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Kristen Waggoner **Research Summary**

Age: 53-54 (born 1972)

2022–Present: CEO, President & General Counsel, Alliance Defending Freedom

2020–2023: General Counsel, Alliance Defending Freedom

2018–2020: Senior Vice President, U.S. Legal Division and Communications, Alliance Defending Freedom

2013–2020: Senior Vice President, U.S. Legal Division, Alliance Defending Freedom

1998–2016: Attorney (Partner & Of Counsel), Ellis, Li & McKinstry PLLC (Seattle, WA)

1997–1998: Law Clerk, Washington State Supreme Court Justice Richard B. Sanders

Education: Regent University School of Law (J.D.) 1997; Northwest University (B.A.) 1994.

Judicial Philosophy & Separation of Powers:

- Kristen Waggoner has attacked the abuse of government power by woke authoritarians.
 - She has written, “*‘[d]iversity’ advocates are so committed to shutting down opposing views that they don’t limit themselves to cultural pressures to get their way. They also use federal courts to improperly redefine federal law to marginalize opposing views.*”¹
- Waggoner criticized the reaching interpretations of courts to push the gender agenda.
 - Waggoner discussed a Sixth Circuit ruling in *Equal Emp. Opportunity Comm’n v. R.G. & G.R. Harris Funeral Homes, Inc.*, 884 F.3d 560, 566 (6th Cir. 2018), a case in which the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) forced a funeral home to allow a male funeral director to wear women’s clothing, in conflict with the funeral home’s dress code, stating, “There was nothing exceptional about the funeral home’s reasonable stance: Federal law has long allowed sex-specific dress codes, as confirmed by the EEOC’s own employment panel. So to pull off this ruling, the Sixth Circuit unilaterally redefined “sex” under Title VII federal employment law. . . .Of course there is room in our culture to debate the nature and value of gender identity theory. But *reinterpreting laws that have a well-understood public meaning to punish a business owner and to deny women equal opportunities and bodily privacy is the exact opposite of respecting diversity.*”²

¹ Kristen Waggoner, *The Left Preaches Diversity While Forcing Conformity Through Culture And Courts*, THE FEDERALIST (June 11, 2019), <https://thefederalist.com/2019/06/11/left-preaches-diversity-forcing-conformity-culture-courts/> (emphasis added).

² Kristen Waggoner, *The Left Preaches Diversity While Forcing Conformity Through Culture And Courts*, THE FEDERALIST (June 11, 2019), <https://thefederalist.com/2019/06/11/left-preaches-diversity-forcing-conformity-culture-courts/> (emphasis added).

- Waggoner celebrated the use of judicial restraint by a Supreme Court justice.
 - In an interview, Waggoner was asked how Justice Amy Coney Barrett’s originalism would affect the Court. While she declined to make any predictions, Waggoner remarked that Barrett “views her role as someone who applies the law as written rather than as she would like it to be written” and commented that she was “*optimistic [Barrett] will continue to interpret the law this way* in future cases.”³

Faith & the Public Square:

- Waggoner has argued that religious individuals do not lose their religious liberty upon entering the public square.
 - Waggoner wrote, “the incredible legacy we have found in the First Amendment says that we get to speak our minds, that *we don’t lose our Constitutional rights when we enter the public square, and that when we do speak our minds, it really doesn’t matter how much the government, or my neighbor, agrees with me.*”⁴
- Waggoner has argued against an increasingly secularist interpretation of the Constitution.
 - In an article, Waggoner states that the Establishment Clause’s purpose is to “guarantee that the government will not interfere with religious practices.”⁵ At the same time, Waggoner states her strong disagreement with “interpret[ing] the Establishment Clause to mean a ban on public expressions of religion.”⁶
- Waggoner interpreted the First Amendment as a rule forbidding the arbitrary punishment of ideas.
 - Waggoner has argued that the First Amendment works to “*prevent officials from eliminating ideas they dislike from public dialogue* and from punishing beliefs they want to purge from the public square.”⁷

Religious Liberty:

- Waggoner has defended religious liberty in many high-profile cases.
 - Waggoner was lead counsel for Jack Phillips in *Masterpiece Cakeshop, Ltd. v. Colo. Civil Rights Comm’n*, a Christian baker who declined to bake a wedding cake for a gay couple. The case was taken to the United States Supreme Court, which ruled in favor of Phillips’ religious right not to provide services that celebrate activities in violation of his religious convictions.⁸

³ The Conservateur Ed. Bd., *Interviewing Kristen Waggoner*, THE CONSERVATEUR (Dec. 14, 2020), <https://www.theconservateur.com/interviews-tc/interviewing-kristen-waggoner> (emphasis added).

⁴ Kristen Waggoner, *Kristen Waggoner on 303 Creative v. Elenis*, ALL. DEFENDING FREEDOM (Nov. 17, 2022), <https://web.archive.org/web/20240525171627/https://adfflegal.org/article/kristen-waggoner-303-creative-v-elenis/> (emphasis added).

⁵ Kristen Waggoner, *Cross Case Offers Supreme Court Chance to Clarify Religious Expression*, THE HILL (Dec. 26, 2018), <https://thehill.com/opinion/judiciary/422496-cross-case-offers-supreme-court-chance-to-clarify-religious-expression/>.

⁶ Kristen Waggoner, *Cross Case Offers Supreme Court Chance to Clarify Religious Expression*, THE HILL (Dec. 26, 2018), <https://thehill.com/opinion/judiciary/422496-cross-case-offers-supreme-court-chance-to-clarify-religious-expression/>.

⁷ Jerusalem Post Staff, Reuters, *Supreme Court to Hear Disp. Between Evangelical Christian and LGBT Rights*, JERUSALEM POST (Feb. 24, 2022), <https://www.jpost.com/christianworld/article-698324> (emphasis added).

⁸ *Masterpiece Cakeshop, Ltd. v. Colo. Civil Rights Comm’n*, 584 U.S. 617 (2018), https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/17pdf/16-111_j4el.pdf.

- In *Woods v. Seattle's Union Gospel Mission*, Waggoner filed a petition of writ for certiorari defending a mission that declined to hire a staffer whose relationship violated the missions' religious beliefs.
 - Waggoner argued that the Gospel Mission should be protected by the coreligionist exemption, allowing religious organizations to hire only coreligionists. She wrote, “[f]or Seattle’s Union Gospel Mission—which is first and foremost a ‘gospel’ mission—the *Washington Supreme Court’s rejection of the coreligionist doctrine is an existential threat.*”⁹
- Waggoner defended a website designer who refused to make websites for same-sex weddings.¹⁰ Prior to the Supreme Court ruling, Waggoner expressed confidence in the Court. She said “*I do think the court understands that it needs to protect Lorie’s speech and by doing so, it protects the speech of all Americans because her decisions are based on what the message is that she is being asked to create, not the person that is requesting it. And that’s a critical distinction for the First Amendment.*”¹¹
- Waggoner represented a florist who refused to sell flowers for a same-sex wedding.¹² Waggoner said, “*No one should be bullied or banished from the marketplace for living out her or his beliefs about God and marriage.* But it takes a special kind of focused hostility to target *this* woman, to relentlessly pursue her business and personal assets, all for the purpose of making an example of her. Yet that’s exactly what the State of Washington is doing.”¹³
- Waggoner stood up for religious liberty even when the pandemic provided an opportunity for governments to abuse this right.
 - Waggoner served as counsel for Calvary Chapel Dayton Valley to challenge an anti-religious directive by Nevada’s governor. The directive limited the number of attendees in church during the COVID-19 pandemic.¹⁴
- Waggoner routinely expresses concern about preserving religious liberty.
 - In an article for *The Daily Signal*, Waggoner was quoted as having said, “*The right of conscience is critical to the existence of the country and is the first freedom*

⁹ Petition for a Writ of Certiorari, *Woods v. Seattle's Union Gospel Mission*, 197 Wn.2d 231, https://www.supremecourt.gov/DocketPDF/21/21-144/185487/20210802113017132_USSC%20Petition%20for%20Writ%20of%20Certiorari.pdf, at PDF p. 29 (emphasis added).

¹⁰ *303 Creative Ltd. Liab. Co. v. Elenis*, 6 F.4th 1160, 1191 (10th Cir. 2021), https://www.supremecourt.gov/DocketPDF/21/21-476/197814/20211027144118907_303%20Creative%20cert-stage.pdf (emphasis added).

¹¹ KIRK CAMERON ON TBN, *Kristen Waggoner: Protecting Religious Freedom* | Kirk Cameron on TBN, YOUTUBE (Mar. 1, 2023), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hbKRA_01gl, at 11:17 (emphasis added).

¹² *State v. Arlene's Flowers, Inc.*, 193 Wash. 2d 469 (2019), <https://openargs.com/wp-content/uploads/Arlenes-Flowers-after-Remand.pdf>.

¹³ Kristen Waggoner, *Floral Artist Faced Same Intolerance as Jack Phillips*, NAT’L REV. (Dec. 20, 2020), <https://www.nationalreview.com/bench-memos/supreme-court-florist-case-same-intolerance-masterpiece/> (emphasis added, but emphasis supplied on “this” in the original).

¹⁴ *Calvary Chapel Dayton Valley v. Sisolak*, ADF, <https://adflegal.org/case/calvary-chapel-dayton-valley-v-sisolak/>.

*that our other civil liberties are directly connected with. . . . I wanted to be a part of that—that fight to preserve it for my children and my grandchildren.”*¹⁵

- Waggoner challenged the reduction of the Free Exercise Clause to merely a freedom to worship.
 - Waggoner said “As the courts started to dive into this, as legislators started to adopt more and more regulation that impacts issues that are critical to our families and our faith, we started seeing the conflict. *And I think in that conflict, we also started to see some suggestions that instead of the free exercise of religion, which is what’s in the constitution, we are seeing that being limited to free worship, the ability to worship rather than exercise our faith in all the different ways that God’s called us to do so. And that’s a very significant change that we need to resist.*”¹⁶

Sanctity of Life:

- Waggoner passionately denounced the pro-abortion policies of the pre-*Dobbs* United States.
 - In 2018, Waggoner spoke in front of a group called “Evangelicals for Life,” and decried the United States’ liberal abortion policy, stating that, at the time, “*The United States abortion law and policy is an extreme outlier among the nations of the world,*”¹⁷ calling it “very alarming.”¹⁸
 - In her speech, Waggoner stated that state legislatures have taken “important steps to reduce the harm of abortion in a number of ways,”¹⁹ and then went on to praise states that implemented laws restricting abortion access, eugenics, and late term abortions, and “ensuring [] rigorous health and safety standards in place that limit abortion providers, as well as ensuring that there are informed consent requirements to help women make a good choice and choose life.”²⁰
- Waggoner praised President Trump’s pro-life policies.
 - She stated, “thankfully, we have a president right now who has expressed a commitment and been following through on that *commitment to ensure that our justices and judges understand the Constitution does not grant a right to abortion.*”²¹
- When oral arguments were still being heard at the Supreme Court in *Dobbs*, Waggoner courageously stated her desire for a pro-life outcome.

¹⁵ Ken McIntyre, *Meet the Lawyer Who’ll Argue at Supreme Court for Christian Baker’s Right to Free Speech*, DAILY SIGNAL (Dec. 4, 2017), <https://www.dailysignal.com/2017/12/04/meet-lawyer-wholl-argue-supreme-court-christian-bakers-right-free-speech/> (emphasis added).

¹⁶ KIRK CAMERON ON TBN, *Kristen Waggoner: Protecting Religious Freedom | Kirk Cameron on TBN*, YOUTUBE (Mar. 1, 2023), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hbKRA_01gI, at 1:35. (emphasis added).

¹⁷ ETHICS & RELIGIOUS LIBERTY COMM’N, *The Supreme Court and the Fight for Life*, <https://erlc.com/resource-library/event-messages/the-supreme-court-and-the-fight-for-life/>, at 0:00:20 (emphasis added).

¹⁸ ETHICS & RELIGIOUS LIBERTY COMM’N, *The Supreme Court and the Fight for Life*, <https://erlc.com/resource-library/event-messages/the-supreme-court-and-the-fight-for-life/>, at 0:00:30.

¹⁹ ETHICS & RELIGIOUS LIBERTY COMM’N, *The Supreme Court and the Fight for Life*, <https://erlc.com/resource-library/event-messages/the-supreme-court-and-the-fight-for-life/>, at 0:01:13.

²⁰ ETHICS & RELIGIOUS LIBERTY COMM’N, *The Supreme Court and the Fight for Life*, <https://erlc.com/resource-library/event-messages/the-supreme-court-and-the-fight-for-life/>, at 0:01:18.

²¹ ETHICS & RELIGIOUS LIBERTY COMM’N, *The Supreme Court and the Fight for Life*, <https://erlc.com/resource-library/event-messages/the-supreme-court-and-the-fight-for-life/>, at 0:02:00 (emphasis added).

- Waggoner stated, “[b]ecause life is a human right, the Supreme Court should uphold Mississippi’s law protecting unborn children and their mothers and overturn the decision in *Roe v. Wade*. . . . [W]e sincerely hope that the court reaches a result that protects life.”²²
- After the *Dobbs* decision, Waggoner stated, “***Fifty years of scientific progress and innovation establishes what the Bible has always taught: life begins at conception. Ultrasound technology allows expectant parents to see the truth of Psalm 139: children are fearfully and wonderfully made from the very beginning.***”²³
- Waggoner has supported a constitutional right to life for unborn children.
 - In a 2024 interview with *Politico*, Waggoner was asked whether she thought the *Dobbs* decision was a satisfactory resolution to the issue of abortion, and specifically whether she shared the view of scholars Robert George and John Finnis that the 14th Amendment guarantees a right to life for preborn children. She answered in the affirmative, stating, “[w]e do share their interpretation of the 14th Amendment—very much so. ***We believe that the 14th Amendment protects persons and that includes unborn persons,*** and that the right to life is protected in the Constitution and in our founding document.”²⁴
- Waggoner has stated that her and ADF’s ultimate goal is a thoroughly pro-life culture, not merely the legal end of abortion.
 - She said, “Let me be even more clear. ***I am far more excited about having a culture where abortion is unthinkable than necessarily having one where it is not legal.*** Unthinkable means that we have fixed the social ills that are plaguing our society and we’re creating families and helping families to flourish. I think that’s equally important.”²⁵

LGBT Issues:

- Waggoner echoed the concern of author J.K. Rowling that people may lose their jobs for disagreeing with “transgender” ideology.
 - Waggoner wrote, “It is amazing that this has to be clarified: no one should lose his or her job for believing that men and boys are male and that women and girls are female. This is a biological fact; ***all the surgeries and hormones in the world cannot change the reality that every single cell of a man’s body is encoded with an X and a Y chromosome, and every single cell in a woman’s body is encoded with two X chromosomes. Biological sex cannot be changed.***”²⁶

²² ADF Comment on US Supreme Court Arguments in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women’s Health Org.*, ALL. DEFENDING FREEDOM (Dec. 1, 2021), <https://adflegal.org/press-release/adf-comment-us-supreme-court-oral-arguments-dobbs-v-jackson-womens-health>.

²³ Kristen Waggoner & Erin Hawley, *A Victory for Life and the Const.*, WORLD (June 24, 2022), <https://wng.org/opinions/a-victory-for-life-and-the-constitution-1656086588> (emphasis added).

²⁴ Ian Ward, *The Group Behind Dobbs Does Not Want to Talk About What Comes Next*, POLITICO (Mar. 25, 2024), <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2024/03/25/head-of-alliance-defending-freedom-kristen-waggoner-speaks-on-mifepristone-00148565> (emphasis added).

²⁵ Ian Ward, *The Group Behind Dobbs Does Not Want to Talk About What Comes Next*, POLITICO (Mar. 25, 2024), <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2024/03/25/head-of-alliance-defending-freedom-kristen-waggoner-speaks-on-mifepristone-00148565> (emphasis added).

²⁶ Kristen Waggoner, *WAGGONER: J.K. Rowling ‘Controversy’ Shows Women Have Most To Lose With Gender Identity Ideology*, DAILY WIRE (Jan. 9, 2020), <https://www.dailywire.com/news/waggoner-j-k-rowling-controversy-shows-women-have-most-to-lose-with-gender-identity-ideology> (emphasis added).

- Waggoner finds common cause with non-Christians that hold her same view on “transgenderism.”
 - She said, “Christians don’t share a spiritual bond with [Piers] Morgan or [J.K.] Rowling. The gulf between us is vast. ***But we should thank God that they can help push back the darkness of transgenderism, the most pernicious ideology of our time.*** We should be eager to partner with others like them, issue by issue, as we seek to advance truth and human flourishing.”²⁷
- After YouTube removed a video of detransitioner Walt Heyer sharing his experience, Waggoner wrote an article about how harmful this viewpoint discrimination is for free speech and the harm it does to those suffering from the social contagion.
 - She said, “***The lives and health of countless individuals are on the line. The number of young people who claim to experience gender dysphoria has skyrocketed in the past decade, and yet some doctors encourage young people — even minors — to address their dysphoria with irreversible hormone treatments and surgeries. At the same time, a serious lack of transparency exists about the harms of puberty blockers and cross-sex hormones.***”²⁸
- *Media Matters* criticized Waggoner for not using a “transgender” person’s preferred pronouns.²⁹
- Waggoner has joined efforts to keep biological men out of women’s sports.
 - When the Department of Justice filed a statement of interest against a Connecticut policy that allowed men to compete with women if they identified as such, Waggoner praised the statement. She said, “***Maintaining separate athletic contests for boys and girls is based on real biological differences—differences that matter to fair competition and the law. In its statement of intent to the federal district court handling the lawsuit, the DOJ echoed ADF’s concerns.***”³⁰

Faith & Worldview:

- Waggoner is a member of the largest evangelical Christian Pentecostal denomination, Assemblies of God.³¹
- After winning Regent’s Alumnus of the Year award, Waggoner recalled her time there.
 - She said, “***What stands out is remembering the presence of the Holy Spirit and how strong it is on this campus, and how free we are to express that; the spirit of that is very unique.***”³²

²⁷ Kristen Waggoner, *Can we make common cause with unbelievers?*, WORLD (May 18, 2023), <https://wng.org/opinions/can-we-make-common-cause-with-unbelievers-1684409082> (emphasis added).

²⁸ Kristen Waggoner, *YouTube’s Transgender Problem*, NAT’L REV. (June 25, 2020), <https://www.nationalreview.com/2020/06/youtubes-transgender-problem/> (emphasis added).

²⁹ Brennan Suen, *On Fox, All. Defending Freedom attorney Kristen Waggoner repeatedly misgenders trans woman*, MEDIA MATTERS (Jan. 9, 2019), <https://www.mediamatters.org/laura-ingraham/fox-alliance-defending-freedom-attorney-kristen-waggoner-repeatedly-misgenders-trans> (emphasis added).

³⁰ Kristen Waggoner, *COVID-19 Isn’t the Only Thing Derailing Women’s Sports*, TOWNHALL (May 15, 2020), <https://townhall.com/columnists/kristenwaggoner/2020/05/15/covid19-isnt-the-only-thing-derailing-womens-sports-n2568844> (emphasis added).

³¹ David D. Kirkpatrick, *The Next Targets for the Group That Overturned Roe*, THE NEW YORKER (Oct. 2, 2023), <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2023/10/09/alliance-defending-freedoms-legal-crusade> (emphasis added).

³² *Kristen Waggoner Selected for Regent University’s Alumnus of the Year Award*, REGENT U. NEWS (May 12, 2016), <https://www.regent.edu/news-events/kristen-waggoner-selected-regent-universitys-alumnus-year-award/> (emphasis added).

- Waggoner joined *The View* with her client Jack Phillips to discuss his case. She defended Phillips’ conviction that marriage is between a man and a woman.
 - Waggoner said, “***The belief that marriage is between a man and a woman cuts across all of the major religions, across all cultures, all civilizations.***”³³
- Waggoner has defended a biblical worldview as a pathway out of contemporary social ills.
 - Waggoner spoke about the threats to fundamental rights and freedoms faced around the globe, citing several cases in which people in western democracies were forced to choose between upholding their worldview or avoiding legal penalties. Waggoner claimed that, though these events are part of a larger trend of confusion, her audience should be hopeful encouraging that, “[w]hen we are facing a world that is looking at compromise, we offer the joy of conviction. In a moment where we’re grappling with what human dignity is, ***we offer a conviction and a vision of real life, of real equality, of real dignity, because we’re made in God’s image.***”³⁴
- Waggoner has spoken about the hope that her faith gives her and how it plays out in her legal practice at ADF.
 - Following the *Dobbs* decision, Waggoner was asked about how she felt about ADF’s role in the legal-political world, especially given the tension between church and politics and their recent victory. Waggoner responded, “You just think about these God-sized dreams, as a believer, and the outcome is always in the Lord’s hands, in His timing, but the fact that He allows all of us to play a role. . . . ***we are so privileged to play the role that we play in the law, but this wouldn’t have happened without all of us playing the role that God has given us.***”³⁵
- Waggoner has stated that she believes scientific advancements will continue to vindicate the biblical worldview.
 - Waggoner explained that a partial cause of the success of the pro-life movement in *Dobbs* was scientific advancements concerning the unborn. She went on to say that she “believe[s] that those scientific advancements, that, as time plays out—even with the current cultural issues we’re facing—we’re going to see that ***what’s in God’s word proves true in a variety of ways.***”³⁶

Second Amendment:

- Waggoner defended the National Rifle Association from authoritarian censorship.
 - Waggoner explained how “a New York state official... actively pressured financial institutions to cut ties with the [NRA] using back-channel meetings, public investigations, and threats of fines.”³⁷ Not only did Waggoner decry the

³³ THE VIEW, *Baker In Supreme Court Gay Wedding Cake Jack Phillips Shares His Story* | *The View*, YOUTUBE (June 30, 2017), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=coBIZle18kM>, at 9:31 (emphasis added).

³⁴ ALL. DEFENDING FREEDOM, *Use or Lose Your Rights* | *Kristen Waggoner at THINQ Culture Summit*, YOUTUBE (July 1, 2024), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cP2QL0RIcCU>, at 9:42 (emphasis added).

³⁵ Way Home Podcast, *Kristen Waggoner on Religious Liberty*, DANIEL DARLING (July 14, 2022), <https://danieldarling.com/2022/07/the-way-home-podcast-kristin-waggoner-on-religious-liberty/>, at 6:53 (emphasis added).

³⁶ Way Home Podcast, *Kristen Waggoner on Religious Liberty*, DANIEL DARLING (July 14, 2022), <https://danieldarling.com/2022/07/the-way-home-podcast-kristin-waggoner-on-religious-liberty/>, at 8:50 (emphasis added).

³⁷ Kristen Waggoner, *When Big Banks Discriminate*, WORLD (Feb. 2, 2024), <https://wng.org/opinions/when-big-banks-discriminate-1706839760>.

authoritarian harassment, stating that it is “wrong and *has no place in a free society*,”³⁸ she also recognized that “[s]adly, this is not an isolated incident”³⁹ and criticized the trend of financial institutions discriminating against clients on the basis of their political or religious views as “a scandal,” noting that “[t]he idea that *powerful corporations can threaten the basic functioning of a Christian ministry, without giving any serious explanation or recourse, should alarm every American*.”⁴⁰ Waggoner then courageously went even further, recommending legal solutions: “*Politicized de-banking is Orwellian to its core and needs to be uprooted*. . . . Elected officials have a great opportunity to *restrain big banks with the power of law*. Banks should know that there will be consequences if they engage in viewpoint discrimination—and that vaguely worded ‘risk’ policies won’t get them off the hook. This is a new front in the battle for free speech, and *it’s a battle that must be won*.”⁴¹

Educational Opportunity:

- Waggoner firmly believes that parents ought to play a more significant role in their child’s education and development than schools.
 - Waggoner wrote “Parenthood is more fundamental than allegiance to a community or state—it’s ‘pre-political.’”⁴² Waggoner says parental rights are “under sustained attack,” pointing to the “media firestorm over Florida’s Parental Rights in Education law, which affirms the commonsense notion that government-funded schools shouldn’t indoctrinate 5-year-olds about human sexuality.”⁴³
- Waggoner defended the fundamental role of parents in their children’s education.
 - Waggoner wrote, “*Christian parents cannot afford to relinquish responsibility for their intellectual and spiritual formation of their children*—whether they are homeschooled, attending a Christian school, or enrolled in the local public school.”⁴⁴
- Waggoner has defended parental rights against the encroaching bureaucratic state.
 - Waggoner acknowledges that parents cannot control the outcome of their child’s life. However, she also makes it clear that *parents do carry “the responsibility—and yes, the legal right—to offer protections, guidelines, and love. That’s no role a government agency, bureaucrat, or employee can fill.”*⁴⁵

³⁸ Kristen Waggoner, *When Big Banks Discriminate*, WORLD (Feb. 2, 2024), <https://wng.org/opinions/when-big-banks-discriminate-1706839760> (emphasis added).

³⁹ Kristen Waggoner, *When Big Banks Discriminate*, WORLD (Feb. 2, 2024), <https://wng.org/opinions/when-big-banks-discriminate-1706839760>.

⁴⁰ Kristen Waggoner, *When Big Banks Discriminate*, WORLD (Feb. 2, 2024), <https://wng.org/opinions/when-big-banks-discriminate-1706839760> (emphasis added).

⁴¹ Kristen Waggoner, *When Big Banks Discriminate*, WORLD (Feb. 2, 2024), <https://wng.org/opinions/when-big-banks-discriminate-1706839760> (emphasis added).

⁴² Kristen Waggoner, *The Kids Are Not Alright*, WORLD (Apr. 19, 2022), <https://wng.org/opinions/the-kids-are-not-alright-1650367911>.

⁴³ Kristen Waggoner, *The Kids Are Not Alright*, WORLD (Apr. 19, 2022), <https://wng.org/opinions/the-kids-are-not-alright-1650367911>.

⁴⁴ Kristen Waggoner, *The Kids Are Not Alright*, WORLD (Apr. 19, 2022), <https://wng.org/opinions/the-kids-are-not-alright-1650367911> (emphasis added).

⁴⁵ Kristen Waggoner, *The Kids Are Not Alright*, WORLD (Apr. 19, 2022), <https://wng.org/opinions/the-kids-are-not-alright-1650367911> (emphasis added).

Administrative State:

- The Alliance Defending Freedom noted an increased focus on administrative state issues following Waggoner's acceptance of the position as president and CEO.
 - The organization noted in a press release that Waggoner has done well to oppose government encroachment on freedoms and noted that while she was counsel with ADF, the organization had **"increased emphasis on fighting the administrative state."**⁴⁶
- Waggoner has openly called for the dismantling of the administrative state.
 - In her official ADF press release recognizing President Trump's 2024 election victory, Waggoner appealed to the incoming administration to **"fortify the rule of law and dismantle the administrative state, including taking action to protect the integrity of our judiciary."**⁴⁷

History of Commitment to the Causes:

- Waggoner has served as general counsel of ADF since 2013.
 - Waggoner's first interaction with ADF was when the firm assisted her in preparing to defend Washington's ban on same-sex marriage.⁴⁸

Government Overreach:

- During COVID-19, Waggoner advocated for churches and opposed government overreach.
 - In an interview, Waggoner said: "We would go to government officials and say hey, excuse me, **there are certain limits to your authority here**, um, let's talk about what those limits are."⁴⁹ Regarding the government overreach against churches, she said **"civil liberties travel together**, so, this kind of unprecedented restriction that continues will I think cause even broader concerns and problems in our nation."⁵⁰
- Waggoner has defended the divine origin of First Amendment rights.
 - Waggoner said, "Well, we have to go back to first principles. . . . [A]t ADF, one of the things we talk about is that **our First Amendment rights aren't just constitutionally guaranteed. They are actually God-given. They are inalienable rights. They're apolitical. They weren't created by the United States of America.**"⁵¹
- Waggoner has defended her legal work protecting fundamental rights against wanton abuse by the state.

⁴⁶ ADF names new president, CEO, ALL. DEFENDING FREEDOM (Aug. 19, 2022), <https://adflegal.org/press-release/adf-names-new-president-ceo> (emphasis added).

⁴⁷ Kristen Waggoner, ADF statement on President-Elect Donald Trump, ALL. DEFENDING FREEDOM (Nov. 6, 2024), <https://adflegal.org/press-release/adf-statement-president-elect-donald-trump/> (emphasis added).

⁴⁸ Ken McIntyre, Meet the Lawyer Who'll Argue at Supreme Court for Christian Baker's Right to Free Speech, DAILY SIGNAL (Dec. 4, 2017), <https://www.dailysignal.com/2017/12/04/meet-lawyer-wholl-argue-supreme-court-christian-bakers-right-free-speech/>.

⁴⁹ ALL. DEFENDING FREEDOM, Kristen Waggoner at Q Sessions: Church and State, YOUTUBE (Sept. 2, 2020), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mmFjBwDicrw>, at 02:10 (emphasis added).

⁵⁰ ALL. DEFENDING FREEDOM, Kristen Waggoner at Q Sessions: Church and State, YOUTUBE (Sept. 2, 2020), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mmFjBwDicrw>, at 03:12 (emphasis added).

⁵¹ ALL. DEFENDING FREEDOM, Kristen Waggoner at Q Sessions: Church and State, YOUTUBE (Sept. 2, 2020), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mmFjBwDicrw>, at 03:45 (emphasis added).

- When Waggoner appeared on *The View* to discuss the *Masterpiece Cakeshop* case with her client, Jack Phillips, she said, “***All of these cases are about the right of expression, the right of the artist to create, and if the state can crush Jack, it can crush every single one of us.***”⁵²
- Waggoner has defended her and ADF’s biblical worldview as curtailing government overreach.
 - Waggoner said, “in a moment where, now, power is seen as a means of oppression, we offer a vision of government that recognizes ***we are all fallen creatures, so checks and balances work well, and religious freedom and free speech curbs government authoritarianism.***”⁵³ She went further, noting that “[t]hese freedoms are critical to our success, and ***they’re critical to western civilization.***”⁵⁴

⁵² THE VIEW, *Baker In Supreme Court Gay Wedding Cake Jack Phillips Shares His Story* | *The View*, YOUTUBE (June 30, 2017), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=coBIZle18kM>, at 8:49 (emphasis added).

⁵³ ALL. DEFENDING FREEDOM, *Use or Lose Your Rights* | *Kristen Waggoner at THINQ Culture Summit*, YOUTUBE (July 1, 2024), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cP2QL0RIcCU>, at 10:08 (emphasis added).

⁵⁴ ALL. DEFENDING FREEDOM, *Use or Lose Your Rights* | *Kristen Waggoner at THINQ Culture Summit*, YOUTUBE (July 1, 2024), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cP2QL0RIcCU>, at 10:25 (emphasis added).