

RIGHTS AT RISK

Building resilience
against the anti-gender
movement



Introduction

Rights at risk: Building resilience against the anti-gender movement

Anti-gender and anti-rights sentiments are gaining ground around the world. Hard-won progress on gender equality, women's rights and LGBTQIA+ rights are under threat, including in Europe and the Netherlands. Yet awareness of the strategies and impact of the anti-gender movement remains dangerously low.

On 3 October 2025, WO=MEN Dutch Gender Platform gathered over 110 policymakers, parliamentarians, researchers, (inter)national experts and civil society representatives in The Hague to learn about the tactics of anti-gender and anti-rights movement, and to build collective strategies and resilience not only to hold the line on gender justice, but to keep pushing it forward.

Colophon

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Rights At Risk is a collaboration between WO=MEN, Our Voices Our Futures & Alliantie Politica.

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1. The rise of the anti-gender movement worldwide

1.1 Strategic, transnational and very well-resourced

The conference kicked off with a broad examination of the anti-gender movement, the key actors and how it functions, as well as the dynamics to look out for, including in the European Union (EU) and the Netherlands. The current anti-gender movement has its roots in the mid-1990s, a time of major progress for gender equality. Ultra-conservative Catholic thinkers were opposed to the United Nations (UN) Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, and they considered both to be a defeat. In response, they invented the concept of 'gender ideology', with feminists as its protagonists. Since then, the concept has been picked up by other religious groups, civil society groups (e.g. pro-life groups), and political parties (e.g. in Poland, Hungary, the United States, Turkey).

The movement was described as strategic, transnational, active at multiple levels (local to global), and very well-resourced. In the past decade, their efforts to attack gender equality, LGBTQIA+ rights, sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR), comprehensive sexuality education, and children's rights among other issues, have intensified. The anti-gender movement opposes the very concept of gender-based violence. Its ideology intersects with opposition to vaccines, as well as climate change denialism.¹ The anti-gender movement works across borders and levels (from local to national to

global). For example, actors from the United States (US) have been involved in pushing anti-rights/anti-gender laws in African countries. The movement is also very active at the UN. In March 2025, they were successful at removing SRHR language from the political declaration of the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW).²

1.2 Skilled use of language and narratives

The anti-gender movement uses a variety of narratives depending on the context. They refer to themselves as 'pro-family', by which they mean exclusively the nuclear, heterosexual, patriarchal model of family.³ They insist on a binary definition of gender and use the language of religious freedom, parental rights, protection of children, defence of women to advance an ultra-conservative agenda. This narrative of 'family values' is used to unite diverse actors, and reinforce sex and gender hierarchies under a unified ultra-conservative agenda. The narrative brings together the gender binary and gender hierarchy, thus normalising patriarchal family roles within the household, as well as in the broader social and political landscape.

Other narratives employed by anti-gender forces make use of social science and databases, such as the 'demographic winter' narrative, which aims to create anxiety about the decline in birth rates and push for the hetero-patriarchal family. The movement co-opts human rights language – as in parental rights and the rights of the unborn child –

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Their aim is to shift the global order and advance anti-liberal norms, hollow out the human rights system and the capacities of human rights defenders.”

– **Haley McEwen, University of Gothenburg**



with claims about innocent children, and the dangers of sexuality education and LGBTQIA+ rights. Unfortunately, children’s rights groups are largely unaware that this issue is contested, and that anti-gender actors insist that only the (heterosexual, patriarchal) family can decide what is in the best interests of the child.

In the Global South, anti-gender actors are using the language of decolonialism and sovereignty. In this narrative, protection of the traditional family is framed as decolonial and a defence of sovereignty, while the human rights framework, including LGBTQIA+ rights, is framed as imperialist. With the help of Big Tech oligarchs, these fringe ideas have moved into the mainstream. There is a convergence between the Big Tech and anti-rights agendas, as reflected in the role of Elon Musk in cutting the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the United States President’s Emergency Plan For AIDS Relief (PEPFAR).

Through a strategic partnership with the far right, anti-gender forces are influencing national politics. In some cases, gender equality is being depicted as intrinsic to national values, with immigrants and LGBTQIA+ people constructed as a threat to it. There is an effort to create distrust in democratic institutions and liberal norms.

Targets of the anti-gender movement

- ⊖ Gender
- ⊖ Equality (including but not limited to gender equality)
- ⊖ Sexual and reproductive health and rights
- ⊖ LGBTQIA+ rights
- ⊖ Children’s rights

“

They are very skilled at disguising the real violence that underpins their agenda through language of ‘protection’ of families, women and children.”

– **Participant**



“

It's **not** backlash. This is **not** a reaction to women's empowerment, LGBTQIA+ rights, etc. This is a political project that has its own independent objectives, and we are its casualties.”

”

– **Neil Datta, European Parliamentary Forum for Sexual and Reproductive Rights**

1.3 A political project with its own independent objectives

Participants were urged to diagnose the anti-gender problem accurately, and not to see the anti-gender movement in terms of 'backlash', as this suggests they are simply *against* something.⁴ Rather, the movement should be seen as a political project that has its own independent objectives. Social conservatives exist in every society, but the anti-gender movement involves new actors, including the far right and other opportunistic actors who are leveraging, feeding and harvesting social conservatism to meet their own objectives. Their goal is not to go back in time, but to push forward for a new 21st century world of heteronormativity and patriarchy.

1.4 New tools, tactics and resources

Political parties and political actors are now at the epicentre of the anti-gender movement. In recent years, they have grown more effective through transnational work (described above), as well as increased professionalisation and generational renewal. The tactics of the anti-gender movement have changed from protests outside abortion clinics to effective advocacy and the training of young people. The average advocate used to be an older white man, now it is a young woman.

Research into anti-gender funding in Europe (2019-2023) reveals that the movement has mobilised some €1.18 billion dollars, with sources mainly from Europe, as well as the United States and Russia.⁵ Spending by anti-gender actors on advocacy, public engagement and media, and on grant-making foundations has dramatically increased in recent years. They have also channelled money into anti-gender services (e.g. natural family planning), political parties, think tanks and litigation/legal strategies.

The underlying objectives of the anti-gender movement, which features seemingly strange alliances, depends very much on the particular actor. For some, the motivating factor is religion. They want their version of religion translated into law and reality. Some religious groups want to do this democratically, but others are willing to do it through authoritarianism. For their part, the authoritarians (e.g. Orban, Putin and Trump) are using anti-gender to solidify power, money and control. Finally, the hyper-capitalists, such as Elon Musk and Peter Thiel, are using anti-gender to create a world in which government is extremely limited. They aim to dismantle institutions (as Musk has with USAID) that they claim are wasteful and anti-competitive.

Anti-gender movement actors⁶

- ⊖ Religious groups and hierarchies (e.g. Opus Dei)
- ⊖ Civil society organisations (e.g. Alliance Defending Freedom International, CitizenGo, Christian Council International, Schreeuw om Leven, Civitas Christiana)
- ⊖ Knowledge producers and campaign engineers (e.g. International Theological Institute)
- ⊖ Political parties and actors, state officials (e.g. European Christian Political Party, Political Network for Values, ChristenUnie)
- ⊖ Thinkers and strategists (e.g. Heritage Foundation)
- ⊖ Funders (e.g. Fondation Jérôme-Lejeune, Talenting Foundation)



They fear our anger, but they fear our joy even more.



– Haley McEwen, University of Gothenburg

An intersectional analysis, which requires us to think about the intersection of power and dominance, is helpful here. As the scholar Silvia Federici has demonstrated, hetero-patriarchy needs capitalism.⁷ Following the election of Trump, Big Tech 'bros' released the flow of rage bait to keep users engaged. Anti-gender actors are actively targeting socially isolated young men via gaming. Meanwhile, feminist tech groups are seeing an increase in the suppression of information, such as information about contraception.

1.5 Be prepared, be pro-active

What are effective strategies to build resilience and hold the line on gender justice? First and foremost, it is important to be prepared for anti-gender contestation in all spaces and at all levels, including local, national and transnational levels. It is also important to build capacity. A positive example can be seen in Belgium, where the government commissioned a study of the anti-gender movement in the country.⁸ The possibility that any country – even those with a solid history of support for gender equality and LGBTQIA+ rights, etc. – could quickly turn anti-gender must be considered. Pro-active actions to secure better protections, such as the successful action in France to put abortion rights in the French constitution, are vital.

The anti-gender movement feasts on (male) loneliness and division. Thus, it is also important to build community, unity and break through prejudice. Community, arts and culture are valuable tools in this regard, as is joy. WO=MEN, for example, incorporates creativity and joy in their feminist activism – such as feminist bingos, pub quizzes, and spaces for feminist activism – to inspire and build resilience.

Tactics to counter the anti-gender movement

- ⊖ **Discover and disrobe**
Research the anti-gender movement and communicate about it (e.g. funding, connections with Big Tech)
- ⊖ **Disarm**
Understand and neutralise anti-gender strategies (e.g. narratives around children's rights)
- ⊖ **Dislocate**
Evict anti-gender actors from decision-making places and influential positions
- ⊖ **Demonetise**
Disrupt and stop the funding of anti-gender work
- ⊖ **Defend**
Defend frontline activists, secure better legal protections (e.g. for abortion, LGBTQIA+ rights)

2. Experiences from around the globe

How has the anti-gender movement manifested itself around the world? And how has civil society counteracted? These were the guiding questions put to activists from Argentina, El Salvador, India, Romania and the Netherlands, who shared their experiences and perspectives.

2.1 Anti-gender authoritarianism in El Salvador and Argentina

Latin America can be seen a microcosm of populist, patriarchal, authoritarian governments, and a precursor to what is happening now in the US. Both Bukele in El Salvador (who won the Presidency in 2019 and 2024) and Milei in Argentina (who won in 2023) campaigned as anti-establishment and have actively dismantled the state, including institutions on gender and education. Both present themselves as being opposed to 'gender ideology'.

Bukele and Milei are both using a crisis – gang violence in El Salvador, an economic crisis in Argentina – to justify their power grab. Milei has rolled back regulations and cut government budgets, with more than 37,000 public employees dismissed. In El Salvador, a state of exception (emergency) has been in place for three years. Bukele has complete control of the government. 87,000 people, mainly young people said to be involved in gang violence, are currently incarcerated. Both Bukele and Milei have allied with Big Tech by adopting cryptocurrency (Bitcoin as national tender in El Salvador, the \$Libra in Argentina). Both have attacked multilateral institutions as imperial.





There are many anti-rights and anti-gender actors from the Global South, and they are present and active in key global spaces, such as the recent CSW. It is not just 'us' [in the Global South] versus 'them' [in the Global North]. We are all capable of colonisation.



– Participant

2.2 Weaponisation of decolonisation in India

In India, the key anti-rights actor is the State. The anti-rights, anti-gender narrative centres on Hindu Brahminical patriarchy. It focuses on what it means to be Hindu and a Hindu woman, as defined by upper caste Hindus. It's no coincidence that the recent India-Pakistan war was called Operation '*Sindoor*', a term that symbolises a proper Hindu married woman. In India, decolonisation is being weaponised. It is being used to distract people from power differences *within* the country and to push through an anti-rights agenda.

2.3 The threat of a far-right, red revolution in Romania

In Romania, feminists thought that women's rights were secured, and were caught off guard by the far-right, red revolution. In 2019, there was a push by priests and pastors across Central and Eastern Europe to redefine marriage to be exclusively between a man and a woman, which led to a referendum in Romania. Funded mainly by the US Christian movement, this was a test to see how far conservative values could be pushed, and marked a turning point. Fear, distrust, conspiracy theories, and social media influencers replaced rational debate.

During the presidential elections in 2024, Russia, which has a strategic interest in weakening Romania, supported a Manchurian candidate. Russia employed bot farms and secretly paid influencers, and relied on the complicity of political elites. This was done mainly under the radar, through online communications luring young men into the toxic manosphere. The candidate's wife became a tradwife influencer, an archetype that fits Russia's agenda of 'real values' against Western liberalism, a strong Orthodox Church, and consolidation of authoritarian control. Russia's anti-gender and tradwife narrative manipulated Romanian society, shifted values and distorted political choices. Ultimately, the 2024 elections were annulled due to Russia's interference and, in May 2025, the centrist mayor of Bucharest defeated a far-right candidate. The pro-Europe, pro-rights activism and engagement of young voters was key to this success, as was the focus on Romania's history and the identification of Russia as the real enemy.



2.4 Pressure on gender and activism in the Netherlands

In the Netherlands, the attack on gender, human rights, civil society and activism is steadily growing. On the evening before the Rights at Risk conference, a majority in the Dutch Parliament adopted a motion for the government to *actively oppose* recognition of abortion as a human right.⁹ A major shift can be seen in changes to the international cooperation financing policy, now referred to as 'development aid'. Among other things, the word 'gender' was erased from the policy. Moreover, the policy now focuses on advancing 'Dutch interests'. Engaging women in development projects is primarily seen as a means of ensuring project effectiveness in order to advance Dutch interests rather than of intrinsic importance. The policy no longer provides space for civil society critique of the Dutch government. New criteria make it more difficult for organisations with

smaller budgets or constituencies to access funding. Meanwhile, there have been efforts to restrict public assembly and protests in the Netherlands, prohibit so-called 'undermining' organisations, and increase the administrative burden on civil society organisations (CSOs). A proposed requirement for CSOs to supply the government with information about donors and board members, for example, could be used as a tool to close organisations.

2.5 Reviving old ways of organising

In the discussion that followed, the speakers highlighted the importance of reviving old ways of organising, as well as working across movements and resisting the efforts by anti-rights forces to divide us. In a positive example, feminist organisations have joined forces to resist the anti-trans agenda of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on violence against women and girls.¹⁰

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We have to trust that we will win, that all is not lost. We cannot let them live rent-free in our minds and our hearts.

”

– Participant

“ Gender equality was changed to ‘equality’ [in the Dutch development aid policy]. Gender was taken out. Anti-gender sentiment is being normalised. ”

– Isa Goosen, University of Amsterdam

Building trust and listening to the voices of marginalised communities is key. Perhaps more than ever, there is a risk of division within the movement and burnout. It is important to continue to talk about politics, identity, sexuality and our fundamental rights. It is important to continue political education – to learn from queer feminists, Black feminists, and others – and to remember the importance of humility and reparation when mistakes are made.

2.6 Promoting feminist narratives

In some places, feminists are successfully challenging and de-escalating narratives. Across Latin America, the green handkerchief is a symbol of abortion rights and much more. In El Salvador, feminists have used Bukele's narrative against him (*'Bukele fascista, sos el terrorista'*). Faith-based organising, such as Catholics for the Right to Decide, has also been effective. The group created a popular cartoon-poet who shares her feminist theology.¹¹ In Romania, the Fearless Girls program supports the empowerment of young women, reaching them via local libraries. In Mexico, social media has been used very effectively, with young people spreading memes and humour to challenge the attack on contraception. Yet caution is needed: it's important to be aware of who controls the infrastructure in which narratives spread (e.g. the State, Big Tech). No matter

how good feminist narratives are, they will not be good enough in the absence of civic space.

Creativity is essential, especially as it becomes harder for international organisations to move money to rights-based groups. In El Salvador, where the Foreign Agent Law just went into force, groups are looking at alternative ways of mobilising resources, such as micro-fundraising and exchange of services. The El Salvador diaspora has also been an important source of funding. Solidarity from organisations in the Global North remains crucial: they must continue to advocate for money for the work of feminists in the Global South.

Feminist movement strategies to build resilience

- ⊖ Organise!
- ⊖ Work across movements, build trust and listen to the voices of marginalised communities
- ⊖ Incorporate creativity and joy into feminist activism
- ⊖ Promote solidarity between movements in the Global North and Global South

3. The impacts of anti-gender narratives on and after elections: the United States and the Netherlands

The final plenary session focused on the impact of anti-gender narratives on and after elections. Jess O'Connell, from NEWCO Strategies, kicked off the discussion with a summary of the situation in the United States, where the 2024 election brought a second Trump administration to power. Behind this win was a decades-long, dedicated and well-funded anti-choice movement which has succeeded in overturning *Roe v. Wade* and is now going after birth control, mifepristone, and sexual and reproductive health and rights in general. The anti-gender movement is attacking trans people's rights, with a strategic focus on trans women's participation in female sports, which many people oppose. In a context of severe income inequality and corruption in the United States, the far right has managed to win the hearts and minds of low-income Americans.

3.1 Toward an anti-gender, anti-rights government in the United States

The far right is in full control and implementing a well-coordinated and well-funded attack on the public sector, politics and fair elections. They thrive on the chaos they are creating. But the Trump administration is also aware that they need to act fast, before a majority of society starts to turn against them. They have already realised about half of Project 2025, the Heritage Foundation's blueprint for destroying the current government and creating an anti-gender, anti-rights, far-right government in its place.¹² The administration has banned hundreds of words related to rights and gender, and dismantled many areas of government (e.g. the Department of Education, USAID, Consumer Protection Agency), which are largely run by women

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It's much easier to break things than to build them. They got the keys to the office and are just turning off the lights... There is no question that authoritarian regimes start by silencing women, [in this case] with help from Big Tech. ”

– Jess O'Connell, NEWCO Strategies





and are crucial for women. They are attacking the right to organise and labour unions.

On the cultural side, they are going after funders, philanthropy, teachers and writers. Control of the media is a major concern, reflected in the purchase of TikTok by Trump-selected investors and the threat of consolidation of the major broadcast networks. There has also been a rise in political violence, which severely impacts women politicians and elections. In June, Melissa Hortman, a Minnesota legislator, and her husband were assassinated by an anti-rights, anti-gender activist. The murderer had a longer hitlist of mostly Democratic politicians and abortion-rights proponents. The murder of Hortman and her husband received minimal attention from the Trump administration relative to the assassination, in September, of far-right activist Charlie Kirk.¹³

Meanwhile, the Democratic party has been too silent on women's issues. Many in the party aim to preserve a 1990s status quo rather than fight for a more progressive agenda. Social justice activists are currently divided in energy and attention. Some are focused on harm mitigation (e.g. in response to abductions by the Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency, known as ICE), while others are trying to figure out how to win in the long term. The Democrats

have been unable to connect with people. For example, they have lost their connection with people of faith, many of whom are troubled by the separation of immigrant families and economic inequality. This represents a tremendous opportunity.

3.2 Anti-gender, anti-rights developments in the Netherlands

Following the summary of the US context, a panel of Dutch parliamentarians and politicians reflected on the situation in the Netherlands. The panel included: Fatmizhra Belhirsch (Senator, Democrats 66); Sarah Dobbe (Member of Parliament, Socialist Party); Danielle Hirsch (Member of Parliament, Green-Left-Labour); and Elles van Ark (candidate for Parliament, Christian Democratic Appeal).

The panel noted several similarities with the US context. Most powerful positions (e.g. in government and corporations) are still led by men. Under the current conservative right-wing government, gender was deleted from the development aid policy, as was the government's commitment to Feminist Foreign Policy (adopted in 2022). The budget for Development Cooperation was gutted, and the entire budget for women's rights and gender equality was cut until Parliament voted for its restoration through an accompanying stand-alone budget article.¹⁴



“

Women are the canary in the coal mine. If you attack women, you are attacking the basic structures of society and democracy. Women in politics must play another game than politics. We need to influence internal structures and lock hands with civil society movements.

”

– Daniëlle Hirsch,
Member of Parliament, GreenLeft-Labour

Comprehensive sexuality education in the Netherlands (e.g. *De Week van de Lentekriebels*) is under attack. Women parliamentarians are being targeted, with fewer women in politics and fewer women voting. The speakers agreed that the speed of change is worrying, with media and public opinion playing a role. Social media has become a space for misogynistic men to connect with each other. A lot of hate speech is coming from anonymous accounts, which limits the ability of authorities to act. The digital town square will not be safe with Big Tech in charge.

The panel explored the question of who benefits. In some cases, the attack on women's rights is a tool used by anti-democratic forces to gain power. Examples include interference by anti-democratic forces in foreign politics and elections (e.g. Putin in Romania). In the Dutch context, it was noted that people are losing trust in the Dutch government because of its inability to solve problems (e.g. the *toeslagenaffaire*). This is exactly why the far right comes to power – to weaken institutions. There are also many examples around the world of neoliberal power-holders benefiting from (anti-rights, anti-gender) autocracies.

3.3 Cooperation based on values

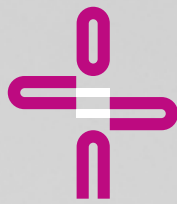
The Dutch panellists all described their political parties as strong supporters of women's rights and gender equality. They agreed that there is a need for a strong network of women in the Dutch Parliament and strong guidelines against misogynistic behaviour. Given that some women belonging to far-right and conservative parties in Parliament are pushing an anti-rights agenda and disinformation, cooperation must be based on *values*. Some parliamentarians bring to their party a strong gender and class analysis, highlighting, for example, that budget cuts on health care directly affect the livelihoods of women, their position, rights and independence.

All agreed that it is important to bring back gender equality and Feminist Foreign Policy. Parliament has called on the government to conduct research on the financing of the anti-gender movement, although the government has yet to act. Fortunately, inspirational (young) feminist movements – *Dolle Mina*, *Wij Eisen De Nacht Op* (We Demand the Night) – are reviving and taking action. Social movements are connecting with politicians and showing how to be effective (e.g. on Gaza, women's rights, etc). When feminists fight together, we will win – and enjoy it.

Endnotes

- 1 See: <https://wiisglobal.org/the-politics-of-fear-right-wing-anti-gender-and-anti-vaccination-narratives/>; <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/17416590251349561>; <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/08164649.2022.2062668>
- 2 See: <https://www.countdown2030europe.org/news/the-gap-in-csws-political-declaration-sexual-and-reproductive-health-and-rights/>; <https://rutgers.international/news/holding-the-line-for-womens-rights-reflections-on-a-high-stakes-csw/>
- 3 This refers to a traditional family structure in which a man is the head and authority of a household comprised of a female spouse and their biological children.
- 4 For more, see David Paternotte, 'Backlash: A misleading narrative': <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/gender/2020/03/30/backlash-a-misleading-narrative/>
- 5 See: Neil Datta, 'The Next Wave: How Religious Extremism Is Regaining Power': <https://www.epfweb.org/node/1147>
- 6 See: Neil Datta, 'The Next Wave: How Religious Extremism Is Regaining Power': <https://www.epfweb.org/node/1147>
- 7 Silvia Federici, *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation*
- 8 See: <https://igvm-iefh.belgium.be/nl/documentatie/rapport-over-antigendercampagnes-belgie>
- 9 See: <https://www.tweedekamer.nl/kamerstukken/moties/detail?id=2025Z18595&did=2025D43178>
- 10 See for instance: <https://www.awid.org/news-and-analysis/there-no-place-anti-trans-agendas-un>
- 11 See: <https://catolicasmexico.org/catolicadas-series/>
- 12 See: https://static.heritage.org/project2025/2025_MandateForLeadership_FULL.pdf
- 13 See: <https://www.msnbc.com/opinion/msnbc-opinion/trump-response-charlie-kirk-melissa-hortman-shootings-rcna230825>; <https://www.newsweek.com/donald-trump-melissa-hortman-anger-2130428>
- 14 See: <https://www.tweedekamer.nl/kamerstukken/amendementen/detail?id=2025Z13576&did=2025D30735>

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