



ROOTS OF HATE

C A R I B B E A N



NOOR is a new feminist and movement-driven think and do tank devoted to building the power of gender justice and progressive movements to obstruct far-right agendas and advance our transformative visions. We coordinate a transnational network, expose and oppose the resurgent right, and facilitate strategic alignment and strategy development. We organize to help bring systemic alternatives into reality.

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ROOTS OF HATE: FASCIST AND FUNDAMENTALIST NARRATIVES AND ACTORS IN THE CARIBBEAN

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INTRODUCTION





INTRODUCTION

“

We were never meant to survive. Not as human beings. And neither were most of you here today, Black or not. And that visibility which makes us most vulnerable is that which also is the source of our greatest strength. Because the machine will try to grind you into dust anyway, whether or not we speak. We can sit in our corners mute forever while our sisters and ourselves are wasted, while our children are distorted and destroyed, while our earth is poisoned; we can sit in our safe corners mute as bottles, and we will still be no less afraid.”

— Audre Lorde

Audre Lorde understood what it meant to live, resist and build inside an empire that was built on your subjugation. When the United States invaded her parents’ island of Grenada in 1983, she called it what it was: Imperialism devastating Black and brown nations. The Caribbean she inherited was a region where imperialism, colonialism, patriarchy and racial capitalism have always moved together, and where the work of freedom has always required holding all of them at once. That insight is the ground on which this mapping is built.

This mapping is being published while a region is in crisis, and the crisis is not singular. Cuba is enduring the intensified suffocation of a renewed U.S. embargo, Haiti is facing the worst humanitarian catastrophe in the Western Hemisphere, while Jamaica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Haiti are still rebuilding from the October 2025 Hurricane Melissa, the strongest storm ever recorded to hit Jamaica. Trinidad and Tobago is absorbing the consequences of attacks on Venezuela. And the United States has continued – unapologetically – treating the Caribbean as its ‘backyard’ moving warships into southern waters, striking civilian boats under the cover of counter-narcotics operations, and demanding political alignment from states whose sovereignty has always been made partial.

This is the terrain, according to this mapping, into which the anti-gender and anti-rights movements have sunk their roots. Polycrisis is not a backdrop to fascism and fundamentalism. It is the condition that allows them to grow.

The Caribbean remains one of the most under-researched regions when it comes to contemporary fascist and fundamentalist movements, even as Caribbean feminist and LGBTIQ+ movements have long been the ones naming these forces, tracking them and resisting them on the ground. That absence from wider literature is not neutral; it reflects the same patterns of invisibilization that Noor's work exists to challenge. Shaped by geopolitics that treat the region as a site of extraction rather than a site of thought, and that consistently overlook analysis already produced from the region, this mapping follows the lead of, and learns alongside, the scholars, activists and movements already doing this work for decades.



Our knowledge production is work done in solidarity, sharpened through feminist, anti-imperialist analysis so that it becomes a tool movements can use and sharpen further. We do not treat fascisms and fundamentalisms as isolated or fringe phenomena. We understand them as comprehensive political projects with their own structures, funding streams, geopolitical ambitions and social agendas – projects that take root in soil long prepared by patriarchy, capitalism, racism and colonialism.

This Caribbean mapping is the third in Noor's multi-year program tracing these projects across the global South following our reports on South-West Asia and North Africa [SWANA](#) region, and South and Southeast Asia [SSEA](#) regions.

Anti-gender and anti-rights organizations, several of them US-based, have built sustained legal, financial and organizational infrastructure within the Caribbean for years. They are well resourced, well coordinated and ideologically committed to reverse the rights that feminist, queer and progressive movements won. The consequences are not abstract. They translate into court cases defending colonial-era anti-sodomy laws, regional conferences, billboards greeting delegates at regional summits, and legislation banning gender-affirming care. Extractivism by several multinational corporations dispossesses Indigenous and Maroon communities, while states use nationalist rhetoric to silence resistance. Authoritarian tendencies inherited from colonial governance continue to shrink civic space. Competing imperial interests shape a political economy that generates the very precarity in which fundamentalisms thrive. And anti-gender and anti-rights movements move across all of these roots, frequently connecting actors, sharing strategies, and targeting the most marginalized.

And yet, alongside all of this, the Caribbean has never stopped producing movements, thinkers and organizers who refuse the terms of their oppression. That refusal is itself a tradition. This is the region of the Haitian Revolution, the first successful slave revolt to build a free Black republic. It is the region of Audre Lorde, Sylvia Wynter, Claudia Jones, Walter Rodney, Frantz Fanon, M. Jacqui Alexander. It is the region of the movements that have fought against structural adjustment, ecological devastation, the criminalization of queer and trans lives, and the violence of the empire. Caribbean feminist, Black, queer, Indigenous and working-class movements have been teaching the world how to resist for centuries.

This mapping is a starting point, not a conclusion. Every actor named, every law documented, every network traced has consequences for real people: The queer activist receiving threats; the Indigenous land defender facing a mining company; the feminist organizer working to advance gender justice through hurricane, siege and state violence. This mapping aims to build on their knowledge and is written for their struggles. We hope it sharpens what they already know, connects what has been kept separate, and contributes to the work they have always been doing.

METHODOLOGY





METHODOLOGY

The scope of the research was the *entire Caribbean* – defined as the islands within the Caribbean Sea, the Greater and Lesser Antilles,² the Bahamas, and the coastal countries of Belize, Guyana and Suriname. Given the significant diversity of the region, the research questions were grouped in a thematic fashion and unpacked within each country where that theme is relevant.

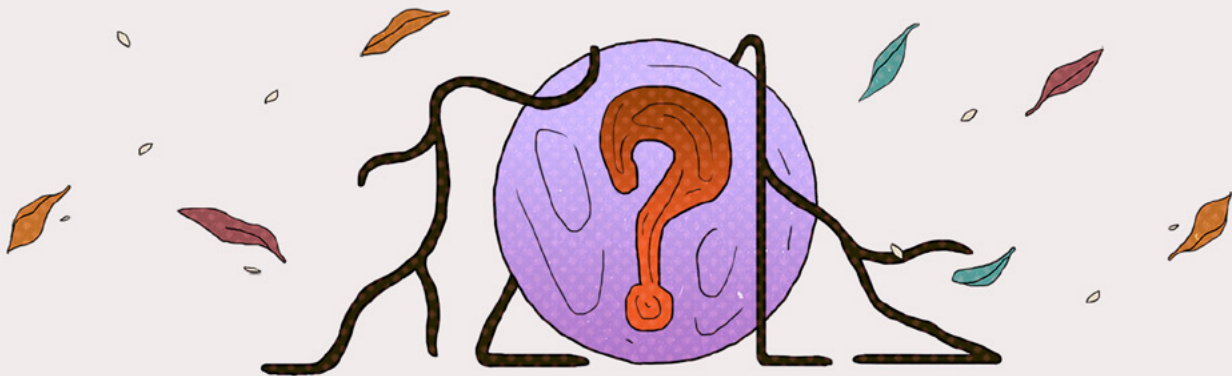
The methodology utilized a *review of secondary sources* like articles, books, reports, newspapers and other academic, organizer and activist online sources, including open posts on the social media sites Facebook and Instagram. The first phase involved a *scoping* of available sources to determine preliminary themes and key actors, followed by an *in-depth review* of sources in order to answer the research sub-questions.

The search parameters included the terms “fundamentalism”, “fascism”, “right wing”, “authoritarianism”, “extractivism”, “women’s rights backlash opposition”, “feminism backlash opposition”, “anti rights anti gender”, appended to the “in the Caribbean” for separate searches. The word Caribbean was then replaced with each country (Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Aruba, The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, The British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Cuba, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Grenada, Guadeloupe, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Martinique, Netherlands Antilles, Puerto Rico, St Barts, St Kitts and Nevis, St Lucia, St Martin/Sint Maarten, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago, Turks and Caicos) in further searches with each term. The Open Democracy website, and sites of right wing-identified media like Fox News, Breitbart, Daily Wire and Washington Times were also searched using the term “Caribbean”. The report discusses the countries where these secondary sources revealed pertinent information, and it should be noted that while some countries (ex. Dominica and Turks and Caicos), are not mentioned, this is due to no information being found within the limitations of the methodology and not meant to indicate the absence of

² These countries are: Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Aruba, Barbados, The British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Cuba, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Grenada, Guadeloupe, Haiti, Jamaica, Martinique, Netherlands Antilles, Puerto Rico, St Barts, St Kitts and Nevis, St Lucia, St Martin/Sint Maarten, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, Turks and Caicos.

fascist and fundamentalist actors.

Given the complexity of the region, and to ensure community accountability and highlighting local expert knowledge, the resultant mapping was shared and *validated* with in-country experts for ten countries (Antigua and Barbada, Belize, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname, The Bahamas, and Trinidad and Tobago). These in-country experts enriched and helped further develop the report, sharing essential additional information, including on actors, themes and context. These country experts included Caleb Orozco, Alicia Wallace, Lucien Govaard, Maria Fontanelle, Shantae Porteous, Velphyne Pierre and Ashlee Burnett.



RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND SUB-QUESTIONS

This research asks: ***how are far-right ideologies entangled with corporate power, climate collapse, extractivism, and colonial residues, taking root and reshaping political and social landscapes in the region?***

It seeks to address this question by answering the sub-questions:

- What are the forces and actors involved and how do they intersect?
- How are these forces and actors sustained ideologically and financially?
- Where do these forces originate from and what contextual factors allow their importation into the region?
- How can feminist movements strategically resist these forces?

DEFINING FUNDAMENTALISM AND FASCISM IN THE CARIBBEAN

Fascism in academic terms is classically defined in terms of “ultranationalism” that traditionally has elements of uniformed paramilitarism, the belief in a single party and charismatic leader, an emphasis on national homogeneity without political and cultural pluralism, the persecution of “alien” ideologies and beliefs, the pursuit of a nebulous “national rebirth”, the suppression, marginalization, “ethnic cleansing,” or physical extermination of outgroups, and sometimes the embrace of territorial or imperialist expansion.³ This is interlinked and similar to *fundamentalism* or the “quest for hegemony and political power, particularly through deployment of cultural, religious, ethnic, and nationalist discourses”.⁴ In the Caribbean this quest often takes the form of a move to maintain cis-heteronormative and Christo-centric societies.

In this report, as in the other Roots of Hate reports, the terms fascism and fundamentalism are grounded in contemporary feminist understandings and analyses that stem from the lived experiences of organizers resisting fascism around the globe and that are in dialogue with progressive academic understandings. We define them as processes by which democracy and human rights are undermined, xenophobic discourse is advanced, in which hatred, apathy, and violence are normalized, particular social groups are dehumanized, and there is the use of propaganda to justify violence and repression. In the 21st century, fascist and fundamentalist movements are militant and sociopolitical, with a global agenda to organize life through the exploitation, dispossession, and killing of many to satisfy the economic, cultural, and ideological dominance of a few.⁵

While there has been some work documenting the actions and consequences of religious fundamentalism in the Caribbean,⁶ there is a significant dearth of analysis around contemporary fascist and

3 Griffin, R and Bortz, O. (2022). ‘Fascism: historical phenomenon and political concept’, in *Politika*. <https://www.politika.io/en/notice/fascism-historical-phenomenon-and-political-concept>

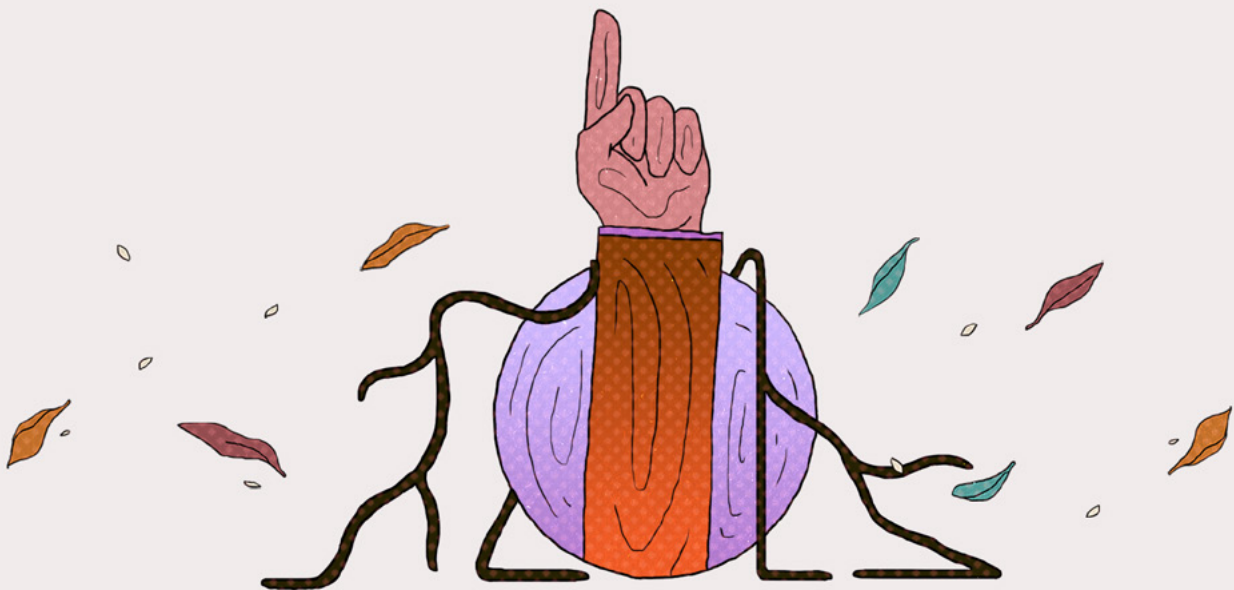
4 Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development (APWLD). (2008). *Fundamentalisms in Asia Pacific: Trends, Impact, Challenges and Strategies Asserting Women’s Rights*.

5 Noor. (2024). *In the Shadows of Hate: Trends and Strategies of Fascist Fundamentalisms Across Regions*, <https://wearenoor.org/in-the-shadows-of-hate/>

6 Lazarus, L. (2018). ‘Defending the family,’ safeguarding the nation: an examination of evangelical mobilisation in present-day Barbados’, *Culture and Religion*, 19:4, 394-415, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14755610.2018.1523801>; Perkins, A. K. (2016). ‘More than words: Evangelicals, the rhetoric of battle and the fight over gay rights in the Caribbean’. *Journal of East Caribbean Studies*, 41(1), 13-46, https://www.academia.edu/35162542/More_than_Words_Evangelicals_the_Rhetoric_of_Battle_and_the_Fight_o_ver_Gay_Rights_in_the_Caribbean

fundamentalist movements and actors in the region. This could be because the application of the classical academic definition of fascism seems irrelevant to this context, or the perception that ‘charismatic’ regional leaders who leaned on populism have disappeared,⁷ but this report begins to fill this analytical gap and shows how relevant and active fascism and fundamentalism is in the region.

The themes or roots of fascism and fundamentalism identified in this report overlap and have several actors in common. Some of the themes are therefore grouped together, for example, land rights and extractivism, because of this inextricable nature. Some themes/roots, like the anti-rights movement and authoritarianism, have clear and direct links to fascism and fundamentalism, while the other themes more indirectly contribute to the ecosystems that can lead to hate in ways that are explained under each relevant section.



7 Lewis, P. (2024). 'Is populism a useful framework for understanding Caribbean regionalism?' *Global Discourse*, 14(4), 479-501.

ROOT I
**THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT-
WING & THE ANTI-RIGHTS
MOVEMENT**





ROOT I

THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT-WING AND THE ANTI-RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Religion is for many a source of comfort, community and meaning. This report is not about religion, but rather religious fundamentalism(s), a distinct political project that deploys religious authority to consolidate power, police gender and sexuality and subordinate those who fall outside the norm. Feminist movements have long named this distinction and it is the one this report follows.

Christianity is the majority religion in the Caribbean, and Christian fundamentalisms were a driving force in the region's colonization and subsequent Euro-Christian hierarchies which implanted sexual and gender binaries alongside white supremacy in the region.⁸ To this day, the dominant form of Christianity in a Caribbean country is influenced by its main colonizer, with Catholicism brought by Spanish and Portuguese colonizers, and Protestant Christianity introduced by the Dutch and British; the Church of England (the Anglican Church) was an especially crucial part of British colonialism that was directly integrated into the administration of its colonies.⁹ Christianity co-exists alongside other religions indigenous to the region, with a significant minority who practice Hinduism and Islam, which were significantly introduced historically by Indian indentured laborers.¹⁰

In the 20th century there were shifts within the religious landscape of the Caribbean, with an increase both in individuals with no religious affiliation, and in fundamentalist religious movements like Christian Evangelism and Muslim fundamentalism (the latter mostly in Trinidad and Tobago).¹¹

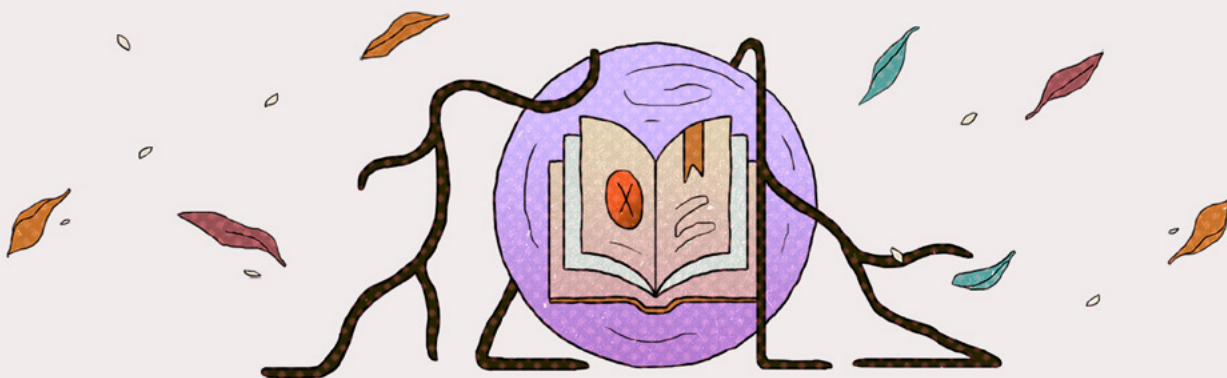
8 Maldonado-Torres, N. (2014) 'Race, Religion, and Ethics in the Modern/Colonial World', *Journal of Religious Ethics*, 42(4), pp. 691–711, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24586119> ; Barreto, J.-M. (2018) 'Decolonial Thinking and the Quest for Decolonising Human Rights', *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 46(4–5), pp. 484–502, https://brill.com/view/journals/ajss/46/4-5/article-p484_6.xml

9 Edmonds, E.B., & Gonzalez, M.A. (2010). *Caribbean Religious History: An Introduction*. NYU Press.

10 Edmonds, E. B., & Gonzalez, M. A. (2010). Migration and Revitalization: Hinduism, Islam, and Rastafarianism. In *Caribbean Religious History: An Introduction* (pp. 177–202). NYU Press.

11 Perkins, A. K. (2016). 'More than words: Evangelicals, the rhetoric of battle and the fight over gay rights in the Caribbean'. *Journal of East Caribbean Studies*, 41(1), 13–46; Connell, C. C. (2005). *Islamic Fundamentalism in Latin America*

Evangelism is a movement within Christianity that centers personal faith and religious commitment (as seen in churches like the Assemblies of God or the Churches of God),¹² while Christian fundamentalists are a subset of Evangelicals and other Christian denominations with more literal interpretations of religious texts, and other differentiating factors.¹³ In keeping with the transnational nature of religion in an era of globalization, the growth of evangelism in the region has mirrored a similar increase in the United States,¹⁴ with Caribbean evangelical groups often more involved in social and sexual issues, increasingly with a conservative or right-wing perspective aimed at ostensibly “defending the family”.¹⁵ It has been argued that the anxiety of being small post-colonial states grappling with economic survival and feelings of powerlessness in a “world of violence, climate change and globalisation”, makes the cis-heteropatriarchal ideals offered by evangelism an attractive choice that accounts for its growth in the region.¹⁶



Concurrently, a new “global and interconnected movement” has emerged, one that “has gained strength and momentum in the global arena and consolidated itself as a transnational phenomenon backed by rising conservatism and religious fundamentalism.”¹⁷ Often called

and the Caribbean. In *Understanding Islam and Its Impact on Latin America* (pp. 19–29). Air University Press.

12 Perkins, A. K. (2016). ‘More than words: Evangelicals, the rhetoric of battle and the fight over gay rights in the Caribbean’. *Journal of East Caribbean Studies*, 41(1), 13–46.

13 Smidt, C. (1988). ‘Evangelicals within Contemporary American Politics: Differentiating between Fundamentalist and Non-Fundamentalist Evangelicals’. *The Western Political Quarterly*, 41(3), 601–620.

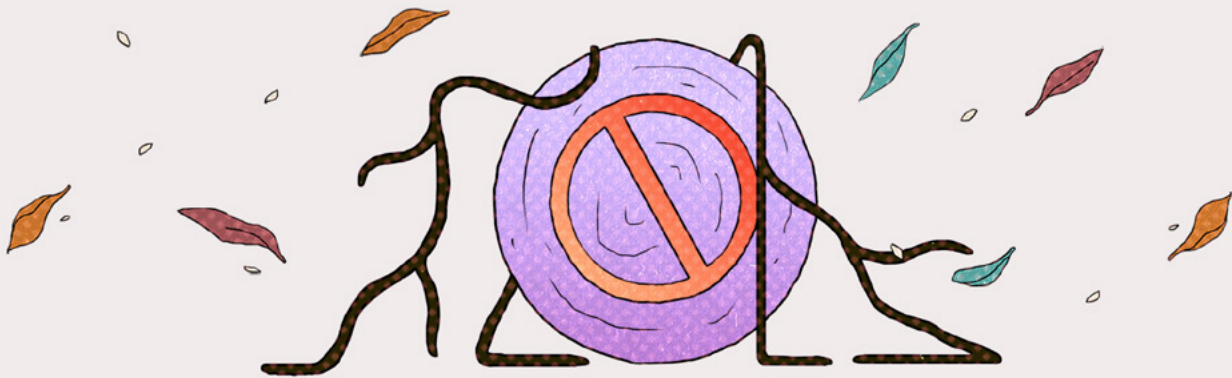
14 Perkins, A. K. (2016). ‘More than words: Evangelicals, the rhetoric of battle and the fight over gay rights in the Caribbean’. *Journal of East Caribbean Studies*, 41(1), 13–46.

15 Ibid; Lazarus, L. (2020). *Enacting citizenship, debating sex and sexuality: conservative Christians’ participation in legal processes in Jamaica and Belize*, *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*.

16 Lazarus, L. (2018). ‘Defending the family,’ safeguarding the nation: an examination of evangelical mobilisation in present-day Barbados’, *Culture and Religion*, 19:4, 394-415; Robinson, C. 2012. ‘Decolonising Sexual Citizenship: Who Will Effect Change in the South of the Commonwealth’. *Commonwealth Advisory Bureau*. University of London, UK.

17 GATE (2024). *Recognizing, Documenting, and Addressing Anti-gender Opposition: a Toolkit* by GATE. New York: GATE.

the ‘anti-gender’ movement, it commonly rallies around the concept of ‘gender ideology’, a term originating from the Vatican around 2001, in response to feminist and LGBTIQ+ gains in international human rights spheres in the 1990s.¹⁸ This timing makes sense when considering that countermovements arise when an existing movement (in this case feminism and LGBTIQ+ activism) successfully influences policy, leading the countermovement to mobilize to protect the status quo that upholds their power.¹⁹ The contemporary anti-gender movement brings together different narratives, described as “a fascist trend, [that] mobilizes a range of rhetorical strategies from across the political spectrum to maximize the fear of infiltration and destruction.”²⁰



It is that focus on a multiplicity of narratives that has also led to the movement being characterized as ‘anti-rights’.²¹ This report favors the term anti-rights because it illustrates the broader targets of this movement in the region that include but also extend beyond gender (the term “gender ideology” is also not commonly used in the Caribbean). The anti-rights movement has been described as a “global network rooted in far-right ideologies, often tied to religious and conservative values [and used to] systematically target marginalized communities, including LGBTIQ+ people, Black and Indigenous communities and women.”²² Regardless of the term used, this movement is pro-cisheteropatriarchy and white supremacy. While religious fundamentalist institutions are

18 Corredor, E. S. (2019). ‘Unpacking “Gender Ideology” and the Global Right’s Antigender Countermovement’. *Signs*, 44(3), 613–638.

19 Corrêa, S. (2018). ‘The globalisation of anti-gender campaigns’. *International Politics and Society*, <https://www.ips-journal.eu/topics/democracy-and-society/the-globalisation-of-anti-gender-campaigns-2761/>

20 Butler, J. (2021). ‘Why is the idea of ‘gender’ provoking backlash the world over?’ *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/commentisfree/2021/oct/23/judith-butler-gender-ideology-backlash>

21 AWID & Observatory on the Universality of Rights. (2017). *Rights at Risk: Observatory on the Universality of Rights Trends Report 2017*. <https://www.awid.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/rights-at-risk-ours-2017.pdf>.

22 Partos. (2025). *Recap: The Rise of the Anti-Rights Movement – How Should We Respond?* <https://www.partos.nl/nieuws/recap-the-rise-of-the-anti-rights-movement-how-should-we-respond/>

an integral part of the anti-rights movement, this anti-right ecosystem involves a more expansive transnational association of businesses, advocacy groups, politicians, political parties, media, governments, academia, think tanks, and public figures.²³

In this report, we use – and here define – the term ‘the religious right-wing’ to reflect regional understanding and terminology. This constellation encompasses local religion-identified actors and institutions who advocate for conservative and/or fundamentalist values that align with the cis-heteropatriarchy. The religious right-wing has a long history in the Caribbean, and in many cases it’s difficult to determine whether the pushback against progressive issues in a Caribbean country is due to local mobilization by them acting on their own, or as part of the global anti-rights movement. Through this report we describe the transnational movements as anti-rights and the local religion-identified actors as religious right-wing. This is a useful distinction, not an absolute one – the local religious right wing is also anti rights and the two are deeply connected. The use of this terminology helps in highlighting the transnational connections, funding flows and networks that sustain them.

Thus far, research indicates that prominent ‘international’ anti-rights advocacy groups active in the Caribbean are the US-based Christian legal advocacy group [Alliance Defending Freedom \(ADF\)](#);²⁴ the [World Congress of Families \(WCF\)](#),²⁵ which focuses on conferences and networking; the US-based [Advocates International](#),²⁶ a Christian faith-based legal network; [Focus on the Family](#),²⁷ an evangelical organization; the [International Organization for the Family \(IOF\)](#),²⁸ a Christian advocacy group; and the Spain-based [CitizenGO](#),²⁹ also a Christian advocacy

23 GATE (2024) Recognizing, Documenting, and Addressing Anti-gender Opposition: a Toolkit by GATE. New York: GATE.

24 Southern Poverty Law Center. Alliance Defending Freedom. Extremist Files, <https://www.splcenter.org/resources/extremist-files/alliance-defending-freedom/>; Provost, C., & Archer, N. (2017). ‘Christian ‘legal army’ in hundreds of court battles worldwide’.

25 Southern Poverty Law Center. World Congress of Families. Extremist Files, <https://www.splcenter.org/resources/extremist-files/world-congress-families/>; Human Rights Campaign Foundation. (2014). Exposed: The World Congress of Families, <https://www.hrc.org/press-releases/exposed-the-world-congress-of-families>

26 Tarus, E. (2025). ‘Western anti-LGBTQ groups exert growing influence in Africa’. Erasing 76 Crimes. <https://76crimes.com/2025/06/20/western-anti-lgbtq-influence-africa/>

27 Southern Poverty Law Center. Focus on the Family. Extremist Files. <https://www.splcenter.org/resources/extremist-files/focus-family/>; Mator, T. (2025). ‘Focus On The Family Decries ‘Slander’ After Added to SPLC’s Hate List’. Religion Unplugged. <https://religionunplugged.com/news/2025/6/17/focus-on-the-family-decries-slander-after-added-to-splcs-hate-list>

28 Southern Poverty Law Center. (2016). ‘National Organization for Marriage President announces international anti-LGBT group’. Hatewatch. <https://www.splcenter.org/resources/hatewatch/national-organization-marriage-president-announces-international-anti-lgbt-group/>; Maza, C. (2016). ‘Brian Brown launches new global anti-LGBT group and manifesto’. Salon. https://www.salon.com/2016/12/15/brian-brown-launches-new-global-anti-lgbt-groups-and-manifesto_partner/

29 Ramsay, A., & Provost, C. (2019). ‘Revealed: the Trump-linked ‘Super PAC’ working behind the scenes to drive Europe’s voters to the far Right’. openDemocracy. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/revealed-the-trump-linked-super-pac-working-behind-the-scenes-to-drive-europes-voters-to-the-far-right/>; Whyte, L. (2017). ‘‘They are coming for your children’ — the rise of CitizenGo’. openDemocracy. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/the-rise-of-citizengo/>

group. Figure 1 maps four documented relationship types among these international anti-rights organisations: parent-organisation links, conference co-organising, representatives attending WCF Caribbean conferences, and shared events through regional networks. Profiles of each organisation are in [Annex 1](#). Figure 2 maps the documented presence of these international anti-rights organisations across Caribbean countries, with linked local groups noted alongside; countries without a documented transnational linkage in the sources reviewed are not shown. Each entry is substantiated in the country sections that follow, with a fuller list of local groups in [Annex 2](#).

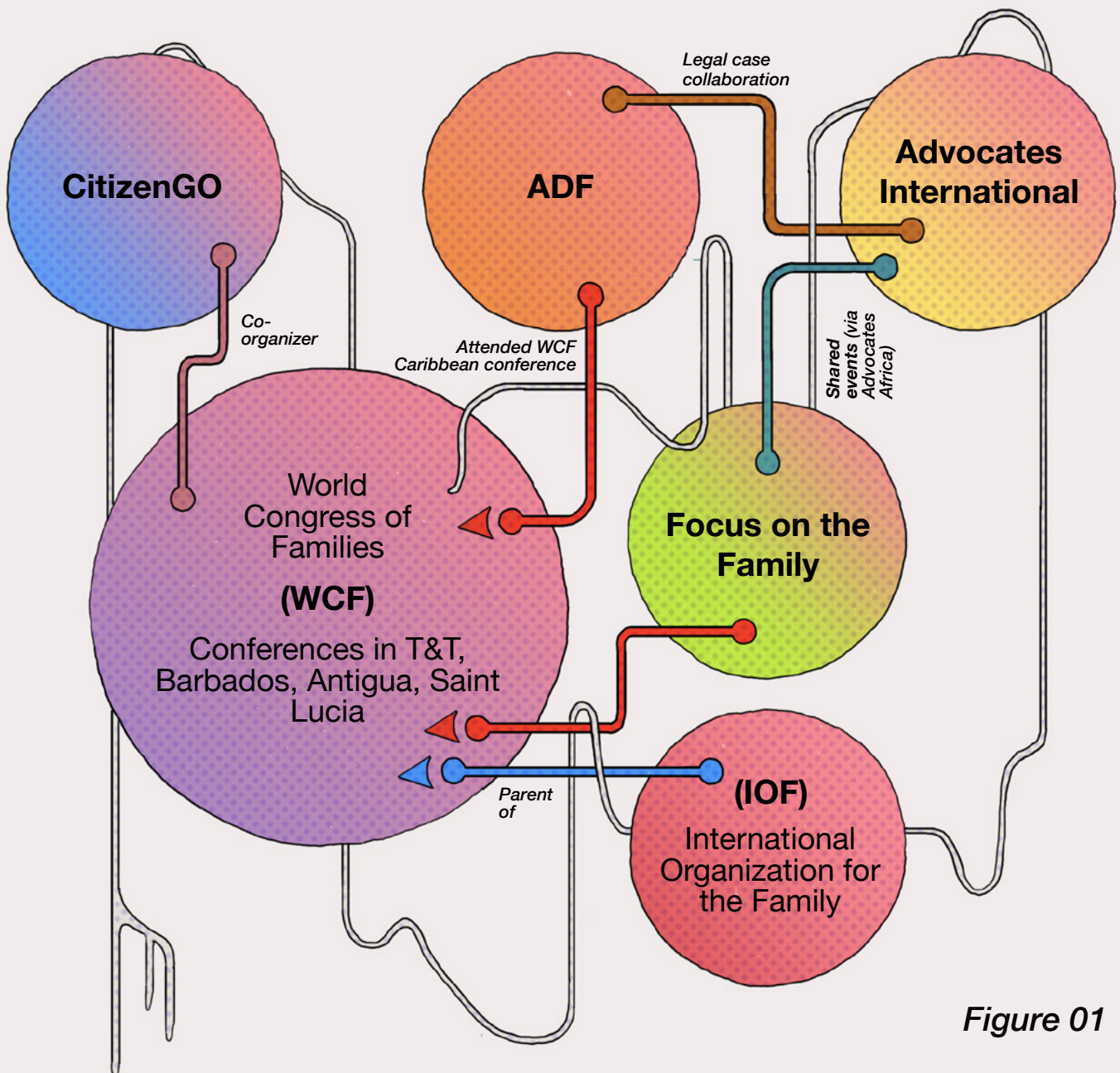
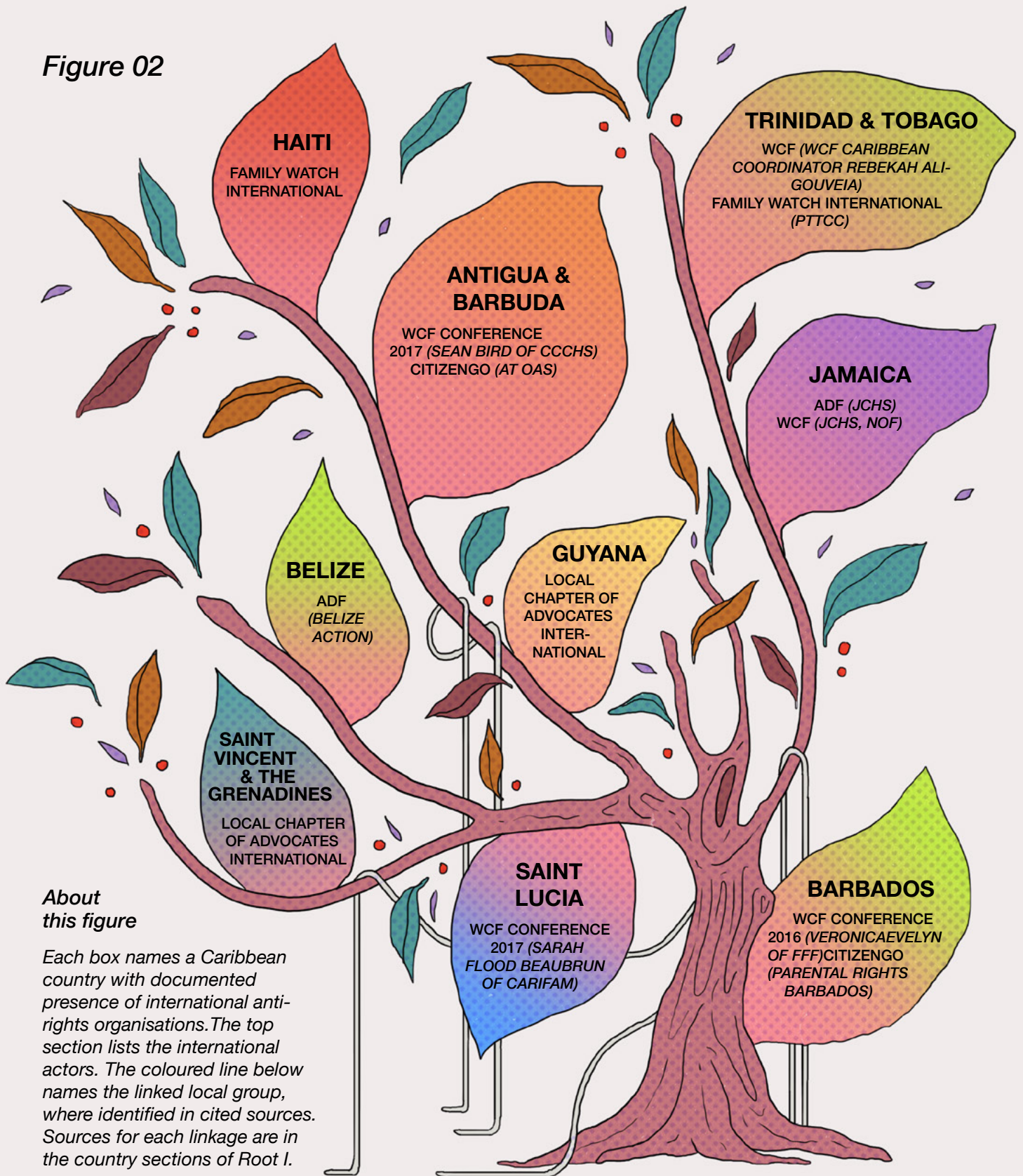


Figure 01

- Parent organization
- Legal case collaboration
- Conference co-organizer
- Attended WCF Caribbean conference
- Shared events / regional collaboration

Figure 02



About this figure

Each box names a Caribbean country with documented presence of international anti-rights organisations. The top section lists the international actors. The coloured line below names the linked local group, where identified in cited sources. Sources for each linkage are in the country sections of Root 1.

Abbreviations

ADF — Alliance Defending Freedom

WCF — World Congress of Families

CCCHS — Concerned Christian Coalition for a Healthy Society

JCHS — Jamaica Coalition for a Healthy Society

NOF — National Organization of the Family

PTTCC — Protect Trinidad & Tobago Children Coalition

OAS — Organization of American States (intergovernmental body, listed here for reference)

FFF — Family Faith Freedom

CARIFAM — Caribbean Family Forum

At a time when funding for development and gender equality has been slashed by billions,³⁰ money for the anti-rights movement continues, and is growing. Between 2013 and 2017 \$173 million USD flowed to the anti-rights movement in the region³¹ – triple what LGBTIQ+ groups received over the same period – as part of \$3.7 billion USD global total.³²

Often the funding sources for anti-rights organizations are obscured by reporting loopholes or other hurdles in the US. For example, organizations that are classified as churches to the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) are exempt from filing form 990, the public tax return that discloses donors and finances – groups like Focus on the Family and the Family Research Council have both obtained this designation.³³ European Parliamentary Forum (EPF) research has documented funding flows from several wealthy US families and donors, including members of the DeVos family (Amway retail chain), the Koch brothers, the Green family (Hobby Lobby), and the Wallers family (Jockey international underwear company), to international anti-rights organizations active in Europe and beyond. These include the ADF, the WCF, and Tradition, Family and Property (TFP) affiliated entities.³⁴ Funders can also route giving through donor-advised funds (DAF) for anonymity. US-based DAF sponsor organizations such as DonorsTrust and the National Christian Charitable Foundation (NCF), which openDemocracy describes as ‘specifically set up to handle money for philanthropists with conservative political or social views,’ appear as the visible donor on grants made, while the original donor remains undisclosed.³⁵ ³⁶ Reportedly, funds were channeled through the latter sponsor organization to groups involved in anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant activities, and an openDemocracy investigation stated that between 2016-2019 they, along with giving over 40 million USD to the ADF, have moved 23 million USD to Focus on the Family.³⁷ ³⁸

30 Burni, A. (2025). Strengthening aid integrity against anti-gender actors: A tool to support bilateral and multilateral ODA donors’ due diligence processes. Briefing Paper. Brussels: ODI Europe.

31 Source data are reported at the Latin America and Caribbean (LAC) level; no Caribbean-only figure is available.

32 Global Philanthropy Project. (2020). Meet the Moment: A Call for Progressive Philanthropic Response to the Anti-Gender Movement. Oakland <https://globalphilanthropyproject.org/2020/11/12/meet-the-moment/>

33 Suozzo, A., & Kroll, A. (2022). ‘Right-wing think tank Family Research Council is now a church in eyes of the IRS’. ProPublica, <https://www.propublica.org/article/family-research-council-irs-church-status>

34 Datta, N. (2021). Tip of the iceberg: Religious extremist funders against human rights for sexuality and reproduction in Europe, 2009–2018. European Parliamentary Forum for Sexual and Reproductive Rights. <https://www.epfweb.org/node/837>; Datta, N. (2025). The Next Wave: How Religious Extremism Is Reclaiming Power. European Parliamentary Forum for Sexual and Reproductive Rights. <https://www.epfweb.org/node/1147>

35 Ibid.

36 Wepukhulu, K. S., & Torrisi, C. (2023). ‘DAFs: How ‘donor-advised funds’ let anonymous US givers bankroll global hate’. openDemocracy, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/donor-advised-funds-daf-us-charity-law-loophole-bankroll-hate/>

37 Wepukhulu, K. S. (2021). ‘US ‘dark money’ groups behind Mississippi abortion case spend millions overseas’. openDemocracy, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/us-rightwing-mississippi-abortion/>

38 In a response to openDemocracy NCF stated: “NCF does not develop or implement strategies about which char-

Uncovering the funding for local anti-rights events and activities, including links to the Global North, has been challenging since donor disclosure and transparency is often not required across the relevant jurisdictions. In some cases, attempts to track funding connections between actors have been met with threats of reprisals. For instance, in 2020 after Ro-Ann Mohammed Director of Sexual Health Empowerment (SHE) stated that Family Faith Freedom (FFF) in Barbados was “being funded by people who are white conservative US Trump supporters”³⁹ Veronica Evelyn, the Executive Director of FFF, said she was not happy that her movement was being accused of accepting funding from a group associated with the Trump administration. Evelyn said she was ready to take legal action in response to these allegations, and suggested that the movement depends on donations from individuals and churches, stating “when they say our funding come from Trump, I want them to bring the proof, and if they can’t bring that proof, we are going to do something about it”.⁴⁰

In *Guyana* there is a long history of religious right-wing actors coordinating anti-LGBTQ+ efforts. However, apart from a letter in 2012⁴¹ to the newspapers authored by Advocates Guyana (“birthed from Advocates International” according to their Facebook page),⁴² i, and the local presence of US-based ‘ex-gay’ church His Way Out Ministries (HWOM) founded by American pastor Phillip Lee to offer “biblical guidance, compassion, and hope to those navigating sexual and relational brokenness”⁴³ with a focus on people experiencing “unwanted same-sex attraction”,⁴⁴ (which by 2010 claimed a base in Guyana following a series of regional missions to the Caribbean),⁴⁵ not much

ities or causes to support. All grants are initiated by the recommendations of our givers.” <https://www.iwm.at/publication/iwmpost-article/the-us-funding-behind-the-anti-gender-movements-in-europe>

39 Henry, A. (2020). ‘Opposing groups march over proposal to legalize same-sex unions’. Barbados Today, <https://barbadostoday.bb/2020/10/25/opposing-groups-march-over-proposal-to-legalize-same-sex-unions/>

40 Ibid

41 Advocates Guyana. (2012). Advocates Guyana urges opposition to decriminalisation of buggery [Letter to the editor]. Guyana Chronicle. <https://guyanachronicle.com/2012/10/05/advocates-guyana-urges-opposition-to-decriminalisation-of-buggery/>; Stabroek News. (2012). Family values being conveniently used to oppose equality for LGBT community [Letter to the editor]. <https://www.stabroeknews.com/2012/10/08/opinion/letters/family-values-being-conveniently-used-to-oppose-equality-for-lgbt-community/>

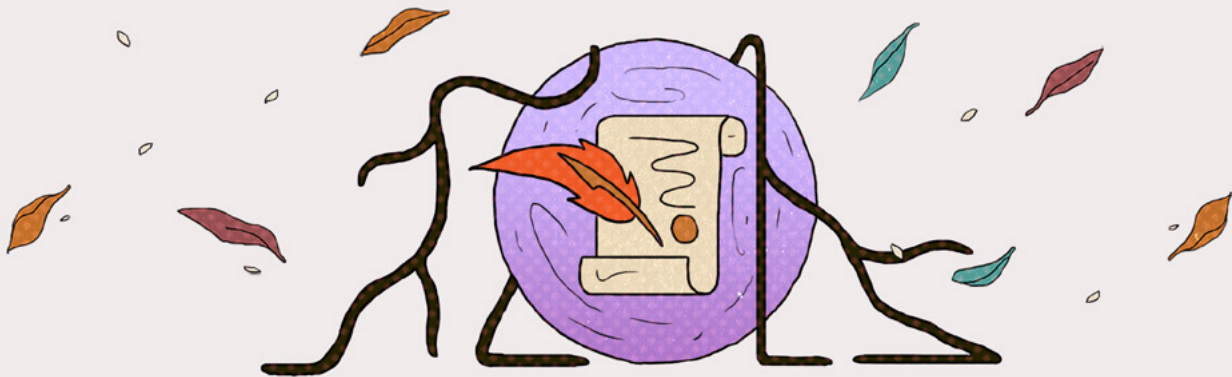
42 Advocates Guyana. (2012). Facebook introduction. <https://www.facebook.com/AdvocatesGuyana/>. Advocates Guyana is the Guyana chapter of Advocates International (<https://advocatesinternational.org/>), a US-based Christian legal network coordinating regional chapters of Christian lawyers worldwide; its stated mission centers on promoting “justice, rule of law, religious freedom, reconciliation and integrity”.

43 His Way Out Ministry. His Way Out Ministry: Rock Harbor Church. <https://rockharborchurch.net/his-way-out-ministry/>

44 His Way Out Ministries Network: Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana(2020) <https://hiswayout.com/his-way-out-ministries-network-jamaica-trinidad-and-tobago-guyana/>

45 CAISO. (2010). We take pride in our liberty. <https://gspottt.wordpress.com/2010/10/17/we-take-a-pride-in-our-liberty/>, 17 October CAISO reported that HWOM, after “a few visits there, they now claim to have a base in Guyana.” See also His Way Out Ministries. (2012). Trinidad and Tobago Bound! <https://hiswayout.com/trinidad-and-tobago-bound/>

evidence was currently found to connect these actions to transnational groups or institutions outside the Caribbean. Lee, who describes himself as “former homosexual,”⁴⁶ has been visiting Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago for many years spreading their message, which stigmatizes same-sex desire and practices.⁴⁷



In 2001 the Guyanese Parliament passed the Constitution (Amendment) (No.5) Bill 2000-Bill No.18/2000,⁴⁸ which would have prohibited discrimination based on sexual orientation. However, this bill was rejected by then President Bharrat Jagdeo after intense political lobbying by the Guyana Council of Churches – an umbrella organization representing several Christian denominations, including the Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran and Methodist churches⁴⁹ joined by the Central Islamic Organisation of Guyana and a coalition of Hindu organisations.⁵⁰ Hindu institutional positions were notably mixed, however; the official Hindu representative on the Constitution Reform Commission supported the amendment.⁵¹ When the Bill was reintroduced in 2003, a newly formed non-governmental organization (NGO), Inter-Religious Organization (IRO), organized another campaign aimed at convincing both politicians and the

46 His Way Out Ministries. (2019). Changed: Once gay stories – Phillip Lee. <https://hiswayout.com/changed-once-gay-stories-phillip-lee/>

47 Ibid.

48 Guyana Parliament. Hansard 17th Sitting 24 July 2003.

49 World Council of Churches. Guyana Council of Churches, <https://www.oikoumene.org/organization/guyana-council-of-churches>

50 Sandhar, P. (2011). ‘Society: Guyana’s Hindus Face Gay Quandary’. Hinduism Today, April-May-June 2011 issue. <https://www.hinduismtoday.com/magazine/april-may-june-2011/2011-04-society-guyana-s-hindus-face-gay-quand-ry/>.

The 2003 joint Hindu statement was issued by the Guyana Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha, Guyana Maha Kali Organisation, Gandhi Youth Bhavan and the Guyana Sevashram Sangh. The Central Islamic Organisation of Guyana also led Muslim institutional opposition; see U.S. Department of State. (2023). 2023 Report on International Religious Freedom: Guyana, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2023-report-on-international-religious-freedom/guyana/>, which documents the IROG’s composition and member organisations.

51 Sandhar, P. (2011). ‘Society: Guyana’s Hindus Face Gay Quandary’. Hinduism Today, <https://www.hinduismtoday.com/magazine/april-may-june-2011/2011-04-society-guyana-s-hindus-face-gay-quand-ry/>. Vidyand Persaud, the representative for Hindu organisations on the Constitution Reform Commission, supported the motion.

public that sexual orientation needed to be removed from the Bill.⁵² IRO includes members from Christian, Muslim, Hindu, Bahá'í and Rastafarian background, with a number of religious bodies and organizations as members, including the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification (the international body of the Unification Church, which has a presence in approximately 100 countries)⁵³ and other groups like the Guyana Evangelical Fellowship (an umbrella organization for Evangelical churches). This campaign included a coordinated lobbying effort, with member groups contacting every Parliamentarian with their position and circulating a 25-page document to Parliamentarians which argued that the anti-discrimination clause would open a path to same-sex marriage and other outcomes the religious coalition opposed.⁵⁴ Ultimately, the Bill was passed without sexual orientation in the final wording.⁵⁵ Juan Edghill, then IRO Public Relations Officer, and Roger Williams, IRO co-Chairman, have engaged in anti-LGBTIQ+ advocacy for over a decade.⁵⁶ Edghill, also Bishop and former Chairman of the Guyana Council of Churches and the Ethnic Relations Commission (2003–2011) was the subject of a formal complaint to the United Nations (UN) Human Rights Council in 2014 after describing homosexuality on a national radio programme as “destructive, unwholesome and unhealthy” and claiming homosexuals are “promiscuous, disease-laden and more violent than ‘normal’ people.”

52 Sandhar, P. (2011). ‘Society: Guyana’s Hindus Face Gay Quandary’. *Hinduism Today*, April-May-June 2011 issue. <https://www.hinduismtoday.com/magazine/april-may-june-2011/2011-04-society-guyana-s-hindus-face-gay-quandary/>. The article documents the Inter-Religious Organisation’s official opposition to the anti-discrimination clause and quotes the joint statement issued by Guyana Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha, Guyana Maha Kali Organisation, Gandhi Youth Bhavan and the Guyana Sevashram Sangh; Society Against Sexual Orientation Discrimination & Sexual Rights Initiative. (2014). *On Devil’s Island: A UPR Submission on LGBT Human Rights in Guyana*. https://www.sexualrightsinitiative.org/sites/default/files/resources/files/2019-05/SASOD_SRI_UPR_Guyana_July2014FINAL_0.pdf, paragraph 5: “In 2003, the ‘Sexual Orientation’ Amendment Bill was introduced in Guyana’s Parliament... [the] bill was not voted on, as it received significant opposition from sections of the religious community.”

53 Also known as the Unification Church, some informally call its adherents “moonies” after the church’s South Korean founder Sun Myung Moon. The church has conservative views on gender and sexuality and has been accused of brainwashing and financial manipulation: see Martin, P. (2025). ‘What is the Unification Church and why does it face dissolution in Japan?’ *ABC News*, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2025-03-27/what-is-the-unification-church-moonies-dissolution-japan/105100904>. The FFWPU has a presence in approximately 100 countries: see Family Federation for World Peace and Unification. *About Us*. <https://familyfed.org/about-us>. On the IROG’s inclusion of Rastafarian members, see U.S. Department of State. (2023). *2023 Report on International Religious Freedom: Guyana*. <https://www.state.gov/reports/2023-report-on-international-religious-freedom/guyana/>.

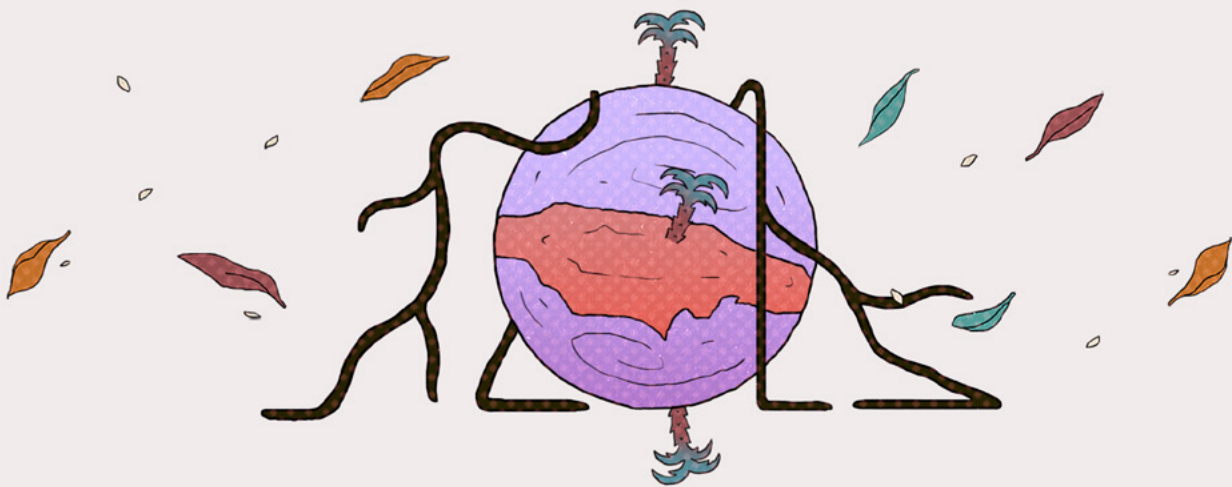
54 Sandhar, P. (2011). ‘Society: Guyana’s Hindus Face Gay Quandary’. *Hinduism Today*, April-May-June 2011 issue, <https://www.hinduismtoday.com/magazine/april-may-june-2011/2011-04-society-guyana-s-hindus-face-gay-quandary/>, which documents the religious coalition’s framing of the amendment as a precursor to same-sex marriage. See also Thomas, S. (2003). ‘Guyanese urged to denounce constitutional amendment on ‘sexual orientation’’. *Guyana Chronicle* [print archive], 17 July, for primary-source reporting on the IRO’s 25-page parliamentary submission.

55 Wikipedia. *LGBTQ rights in Guyana*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/LGBTQ_rights_in_Guyana: “A new amendment, containing only the sexual orientation clause, was put before the Assembly in 2003, although it made no progress and was later withdrawn by the Government.” See also *Guyana Chronicle*. (2003). *Parliament passes fundamental rights bill — puts aside ‘sexual orientation’ measure* [print archive], 25 July.

56 Kaieteur News. (2010). ‘Inter-Religious Organisation condemns Gay and Lesbian Film Fest’, <https://kaieteurnewsonline.com/2010/06/29/inter-religious-organisation-condemns-gay-and-lesbian-film-fest/>; Williams, R. (2010). ‘Kissoon and SASOD should be rejected yet again!’ <https://kaieteurnewsonline.com/2010/03/24/kissoon-and-sasod-should-be-rejected-yet-again/>

Rights groups submitted that the remarks amounted to hate speech under Article 146(3) of the Guyana Constitution.⁵⁷

Edghill is now Minister of Public Works and has been a parliamentarian since 2013.⁵⁸ Another prominent anti-LGBTIQ+ evangelical activist who also recently entered the political arena is Nigel London.⁵⁹ In 2017, London, of ‘Come as you are Ministries’, led a march against homosexuality, the decriminalization of buggery laws in Guyana and the work of the LGBTIQ+ organization SASOD (Society Against Sexual Orientation Discrimination); he had also allegedly threatened and harassed the managing director of SASOD for about a year prior to the march.⁶⁰



Jamaica has also seen powerful and successful lobbying against LGBTIQ+ rights, sexual and reproductive health education, and the rights of women and marginalized populations since the early 2000s. Local groups active in advocacy include the Lawyers’ Christian Fellowship (LCF) the Jamaica chapter of a UK-founded international organisation that gained national prominence around 2005 with debates over Jamaica’s proposed Charter of Rights,⁶¹ Jamaica CAUSE (Church Action

57 Society Against Sexual Orientation Discrimination & Sexual Rights Initiative. (2014). On Devil’s Island: A UPR Submission on LGBT Human Rights in Guyana. https://www.sexualrightsinitiative.org/sites/default/files/resources/files/2019-05/SASOD_SRI_UPR_Guyana_July20_14FINAL_0.pdf; Stabroek News. (2014). Gay rights groups urge gov’t to fire Juan Edghill after anti-gay remarks. Stabroek News, 16 July, <https://www.stabroeknews.com/2014/07/16/news/guyana/gay-rights-groups-urge-govt-fire-juan-edghill-anti-gay-remarks/>.

58 Ministry of Public Works, Guyana. Honourable Bishop Juan A. Edghill. <https://mopw.gov.gy/honourable-bishop-juan-a-edghill>: ‘Bishop of Outreach Ministries International... Founder and Presiding Bishop of Zadok Ministers Fellowship... Former Chairman of the Guyana Council of Churches (GCC): 1999 to 2006.’ Appointed Minister of Public Works in August 2020 by President Irfaan Ali; chaired the Ethnic Relations Commission from 2003 to 2011. See Juan Edghill. Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Juan_Edghill

59 Stabroek News. (2025). ‘London is PM candidate for Forward Guyana Movement coalition’, 17 July, <https://www.stabroeknews.com/2025/07/17/news/guyana/london-is-pm-candidate-for-forward-guyana-movement-coalition/>

60 Percival, T. (2017). ‘Linden church leader stages march against homosexuality’. Stabroek News, <https://www.stabroeknews.com/2017/08/20/news/guyana/linden-church-leader-stages-march-against-homosexuality/>

61 Latoya Lazarus stated that the Lawyers’ Christian Fellowship of Jamaica is one branch of a large, and still expand-

Uniting Society for Emancipation), a grouping of Christian churches that describes itself as standing ‘for the biblical worldview as the ideal foundation for nation-building and human flourishing’ against what it calls ‘the advancing attack on our sovereignty and constitutional freedoms’,⁶² Love March Movement (a Christian youth NGO),⁶³ and the Jamaica Coalition for a Healthy Society (JCHS) (NGO coalition of Christian individuals and organizations).⁶⁴ In 2011 when Jamaica amended its constitution with The Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms (Constitutional Amendment) Act, 2011,⁶⁵ it was reported that the LCF was partially responsible for the non-inclusion of sexual orientation as grounds for discrimination, Section 18(2) which legally defines marriage as heterosexual, and the retention of laws criminalizing buggery and prohibiting abortion.⁶⁶ In 2015 Jamaican lawyer and LGBTIQ+ activist living in Canada, Maurice Tomlinson, challenged the constitutionality of Jamaica’s buggery laws in the local courts in a case where the Jamaica Association of Evangelicals, Ethiopian Orthodox Church, Independent Churches, Holiness Christian Church, Christian Brethren Assemblies Jamaica, Jamaica CAUSE and Love March Movement, JCHS, LCF and Hear the Children Cry were also included as interested parties;⁶⁷ in 2023 the Jamaica Supreme Court ultimately dismissed the case, retaining the buggery laws.⁶⁸

Perhaps the most prominent group is JCHS, and its leader Wayne West. The JCHS successfully blocked a 2014 initiative by the Pan-Caribbean

ing, international organization (the Lawyer’s Christian Fellowship) that was founded in the United Kingdom in 1852. While the Jamaica chapter had existed for decades, “it was not until about 2005 that their national profile emerged with the advent of discussions on a proposed Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms for all Jamaican citizens”: see Lazarus, L. (2013). ‘The church and the law: Examining the role of Christianity in shaping sexual politics in Jamaica’. PhD Thesis, York University. <https://yorkspace.library.yorku.ca/items/986b728c-05ad-4155-9fbf-69140924e4c5>

62 Jamaica CAUSE. About. Facebook. <https://www.facebook.com/groups/425474717594695/about> (quoted phrases drawn from the group’s self-description); Lazarus, L. (2015). ‘Sexual Citizenship and Conservative Christian Mobilization in Jamaica’. *Journal of Eastern Caribbean Studies*, 40(1): 109–149.

63 Love March Movement. Instagram profile. https://www.instagram.com/love_march_movement/?hl=en; Murray, G. et al. (2017). Diversifying LGBT rights advocacy – a legal review. <https://dataspace.princeton.edu/handle/88435/dsp01bg-257j312?mode=full>

64 Jamaica Coalition for a Healthy Society. About us. <https://www.jchs.org.jm/>; Perkins, A. K. (2016). ‘More than words: Evangelicals, the rhetoric of battle and the fight over gay rights in the Caribbean’. *Journal of East Caribbean Studies*, 41(1), 13–46.

65 The Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms (Constitutional Amendment) Act, 2011. [https://www.japarliament.gov.jm/attachments/341_The%20Charter%20of%20Fundamental%20Rights%20and%20Free-dom%20\(Constitutional%20Amendment\)%20Act.%202011.pdf](https://www.japarliament.gov.jm/attachments/341_The%20Charter%20of%20Fundamental%20Rights%20and%20Free-dom%20(Constitutional%20Amendment)%20Act.%202011.pdf)

66 Lazarus, Latoya. (2015). ‘Sexual Citizenship and Conservative Christian Mobilization in Jamaica’, *Journal of Eastern Caribbean Studies*, 40(1): 109–149.

67 Maurice Arnold Tomlinson v. Attorney General of Jamaica. <https://jm.vlex.com/vid/maurice-arnold-tomlinson-v-793054605>

68 Maurice Arnold Tomlinson v. the Attorney General of Jamaica, Claim No. 2015 HCV 05731. https://supremecourt.gov.jm/sites/default/files/judgments/Tomlinson,%20Maurice%20Arnold%20v%20The%20Attorney%20General%20of%20Jamaica,%20the%20Churches,%20Jamaica%20Coalition%20for%20a%20Healthy%20So-ciety%20et%20al_0.pdf

Partnership Against HIV/AIDS (PANCAP)⁶⁹ called “Justice for All” a CARICOM regional roadmap on HIV-related stigma and discrimination. The initiative recommended decriminalizing buggery and adopting anti-discrimination legislation that would include sexual orientation and gender identity as protected grounds by coordinating a petition signed by 140 organizations from twelve Caribbean countries (the vast majority from Jamaica and Barbados) and submitting it to CARICOM Heads of Government, who subsequently deferred approval of the PANCAP Declaration at their July 2014 meeting in St Kitts and Nevis.⁷⁰ West has interacted and collaborated with other right-wing religious conservatives in rallies and conferences across the region. For example, JCHS hosted Brian Camenker of US-based MassResistance as the main speaker at a December 2013 anti-LGBTIQ+ rally in Kingston, and convened a December 2014 ‘International Human Rights Conference’ featuring Liberty Counsel chair Mat Staver and US anti-gay author Judith Reisman.⁷¹ The JCHS also has ties to US-based anti-rights organisations. JCHS Advocacy Officer Philippa Davies appeared as a featured speaker at the 2017 WCF Caribbean Regional Conference in Antigua and Barbuda alongside representatives from Focus on the Family, ADF, and Family Watch International, and again at the WCF Caribbean Regional Conference in St. Lucia later that year.⁷² Davies shared archived copies of interviews with Focus on the Family and ADF on their website,⁷³ and at the 2012 conference JCHS helped to organize with the Lawyers Christian Fellowship, there were two ADF representatives in attendance - with Piero Tozzi, ADF senior legal counsel, delivering a speech

69 PANCAP is an intergovernmental agency under the aegis of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) which focuses on HIV/AIDS. CARICOM is the regional integrating body of several Caribbean countries. See: Pan-Caribbean Partnership Against HIV/AIDS. Justice for All. <https://pancap.org/what-we-do/justice-for-all/>.

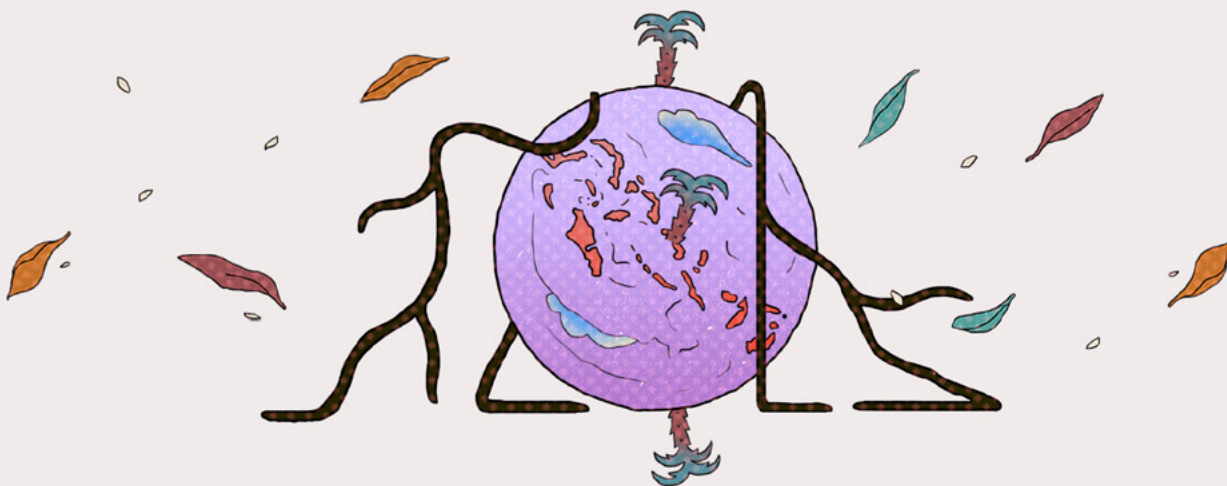
70 Jamaica Coalition for a Healthy Society. (2014). Press Release. https://www.jchs.org.jm/uploads/1/3/4/4/13441454/statement_on_pancap_justice_for_all.pdf; Barbados Advocate. (2014). ‘Caricom defers approval of PANCAP anti-discrimination report’, 7 July.

71 Wong, C. M. (2014). ‘The Politics of Anti-Gay Persecution: Gambia, Egypt, Jamaica, Russia, with a Helping Hand from US Religious Conservatives’. Religion Dispatches, 11 December, <https://religiondispatches.org/the-politics-of-anti-gay-persecution-gambia-egypt-jamaica-russia-with-a-helping-hand-from-us-religious-conservatives-global-lgbt-recap/>, documenting the JCHS-hosted “International Human Rights Conference” featuring Mat Staver and Judith Reisman; Camenker, B. (2013). ‘MassResistance helps Jamaica confront “Gay Agenda.”’ Dr. Rich Swier, <https://drichswier.com/2013/12/29/massresistance-helps-jamaica-confront-gay-agenda/>, recounting Camenker’s speech at the JCHS Emancipation Park rally in Kingston.

72 International Organization for the Family. (2017). World Congress of Families Antigua Regional Conference (“Building Strong Caribbean Families”) in St John, Antigua and Barbuda, June 29-30, <https://profam.org/world-congress-of-families-antigua-regional-conference-building-strong-caribbean-families-in-st-john-antigua-and-barbuda-june-29-30-2017/>, listing Philippa Davies (Jamaica Coalition for a Healthy Society) as a featured speaker. See also: International Organization for the Family. (2017). World Congress of Families Leadership Memo: WCF Regional Conferences, Caribbean (St. Lucia) and Africa (Malawi). <https://profam.org/world-congress-of-families-leadership-memo-wcf-regional-conferences-caribbean-st-lucia-and-africa-malawi/>, listing Davies’ “Two is Better than Two Many” presentation at the November 2017 St. Lucia conference.

73 Jamaica Coalition for a Healthy Society. ‘Morning Joy: Special edition Data-base of Selected Archived Interviews May 2015- May 2016’, https://www.jchs.org.jm/uploads/1/3/4/4/13441454/mjse_tbc_data-base_of_archived_interviews_2015-2016.pdf

supporting the retention of Jamaica’s anti-sodomy laws.⁷⁴ Beyond JCHS, other Jamaican actors that also have ties to the international anti-rights movement include Michael Coombs, the founder of the National Association of the Family (which was also listed on the WCF Caribbean site), speaking at the 2016 WCF Conference in Barbados,⁷⁵ and the ADF, which reportedly advised organizations in Jamaica on “how to keep anti-sodomy laws on their books”.⁷⁶



The Bahamas is the only Anglophone Caribbean country to decriminalize same-sex relations without a court challenge, back in 1991, but in the country it has been argued “conservative, evangelical fundamentalist Christianity is the mainstream and [decriminalization]... has not led to changes in popular opinion or the antigay stance of religious leaders.”⁷⁷ Conservative actors, like The Bahamas Christian Council (led by President Delton Fernander), and the Save Our Bahamas campaign,⁷⁸ have been active in opposing progressive legislation. In 2009, The Bahamas Christian Council opposed an amendment of the 1991 Sexual Offences and Domestic Violence Act that would ban marital

74 Ramdeen, L. (2012). Report on International Conference “Human Rights, International Law and the Family”. http://www.rcsocialjusticett.org/downloads/humrightsconf_jamaica.pdf#page=64

75 Southern Regional Health Authority. (2016). Press Release: “Fatherlessness- Most Significant Factor Contributing to Broken Families in Caribbean”: Regional Technical Director. <https://www.srha.gov.jm/pdf/News/2016/04/Press%20Release-%E2%80%9CFatherlessness-%20Most%20Significant%20Factor%20Contributing%20to%20Broken%20Families%20in%20Caribbean%E2%80%9D-%20Regional%20Technical%20Director.pdf>

76 Compton, J. (2018). ‘Activists take aim at anti-LGBTQ ‘hate group,’ Alliance Defending Freedom, <https://www.nbcnews.com/feature/nbc-out/activists-takes-aim-anti-lgbtq-hate-group-alliance-defending-freedom-n936391>

77 Perkins, A. K. (2016). ‘More than words: Evangelicals, the rhetoric of battle and the fight over gay rights in the Caribbean’. *Journal of East Caribbean Studies*, 41(1), 13–46.

78 Save our Bahamas was a campaign led by local pastors including Mario Moxey of Bahamas Harvest Church, Lyall Bethel of Grace Community Church, and Alfred Stewart of New Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church. Robards, R. (2016). ‘Pastors: We diverted the global homosexual agenda’. *The Tribune*, 10 June. <https://www.tribune242.com/news/2016/jun/10/pastors-we-diverted-global-homosexual-agenda/>; see also Janowski, P. (2016). ‘No to YES: Struggle for Equality in the Bahamas’. Council on Hemispheric Affairs. <https://coha.org/no-to-yes-struggle-for-equality-in-the-bahamas/>: “Foreign Affairs Minister Fred Mitchell accused the SOB campaign of ‘demonizing and dehumanizing’ homosexuals in order to defeat the [Gender Equality Referendum].”

rape,⁷⁹ and when the amendment came up again in the Sexual Offences (Amendment) Bill 2022, Delton Fernander again opposed the proposed ban on marital rape, and linked removing marital rape to allowing same-sex marriage: “If we remove marriage out of the portion [of the act], we begin to move marriage. Civil union will come in.”⁸⁰

The boogeyman of gay marriage was also invoked in 2016 when the country held a referendum on four constitutional amendments. Amendment Bill 4 would have inserted sex as a grounds for non-discrimination, but Save Our Bahamas used an intense campaign of sermons, radio advertisements, and weekly public prayer sessions to claim this insertion would result in same-sex marriage.⁸¹ Also included in the referendum were Bills 1 and 2, which would have allowed women to confer Bahamian nationality to their children and spouses in the same manner that men can.⁸² Opposition to these amendments in many cases appeared to be connected to prevalent anti-Haiti sentiment and xenophobia more broadly. For instance, Christian leaders like Walter Hanchell, expressed fears that the amendments would lead to “an influx of foreign men coming to The Bahamas for work and using Bahamian women as their ticket.”⁸³ ⁸⁴ More recently, women Christian leaders Patrice Smith and Carol Moss led a protest against Pride Bahamas’ Human Rights March in October 2025.⁸⁵

There are at least two national political parties – Bahamas Democratic Movement, with leader Cassius Stuart; and Bahamas Constitution Party, with Deputy Leader Glenroy Bethel – who have stated anti-LGBTIQ+ stances.⁸⁶ In 2023, after the President of Bahamas Union of Teachers said schools should teach about different family compositions and

79 Wallace, A. (2017). ‘Policymaking in a ‘Christian nation’: women’s and LGBT+ rights in The Bahamas’ 2016 referendum’. *Gender and Development*, 25(1), 69–83.

80 Nassau Guardian. (2023). ‘Weaponizing gay marriage’, 11 April, https://www.thenassauguardian.com/opinion/editorials/weaponizing-gay-marriage/article_16cb09bd-5b67-5a82-97d1-172e8c86f096.html

81 Wallace, A. (2017). ‘Policymaking in a ‘Christian nation’: women’s and LGBT+ rights in The Bahamas’ 2016 referendum’. *Gender and Development*, 25(1), 69–83.

82 The Bahamas High Commission London. Constitutional Referendum Bill Amendments. <https://www.bahamash-clondon.net/constitutional-referendum-bill-amendments/>

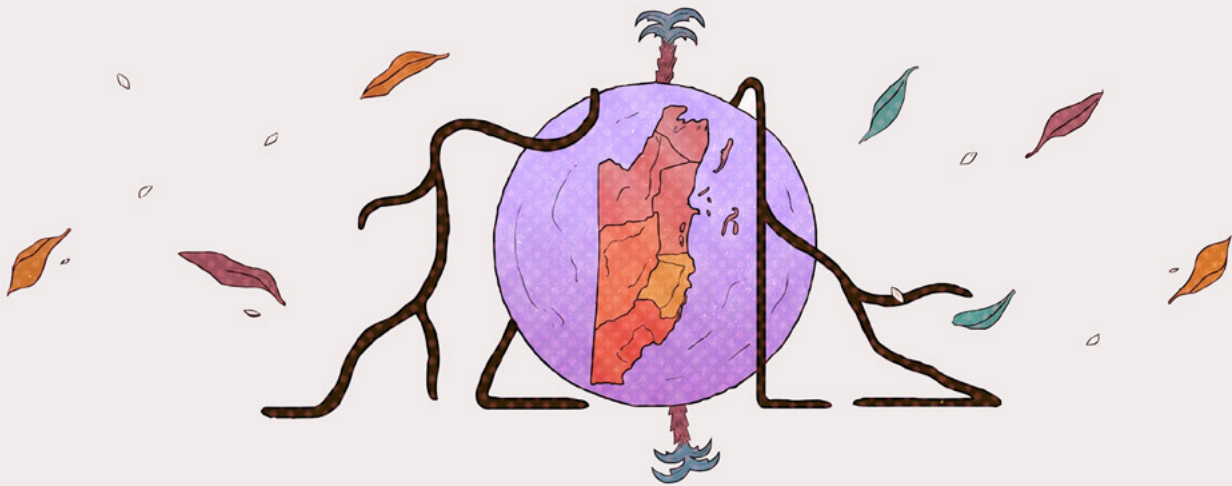
83 Rolle, R. (2016). ‘Bishop urges ‘no’ vote in gender equality referendum.’ *The Tribune*, <https://www.tribune242.com/news/2016/apr/15/bishop-urges-no-vote-gender-equality-referendum/>

84 Haitians are the largest migrant group in The Bahamas and face significant stigma, being associated with “illegal status”, poor education, and poverty: see Fielding, W. J., Ballance, V., Scriven, C., McDonald, T., & Johnson, P. (2008). ‘The Stigma of Being “Haitian” in The Bahamas’. *International Journal of Bahamian Studies*, 14, 38–50.

85 Munnings, L. (2025). ‘Protestors face off over LGBTIQ+ rights march.’ *The Tribune*, <https://www.tribune242.com/news/2025/oct/14/protestors-face-off-over-lgbtqi-rights-march/>

86 Cassius Stuart. (2023). YouTube video. ‘No LGBT Flag in the Bahamas’. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s74W5Zm6Qrg>; McKenzie, N. (2023). ‘Bahamas constitution party plans legal action to prevent LGBTQ curriculum in schools’. *Eyewitness News*, <https://ewnews.com/bahamas-constitution-party-plans-legal-action-to-prevent-lgbtq-awareness-in-schools/>

transgender people,⁸⁷ ‘transgender education’ became a hot topic in Bahamian media (coinciding with the anti-CSE (comprehensive sexuality education) and ‘parental rights’ actions in Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago as detailed below). Cassius Stuart was also involved in the Watch Out My Children rally held in Barbados,⁸⁸ while Glenroy Bethel’s party planned legal action against the Ministry of Education for raising LGBTIQ+ awareness in schools.⁸⁹



When the United Belize Advocacy Movement (UNIBAM) and its executive president, Caleb Orozco, challenged the constitutionality of *Belize’s* Section 53 criminalizing same-sex relations in 2010,⁹⁰ This was a groundbreaking move in the Caribbean. It also marked the beginning of the visible incursion of Global North anti-rights groups into the region. Not only did an alliance called Church Interested Parties (CIP) – comprising the Roman Catholic Church in Belize, the Belize Church of England Corporate Body (the Anglican Church in Belize) and the Belize Evangelical Association of Churches – join the state (including the Prime Minister and the Attorney General) in defending the law,⁹¹ but Christian

87 Russell, J. (2023). ‘Trans-activist backs BUT president’s comment’. The Tribune, <https://www.tribune242.com/news/2023/mar/29/trans-activist-backs-presidents-comment/>

88 The Marcia Weekes Show. (2023). Facebook post. <https://www.facebook.com/100032307052608/videos/812331183519396>

89 McKenzie, N. (2023). ‘Bahamas constitution party plans legal action to prevent LGBTQ curriculum in schools’. Eye-witness News, <https://ewnews.com/bahamas-constitution-party-plans-legal-action-to-prevent-lgbtq-awareness-in-schools/>

90 Orozco v. Attorney General of Belize, Claim No. 668 of 2010, Supreme Court of Belize. The case was filed on 24 September 2010. See Orozco v Attorney General, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orozco_v_Atorney_General; CIVICUS Monitor. (2016). Court decision in Belize a victory for LGBT rights defender Caleb Orozco. <https://monitor.civicus.org/explore/court-decision-belize-victory-lgbt-rights-defender-caleb-orozco/>; Front Line Defenders. ‘Caleb Orozco’. <https://www.frontlinedefenders.org/en/profile/caleb-orozco>.

91 Southern Poverty Law Center. (2013). Dangerous Liaisons: The American Religious Right & the Criminalization of Homosexuality in Belize. <https://www.splcenter.org/20130709/dangerous-liaisons>. Per the report: “defending Section 53 and its criminalization of gay sex, is the government, including both the prime minister and the attorney general, and an alliance called Church Interested Parties (CIP). CIP includes the Roman Catholic Church in Belize, the Belize Church of

leaders, including Scott Stirm (an evangelical Christian Zionist⁹² from the US living in Belize) formed the Belize Action activist campaign.⁹³ In his 2012 speech to a conference in Jamaica, ADF senior legal counsel Piero Tozzi said he had “served as an advisor to Bishop Wright [of the Belizean Roman Catholic Church] with respect to certain issues concerning international law” on the decriminalization case.⁹⁴ Belize Action reported receiving legal support from ADF (which had also reportedly done some training in-country) and the US-based Catholic Family & Human Rights Institute (C-FAM).⁹⁵ Stirm also had a prominent ally in local pastor Louis Wade Jr. whose group Militia of the Holy Spirit was also vociferous in opposing the court challenge.⁹⁶

While the Orozco case was successful at the Supreme Court and on appeal, the anti-rights agenda continues. This has been illustrated by objections from the National Evangelical Association and leaders in the Catholic Church causing the Equal Opportunities Bill of 2020⁹⁷ to be withdrawn from Parliament.⁹⁸ In 2022 the People’s Constitution Commission was tasked with overseeing a comprehensive review of the country’s constitution.⁹⁹ Louis Wade Jr was a representative on this Commission, whose final report – submitted to Prime Minister John Briceño in May 2025 – contained 167 recommendations, including, sources indicate, provisions advancing ‘parental rights’ framing, the constitutional definition of marriage as exclusively between a man and a woman, and expanded autonomy for religious educational institutions.¹⁰⁰

England Corporate Body and the local Evangelical Association of Churches.”

92 7 News Belize. (2023). ‘Christians In The Capital March For Israel’. <https://www.7newsbelize.com/sstory.php?nid=68430>

93 Lazarus, L. (2020). ‘Enacting citizenship, debating sex and sexuality: conservative Christians’ participation in legal processes in Jamaica and Belize’, *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 58(2):1-21; Reynolds, L. (2023). “The Long Battle to Eradicate Homophobia in Belize. <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=11090&context=noticen>

94 Ramdeen, L. (2012). Report on International Conference “Human Rights, International Law and the Family.” Catholic Commission for Social Justice, Trinidad and Tobago.

95 Southern Poverty Law Center. (2013). *Dangerous Liaisons: The American Religious Right & the Criminalization of Homosexuality in Belize*. <https://www.splcenter.org/20130709/dangerous-liaisons>

96 Southern Poverty Law Center. (2013). *Dangerous Liaisons: The American Religious Right & the Criminalization of Homosexuality in Belize*. <https://www.splcenter.org/20130709/dangerous-liaisons> ; Perkins, A. K. (2016). ‘More than words: Evangelicals, the rhetoric of battle and the fight over gay rights in the Caribbean’. *Journal of East Caribbean Studies*, 41(1), 13–46.

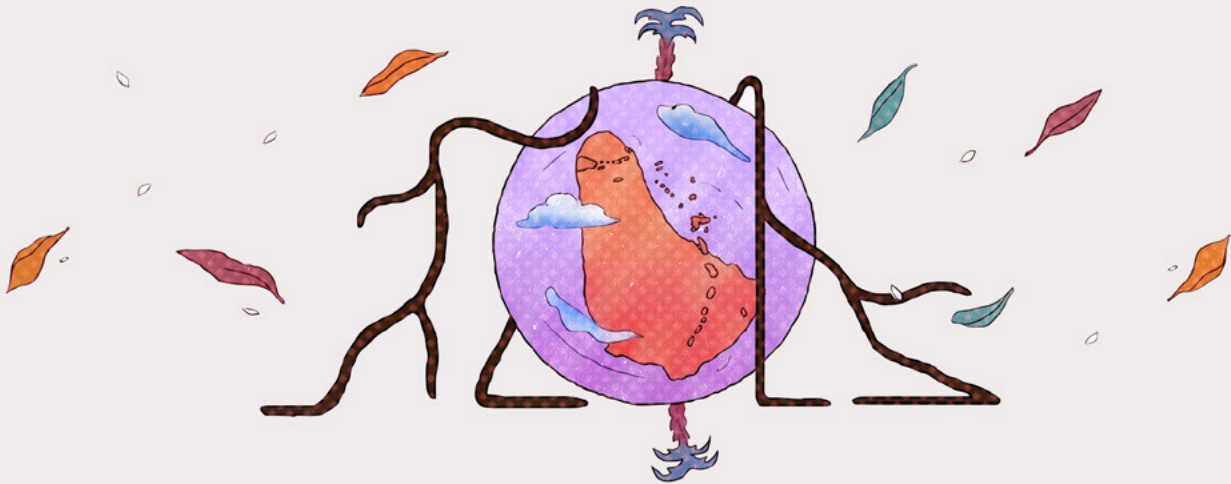
97 The Equal Opportunities Bill aimed to “promote equal opportunities between persons of different status; to prevent and prohibit certain kinds of discrimination, including discrimination on the grounds of HIV positive status; to establish an Equal Opportunities Commission and an Equal Opportunities Tribunal; and for related matters”: Belize Equal Opportunities Bill, (2020). <https://www.policytracker.bz/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/Sept-2020-DRAFT-Equal-Opportunities-Bill-UPLOAD.pdf>

98 Anglican Ink. (2020). ‘Gay Rights laws blocked in Belize’. <https://anglican.ink/2020/09/28/gay-rights-laws-blocked-in-belize/>

99 Government of Belize Press Office. (2022). ‘People’s Constitution Commission Holds Inaugural Meeting’. <https://www.pressoffice.gov.bz/peoples-constitution-commission-holds-inaugural-meeting/>

100 Amandala. (2025). Former media commissioners defend integrity of PCC process. <https://amandala.com.bz/news/former-media-commissioners-defend-integrity-of-pcc-process/>

Eight commissioners representing the National Women’s Commission, the Belize National Teachers’ Union, the Public Service Union, LGBT advocacy, Maya councils, women’s, youth and indigenous organisations have publicly dissociated themselves from the final report, citing ‘bad faith management’ and procedural mismanagement.¹⁰¹



A particularly active arena for the anti-rights movement in the Caribbean has been *Barbados and the Eastern Caribbean*. A key figure in Barbados is Veronica Evelyn, who helped organize “The Barbados Rally” in 2015 and eventually evolved the Rally into the Family, Faith, Freedom (FFF) organization she leads.¹⁰² Evelyn was a Caribbean delegate at the 2015 WCF Conference in the US and co-organized the WCF 2017 conference in Barbados which was attended by representatives from CitizenGo and Focus on the Family.¹⁰³ She has also sat on an anti-Pride press conference¹⁰⁴, co-hosted a 2018 CitizenGo online petition with WCF and IOF against same-sex marriage and ‘public school indoctrination’¹⁰⁵ (as Proteqt Inc, which is another organization she runs),¹⁰⁶ led four marches protesting same-sex marriage during October to November 2020,¹⁰⁷ and has spoken at Constitutional Reform townhalls.¹⁰⁸

101 Channel 5 Belize. (2025). Commissioners Disown Final Constitution Report. Channel 5 Belize, 20 May, <https://www.greaterbelize.com/commissioners-disown-final-constitution-report/> ; Greater Belize Media (2025). Former PCC Members Challenge Final Report. Greater Belize Media, 5 July, <https://www.greaterbelize.com/former-pcc-members-challenge-final-report/>. The eight signatories represented the National Women’s Commission, Belize National Teachers’ Union, Public Service Union, LGBT Substantive, Maya Councils, University of Belize, National Garifuna Council, and youth/student alliances.

102 Family Faith Freedom. ‘About Us’. <https://www.familyfaithfreedombarbados.com/about-us>

103 World Congress of Families 3rd Caribbean Regional Conference. (2016). Facebook post. https://www.facebook.com/909368079183267/photos/910746919045383/?_rdr

104 The Barbados Advocate. (2018). ‘Church decries LGBT agenda’. 20 July,

105 CitizenGO. (2018). ‘Petition: Barbados: Stand Up Against “Same-Sex Marriage” and Public School Indoctrination’. <https://web.archive.org/web/20200919232603/https://citizengo.org/en/signit/160118/view>

106 ProtEQt Children’s Foundation (PCF), Dr Veronica Evelyn. <https://www.unitedcaribbean.com/pcf-drveronicaevelyn.html>

107 The Barbados Advocate. (2020). ‘Family Faith Freedom Barbados continues its protest against same-sex civil unions’. 8 November, The Barbados Advocate.

108 Tempo. (2022). ‘Bajans have it out on gender identity in revised Constitution Loop Barbados’. <https://www.tempo->

Another prominent figure in Barbados has been Marcia Weekes, a local creative with an online show (The Marcia Weekes Show) on Facebook. When in 2022, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) administered a high school student survey asking about gender identity, sexuality, and suicidality without ethics approval or parental consent,¹⁰⁹ the widespread outrage was seized upon by Weekes, who then called for the resignation of the Minister of Education and a stop to CSE in the country.¹¹⁰ Over the next few months, she led fairly well-attended protest marches on the issue that also targeted the Government's proposed Child Protection Bill, 2023¹¹¹ on the grounds that it reduced "parental rights,"¹¹² and helped form the Watch Out My Children group.¹¹³

During this period where the anti-rights agenda was couched as 'parental rights', Weekes collaborated with local actors like Veronica Evelyn and FFF,¹¹⁴ members of the Rastafarian community,¹¹⁵ and university lecturer and human rights activist Felicia Dujohn;¹¹⁶ she also had discussions on her show with regional representatives from the Bahamas (Cassius Stuart), Guyana (Nigel London), Trinidad and Tobago (Umar Abdullah and Victor Gill), and St Vincent and the Grenadines (Sheflorn Ballantyne).¹¹⁷ Global North anti-rights actors were evident as well – a Parental Rights Barbados group was formed (similar to the Parental Rights group in the US)¹¹⁸ with a CitizenGo petition to include parental rights in the constitution;¹¹⁹ conservative North American 'pan-Africanist' Umar Johnson came to Barbados for the 'Who will protect the children' rally hosted by Watch Out my Children in July 2023;¹²⁰ and Glenn Stanton from Focus on the Family presented at a symposium and workshop in

networks.com/2022/11/08/bajans-have-it-out-on-gender-identity-in-revised-constitution-loop-barbados/

109 Barbados Today. (2022). 'Controversial IDB survey was also administered in June, Archer-Bradshaw says'. <https://barbados.today.bb/2022/10/09/controversial-idb-survey-was-also-administered-in-june-archer-bradshaw-says/>

110 The Marcia Weekes Show. (2022). Facebook post. <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=770652414021653&set=pb.100032307052608.-2207520000&type=3>

111 Barbados Parliament. (2023). Child Protection Bill, 2023. <https://www.barbadosparliament.com/bills/details/682>

112 Barbados Today. (2023). 'Group plans march to highlight concerns about Child Protection Bill'.

<https://barbados.today.bb/2023/06/07/group-plans-march-to-highlight-concerns-about-child-protection-bill/>

113 Ibid

114 The Marcia Weekes Show. (2022). Facebook post, 16 November, <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=798758841211010&set=pb.100032307052608.-2207520000&type=3>

115 The Marcia Weekes Show. (2023). Facebook post, 3 June, <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=924067192013507&set=pb.100032307052608.-2207520000&type=3>

116 Barbados Today. (2023). 'Group plans march to highlight concerns about Child Protection Bill'. <https://barbados.today.bb/2023/06/07/group-plans-march-to-highlight-concerns-about-child-protection-bill/>

117 The Marcia Weekes Show. (2023). Facebook post, 22 June, <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=935145744238985&set=pb.100032307052608.-2207520000>

118 Parental Rights Barbados. (2023). Instagram post. https://www.instagram.com/reel/CnudV6-PVJT/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link&igsh=MzRIODBiNWFIZA==

119 Parental Rights Barbados. 2023. Instagram post. https://www.instagram.com/reel/CnsgvahOlnX/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link&igsh=MzRIODBiNWFIZA==

120 Watch Out my Children. (2023). Instagram post. https://www.instagram.com/p/CuPsajgkml/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link&igsh=MzRIODBiNWFIZA==

December 2023 hosted by the Praise Academy of Dance.¹²¹

Disturbingly, it is reported that the IDB survey may have also served as an entry point for the ADF. Within the Eastern Caribbean, ADF presence had previously been scant, with prior visible engagement limited to their representative Douglas Napier being a speaker at the WCF Conference in Antigua in 2017,¹²² and ADF International formally submitting a stakeholder report to the UN Universal Periodic Review of Antigua and Barbuda in 2021.¹²³ However, in 2022, after the survey, a LGBTIQ+ activist reported that the organization started approaching Barbadian lawyers to support “public interest litigation efforts for the advancement of parental rights in education”.¹²⁴ Subsequently, so far two legal cases have occurred – one has no evidentiary link to ADF support and is being brought by Praise Academy of Dance (where Marcia Weekes is artistic Director) against the Barbados National Cultural Foundation (NCF) for disqualifying a piece it submitted which “challenged gender identity teaching”.¹²⁵ The other involved ADF lobbying the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights to oppose the proposed 2024 Barbados Cybercrime Bill.¹²⁶ This Bill (which was passed in early 2025), contains troubling provisions, such as 7-year imprisonment for online content causing “annoyance” or “substantial emotional distress”, with implications for freedom of speech.¹²⁷ In that sense, the lawsuit places ADF on the same side of progressives, but it is however also a move that opposes the current government,¹²⁸ which seems to be the broader position being adopted by persons like Weekes – who now promotes a group called ‘The Loyal Opposition’¹²⁹ and other anti-government

121 Watch Out my Children. (2023). Instagram post. https://www.instagram.com/reel/COT40OEA5Lj/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link&igsh=MzRIODBiNWFIZA==

122 International Organization for the Family. (2017). ‘World Congress of Families Antigua Regional Conference (“Building Strong Caribbean Families”) in St John, Antigua and Barbuda, June 29-30, 2017’, <https://profam.org/world-congress-of-families-antigua-regional-conference-building-strong-caribbean-families-in-st-john-antigua-and-barbuda-june-29-30-2017/>

123 ADF International. (2021). Submission to the 39th Session of the Human Rights Council’s Universal Periodic Review Working Group: Antigua and Barbuda. <https://adfinternational.org/resources/upr/antigua-barbuda-39th-session>.

124 Email from ADF.

125 Barbados Today. (2025). ‘Praise Academy of Dance takes NCF to court over NIFCA disqualification.’ <https://barbadostoday.bb/2025/05/29/praise-academy-of-dance-takes-ncf-to-court-over-nifca-disqualification/>;

Barbados Today. (2023). ‘Dance group considers legal action over NIFCA disqualification’.
<https://barbadostoday.bb/2023/11/22/dance-group-considers-legal-action-over-nifca-disqualification/>

126 ADF International. (2024). ‘Barbados debates criminal law carrying 7-year prison sentence for online content causing “annoyance” or “emotional distress”’. <https://adfinternational.org/news/barbados-cybercrime>

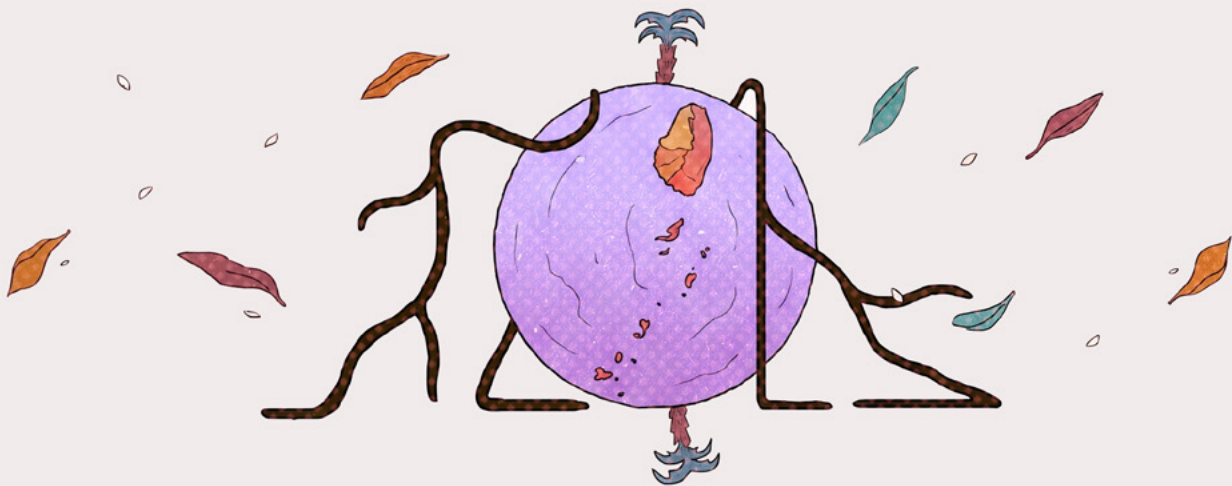
127 Barbados Parliament. (2024). Cybercrime Bill, 2024. https://www.barbadosparliament.com/uploads/bill_resolution/48c581fc50f5357214a37caab9189066.pdf

128 In the last 2022 general elections the Barbados Labour Party (BLP) won every seat which meant there was no formal opposition party represented in Government. Since then, Ralph Thorne was identified by the Prime Minister as the opposition leader, and Thorne has crossed to the Democratic Labour Party (DLP) and appointed two other DLP members to serve in Parliament.

129 The Marcia Weekes Show. (2025). Facebook post, 24 October, <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=1506760687077485&set=gm.1012475427672102>

actions on her show – and Felicia DuJohn, who has formally joined the Democratic Labour Party (DLP),¹³⁰ the main opposing political party in the country.

Other key representations of the anti-rights movement have occurred in Antigua and Barbuda, St Vincent and the Grenadines and in **Saint Lucia**. In the latter, Sarah Flood Beaubrun is a prominent figure – a lawyer and former Government Minister who helped organize the 2017 WCF conference in St Lucia¹³¹ and attended the WCF conference in Antigua and Barbuda,¹³² She has opposed abortion and LGBTIQ+ rights, and founded the Caribbean Centre for Family and Human Rights (CARIFAM)



In 2014, **St. Vincent and the Grenadines** launched a local chapter of Advocates International where Justice Esco Henry was an attendee.¹³⁴ Two of the guiding principles of Advocates International is that they take “a long-term relational, rather than a short-term confrontational approach” and “seek local partners to take responsibility for their nation or region”.¹³⁵ Notably, a few years later, in 2019, two openly gay Vincentians challenged the buggery laws in the High Court of their country, and Justice Henry ruled to allow ten churches from the

130 Moore, S. (2025). 'Thorne defends Dujon's selection as DLP candidate, challenges BLP's approach.' Barbados Today, <https://barbadostoday.bb/2025/04/24/thorne-defends-dujons-selection-as-dlp-candidate-challenges-blps-approach/>

131 International Organization for the Family. (2017). 'World Congress of Families Leadership Memo: Uniting, Equipping, Empowering Leaders at Successful WCF Regional Conferences in Caribbean (St. Lucia) and Africa (Malawi)'. https://profam.org/world-congress-of-families-leadership-memo-uniting-equipping-empowering-successful-wcf-**-regional**-conferences-in-caribbean-st-lucia-and-africa-malawi/

132 International Organization for the Family. (2017). 'World Congress of Families Antigua Regional Conference ("Building Strong Caribbean Families") in St John, Antigua and Barbuda, June 29-30, 2017'. <https://profam.org/world-congress-of-families-antigua-regional-conference-building-strong-caribbean-families-in-st-john-antigua-and-barbuda-june-29-30-2017/>

133 CARIFAM. 'Our History'. https://web.archive.org/web/20160124155119/http://carifam.com/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&layout=item&id=99&Itemid=127

134 Horne, K. (2014). 'Young Christian lawyers launch organization'. <https://thevincentian.com/young-christian-lawyers-launch-organization-p5688-1.htm>

135 Advocates International. (1998). 'Our guiding principles'. <https://web.archive.org/web/19981202093527/https://www.advocatesinternational.org/>

Christian Coalition¹³⁶ to join the State in defending the law. In 2024 Henry dismissed the challenge entirely, stating that there was no culture of homophobia in the country and that decriminalization of buggery could lead to a “deluge” of HIV infections.¹³⁷

Antigua and Barbuda also hosted a WCF conference in 2017, which was attended by Douglas Napier of ADF and Glenn Stanton of Focus on the Family and Sharon Slater of Family Watch International.¹³⁸ Family Watch International is an anti-rights advocacy group designated an anti-LGBTIQ+ hate group by SPLC¹³⁹ that actively works in Africa,¹⁴⁰ opposing CSE, and is involved in a WhatsApp group with leaders in Uganda,¹⁴¹ where the Anti-Homosexuality Act, 2023 proposing death or life imprisonment for homosexuals has been instituted.¹⁴² The 2017 WCF conference in Antigua was organized by Sean Bird (a lawyer and politician) of the Antiguan organization, Concerned Christian Coalition for a Healthy Society.¹⁴³ More recently, in June 2025, delegates arriving to the Organization of American States (OAS) General Assembly¹⁴⁴ in Antigua

136 The Christian Coalition is a grouping of over 100 churches from various denominations: King, B. (2019). ‘Church coalition joins state in defending anti-buggery laws’. <https://www.searchlight.vc/front-page/2019/11/08/church-coalition-joins-state-in-defending-anti-buggery-laws/>; The ten churches that joined the case included the Seventh-Day Adventist Church, the Evangelical Church of The West Indies, the New Testament Church of God, the Archbishop & Primate (Spiritual Baptist) of Saint Vincent and The Grenadines, the Church of God, New Life Ministries, the Light of Truth Church of God, Kingstown Baptist Church, Living Water Ministries International and and Hope Evangelism Outreach Ministries: Human Dignity Trust. (2019) Javin Kevin Vinc Johnson Vs. The Attorney General of Saint Vincent and The Grenadines. <https://www.humandignitytrust.org/wp-content/uploads/resources/Javin-Johnson-v-Attorney-General-of-St-Vincent-and-the-Grenadines-Judgment.pdf>

137 Human Dignity Trust. (2019). Javin Kevin Vinc Johnson Vs. The Attorney General of Saint Vincent and The Grenadines. <https://www.humandignitytrust.org/wp-content/uploads/resources/Javin-Johnson-v-Attorney-General-of-St-Vincent-and-the-Grenadines-Judgment.pdf>

138 International Organization for the Family. (2017). ‘World Congress of Families Antigua Regional Conference (“Building Strong Caribbean Families”) in St John, Antigua and Barbuda, June 29-30, 2017’. <https://profam.org/world-congress-of-families-antigua-regional-conference-building-strong-caribbean-families-in-st-john-antigua-and-barbuda-june-29-30-2017/>

139 Southern Poverty Law Center. Family Watch International. <https://www.splcenter.org/resources/extremist-files/family-watch-international/>

140 Ipas and Empower. (2023). Pulling Back the Cover: The Roots, Relationships and Rise of Family Watch International. Ipas: Chapel Hill, NC. <https://www.ipas.org/resource/pulling-back-the-cover-the-roots-relationships-and-rise-of-family-watch-international/>. See also Kaoma, K. (2012). ‘Colonizing African Values: How the U.S. Christian Right is Transforming Sexual Politics in Africa’. Political Research Associates. <https://politicalresearch.org/2012/07/24/colonizing-african-values>, which investigates Family Watch International alongside the American Center for Law and Justice and Human Life International for anti-LGBTIQ+ and anti-reproductive justice activities in Uganda, Malawi, Zambia, Kenya, and Zimbabwe.

141 OpenDemocracy revealed the existence of this WhatsApp group that included more than 150 Ugandan anti-LGBTIQ+ activists including Thomas Tayebwa, the deputy speaker in Ugandan Parliament: Wepukhulu, S.K. (2023). ‘Calls for US anti-rights groups to face action over Uganda anti-gay law’, openDemocracy, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/uganda-anti-gay-law-sharon-slater-tim-kreutter/>

142 Ipas and Empower. (2023). Pulling Back the Cover: The Roots, Relationships and Rise of Family Watch International. Ipas: Chapel Hill, NC. <https://www.ipas.org/resource/pulling-back-the-cover-the-roots-relationships-and-rise-of-family-watch-international/>

143 International Organization for the Family. (2017). ‘World Congress of Families Antigua Regional Conference (“Building Strong Caribbean Families”) in St John, Antigua and Barbuda, June 29-30, 2017’. <https://profam.org/world-congress-of-families-antigua-regional-conference-building-strong-caribbean-families-in-st-john-antigua-and-barbuda-june-29-30-2017/>

144 The Organization of American States (OAS) was formed in 1948 as a “multilateral regional body focused on human rights, electoral oversight, social and economic development, and security in the Western Hemisphere.” The General

were greeted by CitizenGo digital and print ads with messages such as “OAS: Say no to woke indoctrination” and “OAS: Abortion is not a human right” (see below).¹⁴⁵



*Screenshots from CitizenGO YouTube video*¹⁴⁶

Assembly is the main decision-making body and meets annually in various locations across the region. Council on Foreign Relations. (2022). ‘The Organization of American States’. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/organization-american-states>

145 CitizenGO. (2025). CENSORED at Antigua and Barbuda Airport! CitizenGO placed billboards all over the airport to send a clear message to OAS delegates. YouTube video. <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=707562679104609>

146 Ibid.

This was a continuation of targeted lobbying efforts at the OAS by groups like ADF, CitizenGo and Focus on the Family who since 2013 have lobbied for decreased funding within the body, opposed progressive sexual rights propositions, and led smear campaigns against progressive members in the organization.¹⁴⁷ The movement has also been conducting similar lobbying within the UN system – groups like ADF have lobbied for religious exemptions and against abortion, and host side events with anti-rights allies.¹⁴⁸

In *Trinidad and Tobago*, both local religious right-wing and international anti-rights advocacy groups have been active. In 2017, British-Trinidadian LGBTIQ+ activist Jason Jones challenged Trinidad and Tobago's sodomy and serious indecency laws criminalizing same-sex sexual acts in the country's High Court.¹⁴⁹ Within the next year, leading religious organizations like the Trinidad & Tobago Council of Evangelical Churches (TTCEC), and the Christian NGO 'T&T Cause' which was formed to "resist the tide of immorality sweeping across our nation" publicly defended the laws.¹⁵⁰ After decriminalization in 2018,¹⁵¹ Arch-Bishop Jason Gordon led religious leaders from the Hindu, Muslim, Spiritual Baptist, and Christian faiths to lobby the government to exclude protections for sexual orientation and gender identity under the Equal Opportunity Act and to amend the Marriage Act to prevent same-sex marriage.¹⁵²

In 2012, Rebekah Ali-Gouveia (founder of the anti-abortion facility Elpis Centre in Trinidad and Tobago)¹⁵³ organized a conference in Trinidad and Tobago that was co-sponsored by the WCF,¹⁵⁴ demonstrating that international anti-rights groups have had a presence in the country before the 2017 filing by Jason Jones. It was not until a recent flashpoint,

147 Cariboni, D. (2019). 'Attack the OAS: Inside the ultra-conservative war on the Inter-American human rights system'. openDemocracy, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/attack-oas-inside-ultra-conservative-war-inter-american-human-rights-system/>

148 AWID. (2021). Rights at risk: time for action. The Association for Women's Rights in Development, https://www.awid.org/sites/default/files/2022-01/RightsAtRisk_TimeForAction_OURsTrendsReport2021.pdf

149 Parliamentarians for Global Action. (2018). 'Trinidad's "Buggery Laws" are Struck Down'. <https://www.pgaction.org/news/trinidad-buggery-laws-are-struck-down.html>

150 Arcus Foundation. (2020). Faith-Based Efforts in the Caribbean to Combat Discrimination Based on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity; Singh. R. (2018). "'Same sex marriage is a cancer. We must keep the buggery laws" says T&T Cause'. The Daily Express, https://trinidadexpress.com/news/local/same-sex-marriage-is-a-cancer-we-must-keep-the-buggery-laws-says-t-t/article_d81c7440-38d4-11e8-92b9-4fe8a3f2446d.html

151 The High Court ruled the laws unconstitutional in 2018, but in March 2025 the local Court of Appeal reinstated them with lesser penalties. The case is pending at the Privy Council – the country's highest appeal body: See Trinidad and Tobago Guardian. (2025). 'Activist taking buggery law challenge to the Privy Council'. https://www.guardian.co.tt/news/activist-taking-buggery-law-challenge-to-the-privy-council-6.2.2265666.26ebe67_8e8

152 Hasanali, S. (2018). 'Religious heads reject same sex marriage 'God made Adam and Eve''. Trinidad and Tobago Guardian, <https://www.guardian.co.tt/news/religious-heads-reject-same-sex-marriage-6.2.594338.50fc3dc515>

153 Elpis Centre. 2012. <https://elpiscentre.weebly.com/the-speakers.html>

154 Life Issues Institute. (2012). 'Protecting Black Life Goes to Trinidad and Tobago'. <https://lifeissues.org/article/protecting-black-life-goes-trinidad-tobago/>

however, that the actions of the international anti-rights movement and local religious leaders appear to have synchronized.

In 2023 a local bookstore – RIK Services Ltd. – carrying pro-LGBTIQ+ children’s books – ignited outrage online, with one social media user calling for a boycott and an online petition to ban the book.¹⁵⁵ This evolved into statements against inclusive health and family life education (HFLE)/CSE by evangelical churches,¹⁵⁶ who were joined by the Protect Trinidad and Tobago Children Coalition, which was hosted on the StopCSE website run by Family Watch International.¹⁵⁷

An interesting additional player in this movement is Umar Abdullah. Abdullah is a Muslim Trinbagonian who originally led Waajihatul Islaamiyyah in Trinidad,¹⁵⁸ and is a reformed ISIS recruiter¹⁵⁹ who now runs a local organization called the First Wave Movement.¹⁶⁰ Prior to 2023, Abdullah’s focus appeared to be anti-Covid vaccine and mandates, being arrested in 2022 for marching without a permit,¹⁶¹ but after the RIK bookstore incident, he also turned his attention to CSE and LGBTIQ+ issues,¹⁶² and spoke about them on the Marcia Weekes show in Barbados.¹⁶³

It’s harder to discern links to global / international / global North anti-rights advocacy groups in the non-Anglophone countries of the Caribbean, except in Puerto Rico. Here Governor Jenniffer González Colón, Republican who is a Trump ally,¹⁶⁴ signed “the most severe ban on gender-affirming care anywhere within the United States or its territories”

155 Mendes-Franco, J. (2023). ‘A Trinidad & Tobago bookstore carrying a LGBTQ+ themed children’s book causes both outrage and inspiration online’. Global Voices, <https://globalvoices.org/2023/06/23/a-trinidad-tobago-bookstore-carrying-a-lgbtq-themed-childrens-book-causes-both-outrage-and-inspiration-online/>

156 Webb, Y. (2023). ‘Evangelical churches say ‘no’ to sexuality education’. Trinidad and Tobago Newsday, <https://newsday.co.tt/2023/07/09/evangelical-churches-say-no-to-sexuality-education/>

157 Protect Trinidad and Tobago Coalition. ‘Stop CSE Petition’, <https://www.comprehensivesexualityeducation.org/international.map/trinidadandtobago/#read>

158 India Writes Network. (2016). ‘The Spectre of ISIS: Trinidad’s Unfolding Jihadi Nightmare’. <https://indiawrites.org/diplomacy/spectre-isis-trinidads-unfolding-jihadi-nightmare/>

159 Superville, S. (2018). ‘Abdullah responds to National Geographic video: I’m no terrorist’. Trinidad and Tobago Newsday, <https://newsday.co.tt/2018/01/20/im-no-terrorist/>

160 Gonzales, G. (2022). ‘First Wave’ leader charged’. Daily Express, https://trinidadexpress.com/news/local/first-wave-leader-charged/article_6fa7e89a-7804-11ec-9fce-2fa120ed9125.html

161 Ibid.

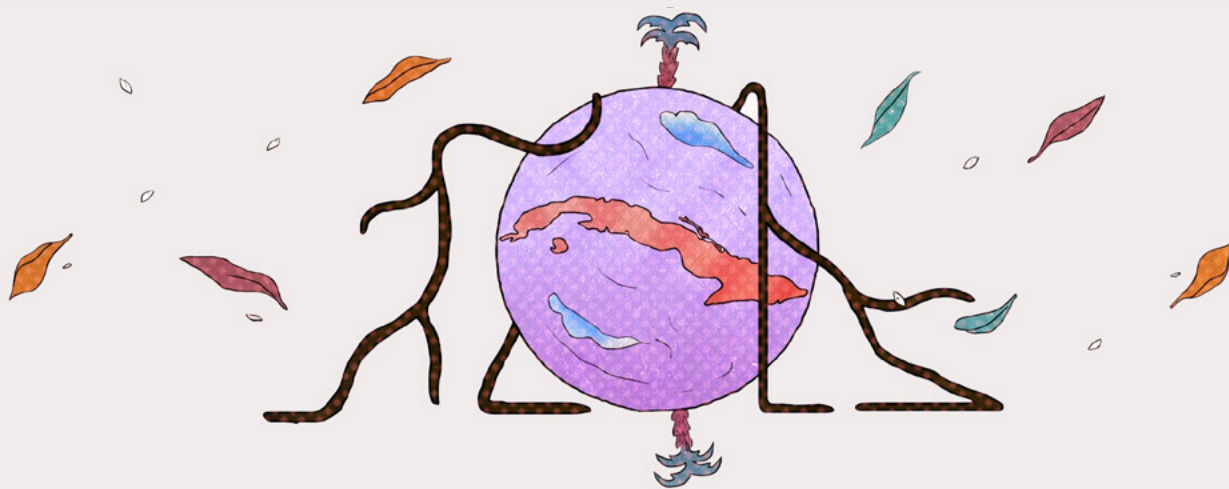
162 Trinidad Express. (2023). ‘Don’t incite violence against any citizen’. Trinidad Express, 26 June. https://trinidadexpress.com/news/local/don-t-incite-violence-against-any-citizen/article_7ae1da38-1310-11ee-89b5-7f3e5495b837.html

163 The Marcia Weekes Show. (2023). Facebook Post. 22 June, <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=935145744238985&set=pb.100032307052608.-2207520000&type=3>

164 Salgado, S. (2024). ‘Jenniffer González-Colón, A Pro-Statehood Trump Ally, Wins Puerto Rico Governor’s Race’. HuffPost, 6 November, https://www.huffpost.com/entry/puerto-rico-governor-jenniffer-gonzalez-colon-wins_n_671ffc6fe-4b0a4f117c7df65; Acevedo, N. (2024). ‘In Puerto Rico governor’s race, the statehood candidate who’s pro-Trump edges ahead’.

NBC News, 6 November, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/puerto-rico-governors-race-statehood-candidate-trump-edges-ahead-rcna178947>.

in July 2025.¹⁶⁵ As discussed and tracked by many organizations,¹⁶⁶ Trump’s policies enact the despicable objectives of Project 2025¹⁶⁷ drafted by anti-rights actors, and he is reported to have links to a number of anti-rights groups, including ADF, the American Center for Law and Justice (ACLJ) and the Heritage Foundation.¹⁶⁸ Governor Colón’s action follows a rising right-wing movement in the country, demonstrated by incidents such as the 2021 march against “gender ideology” and the formation of the Christian political party Proyecto Dignidad.¹⁶⁹ The march was led by the Pro Life and Family Coalition, attended by Catholic priest Daniel Fernandez Torres, and other evangelical and protestant leaders and followers.¹⁷⁰



In *Cuba*, progress in LGBTIQ+ and women’s rights is being opposed by the rapidly growing Evangelical movement, which in 2019 pushed the Government to backtrack on liberal constitutional reform language on marriage, and successfully advocated for the cancellation of the

165 Baum, S. (2025). ‘Puerto Rico Enacts Most Extreme Care Ban in America, Targeting Trans People Under 21’.

<https://www.erinthemorning.com/p/puerto-rico-enacts-most-extreme-care>

166 Center for Progressive Reform & Governing for Impact. (2025). Project 2025 Executive Action Tracker. <https://progressivereform.org/tracking-trump-2/project-2025-executive-action-tracker/>. As of February 2026, the tracker reports that 283 of the 532 (53 percent) of Project 2025’s recommended domestic policy actions have been initiated or completed in the first 12 months of the second Trump administration. See also NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Project 2025 Executive Action Tracker, <https://www.naacpldf.org/tracking-project-2025/>.

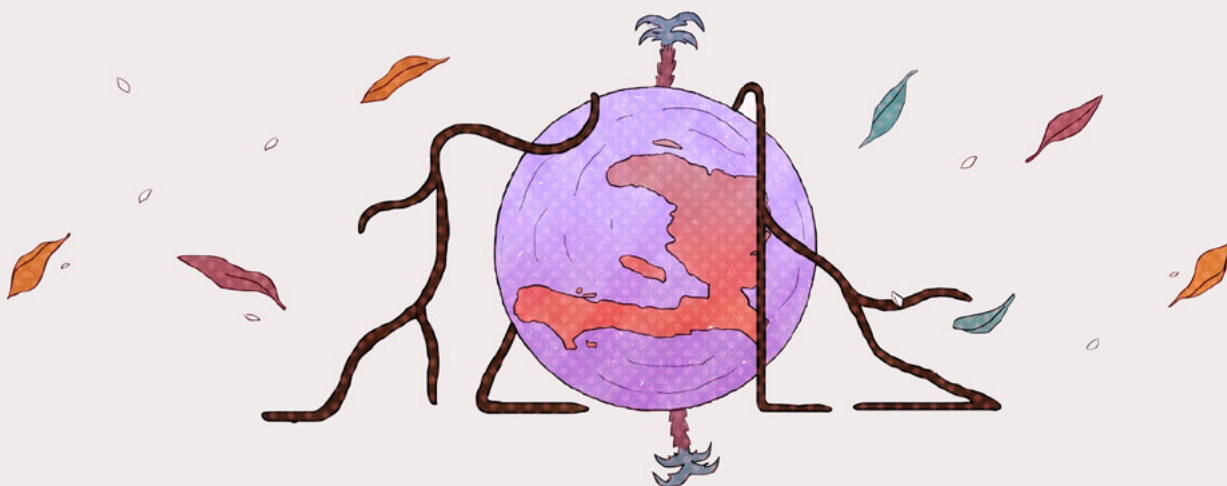
167 Project 2025 Presidential Transition Project is an initiative of the Heritage Foundation and over 100 other organizations that outlines how a presidential administration can enact far-right actions; a central feature is the 900+ page policy document “Mandate for Leadership 2025: The Conservative Promise” (https://static.heritage.org/project2025/2025_MandateForLeadership_FULL.pdf) that attacks civil rights, sexual and reproductive rights, LGBTIQ+ people, healthcare, immigration, social security, labor and climate justice: See Democracy forward. (2024). The People’s Guide to Project 2025. https://democracyforward.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/2024-05_Peoples-Guide-Pro-2025.pdf

168 Provost, C. and Ramsay, A. (2019). ‘Revealed: Trump-linked US Christian ‘fundamentalists’ pour millions of ‘dark money’ into Europe, boosting the far Right’. openDemocracy, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/revealed-trump-linked-us-christian-fundamentalists-pour-millions-of-dark-money-into-europe-boosting-the-far-right/>; Shao, E and Wu, A. (2024). ‘The many links between Project 2025 and Trump’s world’. New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/22/us/politics/project-2025-trump-heritage-foundation.html>

169 Felices, F. (2021). ‘Is gender ideology spreading in Puerto Rico?’ Omnes, <https://www.omnesmag.com/en/news/the-gender-ideology-is-extended-in-puerto-rico/>

170 Ibid.

local version of a Pride parade.¹⁷¹ Some of the largest Evangelical churches have formed an alliance – Alianza de Iglesias Evangelicas de Cuba (AIEC)¹⁷² – and along with increased political clout, evangelical churches now play more of a social role, distributing vital food and equipment.¹⁷³ These local evangelical churches have received funding from organizations in the US, as well as by religious groups from Mexico, Colombia, Chile, and Brazil.¹⁷⁴ US funding comes from some North American evangelical organizations, ‘sister’ churches in the US and the Evangelical Christian Humanitarian Outreach for Cuba (ECHO Cuba), which has received millions of US government funding.¹⁷⁵ In Cuba, the US interest in supporting Evangelicals is not just linked to the anti-rights movement but connected to undermining the communist Government as well.¹⁷⁶



As LGBTIQ+ people in *Haiti* became more visible, so too did the pushback from a variety of actors. Historically majority Catholic, the country has seen an explosion of people turning to other Christian denominations, to the extent where about half of the religious population is now Protestant.¹⁷⁷ This is likely to be fueled by several factors,

171 Bodenheimer, R. (2019). ‘How American Evangelicals Helped Stop Same-Sex Marriage in Cuba’. Vice, <https://www.vice.com/en/article/how-american-evangelicals-helped-stop-same-sex-marriage-in-cuba/>

172 Outreach Aid to the Americas. ‘New Alliance of Evangelical Churches of Cuba’. <https://oaausa.org/september-2019-new-alliance-of-evangelical-churches/>

173 Hinckley, S. (2019). ‘Revival of religion in Cuba reaches public square’. The Christian Century / Christian Science Monitor, 3 July. <https://www.christiancentury.org/news/revival-religion-cuba-reaches-public-square>; Augustin, E(2019). ‘Cuba’s evangelical alliance leads crusade against gay marriage’.

The Guardian, 24 February. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/feb/24/cuba-evangelical-crusade-conservative-christianity-against-gay-marriage-constitution-referendum>

174 Bodenheimer, R. (2019). ‘How American Evangelicals Helped Stop Same-Sex Marriage in Cuba’. Vice. <https://www.vice.com/en/article/how-american-evangelicals-helped-stop-same-sex-marriage-in-cuba/>, reporting that “Cuban evangelical churches have also received funding from religious groups in Mexico, Colombia, Chile, and Brazil.” See also Augustin, E. (2019). ‘Cuba’s evangelical alliance leads crusade against gay marriage’. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/feb/24/cuba-evangelical-crusade-conservative-christianity-against-gay-marriage-constitution-referendum>.

175 Ibid.

176 Ibid.

177 Olsen, A. (2023). ‘What evangelicals owe Haiti’. Christianity Today, <https://www.christianitytoday.com/2023/02/haiti-untold-history-of-missions-what-evangelicals-owe/>

including economic and spiritual anxieties after the 2010 earthquake,¹⁷⁸ an acceleration of the decades-long influx of North American and other foreign evangelical missionaries who come to ‘battle’ Voudou but who also provide much-needed development services,¹⁷⁹ and the rise of mega-churches with large media presences, like Shalom Tabernacle de Gloire and its leader Andre Muscadin.¹⁸⁰ Additionally, there are links to the US-based anti-rights group Family Watch International, which had two Haitian representatives (Jean Facner and Andrisse Bass) on their team attending the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) in 2017 and have referenced having Haitian volunteers in their delegations on previous CSW attendances.¹⁸¹

A megachurch leader - Gerard Forges – led the Coalition of Religious and Moral Organizations in the country’s first anti-LGBTIQ+ march in 2013,¹⁸² and Miami-based Gregory Toussaint of the Shekinah Tabernacle de Gloire megachurch has been vocally anti-LGBTIQ+.¹⁸³ The Coalition of Religious and Moral Organizations and a broader alliance of Protestant, Catholic, and Pentecostal church leaders advocated for 2017 legislation¹⁸⁴ banning same-sex marriage and criminalizing homosexuality,¹⁸⁵ opposed abortion legalization in the new penal code, and their advocacy led to the removal of LGBTIQ+ protections in the same code.¹⁸⁶ Their conservative agenda is echoed by politicians like Jean Renel Senatus¹⁸⁷ alongside a broader pattern of anti-LGBTIQ+ rhetoric circulated by Caribbean dancehall artists and social media users; a long-documented phenomenon that has migrated onto platforms like TikTok.¹⁸⁷

178 Associated Press. (2010). ‘Tension among Haiti’s religions grows after quake’. South Coast Today, <https://www.southcoasttoday.com/story/news/nation-world/2010/02/13/tension-among-haiti-s-religions/51706576007/>

179 Ferreira, S. (2018). ‘For G-d so loved Haiti’. The Believer, <https://www.thebeliever.net/for-g-d-so-loved-haiti/>

180 Ibid.

181 Family Watch international. (2017). Newsletters, 6 January and 29 March.

182 Ferreira, S. (2018). ‘For G-d so loved Haiti’. The Believer, <https://www.thebeliever.net/for-g-d-so-loved-haiti/>

183 Manoel-Florisse, M. (2024). ‘Evangelical Christians block proposed protections for LGBT Haitians’. Erasing 76 Crimes, <https://76crimes.com/2024/07/11/evangelical-christians-block-proposed-protections-for-lgbt-haitians/>

184 Bill on the Reputation and Assessment of Good and Moral Conduct and Law Relating to Marriage and the Protection of Family (Loi sur le Renforcement des Dispositions du Code Civil Relatives au Mariage et à la Protection de la Famille).

185 Ferreira, S. (2018). ‘For G-d so loved Haiti’. The Believer. <https://www.thebeliever.net/for-g-d-so-loved-haiti/>. See also Rodríguez, G. (2017). ‘Haiti’s Senate Passes Harsh Law Against Marriage Equality’. NotiCen, University of New Mexico Digital Repository. <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=11472&context=noticen>, documenting the role of the Haitian Coalition of Religious and Moral Organizations and Protestant/Pentecostal/Catholic alliances.

186 Manoel-Florisse, M. (2025). ‘Haiti: Setback for LGBT+ rights in the Caribbean’. Erasing 76 Crimes, <https://76crimes.com/2025/07/10/haiti-another-setback-for-lgbt-rights/>

187 Stop Murder Music (2004–2014). https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stop_Murder_Music, a campaign documenting Caribbean dancehall artists targeted for anti-LGBTIQ+ lyrics inciting violence; Fink, M. (2012). ‘Beenie Man Apologizes to the Gay Community’. Pulitzer Center, <https://pulitzercenter.org/stories/jamaica-beenie-man-apologizes-gay-community>; DancehallMag. (2021). ‘LGBTQ And The Divide Of Dancehall Music’, <https://www.dancehallmag.com/2021/11/18/features/lgbtq-and-the-divide-of-dancehall-music.html>. For TikTok-specific algorithmic amplification of homophobic content, see Mastrangelo, A. (2021). ‘TikTok is promoting homophobic and transphobic content: report’. The Hill, 25 May, <https://thehill.com/changing-america/enrichment/arts-culture/555162-tiktok-is-promoting-homophobic-and-transphobic/>, citing

The anti-rights movement has crafted a multipronged strategy that uses both institutionalized knowledge production (professional researchers creating peer-reviewed articles, webinars and reports pushing anti-gender talking points, in turn supported by high-level political patronage),¹⁸⁸ and locally resonant language and issues like ‘human rights’, ‘parental rights’, and the ‘natural family’.¹⁸⁹ The ‘natural family’ is actually a dog whistle for white supremacist values that link “fears of declining Christian cultural supremacy with a falling birth rate,” ‘natural family’ rhetoric advances Western white social norms and imposes a so-called “natural order”.¹⁹⁰ Invoking ‘the family’ “has become a key economic entity to counteract the erosion of public welfare and the increased precariousness of labor conditions under neoliberalism” while providing a cover to use ‘parental rights’ to reject the autonomy of children and attack rights.¹⁹¹ A warped appropriation of human rights and decolonial language is another tool commonly used in the region, with figures like Veronica Evelyn in Barbados and Bishop Nicasio in Belize stating that progressives impose a ‘new’ colonization, while conveniently ignoring their role in propagating religious colonization.

GLAAD’s findings on TikTok’s algorithmic delivery of anti-LGBTIQ+ content.

188 McEwen, H., Narayanaswamy, J. (2023). *The International Anti-Gender Movement: Understanding the Rise of Anti-Gender Discourses in the Context of Development, Human Rights and Social Protection*. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD).

189 Burni, A. (2025). *Strengthening aid integrity against anti-gender actors: A tool to support bilateral and multilateral ODA donors’ due diligence processes*. Briefing Paper. Brussels: ODI Europe.

190 Hodges, E. (2025). ‘Anti-LGBTQ+ groups spread ‘natural family’ rhetoric with racist roots’. SPLC, <https://www.splcenter.org/resources/hatewatch/anti-lgbtq-groups-spread-natural-family-rhetoric-with-racist-roots/>

191 Global Philanthropy Project. (2021). *Manufacturing Moral Panic: Weaponizing Children to Undermine Gender Justice and Human Rights*. <https://globalphilanthropyproject.org/2021/03/24/manufacturing-moral-panic/>

ROOT II
EXTRACTIVISM AND THE
FIGHT FOR LAND RIGHTS





ROOT II

EXTRACTIVISM AND THE FIGHT FOR LAND RIGHTS

Extractivism is a key tool in colonial and neocolonial projects, and can be defined as the removal of large amounts of natural resources, while neo-extractivism is where the State plays a larger role in the extractive process, seeking to use the gains in social development; they both incur terrible social and environmental effects.¹⁹² Both are not intrinsically fascist but contribute to fascist tendencies, whereby states and corporations join forces in economic interest, use violence, authoritarianism and nationalistic rhetoric to suppress dissension, and encourage and facilitate dispossession, especially in Indigenous communities.¹⁹³ In the Caribbean the fight for land rights and Indigenous rights is intimately connected to extractivism, and while the severity and duration of extractivism and its resistance vary, there are some common actors in most of the countries.

The mainland Caribbean countries have particularly long and deep histories of extractivism. **Guyana**'s main sources of income have always been linked to it – from farming sugar cane and cotton during colonialism, to minerals (e.g., gold, diamonds, bauxite, manganese) and timber during the 20th century, and more recently oil and gas. Like its neighbor Suriname, the majority-rainforest country acts as a carbon sink (absorbing more carbon than it releases), and has started initiatives like Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+) (where it receives millions for keeping its forests intact),¹⁹⁴ Green State Development Strategy and Low Carbon Development Strategy. Despite this, the extractive sectors have expanded over 300 per cent.¹⁹⁵

192 Acosta, A. (2013). 'Extractivism and Neoextractivism: Two Sides of the Same Curse'. In *Beyond Development: Alternative Visions from Latin America*, edited by Miriam Lang, and Dunia Mokrani, 61–86; Svampa, M. (2015). 'Commodities Consensus: Neoextractivism and Enclosure of the Commons in Latin America.' *South Atlantic Quarterly* 114 (1): 65–82.

193 Svampa, M. (2015). 'Commodities Consensus: Neoextractivism and Enclosure of the Commons in Latin America.' *South Atlantic Quarterly* 114 (1): 65–82; Ilizarbe, C. (n.d.). 'Authoritarian enclaves, extractivism and social contestation in the Peruvian Andes'. ECPR, <https://ecpr.eu/Events/Event/PaperDetails/68639>; Gomez-Barris, M. (2017). *The Extractive Zone: Social Ecologies and Decolonial Perspectives*. Duke University Press.

194 Harris, M. (2021). 'Manganese Mining Brings Development and Destruction to Guyana'. *Earth Journalism Network*, <https://earthjournalism.net/stories/manganese-mining-brings-development-and-destruction-to-guyana>

195 Ibid.

As the country opened up privatization in the 1980s, foreign corporations from Canada, Australia, the US and China have made significant inroads in the extractivism industries. China in particular, has seen significant acquisitions, with the Canadian-owned companies Omai Goldmines and Guyana Goldfields Inc. sold to Bosai Minerals Group Co. Limited and Zijin Mining,¹⁹⁶ along with Bosai being involved in manganese mining,¹⁹⁷ BaiShanLin and Rong-An Inc. in timber¹⁹⁸ and the China National Offshore Oil Corporation having a 25 per cent stake in the ExxonMobil oil consortium.¹⁹⁹ Several Chinese companies are also major players in **Trinidad and Tobago's** oil and gas sector, with Chinese company Chaoyang in gas, China Investment Corporation (CIC) having a 10 per cent stake in Atlantic LNG, and the presence of Chinese State oil company Sinopec's subsidiary, SOOGL Antilles (Trinidad) Limited.²⁰⁰ In Guyana ExxonMobil Oil is a major player in the oil and gas sector, but there are also corporations based in Spain, the UK and Canada that hold petroleum blocks and a Belgian company owns the dredging equipment.²⁰¹ Where multinational companies exploit natural resources, leading to a cycle of dependency and underdevelopment, we see companies engaged in extractivist imperialism. With ExxonMobil, for instance, we see a significant power imbalance and relatively scant economic gain for the country compared to the massive environmental risk.²⁰²

A less remarked upon actor is the World Bank Group, which is “active in Guyana’s petroleum, gold, and forestry sectors through the Guyana Petroleum Resources Governance and Management Project (GPRGMP), IFC, and the Forest, Climate Change and Communities (FCCC) project... [and] the Guyana REDD+ Investment Fund (GRIF) [is also] under the trusteeship of the World Bank”.²⁰³ It has been argued that the World Bank uses the extractive industries transparency initiative (EITI) in **Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago and Suriname**, along with other projects, to ensure the transfer of resources and its regulation occurs in a manner that benefits the Global North.²⁰⁴

196 Canterbury, D.C. (Ed.). (2023). *Extractivism and Labour in the Caribbean* (1st ed.). Routledge.

197 Ibid.

198 Ibid.

199 Ibid.

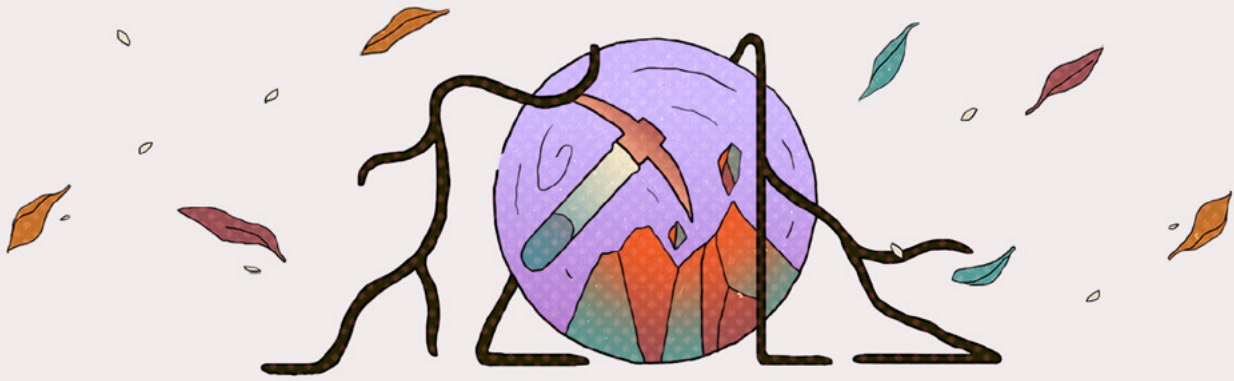
200 Ibid.

201 LaBennett, O. (2024). *Global Guyana: Shaping Race, Gender, and Environment in the Caribbean and Beyond*. NYU Press

202 Bomans, B. (2024). *Black gold in blue waters: Applying the extractivist imperialism model to offshore oil extraction by Exxonmobil in Guyana*. Master's thesis.

203 Canterbury, D.C. (Ed.). (2023). *Extractivism and Labour in the Caribbean* (1st ed.). Routledge.

204 Ibid.



The brunt of the exploitation and negative effects of extractivism is borne by those living in Guyana's interior regions, where much of the country's Indigenous population resides. In Matthew's Ridge, Chinese-owned Bosai Minerals Group has been mining lucrative manganese deposits (the exact value is unknown since the contract has been kept secret). Manganese mining risks further contamination of water supplies and destroying the roads, bridges, creeks and farms of the communities there.²⁰⁵ This environmental impact has taken place despite assurances from the Chinese embassy and companies that they employ "green mining" practices.²⁰⁶ Local companies have also been involved in mining, as illustrated by the longstanding situation in the village of Chinese Landing. A 1998 agreement between Indigenous leaders in the village with local businessman Wayne Vieira to operate the Tassawini gold mine, was alleged by villagers to have resulted in significant damage to the area's water supplies; members of the village also stated that he had reneged on agreements to employ village locals and supply mining royalties.²⁰⁷ In a 2021 High Court ruling, ultimately upheld by the Caribbean Court of Justice, Vieira's right to mine in Tassawini was recognised, after which he ramped up mining; villagers reported him preventing access of locals to the mines.²⁰⁸ The Village Council then took

205 Harris, M. (2021). 'Manganese Mining Brings Development and Destruction to Guyana'. Earth Journalism Network, <https://earthjournalism.net/stories/manganese-mining-brings-development-and-destruction-to-guyana>

206 Ibid.

207 Coto, D. (2023). 'Tiny Amerindian village in Guyana fights gold mine in key court battle over indigenous land rights'. Associated Press, <https://apnews.com/article/guyana-amerindians-miners-gold-land-59b2dc6d2cf-52cf5257bd2541bdfa755>

208 Coto, D. (2023). 'Tiny Amerindian village in Guyana fights gold mine in key court battle over indigenous land rights'. Associated Press, <https://apnews.com/article/guyana-amerindians-miners-gold-land-59b2dc6d2cf-52cf5257bd2541bdfa755>. The High Court of Guyana ruled in Vieira's favour in 2021; that ruling was upheld by the Caribbean Court of Justice. See Stabroek News (2023). IACHR resolution (Editorial), 30 July, <https://www.stabroeknews.com/2023/07/30/opinion/editorial/iachr-resolution/>.

the case to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) in 2023. In Resolution 41/2023, the IACHR granted precautionary measures, finding that members of the Indigenous Carib Community of Chinese Landing were ‘in a serious and urgent situation’ regarding their rights to life and personal integrity in the context of threats, harassment and acts of violence linked to opposition to mining on their lands. On the parallel claim concerning environmental contamination and mercury exposure, the IACHR stated that it ‘does not currently have enough information to substantiate the existence of a risk’ meeting the Article 25 standard, while still noting concerns over health symptoms and the lack of an environmental impact study.²⁰⁹ Subsequently, the Government suspended all mining in the area, including Veira’s.²¹⁰

Historically, the state has long faced criticisms for its handling of extractivism and disregard for Indigenous communities. Handing over the official titles of lands to Indigenous communities has proceeded at a snail’s pace since independence, and these titles still do not grant Indigenous rights to subsurface minerals and water.²¹¹ Even the attractive REDD+ program has faced allegations that the funds received were used, as Bulkan argues, “to channel money to State agencies and selected partners while tightening control over its citizens and State Forests... the State set out the parameters through which the pantomime of REDD was enacted: signed resolutions and votes delivered by Amerindian leaders in exchange for token payouts to submissive communities; and the silencing of recalcitrant opposition elements.”²¹² There are reports that persons speaking out against extractivism and for land rights in Guyana have been subjected to violence from both the public and State representatives – women activists protesting sexual and extractive violence have faced death threats and intimidation from the public,²¹³ while the residents in Chinese Landing have reported threats and violent acts from miners and the Guyana police force.²¹⁴

209 IACHR. (2023). Resolution 41/2023 (MC-196-23 Guyana), 21 July, https://www.oas.org/en/iachr/decisions/mc/2023/res_41-23_mc_196-23_gy_en.pdf. See also IACHR. (2023). ‘IACHR Grants Precautionary Measures to Indigenous Carib Community of Chinese Landing in Guyana’. Organization of American States, 24 July, https://www.oas.org/en/iachr/jsForm/?File=/en/iachr/media_center/preleases/2023/165.asp.

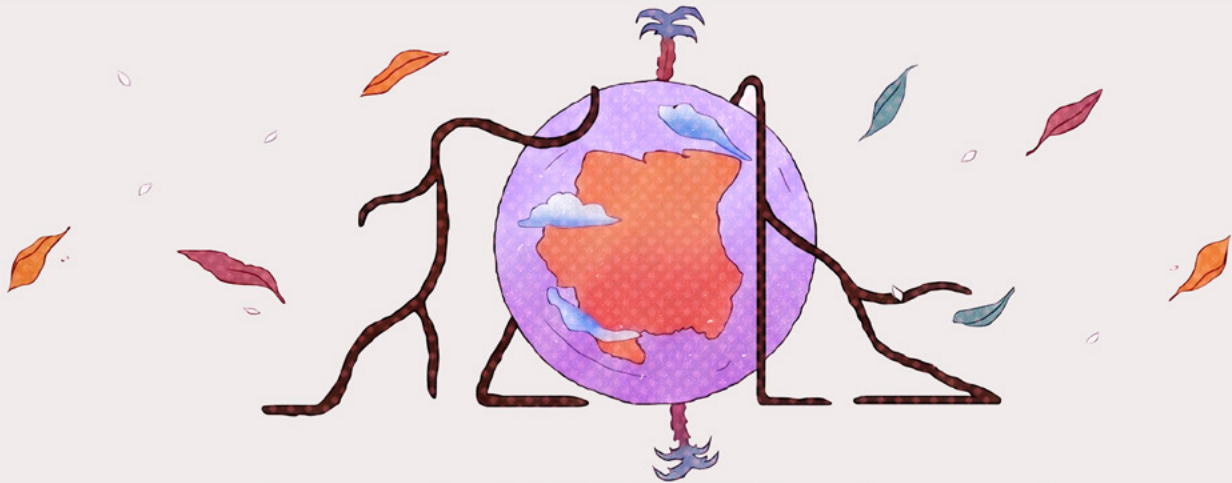
210 News Room. (2025). ‘Gov’t offers support for ‘village mining’ at Chinese Landing’. <https://newsroom.gy/2025/05/21/govt-offers-support-for-village-mining-at-chinese-landing/>

211 Bulkan, J. (2013). The protection for Amerindian rights in the Laws of Guyana. Stabroek News, <https://www.stabroeknews.com/2013/02/04/features/the-protection-for-amerindian-rights-in-the-laws-of-guyana/>; Tenure Facility. (n.d.) ‘Securing and Enhancing Indigenous Land Tenure in Guyana’. <https://thetenurefacility.org/projects/securing-and-enhancing-indigenous-land-tenure-in-guyana/>

212 Bulkan J. (2016). ‘Hegemony in Guyana: REDD-plus and State Control over Indigenous Peoples and Resources’. In: Campbell C, Niblett M, eds. *The Caribbean: Aesthetics, World-Ecology, Politics*. Liverpool University Press; 118-142.

213 Mendes-Franco, J. (2023). ‘Concerns in Guyana about threats against women activists’. Global Voices Advox, <https://advox.globalvoices.org/2023/08/17/concerns-in-guyana-about-threats-against-women-activists/>

214 IACHR. (2023). Inter-American Commission on Human Rights Resolution 41/2023, <https://www.oas.org/en/iachr/>



A similar situation around extractivism is playing out in **Suriname**, where that country is the only one in South America that has not enshrined Indigenous land rights in its constitution²¹⁵ – despite a 2007 case brought by the Saamaka tribe to the IACHR which ruled that the State needs to grant these land rights.²¹⁶ Several corporate players here also come from the US (the largest foreign investor is gold-mining operation Newmont),²¹⁷ Canada (Iamgold Corporation),²¹⁸ China (Zijin Mining Group),²¹⁹ and the World Bank through its extractive industries transparency initiative (EITI) initiative and other in-country projects.²²⁰ The country’s marginalized Indigenous and Maroon populations live in its resource-rich and underdeveloped interior regions, and have been fighting for land rights since Independence.²²¹ The State has made several legislative attempts to recognize these rights over the years, but none have been enacted into binding law,²²² and decades of the Government taking land and granting concessions to foreign companies for extractive industries have fostered mistrust.²²³ The most recent iteration of a land rights bill (Collective Rights

[decisions/mc/2023/res_41-23_mc_196-23_gy_en.pdf](#)

215 Pinas, J. (2024). ‘Fifty years on, a fight for land rights in Suriname continues’. Dialogue Earth, <https://dialogue.earth/en/justice/fifty-years-on-a-fight-for-land-rights-in-suriname-continues/>

216 IACHR. (2007). Case of the Saramaka People v. Suriname, Judgment of November 28, 2007. https://www.corteidh.or.cr/docs/casos/articulos/seriec_172_ing.pdf

217 Irwin-Hunt, A. (2023). ‘Newmont backs Suriname’s gold-driven development’. FDI Intelligence, <https://www.fdiintelligence.com/content/d422c334-eec3-534b-b79c-bf1923c10e5d>

218 Pinas, J. (2024). ‘Fifty years on, a fight for land rights in Suriname continues’. Earth Dialogue, <https://dialogue.earth/en/justice/fifty-years-on-a-fight-for-land-rights-in-suriname-continues/>

219 Ibid

220 Canterbury, D.C. (Ed.). (2023). *Extractivism and Labour in the Caribbean* (1st ed.). Routledge.

221 Pinas, J. (2024). ‘Fifty years on, a fight for land rights in Suriname continues’. Earth Dialogue, <https://dialogue.earth/en/justice/fifty-years-on-a-fight-for-land-rights-in-suriname-continues/>; Global Americans. (2020). ‘Maroons and Indigenous people in Suriname: the struggle for land rights’. <https://globalamericans.org/maroons-and-indigenous-people-in-suriname-the-struggle-for-land-rights/>

222 Amazon Conservation Team. (2026). *Approaching Land Rights for Maroon Peoples of Suriname*. <https://www.amazonteam.org/nearing-land-rights-for-the-maroon-peoples-of-suriname/>, noting “previous attempts in the nation’s parliament over the years to establish land rights guarantees for the indigenous and Maroon peoples of the country.”

223 Forest Peoples Programme. (2004). ‘UN Racial Discrimination Committee recommends Suriname’s urgent action to recognize and respect the land and resource rights of indigenous peoples and Maroons’, <https://www.forestpeoples.org/publications-resources/press-releases/article/press-release-un-racial-discrimination-committee-recommends-surinames-ur>

of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Bill, 2021) still allows the “government to continue granting logging, mining and imposing other development projects on Indigenous and Tribal land if deemed in the “public interest” of the country”.²²⁴

In **Belize**, except for oil – where Irish-American company Belize Natural Energy is the main company²²⁵ – the extractive industries do not play as big a part in export revenue. But here too the Indigenous Maya people have been engaged in fighting for their land rights against corporations like the North American US Capital Energy, which drilled for oil in a National Park; the local timber-cutting Vega Company; and the State.²²⁶ The Maya communities have been fighting for the rights to their lands for decades, and in 2015, the Caribbean Court of Justice delivered the groundbreaking ruling that they hold these rights.²²⁷ In the years since however, the State has continued to deny these rights, reportedly encroaching on Maya lands, undermining and antagonizing Maya leaders in the Maya Leaders Alliance and Toledo Alcaldes Association, belittling and sometimes arresting Maya activists and other land defenders, and wielding nationalistic discourse to paint the Maya as “greedy” and holding back the development of the country by wanting to control what gets done to their land.²²⁸

The extraction of bauxite is a major industry in **Jamaica**, with the Jamaican Noranda Aluminum Inc. and Russian owned WINDALCO companies both involved in bauxite mining.²²⁹ The industry has faced longstanding allegations and court cases related to pollution and such

[gent-action-to-recognize-and-respect-the-land-and-resource-rights-of-indigenous-peoples-and-maroons/](#), documenting “agreements and promises and many attempts by indigenous peoples and Maroons to resolve these issues with the government” without progress; see also Price, R. (2018). ‘Development’ versus human rights: the Saamaka Maroons’ fight for the rainforests of Suriname. LSE Latin America and Caribbean Centre. <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/latamcaribbean/2018/05/31/development-versus-human-rights-the-saamaka-maroons-fight-for-the-rainforests-of-suriname/>.

224 Radwin, M. (2025). ‘Land rights bill in Suriname sparks outrage in Indigenous communities’. Mongabay, <https://news.mongabay.com/2025/02/land-rights-bill-in-suriname-sparks-outrage-in-indigenous-communities/>

225 O. Manzano, D. Vernon. (2018). ‘Oil in Belize: new sector in a young country’. *Extr. Ind. Soc.*, 5 (3), pp. 228-239.

226 Wainwright, J., and Zempel, C. L. (2018). ‘The Colonial Roots of Forest Extraction: Rosewood exploitation in Southern Belize’. *Development & Change*, 49 (1): 37–62; Rights as usual. (2015). ‘Landmark ‘Business and Human Rights’ Decision of the Caribbean Court of Justice: Indigenous Peoples’ Land Rights and Oil Exploration in Belize’. <https://rightsasusual.com/2015/04/29/landmark-business-and-human-rights-decision-of-the-caribbean-court-of-justice-indigenous-peoples-land-rights-and-oil-exploration-in-belize/>

227 Rights as usual. (2015). ‘Landmark ‘Business and Human Rights’ Decision of the Caribbean Court of Justice: Indigenous Peoples’ Land Rights and Oil Exploration in Belize’. <https://rightsasusual.com/2015/04/29/landmark-business-and-human-rights-decision-of-the-caribbean-court-of-justice-indigenous-peoples-land-rights-and-oil-exploration-in-belize/>

228 oc, C. (2022). The Struggle to Implement Maya Land Rights in Belize. *Cultural Survival*, <https://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/struggle-implement-maya-land-rights-belize>

229 The Communists. (2023). ‘The human cost of bauxite-alumina mining in Jamaica’. <https://thecommunists.org/2023/05/11/news/jamaica-bauxite-alumina-mining-human-environmental-cost/>; Jamaica Bauxite Institute. ‘Development of The Bauxite/Alumina Sector’. <https://jbi.org.jm/industry/>

effects as contamination of the Rio Cobre river,²³⁰ but there are two other challenges in land rights and extractivism that are fairly unique in Jamaica. In 2015, the Jamaican government signaled its intention to privatize the water supply (given that its delivery operates at a financial loss and struggles with aging infrastructure and inadequate distribution), and has done so in several places, despite opposition to the plan, for example, from acting president of the water commission, Mark Barnett.²³¹ All other Caribbean countries, with the exception of the Bahamas, maintain a publicly or mostly-publicly owned water supply.²³²

The Jamaican Government does not acknowledge the existence of the Taino and Maroon Indigenous people, instead repeating the myth that they are extinct,²³³ and the country does not “recognize, guarantee or protect the rights of indigenous peoples... including rights to self-determination, autonomy, ownership and control of ancestral lands and resources.”²³⁴ Nevertheless, the Indigenous peoples have continued the fight for basic recognition and land rights, and even legally challenged the government of Jamaica for mining on their ancestral lands.²³⁵

230 London Mining Network. (2022). 'Problems with the Bauxite-Alumina Industry in Jamaica'. <https://londonmining-network.org/2022/12/problems-with-the-bauxite-alumina-industry-in-jamaica/>

231 Mullings, B. (2021). 'An Opportunity to Pause and Reimagine: Jamaica's Public Water After Covid-19', in Public Water and Covid-19: Dark Clouds and Silver Linings, Transnational Institute.

232 K&M Advisors. (2019). Governance Position Paper on the Caribbean Water and Sanitation Sector: Final Report and Action Plan.

233 Minority Rights Group. (2024). Yamaye Taíno People in Jamaica. <https://minorityrights.org/communities/yamaye-taino-people-in-jamaica/>

234 Ibid.

235 Business and Human Rights Centre. (2022). 'Jamaica: Government continues on delaying the lawsuit on the Maroon land rights and Noranda's mining activities'. <https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/latest-news/jamaica-government-keeps-on-delaying-the-lawsuit-on-the-maroon-land-rights-and-norandas-mining-activities/#:~:text=Noranda%20specializes%20in%20mining%20and,before%20it%20yet%20again...>

ROOT *III* TOURISM





ROOT III TOURISM

Because tourism contributes more to the gross domestic product of the Caribbean than it does in any other region of the world, the Caribbean region is amongst the most dependent on this industry.²³⁶ This means many Caribbean countries rely on an industry that is extractive, neocolonial, and which can contribute to fundamentalism and fascism tendencies as is explored below.

The extractive nature of tourism is similar to the removal of natural resources prevalent in more ‘traditional’ extractivism industries, in that the building of hotels, resorts, golf courses and airports to accommodate tourism removes trees and vital mangroves (for example in building the Jolly beach hotel and marina in *Antigua*), destroys wetlands (for example, *building Jamaica’s* Montego Bay airport and a resort in Ochos Rios), and decimates entire ecosystems.²³⁷ Tourism facilities along coastlines along with cause significant erosion (the beaches on the west coast of *Barbados* have been estimated to be receding at 1.5 meters/decade), sand extraction, damage to marine habitats and wildlife, and destruction of coral reefs — harms compounded by the cruise ship industry.²³⁸ Tourism greatly increases the extraction of freshwater resources, and in water-scarce countries such as *Barbados* and *Aruba*, this can be especially detrimental.²³⁹ But there are also other types of extractivism built into the present models of tourism – the extraction of local labor by offering low-paying seasonal jobs, and the extraction of money from local economies.²⁴⁰ About 80 per cent of the earnings from Caribbean tourism actually leaves the country as “leakage”²⁴¹ “due to foreign-owned

236 Griffin, L. (2016): ‘Trouble in Paradise: The Treadmill of Production and Caribbean Tourism’, *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 27(2):1-17, DOI: 10.1080/10455752.2016.1148187

237 Pattullo, P. (2005). *Last Resorts 2nd Edition: The Cost of Tourism in the Caribbean*. Practical Action Publishing

238 Maes, E. (2024). ‘The Negative Impacts of Tourism on the Caribbean Environment, and How to Mitigate Them’, *Politicus*, 10:2; Pattullo, P. (2005). *Last Resorts 2nd Edition: The Cost of Tourism in the Caribbean*. Practical Action Publishing.

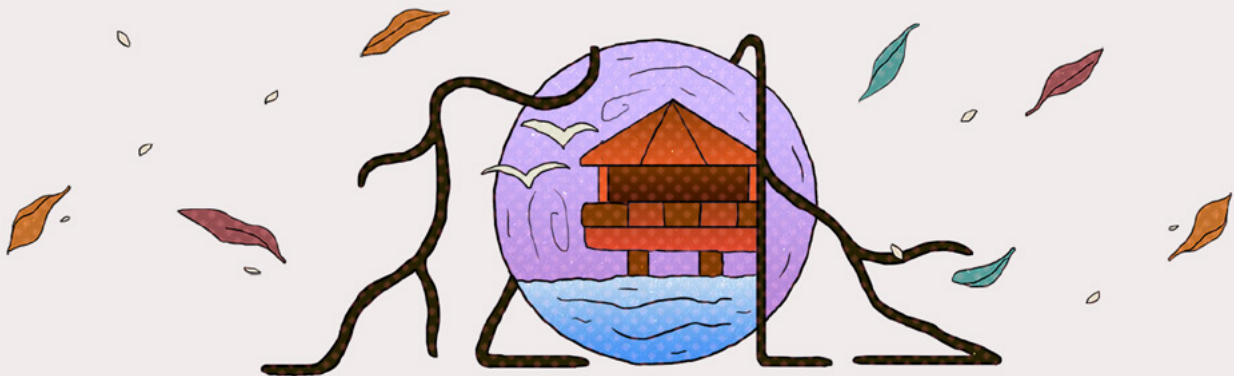
239 Maes, E. (2024). ‘The Negative Impacts of Tourism on the Caribbean Environment, and How to Mitigate Them’, *Politicus*, 10:2.

240 Griffin, L. (2016): ‘Trouble in Paradise: The Treadmill of Production and Caribbean Tourism’, *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 27(2):1-17.

241 World Tourism Organization. (2014). *AM Reports, Volume nine – Global Report on Adventure Tourism*, UNWTO, Madrid.

hotels, airlines, and cruise lines. Major resorts, owned by multinational corporations, repatriate their profits, while tourists often arrive on foreign cruise ships, stay in foreign-owned accommodations, and eat at international franchises, leaving local businesses with only a fraction of the economic gains”.²⁴²

The dominance of foreign owners in tourism is related to the neo-coloniality of tourism and the theme of imperialism. It continues colonial patterns and results in minority ethnicities owning the majority of businesses, to the detriment of local people who deal with the consequences of resource extraction, while enjoying comparatively few benefits.²⁴³ When Caribbean governments extend tax and duty-free concessions to large corporations, such as the 25-year tax holiday on setting up the all-inclusive Sandals (owned by a white Jamaican) in *Barbados*,²⁴⁴ then that additional taxation burden eventually gets placed onto locals. Many Caribbean writers have argued that “tourism is one of the most powerful conduits of neocolonial exploitation” reproducing the race and gender dynamics of colonialism, slavery, and essentially functioning as modern-day plantations where Black people serve white people for low-wages instead of servitude.²⁴⁵



242 Morain, K. (2025). 'Tourism in the Caribbean: A System of Exploitation that Perpetuates Poverty'. <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/tourism-caribbean-system-exploitation-perpetuates-poverty-morain-zoebe/>

243 Griffin, L. (2016): 'Trouble in Paradise: The Treadmill of Production and Caribbean Tourism', *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 27(2):1-17.

244 The Sun. (2013). Barbados government gives Butch Stewart concessions worth millions of dollars. <https://suntci.com/barbados-government-gives-butch-stewart-concessions-worth-millions-of-dolla-p1121-106.htm>

245 Nixon; Pattullo, P. (2005). *Last Resorts 2nd Edition: The Cost of Tourism in the Caribbean*. Practical Action Publishing.

As during colonialism, the right and access to land also became an issue with tourism. The NGO JaBBEM (*Jamaica* Beach Birthright Environmental Movement) states that only 0.6 per cent of the country's coast is publicly accessible as a result of discriminatory colonial laws, beach-front tourism, and government complicity in allowing tourist facilities to privatize beaches.²⁴⁶ In 2023, JaBBEM launched an online petition and legal challenge in the Jamaican court on the issue,²⁴⁷ and although the court case result is still pending, new hotels are now reportedly required to provide beach access to Jamaicans.²⁴⁸ In *Saint Lucia* the selling and development of land near the Pitons, such as to Canadian Dollarama executive Geoffrey Robillard, has raised concerns and protests about public access to the famous site.²⁴⁹

There are also indirect connections to the rise of religious fundamentalism and conservative views. As previously stated, one of the contributory factors to increased evangelism in the region (and its attendant right-wing agenda), is the economic and cultural precariousness of people in small island states faced with global neoliberal forces and demands. In the face of this precarity, evangelism may appear to offer stability, and its pushback against progressive change is presented as a form of resistance to neoliberal forces and the Global North, which is further perverted as a form of anti-(neo)colonialism. This is aided by governments who, when faced with external neoliberal forces and pressures, turn to controlling LGBTIQ+ rights as a means of demonstrating power and to compensate for a lack of control over these external forces. Caribbean feminist scholar M. Jacqui Alexander has analysed as constitutive of postcolonial Caribbean citizenship where state regulation of sexuality functions as a core mechanism of legitimacy.²⁵⁰ Tourism is one such very visible reminder of neoliberalism and the Global North and as such, feeds the pushback. Building on this framework David Murray has also theorized that in a country that is “feminized” by free market language (e.g., with terms like ‘market

246 The Voice. (2024). ‘Fight for beach access in Jamaica goes to court’.

<https://www.voice-online.co.uk/news/world-news/2024/03/27/fight-for-beach-access-in-jamaica-goes-to-court/>

247 JaBBEM. (2023). ‘Court Battle Over Bob Marley Beach Access Begins’.

<https://www.change.org/p/protect-beach-access-for-all-jamaicans-keep-bob-marley-beach-public/u/31620003>

248 The Voice. (2025). ‘New hotels now required to provide beach access to Jamaicans’.

<https://www.voice-online.co.uk/news/world-news/2025/06/09/new-hotels-now-required-to-provide-beach-access-to-jamaicans/>

249 Mohammed, K. (2023). ‘What’s the Caribbean without its beaches? But the people are losing access to them’.

The Guardian, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2023/jun/06/caribbean-beaches-public-access-development-transparency-engagement>

250 Alexander, M.J. (1994). ‘Not just (any) body can be a citizen: the politics of law, sexuality and postcoloniality in Trinidad and Tobago and the Bahamas’. *Feminist Review*, 48(1): 5–23.

penetration’) and ruled by the “feminine” subservient labor of tourism, homophobia and transphobia is a ‘logical’ pushback against power and assertion of masculinity.²⁵¹ Caribbean scholar Linden Lewis has likewise argued that masculinity in the region is constructed in opposition to, or in dialogue with, marginalised “others” – a framework that helps explain why pushback against external neoliberal forces so often takes the form of policing gender and sexuality.²⁵²

251 Murray, D. (2012). *Flaming Souls: Homosexuality, Homophobia, and Social Change in Barbados*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press

252 Lewis, L. (2003). ‘Caribbean Masculinity: Unpacking the Narrative’. In Lewis, L. (Ed.), *The Culture of Gender and Sexuality in the Caribbean* (pp. 94–125). University Press of Florida.

ROOT *IV*
AUTHORITARIANISM
AND POLITICAL
CRIMINALITY





ROOT IV

AUTHORITARIANISM AND POLITICAL CRIMINALITY

Degrees of authoritarianism in Caribbean governance are a commonplace phenomenon, and can be linked to colonization, where enslavement and indentureship backed up by violent racist oppression gave rise to a Caribbean people who “learned that violence and terror were the only ways to win freedom...[and] adopted the old imperialist philosophy that authoritarianism was the most effective way to govern”.²⁵³ Caribbean countries exhibit authoritarian and other fascist elements – like a single party system, exclusion of pluralism, persecution for beliefs, undermining of human rights, xenophobic discourse, othering and using propaganda to justify violence and repression – to varying degrees and at varying points in history.

At one end of the spectrum is *Cuba*, with a one-party state that does not allow political pluralism, or an independent media, and exhibits intolerance of non-state sanctioned activism, coming into conflict with feminist organizations, and persecuting feminists like Laura Vargas.²⁵⁴ In the 2021 protests (the largest in 60 years) on the country’s economic situation, security forces arrested and beat protestors, and repressed and intimidated supporters of the artist-based San Isidro and 27N movements for freedom of expression.²⁵⁵ Historically, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Guyana and Suriname have all endured dictatorships and repressive governments, with Francois Duvalier,²⁵⁶ Rafael Trujillo,²⁵⁷ Forbes Burnham²⁵⁸ and Desi Bouterse.²⁵⁹

253 Moore, B. L. (2020). ‘Colonial Autocracy and Authoritarianism in the Caribbean’. Journal of Caribbean History. Project MUSE.

254 González, L.M. (2024). Queer and feminist organizing under pressure in Cuba. <https://newpol.org/queer-and-feminist-organizing-under-pressure-in-cuba/?print=print>

255 Diamint, R., Tedesco, L. (2021). ‘Why Cubans took to the streets’. openDemocracy, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/democraciaabierta/why-cubans-took-to-the-streets/>

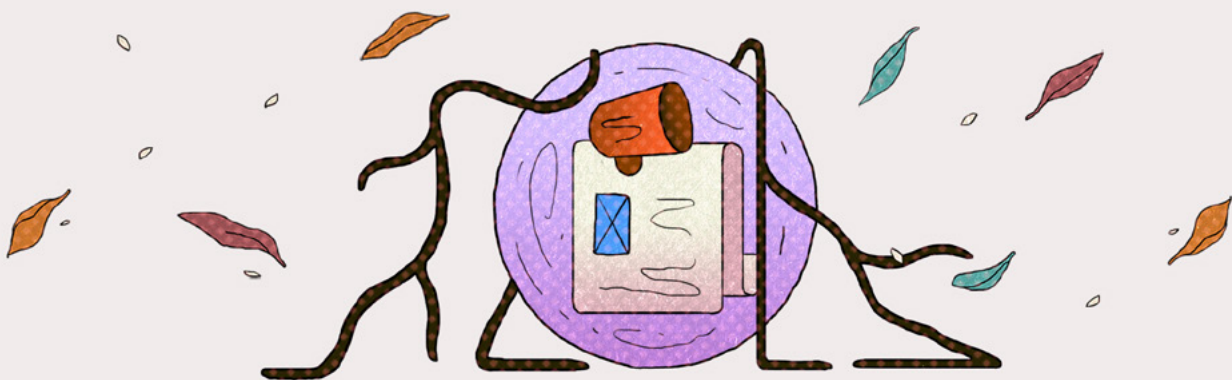
256 Galván, J. A. (2013). Latin American dictators of the 20th century : the lives and regimes of 15 rulers. McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers.

257 Ibid.

258 Guyana Times. (2024). Burnham’s Legacy: a dictatorship in Guyana. <https://guyanatimesgy.com/burnhams-legacy-a-dictatorship-in-guyana/>

259 Rosenblad, G. (2024). ‘Desi Bouterse, a dictator convicted of murder who twice ruled Suriname, has died at 79’. Associated Press, <https://apnews.com/article/suriname-bouterse-dies-dictator-fe5300461c2239c7bbdb6b5272660ed0>

Along this spectrum are countries with authoritarian tendencies and other troubling fascist leanings, such as in *Saint Vincent and the Grenadines*, where Ralph Gonsalves had entrenched power, having served as Prime Minister from 2001 to 2025 – and been confronted with two sexual assault allegations during that time.²⁶⁰ In Suriname, the financial sector is dominated by commercial banks – several of which are wholly or partly state-owned operating in a market with no enacted competition law.²⁶¹ The absence of competition regulation, combined with high market concentration, leaves a small group of profit-motivated actors holding significant power, with limited statutory checks on coordinated behaviour or market dominance. In *Guyana*, the Government has increasingly undermined press freedoms – in 2023 journalists who were actually State actors attempted an alleged takeover of the Guyana Press Association,²⁶² and the Government has created an environment for journalists “marked by political hostility, discriminatory practices, and the weaponization of legal mechanisms against the press”.²⁶³ This occurs alongside allegations of press intimidation and the emergence of online ‘news’ entities with links to political power that disseminate propaganda and misinformation.²⁶⁴



260 The Associated Press. (2008). ‘St. Vincent PM accused of sexual assault’. NBC News, <https://www.nbcnews.com/id/wbna23851359>

261 International Monetary Fund. (2024). Suriname: Technical Assistance Report — Monetary and Financial Statistics Mission (May 8–19, 2023). <https://www.imf.org/-/media/files/publications/tar/2024/english/tarea2024018.pdf>, noting that “the financial system in Suriname is dominated by commercial banks” with two fully state-owned banks among the nine; see also U.S. Department of State (2020). Suriname Investment Climate Statement. <https://www.state.gov/reports/2020-investment-climate-statements/suriname>, finding that “Suriname does not use transparent policies and effective laws to foster competition. The National Assembly has delayed its vote on a draft competition law.”

262 Stabroek News. (2023). ‘Press association warns of move by gov’t to derail it’. <https://www.stabroeknews.com/2023/05/03/news/guyana/press-association-warns-of-move-by-govt-to-derail-it/>

263 Civicus Monitor. (2025). ‘Journalists face judicial harassment and intimidation’. <https://monitor.civicus.org/explore/hostility-towards-guyanese-independent-media/>

264 Public Media Alliance. (2022). Media literacy, disinformation & misinformation in the Caribbean. https://www.publicmediaalliance.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/Media_InformationLiteracy_Caribbean-2022.pdf

Some countries have used crime in the region – the Caribbean has some of the highest rates of violence in the world²⁶⁵ – as an excuse to propose or pass legislation which infringes on rights and can be used to silence dissent. In *Belize* a proposed 13th Amendment Bill to combat crime would allow police to search, seize, and arrest people in designated “special areas” without a warrant, possibly leading to human rights violations,²⁶⁶ and in *Guyana and Barbados*, bills²⁶⁷ have been passed to address cybercrimes and interceptions of communications which have been criticized for similar shortcomings by human rights organizations, political analysts,²⁶⁸ and media practitioners.²⁶⁹ *Jamaica* has engaged in a cybersecurity and intelligence sharing contract with ELTA Systems Limited, a subsidiary of Israel Aerospace Industries, which not only poses a risk for political repression via security software abuse, but also curtails the country’s ability to denounce the genocide being perpetuated by apartheid Israel.²⁷⁰

Crime in the region has not only been an excuse used by states, but political criminality has also been a feature of some states. Examples include *Suriname*’s Bouterse administration, which was led by a convicted murderer and drug lord,²⁷¹ and the quasi-narco-state of *Guyana* during the early 2000s’ autocratic presidency of Bharrat Jagdeo, who allegedly engaged a drug lord and ‘phantom gang’ to combat a racially-charged crime wave, where it was argued that “the line between politically motivated killings and gang/drug warfare [becoming] indistinguishable”.²⁷² Although that spate of violence abated, Guyana continues to be a significant hub for drug trafficking (particularly in the Essequibo region – according to Customs Anti Narcotics Unit (CANU) this

265 GAO. (2024). ‘High Murder Rates in the Caribbean Linked to Guns Trafficked from the United States’. U.S Government Accountability Office, <https://www.gao.gov/blog/high-murder-rates-caribbean-linked-guns-trafficked-united-states>; This high crime rate does not occur in a vacuum but is linked to the influx of guns from the US and drug trafficking partially due to economic conditions created by imperialism.

266 GBM. (2025). ‘Thirteenth Amendment Sparks National Debate on Crime and Rights’. Greater Belize Media, <https://www.greaterbelize.com/thirteenth-amendment-sparks-national-debate-on-crime-and-rights/>

267 The Barbados Cybercrime Bill, 2024: https://www.barbadosparliament.com/uploads/bill_resolution/48c581fc-50f5357214a37caab9189066.pdf; and Guyana Cybercrime Act, 2018 (Act No. 16 of 2018): <https://officialgazette.gov.gy/index.php/publications/967-extraordinary-gazettes-13th-august-2018-act-no-16-of-2018-the-cybercrime-act-2018>

268 Village Voice News. (2024). ‘Growing concern Guyana Cybercrime Law being used as a tool for political suppression’. <https://villagevoicenews.com/2024/09/04/growing-concern-guyana-cybercrime-law-being-used-as-a-tool-for-political-suppression/>

269 Barbados Today. (2024). ‘No shields from abuse of Cybercrime Bill’. <https://barbadostoday.bb/2024/04/27/no-shields-from-abuse-of-cybercrime-bill/>

270 Wired Jamaica. (2025). Jamaica’s Compromised Leadership in CARICOM on Gaza Crisis. <https://www.wiredja.com/index.php/categories/newsberg/news/jamaicas-compromised-leadership-in-caricom-on-gaza-crisis-2>

271 Al-Jazeera. (2020). Suriname: Desi Bouterse, a convicted murderer, seeks another term. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/5/25/suriname-desi-bouterse-a-convicted-murderer-seeks-another-term>

272 Bulkan, A. and Trotz, A. (Eds.). (2019). *Unmasking the State: Politics, society and economy in Guyana 1992-2015*. Ian Randle Publishers

is in some cases linked to Venezuelan partners),²⁷³ with reports that this may be aided by actors within the police force²⁷⁴ and corruption in the political systems.²⁷⁵

In *Haiti*, both external and internal forces have colluded and collided to result in the most visible current example of political criminality and fascist underpinnings. Following President Moïse’s assassination in 2021 and the unpopular leadership of Ariel Henry,²⁷⁶ Haitian gangs like G9 and G Pep, with gang leaders like Cris-la, Jeff “Gwo Lwa” Larose, Johnson André (“Izo”), Lanmo San Jou, Vitel’homme Innocent, and Jimmy (Barbecue) Cherizier²⁷⁷ have significantly increased control and violence. Some of these gangs are connected to politicians and government actors,²⁷⁸ and the gang coalition Viv Ansanm has announced plans to become a political party.²⁷⁹ It is reported that their activities take place alongside “state corruption, systematic repression, excessive use of force, and arbitrary arrests during protests.”²⁸⁰ Previously, several of these criminal leaders held positions as state officials or representatives, such as ex-police officer Jimmy Cherizier who leads G9;²⁸¹ ex-police officer and former senator Guy Phillippe who plotted a coup and was convicted of drug trafficking;²⁸² and former National Palace security head Dimitri Herard who is accused of arms dealing and involvement in Moïse’s assassination.²⁸³

The gangs are also aided by the influx of guns from the US, Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Central America, South Africa, and Israel,²⁸⁴ and allegedly by Haitian political elites such as Marc Antoine Acra²⁸⁵ (one

273 Insight Crime. (2025). No Man’s Land: How Drug Trafficking Took Root in the Disputed Essequibo Territory. <https://insightcrime.org/investigations/drug-trafficking-disputed-essequibo/>

274 Ibid

275 Ibid

276 Philipps, T et al. (2024). Haiti: what caused the gang violence and will it end now the PM has quit? <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/mar/08/haiti-crisis-gang-jailbreak-explained>

277 Pamphile, W. (2025). Before and After: Mapping the Impact of Gang Violence on Port-au-Prince. <https://www.haitipolicyhouse.org/publications/before-after-portauprince>

278 Global Organized Crime Index. (2023). Haiti. <https://ocindex.net/country/haiti>

279 Shaw, M., Grandmaison, R.L. (2025). Haiti is in a Political and Criminal Crisis that Should Not be Ignored. <https://warontherocks.com/2025/04/haiti-is-a-political-and-criminal-crisis-that-should-not-be-ignored/>

280 Global Organized Crime Index. (2023). Haiti. <https://ocindex.net/country/haiti>

281 Manjarrés, J. (2023). ‘How Narco-Rebel’s Return Could Impact Haiti’s Criminal Dynamics’. InSight Crime, <https://insightcrime.org/news/how-narco-rebels-return-could-impact-haitis-criminal-dynamics/>

282 Ibid.

283 Reuters. (2025). ‘UK imposes sanctions on two Haitians over gang violence’. <https://www.reuters.com/world/uk/uk-imposes-sanctions-two-haitians-over-gang-violence-2025-10-20/>

284 284Global Organized Crime Index. (2023). Haiti Country Profile. https://ocindex.net/assets/downloads/2023/english/ocindex_profile_haiti_2023.pdf, stating that “Guns also enter Haiti from the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Central America, South Africa, and Israel”; see also UN Office on Drugs and Crime. (2023). ‘Haiti’s Criminal Markets: Mapping Trends in Firearms and Drug Trafficking’, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2023/03/1134097>, mapping firearms trafficking flows into Haiti.

285 Global Affairs Canada. (2023). ‘Canada imposes additional sanctions against members of Haitian economic elite’.

of the non-African-heritage²⁸⁶ elite families purported to control 90% of Haiti's wealth),²⁸⁷ Carl Braun, vice president of Haiti's largest bank, UNIBANK,²⁸⁸ and Dimitri Vorb²⁸⁹ (co-owner of family power company Société Générale d'Énergie S.A (SOGENER)). These gangs contribute to fascism not only by creating a violently chaotic environment ripe for oppression, but also by replacing state governance with militia-like control of strategic locations like fuel terminals justified by the propaganda of community protection.²⁹⁰ They have also inspired resistance within the communities they claim as their 'territory', resulting in vigilante justice and militarization that lead to further normalization of violence and societal breakdown.²⁹¹

While xenophobic discourse occasionally rears its head in many countries, there are some prominent examples worth noting, such as in Barbados towards Guyanese, Haitians and Jamaican;²⁹² in Guyana towards Haitians, Venezuelans and the Chinese;²⁹³ in Trinidad and Tobago towards Venezuelans;²⁹⁴ and in the Dominican Republic towards the estimated half a million Haitian migrants in the country.²⁹⁵ The latter has the most disturbing indicators of fascist undertones as the President of the Dominican Republic and other politicians have used

<https://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/news/2023/09/canada-imposes-additional-sanctions-against-members-of-haitian-economic-elite.html>

286 Unlike Haitians of African heritage, the majority of whom descended from enslaved persons, these non-African heritage elite families migrated to Haiti in the 20th century from Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, or Europe: See WiredJA. (2025). 'Haiti's Hidden Power Brokers: An Investigation into Economic Elite Influence'. <https://wiredja.com/index.php/ar/categories/newsberg/news/haiti-s-hidden-power-brokers-an-investigation-into-economic-elite-influence>

287 WiredJA. (2025). 'Haiti's Hidden Power Brokers: An Investigation into Economic Elite Influence'. <https://wiredja.com/index.php/ar/categories/newsberg/news/haiti-s-hidden-power-brokers-an-investigation-into-economic-elite-influence>

288 Global Affairs Canada. (2023). 'Canada imposes additional sanctions against members of Haitian economic elite'. <https://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/news/2023/09/canada-imposes-additional-sanctions-against-members-of-haitian-economic-elite.html>

289 Coto, D. (2025). US accuses a powerful Haitian businessman detained by ICE of ties to violent gangs. AP News, <https://apnews.com/article/us-haiti-dimitri-vorbe-gangs-ed70f4dd951b0bfbec5f85e1c412494b>

290 Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime. (2025). From criminal governance to community fragmentation. <https://globalinitiative.net/wp-content/uploads/2025/09/From-criminal-governance-to-community-fragmentation-Addressing-Haitis-escalating-crisis-GI-TOC-September-2025.pdf>

291 Ibid.

292 Barbados Today. (2022). 'Migration expert says deporting or abandoning Haitians is breach of UN human rights convention'. <https://barbadostoday.bb/2022/03/29/migration-expert-says-deporting-or-abandoning-haitians-is-breach-of-un-human-rights-convention/>; Guyana Chronicle. (2011). 'A Bishop's blast on Bajan discrimination'. <https://guyanachronicle.com/2011/10/24/a-bishops-blast-on-bajan-discrimination/>

293 Kaieteur News. (2019). 'The Haitians are an issue argued on innate racism'. <https://kaieteurnews.com/2019/08/06/the-haitians-are-an-issue-argued-on-innate-racism/>; Kisoorn, F. (2024). The last nationality to be xenophobic should be Guyanese. <https://guyanachronicle.com/2024/03/15/the-last-nationality-to-be-xenophobic-should-be-guyanese/>; International Organization for Migration. (2021). Study on the protection situation of Venezuelan refugees and migrants in the Caribbean. IOM, <https://reliefweb.int/report/aruba-netherlands/study-protection-situation-venezuelan-refugees-and-migrants-caribbean>

294 IOM. (2021). Study on the protection situation of Venezuelan refugees and migrants in the Caribbean. <https://reliefweb.int/report/aruba-netherlands/study-protection-situation-venezuelan-refugees-and-migrants-caribbean>

295 Veras, E. (2024). 'Haitians looking to escape violence and chaos face hostility in neighboring Dominican Republic'. The Conversation, <https://theconversation.com/haitians-looking-to-escape-violence-and-chaos-face-hostility-in-neighboring-dominican-republic-228261>

racist and xenophobic rhetoric, and led efforts to build a wall between the two countries.²⁹⁶ Concurrently, the country has seen the rise of the Ancient Dominican Order (AOD), which has been described as an ultra-rightwing neofascist paramilitary group.²⁹⁷ AOD, whose members wear black military-style clothes, has said it was “created for the expulsion of Haitians from Dominican towns and cities”, and has regularly disrupted progressive and feminist events.²⁹⁸ The Dominican right has both historical and contemporary ties to Israel (e.g., right-wing President Abinader is a close Israeli ally and cooperates with them in several areas), and its attitude towards Haitians mirrors and aspires to Israeli apartheid.²⁹⁹

296 People’s Dispatch. (2024). ‘Dominican Republic in the crosshairs of the US imperialist ambitions in the Caribbean’. <https://peoplesdispatch.org/2024/10/11/dominican-republic-in-the-crosshairs-of-the-us-imperialist-ambitions-in-the-caribbean/>

297 Estrella, A. (2024). ‘Dominican Republic’s Neofascist Paramilitaries Double Down on Right-Wing Repression: New expressions of ultranationalist violence censoring Black women and migrants harken back to the Trujillo dictatorship’. *NAC-LA Report on the Americas*, 56(1), 42–49

298 Ibid.

299 Mondoweiss, Rodríguez, S. (2025). ‘Inside the pro-Israel Dominican ultra-right that’s pushing for ethnic cleansing against Haitian immigrants’. *Monthly Review Online*, <https://mronline.org/2025/04/29/inside-the-pro-israel-dominican-ultra-right-thats-pushing-for-ethnic-cleansing-against-haitian-immigrants/>

**ROOT V
IMPERIALISM, NEO-
COLONIALITY AND THE FIGHT
FOR DECOLONIZATION**





ROOT V

IMPERIALISM, NEO-COLONIALITY AND THE FIGHT FOR DECOLONIZATION

Imperialism was originally conceptualized as relating to an empire's domination without significant European settlement, but following Lenin's analysis of imperialism as being the highest stage of capitalism, this concept can be applied to other countries who exert economic and cultural dominance.³⁰⁰ This is closely intertwined with neo-colonialism, where the governance and actions of independent countries are still being directed by external entities, often through economic means.³⁰¹ Imperialism and neo-coloniality can lead to fundamentalism and fascism through several paths – sometimes the imperialism is fueled by religious fundamentalism itself and actively seeks to export this to the dominated countries; the powerlessness and humiliation of being dominated can drive fascist and fundamentalist actions as a means of 'pushing back' and 'resisting' the imperialist (even if this is detrimental to people in the country); and power vacuums created by imperialist and neocolonial interferences can be filled by fascist and fundamentalist actors.³⁰²

Alongside colonization by the European empires of Britain, France, Spain, and the Netherlands, the strongest imperialist and neo-colonial presence in the Caribbean has been the United States. There are still overseas territories ruled by Britain (Anguilla, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Montserrat, Turks and Caicos), France (St Martin, St Bathelémy, Martinique and Guadeloupe) and the Kingdom of the Netherlands (Aruba, Bonaire, Curacao, Saba, St Eustatius, St Maarten), while the US maintains control of Puerto Rico and the US Virgin Islands. A lasting legacy of British colonization, which props up fundamentalist narratives in these previously colonized countries, are laws that police conduct and

300 Rambarran-Gill, N. (2024). Comparative analysis of Barbados and Guyana with respect to colonial legacies, transnational processes and decolonizing activities involved in queer activism. PhD thesis.

301 Nkrumah, K. (1965) Neo-Colonialism. The Last Stage of Imperialism. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons

302 Tricontinental: Institute for Social Research. (2022). 'Religious Fundamentalism and Imperialism in Latin America: Action and Resistance', Dossier no. 59. <https://thetricontinental.org/dossier-59-religious-fundamentalism-and-imperialism-in-latin-america/>; Socialist Alternative. (n.d.). 'The Rise of Fundamentalism'.

<https://www.socialistalternative.org/right-wing-political-islam-taliban/rise-fundamentalism/>; Patanè, A. (2021). 'Defeat, demoralisation and dissent: the crisis of US imperialism'.

<https://marxist.com/defeat-demoralisation-and-dissent-afghanistan-withdrawal-exposes-us-decline.htm>

criminalize consenting adult sexual activity, with the latter only now being struck down by multiple court rulings.³⁰³

The United States has used the Monroe Doctrine and Manifest Destiny of the 1800s to treat the Caribbean as its playground, with occupations (the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Grenada),³⁰⁴ attempted invasion (Cuba),³⁰⁵ and attempted and completed government destabilizations (Guyana, Jamaica, Suriname).³⁰⁶ Analysis indicates these overt actions have been accompanied by more frequent strongarming by the US government of the CARICOM countries “to support its position on various issues such as terrorism, money laundering, the invasion of Iraq, the illegal Latortue regime in Haiti that overthrew the democratically elected president Jean-Bertrand Aristide, and the destabilization of Venezuela.”³⁰⁷ Imperialism is also being enacted by financial institutions such as the World Bank and certain Canadian-owned banks in the region. The former with its infamous structural adjustments has wreaked havoc on the economy (and indirectly the governance), of such countries like Guyana and Jamaica,³⁰⁸ and in the latter case, Canadian banks such as RBC, Scotiabank and CIBC have used economic and political power to extract profits that benefit the banks based in Canada while sidelining meaningful investments that would benefit the Caribbean.³⁰⁹

Long-standing and significant examples of American imperialism in the region concern Cuba, Haiti and Puerto Rico. US neo-coloniality in *Cuba* reaches back to Cuban independence and early dictatorships, but following the Cuban revolution, a series of covert and overt actions aimed

303 Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law. (2023). LGBTI Victories in the Caribbean and a Turning Point for LGBTI Rights in the Americas. <https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/publications/lgbti-caribbean-turning-point/>, *summarising the 2016 Belize Supreme Court ruling in *Orozco v Attorney General*; the 2018 Trinidad and Tobago High Court ruling in *Jones v Attorney General*; and the 2022 strike-downs in Antigua and Barbuda (*Orden David v Attorney General*), Saint Kitts and Nevis (*Jeffers v Attorney General*), and Barbados. See also Human Dignity Trust. (2022). ‘Antigua & Barbuda High Court strikes down ‘buggery’ and ‘indecency’ laws imposed by British during colonial period’.

<https://www.humandignitytrust.org/news/antigua-barbuda-high-court-strikes-down-buggery-and-indecency-laws-imposed-by-british-during-colonial-period/>; Outright International. (2023). Progress in The Caribbean. <https://outrightinternational.org/insights/progress-caribbean>.

304 Kent, C.E. (2022). ‘U.S. Conflicts in the Caribbean’. <https://www.ebsco.com/research-starters/history/us-conflicts-caribbean>

305 Ibid,

306 Wisdom, L.A. (2017). Between the Third World and the Whole World: Manley’s Doomed Campaign for Economic Independence and Change in Jamaica, 1972-1980. Princeton University Senior Thesis, <https://dataspace.princeton.edu/handle/88435/dsp012514np092>; New York Times. (1983). ‘U.S. drops plans to overthrow Government in Suriname’. <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP92B00478R000800380001-2.pdf>; Venkat, S. (2025). ‘How the CIA Took Down Guyana’s First Leader’. The Juggernaut, <https://www.thejuggernaut.com/cheddi-jagan-guyana-cia-plot-jfk-files>

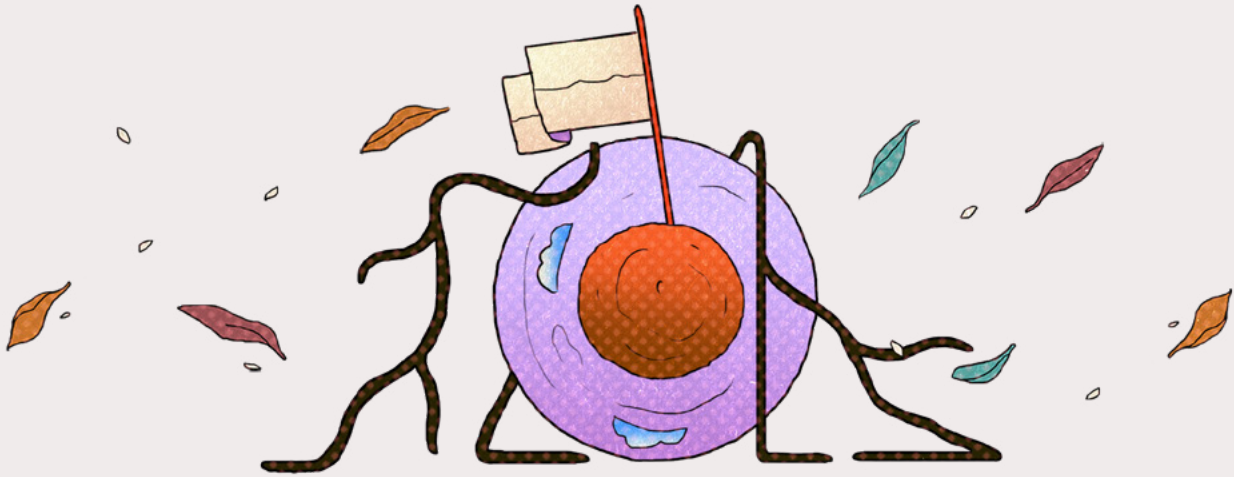
307 Canterbury, D.C. (Ed.). (2023). *Extractivism and Labour in the Caribbean* (1st ed.). Routledge.

308 Jacobs, F. et al. (2024). *Reparative Fiscal Justice for Caribbean Climate Action*. Climate and Community Institute, <https://climateandcommunity.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/10/Caribbean-Fiscal-Justice-Report.pdf>

309 John, T. J. (2021). *Canadian Banks and Imperialism in the English-Speaking Caribbean*. FIU

Electronic Theses and Dissertations. 4804; Riddell, J. (2020). ‘The Deep Roots of Canadian Imperialism in the West Indies’. <https://johnriddell.com/2020/03/31/the-deep-roots-of-canadian-imperialism-in-the-west-indies/>

at regime change and leading to an embargo has been instituted by the US.³¹⁰ The embargo has cost Cuba billions of dollars, impacted countless lives, and expanded over the decades to encompass “almost all economic, financial and commercial relationships with Cuba including the imposition of restrictions on third parties....[and] political destabilization by encouraging Cuban citizens to leave illegally in order to obtain permanent residence and U.S. citizenship”.³¹¹



First extorted by France to pay billions in reparations over a century for its freedom, and then subjected to US imperialism, *Haiti* has been characterized as ‘Empire’s laboratory’.³¹² US aggression in Haiti started in the 1800s, and proceeded with efforts to isolate the country, the occupation of its territory and the control of its public finances until the mid-1900s.³¹³ The US has supported the two brutal dictatorships of Francois “Papa Doc” Duvalier and Jean-Claude “Baby Doc” Duvalier, deposed democratically elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide³¹⁴ and Westenley argues “the consequences of U.S. intervention are responsible for the acute underdevelopment crippling Haitian livelihood in the 21st century”.³¹⁵ International agencies like the United Nations Integrated Office in Haiti (BINUH) and the Multinational Security Support Mission in Haiti (MSS)³¹⁶ are also seen by some groups as interfering in Haiti and

310 Ellis-Jones, I. (2021). Cuba: the supreme victim of imperialism and colonialism. Links, <https://links.org.au/cuba-supreme-victim-imperialism-and-colonialism>

311 Ibid.

312 Pierre, J. (2023). ‘Haiti as empire’s laboratory’. NACLA, <https://nacla.org/haiti-empire-laboratory/>

313 Rosalsky, G. (2021). ‘The Greatest Heist In History’: How Haiti Was Forced To Pay Reparations For Freedom. NPR, <https://www.npr.org/sections/money/2021/10/05/1042518732/-the-greatest-heist-in-history-how-haiti-was-forced-to-pay-reparations-for-freed>

314 Pierre, J. (2023). ‘Haiti as empire’s laboratory’. NACLA, <https://nacla.org/haiti-empire-laboratory/>

315 Westenley, A. (2021). How U.S. Economic Imperialism Underdeveloped Haiti, NACLA Report on the Americas, 53:2, 193-201.

316 The MSS mandate has expired and been replaced with the Gang Suppression Force (GSF). See Council on Foreign Relations. (2025). ‘Haiti’s Troubled Path to Development’. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounders/haitis-troubled-path-development>; see also UN News. (2025). ‘UN Security Council approves new “suppression force” for Haiti amid spiralling

as obstacles to the resolution of the current crisis in the country.³¹⁷ Local human rights activists also allege that certain factions within the Haitian diaspora have amplified calls for international intervention and the exertion of foreign actions on national issues, though Haitian civil society organisations and other diasporic voices have strongly opposed such interventions, citing the long history of foreign interference.³¹⁸

In 1898 the US seized *Puerto Rico* from Spain and in the ensuing years the island was used “as a laboratory for experiments” such as banning Spanish in education, encouraging sterilization of women and for testing birth control, using tax laws for US corporate advantage, dismantling local industries and suppressing the local business sector.³¹⁹ An unincorporated territory of the US, Puerto Rico has endured decades of US violence and colonialism which has gutted public services, precipitated a debt crisis and introduced a heavily militarized law enforcement system.³²⁰ The decolonization movement for independence made historic electoral gains in the December 2024 elections,³²¹ and Puerto Rico joins countries such as *Guadeloupe and Martinique*, which have been agitating for independence from France as well.

Guyana is one country which finds itself in a peculiar position with regards to US imperialism. While the US conspired with the UK to overthrow the democratically elected Guyanese government in the 1950s and 1960s and then install the less ‘communist’ leaning candidate to lead the country to independence,³²² they then decreased direct

gang violence’. UN News, 30 September. <https://news.un.org/en/story/2025/09/1166006>

317 The Black Alliance for Peace. (2023). ‘No More Foreign Interference in Haiti: The United Nations Integrated Office in Haiti (BINUH) and the Core Group Do Not Represent Haitian People!’ <https://blackallianceforpeace.com/bapstatements/nomoreforeigninterferenceinhaiti>

318 Charles, J. (2022). ‘The Perils of Another Foreign Intervention in Haiti’. Foreign Policy, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/10/21/haiti-foreign-intervention-united-nations-peacekeeping/>, documenting the request from Haiti’s de facto government for international armed force and the resulting protests; Acevedo, N. (2024). ‘Why some Haitians don’t want foreign nations intervening in their crises — and others do’. NBC News. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/haitians-foreign-nations-intervening-crises-others-rcna144637>; Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti. (2023). ‘Haitians Do Not Want a New International Intervention to Start, They Want the Existing International Intervention to Stop’. <https://www.ijdh.org/2023/10/projects/haitians-do-not-want-a-new-international-intervention-to-start-they-want-the-existing-international-intervention-to-stop/>, articulating the position that ongoing international support for Haiti’s elite has driven the crisis.

319 Morales, E. (2019). ‘Puerto Rico’s economic future remains clouded by the debt restructuring plan’. openDemocracy, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/oureconomy/puerto-ricos-economic-future-remains-clouded-by-the-debt-restructuring-plan/>. See also Louis de Malave, F.Z (1999). Sterilization of Puerto Rican Women: A Selected, Partially Annotated Bibliography. University of Wisconsin System Office of the Gender and Women’s Studies Librarian, <https://www.library.wisc.edu/gwslibrarian/bibliographies/sterilization/>

320 Ng, J. (2024). ‘Resurgent Puerto Rico Independence Movement Challenges 126 Years of Colonialism’. Truthout, <https://truthout.org/articles/resurgent-puerto-rico-independence-movement-challenges-126-years-of-colonialism/>

321 Ibid.

322 National Security Archive. (2020). ‘CIA Covert Operations: The 1964 Overthrow of Cheddi Jagan in British Guiana’. <https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/intelligence/2020-04-06/cia-covert-operations-outhrow-cheddi-jagan-british-guiana-1964>

engagement in the country amidst ensuing economically and politically devastating fallout until the country's oil discovery in 2015. Led by the US corporation Exxon Mobil, oil extractivism has embroiled the country in US imperialism, which is concerned with maintaining control of the oil. At the same time, US oil interests in Guyana have collided with Venezuela's longstanding claim to the Essequibo region, a large portion of Guyanese territory. For Caracas, this claim functions as both an expansionist agenda and a security buffer against a hostile United States, which Venezuela views as having 'captured' the Guyanese state.³²³ This puts Guyana – with historically anti-imperialistic leaders – in the unprecedented position of appealing to US imperialism for defense against Venezuelan aggression. By early 2026, this dynamic had shifted from potential confrontation to open intervention. Under "Operation Southern Spear," the US deployed warships and fighter jets to the southern Caribbean from August 2025, conducting dozens of strikes on vessels described by Human Rights Watch as extrajudicial killings that killed at least 95 people by mid-December, many of them civilian fishers rather than the "narcoterrorists" claimed.³²⁴ The campaign culminated on 3 January 2026 in a US special-forces raid on Caracas that captured President Nicolás Maduro.³²⁵ Guyana's government was broadly supportive of the operation, while Trinidad and Tobago, which had hosted US military personnel during the buildup, stated it had not participated.³²⁶ Caribbean leaders through CARICOM, former heads of government, and civil society have continued to call for the region to remain a zone of peace.³²⁷

China has now increased its footprint in the region through collaborations such as the Belt and Road Initiative,³²⁸ resulting in growing partnerships in many Caribbean countries in "trade, construction, infrastructure, acquisitions, and soft power – cultural exchanges, scholarships and

323 John, T. (2023). 'Guyana and Venezuela: The crisis of imperialism currently unfolding on South America's Caribbean coast'. Black Agenda Report, <https://www.blackagendareport.com/guyana-and-venezuela-crisis-imperialism-currently-unfolding-south-americas-caribbean-coast>

324 Human Rights Watch. (2025). 'Q&A: US Military Operations in the Caribbean, Pacific'. 16 December, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/12/16/qa-us-military-operations-in-the-caribbean-pacific>

325 CARICOM. (2026). 'Statement from the Bureau of the Conference of CARICOM Heads of Government on Military Action in Venezuela'. 3 January, <https://caricom.org/statement-from-the-bureau-of-the-conference-of-caricom-heads-of-government-on-military-action-in-venezuela/>

326 Jamaica Gleaner. (2026). 'CARICOM leaders meet on US invasion of Venezuela'. 3 January, <https://jamaica-gleaner.com/article/news/20260103/caricom-leaders-meet-us-invasion-venezuela>

327 Prashad, V. (2025). 'The Caribbean faces two choices: Join the US attempt to intimidate Venezuela or build its own sovereignty'. Peoples Dispatch, 26 November, <https://peoplesdispatch.org/2025/11/26/the-caribbean-faces-two-choices-join-the-us-attempt-to-intimidate-venezuela-or-build-its-own-sovereignty/>

328 The Initiative began in 2013 and invests in infrastructure in an effort to improve trade and communication between China and Eurasia, Latin America and Africa: Encyclopedia Britannica. Belt and Road Initiative. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Belt-and-Road-Initiative>

exchange visits, and security”.³²⁹ While China frames its attractive loans and projects in the region as a “win-win” of mutual development,³³⁰ the US and UK decry them as a security threat and scheme for exerting China’s influence.³³¹ Instead it appears that China is capitalizing on the neo-colonial scaffolding built by the US and Europe³³² (with the cooperation of neoliberal Caribbean state actors) in a long-term plan to build and link Caribbean economies in a global market that centers itself.³³³ We now see environmentally damaging extractivism in countries like Jamaica and Guyana,³³⁴ the exclusion of local workforces (Chinese workers are often brought onto projects, and these workers are sometimes themselves exploited),³³⁵ and the potential for significant added debt to economies.³³⁶ In Guyana, Chinese-owned businesses have been criticized for low wages, disregard for labour laws³³⁷ and overt discrimination, such as the ‘no gays’ signs recently posted outside of one establishment.³³⁸ While China has a flexible approach to loan forgiveness (or accept land as loan repayment), and is an alternative for Caribbean states used to dealing with Global North imperialists,³³⁹ their actions result in the same imperialistic results to the detriment of the region. And imperialism by any state runs the same risk of creating the sense of powerlessness and humiliation that can drive fascist and fundamentalist actions stemming from a need to ‘push back’ or ‘resist’ the imperialist.

329 Canterbury, D.C. (Ed.). (2023). *Extractivism and Labour in the Caribbean* (1st ed.). Routledge.

330 Connell, R. (2023). ‘Peripheries of Chinese imperialism: The Belt & Road Initiative in Jamaica’. Lausan Collective, <https://lausancollective.com/2023/chinese-imperialism-bri-jamaica/>

331 John, T. (2025). ‘Resisting Dependency: U.S. Hegemony, China’s Rise, and the Geopolitical Stakes in the Caribbean’. Black Agenda Report, <https://blackallianceforpeace.com/movement-news/resisting-dependency>

332 Ibid.

333 Mukasa, L. (2021). ‘Should we be concerned by China’s influence in Africa and the Caribbean?’ The Voice, <https://www.voice-online.co.uk/opinion/comment/2021/12/28/should-we-be-concerned-by-chinas-influence-in-africa-and-the-caribbean/>

334 Connell, R. (2023). ‘Peripheries of Chinese imperialism: The Belt & Road Initiative in Jamaica’. Lausan Collective, <https://lausancollective.com/2023/chinese-imperialism-bri-jamaica/>; Harris, M. (2021). ‘Manganese Mining Brings Development and Destruction to Guyana’. Earth Journalism Network, <https://earthjournalism.net/stories/manganese-mining-brings-development-and-destruction-to-guyana>

335 Connell, R. (2023). ‘Peripheries of Chinese imperialism: The Belt & Road Initiative in Jamaica’. Lausan Collective, <https://lausancollective.com/2023/chinese-imperialism-bri-jamaica/>

336 Ibid.

337 Kaieteur News. (2025). ‘Workers cry out over ‘slave-like’ conditions at Chinese gold mine’. <https://kaieteurnews.com/2025/11/26/workers-cry-out-over-slave-like-conditions-at-chinese-gold-mine/>; Cato, M. (2025). ‘China railway and China road and bridge corporation workers up in arms over non-payment of salaries’. HGPTV, <https://www.hgptv.com/china-railway-and-china-road-and-bridge-corporation-workers-up-in-arms-over-non-payment-of-salaries/>

338 Guyana Standard. (2023). Facebook post, 13 September, <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=1305553268248926&set=pcb.1305553294915590>

339 Connell, R. (2023). ‘Peripheries of Chinese imperialism: The Belt & Road Initiative in Jamaica’. Lausan Collective, <https://lausancollective.com/2023/chinese-imperialism-bri-jamaica/>; Mukasa, L. (2021). ‘Should we be concerned by China’s influence in Africa and the Caribbean?’ The Voice, <https://www.voice-online.co.uk/opinion/comment/2021/12/28/should-we-be-concerned-by-chinas-influence-in-africa-and-the-caribbean/>

CONCLUSION AND STRATEGIC RESISTANCE





CONCLUSION AND STRATEGIC RESISTANCE

This report examined the forces involved in seeding and growing fundamentalism and fascism in the Caribbean while naming some of the actors involved.

Where do these forces originate from, what contextual factors allow their importation into the region and how are they sustained? The report shows that centuries of colonialism have provided fertile ground for continuing imperialism, extractivism and exploitation by not only Global North states, corporations and institutions, but also by actors and states situated in the region. Increasingly negative attitudes towards LGBTIQ+ people in particular, have been linked to the HIV pandemic, dancehall music and the increase in evangelical churches.³⁴⁰ The latter has also been critical to increasing fundamentalism in the Caribbean, by offering an attractive and “moral” alternative to people living in small island states and faced with neoliberal pressures, economic uncertainty and the climate crisis.

Additional contributors to fascism and fundamentalism in the region are the transnational networks of the religious right-wing and anti-rights movement, which are sustained by values rooted in cis-heteropatriarchy and white supremacy, and which receive substantial funding from the right-wing billionaire class in the US and Global North alongside church and individual donations.

There is increased blurring of the separation between church and State, with many anti-rights and religious right-wing actors gaining access to, and influence over, government officials – and many of these actors even taking up political and government positions themselves. Instances of authoritarianism and political criminality are also laying the groundwork for fascism to gain a foothold in the region, and are being fed by the actions of imperialism working alongside fascist State actors.

340 Murray, D. (2012). *Flaming Souls: Homosexuality, Homophobia, and Social Change in Barbados*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press

In this environment how can feminist movements strategically resist these forces?

- By providing the names of actors and organizations in this report, feminists in the region can know the opposition and be alert when these entities conduct their campaigns of hate and violence, which sometimes occur covertly and can only be linked to the real agenda if the historical context and network or connections of the actor are known.

- Continuing documentation and monitoring of the media as the fascist and fundamentalist landscape enlarges and evolves is important.

- As was shown, many of the roots and actors of fundamentalism and fascism overlap, making it imperative that feminists form linkages with other movements to confront and resist common oppressors. New intersectional regional platforms to facilitate these linkages can be formed, or existing ones such as Cariflags, can be used for the strategizing, documenting and dissemination of information useful for tackling the rising hate.

- Encouraging states to divest from tourism and supporting other community-centered non-exploitative sources of income.

- Consider adapting and reinterpreting the examples of other regional efforts that center sustainable community land use, healing justice and climate resilience like Solidarity Yaad in Jamaica.³⁴¹

- Build cross-cutting civic engagement within movements to push back against authoritarianist tendencies.

- Support and integrate cultural, material and political decolonization within feminist spaces and organizations.

ANNEX 01
BRIEF DESCRIPTIONS OF
ANTI-RIGHTS ADVOCACY
ORGANIZATIONS ACTIVE IN THE
CARIBBEAN



ANNEX 01

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- **Advocates International** (US-based) is a Christian faith-based network for legal professionals billing itself as “the Largest, Oldest, Most Efficient, Legal Aid Organization You’ve Never Heard of Before”.³⁴² A Caribbean grouping was launched in 2007 in Tobago, with conferences in Jamaica (2010), Barbados (2012), St. Vincent and the Grenadines (2014), Guyana (2016) and Grenada (2018).³⁴³ The group has been careful to publicly couch its motives as religious freedoms and human rights but has been involved in anti-abortion litigation, is against same-sex marriage, and has collaborated with the Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF) on several cases.³⁴⁴
- **Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF)** (US-based) is an SPLC designated hate group which specializes in legal work and advocacy.³⁴⁵ Their international agenda is couched in “religious freedom” and opposes LGBTIQ+ rights, abortion and “alternative” forms of the family. ADF was instrumental in overturning Roe v. Wade in the US and one of its co-founders, James Dobson, founded Focus on the Family.³⁴⁶
- **Focus on the Family** (US-based) is a right-wing Christian advocacy group that classified itself as a church in 2015 for donor privacy.³⁴⁷ It engages in anti-LGBTIQ+ and anti-abortion advocacy³⁴⁸ and was the co-host of the 2017 World Congress of Families conference held in St Lucia.³⁴⁹

342 Advocates International. About us. <https://advocatesinternational.org/>

343 Advocates Caribbean. (2018). Law Journal.

<https://advocatesinternational.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Advocates-Caribbean-Law-Journal.pdf>

344 International Journal for Religious Freedoms. (2011). Alliance Defense Fund. Volume 4, No. 1. <https://ijrf.org/index.php/home/article/view/204>

345 Southern Poverty Law Center. Alliance Defending Freedom. <https://www.splcenter.org/resources/extremist-files/alliance-defending-freedom/>

346 Gabbatt, A. (2023). ‘Well-funded Christian group behind US effort to roll back LGBTQ+ rights’. The Guardian, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/jun/19/alliance-defending-freedom-lgbtq-rights-america>

347 Gryboski, M. (2018). ‘Focus on the Family Defends IRS Classification as a ‘Church,’ Says It’s Meant to Protect Donors’. The Christian Post, <https://www.christianpost.com/news/focus-on-the-family-defends-irs-classification-as-a-church-says-its-meant-to-protect-donors.html>

348 Southern Poverty Law Center. Focus on the Family. <https://www.splcenter.org/resources/extremist-files/focus-family/>

349 Montgomery, P. (2017). ‘Religious Right Leaders Attending World Congress of Families Regional Conferences in Caribbean & Africa This Month’. People For, <https://www.peoplefor.org/rightwingwatch/post/religious-right-leaders-at->

- **International Organization for the Family (IOF)** (US-based) aims to “unite and equip leaders worldwide to promote the natural family”.³⁵⁰ It does this through the World Congress of Families (WCF), a research and policy journal (The Natural Family: An International Journal of Research and Policy (TNF)), the Article 16 Initiative which targets influential leaders and institutions, and a program aimed at young professionals and activists.³⁵¹ In the past, the WCF Conference has been co-convened by CitizenGo, among other organizations.³⁵²
- **World Congress of Families** (US-based) is an SPLC designated hate group that functions as a networking and organizing hub for religious-right activists, especially through its international and regional conferences.³⁵³ Some of these conferences were held in Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados (2016), Antigua and Barbuda (2017)³⁵⁴ and Saint Lucia (2017).³⁵⁵ Brian Brown is the President of International Organization for the Family (IOF), under which the World Congress of Families has been incorporated as a project.³⁵⁶
- **CitizenGo** (Spain-based) started in 2013 as the international platform of the ultra-conservative Spanish Catholic organization HazteOír, but has since absorbed HazteOír in a rebrand after damage from allegations of connections to the Catholic secret group El Yunque.³⁵⁷ They mainly use the strategy of petitions, alongside ‘spectacles’ involving advertisements and posters in prominent positions, to oppose the rights of LGBTIQ+ people, abortion and women’s rights.³⁵⁸

[tending-world-congress-of-families-regional-conferences-in-caribbean-africa-this-month](#)

350 International Organization of the Family. Homepage. <https://profam.org/#>

351 International Organization of the Family. Mission. <https://profam.org/mission/>

352 World Congress of Families. (2019). Co-convenors. <https://www.wcfverona.org/en/sponsors/>

353 Southern Poverty Law Center. World Congress of Families.

<https://www.splcenter.org/resources/extremist-files/world-congress-families/>

354 International Organization for the Family. (2017). ‘World Congress of Families Antigua Regional Conference (“Building Strong Caribbean Families”) in St John, Antigua and Barbuda, June 29-30, 2017’. <https://profam.org/world-congress-of-families-antigua-regional-conference-building-strong-caribbean-families-in-st-john-antigua-and-barbuda-june-29-30-2017/>

355 International Organization for the Family. (2017). ‘World Congress of Families Leadership Memo: Uniting, Equipping, Empowering Leaders at Successful WCF Regional Conferences in Caribbean (St. Lucia) and Africa (Malawi)’. <https://profam.org/world-congress-of-families-leadership-memo-uniting-equipping-empowering-successful-wcf-regional-conferences-in-caribbean-st-lucia-and-africa-malawi/#:~:text=World%20Congress%20of%20Families%20Leadership%20Memo:%20December%206%2C%202017,Governor%20General%20was%20also%20present.>

356 World Congress of Families. (2019). About our leadership. <https://wcfverona.org/en/about-our-leadership/>

357 Infovaticana. (2017). ‘HazteOír disappears, giving way to CitizenGo’. <https://infovaticana.com/2017/01/31/hazteoir-desaparece-dejando-paso-citizengo/>; Neuhaus, J. (2022). ‘For God, Fatherland and the Faith: CitizenGo, HazteOír and the Yunque’. Trans Safety Network, <https://transafety.network/posts/god-fatherland-and-faith-citizengo/>

358 AWID. (2021). Rights at risk: time for action. https://www.awid.org/sites/default/files/2022-01/RightsAtRisk_Time_ForAction_OURsTrendsReport2021.pdf

ANNEX 02

LIST OF CARIBBEAN ANTI- RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

*(includes groupings of churches, but not
specific churches or denominations)*





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LIST OF CARIBBEAN ANTI-RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

*(includes groupings of churches,
but not specific churches or denominations)*

Antigua and Barbuda

- Antigua organization Concerned Christian Coalition for a Healthy Society

The Bahamas

- Bahamas Christian Council
- Save Our Bahamas

Barbados

- Family Faith Freedom
- Watch Out My Children
- Parental Rights Barbados

Belize

- Belize Action
- Militia of the Holy Spirit

Cuba

- Alianza de Iglesias Evangelicas de Cuba (AIEC)

Dominican Republic

- Ancient Dominican Order (AOD)

Guyana

- Guyana Council of Churches
- Inter-religious Organization (IRO)
- Come as you are Ministries

Haiti

- Coalition of Religious and Moral Organizations

Jamaica

- Lawyers' Christian Fellowship (LCF)
- Jamaica CAUSE (Church Action Uniting Society for Emancipation)
- Love March Movement
- Jamaica Coalition for a Healthy Society (JCHS)
- National Association of the Family

Puerto Rico

- Proyecto Dignidad
- Pro Life and Family Coalition

St Lucia

- Caribbean Centre for Family and Human Rights (CARIFAM)

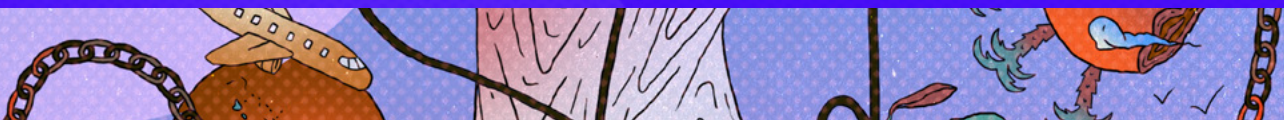
St Vincent and the Grenadines

- Christian Coalition

Trinidad and Tobago

- Trinidad & Tobago Council of Evangelical Churches (TTCEC)
- T&T Cause
- Elpis Centre
- First Wave Movement

ANNEX 03 GLOSSARY OF TERMINOLOGIES





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GLOSSARY OF TERMINOLOGIES

Authoritarianism: is governance characterized by the concentration of power in a single leader or a small group, often bypassing democratic processes and citizen input; authoritarian leaders often maintain control through oppression, violence and fear.³⁵⁹

Cis-heteropatriarchy: refers to how male dominance (patriarchy) is imagined to be the dominance of cisgender (identifying with the gender assigned at birth) and heterosexual (men attracted to women) men.³⁶⁰ It centers and normalizes cisgender and heterosexual men while pathologizing and rejecting any experiences and identities outside of this framework.³⁶¹

Extractivism: the removal of large amounts of natural resources.³⁶²

Fascist and fundamentalist: processes by which democracy and human rights are undermined, xenophobic discourse is advanced, in which hatred, apathy, and violence become normalized, particular social groups are dehumanized, and there is the use of propaganda to justify violence and repression.

Imperialism: when states extend power and dominion by directly occupying the territory or gaining political or economic control of it.³⁶³

Neo-colonialism: where the governance and actions of independent countries are still being directed by external entities, often through economic means.³⁶⁴

359 EBSCO Knowledge Advantage. Government systems: authoritarianism. <https://www.ebsco.com/research-starters/political-science/government-systems-authoritarianism>

360 Learning Network. Gender-based Violence as the Systemic Erasure of Queer and Trans Joy: Understanding 2SLGBTQ+ Youth Experiences. https://www.gbvllearningnetwork.ca/our-work/issuebased_newsletters/issue-43/index.html

361 Ibid.

362 Acosta, A. (2013). Extractivism and Neoextractivism: Two Sides of the Same Curse. In *Beyond Development: Alternative Visions from Latin America*, edited by Miriam Lang, and Dunia Mokrani, 61–86;

363 Encyclopedia Britannica. (2025). Imperialism. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/imperialism>

364 Nkrumah, K. (1965) *Neo-Colonialism. The Last Stage of Imperialism*. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons.

Political criminality: used here to indicate where politicians or Government representatives are involved in criminal activities.

Populism: Definitions vary, with some characterizing as an ideology that presents “the people” as a morally good force in contrast to the corrupt ‘elite’, with populist movements often led by charismatic figures; others define populism as ‘anti-pluralism’ and the practice of a politics that excludes others deemed less moral or legitimate.³⁶⁵



365 European centre for populism studies. Populism. <https://www.populismstudies.org/Vocabulary/populism/>



<https://wearenoor.org/>