



Convergence of interests, Resurgence of Oppression:

2023 Patterns of attacks!

Introduction.

Humans are creatures of habit – We tend to repeat patterns or strategies that have worked before. In his report, ‘Colonizing African Values - How the U.S Christian Right Is Transforming Sexual Politics in Africa’ Reverend Kapya Kaoma investigated in 2012 the exact same groups that are making waves in Africa today, more than a decade later. His analysis back then featured Family Watch International (FWI), Human Life International (HLI) and the American Centre for Law and Justice (ACLJ) as key actors igniting, fueling, and fanning the flames of cultural wars backed by prominent African campaigners and political leaders. Little has changed since this early reading of the tea leaves. Interestingly, Sharon Slater’s budget and status in Africa has exponentially grown and is no longer the ‘marginal status and a small budget’ that Kapya first described.

While Kapya’s initial work focused on Conservative Christians from the Roman Catholic, Mormons, and right-leaning Evangelicals, today we see an interesting feature of the Muslim community joining the hate bandwagon. There is a convergence of interest between unusual groups that do not often see eye to eye. There is also a return of missionaries of hate to Africa more prominently this year, with a resurgence of LGBTQ persecution in Ghana, Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia, Nigeria and Zambia with new faces being reinforced by the old actors. In Uganda, Pastor Martin Ssempe and Stephen Langa while still very actively engaged, have also paved way for Hon Members of Parliament such as Anita Among and Lucy Akello. In Kenya, former champions of morality Ezekiel Mutua and Christianus Wamalwa paved way for new faces, Hon MPs Peter Kaluma and Mohammed Ali to lead the persecution. Pastor Zac Kawalala of Malawi is now reinforced by a new face, Hon Ashems Songwe in Parliament. This report thus reaffirms the adage that the more things change, the more they remain the same.

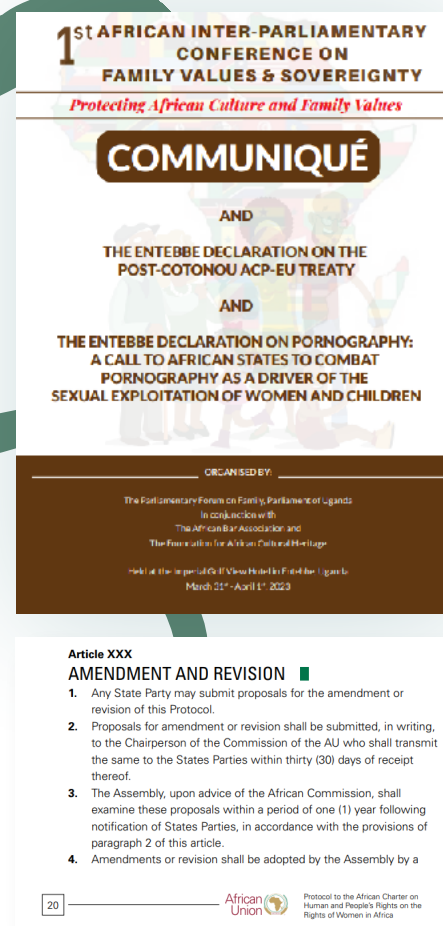
The challenge to us therefore is, should we stick to the strategies recommended a decade ago or should we explore new wine skins? Here are the patterns of attack that stood out in East Africa (Kenya and Uganda) as we tracked and documented anti-gender activity in 2023, as well as the signals to anticipate, and pre-emptively counter in 2024.



1. A coordinated continental assault.

The policy target has expanded beyond national laws and policies to regional Treaties. While in the past, human rights defenders would run to regional treaties as a defense and appeal for national-level advocacy, these regional instruments are now under threat. After inaugurating the Entebbe Declaration in April 2023, anti-gender groups have been aggressively mobilizing to dismantle (and afterwards replace) regional treaties like the Maputo Protocol, the African Caribbean Pacific -EU Treaty, and the Eastern and Southern Africa ESA Commitment on Comprehensive Sexuality Education.

Signal: Anticipate these sets of attacks: A proposed draft African Charter on Family Values at the AU giving life to Article 18 of the African Charter on Human & People's Rights. Alternatively, anticipate a testing of Article XXX of the Maputo protocol for amendments to the Charter to remove wording supportive of SRHR particularly Article 14. There are also planned 'de-signing' campaigns to get as many African countries off the ACP-EU treaty.



2. Hijacking key human rights days' commemorations and language.

Anti-gender actors hijacked the UN International Day of Families with messages about “defending the family” that had nothing to do with the original vision of the commemoration. This was also seen in the celebration of Katiba (Constitution) Day in Kenya, the elimination of violence against Women day by CitizenGO, and the celebration of the 75th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the Political Network for Values (PNfV). They have also started their own annual commemorations of key anti-rights agreements, such as the Geneva Consensus Declaration (GCD) celebrated annually in October.

Signal: Anticipate in 2024 a commemoration of the first anniversary of the Entebbe Declaration, accompanied by a more concrete “way forward” towards a continental agreement on Family Values, with more explicit anti-gender narratives during key UN days.



3. Regional and continental coalitions and collaborations.

Their motto this year was 'go big or go home'. The Kenya Christians Professionals Forum (KCPF) is morphing into a larger regional monster known as the Africa Christians Professionals Forum (ACPF) with membership in 25 African countries and counting. Equally, Family Watch International's Empowered Youth Coalition describes itself as a regional youth group and has recruited across Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. While informal collaborations have existed in the past, there is now more intentionality and formalization of coalitions in preparation for greater exploits ahead.

Signal: Anticipate regional collaborations in anti-abortion and anti-LGBTQ campaigns that were previously only national. Expect to see more event posters with regional representation and logos from Malawi, Ghana, Nigeria, Zambia, Kenya, South Africa, Uganda and Ethiopia.



The poster for the ACPF Annual Conference 2023 features a green and yellow color scheme. At the top left is the ACPF logo, which includes a map of Africa and the text 'AFRICA CHRISTIANS PROFESSIONALS FORUM'. To the right of the logo, a green box displays the dates '28-NOV 29 2023'. Below the logo, the text 'ACPF ANNUAL CONFERENCE' is written in large, bold, yellow and green letters. To the right of this text, a yellow box indicates the schedule: 'TUE - WED 3:00PM - 4:00PM DAILY'. The central part of the poster displays eight portraits of key participants, arranged in two rows of four. Each portrait is accompanied by the name and title of the individual. The top row includes the Moderator, Confucious Joseph Daniel Tombé, and Keynote Speaker, Hon. Ashens Christopher Songwe MP. The bottom row includes Errol Naidoo, Mrs. Ann Mbugua, Hon. Samuel Nartey George, and Mr. Henk Jan van Schothorst. At the bottom of the poster, the theme 'THEME: RE-IMAGINING THE AFRICA WE WANT' is displayed in bold yellow letters. Below the theme, a green box contains the venue 'VENUE: ZOOM' and the Zoom meeting details: 'ZOOM: Meeting ID: 813 0959 5421 Passcode: 449261'. At the very bottom, a green box provides contact information: 'For More Information: (WhatsApp) +254 748 133 653 Email: info@acpf.africa'. A small URL 'https://acpf.africa' is also present in the bottom left corner.

ACPF ANNUAL CONFERENCE

28-NOV 29 2023

TUE - WED 3:00PM - 4:00PM DAILY

Moderator
CONFUCIOUS JOSEPH DANIEL TOMBE
SENIOR JOURNALIST

Keynote Speaker
HON. ASHENS CHRISTOPHER, SONGWE MP
HEAD OF MALAWIAN DELEGATION TO ACPF-EU JPA

SHARON SLATER
FAMILY WATCH INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

ERROL NAIDOO
FOUNDER & EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FAMILY POLICY INSTITUTE
SOUTH AFRICA

MRS. ANN MBUGUA
AFRICA CHRISTIAN PROFESSIONALS FORUM CHAIRPERSON

HON. SAMUEL NARTEY GEORGE
MP, NINGO - PRAMPRAM CONSTITUENCY,
PARLIAMENT OF GHANA

MR. HENK JAN VAN SCHOOTHORST
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
CHRISTIAN COUNCIL INTERNATIONAL

THEME: RE-IMAGINING THE AFRICA WE WANT

VENUE: ZOOM ZOOM: Meeting ID: 813 0959 5421 Passcode: 449261

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(WhatsApp) +254 748 133 653
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4. Missionaries of hate are back! Renewed influx of Global North anti-rights “experts”.

They are back like COVID never happened! In 2023 we saw the importation of more global north speakers veiled as “experts” in African anti-gender forums. These included Henk Jan van Schothorst of Christian Council International (CCI), Valerie Huber of Institute for Women's Health (IWH), Bettina Roska of ADF International, Dr Callum Miller of Oxford University, and Sharon Slater of Family Watch International, just to name a few. In 2023, Sharon Slater personally attended events in Uganda, Malawi, and Nigeria in addition to livestreamed appearances in even more African countries.

Signal: Anticipate Africa to host more Global North “guests” and “technical experts” to share experience and expertise on engaging regional and international human rights instruments, engaging legislatures, and lobbying using national prayer breakfasts in collaboration with government actors.



ACPF REGIONAL CONFERENCE




BETTINA ROSKA
Advocacy Fellow, United Nations,
at ADF International

HENK JAN VAN SCHOTHORST
President of the board of directors
of the Dutch and the US entity

THURSDAY 11TH MAY 2023

8:00AM - 5:00PM

VENUE : EMORY HOTEL, NAIROBI

CHARGES KSH 3,500

M-PESA PAYBILL 750407 ACCOUNT NAME: FAMILY

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5. The normalization of Pseudo Research.

The trend that KCPF begun in 2020 with their Ipsos survey (on the attitudes of Kenyans towards abortion and homosexuality) is slowly taking root. The Catholic University in Kenya recently published a dubious study on the attitudes of Kenyans towards the formation of LGBTQ associations. Each of these studies is problematic. Beyond lack of ethical approvals, their sample sizes are often non-representative. The aim of such research is to peddle propaganda by cloaking it with false expertise and spreading conspiracy theories with disputed evidence. This trend is also bolstered by bold but uncorroborated claims of evidence such as: Abortion causes mental health problems, or CSE encourages children to have sex, as well as numerous false anti-vaccine claims.

Signal: Anticipate a surge of opinion polls and national surveys on attitudes towards sex education and homosexuality, as well as anti-vaccine pseudo-research particularly on Tetanus and HPV with a heavy emphasis on questioning the motives of progressive funders of vaccines (the population control agenda). Expect also to see a trend on “positive psychology” and psychological pseudoscience being used in public discourses on LGBTQ issues.



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Kenyans Attitude towards Formation of LGBTQ Association

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ABSTRACT

The LGBTQ community had a victory as the Kenyan Supreme Court ruled in their favor for the right to form association. This study sought to investigate the attitudes of Kenyan towards formation of LGBTQ association and the possible sociocultural effects. A convergent parallel design was adopted in this study. One hundred and sixty-eight Kenyans participated in the quantitative strand of the study through voluntary sampling while six other Kenyans participated in the face-to-face interview through purposive sampling. Quantitative data was analyzed descriptively while the qualitative data was analyzed through narrative and thematic analysis. The findings revealed that although, Kenyans have varied views on the prevalence of LGBTQ in Kenya, the demographic information showed that 1 in 10 Kenyans in the study identified having a same-sex attraction. Kenyans showed both positive and negative attitudes towards the formation of LGBTQ association with majority showing negative attitude. It was also revealed that Kenyans think formation of LGBTQ will have negative effects of the Kenyans sociocultural-religious environment.

Keywords: LGBTQ, Gay, Lesbian, Non-binary, Culture, LGBTQ Legalization, LGBTQ Association



6. Unholy alliances with influential sinners.

In 2023 we also saw multiple marriages of convenience between religious anti-rights actors and persons of questionable character –alliances clearly driven by a common “enemy” rather than common values. This was prominently witnessed in how the groups rode on the popularity of legislators with questionable characters if they were willing to support the anti-gender legislation. Hon. Peter Kaluma, a divorcee with child maintenance cases in court is ironically the “family values” and “child protection” champion and gun for hire for Catholic groups in Kenya. Uganda National Assembly Speaker Anita Among is involved in multiple corruptions scandals but remains the hero of the LGBTQ persecution among religious groups in Uganda.



MP Peter Kaluma ordered to clear Sh665,500 fee balance for his child

Wednesday, August 02, 2023



Homa Bay Town MP Peter Kaluma.

File | Nation Media Group

Signal: In countries that will be going into national elections in 2024, anticipate endorsements by religious leaders of candidates who claim to promote “family values” even when the moral and ethical track records of those candidates defy religious teaching. Expect the ends (criminalizing abortion and the LGBTQ+ community) to justify any means or partnerships available. Do not count on ideological consistency from entities like the Inter-religious council of Uganda or the Kenya Conference of Catholic Bishops.



7. Guardians of Pan-African spaces from AU to EALA.

No longer content with critiquing and opposing key regional and international human rights spaces, the anti-gender groups in 2023 displayed a concerted effort to take over those spaces and reframe their missions. They have infiltrated institutions advancing democracy such as African Union. The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) is now packed with commissioners who are outrightly anti-human rights. The East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) has also become inundated with Parliamentarians that are explicitly anti-gender. Similarly, the Africa Bar Association has become sidetracked by anti-rights leaders from its designated role as a federation of national legal associations and facilitating rule of law amongst represented members' states. It has become a facilitator and legitimizer of anti-rights groups as seen in its sponsorship and convening of the infamous Entebbe Inter-Parliamentary Conference on Family Values.



President of the African Bar Association Mr. Hannibal Uwaifo (second from left) at the 1st African Inter- Parliamentary Conference on African Sovereignty, Culture and Family Values in Entebbe, Uganda.


Signal: There is a rising infiltration of regional spaces that advance rule of law, climate justice, Pan-Africanism, youth affairs etc. Anticipate attempts to take over key national and regional spaces that have traditionally been associated with promoting justice, democracy, and the rule of law. This will also extend to climate justice, spaces. The values of the people representing these organizations should therefore be closely scrutinized.



8. Clamour for strategic government appointments.

They are no longer satisfied with influencing government from the outside and are keen on becoming the government. This year saw KCPF chairperson Charles Kanjama appointed in the government taskforce to review legal and regulatory frameworks governing religious organizations in Kenya. Anti-abortion crusader Joy Mdivo Masinde is now the Chairperson of Kenya Power and Lighting Company (KPLC). Former CITAM Bishop David Oginde chairs the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC). This insider status and proximity has significantly strengthened their influence on key anti-gender policies.

Signal: Whereas we were accustomed to seeing technocrats appointed to key government ministries and offices (especially in Kenya), anticipate seeing more political appointments that prioritize personal relationships over professional qualifications. Anti-rights players will take advantage of this and seek more appointments in ministries and state departments where they can promote retrogressive policies while clawing back on progressive gains made in the past.



KCPF
Kenya Christian Professionals Forum

Congratulations
DR. DAVID OGINDE
on your appointment as the
EACC Chairperson

Kenya Power
PUBLIC NOTICE
**APPOINTMENT OF THE CHAIRMAN
OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS**

The Board of Directors of The Kenya Power and Lighting Company PLC has appointed Joy Brenda Masinde as the Chairman.

She holds a Bachelor of Laws degree from the University of Nairobi and is currently undertaking a Masters of Arts in Leadership from the International Leadership University.

Ms. Masinde is an advocate of the High Court of Kenya of 20 years standing and is a member of the Law Society of Kenya (LSK). Previously, she served as a Council Member of the LSK, Nairobi Branch.

She is the Executive Director of the East Africa Centre for Law and Justice (EACLJ), a position she has held for the last 12 years. Ms. Masinde has over 20 years' of experience in civil society and previously served the country as a magistrate.

Ms. Masinde was elected to the Board alongside six other Directors during the Company's Annual General Meeting that was held on Friday, 16th December 2022. Other Directors elected to the Board are: The Cabinet Secretary for National Treasury and Economic Planning; the Principal Secretary, Ministry of Energy and Petroleum, State Department for Energy; Dr. Duncan Ojwang; Eng. Albert Mugo; Logan Christi and Veska Kangogo.

Joy Brenda Masinde

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9. Proximity to power: Courtesy calls with government departments.

They don't just contact government agencies and officers when actively advocating for specific law and policy changes, they continually make courtesy calls and public shows of support to key officials. The KCPF in October 2023 paid a courtesy call to the Speaker of the National Assembly to introduce their plans for a proposed constitutional referendum and “seek his guidance”. Earlier in the year, the KCPF also hosted a few Catholic MPs from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) who later met with Speaker Moses Wetangula for a “learning mission” on how to “fight the LGBTQ agenda.” The KCPF also met with Social Protection Cabinet Secretary Florence Bore shortly before the Cabinet approved the passage of the National Policy on Family Promotion and Protection!

In April 2023, Uganda President Yoweri Museveni and First Lady Janet Museveni hosted the Family Watch International team led by Sharon Slater who warned the president against the “dangers” of Comprehensive Sexuality Education, LGBTQI rights and the “trap” of international treaties with SRHR clauses.

Signal: Anticipate public shows of support by anti-rights actors towards public officials on seemingly “harmless” issues. Monitor similar signs of support to such public officials on the social media pages of anti-rights actors. This information will aid in correlating possible future attacks on policies relevant to these officials.



10:17 AM · Apr 4, 2023 · 50.1K Views



10. Convergence of Interests: Collaboration with Muslims.

While the Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims (SUPKEM) has previously penned joint letters with Kenya Conference of Catholic Bishops (KCCB) or with the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK), this is the first time we are seeing active collaboration between anti-rights group CitizenGO and Muslims in executing anti-LGBTQ marches.

Similarly, in Uganda, in the days leading up to the passage of the Anti-homosexuality Act, we saw a collusion between the Christian religious right and Muslim clerics in their denouncing and fueling of homophobia resulting in moral panic and increased public agitation for the draconian law. And in the 2023 Transatlantic Summit by the Political Network for Values, Sharon Slater named the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) as a key ally in the anti-LGBTQ crusade and celebrated a Muslim fatwa against the recently signed ACP-EU Treaty. FWI has also been actively engaging with OIC when the two organizations signed a memorandum of understanding in Saudi Arabia.



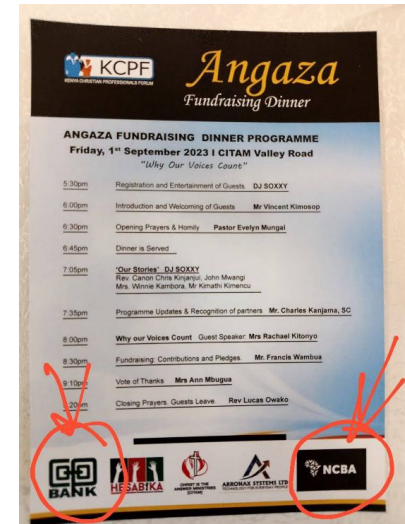
Signal: Anticipate a conflation of “African values” with the more conservative elements of religion, irrespective of denominational differences. Where opposition to SRHR was largely led by catholic coalitions, expect to see more collaborations across different Christian denominations, and between Christians and Muslims. This will be complemented with a toning down of the more excluding aspects of religious teaching as anti-rights spokespersons opt for language that does not highlight religious difference. Countries that are heading into elections will also see politicians taking advantage of these holy alliances.



11. Business unusual: The corporate connection and concealing REAL funding sources.

They were keen to partner with the private sector and seek corporate sponsorships for key convenings in 2023. We have in past years noted collaborations between KCPF and Safaricom Ltd as well as Cooperative Bank. In 2023, we also noted that NCBA bank sponsored a KCPF fundraiser, while during the Katiba Day (Constitution Day) celebrations, they collaborated with the Marketing Society of Kenya and the Institute of Certified Secretaries. This strategy provides a veneer of legitimacy to their causes and the false perception of local financing as opposed to the more suspicious Global North support. This is a dangerous trend because most corporates have a liberal Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) budget that can easily be assigned to sponsoring a steady wave of anti-rights with little to no fundraising effort from opposition. There is also less values-based due diligence from the private sector, a gap that anti-rights groups are taking advantage of.

Signal: Anticipate more concealing of private sector partnerships and sources of support, even as the anti-gender groups secure more corporate sponsorships from the sector. This will be, in part, a reaction to the growing criticism of these partnerships and pushback from human rights defenders. The concealing of partnerships will also be a strategy for guaranteeing their corporate partners deniability in case of any negative publicity.



12. Blowing up the numbers and the illusion of GRANDIOSE support.

While civil society struggles to pack letters with logos and report actual participation numbers in campaigns, the anti-rights groups do not have these restrictions – They constantly create the illusion of size and might and use this to their advantage! They have strategically photographed poorly attended Marches for Life and reported these as huge crowds with no pushback. Webinars and fundraisers are equally poorly attended despite elaborate celebrations of attendance afterwards. They have also perfected the art of using populist titles to create the illusion of public support, such as labeling their marches as “Kenyans marching” instead of the less intimidating organizational affiliations. This affects the psyche of CSOs and government who falsely believe that such campaigns and events command huge support.



Members of the Kenya Christians Professionals Forum (KCPF) chairperson during a “national” launch of their report on “The State of Life, Family and Faith in Kenya” in November 2023

Signal: Alongside names that suggest regional agreement and continent-wide support (like Africa Christians Professionals Forum), anticipate similar claims to mainstream support for many anti-rights causes and campaigns in 2024. Similar disinformation strategies will also be used to add false legitimacy to petitions and open letters to key government officials and news stories.



13. A new preference for their own sanctuaries.

In the past, anti-rights groups have held many of their meetings, events, and conferences in typical public spaces such as hotels and conference venues accessible to the public. However, in 2023, we noted a shift towards spaces more associated with respective religious associations. Apart from public marches, almost all the major KCPF meetings and conferences in 2023 were held in church venues. This year, KCPF hosted conferences at religious institutions Catholic University and Daystar University, hosted their annual fundraising gala at CITAM church, and launched their report on the State of Life and Family at All Saints Cathedral. The same pattern is seen in their retreat from pushing media narratives from mainstream platforms and a preference for religious publications such as church owned TV and radio stations, and Catholic platforms like the ACI Africa news website. The Kenyan Catholic MPs also have a safe island in parliament where they can discuss anti-rights strategies beyond the eyes and ears of other parliamentarians.



Signal: Anticipate news of anti-rights activities and achievements to be published in religious media and other privately owned but sympathetic platforms. This will also be complemented with invitation/appearances of key government stakeholders as chief guests into spaces where anti-rights groups can control and ring-fence.



Recommendations for consideration in 2024:



1. **Funding needs to be flexible to cater for abrupt attacks.** Allocate a budget line that allows you to pre-emptively and promptly litigate, engage news media, protest publicly, work with digital campaigners or even attend out-of-town Ministry meetings etc.



2. There are at least 70 countries including SA, Rwanda, Botswana, Malawi and USA that will be going into **elections in 2024**. A lot is at stake if a Republican president takes up leadership in the US. It means revival of the Global Gag Rule, re-commitment to Geneva Consensus Declaration, trade agreements with no human rights considerations and a myriad of other budget cuts. Anticipate the worst and begin working backwards of what it means to have an anti-rights presidents ruling across different countries globally.



3. More groups need to **publish their research beyond reliance on Guttmacher, Lancet and APHRC**. Equally, advocates should cite more studies beyond the “usual suspects” that have become familiar targets of anti-rights attacks. We also urge local communities to do their on-ground studies and publish stories that show the impact of these issues beyond abstract arguments by opposition groups.



4. **Keep an eye out for and call out morality clauses** inserted in all types of laws be it about refugees, education, penal code, health etc. It is no longer just criminalization and regulation of SRHR but expansion to other thematic issues.

Recommendations for consideration in 2024:



5. Who is your president sleeping with? Russia, China, Saudi Arabia? **The role of geopolitics is increasingly becoming evident in Africa.** There is a need to track the trade agreements our African states are entering and the clauses therein that could favor (or hinder) our work. Where Presidents are after trade deals, use an economic approach to complement the heart-wired approach we have always used in shifting narratives.



6. **Due diligence and smart business** - Know who you are granting, sub-granting and doing business with. It is no longer acceptable for entities to collaborate without interrogating the values of their partners. The 2023 report by the Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy (Progressive cash for the anti-LGBTQI backlash) shows that most funders are supporting both ends of the divide. Equally, many CSOs support and partner with corporates that actively oppose their values.



7. **Promote trans-national and trans-regional solidarity.** It is no longer enough to restrict advocacy activities to individual CSOs or formal national coalitions (often funded as a coalition), 2024 will require a regional and continental show of strength and agreement. Our defense of existing regional human rights instruments will require nothing short of this show of solidarity.

