



**TAKING HUMAN
RIGHTS BEYOND THE
DOMINANT
DISCOURSE:
LGBTI INCLUSION IN
DEVELOPMENT
COOPERATION**

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THANK YOU NOTE

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SUMMARY

In March 2021, the Federal Foreign Office and the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) in Germany published their LGBTI inclusion concept, long awaited by civil society and experts. Almost at the same time in Ghana, the opening of the first meeting space for the local LGBTI community in Accra triggered fierce socio-political controversies over sexualities, gender identities and LGBTI rights. These simultaneous developments are a reflection of the serious dilemmas and conflicting social dynamics that shape the field of LGBTI promotion. Controversies surrounding LGBTI rights figure significantly in the social debates on the right to freedom and gender justice, and the practice of LGBTI-inclusive development cooperation is almost always caught in the tension between opposing social concepts of self-determination, gender, and sexualities.

The aim of this study is to discuss **possibilities of fostering LGBTI rights by strengthening civil society and reinforcing inclusive gender norms**. It puts everyday life and political experiences of LGBTI activists in Ghana, Tunisia and Peru in relation to the approaches adopted by LGBTI-inclusive development cooperation. Which concepts of LGBTI inclusion do experts in the different countries experience as particularly productive under which conditions? Where do they see particular difficulties? Which changes and measures do they recommend?

As a result, the study describes four central fields of action for LGBTI promotion: **mental health and psychosocial well-being, (human) rights policies, knowledge and cultural policy, and intersectional gender policy as a cross-cutting task**.

1 LGBTI INCLUSION IN DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION: STARTING POINTS AND PERSPECTIVES

In January 2021, the Ghanaian LGBTI¹ community inaugurated its first meeting and office space in Accra. Supporters from the arts, culture, international politics, and development cooperation were invited to the event. However, it did not take long for a fierce social and political controversy to develop over sexualities, gender identities and LGBTI rights. It was the biggest controversy in post-colonial Ghana and led to highly repressive measures being taken against members of the community. After various religious leaders in particular, as well as politicians associated with them, had protested against the opening and had attracted considerable media attention, the police cleared the office and the activists involved had to seek refuge. A few weeks later, 21 human rights defenders were arrested at a workshop in the southern Ghanaian town of Ho and accused of unlawful assembly and of promoting LGBTI causes. Only after weeks of heated public debate, were they released from custody. This was soon followed in July 2021, by a bill to ban 'LGBTI propaganda' that was introduced in parliament. The bill, which was likely to be approved, would criminalise 'non-conforming' sexual orientations and gender identities even more harshly than is currently the case in Ghana. At the time of writing, the #Ho21s are still awaiting trial and the outcome of the controversy surrounding the bill remains uncertain.

Almost simultaneously with the **escalation** in Ghana, the Federal Foreign Office and BMZ in Germany published their **LGBTI inclusion concept** in March 2021, which had been long awaited by civil society and experts and which was very well received in general. The concept focuses on creating 'structures to effectively support LGBTI human rights activities carried out by civil society in this area by giving special consideration to specific vulnerabilities and multiple discrimination' (The Federal Government 2021). The concept refers to the fundamental (UN) human rights conventions and the relevant European and international standards such as the Yogyakarta Principles of 2007 and the updated Yogyakarta plus 10, or the inclusive orientation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and Gender Equality. It emphasises their special importance for LGBTI people and highlights the fight

¹ The acronym LGBTI stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and intersex people. We are aware that the acronym does not cover multiple other gender identities and sexualities.

against all forms of social exclusion and discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender identity (ibid.).

These simultaneous developments in Germany and Ghana highlight above all the conflict between human rights-based LGBTI policies gaining ground worldwide and, far too often, a parallel increase in LGBTI discrimination and persecution in specific country contexts. In development cooperation, for example, LGBTI promotion is now an established topic for European donors, around which extensive knowledge has been gathered (examples: Badgett et al 2016, Browne 2019, OutRight Action International 2021). The inclusion concept of the Federal Foreign Office and BMZ is an expression of the political will to incorporate this knowledge materially and normatively into the practice of international cooperation. Yet events as in Ghana indicate that **in this very practice LGBTI promotion is confronted with serious dilemmas and conflicting social dynamics.**

We refer to this contradiction as a two-fold postcolonial dilemma for LGBTI promotion. By this we mean the contradictory situation of the colonial roots of LGBTI discrimination and the accusation of postcolonialism that the LGBTI promotion policies being implemented by former colonial powers are facing today. In many countries of the Global South, social practices related to LGBTI discrimination and their legalisation originated in colonialism and, in their respective concrete forms, are still part of this continuity. Current sodomy laws in Ghana and Tunisia, for example, are largely identical in wording to the legal texts of the colonial masters (Rao 2014, Khouili/Levine-Spound 2017, Baisley 2015). Conversely, the more recent advocacy of LGBTI rights by European actors is often rejected as postcolonial interference that contradicts the socio-cultural realities of the respective countries. For development cooperation, this creates a fundamental tension between the strengthening of civil society self-organisation processes in terms of human rights and (subsequent) social or political controversies or even backlashes that violate human rights.

1.1 The global context

As international comparative studies and reports in recent years have shown (e.g., Corrales 2020; Gevisser 2021 and Tweneboah 2018), **disputes about the human rights of LGBTI people are both an expression and a consequence of the political and cultural processes of globalisation. They reflect the fundamental tensions of socio-cultural globalisation,** especially the interrelationships between

increasing individualisation and vastly different processes of asserting one's cultural and religious identities, and societal re-traditionalisation.

The recognition of 'Marriage for All' in various countries in the last 20 years (from the Netherlands in 2001, to Brazil in 2013, to Switzerland in 2022) is an example of the successes of LGBTI movements worldwide and an expression of the globalisation of an inclusive understanding of human rights and progressive legal equality. At the same time, laws that criminalise marginalised, non-hetero sexualities are being tightened in other countries (such as Russia and Nigeria). Laws against 'homosexual propaganda' are often justified as a 'firewall' against the decline in social values in globalisation. Nationalistically charged, they serve to distinguish the respective nation from generalised norms such as 'human rights for all'. Hostility against LGBTI people thus becomes the ideological basis for the defence of the nation and its traditions against the perceived threat of a universalisation of values in a globalised world.

These opposing tendencies of support for and hostility against LGBTI people do not in any way fit into a North-South scheme, nor are they suitable for polarisation into supposedly 'modern' versus supposedly 'backward' societies. Almost everywhere in the world, homophobia serves as an instrument or strategy in political conflicts over the structuring and control of social order. It often goes hand in hand with certain forms of anti-genderism and with restrictions on physical self-determination and the reproductive rights of women* in particular. Furthermore, homophobia can only be understood in its respective political and historical contexts, i.e. differently in Poland than in Ghana or China.

In the academic discourse on gender and development, the complexities of the connections between development practices and sexualities have been discussed in a differentiated way for decades. Especially the questions of how the development process and discourse themselves influence or even create sexual orientations and gender identities (Jolly, 2000; Lind 2009), and what this has to do with colonial continuities and postcolonial power relations (Hacker 2012, Klapeer 2013, Rao 2020) have given rise to new demands on development practice. The contradictions of globalisation, the concurrence of political liberalisation and the rejection of inclusive human rights, lead to complex situations. For example, when Christian fundamentalist organisations from the USA seek to influence anti-LGBTI policies and the development of laws in Ghana, Nigeria, Peru or Russia (Moss 2017, Asante 2020, Corrales 2020).

1.2 Localised perspectives

Against this backdrop of contradictory situations, **the aim of this study** is to put the concrete everyday life and political experiences of LGBTI activists in various contexts in perspective vis-à-vis the approaches of international human rights and development cooperation.

- ⇒ Which concepts of LGBTI inclusion do experts in different countries experience as particularly productive under which conditions?
- ⇒ Where do they see particular difficulties?
- ⇒ Which changes and measures do they recommend?

We asked experts from LGBTI communities, and those dealing with human rights advocacy, development cooperation and foreign policy in the context of three different countries – **Ghana, Tunisia, and Peru**. In our view, these countries are particularly instructive for a transregional comparison for two reasons: first, given the very different socio-political situations, the social controversies are very pronounced and normatively charged everywhere. Second, in the three countries, self-organisation among the LGBTI communities has progressed to different degrees: in Ghana, the community is still very much at the start of its difficult struggle for visibility and legal security. In Tunisia, significant progress was made, especially in the period after the 2011 revolution, but the community has once again been under pressure ever since. In Peru, the movements are established, well connected, and have achieved considerable legal security in the last 20 years. Yet again, they are currently facing political pressure from populism that argues for anti-genderism and homophobia. With that in mind, the study distinguishes between the normative, legal, and political conditions of LGBTI inclusion on the one hand and identifies further-reaching commonalities in the experiences and political expectations of the movements on the other.

Based on the guiding principles of the LGBTI inclusion concept drawn up by the Federal Foreign Office and BMZ (Federal Government 2021), on the central findings of relevant studies in the field (BMZ/GIZ/German Institute for Human Rights 2015, Browne, 2019) and on our prior knowledge of the three countries, we identified three aspects key to our discussion.

- ⇒ The first aspect relates to **the strengthening of civil society, publicity and visibility of the movements** as outlined in the inclusion concept, for example through the provision of meeting spaces (The Federal Government 2021, p.

13.). We asked primarily about the possibilities and conditions of self-organisation and networking opportunities, but also about the diversity of the movements, i.e., which groups belonging to the LGBTI community are present where, how they cooperate, which representations work well, and which voices tend to remain marginal even within the movements.

⇒ Our second set of questions shed light on linkages between LGBTI rights work and other strands of human rights work, as supported by BMZ earlier under the heading **'Talk rights, not identities'** (BMZ, GIZ, German Institute for Human Rights 2015, p. 6). This included questions about the legal conditions and possibilities, about building coalitions with other civil society actors and with institutional and state actors, and especially about examples of successful cooperation with organisations and groups involved in the promotion of (women's) human rights.

⇒ A third focus looked **beyond the discourse on rights** (Browne 2019) and asked about the conditions and possibilities of (re)negotiating and transforming social norms, especially with regard to inclusive gender norms in each specific context. Here, too, we considered possible coalitions and cooperation as well as examples of good practices as relevant.

The answers we received did not always follow the logic of our assumptions. The results presented here take the scope for action available to civil society actors as the starting point and follow their perspectives and arguments for the most part. Throughout the paper, we try to make the voices of our interview partners heard and to condense the plethora of information, political experiences and arguments they shared with us into overarching recommendations for LGBTI-inclusive development cooperation. With this approach, we try to fulfil what is probably the most important requirement of contemporary, human rights-based development cooperation, namely, to build the argument on an accurate analysis of context-specific conditions.

We proceed in four steps. After studying LGBTI inclusion in Ghana, Peru and Tunisia, we identify the fields of development policy in which our interview partners wish for support across all differences in the three countries. We then derive conclusions for the strategic orientations of LGBTI-inclusive development cooperation and in a final step, follow up with recommendations for concrete

programmes and measures. All concrete recommendations are to be understood as first steps on the path to coherent international cooperation between foreign policy and development cooperation.

1.3 Methodological approach

The study took place between August and December 2021. We followed a qualitative approach and conducted expert interviews based on our research objectives. **A total of 20 expert interviews were conducted with three different groups of actors:** firstly, with activists from domestic LGBTI organisations; secondly, with advocacy representatives from domestic human rights organisations; thirdly, with employees of German embassies (and political foundations) and with colleagues working in development cooperation in Germany and in the countries of the study (for a tabular overview, see annex).

Due to time constraints and the pandemic, all interviews were organised as video calls. For security reasons, interviews were anonymised and not recorded, but roughly transcribed. To be able to guarantee the safety not only of individuals but also of groups, especially in Ghana, we have refrained from naming the organisations and groups that we interviewed.

Interviewees were selected with the help of our local cooperation partners or according to a snowball principle within the networks of previous interviewees (Przyborski and Wohlrab-Sahr 2014, p. 59). With regard to Ghana, the extent of the socio-political escalation could not be foreseen at the time of creating a concept for the study. Collecting data in this particularly tense and volatile situation was a highly delicate undertaking. In Tunisia, we spoke with founders and representatives of two of the oldest LGBTI organisations in the country, as well as with independent activists and representatives of national and regional cooperation structures in the fight against HIV/AIDS and other health issues in the community. In Peru, we interviewed activists from long-established queer feminist organisations and newly emerging grassroots contexts of the trans movement in Lima and an LGBTI grassroots group in the Amazon. In Ghana and Peru, we worked with cooperation partners who established local contacts and accompanied the entire research process.

In the final stage of the data collection, LGBTI activists from all three countries joined us for a video discussion. In this **round table**, we discussed the viability of a particular local best practice beyond its own context and asked whether our results could be applied in other settings. The discussion provided us with important

additional data and helped us to reflect on and discuss our initial results and conclusions. At the same time, the round table itself created a space for the movements to network and share information. We discussed the key aspects and main topics of the interviews, best practices as well as strategic questions and possibilities of implementation.

The data analysis followed the procedure of identifying thematic priorities and relevant categories proposed by Meuser/Nagel (1991).

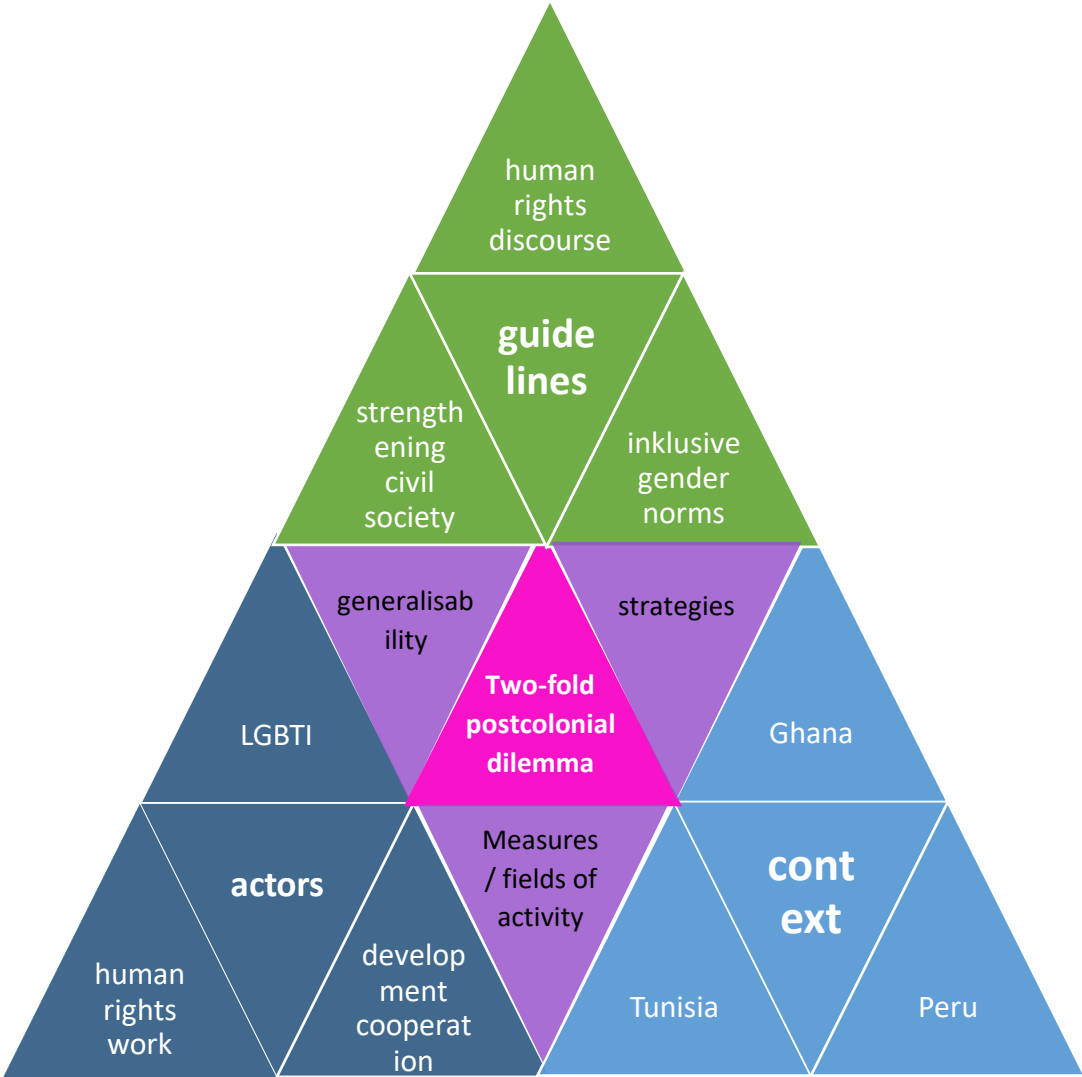


Figure 1: Research design (Source: own illustration)

2 LGBTI RIGHTS IN GHANA, TUNISIA, AND PERU

2.1 Ghana: Between #communityspace and #hatebill - The struggle for visibility and security

(Legal) Norms

Homosexuality and other queer forms of sexuality can be prosecuted in Ghana. Socially, a negative attitude towards homosexuality and queer sexuality, which is seen as morally unacceptable (Tweneboah 2018, p. 31, Dionne et al., 2016), is dominant. Prevailing Ghanaian law addresses 'unnatural carnal knowledge' i.e., the act of 'unnatural' sexual intercourse in Section 104 of the Criminal Code 1960 (ACT 29). Although this section does not define sexual acts considered as 'unnatural' or 'sodomy' in detail, all penetrative sexual practices that do not serve the purpose of procreation can be prosecuted. The law has its historical origins in Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code, the sodomy law of British colonial rule, which was first established in India and codified in many other British colonies (Gore 2021, p. 8ff, Dankwa 2020, p. 175ff).

For years, **legal and social controversies** have revolved around the question of how 'unnatural carnal knowledge' is to be defined and proven, for example, whether it also includes oral sex or sex between persons who are identified as women. Section 99 of the section states that 'unnatural carnal knowledge shall be deemed complete upon proof of the least degree of penetration' (Tweneboah 2018). The ambiguity of the term 'unnatural carnal knowledge', however, allows considerable room for debate. In 2010, for example, a group of human rights lawyers in Ghana argued that homosexuality was not illegal under this provision because it was not sexual orientation or a particular lifestyle that was covered by the law, but only a particular sexual act (Dankwa 2020).

In broader social struggles against the criminalisation of homosexuality, other arguments are prominent. Opponents of Section 104, such as the well-known sociology professor Akosua Adomako Ampofo, emphasise its incompatibility with Ghana's democratic constitution and the individual freedoms it guarantees, and point to Ghana's importance as a regional lighthouse of democracy (Dankwa 2020, Tweneboah 2018). They also refer to the historical diversity of practices of sexual

intimacy and the possibilities of marriage beyond heteronormative standards, for example between women, which were socially accepted before the colonisation of the country (ibid.).

In the decades before the conflicts intensified, Section 104 was more symbolic in nature (Dankwa 2020), even though the consequences for persons identified or 'suspected' as LGBTI, especially men who have sex with men (MSM), have always been very violent. The forms of violence against LGBTI persons range from physical and psychological violence such as conversion therapies, to structural violence such as discrimination, denunciation, persecution, blackmail, and arrest, to forms of family violence such as expulsion from the family unit. Violence against LGBTI persons is often incited and fuelled by public media and religious or religious-political leaders and supported and enforced by official bodies such as the police (Human Rights Watch 2018).

While for many years it seemed that Ghana would not follow the example of other Commonwealth members such as Nigeria or Uganda that have been tightening legislation against LGBTI members since the end of the 1990s, the bill, which 'takes all the bad parts [of the Nigerian and Ugandan laws] and adds some new ones' (Reid 2021), has now been in the Ghanaian parliament since 2021.

Movements

In 2021, organised LGBTI movements in Ghana are not a new phenomenon as such, but the forms and extent of their public expression are a novelty in society. In 2006, a major social controversy about LGBTI rights arose in Ghana for the first time. Media reports of the Gay and Lesbian Association Ghana (GALAG) planning an LGBTI conference in Accra, triggered widespread public controversy leading to panic (Baisley 2015, Dankwa 2020). At the time, activism focused mainly on the HIV crisis and access to health care. In 2011, the public debate reignited, this time over a 'disclosure article' about health education provided by NGOs that treated people with sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) (Baisley 2015, p. 390). Opponents of the movements used this debate primarily to launch the notion of homosexuality as an 'un-African' and a 'novel' threat (Tweneboah 2018, p. 35).

In January 2021, a new generation of LGBTI activists entered the public sphere with the opening of their #communityspace in Accra, which attracted considerable media attention. Previously, organisations worked more behind the scenes for the rights of LGBTI people, be it in health care or in the context of UN human rights work. In contrast, the now active generation of activists is also

concerned with visibility – despite all the personal and political risks. Many of them initially communicated for a long time online in social media. Since they are not allowed to appear publicly as LGBTI organisations, they have recently registered officially as human rights organisations with reference to women's rights, general human rights or the protection of minorities. However, some groups openly show themselves as queer despite the prevailing criminalisation practices, others (continue to) operate at the local level '*below the radar of the public*' (Interview 9). Some organisations have changed their names over time in response to public hostility and to protect people who want to contact them, so that originally visible references to queer contexts have been neutralised and they can thus appear more 'unsuspicious'.

Groups that are currently visible in public include LGBT+ Rights Ghana, which works 'for the freedom of LGBTI persons in Ghana'.² Other organisations work on the rights and concerns of trans people or advocate for the empowerment of queer women. Their work focuses on issues of repression, safety, visibility, and the acceptance of different ways of expression and living, on the one hand, and issues of sexual and reproductive health, on the other. A third set of topics addresses (also economic) empowerment, while the fourth major concern, which is common to almost all groups, is the search for possibilities and strategies of networking and (self-)organisation. The groups differ in their degree of organisation, which ranges from professionally operating NGOs to self-organised initiatives. Many activities are concentrated in the capital Accra and a few other urban centres. Outreaches and workshops in less privileged neighbourhoods of the capital and in rural areas such as the north of the country take place mainly when limited resources allow.

The movements are well connected with actors in international cooperation, be it civil society organisations, bilateral and multilateral donor institutions, implementing organisations or diplomatic missions. The diverse networks are also reflected in the historical bonds between Ghanaian civil society and human rights advocacy and German development cooperation. At the time of writing in early 2022, German development cooperation has neither a focus on LGBTI inclusion nor are LGBTI issues explicitly or systematically included in the programmes and strategies of the implementing organisations. However, the differentiated gender discussions and disputes around LGBTI rights are reflected in issues of inclusive development and governance. This becomes clear when, for example, in the context of capacity building measures, there are discussions with regional and municipal

² <https://www.lgbtrightsgh.org/>

administrations about which population groups can be considered particularly vulnerable – and LGBTI groups are of course included.

Current developments

In July 2021, eight members of parliament introduced the Promotion of Proper Human Sexual Rights and Ghanaian Family Values Bill 2021, which strengthens existing criminal laws and criminalises LGBTI persons, their concerns, organisation and support. A group of independent experts appointed by the UN Human Rights Council to evaluate the Bill concluded in August 2021 ‘adopting the legislation in its current or any partial form would be tantamount to a violation of a number of human rights standards, including the absolute prohibition of torture’ (UN 2021). The debate quickly gained momentum in broader society.

Against the backdrop of increasing political and economic instability in the second year of the COVID-19 pandemic, resentment quickly built both against perceived societal deviancies and against international support for the LGBTI community perceived as interference in domestic affairs. At the same time, however, Ghanaian human rights organisations and diaspora groups organised for support. **Arguments centred not only around self-determined sexualities and gender identities, but more fundamentally around issues of freedom of assembly and expression, the protection and value of freedom and self-determination, and the value of family, tradition, and religion** (Abrefah 2021, Ackah-Blay 2021). LGBTI organisations formed broad civil society alliances in campaigning against the Bill, organised public and political interventions, raised awareness and carried out media-related and advocacy work (GhanaWeb 2021). But opponents of LGBTI rights also mobilised their long-standing networks. They rallied religious, traditional, and political leaders who publicly endorsed the Bill and argued for its legality and necessity, while a large section of the media also endorsed the Bill in their reporting and further fuelled the debate (Asamoah 2021). Even the Minister of Gender is considered a prominent critic of LGBTI concerns. Her gender perspective basically corresponds to a binary understanding of gender mainstreaming dating back to the early 1990s (Amoyaw 2021).

The evangelical churches, which maintain close ties with key political figures in Ghana, proved to be particularly powerful political actors in this process. They are also well connected with the representatives of other major religions in the country and with many traditional leaders, with whom they jointly advocate for the

preservation of religious and (supposedly) ‘Ghanaian values’ and traditions (Baisley 2015, Asante 2020).

At the time of writing, the Bill was being debated in parliament, and all citizens could submit a memorandum beforehand. The hearings were broadcast live on (social) media and TV. Civil society representatives who took a stand in the sense mentioned above and insisted on compliance with the fundamental principles of the rule of law and democracy were given the floor. In our interviews, many LGBTI activists describe the escalations in 2021 as a phase of mobilisation and reorientation of the movement. But even more, they highlight the intensity and various forms of psychosocial stress, experiences of violence and great dangers to personal safety.

2.2 Tunisia: Civil Society in Political Transformation between ‘Artivism’ and ‘Tradition’

(Legal) Norms

Homosexual and queer sexual practices are punishable in Tunisia. Article 230 of the Penal Code has been in force since 1913, was modified in 1964, and punishes sodomy with a prison sentence of 1-3 years. Critics of the Article point to its origins during the French colonial period. Until today, people are repeatedly arrested and convicted under this provision. When arresting ‘suspects’, the police enforce anal tests to ‘prove’ homosexuality. These tests are considered torture according to international human rights standards and contradict the Tunisian constitution of 2014. In 2017, the Tunisian Government accepted the relevant recommendation in the Universal Periodic Review (UPR) of the UN Human Rights Council to abolish the practice but has yet to implement the recommendation (Human Rights Watch 2019). At the same time, in contrast to these violent acts of persecution of LGBTI persons, especially gay and trans persons, Tunisia is the only country in the Middle East and North Africa region where LGBTI organisations are legal in accordance with the constitutional liberalisation of the right of association and freedom of assembly (Human Rights Watch 2016).

A similar **tension between traditional legal practice and societal struggle for comprehensive individual freedom and civil rights** is illustrated by the controversy surrounding the work of the Commission for Individual Freedoms and Equality. In 2018, the Commission presented a 300-page report with reform proposals. One recommendation was full equality between men and women. The implementation of the recommendations intended by the president at the time

included the complete decriminalisation of homosexuality as well as a reform of inheritance law (Dockery, Hassan 2018). However, corresponding laws have not yet been enacted.

Besides the ambivalent role of the state and institutional politics, religion also plays a prominent role in Tunisia. Overall, the disputes over LGBTI rights as well as the development of LGBTI movements must be understood in the context of the political transformation over the last 11 years and a highly politicised and mobilised civil society. **The struggle is about nothing less than a reconstitution of social norms, in which the questions of gender and sexuality play a central role in negotiating the relationship between and meaning of religion and culture.** In 2011, the Islamist Ennahda party entered the Constituent Assembly and, after the first free elections in 2014, was represented in parliament. The relationship between Islam and democracy has been the subject of much controversy, especially regarding the meaning of human rights, women's* rights, right to freedom and Islam. *'Religion is everywhere'*, as one of our interview partners put it, referring to the intensity and political sensitivity of these processes. Tunisian society is considered conservative in its values. Non-conforming sexual orientations and gender identities are rejected by most of society (ILGA 2015), being considered incompatible with tradition and religion. At the same time, Tunisian society is proud of the country's development as regards democracy and human rights and its special position in the region – Tunisia represents the success story of democratic development since the 2011 revolution and partners German development cooperation in the field of reform.

Movements

LGBTI activists and human rights defenders have been mobilising for the abolition of Article 230 since the early 2000s. More recently, LGBTI movements have organised themselves in the context of the political upheavals caused by the revolution and the freedoms they fought for, but also against the backdrop of increasing repression since 2014. They are increasingly coming out in public with their demands for decriminalisation and recognition (Mzalouat 2016) and calling for the protection of minority rights, individual freedoms and women's rights that they won in the revolution. However, contrary to the constitutional guarantee of freedom of association, organisations repeatedly face repression and intimidation and therefore not all of them appear publicly as LGBTI groups. For example, Shams, one of the oldest LGBTI organisations openly advocating for the rights of sexual minorities, had to defend itself in court against the attempt to shut it down in 2019

and won the case. The government had planned to revoke the organisation's registration on the grounds that 'its work on behalf of sexual minorities violates "the Islamic values of Tunisian society"' and laws that criminalise homosexual acts' (Human Rights Watch 2019a).

In addition to strengthening self-organisation, the groups focus on issues of safety and protected (online) spaces, sexual self-determination and reproductive rights, as well as mental and psychological health. At the same time, Tunisian LGBTI groups are particularly effective in creating public visibility through what they themselves call **artivism**, a strategic combination of **activism and art**. Activists use performances, film, graffiti, and theatre as a form of expression that is successfully used to inform, amplify and mobilise (Moreno 2020).

Among the large and particularly visible 'first generation' organisations active mainly in Tunis are the queer feminist group Chouf (founded in 2012), Mawjoudin (We exist, founded in 2014),³ the LGBTI and human rights organisation Damj (2008) and Shams, whose president Mounir Baatour was the first openly gay presidential candidate in the Middle East/North Africa region in 2019. Well known beyond the borders of the community and the country is the annual feminist film festival Chouftouhonna in Tunis, organised by Chouf, as well as the Mawjoudin Queer Film Festival, which has been taking place since 2018. For these cultural activities, the movement is well connected with international donors and cultural institutions such as the Institute Français – where the annual Couleurs d'Avril action days take place – or with associations such as the Hirschfeld-Eddy Foundation.

With the help of alternative media as well as social media, the movement has created spaces for dialogue, communication, and education, for example transregional blogs like www.inkyfada.com. The mainstream media, on the other hand, is considered conservative, with some TV formats or personalities positioning themselves as openly homophobic and anti-LGBTI, even though a recent discourse analysis of the media landscape for the last 10 years has highlighted a shift in the use of language away from homophobia towards greater differentiation (Moreno 2020).

For the human rights and cultural work of foreign policy and for political foundations, the diverse art and cultural activities of civil society offer interesting possibilities for cooperation and good opportunities for support.

³ <https://www.mawjoudin.org/>

As in Ghana, German development cooperation in Tunisia focuses on good governance, but also on vocational training and renewable energy programmes. The corresponding programmes of the implementing organisations offer a wide range of opportunities for addressing LGBTI concerns, which have not yet been considered – be it in relation to issues of support for training and access to the labour market or advising public administration and institutions.

Current developments

Many activists belonging to the older generation are exhausted after years of struggle against repression, or have left the country. **A new generation of activists is organising and politicising.** Groups like Outcast,⁴ which advocates for trans people, are breaking new ground beyond formal NGO processes and are, for example, less hierarchically structured or institutionalised.

Since November 2020, there have been mass protests again. The protests were sparked by a proposed law that would protect the police from prosecution even after the use of lethal force. LGBTI activists were visible among the participants and prominent activists became subsequent targets of police persecution and arrest (Jetz 2021). After protests against COVID measures in January 2021 and further unrest throughout the year, President Saeid dissolved parliament in July 2021. His predecessor's reform projects, such as gender equality and the related changes in inheritance law, are not a priority for him or have been rejected so far. Several of our interview partners describe the situation as one of great double insecurity and uncertainty, referring to the unpredictable political developments and to the socio-economic upheavals caused by the global COVID-19 pandemic.

2.3 Peru: Between legal equality and 'gender ideology' – conflicts over equality

(Legal) Norms

Homosexuality has been legal in Peru since 1924 (Hernández et al. 2015). In the last 20 years, demands for recognition by LGBTI communities have been politically and legally differentiated and better anchored (Corrales 2020, p. 186). The diversity of sexual orientations and gender identities is now legally recognised and protected

⁴ www.outcaststunisia.com/page-daccueil

from discrimination under civil and labour law (ILGA 2020). Military service is open to LGBTI persons, and acts of hatred and violence against LGBTI persons are criminalised (ibid., p. 188). In 2016, the Constitutional Court recognised the right to gender self-identification, the change of the gender entry is theoretically possible without reassignment surgery – the Gender Identity Law, which is also supposed to simplify changes in passports and IDs, was adopted by parliament in 2021 after four years (Cavero 2021).

In recent years, legal and socio-political controversies have arisen around the issues of recognition and equality of same-sex partnerships and adoption rights. Some foreign marriages have been recognised by the courts (Andean Airmail and Peruvian Times 2019), but corresponding bills on marriage for all have been lying with Congress for years without being passed (Gómez, Bello 2020). A trans activist won a particularly important dispute at the Inter-American Court of Human Rights 2020, which also gained international attention: the Court recognised the responsibility of the state of Peru for the arbitrary arrest of the activist and for her rape in police custody. In doing so, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights made a first, ground-breaking ruling on torture based on sexual orientation or gender identity (Human Rights Watch 2021). In contrast to international law, Peruvian society is largely conservative in values and homophobic. According to a 2014 survey, only 26% of respondents support same-sex marriage (Corrales 2020, p. 189).

In a 2017 survey of LGBTI people, 68% of respondents reported being victims of discrimination or violence, with only 5% reporting the cases. More than half of the respondents said they did not express their gender identity or sexual orientation openly for fear of violence, family and social exclusion or professional consequences (Gómez; Bello 2020 and Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática 2018).

Movements

In Peru, LGBTI networks are very well organised after years of internal and transnational struggle. Today, numerous LGBTI activists hold positions in state institutions or public offices, have been (presidential) candidates or are members of Congress. There are no restrictions on freedom of association and assembly.

The movements, which have their origins in the 1980s, especially in fight against HIV/AIDS by the gay community and in the political protests against the dictator Fujimori, have been openly fighting for the rights and concerns of LGBTI persons

since the late 1990s. Since then, there have also been alliances with women's and human rights organisations (Hernández et al. 2015).

One of the oldest and largest organisations is Movimiento Homosexual de Lima (MHOL), which has been campaigning against discrimination against LGBTI persons and for their rights to health and education since 1982. The organisation, which has transregional and transnational networks, gives impetus to the movement. The first regional transgender network RedLacTrans Peru⁵ is comparatively young. The network has been campaigning for inclusive gender legislation since 2004 and addresses precarious living conditions, social exclusion and violence against trans people. The project Casa Trans de Lima Este⁶ offers the first shelter and meeting space in the capital Lima for trans women. For two years, the house has not only been a place of safe retreat, but also a place where trans women can organise events jointly and can share information. Movimiento Cultural "Igualdad y Futuro", MOCIFU, in Pucallpa, is an example of the diversity of the movement outside Lima. The self-organised group enhances acceptance through cultural activities and community work, takes part in traditional dance festivals, for example, and supports LGBTI activists through workshops on (economic) empowerment.

The movement's organisations are diverse and pursue different strategies, ranging from advocacy work in the courts, in Congress, and in municipal governments on legal reforms, to art and cultural projects such as film and dance festivals, to street protests. Often, state institutions are seen as important allies, be it the Ministry of Culture, local city councils or individual politicians. Together with feminist movements, LGBTI organisations fight against gender-based violence (#NiUnaMenos) and for sexual and reproductive rights and health. Yet there are also contradictory objectives in relation to certain feminist and/or indigenous movements. For example, while spiritual and nature-based ideas of gender often play a central role for indigenous feminisms, trans movements work to deconstruct them. There are also differences within the movement between urban and rural areas and between social classes. Trans and intersex groups have long been marginalised, but their struggles and concerns are gaining more and more attention (Hernández et al. 2015).

⁵ <https://robertcarrfund.org/case-studies/growth-of-a-regional-trans-network>

⁶ <https://presente.pe/casatrans/>

Current developments

In contrast to decades of success with LGBTI policies, Peru is currently experiencing a backlash (Corrales 2020). Since 2015, homophobic and transphobic groups have repeatedly organised large marches (ibid., p. 190). These anti-LGBTI protests are led and fuelled by evangelicals and Pentecostal churches (Corrales 2020, p. 186). While these churches were still marginalised in Latin America years ago, they have been building structures and networks for years. Today, they are forming successful alliances with political actors, parties, the Catholic Church, and NGOs, both at the grassroots level in mainly rural communities and poorer urban neighbourhoods, as well as in political institutions and parties. They exert considerable influence on conservative politics in the region (ibid.). One of our interviewees told us about the influence that three newly founded evangelical radio stations had on public debate in Lima alone. In the 2016 elections, five parties listed evangelical pastors as candidates (ibid., p. 194).

The term under which anti-LGBTI activists mobilise is ‘gender ideology’. They declare LGBTI concerns to be a dogma from which society in general, but especially children, must be protected (‘Con mis hijos no te metas’ – ‘Don’t mess with my kids’). This rhetoric worked particularly well in the recent protests against an LGBTI-inclusive school curriculum, which was successfully prevented (Corrales 2020, p. 194, Cáceres 2017).

Since the 2021 presidential election, LGBTI organisations fear that the struggle for equality will weaken further under the new left-wing populist government of President Castillo (Lavers 2021). As is well known, left-wing populism also works with conservative family and gender concepts. The activists therefore see themselves under pressure from polarising and populist movements from both the right and the left. It’s hard to identify a strong, emancipatory, human rights-oriented political force that can do without populism and the current struggle is therefore mainly about defending what has already been achieved (interviews 6 and 11).

The media plays an important but definitely also an ambivalent role in the current social negotiations. While previously the media largely opposed LGBTI rights in public discourse, today some sections are key allies of the community, for example during the congressional debates on same-sex marriage.

German human rights work in Peru also offers some important starting points for supporting LGBTI rights. It is true that its focus is on dealing with the past and gender does not initially play a central role. However, there are networks and institutions that engage in regular exchange with Peruvian civil society and these include

organisations that work with and on LGBTI actors and issues. Cooperation with LGBTI movements at project level is mainly indirect. Progressive church actors who work on inclusion and human rights is important in mediation, play a special role here. Projects on violence against women, on the other hand, which aim to strengthen the capacities of the justice system, do include LGBTI issues, at least sporadically.

2.4 General and specific conditions governing the work on LGBTI rights

Commonalities

⇒ In all three countries of the case study, most LGBTI movements that also explicitly come under the LGBTI acronyms are organising themselves. They are successful in both **self-organisation and self-representation**, and in the realisation of human rights. They are fighting for more and more **visibility**; their concerns are being addressed publicly and have long since moved beyond the counter-public sphere of their own community. LGBTI struggles everywhere take place in comparable areas of tension between state, religion, and civil society. These struggles are not only about social conflict over bodily autonomy and sexual self-determination, but also about fundamental civil rights. In all three countries, these **(re)negotiations of social norms** are linked to questions of the rule of law and democracy in the context of culture, religion, and tradition. It is always about human rights, enshrining them in national law or implementing them in accordance with the constitution, and the related material securities – in Ghana and Tunisia about decriminalisation, in Peru about equality.

The movements unite different groups and pursue partly conflicting approaches, interests, and goals. In all three countries, the movements are striving internally to achieve inclusion and give equal consideration to different concerns and forms of discrimination – thus the interests of trans people are receiving more and more attention everywhere. LGBTI organisations in Ghana, Tunisia and Peru are creating local, regional and transnational networks – among themselves and in broad civil society alliances. Of particular importance for these networks are social media, which all movements use to a large extent as platforms and instruments for exchange, meeting, and negotiation.

⇒ However, the movements in all three countries are also under massive pressure: firstly, LGBTI persons and activists are exposed to existential **dangers and threats** to physical, social, and economic security and **different forms of violence** to varying degrees. In most cases, activists can only work under very precarious conditions, with a high degree of personal commitment and under psychological stress. Many movement groups are financially dependent on project funds and external donors and on their funding cycles and requirements, or have no access to these resources in the first place because they hardly have the human resources.

⇒ Secondly, the movements are under social pressure to the same extent that they are gaining visibility. **Global developments that undermine democracy, such as populism, religious fundamentalism and political instability** are having an increasingly powerful impact in the individual countries in different ways. Reactionary forces in all three countries are striving for political supremacy and sovereignty in social interpretation, referring to traditions as well as religious and cultural values. They often combine these with nationalist undertones and the rejection of post-colonial interference by the Global North. Transnationally well-connected radical evangelicals are gaining influence in both Ghana and Peru.

⇒ Thirdly, the struggles in all contexts share a crucial political core: **negotiations of LGBTI concerns are always about gender**. LGBTI struggles all over the world are struggles about gender (relations) and the interpretation and meaning of human bodies and their biological capabilities. They challenge the prevailing binary view that gender means being either a man or a woman. As we all know, this dichotomisation goes beyond the compulsion to standardise the human body. It translates these physical standards into hierarchised roles and positions in all areas of social life and social institutions. These connections are particularly salient when it comes to gender-based violence and sexual and health rights. At this interface, LGBTI struggles in Ghana, Peru and Tunisia are linked to the fight for women's* rights. At the same time, this is where important historical roots of cooperation between the different movements lie and where new civil society alliances emerge that play a highly significant role in the implementation of human rights in the respective societies.

Differences

Within the framework of these structural commonalities there are distinct context-specific differences.

⇒ First, the **history and duration of the struggles**, the concrete political-legal framework and the political successes already achieved are important. While the movement in Peru can build on almost 30 years of organising history, the movement in Tunisia is forming in the context of a broad mobilisation and politicisation of society in the post-revolutionary phase. In Ghana, on the other hand, the formal organisation of the LGBTI movement is only a few years old and is only gradually gaining public visibility. The degree of organisation, networking and institutionalisation therefore varies from country to country. This in turn determines access to resources for groups and movements.

⇒ Depending on the status of the movements and the political frameworks, the **legal norms** that have been fought for also differ. In Peru, LGBTI movements are legal and no longer need to fight for decriminalisation. Although many struggles are still directed against the state, for example the ruling of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights on the responsibility of the Peruvian state in connection with the torture and rape of a trans activist, as mentioned before, the organisations find allies at different state levels. Also, the significance of decades of successful trans-regional struggles for equality in neighbouring countries cannot be underestimated in the Peruvian context. In Tunisia and Ghana, on the other hand, LGBTI activists are themselves pioneers in their region. With the criminalisation of homosexual and queer sexuality, the legal situation in their countries is completely different and determines both their position in the state as well as their confrontation with the state.

⇒ The movements must assert themselves in **societies where the balance of power differs** from country to country and must confront **opponents**, who institutionalise and constitute themselves in different ways. In Ghana, the evangelicals are a well-organised political power and in Peru, they are in the process of building up this power as well. In Tunisia, the long-banned Islamist movement, which has been repressed and persecuted, has managed to institutionalise itself in the form of parties, thus strengthening the influence of conservative as well as reactionary religious forces in the institutional and discursive context. While in Peru, various mainstream media have tended to become allies in recent years, in Tunisia and Ghana they tend to side with conservative forces.

⇒ The **strategies of the movements** are therefore different. While the organisations in Ghana are under so much pressure that many activists, to guarantee their safety, rarely want to or can appear in public, in Peru it is precisely the light of publicity that can be a strategy for gaining protection and safety. An outstanding example of this is Casa Trans in Lima. Equally context-specific are the forms of internal diversity and difference or the socio-cultural factors that underlie them. While in Peru, lines of differentiation and internal disputes mainly run between urban LGBTI movements and indigenous feminist movements, in Ghana and Tunisia controversies tend to take place between older generations of women's organisations on the one hand and the mostly younger generation of LGBTI activists on the other. There are also differences, especially in Ghana, between the LGBTI community and many people who also follow non-heteronormative everyday practices, but who, according to their own understanding of themselves, do not belong to any LGBTI community, for example because they are socially visible as female friendships and not as sexual relationships, or because they are based on socially well-adapted trans identities.

⇒ Finally, it is important to differentiate between the manner in which states and societies organise **gender relations**. In Peru, social struggles to deconstruct traditional gender images have been long and successful and are now confronted with a new 'antigenderism' in the wake of rising populism. Meanwhile, in Tunisia and even more so in Ghana, LGBTI activists are carrying out fundamental awareness-raising activities and educational work on the meaning of gender. And while some of the successes achieved by the Peruvian LGBTI movement can be explained by the close and long-standing links to different generations of feminist struggles for **women's rights**, activists in Ghana are currently looking for precisely those links that have been consolidated in Tunisia in recent years.

Commonalities	Differences
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> struggle for visibility and against violence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> history and 'achievements' of movements
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> human rights and gender justice under pressure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> legal, socio-economic and political (in)securities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> underlying tensions between progressive and populist politics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the role of media and religion in public discourse
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> prospects for working with development cooperation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> fundamentalist antigenderism
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> strategies of networking and cooperation and (established) exchange between civil society and development cooperation
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> combining human rights work and technical cooperation

Figure 2: General and specific conditions of LGBTI work (Source: own illustration)

3 KEY AREAS OF ACTION

Amid these starting points, we have identified four fields from our interviews as central to the promotion of LGBTI rights. Our focus on **health/psychosocial well-being, (human) rights and democracy, education, knowledge, art, and culture as central fields of action, and the resulting intersectional gender policy as cross-cutting task**, is guided by the abundance of experiences and opinions that our interviewees shared with us. They have directed and sharpened our view on the contexts and conditions surrounding their actions. To give their voices as much space as possible, in this section we work with direct quotes from the interviews and frequently refer to the interviews.

3.1 Health and psychosocial well-being: discrimination makes you sick

Especially in emergency situations and when social problems escalate as in Ghana 2021, **collective trauma, as well as individual experiences of violence**, become visible and intensify. The pressure that LGBTI movements, activists, but also individuals permanently face has a massive impact on their psychological well-being, as became clear again and again in our interviews in all three countries. Whether in the current **emergency** in Ghana, the permanent uncertainty in Tunisia, or the struggle for equality in Peru – in our conversations with the activists, beyond the respective country-specific dangerous situations, we almost always heard about **structural stress situations** that have an effect on everyday life and often affect individuals across all their social relations. This includes psychological and physical violence as well as various forms of repression, exclusion, and discrimination, which also take place in private and in family contexts, leading to depression, burnout, and exposure to other mental illnesses. However, it is usually difficult to deal with the effects individually or collectively, because they do not attract public attention, there is no place to go to and there is an overall lack of safe spaces.

'There is an enormous need for strategies and measures around the issue of well-being, the chance to take a break and recover. (...) Safe spaces are central to this.' (Interview 9)

'For development cooperation, trauma and psychosocial wellbeing should be in the focus' (Interview 5). The urgency of this explicit demand was underlined by all the activists interviewed and highlighted again in the group discussion we conducted. It

gains importance as it also seems to be marginalised in the discussion on LGBTI and health care, even though trauma plays a major role in all three thematic areas that are considered central to the field of LGBTI and health. The first of these thematic areas is **basic health care** for LGBTI people, e.g., through routine general medical check-ups, which are often marked by structural exclusion and are associated with traumatic experiences. In Ghana, for example, organisations report that LGBTI people's fear of discrimination and psychological violence prevents many from seeking medical treatment at all and that it is difficult to find sensitive doctors for basic medical care, even in large cities. Experiences in Peru are similar:

'When a trans woman goes to a clinic with a headache or stomach ache, the first thing they ask her to do is an HIV test. We are not treated like human beings.' (Interview 10)

Secondly, **HIV/AIDS** is and remains the central health issue of LGBTI promotion. Our interviewees assess this differently. On the one hand, some organisations criticise a one-sided focus on male health, which excludes other situations of concern and promotes the reproduction of prevailing stigmas:

'The focus on HIV/AIDS was accompanied by privileges for MSM. The LBQ community also needs a focus on health. (...) And health encompasses so much more than just HIV/AIDS.' (Interview 9)

Other activists, for example in Tunisia, emphasise the urgent need to highlight the continuing danger and impact of HIV/AIDS and to work inclusively against them, as they continue to pose a risk (interviews 17 and 19).

The third central theme is **reproductive rights and sexualised violence**. Trans activists, in particular, report a variety of situations of distress and concern (interviews 9 and 10). In all three countries, the interviewees emphasise the traumatic experiences of physical, psychological, and structural violence, for example in police custody (interviews 5, 10, 16), as well as the psychological effects of continuous threats to personal safety and the impossibility of moving freely on the streets and expressing oneself (Interview 13). The interview partners see clear links between an escalation in public discourse and an increase in violence on the streets against individuals belonging to the LGBTI community. In both Ghana and Tunisia, (social) media is considered as playing a central role and media leaders are seen as responsible, especially when conflicts erupt:

'Violence and hate speech on social media are very dangerous. During the pandemic, everyone was at home and online, and you could see an immediate increase in violence and homophobia. In general, the media is homophobic and dangerous. For example, if a presenter or a celebrity says something homophobic on TV and later people on the street harass or attack

an LGBTI person, they may use the same words they heard their idol use on TV.’ (Interview 16)

In summary, our interview partners see a connection between measures of mental health and psychosocial well-being and issues such as health care access, HIV/AIDS, and sexualised gender-based violence. This reveals a basic tension that is relevant to various areas of LGBTI inclusion, but is particularly obvious in health policy. A major part of well-being is being able to express oneself and to move freely and generally be visible. However, depending on the context, the visibility of LGBTI people is repeatedly in conflict with their personal safety. Social struggles for visibility and recognition are all too often accompanied by increased risks to the personal safety of activists and the entire LGBTI community. Lack of opportunities for protection and retreat into safe spaces that either do not exist or are lost under the pressure of public confrontations contribute to stress and psychological strain. Further lines of social differentiation usually aggravate the situation. In other words, categories such as gender, ethnicity and class play a decisive role in whether people can access protection measures or seek professional help.

‘Psychosocial well-being (must therefore also) be understood in a financial sense. Who can afford to be active as an activist? Who has access to a salary, to health insurance, (which includes psychological help), who has an exit plan in case of emergency?’ (Interview 9)

Civil society actors therefore emphasise the importance of the links between mental health and other social justice issues such as economic participation and livelihood security, poverty reduction and combating structural gender-based violence. LGBTI inclusion is also called for in sector-specific forms of trauma management, for example around displacement and migration or conflict transformation.

3.2 Human rights and democracy: good governance and LGBTI inclusion

Codified law provides the immediate framework for action, i.e., the possibilities and limits of all civil society human rights policies. Where freedom of assembly does not apply under the ‘promotion ban’ or if LGBTI organisations fear persecution, groups cannot register officially as LGBTI organisations, but often operate publicly by claiming to work on a more general human rights issue, for example as an NGO working for minority, women’s rights, or human rights. This offers a certain protection

and the possibility of raising funds. But it also brings dangers, as one interviewee from Ghana points out:

'As a civil society organisation, we could only legally register as a women's rights organisation under the existing law. But now with the new draft law, they will come after us as soon as the law is passed.' (Interview 5)

Thus, depending on the legal situation, the social and political struggles that LGBTI actors can or must engage in differ. While in Peru there are campaigns for the recognition of marriages and for self-determined gender registration in passports, activists in Ghana and Tunisia fight to avoid being arrested, tortured, and sentenced to prison because of their gender identity or sexual orientation.

Considering the importance of legal and democratic norms, LGBTI groups articulate **two main demands** on human rights and development cooperation: firstly, the **LGBTI-inclusive strengthening of the legislature and state institutions**, and secondly, the **strengthening of the legal and transformation discourses** that underlie the discussion on LGBTI rights.

One interview partner from Ghana was practical and direct: *'Development cooperation should focus on strengthening the legislature and the police, among other things'* (Interview 4). In several other interviews, the ambivalent role of the police and the judiciary was highlighted as a particular threat, but also as potential allies for LGBTI people and movements. Many activists report contradictory experiences. In some cases, there are good connections to local police stations, on whose support and protection LGBTI activists and organisations depend. Again and again, it is possible to win over local police officers as allies for the protection of workshops or other events, even in social situations that are rather hostile to LGBTI people. Some interviewees from Ghana explicitly mention the police as an important ally for their daily work:

'After our biggest donor, our second most important ally is the police. They protect us during our events, also during bigger public events in recent years.' (Interview 9)

On the other hand, as we know, it is precisely the police and the judiciary who repeatedly threaten the personal safety and integrity of LGBTI persons through discriminatory and violent behaviour, arbitrary arrests and sentences that violate human rights. They generally lack an awareness of human rights: *'After the events in Ho, we need to fundamentally rethink who our allies are'* (Interview 5). *'Security services, police, they don't know what human rights are'* (Interview 12). In line with the findings of various studies (e.g., OutRight Action International 2021), awareness-raising projects, trainings and workshops for police and judiciary to build capacity

and awareness and to provide knowledge on gender and LGBTI human rights, as well as training specifically in the prevention of violence and discrimination in the field of good governance, are recurring demands of our interview partners.

In this context, civil society advocacy for the rights of minorities can also play an important mediating role vis-à-vis the state. When human rights groups include LGBTI concerns in their work, they become important allies not only in situations of escalating conflict, as is currently the case in Ghana, but also in successful lobbying for the entrenchment of rights, as was the case in Peru in earlier years.

The second central area of LGBTI inclusion, from our interviewees point of view, is the **promotion of democracy** in general, and the promotion of (civil society) participation in social transformation processes in particular. They stress the fact that a **social understanding of diversity** is one of the foundations of human rights and their realisation. Central to this are public debates about equality and inclusion of all marginalised groups and about anti-discrimination in the most diverse areas of society. The example of the debates in Ghana illustrates this very well. The debates on the more stringent bill have no longer been exclusively about the treatment of sexual orientations and gender identities, but fundamentally about the constitution, the rule of law, civil and human rights. Broad **coalitions between LGBTI organisations and human rights advocacy**, following the guiding principle of ‘talk rights not identity’, were crucial in establishing this argument:

‘It’s hard to talk about human rights when even some human rights advocates say [the LGBTI debate] is not about human rights. In advocacy work, we tend not to talk about LGBTI rights. But rather fundamentally about the rights of minorities, without making the mistake of referring to a single minority group alone.’ (Interview 9).

The key to this is to **anchor the discourse in the local context – ‘localise human rights!’** as one interviewee in Ghana demands, i.e., to connect the human rights argumentation with the realities of people’s lives and to make it practical in their everyday lives (Interview 5).

What such localisation or contextualisation can mean becomes clear when looking at Tunisia. There is a common argument that Tunisian traditions and the special position of religion should be preserved, but at the same time Article 230 of the Penal Code should be rejected as a violation of the civil rights of LGBTI people.

In Peru, an activist describes the successes achieved by movements in framing LGBTI concerns as fundamental human rights issues for Peruvian society and its history:

'In the past, when people talked about human rights in Peru, it was always in the context of the civil war and the peace process. Today, however, human rights are also a question of LGBTI people.' (Interview 11)

In the context of our study, however, Peru is also the context in which the basic problematic conflict between the promotion of individual and collective human rights becomes most apparent, which permeates the entire field of good governance and LGBTI. There are also controversies between the different branches of women's, human rights and LGBTI movements, for example between demands for the realisation of collective indigenous rights and queer self-determination rights.

3.3 Knowledge and cultural policy: education, (social) media, art and culture as spaces and tools of social transformation

The third central field of action in international cooperation for LGBTI inclusion to emerge from our expert interviews is the field of knowledge and cultural policy. It reflects many of the problems facing health and (human) rights. One interview partner from Tunisia put it this way:

'We can spend a lot of time training the police or advising the government on reform projects. We can argue about legal norms and whether they are of colonial origin or not. If we want to bring about comprehensive change and improve our situation, we have to advocate for broad social change.' (Interview 19)

According to the interview partner, even if politicians could agree that the sodomy law has colonial roots, a government that fears for its majority and seeks to avoid conflict with influential religious actors could simply pass a similarly discriminatory law on its own and nothing would be gained. That today's legislation can make colonial laws even more stringent and how this happens is clearly illustrated by developments in Ghana in 2021.

Education, knowledge, and information

A central concern of the movements therefore is to gain interpretive sovereignty over their own concerns. The most important basis for this is to be able to have knowledge-based discussions and for the arguments to reach people from different social groups in their respective contexts.

'On paper they [human rights] are nothing if they are impractical and removed from people's everyday lives. We must talk to our neighbours, to the owners of restaurants and shops in the streets of our neighbourhood. About what human rights have to do with their life situation and with mine. We have to start educating people, in the daily life of the individual in our community, taking into account the educational background, environment and class differences, find multipliers in the respective communities and social strata.' (Interview 5)

The interviewee identifies **education** as central to these processes. In Peru, activists also describe education and **information policy** as particularly crucial for dealing with anti-gender and anti-LGBTI discourses:

'When false claims were made during the education plan controversy, such as the insinuation that "the Ministry of Education wants to 'homosexualise' our children", we found it helpful to do study-based fact-checking, expose the false claims and promote community organising around human rights, women's rights, and LGBT rights. We need feminist education about what machismo is, homophobia, gender – for all this we need safe spaces and need to empower people to have these discussions in different contexts. We need people who answer others to their faces, opinion leaders in political spaces and institutions.' (Interview 11)

Knowledge and education, especially in relation to human rights and gender politics, are politically contested. They are politicised. It is not without reason that opponents of LGBTI issues are fighting against inclusive school curricula, which aim to educate students about sexual and gender diversity and to create acceptance, in various countries around the world – in Peru (2016/17), in Ghana (2019) and in Germany (2014/15). Many interviewees consider knowledge, including very basic knowledge about gender and the body, to be a prerequisite for any social discourse on LGBTI rights.

At the time of this study, the debates in Ghana clearly illustrate exactly how much energy and effort the movements put into bringing very basic knowledge about LGBTI – terms, meanings, definitions – into the debate, for example through their social media channels. They also make a determined effort to do this in local languages too, such as Twi, which highlights the fact that corresponding terms, practices, and knowledge were deeply rooted in societies in pre-colonial times.

Art and culture

Many of the organisations we spoke to use performance, dance, film, and theatre to communicate their perspectives and relevant knowledge. In Tunisia, the buzzword for this is **artivism**. In many queer and feminist film and theatre festivals, artivism means that art becomes political in order to spread knowledge and make

experiences accessible. While some of the festivals were initially held in secret locations for selected audiences for security reasons, at the beginning of 2022, queer theatre plays were performed for the first time in public at urban cultural venues. This is the result of developments over a long period of time:

'[Art] is a bridge and a form of communication that creates new spaces. After the first festival, many artists suddenly wanted to work with us and were interested in the concept of activism. The festival increased our visibility, made new partnerships possible. Now there is a big network that creates queer art as a form of expression. A film can initiate a debate much more easily. Capacity building or a campaign – these are the things that donors like to fund – don't necessarily create an impact. Art does. The context is just not the same. Art builds bridges much more easily. Funders often don't understand that it creates a cultural space, a public space, so art creates politics, is political.' (Interview 14)

In Peru, activists have their own approach to cultural and political work. The queer dance group of an LGBTI grassroots organisation participates in traditional dance and cultural festivals in their city:

'Traditional dances in our culture are for couples consisting of a woman and a man. Our group dances at these festivals, takes these traditions and practices, transforms them beyond the woman-man order.' (Interview 8)

The movement thus breaks the traditional conservative perception of gender and its binary distribution of roles in the dance. Through regular participation in traditional events, it has become a natural part of urban society. Its concerns also extend to other areas, such as jointly organised clean-ups and other environmental activities. *'As part of the community here, we also have to support and work for the community.'* (Interview 8). In Ghana, some of the important advocates of the LGBTI community are artists, musicians and performers who also address the ongoing campaigns in their music, installations, or performances and take them to the (social) media, despite all the disadvantages and public criticism they have to fear or get in return.

In all three contexts, art and culture create new paths and spaces for socio-political debates for and with LGBTI movements. What is marginalised or negated and rejected in society becomes conceivable and thus negotiable or even self-evident, partly implicitly, partly with humour or dance. Particularly promising in this regard is the use of community theatre for development, which makes art and culture accessible to a wide range of social groups and classes and publicly addresses socially controversial topics in relation to everyday life at a level everybody can understand.

There are various areas here that development cooperation could build on and support and promote contexts and groups in the field of culture and

development. One example of an especially positive practice is the promotion of the aforementioned festivals in Tunisia, which includes productive cooperation with the Goethe-Institute, foundations, and NGOs. Such cooperation and funding can be context-sensitive and, depending on the circumstances and social dynamics, also indirect. **The promotion of culture** in Tunisia by French, German and other European actors has been largely discreet for some time, ‘behind the scenes’, so to say. Tunisian groups welcome this form of cooperation. In the interviews they specifically suggested that foreign donors should not insist on the publication of their logos on information or promotional material but should examine the situation on a case-by-case basis in consultation with local cooperation partners.

The **fundamental tension** that emerges here goes beyond the conflict **between visibility and security** which has already been described for health policies. This is the tension between the **development cooperation programme or funding logic** on the one hand and the **requirements and opportunities for the** movements to organise politically on the other. From the perspective of the movement actors, funding from state development cooperation or foreign policy is almost always associated with big bureaucratic hurdles and application procedures. For example, information about calls for proposals and funding opportunities are often only accessible to a few, highly visible groups and not shared widely enough; short, project-specific funding cycles do not correspond with the organisational conditions of small, resource-poor groups that can barely cope with the elaborate accounting procedures without appropriate staff. The physical distance to institutions of development cooperation in the capitals is an additional factor, especially for grassroots movements outside the big cities, making it almost impossible for them to receive funding or to establish cooperation arrangements. One interviewee from Peru said:

‘We have no experience or contact with international development cooperation. We don’t have a bank account and we can’t apply for funding because we don’t have the money to renew our registration as a registered organisation.’ (Interview 8)

However, established organisations also report difficulties with donors:

‘Once when we wanted to stop a project because of security concerns, the donor insisted that we finish it. We then decided we would rather give the money back.’ (Interview 14)

Many organisations would therefore like to see greater **flexibility** on the part of donors, who should direct their funding less to their sector and programme priorities and more to the needs of civil society. An important function of development cooperation in this regard is also seen in its **role as an intermediary** between the

group and other international funding agencies and in its assistance with submitting applications to the major international donor institutions.

3.4 Cross-cutting intersectional gender policy

All three fields of LGBTI inclusion that we have highlighted as particularly important are full of underlying tensions and contradictions that are systematically interrelated – visibility versus persecution and threat of violence; individual human rights versus group-based rights; transnational cooperation versus postcolonial subordination. They are framed and partly shaped by the intertwined processes of globalisation and fragmentation and the inherent global connections outlined at the beginning of this paper. Achievements of emancipatory transnational social movements on the one hand, and autocratic, nationalist-populist political developments directed against democracy and human rights on the other, relate to each other in contradictory ways. For example, emancipatory LGBTI movements benefit from individualisation processes associated with the problematic economic and ideological demands of globalisation, such as the flexibility or even destruction of social safety nets. This does not mean that the movements' equality-related achievements in themselves are problematic. However, the ambiguity of the context explains at least a part of a society's approval of populist and fundamentalist strategies to suppress emancipation processes.

The situation is even more complicated when it comes to the postcolonial dilemma of LGBTI inclusion in development cooperation. It is true that the rejection of LGBTI promotion on the grounds of postcolonial interference in the internal affairs of partner countries usually represents an ideologically motivated pretext for authoritarian practices that violate human rights. Nevertheless, the role of former colonial powers in the development of social struggles around queer sexualities is problematic. Discriminatory legislation almost always goes back to colonial legislation. Moreover, it is a general problem faced by development cooperation, and especially its openly normative measures, to be (also) perceived as postcolonial interference. Indeed, there is repeated proof of questionable ways in which norms and standards have been applied in different contexts, as was the case in a differentiated way in recent years with regard to certain aspects of the discussion on gender in development cooperation (e.g. Hacker 2012, Klapeer 2013). Some of our interviewees also speak about how their expertise was not taken seriously or about a patronising attitude, as

in the example mentioned above of personal safety being endangered by an international cooperation project.

The more a field is shaped by contradictions and tensions such as the globalisation-fragmentation nexus, the more difficult it is for development cooperation not to become part of these conflicting processes. And the easier it is for normative arguments to be appropriated and used against their actual intention. In this respect, the challenges of LGBTI inclusion are paradigmatic of an intensification of the problems involved in promoting human rights in development cooperation. To put it positively, this means that successful LGBTI inclusion provides best practices for promoting universal human rights in international cooperation.

The experts we interviewed, including those from development cooperation and foreign policy, are very aware of these dilemmas. However, LGBTI activists make it very clear that dealing with these contradictions is not their task. Instead, they demand that inclusive development cooperation should reflect deeply on the standards and possible effects of its own actions, so that violations of the most important maxim of LGBTI inclusion, ‘do no harm (but do something)’ (OutRight Action International 2021), are ruled out. From both an activist and an analytical perspective, it is crucial to understand the significant role played by gender in combating LGBTI discrimination and beyond in realising social justice. Gender in this sense means the set of ideas, ideologies and social practices that shape the forms and expressions of gender roles, gender identities and sexualities and the associated roles assigned by society. Supporting the social renegotiation of outdated gender concepts and practices that violate human rights is hence an essential cross-cutting task of LGBTI inclusion.

For development cooperation this means above all to understand gender not as a separate policy field, but as an all-encompassing field for intersectionality-based LGBTI inclusion.

In this connection, intersectionality means taking the interwoven social inequalities of ‘race’, ‘class’ and ‘gender’ seriously as an object of poverty reduction. LGBTI people are disproportionately affected by poverty everywhere. Our interviewees reported in detail about various forms of exclusion and discrimination on the labour market, at work, or in educational institutions. An interview partner from Ghana explains:

‘The extremely high poverty rate in the LGBTI community needs to be highlighted more. Education, economic independence. Many people drop out of school and need education and training. The community needs lawyers, psychologists, etc., we have to invest in a pink economy.’ (Interview 9)

In Peru, too, interviewees identify an urgent need for education and training projects in crafts, manufacturing, and university education to enable LGBTI persons to access the formal labour market in the first place (Interview 8). The situation is often particularly glaring for trans people who are forced into sex work due to a lack of alternatives.

'The only jobs trans women can do is as sex workers or hair stylists. But these women should have the opportunity to be a professor, engineer, or lawyer. I am not against sex work, but it should not be a compulsion. I myself studied life in the university of the streets. But we need well-educated and economically empowered leaders of the movement who defend human rights.' (Interview 10)

Organisations in Peru report how they spend much of their time and resources organising income-generating opportunities for their activists and establishing workshops and trainings or their own small handicraft businesses such as tailoring. Fighting poverty empowers individuals to participate and at the same time strengthens the social movements that shape socio-political transformation.

In Tunisia, the political struggle of women's and LGBTI organisations for a common shelter against gender-based violence points to another promising approach of intersectional inclusion.

The fact that intersectionality must consider urban-rural contrasts in addition to poverty and violence is a third aspect resulting from the interviews. For security reasons, the work of LGBTI activists tends to focus on urban centres and thus is likely to exclude people and groups in rural areas. On the other hand, some of them say that they prefer to come to the anonymity of the city for a workshop rather than involuntarily out themselves through activities in their hometown (Interview 16). This example also highlights the intersectionality of issues of safety, security, and mental health. *'We have to consider who can afford financially to be an activist, to be visible, to be safe.'* (Interview 12)

In Ghana, the interviewees also highlight intersectionality as a question of their way of organising: *'For all our activities, the question of social class plays a very decisive role'* (Interview 5). Who can be reached and where, and who can participate in the activities of the movements, get involved, and at what price? However, groups and movements often lack the time and space to deal with these questions effectively.

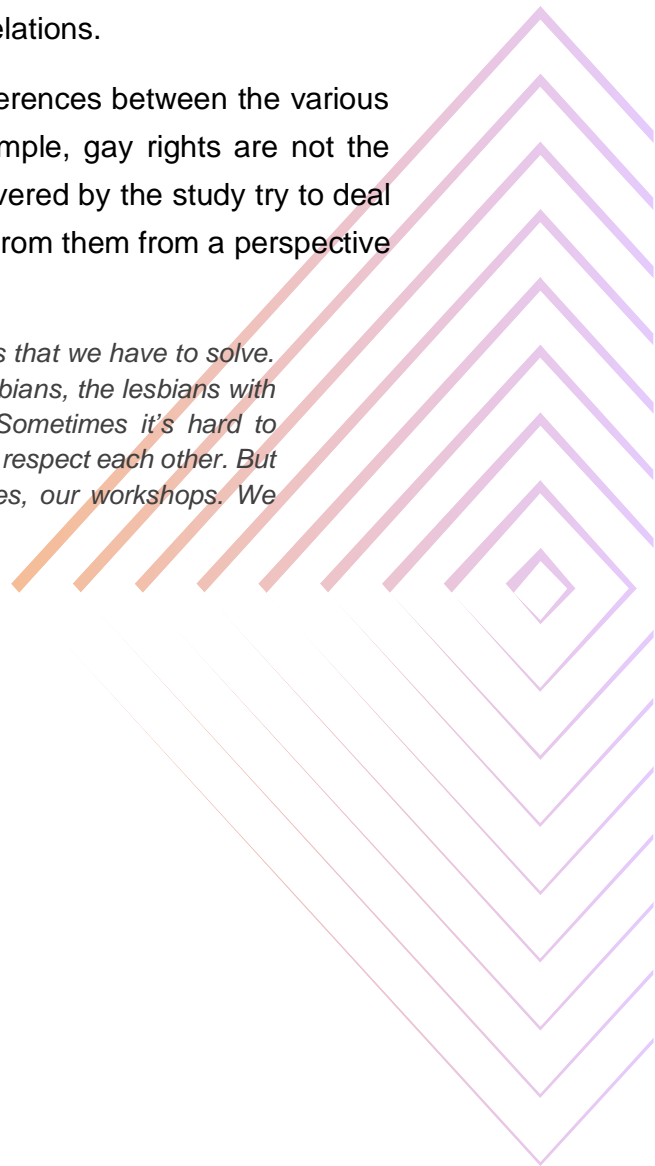
In addition to the material dimensions of poverty reduction, intersectional gender politics also includes a normative level that refers to internal diversity and calls for identities and practices to be considered beyond transnationally dominant norms and forms of LGBTI and queerness. In Ghana, for example, alongside organised forms

of movement politics, everyday queer practices that cannot be conceptually captured under this label play a crucial role in the realisation of human rights. These include the social forms of women* from the working class who relate their same-sex and queer love relationships to pre-colonial ways of relating to each other, when they use terms such as ‘*supi*’, an expression in the Akan language Twi for ‘intimate same sex friend or lover’ (Dankwa 2021, p. 5).

Related to this are the different forms of marriage that existed in pre-colonial social constellations. For the Akan, for example, relevant studies have identified more than 20 practised forms of marriage (Tweneboah 2018). Knowing such social institutions and including them in strategy and programme planning is therefore part of an intersectional approach to gender norms and gender relations.

Finally, this also means taking differentiations and differences between the various groups within the communities into account. For example, gay rights are not the same as trans rights. Many groups in the countries covered by the study try to deal with these differences and the tensions that may arise from them from a perspective of inclusive intersectionality:

‘Our group is very diverse. This often means conflicts that we have to solve. The gays with the trans, the sex workers with the lesbians, the lesbians with the gays, the trans with the lesbians and so on. Sometimes it’s hard to understand each other and find a common ground, to respect each other. But we create a connection through our cultural activities, our workshops. We create an image of respectful people.’ (Interview 8)



4 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on our findings on the conditions and dimensions of social controversies about rights and opportunities for participation of LGBTI people in Ghana, Tunisia and Peru, we can draw conclusions and recommendations on two different levels. First, we recommend that German development cooperation focus on eight fundamental aspects of strategic action for LGBTI inclusion. In a second step, we condense these into eight recommendations for concrete measures.

In the final part of the study, we are again guided by the information and experiences shared by the experts interviewed and by the discussion of our preliminary findings at the concluding roundtable.

4.1. Basic strategies for action

Coordinated and coherent action is one of the most important foundations of contemporary, partnership-oriented development cooperation. In the field of LGBTI inclusion that is particularly affected by postcolonial contradictions, social tensions, and high-risk situations, effective coordination between the individual sectors and organisations in development cooperation and international human rights work is extremely important. Up to now, successful LGBTI inclusion projects mostly owe their achievements to the personal commitment of individual project leaders. In order to overcome these individual responses to structural problems and to move forward towards **systematically addressing** them, requires **a strong commitment** on the part of BMZ **to ensuring LGBTI inclusion in human rights and gender policies**. This is the only way in which the insights and decisions on inclusion, as set out in the German Government's LGBTI inclusion concept, can be implemented in the long term.

⇒ **The basic strategy of development cooperation should therefore be to support the social dynamics of LGBTI inclusion in partner countries.**

This means, first and foremost, to put each emerging discourse on LGBTI rights into perspective and, based on the inclusion concept, to proactively seek cooperation with activists in the field, especially when the controversies are particularly fierce, as is the case in Ghana. In order to develop context-specific

strategies of support without becoming a party to the conflict, experience from other areas of development cooperation in social conflict situations must be taken into account. In addition, insights from relevant international organisations and associations such as ILGA World and OutRight International should be considered. Furthermore, the basic principles of inclusion also encompass the development of security strategies or measures for vulnerable cooperation partners in volatile conflict situations.

⇒ **The second basic strategy is careful contextualisation of programmes and measures in connection with country strategies and country analyses.**

For support of highly controversial processes of social transformation like LGBTI inclusion to be effective, an understanding of the specific social conditions, particularly the interrelations between the relevant political and socio-cultural factors, is essential. A good starting point is to establish country networks of supportive actors in development cooperation and international institutions as well as from (human) rights work, media and arts, which facilitate consultation with colleagues (even at short notice), if necessary.

⇒ **The third basic strategy is to integrate the areas of gender, human rights and LGBTI as coherently as possible into a cross-cutting task.**

Gender ideologies frame and determine the social debate on LGBTI rights. Therefore, it is of fundamental importance to link both fields programmatically. Violations of LGBTI rights are a major (also ideological) escalation worldwide in undemocratic practices aimed at systematic exclusion and persecution. The realisation of LGBTI rights is therefore an indispensable aspect of a sustainable policy towards the realisation of universal human rights at local level. Experience shows that LGBTI inclusion succeeds particularly well, where measures can build on and tie up with successful feminist and women's rights struggles. In the field of LGBTI-inclusive development cooperation against gender-based violence, there are various examples, such as the GIZ project in South Africa on Gender-Based Violence Prevention in Schools with a focus on LGBTIQ+ awareness, which clearly and successfully highlight the potential that lies in the conscious interlinking of human rights, gender justice and LGBTI inclusion.

⇒ **The fourth basic strategy is to make the structures of LGBTI discrimination the subject of policy dialogue and to develop specific strategies.**

LGBTI inclusion must be a subject of all sector- and country-specific strategies in development cooperation. Situations of injustice or an increase in persecution and discrimination must be discussed in policy dialogues. Actors who actively advocate discrimination against LGBTI persons, are often enough actors who question the foundations of democracy in general and the validity of human rights for certain groups. Special attention must be paid to religious actors who play political roles and increasingly influence local political processes with globally organised, fundamentalist positions, and who initiate and reinforce social divisions.

⇒ **The fifth basic strategy concerns the strengthening of social movements for LGBTI inclusion.**

The Federal Government's inclusion concept gives high priority to the sustainable and structural promotion of relevant sections of civil society in partner countries (The Federal Government 2021, p. 2). Taking local social conditions into account, it is essential not only to support formally organised groups and established NGOs, but also to strengthen self-organised, open movement contexts and informal networks of activists. This means not only providing support for identifying meeting spaces for the movements and for the media, but also strengthening activist participation in general. An important aspect is to provide easier access to financial resources.

⇒ **The sixth strategy for action involves support for (trans)regional and transnational activist networking.**

Development cooperation can play an important role in supporting and coordinating activist networking and can focus on promoting the establishment of (trans)regional structures and spaces for reinforcing each other politically.

⇒ **Seventh, intersectionalities of LGBTI exclusion must be addressed and LGBTI inclusion must become an integral part of poverty reduction.**

Gender identities and sexualities can only be understood in the context of intersecting lines of social differentiation and exclusion, particularly 'race' and 'class'. LGBTI-based stigmatisation often goes hand in hand with social and economic exclusion in education and training and on the labour market, and may lead to situations of extreme poverty and psychosocial stress. Gender aspects of poverty reduction must therefore be designed in an LGBTI-inclusive way.

⇒ **Eighth, LGBTI-inclusive gender knowledge, education and opinion-making should be supported on a larger scale.**

On the one hand, concrete, context-specific LGBTI and gender knowledge is only available to a very limited extent. Funding for relevant research projects in and by the partner countries is urgently required. On the other hand, it is necessary to promote relevant broad-based educational projects and information policies, to strengthen media work, and to support awareness-raising campaigns. The promotion of art and culture as a medium and mode of social negotiation should be considered more seriously.

4.2 Recommended measures

To promote LGBTI human rights in the long term, we recommend specific measures alongside the basic strategies mentioned. The measures recommended are based on best practices that our interview partners shared with us.

- (1) Development cooperation and foreign policy should have a joint emergency plan for each specific context in case of stress and emergency situations.** This must include mechanisms, networks, and structures to offer ad hoc protection and security to those affected (activists), as envisioned in the inclusion concept in 6.5-6.7. This includes, above all, safe spaces and the possibility of expedited visa processing.
- (2) Development cooperation should build and consolidate LGBTI-inclusion networks in their respective contexts** in order to strengthen LGBTI capacities, to continuously learn from best practices and to support civil society coalitions in crisis and conflict situations. Political foundations, the Goethe-Institut, Deutsche Welle, and relevant national and international NGOs are some of the most important partners for these networks. Best practices identified in the area of gender mainstreaming may provide useful blueprints for the development of such structures. In addition, the strategic exchange between human rights work, gender and LGBTI organisations should also be systematically strengthened and further developed on a transregional level.

- (3) BMZ should integrate findings and best practices for LGBTI inclusion into its gender strategies** to enable inclusive gender rights policy to be addressed as a cross-cutting task and mainstreaming concern.
- (4) When planning strategies, programmes, and measures, local LGBTI groups and human rights defenders should be consulted as experts on the respective social dynamics and constellations.** This is especially relevant when it comes to understanding crises and conflict situations, identifying and contacting key actors, and avoiding strategic mistakes in policy dialogue.
- (5) Access to funding and resources must be democratised.** Specifically, we recommend: designing calls for proposals in such a way that informal groups can also participate; offering workshops and trainings for the application procedure; combining the publication of calls with information events for interested parties; aligning funding options with the needs of civil society groups or developing them together with the groups; providing structural support through basic funding in line with the inclusion concept (2.2, 7.2, 7.10) and allowing items for personnel costs in project funding.
- (6) National and (trans-)regional networking between LGBTI activists should be promoted.**
- (7) LGBTI persons to health care must be considered in health promotion; in particular, measures to build and maintain mental health and psychosocial well-being must be implemented.** This includes gender-sensitive trauma work that addresses the effects of physical, psychological, and structural violence experienced by LGBTI persons. Best practices identified in the areas of post-conflict work and refugee migration can provide the relevant blueprints.
- (8) To strengthen LGBTI knowledge, research projects should be funded** that are primarily designed and carried out by universities, institutions, or organisations in the respective partner countries. In joint projects with European partners, cooperation with LGBTI movements and organisations should also be possible.

Development cooperation should enhance the LGBTI-related knowledge of journalists, bloggers and influencers and win them over as supporters and multipliers. As suggested in the inclusion concept (7.3), knowledge of gender issues, prevention of homophobia and discrimination-free, gender-sensitive language should play a central role.

The social media skills of LGBTI activists should be comprehensively promoted, e.g., through training in digital security and campaigning (cf. inclusion concept 5.3 and 6.4).

LGBTI film and theatre festivals should be supported financially and, if necessary, logistically.

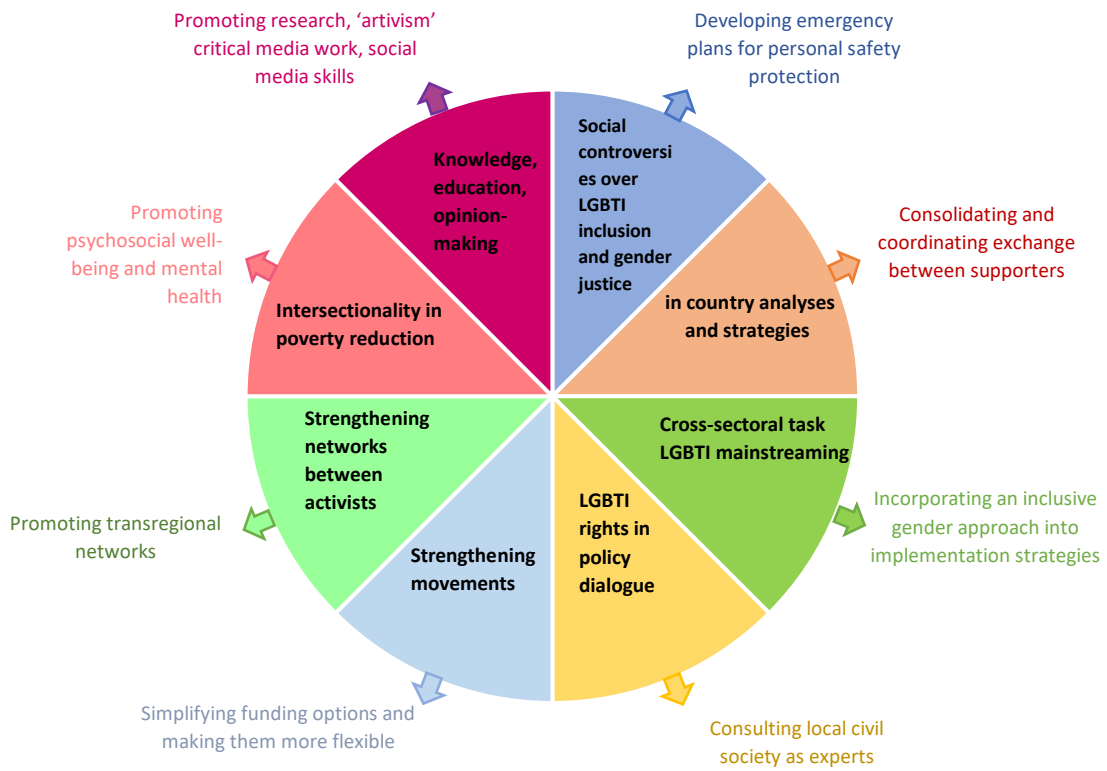


Figure 3: Strategies and measures (Source: own illustration)

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List of abbreviations

AIDS.....Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
BMZ..... Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
GIZ Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
HIV Human immunodeficiency virus
MSM..... Men who have sex with men
NGO Non-governmental organisation
STDSexually transmitted disease
UN United Nations
UPR..... Universal Periodic Review

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List of interviews

No	Date	Organisation	Designation of interview partner
1	22/07/2021	German embassy Peru	Section for Development Cooperation
2	03/08/2021	GIZ Ghana	(group talk)
3	17/08/2021	Verzaubert Netzwerk BMZ	

4	27/08/2021	Human rights NGO Ghana	Executive Director
5	29/08/2021	LBTQ Organisation Ghana	Executive Director
6	01/09/2021	GIZ Peru	(group talk)
7	01/09/2021	Human rights NGO Ghana	Director
8	02/09/2021	LGBTI Organisation Peru	Director
9	03/09/2021	LGBTI Organisation Ghana	Executive Director
10	09/09/2021	LGBTI Organisation Peru	Director
11	10/09/2021	LGBTI movement Peru	
12	20/09/2021	LBQ Organisation Ghana	Executive Director
13	01/10/2021	LGBTI Organisation Ghana	Executive Director, heads of departments (group talk)
14	26/10/2021	Political foundation Tunisia	Director, programme coordinator (group talk)
15	05/11/2021	Research institute Tunisia	Social scientist Expert
16	17/11/2021	LGBTI Organisation Tunisia	Co-fondateur/Directeur exécutif
17	23/11/2021	LGBTI Organisation Tunisia	Co-founder
18	29/11/2021	LGBTI Organisation Tunisia	Project Coordinator
19	02/12/2021	LGBTI movement Tunisia	
20	03/12/2021	German embassy Tunisia	Sections for Development Cooperation and Human Rights (group talk)
21	22/12/2021	Round Table	LGBTI Organisations/ Movements from Ghana, Tunisia, and Peru