious Fundamentalism, Human Rights, and Social Justice.” In 2018 and in the years since, funder networks Elevate Children’s Funders Group (ECFG), Funders Concerned About AIDS (FCAA), Funders for Reproductive Equity (FRE), Funders’ Initiative for Civil Society (FICS), Global Philanthropy Project (GPP), Human Rights Funders Network (HRFN), Peace and Security Funders Group (PSFG), Philanthropy Advancing Women’s Human Rights (PAWHR), and more have partnered on a number of shared research, donor convenings, and other efforts to build analysis among members around the anti-gender movement and related anti-rights agendas. At the time of this research, GPP is organizing a Global Rights Summit with

FICS, ECFG, PSFG, and PAWHR as co-convening partners. This convening will provide an opportunity for grantmakers to develop shared analysis, strategy, and collaboration across multiple interconnected grantmaking issue areas.

## Strategic Response Framework

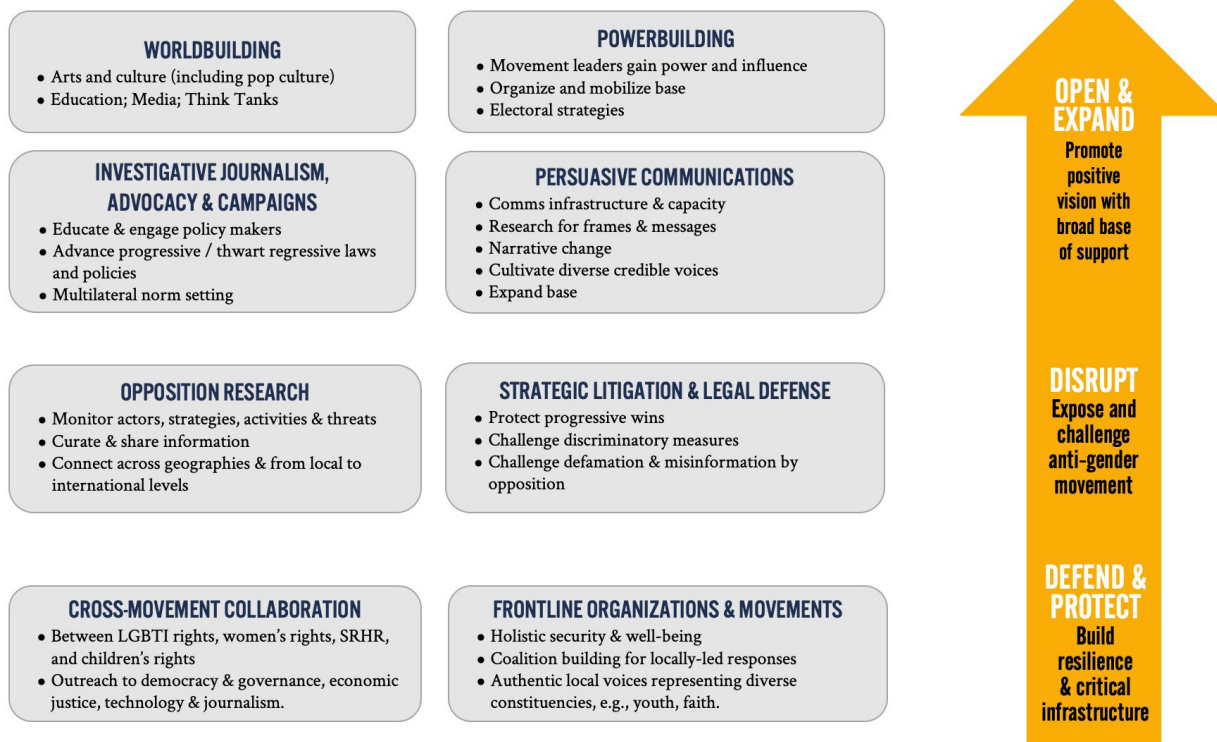
This framework<sup>20</sup> illustrates the diversity of approaches needed to counter the anti-gender movement and promote an alternative vision. Funders can use this tool to see – individually and collectively – how their mandates, priorities, and approaches map onto this ecosystem.

Implementing these strategies requires a variety of funding modalities including large investments in flexible, long-term support for civil society organizations along with rapid response funding that enables organizations, and networks to respond to emergencies and take advantage of time-sensitive opportunities.

On a practical level, it also requires new sources of funding and additional investments. A number of respondents expressed concern that foundations may shift funding from other issues or programs, or even reprioritize targeted initiatives over core support and funding for direct services, both of which are directly linked to the resilience of frontline groups.

20 Appreciations to FICS for their framework which served as an inspiration for this report element.

## STRATEGIES: A FRAMEWORK FOR EFFECTIVE AND COORDINATED RESPONSE



## RECOMMENDATIONS

When funders work together, we can increase our individual and collective impacts. Success will require understanding where each of us fits into a broader funding ecosystem and redefining how we each provide leadership. These are some of the guiding principles and shared values suggested by those interviewed and surveyed in this research:

- **We are in this fight together.** Effective coordinated responses will require donors, civil society organizations, and movement actors coming together at all points of the process for strategizing, learning, and sharing information – in ways that mitigate power differentials and dynamics.
- **Focus on futures while attending to the present reality.** Funders must balance the desire for big-picture and future-vision thinking with the urgent need to hear and respond to current activists' needs and priorities. Even as we seek to expand the space for progressive action and promote a positive vision, we cannot risk minimizing or neglecting the urgent threats faced by frontline organizations.
- **Leadership can activate.** Where there are clear leaders on particular strategies or initiatives, others have said that they are willing to learn from them and contribute financial resources.
- **Share good practices, not just initiatives.** Some funders are effectively supporting grantee organizing across sectors. Others are interested to know where donors have played helpful roles and how they helped create the conditions for cross-movement relationship building.
- **Learn from existing models of donor collaboration.** Several respondents cited climate funding as an effective space for donor learning and for coordinated funding.
- **Work with leaders in other sectors to bring others in.** Respondents highlighted opportunities to make connections to other progressive funders. They also talked about how they are working with other philanthropic institutions to share knowledge about anti-gender movements.

# LGBTI FUNDING COMPARISON

Global Philanthropy Project publishes a report every two years in collaboration with Funders for LGBTQ Issues providing detailed data on the distribution of LGBTI funding by geography, issue, strategy, and population focus. The *2017-2018 Global Resources Report: Government and Philanthropic Support for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex Communities*<sup>21</sup> (Global Resources Report or GRR) offers insight into six documented years of LGBTI global funding, 2013-2018.<sup>22</sup> The report includes all documented funding from over 800 philanthropic, corporate, government, and multilateral agencies for LGBTI human rights, health, and all other LGBTI issues and strategies.

The anti-gender movement works in opposition to a wide span of human rights and environmental justice movements whose comparative global and regional funding levels are outside of the scope of this report. However, we found that use of the LGBTI funding dataset developed for the Global Resource Report can provide a specific and illustrative lens into the challenges and inequity facing our movements.

Using this dataset, we are able to directly compare annual global LGBTI funding in the five year span of 2013-2017 with the funding for the anti-gender movement which is documented in the same time period in our mapping report.<sup>23</sup> Looking at this comparison, the urgency of the funding gap is clear. **We found that between 2013-2017, LGBTI movements worldwide received \$1.2 billion, while the anti-gender movement received \$3.7 billion.** At the regional level, the LGBTI movement was also consistently outscaled by the anti-gender movement – in some regions by double, triple, or quadruple the amount.

*Why not calculate an estimated ten-year comparison?*

We know that the global LGBTI movement and especially LGBTI funding to the Global South and East has grown greatly over the past decade and that this kind of ten-year estimate would surely outsize the true LGBTI funding amounts between 2008-2017.

One way to document the shift in funding amounts over time is to review Funders for LGBTQ Issues' semi-annual report *A Global Gaze: LGBTI Grantmaking in the Global South and East* (Global Gaze). The Global Gaze series was published before the development of the Global Resources Report and offers funding data for the calendar years of 2005, 2007, and 2010. Looking at Global Gaze reports, we see that the total documented LGBTI funding to the Global South and East was just \$26 million in 2007,<sup>24</sup> and increased to \$35 million in 2010.<sup>25</sup> These compare to \$91 million in 2018.<sup>26</sup>

Even when looking at the same time periods regarding US-focused LGBTI funding, as we can do using Funders for LGBTQ Issues' domestic *Tracking Report: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Grantmaking by U.S. Foundations*, we see that US-focused funding was just \$69 million in 2007<sup>27</sup> and \$78 million in 2010<sup>28</sup> compared to \$162 million in 2018.<sup>29</sup>

While we can't offer a perfect "apples-to-apples" comparison, we can see a clear pattern. **The entire global LGBTI movement, with its 800+ funders in 2017-2018, is outscaled by the documented funding pouring into the anti-gender movement. And we know that the opposition funding documented here is the tip of the iceberg.**

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
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$1.2 billion</b>	<b>\$3.7 billion</b>

21 See [globalresourcesreport.org](https://globalresourcesreport.org) for the full report and supplemental materials.

22 [https://globalresourcesreport.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/GRR\\_2017-2018\\_Color.pdf](https://globalresourcesreport.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/GRR_2017-2018_Color.pdf) (page 25)

23 The Global Resources Report (GRR) uses a slightly different world region taxonomy than our report on Mapping the Anti-Gender Movement (AGM). The Mapping Report documents AGM funding only in Central and South America, while the GRR numbers represent the full region of Latin America and the Caribbean; the region of Europe in the Mapping Report plus the listed amount for the country of Russia are combined and compared here with the two GRR regions of Western Europe and Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and Russia; the region of Africa in the Mapping Report is compared to the two GRR regions of Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East and North Africa; Asia and the Pacific includes Australia in both comparative numbers. International/Multiregional funding was not noted in the Mapping Report, but the GRR totals are included in this comparison

for reference with the inclusion of funding which had an unspecified world region. The Mapping Report does not reference Canadian funding, however the US-focused funding is compared here to the GRR region of the U.S. and Canada.

Because a great deal of this anti-gender funding is directed specifically to Russia, we also note that LGBTI movements in Russia are comparatively extremely under-resourced. In 2013-2017, the AGM in Russia received at least \$40 million while LGBTI movements in Russia received about \$11 million in the same time period.

24 <https://lgbtfunders.org/research-item/global-gaze-lgbti-grantmaking-global-south-east-2007> (Page 2)

25 <https://lgbtfunders.org/research-item/global-gaze-2010> (Page 1)

26 [https://globalresourcesreport.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/GRR\\_2017-2018\\_Color.pdf](https://globalresourcesreport.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/GRR_2017-2018_Color.pdf) (page 49)

27 <https://lgbtfunders.org/research-item/lgbtq-grantmaking-2007> (Page 10)

28 <https://lgbtfunders.org/research-item/lgbtq-grantmaking-2010> (Page 5)

29 <https://lgbtfunders.org/research-item/2018-tracking-report> (Page 13)



As we work for the human rights and dignity of LGBTI people and communities around the world, the philanthropic community is called to recognize the scale of the fight and to be both rigorous and creative in our support of LGBTI movements.

Moving forward, we can also improve our ability to compare the funding around these issues through increased networking and alignment of philanthropic partners engaged in this work, and through increased documentation of related human rights funding on these issues including and beyond LGBTI communities.

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# REFERENCE LISTS

## Anti-Gender Opposition Actors in the U.S.

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- Acton Institute
- Alliance Defending Freedom
- American Center for Law & Justice
- American College of Pediatricians
- American Family Association
- The American TFP
- American Values
- Americans United for Life
- Ancient Faith Ministries
- Angels of Charity and Music
- Ashford Institute
- Bruderhof Communities
- C-Fam
- Christian Broadcasting Network
- Christian Film & Television Commission
- Classical Conversations
- Concerned Women for America
- Council on Biblical Manhood & Womanhood
- Ethics and Public Policy Center
- Family Research Council
- Family Research Institute
- Family Watch International
- Fellowship of St. James
- Focus on the Family
- Freedom's Journal Institute
- Heartbeat International
- Heritage Foundation
- Home School Legal Defense Association
- Human Life International
- International Organization for the Family
- Leadership Institute
- Lighted Candle Society
- National Center on Sexual Exploitation
- National Organization for Marriage
- Open Doors USA
- Population Research Institute
- Priests For Life
- Sutherland Institute
- The Ruth Institute
- United Families International

## Anti-Gender Opposition Actors in Central and South America

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- A Favor de lo Mejor
- Alive to the World
- Corpoación Dios es Amor
- Familias y Sociedades
- Fundación Incluyendo México
- Foundation LIBRE
- Institute for Family and Marriage
- Latin American Alliance for the Family
- Libertad y Desarrollo
- National Front for the Family
- Red Familia

## Anti-Gender Opposition Actors in Europe

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- Alternative for Germany
- Civitas Christiana
- Center for European Renewal
- Christian Action Research and Education
- Christian Concern
- CitizenGO
- Dialogue Dynamics
- Demographic Research Institute
- Dveri
- Européen de Bioéthique
- European Centre for Law & Justice
- European Christian Political Movement
- European Large Families Confederation
- European Dignity Watch
- Father Peter Skarga Institute
- Family Day Association
- Family Policy.RU
- FamilienAllianz
- Familienforum Österreich
- Federation of Catholic Family Associations
- Femina Europa
- HazteOir
- Institute of Demographic Research
- Institut für Medizinische Anthropologie und Bioethik
- Institut für Ehe und Familie Institut
- Institute for Family Policies
- Family Generation
- I Want to Live Generation
- Georgian Demographic Society
- Luci sull'Est
- Association Youth for Life
- Novae Terrae Foundation
- ProVita
- One of Us
- Sanctity of Motherhood Program
- Society and Values Association
- In the Name of the Family
- Voice for the Family
- Watchmen on the Walls

# 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 21 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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