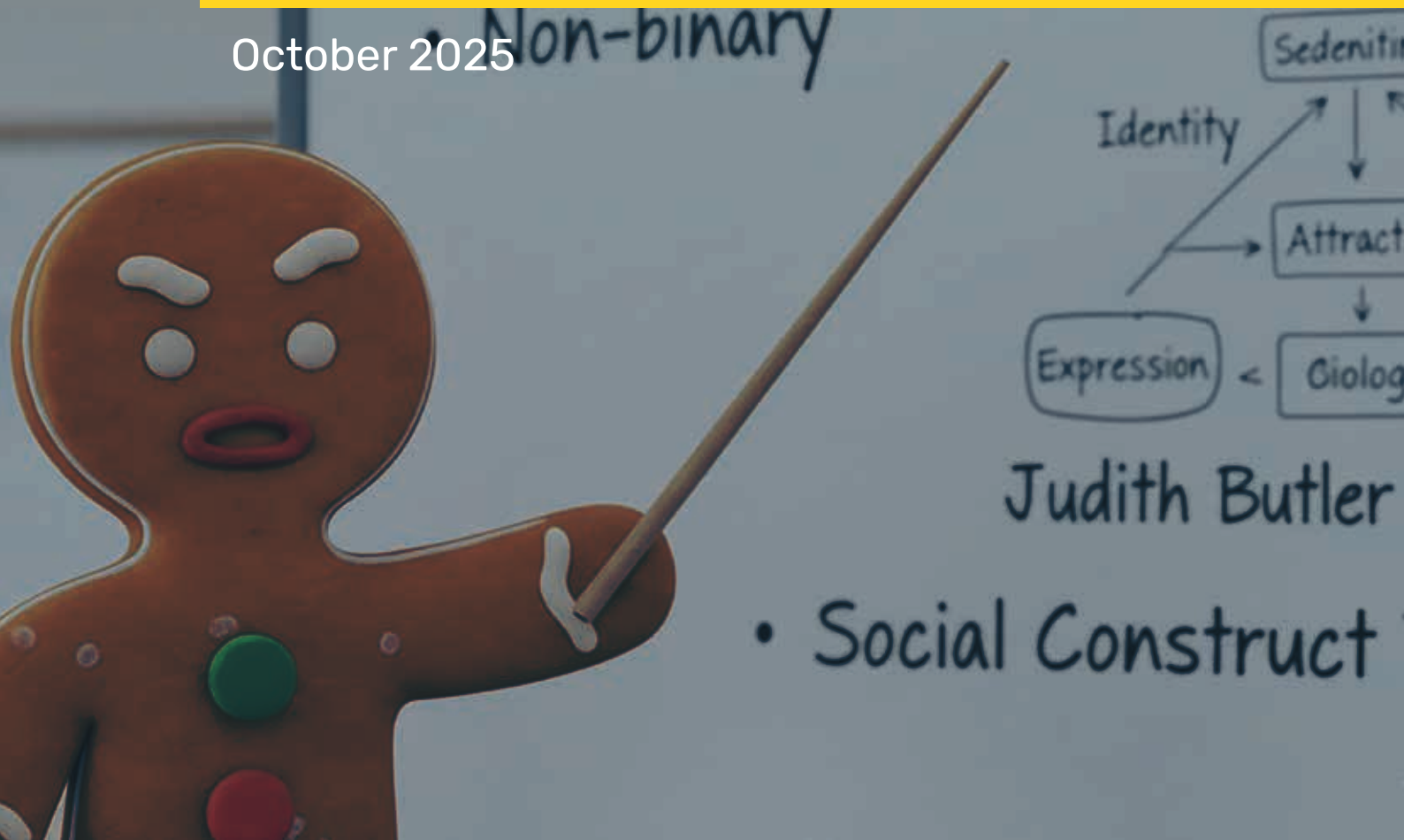
MCC BRUSSELS
MATHIAS CORVINUS COLLEGIUM

Indoctrinating children

Dr Ashley Frawley

How Brussels embeds Gender Identity in the classroom

October 2025



Indoctrinating children: How Brussels embeds Gender Identity in the classroom

Dr Ashley Frawley

Contents

Summary	**7**
Introduction	**9**
1 Teacher training and curriculum development	**10**
2 Early-years education	**15**
3 Bypassing national education systems	**19**
Conclusions	**23**
End notes	**25**

Summary

The EU is bankrolling NGOs to push contested gender ideology into Europe's classrooms – bypassing parents, parliaments and even explicit national bans.

Key findings

- Projects under Erasmus+, CERV, and Horizon funnel millions in taxpayer funds into activist-designed curricula
- Initiatives like TUTOR train teachers as 'champions of change', embedding activist content on gender and sexuality into every subject, from maths and science to history
- Materials for kindergartens and primaries use tools like the 'Genderbread Person' and children's storybooks where characters question whether they are boys or girls
- Digital platforms push gamified activism, rewarding teenagers with 'activist' status for making memes pushing gender-identity ideology
- In Hungary, where LGBTIQ teaching is banned for minors, EU-funded NGOs run off-campus trainings so teachers can bring the same content back into schools
- Indices and toolkits create soft law pressure, pushing member states to adopt activist pedagogy under the banner of 'best practice'
- The result is a continent-wide social experiment on children: dismantling traditional norms, teaching gender identity as an internal essence that may differ from their biological sex, and training pupils and teachers alike to become activists.

Introduction

In our previous report, *Mission Creeps: How EU funding and activist NGOs captured the gender agenda*, we showed how Brussels has poured hundreds of millions of euros into building an EU-wide ecosystem of activist NGOs. Here, we follow the money, exposing how those funds are being used to reach directly into schools.

Despite education being a national competence, the EU bankrolls NGOs and universities to sidestep national governments to design curricula, train teachers and create youth platforms that embed contested gender ideology in classrooms. Dressed up as 'anti-bullying', 'inclusion' or 'violence prevention', these projects teach children to view gender identity as an innate essence, train teachers to enforce this as common sense, and package it all as 'European best practice'. Where national governments resist, NGOs simply reroute their efforts through parallel channels, using after-school clubs, youth organisations, mini teacher-trainings and online games to reach the same audiences.

The result is a taxpayer-funded pipeline: from teacher-training academies to turnkey classroom materials, along with indices and toolkits that create soft law pressure on schools and states to conform. What follows is a selection of recent projects showing how Brussels and its NGO partners are quietly reshaping education across Europe.[1]

1 Teacher training and curriculum development

Brussels's first target is teachers. EU funds NGOs and universities to build cross-national 'academies' that retrain educators as carriers of gender ideology, supplying them with handbooks, toolkits and storybooks packaged as 'best practice'. Once trained, teachers become the delivery system, embedding activist content into lessons and school culture in ways that bypass national parliaments.

Table 1. Example projects focused on teacher training /curriculum development

Project & Dates	EU Spend	Main Countries	Standout Claims / Activities
TUTOR 2022–2025	€1.5m	Greece, Türkiye, Ireland, Austria	Building a European 'Teacher Academy' with a specialisation course on LGBTQI+ inclusion created by activist organisation IGLYO, training hundreds of teachers and future teachers as 'champions of change' in national education systems.[2]
SENSEI 2023–2026	€704k	Netherlands, Romania, Denmark, Poland, Italy, Czechia, Spain, Serbia, Portugal	Ongoing project[3] to develop teacher training and professional development materials on inclusivity, such as a classroom 'empathy game' where students role-play scenarios around non-binary and queer identities, religion, disability or class, and then design activism projects like social-media campaigns, flash mobs or diversity days.[4]
All Inc! 2020–2023	€428k	Belgium, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Netherlands, Poland, Spain, United Kingdom	Developed teacher training and curriculum materials including, for example, classroom materials around the Sam the Snail storybook, which includes the dialogue: 'I just don't know if I'd rather be a boy or a girl … I don't know if I'd rather be a Samantha or Samuel.'[5]
School's Out 2020–2022	€250k	Belgium, Italy, Portugal, Bulgaria	Teacher pack includes the 'Genderbread Person' graphic to teach children their 'gender essence' may differ from biological sex.[6]
Inclusion Vocabulary 2020–2022	€234k	Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Serbia, Spain[7]	Created an 'Inclusion Vocabulary Handbook' and teacher training disseminating activist-approved language for use in primary and secondary schools, which includes terms like 'agender', 'bigender' and 'TERF'.[8]

In a key, well-funded example, TUTOR develops curricula targeting teachers at all levels and includes development of a 'Specialisation Course' on 'LGBTQI+ Inclusion in Education', led by LGBTIQ activist organisation IGLYO.[9] In one of its online meetings, participants referenced over 50 sexualities to be explored in classrooms and urged that 'we can pepper in all the identities into the curriculum', from maths to music to beauty courses.[10] Participants even implied schools had a legal duty to teach these identities.

Ready-made activist lesson plans were promoted as a way to relieve teachers of the 'burden' of creating their own – enabling direct implementation. The project is designed to create a 'ripple effect':[11] once a cadre of teachers is trained in this pedagogy, they become 'champions of change'[12] and embed it throughout national education systems.

Similarly, All Inc! sought to build a programme for 'LGBT+ friendly schools' at secondary and tertiary levels.[13] Among its 'Tools for Schools' is a detailed lesson plan based on the children's book Sam the Snail, in which an anthropomorphic snail wonders: 'I just don't know if I'd rather be a boy or a girl.' Students are then guided through identity categories in which they and others can fit (figure 1).[14]

Figure 1. All INC! classroom materials



The project sought not simply to train teachers, but to affect the whole-school community, including teachers and trainee teachers, pupils and parents, and to 'go viral' beyond the pilot schools.[15] This is a common tactic: using EU funds to develop materials that promote a particular worldview, laundering pilot projects as 'best practice' for curricula across Europe.

School's Out (2020–2022) developed teacher-training courses, posters to be placed on school walls, and policy guidelines to be implemented at schools' highest levels. Materials for teachers featured the 'Genderbread Person', which communicates in a 'child-friendly' manner that people have an internal gender essence that can differ from their biological sex.[16] Like TUTOR,

it advocated spreading gender-identity instruction across subjects, and framed its approach in the language of 'safety' and 'wellbeing', implicitly presenting non-implementation as neglect of the duty of care.

Different in scope, these projects share the same strategy: using EU funds to produce pre-packaged content that teachers can adopt instantly, often scripted by NGOs. Each is designed for contagion, whether by training 'champions of change' or by lesson plans that travel beyond pilot schools. The effect is ideological standardisation: an activist worldview smuggled into classrooms, funded directly by Brussels, regardless of whether parents or member states consent.

2 Early-years education

A striking feature of EU-funded education projects is their push to intervene from the earliest years. The aim is not simply to curb bullying or stereotypes, but to reshape how children see themselves, casting family socialisation as a source of inequality. Pre-school and primary teachers are trained as agents of change, treating everyday behaviours as 'gender socialisation' to be corrected – while sometimes, paradoxically, steering children to view gender identity as an inner truth.

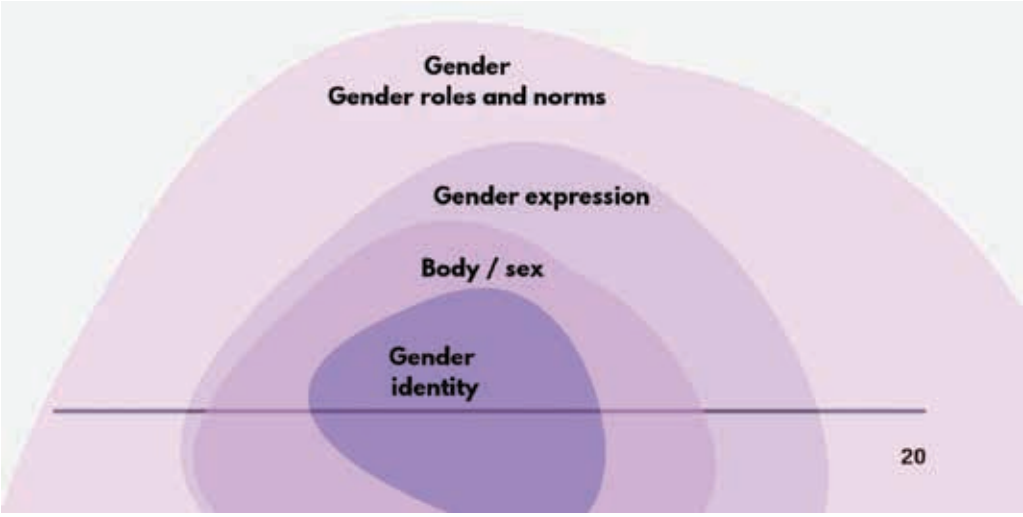
Table 2. Example projects in early-years education

Project & Dates	EU Spend	Main Countries	Standout Claims / Activities
Diversity and Childhood (2019–2021)	€528k	Belgium, Croatia, Greece, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain	Produced training and handbooks for professionals to 'change social attitudes' toward 'gender diversity' in children; ran workshops across partner countries and built a transnational network to disseminate materials as 'good practice'.[17]
KINDER (2021–2023)	€519k	Spain, Portugal, Croatia	Developed early-years curricula and teacher training in 'gender-responsive pedagogy',[18] including one manual that portrays dissent to the agenda on nearly any grounds as 'extreme' and potentially dangerous.[19]
Gender ABC (2018–2020)	€485k	Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany	Developed 18 adaptable, child-friendly modules for primary/secondary schools on gender stereotypes, including a module on gender identity and sexual orientation with activities encouraging children as young as six to 'gain insight' into their 'own gender identity'.[20]
Mind the Gap (2021–2022)	€437k	Italy, Lithuania, Spain, Portugal	Built on Gender ABC, this project focused on tackling 'unconscious' gender bias 'perpetrated [sic] by families, peers, educational systems, the media, religions and society in general' and produced materials including suggestions for 'diverse picture books' for children with 'transgender, non-binary and gender-expansive characters.'[21]
Fair Play at Schools	€155k	Czechia, Estonia, Norway	Aimed to combat gender stereotypes in early education by reshaping how teachers respond to children's behaviour. It defines identity as 'our deeply held, internal sense of self as male, female, a blend of both, or neither; who we privately know ourselves to be',[22] embedding contested gender-identity theory into manuals for early childhood and primary school teachers.

KINDER (2021–2023) aimed to tackle stereotypes it claimed were 'deeply ingrained in family and school systems'.[23] It produced books, guides, workshops and animated clips promoting 'gender-responsive pedagogy'. Extensive curriculum materials developed through the project included children's books, classroom guides, workshops and animated clips designed to challenge 'heteronormativity'.[24] In one such clip, a boy is shown wanting to join in play while a thought bubble appears of a man (suggestive of the boy's father) shaking his head in disapproval,[25] portraying parental influence as something suspect to be countered by enlightened pre-schools.

Similarly, Fair Play at Schools directed teachers to disrupt behaviours seen as stereotypical, insisting that gender identity is learned through socialisation[26] and 'everything that is learnt can also be unlearnt'.[27] Yet its own manuals show an infographic where gender identity is placed deeper than sex itself (figure 2), and define identity as 'our deeply held, internal sense of self as male, female, a blend of both, or neither'.[28]

Figure 2. Fair Play at Schools: primary school teacher-training



These projects claim to fight stereotypes, yet a striking contradiction runs through them. Stereotypes treated as mere social conditioning in one context become, in another, indicative of a core truth of the self. What matters is less the behaviours children exhibit than what they signify: boys and girls behaving in stereotypical ways smacks of tradition, whereas gender at variance with sex signifies fluid identities that can be reshaped to meet institutional and economic agendas, such as the need (often outright stated in project descriptions) for more women to enter the labour market.

Projects also smuggle education on gender identity in under the guise of broader agendas, such as gender-based violence. For instance, Gender ABC (2018–2020) and its extension Mind the Gap (2021–2022) were led by the End Female Genital Mutilation European Network and developed and disseminated 18 training modules, including activities asking children as young as six to reflect on whether boys always like girls and vice versa, and to 'gain insight' into their own gender identity.

In these ways, the EU's early-years interventions target not only school environments but the formation of identity itself, embedding contested activist categories in the most formative stages of education.

3 Bypassing national education systems

Many of these and other initiatives that the EU funds work not through official school curricula, but by offering opportunities to work around them. By using NGOs, informal education and digital platforms, they attempt to introduce gender-identity concepts to schools or young people directly in ways that bypass national oversight and even explicit national restrictions.

Table 3: example projects using parallel delivery channels

Project & Dates	EU Spend	Main Countries	Standout Claims / Activities
LoveAct (2023-2025)	€782k	Italy, France, Greece, Lithuania, Belgium, Cyprus, Spain	Produced digital guides and educator manuals on 'sex and affective education', with modules on identity, sexual orientation and gender roles. Uses a digital hub to embed sex-ed, including modules on gender identity as a 'spectrum', as a parallel material aiming to reach beyond schools.
Stand by Me 2.0 (2021-2024)	€421k	Italy, Poland, Hungary	Created a digital platform and online courses; built a 'gamified' digital platform targeting youth, including lessons on terms like cisgender and non-binary, and activities such as meme-making to 'fight gender stereotypes'.
GaminGEE (2022-2024)	€356k	Czechia, Estonia, Romania, Spain	Produced guides for families and educators and developed a video game, The Future is Ours, aimed at adolescents, promoting issues associated with gender identity and sexual diversity.[29]
Inclusive Spaces (2022-2024)	€177k	Hungary	Not cross-border, but notable for bypassing explicit government bans. Framed as anti-bullying and inclusion, it ran workshops and 'learning journeys' for teachers, students and employers, using NGO-led mini-sessions to reintroduce LGBTIQ teaching outside formal curricula.
Up4Diversity (2020-2022)	€170k	Spain, Belgium, Cyprus, Denmark	Produced training modules and a European network for youth, youth workers and NGOs, with glossaries and classroom-style activities teaching sexuality and gender identity; aimed for 'transferability to many different contexts', embedding activist concepts through NGOs and parallel youth networks rather than formal curricula.[30]

For example, LoveAct, funded by the EU for €782,000, explicitly aimed to fill supposed 'gaps' in national sex-ed by deploying NGO-led interventions.[31] Its resources, including a digital platform with modules like 'Understanding Gender', taught that gender is a 'spectrum' and an inner essence distinct from biological sex, accompanied by a colourful 'gender star' to train teenagers in this worldview (figure 3).

Figure 3. LoveAct educational materials



Similarly, Stand by Me 2.0 used human-rights language and 'gamification' to attempt to social-engineer attitudes among young people in Hungary, Poland and Italy. Its digital 'game' platform – which incidentally is both scantly populated and not very fun – includes lessons explaining gender terminologies like 'cisgender' and 'nonbinary' gender. One activity invites participants to: 'Create your own meme to empower people to act and fight

against gender stereotypes and other root causes of GBV [gender-based violence]. You can create a meme from scratch or "correct" another meme you consider problematic.'[32] The highest-scoring participants are ranked 'Activist' on the platform.

Another attempt to gamify LGBTIQ issues was the Eramus+ project GaminGEE, which was funded for €356,000 to produce some guidebooks and an online game. Styled as a fun tool to reach young people, it delivered scenarios with 'diverse' characters to normalise contested categories of identity. However, like the questionable quality of the Stand By Me 2.0 'game', it was dismissed as 'terribly coded, stuttering, generic yet somehow also offensive' by online reviewers in its target demographic – queer gaming youth.[33]

These initiatives demonstrate how the EU uses parallel channels to push content of which national governments may not approve. Nowhere is this clearer than in Hungary, where laws restrict LGBTIQ teaching to minors. There, the Inclusive Spaces project, funded under CERV and led by Amnesty International Hungary and allied NGOs, deliberately sought 'alternative ways' to reach students, including 90-minute 'mini-trainings' for teachers outside the classroom.[34] Such initiatives exemplify how EU money bankrolls activists to reintroduce contested ideology via the back door, using anti-violence and human rights as an entry point for introducing controversial topics like gender identity to young people and to attempt explicitly to change social norms in target countries.

Conclusions

These are just a few examples of educational projects; there are many similar ones hidden among the thousands of projects, across numerous funding streams, that embed gender identity into their interventions. However, across these projects a single agenda is unmistakable. Traditional gender roles are cast as inherently oppressive and to be dismantled early, while (and somewhat paradoxically) gender identity at variance with biological sex is a core identity requiring recognition and affirmation.

Many projects take their lead from higher-level pronouncements. The TUTOR project, for instance, invokes the 2019 Council Resolution calling to develop teacher training, and aligns itself with later Council conclusions on teacher careers and the European Education Area strategy. Yet this is the EU overstepping subsidiarity: education is a national competence, but under the cover of training, digitalisation and 'teacher support', Brussels funds projects that smuggle contested ideological content into classrooms. The repeated call for 'whole-school approaches' in these projects makes clear the intent: nothing less is desired than a complete reshaping of the school environment, involving pupils, parents, teachers and administrators together.

The methods are remarkably consistent. What might look like anti-bullying or violence-prevention initiatives often embed gender-identity ideology into lesson plans, toolkits and teacher training. Teachers are retrained to see ordinary behaviour as 'gender socialisation' that must be corrected, children are taught to view identity as an inner essence deeper than biological sex, and both are encouraged to become activists and 'champions of change'.

Most tellingly, it is parents and national traditions that are frequently cast as the obstacle. EU-funded projects position the family home as the source of harmful norms, and schools –with the right interventions – as the space where those norms must be overturned. By embedding activist ideology through NGOs, informal education and parallel platforms, the EU ensures these ideas enter classrooms through the back door, bypassing national control and democratic consent.

But tactics often reach beyond curricula. Toolkits, digital games and 'inclusive education' indices – like that produced by IGLYO, which ranks countries on how much they embed LGBTIQ issues into their curricula[35] – function as a kind of soft law: not formally binding, but setting de facto standards that national systems are pressured to follow. By funding transnational partnerships, the EU facilitates the laundering of contested activist priorities as 'best practice', presenting pilot projects as models for all of Europe.

Yet the outputs themselves are often flimsy; many websites and e-learning platforms are poorly built, thinly populated or vanish entirely after funding ends. While this may limit their real-world influence and raise questions about the sums attached to many projects, it also suggests a lack of confidence in the persuasiveness of their ideas. Insular efforts appear designed to build closed networks of actors who bypass public debate in favour of direct access to policymakers, professionals and children.

The goal is not simply to educate, but to re-engineer. Europe's children are being taught not only to embrace gender-identity ideology, but to embody it – to become malleable, fluid subjects untethered from tradition, easier to govern, and primed to see activism itself as their primary civic duty.

End notes

1 This selection is far from exhaustive, but represents example projects that span more than one country, ended in the past five years, and were funded for more than €100,000.
2 Tutor Project EU (2025), 'TUTOR Project's Fourth Newsletter' tutor-project.eu
3 European Commission, 'School EducatioN for Sustainable and Equal Inclusion', EU Funding & Tenders Portal, updated 10 June 2025 ec.europa.eu
4 SENSEI, 'SENSEI's Puzzles of Empathy', created 9 April 2025 euroclio.eu
5 All Inc!, Sam the Snail, n.d., accessed 19 June 2025 allinc.eu
6 School's Out, 'Training LGBTI Themes in the Classroom', 2021 schools.bilitis.org
7 European Commission, 'Creating a New Inclusion Vocabulary to Foster Acceptance of Sexual Orientation among Teachers and Students in High Schools', Erasmus+ erasmus-plus.ec.europa.eu
8 Inclusion Vocabulary Project, 'Inclusion Vocabulary Handbook For Teachers, Students and Parents', 2022, drive.google.com
9 Tutor Project EU, 'TUTOR Project's Fourth Newsletter', 7
10 FACEBOOK Live Event: An LGBTQIA+ Inclusive Classroom: A Conversation with Jamie Kenny, directed by Tutor Project, 2024 www.youtube.com
11 Tutor Project EU, 'The Story Behind – Tutor Project', n.d., accessed June 18, 2025, tutor-project.eu
12 Tutor Project EU, TUTOR Project's Fourth Newsletter, 9
13 Piter Jelles, 'All Inc! Building LGBT+ Friendly Schools Across Europe', 2024, school-education.ec.europa.eu
14 All Inc!, Sam the Snail
15 All Inc!, Project Summary, n.d., accessed 19 June 2025 allinc.eu
16 School's Out, 'Training LGBTI Themes in the Classroom'
17 European Commission, 'JUSTICE AND CONSUMERS - Project Diversity and Childhood', Newsroom, European Commission, 13 July 2021 ec.europa.eu
18 Kinder Project, 'About Us', kinder.ces.uc.pt
19 Tatiana Moura, et al., 'BE KINDER Unravelling Paths to Address Gender Stereotypes in Education and Early Childhood', Kinder Project, 2023 kinder.ces.uc.pt
20 Gender ABC, 'Education Programme for Primary Schools: Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity', 2020 www.endfgm.eu
21 End FGM European Network, 'Mind the Gap: A Guide to Build a Gender-Inclusive Educational Environment', 2021 www.endfgm.eu
22 Fair Play at Schools, 'Gender Sensitive Education For Primary School Teachers: Self-Study Course in 16 Modules', 2022, ec.europa.eu
23 European Commission, 'Tackling Gender Stereotypes in Education and Early Childhood: Building a Gender-Responsive Pedagogy in Children's Education', EU Funding & Tenders Portal, 2025 ec.europa.eu
24 Kinder Project, Somos Diversidad. Actividades Para La Formación de Profesionales de La Educación Formal y No Formal En La Diversidad Sexual, Familiar, Corporal, y de Expresión e Identidad de Género, 2021 kinder.ces.uc.pt
25 Kinder Project, 'BE KINDER – Kinder', 2023 kinder.ces.uc.pt
26 Fair Play at Schools, 'Gender Sensitive Education: A Self-Study Course for Pre-School Teachers', 2022 ec.europa.eu
27 Fair Play at Schools, 'Gender Sensitive Education For Primary School Teachers: Self-Study Course in 16 Modules', 2022 ec.europa.eu
28 Ibid.
29 European Commission, 'GAMe-Based Tools to Foster an INtegrative Model for Early Gender Equality Education', Erasmus+, accessed 2 October 2025 erasmus-plus.ec.europa.eu
30 Up4Diversity, 'Up4Diversity: Empowering Young People and Youth Workers to Become Active Upstanders in the Prevention of Violence Towards LGBTIQ+ People in the Digital Era', 2022 web.archive.org
31 CESIE, 'Comprehensive Sex Education in School – Launched the LoveAct Project', 26 May 2023, cesie.org
32 SBMPOnline-ADM, 'Create Your Own Meme', accessed 19 June 2025, standbymeplatform.eu
33 'The Future Is Ours on Steam', accessed October 2, 2025, store.steampowered.com
34 Vera Juhász, 'Creating Inclusive Spaces through Human Rights Education and Alternative Learning Journeys: external evaluation', 28 March 2024, 3 admin.oktatas.amnesty.hu
35 IGLYO, 'IGLYO LGBTQI Inclusive Education Index & Map', 2025 education.iglyo.org

About the author

Dr Ashley Frawley

Visiting Research Fellow



Ashley Frawley is a sociologist and author of two books, *Semiotics of Happiness: Rhetorical Beginnings of a Public Problem* (2015) and *Significant Emotions: Rhetoric and Social Problems in a Vulnerable Age*. Her expertise is in the public presentation of social problems and the increased policy focus on individuals, families and emotions as a route to solving them. She is a fervent defender of family autonomy and has campaigned to stop the policy encroachment into parental decision-making, which lowers the bar for often punitive interventions into family life. Originally from Canada and a member of Nipissing First Nation, she is the mother of two small children. Her hope for MCC Brussels is to open up a space for critical questioning of regressive policies that are dressed in the language of progressivism.

About MCC Brussels

At a time of unprecedented political polarisation, MCC Brussels is committed to providing a home for genuine policy deliberation and an in-depth exploration of the issues of our time.

MCC Brussels is committed to asking the hard questions and working with people of goodwill from all persuasions to find solutions to our most pressing problems. An initiative of MCC (Mathias Corvinus Collegium), the leading Hungarian educational forum, MCC Brussels was founded in the autumn of 2022 to make a case for celebrating true diversity of thought, diversity of views, and the diversity of European cultures and their values.

MCC BRUSSELS
MATHIAS CORVINUS COLLEGIUM

Brussels is pouring millions in taxpayer funds into a continent-wide social experiment on children. This explosive report exposes how the EU bankrolls activist NGOs to smuggle contested gender ideology into Europe's classrooms – bypassing parents, parliaments and national bans.

Using ready-made lesson plans and platforms, the EU trains educators as 'champions of change' to embed activist content – from the controversial 'Genderbread Person' graphic to storybooks where young characters question their sex – into every subject.

The goal is explicit: dismantling traditional norms and re-engineering children to view gender identity as an 'inner essence' separate from their biological sex. Read how the EU positions the family home as the source of harmful norms, ensuring these controversial concepts enter schools through the back door.

Your tax money is funding the ideological capture of Europe's youth.

MCCBrussels
@MCC_Brussels
@mccbrussels
brussels.mcc.hu