



THE ANTI-GENDER GLOBAL NORTH DESCENDS ON NAIROBI PAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Executive Summary

In May 2025, an event is scheduled to take place in Kenya that promises to elevate and protect African sovereignty and family values. However, what has been pitched as a Pan-African effort is partially underwritten by veteran anti-gender actors who are not from the region but from the Global North. From May 12 to 17, the African Christian Professionals Forum (ACPF) will host its [second Pan-African Conference on Family Values](#) in Nairobi, Kenya (hereafter referred to as the ACPF Conference). ACPF is the regional branch of its parent organization, the Nairobi-based lobbying nongovernmental (NGO) Kenya Christian Professional Forum (KCPF), which works to restrict and roll back sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) and LGBTQ+ rights.

The second Nairobi ACPF Conference is projected to be a significantly larger gathering and will include most of the original international participants as well as new, influential stakeholders, adding more visibility to this second iteration. Many participants are linked to political far-right movements and administrations, and they not only advocate on topics like abortion, LGBTQ+ rights, reproductive health care, and comprehensive sexuality education within their countries, but also through regional mechanisms, like the African Union, and in multilateral spaces like the United Nations. The broad roster of confirmed participants demonstrates the success of KCPF's extensive advocacy, campaigning, and networking efforts over the last few years.

It is important to remind advocates and policymakers that many of the ideas and programs promoted at these conferences are being fed by external actors and are not developed in consultation with a broad cadre of civil society, nor based in evidence, science, nor rights-respecting practice. The ideas emanating from ACPF's main sponsors on "sovereignty", "protecting African culture and values", "family values", and "women's and girls' health and rights" are crafted in Global North by ideologically motivated individuals and groups who often have neither health, education, development, nor human rights backgrounds, but instead long histories of supporting far right ideologies and exporting hate.

The ACPF Conference and the themes and areas of focus that emerge are crucial to watch to understand what else is being targeted, who else is at the table, and where we can expect this movement to coalesce next. This is especially relevant given the funding crisis for global health, international development, and human rights protection of historically marginalized populations. Should U.S. foreign assistance resume funding, it will likely be contingent upon ideological alignment with recipient countries around issue areas, including SRHR, abortion, and LGBTQ+ rights. ACPF, KCPF, and their allies could be primed and positioned to receive funding from the Trump administration, at the expense of the most vulnerable populations, their families, and communities.

Background

To understand the momentum that has led to an African anti-gender conference being partially supported by non-African organizations, this briefing paper examines the history and work of ACPF and KCPF and their expanding relationships and collaboration with anti-gender groups from the Global North. These details help inform how to evaluate their work, and what it means when an African NGO relies on anti-gender Western ideology to push an “African” agenda that opposes human rights, diversity, and inclusive development.

KCPF, and by extension ACPF, is not new to international collaboration and in recent years they have developed relationships with individuals who are close to the Trump administration. Four of ACPF’s main partners are from the United States: the Mormon organization [Family Watch International](#) (FWI); the evangelical organization Family Research Council; the far-right think tank the Heritage Foundation; and the anti-gender NGO [Institute for Women’s Health](#).¹ [Some are new](#) to this space, like the Institute for Women’s Health, whose president worked in the first Trump administration.² The organization’s 15 years of relationship building with U.S.-based anti-gender movements includes close collaboration in KCPF’s early years with conservative Republican members of the U.S. Congress,³ the American Center for Law and Justice,⁴ and the World Congress of Families (WCF). In May 2010, the ACLJ’s general counsel and former Trump lawyer, Jay Sekulow,⁵ announced that the organization was [donating "tens of thousands of dollars"](#) to help defeat Kenya's then-proposed constitution because it would allow “abortion on demand.”

KCPF’s director, Wahome Ngare, is an advisory committee member of the [Africa chapter](#) of the Children's Health Defense, a globally prominent anti-vaccine advocacy group.⁶ Current U.S. Secretary of Health and Human Services, Robert F. Kennedy, Jr., led the Children’s Health Defense until he stepped down as chair in January 2025 when he was nominated to the secretary position by Trump. KCPF has since grown as a player on the international anti-gender stage, rubbing shoulders with parliamentarians, convening alongside United Nations-focused organizations, and joining transnational networks. The 2025 ACPF Conference has leveraged these contacts to bring together well-known individuals, organizations, and policymakers from the Africa region, Europe (France, the Netherlands, Spain, and Poland), and the United States.

¹ All four U.S.-based organizations claim to support [national sovereignty](#), women’s and girls’ health, and family values. Yet these very same groups celebrated the Trump administration’s dismantling of US foreign assistance, including global health and other programs that supported families, women, girls, and children, and the defunding of United Nations agencies and programs. Rather than values, they have long-exported hate and regressive human rights agendas.

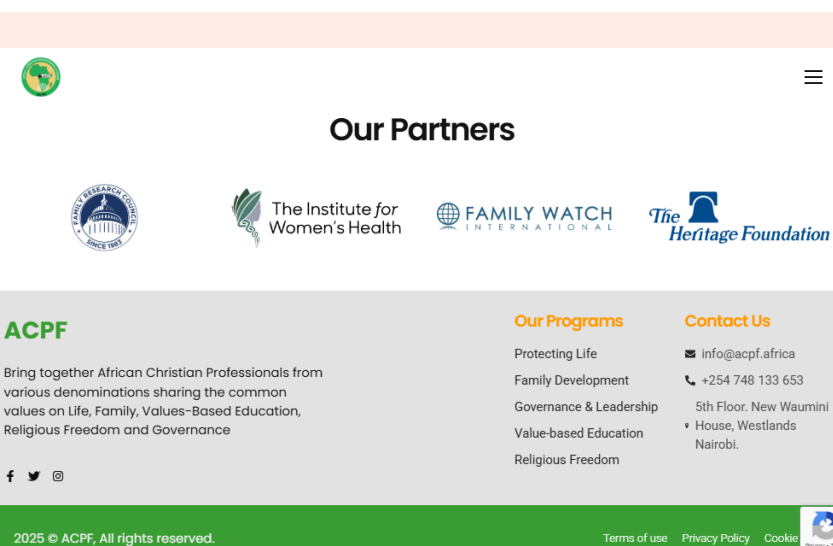
² IWH is the primary promoter of the [Geneva Consensus declaration, an ant-abortion initiative](#) of the first Trump administration. It is a non-binding document that brings together 39 countries, as of this writing, against LGBTQ+, SRHR, and multilateral systems.

³ On March 21, 2011, anti-abortion Congressman Chris [Smith spoke at a KCPF event](#) in Limuru, Kenya, where he criticized the new Kenyan Constitution for allowing abortions in cases when the health of the woman is at risk.

⁴ The American Center for Law and Justice established a Nairobi office, the East Africa Center for Law and Justice, in 2010, the same year as KCPF. Both groups were founded to respond to the new Kenyan Constitution.

⁵ Sekulow was a member of President Donald Trump’s legal team during his first Senate impeachment trial in 2020.

⁶ In [2019](#), the organization was named one of the top spreaders of anti-vaccine advertisements; it has been particularly active on social media [boosting anti-World Health Organization](#) propaganda.



ACPF's partner logos on its [main website](#), as of May 2, 2025, from left to right: Family Research Council, The Institute for Women's Health, Family Watch International, and the Heritage Foundation.

Non-African groups supporting or speaking at the ACPF Conference include the Madrid-based transnational [Political Network for Values](#); the U.S. anti-LGBTQ+ hate group Center for Family and Human Rights (C-Fam); the Dutch organization Christian Council International; the French anti-LGBTQ+ NGO *Manif Pour Tous* (Protest for All, in English), recently renamed *Syndicat de la Famille* (Union for the Family, in English), and the ultra-conservative Polish legal group Ordo Iuris Institute for Legal Culture (Ordo Iuris, for short), among others.⁷

Below we examine the history of ACPF's parent organization, KCPF, as an organizing force, its work in Kenya and growth throughout the African region, and its expanding collaboration with international groups.

Kenyan Christian Professionals Forum's Attacks Against the Constitution

The Nairobi-based [Kenya Christian Professional Forum](#) is an membership organization of individuals from legal, medical and other professions, as well as students. The organization has long been supported by influential Kenyan religious bodies and umbrella groups from various denominations. At the time of this writing, KCPF reported⁸ that it was seeking to grow its membership to 5,000 individuals by 2026. For the last decade, KCPF has been a leading force for much of the anti-SRHR and anti-LGBTQ+ initiatives in Kenya.

KCPF is primarily a legal organization that [works to advance](#) "biblical values in the society" and aims to be regarded as a constitutional resource and legitimate actor in Kenya. Yet, this position is belied by their work, which focuses on changing and removing certain rights from the constitution while also advocating against the rights of marginalized groups and vulnerable populations. It carries out its mandate through its professional base, board, and [advisory committee](#), and also via its strong ties to Kenyan policymakers, including [anti-LGBTQ+ member of parliament](#) Peter Kaluma and former MP Chrisantus Wamalwa, as well as [National Assembly Speaker](#) Moses Wetang'ula. Additionally, Senator Okiya Omtatah, a likely [2027 presidential candidate](#), [spoke](#) at an August 2024 "Leadership and Integrity" KCPF conference.

KCPF dedicates a significant amount of time to drafting anti-abortion and anti-LGBTQ+ bills and policies as well as constitutional amendments. This includes national initiatives like the 2023 anti-LGBTQ+

⁷ KCPF has also intertwined since the early 2010s with American anti-LGBTQ+ hate groups like the WCF and FWI. FWI has been affiliated with KCPF through one of its committee conveners, [Augustine Richard Kakeeto](#), FWI's Nairobi-based policy advisor. Ann Kioko, [former WCF staff](#) who is now with CitizenGO, also worked at KCPF.

⁸ KCPF annual report 2023-2024, on file with Ipas.

[Family Protection Bill](#), and the anti-abortion and anti-LGBTQ+ Linda Jamii bill that seeks to amend the Constitution.⁹ Litigation has also been a key legal advocacy strategy for KCPF. KCPF sought [an injunction](#) in the [Eric Gitari case](#) brought by the National Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission. The Gitari case challenged the Kenya NGO Coordination Board’s refusal to permit the LGBTQ+ group to apply for NGO registration under a name containing the words ‘gay’ or ‘lesbian.’

Regarding anti-SRHR legal efforts, KCPF has been involved, including as a petitioner, in a series of [cases](#). These include enjoining in a 2015 case brought by abortion advocates that sought to reinstate the [abortion standards and guidelines](#) that were withdrawn by the Ministry of Health after a 14-year-old girl died from complications of an unsafe abortion; the Marie Stopes Kenya [closure case](#) brought by KCPF and its ally CitizenGO in 2020; and the 2023 National Reproductive Health Policy case [against](#) the Ministry of Health brought by the reproductive rights advocacy group KELIN.¹⁰ The Reproductive Health Policy has been [championed by KCPF](#) while human rights advocates have argued it is unconstitutional and has harmful implications for safe abortion care, adolescent health, LGBTQ+ populations, and those seeking contraception. All these actions show how KCPF has both positioned itself as a key player in the anti-gender legal space and cemented its leadership within the Kenyan anti-abortion movement.

The African Christian Professionals Forum’s Deep Ties to the Global North

There is a thin line dividing KCPF and ACPF. [KCPF launched](#) the African Christian Professionals Forum in September 2020 “to be the premier Pan-African Platform to Protect and Promote Family Values at the continental level and beyond.” As of 2024, [ACPF reportedly](#) has 26 national chapters “spanning various African countries” and representing 2,500 professionals.

For a Pan-African effort, ACPF’s board membership [reveals extensive links](#) to U.S. anti-gender groups. In addition to its Kenyan members, the ACPF board includes:

- **Seyoum Antonios**, founder of United for Life Ethiopia and African director of FWI since 2019, regularly speaks on behalf of FWI at global events, including the [African Bar Association’s annual conferences](#) and the [FWI supported](#) African Regional Inter-Parliamentary Conferences, hosted by the Government of Uganda, which will have its third convening May 8-9, 2025.
- **Errol Naidoo**, founder of the anti-abortion research organization Family Policy Institute in South Africa, which he created after he [attended](#) a six-month training program run by the U.S.-based Family Research Council. Naidoo has also participated in C-Fam events at the United Nations, including a February 2024 [event](#).

⁹ The Linda Jamii bill seeks to limit the constitutional provisions for the right to health and specifically the indicators for abortion care. It also calls for amending an existing constitutional article on the family to impose a strict gender binary; seeks to impose the death penalty for some same-sex conduct; and restricts the ratification of international treaties such as the Maputo Protocol, which has provisions on access to abortion.

¹⁰ The [National Reproductive Health Policy](#) of 2022-2032 was launched on July 5, 2022. The policy’s launch was [boycotted by civil society organizations](#) working in women’s health and human rights in response to the government’s lack of transparency and failure to engage with them and with professional medical associations.

KCPF was the national host for the [World Congress of Families](#) regional gathering in Kenya in [2018](#). The WCF is a rightwing initiative that started in 1997 with the aim of convening international like-minded allies on a semi-regular basis to network and promote a “pro-family” agenda that advances the rights of heteronormative families by denying rights to marginalized populations like women, girls and LGBTQ+ people.

KCPF’s national and global influence [was especially visible](#) in 2019 on the sidelines of the 25th anniversary of the UN International Conference on Population and Development that took place in Nairobi. There, KCPF [brought together](#) its national allies and a greater swathe of global groups. This gathering for a “prolife and family friendly” audience was sponsored by Family Watch International, C-Fam, Political Network for Values, and CitizenGO, among others, and, for the first time, the Polish anti-gender legal organization Ordo Iuris.

The inaugural ACPF [Conference](#) that took place in Nairobi in 2023 [was also sponsored](#) by FWI, with the additional Global North participation of the Dutch organization Christian Council International (CCI), and the global legal anti-gender powerhouse Alliance Defending Freedom. While some of the focus was on ACPF’s strategy, the conference [featured](#) these international organizations to provide technical assistance. For example, CCI reported it was [involved](#) to “create further awareness among the [ACPF] country coordinators about the dangerous provisions in the [EU-ACP Agreement](#)”—the economic agreement between the European Union (EU) and its partners among African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) nations, a long-time obsession of CCI and FWI, as well [as KCPF](#), who are close partners.

CCI and Alliance Defending Freedom have broad ambitions to influence policy and human rights in the Africa region; both have been attempting to gain [observer status](#) at the African Union. The African Union is a frequent target for these groups who see the multilateral agency as a forum for advancing human rights that are not aligned with their regressive world vision. In March 2025, at a side event at the UN Commission on the Status of Women, FWI and CCI telegraphed their displeasure with the [African Union Convention on Ending Violence Against Women and Girls](#), which was passed by consensus by the African Union Heads of State and Government at their [38th Ordinary session](#) in February 2025. These non-African groups, [including C-Fam](#), have taken to maligning the Convention—which was developed and approved by African governments—by claiming it is part of a Western-imposed agenda, calling it the “African ‘Istanbul’ Convention”.



Sharon Slater, executive director of FWI, presented on the African Union Convention on Ending Violence against Women and Girls on March 12, 2025 at a C-Fam parallel [anti-gender conference](#) during the 69th UN Commission on the Status of Women. Photo on file with Ipas.

2025: Anti-Gender Organizing in East Africa

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Confirmed ACPF Conference speakers include members of the KCPF and ACPF boards, who represent national and international anti-gender organizations, including notable Kenyan anti-LGBTQ+ and anti-abortion advocates:

- **Aketch Aimba** is the founder and director of Pearls and Treasures Trust Kenya, a KCPF partner and anti-abortion organization that preaches purity, healing and restoration. The organization promotes a “post abortion recovery program” and “crisis pregnancy intervention and counselling.”
- **Anne Mbugua** is the chairperson of ACPF and partner at Musyimi and Company Advocates. She has been at the forefront of both ACPF as chairperson and KCPF as the chairperson of the advisory board.
- **David Oginde** is the current chairperson of the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission, former bishop of Christ is the Answer Ministries and a renowned anti-LGBTQ+ crusader.

Additionally, international attendees scheduled to appear at the ACPF Conference include:

- **Ricky Chelette**, executive director of the Texas-based Living Hope Ministries and the Institute of Biblical Sexuality, an [anti-LGBTQ+ advocate](#) and promoter of the harmful practice of conversion therapy.
- **Thomas Jacobson** of the Global Life Campaign, which is dedicated to “ending abortion worldwide.” Jacobson publishes the annual “Abortion Worldwide Report” that seeks to debunk data on abortion; he spoke at the [2019 Political Network for Values summit](#) alongside FWI and WCF. The organization is a [close ally](#) of the Family Research Council.
- **Jerzy Kwasniewski** is President of Ordo Iuris and [chairman of its university](#), the Collegium Intermarium. He and his team, including **Rafal Dorosinski**, another ACPF speaker, seek to [implement](#) fundamentalist Catholic values and [were responsible](#) for the “LGBT-free zones” in Poland.
- **Bettina Roska**, legal officer of Alliance Defending Freedom who runs the organization’s work with advocates and diplomats, is particularly focused against comprehensive sexuality education, and was a speaker at the 2023 ACPF conference.

Remaining Vigilant in the Face of Foreign-Influenced, Anti-Gender Movements

The May 2025 ACPF gathering raises several red flags for human rights advocates. Given the close connections of several participants with the second Trump administration, which is wreaking global havoc, this high-level networking of anti-gender actors could impact:

- ✘ **The status of current legal initiatives and existing laws in Kenya**, including the “Kaluma Bill,” threatening abortion and wider SRHR access and LGBTQ+ rights, as well as constitutional reform;
- ✘ **Increasing coordination of attacks against the African Union**, and specifically the recent 2025 Convention on Eliminating Violence against Women and Girls, which FWI has signaled as its next advocacy target;
- ✘ **Increased coordination between anti-gender African NGOs and global groups**, like CCI and Alliance Defending Freedom, both of which have sought observer status at the African Union;
- ✘ **Strengthening ties between the policymakers at the Kenyan ACPF event and other regional initiatives**, particularly the Ugandan Inter-Parliamentary Conference;
- ✘ **Reduced funding for critical reproductive health care services** including safe abortion care by African governments.
- ✘ **Expanding the implementation of the Geneva Consensus Declaration** given ACPF’s partnership with the Institute for Women’s Health and the latter’s attempts to implement Protego in Kenya following the formalization of memorandums of understanding in Uganda and Burundi;
- ✘ **Organizing against human rights systems** that will have repercussions for UN spaces, particularly as several countries have recently abandoned UN agencies and conventions.

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The ACPF Conference and the themes and areas of focus that emerge are crucial to watch in order to understand what else is being targeted, who else is at the table, and where we can expect this movement to coalesce next. This is especially relevant given the funding crisis for global health, international development, and human rights protection of historically marginalized populations. Should U.S. foreign assistance resume funding, it will likely be contingent upon ideological alignment with recipient countries around issue areas, including SRHR, abortion, and LGBTQ+ rights. ACPF, KCPF, and their allies could be primed and positioned to receive funding from the Trump administration, at the expense of the most vulnerable populations, their families, and communities.

Who's Who: Organizations Attaching Logos to the ACPF Conference 2025

Sponsor	Summary of Relationship to KCPF/ACPF	Type of Entity
Christian Council International	A 2023 ACPF conference presenter and linked to KCPF/ACPF through FWI, which also states it was a sponsor of the second Uganda Inter-Parliamentary Conference attended by Ngare, Kakeeto, and others linked to ACPF and KCPF.	Dutch-American anti-abortion and anti-LGBTQ+ group focused on multilateral and regional human rights systems.
Casablanca Declaration	The Declaration has a relationship through the African Bar Association, of which KCPF's Kanjama is a member. The African Bar Association is also linked to Family Watch International and Foundation for African Cultural Heritage as initial sponsors of the first Uganda Inter-Parliamentary Conference.	Anti-surrogacy initiative started in 2023, supported by the Holy See, now based in France.
Center for Family and Human Rights	Anti-gender partner of KCPF and has been part of other KCPF meetings, close links to Family Watch International, the World Congress of Families, Heritage Foundation, and others.	U.S. anti-LGBTQ+ and anti-abortion designated hate group , focused on the United Nations.
CitizenGO	Anti-gender advocacy partner in Kenya with a history with KCPF through staff (Ann Kioko) and the World Congress of Families.	European anti-gender group based in Madrid.
Evangelical Assembly of Kenya	KCPF partner in Kenya.	Kenyan national umbrella organization of churches.
Family Policy Institute	Represented on the ACPF Board of Directors and linked to U.S. group Family Research Council.	South African anti-abortion group.
Family Research Council	Connected to the ACPF through the Family Policy Institute.	U.S. anti-abortion designated hate group that publishes research.
Family Watch International	Long-time KCPF partner linked through multiple initiatives.	U.S. Mormon anti-gender designated hate group .
Foundation for African Cultural Heritage	Represented on the ACPF Board of Directors and linked through World Congress of Families and to Family Watch International and the African Bar Association as initial sponsors of the first African Regional Inter-Parliamentary Conference in Uganda, among other initiatives regionally.	Anti-gender Nigerian group.
Kenya Conference of Catholic Bishops	KCPF partner in Kenya with KCPF board representation.	Assembly of Catholic bishops in Kenya.
La Manif Pour Tous	New to the space.	French anti-LGBTQ+ NGO, recently renamed <i>Syndicat de la Famille</i> .
National Council of Churches Kenya	KCPF partner in Kenya.	Protestant forum for churches and organizations in Kenya.
Ordo Iuris	KCPF partners since 2019 and the Nairobi Summit.	Polish Catholic anti-gender legal and policy thinktank.
Political Network for Values	Anti-gender partner for KCPF, largely for anti-United Nations initiatives and through links to a former Kenyan Member of Parliament, Chrisantus Wamalwa, as well as participation in earlier KCPF events. The network's advisory board and its board of directors also has a number of overlaps with KCPF and ACPF affiliates and key partners.	Global anti-gender platform for civil society and policymakers, historically focused on Latin America and Europe.
Strathmore University	Strathmore University is linked to KCPF through its advisory board.	Chartered Kenyan university founded by Opus Dei, an institution of the Catholic Church.

**The Institute for Women's Health and the Heritage Foundation have, as of May 2, 2025, not provided their logos.*