kinaura
partners

Analysis of the Anti-Rights Movement

Who makes up the movement, who supports it, how it operates, and tactics for countering it

October 2026



www.kinaura.com

About This Report

The anti-rights movement is a coordinated, transnational effort to roll back established human rights protections. While its primary target has been sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR), gender equality, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and intersex rights, in recent years, the movement has grown stronger, disrupting progress on environmental and climate movements, care and education systems, racial and disability justice, migrant rights, press freedom, peace and security frameworks, and civic space more broadly.

This report, originally developed to examine the specific ecosystem of the anti-SRHR movement, has accordingly broadened in scope: the movement's tactics, actors, and funding are shared across issue areas, and many sectors face the same coordinated threat without yet recognizing it as such. Tracking these attacks by sector misses how they reinforce one another. Therefore, this report aims to help a wider community of funders, civil society organizations, researchers, and other aligned partners see those connections and move more quickly to coordinated action, drawing inspiration from successful resistance strategies.

Updated biannually, this report draws on publicly available sources and insights from Kinaura Partners' team members. It reflects Kinaura's independent analysis and does not represent the positions of any client or partner. The first version, drafted in 2024, was limited in dissemination because of the sensitivity of the topic. Much of the material referenced here is already public, and we now judge that broader awareness of the anti-rights movement justifies wider distribution. The report is intended as a resource for Kinaura clients, team members, partners, and anyone affected by or concerned about the movement's threats.

> **Powerful states are weaponizing gender to justify repression and adoption of punitive laws. Corporate and other non–state actors are planting the seeds of moral panic by spreading hateful narratives and disinformation. Together, those forces [aim] at control of women's bodily autonomy, imposing a violent denial of rights, instilling fear and contributing to the shrinking of civic space.**
>
> *— Agnès Callamard, secretary general of Amnesty International, March 2026*

Executive Summary



The anti-rights movement, a coordinated transnational effort to roll back established human rights protections, has expanded well beyond its original targets of sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR), gender equality, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and intersex (LGBTQI+) rights. The same governments, religious institutions, civil society organizations (CSOs), high-net-worth individuals, and corporations now use shared tactics and funding to weaken climate governance, education, peace and security frameworks, racial justice, press freedom, and civic space. The movement is becoming better resourced as funding for rights-based work contracts, and organizations that track these attacks sector by sector miss how they reinforce one another. Recent victories show that the movement can be weakened when rights-based actors respond together.

A coordinated set of actors drives the movement. The United States (U.S.) is now pursuing an anti-rights agenda through every channel available to a government. Since January 2025, it has dismantled the U.S. Agency for International Development, restricted foreign assistance through the Promoting Human Flourishing in Foreign Assistance framework, and withdrawn from sixty-six international organizations, including UN Women. In 2026, it cast the sole vote against the agreed conclusions at the 70th session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW70). Additionally, the Russian Federation is the largest state-based funder of the anti-gender movement, with Russian entities receiving an estimated $211.9 million in funding between 2019 and 2023, while governments from Argentina and India to Senegal and Uganda advance restrictions of their own. Religious institutions, CSOs (such as CitizenGO and Family Watch International), and wealthy funders (including Peter Thiel, Elon Musk, and Leonard Leo) supply ideology, infrastructure, and money. Corporations have also become actors in their own right: Meta rewrote its content policies to permit describing LGBTQI+ people as mentally ill, and major companies have abandoned diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) commitments and Pride sponsorships.

The movement applies one playbook across sectors. At the UN Climate Change Conference (COP30) in November 2025, the coalition that contests the definition of "gender" at CSW succeeded in stripping human rights language and SRHR references from the UN climate convention's Gender Action Plan. In the U.S., pressure groups and government officials initiated 92 percent of 2025 book challenges, federal investigators are targeting "gender ideology" in schools, and the Department of Health and Human Services has threatened forty-six states with the loss of $81 million unless they remove such content from sex education materials. At the UN Security Council, the U.S. and Russia have narrowed gender language in peacekeeping mandates, and the State Department dissolved its Office of Global Women's Issues in 2025. In every sector, the movement captures institutions, criminalizes targeted groups, frames human rights as a foreign imposition, exploits wedge issues within progressive coalitions, and recruits young people through online content.

Resources are shifting toward the anti-rights movement. Funding equivalent to $1.18 billion originated from 275 actors involved in anti-gender initiatives in Europe between 2019 and 2023. In 2023 and 2024, three U.S. organizations (Alliance Defending Freedom, Focus on the Family, and the Christian Broadcasting Network) reported more than $1.1 billion in combined income, and regressive LGBTQI+-related funding is now growing faster than progressive giving. Meanwhile, the Human Rights Funders Network projects that official development assistance for human rights globally will decline by $1.4 to $1.9 billion annually by 2026 compared with 2023. UN Women reports that at least one million women and girls have lost access to critical support since January 2025 because of funding cuts.

Coordinated resistance is producing results. Hungary's April 2026 election ended Viktor Orbán's sixteen-year rule—a result of a broad coalition coming together against democratic erosion. A youth-led global coalition secured a UN General Assembly vote embracing the International Court of Justice opinion that ties fossil fuel use to human rights abuses. Similarly, Latin America's Green Wave won abortion decriminalization in Mexico, Argentina, and Colombia.

Rights-based actors are also building cross-movement infrastructure, as the Women's Major Group and the Women's Rights Caucus did at CSW70 by developing a shared strategy against anti-gender attacks. Other strategies include investing in feminist leadership academies, testing values-based messaging, and channeling flexible funding through intermediary and regional women's funds. Plan International Australia's research finds that 59 percent of the public is persuadable on gender equality, and that messages grounded in safety, personal freedom, and care convinced more than 90 percent of respondents. Public mobilization has also grown, from the "No Kings" protests in the United States to the record crowd that defied Hungary's 2025 ban on Pride marches.

Taking action: recommendations to counter the anti-rights movement. Rights-based actors can match the movement's coordination by organizing across the same sectors it targets. Funders can move multiyear, flexible resources through intermediary and regional women's funds that reach grassroots and Global South organizations directly, and invest in the feminist leadership, values-based messaging, and cross-movement coalitions behind the victories documented in this report. Organizations working on climate, education, peace and security, and civic space can treat attacks on gender equality and SRHR as an early warning for their own fields and join the coalitions already forming in response, ahead of the negotiations, budget cycles, and elections where the movement next plans to act.

Introduction to the Anti–Rights Movement

More than thirty years ago, the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action set a global agenda for gender equality that shaped policies, laws, and programs for women and girls and gave advocates a benchmark for holding governments accountable. Three decades on, the UN reports the world remains off track on gender equality,[1] and recent analysis attributes this stagnation directly to political backlash.[2] At the 80th session of the UN General Assembly in September 2025, governments, civil society organizations (CSOs), and activists marking the Beijing Platform's anniversary described the same threats: restrictive laws advancing across multiple regions, funding cuts destabilizing critical programs, and a retreat in U.S. foreign assistance, including the dismantling of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and a $607 million loss in family planning funding, that the anti-rights movement is now exploiting in areas well beyond gender and sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR).[3]

The retreat accelerated in 2026. The United States (U.S.) withdrew from UN Women, the UN agency dedicated to advancing women's rights globally, and cast the sole dissenting vote at the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), the UN's main body for advancing gender equality, marking the first time in the commission's seventy-year history that member states failed to reach consensus.[4] These actions reflect the growing reach of the anti-rights movement, a global, interconnected effort led by governments, religious institutions, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), individuals, and corporate actors to suppress human rights, including women's rights, SRHR, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and intersex (LGBTQI+) rights, and increasingly, climate justice, racial equity, disability rights, migrant and refugee protections, press freedom, and academic and civic freedoms, alongside the "liberal ideologies" it frames as the source of these "threats."

While precise numbers are hard to come by, the anti-rights movement is increasingly well resourced. In 2023 and 2024, for example, just three U.S. organizations that are leaders in the anti-rights movement—the Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF), Focus on the Family, and the Christian Broadcasting Network—reported more than $1.1 billion in combined income, more than all funding documented for LGBTQI+ organizations worldwide ($861.5 million) over the same period.[5] In Europe, 275 organizations generated nearly $1.18 billion for anti-gender work between 2019 and 2023.[6] The "Funding the Movement" section examines these flows in more detail.

The movement's ideology is as coordinated as its financing. Steeped in patriarchal, nationalist, and authoritarian thinking, it centers conservative family values and a narrow, exclusionary vision of "tradition" and national identity, while capitalizing on shrinking civic space, the rise of far-right political parties, and the spread of AI-driven mis- and disinformation. It offers simplistic, regressive "solutions" to genuine public uncertainty, stoking prejudice under the banner of "anti-gender," "anti-woke," and anti-globalist rhetoric. Anti-rights actors present themselves as grassroots mobilizers amplifying a silent majority, when in practice they are a top-down operation pursuing a specific policy agenda through whatever entry point is available: hostility to women's rights, LGBTQI+ rights, abortion, comprehensive sexuality education (CSE), or anxiety about declining fertility.[7] This flexibility is precisely why a threat to one right should be read as a threat to all. Organizations working on what look like separate issues are, in practice, facing a shared adversary using similar tactics.

Key Anti–Rights Actors

A variety of actors lead and support the anti-rights movement, spanning governments, CSOs, churches, and wealthy individual donors. The U.S. features heavily among these, given its scale of funding, organizing, and policy influence both domestically and abroad.[8] Below are examples, not an exhaustive list, of entities driving opposition across countries:

Governments

United States

The U.S. offers a clear illustration of how a government actor can pursue an anti-rights agenda simultaneously across multiple channels—funding, domestic policy, multilateral diplomacy, and civil society oversight.

Since January 2025, the administration has dismantled USAID, eliminating $9 billion in funding, and the America First Global Health Strategy has cut deeply into global SRHR programming,[10,11] including funding to the UN Population Fund (UNFPA), Medicaid-funded reproductive health providers, and Title X domestically.

In line with Project 2025, the administration revoked Biden-era executive orders protecting access to abortion medication and interstate travel for abortion care and introduced the Promoting Human Flourishing in Foreign Assistance (PHFFA) framework restricting funding for abortion, transgender, and DEI-related services and speech.[12] PHFFA is a significantly expanded version of the Mexico City Policy. The administration also re-signed the Geneva Consensus Declaration, a 2020 anti-abortion, anti-LGBTQI+ declaration that Project 2025 frames as guidance for U.S. foreign policy. [13]

At CSW70 in 2026, the U.S. stood alone in voting against the agreed conclusions and sought to narrow the definition of "gender" despite broad international consensus.[14] The U.S. withdrawal from sixty-six international organizations weakened global support for progressive causes, ceded the influence the U.S. once held in shaping human rights and social equity agendas, and created space for conservative and authoritarian actors to advance anti-rights policies.[15] A January 2026 press statement from Secretary of State Marco Rubio characterized this withdrawal as a rejection of a "globalist project" advanced by "the multilateral 'NGO-plex.'"[16]

> **While previous administrations tied health funding to anti-abortion policies, this move [the Promoting Human Flourishing in Foreign Assistance Policy] by President Trump is an unprecedented attempt to weaponize U.S. foreign assistance in the service of ideological goals. It undermines human rights and weakens the services people depend on, and other countries should explore ways to counter these harmful conditions.**
>
> *— Sarah Yager, Washington director at Human Rights Watch*[13]

Domestically, a 2025 National Security Presidential Memorandum directing law enforcement to target so-called domestic terrorism networks gained new force after the September 2025 assassination of Turning Point USA founder Charlie Kirk. The administration used Kirk's death to justify an escalating crackdown on progressive philanthropy, including potential racketeering and terrorism-related charges and congressional investigations into several foundations. [17] As of September 2026, the U.S. Treasury secretary and the Internal Revenue Service were considering revoking the tax-exempt status of the Open Society Foundation, the Southern Poverty Law Center, and the Council on American-Islamic Relations, prompting a formal congressional inquiry from Senate Democrats. Dozens of progressive nonprofits, including the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Legal Defense Fund, have condemned the campaign as "a continuation of the attacks on law firms, universities and the media."[18]

The administration has also escalated pressure on independent media. The Federal Communications Commission chairman opened formal reviews of nearly all major broadcast networks, and Trump's defamation lawsuits against several networks have already yielded multimillion-dollar settlements.[19] In September 2026, the White House barred CNN, MS NOW, and Politico from its press pool over their coverage, prompting the remaining networks to suspend shared presidential pool coverage in solidarity.[20]

Many of these rollbacks date from the Trump administration's return to office in 2025, and the movement is already working to make them outlast it. The Heritage Foundation, author of Project 2025, released *"Saving America by Saving the Family: A Foundation for the Next 250 Years"* in January 2026, laying out a vision centered on traditional family structures and higher birth rates that would also narrow women's independence.

Russia

Russia pursues the same multi-channel strategy as the U.S. First, it directly funds anti-gender organizing beyond its borders. A 2025 analysis by the European Parliamentary found that Russia contributed 18 percent of the $1.18 billion in anti-gender funding tracked across 275 European organizations between 2019 and 2023, second only to funding originating within Europe itself. Domestically, Russian courts have issued more than one hundred "extremism" convictions tied to participation in the so-called International LGBT Movement.[21] In January 2026, Russia's Justice Ministry added ILGA World to its list of "undesirable organizations," which already includes Amnesty International and the Elton John AIDS Foundation, making cooperation with the group inside Russia a criminal offense.[22] The government also banned the promotion of "child-free" lifestyles across advertising, film, media, and online platforms, part of a broader pronatalist agenda tied to the same traditional-values framing. [23]

Russia has used the same traditional-values rhetoric to justify its invasion of Ukraine and to build alliances with other anti-rights governments,[24] including through disinformation campaigns in Georgia and Armenia that falsely tie closer European Union or NATO integration to legalizing same-sex marriage, [25] and through gendered attacks on Hungarian women in politics as "unqualified" or "foreign agents" ahead of Orbán's April 2026 electoral defeat.

Like the U.S., Russia has also worked to disrupt rights-based advocacy within multilateral institutions and to export its ideological framing internationally. In March 2026, it passed a resolution through the UN Human Rights Council for the first time since its 2022 suspension over the Ukraine invasion: a deliberately uncontroversial text commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of the international human rights covenants, which passed 26 to 0 with 21 mostly Western abstentions. The Human Rights House Foundation called the move a bid to re-establish legitimacy at a body Russia was expelled from four years earlier. [26]

Other Countries: Beyond the U.S. and Russia, conservative and nationalist governments across every region are advancing similar restrictions.

- **Israel:** A 2026 law expanded religious courts' authority over matters affecting women, subordinating civil rights protections to religious rulings as part of the broader judicial overhaul pushed by the far-right coalition.[27]
- **India:** The Government of India passed a transgender rights amendment in March 2026 that replaced self-identification with mandatory medical board examination, reversing a central protection of the country's transgender rights framework.[28]
- **Argentina:** While the country was once a beacon for reproductive rights, President Javier Milei is outspoken against them, stating in September 2026 that Argentina's declining birth rate is a result of "that passion for murdering children in their mothers' wombs." [29]
- **China,**[30] **El Salvador,**[31] **Ethiopia,**[32] and **Georgia**[33] are passing "foreign agent" and NGO-restriction laws that suppress civil society and independent media.
- **Poland,**[34] **Slovakia,**[35] **Tanzania,**[36] and **Uganda**[37] are advancing legislation that specifically targets LGBTQI+ rights, among other countries moving in the same direction.

Religious Institutions

The U.S. evangelical church plays a major role in pushing an anti-LGBTQI+ narrative, especially in Africa, platforming self-described "ex-gay" spokespeople and framing the continent as a bastion of "true" Christian values.[38] Its influence in Uganda's extreme anti-LGBTQI+ legislation is described below. The Holy See also has a long history of opposing CSE, SRHR, and young people's rights, positioning itself as the expert on "traditional families." National Catholic hierarchies carry this agenda into domestic politics in many countries. Poland offers one of the clearest examples: the Church maintains close ties with conservative political leaders and has taken a hard line against LGBTQI+ rights and abortion.[39] It backed the country's 2021 Constitutional Tribunal ruling eliminating fetal defect as legal grounds for abortion, and the 2025 election of President Karol Nawrocki, who has pledged on religious grounds not to liberalize the law, was widely seen as a devastating setback for reproductive rights. [40]

Local faith leaders play a more varied role than these transnational institutions. Many support efforts to combat child marriage and promote access to contraception, for example, but are silent or opposed on CSE and abortion. Where they do oppose rights protections, they can sustain a challenge long after losing in one venue. For example, in The Gambia, religious leaders and a member of parliament failed to repeal the country's 2015 ban on female genital mutilation in the National Assembly in 2024 and took the fight to the Supreme Court, arguing that the ban violates constitutional rights to culture and religion. A ruling scheduled for July 2026 was postponed to allow further testimony, and the case remains unresolved; one witness, a prominent religious leader, testified that the practice benefits women by reducing their sexual desire.[41]

Religious legal organizations also advance these agendas through litigation. ADF, a U.S.-based conservative Christian legal organization, challenged Colorado's ban on conversion therapy for minors as a violation of free speech and religious expression. In March 2026, the Supreme Court ruled 8–1 in ADF's favor in *Chiles v. Salazar*, holding that Colorado's law must meet strict First Amendment scrutiny and sending the case back to the lower court. The decision calls into question conversion therapy bans in more than twenty other states and the District of Columbia.[42]

The Trump administration's Religious Liberty Commission has advanced a similar agenda from within government, framing LGBTQI+ rights, reproductive health, and gender policy as conflicts with "religious liberty." Its final report, delivered to the

president in June 2026, recommends expanded conscience protections for healthcare workers, among other measures that critics say would weaken the separation of church and state. A multifaith coalition sued the commission in February 2026, but a federal judge dismissed the case in July 2026.[43]

Civil Society Organizations

A network of well-funded CSOs supplies much of the anti-rights movement's day-to-day infrastructure, training advocates, drafting model legislation, and lobbying at the United Nations and in national parliaments. CitizenGO, based in Spain, is an advocacy group focused on attacking CSE, abortion, surrogacy, and LGBTQI+ rights.[44] At CSW70 in 2026, it petitioned governments and delegates to "stop the UN's new attack on life, family, and children." Its reach extends beyond SRHR: in May 2025, CitizenGO protested outside UN headquarters in Geneva against the WHO Pandemic Agreement, driving a bus that labeled the treaty a "UN power grab" and describing it as a transfer of authority to "globalist elites."[45]

Several of these organizations present themselves as educational or medical bodies while advancing anti-rights positions. Family Watch International (FWI), a U.S.-based organization presenting itself as an education nonprofit, promotes misleading narratives about LGBTQI+ people, contraception, and CSE, with a significant presence in Ethiopia and Kenya since the early 2000s; country-specific groups like the Kenyan Christian Professionals Association campaign on similar lines. Similarly, the U.S.-based Institute for Women's Health, led by Valerie Huber, presents itself as a neutral medical organization while lobbying against abortion, contraception, and LGBTQI+ healthcare.

Turning Point USA has grown substantially since the September 2025 assassination of founder Charlie Kirk. His widow, Erika Kirk, now serves as CEO and has expanded the organization's reach through initiatives like Club America, which aims to place chapters in every high school and college in the country, and now counts more than 3,500 campus chapters nationwide. Her appointment to the Air Force Academy's Board of Visitors is seen as a way to extend her late husband's ideological influence inside federal institutions. [46] Other prominent CSOs include United Families International and MassResistance, both of which are classified as anti-LGBTQI+ hate groups by the Southern Poverty Law Center, and the Center for Family and Human Rights (C-Fam), which advocates for "traditional family values."

High-Net-Worth Individuals

A small number of wealthy individuals fund anti-rights work across multiple sectors simultaneously, often through the same vehicles and personnel. Their influence spans abortion and reproductive health, racial justice, and climate policy.

In the U.S., tech billionaire Peter Thiel has funded anti-abortion political candidates and backed companies that discourage contraceptive use, leading a seed funding round that generated $3.2 million for 28, an app that tracks users' menstrual cycles and encourages avoiding birth control.[47] Thiel's influence also extends to campaigns against racial justice. An August 2026 investigation traced Thiel's ties to a network around Cambridge University that includes Aporia, a magazine promoting discredited claims about racial differences in intelligence, which the investigation connects to the Pioneer Fund, a eugenics foundation established in 1937. According to the investigation, figures in this network drove the campaign against Jason Arday, Cambridge's youngest Black professor and a scholar of race and education, and the attacks continued after his resignation.[48]

Similarly, Elon Musk has wielded outsized influence through his ownership of X. During a brief tenure leading the Department of Government Efficiency in 2025, he drove efforts to dismantle DEI initiatives supporting gender equality and women's rights. He continues promoting pro-natalist narratives, has declared population decline a bigger threat than global warming, donated $10 million to a pro-natalist research group in 2024, and has attacked transgender rights while voicing support for a "republic of high-status males." [49]

In 2022, industrialist Barre Seid gave $1.6 billion, the largest known political advocacy contribution in U.S. history, to a nonprofit run by Leonard Leo, the architect of the Supreme Court majority that overturned federal abortion rights.[50] Leo's network now also campaigns against environmental, social, and governance investing and climate action, including model bills introduced in eleven states to shield fossil fuel companies from climate lawsuits.[51] In June 2026, Leo-linked operatives made their European debut at the London conference of the Alliance for Responsible Citizenship, a group that combines climate skepticism with rhetoric about "restoring" Western civilization.[52]

Outside the U.S., French billionaire Vincent Bolloré has built a media empire that gives sustained airtime to hard-right positions on crime, immigration, and Islam, and has helped the far-right National Rally reach mainstream voters.[53]

Corporate Actors

Corporations also act as anti-rights actors in their own right, through platform policy, product decisions, and the withdrawal of public and financial support. In January 2025, Meta ended third-party fact-checking, loosened content moderation, and rewrote its Hateful Conduct policy to permit describing LGBTQI+ people as mentally ill, then ended its DEI programs days later."[54] [55] Other major companies followed after the 2024 election: Walmart ended its supplier diversity program and withdrew from the Human Rights Campaign's Corporate Equality Index, and Target ended its DEI goals and its participation in the same index.[56] The retreat has continued more quietly through 2026, with longtime Pride sponsors, such as Garnier and Mastercard, scaling back their branding.[57]

Corporate actors have also shaped the retreat from inclusive education. Publishers are increasingly declining LGBTQI+ manuscripts, a shift industry professionals attribute to sustained book-banning campaigns.[58] Those campaigns are increasingly organized: the American Library Association documented 4,235 challenged titles in 2025, with 92 percent of challenges initiated by pressure groups or government officials, up from 72 percent the year before.[59] Because children's and young adult publishers depend heavily on wholesalers that sell into schools and libraries, a book's viability in that market shapes what gets acquired before it is ever written, giving organized censorship campaigns leverage over content at its source.

Tactics Used by the Anti–Rights Movement

The actors described above rarely work in isolation. Governments, religious institutions, CSOs, wealthy individuals, and corporations coordinate across issues and arenas, and each contributes a distinct form of power: governments supply legal authority and diplomatic weight, religious institutions and CSOs supply networks and moral framing, and wealthy funders and corporations supply money and platforms. Together, they pursue quick wins when political openings arise while laying the groundwork for long-term campaigns, often setting up the chessboard years before an opportunity emerges. Their tactics concentrate in the following areas:

Capturing Institutions and Policy Spaces

Anti-rights actors no longer attack the UN only from outside; they work within its systems to weaken negotiated language on SRHR and gender equality, framing their positions around "family," "norms," and "sovereignty."[60] CitizenGO and FWI now hold ECOSOC status, granting formal participation in UN human rights processes. In April 2026, China, Nicaragua, Sudan, and Belarus—states criticized for repressing civil society—were elected to the committee overseeing UN NGO accreditation.[61] A parallel concern is the proposed UNFPA–UN Women merger that critics warn could dilute specialized SRHR and gender mandates and create new openings for anti-rights actors within multilateral governance.[62] Nine member states rejected the merger in May 2026, and the agencies have since proposed alternatives preserving separate mandates, with final approval still pending before the General Assembly.[63]

> **"They have formed regressive coalitions to lobby states and weaken the language of negotiated texts. They use their access to advocate for policies that undermine and seek to reverse progress on bodily autonomy, sexual rights, reproductive rights, sexual orientation and gender identity and expression for women and non-binary people."**
>
> *—Amina Hersi, head of gender rights and justice at Oxfam International, on the growing influence of the anti-rights movement at CSW.*

The Geneva Consensus Declaration (GCD) exemplifies how anti-rights actors ground their agenda in the language of UN frameworks to undermine internationally agreed commitments on SRHR and LGBTQI+ rights.[64] Launched in 2020, the declaration has grown to forty-two signatory states; the U.S. took over the GCD Secretariat from Hungary in June 2026 and began actively recruiting new members. Argentina became the first country to sign under U.S. leadership in August 2026,[65] followed by the Dominican Republic[66] in September, giving the declaration five members in Latin America alongside Guatemala, Haiti, and Paraguay. Brazil and Colombia withdrew as their governments changed. Despite its framing, the GCD's "consensus" was never negotiated or discussed in any UN forum.

The Conference on the State of Women and Family, a parallel event to CSW launched in 2024 by United Families International, C-Fam, and the Heritage Foundation, uses similar family-focused branding to undermine SRHR. At the 2026 Conference on the State of Women and Family, speakers co-opted the language of decolonization, human rights, and anti-imperialism, terms historically used by the movements they oppose, to justify preserving existing inequalities rather than challenging them.[67]

> **[These voices] who want to take us back half a century [are part of] a much broader international movement, which does not hesitate to take out the chainsaw on women's rights.**
>
> *—The President of the Government of Spain Pedro Sánchez, on those that seek to repeal the country's gender-based violence law*

Funding cuts function as a subtle but powerful form of rollback—dismantling the infrastructure that makes rights meaningful, even where legal protections remain formally intact. The America First Global Health Strategy eliminated funding for SRHR, maternal health, and gender equality programs, and the impact is already measurable: a July 2026 UN Women report found at least one million women and girls have lost access to critical support since January 2025, with nearly nine in ten surveyed organizations unable to meet current need.[68] Anti-rights actors have extended this logic to economic governance as well, seeking to weaken gender and SRHR references during the 2025 UN Financing for Development negotiations by framing rights-based approaches as threats to national sovereignty. [69,70]

Legislation spreads through the same institutional channels. Uganda's 2023 Anti-Homosexuality Act has become a regional template, most recently in Senegal, where MassResistance and a Senegalese Islamic network helped drive legislation that parliament passed 135–0 in March 2026, doubling prison sentences for same-sex relations and criminalizing transgender identity for the first time in the country's history. FWI played the same role in Uganda, directly coaching and training legislators.

This institutional capture compounds a broader electoral trend. Far-right and nationalist parties gained ground across Europe in 2025 and 2026, from the Italian Prime Minister, Giorgia Meloni, to the Alternative für Deutschland in Germany to the Chega party in Portugal, and even where such parties do not govern directly, they shift mainstream debate on migration, gender, and climate. In Spain, Vox has moved beyond rhetorical opposition to institutional control. Under an August 2026 regional coalition agreement, the Popular Party granted Vox authority over the Andalusian ministry responsible for units that assess the risk faced by gender-violence victims. Spain's national equality minister warned that the arrangement could jeopardize federal funding tied to the national State Pact against gender violence and directly undermine protections for victims.[71] Spain's 2004 gender-based violence law, which recognizes gender as an aggravating factor in assault cases, retains strong public support and was expanded as recently as 2025. However, its practical implementation is now being compromised at the regional level, even without formal repeal.[72] Political scientist Pablo Simón attributes Vox's rise generally to anti-establishment voting driven by economic conditions. Among young men, he points specifically to a backlash against a Socialist government associated with feminism and green policy. [73]

> **What's particularly dangerous in this moment is that governments are learning from each other. They're learning that attacking LGBTQ people or accusing NGOs of promoting Western values is an effective political strategy.**
>
> *—Masen Davis, executive director of Funders Concerned About AIDS, at the 13th International AIDS Society conference (2025) in Kigali, Rwanda.*

Restricting Rights through Law

Criminalization restricts targeted behaviors, reinforces stigma, creates precedent for further restrictions, and mobilizes political support, all while appearing to protect public morality. The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) reports that criminalization of marginalized populations increased in 2025 for the first time since it began tracking these trends: Burkina Faso and Niger introduced new criminal penalties for same-sex activity, and Senegal increased its penalties in 2026. Uganda's Anti-Homosexuality Act further intensified restrictions on same-sex activity and criminalized transgender identity for the first time in the country's history. [74]

Anti-rights groups also practice venue shopping, seeking out the most favorable legal or political environments and moving between jurisdictions to find sympathetic officials and judges. When an anti-abortion legal group challenged the approval of mifepristone by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA), it filed suit in Amarillo, Texas, a district served by a single federal judge known for his anti-abortion views, despite the case having little connection to the area. The Supreme Court ultimately dismissed it.

Funding the Movement

The anti-rights movement moves money quickly, at scale, and with few restrictions, while financing for rights-based movements is comparatively limited, slower, and burdened by often onerous reporting requirements. Tracking anti-rights funding is difficult by design: dark money and inconsistent disclosure laws obscure who is financially backing the movement and at what level.[75,76] Where visibility exists, the scale is significant. Eleven U.S.-based organizations funneled over $1 billion globally into anti-rights and anti-gender efforts between 2008 and 2017.[77] EPF's 2025 report, *The Next Wave*, identified $1.18 billion in anti-gender funding across 275 European organizations between 2019 and 2023. Of this funding, 73 percent originated in Europe, 18 percent came from Russia, and 9 percent came from U.S. organizations operating in Europe. Hungary, France, and the United Kingdom (UK) recorded the highest total spending. The five countries with the highest anti-gender funding were Hungary ($172.2 million), France ($165.7 million), the UK ($156 million), Poland ($90.7 million) and Spain ($66.4 million).[78]

This financial growth is happening at precisely the moment rights-based work is being defunded. Human rights-focused official development assistance is projected to decline by $1.4 to $1.9 billion annually—equivalent to a 22-31 percent decrease by 2026 compared with 2023.[79] The UN is also set to implement significant budget and staffing reductions for human rights work in 2026.

Donor asymmetry compounds the gap. Bilateral and philanthropic funders for rights-based work often cannot move quickly, and even with recent shifts toward trust-based philanthropy and significant funding from high-net-worth individuals like MacKenzie Scott, funding still carries more conditions than the anti-rights side faces.[80] The National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy finds that while progressive funders currently outspend regressive ones on LGBTQI+-related giving, regressive funding is growing faster, $223 million annually over the past three years versus $229 million for progressive funders, a gap that is closing.[81]

Winning the Narrative and Using Misinformation

Despite most of its funding and strategy originating in the U.S. and Russia, the movement frames itself as defending against foreign imposition. FWI's president has accused UN agencies of being "hijacked by Western donor countries" and claims they have a "hidden agenda to sexualize children, to legalize and destigmatize abortion, and to mainstream homosexuality and transgender ideology."[82] The World Congress of Families, a U.S. Christian organization with ties to Russia, has expanded into Africa with the same framing, casting human rights work there as neo-colonial imposition; its African regional director has described reproductive rights as part of "the sinister agenda to downsize and control Africa."[83]

To reach younger audiences, anti-rights actors frame "traditional values" as anti-establishment and countercultural, a positioning that has helped them cut through where feminist and progressive counter-narratives have struggled to gain traction. This framing pairs with genuine disinformation: the European Union's Agency for Fundamental Rights linked a 2025 rise in violence against intersex communities to disinformation campaigns,[84] and U.S. anti-rights actors have spread false claims about mifepristone's safety to restrict access to it.[85]

This extends well beyond targeted campaigns into a broader erosion of trust: misinformation about contraceptives, cervical cancer screening, HPV vaccines,[86] and HIV prevention is spreading widely on social media, and anti-gender actors have built apps and curricula that embed false information directly into education systems.

A newer tactic uses environmental regulation as a backdoor route to restricting abortion access. In June 2026, fourteen Republican state attorneys general and nineteen members of Congress in the U.S. asked the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to classify the abortion medication mifepristone as a water contaminant, despite a 1996 FDA study and current environmental health experts finding no evidence that the drug harms water systems or human health. Guttmacher Institute researchers describe this as part of a broader "culture of surveillance" around abortion access, in which environmental policy serves as cover for restriction rather than genuine ecological concern.[87] In September 2026, the EPA announced a drinking water study that will test, for the first time, for traces of the abortion pills mifepristone and misoprostol. The study advances a goal that anti-abortion activists have pursued for years: using environmental regulation to curb access to these drugs.[88]

A related tactic works from inside progressive spaces rather than against them: amplifying "wedge issues," including transgender rights, disability, sex work, and surrogacy, to fracture coalitions that would otherwise advocate collectively. Anti-rights organizations have leveraged longstanding disagreements within feminist movements, such as decriminalization versus abolitionist approaches to sex work, and during UN negotiations they often work to isolate abortion rights from broader maternal health and gender equality agendas to prevent unified pushback.[89]

Conservative women spokespeople extend the movement's reach, lend it credibility and legitimacy, and counter perceptions of it as purely patriarchal;[90] conservative convenings coordinate and amplify this messaging across regions. For example, the Third Pan-African Conference on Family Values, held in Accra in June 2026, brought together roughly 300 political and religious leaders from over twenty countries to advance a draft African Charter on Family, Sovereignty and Values. The draft defines family exclusively as heterosexual marriage, rejects SRHR, and opposes abortion outright.[91]

Pronatalism has re-emerged as a central theme, from J.D. Vance's calls for more American babies, to Polish hotel tycoons rewarding guests and employees for conceiving on-site.[92] However, UNFPA's 2025 State of World Population report, *The Real Fertility Crisis,* argues that the crisis stems from a lack of reproductive agency and warns against policies that pressure individuals into parenthood, such as coercive incentives or restrictive reproductive rights.

The movement is also opportunistic, moving quickly to attach itself to unrelated controversies. One recent example was the exploitation of debates around athlete eligibility during the lead-up to the 2024 Paris Olympics. Anti-rights actors used the visibility of women's sports to amplify broader anti-gender narratives, framing inclusion policies as threats to women's safety and fairness and spreading these m essages rapidly through podcasts, TikTok, YouTube, and other social media platforms.[93]

Finally, authoritarian and authoritarian-leaning governments increasingly control the media environment directly. China, Russia, Iran, and other authoritarian governments use censorship, legal pressure, intimidation and violence, propaganda, and restrictions on foreign and domestic media to crack down on dissent and manipulate public opinion. The absence of a free press can be particularly dangerous during elections or times of political upheaval. President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's victory in Turkey's 2023 presidential election was supported by an unequal media landscape controlled by his allies that starved the opposition of airtime.[94] In the U.S., President Donald Trump makes no secret of his admiration for these tactics and continues to vilify and limit access to media he deems disloyal.[95] Trump has initiated several lawsuits against media outlets for defamation, aiming to extract financial settlements and influence editorial content and he has publicly called for the Federal Communications Commission to revoke broadcast licenses of networks like NBC and ABC, accusing them of bias and unfair coverage.

Investing in the Future

The movement is building long-term capacity as deliberately as it pursues short-term wins. A 2026 report, *Future Proofing: The Professionalization of an Anti-Rights Youth Generation*, documents sustained investment in recruiting and training young activists through education initiatives, legal training, and digital organizing, producing networked professionals positioned to shape policy for decades.[96] In parallel, the movement is exploiting emerging technology: AI systems increasingly reflect and amplify gender bias, from discriminatory recruitment algorithms to chatbots capable of producing non-consensual intimate images at scale. Deepfakes create new avenues for abuse and extortion that push women out of public discourse[97] and disproportionately target women in public life.[98]

Using strategic narratives, as noted above, the movement also deliberately cultivates a sense of belonging, particularly among young men who feel disenfranchised, drawing them into its ranks. The "manosphere" draws boys in through generic content on fitness, appearance, or financial success before algorithms shift them toward misogynistic material, often within twenty-five minutes on TikTok or YouTube.[99] The International Men and Gender Equality Survey found that the youngest men held less gender-equitable attitudes, resembling those of the oldest group, while men in their early thirties expressed somewhat more egalitarian views. Researchers suggest this may be because younger men are influenced by online anti-feminist messages and have limited real relationship experience, shaping more hypothetical views about gender and relationships.[100]

Impact on Adjacent Sectors

Climate Justice and Environmental Activism

While the anti-rights movement's roots lie in opposition to gender equality, SRHR, and LGBTQI+ rights, its actors are increasingly extending the same tactics and rhetoric into climate governance and environmental activism — contesting the meaning of "gender," stripping rights-based language from climate agreements, and reframing climate action itself as ideological overreach.

Attacking Gender Language within Climate Negotiations

At COP30 in Belém, Brazil, in November 2025, negotiations over the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change's Gender Action Plan (GAP)—the mechanism for integrating gender into climate finance, adaptation, and mitigation—became a flashpoint. A coalition including Argentina, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Egypt, Paraguay, and the Holy See pushed to narrow the UN's definition of "gender" to biological sex, mirroring tactics already seen at CSW70.[101] The GAP for 2026–2034 was ultimately adopted, but at a cost: "foundational human rights language" was stripped from the text, and references to SRHR did not survive, replaced by a vague mention of "health."[102] As one advocate put it, the fight was ultimately "about power, patriarchy and who gets to influence climate policy."[103]

This is not isolated. At CSW70 in March 2026, the U.S. delegation's amendments to the agreed conclusions targeted climate change language alongside gender language—the same governments, the same tactics, applied interchangeably across UN forums.[104]

> **"This is not just an LGBTQI+ issue; it's a bigger movement against bodily autonomy, reproductive rights, racial justice and civil liberties. Whether it's abortion rights, sex workers' rights or the right to exist as queer and trans people, these battles are interconnected."**
>
> *—Botho Maruantona, feminist activist, Mama Cash*

Reframing Climate Action as Ideological Overreach

Anti-rights actors increasingly fold climate policy into the same "anti-woke," anti-globalist framing used against SRHR and LGBTQI+ programming, casting climate commitments tied to gender-responsive budgeting or "just transition" frameworks as vehicles for foreign ideology.

In 2026, California demonstrated how quickly this fusion moves from commentary to federal action. Manhattan Institute fellow Christopher Rufo built a dedicated team attacking California's climate programs as a "mask for wasting billions of dollars." When he and a co-writer targeted a utility commission's supplier diversity program for including LGBT-owned businesses, labeling it a "gay certification program," the piece went viral and within days prompted the Justice Department to announce it would scrutinize the program as potentially unconstitutional.[105] A climate-spending critique pivoted instantly to an LGBTQI+ target, generating real federal action within a week.

Targeting Environmental and Climate Defenders

The movement's tactics of criminalization, surveillance, and civic space restriction extend to women and gender-diverse environmental defenders, who face escalating digital violence and exclusion from decision-making—particularly where they also advance gender equality within environmental movements.[106]

Corporate Retreat

Corporate retreat from climate commitments accelerated sharply after the 2024 U.S. election. Morgan Stanley, Citigroup, and Bank of America withdrew from the UN-backed Net-Zero Banking Alliance in this period, part of a broader exodus that led the alliance, which once represented roughly 40 percent of global banking assets, to dissolve entirely in October 2025.[107]

Education

Targeting Higher Education and DEI Leadership

The same playbook visible in California's climate fight has an earlier precedent in higher education. In late 2023, Manhattan Institute fellow Christopher Rufo published plagiarism allegations against Harvard President Claudine Gay, Harvard's first Black president, following her widely criticized congressional testimony on antisemitism. Rufo was explicit about the strategy: "We launched the Claudine Gay plagiarism story from the Right. The next step is to smuggle it into the media apparatus of the left… Then squeeze." Gay resigned in January 2024. Rufo celebrated the outcome as a template, posting "SCALPED" before pivoting to a broader campaign: "We must not stop until we have abolished DEI ideology from every institution in America." The pattern established here, using a legitimacy-adjacent vulnerability to generate mainstream pickup, then redirecting pressure toward the real target, recurs across the other domains in this report.[108]

Targeting Transgender Students and Gender Identity in U.S. K–12 Schools

A January 2025 executive order directs federal agencies to rescind funding from K–12 schools that teach gender-identity topics, bars transgender students from sports teams matching their gender identity, and threatens funding for schools that do not disclose students' pronoun or name preferences to parents.[109] A Title IX "Special Investigations Team," created in April 2026, is now investigating "gender ideology" in schools specifically.[110] Active enforcement actions against specific school districts are already underway. For example, the administration gave Ann Arbor, Michigan, an August 2026 deadline to comply with its demands or risk losing federal funding over a policy it says conceals students' gender transitions from their parents.[111] In May 2026, the U.S. House passed a bill barring any classroom discussion of transgender people or topics — critics have called it the "Don't Say Trans" bill — with a Senate companion, the Say No to Indoctrination Act, also introduced.[112]

Attacks on Comprehensive Sexuality Education

CSE has become a persistent target of anti-rights actors, who frame it as a threat to "childhood innocence" and a vehicle for eroding traditional family and gender norms. A 2026 commentary by Australian researchers and practitioners documents how this backlash operates in practice: coordinated disinformation campaigns falsely claiming CSE programs teach children explicit sexual content or "gender ideology"; curriculum censorship and the withdrawal of inclusive resources; and direct personal attacks on educators and advocates, including doxxing, harassment, and death threats. Yet the same research shows this opposition reflects a vocal minority rather than public consensus — national survey data found that 86–89 percent of parents support the inclusion of gender diversity and same-sex attraction content in CSE — reinforcing that anti-rights actors' influence is disproportionate to their popular support.[113]

In the U.S., restrictions on CSE have become an extension of the anti-abortion agenda. A March 2026 Guttmacher/SIECUS policy brief tracks how anti-abortion policymakers are reshaping school curricula to advance the same goals pursued through abortion restrictions. SIECUS tracked over 650 state-level sex-education bills in 2025, nearly a quarter of which sought to restrict access—a 35 percent increase from the previous year. Meanwhile, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services threatened to withhold $81 million for forty-six states unless they removed "gender ideology" content from federally funded materials.[114]

Peace and Security Frameworks

Narrowing Gender Language in Peacekeeping Mandates

The Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda, established by UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000 to recognize the disproportionate impact of conflict on women and secure their participation in peace processes, marked its 25th anniversary in 2025 confronting direct erasure rather than celebration. At the Security Council, the U.S. has systematically sought to delete or narrow gender language in resolutions renewing UN peace operation mandates, converging with Russia's long-held opposition to WPS language in Council outcomes.[115] In November 2025, the resolution renewing the UN peacekeeping mission in Abyei replaced most references to "gender" with the narrower "women and girls," and in January 2026, the resolution renewing the Cyprus peacekeeping mission's mandate replaced "gender considerations as

a crosscutting issue" with "women, peace and security considerations." The resolution also stripped language tying gender equality to women's political participation, sexual and gender-based violence response, and civil society inclusion in peacebuilding.[116]

Dismantling Institutional Commitments

This pattern is not incidental. The same governments applying "family, "sovereignty," and institutional-efficiency framing to weaken rights language at CSW and within UN NGO accreditation bodies are applying an identical substitution tactic here. Scholars tracking the WPS agenda describe this convergence explicitly, noting that several permanent Security Council members are now led by governments aligned with anti-gender ideology.[117] The U.S. has retreated institutionally, as well as textually. In April 2025, the State Department quietly dissolved its Office of Global Women's Issues, a 25-year-old institution established under Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, ending sustained bipartisan U.S. commitment to the agenda and signaling to other governments that gender equality in peace and security work no longer carries the same priority.

Silencing Women Peacebuilders

This erosion is not confined to language and institutions. In Iraq, the word "gender" is now prohibited by government authorities, making advocacy on gender-related issues in peacebuilding nearly impossible. In March 2026, prominent Iraqi women's rights defender Yanar Mohammed was assassinated at her home in Baghdad, with no perpetrators identified or held accountable. As one NGO Working Group leader told the Security Council directly, disregard for international law's protections for women "means no accountability, no peace and a breakdown of the international system."[118]

Taking Action:
Strategies and Tactics to Counter Anti–Rights Efforts

Actors working to counter the anti-rights movement build on documented victories, from grassroots organizing to UN negotiating rooms, to protect the rights of women, girls, and gender minorities.[120] Their work rests on the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development, the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, and the Maputo Protocol. Thousands of NGOs, CSOs, and activists carry it forward despite limited funding and frequent harassment and violence, and Amnesty International USA's 2026 report, *Humanity Must Win*: And It Does When We Stand Together for Gender Justice, shows that collective action can defend and advance human rights.[121]

Successful resistance extends beyond gender and SRHR. In Hungary's 2026 election, Viktor Orbán's sixteen-year rule ended in a landslide.[122] In the climate space, a youth-led campaign begun by Pacific Island law students built a coalition spanning every continent to bring the climate crisis before the International Court of Justice. In May 2026, the UN General Assembly voted to formally embrace the court's opinion tying fossil fuel use to human rights abuses.[123] Together, these wins show that rights-grounded organizing can defeat entrenched, well-resourced authoritarian systems. However, barriers remain, including tensions among international and regional leaders, debates over the UN system's relevance, and inadequate funding, all of which make it harder for rights-based movements to work together consistently with flexible, long-term resources.

> **What stands out from the past year is how many people are choosing courage over compliance. Wherever anti-rights forces try to deny people their agency or bully them into submission, principled resistance is rising to meet them. They are looking the corrupt and the powerful in the face and refusing to fall silent.[123]**
>
> *—Mandeep Tiwana, CIVICUS secretary-general*

Countering an increasingly coordinated movement requires a similarly coordinated response: cross-sector coalitions, shared strategies, and sustained investment. Six areas of work offer the most leverage for rights-based actors to respond, although priorities will vary by sector:

Building Coalitions Across Movements and Sectors

The anti-rights movement does not confine its attacks to spaces dedicated to gender. It has expanded into hunger, infectious disease, and crimes against humanity, and rights-based movements need to meet that expansion with equivalent breadth.[124] The Women's Major Group, the Women's Rights Caucus, and the International Sexual and Reproductive Rights Coalition have built exactly this kind of cross-coalition infrastructure inside UN spaces.[125] Latin America's Green Wave shows what this looks like outside the UN system: by linking the right to abortion explicitly to democracy, bodily autonomy, and freedom from violence, the movement won significant decriminalization victories in Mexico, Argentina, and Colombia.[126] Organizations, including the Women's Earth and Climate Action Network and SheDecides, are applying the same logic to climate, and strategic partnerships with faith-based organizations extend rights-based coalitions further.

Investing in Leadership and Voice

Feminist leaders remain active at every level, from Spain's Minister for Equality, Ana Redondo, who called for a "strong feminist alliance" at CSW69, to local leadership in ministries, schools, and religious institutions worldwide.[127] Sustaining this requires direct investment in leadership academies and fellowships, such as ARROW's Gender Action and Climate Champions Academy; training for young advocates engaging in UN negotiations; cross-sector convenings, such as the Reykjavik Global Forum (RGF); and communications support for political leaders.

Rights-based actors also contest anti-rights moves directly.[128] Groups that track and publicize each new signatory to the Geneva Consensus Declaration can help prevent its expansion from gaining momentum without scrutiny. Culturally resonant messaging reaches wider audiences: a popular reggaeton song helped advance abortion decriminalization in Colombia through the Causa Justa movement, while the Kenyan film *Rafiki* advanced LGBTQI+ visibility.[129] The Global Fund for Children's *Boys Beyond Bias* campaign, launched in April 2025 to address toxic masculinity, applies the same approach to the audiences the anti-rights movement is working hardest to recruit.

Reclaiming the Narrative

Across regions and issue areas, rights-based messaging works best when it starts from shared values. For example, Australian research finds that 59 percent of the public sits in a persuadable "moveable middle," while only 17 percent is firmly opposed to gender equality. Advocacy language built on "systemic inequality" or "patriarchal systems" energizes supporters but alienates the middle, while messages grounded in shared values such as safety, personal freedom, and caring for others convinced more than 90 percent of respondents. The most resistant segment, when it disengages, turns to anti-rights commentators, confirming the media capture documented elsewhere in this report.[130] Faith-aligned framing works on the same principle: presenting SRHR through family well-being and responsible parenthood, and engaging faith leaders in dialogue grounded in religious texts, builds the credibility needed to shift community attitudes and sustain change across generations.[131]

Sustaining the Ecosystem: Knowledge Sharing and Hard Conversations

Documenting and sharing knowledge strengthens the whole field. Landscape analyses, such as the Association for Women's Rights in Development's *Rights at Risk and* Rutgers' *Dealing with the Anti-Rights Movement* toolkit,[132] help organizations understand the threat. Some of the most useful knowledge work addresses divisions within rights-based movements themselves. The Nairobi Principles on Abortion, Prenatal Testing, and Disability Working Group brings SRHR and disability rights activists together to find common ground on an issue that has historically split them, and a 2025 CSW69 meeting on conscientious objection did similar work on refusals of care.[133]

Funding the Resistance

Feminists have called for an additional $6 billion in philanthropic investment in feminist movements by 2026 to fight oppression and realize transformative change.[134] The gap between what anti-rights and rights-based actors can move quickly and flexibly remains the single largest structural disadvantage rights-based movements face.[135] Large foundations, including Ford, Buffett, Hewlett, and Packard, provide the bulk of SRHR funding in the U.S. Intermediary funders, such as Groundswell, the Ms. Foundation, and the Third Wave Fund, play an increasingly vital role by channeling flexible, rapid-response resources from large foundations directly to grassroots groups they are better positioned to reach and trust.[136]

Regional women's funds, such as the African Women's Development Fund and Fondo Semillas, help sustain movements that fall outside mainstream funding. Donor collaboratives working at the intersections of reproductive, racial, gender, and economic justice, such as the Proteus Fund's Rights, Faith and Democracy Collaborative, sustain movements outside the funding mainstream. Governments also need to be held to their feminist foreign policy commitments through clear benchmarks, transparent reporting, and consequences for non-compliance. Finally, with USAID dismantled and funders pressing for quick results, remaining funding must be long-term and flexible enough to support the multiyear work that legal and systems change requires.

Public Mobilization

Street protest has become one of the most visible forms of resistance worldwide, often led by people with no prior activism experience. The "No Kings" protests against the Trump administration became one of the largest mobilizations in recent U.S. history, and a record crowd in Hungary defied a ban on Pride marches in June 2025. Public resistance raises the political cost of anti-rights action in real time, and documenting these moments gives the next community facing the same pressure evidence that pushing back is possible.[137]

Conclusion

The anti-rights movement has built an adaptive, well-financed operation that spans governments, religious institutions, CSOs, wealthy individuals, and corporations. Its actors work inside institutions, reshape laws and courts, spread disinformation, and frame exclusion as a defense of family, tradition, and national sovereignty. Since 2025, the movement has gained significant ground. The U.S. has redirected its foreign assistance and multilateral diplomacy toward anti-rights goals. UNAIDS recorded the first increase in the criminalization of marginalized populations since it began tracking these trends. Rights language has been stripped from agreements on climate, peace and security, and development finance. Funding for the movement continues to grow as resources for rights-based work contract.

The movement's reach now extends into sectors that do not yet see themselves as its targets. The coalition that contests the definition of "gender" at CSW also operates in climate negotiations and at the Security Council, and the campaigns against comprehensive sexuality education extend to libraries, universities, and environmental programs. Because these attacks share actors, money, and tactics, a gain in one sector strengthens the movement in others.

The year 2026 has exposed the limits of the movement's power. Viktor Orbán's defeat in Hungary removed one of its most important government allies and a model for authoritarian leaders elsewhere. Member state opposition to the proposed UNFPA and UN Women merger has so far preserved the agencies' separate mandates. Climate advocates won a UN General Assembly vote tying fossil fuel use to human rights, and public mobilization in the United States and Hungary drew some of the largest crowds in recent history. Public opinion research shows that the movement's influence exceeds its popular support. In Australia, 86-89 percent of parents support inclusive sexuality education content, while most people remain persuadable on gender equality.

Rights-based movements are adapting as well. Coalitions in UN spaces are coordinating across issues, organizations are testing messages with persuadable audiences, and intermediary funders are moving flexible resources to grassroots groups. Human rights progress has never followed a straight path, and the developments documented in this report describe a contest that remains open.

Acknowledgements

This report would not be possible without the immense contributions of Jessie Clyde, lead author, who drove the report's analysis and framing, building on the foundational analysis done by Sue Fox and Ruthie Taylor in 2023. Thank you to Sue Fox and Ann Starrs for their keen technical and editorial eye as report reviewers; Susannah Hurd for her direction and supervision; Nejla Liias for continuing to make this report and this issue a priority for Kinaura; Olga Laskin for managing the report's end-to-end production; and Aliza Hasham for copy editing and leading report communications. Lastly, and most importantly, thank you to the feminist organizers around the world who have been sounding the alarm and skillfully pushing back on anti-rights actors to protect women and girls' agency and rights for years; and to all of the advocates who continue to fight for human rights, democracy, and the power of civic voices.

ANNEX 1

Kinaura's Work to Counter the Anti–Rights Movement

Kinaura Partners is a global consulting firm that works alongside philanthropies, NGOs, and the private sector to navigate complexity and turn ambition into measurable outcomes. Within the movement to counter anti-rights agendas, Kinaura works to connect siloed sectors and create on-ramps for new actors, while facilitating discreet knowledge exchange in an increasingly constrained landscape. We convene cross-sector dialogues that bring SRHR advocates together with other movements, such as climate and education, to identify shared approaches to resisting the anti-rights movement. This work has built a growing network of partners who recognize that the anti-rights movement is using the same tactics in their own sectors.

Kinaura's ongoing internal and external efforts to counter the anti-rights movement include:

Research and Analysis on the Anti-Rights Movement

Kinaura has conducted extensive research on who drives the anti-rights movement, how it operatess, and tactics for countering it. Drawing on publicly available sources and insights from experienced Kinaura team members, this research forms the basis of this report.

Elevating the Threat of Anti-Rights Actors in Global Fora

We convene advocates for strategic sessions during key global convenings to facilitate knowledge sharing and educate new audiences on the threat of the anti-rights movement across sectors. Recent sessions include:

- **RGF 2024, "Straight Talk: Confronting the Global Impact of Anti-Rights Movements":** Organized in partnership with Ipas, Planned Parenthood Global, and the Partnership for Maternal Newborn and Child Health and moderated by Kinaura Senior Consultant Ann Starrs, this event examined how, since the early 2000s, the anti-rights movement has sought to reverse hard-won advancements in gender equality and women's rights through its increasing political influence and organized campaigns. Kinaura Partners' CEO Nejla Liias also spoke on a panel about women's health under authoritarian regimes and positive shifts in state-level advocacy in the U.S.
- **RGF 2025, "From Exposure to Action: Countering Anti-Rights Efforts in Politics & Power":** This session mapped the anti-rights movement's political tactics and equipped attendees with cross-sector strategies to counter mis- and dis-information through communications and narrative change.
- **International Maternal and Newborn Health Conference 2026, "Maternal and Newborn Health at the Turning Point":** Co-hosted with Comotion, the Global Fund for Women, FP2030, Libera, and the Center for Reproductive Rights (CRR), this session explored the political and social context impacting the maternal and newborn health sector, including the anti-rights agenda's influence. It encouraged participants to reimagine how the field is understood, prioritized, and funded, including through feminist funding approaches and movement-led solutions.
- **RGF 2026, "The New Coalition: How New Allies are Resisting the Anti-Rights Agenda":** Co-hosted with the Arch Collaborative and Libera, and featuring speakers from Collaborative for Gender + Reproductive Equity, ODI, and CRR, this session looks beyond the familiar frontlines of reproductive rights and LGBTQI+ inclusion to other sectors not often recognized as targets of the anti-rights agenda, including care systems, education, climate, and peace and security frameworks.

Kinaura Team Dialogue, Tools, and Learning to Counter Anti-Rights Agendas

Kinaura organizes learning sessions and curates research so that consultants in every sector we work in can integrate the latest insights on the anti-rights movement into their work. We also prioritize participating in UN events and partner-led convenings focused on countering the anti-rights movement. In 2024 and 2025, Kinaura supported PMNCH to address the rising influence of the anti-rights movement as part of its new strategic plan, and has facilitated learning sessions at the request of organizations seeking to understand how the anti-rights movement affects their work.

Endnotes

[1] United Nations Statistics Division, *The Sustainable Development Goals Extended Report 2026: Goal 5 (United Nations, 2026),* https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/report/2026/extended-report/Extended-Report-2026_Goal-5.pdf.

[2] Rachel Marcus, "Gender Equality Special Focus 2026," *SDG Action, April 6, 2026,* https://sdg-action.org/sdg-action-publications/gender-equality-special-focus-2026/.

[3] Family Planning 2030, *Protecting Progress: Countering Anti-Rights Threats to Family Planning and SRHR, impact brief (FP2030, October 2025),* https://www.fp2030.org/resources/protecting-progress-countering-anti-rights-threats-to-family-planning-and-srhr/.

[4] United Nations Statistics Division, *Sustainable Development Goals Extended Report 2026; Marcus, "Gender Equality Special Focus 2026." 2026.* https://sdg-action.org/sdg-action-publications/gender-equality-special-focus-2026/

[5] Global Philanthropy Project, *2023–2024 Global Resources Report: Government and Philanthropic Support for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex Communities (June 2026),* https://globalresourcesreport.org/.

[6] European Parliamentary Forum for Sexual and Reproductive Rights, *The Next Wave: How Religious Extremism Is Regaining Power* (2025), https://www.epfweb.org/node/1147.

[7] CIVICUS, *2023 State of Civil Society Report (2023)*, https://www.civicus.org/index.php/state-of-civil-society-report-2023.

[8] Global Project Against Hate and Extremism, *Project 2025 Goes Global (March 2026),* https://globalextremism.org/reports/project-2025-goes-global/.

[9] Human Rights Watch, "US: New, Sweeping Foreign Aid Rules Undermine Global Rights," January 27, 2026, https://www.hrw.org/news/2026/01/27/us-new-sweeping-foreign-aid-rules-undermine-global-rights.

[10] Fòs Feminista, *America First Global Health Strategy: When Aid Becomes Empire (January 19, 2026),* https://fosfeminista.org/news-and-stories/america-first-global-health-strategy-report-jan-2026/.

[11] M. Šišić and D. Binışık, "Beyond the Cuts: How the Defunding Affects Feminist and Civil Society Organizations," Heinrich Böll Stiftung, March 13, 2025, https://us.boell.org/en/2025/03/13/beyond-cuts-how-defunding-affects-feminist-and-civil-society-organizations.

[12] Preclusion Project, "Promoting Human Flourishing in Foreign Assistance (PHFFA)," accessed May 10, 2026, https://www.thepreclusionproject.org/resources.

[13] A. Friedrich-Karnik, "Weaponizing U.S. Foreign Aid: Trump's New 2026 Global Gag Rule," Guttmacher Institute, March 16, 2026, https://www.guttmacher.org/2026/03/weaponizing-us-foreign-aid-trumps-new-2026-global-gag-rule.

[14] Ipas, *Protego: Operationalizing the Geneva Consensus Declaration (2024),* https://www.ipas.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/Ipas-Protego-Operationalizing-the-Geneva-Consensus-Declaration-OPPPROE24.pdf.

[15] U.S. Department of State, "Withdrawal from Wasteful, Ineffective, or Harmful International Organizations," press statement, January 7, 2026, https://www.state.gov/releases/office-of-the-spokesperson/2026/01/withdrawal-from-wasteful-ineffective-or-harmful-international-organizations.

[16] Guttmacher Institute, "How Project 2025 Seeks to Obliterate Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights," fact sheet, October 2024, https://www.guttmacher.org/fact-sheet/how-project-2025-seeks-obliterate-srhr.

[17] Jacob Knutson, "'Stakes Are High': Big Law Alerts Clients on Trump's Domestic Terrorism Order," *Democracy Docket, October 3, 2025,* https://www.democracydocket.com/analysis/law-firms-alert-trump-domestic-terrorism-order/.

[18] "Targeting OSF, Trump Aims for a Chilling Effect on Liberal Funders," *Inside Philanthropy, 2025,* https://www.insidephilanthropy.com/home/targeting-osf-trump-aims-for-a-chilling-effect-on-liberal-funders; "'Tomorrow, It Could Be Any of Us': Dems Probe Trump Plan to Aim IRS at Left-Leaning Nonprofits," *Common Dreams,* September 2026.

[19] David Folkenflik, "Trump Again Calls for FCC to Revoke ABC and NBC Licenses," NPR, August 25, 2025, https://www.npr.org/2025/08/25/nx-s1-5515480/fcc-abc-nbc-reviews; A. Wise, "Trump Speech Intensifies Pressure Campaign against Broadcasters," *Axios,* July 17, 2026, https://www.axios.com/2026/07/17/trump-speech-tv-broadcast-licenses.

[20] Susan Ferrechio, "Trump's Fight with Media Disrupts His Television Coverage at United Nations," *Washington Times,* September 21, 2026, https://washingtontimes.com/news/2026/sep/21/trumps-fight-media-disrupts-television-coverage-united-nations.

[21] Colin Stewart, "Russia Makes It a Crime to Work with ILGA World on Behalf of LGBTQ Rights," *Erasing 76 Crimes,* January 27, 2026, https://76crimes.com/2026/01/27/russia-makes-it-a-crime-to-work-with-ilga-world-on-behalf-of-lgbtq-rights/.

[22] Amnesty International, "Russia: Amnesty International Declared 'Undesirable Organization' amid Escalating Crackdown on Dissent," May 19, 2025, https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2025/05/russia-amnesty-international-declared-undesirable-organization-amid-escalating-crackdown-on-dissent/.

[23] CIVICUS, "Gender Rights: Rollback and Resistance," in *2026 State of Civil Society Report (2026),* https://publications.civicus.org/publications/2026-state-of-civil-society-report/gender-rights-rollback-and-resistance/.

[24] Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy, *Strongmen and Violence: Interlinkages of Anti-Feminism and Anti-Democratic Developments (Berlin: Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy, 2024),* https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/CFFP-strongmen-and-violence.pdf.

[25] Owen Wong, Claire Mountford, and Stéfanie von Hlatky, "Divide and Conquer: Russia's Anti-West Campaign and Gender-Based Disinformation," *International Journal 81, no. 2 (2026): 181–201,* https://doi.org/10.1177/00207020261452284.

[26] Agence France-Presse, "Russia Gets Resolution through U.N. Rights Council, in First since 2022," *Japan Times, March 28, 2026,* https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2026/03/28/world/russia-un-council-resolution/.

[27] "New Israeli Law Erodes Women's Rights," *Jewish Independent, 2026,* https://thejewishindependent.com.au/new-israeli-law-erodes-womens-rights/.

[28] "As 60+ Nations Tighten Anti-LGBTQ Laws, India Remains Caught between Decriminalisation and Equal Rights," *LawStreet Journal, 2026,* https://lawstreet.co/international/as-60-nations-tighten-anti-lgbtq-laws-india-remains-caught-between-decriminalisation-and-equal-rights.

[29] "Argentina's Milei Blames Legalized Abortion for Decline in Births," UPI, September 3, 2026, https://www.upi.com/Top_News/World-News/2026/09/03/latam-argentina-births-decline/9831788460232/.

[30] Human Rights Watch, "World Report 2026: China," 2026, https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2026/country-chapters/china.

[31] "El Salvador Abortion Rights Group Shuts Down amid Civil Society Restrictions," *Tico Times,* February 23, 2026, https://ticotimes.net/2026/02/23/el-salvador-abortion-rights-group-shuts-down-amid-civil-society-restrictions.

[32] Human Rights Watch, "Ethiopia: Proposed Legal Changes Threaten Civil Society," July 29, 2025, https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/07/29/ethiopia-proposed-legal-changes-threaten-civil-society.

[33] Human Rights Watch, "Georgia: New Laws Devastate Independent Civic Groups," July 9, 2026, https://www.hrw.org/news/2026/07/09/georgia-new-laws-devastate-independent-civic-groups.

[34] "Tusk Says Polish President Shows 'Contempt' after LGBT Law Veto," CGTN Europe, July 18, 2026, https://newseu.cgtn.com/news/2026-07-18/Tusk-says-Polish-president-shows-contempt-after-LGBT-law-veto-1ORrai8aCA0/p.html.

[35] "Slovak Constitutional Change Promotes Anti-LGBTQ 'National Identity,'" Al Jazeera, September 26, 2025, https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2025/9/26/slovak-constitutional-change-promotes-anti-lgbtq-national-identity.

[36] Outright International, "Tanzania," country profile, 2026, https://outrightinternational.org/our-work/sub-saharan-africa/tanzania.

[37] Human Rights Watch, "They're Putting Our Lives at Risk": How Uganda's Anti-LGBT Climate Unleashes Abuse (May 26, 2025), https://www.hrw.org/report/2025/05/26/theyre-putting-our-lives-risk/how-ugandas-anti-lgbt-climate-unleashes-abuse.

[38] Caleb Okereke, "How U.S. Evangelicals Helped Homophobia Flourish in Africa," Foreign Policy, March 19, 2023, https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/03/19/africa-uganda-evangelicals-homophobia-antigay-bill/.

[39] Maria Skora, "In Poland, the Catholic Church Backed Abortion Bans and Authoritarian Politics. Young People Are Turning Away," Guardian, April 5, 2023, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2023/apr/05/catholic-church-poland-law-and-justice-party-young-voters.

[40] C. Chiappa, "Nawrocki Win Is 'Devastating Blow' for Abortion Rights Activists in Poland," Politico, June 3, 2025, https://www.politico.eu/article/nawrocki-win-is-devastating-blow-for-abortion-rights-activists-in-poland/.

[41] Juliana Nnoko, "Gambia's Supreme Court to Decide on FGM Ban," Human Rights Watch, February 2, 2026, https://www.hrw.org/news/2026/02/02/gambias-supreme-court-to-decide-on-fgm-ban.

[42] The Trevor Project, "The Trevor Project Condemns Supreme Court Decision to Treat Debunked Practice of Conversion Therapy as Protected Speech," March 31, 2026, https://www.thetrevorproject.org/blog/the-trevor-project-condemns-supreme-court-decision-to-treat-debunked-practice-of-conversion-therapy-as-protected-speech/.

[43] Democracy Forward, "Case against 'So-Called Religious Liberty Commission' Is Dismissed after Government Forced to Reveal Secretive Documents," press release, July 27, 2026, https://democracyforward.org/news/press-releases/case-against-so-called-religious-liberty-commission-is-dismissed-after-government-forced-to-reveal-secretive-documents/.

[44] Naureen Shameem, Rights at Risk: *Time for Action*, Observatory on the Universality of Rights Trends Report (Association for Women's Rights in Development, 2021), https://www.awid.org/sites/default/files/2022-01/RightsAtRisk_TimeForAction_OURsTrendsReport2021.pdf.

[45] Sara Jerving, "Is the Pandemic Treaty a 'UN Power Grab'?," *Devex,* May 20, 2025*,* https://www.devex.com/news/is-the-pandemic-treaty-a-un-power-grab-110100.

[46] Jennifer H. Svan, "Erika Kirk Added to Air Force Academy Oversight Board," *Stars and Stripes,* March 10, 2026*,* https://www.stripes.com/branches/air_force/2026-03-10/erika-kirk-air-force-academy-21016996.html.

[47] E. Shugerman, "Peter Thiel, Right-Wing Billionaire, Sinks More Cash into Women's Health: Cognitive Dissonance," *Daily Beast*, June 16, 2023, https://www.thedailybeast.com/peter-thiel-funds-recharge-capital-targeting-womens-health-and-fertility.

[48] Nafeez Ahmed, "The Peter Thiel–Linked Race Science Network That Penetrated Cambridge University and Targeted Jason Arday," *Byline Times,* August 18, 2026, https://bylinetimes.com/2026/08/18/the-peter-thiel-linked-race-science-network-that-penetrated-cambridge-university-and-targeted-jason-arday/.

[49] A. Baio, "Elon Musk Suggests Support for Replacing Democracy with Government of 'High-Status Males,'" *Independent*, September 4, 2024, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/elon-musk-trump-harris-high-status-males-4chan-b2606617.html.

[50] Perez, Andrew, Andy Kroll, and Justin Elliott. "Inside the Right's Historic Billion-Dollar Dark Money Transfer." *The Lever,* August 22, 2022. https://www.levernews.com/how-a-secretive-billionaire-handed-his-fortune-to-the-architect-of-the-right-wing-takeover-of-the-courts/.

[51] Cathy Cowan Becker, "Attacks on Sustainable Investing Are Third Stage of Climate Denial—Here's How to Fight Back," Green America, June 5, 2023, https://greenamerica.org/blog/anti-esg-third-stage-climate-denial-heres-how-fight-back.

[52] Geoff Dembicki, "Leonard Leo's Anti-Climate Network Makes a European Debut," *DeSmog,* July 14, 2026, https://www.desmog.com/2026/07/14/leonard-leos-anti-climate-network-makes-a-european-debut/.

[53] "The Meaning of Marine Le Pen's Conviction," *Time,* April 2025, https://time.com/7273307/france-le-pen-conviction/.

[54] B. Torek, "Meta's New Policies: How They Endanger LGBTQ+ Communities and Our Tips for Staying Safe Online," Human Rights Campaign, January 15, 2025, https://www.hrc.org/news/metas-new-policies-how-they-endanger-lgbtq-communities-and-our-tips-for-staying-safe-online.

[55] "Meta Is Ending Its DEI Programs as It Eases Protections against Anti-LGBTQ+ Hate Speech," *Advocate,* January 10, 2025, https://www.advocate.com/news/meta-ends-dei-programs.

[56] Anne D'Innocenzio, "Target Is Ending Its Diversity Goals as a Strong DEI Opponent Occupies the White House," Associated Press, January 24, 2025, https://cdapress.com/news/2025/jan/24/target-is-ending-its-diversity-goals-as-a-strong-dei-opponent-occupies-the-white-house/.

[57] "Pride Celebrations Struggle as Corporate Sponsorships Dry Up," WUSF, May 30, 2026, https://www.wusf.org/2026-05-30/pride-celebrations-struggle-as-corporate-sponsorships-dry-up.

[58] "Publishers Are 'Stepping Back' from LGBTQ+ Books amid Bans and the Current GOP President," *LGBTQ Nation,* January 12, 2026, https://www.lgbtqnation.com/2026/01/publishers-are-stepping-back-from-lgbtq-books-amid-bans-the-current-gop-president/.

[59] American Library Association, Office for Intellectual Freedom, "American Library Association Releases 2025 Most Challenged Books List as National Library Week Begins," April 20, 2026, https://www.ala.org/news/2026/04/american-library-association-releases-2025-most-challenged-books-list-national-library.

[60] S. Brechenmacher, "The New Global Struggle over Gender, Rights, and Family Values," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, June 2025, https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2025/06/the-new-global-struggle-over-gender-rights-and-family-values.

[61] Human Rights Watch, "UN Committee Should Promote, Not Oppose, Civil Society," March 16, 2026, https://www.hrw.org/news/2026/03/16/un-committee-should-promote-not-oppose-civil-society.

[62] International Planned Parenthood Federation, "IPPF's Response to the UNFPA–UN Women Merger Assessment," April 30, 2026, https://www.ippf.org/news/ippfs-response-unfpa-un-women-merger-assessment.

[63] "Nine Member States Push Back on UN80 Proposal to Merge UNFPA and UN Women," *Development Today,* May 22, 2026, https://developmenttoday.substack.com/p/nine-member-states-push-back-on-un80; J. Lei Ravelo, "UNFPA and UN Women Propose Alternatives to a Merger," *Devex, July 2, 2026,* https://www.devex.com/news/unfpa-and-un-women-propose-alternatives-to-a-merger-112846.

[64] Fòs Feminista, "The Anti-Rights Geneva Consensus Declaration Loses Support in Latin America," February 13, 2023, https://fosfeminista.org/media/geneva-consensus-loses-support/.

[65] U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Office of Global Affairs, "Argentina Signs Geneva Consensus Declaration, Expanding U.S.-Led Coalition on Women's Health and Family Policy," August 10, 2026, https://www.hhs.gov/about/agencies/oga/news-events/readout-argentina-signs-geneva-consensus-declaration/index.html.

[66] "Dominican Republic Joins Geneva Consensus Declaration on Women's Health and Family," *Dominican Today,* September 2026*,* https://dominican-today.com/dominican-republic-joins-geneva-consensus-declaration-on-womens-health-and-family/.

[67] Ayesha Khan and Claire Carson, "Through the Looking Glass: How Pro-Family Discourse Weaponises Anti-Colonialism to Restrict Women's Rights," ODI Global, May 27, 2026, https://odi.org/en/insights/through-the-looking-glass-how-pro-family-discourse-weaponises-anti-colonialism-to-restrict-womens-rights/.

[68] UN Women. *Beyond the Breaking Point: The Continuing Impact of Funding Cuts on Women's Organizations in Humanitarian Settings. New York: UN Women, July 10, 2026.* https://www.unwomen.org/en/news-stories/press-release/2026/07/at-least-one-million-women-and-girls-lose-access-to-critical-support.

[69] Equipop, "Gender Equality Threatened in Financing for Development Negotiations," accessed May 10, 2026, https://equipop.org/en/opinion-egalite-de-genre-menacee-negociations-financement-du-developpement/.

[70] "Samoa Agreement: Nigeria-EU Deal Sparks False Claims over LGBT Rights," BBC News, March 8, 2024, https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cqv53ej2d33o.

[71] "Andalusian Government Faces Tension over Vox Control of Gender Violence Units," Russpain, August 2026, https://russpain.com/news/andalusian-government-faces-tension-over-vox-control-of-gender-violence-units-78877/.

[72] La Moncloa, "Pedro Sánchez Pledges to 'Work Tirelessly' to Renew the Spanish State Pact against Gender-Based Violence, 'Because It Is Fair, Essential and a Priority,'" February 10, 2025, https://www.lamoncloa.gob.es/lang/en/presidente/news/Paginas/2025/20250210-gender-violence-law-anniversary.aspx; Reuters, "Spain Moves to Criminalise Gender-Based Abuse against Victims' Loved Ones," September 30, 2025.

[73] "How Spain's Right Wing Is Winning the Youth Vote," *Times* (London)*,* March 14, 2026, https://www.thetimes.com/world/europe/article/spain-how-vox-won-youth-vote-abascal-elections-vjbqlq06s.

[74] UNAIDS, *AIDS, Crisis and the Power to Transform: UNAIDS Global AIDS Update 2025* (Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, 2025), https://www.unaids.org/sites/default/files/2025-07/2025-global-aids-update-JC3153_en.pdf.

[75] K. Vogel, "Republican 'Dark Money' Groups Use Shell Companies to Mask Donors," *New York Times,* August 22, 2022, https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/22/us/politics/republican-dark-money.html.

[76] K. Cullinan, "EU Urged to Take Action against 'Dark Money' Targeting Women's Rights," *openDemocracy,* March 26, 2021, https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/eu-dark-money-targeting-womens-rights/.

[77] T. Giorno and O. González, "Inside the Dark Money Network Fueling the Next Phase of the Anti-Abortion Fight," *NOTUS,* July 3, 2025, https://www.notus.org/money/dark-money-network-anti-abortion-leonard-leo-trump.

[78] European Parliamentary Forum for Sexual and Reproductive Rights, *The Next Wave: How Religious Extremism Is Regaining Power* (2025), https://www.epfweb.org/node/1147.

[79] Human Rights Funders Network, *Funding at a Crossroads*.

[80] *The Future of Philanthropy Is Trust-Based,* supplement to Stanford Social Innovation Review (Spring 2024), https://ssir.org/supplement/the-future-of-philanthropy-is-trust-based.

[81] National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy, "The Rise of Regressive Philanthropy in the 21st Century," December 2, 2025, https://ncrp.org/2025/12/the-rise-of-regressive-philanthropy-in-the-21st-century/.

[82] Ipas, *False Pretenses: The Anti–Comprehensive Sexuality Education Agenda Weaponizing Human Rights* (2023), https://www.ipas.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/False-Pretenses-The-Anti-Comprehensive-Sexuality-Education-Agenda-Weaponizing-Human-Rights-OPPCSEE23b.pdf.

[83] Southern Poverty Law Center, "World Congress of Families," Extremist Files, accessed October 16, 2026, https://www.splcenter.org/resources/extremist-files/world-congress-families/.

[84] A. Kassam, "Intersex People in Europe Face 'Alarming' Rise in Violence, EU Finds," *Guardian,* September 18, 2025, https://www.theguardian.com/society/2025/sep/18/intersex-people-europe-alarming-rise-violence-eu-finds.

[85] R. K. Jones and J. Perritt, "The Misinformation Campaign Trying to Bring Down Abortion Pills," Guttmacher Institute, June 2025, https://www.guttmacher.org/article/2025/06/misinformation-campaign-trying-bring-down-abortion-pills.

[86] United Nations Population Fund, *The Real Fertility Crisis: The Pursuit of Reproductive Agency in a Changing World,* State of World Population 2025 (UNFPA, 2025), https://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/EN_State%20of%20World%20Population%20report%202025.pdf.

[87] Guttmacher Institute, "Weaponizing Water: How the Campaign against Medication Abortion Co-Opts Environmental Policy," December 2025, https://www.guttmacher.org/2025/12/weaponizing-water-how-campaign-against-medication-abortion-co-opts-environmental-policy.

[88] "Abortion Opponents Claim 'Tremendous Victory' as EPA Tests Water for Abortion Pills," *Politico Pro,* September 12, 2026, https://subscriber.politicopro.com/article/2026/09/abortion-opponents-claim-tremendous-victory-as-epa-tests-water-for-abortion-pills-01073232.

[89] C. Clark, K. Staszewska, et al., "Advocacy for Resourcing Feminist and Women's Rights Movements: An Interview with the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID)," *Sexual and Reproductive Health Matters,* 2023, https://doi.org/10.1080/26410397.2023.2214979.

[90] M.-E. Kisyova, Y. Veilleux-Lepage, and V. Newby, "Conversations with Other (Alt-Right) Women: How Do Far-Right Female Influencers Narrate an Alt-Right Identity?," *Journal for Deradicalization 31 (2022): 35–72.* https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3485420.

[91] Human Rights Watch, "External Actors Pressing 'Family Values' in Africa," August 5, 2026, https://www.hrw.org/news/2026/08/05/external-actors-pressing-family-values-in-africa.

[92] T. Modrzejewski, "Polish Tycoon Offers Cash to Couples Who Conceive in His Hotels," *Times* (London), September 19, 2025, https://www.thetimes.com/world/europe/article/polish-tycoon-offers-cash-to-couples-who-conceive-in-his-hotels-d5xzpdqvl.

[93] Moira Donegan, "The Olympics' Trans Policy Polices Womanhood," *Guardian,* April 21, 2026, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2026/apr/21/olympics-trans-policy-ioc.

[94] CIVICUS, *State of Civil Society Report 2024* (2024), https://www.civicus.org/index.php/state-of-civil-society-report-2024.

[95] A. Bianco, P. Kine, and G. R. Ewing, "Trump Signs Order to Dismantle Voice of America and Other Programs," *Politico,* March 15, 2025, https://www.politico.com/news/2025/03/15/trump-media-voice-of-america-00003119.

[96] Ipas, *Future-Proofing: The Professionalization of an Anti-Rights Youth Generation (2026),* https://www.ipas.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/02/Future-Proofing_Professionalization-of-an-Anti-Rights-Youth-Generation_2026.pdf.

[97] CIVICUS, "Gender Rights: Rollback and Resistance."

[98] UN Women and Everyday Sexism Project, *How AI Is Exacerbating Technology-Facilitated Violence against Women and Girls* (New York: UN Women, December 2025), https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2025/12/how-ai-is-exacerbating-technology-facilitated-violence-against-women-and-girls.

[99] S. McCullough, "Online Misogyny: The 'Manosphere,'" Canadian Museum for Human Rights, September 12, 2023, https://humanrights.ca/story/online-misogyny-manosphere.

[100] United Nations Population Fund, *The Real Fertility Crisis.*

[101] "Gender Clash Erupts at COP30 as States Push to Narrow Definition, Threatening Climate Progress," *Climate Watch, November 21, 2025,* https://theclimatewatch.com/gender-clash-erupts-at-cop30-as-states-push-to-narrow-definition-threatening-climate-progress/.

[102] Women and Gender Constituency, "COP30 Outcome Statement: Feminist Power Delivered—but the Process Failed to Meet the Moment," November 2025, https://womengenderclimate.org/resources/cop30-outcome-statement-feminist-power-delivered-but-the-process-failed-to-meet-the-moment/.

[103] "Gender Clash Erupts at COP30."

[104] Focus 2030, "CSW70: UN Women's Rights Negotiations Marked by Deepening Divisions," April 2, 2026, https://focus2030.org/en/csw70-un-womens-rights-negotiations-marked-by-deepening-divisions/.

[105] C. von Kaenel, "The Conservative Writer Taking Aim at Newsom's Green Agenda," *Politico,* June 23, 2026, https://www.politico.com/news/2026/06/23/chris-rufo-conservative-gavin-newsom-california-green-bureaucracy-00971300.

[106] UNDP, "Women Human Rights Defenders Powering Climate Justice," December 2025, https://www.undp.org/stories/women-human-rights-defenders-powering-climate-justice.

[107] Barchart. "Morgan Stanley, Citi and Bank of America Exit Net Zero Alliance: What's Next for Sustainable Finance?" January 3, 2025, https://carboncredits.com/morgan-stanley-citi-and-bank-of-america-exit-net-zero-alliance-whats-next-for-sustainable-finance/ ESG News. "UN-Backed Net-Zero Banking Alliance Dissolves as Global Banks Retreat from Climate Commitments." October 3, 2025, https://esgnews.com/un-backed-net-zero-banking-alliance-dissolves-as-global-banks-retreat-from-climate-commitments/.

[108] M. Grynbaum et al., "How a Conservative Activist's Crusade Led to Claudine Gay's Resignation," *Politico,* January 3, 2024, https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2024/01/03/christopher-rufo-claudine-gay-harvard-resignation-00133618.

[109] Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law, "Impact of Executive Order Imposing Restrictions on Transgender Students in K–12 Schools," February 6, 2025, https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/publications/dei-schools-eo-impact/.

[110] Educators for Excellence, "What Federal Changes Mean for Your Classroom," January 20, 2026, https://e4e.org/federal-updates/.

[111] Aiza Moraña, "US Schools Face New Trump Warning as Transgender Guidance to Children Is Branded 'Child Abuse,'" *IBTimes UK,* August 24, *2026,* https://www.ibtimes.co.uk/trump-administration-targets-schools-transgender-guidance-1816009.

[112] "US House Passes Sweeping 'Gender Ideology' Bill Aimed at Trans Kids in Schools," News From The States, May 20, 2026, https://www.newsfromthestates.com/article/us-house-passes-sweeping-gender-ideology-bill-aimed-trans-kids-schools; Office of U.S. Senator Mike Crapo, "Crapo, Risch Introduce Bill to Ban Radical Gender Ideology in Schools," press release, July 10, 2025, https://www.crapo.senate.gov/media/newsreleases/crapo-risch-introduce-bill-to-ban-radical-gender-ideology-in-schools.

[113] S. Vrankovich et al., "Sexuality Education in an Age of Resistance: Reflections at the Nexus of Education, Health and Rights," *Health Education Journal,* April 6, 2026, https://doi.org/10.1177/00178969261436255.

[114] M. Fairbanks and N. Umar, "The Fight for Facts: Defending Access to Comprehensive Sex Education from the Anti-Abortion Agenda," Guttmacher Institute and SIECUS, March 2, 2026, https://www.guttmacher.org/2026/03/fight-facts-defending-access-comprehensive-sex-education-anti-abortion-agenda.

[115] Security Council Report, "Women, Peace and Security," June 2026 Monthly Forecast, https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/monthly-forecast/2026-06/women-peace-and-security-20.php.

[116] Security Council Report, "Women, Peace and Security."

[117] Aiko Holvikivi, "The Institutional Politics of WPS: Three Lessons on Resistance from Feminist Pedagogy," in *Backlash Against the Women, Peace and Security Agenda,* ed. Annika Björkdahl, Jenny Lorentzen, and Inger Skjelsbæk, Norm Research in International Relations (Cham: Springer, 2026), 151–66, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-032-10853-1_9.

[118] K. Asoka, "Statement at the UN Security Council Open Debate on Women, Peace and Security," NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, June 2026, https://www.womenpeacesecurity.org/resource/statement-unsc-wps-open-debate-june-2026/.

[119] CIVICUS, "Global Elites Threaten Democracy, but a New Generation Is Fighting Back," press release, March 12, 2026, https://www.civicus.org/index.php/media-resources/news/8163-global-elites-threaten-democracy-but-a-new-generation-is-fighting-back.

[120] R. Holmes, "Feminist Responses to the Growing Anti-Rights Movement at the UN," IPI Global Observatory, October 23, 2024, https://theglobalobservatory.org/2024/10/feminist-responses-to-the-growing-anti-rights-movement-at-the-un/.

[121] Amnesty International, *Humanity Must Win: And It Does When We Stand Together for Gender Justice,* Index: ACT 30/0678/2026 (London: Amnesty International, March 2026), https://www.amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2026/03/ACT3006782026ENGLISH.pdf.

[122] "What Orban's Loss Means for Far-Right Movements around the World," NPR, April 15, 2026, https://www.npr.org/2026/04/15/nx-s1-5784012/what-orbans-loss-means-for-far-right-movements-around-the-world.

[123] "A Youth-Led Campaign Claims a Win for Climate Justice," Inside Climate News, May 22, 2026, https://insideclimatenews.org/news/22052026/un-reinforces-youth-led-climate-campaign/.

[124] Ipas, *Mission Creep: Expanding Attacks on Gender Threaten the United Nations* (2024), https://www.ipas.org/resource/mission-creep-expanding-attacks-on-gender-threaten-the-united-nations/.

[125] R. Holmes, Feminist Responses to *"Norm-Spoiling" at the United Nations,* ODI Briefing Note (ODI, 2024), https://media.odi.org/documents/ODI-FeministResponseNormSpoiling-Briefingnote_Final_Z2fwTg4.pdf.

[126] Center for Reproductive Rights, "Latin America's Green Wave," 2023, https://reproductiverights.org/latin-america-green-wave/.

[127] La Moncloa, "Ana Redondo Highlights Spain's Leadership in Feminist Policies at CSW Ministerial Debate in New York," March 11, 2025, https://www.lamoncloa.gob.es/lang/en/gobierno/news/Paginas/2025/20250311-69th-csw-feminist-policies.aspx.

[128] Ipas, *The Geneva Consensus Declaration in Action: Why Advocates and Policymakers Should Be Concerned, and What Can Be Done* (Ipas, 2024), https://www.ipas.org/resource/the-geneva-consensus-declaration-in-action/.

[129] G. Mumford, "*Rafiki* Review: Groundbreaking Lesbian Romance Aims to Change Kenyan Hearts and Minds," Guardian, May 9, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/film/2018/may/09/rafiki-review-sweet-lesbian-romance-aims-to-change-kenyan-hearts-and-minds-cannes.

[130] Plan International Australia, *Gender Compass: Moving the Middle; A Guide for Communicating about Gender Equality* (Melbourne: Plan International Australia, April 2025), https://www.plan.org.au/our-work/gender-compass/.

[131] AmplifyChange, "Advocacy, Faith, and SRHR: Civil Society Strategies across the Globe," accessed October 6, 2025, https://amplifychange-advocacy-faith-srhr.webflow.io/.

[132] Rutgers International, *Dealing with the Anti-Rights Movement in International Spaces: Tips and Tricks for Advocates* (2023), https://rutgers.international/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/Rutgers-toolkit-Dealing-with-anti-rights-movement-in-international-spaces.pdf.

[133] Shameem, *Rights at Risk*.

[134] P. Shifman et al., *Lighting the Way: A Report for Philanthropy on the Power and Promise of Feminist Movements* (Bridgespan Group, 2022), https://www.bridgespan.org/insights/philanthropy-and-feminist-movements.

[135] Urgent Action Fund for Feminist Activism, "Philanthropy, We're Calling on You: Fund Feminist Activism Now," May 8, 2024, https://urgentactionfund.org/2024/05/08/philanthropy-were-calling-on-you-fund-feminist-activism-now/.

[136] "Giving for Reproductive Health, Rights and Justice," *Inside Philanthropy,* June 15, 2023, https://www.insidephilanthropy.com/state-of-american-philanthropy-pdfs/giving-for-reproductive-health-rights-and-justice.

[137] UN Women, "Women's Rights in 2025: Hope, Resilience, and the Fight against Backlash," feature story, February 18, 2025, https://www.unwomen.org/en/news-stories/feature-story/2025/02/womens-rights-in-2025-hope-resilience-and-the-fight-against-backlash.