Ipas

The Weaponization of Gender against UK National Security

Domestic and International Anti-Rights Activity
2023-2025

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Abbreviations

ADF	Alliance Defending Freedom
AfD	Alternative für Deutschland (Alternative for Germany)
ARC	Alliance for Responsible Citizenship
CPAC	Conservative Political Action Conference
CSE	Comprehensive sexuality education
ECR	European Conservatives and Reformists
EU	European Union
FSU	Free Speech Union
GBV	Gender-based violence
MAGA	Make America Great Again
MCC	Mathias Corvinus Collegium
MEGA	Make Europe Great Again
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
MP	Member of Parliament
NGOs	Nongovernmental organisations
PfE	Patriots for Europe
PNfV	Political Network for Values
SRHR	Sexual and reproductive health and rights
TPUSA	Turning Point USA

Overview

Attacks on sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) and LGBTQI+ communities are an integral element of the broader operational strategy of adversarial state and non-state actors. Individuals, groups, political parties, and their donors that warp legitimate, pluralistic views about gender issues for their benefit operate across borders, intending to weaken social cohesion. They utilize political, legal, digital, and financial tools to weaken democratic resilience, regulatory frameworks, and European Union and multilateral human rights oversight. Their activities pose current and future risks for the UK's national security and for the protections, advances, and the rights of citizens.

State and political motivations for advocating anti-gender positions and actions can be opportunistic or part of a broader worldview and may be diverse and change over time. States, political parties, and governments are variously motivated by ideology and religion and driven by national interests, including administrative transitions, shifts in domestic political narratives, and geopolitics, including conflict and emergencies.

The weaponisation of gender to undermine democracy and national security is not new.[1] However, in the last two decades, the transnational anti-gender movement has become increasingly emboldened, networked and strategic in global and regional fora, as well as at the national level. The intensity and improved co-ordination in targeting and threatening has significantly impacted the UK.

Findings

This analysis outlines specific threats to UK security during the two-year period of 2023-2025, largely by non-state actors, and often with state support. It identifies patterns, trends, and connections that demonstrate how these threats draw on knowledge and tactics from both domestic and hostile state and non-state actors.[2] The continued ascendency of right-wing authoritarian governments in other countries has a direct impact on UK's national security.

This analysis shows that in the UK threats are increasing in severity and volume; that actors and their narratives are moving from the margins to the mainstream and gaining more popular support; and serving domestic interests while connecting and strengthening similar movements and political shifts elsewhere.

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[1] Anti-gender actors have been mobilizing in intergovernmental fora since the 1990s. In the prior decade, the Holy See developed and advanced the term "gender ideology"—a catch-all phrase used to disparage feminist advocacy, campaign against gender equality, women and girls' rights, and SRHR, and induce moral panic. They campaigned against attempts to advance gender equality, women's and girls' rights and SRHR at the landmark International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo in 1994 and the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995.

2 These threats fall into two categories as defined by the Integrated Security Fund: 1) intimidation of women, transgender people, and marginalised communities; and 2) sponsorship of groups seeking to destabilise the existing political order. This includes both state and non-state actors, including domestic and foreign, think tanks, political parties, private foundations, advocacy and campaign groups, including non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

Throughout this analysis, we highlight the intended targets of these threats:

- **Historically marginalised people and communities**, primarily women and girls, as well as trans populations, migrants, asylum seekers, and those with multiple and intersecting identities;
- **Political and social processes**, include those addressing gender-based violence (GBV), sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR), LGBTQI+ rights; and other related protections, including both those in the physical and digital spaces; and
- **Human rights frameworks and policies**, including digital security and protections against hate speech and online violence.

This analysis looks at UK national security threats through the weaponisation of women's rights, trans rights, and LGBTQI+ rights broadly. We find that the systematic targeting of gender is a tool for broader oppression, undermining civil and social rights, and eroding public trust and community cohesion. This results in the manipulation of legal and social systems to entrench regressive policies and practices, including violence and discrimination. These efforts pose a risk to access to health services and information for women, girls, and LGBTQI+ people.[3]

Following years of co-ordination, investment, and organising, the UK's anti-gender ecosystem is now almost fully integrated within a transnational movement that links Make America Great Again (MAGA) groups in the United States, European far-right parties and CSOs, and illiberal governments like Hungary and Russia, and their financial backers. These groups meet frequently through formal convenings of extremist networks, including not just MAGA meetings, but Make Europe Great Again (MEGA) events, the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC), Political Network for Values (PNfV) summits, and the Alliance for Responsible Citizenship (ARC) events in London, among others.

These actors pull their tactics from a shared playbook. They use litigation, youth training, media and platform amplification, public protest, knowledge/content generation, disinformation, to undermine key aspects of democracy including access to healthcare, LGBTQI+ protections, climate and global protection policies, and human rights norms. In their framing, particularly around freedom of expression, freedom of religion and belief, and the "protection" of women and children, these actors lean heavily an anti-immigration narratives and targets, using Great Replacement conspiracy theory to anchor their reasoning.[4]

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[3] For example, by restricting safe access to abortion and other health services like gender-affirming care and GBV services, there is an exacerbated risk of intimate partner violence, sexual assault, and coercion. And as a corollary, it normalises harassment and criminalisation of women and LGBTQI+ individuals. UK-based anti-trans and anti-LGBTQI+ campaigns and rhetoric further undermine protections for vulnerable groups, eroding avenues for support and creating environments where gendered violence can proliferate.

[4] The Great Replacement conspiracy theory is a debunked white nationalist, far-right narrative that falsely claims that white European or Western populations are being intentionally "replaced" by non-white immigrants through coordinated policies, higher birth rates, and elite manipulation. It has influenced extremist rhetoric and been cited by perpetrators of racist violence.

The trends playing out in the UK are harming access to information, to education, to healthcare, and to the right to live free from violence and fear The range of impacts include increased stigma and discrimination [5]; institutional capture of policy and parliamentary spaces; youth radicalisation; undermining of online regulations; and the normalisation of extremist narratives that spill into real world abuse, violence and political destabilisation.

This European and US convergence with UK actors has led to the interaction of geographies and networked flows that create pathways for influence by:

1. **Legitimacy and political contagion**: mainstreaming of far-right governmental actors in the EU legitimizes comparable actors in the UK and lowers political costs of extremist alliances.
2. **Platform and media effects**: cross-border amplification means content originating in European fora effectively becomes adopted in UK domestic discourse via social and other media (see Annex I for more details), for example.
3. **Funding pipelines**: successful transnational projects create donor networks that can redirect funds and campaigns into UK targets, including European funding streams, tech billionaires, and Russian oligarchs.
4. **Diplomatic pressure**: US diplomatic interventions on UK legal cases can be used tactically by domestic actors to argue policy change and to delegitimize domestic protections.
5. **Normative erosion**: weakening of EU rights frameworks create a political climate more hospitable to similar rollbacks in the UK.
6. **Legal playbook migration**: successful litigation by anti-gender groups for legislation in Europe provide templates that UK litigators and activists import.
7. **Youth mobilization export**: US youth-led organizations host workshops and train in tactics that are adopted by UK youth groups.

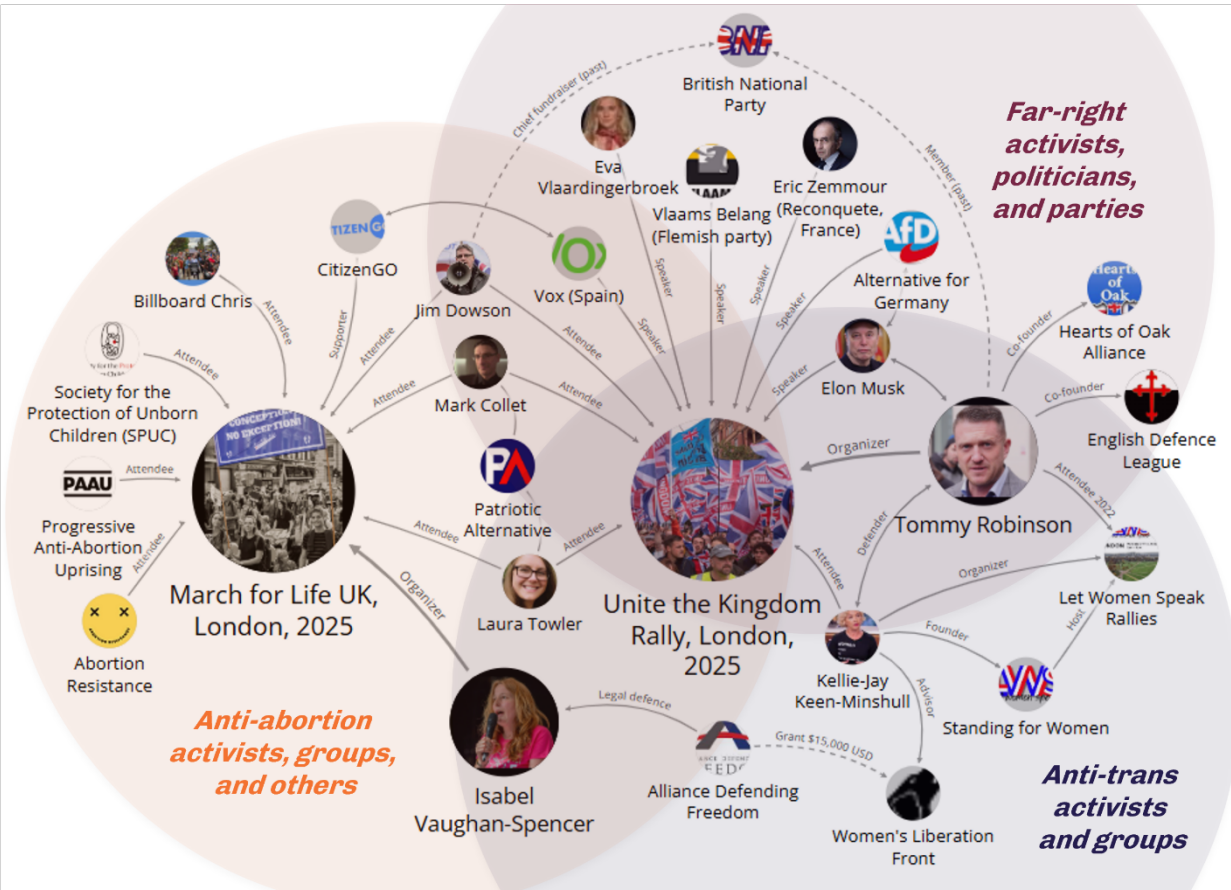
This analysis is not comprehensive; it relies on information gathered from 2024 through January 2026 and is subject to limitations arising from the available data.

[5] MSI, "Overview: MSI's experiences of anti-choice activity on social media," January 2026, on file with Ipas.

Weaponisation of Gender-Based Violence

Anti-gender activists are fundamentally anti-feminist, anti-women, and anti-LGBTQI+. Therefore, any claims anti-gender activists make that they support women's and children's rights must be thoroughly interrogated. The extreme right weaponise gender and gender-based violence (GBV) to control people's access to SRHR. They rely heavily on anti-trans, anti-immigrant, and racist narratives,[6] framing violence against women and girls as unique to non-Christian traditions.

Often in the UK, anti-gender actors present GBV from Muslim-majority countries as the only GBV of significance. Not considered legitimate forms of GBV are attacks on SRHR and LGBTQI+ rights, femicide, the murder of transgender women, and violence against people seeking abortion care and attacks against the abortion clinics themselves. This exploitation of alleged concern for women's safety is used to justify racism, xenophobia, and discrimination against non-Christian non-white men, and women themselves. This narrative was starkly on display at Tommy Robinson's Unite the Kingdom rally in September 2025, see case study 1 below.



Graphic 1: The above demonstrates the connections between anti-abortion, anti-trans or gender critical, and far-right actors *between the March for Life UK and the Unite the Kingdom Rally.* **The identified nodes and overlaps are illustrative and not exhaustive of all actors and interlinkages.**

[6] When using the term far right (noun) and far-right (adjective), we are guided by terminology defined by PopuList and Cass Mudde and *The Guardian's* definitions of populism, nativism, and fascism; and for the far right in the UK by PopuList and *The Byline Times*. For this report, we understand the Christian right as rooted in evangelical Christian theology and social policy.

Case study 1: The far right, the Christian right, and co-optation of GBV

A March for Life UK and the Unite the Kingdom rally took place in September 2025. March for Life UK is an anti-abortion protest organised by Isabel Vaughan-Spruce. Spruce was supported by the Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF) when she was convicted of violating an abortion buffer zone. Since its launch in 2013, March for Life's numbers have grown; organisers claim that between 8,000 and 10,000 people attended. Over half of the speakers had links with ADF UK. Attendees included: Society for the Protection of Unborn Children; the Madrid-based anti-abortion group CitizenGO; anti-transgender activist and social media personality Chris Elston; and a number of US-influenced youth groups, including Abortion Resistance and Progressive Anti-Abortion Uprising. Mark Collet and Laura Trowler of the neo-Nazi group Patriotic Alternative were present, as was white supremacist Jim Dowson, of Knights Templar International and founder of the white supremacist and extremist party Britain First.

The Unite the Kingdom rally, organised by Tommy Robinson, was a far-right mobilisation, with police estimating between 110,000 and 150,000 people protesting. The rally drew speakers from AfD (Alternative für Deutschland); Vlaams Belang (Belgium); the Spanish party Vox (connected to CitizenGO); great replacement exponents Éric Zemmour and Eva Vlaardingerbroe; and Elon Musk. Individuals of the Make Europe Great Again network led the march and spoke on stage. Mark Collet and Laura Trowler of the neo-Nazi group Patriotic Alternative were in attendance,[7] as was Jim Dowson. Other featured speakers were anti-LGBTQI+ and anti-abortion.[8]

The co-option of the rights of women and the issue of GBV was used to justify racist attitudes and the vilification of immigrants. Banners with pictures of girls and 'save our kids' written across them were on display. Tommy Robinson reinforced this: 'Our women, our daughters are scared to walk the streets [...] Their safety has been taken from them'.

[7] Patriotic Alternative is anti-LGBTQI+, anti-abortion, and pro-white-natalist, and subscribes to the conspiracy that a so-called "white genocide" is being fuelled by feminism and abortion rights.

[8] While not in attendance this year, anti-abortion figure Calvin Robinson has been a frequent participant and supporter of the March for Life UK and example of the ties between the movement and the far right.

Threats from Within: Domestic Actors and Dynamics

Domestic threats to UK security are layered and encompass a range of spaces. Using tactics developed in the United States in the 1980s and 1990s, which included harassment and violence against people going to abortion clinics, and abortion providers, before safe access zones were introduced there was ongoing on-the-ground harassment ("sidewalk counselling", ritualised pilgrimages, graphic displays).

Some political actors normalise anti-abortion rhetoric in parliament and public discourse as part of broader extremist, anti-gender, and pronatalism language. Recently, the All-Party Parliamentary Pro-Life Group, with its secretariat Right to Life, have led in advancing this rhetoric in Parliament. Outside of Westminster, MPs are active at anti-abortion convenings including speaking at the March for Life UK, whose 2024 and 2025 speakers included MPs Carla Lockhart, Ian Paisley, Daniel Kawczynski, and Liam Fox.

Threats to abortion rights were a precursor to the recent weaponisation of gender to attack transgender people and their human rights. Transgender people are now a very visible target for the far right in the UK. As Patrik Hermansson of Hope not Hate noted:

> ***'Gender, in the view of the far right, is intrinsically linked to biological traits and should determine one's place in a social hierarchy. Ultimately the traditional gender roles and the subjugation of women is justified in terms of ensuring the reproduction of the nation. Emancipatory struggles, whether that is migrant rights, feminism or the movement for transgender equality, challenge these boundaries and are therefore clashing with this core tenet of far-right ideologies.'***

Recent examples of the weaponisation of gender to attack abortion and transgender rights in the UK include debates to reform the 2004 Gender Recognition Act; the Buffer Zone regulations throughout 2023; as well as the relationships and sex education and health education panic with conservative groups lobbying for restrictions.

The far right heavily invests in organising conferences, which create an enabling environment for legitimising and circulating regressive policies and positions. Anti-trans pressure intensified in 2024 with the rapid expansion of gender critical "women's rights" conferences to influence MPs and media narratives. This contributed to the 16 April 2025 UK Supreme Court ruling on the legal definition of "woman", which ruled that references to "sex", "man" and "woman" in the Equality Act refer to biological sex assigned at birth and was celebrated by not only UK gender critical activists but further by UK and European linked anti-trans and far-right networks.[9]

[9] While some gender critical actors in the UK openly ally with the far right domestically and the anti-gender movement transnationally, others 'defy conventional left-right divisions' in the UK and can be described as 'non-partisan' and 'generally position themselves as "pro-women" rather than "anti-trans"'. For the purposes of this report, we largely refer to gender critical actors as anti-trans as they are opposed to the full spectrum of rights of transgender people as recognized by international human rights standards.

The UK is also a hub for the Alliance for Responsible Citizenship (ARC) conferences, which in 2025 was held over three days in London with approximately 4,000 participants.[10] Kemi Badenoch, Nigel Farage, US speaker of the House of Representatives Mike Johnson (a member of ARC's advisory board), and Kevin Roberts, the president of the US Heritage Foundation, all spoke. The ARC conferences have been called the 'conservative (rather than 'alt-right' or 'far right') alternative to the Davos World Economic Forum'.

ARC held its first conference in London in 2023 as a transnational initiative to convene political, business, cultural, and civic leaders to 're-lay the foundations of our civilisation.' It has strong UK engagement that is closely interconnected with the broader anti-gender ecosystem of anti-trans and anti-abortion advocates, groups, MPs, among others. The next conference is scheduled for June 2026, again in London.

Domestic anti-gender tactics	
Building legal challenges	Roll back buffer zones and equality protections by Voice for Justice UK and Alliance Defending Freedom, and restrictive interpretations of transgender rights.
Targeting schools and universities	Disrupt comprehensive sexuality education/relationships and sex education and push "parental rights" narratives.
Adopting human rights and ideological framings	"Free speech", "religious freedom", "child protection", and "moderate/conservative feminism" to attack transgender rights, clinic buffer zones, and anti-harassment protections.

For a closer look at some of the principal UK actors active in the last three years, please see Annex I. The annex is not exhaustive; it covers key domestic individuals, groups, and others involved in current anti-gender efforts within the UK. Some of the lesser known or smaller actors are included due to their specific thematic focus and/or because they repeat across different settings and categories. It is worth noting that of the individuals listed, the vast majority appear across multiple categories, showing the networked and interconnection among the anti-gender movement in the UK and beyond.

[10] The inaugural 2023 conference had an estimated 1,500 to 3,000 attendees.

Threats from Without: US and European Actors, Hubs, Methods

European actors and hubs

In the last few years, far-right political parties and anti-gender organising in Europe has grown increasingly transnational, blending domestic political movements with networks and funding from the United States and Russia. Groups tied to Hungary's ruling Fidesz party, including the state-linked Mathias Corvinus Collegium (MCC) and the Danube Institute,[11] these are now hubs for international conservative collaboration. They host events like the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) Hungary, drawing in American activists and think tanks such as the US-based Heritage Foundation to strategize on weakening EU institutions and promoting socially conservative policies.[12] This has led to mobilizing around efforts like the far-right Great Reset against the EU[13] and the Heritage Foundation-backed Make Europe Great Again (MEGA) effort.

European far-right and anti-gender actors are not only interacting with US conservative institutions but are doing so with visible backing from sitting politicians and state-linked entities across the EU, reinforcing radicalisation of gender, LGBTQI+, and reproductive rights agendas. MCC and the Polish Ordo Iuris hold joint conferences with the Heritage Foundation to target EU institutions and social policy, drawing MEPs from Fidesz, the Patriots for Europe group, and other far-right factions into strategic discussions on "restoring sovereignty" and contesting "gender ideology". Hungary's Viktor Orbán has hosted and endorsed other far-right leaders such as Germany's AfD head Alice Weidel, framing her platform as a model for European politics.

Additionally, Polish and Spanish politicians, including former Polish prime minister Mateusz Morawiecki and Vox leader Santiago Abascal, have participated in CPAC-style gatherings in Budapest alongside US conservative speakers, reinforcing shared anti-liberal narratives. Brothers of Italy and France's National Rally have also engaged with these networks in the European Parliament and through MEGA-aligned events, signalling a continental coalition backed by state actors and party representatives.

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[11] MCC is Hungary's largest multidisciplinary educational institution. Founded in 1996, it has significantly expanded recently to become a primary hub for conservative thought. In 2020, the Hungarian government granted MCC assets and funds valued at approximately $1.7 billion USD, including a 10 percent stake in the state oil company MOL and the pharmaceutical company Richter. The chairman of MCC's board of trustees is Balázs Orbán, who also serves as the Political Director to Prime Minister Viktor Orbán.

[12] CPAC events are held globally and have broadly expanded geographically in the last ten years alongside an ideological slide towards Christian nationalism. CPAC Hungary attendance has grown from 1,500 in 2022, to 3,500 in 2025, when speakers included: Alice Weidel of Germany's far-right AfD; Geert Wilders of the Netherlands' Freedom Party; Slovak Prime Minister Robert Fico; leader of the Austrian Freedom party Herbert Kickl; former British Prime Minister Liz Truss; Australian ex-Prime Minister Tony Abbott; and former Polish and Czech Prime Ministers Mateusz Morawiecki and Andrej Babis.

[13] The Great Reset is a document authored by a transatlantic alliance of conservative think tanks, including the Ordo Iuris, MCC, the Heritage Foundation, and backed by Spain's far-right party Vox.

Case study 2: Viktor Orbán and UK anti-trans, free speech fundamentalists

The Battle of Ideas Festival is an annual conference featuring an array of speakers. While it claims to focus on free speech and presents panels as debates, its pre-formed agenda features only like-minded panellists. In 2025 there were speakers from UK anti-trans and gender critical organisations, like Genspect, LGB Alliance, Christian Institute, Sex Matters, Stand up to Woke, For Women Scotland, and the European organisation Athena Forum, created by Sex Matters.

The festival is co-organised by Ideas Matter (previously called Battle of Ideas), whose chair and trustee is Frank Furedi. Furedi has longtime close ties to Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán. In 2019, Furedi was a Senior Research Fellow at Hungary's 21st Century Institute, which is linked to Orbán's Fidesz government. In 2021, he became head of MCC Brussels, the think tank established by the Orbán-backed Mathias Corvinus Collegium. In 2024 alone, MCC Brussels received over six million euros in funding from the Orbán government via MCC. The messaging on trans-rights, "gender ideology" and free expression coming out of the Battle of Ideas Festival and associated groups closely mirrors that of Orbán's agenda seen at MCC Brussels. In 2025, MCC Brussels hosted three anti-trans events at the European Parliament14 and has released a number of reports claiming the EU is polluted by LGBTQI+ propaganda.

The ties between the Battle of Ideas network and Orbán's MCC Brussels are not just via Furedi. This year's Battle of Ideas Festival also featured MCC Brussels' Chief of Staff, Tony Gilland; Visiting Research Fellow Ashley Frawley; and Head of Policy, Jacob Reynolds. Reynolds is also an Associate Fellow at the Academy of Ideas, hosted annually by Ideas Matter, and was previously its partnerships manager. Many speakers featured at the Battle of Ideas Festival, and all the individuals involved are frequent speakers at other Orbán-funded events across Europe. Given the funding of anti-gender work by the Fidesz government, the Battle of Ideas Festival and its associated organisations should not be seen in isolation. As described in Annex I in the Spiked network ("free speech" focus) section, there are deep connections between individuals within that space and MCC Brussels. A pro-Russian lens, which supports both Vladimir Putin's military stance and his anti-LGBTQI+ policies at home, is also very much part of the agenda.

The above examples demonstrate a rise in coordinated organising by key anti-gender European and US groups and the state actors they increasingly interact with. These far-right figures also gain widespread online traction through social media, like X.

[14] In a 2025 event, Kellie-Jay Keen-Minshull was featured where trans people were linked to paedophilia.

Other tactics include	
Institutional capture and normalization	MCC Brussels, ADF International, Patriots for Europe, and European Conservatives and Reformists events inside European Parliament; "de-caging" of the cordon sanitaire around far-right parties.
Legal template export	Ordo Iuris drafts anti-gender laws and provides national litigation strategies.
Cross-border conferences	MEGA conferences (Bucharest, Brussels, Madrid, Dubrovnik, Chisinau), CPAC Europe (Poland, Hungary), and New Direction with coordination, funder recruitment, and strategy sharing.
Pro-Russia narrative laundering	MEGA and some Kremlin-aligned content under "family values" and "sovereignty" frames.

US and European anti-gender convergence with UK actors

European governments and MEPs are embedding US-inspired culture-war strategies into mainstream political platforms, driving coordinated efforts to roll back protections for LGBTQI+ people, limit gender equality measures, and challenge reproductive rights through legislative influence and pan-European alliances. This transnational far-right ecosystem—including US conservative institutions such as the Heritage Foundation, ADF, and CPAC and National Conservatism networks—has helped accelerate radicalization around gender, LGBTQI+, and reproductive rights in the UK by legitimizing and resourcing domestic actors and amplifying culture-war narratives.

US groups with an international reach, like ADF, a Christian legal advocacy organisation that played a central role in overturning *Roe v. Wade*, have significantly increased their UK presence and funding, supporting legal challenges to abortion clinic buffer zones and aligning with anti-abortion campaigners such as March for Life UK; senior British politicians such as MPs Carla Lockhart and Fiona Bruce have been linked to these efforts, and ADF UK's spending has nearly doubled in recent years.

Additionally, British "gender-critical" rights organisations—including the LGB Alliance, Sex Matters, Transgender Trend, and the Bayswater Support Group—have actively shaped policy debates and legal interventions on gender recognition, puberty blockers, and healthcare access, often framing these issues in ways that mirror US "anti-gender ideology" rhetoric. UK conservative networks such as the Free Speech Union (FSU)[15] and the Edmund Burke Foundation's National Conservatism conferences have provided forums where UK politicians engage with Hungary-linked and US right-wing figures, reinforcing anti-gender messaging and facilitating strategic alignment across borders. See Annex II for more details on European and US anti-gender actors.

FSU was founded by Toby Young (Lord Young of Acton) using the guise of protecting free speech to campaign against abortion clinic buffer zones, trans inclusion legislation, and other rights-based legislation. According to its website, FSU has 40,000 members and are funded by membership dues and donations, including from the US Charles Koch Foundation.

Meanwhile, the National Conservatism conferences, which held its initial meeting in 2019, have since been held in DC, Rome, Orlando, Brussels, Miami, and London. Discussions often focus on post-Brexit,

[15] Free Speech Union International is the coordinating body for the related unions globally.

immigration restrictions, national identity, “cultural Marxism”, and opposing “radical gender ideology”. The events have increased in profile and now attract thousands of attendees, featuring prominent conservative presenters such as Tucker Carlson, JD Vance, Giorgia Meloni, Viktor Orbán, and Peter Thiel. The conference in London in 2023 drew significant attention with then-Home Secretary Suella Braverman, Michael Gove, and Jacob Rees-Mogg, where discussions centred on restricting immigration and strengthening national culture.

Case study 3: ADF network within the UK

ADF International, based in Vienna, and ADF UK have been at the epicentre of attacks on buffer zones in the UK, using their legal playbook that has worked in the US and elsewhere. They have further managed to use their influence and connections to have the issue raised as a matter of concern for the US administration at the highest level, while also courting Reform UK on the issue.[16] ADF has positioned itself as a power broker between the country's populist right and the US administration.

In his 2025 Munich Security Conference speech, US Vice President JD Vance attacked the UK on the issue of free speech, using ADF International talking points around abortion clinic buffer zones, including language describing buffer zones laws as repressing the right to free speech and free thought. Vance also highlighted ADF UK's case of Adam Smith-Connor, who was convicted of violating buffer zone laws. Additionally, in April 2025, the US Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor rebuked the UK after Livia Tossici-Bolt, who was represented by ADF UK, was convicted of violating buffer laws. Officials from the Department had met with Tossici-Bolt in the UK a few months prior. While in London the same official met Reform UK leader Nigel Farage, courtesy of arrangements by ADF UK.

The links between Farage and ADF have multiplied in recent years, coinciding with Farage's increasing attention to the abortion issue. This has included his call to roll-back abortion laws in the UK and giving a quote to ADF UK regarding buffer zone laws. Further, it was reported that ADF UK has helped arrange several meetings between influential US officials and Farage in 2025. Farage's appearance in the US Congress on 3 September 2025, where he attacked Britain's free-speech rules, was brokered by ADF.[17] James Orr is another link between Farage and JD Vance, as well as reinforcing the anti-abortion anti-gender angle and has engaged with racist tropes about non-white people. Orr shares Vance's views expressed in Munich on buffer zones and free speech and, in February 2025, Orr co-organised an event (via the Trinity Forum London) with ADF UK on the issue. He also organised for Farage to meet Vance during Vance's UK trip in August 2025.

[16] ADF is pursuing a broader effort to entrench conservative Christianity across Europe, having treated the UK as a strategic foothold since the mid-2010s, ramping up activity in the last decade. It remains unclear who is funding ADF's UK activities.

[17] The FSU's Bryn Harris was also in attendance at the hearing.

Annex I: Principal UK Actors

This list of UK actors is not exhaustive but aims to cover the main actors and also some smaller ones grouped by: 1) political parties and factions; 2) think tanks; 3) advocacy and campaign groups; 4) Spiked network "free speech" focus; 5) media and social media platforms; 6) organisations using grassroots tactics; and finally, 7) academia. Some of the less known or smaller actors have been chosen for their specific focus and/or because they crop up within different settings and categories more than once. Indeed, it is worth noting that of the individuals that are mentioned here, the vast majority are mentioned more than once (within different categories). This is important because it helps demonstrate the extremely networked and connected nature of this anti-gender movement across all categories of actors.

1. Political parties and factions

Below are key UK far-right and anti-gender parties and Conservative factions. Leaders and MPs are largely anti-abortion, anti-trans, and oppose gender equality measures. Some have US links via CPAC, MEGA, and Christian-right networks.

Actor	Anti-gender positions	Activities and influence	Transnational links
Reform UK	Far-right populist party that is anti-trans, anti-SRHR, increasingly anti-abortion	Reform-led council removed "trans-ideological" material from children's libraries; multiple current and former MPs associated with anti-abortion positions	Growing ties to US Christian right and legal advocacy groups, notably ADF.
Nigel Farage, Reform UK party leader	Increasingly vocal on abortion and anti-LGBTQI+ issues	Speeches framing SRHR and gender equality as threats to "Western civilisation"	Frequent US travel; speaker at CPAC, Heartland Institute, NY Young Republicans; paid speaker at Keep Arizona Free Summit alongside Turning Point USA (TPUSA) Faith
James Orr, Reform UK senior adviser	Anti-abortion, anti-trans	Chair of Centre for a Better Britain advisory board; speaker at Family Education Trust conference	Engagement with US free-speech and Christian right networks; indirect links to ADF ecosystem
Matt Goodwin, Reform UK party affiliate	Anti-"woke", culture-war framing	Honorary president of Students4Reform; GB News presenter	Amplifies US-derived culture-war narratives
Advance UK	Breakaway far-right party that is anti-abortion, anti-trans	Public alignment with Tommy Robinson	Endorsed by Elon Musk; rhetorical alignment with US far-right populism
Ben Habib, Advance UK party leader	Anti-abortion	Spread misinformation on UK abortion law	Participates in transnational far-right events
Jim Ferguson, Advance UK international ambassador	Anti-abortion, anti-trans	MEGA (Make Europe Great Again) conferences	Embedded in MEGA transatlantic far-right network

Other conservative party of faction		
Actor	**Description**	**Transnational influence**
New Conservatives	MPs opposing abortion reform, LGBTQI+ equality, and trans inclusion	Echoes US Christian nationalist framing on family and natalism
Scottish Family Party	Anti-abortion, anti-trans, anti-equality	Ideological alignment with European and US religious right; links to UK fascist groups

2. Think tanks

UK think tanks listed here provide ideological, policy, and strategic support to anti-gender actors. They often collaborate with US or European far-right networks, seek transnational funding, and provide policy templates or messaging frameworks that inform both parliamentary advocacy and public campaigns.

Actor	Core positions	Activities and influence	Transnational links
Centre for a Better Britain	Reform UK-aligned, James Orr is chair of the advisory board, and it was established to make Nigel Farage Prime Minister by 2029	Electoral strategy and policy framing	Registered in Dallas, Texas; targets US MAGA, tech-right, and religious-right donors
Civitas	Conservative policy institute, founded by David Green	Anti-LGBTQI+ education and gender policy commentary	Leadership overlaps with FSU
New Culture Forum	Culture-war think tank founded by the late UKIP spokesperson Peter Whittle	Media commentary, events, publications	Ties to Hungarian government-funded outlets; ideological overlap with US culture-war discourse

3. Advocacy and campaign groups

This category includes UK-based organisations engaged in anti-abortion, anti-LGBTQI+, and anti-gender campaigns. Groups range from Christian advocacy organisations (ADF UK, Christian Institute, Voice for Justice UK) to secular advocacy organisations (Coalition for Marriage, Family Education Trust) and youth-focused networks (Students for Life UK, Turning Point UK). Some actors are highly networked transnationally, leveraging US legal strategies, youth mobilisation, and funding.

Organisations	Type	Focus and activities	Transnational links
Christian Concern	Christian anti-SRHR / anti-LGBTQI+	Campaigns against comprehensive sexuality education (CSE); opposes banning LGBTQI+ “conversion therapy”	Ideological alignment with US evangelical legal activism; shares messaging tactics

Organisations	Type	Focus and activities	Transnational links
Voice for Justice UK	Christian anti-SRHR / anti-LGBTQI+	Campaigns against abortion, CSE, and same-sex marriage; opposes "gender ideology" in schools	Ideological alignment with US conservative Christian youth and advocacy networks
Good Counsel Network	Anti-abortion	Grassroots activism, support for anti-abortion campaigns	Connected to US-style anti-abortion activism
Helpers of God's Precious Infants	Anti-abortion	Direct-action campaigns, demonstrations	US-inspired anti-abortion street tactics
March for Life UK	Anti-abortion	Public campaigns, events	US-style anti-abortion movement model; transatlantic coordination
Rachel's Vineyard Right to Life	Anti-abortion	Counselling and advocacy	Connected to US anti-abortion networks
Right to Life UK	Anti-abortion	Lobbying, campaigns	Influenced by US pro-life networks
Society for the Protection of Unborn Children	Anti-abortion	Advocacy, campaigning, demonstrations	US-style strategic guidance and messaging
40 Days for Life	Anti-abortion	Street presence campaigns, prayer vigils	US-based anti-abortion campaign model; transnational coordination
Coalition for Marriage	Secular advocacy	Against same-sex marriage; frames equality rollback as religious freedom	Shared strategy and narratives with US religious freedom networks
Family Education Trust	Secular advocacy	Campaigns against LGBTQI+ inclusion in school curricula; supports policies allowing discrimination against same-sex couples; proposals for mandatory parental disclosure of children's trans status	Collaboration with New Culture Forum and Christian Institute; praised Hungary's Orbán; transnational networking with US conservative think tanks
For Women Scotland	Secular anti-trans	Anti-trans activism; campaigns against gender-inclusive policies	Aligns with US and UK far-right anti-trans messaging
Genspect UK	Secular anti-trans	Anti-trans advocacy, public campaigns	Networks with international anti-trans groups
LGB Alliance	Secular anti-trans	Campaigns against trans inclusion in LGBTQI+ spaces	Connected to transnational anti-trans organisations
Sex Matters	Secular anti-trans	Anti-trans advocacy, research and public campaigns	Links to US and European anti-trans networks
Stand Up to Woke	Secular anti-trans	Anti-trans campaigns, advocacy, media engagement	US-origin narratives and campaigning strategies
Transgender Trend	Secular anti-trans	Opposes trans-inclusive policies in schools	Connected to US anti-trans advocacy and messaging networks
Women's Declaration International	Secular anti-trans	Campaigns against trans rights policies	US and European anti-trans coordination

Organisations	Type	Focus and activities	Transnational links
Standing for Women / Kellie-Jay Keen-Minshull	Secular anti-trans / far-right-aligned	Founder and organiser of public anti-trans rallies; attended far-right events like Hearts of Oak and Unite the Kingdom	Links with UK and European far-right street movements; transnational anti-trans network
Fair Cop	Secular anti-trans / far-right-aligned	Legal and media advocacy; involvement in far-right campaigns and controversies, including defence of Patriotic Alternative organiser Harry Miller	Collaborates with US and UK far-right actors; adopts messaging inspired by US anti-LGBTQI+ networks
Abortion Resistance	Youth / activist	Anti-abortion mobilisation	Influenced by US abolitionist-style youth activism
King's Army	Youth / activist	Anti-abortion direct action	Inspired by US Christian nationalism
Students for Life UK	Youth / activist	Anti-abortion mobilisation through campus affiliates	Directly linked to US Students for Life and ADF
Turning Point UK	Youth / activist	Far-right youth mobilisation with Chief Operating Officer UKIP party leader Nick Tenconi and Honorary President is the Reform party's Marco Longhi.	Spinoff of TPUSA

4. Spiked network "free speech" focus

These organisations present themselves as free speech champions, but primarily platform anti-gender perspectives on gender, LGBTQI+ rights, and reproductive health. They normalise anti-trans and anti-feminist narratives and frame equality politics as illiberal or authoritarian.

Organization	Key figures	Focus and activities	Mechanism of influence	Transnational links
Ideas Matter	Frank Furedi (Chair), Luke Gittos (Trustee)	Hosts debates challenging trans inclusion, feminist gains; funds anti-gender campus initiatives; hosts annual Academy	Conferences, debate hosting, funding for campus initiatives, narrative framing	US-linked funding; participates in transatlantic conservative anti-gender strategies
Academy of Ideas	Claire Fox (Director, House of Lords)	Organises Battle of Ideas Festival; platforms anti-trans and anti-gender speakers	Festival convening, narrative framing, speaker promotion	Collaborates with Ideas Matter; US libertarian and far-right networks
Free Speech Union	Toby Young (Founder), Jan Macvarish (Education and Events Director)	Opposes abortion clinic buffer zones, trans-inclusive policies; runs campus anti-gender initiatives	Legal advocacy, campus mobilisation, funding networks, narrative framing	Funded by US anti-abortion lawyer Zac Kester; linked to Students for Life (US)

5. Media and social media platforms

These outlets and platforms amplify anti-gender messaging, framing it as free speech or culture-war discourse, and mobilise audiences in the UK and Europe.

Organization	Type	Focus and activities	Mechanism of influence	Transnational links
GB News	Broadcast media	Hosts anti-trans and anti-abortion commentators, including Nigel Farage, Matt Goodwin, Lee Anderson, Miriam Cates, Calvin Robinson	Audience reach, narrative framing	Aligns with US culture-war narratives; amplifies ideas shared with US Christian and far-right networks
unHerd	Online media	Coverage emphasising anti-trans and gender debates	Commentary, ideological framing	Shares narratives with US libertarian and far-right outlets
Spiked	Online media / think tank network	Platforms anti-LGBTQI+, anti-gender, anti-feminist content	Narrative framing, event promotion, transnational coordination	Funded by US libertarian billionaire Charles Koch; aligns with US far-right networks
Daily Mail	Print and digital media	Amplifies anti-LGBTQI+ and anti-gender stories	Public opinion shaping, narrative reinforcement	Indirectly mirrors US conservative media narratives
Hamza Ahmed, Andrew Tate, Carl Benjamin (aka "Sargon of Akkad"), Lotus Eaters	Social media personalities	Misogynist, far-right commentary; anti-trans and anti-LGBTQI+ messaging	Online amplification, youth influence	Connected to US manosphere and far-right networks
Hearts of Oak	Far-right media outlet	Campaigns on immigration, political correctness, and "LGBTQ agenda"	Grassroots mobilisation, media influence	Founded by Tommy Robinson, Carl Benjamin, former UKIP figures; mirrors US far-right narratives
Social media platforms	Platforms	Facilitate far-right anti-gender content	Messaging amplification, network building	US-based or co-opted platforms (BitChute, Gab, Getter, Odysee, Truth Social, Telegram, DLive, Discord, Rumble, Parler, YouTube, X)

6. Organisations using grassroots tactics

Grassroots organisations listed here employ street-level activism, petitions, and public demonstrations to mobilise support for anti-abortion and anti-gender campaigns. These groups adopt strategies and tactics inspired by US anti-abortion and far-right activism.

Organization	Tactics	Transnational links
Centre for Bio-Ethical Reform / Abort67	Graphic protests, harassment	Inspired by US anti-abortion street tactics
CitizenGO	Petition campaigns, stunts	International platform operating across Europe and the US

7. Academia

UK-based academics and research centres provide intellectual or media support to anti-gender narratives. Academics often participate in events, media appearances, and publications that intersect with other categories, linking research, public discourse, and transnational networks.

Actors	Role	Transnational links
Frank Furedi	Sociology	Circulates US-origin culture-war theory
CPCS (University of Kent)	Research centre	Linked to Ideas Matter / Academy of Ideas (see more under Free Speech Union) and Ashley Frawley
Eric Kaufmann	Academic	Prominent in US and UK “anti-woke” discourse
James Esses	Psychotherapist	Promotes “exploratory” therapy aligned with US conversion-therapy networks
Calum Miller	Doctor and bioethicist, University of Oxford	Linked to US anti-abortion groups, including ADF, and influential outside of the UK, exporting ideology to Asia and Africa

Annex II: Principal External Actors

Key European actors

Many European actors operate across multiple countries, platforms, and networks, from political parties to think tanks and convenings such as MEGA or MCC Feszt. Individuals and organisations often appear in more than one category, reflecting the highly networked nature of the anti-gender movement. US engagement through conferences, funding, and ideological exchange strengthens the transatlantic reach and influence of these actors.

1. Far-right political parties and parliamentary groups

Party	Country	Anti-gender positions	Transnational links
Alternative für Deutschland	Germany	Nativist/anti-migrant,[18] anti-Muslim hatred, anti-gender, anti-abortion, anti-migration, anti-LGBTQI+, Domestically subject to a "cordon sanitaire"	Engagement with US culture-war narratives
ANO	Czech Republic	Nativist/anti-migrant, nationalist, anti-"liberal elites"	Alignment with European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR) / Patriots for Europe (PfE) participation
Alliance for the Union of Romanians (George Simion)	Romania	Nativist/anti-migrant, anti-LGBTQI+, Christian nationalist, anti-abortion	Leaders of MEGA movement and MAGA-aligned rhetoric, ECR participation
Chega	Portugal	Nativist/anti-migrant, anti-gender, anti-LGBTQI+	Participation in transnational far-right forums, PfE member
Fidesz (Viktor Orbán)	Hungary	Nativist/anti-migrant, anti-LGBTQI+, anti-gender, natalist, Christian nationalist	Central hub for US and European right cooperation, lead role in PfE
Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs	Austria	Nativist/anti-migrant, anti-LGBTQI+	PfE participation
Fratelli d'Italia	Italy	Nativist/anti-migrant, anti-gender, natalist, anti-CSE	Links to US conservative strategists, co-chair ECR, involved in MEGA
Identité-Libertés	France	Anti-migration, Catholic nationalist, anti-SRHR, anti-LGBTQI+ equality, anti-gender	Links to European identitarian networks, prominent in ECR, involved in MEGA
Lega	Italy	Nativist/anti-migrant, anti-LGBTQI+, anti-EU	Transatlantic populist alignment, PfE member
Prawo i Sprawiedliwość	Poland	Nativist/anti-migrant, anti-abortion, anti-LGBTQI+	Close ties to Ordo Iuris; US Christian right, co-chair ECR, MEGA involvement
Partij voor de Vrijheid	Netherlands	Anti-LGBTQI+ framing via nationalism	PfE member
Rassemblement National	France	Nativist/anti-migrant, anti-gender, "family values"	Increasing US far-right engagement, PfE participation

[18] By nativist we mean "the belief that states should be inhabited exclusively by members of the 'native group', and that 'non-native elements' fundamentally threaten the homogeneous nation state."

Party	Country	Anti-gender positions	Transnational links
Vlaams Belang	Belgium	Nativist/anti-migrant, anti-gender, anti-CSE; domestically subject to a "cordon sanitaire"	ECR / PfE member; involved in MEGA
Vox	Spain	Nativist/anti-migrant, anti-LGBTQI+, anti-feminist	Direct ties to US and Latin American right, PfE member
ECR / PfE / Europe of Sovereign Nations	EU level	Parliamentary coordination	Serve as EU-level bridge to US actors

2. Anti-gender civil society, think tanks, and others

Organization	Country	Type	Focus and activities	Mechanism of influence	Transnational links
Center for Fundamental Rights	Hungary	NGO	Anti-gender, anti-migration	Legal advocacy, policy input	Hungarian state support
European Centre for Law and Justice	France	Legal advocacy	Anti-SRHR litigation	Litigation, strategic legal interventions	Linked to US religious right
Federation of Catholic Family Associations in Europe	EU-wide	Catholic federation	Anti-abortion, anti-LGBTQI+	Policy advocacy, EU lobbying	Vatican and US conservative networks
Fundación Disenso	Spain	Think tank (Vox)	Ideological training	Training, narrative framing	US and Latin American far-right ties
Mathias Corvinus Collegium	Hungary	Think tank	Elite training, anti-liberalism	Leadership training, conferences	Hub for US conservative speakers
MCC Brussels	Belgium	Think tank	EU policy influence	Policy advocacy, networking	Platform for US culture-war actors
Nazione Futura	Italy	Think tank	Post-fascist ideology	Policy research, public communication	Transnational right discourse
New Direction	EU	ECR think tank	Policy coordination	EU parliamentary advocacy, training	US conservative policy transfer
One of Us	EU-wide	Advocacy network	Anti-abortion	Litigation, advocacy campaigns	Linked to US anti-abortion movement
Ordo Iuris	Poland	Legal NGO	Anti-abortion, anti-LGBTQI+	Litigation, policy drafting	Links to US Christian right
PfE Foundation	EU	Political foundation	Far-right coordination	Networking, movement coordination	Transatlantic populist ties
World Youth Alliance Europe	Europe	Youth NGO	Anti-SRHR advocacy	Youth training, mobilisation	US-based parent organisation

3. Coordinated Networks and Convenings

Event	Host	Focus and activities	Dates	Transnational links
MCC Feszt	MCC, Hungary	Youth leadership, conservative ideology, anti-LGBTQI+, anti-gender programs	Annually, most recently 2025	Links to US far-right and Hungarian government networks
MEGA Conferences	MEGA Network	Pan-European far-right coordination; anti-LGBTQI+, anti-abortion, anti-gender ideology	Multiple conferences 2025-2026	US far-right participation, Tommy Robinson, Elon Musk visibility
Patriots Network / Patriots for Europe Foundation events	Various European far-right parties	Networking and training for far-right actors	2025-2026	Some US far-right linkages; networked with MEGA and ECR actors
CPAC Hungary	CPAC (US) / Hungarian partners (including Fidesz)	US-style far-right conference; conservative policy, anti-LGBTQI+, anti-abortion focus	April 2023, April 2024	Direct US CPAC organisation; US speakers including American conservatives
Other European CPAC-style convenings	Local CPAC partners in EU (e.g., Fidesz, ECR affiliates)	Platform for US and European far-right actors; policy, youth, media, and think-tank coordination	2023–2025 (various dates by country)	US CPAC coordination; US far-right speakers and funders

4. Media Ecosystem

Outlet	Base	Role	Mechanism of influence
Breizh-Info	France	Far-right regional media	Narrative framing, public amplification
Brussels Signal	Belgium	EU-focused culture-war outlet	EU policy commentary, ideological framing
European Conservative	Hungary	Ideological platform	Think tank promotion, movement building
Hungarian Conservative	Hungary	Government-aligned publication	Narrative framing, elite audience targeting

Key US actors

US actors frequently provide funding, training, and strategic guidance that support anti-gender networks in the UK and Europe. Many appear across multiple categories, from think tanks to youth movements and media platforms, highlighting the integrated and networked nature of the movement. Transnational ties demonstrate how US ideological, financial, and organisational resources underpin far-right and anti-gender activity abroad.

Actor	Type	Focus and activities	Mechanism of influence (UK focus)
Heritage Foundation	Think tank	Project 2025 policy export, providing templates and strategic guidance for conservative movements and administrations	Advised UK-aligned conservative MPs and think tanks on anti-gender and anti-abortion policy strategies
Heartland Institute	Think tank	Anti-climate and culture-war policy advocacy	UK media commentators and think tanks have cited Heartland's framing in debates
Conservative Partnership Institute	Think tank	Movement strategy, training, and organisational support	Provided organisational support advice to UK far-right youth and campus groups
ADF	Legal advocacy NGO	Provides legal strategies for anti-abortion, anti-gender, and buffer zone cases	UK litigation guidance on buffer zones and religious exemptions influenced by US ADF strategies; supports UK groups such as Students for Life UK
TPUSA	Youth advocacy NGO	Campus mobilisation and youth political training	Runs Turning Point UK; provides organisational guidance and strategic models for campus mobilization
PAAU	Grassroots and activist network	Anti-abortion direct action and training on campaign tactics	UK anti-abortion street campaigns have drawn on US PAAU methods
Moms for Liberty	Advocacy NGO	School culture-war campaigns and parental rights advocacy	UK parental rights campaigns and anti-SRHR school activism inspired by US methods
Peter Thiel	Funders / platform support	Capital and ideological support to far-right, anti-gender initiatives	Financially supports UK-aligned far-right media and think tanks
Elon Musk / X	Platform / tech	Amplifies far-right, anti-gender, and culture-war content	UK anti-gender actors use X/Twitter for messaging and transnational coordination
MAGA donors	Funders / backers	Financial support for far-right movements and events	Support UK anti-abortion and anti-gender campaigns, events, and think tanks
JD Vance	Political / ideological actor	Advocacy for conservative policies and transatlantic influence	UK MPs and youth movements consult US perspectives he promotes
Project 2025 operatives	Political / policy operatives	Governance and conservative policy strategy export	Provides UK-aligned think tanks and MPs with model legislation and governance strategies
Steve Bannon	Ideologue / strategist	Transnational far-right coordination and mobilisation	Key connector between US and UK far-right actors, networks, and events