The Complex Landscape of LGBTQ+ Inclusion Within the Politics of Africa and the Dynamics of Anti-LGBTQ+ Laws and Development

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THE COMPLEX LANDSCAPE OF LGBTQ+ INCLUSION WITHIN THE POLITICS OF AFRICA AND THE DYNAMICS OF ANTI-LGBTQ+ LAWS AND DEVELOPMENT.

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

By

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ABSTRACT


The politics of LGBTQ+ inclusion has undergone significant transformations worldwide, reflecting evolving societal attitudes, advancements in human rights, and the increasing global recognition of LGBTQ+ rights. However, the politics of LGBTQ+ inclusion in Africa presents a diverse and intricate landscape, characterized by variations in attitudes, legal frameworks, and societal acceptance across the continent. This study explores the complex and evolving dynamics of Anti-LGBTQ+ laws in Africa, with some countries making strides towards LGBTQ+ inclusion by repealing colonial-era legislation, while others have become more repressive. Notably, countries such as Angola, Cape Verde, Lesotho, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, and Seychelles have amended their laws to promote LGBTQ+ tolerance, while Mauritania, Uganda, Nigeria, and Somalia still enforce severe penalties, including the death penalty, for same-sex relationships. Understanding the impact of these laws on development is crucial, particularly in their intersection with foreign aid, migration patterns, and a state's overall image and development trajectory. Through a quantitative analysis using a cross-sectional time series generalized linear model from 2001 to 2020, this study examines the relationship between the adoption of anti-LGBTQ+ laws and foreign aid, as well as migration.
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List of Abbreviations

• AU – African Union
• CHRAJ - Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice
• CNN – Cable News Network
• EU – European Union
• FDI - Foreign Direct Investments
• GDP – Gross Domestic Product
• GNP - Gross National Product
• GPCC - Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council
• HIV - Human Immunodeficiency Viruses
• ILGA - International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Intersex Association
• LGBTQ+ - Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer. The ‘plus’ represents other sexual identities including pansexual and Two Spirit.
• NGO – Non-governmental Organizations
• ODA - Official Development Assistance
• ODI - Overseas Development Institute’s
• OECD - Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
• OHCHR - Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
• ORAM - Organization for Refugee, Asylum and Migration
• PTSD – Post-traumatic stress disorder
• UN – United Nations
• UNWTO - United Nations World Tourism Organization
• US – United States
Acknowledgement

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to all those who have supported me throughout the completion of this thesis.

First and foremost, I am grateful to my thesis supervisor, Dr. Liam Anderson, for his unwavering support, invaluable guidance, and constructive feedback. I am also thankful to my thesis committee members, Dr. Carlos E. Costa, and Dr. Vaughn Shannon, for their insightful suggestions and contributions that have greatly enriched this study. I am also grateful to Dr. Laura Luehrmann, Chair of the School of Social Sciences, and International Studies for the support, advice and inspiration given me on my academic journey.

I would like to acknowledge the support provided by my mentor, Dr. Fatemah Hajjehoseini of Women Walking West. Her stimulating discussions, intellectual exchanges, and encouragement throughout this journey were invaluable. I am indebted to my friends and family for their unwavering belief in my abilities and their unconditional support. Their love, encouragement, and patience have sustained me during the challenges faced along the way.

Lastly, I am grateful for the personal growth and lessons learned throughout this thesis journey. The obstacles encountered have provided valuable opportunities for learning and development, both academically and personally. In conclusion, I extend my profound gratitude to all those who have contributed to this thesis. Your support, encouragement, and guidance have made this endeavor possible, and I am forever grateful for the transformative impact it has had on my academic and personal growth.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Gender identification and sexual orientation are profound elements of society that reflect power dynamics and have become increasingly the focus of public policy. The politics of LGBTQ+ inclusion in Africa has become a significant area of research and debate in recent years. As societies around the world strive for greater inclusivity and respect for human rights, it is crucial to understand the specific challenges faced by LGBTQ+ individuals in African countries and its impact on economic development in the continent. One key aspect of this exploration is the examination of repressive anti-LGBTQ laws and their potential impact on various facets of development, including foreign aid and migration.

According to the American Psychological Association (2021) LGBTQ+ inclusion refers to the recognition and acceptance of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer individuals in all aspects of social, economic, and political life. In Africa, however, the existence of laws that criminalize same-sex relationships and target LGBTQ+ individuals pose significant barriers to their inclusion and full participation in society. Those who identify as heterosexual are the most common sexual group in Ghana and Africa at large. It is reasonable to believe that homosexual, bisexual, and transgender sexual individuals exist in Ghana. Same-sex sexual relationships are prohibited in Ghana, and LGBTQ+ rights are severely restricted. Most of the Ghanaian population holds anti-LGBTQ+ sentiments (Boniface D. et. al, 2016)

Even as Ghana is on track to meet its democratic and development objectives, a quarter of the country's population lives in poverty, with the LGBTQ+ community being the most vulnerable to this issue of poverty, according to the United Nations Rapporteur's 2018 Human Rights Report. It is difficult for them to find work because of their sexual orientation.
Furthermore, because many families reject their LGBTQ+ family members, they may find themselves homeless. Professor Philip Alston, a UN Special rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights recommended in 2018 that “Ghana repeal its legislation on adult consensual same-sexual activities and that the government launches a public campaign to educate on the rights, legal and social services of those who are victims of sexual discrimination” (OHCR, 2018). The United States of America in 2013, offered to assist Ghana in developing laws to safeguard the rights and protection of LGBT people. (Potts, 2013).

In March 2020, the Pan Africa ILGA planned to organize a seminar in West Africa to improve strategies that would enhance LGBTQ+ rights, raise LGBTQ+ awareness, and protect African queer youth. Following religious organizations' retaliation, Ghana's President, Nana Akufo-Addo, banned the event, on the grounds that such an event would be illegal in Ghana because the country legally condemns and criminalizes same-sex acts among adults. (Wakefield, 2020).

Following public and government outrage, a draft bill was released on the internet in July 2021. (Paquette, 2021). The bill is officially titled "The Promotion of Proper Human Sexual Rights and Ghanaian Family Values Bill." Public expression of same-sex affection and cross-dressing would be punishable by jail time under this bill, it would be illegal to form LGBTQ+ organizations or share information perceived to support LGBTQ+ people or rights, and certain types of healthcare would be prohibited, and "conversion therapy" could be mandated. It would be criminal to identify as LGBTQ+ and advocating for LGBTQ+ rights could land you in prison for 5-10 years. Same-sex marriage and adoption by same-sex couples would be prohibited as well. According to the bill's memorandum, Ghana, its government, most of its citizens, its culture, and history completely oppose the LGBTQ+ community. The debate over the bill's
passage has primarily been cultural and religious. These cases will be gauged considering the preceding viewpoints and analysis.

**Statement of Research Problem**

Cheyne et. al (2005) defines social policy as “actions that affect the well-being of members of a society through shaping the distribution of and access to goods and resources in that society”. Social policy overarches the areas of health care, human services, criminal justice, inequality, education, and labor. The central issues building controversies around the anti-LGBTQ+ bill is based on religion, culture, law, and human rights in Ghana. Various scholars have made arguments around same-sex marriage and homosexuality in Ghana. Tweneboah (2017) asserts that religious and customary paradigms on marriage and sexuality provide avenues for contesting external political pressure and legal influence. From this perspective, he demonstrated that while homosexuality has become a point of contention between the various socially constructed traditions, it is also an opportunity for collaboration among these traditions, particularly in defying what people deem to be imported practices. This shows that religion, culture, and tradition play a role in the adoption of social policies in Ghana as the ongoing politicization of LGBTQ+ rights build a debate from those perspectives creating both tension and cooperation among the different legal orders in contemporary Ghana. During the UN Human Rights Committee General Assembly in October 2012, the committee completed a universal periodic review of the state of human rights in Ghana and these countries; France, Slovenia, The Czech Republic, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, Norway, Netherlands, and United States of America made recommendations for the advancement and defense of LGBTQ+ rights. Ghana rejected all their recommendations. This backs Tweneboah’s (2017) claim that religious and customary
solidarity is vital for Ghana in asserting its sovereignty when it comes to resisting external pressure to legalize homosexuality.

Understanding the impact of repressive anti-LGBTQ laws on development is crucial because it sheds light on the potential consequences for various sectors, including foreign aid and migration. Development encompasses economic, social, and human progress that leads to improvements in the well-being and quality of life for individuals and communities. By examining the intersection of LGBTQ+ rights and development, we can gain insights into the barriers faced by LGBTQ+ individuals in accessing essential services such as healthcare, education, employment, and housing. Repressive anti-LGBTQ+ laws can also have far-reaching implications for foreign aid and investments in African countries. Donor states often promote human rights and democratic principles as a condition for providing aid. The presence of discriminatory laws and policies targeting LGBTQ+ individuals may influence the allocation and disbursement of foreign aid, as donor countries weigh their foreign policy interests and altruistic goals. Understanding the dynamics between anti-LGBTQ+ laws and foreign aid can contribute to more informed policymaking and advocacy efforts aimed at fostering LGBTQ+ inclusion in Africa.

LGBTQ+ rights and advocacy are viewed as a new manifestation of Western colonialism by religious leaders and government officials. Religious leaders have used Bible passages to justify their opposition to homosexuality. (Essien and Aderinto, 2009). While on duty as the president of Ghana, the late John Evans Atta Mills made a vow in 2011 not to legalize homosexuality, even after David Cameron, UK Prime Minister threatened to cut foreign aid to Ghana due to its record on gay rights. (Ghana Joy News, 2011). In February 2017, the then-Speaker of Parliament, Aaron Mike Oquaye, proposed amending Ghanaian laws to outright
prohibit homosexuality (Welsing, 2017). The National Women's Organizer of the National Democratic Congress stated in March 2020 that homosexuals should be killed. (Mubarik, 2020). The Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council (GPCC), an umbrella group of 200 churches and ministries, and the Christian Council of Ghana, which includes Anglicans, Methodists, and Presbyterians, released a joint statement in support of the draft law. (Truscott, 2021). This also brings in the dimension of complexity that, under certain conditions, the state, chiefly and churchly actors come together when they perceive that traditional values are under attack from external agents. Early analysis of this issue has tended to focus on the debate about the (im)morality of same-sex partnerships or whether same-sex partners have rights. Importantly, my interest and focus are on interrogating and understanding how the adoption of this bill will affect international relations and economic development. This will also help in understanding whilst delving into the nature of tensions that arise from the full enjoyment of gay rights and how far the country can go in protecting their religious and cultural values. Understanding these tensions contributes to a deeper appreciation of the religion-culture-law interrelationships in contemporary Ghana and the politics surrounding social equity and inequities. But is there a relationship between human rights policies especially with regards to the LGBTQ+ communities and international relations and development aid?

Indeed, some scholars argue that donors provide aid to achieve secondary foreign policy goals, such as boosting bilateral trade (Pettersson and Johansson 2013), or to gain support for their positions in international organizations (Kuziemko and Werker 2006). Wei & Swiss (2020) identified that: (1) total aid plays a significant role in closing human rights decoupling gaps between treaty ratification and performance in practice; (2) aid aimed at good governance has a similar effect, but the magnitude is small; and (3) the narrowest category of aid with a sectoral
focus on human rights has little impact on human rights decoupling. Others, on the other hand, argue that donors provide aid to assist recipient countries in improving their socioeconomic and human rights conditions. Donors, for instance, help with infrastructure development (Owens and Hoddinott 1999), school and hospital construction (Birchler and Michaelowa 2016), and promoting good governance and human rights (Dunning 2004). Existing research, however, yields mixed results in terms of human rights practices and donor-state foreign aid allocation. Some report that repressive regimes receive less foreign aid (Cingranelli and Pasquarello 1985), while others report that human rights violations have no effect on aid policies (Neumayer 2003a, b), and still others report that donors provide more aid to repressive regimes (Carleton and Stohl 1987). Adhikari (2021) argues that donors use a variety of aid delivery channels to strike a balance between their vested foreign policy interests and altruistic goals. Donor states specifically promote human rights in repressive regimes by assisting NGOs and civil society organizations.

Migration is also a significant aspect of economic development and human mobility, therefore understanding the relationship between repressive anti-LGBTQ laws and migration patterns is crucial. Discrimination, violence, and persecution faced by LGBTQ+ individuals in their home countries can drive them to seek safety and better opportunities elsewhere. Analyzing the impact of anti-LGBTQ laws on migration can provide insights into the complexities of displacement, forced migration, and asylum movements. Since the early 1990s, Canada has become a primary destination for individuals who make refugee claims based on sexual orientation persecution (Murray, 2014). The European Union (EU), Canada, Australia, and the United States have all taken steps to develop a more inclusive procedure for dealing with asylum claims from LGBTQ+ people that is more sensitive to their experiences. (ORAM, 2014). ORAM
also makes an assertion in their “opening doors survey report” that individuals who seek protection based explicitly on their sexual orientation or gender identity do so in LGBTQ+ “tolerant” countries such as the United Kingdom, Belgium, the Netherlands, the United States, Canada, and Australia. These are nations with relatively developed LGBTQ+ communities with recognized legal rights and economies that permit the survival of socially marginalized communities (ORAM, 2012).

Free movement within Africa is especially important for migrants. Many people on the continent often prefer to live in South Africa, which has one of the most advanced economies in the region. (World Economic Forum, 2018). As of 2020, South Africa and Côte d’Ivoire were hosting the highest number of immigrants among all African countries (Statista Research Department, 2022). It is therefore worthy to note that LGBTQ+ people in South Africa enjoy the same rights as non-LGBTQ+ people. South Africa has a complex and diverse history regarding the human rights of LGBTQ+ people (The Other Foundation, 2016). South Africa was also rated the safest travel destination in Africa for members of the LGBTQ+ community, according to the 2021 ranking (Oluwole, 2022). Côte d’Ivoire does not criminalize homosexuality and has traditionally been relatively tolerant, though LGBTQ+ people are not protected under the law and can be prosecuted for public acts of indecency (Human Rights Watch, 2015).

Research Questions and Objectives

The overriding objective of the study is to find out the costs of adopting the Anti-LGBTQ+ bill and the effect it will have on international relations and agreements between Ghana, other countries, and international organizations. In pursuit of this objective, the following research questions will be addressed:
1. What are the political and social factors that contribute to the adoption of repressive anti-LGBTQ+ laws in African countries?

2. How does the adoption of repressive anti-LGBTQ+ laws affect foreign aid and investments to African countries, and what are the potential economic and political implications?

3. To what extent does the adoption of repressive anti-LGBTQ+ laws affect migration patterns, including emigration of LGBTQ+ individuals and immigration of individuals.

Background of Study Area

Many scholars have blamed this on the former colonial powers of Africa who imposed homophobic policies on their landholdings. According to the 11th edition of the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Intersex Association (ILGA) state-sponsored homophobia report, out of the 54 African states recognized by the United Nations, homosexuality is outlawed in 34 African countries (Aengus, 2016).

Homosexuality was criminalized in Ghana in the 1860s (BBC News, 2014) when Ghana was a British colony. The Offences Against the Person Act of 1861, a British law that made sodomy illegal, was implemented throughout all British colonies. Since the end of the colonial period, the country has gone through social, political, and economic changes that are too numerous to mention. Regardless of the changes, the nation's social norms pertaining to courtship, marriage, sexual behaviors, sexual freedoms, and family remain largely conventional in urban areas and parochial in rural areas (Norman et. al, 2016).

Prohibitions against homosexuality are found in Chapter 6 sections 102 through 105 of the Consolidation of Criminal Code, 2003 (Act 29). Given the Criminal Code's restrictions on
homosexuality, there appears to be a justifiable reason to bring homosexuals under the protective cover provided in Article 17 (1) through (3) (The Criminal Code (Repeal of Criminal Libel and Seditious Laws).

Furthermore, Section 12(2) of Chapter 5 of the Ghanaian Constitution states, "Every person in Ghana, regardless of race, place of origin, political opinion, color, religion, creed, or gender, shall be entitled to the fundamental human rights and freedoms of the individual contained in this Chapter, subject to respect for the rights and freedoms of others and the public interest." ("The Constitution of the Republic of Ghana 1992"). Although there is no law prohibiting discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender identity, any Ghanaian who believes he or she has been subjected to discrimination based on HIV status, gender identity, or sexual orientation may report an incident through the Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) stigma and discrimination reporting portal. (R. Taylor et. al, 2014)

Having discovered the law respecting homosexual conduct in Ghana, it is argued that Ghana's criminal statute does not outlaw "homosexuality" or "homosexual expression" in general. Homosexuality could mean the mere sexual attraction to a person of the same gender, and not necessarily unnatural carnal knowledge or sodomy. This implies that a person who identifies as "gay" but does not engage in unnatural carnal knowledge would not be caught by Ghana's criminal laws (Atuguba, 2019). Nevertheless, a heterosexual person who engages in "unnatural carnal knowledge" commits an offense, although (s)he is not homosexual. It may, therefore, be reasonably proposed that a person belonging to the LGBTQ+ community is permitted by the confines of Ghanaian law, to live openly as a homosexual—with the opportunity at will to publicly show affection to another person of the same sex and engage in all act’s attendant to
such affection. Although same-sex relationships have been illegal in Ghana since the 1960s, arrests and convictions for sexual orientation are uncommon due to the obscurity of Ghana's homosexuality laws. (Paquette, 2021). On August 2, 2021, a bill was proposed in parliament as “The Promotion of Proper Human Sexual Rights and Ghanaian Family Values Bill” to criminalize LGBTQ+ and any activity related to it in the country.

Over $50 billion worth of aid is poured into Africa every year. Most of it is targeted towards poverty reduction, hunger, and achieving sustainable development goals (Shumba, 2020). It appears that most African countries are so dependent on aid that without it almost half of their yearly budgetary commitments cannot be fulfilled. For example, in 1992, aid is said to have accounted for 12.4% of gross national product (GNP), over 70% of gross domestic savings and investments in Sub-Saharan Africa and over 50% of all imports (Ampaw, 2000). This shows the continent’s heavy reliance on foreign aid and the western world in international relations and development. At a time when there is a growing emphasis on improving LGBTQ+ rights on the international stage, will there still be an increase in legislative persecution of LGBTQ+ people in Africa? Will the continent choose between decriminalizing homosexuality and foregoing critical aid for economic development?

**Hypothesis**

My argument is that the adoption of the Anti LGBTQ+ bill is a human right issue that will have adverse effects on the country regarding international relations and development. It is the assumption of this study that a host of factors, including human rights, economic conditions, foreign policy, international relations, and diplomacy will be affected. With this, I assume that the adoption of the bill will affect the rights of a minority of the population, and in turn have effects on the country where the costs will be greater than the gains. The independent variable,
which is the adoption of the anti-LGBTQ+ bill will affect: the attraction of inward foreign aid and investment to the country and decrease the levels of net migration.

The main hypothesis to be drawn from this research is that LGBTQ+ rights go together with economic growth, development and maintaining international relations focusing on foreign aid, and migration, thus if Ghana criminalizes LGBTQ+ movements it will put her at a considerable disadvantage.

**Methodology**

The methodology employed in this study involved a cross-sectional, time-series regression analysis for examining the relationship between homophobia laws and levels of foreign aid and migration. The research design utilized a quantitative approach to gather data and test specific hypotheses related to the impact of anti-LGBTQ+ legislation on foreign aid and net migration. The study focused on the 55 member states of the African Union, compiling data on the nature of homophobia laws from 2001 to 2021 in these countries. Additionally, data on the amount of foreign aid received and net migration for each country during the same period were analyzed.

The anti-LGBTQ+ laws variable was categorized into five forms: tolerant, symbolic, moderate, harsh, and severe, based on the severity of sanctions and limits imposed on LGBTQ+ individuals. Changes in the severity of the laws over the years were also considered. For the dependent variables, the foreign aid variable was calculated by finding the percentage of foreign aid a country receives by comparing the net official development assistance to the country's GDP. Control variables such as political instability, government effectiveness, rule of law, and control of corruption were included to account for alternative explanations.
Migration, which is the second dependent variable was operationalized as net migration, which represented the net total of migrants (immigrants minus emigrants) for each country. The same control variables used in the foreign aid analysis were used to examine their influence on migration decisions.

The data analysis involved codifying the collected data to identify themes and patterns for further discussion and analysis. Time series analysis was conducted to examine how the variables changed over the 20-year period and to forecast potential future trends. The methodology aimed to provide a systematic and rigorous approach to investigate the research questions and objectives, allowing for meaningful analysis and interpretation of the data.

**Organization of the Study**

The study is organized into five chapters. Chapter one of this research work covers general introduction, problem statement, research objectives, theoretical framework, research questions, methodology, and organization of study. Chapter two provides a detailed review of the relevant literature. Chapter three explains the methodology adopted in conducting this research. Chapter four profiles data analysis, presentation and findings of the data collected. Chapter five comprises a summary of findings, recommendations, limitations of the study, and conclusion.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The politics of LGBTQ+ inclusion in Africa has garnered increasing attention in recent years as debates surrounding sexual orientation and gender identity have gained prominence globally. Africa is a diverse continent with a complex socio-political landscape where LGBTQ+ individuals face discrimination, violence, and persecution due to deep-seated cultural, religious, and legal factors. Many African countries have enacted repressive anti-LGBTQ+ laws that criminalize same-sex relationships, foster discrimination, and perpetuate stigma against LGBTQ+ individuals.

The importance and relevance of studying the politics of LGBTQ+ inclusion in Africa is multifaceted. Firstly, it raises fundamental questions about human rights, equality, and social justice in the context of sexual orientation and gender identity. LGBTQ+ individuals, like any other group, have the right to be free from discrimination, violence, and persecution, and to enjoy equal opportunities and protection under the law. Secondly, understanding the politics of LGBTQ+ inclusion in Africa is essential for comprehending the complexities of identity, culture, and politics in the African context. It involves examining the historical, cultural, and political factors that shape attitudes and policies towards LGBTQ+ individuals and analyzing the dynamics of power, resistance, and change in relation to LGBTQ+ rights in Africa.

Furthermore, repressive anti-LGBTQ+ laws in Africa have potential implications for development, foreign aid, and migration. Development, broadly defined as the process of improving people's well-being and expanding their choices, encompasses economic, social, and human development dimensions. The impact of anti-LGBTQ laws on LGBTQ+ individuals'
access to healthcare, education, employment, and housing, as well as their social and economic well-being, can hinder their full participation in society and undermine overall development outcomes. Additionally, foreign aid plays a significant role in supporting development efforts in Africa, and LGBTQ+ inclusion has become an important consideration in many donor countries, international organizations, and NGOs' development assistance policies and programs. The presence of repressive anti-LGBTQ laws in African countries may affect foreign aid dynamics, including the allocation and effectiveness of aid, and influence the ways in which LGBTQ+ inclusion is promoted or inhibited in development initiatives.

Moreover, repressive anti-LGBTQ laws in Africa may impact migration patterns and the protection of LGBTQ+ rights. LGBTQ+ individuals facing discrimination, violence, and persecution in their home countries may be forced to migrate internally or externally to seek safety and protection. However, migration itself can be challenging for LGBTQ+ individuals, as they may face discrimination, violence, and legal barriers in seeking asylum or protection in other countries. The interaction between repressive anti-LGBTQ laws, migration, and the protection of LGBTQ+ rights raise complex issues related to human rights, mobility, and international relations.

This literature review will critically analyze and synthesize existing scholarly works on the politics of LGBTQ+ inclusion in Africa, with a specific focus on the effects of repressive anti-LGBTQ+ laws on development focusing on foreign aid and migration. Key terms, such as LGBTQ+ inclusion, anti-LGBTQ+ laws, and development will be defined, and the historical, cultural, legal, and political factors that shape the politics of LGBTQ+ inclusion in Africa will be examined. The literature will also focus on the impact of anti-LGBTQ+ laws on development outcomes, the role of foreign aid in promoting LGBTQ+ inclusion, and the relationship between
repressive anti-LGBTQ+ laws, migration, and the protection of LGBTQ+ rights. The aim of this review is to provide a comprehensive overview of the current state of knowledge on the topic, identify research gaps, and highlight the implications for policy, practice, and future research.

**The Historical and Cultural Context of Homophobia in Africa**

The politics of LGBTQ+ inclusion in Africa is deeply influenced by historical and cultural factors that shape attitudes and policies towards LGBTQ+ individuals on the continent (Hoad, 2017; Kaoma, 2019; Tamale, 2011; Kinsman & Engler, 2013). Understanding the historical and contextual background is crucial for comprehending the complexities of LGBTQ+ rights and anti-LGBTQ+ laws in Africa. This section will review existing scholarly works on the historical milestones, events, and trends related to LGBTQ+ inclusion and anti-LGBTQ laws in Africa and analyze the ways in which these factors have influenced the current landscape of LGBTQ+ rights and anti-LGBTQ+ laws on the continent. The aim of this analysis is to provide a comprehensive understanding of the historical and contextual background of the politics of LGBTQ+ inclusion in Africa and its implications for policies.

One key historical factor that has shaped the politics of LGBTQ+ inclusion in Africa is the legacy of colonialism (Hoad, 2017; Kaoma, 2019). Many African countries were colonized by European powers, which had a profound impact on their social, cultural, and legal systems. During the colonial era, European powers imposed their own cultural and moral values, including anti-LGBTQ+ attitudes, onto African societies, often criminalizing same-sex relationships and introducing laws that stigmatized and oppressed LGBTQ+ individuals (Hoad, 2017; Kaoma, 2019). These colonial legacies have continued to influence attitudes towards LGBTQ+ individuals and the development of anti-LGBTQ+ laws in Africa even after gaining independence. Same-sex sexual acts are outlawed in some 32 African countries and most of
these countries have maintained laws inherited from their colonial histories. Many legal scholars and authors have traced the legacy of the current criminal sanctions in many African countries to their colonial roots. Even though England and Wales decriminalized most consensual homosexual conduct in 1967, this came too late for most of Britain’s colonies, many of which won independence in the 1950s and 1960s. Therefore, they won these victories with colonial sodomy laws still in place (Rao, 2020). Despite this colonial history and the desire of many African nations to shed these legacies, many leaders invoke the values contained in these outdated and discriminatory laws as ‘traditionally African’. Much of Africa seems to be riding on a homophobic wave that is being billed as an African resistance to Western attempts to force homosexuality on Africa. Ibrahim (2015) claims that the current wave of homophobia is based on Western anti-LGBTQ+ rights discourses and in some part is sponsored by Western/American evangelical groups. He argues that the imposition of an African label on colonial and neo-colonial products needs to be challenged without, however, effectively replacing it with an equally Western construct.

Despite the Western roots of the contemporary homophobic wave that is sweeping Africa, one of the major arguments that are being voiced against the protection of LGBTQ+ rights are that homosexuality is ‘un-African’ (Mazzochi, 2011). By characterizing homophobia as part of African culture, the ‘un-African’ narrative claims that the difference really is one of culture and that there is no reason why Africa should abandon its culture in favor of the West’s. Repeated enough times, underlined with religious zeal and the threat of supernatural damnation, this narrative slowly has resulted in widespread hatred. In Uganda, Nigeria, Kenya, and Tanzania such narratives have resulted in a vigilante-type violence and the persecution of homosexual individuals and human rights defenders. African culture is presented as homogenously
heterosexual and inherently homophobic. Typically, the claim is that Africans ‘are unique people whose culture, morality and heritage totally abhor homosexual and lesbian practices and indeed any other form of unnatural sexual acts’ (Mittelstaedt, 2008). Such a view has been promoted even though anthropological and historical evidence reveals that the claim is unfounded.

Mbaru et. al (2018) claimed that same-sex sexuality and gender diversity have existed in African cultures for centuries. It is promising that many books and articles have begun to document this reality. For example, Ugandan academic and human rights activist Dr Sylvia Tamale discusses a practice among the Shangani of Southern Africa where men married other men, noting that this was part of their culture and everyday life known as ngochani [male wife]. Other examples she cites include woman-to-woman marriages among the Kisii in Kenya, among the Igbo in Nigeria, and the Nuer in Sudan. There is also proof in many African languages that sexual and gender diversity has been known to exist in various African cultures, even if that language strongly suggests social disapproval or stigma. Nevertheless, some gay rights activists in recent years have adopted them to describe themselves with a touch of pride. They say the mere fact that such words exist in African languages is proof that people like them have always been known in traditional culture.

Religious beliefs also play a significant role in shaping attitudes towards LGBTQ+ individuals in Africa (Kaoma, 2019; Tamale, 2011). Many African countries have deeply ingrained religious traditions, including Christianity, Islam, and traditional African religions, which often condemn homosexuality as against religious teachings and cultural norms (Kaoma, 2019; Tamale, 2011). Religious leaders and institutions have been influential in advocating for anti-LGBTQ laws, framing LGBTQ+ rights as contradictory to religious and cultural values and promoting discrimination and persecution against LGBTQ+ individuals (Kaoma, 2019).
and women of various religious and moral proclivities have moved from total ambivalence to sustained interest and agitation to condemnation of the practice. According to several studies, those who have negative sexual attitudes toward male homosexuality are more likely to be religious and attend church regularly. They also tend to adhere to conservative religious dogma and ideology (Ahmad & Bhugra, 2010). Identity politics (politics based on issues such as race, gender, and sexual orientation), critics argue, brings down politics to a disparate set of parochial groups that continues to struggle at the expense of transcendent, "universal" values. This criticism ignores the close relationship that exists between identity politics and universal values.

Moreover, cultural norms and traditions in Africa play a significant role in shaping attitudes towards LGBTQ+ individuals (Tamale, 2011). In many African societies, traditional gender roles and norms are deeply entrenched, with heterosexuality and procreation being highly valued (Tamale, 2011). LGBTQ+ individuals may face rejection, discrimination, and violence due to these cultural norms, which often prioritize heteronormativity and gender conformity (Tamale, 2011). The benchmark in Ghana for male and female homosexuality may be explained by the national culture's emphasis on virility and procreation. Ghana's psychosocial life is male-centric and based on the concept of male virility (Kimmel & Tissier-Desbordes, 1999). In terms of power complexities in both domestic and professional lives, women are purposefully kept in subordinate sociopolitical positions (Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1993). In an emerging secular state, attempts to introduce a "universal" principle that is held as inconsistent with local conceptions of justice are interpreted as corrupting the moral foundations of society. Religion has a significant impact on the moderating of sexual desires and pursuits within and between members of a specific group (McFarland et al. 2011).
McFarland et al. (2011) report that elevated religiosity, defined as church attendance and strength of religious identification, is found to reduce the incidence of sex before marriage among Catholics and conservative Protestants. The same could not be said for liberal or moderate Protestants. This implies that religion may influence people's attitudes toward sexual activities like masturbation, oral and anal sex, kissing, and having multiple partners (McFarland et al. 2011). Regardless of religion's role in limiting a religious group's sexual experimentation, there appear to be other socio-demographic developments in the national sexual landscape that need to be understood. These include the relationship between education and sexual freedom, the relationship between a marital union and the quality of life, homosexuality and education, and autoerotic behaviors. (Carvalho & Nobre, 2011).

Homosexuality is a growing sexual behavior that is gathering steam in various societies; however, most African countries, including Ghana, have a general homophobic attitude toward them. Throughout history, there have been key milestones, events, and trends related to LGBTQ+ inclusion and anti-LGBTQ+ laws in Africa (Kinsman & Engler, 2013). These include the enactment of anti-LGBTQ+ laws in various African countries, such as Uganda's Anti-Homosexuality Act of 2014 and Nigeria's Same-Sex Marriage Prohibition Act of 2013, which have sparked international attention and debates on LGBTQ+ rights in Africa (Kinsman & Engler, 2013). There have also been significant challenges and struggles by LGBTQ+ activists and organizations in Africa, advocating for equality, human rights, and social inclusion of LGBTQ+ individuals (Kinsman & Engler, 2013). However, these efforts often face backlash, including violence, discrimination, and persecution, from societal, cultural, and legal forces opposed to LGBTQ+ inclusion (Kinsman & Engler, 2013). Mucciaroni (2011) asserts that “the story of sexual politics is both a narrative about a heterosexist majority that has used religion and
ideology to maintain its cultural and legal privileges and a story of social learning in which disproportionately younger, more educated citizens have come to know openly gay people and have responded with greater tolerance and support for LGBTQ+ equality”. Same-sex relationships also illuminate and challenge the cultural and moral status of patriarchal gender roles in heterosexual couples. The growing number of open same-sex spousal and parental relationships, as well as other alternatives to the traditional nuclear family, have broadened the definition of "family" and reshaped public policies governing divorce, child adoption, custody, and visitation in countries where it has been openly accepted and legalized.

Assessing Anti-LGBTQ+ laws in Africa; The Structures and Powers

Among the international actors discussing, or rather arguing about, the rights of sexual and gender minorities, many African nations have come to the fore in opposing the notion that LGBTQ+ rights should be protected legally. In the United Nations (UN) General Assembly and Human Rights Council, for example, a group of African nations have forged an alliance with the Organization of Islamic Conference in opposing initiatives to afford greater protection to LGBTQ+ rights (Geneva, 2012). Numerous African countries have laws that criminalize same-sex relationships, imposing severe penalties on individuals engaged in consensual same-sex acts. For instance, Uganda's Anti-Homosexuality Act of 2014 stipulates life imprisonment for "aggravated homosexuality," including repeated same-sex acts or acts with minors or disabled persons (Mugisha et al., 2014). Nigeria's Same-Sex Marriage Prohibition Act of 2013 also criminalizes same-sex relationships, with penalties of up to 14 years in prison (Anyangwe, 2014). Similar laws exist in other African countries, such as Tanzania, Kenya, Cameroon, and more.
Mucciaroni (2011) asserts that “sexual orientation and identity issues reflect power relations and fundamental value conflict in society”. LGBTQ+ politics helps us understand politics, power, social movements, public opinion, policymaking institutions, urban politics, and the relationship between science and public policy. Mucciaroni states that the study of LGBTQ+ politics contributes to a broader understanding of "politics" and "power." LGBTQ+ politics, like feminist politics, keep reminding us that "the personal is political." LGBTQ+ people have challenged this system of dominance by creating a "new ethic" or "truth" about sexuality by constructing a collective identity and community. Gay and lesbian politics remind us that power dynamics exist even when there is no open political conflict. For decades, the state, religious doctrines, medicine, the mass media, and other institutions have created a negative group identity for gays and lesbians, discouraging these groups from mobilizing, keeping their grievances off the agenda, and presenting formidable barriers to progress after the movement's emergence. (Lehring 2003)

From a small group of counter-culture activists operating outside of mainstream politics, the movement has matured into a full-grown movement with extensive political organization. Sex and gender distinctions are widespread in our laws, influencing who is eligible to marry and adopt a child, enlist in the armed forces, receive welfare state benefits, and avoid paying taxes (Mucciaroni, 2011). Various social movement theories have been confirmed and debunked by the studying of LGBTQ+ politics. The enactment and enforcement of anti-LGBTQ+ laws in Africa are driven by various political, social, and economic factors. One key factor is the influence of religious beliefs. Many African countries have deeply ingrained religious traditions that condemn homosexuality as contrary to religious teachings and cultural norms (Doraiswamy, 2017). Religious leaders and institutions often advocate for anti-LGBTQ+ laws, framing
LGBTQ+ rights as contradictory to religious and cultural values and promoting discrimination and persecution against LGBTQ+ individuals (Mugisha et al., 2014). Button, Rienzo, and Wald (1997) discovered support for resource mobilization, political process, community protest, and urban diversity as explanations for movement success. Rimmerman (2000; 2002) finds that the major social movement theories which include collective action theory, conflict theory, functionalism theory, etc. are unable to account for those important strands of the LGBTQ+ movement that go beyond "mere identity politics" by focusing on the organizational structures and strategies that gay rights "movements" have adopted. He attributes the movement's limited success to its reliance on professionalized lobbyists as well as its adoption of a narrow, rights-based strategy that rejects the goals of the broader class, race, and gender politics.

The structures of the African society as patriarchal can also be linked to its homophobic nature. Cultural norms and traditions also play a significant role in driving the enactment and enforcement of anti-LGBTQ+ laws in Africa. Traditional gender roles and norms are deeply entrenched in many African societies, with heterosexuality and procreation highly valued (Epprecht, 2012). LGBTQ+ individuals often face rejection and discrimination due to these cultural norms that prioritize heteronormativity and gender conformity (Babarinsa, 2016). Additionally, the legacy of colonialism has influenced the enactment of anti-LGBTQ+ laws in Africa, as European powers imposed their cultural and moral values, including anti-LGBTQ+ attitudes, onto African societies during the colonial era (Doraiswamy, 2017). “It is argued that the negative reaction towards male homosexuality is a defensive mechanism by the perpetrator to reinforce masculine stereotypes” (Black & Stevenson, 1984). National homophobia extends from university professors, lecturers, and students to clergy, government ministers and bureaucracies, and the public. According to reports, homophobic people are status-conscious, anal retentive,
authoritarian, and sexually rigid people who see homosexuals as sick people (Kan et al., 2009; Lumby, 1976). Those who have favorable attitudes toward homosexuality are more likely to interact with homosexuals (Milham et al., 1976; Bowman, 1979).

Other studies have looked at public opinion on LGBTQ+ rights to shed light on opinion dynamics, framing effects, and the influence of political knowledge on opinion formation. Minority groups that face powerful opposition frequently require public support when pressing their claims. Public opinion can be influential in issues of personal morality and discrimination, which are frequently visible and understandable to citizens. Support for LGBTQ+ demands are linked to greater positive attitudes toward gays and greater support for egalitarianism, just as it is with support for other minority groups (Wilcox and Wolpert 2000). Lax and Phillips (2009) find that other variables such as morality, religion, rights, and freedom are controlled, regarding some public policy responses to public opinion on gay rights issues. Simultaneously, institutions moderate the influence of public opinion. (Mucciaroni 2008; Smith 2008).

Even though the Universal Declaration on Human Rights is very clear about the protection of everyone without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status practice of homosexuality is under the death penalty in 7 countries and criminalized in 70 UN Member States (ILGA state-sponsored homophobia global legislation overview update, 2020). Discrimination of LGBTQ+ can include human rights abuses such as the violation of the rights of the child, infliction of torture and cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment, arbitrary detention on grounds of identity or beliefs, restriction of freedom of association, and denial of basic rights of due process (Lug, 2016).
Arguments against homosexuality in African countries, e.g., Uganda are frequently framed in terms of the cultural legitimacy of certain sexual "rights" and the freedoms that such rights entail. In response to an article about the bill, one Ugandan woman asked, "What kind of human rights when people are turning away from reasonable human beings and toward evil?" This deeply troubling sentiment emphasizes the difficulty of advancing "universal" human rights claims based on liberalism based on Western conceptions of social action and moral subjectivity. (Asad 2003:157; cf. Merry 2006, Cowan 2006). Such rejections highlight the fact that human rights struggles are moral debates, based not only on what rights mean and do but also on how ethical personhood—and humanity itself—are defined and experienced differently in different places. Sexuality has become increasingly important but remains understudied in transnational development projects and rights-based struggles. (Murray 2006, Miller, and Vance 2004). Mucciaroni (2011:18) asserts that “studies of LGBTQ+ politics address basic, longstanding issues in political science, including how democratic regimes cope with the challenges posed by social diversity and how minorities and excluded groups induce the majority to address their claims for recognition, freedom, and equality”.

As Wald (1996) acknowledges, attempts by gays to change their status through political means allow us to study how small, weak, and despised groups can use political means to challenge larger and stronger political forces with entrenched social values to ask fundamental questions about the nature and distribution of power in various countries, a central concern of political science. The oppression of gays and lesbians is most effective when it forces them to be secretive. "Coming out" is a form of political resistance with significant political ramifications, not just a deeply personal choice. A greater understanding of and interaction with openly LGBTQ+ people increase tolerance and support for their political demands. As a result,
LGBTQ+ politics exists at the crossroads of private desire, social legitimacy, and civil rights. LGBTQ+ individuals and groups have brought sex into the open and challenged ingrained ideas about sexuality in our culture, social norms, and legal institutions. (Blassius 1994).

LGBTQ+ inclusivity in political studies extend beyond examining sexuality and politics, encompassing broader and enduring topics in political science. Studies on attitudes toward gays and lesbians have helped us understand how stereotypes, political order and power structures shape tolerance levels toward stigmatized groups, attitudes toward their legal claims, and even support for electoral candidates who are members of such groups.

Anti-LGBTQ+ laws not only criminalize same-sex relationships but also contribute to discrimination and violence against LGBTQ+ individuals. LGBTQ+ people in Africa face discrimination in various aspects of life, including employment, housing, healthcare, and education, based on their sexual orientation or gender identity (Babarinsa, 2016). Violence against LGBTQ+ individuals are also pervasive, including physical attacks, harassment, and mob violence, often fueled by societal prejudice, religious beliefs, and cultural norms (Epprecht, 2012). The enactment and enforcement of anti-LGBTQ laws in Africa have serious implications for LGBTQ+ rights, well-being, and access to development opportunities. These laws violate the fundamental human rights of LGBTQ+ individuals, including their right to privacy, equality, and freedom from discrimination (Mugisha et al., 2014). They also contribute to stigma, discrimination, and violence against LGBTQ+ individuals, resulting in negative impacts on their mental and physical health, social relationships, and economic opportunities (Anyangwe, 2014). LGBTQ+ individuals in Africa often face social exclusion, ostracization, and isolation, leading to reduced access to healthcare, education, and employment.
Effects of Homophobia and Anti-LGBTQ+ Laws on Development

Repressive anti-LGBTQ+ laws in Africa have been a persistent challenge that has far-reaching effects on various aspects of development, including economic, social, and human development outcomes. These laws, which criminalize same-sex relationships and contribute to discrimination, violence, and stigma against LGBTQ+ individuals, have serious implications for access to healthcare, education, employment, and housing. Moreover, the exclusion of LGBTQ+ individuals from full participation and contribution to society can result in significant economic and social costs. This section aims to review existing literature on the effects of anti-LGBTQ+ laws on development in Africa, examining the impact on global relationships and international relations, the impact on international cooperation and partnerships, the responses from international organizations and governments, the economic costs of exclusion, and the economic case for LGBTQ+ inclusion and diversity.

The consequences of homophobia have been documented by Banks (2003); Houdart (2012); Badgett (2014) and Bocci (2014) and include lack of access to education and healthcare, violence, unemployment, illiteracy, displacement, lack of legal rights, loss of community-based safety nets, brain drain, lack of economic opportunities, lack of equitable access to land and housing, social exclusion, poor mental health, substance use, suicide, lack of cultural representation, and high rates of HIV among some members of the LGBTQ+ community who engage in unprotected forms of sex. Lee Badgett et al., (2014) describe and categorize this level of discrimination, although affecting development, affect the micro-level of economic development, which includes, The decreased investment in human capital and suboptimal use of human resources. The impact of anti-LGBTQ+ laws on access to healthcare in Africa has been well-documented. LGBTQ+ individuals often face barriers in accessing healthcare services,
including discrimination from healthcare providers, denial of services based on sexual orientation or gender identity, and fear of persecution and violence due to their sexual orientation or gender identity (Mugisha et al., 2014). These barriers to healthcare access can result in inadequate or delayed medical care, leading to negative health outcomes, and reduced overall well-being among LGBTQ+ individuals. Moreover, the fear of seeking healthcare due to the criminalization of same-sex relationships can lead to reduced utilization of essential health services, including HIV testing, prevention, and treatment, exacerbating the impact of the HIV epidemic among LGBTQ+ populations in Africa (Babarinsa, 2016).

In addition to healthcare, education is another key area where anti-LGBTQ laws in Africa can have detrimental effects on development. LGBTQ+ individuals face discrimination and stigma in educational settings, including bullying, harassment, and exclusion from educational opportunities based on their sexual orientation or gender identity (Epprecht, 2012). This can result in reduced access to quality education, lower educational attainment, and limited opportunities for skills development and employment. The exclusion of LGBTQ+ individuals from education can further perpetuate a cycle of poverty and marginalization, limiting their potential for economic and social advancement, and contributing to overall societal inequality and underdevelopment. Employment is another critical area where anti-LGBTQ laws can impact development in Africa. LGBTQ+ individuals often face discrimination in the workplace, including harassment, dismissal, and denial of employment opportunities based on their sexual orientation or gender identity (Doraiswamy, 2017). This can result in reduced access to formal employment, increased reliance on informal and low-paying jobs, and economic insecurity among LGBTQ+ individuals. Discrimination in the workplace can also lead to reduced productivity, increased stress and mental health challenges, and overall lower economic
participation and contribution to society, resulting in significant economic costs at individual and societal levels. Furthermore, stigma, discrimination, and violence against LGBTQ+ individuals in Africa can have detrimental effects on their overall well-being and development. The constant fear of discrimination, violence, and persecution can result in mental health challenges, including depression, anxiety, and PTSD, which can impact an individual's ability to fully participate in society and pursue opportunities for personal and professional growth (Anyangwe, 2014).

Moreover, the societal stigma and discrimination faced by LGBTQ+ individuals can lead to social exclusion, ostracization, and isolation, resulting in limited social support networks, reduced access to social services, and overall diminished social capital. This can further contribute to the economic and social costs of exclusion, as LGBTQ+ individuals face barriers in fully participating in society, contributing their talents and skills, and realizing their full potential.

Badget et. al (2014) posited two theoretical connections which they claimed have had little empirical research, this includes the post-materialist and modernization approaches. The post-materialist demand for human rights theory suggests that greater economic development might make countries more likely to respect the rights of LGBTQ+ people, as LGBTQ+ people can freely organize and push for legal changes and as public opinion shifts to support greater individual autonomy and minority rights. And the strategic modernization approach posits that countries hoping to present themselves as more visibly “modern” and successful to potential trading partners might be using LGBTQ+ rights strategically to promote and expand economic opportunities. As in prior research, Badget et al. (2018) found a positive correlation between LGBTQ+ inclusion and GDP per capita with the three different measures of inclusion; 1) a Legal Count Index (LCI) that counts the number of LGBTQ+ supportive laws, (2) a Legal
Environment Index (LEI) that measures patterns of adoption of laws in countries, and (3) a Global Acceptance Index (GAI) that is estimated from public opinion data. While this kind of analysis does not prove causality, it does indicate a strong statistical association between LGBTQ+ inclusion and higher GDP per capita.

Recent academic studies are using new sources and methodologies to push past moral arguments about homosexuality to show that forms of structural stigma — antigay cultural norms and laws that target sexual minorities — may have widespread, systemic effects on society that aren’t always apparent at first glance. These studies show that homophobia may significantly stunt economic growth and may even be harmful to your health (Bocci, 2014). The World Bank report on “the economic cost of stigma and the exclusion of LGBTQ+ people: a case study of India” indicated that the effects of stigma and exclusion of LGBTQ+ people are potentially costly to economies. They developed a conceptual model that links exclusion of LGBTQ+ people and economic development through (1) lower productivity and lower output as a result of employment discrimination and constraints on labor supply; (2) inefficient investment in human capital because of lower returns to education and discrimination in educational settings; (3) lost output as a result of health disparities that are linked to exclusion; and (4) social and health services required to address the effects of exclusion that might be better spent elsewhere (Badgett et. al, 2014). Badgett projected that homophobia could be costing India as much as $30.8 billion a year, or 1.7 % of the country’s gross domestic product, figures that could be just the tip of the iceberg. While the full impact of homophobia on a country’s economy is not easily modeled and current analyses are incomplete due to lack of research, attempts to close the data gap with studies like Badgett’s must be undertaken to uncover the complete economic costs of homophobia.
Countries are named-and-shamed for human rights violations by various actors, including intergovernmental organizations (such as the UN) and INGOs (such as Amnesty International). States that are publicly condemned for their human rights practices sometimes face economic ramifications such as the loss of foreign direct investment (Vadlamannati et al. 2018; Barry et al. 2013), reduced exports (Peterson et al. 2018), lower sovereign credit ratings (Bagwell and Hall 2020), increased likelihood of economic sanctions (Murdie and Peksen 2014) or the reduction of foreign aid (Lebovic and Voeten 2009). Economic sanctions have become a popular foreign policy tool in international politics over the last decades. While sanctions are designed as a non-violent instrument to persuade governments to comply with the interests of the imposing countries (often viewed as a more humane option than military intervention), they have in fact the aim of changing the policy of the target country by inflicting severe economic damages. The study of the effects of economic sanctions has attracted considerable attention among economists and political scientists in recent years. Prior studies have mainly focused on the effects on human rights (Gutmann et al., 2020; Peksen, 2009; Wood, 2008), government and political leader stability (McLean and Radtke, 2018), the level of democracy (Peksen and Drury, 2010), and on conflict intensity (Hultman and Peksen, 2017).

Several papers have looked at the economic effects of sanctions, documenting significant effects on GDP growth (Hufbauer et al., 2009; Neuenkirch and Neumeier, 2015), international trade (Afesorgbor, 2019; Haidar, 2017), banking crises (Hatipoglu and Peksen, 2018) as well as on income inequality and poverty (Afesorgbor and Mahadevan, 2016; Neuenkirch and Neumeier, 2016), and on corruption and crime (Andreas, 2005). The National Law Review (2023) indicated that following a series of high-profile, widely condemned human rights violations, including the torture, and killing of Sergei Magnitsky and the killing of Jamal
Khashoggi, a coalition of western nations have developed global human rights (“GHR”) sanctions regimes. The aim of this action is to coordinate and thereby compound the impact of coercive economic measures to deter and punish grave human rights violations.

**Homosexuality and Politics; The Flow of Foreign Aid in Africa**

Foreign aid has long been employed to foster development and encourage progressive social changes in developing countries (Burnell, 2019). One such area of focus is the promotion of LGBTQ+ rights and inclusion in Africa, a continent marked by a complex tapestry of cultural and social norms, religious beliefs, and political systems (Murray & Roscoe, 1998). The role of foreign aid in promoting LGBTQ+ inclusion in Africa has become a contentious issue, as international donors face the challenge of balancing the promotion of human rights with respect for national sovereignty and cultural diversity (Burnell, 2019). This literature review aims to examine the role of foreign aid in promoting LGBTQ+ rights and inclusion in Africa, as well as how repressive anti-LGBTQ+ laws may affect foreign aid dynamics.

Alemu & Lee (2015) identified that the impact of foreign aid is found to be closely related to the recipient country's socioeconomic environment and political situation. According to their findings, foreign aid has played a critical role in stimulating economic growth by supplementing domestic sources of finance such as savings, thereby increasing the amount of investment and capital stock in low-income African countries.

Another contentious issue is whether the guiding principle of aid allocation should be solely for poverty alleviation or whether donors have a responsibility to use aid as a human rights lever and assess how their funding may propagate discriminatory policies and social attitudes. Indeed, some scholars argue that donors provide aid to achieve secondary foreign policy goals, such as boosting bilateral trade (Pettersson and Johansson 2013), or to gain support for their
positions in international organizations (Kuziemko and Werker 2006). Wei & Swiss (2020) identified that: (1) total aid plays a significant role in closing human rights decoupling gaps between treaty ratification and performance in practice; (2) aid aimed at good governance has a similar effect, but the magnitude is small; and (3) the narrowest category of aid with a sectoral focus on human rights has little impact on human rights decoupling. Others, on the other hand, argue that donors provide aid to assist recipient countries in improving their socioeconomic and human rights conditions. Donors, for instance, help with infrastructure development (Owens and Hoddinott 1999), school and hospital construction (Birchler and Michaelowa 2016), and promoting good governance and human rights (Dunning 2004). Existing research, however, yields mixed results in terms of human rights practices and donor-state foreign aid allocation. Some report that repressive regimes receive less foreign aid (Cingranelli and Pasquarello 1985), while others report that human rights violations have no effect on aid policies (Neumayer 2003a, b), and still others report that donors provide more aid to repressive regimes (Carleton and Stohl 1987). Adhikari (2021) argues that donors use a variety of aid delivery channels to strike a balance between their vested foreign policy interests and altruistic goals. Donor states specifically promote human rights in repressive regimes by assisting NGOs and civil society organizations.

However, the use of conditional aid—where funds are tied to specific benchmarks, such as the decriminalization of same-sex relationships—can have unintended consequences (Björkdahl & Selimovic, 2015). For example, the suspension of aid by international donors in response to the adoption of anti-LGBTQ+ laws may inadvertently harm vulnerable populations who rely on foreign aid for essential services (Okafor, 2016). Furthermore, the imposition of
conditional aid can be perceived as neocolonialism, exacerbating resistance to LGBTQ+ inclusion, and potentially reinforcing anti-LGBTQ+ sentiment (Adebanwi & Obadare, 2013).

Crawford (1997) examined the implementation of political conditionality in aid by four official donors during the 1990s. It focuses on the global use of aid sanctions to promote improvements in human rights and democratic practices and evaluates donor policies based on their effectiveness and consistency. The study finds that aid restrictions were generally ineffective in driving political reforms in recipient countries. While the study was not directly related to the promotion of LGBTQ+ rights, it raises important considerations regarding the effectiveness, consistency, and challenges in implementing political conditionality and aid policies. Drawing parallels, similar challenges and inconsistencies can be observed in the promotion of LGBTQ+ rights globally. Crawford (1997) highlighted the ineffectiveness of aid restrictions in driving political reforms, and from the study it can be inferred that punitive measures alone are insufficient to promote LGBTQ+ rights and inclusion. Instead, a comprehensive approach is needed that combines legal reforms, public education, advocacy, and support for local LGBTQ+ organizations. Moreover, the study underscores the importance of donor intent and consistency in promoting human rights and democracy. This highlights the need for donors to demonstrate genuine commitment to LGBTQ+ rights in their aid policies and international relations. By aligning their actions with their rhetoric, donors can set an example and promote LGBTQ+ equality as an integral part of human rights and democratic principles. Accordingly, by adopting a comprehensive approach, demonstrating genuine commitment, and prioritizing LGBTQ+ rights alongside other foreign policy concerns, donors can contribute to fostering a more inclusive and equitable world for LGBTQ+ individuals. The insights from Crawford (1997) regarding the effectiveness, consistency, and challenges of aid policies can be
extended to the promotion of LGBTQ+ rights. By adopting a comprehensive approach, demonstrating genuine commitment, and prioritizing LGBTQ+ rights alongside other foreign policy concerns, donors can contribute to fostering a more inclusive and equitable world for LGBTQ+ individuals.

Foreign aid can play a significant role in promoting LGBTQ+ inclusion by influencing legal frameworks in recipient countries (Finnegan & Chiroro, 2018). For example, aid from international donors may be used to fund advocacy campaigns, legal reform efforts, and capacity building for local LGBTQ+ organizations (Finnegan & Chiroro, 2018). Additionally, international donors can leverage foreign aid to pressure governments to repeal or reform discriminatory laws, as demonstrated in the cases of Uganda's Anti-Homosexuality Act (Baker, 2014) and Nigeria's Same-Sex Marriage Prohibition Act (Kretz, 2014). Human rights considerations are neither the only nor the primary consideration in aid allocation (Apodaca & Stohl, 1999). Their study made inquiry into the relationship between human rights and U.S. bilateral foreign aid and revealed that human rights considerations did play a role in determining whether a state received military aid during the Reagan and Bush administrations, but not for the Carter or Clinton administration. With the exception of the Clinton administration, human rights were a determinant factor in the decision to grant economic aid, albeit of secondary importance. Their answer to the question “Does a state's human rights record affect the amount of U.S. bilateral aid it receives?” was yes for economic aid, but no for military aid.

Many religious leaders and cultural gatekeepers in Africa have resisted international pressure to promote LGBTQ+ inclusion, arguing that it is a foreign imposition and incompatible with African values (Ekine & Abbas, 2013). This resistance highlights the need for a nuanced approach that acknowledges and addresses the complexities of local contexts while advocating
for LGBTQ rights (Van Klinken, Adriaan & Gunda, 2012). Millions in Western aid flow to churches in Ghana despite years of campaigning against LGBTQ+ rights, a CNN report revealed. According to CNN's analysis of financial data and communication with the donors, in the five years up to 2021, at least $5 million in aid from Europe and the US went to projects run by or benefiting churches in Ghana whose leaders have backed this bill and have a long track-record of anti-LGBTQ+ statements and activities. CNN's analysis also found that some other members of the Equal Rights Coalition (the US, Germany, and Italy) have funded projects by or for churches in Ghana that have similarly opposed LGBTQ+ rights before, during, and after they benefited from aid money (Barbara et. al, 2022). This analysis by CNN supports Adhikari’s (2021) argument that donors use different aid delivery channels to maintain the balance between their vested foreign policy objectives and altruistic goals.

The promotion of LGBTQ+ inclusion in Africa through foreign aid is fraught with challenges, such as political resistance, deeply ingrained social norms, and religious opposition (Murray & Roscoe, 1998). However, there are also opportunities for progress, such as the growing visibility of LGBTQ+ issues in African media, increasing regional cooperation on human rights issues, and the emergence of new generations of LGBTQ+ activists (Finnegan & Chiroro, 2018).

Chelwa et al. (2020) found that foreign aid has been effective in promoting LGBTQ+ rights in South Africa, which has some of the most progressive laws in the continent but has had limited impact on promoting LGBTQ+ rights in countries such as Nigeria and Uganda, which have repressive laws. The authors attribute the success to South Africa's strong legal framework that protects LGBTQ+ rights and its relatively open society that allows for greater acceptance of diversity. As such, foreign aid was able to support and complement the efforts of local LGBTQ+
activists and organizations. The authors also note that foreign aid has been more effective in supporting HIV prevention and treatment programs for LGBTQ+ individuals in these countries, rather than promoting their full inclusion and rights.

Similarly, Obelley and McBride (2020) found that foreign aid has had limited success in promoting LGBTQ+ rights in Tanzania. The authors attribute this to the government's strong anti-LGBTQ+ stance, which has resulted in limited political will to address LGBTQ+ rights and significant legal and social barriers to LGBTQ+ inclusion. In this context, foreign aid has faced significant challenges in promoting LGBTQ+ rights and has had to focus more on providing basic healthcare services and HIV prevention and treatment programs for LGBTQ+ individuals. Lebovic & Voeten (2009) explore the relationship between violations of international human rights norms and foreign aid punishment. Despite governments' stated preferences for human rights, bilateral punishment of norm violators is often lacking. They argue that multilateral lending institutions, such as the World Bank, could address this gap by considering human rights abuses and bypassing restrictions on evaluating recipients' political character. Highlighting the significance of 'shaming' through the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) resolutions, which explicitly criticize governments for their human rights records thereby bringing international attention and condemnation to their actions plays a crucial role in holding governments accountable for their human rights records. These resolutions provide substantive information on rights abuses and give political cover for the World Bank and other liberal multilateral aid institutions to sanction human rights violators.
Human Rights Protection and Force Migration

Statistics from the World Economic Forum states that, between 2015 and 2017, the number of African international migrants living within the region jumped from 16 million to around 19 million. Within the same period, there was only a moderate increase in the number of Africans moving outside the continent, from around 16 million to 17 million bringing to attention that intra-regional migration continues to outpace extra-regional migration (“African Migration: What the Numbers Really Tell Us,” 2018).

While the political and economic dominance of South Africa has consistently defined their migration system, international migration movements in the West African region have been more diverse due to the region's lack of a single powerful magnet for migration. International migration patterns and directions in West Africa have shifted as individuals' economic and political fortunes have changed (Agadjanian, 2008). There is also conflict-induced migration. Agadjanian (2008) asserts that for the past half-century, political instability, abrupt and dramatic regime changes, ethnic tensions and confrontations, and proxy civil wars have been pervasive features of Sub-Saharan reality. Not surprisingly, they have resulted in massive internal and international population movements, which are frequently referred to as "forced migration" in the literature. Fine, Dennison, & Gowan (2019) identify six global predictors of migration which include social networks and communities, economic status of country of origin, age and education, economic status of destination country, cultural and linguistic factors, and geographical proximity.

Repressive anti-LGBTQ+ laws in Africa have led to significant challenges for LGBTQ+ individuals seeking to exercise their rights and freedoms. In some cases, these laws have driven LGBTQ+ individuals to migrate internally or externally in search of protection and asylum in
other countries. In some cases, repressive anti-LGBTQ+ laws have driven LGBTQ+ individuals to migrate internally or externally in search of protection and asylum in other countries (Rogan, 2017). For example, in countries such as Nigeria and Uganda, where same-sex relationships are criminalized, LGBTQ+ individuals may face arrest, imprisonment, or violence (Amnesty International, 2018). These threats can lead LGBTQ+ individuals to flee their home countries in search of protection and asylum.

Since the early 1990s, Canada has become a primary destination for individuals who make refugee claims based on sexual orientation persecution (Murray, 2014). The European Union (EU), Canada, Australia, and the United States have all taken steps to develop a more inclusive procedure for dealing with asylum claims from LGBTQ+ people that is more sensitive to their experiences. (ORAM - Organization for Refugee, Asylum and Migration Country of Origin Report: Sexual and Gender Minorities Uganda, 2014). ORAM also makes an assertion in their “opening doors survey report” that individuals who seek protection based explicitly on their sexual orientation or gender identity do so in LGBTQ+ “tolerant” countries such as the United Kingdom, Belgium, the Netherlands, the United States, Canada, and Australia. These are nations with relatively developed LGBTQ+ communities with recognized legal rights and economies that permit the survival of socially marginalized communities (ORAM, Opening Doors a Global Survey of NGO Attitudes Towards LGBTI Refugees & Asylum Seekers, 2012). LGBTQ+ individuals who migrate in search of protection and asylum often face significant challenges. For example, they may face discrimination, stigma, and violence in the countries to which they migrate (UNHCR, 2016). Additionally, the process of seeking asylum can be complex and time-consuming, with many LGBTQ+ individuals facing long periods of uncertainty and insecurity (Rogan, 2017). The impact of migration on LGBTQ+ individuals can have significant social and
economic consequences, both positive and negative. On the one hand, migration can provide opportunities for LGBTQ+ individuals to live openly and freely in new countries, free from the discrimination and violence they faced in their home countries. For example, in countries such as South Africa and Mozambique, which have more progressive laws and attitudes towards LGBTQ+ individuals, migrants may find greater acceptance and support (Dzimiri & Manby, 2020). The claims that accepting forced migrants in advanced countries will lead to job losses, declining wages, and excessive strain on public finances are largely unfounded. Moreover, it is argued that the benefits gained from forced migrants settling in the South are considerably less than those settling in the North, and there may even be instances where net welfare losses occur. It is important to note that mismanagement of forced migration flows generates significant negative political and economic consequences on a global scale (Dadush & Niebuhr, 2016).

Free movement within Africa is especially important for migrants. Many people on the continent often prefer to live in South Africa, which has one of the most advanced economies in the region. (World Economic Forum, 2018). As of 2020, South Africa and Côte d'Ivoire were hosting the highest number of immigrants among all African countries (Statista Research Department, 2022). It is therefore worthy to note that LGBTQ+ people in South Africa enjoy the same rights as non-LGBTQ+ people. South Africa has a complex and diverse history regarding the human rights of LGBTQ+ people (The Other Foundation, 2016). South Africa was also rated the safest travel destination in Africa for members of the LGBTQ+ community, according to the 2021 ranking (Oluwole, 2022). Côte d’Ivoire does not criminalize homosexuality and has traditionally been relatively tolerant, though LGBTQ+ people are not protected under the law and can be prosecuted for public acts of indecency (Human Rights Watch, 2015).
Migration can also act as a catalyst for change in the politics of LGBTQ+ inclusion in Africa. The migration of LGBTQ+ individuals can raise awareness of the challenges faced by LGBTQ+ communities in African countries and highlight the need for greater protection and inclusion. Additionally, the migration of LGBTQ+ individuals can create networks and alliances that can work towards promoting LGBTQ+ rights and inclusion in Africa. For example, LGBTQ+ organizations in South Africa have actively supported LGBTQ+ refugees and asylum seekers, providing social and legal support and advocating for their rights (Keehn, 2019). These organizations have also worked with international organizations and governments to improve protection for LGBTQ+ refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa (Keehn, 2019).

Furthermore, the migration of LGBTQ+ individuals can create opportunities for advocacy and education around LGBTQ+ rights and inclusion in both the home and host countries. For example, LGBTQ+ migrants may work with local organizations and governments in their host countries to promote greater inclusion and protection for LGBTQ+ individuals, while also raising awareness and building alliances with LGBTQ+ organizations in their home countries (Dzimiri & Manby, 2020). Lisenkova et al.’s (2014) study on “The Long-Term Economic Impact of Reducing Migration in the UK” shows that a significant reduction in net migration has strong negative effects on the economy.

**Conclusion**

The literature reviewed on the structural, historical, rational theories and the general political and developmental issues surrounding LGBTQ+ rights, freedoms and laws in this chapter provides an important foundation to assist me in analyzing the data that will emerge from my research questions. The literature has also considered how homophobia and anti-LGBTQ+ laws in states affects both LGBTQ+ persons and the countries at wide. While there are studies
that explore the effects of repressive laws on LGBTQ+ individuals and their communities, there is a lack of in-depth analysis on the legal, political, and social structures that allow for the enactment and enforcement of such laws. Understanding these structures and powers is crucial in identifying potential avenues for legal and policy reform towards promoting LGBTQ+ rights and equality in Africa. Additionally, there is a need for research on the role of international organizations and foreign actors in supporting or opposing anti-LGBTQ+ laws in Africa, and their potential influence on the structures and powers that perpetuate these laws.

There are three main areas that I found to be particularly useful when framing my data analysis. The first is the interaction between states, and the role of international organizations in promoting and ensuring the rights of individuals are respected and not violated. These interactions and relationships have the potential to “circle back” to individual member states and inspire changes in policy and increased adherence to international norms. The second area is to examine the multi-dimensional impacts of these laws on various aspects of development; how economic sanctions through foreign aid can affect development in the continent as Africa is heavily dependent on foreign aid for managing their economy.

Third, how homophobia has an impact on migration and how it can affect a state’s image and their overall development. This review also revealed the impact of migration on LGBTQ+ individuals can have significant social and economic consequences, both positive and negative. While there is some existing research on how anti-LGBTQ+ laws contribute to human rights violations and forced migration of LGBTQ+ individuals, there is a need for more comprehensive studies on how these laws intersect with other factors such as political instability, conflict, poverty, and discrimination against other marginalized groups. Free movement within Africa is especially important for migrants, with South Africa and Côte d'Ivoire hosting the highest
number of immigrants among all African countries. Migration can also act as a catalyst for change in the politics of LGBTQ+ inclusion in Africa, by raising awareness of the challenges faced by LGBTQ+ communities and creating opportunities for advocacy and education around LGBTQ+ rights and inclusion.

The next chapter will explore the relationship between the adoption of anti-LGBTQ+ laws and foreign aid and migration using quantitative analysis to identify the causal relationship. As government agencies remain unmoved by moral arguments in support of LGBTQ+ social justice, evidence of the more subtle effects of antigay laws including those that highlight their ramifications on economics and development may appeal to audiences once outside of the influence of activists. Providing the quantifiable effects of homophobia will allow policy makers, economists, and global leaders to better understand that antigay laws ultimately do more harm than good, to LGBTQ+ people and the population at large.
CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This section will focus on the presentation of the various methods that were employed in the collection of data. It gives insight into the methods for sample selection, data processing, and analysis and further gives a detailed explanation of the various methodologies that were used and the rationale for choosing each type of method.

Research Design and Approach

This study was done using a cross-sectional, time-series regression analysis to evaluate the relationship between homophobia laws and levels of foreign aid and migration. The cross-sectional design allowed for the examination of multiple countries at specific points in time, capturing the variation in LGBTQ+ legislation and its potential impact on foreign aid and migration. By including data from the 55 member states of the African Union, this approach provided a comprehensive understanding of the region and enabled comparisons across countries. Under this design, the study employed a quantitative method in gathering data to answer the research questions and test the following hypotheses:

- *the more repressive a country’s LGBTQ+ legislation, the lower the levels of foreign aid the country receives.*
- *the more repressive a country’s LGBTQ+ legislation, the lower the level of net migration*

To test the hypotheses, data was compiled from the 55 member states of the African Union, on how repressive homophobia laws have been in these countries within the 21st century from the year 2001 to 2021. Changes in the independent variable (LGBTQ+ Laws) was studied each year with data on LGBTQ+ policies and penal codes gathered from 2001-2021, this approach allowed
the research to reach a higher sample size of 1,100 data points on LGBTQ+ laws, as each of the 55 countries had 20 data points, based on the period under study to assess how repressive homophobia laws have been throughout these years. The same number of data points (1,100) was assessed to analyze the amount of aid received, the level of net migration in each country during the period under study to analyze the patterns of change and draw conclusions on the reasons behind institutional decisions, behaviors, and actions when it comes to homophobia laws and foreign aid and migration.

Operationalization of Variables

1. LGBTQ+ Laws

This variable was conceptualized based on the laws regarding homosexuality within the African countries under the AU and how repressive these laws are in the various countries based on its sanctions and limits and when they were passed. Attention was also given to countries who are tolerant and respect the rights of LGBTQ+ individuals. The laws were categorized into five forms: tolerant (all activities associated with LGBTQ+ are legal), symbolic (sodomy laws acquired through colonization, no substantial evidence of the law being enforced), moderate (sodomy laws through colonial rule, evidence of the law being enforced), harsh (includes fines or imprisonment) and severe (includes but not limited to imprisonment and death penalty). These categories were coded as follows: tolerant (1), symbolic law (2) moderate (3), harsh (4), severe (5) and changes in the severity of the laws across years were also taken into consideration. In the case of Nigeria, South Africa and Uganda per the codes, Nigeria fell under moderate (3) from 2001 to 2012 and changed to severe (5) from 2013 to 2021 due to the Criminal Code Act and the Same Sex Marriage (Prohibition) Act 2013 (SSMPA) which imposes the death penalty. South Africa on the other
hand was coded as tolerant (1) from 2001 to 2021 as the rules of evidence that relate to same-sex sexual offences in the Criminal Procedure Act 1977 was amended and made unconstitutional in 1998. Togo was also be coded as symbolic (2) from 2001 to 2014 and changed to harsh (4) from 2015 to 2021 after introducing the 2015 Penal Code which changes the sodomy laws adopted through colonial rule and criminalizes ‘immodest or unnatural acts.’ This provision carries a maximum penalty of three years’ imprisonment and a fine (Human Dignity Trust, 2019). These few examples illustrate how the LGBTQ+ laws were operationalized for this study.

ii. Foreign Aid

Foreign aid was conceptualized as the net official development assistance and official aid received (current US$). Net official development assistance (ODA) consists of disbursements of loans made on concessional terms (net of repayments of principal) and grants by official agencies of the members of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC), by multilateral institutions, and by non-DAC countries to promote economic development and welfare in countries and territories in the DAC list of ODA recipients. Net official aid refers to aid flows (net of repayments) from official donors to countries and territories in part II of the DAC list of recipients: more advanced countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the countries of the former Soviet Union, and certain advanced developing countries and territories. Official aid is provided under terms and conditions similar to those for ODA. The aid each country receives was analyzed within the same period as the LGBTQ+ laws (2001 to 2021). The percentage of foreign aid a country receives was calculated by using the dollar amount of the GDP (real GDP per capita) of each country by the net official development assistance (ODA) and official aid received (current $US) from the World Bank Databank. This formula was used: 100(Aid of X
year/Total GDP of X year) where X=the year under study. The percentage of foreign aid each
country receives was then coded from 0% - 100% with each of the 55 countries having 20 data
points from 2001 to 2021. Using Angola in 2001 as an example, Angola’s GDP in 2001 was
$8,936,063,723 and the net ODA received was $282,730,011. Therefore, the aid received by
Angola in the year 2001 was calculated as Net Aid (282,730,011)/GDP (8,936,063,723)
multiplied by 100 which will be 3.16%. This shows that Angola received 3.16% of aid in 2001.

The control variables for the attraction of foreign aid included political instability and/or
politically motivated violence, including terrorism, government effectiveness, rule of law and
control of corruption. These variables have been described in previous literature as push and pull
factors for the attraction of foreign aid and were used to improve the internal validity of this
analysis thereby ruling out alternative explanations for the results.

iii. Migration

Migration was operationalized as net migration which is the net total of migrants during the
period, that is, the number of immigrants minus the number of emigrants, including both citizens
and noncitizens, from the World Bank Databank. The number of net migrations of each country
was also analyzed within the same period (2001 to 2021).

The control variables for analyzing the net migration included political instability and/or
politically motivated violence, including terrorism, government effectiveness, rule of law and
control of corruption. These variables have been described in previous literature as possible
confounding factors that could impact migration decisions and outcomes may be explained by
these variables.
Data Sources

Data for the dependent variables (foreign aid and migration) was sourced from the World Bank Databank, Macrotrends, World Governance Indicators, African Development Indicators (ADI) and the OECD Geographic Distribution of Aid Flows to Developing Countries. For the independent variable, data was sourced and gathered from Human Dignity Trust, and ILGA on laws surrounding the human rights of the LGBTQ+ community in Africa.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

The data obtained from the secondary and primary sources were codified to identify themes and patterns that constituted the main findings for my discussions, analysis, and conclusions. The analysis was done based on the variables of the study (homophobia laws, foreign aid and migration), the research questions, and objectives to conclude on outcomes reflective of the data and information that were obtained. Time series analysis (cross-sectional) was used focusing on a 20-year period to show how the variables change over time. This analysis was also relevant for the forecasting of the cost for Ghana if they pass the bill on “The Promotion of Proper Human Sexual Rights and Ghanaian Family Values Bill” basically predicting future data based on historical data.

The time-series aspect of the analysis allowed for the examination of changes in LGBTQ+ laws and foreign aid levels over an extended period from 2001 to 2021. This longitudinal perspective was crucial in assessing the trends and patterns of these variables and understanding any potential causal relationships. The regression analysis employed was to explore the statistical relationship between the independent variable (LGBTQ+ laws) and the dependent variables (foreign aid levels and net migration). This approach allowed for the identification of associations, controlling for other relevant factors that may influence the
outcomes. It provided quantitative evidence to support or reject the hypotheses and allowed for
the estimation of the magnitude and direction of the relationships. Given the nature of the
research questions and the availability of quantitative data on LGBTQ+ laws, foreign aid and
migration, a cross-sectional, time-series regression analysis was an appropriate and effective
approach as it enables the examination of large-scale trends, identification of statistical
relationships, and the potential to draw meaningful conclusions regarding the impact of
homophobia laws on foreign aid and related socioeconomic indicators.
CHAPTER FOUR
DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND INTERPRETATION

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the presentation of data from 55 African countries and the changes in their LGBTQ+ laws, foreign aid investments and net migration from 2000 to 2021. The analysis will be based on establishing the impact of repressive anti-LGBTQ+ laws on global relations and economic progress. This analysis will be done using a cross sectional time series analysis to analyze the impact of anti-LGBTQ+ laws on development focusing on foreign aid, migration, and as development variables. This will further provide a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between religion, culture, and law in modern Ghana, as well as the political issues surrounding social justice. Furthermore, it raises the question of how human rights policies, specifically those affecting the LGBTQ+ community, relate to international relations and development. The presentation and analysis are categorized into two main parts; the first consists of how anti-LGBTQ+ laws are passed in African countries and the level of punishments meted out to victims who break these laws. The second part contains the characteristics that translates and explains the behavior of the international scene; international relations looking at the inferential data on the allocation of foreign aid and investment to Africa across time, net migration, and the as relevant to the study. This will help the study draw meaningful conclusions while aiding in answering the questions of the research.

Independent Variable

Anti-LGBTQ+ Laws in African Countries

Anti-LGBTQ laws were categorized from tolerant to repressive laws within the various African countries to study how these laws are being passed, the extent of their criminalization and the
variety of punishments associated with the penal codes. The ranks were coded from one (1) to five (5), the criminalization of LGBTQ+ people differed from county to country. The data was gathered from the Human Dignity Trust and ILGA state sponsored homophobia report.

*Figure 1: Funnel chart showing the color codes and description for the various ranks of anti-LGBTQ+ laws.*

For this research, countries that were considered as tolerant were countries where all activities associated with LGBTQ+ are legal, activities which includes but are not limited to marriage, employment, adoption, and conversion therapy. Countries, where their laws were considered symbolic, were those that although have anti-LGBTQ+ laws, they were sodomy laws acquired from colonial rule but there is no substantial evidence of the law being enforced. Those considered and ranked as moderate also adopted sodomy laws through colonial rule but there is evidence of the law being enforced. Countries that were considered as harsh were countries where LGBTQ+ activities are illegal and these laws were passed by the countries by changing or adding new criminal acts to the existing sodomy laws acquired through colonial rule, where the punishment includes imprisonment, fines, and evidence of hate crimes. The last category which was considered as severe were countries with the same laws as those considered as harsh, but their punishment includes death penalty with evidence of the law being enforced. Some countries criminalize all LGBTQ+ people, others criminalize only sex between men. Countries where LGBTQ+ is criminalized but the penal code doesn’t cover sex between women were Egypt, Eswatini, Ghana, Kenya, Mauritius, Namibia, and Zimbabwe.
Figure 2: African Map with color codes showing LGBTQ+ friendliness in Africa (2020)

Although Africa is considered as the most homophobic continent in the world, some countries in Africa have never criminalized LGBTQ+. These countries are Benin, Burkina Faso, Central African Republic, Congo, Cote d’Ivoire, DR Congo, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Madagascar, Mali, Niger, and Rwanda. As of 2020, Angola, Botswana, Cape Verde, Gabon, Guinea Bissau, Lesotho, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles and South Africa also joined the LGBTQ+ friendly countries by changing their criminal and penal codes, most of them which was adopted through colonial rule.
From this chart, it can be inferred that Cameroon, Libya, Morocco, Senegal, Togo, and Tunisia have consistently been harsh with their anti-LGBTQ+ policies whereas Mauritania and Somalia have also consistently been severe with anti-LGBTQ+ laws within the continent. Some of the countries such as Angola, Botswana, Cape Verde, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, increased their level of tolerance across time whilst others such as Burundi, Chad, Eritrea, Gambia, Guinea, Nigeria, Uganda, Zimbabwe, also
increased their level of intolerance across time. This sets the tone for analyzing the behavior on foreign aid and migration to identify the impacts and correlation if any.

**Dependent Variables**

**Foreign Aid and Investment**

The data being analyzed under this section is geared towards understanding the relationship between LGBTQ+ friendliness and the provision of foreign aid to the various countries. This section is to help understand and answer the research question on the potential impact of adopting a repressive anti-LGBTQ+ law on the economic sector and international relations in terms of foreign aid and development.

The Hypothesis: *the more repressive a country’s LGBTQ+ legislation, the lower the levels of foreign aid the country receives.*

To test this hypothesis, the aid each country receives was gathered from 2001 to 2020 using data from the World Bank. The data on foreign aid used was the net official development assistance and official aid received (current US$). The balance was determined using each country’s GDP at purchaser's prices, which is the sum of gross value added by all resident producers in the economy plus any product taxes and minus any subsidies not included in the value of the products. The percentage of foreign aid each country receives was calculated by using the dollar amount of the GDP (real GDP per capita) of each country by the net official development assistance (ODA) and official aid received (current $US) from the World Bank Databank.
This formula was used:  

\[ 100 \times \left( \frac{\text{Aid of X year}}{\text{Total GDP of X year}} \right) \]

Where:

- \( \text{Aid of X year} \) is the amount of aid received by a country in a specific year, X.
- \( \text{Total GDP of X year} \) is the total gross domestic product of a country in a specific year, X.
- \( X \) is the year under study.

This formula was used to compare the percentage of GDP that is made up of aid in the different countries across different years. Because the broad focus of the research is on the overall development of a state, this formula was used to also track changes in the percentage of GDP that is made up of aid over time.

**Operationalization of Control Variables**

The control variables included the measures of perceptions of the likelihood of political instability and/or politically motivated violence, including terrorism, government effectiveness, rule of law and control of corruption. The scores of these variables were based on a percentile rank among all countries ranges from 0 (lowest) to 100 (highest) rank. The data for these control variables were obtained from the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI). The Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) is a collection of research data that presents an overview of governance quality based on the opinions of various respondents from enterprise, citizen, and expert surveys in both industrialized and developing countries. These variables were used as controls because based on previous research they could be relevant factors to consider when examining relationships between the receiving of foreign aid investments. Natural resources, focusing on oil producing countries was also included as a control variable based on the metric tons oil produced by the countries. The data was gathered from Statista data on Oil production in Africa as of 2022, by country (in million metric tons). According to the source, oil production
"includes crude oil, shale oil, oil sands, condensates (lease condensate or gas condensates that require further refining) and NGLs (natural gas liquids – ethane, LPG and naphtha separated from the production of natural gas)."

- Political instability and politically motivated violence: Countries that experience high levels of political instability, such as frequent government turnovers or civil unrest, or politically motivated violence, including terrorism, may face challenges in utilizing foreign aid effectively. Donor countries may be more hesitant to provide aid to countries with unstable political situations, as it may affect the likelihood of aid being used for its intended purposes (Bano et al., 2018).

- Government effectiveness: The effectiveness of a country's government in implementing policies and programs, including those related to LGBTQ+ rights, could also be a relevant control variable. Countries with more effective governance structures may be better positioned to receive and utilize foreign aid compared to countries with weak governance (Gisselquist & Resnick, 2014).

- Rule of law and control of corruption: The presence of rule of law and control of corruption within a country can also be important factors influencing the receipt of foreign aid. Countries with strong rules of law and low levels of corruption may be perceived as more reliable and trustworthy partners for aid utilization (Ilorah & Ngwakwe 2021).

- Natural Resources (Oil producing countries): Oil-rich countries often have considerable economic and political influence, which can affect their relationships with other nations. Governments may strategically use foreign aid to achieve their economic and geopolitical goals (Park et. al, 1976).
Figure 4: Graph showing foreign aid allocations (2001-2020).

Source: World Bank
Results

To estimate the coefficients, a cross sectional time series generalized linear model was used. The choice of models was driven by the nature of the data, which contains several countries across time. The presence of multiple countries represents a challenge to the ordinary least squares model because this panel quality introduces heteroscedasticity to the estimation. While that itself can be corrected within the OLS realm, there is still the issue of time, which introduces yet another challenge, autocorrelation. The cross-sectional time series model, estimated with the PLM package in R, is the most efficient way estimate unbiased coefficients while simultaneously correcting both these problems. Results are shown in the table:

Table 1: Showing Results of OLS Regression on the relationship between foreign aid and anti-LGBTQ+ laws.

| Coefficients     | Estimate  | Std. Error | z-value | Pr(>|z|)   |
|------------------|-----------|------------|---------|-----------|
| Intercept        | 9.9930039 | 1.3761971  | 7.2613  | 3.83e-13 *** |
| LGBTQ            | 0.0583729 | 0.3866348  | 0.1510  | 0.8799939 |
| RuleLaw          | -0.0407617| 0.0333184  | -1.2234 | 0.2211793 |
| Oil.producer     | -8.1121252| 2.1803478  | -3.7206 | 0.0001988 *** |
| Corrupt          | 0.0133941 | 0.0272252  | 0.4920  | 0.6227380 |
| Government.Eff   | -0.0015115| 0.0325290  | -0.0465 | 0.9629377 |

Figure 5: Graph showing the increase of repressive anti-LGBTQ+ laws over time.

These are the coefficient estimates for the multiple regression model with the dependent variable (aid) and independent variables (LGBTQ, RuleLaw, Oil.producer, Corrupt, Government.Eff).
The coefficient estimate for LGBTQ (0.0583729) indicates the change in the dependent variable associated with a one-unit increase in the LGBTQ variable, holding all other variables constant.

The coefficient estimate was not statistically significant (Pr(>|z|) = 0.8799939), indicating that there was not enough evidence to conclude that the LGBTQ variable is significantly associated with the dependent variable (foreign aid). This can be used to explain why countries ranked 4 and 5 for LGBTQ+ has been increasing overtime within the continent.

Figure 6: Graph showing the increase of repressive anti-LGBTQ+ laws over time.

Figure 7: Graph showing the increase of repressive anti-LGBTQ+ laws over time.
Although there was no significant relationship, the results revealed that countries ranked 1 (tolerant) and 3 (moderate) for LGBTQ+ friendliness have noticeably higher AID.GDP%.

**Net Migration**

The data being analyzed under this section is geared towards understanding the relationship between LGBTQ+ friendliness and the level of net migration. Net migration is the net total of migrants during the period, that is, the number of immigrants minus the number of emigrants, including both citizens and noncitizens. This section is to help understand and answer the research question on the potential impact of adopting a repressive anti-LGBTQ+ law on the economic sector and international relations in terms of migration.

The Hypothesis: *the more repressive a country’s LGBTQ+ legislation, the lower the levels of their net migration.*

To test this hypothesis, the number of net migrations of each country was gathered from 2001 to 2020, from the United Nations Population Division, World Population Prospects: 2022 Revision.

**Operationalization of control variables**

The control variables included the measures of perceptions of the likelihood of political instability and/or politically motivated violence, including terrorism, government effectiveness, rule of law and control of corruption. The scores of these variables were based on a percentile rank among all countries ranges from 0 (lowest) to 100 (highest) rank. The same controls for studying the relationship between foreign aid and anti-LGBTQ+ laws were relevant for studying the levels of net migration as well. These variables could account for potential confounding factors that may influence migration decisions and outcomes.

- Political instability and politically motivated violence: Raleigh (2011) examined the impact of political instability and violence on migration decisions in sub-Saharan Africa,
their findings indicated that political instability and violence are significant factors that influence migration decisions.

- Government effectiveness, rule of law, and control of corruption: Cooray & Schneider, (2015) also explored the relationship between good governance, including government effectiveness, rule of law, and control of corruption, and the migration intentions of highly educated individuals, finding that better governance is associated with lower migration intentions. Hiskey et al., 2014; Li et al., 2023, also investigated the relationship between governance indicators, including government effectiveness, rule of law, and control of corruption, and international migration, finding that better governance is associated with lower emigration rates.

These sources provide evidence on the relevance of political instability, politically motivated violence, government effectiveness, rule of law, and control of corruption as potential control variables when studying migration.

**Results**

A cross-sectional time series analysis was conducted again to examine the relationship between net migration and repressive anti-LGBTQ+ laws.

Unbalanced Panel: n = 52, T = 11-20, N = 1031
Residuals:

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Min.</th>
<th>1st Qu.</th>
<th>Median</th>
<th>3rd Qu.</th>
<th>Max.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>-8532.03</td>
<td>-254.18</td>
<td>9155.11</td>
<td>608273.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2: Showing Results of OLS Regression on the relationship between net migration and anti-LGBTQ+ laws.*

| Coefficients     | Estimate | Std. Error | t-value | Pr(>|t|) |
|------------------|----------|------------|---------|---------|
| as.numeric(LGBTQ) | -10443.951 | 6366.499   | -1.6405 | 0.1012  |
| as.numeric(RULE.OF.LAW) | 28.075 | 426.712 | 0.0658 | 0.9476  |
| as.numeric(NO.VIOLENCE) | 167.862 | 250.001 | 0.6714 | 0.5021  |
| as.numeric(CTRL.Corruption) | 35.706 | 349.963 | 0.1020 | 0.9188  |
Total Sum of Squares: 4.7904e+12
Residual Sum of Squares: 4.7699e+12
R-Squared: 0.0042828
Adj. R-Squared: -0.051886
F-statistic: 1.04841 on 4 and 975 DF, p-value: 0.38104

The results suggest that the level of anti-LGBTQ+ laws is negatively associated with net migration, although this relationship is not statistically significant at the conventional threshold of p < 0.05 (p-value = 0.1012). The coefficients for the other independent variables (rule of law, levels of violence, and corruption control) are also not statistically significant, suggesting that these factors do not have a significant impact on net migration. The R-squared value of 0.0042828 indicates that the independent variables explain a very small proportion of the variance in net migration, and the adjusted R-squared value of -0.051886 suggests that the model may not be a good fit for the data.

Overall, there is some evidence to support the hypothesis that repressive anti-LGBTQ+ laws are associated with lower net migration, but this relationship is not strong and would need further research.

**Discussion of Findings**

Based on the two sets of results, it appears that there is no statistically significant relationship between anti-LGBTQ+ laws and levels of aid or net migration in the various African countries.

In the first set of results, the coefficient for the variable "LGBTQ" was not statistically significant for either the level of aid or net migration. This suggests that anti-LGBTQ+ laws may not be a significant factor in determining levels of aid or net migration in African countries. However, it's important to note that there may be other factors that could be influencing these outcomes. Based on the coefficients provided in the data, only one variable, that is being an oil
producer, had a statistically significant relationship with the dependent variable (aid). The coefficient for the LGBTQ+ variable was positive but not statistically significant, which suggests that there is no relationship between repressive LGBTQ+ laws and the levels of foreign aid. The coefficient for "Oil.producer" was -8.1121252. The p-value (0.0001988) was very low, indicating that this variable is highly statistically significant. This suggests that being an oil-producing country significantly influences the relationship between foreign aid. The negative coefficient suggests that oil-producing countries tend to receive less foreign aid. The coefficients for the other control variables (RuleLaw, Corrupt, and Government.Eff) were also not statistically significant, which means that they do not have a significant relationship with aid. Based on this OLS regression analysis, being an oil-producing country appears to be the most significant factor affecting the relationship between foreign aid and anti-LGBTQ+ laws. Other variables, such as LGBTQ rights, rule of law, corruption, and government effectiveness, do not seem to play a significant role in this specific analysis.

It's important to note that the results may depend on the specific data set and the model used therefore further analysis is needed to explore the relationship between repressive LGBTQ laws and aid in more depth.

In the second set of results on net migration, the coefficient for the variable "(LGBTQ)" was negative but with a p-value of 0.1012 which is statistically insignificant for net migration as it does not meet the threshold of 0.05. This means that as the level of repressive LGBTQ+ laws increase, net migration decreases, but this relationship is not strong enough to be considered statistically significant. Additionally, the other control variables also did not show a statistically significant relationship with net migration.
Overall, the findings suggest that repressive LGBTQ+ laws may not be a significant factor in determining net migration in African countries, and other economic and political factors may play a more significant role. However, more research is needed to explore this relationship further and to investigate potential causal mechanisms underlying the observed patterns.

Conclusion

The two-part chapter focuses on presenting information on the independent variable which is the anti-LGBTQ+ laws and the dependent variables (foreign aid, net migration). Anti-LGBTQ+ laws were examined; the varying levels of anti-LGBTQ+ laws in African countries were categorized as tolerant, symbolic, moderate, harsh, and severe. It was evident that the criminalization of LGBTQ+ activities range from legal to punishable by death, with some countries criminalizing all LGBTQ+ people and others only criminalizing sex between men.

However, some African countries have never criminalized LGBTQ+ activities, and as of 2020, some countries have become more tolerant by changing their criminal and penal codes. This showed that some countries consistently maintained harsh or severe anti-LGBTQ+ policies, while others became more tolerant or intolerant over time. These findings provided a foundation for further analysis of the impacts of foreign aid and migration on LGBTQ+ individuals in Africa. The later section on the secondary variables analyzes the relationship between LGBTQ+ friendliness and foreign aid investment, as well as the level of net migration. The hypotheses tested were that the more repressive a country's LGBTQ+ legislation, the lower the level of foreign aid and net migration. The study used data from 2001 to 2020 and included control variables such as the perception of political instability, government effectiveness, and control of corruption. The results showed that there was no statistically significant relationship between LGBTQ+ legislation and foreign aid investment. However, countries ranked 1 and 3 for
LGBTQ+ friendliness had noticeably higher aid as a percentage of GDP. Regarding the analyses on net migration, the results showed that there was a negative relationship between repressive anti-LGBTQ+ laws and net migration. This result reveals some evidence to legitimate the study and warrants further research.
CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Summary of Findings

Homophobia leading to anti-LGBTQ+ laws has been prevalent in Africa since colonial rule through sodomy laws. The attitudes and behaviors of homophobia are manifested in various forms, and this includes verbal abuse and harassment; using slurs, derogatory language, and name-calling to insult or belittle LGBTQ+ individuals, physical violence which includes acts of physical aggression such as assault, battery, and murder, which are perpetrated against LGBTQ+ individuals based on their sexual orientation or gender identity, discrimination which includes denying LGBTQ+ individuals’ access to employment, housing, healthcare, education, and other opportunities based on their sexual orientation or gender identity and social exclusion which involves excluding LGBTQ+ individuals from social and cultural events, communities, and institutions, based on their sexual orientation or gender identity. Moreover, hate crimes which are violent acts committed against individuals or groups based on their sexual orientation or gender identity, motivated by prejudice or bias further contributes to the challenges faced by the LGBTQ+ community.

Given the increasing global significance of LGBTQ+ issues, how does sexual politics (LGBTQ+ inclusion) affect the field of International Relations? In order to answer this question, a total of 1100 data points were collected on foreign aid and investments from the world bank. The dynamic of LGBTQ+ laws were accessed, including those with or without evidence of the law being enforced, gathering the data from the human dignity trust and the ILGA world state-sponsored homophobia reports. The R Data programming, Microsoft Excel and Tableau was used to analyze these responses, and data and results presented using tables, bar graphs and pie charts.
Identifying the dynamics of anti-LGBTQ+ laws in Africa revealed that, homophobic legislation in many postcolonial states was introduced by their formal post-colonial administrations. This includes Angola, Cape Verde, Comoros, Eswatini, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, Sao Tome and Principe and Seychelles. Some of these countries as the years went by changed their laws to become LGBTQ+ tolerant whiles others also changed to be more repressive. Angola, Cape Verde, Lesotho, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe and Seychelles have all changed their sodomy laws adopted through colonial rule to more tolerant laws promoting LGBTQ+ inclusion. As it stands, Mauritania, Nigeria and Somalia have death penalties as punishments in their penal codes. Somalia and Mauritania have had these criminal codes since the year 2000 whereas Nigeria introduced the new penal code with strict and regressive punishments in 2013.

This highlights the complex and evolving nature of anti-LGBTQ+ laws in Africa. While some countries have made progress in promoting LGBTQ+ inclusion by repealing colonial-era laws, others have become even more repressive in their legislation. The fact that some of these laws still carry the death penalty is a stark reminder of the human rights violations that many LGBTQ+ individuals in Africa continue to face. It is important for researchers and policymakers to continue to monitor these dynamics and work towards promoting a more inclusive and accepting environments for all individuals, regardless of their sexual orientation or gender identity. Only by acknowledging and addressing these issues can we hope to create a more just and equitable society for all.

The results on the hypothesis; the more repressive a country’s LGBTQ+ legislation, the lower the levels of foreign aid the country receives which tested the relationship between aid and anti-LGBTQ+ was statistically insignificant. Although the results do not support the hypothesis,
the statement that "human rights violations have no effect on aid policies" is a complex and contested topic in the field of international development. However, there are some academic sources that support this argument, Neumayer (2003a) examined the relationship between human rights violations and aid allocation decisions by donor countries. He found that, overall, human rights violations do not have a significant effect on aid allocation decisions. Instead, donor countries are more likely to allocate aid based on political and economic factors. Also, while human rights violations are sometimes considered in aid allocation decisions, they are not a significant factor in determining aid allocation. Instead, factors such as the recipient country's economic development, political stability, and strategic importance to donor countries may be more important.

Moving to the results on net migration, the results revealed a negative correlation while the p-value was greater than the threshold, not finding statistical significance does not necessarily imply that the effect or relationship being investigated is non-existent. The results revealed an important finding given the complexity of the claim and the model used to test the hypothesis. The cross-sectional time series model was an inefficient model for testing the hypothesis as most of the variance got swallowed up by the year and country variables that put strain on the data; as such, the results suggest that further research should be pursued. High levels of migration have a significant negative impact on the development of a country. According to the United Nations, the estimated number of international migrants originating from Africa in 2020 was 38 million. It is important to note that this number includes both voluntary and forced migration. Migration can result in a "brain drain," where skilled workers will leave the country, leading to a shortage of qualified personnel in certain fields and can have negative effects on the country's economy and development (Docquier, F., & Marfouk, A. 2006).
Repressive human rights laws (anti-LGBTQ+ laws) relating to homophobia can affect the development of Africa, if further research provides a higher standard of statistical significance that equally supports the negative correlation between net migration and anti-LGBTQ+ laws.

Although tangible conclusions cannot be drawn on the hypothesis now, migration has a significant negative impact on the development of a country, with the potential for a "brain drain" and a shortage of qualified personnel in certain fields. It is clear that migration is a critical issue for the continent and requires further attention in the development discourse.

**Lessons**

The study reveals that there is a non-significant relationship between a country's LGBTQ+ friendliness and the level of foreign aid it receives. Some donor countries, particularly those with a commitment to human rights, may tie their foreign aid to conditions that promote respect for human rights, including LGBTQ+ rights. In these cases, countries that adopt repressive anti-LGBTQ+ laws may be at risk of losing foreign aid if they are found to be in violation of these conditions.

On the other hand, some donor countries may prioritize their strategic interests over human rights concerns and may continue to provide foreign aid to countries that adopt repressive anti-LGBTQ+ laws. In these cases, the relationship between the adoption of anti-LGBTQ+ laws and foreign aid may not be evident. It's worth noting that LGBTQ+ issues are often complex and sensitive, and donor countries may face challenges in balancing their human rights commitments with their diplomatic and economic priorities. As such, the relationship between countries adopting repressive anti-LGBTQ+ laws and their receipt of foreign aid from donor countries can vary depending on a range of factors, including the donor country's foreign policy priorities, the
severity of the anti-LGBTQ+ laws, and the level of domestic and international pressure to address human rights violations.

The evidence to support the hypothesis that repressive anti-LGBTQ+ laws are associated with lower net migration, was not strong and would need further research regionally or studying patterns within a particular country. Africa is a stark example of discriminating countries experiencing the regional loss of highly educated LGBTQ+ citizens to more tolerant neighboring states. For example, homosexuality is currently illegal in Zimbabwe and Malawi; both of which experience amongst the highest rates of migration of LGBTQ+ citizens to South Africa. Relocating regionally is an attractive option for LGBTQ+ migrants due to their relative proximity and familiarity with their countries of origin, alongside positive LGBTQ+ equality laws (Peter Tatchell Foundation, 2018). Also, according to Cingranelli and Richards (2008), the relationship between human rights practices and foreign aid is stronger when the aid is given for development purposes rather than military or security purposes; hence, the focus of further research can be based on aid received particular for developmental purposes rather than focusing on the overall amount of aid received by the country in a particular year as this research did. Narrowing the data to development aid investments might improve the research and its probability of finding accurate results.

Overall, while the research did not find a strong relationship between LGBTQ+ friendliness and foreign aid or migration levels, it sheds light on the challenges that countries with repressive anti-LGBTQ+ laws face in terms of economic development and human rights. The findings can be used to inform policy decisions and international aid efforts aimed at supporting marginalized communities and promoting LGBTQ+ rights.
Research Limitations

The study required an extensive sample size, rigorous analysis, and other research instruments to interpret the findings obtained. The findings of this study may not be generalizable to other contexts or populations. The study was conducted in a specific setting with a particular sample of participants, and the results may not be applicable to other regions, cultures, or demographics. Future research should aim to replicate these findings in other settings to increase their generalizability. This also speaks to the method of analysis used; cross-sectional studies may have limited generalizability to other populations or settings.

Another problem was the availability of data, some countries did not have reliable or comprehensive data on the relevant variables. This limited the scope and generalizability of the study. There were also limitations in control variables, the variables such as GDP and rule of law are often used as control variables to account for potential confounding factors that may influence foreign aid and migration outcomes. However, the use of these variables may not always fully capture all relevant factors that may impact foreign aid and migration.

Recommendations

Based on the analysis and conclusions drawn from the field data, there are a few recommendations. The first recommendation is directed towards future researchers who may embark on similar studies. The second recommendation is intended for policy makers, while the third is targeted at activists, civil societies, institutions, and non-governmental organizations working to promote LGBTQ+ rights.

Recommendations to Future Researchers

Focus on variety of research methods: To get a comprehensive understanding of the issues and experiences of LGBTQ+ individuals in Africa, it's important to use a variety of
research methods, such as surveys, interviews, and ethnographic studies. To gain a comprehensive understanding of the experiences and challenges faced by LGBTQ+ individuals in Africa, a variety of research methods can be employed. Surveys can provide quantitative data on the prevalence and nature of discrimination and violence against LGBTQ+ individuals in different African countries. Most of the sources online do not provide data and evidence on the nature of discrimination and violence therefore primary data from surveys will help the researcher make accurate categorization of the level of LGBTQ+ exclusion in these communities. Collaborating with local researchers and LGBTQ+ organizations can also help gain access to information and perspectives that may be difficult to obtain otherwise.

Also, the categorization of the severity of anti-LGBTQ+ laws can be done more comprehensively by including new factors such as LGBTQ+ protection (employment, hate crime, incitement, and conversion therapy), recognition (civil unions, joint adoption, second parent adoption etc.) and not only limiting to the criminalization status and the variables of criminalization like this research did. This will help in accurately categorizing the countries to get a clear picture and understanding of the LGBTQ+ communities in Africa. Interviews with LGBTQ+ individuals can provide qualitative data on their experiences of discrimination, stigma, and violence. Ethnographic studies can also provide an in-depth understanding of the social and cultural contexts in which LGBTQ+ individuals live and the strategies they use to resist discrimination and assert their rights.

On the secondary data, there should be specificity on the type of foreign aid, getting data on aid for development purposes, military or security purposes will help the researcher gain insight and draw conclusion on the type of aid purpose that is linked to human (LGBTQ+) communities and their rights. Data on FDI will also be relevant for future research on this topic,
focusing on the push and pull factors of investors can bring an understanding on the relationship between FDI inflows and anti-LGBTQ+ laws. Also, focusing on countries specifically western countries who have promoted LGBTQ+ inclusion and studying their spending within African countries can give an accurate insight on whether their aid patterns are to promote western values as well. Another suggestion is that future researchers should consider other variables that may better explain net migration patterns in African countries. They should consider using a different model or research design to examine the relationship between independent variables and net migration. For instance, a longitudinal design can be used for the analysis. This is important because it will allow researchers to observe changes in the variables and their relationship, as well as control for individual differences and historical events that may influence the results. By using a longitudinal design, researchers can identify patterns and trends in the data, as well as test the directionality of the relationship between variables. This can lead to a more accurate understanding of the relationship between variables and can help to inform policies and interventions aimed at improving outcomes in various domains. Additionally, researchers may want to expand the sample size, consider a different region, or include additional variables such as economic, political, or social factors that may affect migration patterns to gain more insights into the relationship between the variables.

**Recommendations to Policy Makers**

Although the protection of the rights of LGBTQ+ communities have gained increased attention in recent times, it remains a complicated issue due to its nature and context. This section focuses on recommendations for policy makers and international actors on how to promote LGBTQ+ rights in Africa and other developing countries. There is the need to emphasize that policy makers need to use context-specific approaches that respect local cultures
and traditions, involve collaboration with local LGBTQ+ organizations and communities, and prioritize human rights, equality, and inclusivity as guiding principles for promoting policies on the promotion of LGBTQ+. It's important to note that promoting LGBTQ+ rights in Africa requires an approach that is respectful, inclusive, and context specific. It's crucial to work in collaboration with local LGBTQ+ organizations, communities, and other stakeholders, and to ensure that efforts are guided by principles of human rights, equality, and inclusivity, while respecting the diverse cultures, traditions, and contexts of developing countries.

Policies around LGBTQ+ rights should uphold Human Rights: Countries should ensure that any legislation related to LGBTQ+ rights is in line with international human rights standards, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which prohibits discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity. Any bill criminalizing LGBTQ+ and related activities should be examined carefully to ensure it does not violate human rights, including the rights to freedom of expression, association, and privacy. Also, policy makers should promote equality and non-discrimination for all individuals, regardless of their sexual orientation or gender identity. Discrimination against LGBTQ+ individuals are not only a violation of human rights, but it can also have negative social, economic, and health consequences. Instead of criminalizing LGBTQ+ individuals, policy makers should work towards creating a society that is inclusive and respectful of all individuals, regardless of their sexual orientation or gender identity.

Policymakers should rely on scientific evidence and research-based data when making decisions related to LGBTQ+ rights. It is important to be informed by accurate information and data, rather than relying on myths, stereotypes, or misinformation about LGBTQ+ individuals. Policymakers should consider the expertise of researchers, health professionals, and human rights advocates who have a thorough understanding of LGBTQ+ issues. It is important for policymakers to
engage in open and inclusive dialogue with all stakeholders, including LGBTQ+ organizations, civil society, religious leaders, and community members, to better understand the needs and concerns of LGBTQ+ individuals and to find common ground. It is crucial to listen to diverse perspectives and engage in respectful and constructive dialogue to promote understanding and mutual respect.

Policymakers should carefully consider the public health and social consequences of criminalizing LGBTQ+ activities. Criminalization can lead to increased stigma, discrimination, and violence against LGBTQ+ individuals, as well as hinder their access to healthcare, support services, and social inclusion. Policymakers should prioritize the health and well-being of all individuals, including LGBTQ+ individuals, in their decision-making processes and ensure that LGBTQ+ individuals have access to adequate support services, including healthcare, mental health services, and legal support. Criminalizing LGBTQ+ activities can exacerbate discrimination and violence against LGBTQ+ individuals, making it important to ensure that support and protection mechanisms are in place to safeguard their rights and well-being.

Policymakers can seek guidance from international human rights organizations, such as the United Nations and regional human rights bodies, for technical assistance and guidance on LGBTQ+ issues. International support can help ensure that any legislation related to LGBTQ+ rights is consistent with human rights standards and best practices. It is essential to approach discussions on LGBTQ+ rights with empathy, respect for human rights, and evidence-based decision-making.
Recommendation to Activists, Civil Societies, Institutions, and Non-Governmental Organizations Working to Promote LGBTQ+ Rights.

It is important to prioritize the safety and well-being of LGBTQ+ individuals, work in accordance with local laws and regulations, and strive for respectful engagement with diverse stakeholders. These recommendations are not exhaustive and should be adapted to the specific context and needs of the respective organizations and communities working to promote LGBTQ+ rights.

Advocacy for LGBTQ+ rights as human rights, should be grounded in universal principles of equality, non-discrimination, and dignity. Activists should use human rights frameworks and international human rights instruments to advance the rights of LGBTQ+ individuals at the national, regional, and international levels. These organizations can build coalitions and partnerships with other organizations and stakeholders who share similar values and goals, including human rights organizations, LGBTQ+ organizations, civil societies, and other social justice movements. Collaborating with diverse allies will help amplify advocacy efforts and promote inclusivity and solidarity.

Public awareness campaigns and education initiatives should be conducted to promote understanding and acceptance of LGBTQ+ individuals and issues. The use of various platforms, including social media, workshops, seminars, and community engagement activities can increase awareness, dispel myths, and promote accurate information about LGBTQ+ individuals. Advocacy themes can focus on legal reforms that promote the rights of LGBTQ+ individuals, including decriminalization of same-sex relationships, protection against discrimination, and recognition of gender identity and sexual orientation in anti-discrimination laws. To promote inclusivity and intersectionality by recognizing the diverse experiences and identities within the LGBTQ+ community, including ethnicity, religion, disability, and socioeconomic status.
Activists should advocate for an inclusive and intersectional approach to LGBTQ+ rights that addresses the multiple forms of discrimination and oppression faced by LGBTQ+ individuals.

There is also the need to document and monitor various human rights violations against LGBTQ+ individuals, including discrimination, violence, and persecution. This will help the promotion of evidence-based data and documentation. The use of evidence-based data and documentation to advocate for accountability, justice, and redress for human rights violations, will also help to inform policy and legal advocacy efforts. Throughout the process, activists should remember to prioritize the safety and well-being of LGBTQ+ individuals in all their activities, and to work in accordance with local laws and regulations. Building alliances, engaging in strategic advocacy, and promoting inclusivity and intersectionality can help advance LGBTQ+ rights and create a more inclusive and accepting society.
References


