

Anticipated Impact of the Incoming Trump Administration for Global Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights & Beyond

26 November 2024

Direct Implications of the Global Gag Rule:

This year marks 40-years of the Mexico City Policy, also known as the Global Gag Rule (GGR); a far-reaching, destructive U.S. foreign policy.

- The GGR is imposed by an executive order taken by Republican administrations since August 1984 under the Reagan administration, which obliges non-U.S. based NGOs to stop abortion service delivery and advocacy using funds from any source as a condition for receiving U.S. funds.
- Under the current Biden Harris Administration, Congress was not able to enshrine the Global Health, Empowerment, and Rights Act¹ (Global HER Act) which would have prevented a future president from unilaterally imposing the GGR.
- In 2017, President Trump expanded the GGR's application to all global health assistance funding, including funding for HIV/AIDS, maternal and child health, malaria, global health security, and family planning and reproductive health.
- This time round, **the GGR is expected to be further expanded at an unprecedented scale**. The expectation is that the Trump Administration will also attempt to apply these conditions to all U.S. NGOs, UN agencies, and other multilaterals, such as GAVI, the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria and the Global Financing Facility (GFF).
- As per Project 2025's 'Mandate for Leadership', **humanitarian aid and bilateral aid to partner governments may also be affected** if this proposal is supported by the Trump Administration.
- With Republicans holding the majority in Congress and the Trump Administration in office, there is real risk that the GGR will be **codified** into U.S. federal law.

IPPF has seen first-hand how destructive GGR has been over four decades.

- Abortion service delivery and advocacy are core components of IPPF's mandate. We consider them to be non-negotiable aspects of our work. **IPPF and its MAs stand firm and refuse the conditions of the GGR, therefore are unable to accept funding from the U.S. Government once Trump takes office.**
- From 1984 to 2016, the policy was imposed during Republican administrations on all family planning assistance funds, rendering IPPF and its MAs unable to accept these funds during those periods. The GGR also made partners wary of collaboration with IPPF and made it challenging for IPPF to access funding, even during Democratic administrations.
- The GGR decreases access to abortion information and providers, decreases coverage of contraceptive care, silences SRHR advocates, reduces coverage of community health workers, imposes regressive policies, and infringes on other countries' sovereignty².
- Research shows that women living in countries highly exposed to the GGR were 13% less likely to be using modern contraception under its most recent implementation by the Trump Administration. Health facilities in these countries were also reported to be less likely to

¹ <https://www.populationconnectionaction.org/policy-priorities/global-gag-rule/global-her-act/>

² https://www.researchgate.net/publication/335470833_The_impacts_of_the_global_gag_rule_on_global_health_a_scoping_review

provide contraception – resulting in a 28% reduction in the provision of emergency contraception, 11% in long-acting reversible contraceptives and a 6% reduction in short-acting methods, on average³.

- Likewise, the most recent GGR between 2017-2021 resulted in an estimated 100,000 maternal and child deaths, and approximately 360,000 new HIV infections around the world.⁴
- Research has shown GGR decreases access to abortion information and providers, decreases coverage of contraceptive care, silences SRHR advocates, reduces coverage of community health workers, imposes regressive policies, and infringes on other countries' sovereignty⁵.
- Trump's expanded GGR reinstatement in 2017 **impacted 20 times as much funding** as it had in the past (from U.S. \$600 million per year previously to U.S. \$12 billion per year in 2018)⁶.

GGR Implications for IPPF

During the Biden Harris administration, IPPF and its MAs were successful in winning many projects as prime and sub partners. Most of these projects will end early with the forthcoming GGR reinstatement.

- **With GGR, IPPF reasonably calculates its financial loss from 2025-2028 would be over U.S. \$61 million.**
- IPPF has one prime and two sub-awards that are impacted with 13 MAs that will lose their sub-awards. Of these 13, six MAs will lose multi-million-dollar sub-awards on major FP, SRH, and youth health awards.
- MAs that will lose funding include Burundi, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Ghana, Indonesia, Malawi, Mauritania, Niger, Philippines, Togo, Uganda.
- In Malawi, the Family Planning Association of Malawi (FPAM) is the main family planning and adolescent health technical partner for two major USAID integrated health projects. Their work has improved equity in access to contraceptive services by supporting provider training, improving data collection and supply management systems, and upgrading quality assurance protocol use.
- In Ethiopia, the Family Guidance Association of Ethiopia (FGAE) is the lead local FP partner on USAID's youth, nutrition, and health communication projects.
- IPPF is leading one large multi-country USAID project in Francophone West Africa, which commenced in 2023 and is planned to continue until 2028. It had been expected to reach nearly 1.2 million contraceptive users and over 1.3 million contraceptive years of protection (CYP). In other words, continuous programming could have prevented 540,078 unintended pregnancies and 224,372 unsafe abortions.
- Abruptly cutting this work short will have tragic consequences for clinic, outreach, and community services and programs.
- Beyond existing funding already awarded, proposals submitted by IPPF valuing over **U.S. \$32 million** in 2024 will not have a chance of coming to fruition.

³ Impact of the Global Gag Rule, the Preclusion Project Data Brief

⁴ K.C. Kavakli, V. Rotondi, US foreign aid restrictions and maternal and children's health: Evidence from the "Mexico City Policy", Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. U.S.A. 119 (19) e2123177119, <https://www.pnas.org/doi/full/10.1073/pnas.2123177119> |

⁶ [The Unprecedented Expansion of the Global Gag Rule: Trampling Rights, Health and Free Speech | Guttmacher Institute](#)

Indirect Impact of the GGR on Member Associations

- The impact of GGR extends beyond funding losses to MAs. It has a chilling effect on limiting women's access to lifesaving healthcare and will continue to undermine progress in increasing access to SRHR.
- With every GGR reinstatement, the hard-won trust between healthcare providers and marginalized populations is broken. Fewer people will be able to access healthcare, thus rates of STI infection, HIV infection, unsafe abortion and preventable deaths will rise.
- Due to the networked nature of funding partnerships and consortia, IPPF's MAs can no longer bid for funding if other NGOs or funders have signed the GGR. For example, during an in-country bid for a UK government funding, an MA was barred from participating because other NGOs who signed the GGR feared their USAID funding would be cut if they partnered with IPPF.

Funding cuts to UNFPA, WHO and other UN agencies

- Similar to Trump's first term and as outlined in Project 2025, the Trump Administration will very likely block funding to **UNFPA** and attempt to halt funding and support for the **World Health Organization** (WHO) ⁷. IPPF expects additional tactics to target funding to other UN and multilateral agencies.
- UNFPA currently receive over U.S. \$30 million from the U.S. in core contributions, and over U.S. \$130 million for humanitarian work (accounting for roughly half of all funding for UNFPA's humanitarian work). They also received a contribution in 2024 to the UNFPA Supplies Program for system strengthening of commodity supply chains. If the Trump Administration block funding to UNFPA, there will be major implications for UNFPA's operational capacity, particularly their humanitarian efforts in crisis settings worldwide. This would also impact the many IPPF Member Associations who receive sub-grants from UNFPA for humanitarian delivery.
- Given USAID is the other major sexual and reproductive health commodity procurer worldwide complementing the UNFPA, significant impacts are anticipated for future commodity supply levels globally. This would in turn have negative implications for IPPF Member Associations who rely on these commodities to deliver SRH services.
- IPPF anticipates that the Trump Administration would also attempt to cut funding to other UN agencies in line with ideological mandates, including reducing its funding to UNHCR (noting U.S. support currently accounts for 57% of UNHCR's total funding).

⁷ Project 2025: An Anti-Gender Promise to Upend Foreign Assistance and Multilateralism. Ipas: Chapel Hill, NC, 2024.
<https://www.ipas.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/07/Project2025OPRAGE24b.pdf>

Broader roll-back on human rights:

Project 2025

- Developed by The Heritage Foundation, **Project 2025**⁸ outlines a detailed, ultra-right wing Christian nationalist plan to guide the policy directions and mandates of a new Republican administration under Trump.
- Project 2025 relies on a worldview that is grounded in anti-gender narratives, including rejecting abortion rights and the rights of LGBTQI+ people, as well as the “Left.”⁹ It rejects science while advancing disinformation on topics ranging from the Coronavirus-19 pandemic to the WHO and the climate crisis.
- The adoption of the reproductive health policies outlined in Project 2025, should this occur, will bolster anti-rights movements around the world and will accelerate global attacks on sexual, reproductive and LGBTQ+ rights.
- **Project 2025 will fundamentally alter U.S. diplomacy**, both reducing funding to, or withdrawing from, human rights systems. It will also propose comprehensive restructuring of USAID to reshape the nature of U.S. official development assistance and eliminate its gender and human rights work.

Geneva Consensus Declaration

- We anticipate the incoming Trump Administration to launch a major effort to promote the anti-SRHR **Geneva Consensus Declaration**¹⁰ in the UN, as set out in **Project 2025**, using it as a guiding document for informing foreign policy to roll back rights on abortion.
- The **Geneva Consensus Declaration on Promoting Women’s Health and Strengthening the Family**¹¹ was initiated by the U.S. during Trump’s first term with support from former administration official and now President and CEO of the **Institute for Women’s Health**, Valerie Huber. It was adopted in October 2020 in Washington DC.
- The Geneva Consensus Declaration seeks to undermine sexual and reproductive health and rights—particularly access to safe abortion care services—in countries worldwide, under the guise of promoting women’s health.
- The declaration represents an **effort of the global anti-rights movement to misrepresent internationally agreed commitments that protect SRHR**. The so-called “consensus” is not the product of any negotiation and was never discussed in any UN forum. Consequently, it is a document without legitimacy that does not reflect any global agreement and represents the views of the few dozen signatories only. Regardless of this, 39 countries have signed on, and the U.S. is expected to rejoin under the Trump Administration.
- **Project 2025** has suggested that all U.S. foreign policy engagement should be aligned with the Geneva Consensus Declaration’s principles in relation to abortion and “the family”, including U.S. bilateral agreements with other governments¹².

⁸ <https://www.project2025.org/>

⁹ Global Impacts of Project 2025. Malayah Harper/Commissioned by Swedish Association for Sexual Health (RFSU). September 2024. <https://www.rfsu.se/globalassets/pdf/project-2025/global-impacts-of-project-2025.pdf>

¹⁰ The Geneva Consensus Declaration on Promoting Women’s Health and Strengthening the Family is an anti-abortion joint statement initially cosponsored by persons claiming to represent the governments of Brazil, Egypt, Hungary, Indonesia, Uganda, and the United States. It was signed by persons from 34 countries on October 22, 2020. The United States rescinded its signature three months afterward; Brazil rescinded its signature in 2023.

¹¹ <https://www.theiwh.org/the-gcd/>

¹² <https://www.rfsu.se/globalassets/pdf/project-2025/executive-summary-global-impacts.pdf>

Influencing UN processes and mandates

- IPPF anticipates the Trump Administration will attempt insert individuals with extremist views into major high-profile positions within the **UN system** to enact an extreme-right conservative **mandate**. U.S. diplomatic appointments will likely further support this effort, such as the U.S. Ambassador to the UN.
- We expect the U.S. to negatively influence key upcoming **UN processes and negotiations** in 2025 and beyond, both in multilateral spaces in Geneva and New York.
- As happened during the last Trump administration, the new Trump administration is also anticipated to **attempt to dismantle multilateralism** with possible withdrawal from **key multilateral forums** such as the WHO and UN Human Rights Council.

Rescinding support and protections for LGBTQI rights, particularly transgender people

- We expect that the Trump Administration, with input from Project 2025, will reverse the Biden Administration's progress on LGBTQI+ rights, such as reversing an Executive Order against anti-LGBTQI+ discrimination in the federal government and recognizing Transgender Day of Visibility.
- Within foreign policy, the U.S. had also committed to protecting LGBTQI+ rights, releasing a standalone **LGBTQI+ Inclusive Development Policy**¹³ and appointing a special envoy for LGBTQI+ issues. The Trump Administration is expected to curtail these efforts.
- President Trump has historically taken an ultra-conservative, right-wing stance on LGBTQI+ rights. In his first presidency, he appointed anti-LGBTQI+ judges, opposed an Equality Act that would provide explicit protections against discrimination for LGBTQI+ people, and has routinely referenced anti-LGBTQI+ rhetoric throughout his presidential campaigns. It is expected that his incoming administration will continue to take this hardline stance, potentially by enacting proposed policies outlined within Project 2025.
- **Project 2025's** mandate calls for the incoming Secretary for the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (which it proposes to rename as the *U.S. Department of Life*), to "reverse the Biden Administration's focus on 'LGBTQ+ equity,' ...encouraging marriage, work, motherhood, fatherhood, and nuclear families"— suggesting that a transgender identity is synonymous with "pornography". In relation to foreign policy, it also advocates for increased funding to select faith-based organisations globally, the promotion of heteronormative family structures within policy and foreign assistance programming and calls upon the administration to end foreign diplomatic support and assistance for LGBTQI+ rights.
- If any of these propositions are enacted by the Trump Administration as anticipated, this will be detrimental for LGBTQI+ people worldwide. It will likely result in pushback and rescinding of support for LGBTQI+ rights and protections globally and would embolden anti-LGBTQI+ actors to amplify their attacks.

Withdrawal from climate commitments:

- Trump has pledged to withdraw the U.S. from the **Paris Climate Agreement** and is also expected to dramatically dismantle support for existing programming efforts, including the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).

¹³ https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/2023-07/USAID_LGBTQI-Inclusive-Development-Policy_August-2023_1.pdf

- This reflects the mandate set out in Project 2025, which calls upon the next Republican president to rescind all climate policies from U.S. foreign aid programs (specifically USAID's Climate Strategy 2022–2030¹⁴), also calling for the dismantling of USAID offices, programs and directives designed to advance the Paris Climate Agreement, and pushing for a reduction in funding for climate mitigation efforts through foreign aid in favour of promoting fossil fuels in global South countries.
- The climate crisis disproportionately impacts women, girls and marginalised groups by increasing risk of numerous health and psychosocial issues, including for those related to sexual and reproductive health and rights. By falling short on commitments to halve emissions by 2030 and reducing support for climate action on the global stage, the Trump Administration's policies will likely further contribute to, and exacerbate existing, deep running inequalities between countries and among communities.

Roll back in support for global HIV programming:

- IPPF and its partners are concerned about the future of U.S. support to global HIV/AIDs programming. The U.S. is the single largest donor to international HIV/AIDs efforts globally, largely contributed by the Global Equality Fund and the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (**PEPFAR**), which has delivered approximately \$120 billion over 50 countries since its inception in 2003 and is credited with saving more than 25 million lives worldwide.¹⁵
- With an increasingly partisan environment in U.S. Congress, and the mobilization of ultra-conservative actors, PEPFAR has been under attack in recent years. The Trump Administration proposed substantial cuts to the programme during his first term, which were rejected by Congress at the time. However, pushback on PEPFAR in recent years has resulted in the program only being granted further reauthorization for one year in 2024, undermining the ability for long-term planning and strategic action.
- With PEPFAR due to come up for reauthorization in 2025 under a Republican majority in Congress, it is anticipated that Trump and Congress may impose harmful reductions on support for HIV/AIDs programming in U.S. foreign assistance. This would potentially dismantle PEPFAR and halt lifesaving services for millions.

Major reductions and/or shifts in humanitarian programming:

- Under the Biden Harris Administration, the U.S. is the single largest government donor to the humanitarian aid architecture. U.S. support currently accounts for more than half of total funding to the United Nations Refugee Agency, **UNHCR** (57%). U.S. humanitarian assistance is critical for upholding access to sexual and reproductive health care in crisis settings.
- IPPF is concerned that under the incoming Trump Administration, U.S. humanitarian assistance would be redistributed in accordance with **ideological mandates**¹⁶. The emphasis would be on supporting select faith-based groups who comply with the conditions of an expanded GGR.

¹⁴ <https://www.usaid.gov/policy/climate-strategy>

¹⁵ <https://www.kff.org/global-health-policy/fact-sheet/the-u-s-presidents-emergency-plan-for-aids-relief-pepfar/>

¹⁶ <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/analysis/2024/11/07/what-could-trump-us-mean-humanitarian-response-global>

IPPF's key advocacy asks to mitigate these negative impacts:

IPPF, in collaboration with our Member Associations and partners spanning the SRHR, LGBTQI+, HIV and feminist movements, remain undeterred. We will strengthen our efforts in the face of increasing threats to sexual and reproductive rights, human rights, the Rule of Law and democracy at large. We will continue to advance our cross-issue movement work, taking cues from women and people in all their diversity everywhere, particularly young, marginalised and excluded voices, and from those who rely on our Member Associations for services and safety.

We seek the support of our donors and partners with the following priorities:

1. **Scaling up financial and political support to safeguard SRHR, advance gender equality and uphold human rights.** This should include strengthening intentional partnerships with likeminded governments and actors to align efforts to counter aggressive anti-rights attacks and influence in the multilateral system.
2. **Collaborative engagement and support from partners to dismantle the Geneva Consensus Declaration,** including working to remove existing country signatories and prevent new ones.
3. **Ensuring the voices of the Global South are elevated at all levels,** with firm prioritisation on supporting local partners as critical champions and enablers of development and human rights.
4. **Raising awareness about what is set out in Project 2025** and its architects' close ties to the incoming Trump Administration.
5. **Affirming global commitments to uphold and defend international humanitarian obligations and human rights principles in crises unfolding worldwide,** highlighting the vital importance of safeguarding populations in vulnerable situations and delivering essential humanitarian assistance.
6. **Holding the line on critical international multilateral processes and resolutions that protect and push the agenda forward for SRHR, gender equality and human rights,** including in processes like CPD, CSW, HLPF, the Human Rights Council, and the UN General Assembly.