

Drew University

College of Liberal Arts

**How the United States Globally Influences Funding to UNFPA**

A Thesis in Economics

by

Sarah Silverberg

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Bachelor in Arts

With Specialized Honors in Economics

May 2026

**Abstract:**

This thesis is designed to analyze the impact of the predictable yet volatile funding patterns of the United States to the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) on the funding trends of other donors. Historically under Republican presidential administrations, funding to this UN entity has been cut to zero, restored once the Democratic administration returns to power. When the United States is funding UNFPA, they are the largest contributor of funds, making their absence noticeably detrimental to the overall budget of UNFPA. By looking to see how other countries react to this funding pattern, it was interesting to observe which ones stepped in to try to fill the gap that the United States leaves behind and which chose to follow the United States as a global influence. Research was conducted through a combination of literature, statements from other donor countries, and by analyzing the data trends reported by UNFPA. Overall contributions for each year from 2014 to 2024 were mapped out to analyze the trends that other countries had while the United States seesaws with their donations. Using these collected numbers, correlation coefficients were run, both directly (year-to-year) and lagging (dependent country one year behind the independent United States). The findings of this study indicated that many of the other top donors to UNFPA tended to increase their funding to try to close the gap between the United States' presence and its absence. In addition, there were two countries which did not alter their funding patterns, and one which nearly matched the United States' pattern perfectly. The concluding thoughts surrounding this thesis were that while the United States is a powerful global influence, this does not necessarily mean that it influences other countries to act the same way and can even cause other countries to directly oppose what the United States is doing.

**Table of Contents:**

Introduction .....	4-7
History and Overview of International Aid.....	7-13
Overview of Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights.....	13-23
United States.....	23-25
Data and Methodology.....	26-33
Case Studies.....	33-44
Conclusion.....	45-47
Appendix.....	48
References.....	49-53

## Introduction

This study seeks to find out how the United States influences other governments' funding trends to the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). The UNFPA is the United Nations' entity on sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR). Focusing on issues such as family planning, maternal health, and gender-based violence, UNFPA seeks to make SRHR widely accessible in developing countries. Their "mission is to deliver a world where every pregnancy is wanted, every childbirth is safe and every young person's potential is fulfilled" (UNFPA 2025). In 2015, the United Nations adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). One of these goals, SDG 5, is to "Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls" (SDGs UN 2015). Specifically, SDG 5.6 is set to "ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights" which includes "informed decisions" in relation to SRHR (SDGs UN 2015). Universal access to SRHR is crucial to keeping women around the world safe regarding their health and their autonomy. Informed decision making refers to the patient being fully educated on the entire scope of a diagnosis, treatment, or procedure, including all known consequences, so that they can make the proper choice for themselves based on their options.

This research calculates the correlation effects taking place alongside US changes: when the US decreases funding, are other country funding trends negatively or positively correlated? Specifically focusing on UNFPA, this paper seeks to find out how Republican administrations' (more right leaning) repeal of funding to UNFPA through the Mexico City Policy influences other countries' decisions. The Mexico City Policy is also known as the 'global gag rule' prohibits receipt of US funding if an institution provides any type of referral to or direct provision of abortion services. In order to accomplish this, the study looks at data from 2014 to

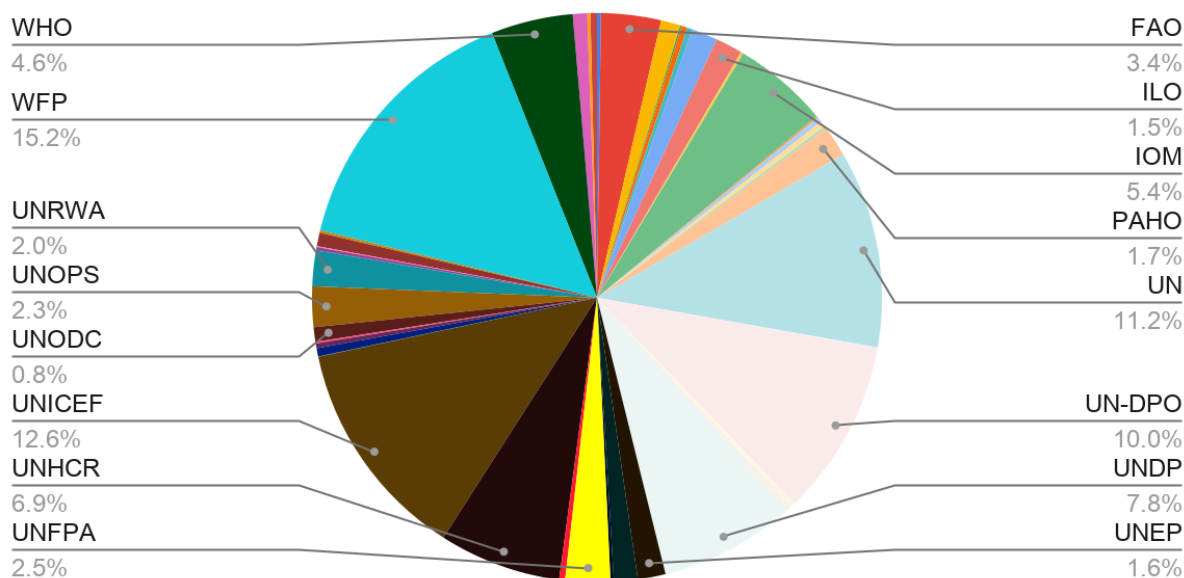
2024 on UNFPA's interactive donor map, a tool used to display contributions from all countries around the world, to see specifically if the United States withdrawal of funding support impacts other countries, and if so, who steps in to compensate for this loss of funds. In addition to this, data was also collected from the Kaiser Family Foundation to track the behavior of the United States' funding patterns. Because correlations do not necessarily imply causality, I also adopt a case study approach by looking in more depth at the funding patterns of the United States, Czechia, Canada, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Germany, and Japan in order to examine different governmental frameworks and their resulting funding patterns through the same window as the United States' volatility. This importance of this research is displayed through determining how much influence the United States has on the actions of other countries based on its domestic behavior. While the United States is known as a global superpower, it is interesting to see how much power it actually wields over other countries and whether it sways their decisions, positively or negatively.

The timeline of the United Nations Population Fund's existence is crucial to understanding the significance of this study. Originally coined the "United Nations Trust Fund for Population Activities" in 1967, the organization was created as a reaction to the growing global fear about "demographic change and the promise of new family planning technologies" (UNFPA 2026). In 1971, UNFPA was permanently instated as a UN entity, receiving voluntary contributions from "Member States". Yet, it wasn't until the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo in 1994 that conversations began changing globally surrounding the issue of demography. As a result of this conference, it was determined that population control itself was not the issue, but access to sexual and reproductive health and rights were the solution to the concerns being voiced. UNFPA transformed into a defender of

SRHR, a provider of essential services, and a global advocate of “dignity and bodily autonomy” (UNFPA 2026).

## Revenue Proportions of UN Entities (USD) 2024

Source: UNSCEB Revenue Agency



**Figure 1 - Revenue Proportions of UN Entities (USD)**

Figure 1 indicates that of the total UN revenue, UNFPA only receives 2.5%, regardless of the type of Presidential administration the United States is currently under. Ranked at the tenth highest recipient of funding, UNFPA receives less funding than the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and more than the United Nations Office for Project Services (UNOPS). It is important to note that the United States, when funding UNFPA, is the largest donor, having provided 17% of its contributions in 2024 (UNFPA 2026). This makes the pullback of United States funding even more detrimental, as this is a large portion of the overall UNFPA budget.

## History of ODA

The formal creation of Official Development Assistance (ODA) was in March 1961, inspired by the United States' previous efforts to lessen the cost of development to countries requiring assistance as demonstrated post-World War II in 1948 through the Marshall Plan (Hynes and Scott 2013, Runde 2020). With aid flows previously coined "Resource Flows", they resulted in lump sums given to developing countries by the Development Assistance Committee with no official designation of funds. For example, some aid was given for general assistance while other support was for specific purposes. By the end of the 1960s, countries realized that there were widespread differences in the types of aid given and to whom the recipient was, despite the fact that they all fell under the same "Resource Flows" title (Hynes and Scott 2013). Upon the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)'s adoption of ODA in 1969, the main funding was taken over by their Development Assistance Committee (DAC) to be the "gold standard of foreign aid" (OECD 2026). Additionally, some aid needed to be repaid while others were in the form of grants. This led to a need to define what ODA truly is in order to form a consensus among the donor countries. Official sector involvement designated that all ODA must be in the public sector through government entities. Private sector donations would not be included within the ODA breadth. Secondly, developmental purpose determined that all assistance should be "economic development and welfare" in recipient countries. It was from this consensus that ODA is known as what it is today.

In addition to this, the United Nations has a target that each of the donor countries would be required to contribute a minimum of 0.7% of their Gross National Income (GNI) for their donation amounts (OECD 2024). To date, only five countries have achieved this mandate: Germany, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Luxembourg (Ritchie and Arriagada 2025).

Bilateral aid is defined as the movement of funds from one country directly to one in development. These include addressing goals such as “debt relief, administrative costs, and spending on development awareness” through internal affairs or active NGOs (Gulrajani 2016, 7). Multilateral aid, however, refers to a donation given to a developing country through an international institution with the premise that it can be used for anything which heads towards the goal of economic and social development. One of the crucial differences between bilateral and multilateral aid is that bilateral aid usually is earmarked for a specific project or country, whereas multilateral aid can be used for a multitude of projects and other sources. There is a scenario in which multilateral aid can be earmarked for specific projects, known as “multi-bi” aid (Gulrajani 2016). It is classified as bilateral aid under official documentation, but results in multilateral aid. Multi-bi aid is what’s known as a non-core disbursement, separate from traditional core donations through multilateral streams. Core multilateral donations are directly from a donor country to a multilateral agency, not earmarked for any particular purpose in contrast to the non-core Multi-bi aid (OECD 2022).

It is important to understand these concepts when looking at a discussion surrounding UNFPA and its impact on SRHJ. UNFPA, when it receives non-earmarked funding, can use this funding to deal with any issue for which it sees a need to be addressed. This helps with SRHJ in that it helps provide more autonomy to the recipients of the donations, with their explicit concerns being taken into account. With tied-aid (or earmarked aid), the donations go to specific

projects which may not be the main need required in the recipient country. The earmarked funds could be a way for the donor country to spread their priorities abroad, without considering the actual need of the recipient, taking away their autonomy.

### **How is the United Nations Funded?**

The United Nations is funded primarily by its 193 member states, with contributions split into two categories: the regular budget towards social and economic development and the peacekeeping budget. Both budgets are paid for by each country's assessment determining their capacity to pay, ranging from 0.0001% for the least developed countries to a maximum of twenty-two percent, assigned currently to the United States. However, the peacekeeping budget's allocations are divided differently, with the majority of the contribution coming from the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America) (Leppert 2025). For the purposes of this study, the primary focus will be on the contributions to the regular budget. The allocations put towards this budget are dues from the member states, contributed towards core funding. This means that money paid due to responsibilities of member states can be used for anything deemed necessary for economic and social development, without a specific entity or project for it to be assigned to, for core operating costs (Multi-Partner Trust Fund n.d.). In 2019, the assessed contributions of member states only accounted for 24% of total United Nations funding (Multi-Partner Trust Fund n.d.).

DAC contributes to most of the UN's funding, with 58% of funding coming from these members. The United States and China (despite not being a DAC member) are the top two

donors respectively, distantly followed by Japan and the remaining DAC members (Leppert 2025; Multi-Partner Trust Fund n.d.). This makes up a significant portion of the 72% of funds directly allocated from governments to the United Nations in 2019. Only 15% of donations to the United Nations were from multilateral aid channels that are not from governmental entities (Multi-Partner Trust Fund n.d.).

Eichenauer and Reinsberg (2016) delve further into the determinants behind choosing multi-bi aid versus traditional bilateral or multilateral funding streams as the number of earmarked contributions has risen to over twenty percent of total donations. They propose that this rise could be a combination of two factors: increased action towards fighting poverty within developing countries or to provide clarification for where the funds go to address ambiguity in reporting (Reinsberg et al. as cited in Eichenauer and Reinsberg 2016). However, they point out that none of these reasons account for the heterogeneity of funding allocation among the countries which choose to use multi-bi aid. Much of the earmarked funding is allocated to multilateral organizations such as the United Nations entities, the World Bank, and regional development banks. This allows for the funding to be given for a specific project by governmental entities without a direct interaction between developed and developing countries. The reasoning behind giving multi-bi (or earmarked funds) versus traditional multilateral funding is that it is given when bilateral funding streams are not an option, but gaps in the traditional allocations need to be addressed, according to officials from donor countries (Eichenauer and Reinsberg 2016).

Baumann (2020) further emphasizes this reasoning, arguing that part of the reason for earmarking for funding is to hold agencies such as the UN accountable for their funding and how it is used. However, he offers the possibility that this is not the only reason for earmarked

funding. The argument follows that while transparency of donations is needed, the donor countries should reflect on the original intentions of the multilateral organizations and move to entirely multilateral funding streams as opposed to earmarked funds, which at this point have been deemed to be “self-perpetuating” (Baumann 2020). The author follows that the core aid is absolutely critical for the functioning of the UN system itself, and therefore needs to receive non-earmarked funding to continue supporting the work of the multilateral institutions (Baumann 2020). In other words, the donor countries should continue to contribute to multilateral organizations so that their original purpose can be achieved, rather than a donation which is specific to a particular project.

In a study researching the effectiveness of bilateral and multilateral aid, Biscaye et al. (2017) discuss how the increase in earmarked funds is partially due to a concern of “aid effectiveness”. What they mean by this is that donors are intrigued to know where the money is going and if the project it is going to is adequately being accomplished. However, Biscaye et al. (2017) also determined that despite discourse regarding the effectiveness of bilateral aid versus multilateral aid, there was no significant evidence to prove that one form of aid was better than the other. Both are effective forms of aid, influenced by the specificities of the project and donor profile, and less so to do with the method of delivery of the aid. Additionally, an article evaluating the practices of foreign aid contributions determines that there is a lack of available transparency in aid contributions, resulting in confusion and unclear data (Easterly and Pfitze 2008). Part of the reason for earmarking, as stated above by Baumann (2020) is to determine where the funding goes, and to gain the transparency that Easterly and Pfitze (2008) request in their article. However, it is interesting that despite the increase in earmarked funds, there is no better aid stream than the other in terms of aid effectiveness.

To develop these concepts further, one can look into the reasoning for what a country provides for why they provide aid. In a study focusing primarily on bilateral aid, it can be seen that smaller donors focus more on the needs of the recipient country whereas larger donors focus on promoting their own priorities with their donations (Rabehajaina et al. 2023). An example of this is through the use of the Mexico City Policy, known more widely as the “Global Gag Rule”. The United States uses their power of funding during Republican administrations to cut off all support towards SRHR efforts. While the aid they provide during Democratic administrations does not promote abortion as a form of birth control, the United States is able to use their funding power to cut off family planning aid entirely during said periods in order to align with their interests by punishing health clinics that provide abortions or refer their patients to abortion services. Cuts to these clinics also means that other services are unintentionally directly affected, such as Malaria treatment and other forms of care which are not related to SRHR.

### **Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights and their Importance**

The working definition of sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) as defined by the World Health Organization is “...a broad range of services that cover access to contraception, fertility and infertility care, maternal and perinatal health, prevention and treatment of sexually transmitted infections (STIs), protection from sexual and gender-based violence, and education on safe and healthy relationships” (WHO 2025). While this is the broad terminology used by international institutions surrounding this issue, one can also use the acronym SRHJ, which stands for Sexual and Reproductive Health and Justice. This approach “emphasizes not just the right to end a pregnancy but also the right to choose to become a parent and to raise a child in safe, healthy, and affirming conditions” which is important in order to

grasp the full extent of what protections are being influenced under conservative government administrations (Olmsted and Killian 2023, 148).

In order to understand what causes sexual health to be considered “taboo” so to speak (and why it needs to have a justice component attached), it is important to grasp the concept of conservatism. Merriam-Webster defines conservatism as “a political philosophy based on tradition and social stability, stressing the importance of established hierarchies and institutions (such as religion, the family, and class structure), and preferring gradual development to abrupt change” (Merriam-Webster 2025). In this scenario, the primary focus will be on the importance of religion as a tenet of conservatism.

Reproductive rights have a significant impact on women’s economic autonomy, health, and social status. A woman’s autonomy, in the most basic terms, is the right to be able to make decisions about her own body. Not only is this inclusive of reproductive rights, but involves her as whole, with the UNHCR stating that “the right of a woman or girl to make autonomous decisions about her own body and reproductive functions is at the core of her basic rights to **equality, privacy, and bodily integrity**” (OHCHR 2017). To specify, economic autonomy is defined as a “women’s ability to access and control resources such as their own income, assets, productive, financial and technological resources and time” (ECLAC 2025). If a woman does not have access to reproductive rights, she may experience negative consequences regarding economic autonomy, such as not being able to get a job due to not having access to childcare or not being able to terminate an unwanted pregnancy, leading to financial burden. This then further takes away her right to equality because she is unable to make decisions about her own body. It also goes to reason that something as vulnerable as an abortion would want to be dealt with in

private. If someone is preventing access to reproductive care, this then publicizes the already sensitive time someone is going through, taking away the basic right of privacy.

Overall health is affected if access to SRHR is not available. There can be complications such as STIs, ectopic pregnancies, pre-eclampsia, depression, and much more. For example, if there is a lack of emphasis on SRHR, this can then cause an increase in pregnancy, an increase in possible reproductive complications, and an increase in transmissions of STIs such as HIV/AIDS due to lack of contraception use (Lindberg 2011). If there is no support for someone should they either get pregnant or contract an STI, this can have detrimental effects not only to the physical health of the person, but also to their mental health.

Additionally, reproductive rights can impact social status. Depending on the region where a person is located and the demographics of the area, if a woman receives an abortion, her entire reputation as viewed by her bubble of society can be shattered. Furthermore, the woman's self-image can be impacted by the public stigmatization of abortion, dealing with fear and the need for secrecy post-procedure (Hanschmidt et al. 2016). But it is not just perception of the procedure itself, but the legality of abortion and therefore the image of breaking the law which can impact social status. Criminality of the act of abortion varies, but it can be anything from punishing someone for providing safe abortion to someone actually having the abortion (Berer 2017). If someone is seen as a criminal for taking part in anything to do with an abortion, it can ruin their social status among their peers, potential employers, and future relationships.

## **The Role of Global Governance in Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR)**

To further understand the role of global governance in SRHR, we must first understand the concept of global governance. Global governance refers to “the system of institutions, rules, norms, and procedures that enable international cooperation on issues that cross national borders” (Global Challenges Foundation 2025). Global governance impacts SRHR in that there are many treaties and conventions put in place which are mechanisms for promoting reproductive rights. For example, one can examine CEDAW (the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women) and the impact it has had globally since the UN adopted it in late 1979. While the entire premise of CEDAW was adopted, it is up to the individual countries as to which parts of the treaty to implement into their own country. Still, CEDAW is a step forward into implementing gender equality and safety rights in countries around the world. The main tenets of CEDAW revolve around discriminations within the workplace, equal opportunities, and reproductive rights access. For example, “CEDAW (article 16) guarantees women equal rights in deciding "freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of their children and to have access to the information, education and means to enable them to exercise these rights."” (OHCHR 2025). To date, 189 countries have ratified CEDAW to some degree – although whether these tenets have been upheld since ratification is up for debate in several countries (OHCHR 2025). That being said, the United States was one of the few countries which did not ratify CEDAW, crucial information for understanding the volatility of the actions of the country.

The “Cairo Declaration on Population and Development” (1994) is a document which discusses the overall world’s population and what measures have been put in place in order to maintain the population number. More specifically, the declaration places an emphasis on equality and human rights, including on women’s rights in regards to population and

development policies, something which had not been done prior. The document specifies that there are at least five hundred thousand deaths from pregnancy and childbirth, with a large portion of said complications being caused by HIV/AIDS (UNFPA 1994). With continued lack of access to either contraception or comprehensive sexual education, the death toll remains high. This can then cause an increase in pregnancy, an increase in possible reproductive complications, and an increase in transmissions of STIs such as HIV/AIDS due to lack of contraception use (Lindberg 2011). Additionally, “The strategy adopted since Cairo – abortion as a public health issue – has been effective in forging WHO policy and technical guidance, and in various inter-governmental negotiations, where asserting a woman’s right to abortion would not have worked” (Corrêa, Germain, and Petchesky 2015, 250). Ultimately, this declaration was one of the first to truly outline how prioritizing women’s health was key to maintaining overall population health and wellbeing.

This wasn’t the only declaration which was aimed towards the development of women globally. The “Beijing Platform for Action” (1995) outlines critical areas which need to be addressed in order to help remove systemic barriers to women, stating that the ideal outcome is “to advance the goals of equality, development and peace for all women everywhere in the interest of all humanity,” (Beijing Declaration 1995). This document has been imperative to establishing the modern-day framework for how governments view human rights. It expressly laid out human rights in a way which mentions sexual and reproductive rights by name, as well as a push forward for gender equality while using gendered language. This being said, the coming of this platform did not come without its challenges.

There was a backlash surrounding the use of gendered terms and explicit mentioning of “sexual and reproductive rights”, garnering a pushback which resulted in, in one case, “thirty-one

pages of amendments” proposed to alter just two paragraphs of the original declaration (Baden and Goetz 1997). One theory of why the Beijing Platform for Action had such controversy was due to the lack of agreement on term usage during the aforementioned Cairo Declaration on Population and Development just one year prior. The pushback came from predominantly Catholic countries, uncomfortable with the terminology being used in global governance structures. During this time, “The ICPD witnessed the first illustration of an “unholy alliance” whereby a number of Muslim majority countries, together with some Catholic-majority countries in Latin America, and the Vatican, expressed reservations regarding certain provisions, words, and phrases in the PoA that were deemed by their representatives to conflict with their national laws and/or cultures (ICPD 1994a, ICPD 1994b)” (Karam 2017, 700). Additionally, “C-FAM has urged formation of a “permanent UN pro-family bloc,” predicting that “our victory will come” from this “potent alliance between Catholic and Muslim countries, ... new in the world, new to history,” what “[o]ur enemies call ... an un-holy alliance” (Ruse, 1999)”, calling for a unification of said conservative viewpoints to work together in global governance (Bob 2015, 215). So the question to ask is why the governance is able to be affected by these coalitions and how is SRHR influenced by religion as a whole?

### **How is SRHR influenced by religion?**

From the Reagan era of the United States onwards, the issue of reproductive rights has been an ongoing battle. Despite the separation of church and state, the growth of the “Religious Right” in the U.S. has had consequences for reproductive rights (Di Mauro and Joffe 2007). The “Religious Right” can be defined as Christian Nationalism within the political sphere. More

specifically, it is the tenets of fundamentally conservative christianity being transposed into politics, everyday law and policies. While this example is centered in the United States, it is important to note the power that the United States holds as an influence on other countries, which will be detailed more later in the paper.

As briefly mentioned earlier, part of reproductive rights and understanding sexual health includes access to sexual education. Unlike other subjects taught in school, the topic of sexual education “generates strong opinions that are steeped in social values, ideology, religion and morality” (Allotey et al. 2011, 57). This can be evaluated through varying levels of education received around the world, ranging from a complete absence to a comprehensive overview of SRHR. The influence of religion on sexual education makes a broad impact on the availability of knowledge throughout the globe and greater society. “Religious conservatives...oppose comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) programs and promote abstinence-based teaching by appealing to the human right of parents to an education for their children in accordance with their convictions” (Vik and Moe 2019, 12). This creates a huge disparity between secularized education and religious institutions, causing a great divide between education levels among adolescents and young adults.

While this has previously been centered around conservative Christianity, the idea of restrictions surrounding SRHR can be extended to other religions. In fact, regarding the prospect of abortion, “Carlson [Organizer of the World Congress of Families], meanwhile, remains convinced that conservative Christians have more in common with conservative Muslims than they do with Western liberals. ‘They share a common foe, which is a radical secular individualism that has turned against a common value system resting on the Abrahamic traditions, which involves a recognition of marriage and family as parts of the created order, as

expectations,' he said" (Goldberg 2015). Considering the fact that the World Congress of Families is staunchly anti-abortion, the organizer stating that he feels as though his organization is aligned more-so with conservative Muslim values rather than Western ones is interesting when contemplating the fact that the United States is full of so-called "Western liberal" influence.

For example, when referring to conservative Muslim viewpoints, one could examine one of the said "backlashes" listed above towards the Cairo Declaration, with Brunei stating that "reproductive health" and "reproductive rights" violate Islamic sharia law (Karam 2017). Additionally, "Iran objected to the use of the term "individuals" in SRHR, citing the potential to sanction sexual relations "outside the framework of marriage" which was "totally unacceptable" and also disliked "sexual education for adolescents outside the boundaries of the home because it can only be 'productive' and 'appropriate' if given by parents to prevent 'moral deviation' and 'physiological diseases'." (Karam 2017). This being said, the majority of the Muslim-majority countries in attendance at the conference did eventually agree to the declaration, while maintaining reservations surrounding the sections regarding SRHR policies and the right to implement them domestically as they see fit (Hameed 2018). While the reservations were made publicly and attempts to change wording were made, the coalition was unsuccessful in altering this declaration. However, pro-SRHR sentiment prevailing is not always the case.

### **Global Influence:**

*Roe v. Wade* was passed in 1970, inciting a movement among conservative groups which then "pressured Congress to pass the Helms Amendment to the US Foreign Assistance Act" prohibiting the use of international aid from paying for abortions "as a method of family

planning” (van der Meulen Rodgers 2018, 44). “The Global Gag Rule prohibits foreign nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) from receiving funding from the US government if they provide, advocate for, or refer to abortion services” (MSI Reproductive Choices 2024). Proposed as the Mexico City Policy, this rule from the United States is applied globally as a “hallmark of Republican administrations” (van der Meulen Rodgers 2018, 1). U.S. contributions are being consistently repealed and then reinstated depending on the sitting administration at that time (van der Meulen Rodgers 2018, 1). This being said, it is important to note that “the policy explicitly allows NGOs to continue to treat the complications of unsafe abortions (post-abortion care)” as well as provide referrals to other organizations (abortions not included) and emergency contraception (Crane and Dusenberry 2004, 129). So while the act of abortion cannot be completed (unless there are extenuating circumstances such as rape or incest, specifically outlined within the policy), resources can be provided which can assist the woman in need.

The Kemp-Kasten amendment denies federal funding to any organizations or programs that “support or participate in a program of coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization” (Vik and Moe 2019, 34). In a statement by Congressman Chris Smith in 2002, the UNFPA is one of said programs. He writes that the UNFPA “clearly supports a program of coercive abortion and involuntary sterilization” (Goldberg 2015) (Congressman Chris Smith, 2002). This amendment slashes funding to the UNFPA under the guise of preventing abortions, but instead ends up causing the SRHR movement to be defunded drastically. This then creates an issue distributing comprehensive SRHR education, resources for contraception, and undermines providing healthcare to women so that they can make informed decisions about SRHR for themselves.

The Kemp-Kasten Amendment is not the only conservative policy brought forth with the rise of conservative governance. Several countries have endorsed conservative global policies in

recent years, one of the most prominent being the Geneva Consensus Declaration (GCD) signed in 2020. The Geneva Consensus Declaration, introduced by the United States in conjunction with Brazil<sup>1</sup>, Hungary, Uganda, Egypt, and Indonesia, states that there is no international right to an abortion as one of its tenets, (Institute of Women’s Health 2025). While the GCD is not a binding agreement, it is an overall statement of countries taking a multilateral step to promoting conservative policies in the reproductive rights sphere (Morgan 2022). Furthermore, the appearance of this declaration appears to be part of a larger movement in retaliation against the progressive feminist movement of the current age. This is displayed through a parallel set of structures (such as the Geneva Consensus Declaration and the Kemp-Kasten Amendment) to what is being passed under more liberal government administrations.

Additionally, the city “Geneva” being placed in the title of the declaration has a clear message undermining the connotation of human rights associated with the city. Geneva is known for being the epicenter of human rights organizations, but “They wanted the symbolism of an anti-rights, anti-multilateral coalition speaking at the global epicenter of multilateralism and human rights” in order to make a powerful statement against the human rights advancements which have been done thus far (Morgan 2022, 187). Not only does the Geneva Consensus Declaration state that there is no international right to an abortion, but its proponents also choose to co-opt the space in which many pro-human rights legislations have been put forth. There are now thirty-nine members of the Geneva Consensus Declaration, despite the fact that many believed once the United States withdrew the entire declaration would be dismantled (The Institute for Women’s Health 2025; Morgan 2022).

---

<sup>1</sup> Brazil formally withdrew from GCD on January 17, 2023 despite initially cosponsoring the initiative

The United States is a large power which they harness to spread their influence on other countries. “Through restrictions and funding conditionalities, the United States has ensured that these foreign aid programs and policies reflect the ideology of the Religious Right, instead of effectively providing services and enabling organizations to promote women's human rights” (Petroni and Skuster 2008, 9). By harnessing the power that the United States holds, it's able to control the narrative which is spread regarding reproductive rights. This is altered depending on the ideology of the government at that time. During conservative administrations, the United States will pull funding and create doctrines such as the Geneva Consensus Declaration. However, during democratic administrations, the United States is likely to pull out of said organizations and reinstate funding to international organizations (Petroni and Skuster 2008).

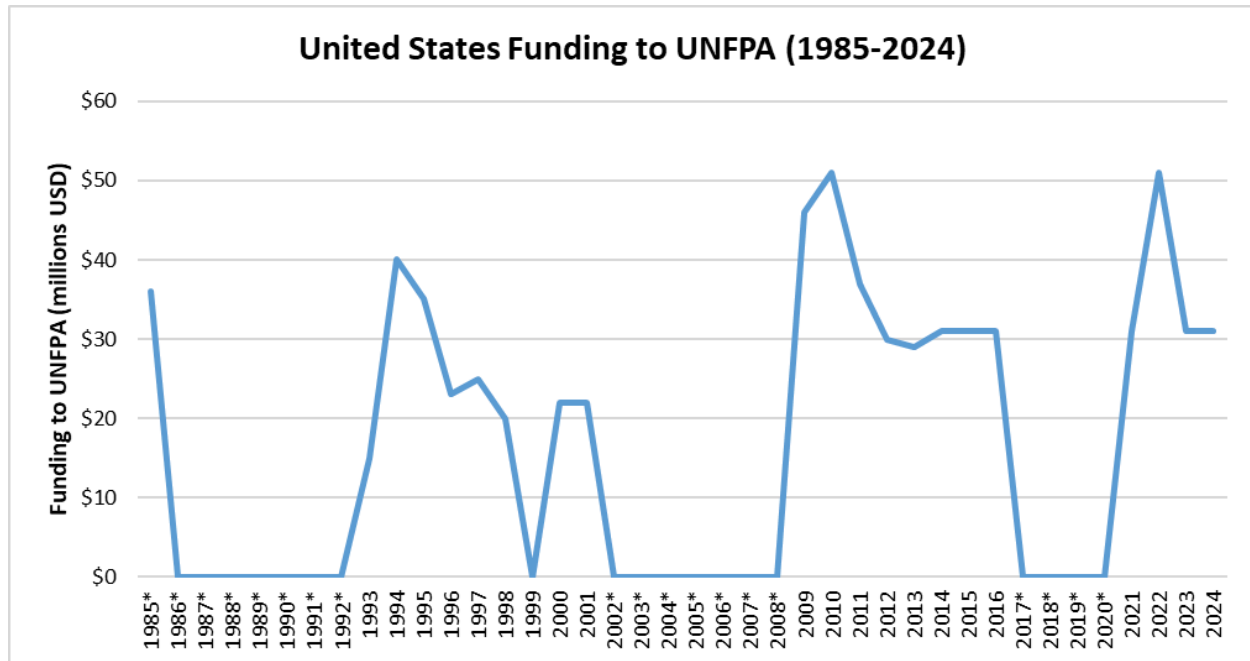
Through the provision of United States foreign aid, we can also see how governance structures such as the aforementioned “Global Gag” can be spread. Starting in the mid-1960s, USAID provided reproductive rights access to developing countries, not only to aid in population control, but also to provide some form of economic stability amid the Cold War ((van der Meulen Rodgers 2018, 43). The United States holds back its ODA (Official Development Assistance) funding to developing countries in an attempt to combat abortion as a method of family planning. This not only affects abortion policies, but also “maternal and child health, nutrition, HIV/AIDS (including The President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief), infectious diseases, malaria, tuberculosis, and neglected tropical diseases” (Molobela 2020, 7). The impact of the rule stems back to the original consensus regarding the effect of SRHR restrictions on overall health.

## **United States**

Beginning with the United States, it is interesting to see the marked predictable volatility to which all other countries were compared. The United States' political system mainly relies on two main electoral platforms: Republican and Democrat. This bipartisan system invokes a polarity in which the two parties could not be further divided. One of the main issues on which these two entities are split is the matter of funding to the UN, particularly to UNFPA. During Republican administrations, all funding to UNFPA is cut off. In contrast, during Democratic administrations, funding not only is restored, but sometimes increased. For example, the first Trump administration cut funding to UNFPA from 2017-2020. When funding was restored under the Biden administration in 2021, an unprecedented extra \$5 million was added to the UNFPA Supplies Partnership in order to support widespread distribution of contraceptives, maternal healthcare, and family planning assistance to women in countries suffering from humanitarian crises (UNFPA 2021).

But it isn't just the actions of the United States itself which makes the study so fascinating; it's the impact that the United States' decisions has on other countries around the world. The United States has a strong global influence on how other countries behave, particularly on SRHR topics through the previously mentioned Mexico City Policy.

**Figure 2 - United States Funding to UNFPA**



*Source: Kaiser Family Foundation – years marked with an asterisk are Republican administrations*

From the graph displayed above, it can be shown when the United States was in a Republican administration versus when it was in a Democratic one, based on funding falling to zero and then restarting again at an exponential rate. The dramatic increase in funding is difficult to describe considering its stark difference to pre-Republican administration. One reason could be for the aforementioned joining of the UNFPA Supplies Partnership with extra funds during the Biden administration. Additionally, there were specific humanitarian crises revolving around Afghanistan, Sudan, Tigray, and Rohingya refugees from Myanmar which resulted in additional funding being allocated to UNFPA with the repeal of the Kemp-Kasten Amendment (US Department of State 2021). Regardless of the reasoning behind the drastic increase in funds, the aid was enough to land the United States back in the top donor position for the entirety of the Biden administration.

One anomaly which should be addressed is the dip in 1999 during the Clinton administration. Despite this being under a Democratic president, “in a last-minute maneuver in the massive budget deal for FY [Fiscal Year] 1999, instigated by anti-family planning activists in Congress, the United States suspended its entire contribution to UNFPA” (Cohen 1999). This is crucial to understanding the way that the United States’ decisions are run; while the administration in power tends to make the choice as to whether Kemp-Kasten is invoked or not, the Congressional body also has a say. So, if there are more conservative individuals representing in Congress, as in 1999, it is more likely that there will be backlash or difficulty passing funding to UNFPA despite there being a Democratic President.

## **Data and Methodology**

This study uses data collected from the interactive UNFPA Donor Contributions map, listed under the donor portal for funding transparency on their website in order to observe how other donor countries act whilst the United States has pulled their funding. Data was collected from 2014 until 2024, which was the availability of the website, covering the last ten years of contributions. The countries selected were the thirty-two DAC countries plus Russia, China, the European Union, and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. The DAC countries include Austria, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Czechia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands,

New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, South Korea, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States<sup>2</sup>.

Within this data, a subset was identified, splitting the contributions into core and non-core funding to see if there is any impact of this on countries' funding allocations or not. Some entities, such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and the European Union, are strictly non-core entities, meaning that the entirety of their donations are earmarked. These entities have no mandate to donate towards core operating costs, however, they do fund projects for individual United Nations entities, potentially making up the 15% of aid that was made up of multilateral channels determined by the United Nations Multi-Partner Trust Fund above. Part of my research will be examining which donors contributed core funds versus non-core funds, whether one is used more than another (for example, when the United States drops out), and the general trends of individual donors using more core funds or non-core funds.

Two important factors were noted when collecting this data: the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation may have given their donations in lump sums during certain years with the intention of the funds being spread over a given time period for a specific project. In addition, during the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020, nearly all donations increased significantly, presumably to aid the developing countries during the height of lockdown. Therefore, the year 2020, while still important to the data set, will not be identified as a specific correlation due to the external factor of the pandemic affecting the data.

The decision for Czechia to become a case study did not spawn directly from the correlation coefficient. From the data, it actually was not the highest positive correlation by far. However, there has been a rise in right-wing conservatism in Eastern Europe. With this in mind,

---

<sup>2</sup> While the coefficients were run for both Latvia and Lithuania, since their UNFPA contributions are consistently zero, they were left out of the table.

a deeper dive into Czechia's donation schedule and political history proved to be a valuable addition to the thesis.

Noticing the correlation coefficients, Russia is marked as having the second most-negative lagging correlation coefficient. Naturally, the goal was to attempt to evaluate Russia, especially considering the fact that Putin (Russia's President) and Trump have a historically somewhat amiable relationship. Unfortunately, upon attempting to do further research into Russia's donor profile, there was no indication or acknowledgement of their funding patterns. Whereas Denmark and Sweden both had Ministry of Foreign Affairs websites which detailed their priorities, Russia's last piece of information surrounding their foreign donations which could be found was over a decade ago. Beyond the lack of transparency, their donation pattern was rather odd, mostly giving a set \$300,000, but including some jumps to higher donations and a most recent drop to a mere \$400 in 2024. With no explanation for this funding pattern, it was hard to provide a comprehensive case study despite the interesting traits that Russia's funding patterns possess.

Two non-country entities are major contributors to UNFPA, the European Union and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. The reason that these entities were included in the study was that they both are large donors to UNFPA. However, these entities were not included as individual case studies for two separate reasons. For the European Union, this entity is a collection of governments working together in a coalition. Their funding does not necessarily reflect the ideologies of one particular government, resulting in funding which is hard to track the reasoning behind. For the Gates Foundation, the reason that they were not included was because they contribute to UNFPA in lump sums, making donation tracking more difficult. In fact, on UNFPA's interactive donor map, there are several years where the Gates Foundation is

listed as \$0 in contributions. However, when referencing the Foundation's financial reports, they have UNFPA listed as their lump sum distributions. With this creating issues with correlation coefficients and proper pattern tracking, they themselves were not included in the study.

### **Correlation Coefficients**

In this data set, a correlation coefficient was calculated with the other entities in relation to the United States in order to determine who acts with the United States and who reacts to them. The reason behind the United States being the independent variable is due to the fact that it has a predictably volatile funding pattern to the UNFPA; when a Republican president is in power, the funds to the UNFPA are halted and then reinstated when a Democratic president is elected, excluding the previously mentioned 1999 blip. In addition to this, the United States is the biggest donor for the UNFPA when they are in a period of donating, so it is imperative to see who steps in when they drop out. If the dependent country's correlation coefficient was positive, that means that they act similarly to the United States' pattern. If their correlation coefficient is negative, that means that they act opposite to the United States. Both a direct correlation and a lagging correlation coefficient were calculated when examining this data set. The lagging correlation coefficient was calculated by examining the dependent country's donations one year after the United States' donations to potentially determine if any responses were reactionary, a conclusion only reached after further research into whether the pattern was deliberate or a coincidence.

### **Table 1 - Top 10 Donors and the European Union Ranked by Donor Average**

<b>Country/Entity</b>	<b>Donor Ranking Average</b>	<b>Lagging Coefficient (%)</b>
United States	2.57	N/A
United Kingdom	2.64	-0.3
Sweden	2.91	-0.5
Norway	3.73	-0.26
Netherlands	4.82	-0.38
Canada	5.55	-0.42
Denmark	6.09	-0.41
Germany	8.36	-0.09
European Union (non-core)	9	-0.28
Japan	9.18	-0.05
Finland	10.27	-0.29
Australia	11.09	-0.16

**Table 2 - Data Set with 2020 Omitted, Direct and Lagging**

<b>Country/Entity</b>	<b>Direct Coefficient (%)</b>	<b>Lagging Coefficient (%)</b>
Sweden	-0.45	-0.73
Russia (non-DAC)	-0.41	-0.40
Canada	0.11	-0.32
Denmark	-0.13	-0.32
Netherlands	-0.13	-0.22
Estonia	-0.06	-0.21
Hungary	-0.06	-0.12
Poland	-0.10	-0.03
United Kingdom	-0.26	-0.01
Slovak Republic	-0.06	0.00
Italy	0.40	0.01
European Union (non-core)	0.22	0.02
Finland	0.14	0.02
Slovenia	0.50	0.04

<b>Country/Entity</b>	<b>Direct Coefficient (%)</b>	<b>Lagging Coefficient (%)</b>
Norway	0.33	0.12
New Zealand	-0.05	0.16
Switzerland	0.26	0.17
Australia	0.45	0.21
Iceland	0.56	0.24
Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (non-core)	0.74	0.27
Austria	0.40	0.31
Belgium	0.10	0.32
Spain	0.69	0.36
Czechia	0.34	0.39
Germany	0.71	0.44
Luxembourg	0.55	0.48
Greece	0.73	0.51
France	0.83	0.54
Ireland	0.88	0.66
Portugal	0.89	0.73
Japan	0.92	0.73
South Korea	0.83	0.80

**Figure 3 - Top Donors to UNFPA 2014-2024**

### Top Donors to UNFPA 2014-2024

Source: UNFPA Interactive Donor Map

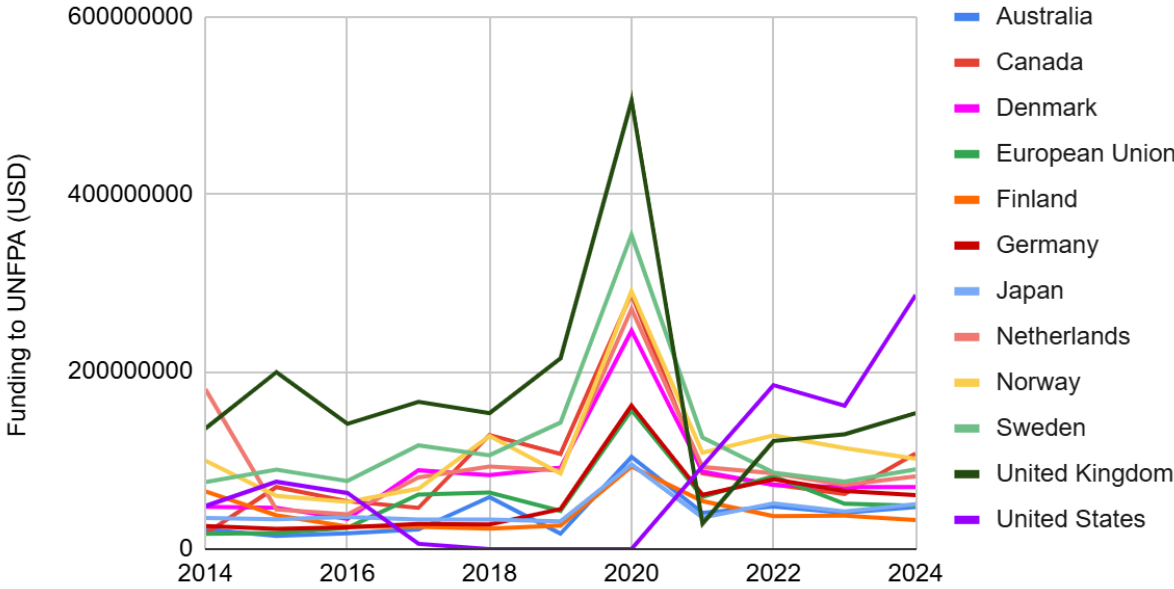


Figure 4 - Top Donors to UNFPA 2014-2019, 2021-2024

### Top Donors to UNFPA 2014-2019, 2021-2024

Source: UNFPA Donor Map

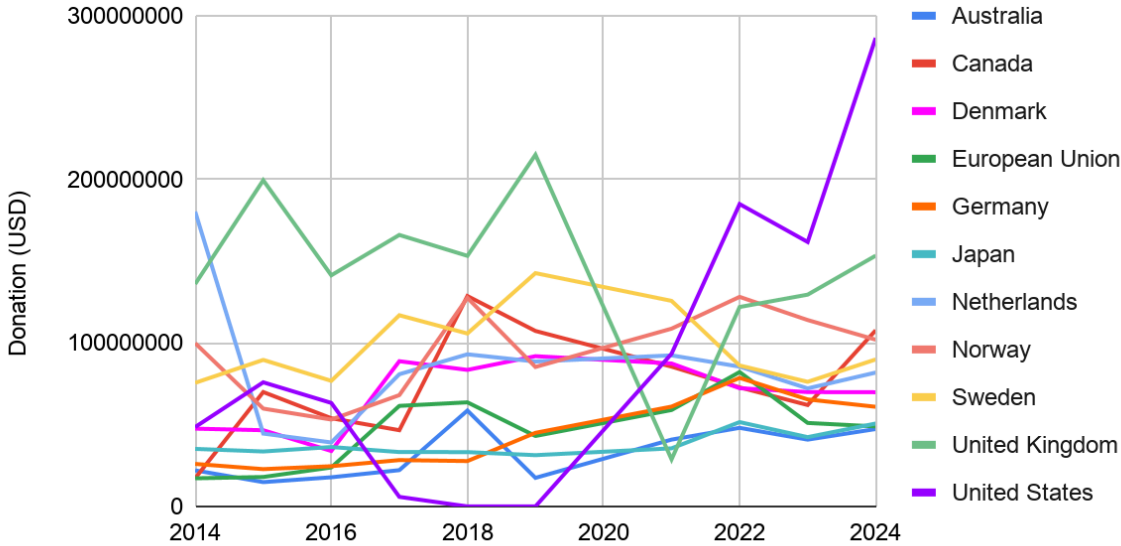


Figure 5 - Case Study Countries Funding to UNFPA 2014-2024

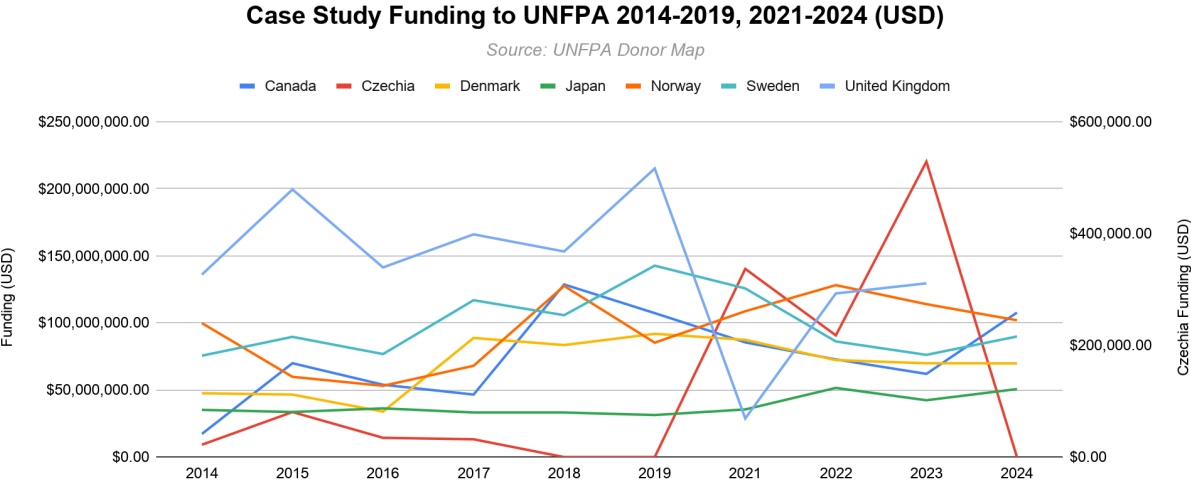
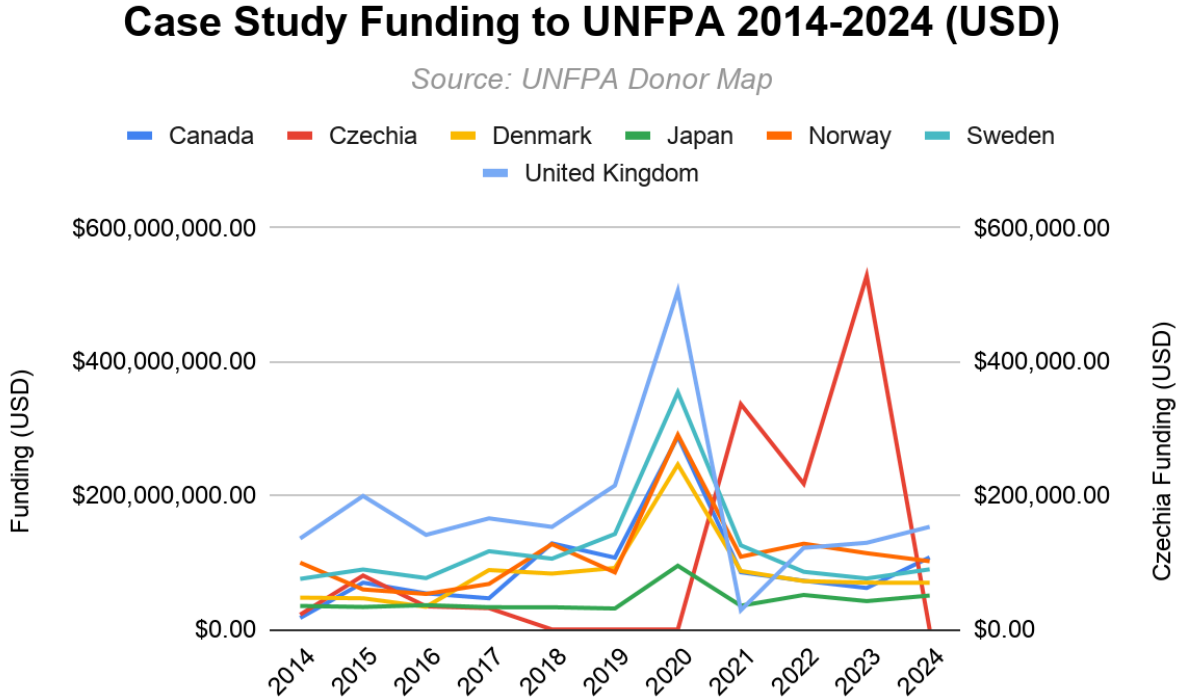


Figure 6 - Case Study Countries Funding to UNFPA 2014-2019, 2021-2024



### Case Studies

The case studies were chosen for a variety of reasons, but the main ones were correlation coefficients and transparency availability. The United States was chosen because it is the

reference to which the other countries were compared, our independent variable so to speak. With some of the most volatility in its voting patterns, it was evident that the U.S. needed to be part of the case studies. Czechia was chosen because of its extremely similar pattern to the United States. While their system is parliamentary, they seem to follow a similar voting outcome to the United States, mirroring it with only a one year lag. Despite its low funding values, this was too much of a coincidence to ignore. Sweden and Denmark were chosen to represent the Nordic aid section of this paper. The inclusion of Nordic countries was crucial because they are some of the key countries who consistently provide funding to UNFPA, compensating when the United States drops out. Canada was included for similar reasons, but with the addition that their aid jumps exponentially when the United States withdraws from donating to UNFPA.

Japan was included because of its high funding values and representing a developed country in Asia. While the majority of the case studies are focused on the West, it was crucial that there be perspective from an Asian country, particularly one which funds at a similar level as the largest donors to UNFPA, being one of the top ten donors displayed above.

While I was hoping for Russia to be a part of the case studies, their government lacks transparency in their reasoning behind aid allocations. Whereas Sweden and Denmark have dedicated foreign aid pages as part of their governmental websites, Russia is only mentioned in official UNFPA documents, with little to no documentation from the country itself. This was not an uncommon occurrence – my research found that many of the countries who provide consistently large donations to UNFPA often had much clearer transparency through their governments in comparison to countries with smaller, variable funding values.

## **Czechia's Mirrored Pattern to the United States**

An unexpected result to have such a high positive correlation with the United States is Czechia. A small country in the southeast of Europe, their politics have mirrored the United States'. Similarly to President Donald Trump, the Prime Minister Andrej Babiš is on his second non-consecutive term in Parliament, serving first from 2017-2021 and now re-elected as of October 2025. Babiš founded the right-wing party of Czechia, "Action of Dissatisfied Citizens (ANO)" in 2012 with the acronym also representing the Czech word for "yes" (Hájek 2017). While the original foundation of the party was based on a business-centric model, it tended to be more independent, leaning traditionally on the ideology of right wing populism. However, following the most recent October 2025 elections, the party has shifted to be more right-wing and conservative (LSE 2025). Interestingly, this seems to follow a similar pattern to Trump's election in the United States, with his first term being on the more conservative middle ground and his second being extremely right-wing.

Trump and Babiš have shown interest in each other, often congratulating each other on their achievements and accomplishments during their time in office. In addition, both individuals have staunch opinions on migration, with Babiš withdrawing from the United Nations Migration Pact in 2018 because it blurred the line between legal and illegal forms of migration (Radio Prague International 2018). In Trump's second term in office, he has taken an aggressive approach towards immigration in the United States, with Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) being given a large budget through the "Big Beautiful Bill" passed in 2025 (PBS 2026).

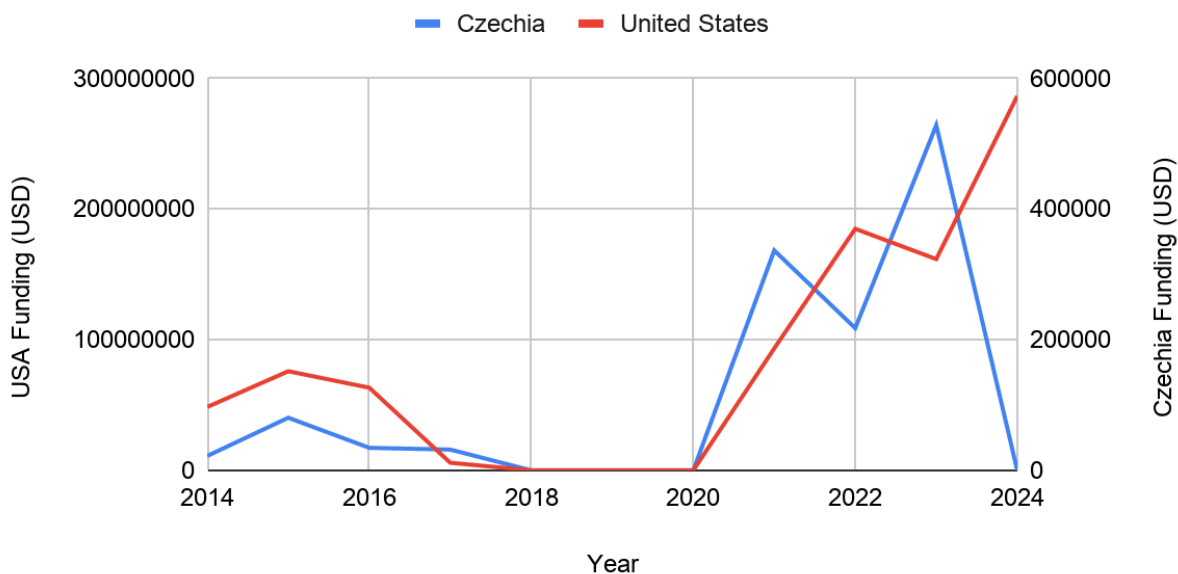
There are some key differences between Trump and Babiš, however. Babiš maintains that abortion rights and basic LGBTQ+ rights should be protected while Trump does not. The key

goal of Babiš while he is in office is to put the focus of his country first, as does Trump. As shown from the data, both leaders withdrew from the UNFPA around similar time frames. But was this related, or was this simply because two elected individuals with similar beliefs were elected at the same time?

Despite the fact that Trump and Babiš do agree on many topics and praise each other, it is not that the United States influenced Czechia, but rather that their conservative ideologies influenced each country individually to withdraw from the UNFPA. It does not have to do with the individuals' stances on reproductive rights either, but simply because both Trump and Babiš believe in prioritizing domestic issues over providing foreign aid. In fact, when Czechia does donate to UN organizations, they comprise only 8.1% of the country's donations to multilateral organizations (OECD 2023). Additionally, the majority of that funding is to the UN's migration entity, followed closely by the UN's entity on food and agriculture (OECD 2023). However, Czechia did allocate 17.7% of its bilateral ODA to gender equality and women's empowerment, though this number is down from the previous percentage of 38.3% and significantly below the DAC average of 45.8% (OECD 2023).

## Czechia v USA Funding to UNFPA 2014-2024 (USD)

Source: UNFPA Donor Map

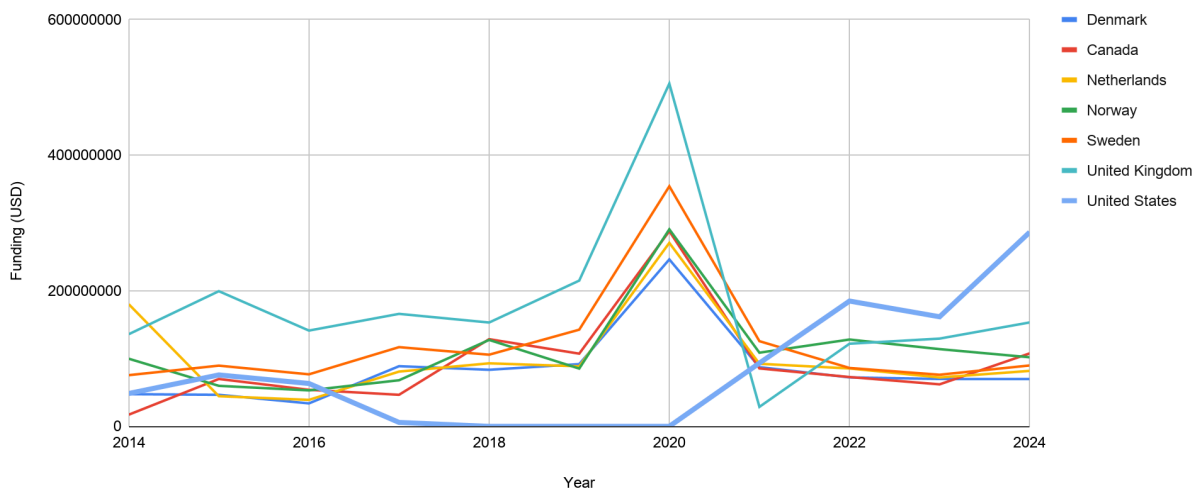


As displayed in the above graph, it is clear that Czechia decreased its funding dramatically when Babš was in power. With a stark increase in post-pandemic funding like the United States, it is interesting to see the same patterns of funding paralleled in Czechia's contributions to UNFPA. That being said, it is also clear that Czechia dropped out of funding UNFPA prior to the United States in 2024. Interestingly, the United States dropped out in 2025 with Trump's reelection, followed by Babš's reelection in October of 2025. While this most recent pattern may not be directly correlated, it is interesting to see how the voting patterns of each country elected similar leadership which acts the same way when it comes to UNFPA funding.

### Who Steps In?

### WHO STEPS IN: Funding to UNFPA 2014-2024 (USD)

Source: UNFPA Donor Map



It was interesting to discover that of the countries which increased their funding to UNFPA, they were all within the top ten donors to the entity already. So, when answering the question of who steps in, the evaluation of Canada, Denmark, Sweden, Norway and the Netherlands were crucial to understanding why this aid pattern exists and if the gap is ever truly filled.

As one of the largest donors to UNFPA, it was imperative that Canada be included in the case studies. Canada is committed to aiding UNFPA as one of the leaders of the Campaign to End Fistula<sup>3</sup>, as well as focusing on providing SRHR to developing countries and participating in the UNFPA Supplies Partnership to make contraceptives more accessible (Government of Canada 2017; UNFPA 2026). As shown from Figure 4, Canada has historically increased their funding to UNFPA when the United States dropped out, shown through the first Trump administration. Canada joined forces with countries such as Sweden and Denmark to fill the funding gaps through alternative “initiatives such as SheDecides” (Action Canada for Sexual Health and Rights 2025, para. 5).

<sup>3</sup> This campaign is to ensure that women do not get abscesses in their perineal tissue from stalled labor and stillbirth

From the graph above, it can be seen that Canada had a sharp increase in funding in 2017 when the United States dropped out of UNFPA funding. It can also be seen that once the United States started contributing again in 2021, Canadian funding dropped back to what it was pre-first Trump administration, in a directly negative relationship with the United States.

Historically, Sweden and Denmark are two of the top contributors to foreign assistance as a whole. The UN set a goal for donor countries to put at least 0.7% of their GNI (Gross National Income) towards foreign aid. As of 2024, Denmark's aid sits at 0.74% and Sweden at 0.91% (OECD 2024). With both of these countries surpassing the UN's goal, it is no surprise that they are large contributors to UNFPA, particularly when the United States drops out of funding. In fact, Nordic aid provided much of the support during the years when the Trump administration cut funding to the UNFPA, with the top contributors being Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. Their additional core contributions on top of their bilateral funding were able to keep the UNFPA's funding patterns steady, despite the invocation of the Kemp-Kasten amendment causing the United States to withhold funding (Wexler et al. 2021).

Denmark's foreign aid contributions are mainly divided into five pillars: Economic Growth, Conflict and Migration, Sustainability, Democracy and Human Rights, and Education and Health (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2026). For the purpose of this study, the focus will be on the fourth pillar, Democracy and Human Rights. Their mission actively states that "Denmark must defend our fundamental values and actively promote gender equality and the rights of women, girls, and LGBT+ persons, including the fight against sexual and gender-based violence, both online and in the physical world" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2026, para. 2). With this declaration, Denmark states that they will not be reducing any funding towards these ideals and will ensure that their values are shared. Furthermore, Denmark

consistently provides a large amount of core contributions to UNFPA, allowing for flexibility in where the funding goes (UNFPA 2025). Additionally, Denmark is a “key donor” to the UNFPA Supplies Partnership, which provides “contraceptives and vital maternal health medicine” globally (UNFPA 2025, 1). The country’s contributions remain unwavering and only continue to increase as time passes.

Sweden, as previously mentioned, has an even higher rate of foreign aid as a percentage of GNI, donating 0.91% of its GNI towards foreign aid (OECD 2023). Sweden’s foreign aid is also split into strategies, with one being a focus on health and SRHR (SIDA 2026). In a plan framed for the upcoming 2025-2029 years, the Swedish government will be channeling SEK 4.3 billion (or roughly \$482.4 million USD) to this initiative. Furthermore, as of March 2025, the Swedish government approved an additional SEK 75 million (\$8.4 million USD) upon the announcement of the United States pulling funding under the second Trump administration (Government Offices of Sweden 2025). This is especially telling due to the fact that Sweden actually decreased its overall foreign assistance budget for 2026 by about \$325.5 million compared to 2025 (Concord Sweden 2026).

In addition, as previously displayed in the data collected, this is not the first time that Sweden has stepped in to compensate for the United States’ pull back of funding. Sweden had a clear increase in their funding during the times that the first Trump administration dropped out as a response to help keep UNFPA supported and thriving. In addition, “Sweden is the main contributor to UNFPA’s Maternal Health Thematic Fund”, as well as HIV prevention, work preventing gender-based violence, SRHR programs, and work to “abandon female genital mutilation” (UNFPA 2024). With this information, it can be determined that Sweden helps keep

funding to the UNFPA stable while the United States does not provide funding under Republican administrations.

Norway too has a strong investment in keeping SRHR a main priority. According to Norad, the Norwegian government's foreign affairs ministry, "SRHR is one of Norway's political priorities and the government has committed, politically and economically, to contributing NOK 9.6 billion [just over \$1 billion USD] to strengthening SRHR efforts during the 2020-2025 period. Norwegian SRHR efforts will contribute to achieving SDG 3, which is about ensuring good health for all and SDG 5 on gender equality" (NORAD 2024). And this is proven by their consistent funding to UNFPA, with an increase in funds while the United States drops out. They continue to prioritize SRHR because "the right to autonomy over one's own body and sexuality lacks international consensus, making sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) a frequent target for anti-democratic forces" (NORAD 2024). Norway is determined to keep SRHR a funded entity in its foreign assistance budget.

In addition to this, Norway released a statement on January 30, 2026, resulting in a 92 million NOK (nearly \$10 million USD) increase to their UNFPA allocation as a direct response to the United States' reinstatement of the Global Gag rule (Norway in Geneva 2026). This increase is going to be used to attempt to keep UNFPA a functioning entity to support SRHR efforts in developing countries while the United States drops out of funding entirely. Similarly to Sweden, Norway actively is making an effort to combat the United States' actions during the second Trump administration.

The Netherlands is perhaps one of the most steadfast donors to UNFPA. The Netherlands has a vested interest in making sure that access to sexual education, antivirals, and safe abortions are accessible in developing countries. In fact, the Netherlands was one of the founding members

of SheDecides, proudly advertised on the Netherlands' government website. An organization which is not directly involved with UNFPA, SheDecides is a multilateral organization which several countries turn their attention to when the United States drops out of funding the UNFPA. SheDecides was created in 2017 by the Netherlands, Sweden, Belgium, and Denmark "as an urgent response to the return and expansion of the Global Gag Rule" (SheDecides 2026). Now, the organization partners with over sixty countries to maintain access to SRHR. For example, even though Luxembourg does not necessarily increase their funding to UNFPA, they do increase funding to SheDecides in order to help satisfy some of the same initiatives they might have achieved through UNFPA.

SheDecides is mainly focused on bodily autonomy, with abortion more at the forefront of its initiatives, a stark contrast with UNFPA which promotes overall SRHR. With Canada being the current country participating in the "Guiding Group" which leads SheDecides, they help to control where funding goes and helps bring in funding when UNFPA isn't receiving from the United States (SheDecides 2026). So, even though the Netherlands does not expressly say that they increased funding to UNFPA as a response to the first Trump administration, it is clear that they still prioritize SRHR as a whole, just through an alternate funding stream which is still dedicated to protecting SRHR and ensuring that "SheDecides".

### **Which top donors appear to remain impartial?**

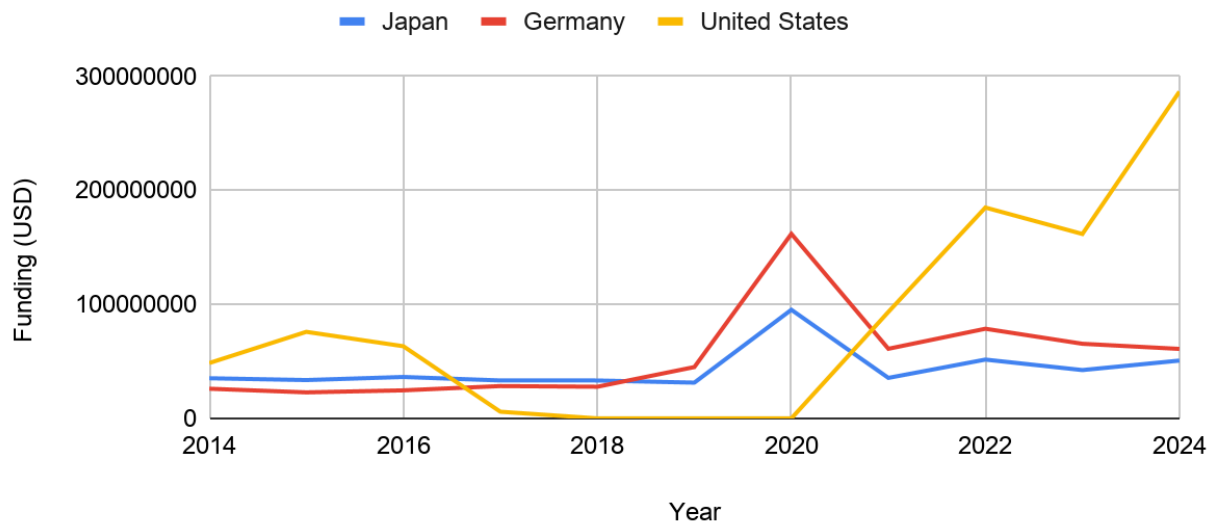
Both Germany and Japan are interesting to explore considering the fact that they are two of the largest donors to UNFPA and yet their correlation coefficients are negligible and there is

no clear indication of following a pattern. Despite the fact that several other of the largest donors are also the ones who step in to keep UNFPA afloat during times of United States volatility, these two countries maintain firm in their original placements. That being said, while these countries do not necessarily react to the United States, they do consistently provide large amounts of funding to UNFPA, stabilizing its mission otherwise to the United States' agenda.

Germany, the eighth largest contributor to UNFPA, has a mission which “aims for equal participation of all people in social, political and economic life” (UNFPA 2026). With this being a priority domestically, it transfers over to ensuring that UNFPA’s mission is being achieved internationally. In both 2021 and 2024, Germany agreed to deepen its relationship with UNFPA, aiming to help women who were neglected in severe humanitarian crises (Germany Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2021; UNFPA 2024). Consistently, Germany aims to help with family planning efforts, fight against fistula, and end female genital mutilation, all of which are supported through UNFPA’s efforts in developing countries.

## Germany, Japan, and United States Funding to UNFPA (USD)

Source: UNFPA Donor Map



Marked as UNFPA’s ninth largest contributor, Japan is committed to obtaining the United Nations’ SDGs. They remain firm in their contributions to UNFPA and IPPF (the International Planned Parenthood Federation) in order to achieve the UN’s 2030 SDGs. The Japanese government states that “The provision of services relating to sexual and reproductive health and rights is essential for realizing universal health coverage (UHC), that ensures affordable access to basic health services for all whenever they need them throughout their lives, and this is stated clearly in the Basic Design for Peace and Health, Japan’s global health policy, and the G7 Ise-Shima Vision for Global Health, an official outcome document of the G7 Ise-Shima Summit under Japan’s chairmanship” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan 2017).

What is particularly interesting about Japan is that its correlation coefficient shown in Table 1 is negligible, meaning that their funding stays relatively consistent regardless of the United States’ actions. It reaffirms that Japan is committed to meeting their goals despite what

other global powers are doing. In their UNFPA profile, Japan has specifically collaborated with the entity through “delivery of reproductive health services for women in conflict areas, the provision of safe spaces in the Middle East, efforts to end gender-based violence, and maternal and newborn health and emergency obstetric care in the Middle East and Africa”, accounting for their non-core contributions aside from their flexible core contributions given to the entity itself (UNFPA 2026).

Similarly to countries aside from the United States, Japan also did have a spike of funding in 2020, again due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Interestingly, while their funding remains relatively consistent through to 2024, their post-pandemic contributions are slightly higher than pre-pandemic, not unlike the United States. Unfortunately, due to Japan’s foreign affairs website only having data through 2017, it is difficult to know exactly what caused the increase in funds and whether this was caused by the United States’ increase or not. For the most part, however, Japan appears to be committed to reaching its own goals and maintaining its path in helping to achieve the SDGs, particularly in the field of sexual and reproductive health and rights. So while Germany and Japan do not necessarily align with the United States’ funding patterns, they remain committed to their own contributions to UNFPA, never faltering in their donations and obligations to the entity.

## Conclusion

While the study's correlation coefficients proved helpful in determining which case studies to choose, it was not a truly reliable indicator of whether or not the United States influences a particular country or not. For example, while the coefficients were helpful in explaining the relationship between countries such as Canada, Sweden, Denmark (negative), and Czechia (positive) and the United States, it also indicated that the United States was positively correlated with countries such as Portugal, Spain, and France. Yet, through further research, there was no sign that Portugal, Spain, and France were influenced by the United States' funding decisions, they just happened to be funding in a similar way. That being said, the coefficients were particularly useful in determining who steps in to fund UNFPA when the United States stops contributing and actively fights to keep the agency afloat.

What became clear throughout this research is that the interesting story is not who aligns with the United States, but who steps in when the United States drops out. As the correlations were discovered, it became clear that more countries actually fought against the United States rather than aligning themselves with the global superpower. The original impression that countries would follow the United States' funding paths because of their large influence was disproven by the evidence stating the opposite: the United States does have an influence, just not in the way originally speculated.

One thing which would have been more desirable is if each donor country had a dedicated profile on UNFPA or clear, updated data on a foreign affairs governmental website. Transparency was a large issue for this project, with governments that I might have wanted to

study such as Russia being difficult to find any information for. It would also be beneficial in that if the profiles were transparent, one could see exactly what each country was funding (for example, are they only funding maternal health, or are they putting money towards family planning as well?)

It is important to note that as of January 8, 2026, an update to an executive order from February 4, 2025 states under Section 2 (b):xxvi that funding is again withdrawn from UNFPA under the second Trump administration (Trump 2026). However, it is unclear who will step in as the large donor drops out. With Canada facing a change in administration and dealing with trade negotiations with the United States, it is uncertain whether they will hold the same bandwidth they did in the first administration. Furthermore, many other countries' governments have changed administrations as well, such as the United States, the UK, Germany, and France, with certain ones slashing any foreign aid budgets which may have been used previously to support UNFPA (Action Canada for Sexual Health and Rights 2025).

In addition to this update, it is important to revisit the impact that these cuts have had on SRHJ as a whole. Rogers (2018) states in her book that “the direct effects result from cuts in funding to programs that deliver vital health services. With interruptions to these services, individuals risk not receiving the preventive care and medical treatment that they need. The indirect impacts occur through higher fertility rates that are likely to result from reduced contraceptive access” (Bingenheimer and Skuster 2017 as cited in van der Meulen Rogers 2018). This means that individuals are unable to plan to have a child when they want to and under their preferred conditions. Furthermore, Rogers discusses how it is impossible to come up with a true number of just how vast these impacts will spread, especially with the uncertainty of alternate donor funding. As previously mentioned, even though several donors step in to fill the gap that

the United States creates when they drop out, it is not enough to fully compensate for the complete lack of funding from UNFPA's largest donor.

In the future, I would like to examine the Global Gag rule further, particularly since the second Trump administration has expanded it to include discussion of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) and gender (Stolberg 2026). It would be interesting to see if this decision would have any mirroring impact on other countries and if any patterns would stay consistent or change dramatically.

## Appendix

**Table 3 - Full Data Set, Lagging Coefficient and Donor Ranking Average**

Country/Entity	Donor Ranking Average	Lagging Coefficient (%)
Austria	24.45	0.38
Australia	11.09	-0.16
Belgium	15.09	-0.17
Canada	5.55	-0.42
Czechia	27.09	0.44
Denmark	6.09	-0.41
Estonia	25.73	-0.30
European Union (non-core)	9.00	-0.28
Finland	10.27	-0.29
France	16.82	0.47
Germany	8.36	-0.09
Greece	29.55	0.51
Hungary	29.73	-0.08
Iceland	22.27	0.28
Ireland	18.00	0.02
Italy	17.36	-0.21

Country/Entity	Donor Ranking Average	Lagging Coefficient (%)
Japan	9.18	-0.05
Luxembourg	15.36	0.29
Netherlands	4.82	-0.38
New Zealand	19.18	-0.28
Norway	3.73	-0.26
Poland	26.91	0.05
Portugal	24.55	0.70
Russia (non-DAC)	22.73	-0.33
Slovak Republic	28.82	-0.03
Slovenia	28.00	0.16
Spain	20.36	0.12
South Korea	15.18	0.64
Sweden	2.91	-0.50
Switzerland	12.09	-0.26
United Kingdom	2.64	-0.30

## References

- Action Canada for Sexual Health & Rights. 2025. "United States Blocks Global Funding for Sexual and Reproductive Rights." January 27, 2025. <https://www.actioncanadashr.org/news/2025-01-27-united-states-blocks-global-funding-sexual-and-reproductive-rights-again>.
- Allotey, Pascale A., Simone Diniz, Jocelyn DeJong, Thérèse Delvaux, Sofia Gruskin, and Sharon Fonn. 2011. "Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights in Public Health Education." *Reproductive Health Matters* 19 (38): 56–68. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0968-8080\(11\)38577-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0968-8080(11)38577-1).
- Aylward, Erin, and Stuart Halford. 2020. "How Gains for SRHR in the UN Have Remained Possible in a Changing Political Climate." *Sexual and Reproductive Health Matters* 28 (1): 1741496.
- Baden, Sally, and Anne Marie Goetz. 1997. "Who Needs [Sex] When You Can Have [Gender]? Conflicting Discourses on Gender at Beijing." *Feminist Review*. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1395814>.
- Baumann, Max-Otto. 2020. "How Earmarking Has Become Self-Perpetuating in United Nations Development Co-operation." *Development Policy Review* 39 (3): 343–359.
- Berer, Marge. 2017. "Abortion Law and Policy Around the World: In Search of Decriminalization." *Health and Human Rights Journal* 19 (1): 13–27.

- Biscaye, Pierre E., Travis W. Reynolds, and C. Leigh Anderson. 2017. "Relative Effectiveness of Bilateral and Multilateral Aid on Development Outcomes." *Review of Development Economics* 21 (4): 1425–1447.
- Bob, Clifford. 2015. "The United Nations." In *Breaking Down the State*, 205–221. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. <https://publications.aston.ac.uk/id/eprint/33531/1/611224.pdf>.
- Brusenbauch Meislová, Monika. 2020. "Relations between the United States and the Czech Republic: From Honeymoon to Hangover?" In *The Relations of Central European Countries with the United States*, edited by András Bozóki and Ágnes Rácz, 57–80. Budapest: Ludovika University Press.
- Burke, Sarah. 2025. "The Reproductive Rights Effect: How Reproductive Policy Affects Women's Representation and Militarization." PhD diss., University of California, Irvine. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5xv4s492>.
- Center for Reproductive Rights. n.d. "About Us." Accessed May 12, 2025. <https://reproductiverights.org/about-us/>.
- . n.d. *Reproductive Rights Reports and Case Law Database*. Accessed March 16, 2025. <https://reproductiverights.org>.
- Cohen, Susan A. 1999. "The United States and the United Nations Population Fund: A Rocky Relationship." *Guttmacher Institute* 2 (1). <https://www.guttmacher.org/gpr/1999/02/united-states-and-united-nations-population-fund-rocky-relationship#:~:text=In%20a%20last%2Dminute%20maneuver,its%20entire%20contribution%20to%20UNFPA.&text=The%20ostensible%20reason%20for%20congressional,in%20China%20early%20last%20year>.
- CONCORD. 2024. "Sweden Makes Further Cuts to International Development Assistance." CONCORD Sweden. <https://concord.se/sweden-makes-further-cuts-to-international-development-assistance>.
- Cook, Sam. 2009. "Security Council Resolution 1820: On Militarism, Flashlights, Raincoats, and Rooms with Doors—A Political Perspective on Where It Came from and What It Adds." *Emory International Law Review* 23 (1): 125–140.
- Corrêa, Sonia, Adrienna Germain, and Rosalind P. Petchesky. 2015. "Thinking ICPD+10: Where Should Our Movement Be Going?" In *Reproduction and Society: Interdisciplinary Readings*, edited by Carole Joffe and Jennifer Reich. New York: Routledge.
- Council on Foreign Relations. 2025. "Funding the United Nations: How Much Does the U.S. Pay?" <https://www.cfr.org/article/funding-united-nations-what-impact-do-us-contributions-have-un-agencies-and-programs>.
- Crane, Barbara B., and Jennifer Dusenberry. 2004. "Power and Politics in International Funding for Reproductive Health: The US Global Gag Rule." *Reproductive Health Matters* 12 (24): 128–137. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0968-8080\(04\)24140-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0968-8080(04)24140-4).
- Di Mauro, Diane, and Carole Joffe. 2007. "The Religious Right and the Reshaping of Sexual Policy: An Examination of Reproductive Rights and Sexuality Education." *Sexuality Research & Social Policy* 4 (1): 67–92. <https://doi.org/10.1525/srsp.2007.4.1.67>.
- Easterly, William, and Tobias Pfütze. 2008. "Where Does the Money Go? Best and Worst Practices in Foreign Aid." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 22 (2): 29–52. <https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.22.2.29>.

- Eckhardt, William. 1969. "The Factor of Militarism." *Journal of Peace Research* 6 (2): 123–132.
- Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). n.d. "Women's Economic Autonomy." Accessed May 12, 2025. <https://www.cepal.org/en/topics/womens-economic-autonomy>.
- Ege, Jörn, and Michael W. Bauer. 2017. "How Financial Resources Affect the Autonomy of International Public Administrations." *Global Policy* 8 (S5): 75–84. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1758-5899.12451>.
- Eichenauer, Vera Z., and Bernhard Reinsberg. 2016. "What Determines Earmarked Funding to International Development Organizations? Evidence from the New Multi-Bi Aid Data." Center for Comparative and International Studies Working Paper No. 88.
- el Mimouni, Oumaima. 2025. "Trending Budget Cuts: Impact on SRHR in LMICs." Health Action International.
- Expats.cz. 2025. "Czech Election 2025: Where Parties Stand on 6 Issues That Could Reshape Daily Life." <https://www.expats.cz/czech-news/article/czech-election-2025-where-parties-stand-on-6-issues-that-could-reshape-daily-life>.
- Feinstein, Andrew, and Paul Holden. 2020. "The Failure of Regulation of the Global Arms Trade as a Consequence of High-Level Conflicts of Interest." *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 27 (1): 23–36.
- Global Affairs Canada. n.d. "United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)." [https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/international\\_relations-relations\\_internationales/multilateraux/unfpa-fnuap.aspx?lang=eng](https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/international_relations-relations_internationales/multilateraux/unfpa-fnuap.aspx?lang=eng).
- Goldberg, Michelle. 2015. "The Globalization of Culture Wars." In *Reproduction and Society: Interdisciplinary Readings*, edited by Carole Joffe and Jennifer Reich. New York: Routledge.
- Government Offices of Sweden. 2025a. "Strategi för Sveriges utvecklingssamarbete för hälsa samt sexuell och reproduktiv hälsa och rättigheter 2025–2029." <https://www.regeringen.se/strategier-for-internationalt-bistand/2025/01/strategi-for-sveriges-utvecklingssamarbete-for-halsa-samt-sexuell-och-reproduktiv-halsa-och-rattigheter-20252029/>.
- . 2025b. "Government Increases Support for Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights by SEK 75 Million." Press release, March 2025. <https://www.government.se/press-releases/2025/03/government-increases-support-for-sexual-and-reproductive-health-and-rights-by-sek-75-million/>.
- Granek, Leeat, and Ora Nakash. 2017. "The Impact of Militarism, Patriarchy, and Culture on Israeli Women's Reproductive Health and Well-Being." *International Journal of Behavioral Medicine* 24 (6): 893–900. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12529-017-9650-7>.
- Gulrajani, Nilima. 2016. *Bilateral versus Multilateral Aid Channels: Strategic Choices for Donors*. London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Hájek, Lukáš. 2017. "Left, Right, Left, Right... Centre: Ideological Position of Andrej Babiš's ANO." *Politologický časopis / Czech Journal of Political Science* 24 (3): 275–305. <https://doi.org/10.5817/PC2017-3-275>.
- Hamilton, Andy. 2025. "Conservatism." In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Fall 2025 ed., edited by Edward N. Zalta and Uri Nodelman. <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2025/entries/conservatism/>.

- Hameed, Shaffa. 2018. "To Be Young, Unmarried, Rural, and Female: Intersections of Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights in the Maldives." *Reproductive Health Matters* 26 (54): 61–71.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09688080.2018.1542910>.
- Hanschmidt, Franz, et al. 2016. "Abortion Stigma: A Systematic Review." *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health* 48 (4): 169–177.
- Hedström, Jenny, and Tobias Herder. 2023. "Women's Sexual and Reproductive Health in War and Conflict: Are We Seeing the Full Picture?" *Global Health Action* 16 (1): 2188689.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/16549716.2023.2188689>.
- Hůsková, Eva. 2021. *Trump vs. Babiš: Comparative Case Study of Populist Leadership, Communication, and Party Politics in the Post-Gutenberg Era*. Master's thesis, Charles University.  
<https://dspace.cuni.cz/bitstream/handle/20.500.11956/124680/120381630.pdf>.
- Hynes, William, and Simon Scott. 2013. "The Evolution of Official Development Assistance." OECD Development Co-operation Working Papers No. 12. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD). 1994. "Cairo Declaration on Population and Development." United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). September 3–4, 1994.  
<https://www.unfpa.org/resources/cairo-declaration-population-development>.
- International Federation of Human Rights (FIDH). 2024. "Russia: Reproductive Rights at Risk and the Anti-Gender Movement Against the Backdrop of War." April 6, 2024.  
<https://www.fidh.org/en/region/europe-central-asia/russia/russia-reproductive-rights-at-risk-and-the-anti-gender-movement>.
- Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. n.d.-a. "Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA) White Paper." <https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/oda/files/100301535.pdf>.
- . n.d.-b. "Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA) White Paper." <https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/oda/files/100161805.pdf>.
- . n.d.-c. "Press Release." [https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press4e\\_001528.html](https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press4e_001528.html).
- Karam, Azza. 2017. "Positions on Sexual and Reproductive Rights in Muslim-Majority Countries and Institutions." *Development in Practice*.
- KFF (Kaiser Family Foundation). 2020. "Donor Government Funding for Family Planning in 2019." <https://www.kff.org/global-health-policy/donor-government-funding-for-family-planning-in-2019/>.
- Leppert, Rebecca. 2025. "How the United Nations Is Funded, and Who Pays the Most." Pew Research Center, July 31, 2025.  
<https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2025/07/31/how-the-united-nations-is-funded-and-who-pays-the-most/>.
- Lindberg, Laura Duberstein, and Isaac Maddow-Zimet. 2011. "Consequences of Sex Education on Teen and Young Adult Sexual Behaviors and Outcomes." *Journal of Adolescent Health* 51: 332–338.
- Ling, John R. 2017. "When Does Human Life Begin?" Newcastle Upon Tyne: The Christian Institute.

- Mallik, Rupsa, Eszter Kismodi, and T. K. Sundari Ravindran. 2023. "The Dynamics of Funding for Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR) Advocacy and Movement Building." *Sexual and Reproductive Health Matters* 31 (3). <https://doi.org/10.1080/26410397.2024.2352251>.
- Mehrotra, Aparna, Priya Alvarez, and Jennifer C. Olmsted. 2025. *Catalysing Change: Investing in Gender Equality Across the UN System*. Uppsala: Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation and UN Multi-Partner Trust Fund Office.
- Michel-Schuldt, Michaela and Mary White-Kaba. 2021. "Germany and UNFPA agree to deepen their collaboration". *German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development*. <https://health.bmz.de/events/germany-and-unfpa-agree-to-deepen-their-collaboration/>
- Morgan, Lynn. 2023. "Anti-Abortion Strategizing and the Afterlife of the Geneva Consensus Declaration." *Developing World Bioethics* 23 (2): 185–195. <https://doi.org/10.1111/dewb.12374>.
- Moss Kellie, and Jennifer Kates. 2025. "UNFPA Funding and Kemp-Kasten: An Explainer". *Kaiser Family Foundation*. <https://www.kff.org/global-health-policy/unfpa-funding-and-kemp-kasten-an-explainer/>
- Norad. 2024. "Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights – Having Agency over Your Own Body and Sexuality." Published August 8, 2024. Updated August 8, 2024. <https://www.norad.no/en/insight2/tematiske-omrader/gender-equality/sexual-and-reproductive-health-and-rights/>
- Norway in Geneva. 2026. "Concern over Global Backlash against Gender Equality and Sexual and Health Rights." January 30, 2026. <https://www.norway.no/en/missions/wto-un/latest-news/pressreleasen04/>.
- OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development). 2024. "Development Co-operation Profiles: Czechia." Paris: OECD Publishing. [https://www.oecd.org/en/publications/development-co-operation-profiles\\_04b376d7-en/czechia\\_c64d5518-en.html](https://www.oecd.org/en/publications/development-co-operation-profiles_04b376d7-en/czechia_c64d5518-en.html).
- . 2022 "Comparing Multilateral and Bilateral Aid: A Portfolio Similarity Analysis" *OECD*. [https://www.oecd.org/content/dam/oecd/en/publications/reports/2022/03/comparing-multilateral-and-bilateral-aid\\_7b441bde/81686d2f-en.pdf](https://www.oecd.org/content/dam/oecd/en/publications/reports/2022/03/comparing-multilateral-and-bilateral-aid_7b441bde/81686d2f-en.pdf)
- . 2024. "The 0.7% ODA/GNI target - a history" <https://web-archiv.oecd.org/pageViewer?path=/2024-06-17/63452-the07odagnitarget-ahistory.htm&title=The%200.7%%20ODA/GNI%20target%20-%20a%20history>
- Office of Management and Budget. 2025. *Fiscal Year 2026 Discretionary Budget Request*. Washington, DC: Executive Office of the President.
- Okonofua, Friday. 2025. "Where Are the 'Rights' in SRHR?" *African Journal of Reproductive Health* 29 (1): 11–14.
- Peters, Anny J. T. P., and Leon Bijlmakers. 2024. "Autonomy and Freedom of Choice: A Mixed Methods Analysis of the Endorsement of SRHR and Its Core Principles by Global Agencies." *Heliyon* 10 (16). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2024.e34965>.
- Petroni, Suzanne, and Patty Skuster. 2008. "The Exportation of Ideology: Reproductive Health and Rights in U.S. Foreign Policy." *Human Rights* 35 (1): 9–12.

- Rabehajaina, Nato, Jean-Pierre Gueyie, and Komlan Sedzro. 2022. "Determinants of Bilateral Official Development Assistance." *Applied Economics*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00036846.2022.2154312>.
- Ritchie, Hannah, and Pablo Arriagada. 2025. "Five Developed Countries Met the UN's Target for Foreign Aid in 2023." *Our World in Data*. <https://ourworldindata.org/data-insights/five-developed-countries-met-the-uns-target-for-foreign-aid-in2023>
- Rodgers, Yana van der Meulen. 2018. *The Global Gag Rule and Women's Reproductive Health: Rhetoric Versus Reality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Runde, Daniel F. 2020. "U.S. Foreign Assistance in the Age of Strategic Competition". *Center for Strategic and International Studies*. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/us-foreign-assistance-age-strategic-competition>
- Suh, Siri, and Cora Fernández Anderson. 2025. "ICPD at Thirty: Moving Beyond Rights Toward Justice in Global Reproductive Health." *Studies in Comparative International Development*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12116-025-09482-2>.
- Trump, Donald J. 2026. "Withdrawing the United States from International Organizations, Conventions, and Treaties That Are Contrary to the Interests of the United States." The White House. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2026/01/withdrawing-the-united-states-from-international-organizations-conventions-and-treaties-that-are-contrary-to-the-interests-of-the-united-states/>.
- United Nations. 2017. "Women's Autonomy, Equality and Reproductive Health." OHCHR.
- . 2022. "Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women." OHCHR.
- . 2023. "Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights." OHCHR.
- . 2024. "Statement." October 10, 2024.
- . 2026. "Revenue by Entity."
- United Nations Multi-Partner Trust Fund Office. n.d. "How Is the United Nations Funded?"
- United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). 2019. *Annual Report 2019*.
- . 2025a–e. Various donor and data pages.
- . 2026 About Us
- . 2026 Germany donor profile
- Vik, Ingrid, and Christian Moe. 2019. *Weaponizing Faith and Family: Opposition to SRHR Policies*. NORAD Report.
- Wibben, Annick T. R. 2018. "Why We Need to Study (US) Militarism: A Critical Feminist Lens." *Security Dialogue* 49 (1–2): 136–148.
- Woolhandler, Steffie, et al. 2021. "Public Policy and Health in the Trump Era." *Lancet* 397 (10275): 705–753. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(20\)32545-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(20)32545-9).

World Health Organization (WHO). n.d. *Sexual Health, Human Rights and the Law*. Accessed March 16, 2025.