



RESTORING THE NATURAL ORDER

The religious extremists' vision to mobilize European societies against human rights on sexuality and reproduction

Increased anti-gender activism across Europe

- Traditional marriage/LGBTQI rights contested: Croatia, France, EU, Slovenia, Slovakia, Poland, Romania
- Abortion restrictions proposed in: Council of Europe, EU, Spain, Sweden, Poland, etc...
- Anti-Istanbul Convention/GBV laws mobilisations: Bulgaria, Croatia, Poland, Spain, Romania, Turkey, etc...

Who are they?

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New set of actors:

1. NGOs, think tanks, social media, legal organisations
2. Religious inspired / secular in appearance
3. Adjacent to mainstream conservative world
4. Appear 'respectable'
5. Links with alt and far-right

Discourse :

Expanded areas of focus, from anti-abortion to :

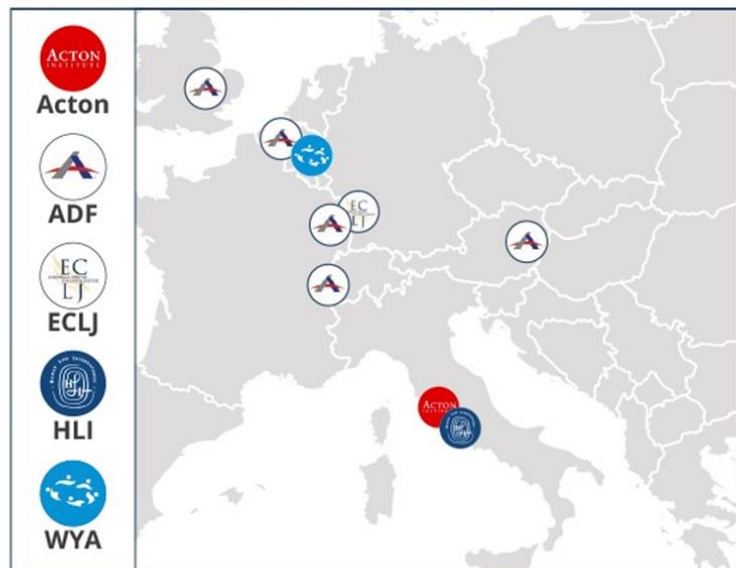
1. SRHR
2. LGBTQI
3. Gender
4. Children's rights
5. Religious freedom

'Secularised' religious ideas into 'human rights' language

Who are they ?

1. Professionalization

US CHRISTIAN RIGHT IN EUROPE



① ADF has offices in London, Brussels, Strasbourg, Geneva and Vienna; ECLJ has offices in Strasbourg; Acton and HLI have offices in Rome; WYA-Europe has an office in Brussels

2. Trans-nationalisation

Agenda Europe



POLITICAL NETWORK FOR VALUES



**BUDAPEST
FAMILY SUMMIT**

May 25-28, 2017

"Restoring the Natural Order"

Agenda Europe

Crystallised in January 2013 – strategic retreat

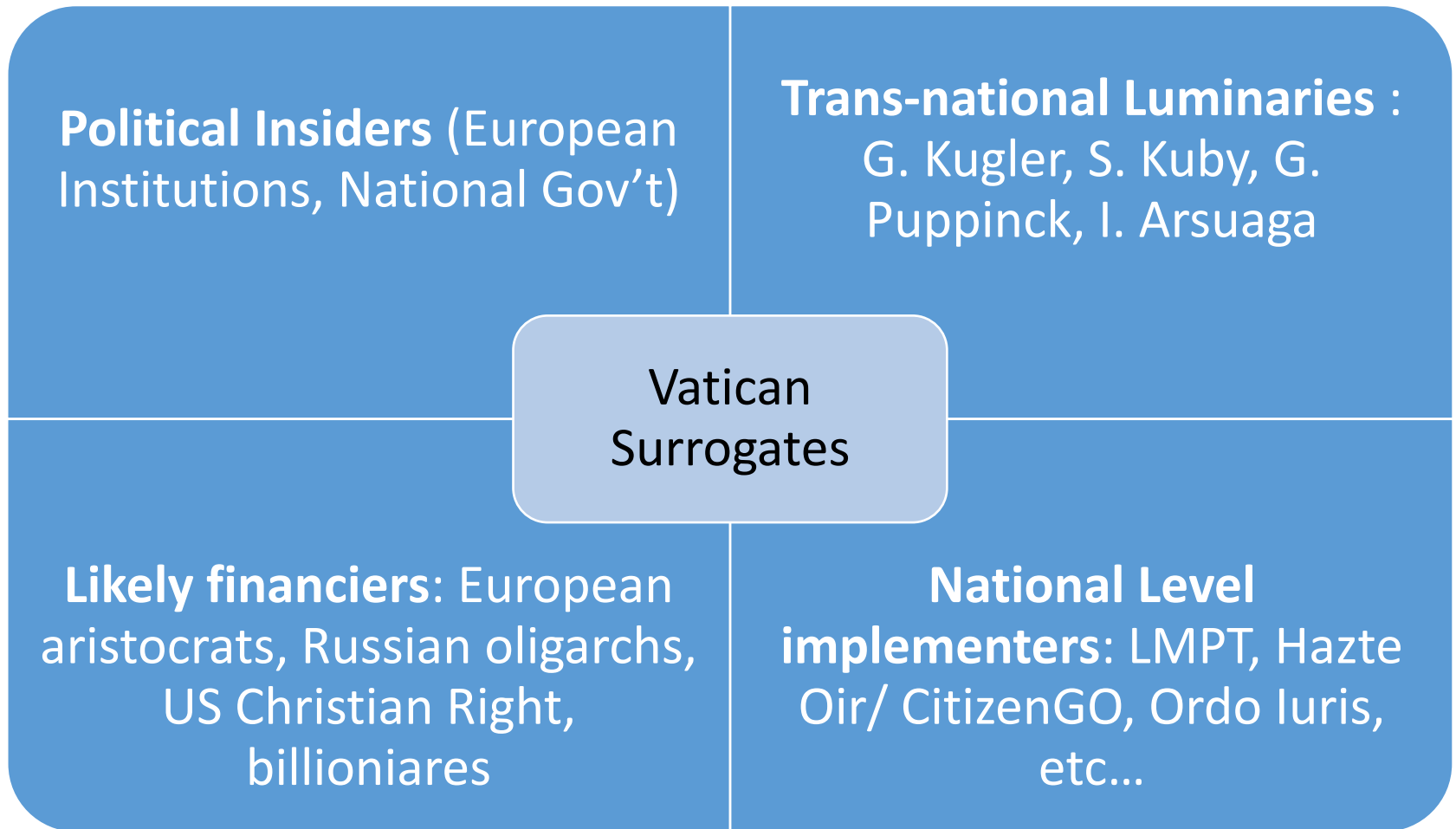
- The Blog (now defunct)
- Annual Summits -> Thematic strategies
- Common Manifesto: “Restoring the Natural Order”

WHO ARE THEY?








"Restoring the Natural Order"

Inside Agenda Europe?



European anti-gender networks

OVERVIEW OF EUROPEAN ANTI-GENDER NGO FUNDERS

NGOs	Headquarters	Financial weight from 2009 to 2018	Anti-gender activism
 <p>One of Us Federation and members (Catholic anti-abortion activism)</p>	Belgium	USD31.5 million	Anti-abortion at EU and national levels
 <p>Mum, Dad & Kids and members (Anti-LGBTQI campaigning)</p>	France	USD23 million	Anti-LGBTQI campaigning across EU
 <p>ECPM (Christian political activism)</p>	Netherlands	USD8.2 million	Anti-abortion, LGBT, VAW, Agenda Europe, PNfV
 <p>Hazte Oir and CitizenGO (Ultra-conservative social media mobilisation)</p>	Spain	USD32.8 million	Agenda Europe, PNfV, One of Us
 <p>TFP (Pseudo-Catholic, far-right mobilisation)</p>	France and Poland	USD113.4 million	Far-right Catholic activism, Agenda Europe

Core ideas & strategies

Core ideas?

Common Manifesto: “Restoring the Natural Order”

“Not based on religious beliefs, but on “Natural Law”

1. **Life:** conception to natural death
2. **Family:** traditional, heterosexual, patriarchal, sanctified union between man and woman
3. **Freedom:** Equality and anti-discrimination - exempt private sector (gender quotas, sexual orientation, etc.)

Agenda Europe Strategies

... not be afraid to be 'unrealistic' or 'extremist' in choosing our policy objectives

1. Positioning themselves as “new real victims”
2. Frame issues in terms of “rights” (conscience clauses)
3. Damage opponents: “abortion lobby, lesbian lobby and gay lobby” – defund them
4. Become respected interlocutor at international level

Political Network for Values Strategies

Prioritize Topics:

- **De-fund IPPF:** legal and political work supported by civil society campaigns
- **Surrogacy** of motherhood: prevention and legislation
- **Marriage:** prevent and/or reverse changes on definition
- **Abortion:** 1-prevent / 2-restrict / 3-ban
- **Euthanasia** and assisted suicide: 1-prevent / 2-ban
- **Family:** language and good proposals for national policy plans and laws
- **Parent's rights** on children's education: language and legislative proposals
- **Conscientious objection** rights: legal and political action
- **Religious freedom**

Define Actions at the different levels (global / local):

- **Global:** UN
- **Regional:** OAS, CARICOM, EU, Council of Europe, African Union, Pan-Pacific
- **Local:** Governments and local administrations; National Parliaments...

Fostering a political Agenda worldwide on life, family, freedom...



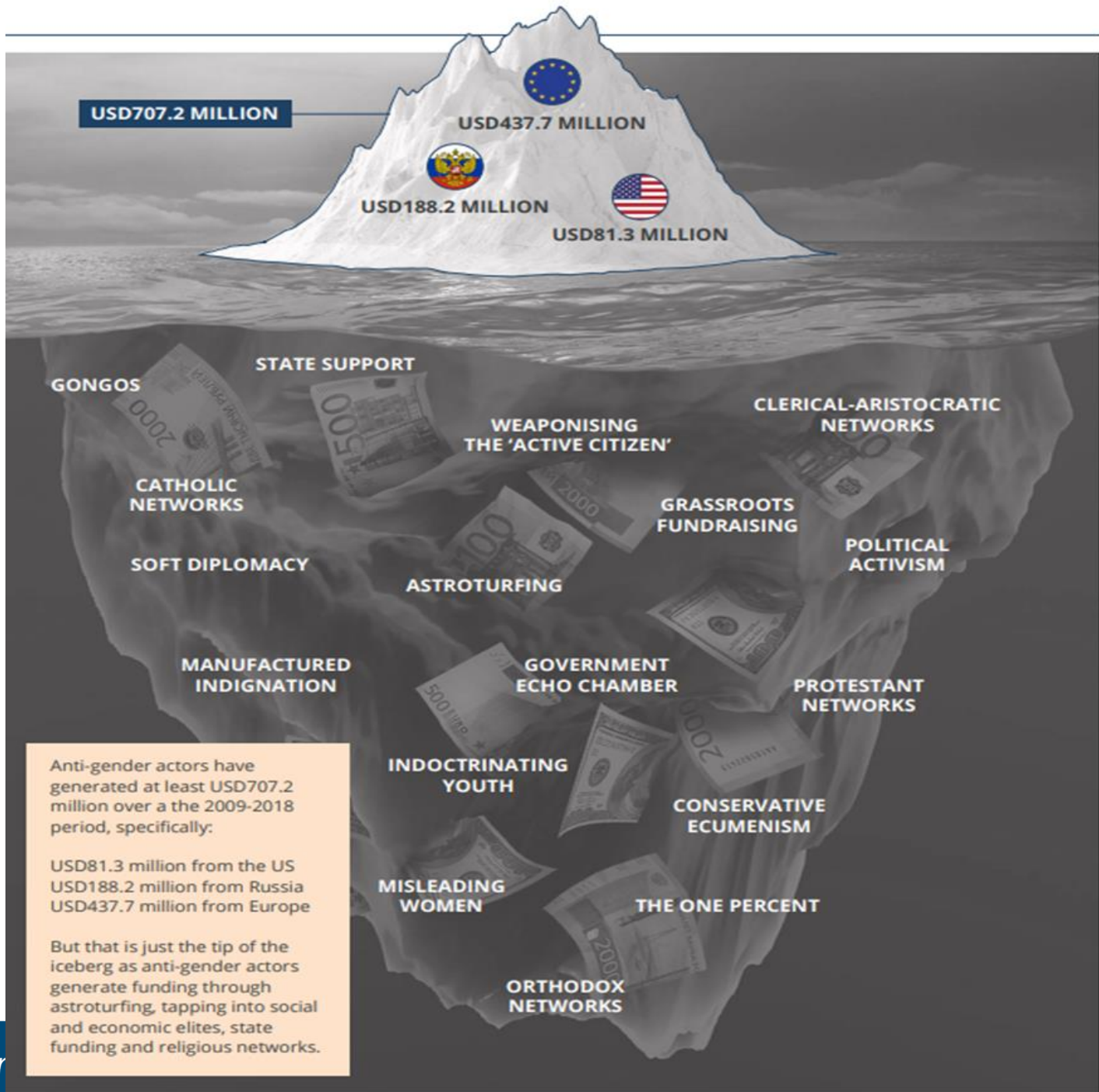
Funding

Funding

- Total: \$ 707.2 M
- From 54 NGOs, foundations, religious organisations, and political parties
- From three geographic origins :
 - USA \$81.3M (11.5%)
 - Russia \$188.2M (26.6%)
 - EU \$437.7M (66.9%)
- 4X increase over 10 years

Overall anti-gender funding in Europe
2009-18





Anti-gender actors have generated at least USD707.2 million over a the 2009-2018 period, specifically:

USD81.3 million from the US
 USD188.2 million from Russia
 USD437.7 million from Europe

But that is just the tip of the iceberg as anti-gender actors generate funding through astroturfing, tapping into social and economic elites, state funding and religious networks.

Sample of European brands linked to anti-gender funding



GEOX



MÖVENPICK
HOTELS & RESORTS

Results

Results: Agenda Europe Policy To-do List

10 page action list: long-, medium- and short-term targets:

Examples:	To prohibit	To adopt	Non-legislative actions
Marriage and family	Repeal all laws allowing divorce	Anti-sodomy laws	Defund LBGT and abortion lobbies
Contraception abortion	Prohibit sale of all pharmaceutical contraceptives	Abortion ban including in intl. law	Govt. funded pro-life abortion counselling
Equality and non-discrimination	Abolish equality legislation at EU and nat. level	Administrative burdens caused by anti-discr. law	Cost of anti-discr. Laws to nat. economy

Results

Mixed :

- Significant set-backs in some countries: Poland, Hungary
- Halted proposed/anticipated progress on key issues (IVF, equal marriage, Istanbul Convention, etc...) in some countries
- European Institutions → little impact (EU, CoE, PACE)
 - But trying : ECtHR → Ordo Iuris founder nominated a candidate for PL and cases before ECtHR
- Retrenched at national level : PL, HU
 - Using new narratives, eg. 'demography'
 - Part of 'de-democratisation' process in Europe

Concluding thoughts

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- **Anti-gender are most impactful when able to strike in ‘ambush’** → important to raise awareness
- **Anti-gender fear the light of day** → important to draw attention and place them under democratic scrutiny (funding, transparency, leadership, association/links, past positions)

Where are they now?

- Retreated from European decision-making spaces (Brussels, Strasbourg) since 2018
- Retrenched to safe national bastions : Warsaw, Budapest, Madrid, London.... Rome
- US example of Dobbs (overturning Roe V Wade) → judicial infiltration is a successful strategy
- Expanding to new horizons → Africa is new hotspot

What can we do?

1) Discover and disrobe

- Research and communications agenda

2) Disarm

- Understand and neutralize strategies

3) Dislocate

- Evict from decision-making places & influential positions

4) Demonetise

- Seek to disrupt their fundraising

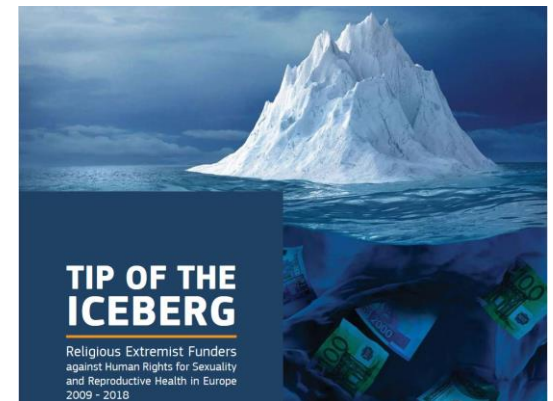
5) Defend

- Defend front-line activist
- Better legal protection for SRHR, human rights and democracy

Thank you for your attention

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