

THE NEXT WAVE

How Religious Extremism
Is Reclaiming Power

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Presentation structure

1. High-level findings
2. Five dimensions of anti-gender activism
3. Conclusions
4. Next steps

1. High-level findings

- 275 organisations
- New types of organisations
- 28 European countries

ANTI-GENDER FUNDING IN EUROPE BY ORGANISATION TYPE
FROM 2019 TO 2023, IN US\$ EQUIVALENT, MILLIONS

Organisation type	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	5-year total	% increase
Advocacy/lobbying	63.7	65.9	69.9	67.6	72.5	339.6	28.8%
Public engagement and media	45.3	49.6	62.3	85	31.5*	273.6	23.2%
Grant-making foundations	49	60.7	57	57	40.2	263.7	22.4%
Anti-gender services	23.9	24.9	29.1	25.2	27	130.1	11.0%
Political parties and think tanks	25.1	16.5	23.9	20	22.6	108.1	9.2%
Litigation/ legal	10.7	10	10.4	11	9.3	47	4.0%
Other	2.2	2.2	2.2	5.7	4.5	16.7	1.4%
Grand total	220	230	255	271.3	207.6	1,180	

* Some of the data for 2023 from the Russian Federation was unavailable at the time of writing, meaning the real value would be higher.

2. Five dimensions of anti-gender activism

1

Religious
dimension

2

Civil society
dimension

3

Political
dimension

4

Knowledge
production

5

Geopolitical
dimension

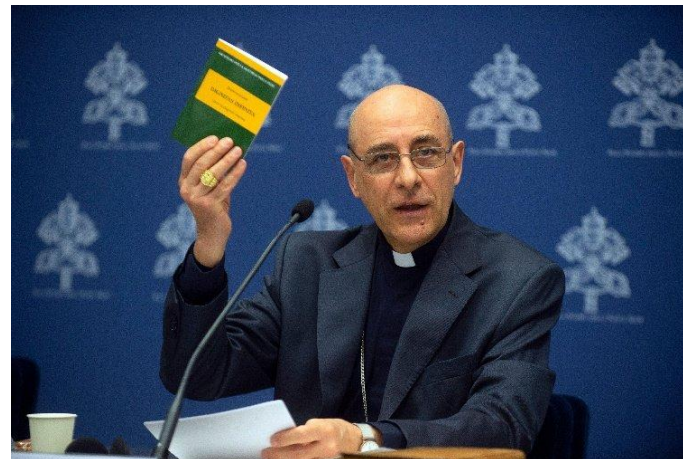
2.1 Religious dimension

Trends

- Growing and spreading doctrinal conservatism
- Increasing political engagement across main religious hierarchies

What's new?

- Emergence of ChONGOs as key anti-rights pressure groups



2.1a Church-organised NGOs

A ChONGO can be defined as: An organisation created by a religious entity (Church), resembling an NGO, established to promote issues that the Church seeks to highlight.

ChONGOs are, to varying degrees, funded, staffed and governed by representatives of the Church.

Look at:

- Founders
- Governance (board, statutes)
- Membership
- Funders
- Advocacy topics

Notable
ChONGOs:



2.2 Civil society dimension

Trends

- Geographical spread (Nordics, Western Balkans)
- Professionalisation: better capacity building, domestic strategic litigation

What's new?

- Strategy change: from contestation to limiting access
- Beyond contestation, an alternative: anti-gender services

2.2a Anti-gender services

- Alternate dimension of anti-SRHR possibilities
- 5-step development: from concept to institutionalisation

Issue	Target audience	Anti-gender solution
Family planning	Young women and married couples	Natural family planning (Rhythm)
Infertility	Married heterosexual couples	NaProTechnology
Unwanted pregnancy	Pregnant women	Anti-abortion counselling 'Abortion reversal'
Sexuality education	School students	Abstinence-only education (Teen STAR, HDC, Alive to the World, etc.)
LGBT Rights	Persons "with same-sex attractions"	Reintegrative counselling



2.3 Political dimension

Trends

- Far-right as the epicentre of the anti-gender: Euro-MAGAs
- Trans-national political networks: CPAC Hungary, PNfV, NatCon, ARC

What's new?

- Political endorsement by ruling parties (Hungary, Italy)
- Anti-gender political projects to gain power, e.g. Pericles (Project 2025 type)



2.4 Knowledge production and dissemination

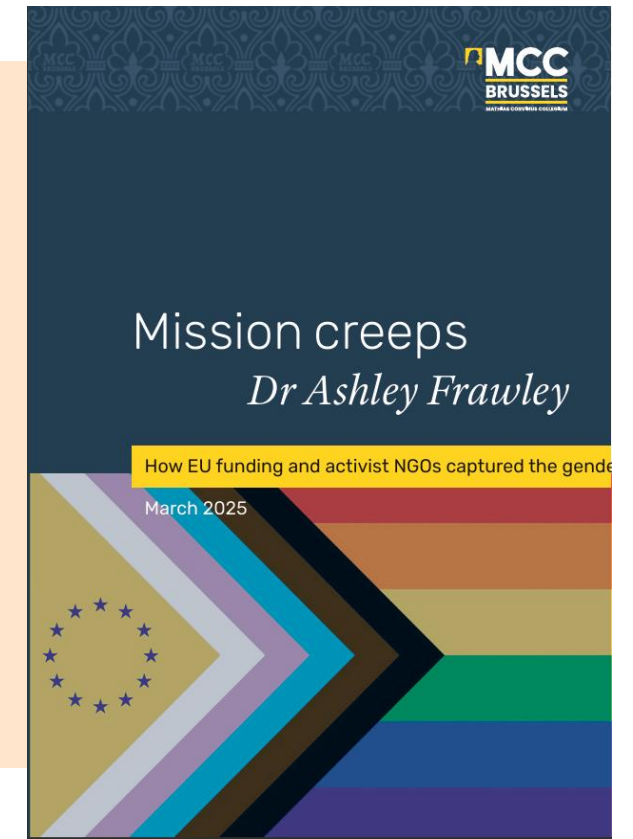
Trends

- Messaging to undermine foundations of democracy: civil society, media credibility, judiciary, rule of law;
- Far-right gains social media advantage

What's new?

- Emergence of far-right thinktanks, propelled by public funding;
- Transnational partnerships (e.g. The Great Reset: Heritage Foundation – Ordo Iuris)

2.4 Knowledge production



2.5 Geopolitical dimension

PAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE ON FAMILY VALUES
Powering and Protecting Family Values in Challenging Times

PROVISIONAL POSTER

Speakers

Austine Ruse
President, Centre for Family and Human Rights
New York Washington DC

Henk Jan van Schothorst
President of the board of directors of the Dutch and the US emily Christian Council International

Travis Weber
Vice President for Policy and Government Affairs at Family Research Council, USA

Rev. Ricky Chietto, MRE
Executive Director of Living House Ministries Inc. & President of the Institute of Biblical Security

Jerzy Kwasniewski
President of the Board and co-founder of the Center for Family Values, Chairman of the Ohio State Presidential Council, Advisor of the Center for Legislative Interpretation of the Institute of the Holy Family

Thomas W. Jacobson MA
Author of Five At the Family, Host of the radio show on the Northern Virginia Radio (NVR) and Executive Director of the Center for the Study of the Family, President, GIC Publications, USA

Rafal Dorosinski
Lecturer, Director of the Institute of the Holy Family, Director of the Center for the Study of the Family, President, GIC Publications, USA

12th MAY 17th 2025 8AM-4PM
The BOMA Hotel Nairobi, Kenya

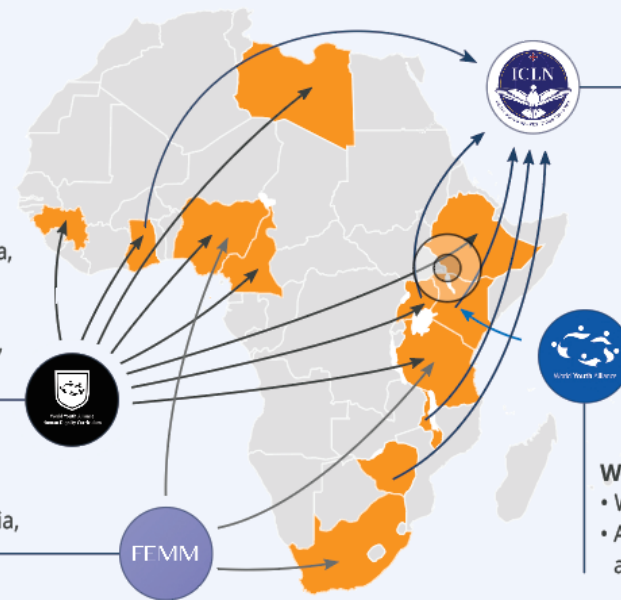
Register at: <https://icpf.africa>
For more information:
WhatsApp +254 748 133 653
Email: info@icpf.africa

HDC's African footprint:

- Human Dignity Curriculum: Cameroon, Ghana, Guinea Conakry, Ethiopia, Libya, Nigeria, Tanzania, Uganda

FEMM's African footprint:

- FEMM app: Nigeria, South Africa and Tanzania



ICLN's African footprint;

- ICLN African chapter – Nairobi, Kenya

National chapters:

- ICLN Ghana
- Kenya (Catholic MPs Spiritual Support Initiative – CAMPSSI)

ICLN summit at the Vatican:

- Participating parliamentarians from Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Uganda, Zimbabwe

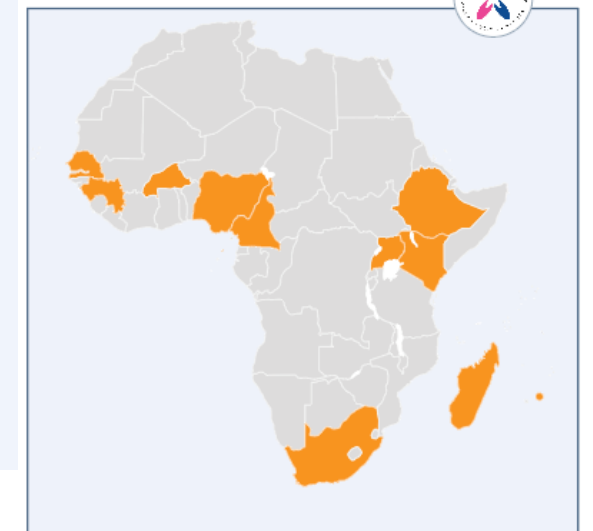
ICLN award winners:

- Kenyan MP Chrysantus Wamalwa
- Ugandan MP Lucy Akello

WYA's African footprint:

- WYA African chapter – Nairobi, Kenya
- Advocacy: Kenyan Constitution (2014) and Reproductive Health Bill (2022)

TEEN STAR AFRICA



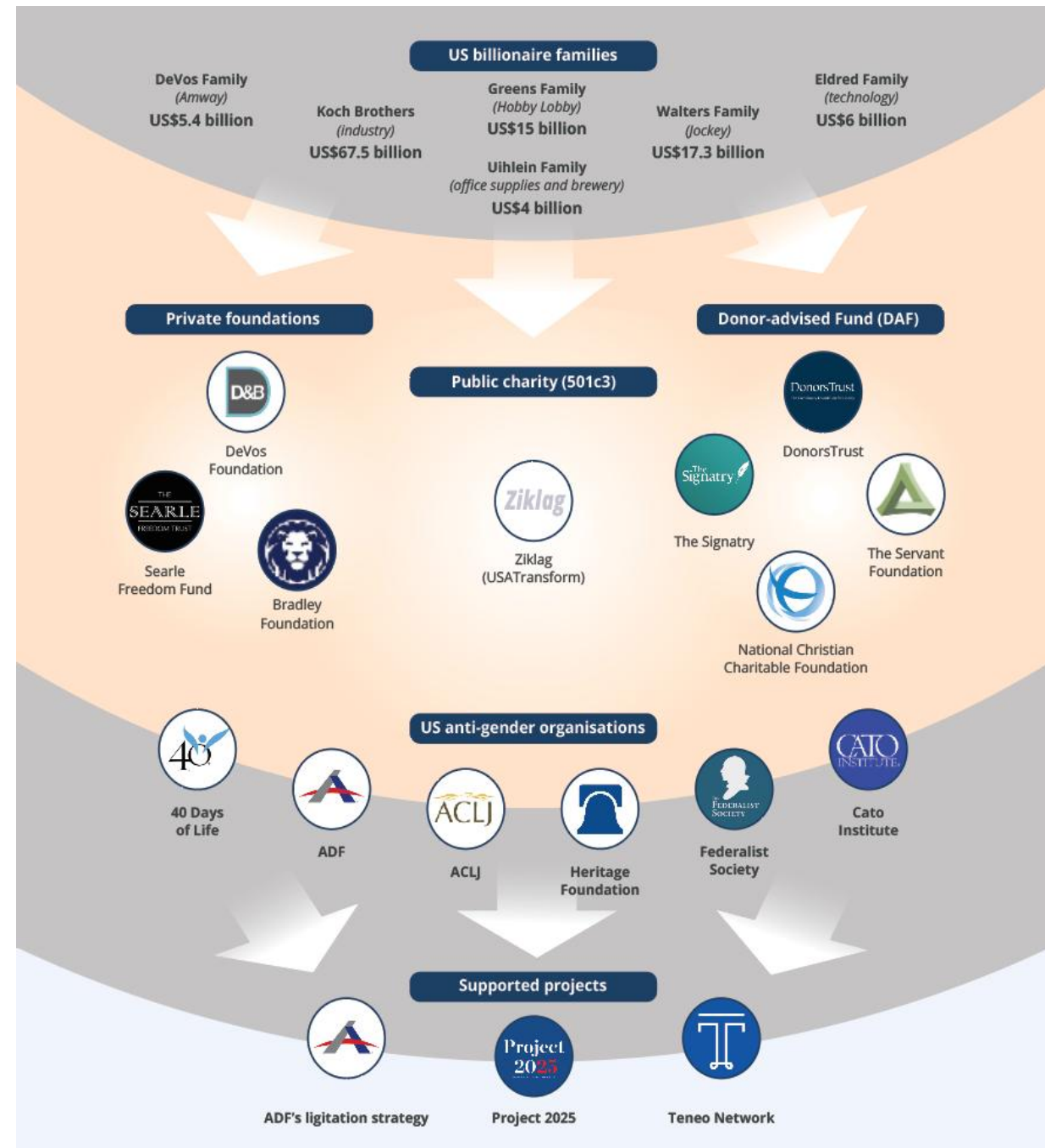
3. General funding trends

Equivalent of **US\$ 1.18 billion** between 2019 – 2023

- EU: **US\$ 703.2 million**
- UK and other Europe: **US\$ 165.3 million**
- Russia: **US\$ 211.9 million**
- US Christian Right spending: **US\$ 104.3 million**
- In total: **US\$ 171 million** (14%) attributable to state or EU funding

3.1 How US Anti-gender funding reaches Europe

- Steady investment: **US\$ 22 million/year**
- Slight downward trajectory since 2022 compensated by growth of European income
- Alliance of donor-advised funds and far-right think tanks; Ziklag



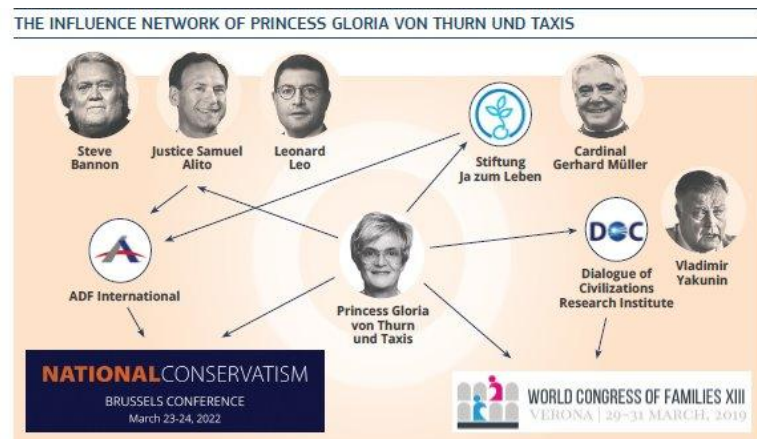
3.2 Russia: Funding turns inwards

- Steep upward trajectory with fluctuations
- Funding and organisational ties with Europe interrupted, despite "List of projects" plans
- Anti-abortion and anti-LGBTQI initiatives as state-approved policy
- Pivot to children kidnapping during war in Ukraine



3.3 Europe: Private funding

- Steady annual funding growth
- Missing all data for Germany, the Nordics, Malta, and Switzerland

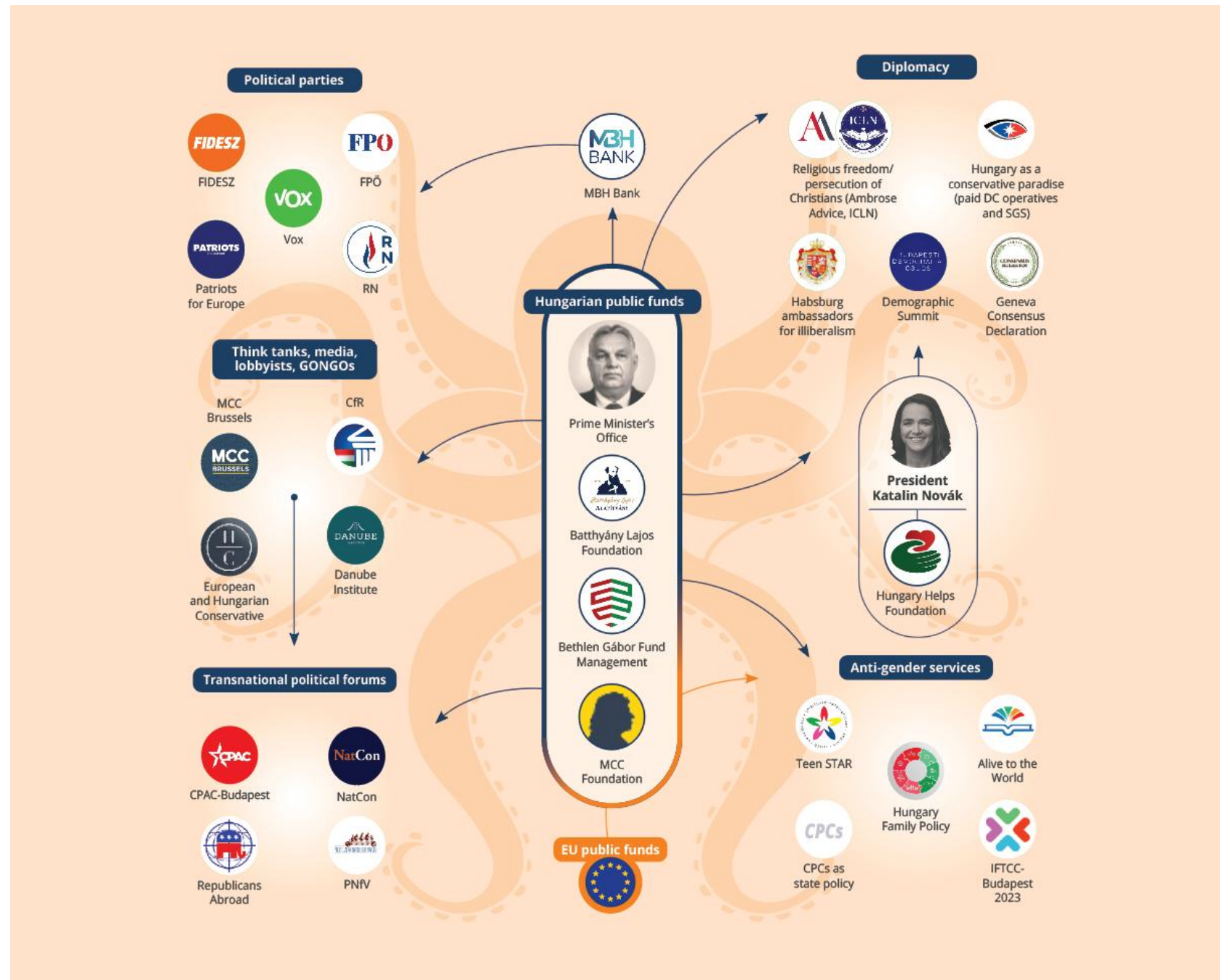


- Ultra-religious private foundations
- Catholic wealth management; Christian crowdfunding
- Aristocrats and mittelstand – reservoir for religious extremist funding
- New actors: tech bros

3.3a Europe: Public funding

- Anti-gender infiltration of EU-funded political parties and their foundations: ECR, Patriots.eu
- ECPP (ECPM): “ATM for anti-gender” and home for orphaned MEPs
- WYA and Teen STAR receive over **€ 1 million** in EU-funding since 2019
- Hungarian GONGOs as leading public funders of religious extremism
- Attack on MFF – extend Hungarian far-right patronage model to EU-funding

The Hungarian Public Money Influence Network



3. Conclusions

- Churches and religious extremist groups hide behind human rights language
- Anti-gender strategies are adapted and replicated across Europe
- Well-funded movement backed by a broad coalition of illiberal private and state actors
- Increasingly right-wing politics is at the epicentre of the anti-gender movement's growth

**All of this has been happening
for longer than we thought.**

4. Next steps

- The 5 D's:**
- 1. Discover and disrobe**
Research and communications agenda
 - 2. Disarm**
Understand and neutralise strategies
 - 3. Dislocate**
Evict from decision-making places & influential positions
 - 4. Demonetise**
Seek to disrupt their fundraising
 - 5. Defend**
Better legal protections for SRHR

Next:

- Battle for the MFF
- Battle for national public funding
- Battle for defining SRHR and human rights: rights-based approach vs "sovereignty" and religious freedom

Thank you!

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