



Demonstration against abortion "Cada vida importa" in Madrid, Spain. GuidoB, CC-BY-SA-3.0, Wikimedia Commons

Executive Summary

# **THE SPANISH FAR RIGHT ON THE GLOBAL STAGE:**

## **Opposition To Sexual And Reproductive Rights**

**Case studies of Argentina, Guatemala,  
El Salvador, Chile and Kenya**



**L'ASSOCIACIÓ  
DRETS SEXUALS  
I REPRODUCTIUS**

**This document is the executive summary of the research “The Spanish far right on the global stage: opposition to sexual and reproductive rights Case studies of Argentina, Guatemala, El Salvador, Chile and Kenya” (L’Associació de Drets Sexuals i Reproductius, 2025).**

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

- 1.** Introduction..... 4
- 2.** From Catholic integralism to the culture war: the Spanish testing ground... 6
- 3.** Libertarians, conservatives and nationalists: building Argentina’s far right in Spain's image..... 9
- 4.** From Pinochet to Kast: Spanish connections to the Chilean far right..... 11
- 5.** Democratic erosion through an anti-gender lens: the influence of Spanish conservative actors in Guatemala ..... 14
- 6.** Before Bukele: the fight against abortion rights in El Salvador ..... 18
- 7.** Going beyond Washington: The Spanish far right in Africa. The case of Kenya ..... 20
- 8.** Recommendations and proposals ..... 22
- 9.** Acknowledgments ..... 25

# Introduction

**Sonia Corrêa and  
Juan Elman**



*This study, which was conducted by L'Associació de Drets Sexuals i Reproductius, analyses the role Spain plays in spreading anti-gender policies and narratives around the world. The document shows how several ultraconservative Spanish actors have put in place transnational strategies with an impact on Latin America and Africa, contributing to the growth of the far right and helping to block sexual and reproductive rights.*

HazteOír.org participates in the #Caravana23M with the vehicles #GobiernoDimisión. CC-BY-SA-2.0. HazteOír.org. Wikimedia Commons.

- The study was put together by journalists, academics and activists, with an interdisciplinary perspective. The research focused on how Spanish actors have created networks and narratives to stop advances in sexual and reproductive rights.
- Key players in Spain
  - ▶ Opus Dei: a religious institution with an impressive capacity to influence elites and academics.
  - ▶ Hazte Oír and CitizenGO: platforms that mobilise the public and encourage cultural unrest, with an international impact.
  - ▶ Political Network for Values (PNfV): a transnational network that brings together ultraconservative politicians and intellectuals.
  - ▶ Vox: a political party founded in 2013 that has consolidated its international strategy through Fundación Disenso and the idea of the 'Iberosphere'.
- The concept of 'gender ideology' as a talking point arose from Vatican and Catholic intellectuals in the '80s and '90s. In Spain, the term was first used in 2001. The idea consolidated as an accusatory label to discredit feminism, LGBTBIQ+ rights and sex education and is used as a dog whistle for the far right on a global scale.

## NATIONAL CONTEXTS UNDER ANALYSIS

- Spain: the continuation of the Franco regime and the rise of Vox.
- Argentina: significant influence of Spanish actors in the debates surrounding abortion and in the rise of Milei.
- Chile: connection between Pinochetism, Kast and networks like PNfV.
- El Salvador and Guatemala: anti-gender strategies led by the Church and the political elite, with support from Spanish actors.
- Kenya: the recent expansion of Opus Dei, CitizenGO and PNfV has turned the country into an African node of the anti-gender offensive.
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## SHARED CHARACTERISTICS

- Transnational network of the Spanish far right:
  - ▶ Key players: Opus Dei, Hazte Oír, CitizenGO, PNfV and Vox.
  - ▶ Impact: this is not only an internal phenomenon, but a transnational one that stretches its influence across public, legislative and cultural agendas in Latin America and Africa.
  - ▶ Strategy: a combination of political, religious, ideological and economic projects with globally coordinated tactics.
- The offensive is characterised by:
  - ▶ Introducing anti-gender discourses adapted to local contexts.
  - ▶ Forging alliances with political, media and religious actors to legitimise and appropriate institutional spaces.
- ▶ Using online media and communications to spread disinformation and hate speech against feminists and members of the LGBTQI+ community.
- ▶ They exploit existing political and cultural tensions, as well as colonial legacies.
- Structural impact:
  - ▶ They attack equality, autonomy and social justice.
  - ▶ They aim to reinstate hierarchies of gender, sexuality, race and class.
  - ▶ Gender and body self-determination become tools for political mobilisation.

## GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

- The anti-gender offensive is not just a reaction, but a long-term power project.
- Spain is a key transnational hub: it exports discourse, and is transforming itself through global connections.
- The synergy between religious, political and cultural actors has been decisive for the growth of the far right.
- The movement's expansion into Africa shows the geopolitical ambition beyond the Ibersphere.



Celebration after victory of the No in the 1988 plebiscite. Felipe Antonio Valdés, Creative Commons License. Wikimedia Commons.

# From Catholic integralism to the culture war: the Spanish testing ground

**Miquel Ramos**



*The case of Spain is unique in the global rise of the far right, as it acts as a **central hub and a bridge between Europe and Latin America**, playing a prominent role in the origin and expansion of organisations that are leading the offensive against sexual and reproductive rights. The legacy of Francoism, an alliance with Catholic fundamentalism and the emergence of Vox have all been decisive in this process.*



A demonstration in favor of abortion in Oviedo in 1985. Archivo Histórico Provincial.

➤ Dictatorship (1939-1978): model based on fundamentalist Catholicism and institutional misogyny. The Women's Section of the Spanish Falange and other organisations constructed the ideal of a submissive and domestic woman. This legacy is still present in institutions such as the judiciary, the army and the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

## OPUS DEI AND TRANSNATIONAL EXPANSION

➤ Origin: founded in 1928, Opus Dei grew under Francoism and expanded internationally from the 1940s.

➤ Influence: the prelature is heavily present among political, judicial and educational elites (e.g.: Universidad de Navarra).

➤ Strategy: selective elitism, attracting students from leading families to influence their careers.

➤ Currently: the Work continues to have an impact on the public sphere, although with less direct political weight.

## THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY AND ITS LIMITATIONS

➤ Franco's legacy and continued influence: the dictatorship and its structures (the Church, judiciary, army, education) left behind a model of misogyny, elitism and resistance to change, which remained untouched.

➤ Legal reforms and persistent influence: despite legal advances such as divorce (1981), abortion in certain circumstances (1985), and the partial decriminalization of homosexuality, institutions and the elite continued to exert a notable social and political weight.

## THE CONSOLIDATION OF DEMOCRACY AND ULTRA-CONSERVATIVE REACTION

- Government and international influence: during Aznar's administration (1996-2004) alliances were established with Bush and Latin American right-wingers, creating networks of power that endure today.
- Social reforms and conservative reaction: Zapatero's administration (2004-2011) passed laws on same-sex marriage and made reforms on abortion law, provoking massive mobilization by the Church and organisations such as Foro de la Familia.

## HAZTE OÍR AND CITIZENGO

- Actors and networks: Hazte Oír (2001) and CitizenGO (2013) act as the drivers behind online action and cultural mobilisation, with their roots in transnational networks such as El Yunque and The Phoenix Institute.
- Global strategies and influence: iconic media campaigns (orange bus, signatures), controversial funding (business donations, state support and connections to Russian oligarchs) and a significant impact in Latin America and the US, participating in summits such as the World Congress of Families (WCF) and the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC).
- Ultra-conservative actors and networks: Abogados Cristianos (2008) carry out litigation and defend Francoist symbols; Fundación NEOS acts as a meeting point between PP, Vox and ultra-catholic entities; Political Network for Values (PNFV) (2014) connects conservative politicians and intellectuals from across Europe and Latin America.
- Strategies and global impact: organising international forums, running campaigns against abortion, euthanasia, sex education and LGBTQI rights. Key figures include Ignacio Arsuaga, José Antonio Kast, Katalin Novák and Brian Brown.

## CAMPAIGNS AGAINST RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

- Against abortion rights:
  - ▶ In 2016, the Fundación Española de Abogados Cristianos managed to withdraw the status of 'public utility' from the Federación de Planificación Familiar Estatal (FPFE).
  - ▶ Derecho a Vivir and Hazte Oír encouraged harassment in front of clinics that offer voluntary interruption of pregnancy, with prayers and direct pressure on women.
  - ▶ In 2016, Hazte Oír launched 'Ambulancia Vida', a van that would park in front of clinics to offer voluntary interruption of pregnancy, "inviting" women to have ultrasounds to hear the foetus' heartbeat and reflect on their decision.
  - ▶ Despite the 2022 law criminalising harassment, centres like Refugio ProVida continue to open.
  - ▶ CitizenGO has used aggressive campaign tactics, such as sending a bloody plastic foetus to MEPs.
- Against trans people:
  - ▶ Hazte Oír international transphobic bus campaign (2017): "Boys have penises, girls have vulvas." New York (UN), Mexico, Chile, Colombia, and then Kenya.
  - ▶ Rejecting autonomous community laws on LGTBI and gender (Madrid, 2016).
  - ▶ Occasional complicity with sectors of trans-exclusionary feminism (e.g. Lidia Falcón).
- Against sex education:
  - ▶ Rejection of secular and egalitarian education: opposition to the school subject Citizenship Education, and opposition to equality laws. Complaints about LGBTQI+ materials have been filed by Hazte Oír and Abogados Cristianos.
  - ▶ Impact and deterrent: ruling in Castellón (2021) forcing the withdrawal of LGBTQI+ books. Although many complaints are thrown out, they still have an impact on schools and administrations.
- Conversion therapy:
  - ▶ Persistence of conversion therapy: pseudoscientific practices endorsed by ecclesiastical sectors (Courage International, Autem, Verdad y Libertad) continue to operate in Spain, despite legal prohibitions and recent complaints (Valencia 2024; January 2025, 7 dioceses).
  - ▶ Inaction and political debate: substantial economic sanctions have not been applied (€10,001 to €150,000), and the PSOE refused to criminalise conversion therapy during the process of enacting the Trans Law, despite being featured in the 2023 electoral programme.

## THE ARRIVAL OF VOX

- Origin and connections: founded in 2013 by former members of the PP (Vidal-Quadras, Abascal). In its early days, the party was linked to Hazte Oír; in 2013, Santiago Abascal received the award that the organization gave to figures aligned with its ideology.
- Electoral rise: remained a marginal party until 2018; 2018 Andalusia elections (11% of the votes); 2019 general election (24 seats in April, 52 in November).
- Discourse and strategy: combines classic elements of the European far right (immigration, nationalism) with opposition to gender rights and feminism. Include the so-called 'parental pin' measure to allow parents to veto certain content for their children (2018), which was supported by Hazte Oír.
- Specific proposals and actions: The 2023 programme includes the repeal of laws on gender violence, abortion and euthanasia, the elimination of the Ministry of Equality; as well as coercive measures such as mandatory ultrasounds and rejection of the Trans Law, forming alliances with trans-exclusionary feminists.

## INTERNATIONAL CONNECTIONS

- Think tanks and media tools: Fundación Disenso (Vox) promotes the concept of the 'Iberosphere' and the culture war, receiving public funding (more than €7 million) and support from far-right figures (Bolsonaro, Milei, The Heritage Foundation). The foundation owns La Gaceta de la Iberosfera, which is used as a means of online propaganda.
- International networks and summits: Foro Madrid (2020) and the Madrid Charter promote a radical right-wing network in Spain, Latin America and the US, with summits in Bogotá (2022), Lima (2023), Buenos Aires (2024) and Asunción (2025), to expand ideological influence and combat progressive governments.
- Spain as an international epicentre: Madrid 2024 (6th Transatlantic Summit of the Political Network for Values) and other international conferences (Make Europe Great Again, 2025) confirm Spain's role as a host country and key node for the global far right, promoting conservative ideology and ultraconservative religious belief.
- Topics and participants: subject matter included classroom indoctrination, 'gender ideology', progressivism, LGBTQI lobbying and feminism. International figures such as Donald Trump, Marine Le Pen, Viktor Orbán, Javier Milei and Lucy Akello were in attendance, as well as representatives of global networks such as The Heritage Foundation and Family Watch International.

## CONCLUSIONS

- Anti-gender campaigns in Spain show a strategy of sustained cultural attrition: judicialisation, street harassment, mass propaganda and internationalisation.
- Vox has institutionalised these battles, bringing them to the legislative and governmental arena.
- Spain has become a transnational epicentre: it not only receives ideas, but exports them to Latin America and Europe.
- Catholic Nationalism, the unfinished transition to democracy, and the alliances with Catholic fundamentalism explain the strength and power of reactionary civil society.
- The culture war brings together multiple axes (gender, LGTBQI+, anti-racism, historical memory), shaping a far-right global political project.



Franco with his wife Doña Carmen Polo (on the right), on the left his successor, Prince Juan Carlos with Sofia of Greece. Fotograaf Onbekend / Anefo. Creative Commons License. Wikimedia Commons.

# Libertarians, conservatives and nationalists: building Argentina's far right in Spain's image

**Juan Elman and  
Giselle Leclercq**

*On 10 December, 2023, Javier Milei took on the presidency of Argentina with support from international far right figures such as Viktor Orbán, Santiago Abascal, Jair Bolsonaro and José Antonio Kast. His government combines economic deregulation with social conservatism and has been emboldened by Donald Trump's example. Milei's rise reflects economic and social factors and the transformation of the Argentine right wing, which has spent a decade honing new strategies involving local and transnational actors, especially from Spain and the US. The arrival in Argentina of organisations such as Vox (2019) and Hazte Oír (2010) have helped to consolidate this coordination, and the debate on the legalisation of abortion in 2018 acted as a catalyst for the young, tactical leadership that underpins Milei's political strategy today.*



Repression in Argentina. Hernán Vitenberg, CC BY-NC 4.0. Emergentes. Koeyu Digital.

## THE ARRIVAL OF HAZTE OÍR AND CITIZENGO

- Hazte Oír made its entrance in Argentina in 2010 with a youthful aesthetic ('celebrate life'), participating in marches and protests during the debate on same-sex marriage.
- Digitisation and local alliances: CitizenGO (2013) mobilises online activism and connects with groups such as Argentinos Alerta, focusing on the fight against abortion, sex education and the right to die with dignity, questioning legal protocols.
- Limited influence: their impact was restricted by the centre-left government of Cristina Fernández and by the more social teachings of Pope Francis, elected in 2013, who maintained a moderate but traditional position.

## POLITICAL STRATEGY

- Networks and think tanks: connections with the Atlas Network and the Acton Institute (US), and links to Spain through pro-life congresses (2003, Madrid) and Acción Mundial de Parlamentarios y Gobernantes por la Vida y la Familia (2007–2011).
- Key figures and political influence: Liliana Negre (senator) linked to Universidad Austral and conservative parliamentary networks.
- Strategies against sexual rights: initiatives against sex education have been carried out since 2006, forming the basis of future campaigns such as 'Con Mis Hijos No Te Metas'

## THE ABORTION DEBATE (2018–2020)

- Conservative mobilisation: the abortion debate (2018–2020) brought together the Argentine right wing and federal organisations (Unidad Provida), new leaders and mass campaigns (#Salvemos-LasDosVidas (Let's save both lives), gathering signatures and drumming up media and legislative pressure.
- Internationalisation and consolidation of networks: figures such as Agustín Laje established connections with Vox in Spain, expanding ultraconservative influence and laying the foundations for the rise of the far right in the country, despite the eventual legalisation of abortion in 2020.

## THE CASE OF FRENTE JOVEN

- Youth training and strategy: Frente Joven (2010) encourages youth leadership from religious activists with a focus on young and female spokespersons, such as María Emilce Olazábal and Guadalupe Battalán. The group has a combative aesthetic, without religious references and with symbols such as the sky-blue scarf—in contrast to the green scarf used to symbolise support for the Abortion Law—, combining local action in San Miguel with international participation in human rights areas.
- Transnational support and alliances: alliances with local politicians, the presence of Opus Dei, cultural media (Faro Films) and logistical and training support from Spanish organisations such as Vox and El Club de los Viernes

## ORIGINS OF THE FAR-RIGHT MOVEMENT

- Catalyst and ideological leanings: opposition to the Abortion Law led to the creation of Frente NOS (2019), an organisation with a pro-life, nationalist, conservative discourse that defends Christian values.
- Narrative leadership and impact: Led by José Gómez Centurión and Cynthia Hotton, the party appealed to supporters of the military and the Catholic Church. Despite limited election results, it established key narratives about gender ideology and foreign influence.

## THE RISE OF JAVIER MILEI

- Political ascent and ultraconservatism: Javier Milei, along with La Libertad Avanza, has become a representative of the Argentine far right, entering Congress in 2021 and winning the presidency in 2023, consolidating himself as a leader of ultraconservative policies in education, sexual and reproductive rights, and foreign policy.
- International influence: Milei's policy in Argentina reflects connections to the Spanish and US far right, including alignment with Washington, and a distance position from the World Health Organization on international issues such as the war in Ukraine.
- Institutional and legislative changes: the Ministry of Women, Gender and Diversity was eliminated; sex education and prevention programmes were cut; the rights of non-binary people were limited; and ultra-Catholic militants were placed in key positions in Education, Family, Foreign Affairs and the judiciary.
- Buenos Aires as a regional hub: the city has become a hub for the far right in Latin America, hosting events such as CPAC Argentina (2024) and including the participation of figures such as Lara Trump, Ben Shapiro, Agustín Laje and Santiago Abascal.

## CONCLUSIONS

- The consolidation of the far right in Argentina: until 2018 there was no strong national party, but the debate on abortion and the rise of feminism united the right-wing camp, creating new political and communication strategies that culminated in Javier Milei taking the presidency in 2023, and the far right occupying key positions in education, social policy and foreign affairs.
- Local and transnational factors: the far right combines local actors with international influences, but domestic economic and social factors, such as the crisis and pandemic, as well as the local context, were decisive for its success.

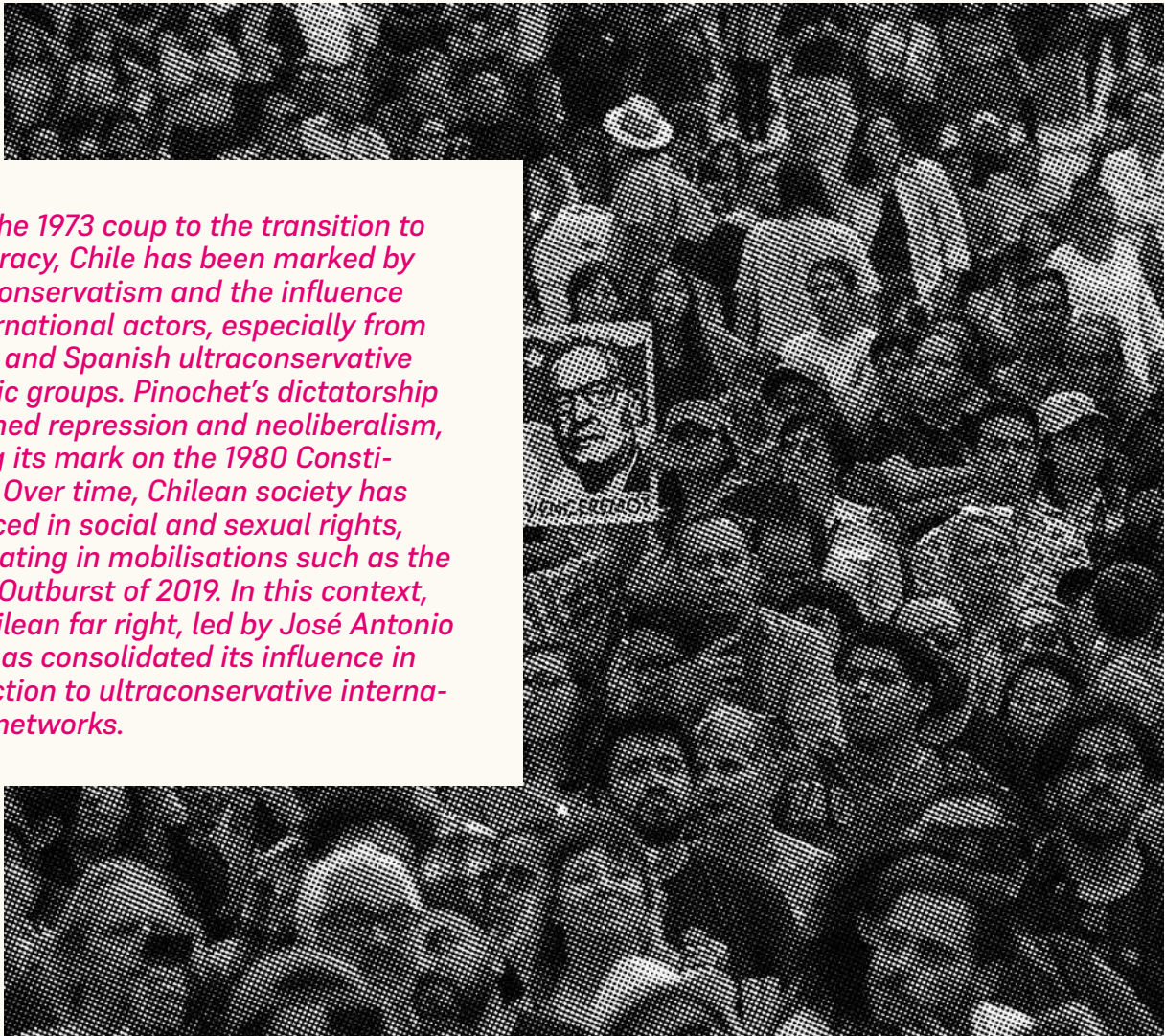


Demonstration in favor of the legalization of abortion in Argentina. Fotomovimiento, CC BY-NC-ND 2.0. Flickr

# From Pinochet to Kast: Spanish connections to the Chilean far right

**Jaime Barrientos D. and  
Tomás Ojeda**

*From the 1973 coup to the transition to democracy, Chile has been marked by deep conservatism and the influence of international actors, especially from the US and Spanish ultraconservative Catholic groups. Pinochet's dictatorship combined repression and neoliberalism, leaving its mark on the 1980 Constitution. Over time, Chilean society has advanced in social and sexual rights, culminating in mobilisations such as the Social Outburst of 2019. In this context, the Chilean far right, led by José Antonio Kast, has consolidated its influence in connection to ultraconservative international networks.*



Commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the coup d'état in Chile. Secretaría de cultura de la Ciudad de México, CC BY-SA 2.0. Flickr

## JAIME GUZMÁN AND HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH MOST CONSERVATIVE BRANCH OF CATHOLICISM

- Jaime Guzmán and Gremialismo: Guzmán, a leading figure in Gremialismo and founder of the Unión Demócrata Independiente (UDI), brought together ultraconservative Catholic conservatism aligned with Opus Dei, educating leaders such as José Antonio Kast and Joaquín Lavín, and leaving a lasting influence on institutions such as the Universidad de los Andes.
- Transition and continuity: despite the 1988 plebiscite and the beginnings of democracy in 1990 with the Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia, the legacy of Pinochet's dictatorship and authoritarianism remained present, while generational changes and the weakening of the Church favoured a more gradual social modernisation.

## THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND GENDER AND SEXUALITY POLICY

- Influence of the Church and curbs on rights: during the dictatorship, ultraconservative sectors of the Church supported the regime and curbed sexual, reproductive and LGBTQI+ rights, and even divorce was only legalised in 2004. However, other sectors of the Church protected victims.
- Weakening influence and reforms: abuse scandals (2003-2018) undermined the credibility of the Church, allowing progressive legislative advances, including the decriminalisation of sodomy (1999), anti-discrimination (2012), civil union (2015), abortion on three grounds (2017), gender identity (2018), same-sex marriage (2021) and gender violence (2024).

## THE “BOTTOM-UP” STRUGGLE

- Progressive movements: between 2006 and 2011, student and feminist movements promoted social change and raised awareness of gender inequality and sexuality inequality.
- Ultraconservative reaction: the far right, with links to Spain, reacted by accusing them of ‘gender ideology’ and organising protests against educational and social reforms starting in 2017.

## FROM THE SOCIAL OUTBURST TO THE CONSERVATIVE RESTORATION OF JOSE ANTONIO KAST

- Social uprising and constituent process: the Social Outburst of 2019 brought feminism and LGBTQI+ rights to the forefront, promoting a constituent process with gender parity and indigenous representation, which culminated in a plebiscite in 2022 that was rejected by 62% of voters.
- Conservative revival: José Antonio Kast and the Republican Party capitalised on the rejection of the new constitutional text, opposing feminist rights and taking advantage of the political change following on from the arrival of Gabriel Boric to consolidate the presence of the far right in Chile.

## KAST, THE HEIR OF PINOCHETISM, AND GUZMÁN, ANOINTED BY PNFV

- The rise and consolidation of Kast: José Antonio Kast, with links to UDI and international ultraconservative networks, created a space within the Chilean far right in 2016 and began to lead the PNFV network in 2022, reinforcing its international reach.
- Global agenda and international connections: political action that combines opposition to abortion, the defence of the traditional family, and coordination with the global far right, including alliances with Vox and participation in events such as the Summit of the Americas (2017).

## THE PRESIDENCY OF PNFV (2015-2024)

- Kast’s international leadership: José Antonio Kast has been involved in PNFV since 2015 and became president in 2022. During his tenure he led international summits (UN 2023, Spanish Senate 2024) to expand the ideas of the far right and religious groups around the world. Featured attendees: Jaime Mayor Oreja (Spain), Nahuel Sotelo (Argentina), Paola Holguín (Colombia), Margarita de la Piza (EU), Rogelio Genao (Dominican Republic), Rodrigo Iván Cortés (Mexico).
- Agenda, alliances and controversy: activities include challenging European consensus on abortion, bringing together leading figures from the far right (Spain, Argentina, Colombia, Mexico) and sparking controversy through the participation of politicians such as Peter Kaluma. The Chilean press has given little coverage to the level of international influence.

## KAST AND THE SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESS

- The second constitutional process and conservative consolidation: after the proposed Constitution was rejected in 2022, the second constitutional process featured more prominence from certain parties; Kast’s Partido Republicano became the most voted power in the Council (May 2023), pushing for a text featuring the “right to life” and educational rights for parents, without seeking consensus.
- Results and internal division: the text was rejected in December 2023 by 55.75%, as the public perceived it as too conservative; this was a political setback for Kast, and caused an internal division that led to the formation of a more radical current led by Johannes Kaiser, leaving the far right growing but divided.

## 2025 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS: CONTEXT AND CANDIDATES

- Context for the 2025 elections: Boric's government has been worn down by lack of public safety, drug trafficking, migration and xenophobia; compulsory voting introduces 5 million new voters, mainly young and abstaining voters, with more conservative views on gender, immigration and security.
- Candidates and profile: Evelyn Matthei (Vamos por Chile) has low support; José Antonio Kast (Partido Republicano) gives a strong-hand speech and proposes "Chile Renace"; Johannes Kaiser (Partido Nacional Libertario) has split from Kast, and has a libertarian and anti-political profile, sharing conservative positions on gender and diversity.

## THINK TANKS AND CULTURAL BATTLE

- Main think tanks: Fundación para el Progreso (FPP) led by Axel Kaiser, Instituto de Estudios de la Sociedad (IES) with ties to Catholicism, and Kast's Ideas Republicanas; all develop a conservative and anti-'woke culture' discourse.
- Role and shared agenda: ideologically nurturing the right and the far right, promoting the traditional family, opposition to abortion and gender rights, inspired by international examples such as Orbán.

## A PROFILE OF JOHANNES KAISER

- Kaiser's strategy and profile: founder of the Partido Nacional Libertario after breaking away from Kast in 2024, he has a YouTube channel (*El Nacional-Libertario*), and is known for stirring controversy with sexist and xenophobic statements.
- Relationship with Kast and electoral projection: despite the split, they continued to collaborate for the 2025 legislative elections; polls show that Kast is ahead, but Kaiser could end up supporting him, backing the far-right strategy.

## ANTI-TRANS OFFENSIVE (2022-2025)

- Anti-trans offensive and alliances: between 2022 and 2025, the anti-trans camp in Chile was reactivated, bringing together conservative think tanks, parent groups, trans-exclusionary feminists and progressive sectors, all with an international influence (Hazte Oír, the Trump administration, Cass Report), to attack the Gender Identity Law and the Gender Identity Support Programme (PAIG for its acronym in Spanish).
- Political action and disinformation: parliamentary initiatives and health memos that restrict hormonal treatments; media campaigns that associate gender identity with contagion or risks; the creation of the Special Investigative Commission (CEI-57) and cuts to the PAIG budget, stirring moral panic in an electoral context and legitimising potentially drastic restrictions.

## CONCLUSIONS

- Political and social context: Since 2019, Chile has experienced mass protests, gone through a pandemic, and held two failed constitutional processes, all resulting in a climate mistrust and apathy; public safety is a key concern, while gender and sexual rights have become a central issue for political debate. The far right reacts in response to the growth of feminism and the LGBTQI+ movement.
- Differences with Spain: Vox has failed to grow beyond its loyal core; instead, Kast aims to win the presidency by seeking support from a wider majority. The 2025 elections will be decisive: voting will be compulsory and millions of new voters will head to the polls against a backdrop of apathy and fear.
- The rise of the far right: the Chilean right, led by Kast, has revived Pinochet's legacy with speeches against immigration, the gender agenda and trans people; with connections to Spain and conservative influences, the right seeks to expand support beyond loyal core supporters, with the 2025 elections and mandatory vote increasing its chances of power. These ideas are not only far-right: they are also repeated by some sectors in the centre, on the left, and international public figures.

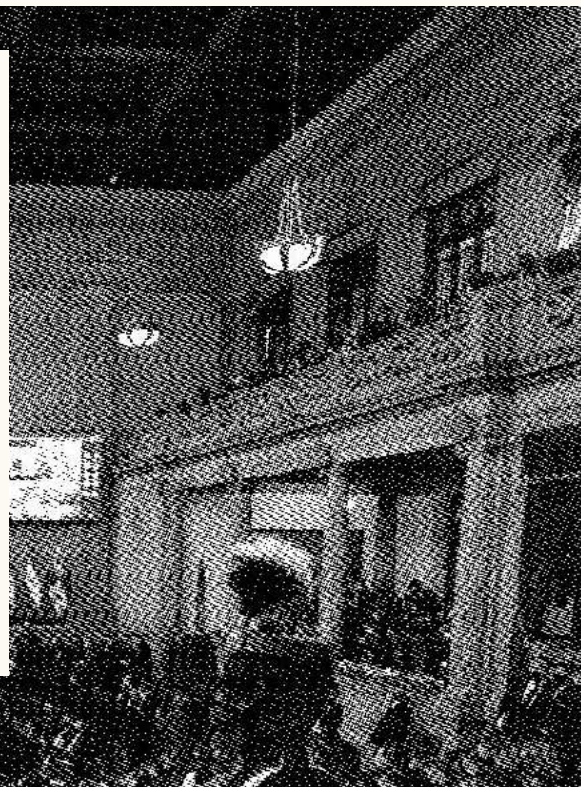


Coup d'état of September 11, 1973 in Chile. Bombing of La Moneda Palace (government palace). Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile, CC-BY-3.0-CL. Wikimedia Commons.

# Democratic erosion through an anti-gender lens: the influence of Spanish conservative actors in Guatemala

**Natalia Marsicovetere  
and Tristán López**

*Over the last 10 years, Guatemala has experienced significant political and social upheaval, marked by the struggle for power between different economic and political elites and citizen resistance to corruption. The country has become a testing ground for anti-gender policies, in which international actors have tested strategies that are then exported elsewhere. In Guatemala, these groups connect with local elites linked to corruption, and manage to transform ideology into public policy and state projects. They use seemingly neutral discourses (secular, economic, social) to give their groups a more modern image, although their goal is to restrict rights.*



Solemn session Congreso de la República Bicentenario, Guatemala. Gobierno de Guatemala. 14/09/2021. Creative Commons Public Domain Mark.

## CREOLE NATIONALISM IN GUATEMALA

- Creole nationalism and family power: the Arzú family, with roots in the Basque country and alleged ties to Opus Dei, has controlled historical positions and the municipality of Guatemala through the Partido Unionista (under the motto: “God, Homeland and Freedom”), while Creole nationalism upholds white supremacy and indigenous exploitation, justifying its power through conservative liberal ideology.
- Democratic transition and the fight against impunity: the Peace Accords (1996) ended 36 years of conflict and introduced a human rights framework.
- Despite this, illegal groups within the State continued to operate, and they were later confronted by the International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG), which started transitional justice processes such as the Guatemalan genocide trial (2013).
- The ‘La Linea’ case and strengthening civil society: in 2015, customs corruption was revealed with links to the ruling party, resulting in resignations and preventive imprisonment, mobilising the urban population and consolidating a second democratising process within the existing formal democracy.

## DISCOVERIES: GUATEMALA AS A CONSERVATIVE AND ANTI-GENDER TESTING GROUND

- Conservative reaction to the CICIG: the Commission exposed networks of corruption within the political, military and economic elite, but conservative groups diverted attention away from the scandal with a narrative around 'defence of life and family' to weaken the anti-corruption struggle.
- Political and institutional actions: President Jimmy Morales (2016-2020), who was involved in illegal electoral financing, expelled the CICIG in order to defend 'national sovereignty' and family values. He backed Bill 5272 and the Frente Parlamentario en Defensa de la Vida y la Familia to institutionalise the anti-gender agenda.
- Economic support and lobbying: entrepreneurs from the Coordinating Committee of Agricultural, Commercial, Industrial and Financial Associations (CACIF for its acronym in Spanish) and lobbyists in the US worked together to expel the CICIG and strengthen the conservative agenda.

## ANTI-DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL

- Institutional crisis and authoritarianism in Guatemala: during Giammattei's presidency (2020-2024), justice deteriorates, human rights institutions are dismantled, and anti-gender policies are put in place as part of the authoritarian project.
- International conservative networks grow stronger: this backdrop coincides with the rise of the far right in Latin America (Bolsonaro, Bukele), Europe (Orbán) and Spain (through Vox and Fundación Disenso and Foro Madrid), consolidating the far right's global connections.

## LIBERTARIAN CONSERVATISM AND SPANISH INFLUENCE

- The duality of conservatism in Guatemala: an ultraconservative religious sector—opposed to women's rights, LGBTQI+ rights and human rights—and a libertarian economic sector that defends private enterprise and opposes social and left-wing movements.
- Transnational connection and Spanish influence: the libertarian economic branch serves as a gateway to the Spanish far right (Vox, Fundación Disenso) and Ibero-American networks, with figures such as Dionisio Gutiérrez and the Movimiento Cívico Nacional promoting the narrative of the 'Ibero-sphere', linking the local oligarchy to international conservative organisations.

## ANTI-GENDER ACTORS IN GUATEMALA

- Main anti-gender actors: religious and civil groups such as the Episcopal Conference, Sí a la Vida and the Asociación la Familia Importa (AFI) oppose sexual, reproductive and LGBTQI+ rights under the rhetoric of 'gender ideology'.
- Strategies and influence: they adopt international models (the 'mirror strategy') and conduct legislative lobbying and litigation. With links to Opus Dei and US NGOs, AFI has been key in promoting restrictive laws on abortion and comprehensive sexual education.

## NUANCES BETWEEN CONSERVATIVE LIBERTARIAN AND RELIGIOUS YOUTH

- Training and youth networks: Universidad Francisco Marroquín acts as a hub for libertarian and conservative thought, training local leaders and connecting them with international networks such as Atlas Network, The Heritage Foundation, Vox and Fundación Disenso, with programmes such as Jóvenes Líderes de la Ibero-sfera.
- Ideological diversity among young people: figures like Gloria Álvarez advocate for social libertarianism (drug decriminalisation, abortion rights, equal marriage), while others such as Agustín Laje combine economic libertarianism with an anti-gender agenda. Both viewpoints interact at events, conferences, and viral debates, often supported by AFI and President Giammattei.



President of Guatemala in 2016, Jimmy Morales. Presidencia El Salvador. Creative Commons CC0 1.0 Universal Public Domain Dedication.

## THE GENEVA CONSENSUS: HOW GUATEMALA BECAME A PRO-LIFE TESTING GROUND

- Guatemala as a pro-life testing ground: under the Gi-mattatei administration, Guatemala joined the Geneva Consensus (2021). The Institute for Women's Health pushed the Geneva Consensus Declaration to ban abortion and promote the traditional family. Subsequently, anti-gender and pro-family policies were implemented, such as the Public Policy for the Protection of Life and the Family (effective 2021-2023), Bill 5940 to restrict the rights of transgender children and adolescents (2021), and the Law for the Protection of Life and the Family, along with institutional symbols such as monuments and official celebrations.
- Transnational coordination and exportation: the country acts as a pilot plan for projects like Protego, offering guides for children on abstinence and the traditional family, and establishes alliances with international organisations (AFI, PNFV, The Rawlings Foundation, Buckner International) seeking to replicate the model in other countries.

## CITIZENGO'S CONNECTIONS TO GUATEMALA

- Presence and action in Guatemala: Since 2021, CitizenGO has operated in an anti-gender political context, campaigning against sexual, reproductive and LGBTQI+ rights, including disinformation about Law 5452 and running multiple misleading petitions, using narratives related to "protecting life and the family".
- Strategy and manipulation: the organisation has supplanted identities, forged digital signatures, and exaggerated Guatemala's official support to legitimise its international agenda, although the Guatemalan government has denied any collaboration.

## GOVERNMENT TRANSITION: FORO MADRID AND ULTRA CONSERVATIVE CONTINUITY

- Ultraconservative continuity and anti-communist narrative: In Guatemala, the right associates social and feminist movements with communism, using this view to justify opposition to sexual, reproductive and LGBTQI+ rights.
- Foro Madrid and transnational influence: Fundación Disenso (2020) builds alliances with Guatemalan politicians and elites (Universidad Francisco Marroquín, CACIF, Movimiento Cívico Nacional), monitors elections, and promotes reports that identify adversaries as 'socialist risks', reinforcing international connections and positioning Guatemala as a conservative stronghold.

## SEMILLA'S "NEW SPRING"

- Unexpected rise and hopes for change: the Semilla party, founded by civil society, academics and independent politicians and led by Bernardo Arévalo, won the 2023 elections, creating the idea of a "new democratic spring" and promising to fight corruption and champion progressive measures.
- Limitations and resistance: despite its victory, as a small party without a congressional majority, Semilla was temporarily suspended before taking office and faced major difficulties in dismantling the established ultraconservative structures.



Solemn session Congreso de la República Bicentenario, Guatemala. Gobierno de Guatemala. 14/09/2021. Creative Commons Public Domain Mark.

## CONCLUSIONS

- In Guatemala, anti-gender actors are also anti-democratic actors linked to oligarchies and networks of corruption. During the governments of Morales (2016-2020) and Giammattei (2020-2023), democracy was increasingly eroded under an anti-gender narrative.
- Guatemala has an ultraconservative, monopolistic economic elite, a legacy of Creole nationalism and colonial ties. This elite finds affinity with the Spanish far right through the concept of the Iberosphere and an anti-communist rhetoric.
- The full range of ultraconservative actors:
  - ▶ Some focus on the anti-communist struggle (Foro Madrid, Vox, UFM).
  - ▶ Others focus on the anti-gender crusade (AFI, CitizenGO, IWH, The Heritage Foundation, PNFV).
- The Asociación la Familia Importa (AFI) presents itself as a “specialist” and “apolitical” organisation, while promoting an ultraconservative agenda. Many members are linked to Opus Dei and have influence in multilateral spaces: CIDH, OAS, CSW-UN.
- The role of Foro Madrid and Fundación Disenso: They come together to put forward a strong anti-communist discourse, though not always anti-gender. The UFM (Universidad Francisco Marroquín) acts as a key hub, exporting libertarian ideas and connecting with Vox and Disenso, a foundation that trains young conservative leaders. In Guatemala, the foundation operates through Movimiento Cívico Nacional, despite its weakness due to ties with corruption.
- Common strategy: corruption and anti-gender. The link between these actors and corrupt structures is one of their central motivations. The institutional progress achieved by the democratic transition (1996) and the CICIG (2008-2019) resulted in a shared backlash that turned justice and gender equality into “common enemies”.



This stamp commemorates the anti-communist counterrevolution; the popular revolution took place in 1944. Towiki60. CC-BY-SA-3.0. Wikicommons.

- Ultraconservative strategies have managed to erode democracy, institutionalising anti-gender policies and sustaining a cultural and economic hegemony at the service of the elites.

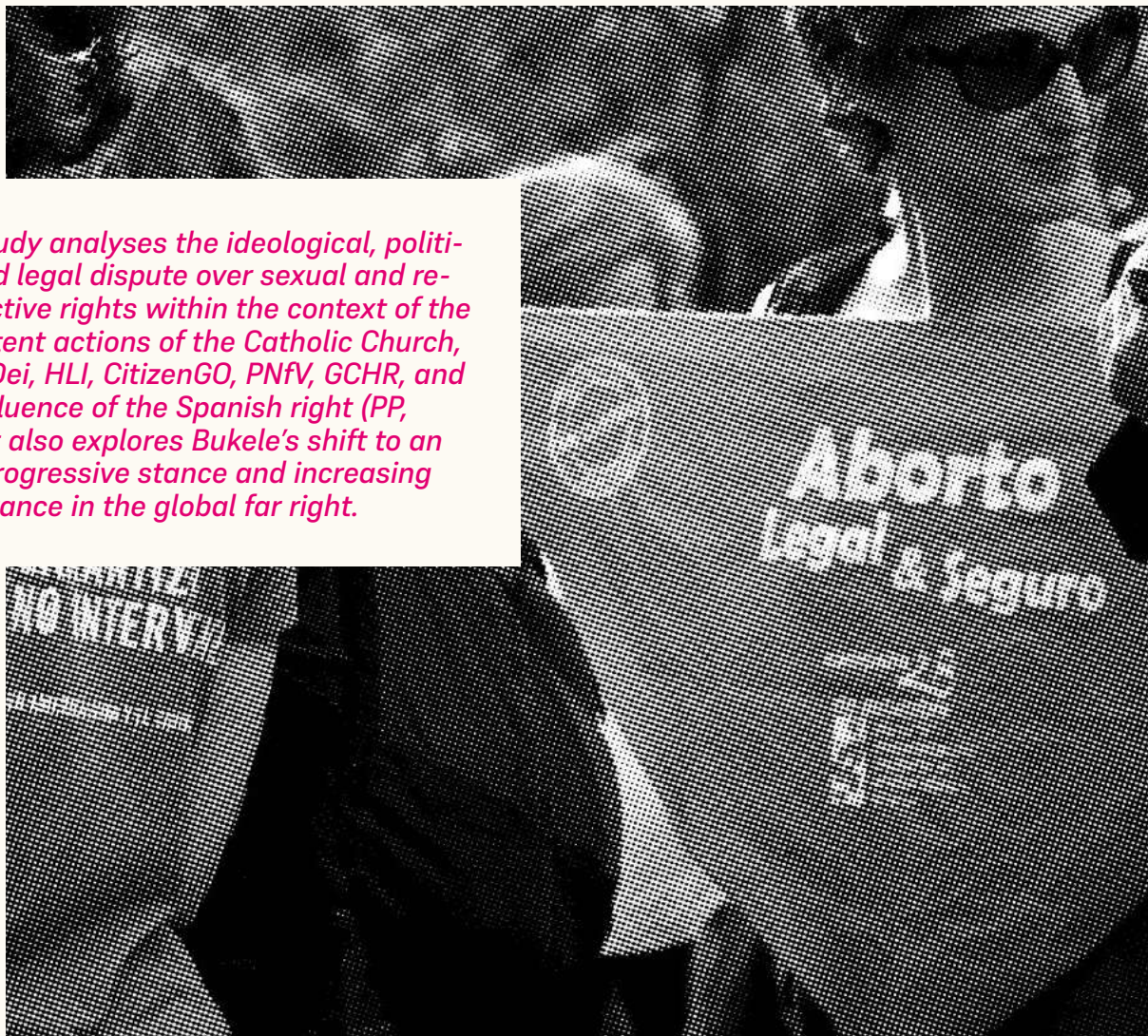


Ignacio Arsuaga, president of CitizenGo, at the World Congress of Families 2022. CitizenGo, CC-BY-2.0.

# Before Bukele: the fight against abortion rights in El Salvador

**Alberto Romero  
de Urbiztondo**

*The study analyses the ideological, political and legal dispute over sexual and reproductive rights within the context of the persistent actions of the Catholic Church, Opus Dei, HLI, CitizenGO, PNFV, GCHR, and the influence of the Spanish right (PP, Vox). It also explores Bukele's shift to an anti-progressive stance and increasing importance in the global far right.*



Demonstration at the Embassy of El Salvador in Mexico City in support of Beatriz Amnistía México, CC BY 2.0. Flickr.

## RELIGIOUS CONSERVATISM IN EL SALVADOR

- Historical religious conservatism: in El Salvador, the Catholic Church has historically controlled sexuality and reproduction, promoting anti-gender and anti-abortion positions with support from political actors such as ARENA and organisations such as Opus Dei. Cases such as the Beatriz Case (2013) exemplify this ongoing influence.
- Expansion and internationalisation: Evangelicalism has grown from representing 20% of the public in 1998 to 37% in 2025, and, together with Catholics, they coordinate ultraconservative international networks, such as the Ibero-American Congress for Life and Family and the Organisation of American States (OAS), bolstering narratives against so-called “gender ideology” and sexual and reproductive rights.

## ABORTION AS A BATTLEGROUND

- Total abortion ban: since 1997, El Salvador has completely banned abortion, supported by the Church and pro-life groups. Women have been prosecuted and imprisoned, with emblematic court cases such as those of Karina, Manuela, and Beatriz.
- Feminist action and awareness of injustice: civil society and organisations such as the Agrupación Ciudadana por la Despenalización del Aborto have defended women, shifted public debate, and brought cases before international bodies such as the Inter-American Court of Human Rights.

## THE CASES OF MANUELA AND BEATRIZ

- The Manuela Case: Manuela was convicted after an emergency birth and died without proper medical care; her case was brought before the IACHR (2012), and the Inter-American Court ruled against El Salvador (2021), ordering reparations that were only partially implemented.
- The Beatriz Case: Beatriz was a woman with lupus and a non-viable pregnancy (anencephaly) who was denied an abortion (2013). After international pressure, a caesarean was performed, and the Inter-American Court (2024) ruled that the State had violated her rights. However, the court did not establish abortion as a right, while ultraconservative organisations launched media and religious campaigns against the ruling.

## BUKELE, FROM LIBERAL MILLENNIAL TO FAR-RIGHT STAR

- Bukele, initially a young liberal close to LGBTI movements, quickly transformed into an ultraconservative and anti-gender leader upon taking power (2019), dismantling human rights institutions and social programmes such as Ciudad Mujer, while calling abortion “genocide” and defending the Constitution without reforms to sexual rights or euthanasia.
- He has governed under a state of emergency, imprisoning more than 85,000 people without legal guarantees, receiving support for reducing gang violence while facing allegations of pacts with criminals, and controlling public discourse through social media and related outlets, attacking NGOs and international institutions.
- His agenda includes laws such as ‘Nacer con Cariño (Born with Love) and ‘Crecer Juntos’ (Grow up Together), promoting a traditional model of woman as mothers without addressing poverty or medical complications. Meanwhile, he has established links with the global far right, evangelical leaders and Opus Dei, participating in events such as CPAC and advancing an anti-“globalist” and anti-democratic discourse.

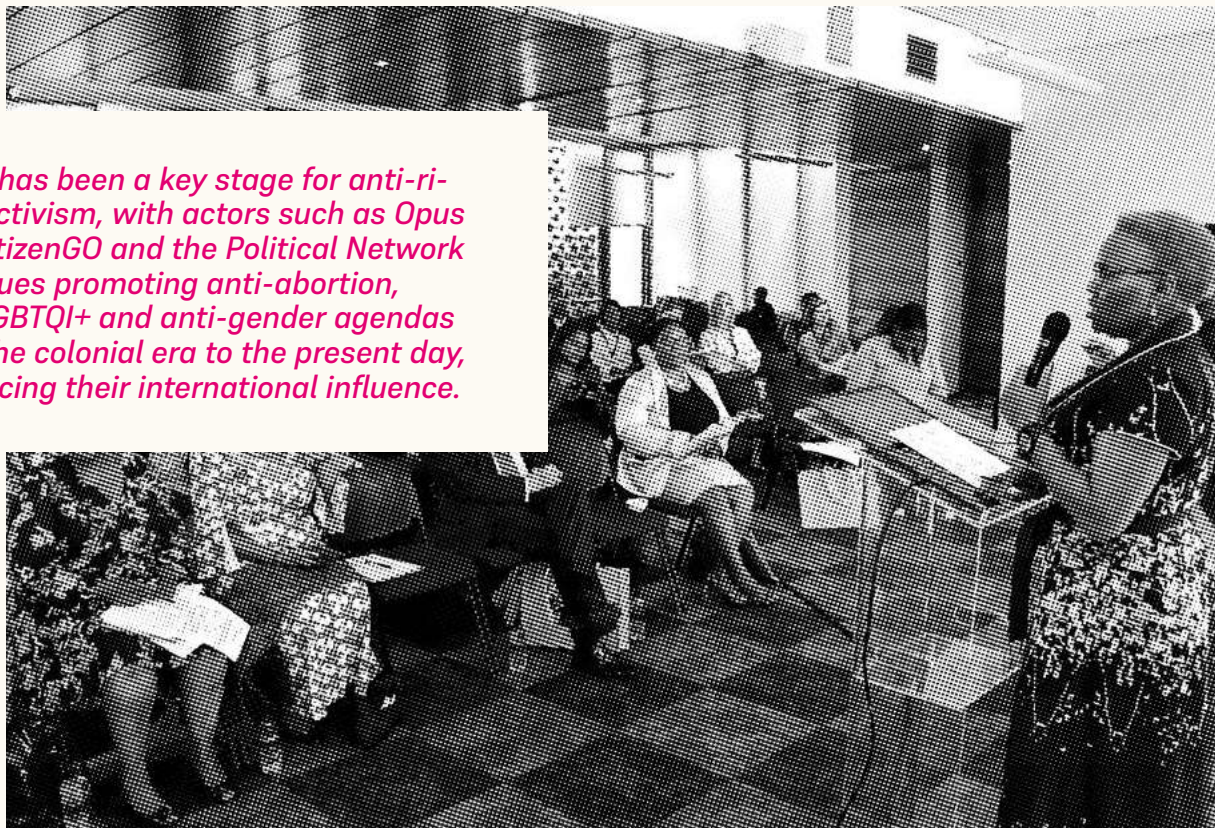
## CONCLUSIONS

- Fragile democratic institutionalisation: after civil war and dictatorship, advances were made in rights without a solid democratic culture.
- Left-wing social movements: defended social justice and human rights, while maintaining conservative positions on issues of gender and sexuality.
- Feminist movement and sexual diversity: advanced the sexual and reproductive rights agenda, reinforced by international conferences (Mexico 1975, Cairo 1994, Beijing 1995).
- Conservative countermovement: led by the Vatican and later expanded through transnational networks such as Opus Dei, CitizenGO and the Global Center for Human Rights.
- Abortion: the total abortion ban of 1997 is the clearest example of the ultraconservative advance; the Manuela and Beatriz cases reignited the feminist movement and gained international visibility.
- Evangelical churches: have grown and organised regionally (Ibero-American Congress for Life and Family), with support and influence from the US.
- Bukele: his rise to power has strengthened his ties to the global far right and has resulted in serious setbacks to the rights of women and LGBTQI+ groups, with persecution of social leaders.
- Current landscape: major obstacles persist for feminism and sexual diversity in the struggle to expand democracy and sexual and reproductive rights.

# Going beyond Washington: The Spanish far right in Africa. The case of Kenya

## Strategic Issues and Research Council (SIRC)

*Africa has been a key stage for anti-rights activism, with actors such as Opus Dei, CitizenGO and the Political Network for Values promoting anti-abortion, anti-LGBTQI+ and anti-gender agendas from the colonial era to the present day, reinforcing their international influence.*



Minister Lindiwe Zulu at the Preparatory Seminar of South-South Cooperation for the ICPD Summit in Nairobi, 2019. Government ZA, CC BY-ND 2.0. Flickr.

## CITIZENGO IN KENYA AND AFRICA

- CitizenGO, the online branch of the Spanish organisation Hazte Oír (2013), focuses its actions on opposing abortion, LGBTQI+ rights and comprehensive sexual education through petitions, litigation and protests. It arrived in Africa in 2018, first landing in Kenya and Nigeria before expanding to Uganda, Malawi, Liberia, Sierra Leone and South Africa, using online and in-person campaigns to influence legislation and public opinion.
- Its actions include attacks on Marie Stopes clinics, opposition to the ICPD+25 Summit (2019), and pressure on progressive Kenyan and Ugandan politicians, focusing particularly on abortion, gender identity, sexual orientation and sex education, with Kenya being the most affected country.
- Online campaigns collect between 1,000 and 70,000 signatures; despite limited practical success, they received high levels of media coverage, often exaggerating results and deleting campaigns with no clear success, but maintaining influence within an ultraconservative ecosystem that includes Opus Dei and the Political Network for Values.

## THE POLITICAL NETWORK FOR VALUES (PNfV) IN AFRICA

- The Political Network for Values (PNfV), founded in 2014, promotes “life,” the natural family, and religious freedom, operating discreetly in Africa through alliances with local legislators and participation in Transatlantic Summits.
- Its Council of Experts includes Africans such as Alice Muchiri (Kenya), Theresa Okafor (Nigeria) and Chrisantus Wamalwa (Kenya), while Kenyan and Ugandan parliamentarians such as Lucy Akello, Paul Katana and Sarah Opendi actively participate in summits.
- Its key actions include the 2019 declaration against the ICPD+25 Summit, legislative activism through the Catholic MPs Spiritual Support Initiative (CAMPSSI) and the 2023 letter denouncing the use of funds from the Presidential Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) to promote abortion, with support from figures such as Moses Wetangula, an ally of PNfV.

## FACTORS THAT EXPLAIN KENYA'S APPEAL

- Kenya offers a favourable religious and historical context: a Christian majority (86%), the presence of Opus Dei since colonial times, tax exemptions for churches, and political support for President Ruto, which allows religious doctrines to influence rights, especially among the poorest sectors of society.
- Its developed infrastructure and economy, with robust telecommunications, facilitate online campaigns like those run by CitizenGO, while the presence of international reproductive rights and LGBTQI+ rights organisations creates a visible target for anti-gender and anti-abortion action.
- Kenya’s political and social conditions—visible religious leadership, connections with televangelists, high levels of inequality, poverty, youth unemployment and corruption—provide a favourable environment for Spanish organisations and other conservative actors to project their anti-gender and anti-abortion agenda with real impact.

## FINAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE ROLE AND STRATEGY OF SPANISH ORGANISATIONS IN KENYA

- Their complementary styles of action enable broad impact: Opus Dei acts discreetly through historically rooted educational institutions; PNfV operates directly, targeting high-level political figures; and CitizenGO is provocative and visible, leading media campaigns and public demonstrations.
- This strategic combination influences legislation, public policy and social opinion on gender, abortion and LGBTQI+ rights, operating within a transnational ecosystem that includes actors from the US (Family Watch International) and Europe (Ordo Iuris, La Manif Pour Tous, Transatlantic Christian Council), and in collaboration with local actors such as civil organisations and religious institutions.
- Although smaller than other global actors, the role of these Spanish organisations is significant in Kenya and Africa, highlighting the need to recognise and analyse their influence on anti-gender and anti-rights policies on the continent.



Minister Lindiwe Zulu at the Preparatory Seminar of South-South Cooperation for the ICPD Summit in Nairobi, 2019. Government ZA, CC BY-ND 2.0. Flickr.

# Recommendations and proposals

## **1.** *Institutional recognition for defenders of sexual and reproductive rights*

Institutional recognition of activists and groups defending sexual and reproductive rights is not only a symbolic act, but a fundamental step to strengthen democracy and social justice. Publicly validating their work implies making visible the struggles that have paved the way towards more inclusive legal frameworks, gender-sensitive public policy, and equitable access to health. This recognition helps legitimise their demands, provides protection against violence and stigma, and sends a clear message: the defence of bodily autonomy, comprehensive health, and freedom of choice are pillars of human rights that deserve institutional support and commitment.

## **2.** *Protection and strengthening*

It is necessary to reinforce security and support for services, individuals, activists, networks, and collectives working in defence of rights. Protection must be physical, emotional, legal, and also extend online. At the same time, spaces for thought, reflection and action must be consolidated to allow growth from within.

## **3.** *Offensive actions*

It is crucial to document, make visible and formally denounce the attacks, strategies and consequences of anti-gender and far-right agendas. This includes academic and journalistic research with a feminist and intersectional perspective, as well as the use of available institutional and legal mechanisms to reduce the impact of offensives and to dismantle the structures that give them support, visibility, and political power.

## **4.** *Tracking and denouncing far right networks of power*

It is critical to investigate their political and financial connections, and hold accountable those who offer them direct or indirect support. This exposes the true nature of their power and reduces their public legitimacy.

## **5.** *Discursive disputes and the culture war*

Anti-gender groups are reshaping discourse frameworks, co-opting terms, and instrumentalising key human rights concepts. In response, it is essential to reclaim the narrative, engage in education, and create powerful, clear and transformative communicative frameworks.

## **6.** *Defence of democratic institutions*

It is essential to protect democratic and multilateral institutions as guarantors of achieved rights. Defending these institutions from a rights-based, cooperative and democratic position is key to sustaining the progress made.

## **7.** *Blocking public funds for anti-gender groups*

There is an urgent need to establish clear and effective mechanisms to prevent public funds from going to organisations that promote anti-gender agendas, especially those that violate sexual and reproductive rights. Public funding must adhere to the principle of non-regression in human rights, ensuring that public resources are used to expand freedoms and not restrict them. Offering financial support to groups that spread misinformation, exert regressive political pressure, or encourage discrimination would be an ethical and legal contradiction: the State would be financing the violation of the same rights it is obliged to protect. Blocking this flow of resources is consistent with international and constitutional commitments to respect, protect and guarantee human rights.

## KEY AUDIENCES AND STRATEGIC RECOMMENDATIONS

### *Human rights activists and NGOs:*

#### **1. *Creating and strengthening inter-movement and intersectoral alliances***

The response must go beyond the reproductive and gender justice movements. It is essential to build and strengthen alliances through an intersectional approach, consolidating mechanisms for exchange and collaboration among feminist, Indigenous, Afro-descendant, youth, climate, sexual diversity, faith-based, and human rights movements, as well as men's groups who aim to transform hegemonic masculinity, among others.

#### **2. *Strengthening the capacity for evidence-based research and advocacy***

Forming alliances with independent researchers, research centres and journalists, with the purpose of creating monitoring systems to document setbacks, violence and disinformation.

#### **3. *Deepening strategic litigation with an intersectional approach***

Choosing emblematic cases that result in favourable jurisprudence, accompanied by communication campaigns that transform or influence the public debate.

#### **4. *Capacity building and training leadership with a long-term perspective***

Strengthening leadership training and professionalisation programmes for young people in key areas to sustain long-term structural changes, such as political advocacy, public service, law, and healthcare services, among others.

#### **5. *Strategic use of participation and accountability mechanisms***

Democratic and civic participation mechanisms are fundamental for monitoring and defending sexual and reproductive rights, while also contributing towards strengthening democratic institutions within a rights-based framework repeatedly questioned by anti-gender and far-right forces.

#### **6. *Alliances with progressive institutions and think tanks***

Establishing communities of practice and innovation labs that provide tools, resources and response strategies that can be applied in different fields of action.

#### **7. *Consolidating counter-hegemonic narratives and popular education***

Designing critical educational content, training educators in a gender perspective, and encouraging the creation of community spaces for reflection and resistance.

#### **8. *Dynamic and resilient online activism***

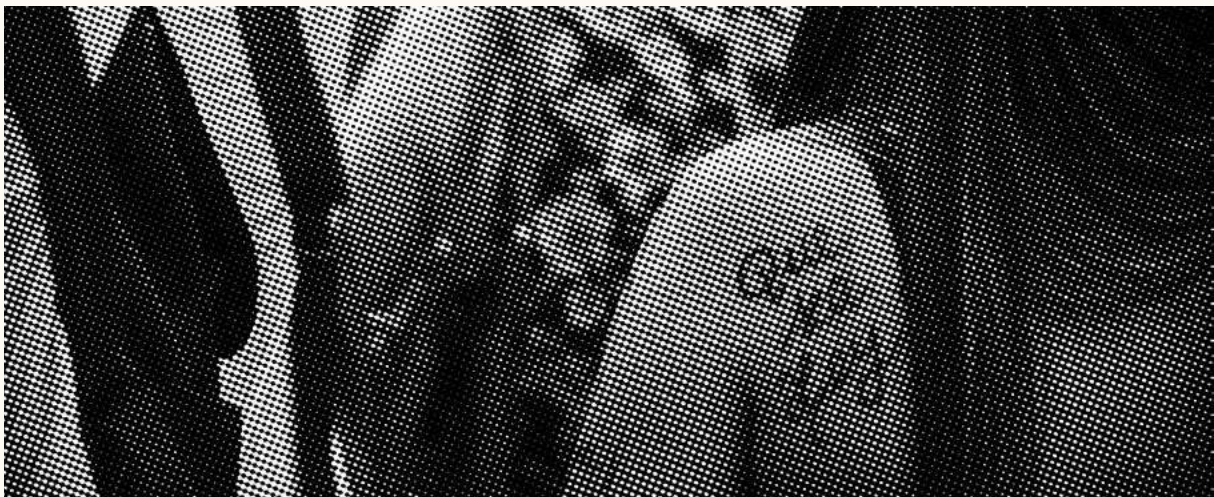
Providing training in online tools, implement rapid response networks and develop platforms to avoid censorship and algorithmic manipulation.

#### **9. *Ensuring comprehensive security and collective care***

Establishing protection protocols, alert networks and emergency funds for rights defenders under threat, along with sustainable self-care strategies.

#### **10. *Diversifying funding and strategic planning***

Avoiding dependence on volatile funds, investing in continuous training, and designing plans that contemplate political setbacks.



## *Governments and institutional allies*

### **1. *Adopting public policies based on data from feminist research***

Put in place state spaces that favour the use of scientific evidence, deploying mechanisms for continuous monitoring and creating alliances between academics and civil society organisations to strengthen equality policies.

### **2. *Consolidating institutional structures for equality***

Ensuring the existence of offices or commissions dedicated to sexual and reproductive rights, even in adverse contexts.

### **3. *Deepening regulatory reforms, ensuring effective implementation***

Fostering citizen participation by promoting strong laws against gender discrimination and violence, monitoring their implementation, creating inclusive mechanisms for NGOs and collectives, and ensuring compliance with international commitments through regular reporting.

### **4. *Supporting transformative feminist political advocacy***

Forming broad coalitions, involving progressive institutional allies, linking local agendas with global norms, and organising a feminist narrative against the far-right offensive.

### **5. *Developing flexible and accessible public funding***

Promoting funding for groups that defend sexual and reproductive rights. The nature of their work demands resources that can quickly adapt to changing needs, from advocacy campaigns to legal action and community support. Bureaucratic rigidity and excessive requirements make it difficult to access these organisations, especially grassroots organisations and those led by women, young people and LGBTQI+ people.

## *Philanthropy and international cooperation*

### **1. *Funding strategic and long-term innovation***

Supporting critical digitalisation projects, applied research, strategic litigation and popular education with an intersectional approach.

### **2. *Promoting international alliances and protection networks***

Co-financing transnational initiatives (such as South-South networks and global campaigns) that provide a coordinated response capacity and share learnings against setbacks from the right.

### **3. *Supporting comprehensive protection of rights defenders***

Creating emergency funds and digital security programmes; promoting their international visibility as a form of protection.

### **4. *Encouraging project evaluation and adaptability***

Results-based funding with adaptive monitoring systems, with interventions adjusted according to changes in context and effectiveness.

### **5. *Boosting multisectoral collaboration***

Connecting advocates, academics, journalists, jurists and artists to create joint projects, enhancing transformative cultural narratives and intergenerational solidarity.

### **6. *Promoting private and flexible funds for groups that defend the sexual and reproductive rights***

Providing funding to ensure sustainability and independence. However, this support must translate to flexible funds adapted to real needs, avoiding rigid schemes that limit their ability to respond to changing contexts and emergencies. Collectives, especially grassroots groups, require resources that can be freely allocated to strengthen their structures, covering operating costs and developing innovative strategies. Private funding with a perspective on human rights and trust in organisations that not only widens the scope for action, but also contributes to a more diverse, resilient and effective defence ecosystem.

# Acknowledgments

This initiative would not have been possible without the commitment, trust and collaboration of the many individuals and collectives who, day after day, put their bodies and voices on the line in defence of sexual and reproductive rights, facing up to the onslaught of anti-gender movements.



Demonstration in support of the pañuelazo for the legalization of abortion in Argentina. Wotancito, CC-BY-SA-4.0. Wikimedia.

