

OUTSUMMIT 2025 SUMMARY REPORT

How Do We Build Solidarity That Lasts?

Lessons From a Global LGBTIQ Conference



**OUTRIGHT
INTERNATIONAL**

**35 | OUT
SUMMIT**

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About Outright

Outright International works with partners around the globe to strengthen the LGBTIQ human rights movement, document and amplify human rights violations against LGBTIQ people, and advocate for inclusion and equality.

Founded in 1990, Outright works with civil society organizations, the United Nations, regional human rights monitoring bodies, governments, humanitarian and development institutions, and philanthropic and corporate partners to create lasting change. With staff in over fifteen countries, Outright holds consultative status at the United Nations, where it serves as the secretariat of the UN LGBTI Core Group.

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I. Introduction



Maria Sjödin, Outright International. Outsummit 2025 | November 7, 2025. Photo Credit: Z Walsh

“We are facing the worst backlash globally ever for LGBTIQ people...In 2024, 85 percent of the countries that we looked at that had elections had anti-LGBTIQ messages in their campaigns...Now we’re seeing in many countries how young people, especially boys and young men, are actually less tolerant...There’s a funding crisis...This backlash is very real, and I don’t think we have seen the peak of it yet.”

—Maria Sjödin, Executive Director, Outright International

The past year has tested our movements. Lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, intersex, and queer (LGBTIQ) people and movements are facing intensifying attacks with fewer resources and reduced support. However, we continue to show up, hold fast to our values, and pursue justice and equity with purpose and solidarity. In its eleventh edition, Outsummit, Outright International’s annual global LGBTIQ conference, held on November 7, 2025, became not just a space for connection and exchange but also an urgent call for action. Outsummit 2025 also marked the 35th anniversary of Outright’s founding, providing advocates and allies a critical opportunity to reflect on the gains and losses of the global LGBTIQ movement and learn from our journey to better face the challenges to come. The conference brought together 171 in-person and 403 online attendees, including LGBTIQ activists, civil society representatives, diplomats, donors, and allies, representing diverse perspectives from over 70 countries.

Outsummit was divided into five thematic sessions, each tackling a pressing issue within our movement from the perspective of activists and allies from diverse regions:

- **Our Rights Under Siege** tackled legal and policy attacks on trans, nonbinary, and intersex people’s rights in 15 countries, and other forms of anti-LGBTIQ and anti-gender backlash in various regions.
- **Moving the Needle: Humanitarian Inclusion, Legal Reform, and Visibility** featured global LGBTIQ success stories in 2025 from Ghana, Hungary, Saint Lucia, Ukraine, and several countries in Asia.
- **Inclusive Economies** presented the business case for LGBTIQ inclusion and explored how lesbian, bisexual, and queer (LBQ) women and communities are achieving economic self-sufficiency.
- **We Are Pro-Family, We Are Pro-Children** reclaimed a narrative that has been hijacked by far-right, anti-gender movements, demonstrating how LGBTIQ activists are pursuing policies that strengthen families and contribute to the well-being of children.
- **Bridging the Rainbow: A Global LGBTIQ Intergenerational Dialogue** brought together a diverse spectrum of seasoned and younger activists to exchange strategies and discuss how they can learn from one another and work in complementarity and synergy.

Based on the session recordings and the notes taken by rapporteurs during the conference, this briefing paper summarizes the key takeaways from each session. It offers actionable insights for activists, policymakers, partners, donors, and other movement stakeholders to guide us in our continuing efforts to advance LGBTIQ people’s rights and well-being.

II. Our Rights Under Siege



Rikki Nathanson, Outright International. Outsummit 2025 | November 7, 2025 - Photo Credit: Z Walsh

“The bathroom is no longer just a necessity; it’s a battlefield. The doctor’s office is not a place of healing, but a site of interrogation, and a child’s school is not a haven for learning, but a legislative target...When politicians draft laws about who we are, they aren’t just passing laws; they are imposing a narrative of shame and invisibility. They are turning our fundamental human needs, like safety, health care, and recognition, into privileges to be debated, scrutinized, and often denied.”

—Rikki Nathanson, Outright’s Senior Advisor - Global Trans Rights

In 2025, anti-gender movements escalated their attacks on LGBTIQ communities as part of a broader assault on human rights, gender equality, and democracy. In this session, Outright launched its new report and interactive map tracking legal and policy restrictions on trans, nonbinary, and intersex people’s rights in **15 countries**.¹ Panelists then discussed efforts to criminalize queerness in **Iraq**, the intimate links between transphobia and authoritarianism in **Latin America**, and the renewed campaign to undermine LGBTIQ people’s rights at the **United Nations (UN)**. Peppermint, the American actress and drag queen, closed the session with a powerful message on the importance of mutual aid and solidarity.

¹ Outright International, *A Year in Attacks on Trans, Intersex, and Nonbinary People’s Human Rights*, November 2025, <https://outrightinternational.org/year-trans-attacks>.

We are facing a coordinated transnational attack.

Throughout 2025, across 15 countries, governments and politicians proposed or approved laws and policies restricting gender-affirming care, codifying binary sex, rolling back gender recognition laws, censoring expression, and enforcing exclusionary policies.² They share a playbook: “a common language...common local actors and political parties...the same fake news being used in Peru, in the States, in Europe,” as Alberto de Beluande, Outright’s Director of Queer Legal Futures, emphasized.

The United States’ withdrawal of support for LGBTIQ equality locally and globally has had significant implications for other countries. For example, in **Southwest Asia and North Africa (SWANA)**, while governments were “pioneers” in queerphobia and “didn’t need Trump [as a pretext] to attack queer rights,” inconsistent support from the international community has “made it a lot harder for queer rights in **Iraq** and the rest of the SWANA region to progress,” according to Amir Ashour, founder of IraQueer.³

Transnational anti-gender movements are also working to remove LGBTIQ-inclusive language at the **UN** and call into question the very legitimacy of the institution. With the political support of the United States, anti-gender actors are undermining international law. This is not new, but the increasing number of attacks underscores that escalation, not novelty, defines this moment.



From left: Marcela Romero, Amir Ashour, André du Plessis, and Neela Ghoshal. Outsummit 2025 | November 7, 2025 - Photo Credit: Z Walsh

² These countries are Albania, Argentina, Chile, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Peru, Slovakia, Spain, Türkiye, Vanuatu, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

³ IraQueer advocates for the rights of LGBT+ people in the Iraq and Kurdistan region.

These attacks are part of a broader assault on democracy.

In **Latin America**, governments are further moving to the right, with drastic implications for trans communities. “We are faced with governments that do not really comply with their constitutions. We say that in Latin America, we have governments versus democracies,” said Marcela Romero, the regional coordinator of RedLacTrans, the Latin American and Caribbean Network of Transgender People. They are “inducing us [trans people] to social death,” Romero emphasized. The challenge is to convince the people who support these politicians to value and vote for human rights and democracy. Voters are confronted by “poverty, social exclusion, narcotraffic,” so votes for authoritarian populists are “votes of hope.” “A majority of people that don’t know what human rights are, or don’t know what LGBTIQ+ rights are, or don’t know [what] human rights [related to] gender identity [are],” Romero warned.

In **Southwest Asia and North Africa (SWANA)**, governments are “capitalizing on ignorance,” and are “trying to legally erase us [queer people] from the equation,” Ashour asserted. Ashour gave the examples of the recent wave of arrests of LGBTIQ activists based on grounds of “morality” and “indecentcy” in Tunisia, the use of cybercrime laws to censor content on gender and sexuality and target LGBTIQ people in Jordan, and the enactment of legislation criminalizing queer people and freedom of expression on sexual and gender diversity in **Iraq**.⁴



Peppermint. Outsummit 2025 | November 7, 2025 - Photo Credit: Z Walsh

⁴ Amnesty International, “Tunisia: Authorities step up crackdown on LGBTI individuals with wave of arrests,” February 6, 2025, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2025/02/tunisia-authorities-step-up-crackdown-on-lgbti-individuals-with-wave-of-arrests/>; Rasha Younes, “Jordan’s New Cybercrime Law is a Disaster for LGBT People,” *Human Rights Watch*, August 14, 2023, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/08/14/jordans-new-cybercrime-law-disaster-lgbt-people>; Human Rights Watch, “Iraq: Repeal Anti-LGBT Law,” May 20, 2024, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/05/20/iraq-repeal-anti-lgbt-law>.

Key Lessons

- **Transnational attacks require transnational solidarities.** We need support and funding for activists and organizations not just in regressing countries but also in other countries under threat of rollbacks. We must share information and resources to confront the anti-gender playbook.
- **We must broaden our agenda beyond civil and political rights.** “We need to... strengthen the trans agenda that includes economic, political, environmental, and social rights,” Romero emphasized.
- **Center human stories in advocacy.** “We really need to show the human side... that we are people... flesh and blood” to counter anti-trans narratives, Rikki emphasized.
- **Build slow, steady, long-term engagement to change hearts and minds.** We must have “empathy,” for people socialized into queerphobia, as Ashour reminded us, and invest in long-term social and behavioral change.
- **As attacks escalate and resources dry up, collective care is critical.** “The solution is mutual aid... addressing each other’s needs,” Peppermint said.
- **We must support other communities and struggles.** “We need to show up for other people... in the ways we expect them to show up for us,” André du Plessis, Outright’s UN Program Director, asserted.

III. Moving the Needle: Humanitarian Inclusion, Legal Reform, and Visibility

“Changing the law is only going to stay for a minute if we are not changing the hearts and minds on the ground...[to] allow the politicians to see that there is appetite for the changes that are being made legally...[We are not] looking for tolerance...we need to get to that point of acceptance.”

—Kenita Placide, Eastern Caribbean Alliance for Diversity and Equality (ECADE)

While we faced significant setbacks, 2025 was also a year of wins. Vitaliy Zakharchuk, the head of Outright’s Ukraine branch, opened the session with a keynote address on our headways toward LGBTIQ-inclusive humanitarian action in Ukraine. This was followed by a panel discussion, where activists shared victories in Ghana, Hungary, the Eastern Caribbean, and Asia.

Asia

Courts in Asia built on legal precedents and upheld trans people’s rights. **India** secured rulings affirming parental rights for trans people and domestic violence protections for trans women, and reinforcing the right to accurate identity documents and access to education and employment, as promised by the Transgender Persons Act of 2018.⁵ In **Japan**, the Sapporo Family Court struck down a law requiring trans people to change their genitals’ appearance in order to access legal gender recognition.⁶ Finally, **Hong Kong** strengthened dignity and mobility

⁵ India secured at least six positive rulings on trans people’s rights in 2025. See “Exclusion of transgenders from donating blood: Supreme Court issues notice to Centre on plea challenging bar,” *The Hindu*, August 2, 2024, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/exclusion-of-transgenders-gays-women-sex-workers-from-donating-blood-supreme-court-notice-to-centre-on-plea-challenging-bar/article68476364.ethe.ce>; Ayesha Arvind, “Can list trans couple as parents in birth certificate: Kerala high court,” *Hindustan Times*, June 3, 2025, https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/can-list-trans-couple-as-parents-in-birth-certificate-kerala-high-court-101748890829057.html#google_vignette; “Landmark ruling by Indian court states that trans women are women,” *DIVA*, June 26, 2025, <https://diva-magazine.com/2025/06/26/landmark-ruling-by-indian-court-states-that-trans-women-are-women>; Tanushree Bose, “In landmark order, Calcutta HC says transgender ID can be submitted while applying for passport; ‘big victory’ says petitioner,” *The Indian Express*, June 23, 2025, <https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/kolkata/calcutta-hc-transgender-id-passport-10081823>; Press Trust of India, “High Court Questions Delhi Over Delay In Transgender Reservation In Jobs,” *NDTV*, October 7, 2025, <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/delhi-high-court-questions-delhi-government-over-delay-in-transgender-reservation-in-jobs-9408504>; Meera K Pisharody, “Kerala HC directs Bar Council to reserve seats for transgender students in law colleges,” *The NEWS Minute*, October 30, 2025, <https://www.thenewsminute.com/kerala/kerala-hc-directs-bar-council-to-reserve-seats-for-transgender-students-in-law-colleges>.

⁶ Kanae Doi and Kyle Knight, “Japan Court Drops Key Legal Hurdle for Transgender People,” *Human Rights Watch*, September 29, 2025, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/09/29/japan-court-drops-key-legal-hurdle-for-transgender-people>.

by affirming the right to access public bathrooms in accordance with one’s gender identity.⁷ These rulings show courts acting as a critical safeguard for trans equality across the region.

Saint Lucia and the Eastern Caribbean

In July 2025, Saint Lucia struck down a colonial-era law criminalizing same-sex intimacy.⁸ This breakthrough was the result of a decade of regional planning, security preparation, and collaboration between local lawyers, funders, and international allies. As Kenita Placide explained, “In Saint Lucia, we had a win—and that win did not happen overnight. It was ten years in the making.” This success is part of a broader regional trend toward decriminalization: “Right now, we have five islands in the Caribbean that have gone through the judicial system, winning their cases.”

Ghana

Intersex activists have successfully used national media coverage, community outreach, and regional coalitions to build public awareness regarding intersex people’s rights and to influence policy, including by procuring the removal of “intersex” from the proposed anti-LGBT bill.⁹ They also worked with the UN Development Programme (UNDP) to develop regional guidance on advancing the health and human rights of intersex persons in Africa.¹⁰ As highlighted by Phali Akortsu of the Intersex Persons Society, the movement now enjoys “groundbreaking visibility...using newspapers, national television, and radio to do intersex awareness creation.”

Hungary

Despite the government’s ban on Pride, the Budapest Pride March of June 2025 became the biggest Pride ever and one of the largest public demonstrations in the country’s history.¹¹ Organizers unified LGBTIQ groups, allies, and over 70 Members of the European Parliament to ensure the event’s safety and visibility. Dorottya Rédei of Labrisz Lesbian Association

⁷ Asia Pacific Trans Network, “A win for trans rights: Hong Kong courts ruled in favor of trans people’s right to use bathrooms that align with their gender identity,” July 29, 2025, <https://www.weareaptn.org/2025/07/29/a-win-for-trans-rights-hong-kong-courts-ruled-in-favor-of-trans-peoples-right-to-use-bathrooms-that-align-with-their-gender-identity>.

⁸ Outright International, “Historic Court Decision Strikes Down St. Lucia’s Colonial-Era Buggery Law,” July 29, 2025, <https://outrightinternational.org/press-release/historic-court-decision-strikes-down-st-lucias-colonial-era-buggery-law>.

⁹ Outright International, “Ghana’s Anti-LGBTQ Bill Clears Supreme Court Hurdle, Threatening Lives,” December 18, 2024, <https://outrightinternational.org/press-release/ghanas-anti-lgbtq-bill-clears-supreme-court-hurdle-threatening-lives>.

¹⁰ UNDP and the African Intersex Movement, *Advancing the Health & Human Rights of Intersex Persons in Africa: Policy Guidance*, October 2025, <https://www.undp.org/africa/publications/advancing-health-human-rights-intersex-persons-africa-policy-guidance>.

¹¹ Amnesty International, “Hungary: Further information: Pride march went ahead despite restrictions,” July 7, 2025, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/eur27/0089/2025/en>.

emphasized that this surge of participation came from public recognition that Pride was about freedom and democracy for everyone: “This is about everybody’s fundamental right.”



Vitaliy Zakharchuk, head of Outright’s Ukraine branch. Outsummit 2025 | November 7, 2025 - Photo Credit: Z Walsh

Ukraine

Ukraine achieved a major milestone by embedding LGBTIQ inclusion in humanitarian action in the context of Russia’s full-scale invasion. Through sustained advocacy, coordination with UN agencies, and community-led forums, activists secured the first-ever LGBTIQ technical working group within the protection cluster, ensuring LGBTIQ inclusion is a “formal part of the humanitarian system.” This inclusion will contribute to aid, evacuation, and recovery planning that formally addresses LGBTIQ needs. “Inclusion saves lives,” Zakharchuk asserted. “Peace is not the absence of war. It is the presence of visibility, safety, and freedom—the ability of every person, no matter who they are, to rebuild their life with dignity.”

Key Lessons

- **Strategic wins require long-term, locally led planning.** Court victories in Asia and the Caribbean succeeded because of years of groundwork, legal precedents, and coalition-building led by communities.
- **Visibility shifts power.** From national media in Ghana to Budapest Pride’s mass mobilization, showing up publicly transforms narratives and builds solidarity.

- **Legal change must be matched with cultural change.** Laws alone are not enough—changing hearts and minds through storytelling and community engagement is critical to prevent rollbacks.
- **Inclusion must be enforceable, not symbolic.** From legal and policy change to inclusive humanitarian action, LGBTIQ activists around the world fought to ensure that inclusion positively impacts people’s lives.

IV. Inclusive Economies: The Business Case for LGBTIQ Inclusion and LBQ Economic Resilience



Wakio Mwandacha, Utopia Network Kenya. Outsummit 2025 | November 7, 2025 - Photo Credit: Z Walsh

“Economic inclusion, particularly for the LBQ community, is about access, yes, but it is also about validation. It’s about validating our models of reality. It’s about validating how we experience the world, how we define success, how we define safety, or even how we define leadership, which are most of the time dismissed, if not just invisibilized in the mainstream economic systems.”

—Wakio Mwandacha, Utopia Network **Kenya**

Economic inclusion does not just correct exclusion due to stigma and discrimination. It also advances rights, safety, and dignity. The session started with a fireside chat on the importance of diversity, equity, and inclusion (DE&I) amid global rollbacks. It was followed by a panel on LBQ economic resilience, where LBQ funders and community leaders affirmed the value of investing in LBQ communities’ economic self-sufficiency.

Inclusion must be part of a long-term business strategy.

In a fireside chat with Outright’s Maria Sjodin, Brent Miller of Procter & Gamble emphasized that inclusion is not performative or optional—it is a core driver of growth, talent, and market reach.

It makes business sense as inclusion appeals to a significant chunk of the market, and LGBTIQ consumers are among the fastest-growing segments globally. Brent reminded us:

When you wire it into part of your growth strategy, it becomes something that you can sustain, and so when you think about what's at stake by stepping away if you don't do it, you have to look at what you're giving up...you're stepping away from an opportunity to continue to grow and develop the business...It must be something that's built into the fabric and the culture of what you do versus bolted on, and something seen as kind of an elective that you can engage with.



Brent Miller, Procter & Gamble. Outsummit 2025 | November 7, 2025 - Photo Credit: Z Walsh

LBQ women carry untapped entrepreneurial “genius” but lack access to opportunities.

LBQ issues are excluded from funding, networks, and visibility, a problem highlighted by Kathy Levinson of LesbianGlobal, a philanthropic organization. Only around five percent of global LGBTIQ funding goes to LBQ groups.¹² When invested in, however, LBQ women build scalable solutions rooted in lived experience. “LBQ communities are full of brilliance and creativity... our solutions are refined through our lived experiences,” Wakio Mwandacha reminded us. “Women get things done. Lesbian women, even more so,” said Mino Likwasi of Koppa - The LGBTI+ Economic Power Lab.

¹² Global Philanthropy Project, *Global Resources Report Government and Philanthropic Support for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex Communities 2021/2022*, June 2024, https://globalresourcesreport.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/04/GRR_2021-2022_WEB-Spread-Colour_EN.pdf, 54.

Community-led investment builds visibility, safety, and opportunity.

LBQ-run businesses don’t just build income—they build community visibility, mentorship, safety, and shared opportunities. “Even with \$100 invested rightly, that can do wonders...there’s a flawed view that you need a million dollars to be a philanthropist,” Likwasi said.

The success and visibility of LBQ entrepreneurs have a ripple effect in LBQ communities. Likwasi said:

We need to be able to see LBQ entrepreneurs, professionals, and creatives [who] are making it, as that creates an example for others to see that this is not a far-fetched idea. This is something that can be achieved with the right tools, with the right support.



Mino Likwasi, Koppa. Outsummit 2025 | November 7, 2025 - Photo Credit: Z Walsh

Examples of LBQ Economic Resilience

- **Microfinance:** In Southern Africa, a microfinance social enterprise provides interest-free business loans to LBQ entrepreneurs, who then grow their businesses and hire other queer people. “Members save and access loans...60 percent would fund operations, while 40 percent went to supporting some of our economic programs.”
- **Mentorship:** In Kenya, Utopia Network is offering digital marketing, financial literacy, business training, and community-driven mentorship for LBQ women entrepreneurs in Mombasa.
- **Spaces of exchange:** Utopia Kenya created a storytelling space, Thriving Thursdays, “where LBQ women share their thriving stories and business journeys.”

V. We Are Pro-Family, We Are Pro-Children.



Lopa Banerjee, UN Women. Outsummit 2025 | November 7, 2025 - Photo Credit: Z Walsh

"The family is not and has never been a private institution. It is a site of public authority and a way of signaling who counts as a good citizen, whose children are valued, and whose lives are expendable...We see it in policies that restrict trans and intersex children's access to affirming care, in the policing of education and sexuality, and in the glorification of a single rigid vision of what families should look like."

—Lopa Banerjee, UN Women

In the anti-gender playbook, LGBTIQ equality is falsely positioned as antithetical to children and the family. Lopa Banerjee's opening remarks traced the intimate relationship between the state and the family, exposing how restrictions on queer families are part of the broader project of state control. In the panel discussion, activists from **Ghana, Hungary, Jamaica, Nepal, Taiwan,** and the **United States** shared how they are contesting anti-gender narratives, demonstrating that LGBTIQ equality is not only compatible with but also integral to the defense of children and the family.

"Pro-family" rhetoric has been weaponized as a tool of state control.

The modern "traditional family" narrative is not neutral. It has roots in colonial law, nationalism, and authoritarianism, and is strategically used today to police identity, sexuality, education, and

bodily autonomy. “The idea of protecting the family harks back to a history where the hegemonic state and the normative family are intertwined as instruments of control,” Banerjee emphasized.



From left: Sasha Buchert, Dorottya Rédei, Sarita K.C., Alberto de Belaunde, Glenroy Murray, Shing Li, and Phali Akortsu. Outsummit 2025 | November 7, 2025 - Photo Credit: Z Walsh

Inclusive family policy is actually what protects children—not exclusion.

“If you want to protect children, then you have to be inclusive,” Dorottya Rédei from **Hungary** said. Real child protection means enabling all children to access education, care, safety, and affirmation. Exclusionary policies harm children: queer and trans youth, intersex infants, and children of queer families are among those disproportionately put at risk when states restrict rights. In **Jamaica**, Glenroy Murray highlighted that “more than a third of LGBT Jamaicans have experienced bullying in school, and teachers were less likely to do something, even if they knew what was happening.”

Intersex children remain among the most harmed—and the most ignored.

While governments claim to “protect children,” many allow or actively endorse unnecessary genital surgeries on intersex infants while banning medically necessary gender-affirming care for trans youth. “Protecting children should be about protecting their bodies. There should be an ultimate ban on intersex genital mutilation,” Phali Akortsu, an intersex activist from **Ghana**, stressed.

Legal victories do not end the struggle. They open the next chapter.

In 2019, **Taiwan** became the first country in Asia to recognize same-sex marriages.¹³ However, marriage and family equality are still not a reality, as same-sex couples still experience discrimination in family rights. They still do not enjoy full access to assisted reproduction technologies, and some adoption agencies continue to refuse their adoption applications.. Taiwan's experience shows that legal reform is only a starting point. Shing Li of Taiwan LGBT+ Family Rights emphasized that without cultural change, legal reform remains incomplete:

Laws can change quickly, but the culture takes time...We can see that the public acceptance of LGBTQ+ people in Taiwan is growing, but the stereotypes and stigma still exist, especially around the idea of family.



Shing Li, Taiwan LGBT+ Family Rights. Outsummit 2025 | November 7, 2025 - Photo Credit: Z Walsh

In **Nepal**, the Supreme Court ordered temporary same-sex marriage registration in June 2023, bringing the country closer to marriage equality.¹⁴ However, insufficient public buy-in and the lack of clear mechanisms have made implementation difficult, as Sarita K.C. of Mitini Nepal explained:

¹³ Amnesty International, "Taiwan becomes first in Asia to legalize same-sex marriage after historic bill passes," May 17, 2019, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/press-release/2019/05/taiwan-same-sex-marriage-law>.

¹⁴ ILGA Asia, "Nepal: Marriage Registration for Same-Sex Couples after seminal court ruling," July 1, 2024, <https://ilgaasia.org/news/nepal-marriage-registration-for-same-sex-couples-after-seminal-court-ruling>.

What we can see in the community level... the registrar officers are also unaware about the temporary marriage registration... So when they went to the local unit... it is still difficult for them to register.

The most powerful counter-strategy is reclaiming the narrative.

Anti-LGBTIQ groups coordinate globally and use disciplined messaging. Advocates must do the same: sharing stories, lifting up parents, focusing on care and love, building alliances, and grounding advocacy in local cultural frames.

In **Taiwan**, activists emphasized that love and family have *always* been part of LGBTIQ advocacy: "We have always wanted the same thing as everyone else does...to love, to care, and to build family," Li stressed.

In **Hungary**, as the government ramped up its narrative that LGBTIQ exclusion protects children, the public was also learning about the government's efforts to cover up multiple cases of sexual abuse against children in state care facilities.¹⁵ Rédei said that LGBTIQ activists seized this opportunity:

People are beginning to see how they really don't care about children...So this is something that we also try to keep as a topic...It's not us that children should be protected from.

¹⁵ Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, "Unexpected scandal shakes but does not cripple Hungary's Viktor Orbán," March 7, 2024, <https://cz.boell.org/en/2024/03/07/unexpected-scandal-orban>; Alexander Faludy, "Hungary's Government Faces Fresh Child Abuse Crisis," *BalkanInsight*, September 26, 2025, <https://balkaninsight.com/2025/09/26/hungarys-government-faces-fresh-child-abuse-crisis>.

VI. Bridging the Rainbow: A Global LGBTIQ Intergenerational Dialogue



From left: Glenroy Murray, Gloria Careaga, Jessica Stern, Venus Aves, Julie Dorf, and Marcela Romero.
Outsummit 2025 | November 7, 2025 - Photo Credit: Z Walsh

“I’ve watched us go from kind of pre-identity politics to micro-identity politics, and I think we’re finally coming out of that into something a little more holistic, a little bit more genuinely intersectional...I think we, these elders, if we could afford to retire...we should and hand the reins over...The new gender politics are moving everybody forward in a way that we don’t see where we’re going, but we’re going somewhere liberatory and exciting and queer and joyful.”

—Julie Dorf, founder of Outright International

T This year marks 35 years since Outright International was co-founded by Julie Dorf, then as the International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission (IGLHRC). In this intergenerational panel, pioneering and seasoned LGBTIQ activists exchanged with younger activists on how to mobilize at a time of backlash and what each generation should learn from one another to be able to work more effectively.

Younger activists inherit tools and structures, but not always power.

The new generation of activists is becoming involved in LGBTIQ movements at a moment when established tools, alliances, terminologies, and even enemies already exist. “We’re very thankful for that, but at the same time, we’re also grappling with what we can do and to what extent we can change things,” Venus Aves, a program assistant at Outright and a young activist from the Philippines, said.

What younger activists often do not inherit is power, with some older activists not trusting younger activists to lead, even when they are already putting in the work. As Murray from Jamaica shared:

It was very difficult to find legitimacy as a younger voice...and it didn’t matter that I technically was a subject matter expert for the purposes of what they wanted me for. I was contending with older activists who just decided that my youth was enough to dismiss me, and it took years for that to end.

Marcela Romero, who has been active in Argentinian and Latin American trans activism for decades, emphasized that older activists can learn a lot from younger activists, not just from their novel political strategies, but also from how they queer their identities and relationships:

I really learn from young people, and it is necessary to do that. I congratulate young trans people for what they do, and I see how things have changed. I love to see trans people with their trans partners and how they have a kid. It gives me a lot of love to see that, because I couldn’t; we couldn’t really decide about those kinds of things in my time.

Intergenerational collaboration reminds us that movements thrive when wisdom, experience, innovation, and new language build on one another—not when one generation replaces another.

We can learn a lot from early movement organizing.

As some governments withdraw political and financial support from LGBTIQ equality and the development and human rights work that scaffolds it, and international legal and political institutions are being put into question, younger activists have a lot to learn by going back to the basics. Dorf underscored how some old-school organizing skills need to “get resurrected”:

We knew how to organize old school with not just fax machines, but with telephone answering machines that told you where to show up the next day for the protest, and in-person meetings where you discuss, debate, and figure out what the strategy is collectively.

For younger activists, the challenge is turning connections on social media into mobilizations offline, making “old-style tactics” particularly useful, said Court(ney) Felle from interACT, an advocacy group for intersex youth in the U.S.:

How do we move [social media] relationships into individual friendships or in-person gatherings or some sort of actual coalition or organization? You can use that to connect with each other, but it can’t just end there...We really have to get creative about connecting online and then taking conversations offline or into different avenues...How do we build a solidarity that lasts?

Movement professionalization and institutionalization, which come with increased funding and support from governments, may have also limited the strategic repertoire of activists today. “This movement has become so professionalized, we have forgotten to reach out and share with other people,” reflected Jessica Stern, a former Outright executive director who also served as the U.S. Special Envoy to Advance the Human Rights of LGBTIQ+ Persons under former president Joe Biden.



From left: Court(ney) Felle, Glenroy Murray, Gloria Careaga, Jessica Stern, and Venus Aves. Outsummit 2025 | November 7, 2025 - Photo Credit: Z Walsh

VII. Conclusion



Ambassador Paola Narvaez, Permanent Representative of Chile to the United Nations. Outsummit 2025 | November 7, 2025. Photo Credit: Z Walsh

Across the world, LGBTIQ activists and their allies are confronting anti-gender movements, winning recognition and visibility, making economies more inclusive, and reclaiming the narrative. We are mobilizing through intergenerational, interregional, and intermovement solidarities, recognizing that we cannot create lasting social change when working in siloes.

As anti-LGBTIQ backlash escalates, we must keep building a “solidarity that lasts,” and leverage our unities not just to resist present challenges, but to win. Ambassador Paola Narvaez, Permanent Representative of Chile to the United Nations, said it best:

For every attempt to roll back progress, there is a coalition ready to defend it. For every voice that spreads fear, there are hundreds that speak of love, freedom, and solidarity...Every campaign, every safe space, every classroom conversation, every act of visibility matters, so as we look ahead, let us hold on to the lessons of this year, that even in dark times, there are lights that refuse to go out, that behind every vote, there is a story, and that behind every story, there is courage. Let us keep telling those stories and writing new ones, because as long as we do, there will always be reason to hope, reason to act, and reason to believe that a world without discrimination is not a dream, it is a direction.

Let us keep working toward this direction: a world where rights, freedom, and equality are a reality for all.

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