

**Measuring the Impact of LGBT
Advocacy on LGBT Protections:
2011-2020**

**A Report Prepared for the Arcus
Foundation**



**F&M GLOBAL
BAROMETERS**

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WHO WE ARE

The F&M Global Barometers (FMGB) was founded in 2010 by Dr. Susan Dicklitch-Nelson at Franklin & Marshall College, a private liberal arts college in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. The project's mission is to create a comprehensive, objective database on LGBTQI+ human rights for use in scholarly research, domestic and foreign policy, and diplomatic efforts to improve LGBTQI+ rights and lived human rights realities across the globe.

The FMGB has three primary products: the F&M Global Barometer of Gay Rights (GBGR) ®, the F&M Global Barometer of Transgender Rights™ (GBTR), and the F&M Global Barometers LGBTQI+ Perception Index (GBPI). The GBGR and GBTR track 27 and 17 items respectively to measure the state and societal level persecution or protection of sexual orientation and gender identity minorities in 204 countries and regions. The GBPI, created in collaboration with the Council for Global Equality (CGE) and launched in 2022, is a survey that measures the lived realities of LGBTQI+ individuals through six simple questions on safety, acceptance, fear, violence, safety in gathering, and discrimination.

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GLOSSARY

Civil Society	Informally and formally constituted associations or voluntary organizations which aim to change society through collective action (Anheier, 2004)
FMGB	Franklin & Marshall College Global Barometers
GAI	Global Acceptance Index (Williams Institute)
GBGR	F&M Global Barometer of Gay Rights
GBPI	F&M Global Barometers Perception Index
GBTR	F&M Global Barometer of Transgender Rights
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender
LGBT NGO Advocacy	We use five items to serve as a proxy for LGBT advocacy, specifically; LGBT organizations exist , LGBT organizations can legally register, LGBT organizations are able to peacefully and safely assemble, LGBT pride events are allowed by the state, and Security forces provide protection to LGBT pride participants. All five items are drawn from the FMGB dataset from 2011-2020.
NGO	A voluntary, not-for-profit organization that is found in the realm outside of the public and private commercial sectors. In this study, we will focus exclusively on local/national country-based NGOs.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The ability of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) people to express who they are and to live as they are -- without fear -- is a fundamental human right. Unfortunately, history has taught us that societies have been especially slow to protect LGBT human rights, that it takes time to engender human rights protecting regimes and human rights respecting societies.

Although we can document advances in LGBT human rights over a ten year period from 2011-2020, the unfortunate reality is that in the second decade of the twenty-first century the majority of countries worldwide continue to persecute LGBT people. Utilizing F&M Global Barometers data from the GBGR and the GBTR from 2011-2020, this analysis measures the extent to which the existence of LGBT NGOs and their advocacy has a positive impact on the realization of LGBT protections globally and more specifically in the four sub regions: Caribbean, Central America, East Africa and Southern Africa. This study includes *both* sexual orientation *and* gender identity in the analysis.¹

We conducted a time-series panel data analysis to test the effect of LGBT NGO advocacy and structural indicators like state stability, GDP per capita, and globalization on LGBT rights. In doing so, we divided the analysis into two parts: a brief global analysis of LGBT rights between 2011 and 2020 and a more in-depth analysis of regions in which the Arcus Foundation is active.

Key Findings

- LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility matters: Global evidence supports the argument that the existence of LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility positively affects the adoption of LGBT human rights protections.
- For each one point increase in the LGBT NGO advocacy score indicating additional advocacy and visibility, basic human rights protections (Level I state protections) for LGBT people increases by 11.1 percent, all else being equal.
- For each one point increase in the LGBT NGO advocacy score Level I and Level II (secondary human rights) combined, state protections for LGBT people increases by 7.2 percent, all else being equal.

¹ We use the term LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) throughout this analysis recognizing that there are additional members of the community, including Queer, Questioning, Intersex, Non-binary, 2 Spirit etc. We use the term LGBT because those are the specific data that we measure.

- Although the statistical analysis provides limited support for the influence of LGBT NGO advocacy on LGBT protections in the four Arcus subregions, this is more likely a consequence of the small sample size and not an indicator that the global results do not apply to these regions.
- We tested the effect of LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility on societal acceptance of LGBT people. The analysis showed no significant effect. Therefore, we are unable to establish a causal relationship between these two indicators. However, this finding may not be due to a lack of effect but to the way in which the Global Acceptance Index (GAI) measures societal acceptance.
- There is a positive trend of LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility for all regions, although to differing degrees. Only in rare cases has LGBT NGO advocacy experienced a downturn in recent years.
- In the sub-regional analysis, the Caribbean and Southern Africa regions have made the most significant progress in LGBT advocacy/visibility.
- Central America performed best for physical integrity (Level I) and for the combined Level I and Level II legislative protection of LGBT people, followed by the Caribbean which ranked second in advancing its Level I and Level II protection.
- LGBT NGO advocacy matters more than structural factors like state stability, globalization and economic development in providing legislative protection for LGBT people.

In summary, countries rarely succeed in establishing legislative protections for LGBT people without the existence, visibility of, and advocacy of LGBT NGOs.

INTRODUCTION

The ability of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) people to express who they are and to live as they are -- without fear -- is a fundamental human right.

Unfortunately, history has taught us that societies have been especially slow to protect LGBT human rights, that it takes time to engender human rights protecting regimes and human rights respecting societies. The majority of countries worldwide continue to persecute their LGBT populations. LGBT people remain some of the most targeted and vulnerable people in the world. They have been branded as social pariahs and scapegoated for the economic, political and social ills in their countries.

A perennial question is what brings about change in human rights protections? Does it originate from outside a state (foreign influence), from above (state elite pressure) or from below (civil society), or from some combination of all of the above? This is not merely an academic question. For organizations with scarce resources, it is an important practical question: where should funds be allocated, and does funding for LGBT protections make a difference?

The scholarly literature suggests that non-governmental organizations (NGOs) play an important role in making states accountable to their citizens, but not all NGOs are treated equally by states. LGBT NGOs are often on the front lines of cultural wars, pressuring states and societies to be more inclusive of LGBT people in human rights legislation and protections. However, this task is particularly difficult when LGBT people are criminalized and LGBT NGOs are illegal.

This study specifically evaluates the impact that LGBT NGOs have in facilitating the creation of more LGBT-protecting legislation. The first challenge is to determine whether LGBT NGOs exist in a country,² and if they do, can they legally register?³ If LGBT NGOs exist and if they can formally register, what impact do they actually have on advancing LGBT human rights?

² This variable is defined as organizations that actually exist and operate within the country and focus on LGBT human rights. Any LGBT organization that operates outside of the country and does not have a physical presence in the country will be assigned a 0.

³ This variable is defined as state laws allow LGBT NGOs to legally register as LGBT NGOs. Unregistered LGBT NGOs are not counted because they are not technically "allowed" by the state.

Focus of Study

This study provides a global overview and a more detailed regional analysis of the countries and regions for which the Arcus Foundation provides grants: The Caribbean, Central America, East Africa and Southern Africa. Our focus is how LGBT advocacy/visibility, LGBT legislation, and other structural factors affect LGBT protection.

We use the United Nations Statistics Division regional classification system for the subregions. Subregions and countries are delineated as follows:

Table 1. Countries Included in Study

Caribbean	Central America	East Africa	Southern Africa
Antigua and Barbuda	Belize	Burundi	Botswana
Bahamas, The	Costa Rica	Comoros	Eswatini
Barbados	El Salvador	Djibouti	Lesotho
Cuba	Guatemala	Eritrea	Namibia
Dominica	Honduras	Ethiopia	South Africa
Dominican Republic	Mexico	Kenya	
Haiti	Nicaragua	Madagascar	
Jamaica	Panama	Malawi	
Puerto Rico		Mauritius	
Saint Kitts and Nevis		Mozambique	
Saint Lucia		Rwanda	
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines		Seychelles	
Trinidad and Tobago		Somalia	
US Virgin Islands		South Sudan	
		Tanzania	
		Uganda	
		Zambia	
		Zimbabwe	

LITERATURE REVIEW

Although LGBT legislation, often referred to as *De Jure* legislation, does not necessarily ensure that the *De Facto* reality for LGBT people is safe and secure, it is, at the very least, an important first step in creating a more LGBT human rights protecting regime and human rights respecting society. Although many studies over the years have attempted to find an explanation for what causes states to become more inclusive and human rights protective of members of the LGBT community, the answer is still elusive, because there is not a single easy answer.

Instead, the literature suggests that many different variables may influence why some states are more protective of LGBT rights than others. Several structural factors have been identified as being related to more LGBT protections, including gross domestic product per capita (GDP), democracy, legal origin, and globalization, depending on how the dependent variable is defined (Asal, et al., 2017; Badgett, et al., 2019; Corrales, 2015; Diaz, 2023; Frank, 1999; Hadler, 2012; Hildebrandt, et al., 2019; Inglehart, 1981; Inglehart & Baker, 2000; and Inglehart, Ponarin, & Inglehart, 2017). For example, some scholars have attempted to measure when a state is likely to decriminalize homosexuality (Asal, et al., 2017); or what structural conditions may present favorable conditions for greater tolerance toward homosexuals (Badgett, et al., 2019; Berggren & Nilsson, 2013; Corrales, 2015; Inglehart, Ponarin, & Inglehart, 2017); or greater acceptance of LGBT people (Flores, 2019); or how LGBT human rights protective or LGBT rights respective societies actually are (Dicklitch-Nelson, et al., 2023; Dicklitch-Nelson et al., 2019).

Conversely, there is potential for what Bob calls a “Baptist-burqa network” – civil society groups that are fundamentally opposed to LGBT rights – which can have an adverse effect on LGBT protections (Bob, 2012). Any study has to thus acknowledge the **unique challenges** that LGBT NGOs face, especially in hostile anti-LGBT social environments that are often fueled by external agitators (Bob, 2012).

Structure v. Agency

The fight for LGBT human rights is unlike the fight for human rights in general. Not everyone will support rights and protections for LGBT people; in fact, many people and societies will actively oppose LGBT protections. Indeed, LGBT NGOs face particular challenges when establishing their presence in societies, especially where homosexuality and gender identity are either criminalized or not formally recognized.

A recent report by Outright International demonstrates that LGBT NGOs must be able to formally register and operate freely in order to access scarce foreign funding, to advance LGBT equality and human rights, to achieve greater visibility, and to strive for sustainability (Outright International, 2023).

We cannot, however, discount the importance of visibility, especially with mobilizing for LGBT rights. Some scholars argue that LGBT visibility and social movements go hand-in-hand with norm diffusion (Ayoub, 2016). Ayoub and Douglas have concluded that progress in securing LGBT rights is not linear, specifically in terms of the impact on the political participation of supporters or opponents of LGBT rights, but rather dependent on “the way states politicize the rights of LGBT people” (2020). Pride events, for example, are an important indicator and “test of strength” of LGBT activism (Ayoub, Page, & Whitt, 2021: 2). Further, Pride events are “immensely important to gay rights activism as a social movement” (O’Dwyer, 2018). On the one hand, they can help advance LGBT protections by bringing visibility to the struggles of the LGBT community; on the other hand, they help to define the movement “both to itself and to broader society,” and would ideally boost social tolerance of LGBT communities (Ayoub and Garretson, 2017; Paluck, Green, & Green, 2019).

LGBT NGOs help raise awareness and greater visibility of the LGBT community, which can result in more LGBT protective legislation, although it may also trigger a counter-advocacy reaction which can challenge any advances made with LGBT legal protections or can even stall progress. A 2017 study by Asal et al., found that “LGBTQI+ advocacy diminishes the time until sodomy is decriminalized,” but the effect of that advocacy is “dampened in countries where pre-existing attitudes are more likely to go against the LGBTQI+ advocacy efforts” (Asal et al., 2017:10). This nuance is important to consider when evaluating the impact of LGBT advocacy on legislative change, especially in countries where counter-advocacy efforts have developed or are widespread.

As the United Nations has observed, a strong civil society and open civic space are fundamental pillars of democracy. The United Nations defines civic space as “the environment that enables people and groups to participate meaningfully in the political, economic, social and cultural life of their societies.” Allowing for this space requires an “open, secure and safe environment that is free from all acts of intimidation, harassment, and reprisals” (UN, 2020). Unfortunately, few countries worldwide provide an open and safe environment for LGBT NGOs and civil society to function.

This study focuses specifically on the impact of LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility on LGBT legislation and societal acceptance. In this analysis, we will,

- 1) identify where LGBT NGOs exist;
- 2) identify where they can legally register;
- 3) determine what role they play in bringing about positive LGBT legislation;
- 4) determine what role they play in bringing about greater societal acceptance of LGBT people; and
- 5) examine other structural factors that may account for the adoption of LGBT legislation

It is important to add, however, as other scholars have noted, that it is difficult to *empirically establish* the relationship between activism/advocacy and broader cultural outcomes (Amenta and Polletta, 2019). Using 10 years of F&M Global Barometers data, we are able to empirically test the theory that the existence and advocacy of LGBT NGOs matter in the process of making secure basic and secondary human rights for LGBT people.

METHODOLOGY

In this analysis, we utilize 30 indicators from the 2011-2020 F&M Global Barometers dataset, which comprises the F&M Global Barometer of Gay Rights (GBGR) and the F&M Global Barometer of Transgender Rights (GBTR). The twin barometers utilize desk research and provide a comprehensive measure of how human rights protecting and respecting a country is by measuring five different dimensions:

- Dimension I. *De Jure* human rights
- Dimension II. *De Facto* human rights
- Dimension III. LGBT NGO advocacy
- Dimension IV. Socio-economic rights
- Dimension V. Societal level discrimination.

This holistic approach is especially helpful to policy makers who want to gauge both regime and societal support for LGBT human rights (Dicklitch-Nelson, et al., 2023a) (See **Appendix 2** and **3** for the GBGR/GBTR 2011-2020 scores for the 45 countries in the Arcus dataset).

The GBGR and GBTR data can also be disaggregated by dimension to analyze whether one dimension impacts another. This is exactly what we did for this study, by creating Level I and Level II LGBT legislative protections based on the *de Jure* and *de Facto* dimensions and comparing them with LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility. See **Appendix 1** for the full list of variables that we utilize.

In addition to the barometers, the F&M Global Barometers LGBTQI+ Perception Index Survey (GBPI), created in partnership with the Council for Global Equality, measures the lived human rights realities of LGBTQI+ individuals through six simple questions on safety, acceptance, fear, violence, safety in gathering, and discrimination (see Dicklitch-Nelson, et al., 2023).

Level I & II: LGBT State Protections

We created measures for two levels of protection: Level I represents basic rights or what are sometimes termed “ physical integrity rights,” and Level II illustrates secondary rights (see below). Level I and Level II LGBT state protections focus on *de Jure* and *de Facto* human rights legislation. Level II rights, like same-sex marriage, fair housing non-discrimination, etc., often come after the establishment of basic human rights (Level I rights). All Level I and Level II rights are derived from international human rights principles.

We examine 14 Level I and 11 Level II rights:

Level I: LGBT State Protections

1. No death penalty for sexual orientation
2. No life sentence for sexual orientation
3. No prison term for sexual orientation
4. No criminalization of sexual orientation
5. Freedom from arbitrary arrest based on sexual orientation
6. Sexual minorities have the right to privacy
7. Sexual orientation does not prejudice the right to a fair trial
8. Hate crimes legislation includes sexual orientation
9. Hate speech laws include sexual orientation
10. No criminalization of gender identity or expression
11. Country has legal recognition of gender identity
12. No physiological alteration requirement for gender identity recognition
13. No psychiatric diagnosis requirement for gender identity recognition
14. No arbitrary arrest based on gender identity

Level II: LGBT State Protections

1. Sexual minorities are not restricted or banned from serving in the military
2. Civil unions for sexual minorities are allowed
3. Same-sex marriage is allowed
4. Fair housing anti-discrimination laws include sexual orientation
5. Workplace anti-discrimination laws include sexual orientation
6. Healthcare anti-discrimination laws include sexual orientation
7. Same-sex couples are allowed to jointly adopt
8. Gender identity minorities are not restricted or banned from serving in the military
9. Fair housing anti-discrimination laws include gender identity
10. Workplace anti-discrimination laws include gender identity
11. Healthcare anti-discrimination laws include gender identity

All 25 items in Level I and Level II state protections are drawn from the FMGB dataset from 2011-2020 and include items that are specific to LGB rights as well as those specific to transgender rights.

LGBT NGO Advocacy

We use five items to serve as a proxy for LGBT advocacy, specifically;

1. LGBT organizations exist
2. LGBT organizations can legally register
3. LGBT organizations are able to peacefully and safely assemble
4. LGBT pride events are allowed by the state
5. Security forces provide protection to LGBT pride participants.

All five items are drawn from the FMGB dataset from 2011-2020.

Societal Acceptance of LGBT People

We use the Williams Institute Global Acceptance Index (GAI) as a proxy for societal acceptance of LGBT people. The Williams Institute defines acceptance as “the extent to which LGBT people are seen by individuals in society in ways that are positive and inclusive” (Flores, 2019).⁴ The GAI provides a “measure of the relative level of social

⁴ The Global Acceptance Index by the Williams Institute assigns a score to 174 countries based on 2,750 surveys conducted over a 30 year period. These surveys are consolidated from indices including the AfroBarometer, the Americas Barometer, the Eurobarometer, the European Social Survey, the European Values Survey, the Gallup World Poll, the International Social Survey Programme, Ipsos International, the Latinobarometro, the PEW Global Surveys, and the World Values Survey. The dataset resulting from this aggregation includes 4,530 country-question-years, and provides a longitudinal illustration of global

acceptance of LGBT people and rights in each country” (Flores, 2019). The data for countries is collected in increments of several years, for example, 2000-2003, 2004-2008, 2009-2013, 2014-2017, and 2017-2020. We utilize GAI data from their most recent 2021 report (Flores, 2021).

Structural Factors

In addition, we examine whether structural factors impact the adoption of LGBT protections. Specifically we look at several variables based on the literature, including:

- Economic growth (GDP per capita)
- State fragility (Fragile State Index)
- Globalization (KOF Globalization)

Recent studies suggest that there is a relationship between economic growth (Badgett, Waaldijk & Rodgers, 2019), state stability (F&M Global Barometers, 2023), globalization (Asal et al., 2012) and LGBT human rights. We test these theories by applying gross domestic product (GDP) per capita as a proxy for economic growth, as measured by the World Bank; by applying the fragile states index as a proxy for state fragility; and by applying the KOF globalization Index score as a proxy for globalization.

GDP per capita is the “sum of gross value added by all resident producers in the economy plus any product taxes (less subsidies) not included in the valuation of output, divided by mid-year population”(World Bank, 2023).

The Fragile States Index (FSI) score measures trends in pressures within states for vulnerability to collapse or conflict by examining four different categories of indicators: “Cohesion” (Security Apparatus, Factionalized Elites, and Group Grievance), “Economic” (Economic Decline, Uneven Economic Development and Human Flight and Brain Drain), “Political” (State Legitimacy, Public Services, Human Rights, and Rule of Law) and “Social” (Demographic Pressures Refugees and IDPs, and External Intervention). The higher the FSI score, the more fragile the state (Fund for Peace, 2023).⁵

The KOF Globalization Index measures the economic, social and political dimensions of globalization. The overall index of globalization is the weighted average of economic,

acceptance through time. Each country is assigned a score from 0 to 10, with 10 being the highest level of acceptance. The index's mean is 4.3, and the standard deviation is 1.3.

⁵ We decided to include the FSI variable instead of a simple variable for democracy because of the robustness and comprehensiveness of the FSI score.

social and political globalization. The variable ranges from 0-100, with higher values indicating increased levels of globalization (Gygli et al., 2019).

Research Questions

RQ1: Does the existence of LGBT NGOs have a positive impact on LGBT protections? See Figure 1, below.

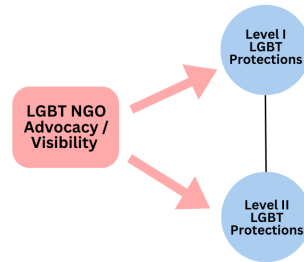


Figure 1. Relationship between LGBT NGO Advocacy/Visibility & Level I & II LGBT Protections

RQ2: Does the existence of LGBT advocacy organizations have a positive impact on societal acceptance of LGBT people?

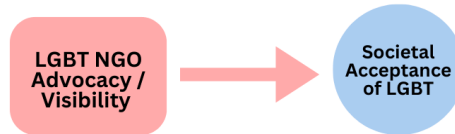


Figure 2. Relationship between LGBT NGO Advocacy/Visibility and Societal Acceptance of LGBT

RQ3: What impact do structural factors like economic growth, state fragility and globalization have on Level I and Level II LGBT protections?

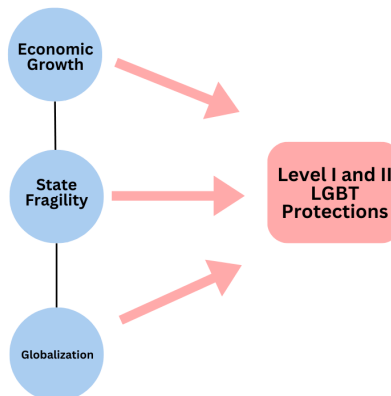


Figure 3. Relationship between structural factors and LGBT Level I & II Protections

Limitations of the Study

We cannot measure, with the available data, how well LGBT organizations advocate, but we can determine a) whether they exist; b) whether they are allowed to legally register by the state; and c) whether their advocacy/visibility affects LGBT protections. Our dataset is limited to 2011-2020, so we are unable to capture the most recent developments, since 2020 -- including the impact of any decriminalization that may have occurred since 2020,⁶ or any regression in LGBT rights such as in the case of Uganda since 2020. The availability of reliable information also makes coding some of the items challenging.

This study has two sections: A global focus and a more specific focus on ARCUS' main funding regions, specifically 45 countries in the Caribbean, Central America, East Africa and Southern Africa (**See Table 1**).

Global Overview

The global results are uneven. Five countries, all in Sub-Saharan Africa, did not have any LGBT NGOs in existence from 2011-2020: Comoros, Djibouti, Eritrea, Somalia, and South Sudan. During the 2011-2020 period, LGBT NGOs were established in: U.S. Virgin Islands (2012), Saint Kitts and Nevis (2014), Seychelles (2015), and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines (2018).

Figure 4, below depicts where LGBT NGOs existed in 2020. See **Appendix 4** for a Summary of Countries where LGBT NGOs Exist (2011-2020).

⁶ Since 2020, seven countries have decriminalized homosexuality: Singapore (2023), Antigua and Barbuda (2022), Barbados (2022), Saint Kitts and Nevis (2022), Angola (2021), Botswana (2021), and Bhutan (2021).

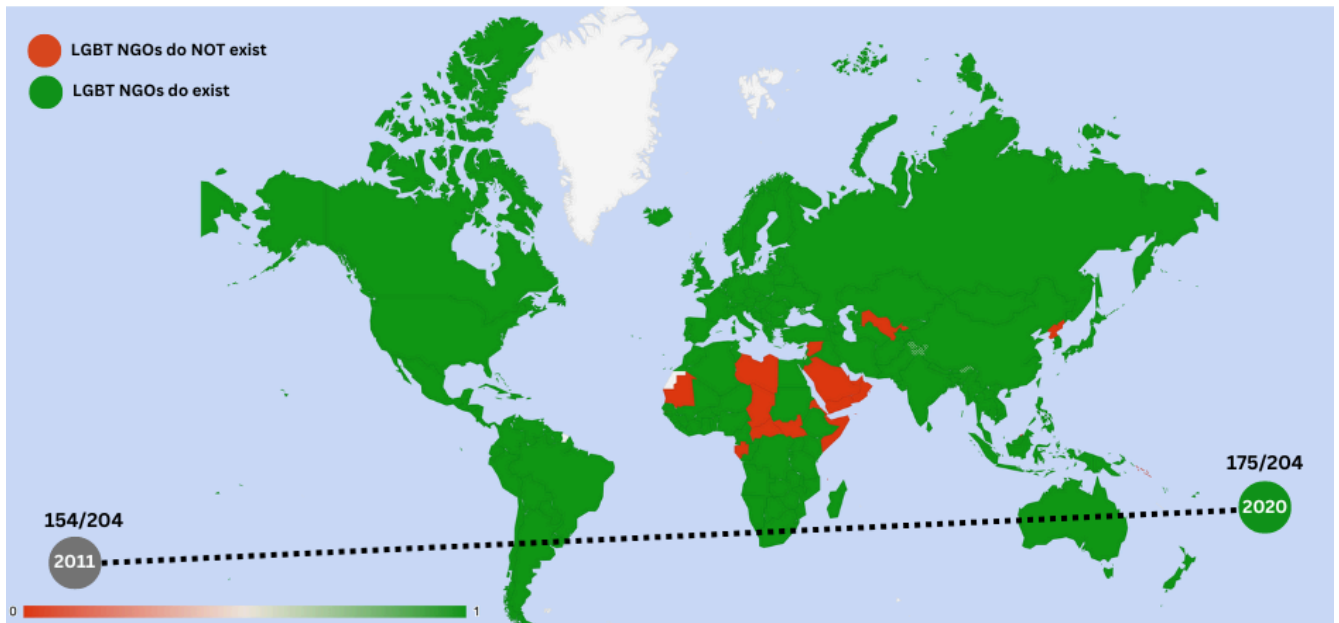


Figure 4. LGBT NGOs in Existence (2020)⁷

The ability of LGBT NGOs to register during this time period was less evident. The East African region fared the worst comparatively, with several governments consistently not allowing NGOs to formally register between 2011 and 2020: Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Somalia, South Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda.

Some countries, such as Eswatini, Malawi, and Zambia, also experienced troubling regression on this item. Eswatini allowed LGBT NGOs to formally register from 2013-2018, but from 2019-2020 they were no longer allowed to register. Malawi allowed LGBT NGOs to register from 2011-2017, but from 2018-2020, LGBT NGOs were not allowed to register. Zambia allowed LGBT NGOs to formally register from 2011-2017, but from 2018-2020 LGBT NGOs were not allowed to register (see **Appendix 5**).

Conversely, several countries improved their score on this item, including Botswana, Kenya, Seychelles, and Zimbabwe. **Figure 5** below, depicts where LGBT NGOs could legally register in 2020. See **Appendix 5** for a summary of countries where LGBT NGOs are Allowed to register (2011-2020).

⁷ Data featured in this figure come from the 2011-2020 F&M Global Barometers dataset.

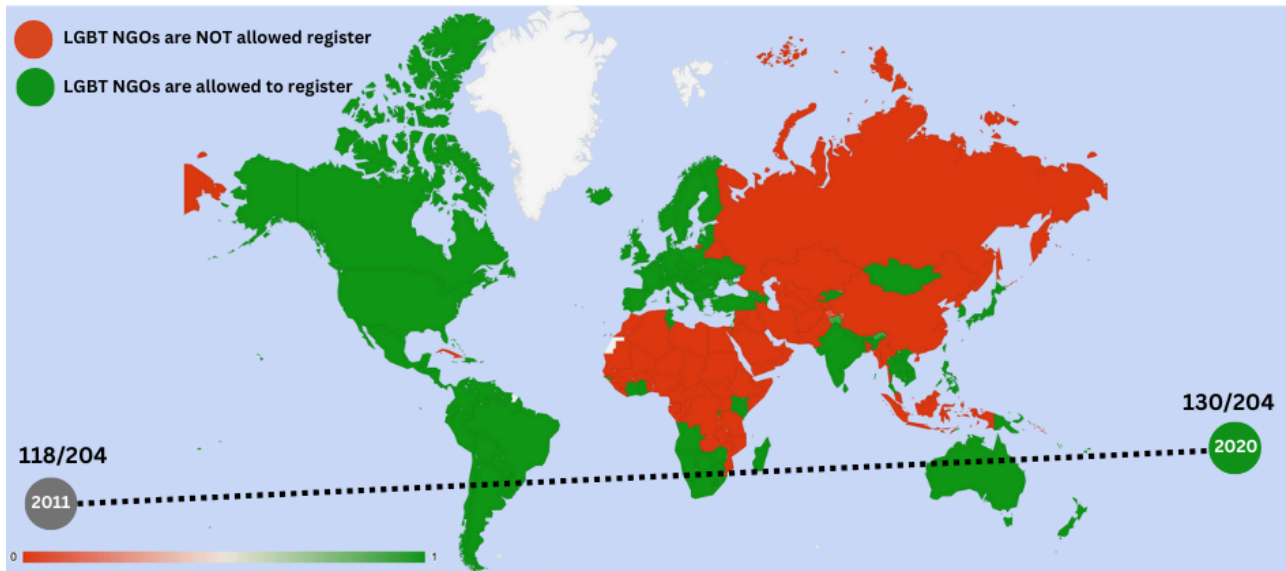


Figure 5. LGBT NGOs are allowed to register (by the state) (2020)⁸

Global Analysis

A global comparison of countries helps illuminate trends and outliers. For the global comparative analysis we use United Nations Development Program (UNDP) classification for broader scale and comparison, which classifies countries in six regions.⁹ The individual country graphs grouped by region, below, show Level I LGBT state protections, Level I and Level II LGBT state protections, and LGBT NGO Advocacy trends.

The findings suggest that LGBT NGO advocacy is usually present in countries and territories where Level I and II LGBT state protections exist. Results may vary across time, but it is rare that countries have Level I and II LGBT state protections without a substantial amount of LGBT NGO advocacy. **The statistical analysis confirms the existence of a causal relationship between LGBT NGO advocacy and LGBT state protection.** We show that LGBT NGO advocacy is linked to better LGBT state protections. As expected, Level I state protections are usually higher than Level I and Level II state protections combined. Secondary rights usually follow the establishment of basic rights.

⁸ Data featured in this figure come from the 2011-2020 F&M Global Barometers dataset.

⁹ The six regions are Asia and Pacific, Central/Eastern Europe and Eurasia, Sub-Saharan Africa, Middle East and North Africa (MENA), and Western Europe.

The Americas

The results for the Americas region, illustrated in **Figure 6** below, vary greatly. Some countries like Guyana have strong LGBT NGO advocacy, but nonetheless have few Level I and Level II LGBT state protections. On the other hand, Uruguay, the exemplar for LGBT human rights, consistently scores high with both LGBT NGO advocacy and Level I and Level II LGBT state protections. Trinidad and Tobago show an increase in Level I and Level II LGBT rights and LGBT NGO advocacy in the same time period.

The more interesting observations are in places such as Peru, where we can observe an increase in LGBT NGO advocacy followed by an increase in rights at the same time when advocacy is on a downturn.

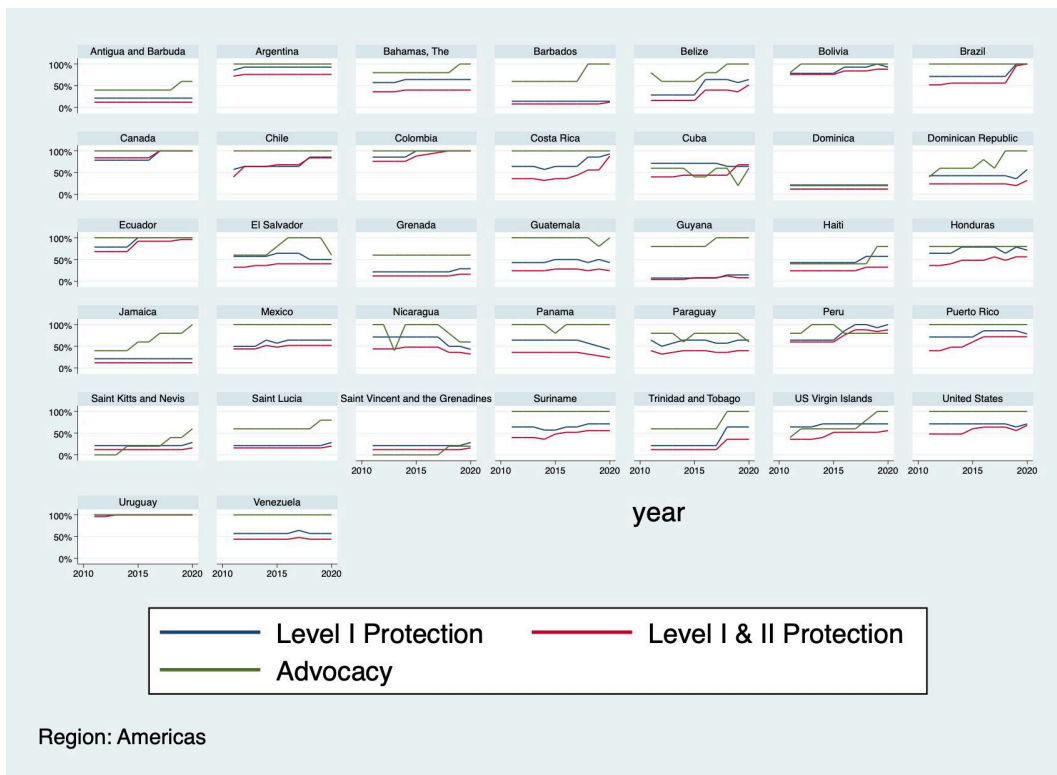


Figure 6. Americas Region Comparison of Level I, Level I & II Protections and NGO Advocacy 2011-2020

Asia and Pacific

The Asia and Pacific region shows great diversity in results as well (see **Figure 7**). To be sure, there are states that simply have not progressed on LGBT legislation or NGO advocacy: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan and the Solomon Islands. These are countries that are extremely repressive of LGBT human rights

and continue to criminalize homosexuality.¹⁰ However, there are states such as Australia, Nepal and New Zealand that did comparatively well with LGBT NGO advocacy and LGBT Level I and Level II state protections.

Palau is an excellent example of LGBT NGO advocacy coming first, followed by more LGBT rights protections in the following years. Bhutan showed a substantial increase in LGBT NGO advocacy around 2015 with a slight increase in LGBT protections starting in 2020, suggesting that an increase in LGBT NGO advocacy provided a longer incubation period before an increase in LGBT protections took place.

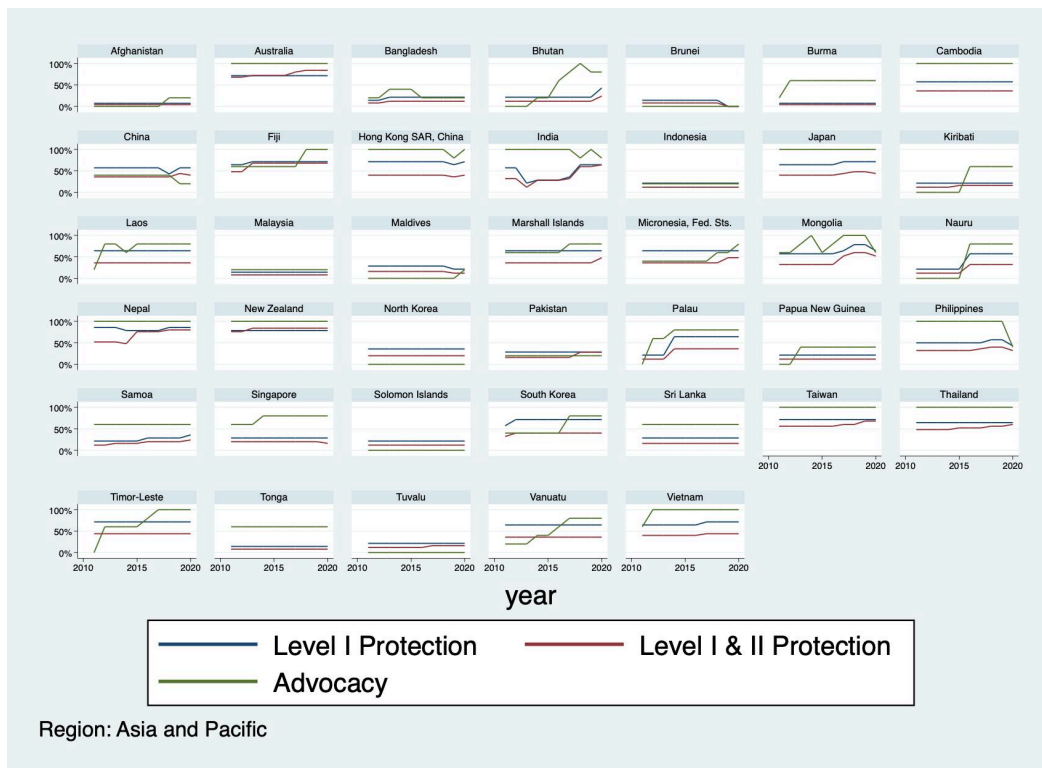


Figure 7. Asia and Pacific Region Comparison of Level I, Level I & II Protections and NGO Advocacy 2011-2020

Central/Eastern Europe and Eurasia

The Central/Eastern Europe and Eurasia region also had significant variation. Several countries showed little progress on LGBT NGO advocacy as well as LGBT protections, including Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Poland experienced a decline in LGBT

¹⁰ There are 15 countries in the Asia and Pacific region that criminalize homosexuality up to 2020: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Brunei, Burma, Indonesia, Kiribati, Malaysia, Maldives, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Singapore (which decriminalized in 2023) Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, Tonga and Tuvalu. (F&M Global Barometers Dataset).

rights following a decline in LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility in the country. Georgia had inconsistent levels of LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility but sustained a gradual increase in LGBT protections. In the case of Armenia we can observe a slight dip in advocacy accompanied by a dip in lower scores for level I and II state protections.

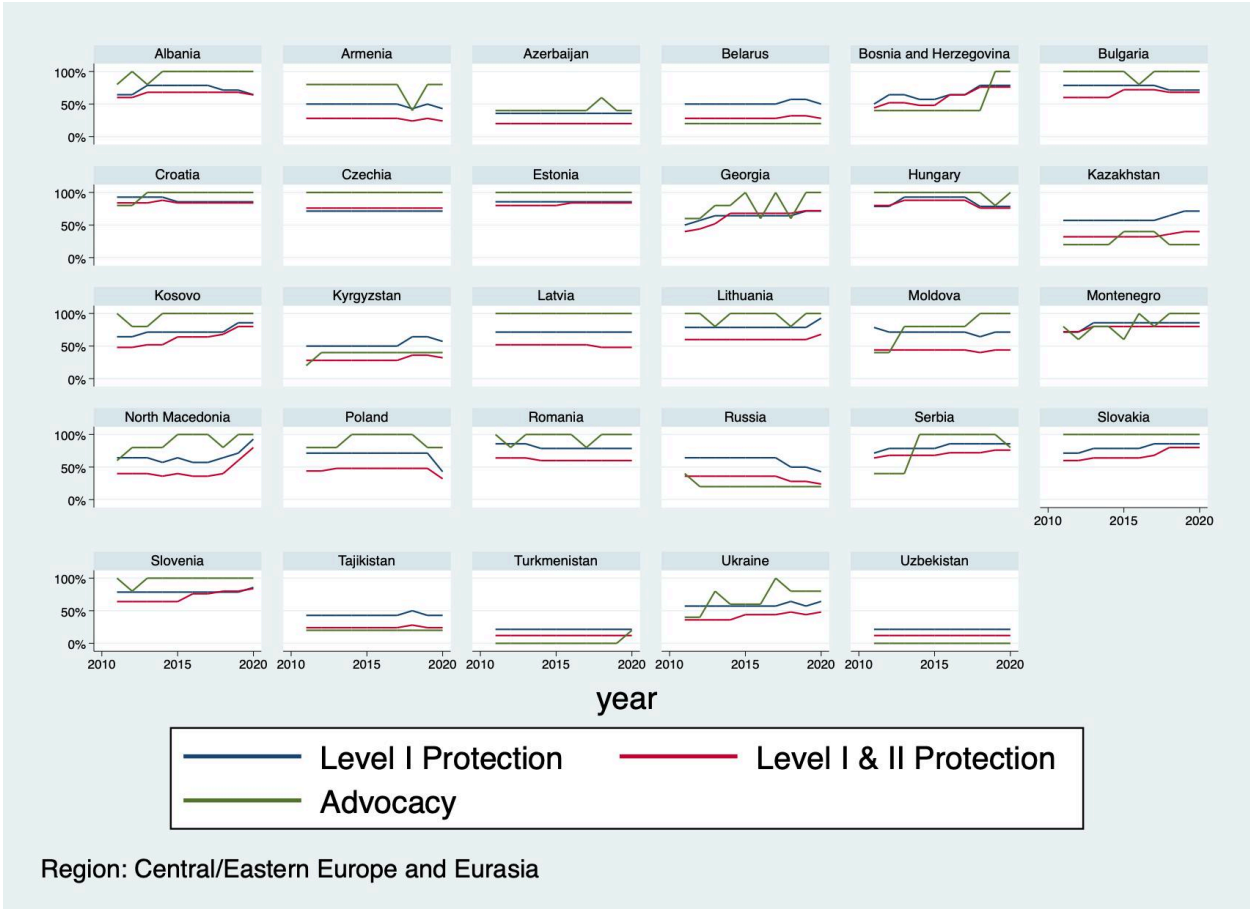


Figure 8. Central/Eastern Europe and Eurasia Region Comparison of Level I, Level I & II Protections and NGO Advocacy 2011-2020

Sub-Saharan Africa

The Sub-Saharan Africa region also shows significant variance in overall scores. Several states show little progress in LGBT protections as well as in LGBT NGO advocacy, including Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Comoros, Congo (Kinshasa), Eritrea, Ethiopia, The Gambia, Guinea, Mauritania, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan Tanzania and Uganda.

Outliers in this region include the Seychelles where advocacy clearly preceded adoption of more LGBT positive legislation. Botswana also demonstrates robust LGBT NGO advocacy with little impact on LGBT legislation. However, decriminalization of homosexuality occurred in 2021, so we anticipate that there will be a significant jump in at least Level I LGBT state protections after the 2011-2020 period under study.

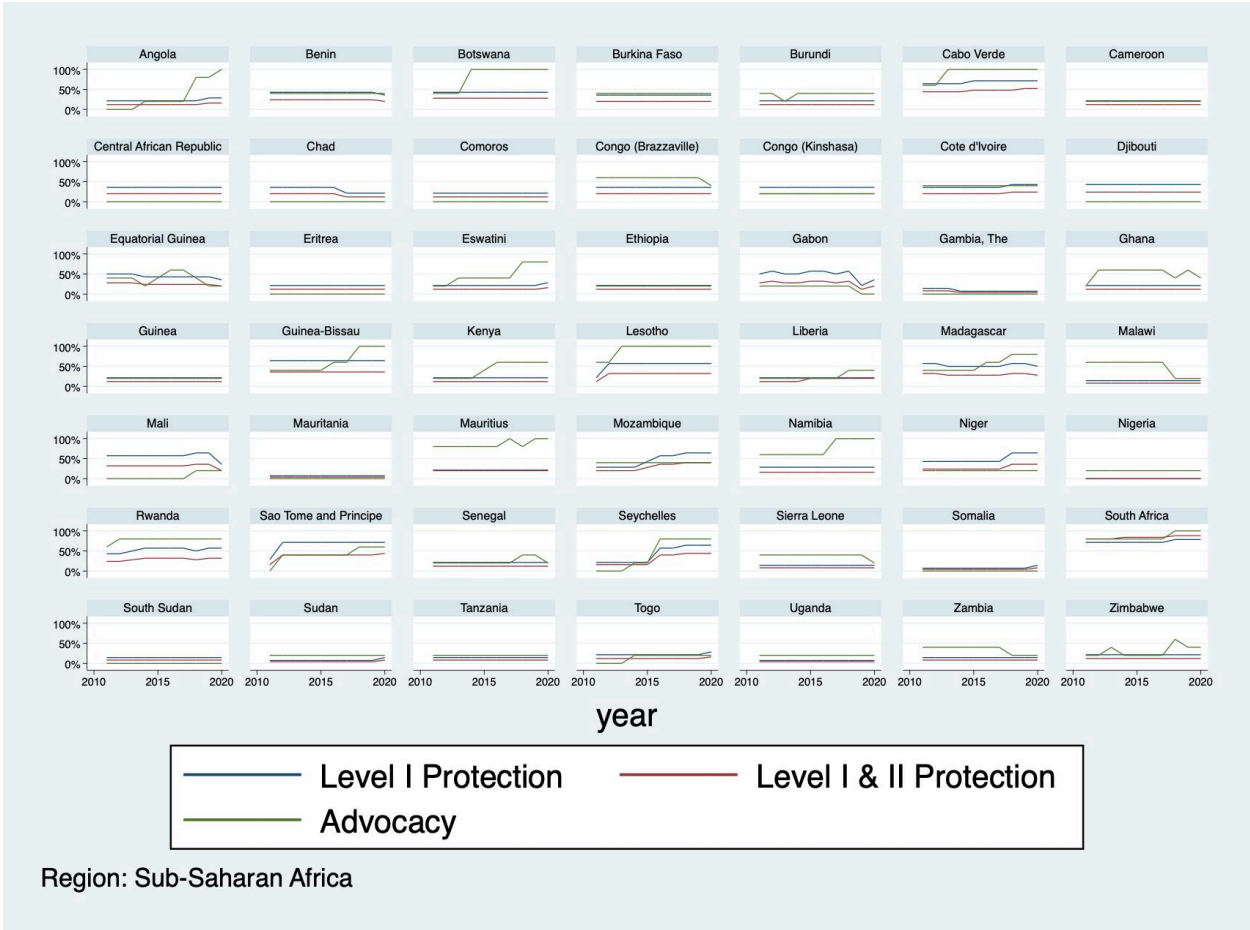


Figure 9. Sub-Saharan Region Comparison of Level I, Level I & II Protections and NGO Advocacy 2011-2020

Middle East and North Africa

The region of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) shows the least variation in trends (see **Figure 10** below). Israel stands out as a positive outlier in both LGBT NGO advocacy as well as LGBT legislative rights; Lebanon and Tunisia exhibit positive changes in LGBT NGO advocacy with little change to LGBT legislative rights.

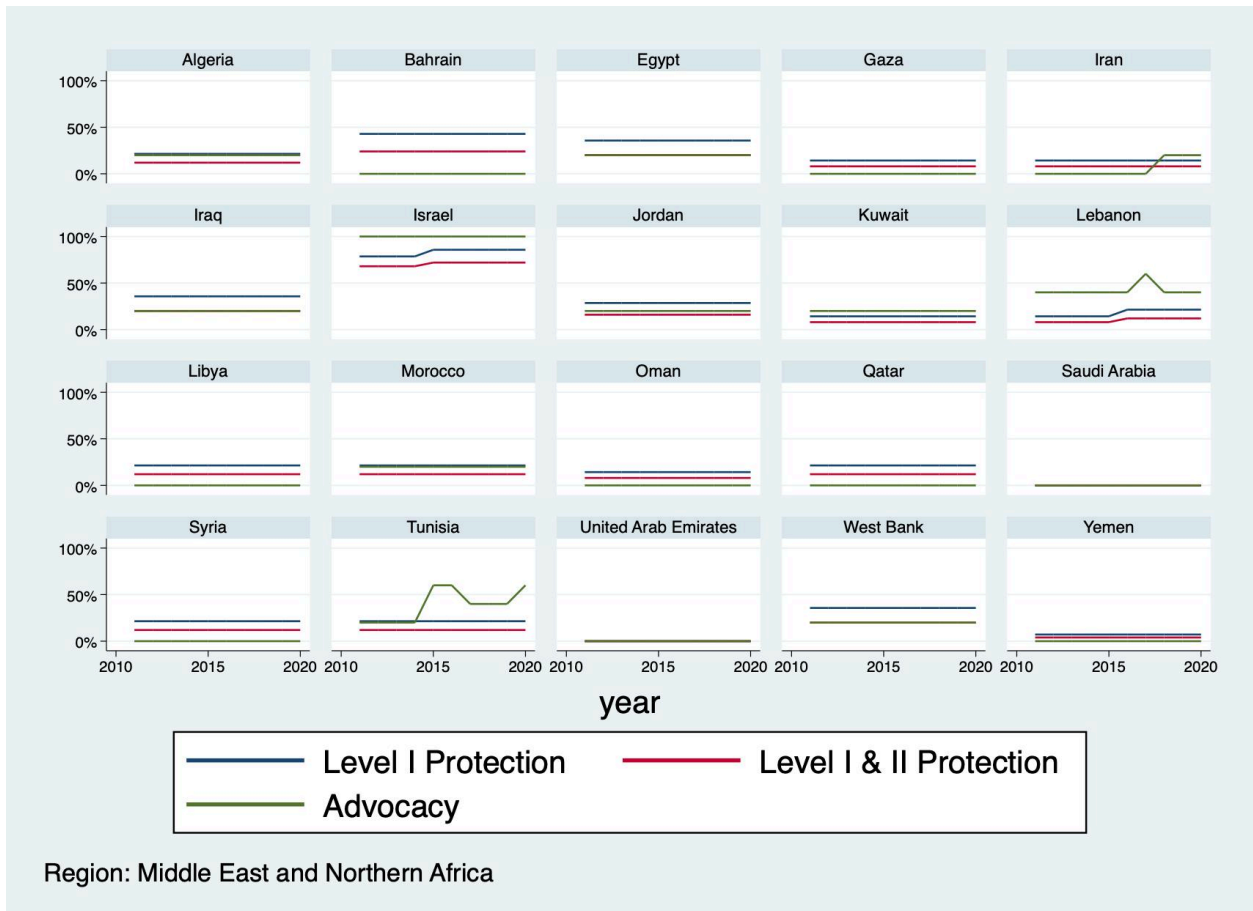


Figure 10. Middle East and Northern Africa Region Comparison of Level I, Level I & II Protections and NGO Advocacy 2011-2020

Western Europe

In the Western Europe regional grouping in **Figure 11**, below, Andorra, North Cyprus, Greece, Austria, Monaco, Portugal and Switzerland are excellent examples of LGBT NGO advocacy preceding an increase in LGBT State protections. Western Europe is one of the highest performing regions in terms of LGBT protections and LGBT NGO advocacy, and the graphs below clearly illustrate the link between LGBT NGO advocacy and greater LGBT protections.

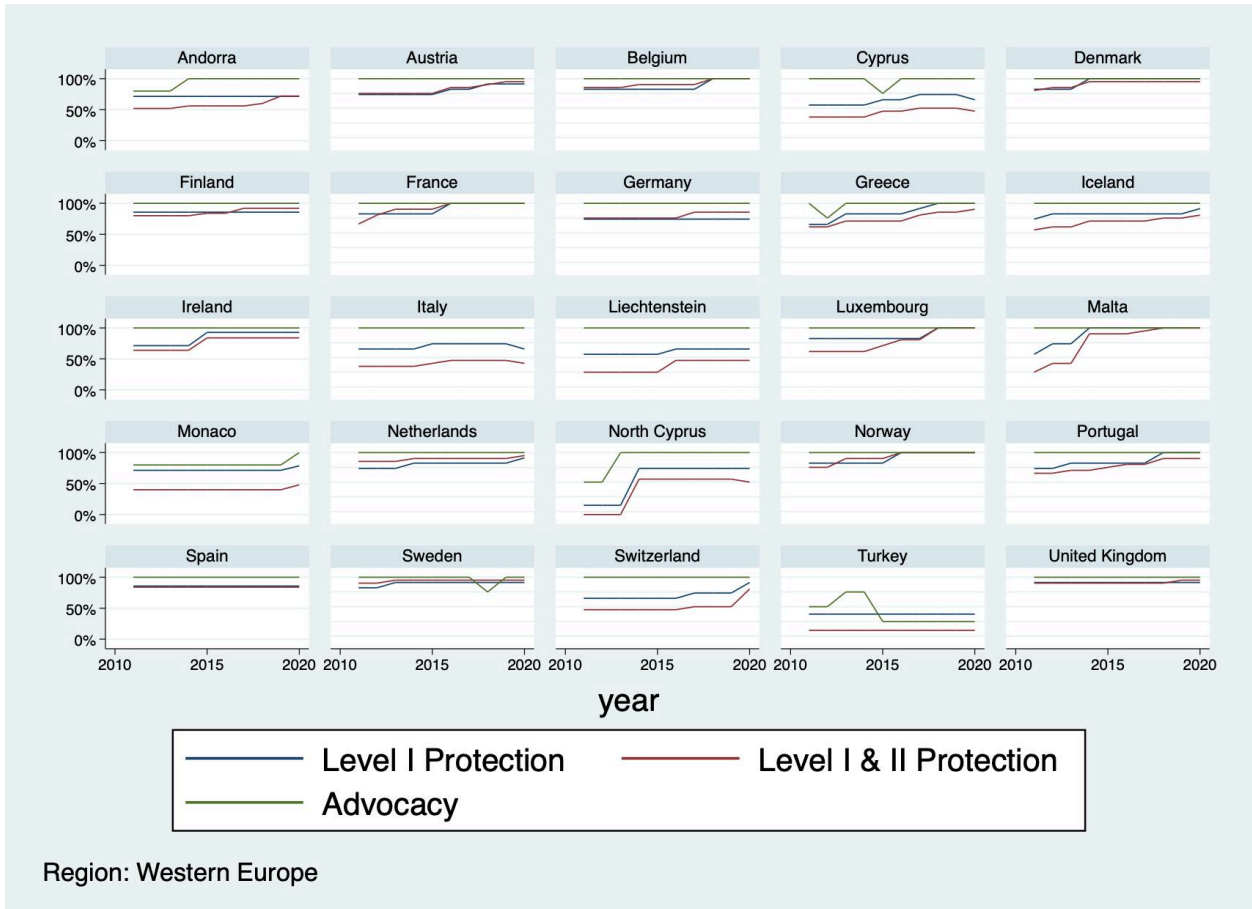


Figure 11. Western Europe Region Comparison of Level I, Level I & II Protections and NGO Advocacy 2011-2020

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

A time-series panel analysis with fixed-effects and robust standard error¹¹ was performed to understand the effects of structural as well as agency-centered indicators on physical integrity protection (Level I) and secondary protection (Level II) for LGBT individuals across the globe. The statistical models are included in **Appendix 6**.

Level I: Physical Integrity

With respect to physical integrity (Level I protections), we found that two structural factors (state stability and societal acceptance) and the agency-centered indicator (LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility) affect LGBT rights.¹² Here, the main independent variable, the agency-centered LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility index, has shown the greatest effect of all tested variables. **For each increase in the LGBT NGO advocacy score (indicating additional advocacy and visibility), the physical integrity protections (Level I) increase by 11.1 percent, all else being equal (see Table 14).**¹³

Between 2011 and 2020, stable states have been slightly better in their Level I protections for LGBT individuals than unstable states, all else being equal. This result is fairly intuitive. **As states become more stable, the protection of all citizens, including those of LGBT individuals, tends to improve as well.** However, countries like Saudi Arabia have high levels of stability, yet they provide close to zero protection for LGBT individuals. More precisely, when a state improves one point on the Fragile State Index (FSI), the Level I protection increases by only 0.03 percent.¹⁴

Societal acceptance of LGBT individuals positively affects individuals' physical integrity protections (Level I) by the state, all else being equal. For each additional point on the Global Acceptance Index (GAI), LGBT protections increase by 2.1 percent, all else being equal.

GDP per capita and a country's globalization score have shown not to affect Level I protections of LGBT individuals by a statistically significant measure. We also

¹¹ A Hausman-test was performed to ensure that a time-series fixed-effects model is the correct test. There is good theoretical reason to believe that countries' performance (e.g. economy, government performance) may be affected by their own internal characteristics (e.g. type of government, political environment, cultural characteristics, and type of public policies).

¹² The sample included 1,117 observations across 160 country clusters over ten years.

¹³ Both are significant at the 95 percent confidence level.

¹⁴ FSI scores: the higher the score, the more unstable a country, and the lower the score the more stable the country. For the analysis this means that a negative coefficient reflects an improvement in a country as the FSI score goes down.

investigated the effect of the structural and agency-centered factors influencing LGBT rights, beyond physical integrity. Level II is a measure of physical integrity combined with each country's secondary protections.

Level II: Physical Integrity and Secondary Protections

Overall, **the same indicators (LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility, societal acceptance, and state stability) remain statistically significant, meaning they have been shown to affect the overall protections (Level I and II) of LGBT people (see Table 15).**

The influence of the LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility index slightly decreases for Level II protection. All else being equal, with a one point increase in the LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility score, Level II rights increase by 7.2 percent, meaning that **for each additional point on the LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility score, the overall protections of LGBT individuals improves by 7.2 percent.**

State stability only increases Level II protections at the margins. While statistically significant, every additional point increase in a country's stability score increases a country's LGBT protection score by a very narrow 0.05 percent.

We can observe that the effect for societal acceptance (GAI index) increases slightly, up to three percent (from two percent) for Level II protections.

We could not observe a statistically significant effect of GDP per capita and levels of globalization on Level II protections of LGBT individuals.

LGBT NGO Advocacy and Societal Acceptance

We tested the **effect of LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility on societal acceptance of LGBT people. The analysis showed no significant effect. We are, therefore, unable to establish a causal relationship between these two indicators.** However, this may not be due to a lack of effect but to the way in which the Global Acceptance Index (GAI) measures societal acceptance. The Williams Institute combines a country's score for several years, meaning that scores are the same for several years in a row before a new survey adjusts the results. Although it is an imperfect measure, it is the only measure available to test our assumptions about societal acceptance.

The overall global results should be interpreted with some caution due to the ten year time span and the lack of available information for some countries in the study. While a global assessment provides some insight into the drivers for LGBT rights protections, the

following analyses will concentrate more specifically on the sub-regions which are the focus of the ARCUS foundation's work.

REGIONAL ANALYSIS

The regional analysis of this study focuses on the Arcus Foundation dataset of 45 countries, found in the Caribbean, Central America, East Africa and Southern Africa. For each of the four regions, an “at a glance” table of the most recent information is provided, including an aggregation of 2020 scores for Level I and Level I & II LGBT state protections scores; LGBT NGO advocacy scores; and the F&M Global Barometer Perception Index (GBPI) scores.¹⁵ The GBPI provides the best proxy for the “lived human rights reality” facing LGBTQI+ people, and thus can be compared to Level I and Level I & II LGBT state protections to show the difference between legislative and lived human rights realities for LGBTQI+ people. We also include the year of decriminalization of homosexuality (if applicable) and whether Legal Gender Recognition is possible in the countries and territories of these sub-regions.

A table with the breakdown of Level I LGBT state protections from 2011-2020 and a table with Level I and II LGBT state protections from 2011-2020 are included, as well as individual graphs for each country that illustrate the relationship between Level I and Level I and Level II state protections and LGBT NGO advocacy scores.

Three line graphs below, **Figures 12, 13, and 14**, illustrate the trend lines for the four subregions in terms of mean LGBT NGO advocacy scores, mean Level I LGBT protection scores, and mean Level I and Level II protection scores.

As **Figure 12** illustrates, Central America initially performed the best on the LGBT NGO advocacy score until 2018 when the Southern Africa region surpassed it. The Caribbean region significantly improved its mean score in 2018 as well. In comparison, East Africa showed very little improvement in LGBT NGO advocacy scores.

¹⁵ GBPI scores are based on a six question survey launched in 2022 in partnership with the Council for Global Equality. The survey posed questions to LGBTQI+ people on safety, acceptance, fear, violence, safety in gathering and discrimination. The survey garnered over 167,000 responses worldwide. The GBPI provides the best proxy for lived human rights reality. For more information, see <https://www.lgbtqiperceptionindex.org/methodology/> and (Dicklitch-Nelson, et al., 2023a).

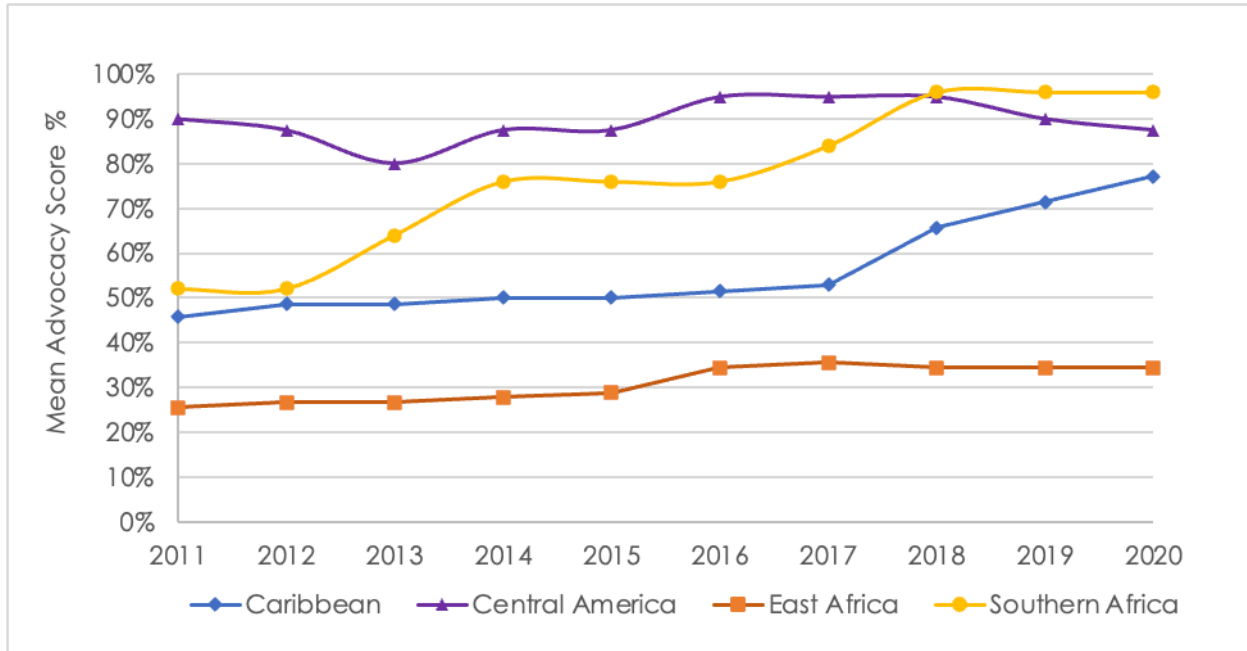


Figure 12. Mean LGBT NGO advocacy score for each region, over time 2011-2020

As **Figure 13** demonstrates, in terms of Level I LGBT State protections, no region did exceptionally well at protecting basic (physical integrity) LGBT human rights. Of the four regions, the Central American region showed significant improvement, rising from 40 percent to 65 percent from 2011-2017, but then demonstrating a downturn in 2018.

Although it remained steadily below a 50 percent score, the Southern Africa region performed second best of the four regions. We anticipate that the mean score will rise with Botswana's decriminalizing homosexuality in 2021.

The Caribbean region's score remained fairly constant, in the upper 30 percents, but we also anticipate that the mean score will increase significantly once decriminalization of homosexuality in Antigua and Barbuda (2022), Barbados (2022), and Saint Kitts and Nevis (2022) are taken into account. The increase in LGBT NGO advocacy score, in **Figure 12** above, demonstrates that trend clearly.

East Africa performed the worst on LGBT advocacy, showing minimal improvement. We cannot discount the significantly homophobic and transphobic environment, or what Bob called the "Baptist-Burqa network" (Bob, 2012), operating in that region. We thus anticipate that the score will continue to decline post-2020 with the codification of the 2023 Ugandan Anti-Homosexuality Act and the introduction of a similar bill in Kenya.

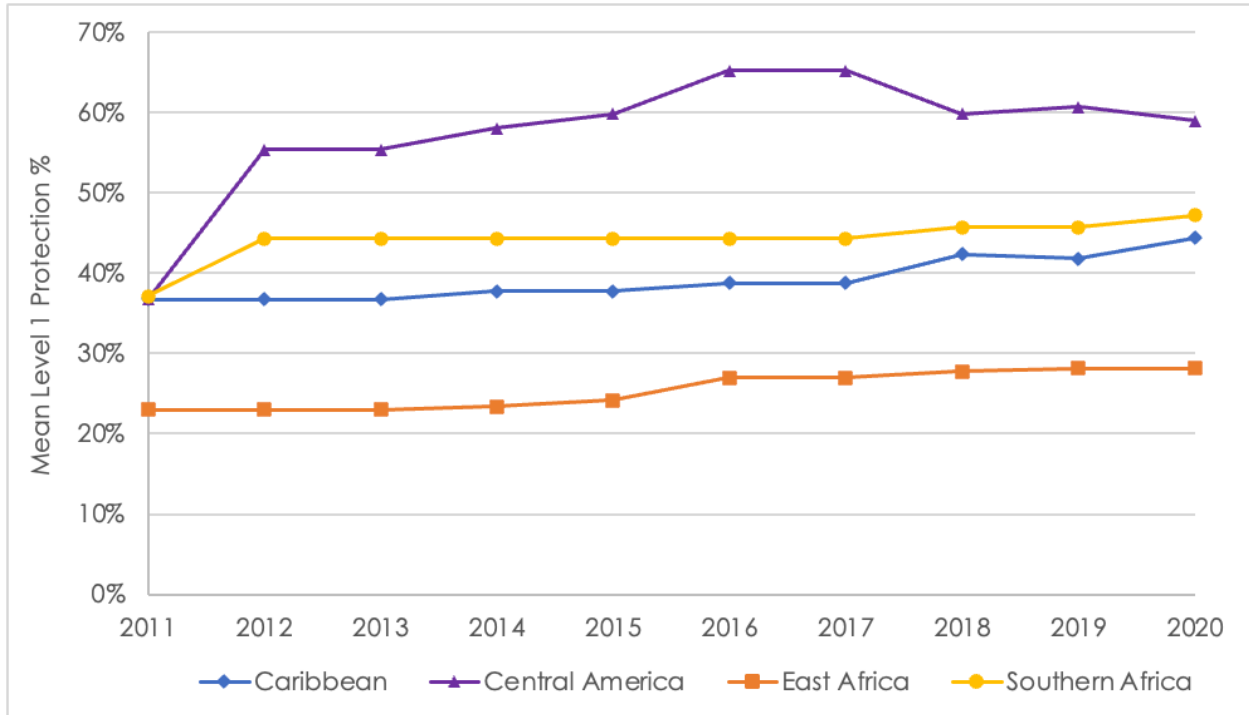


Figure 13. Mean Level I LGBT protections for each region, over time 2011-2020

All four regions in this study performed poorly on the mean scores for Level I and Level II LGBT protections from 2011-2020 (see below in **Figure 14**). In fact, none of the regions scored above 50 percent signaling a significant challenge to the establishment of secondary LGBT human rights. The same earlier trends persist: the Central American region scores highest, followed by the Southern Africa region, the Caribbean and East Africa regions.

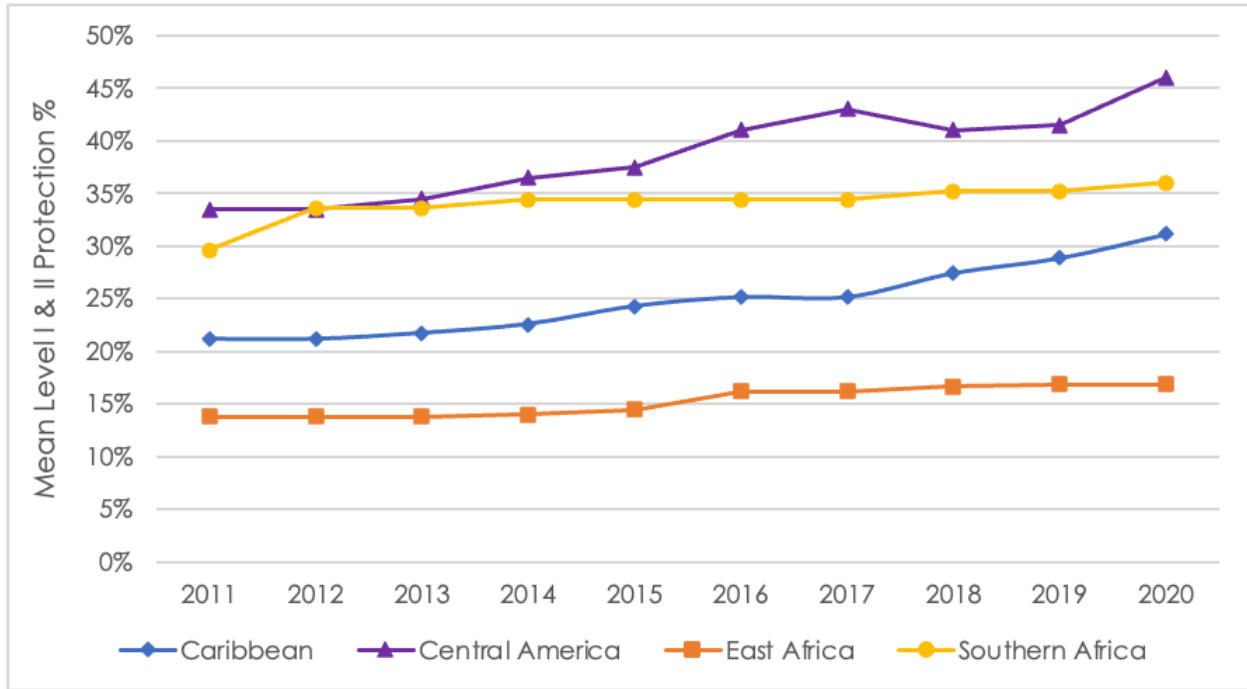


Figure 14. Mean Level I & Level II LGBT protection for each region, over time 2011-2020

The following section is a deeper dive into each region.

Caribbean

The Level I LGBT Protection average score for the Caribbean region in 2020 was only 44 percent, while the Level I and II LGBT Protection score was only 31 percent (see **Table 2**). The majority of Caribbean countries fail to protect LGBT human rights. In 2022, the GBPI regional average score, which measures the lived human rights reality for LGBTQI+ people for available countries, is 52 percent -- slightly higher than the LGBT Level I and Level I and II state protection scores.

Seven out of the 14 countries in the region still criminalized homosexuality in 2020, while only two offered legal gender recognition. Since 2020, three Caribbean countries have decriminalized homosexuality: Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, and Saint Kitts and Nevis (all decriminalized in 2022). Only two countries have legal gender recognition (Cuba and Puerto Rico). **Tables 3** and **4**, below, summarize the Level I and Level I and Level II state protection trends from 2011-2020.

Table 2. Caribbean Countries at a Glance

Country	Level I Protection Score (2020)	Level I + II (2020)	NGO/ Advocacy Score (2020)	GBPI Score (2022)	Year of Decriminalization	Legal Gender Recognition (2020)
Antigua and Barbuda	21%	12%	60%	N/A	2022	N**
Bahamas, The	64%	40%	100%	48%	1991	N
Barbados	14%	12%	100%	54%	2022	N
Cuba	64%	68%	60%	69%	1979	Y***
Dominica	21%	12%	20%	N/A	C*	N
Dominican Republic	57%	32%	100%	56%	1822	N
Haiti	57%	32%	80%	41%	1791	N
Jamaica	21%	12%	100%	43%	C	N
Puerto Rico	79%	72%	100%	N/A	2003	Y
Saint Kitts and Nevis	29%	16%	60%	N/A	2022	N
Saint Lucia	29%	20%	80%	N/A	C	N
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	29%	16%	20%	N/A	C	N
Trinidad and Tobago	64%	36%	100%	55%	2018	N
US Virgin Islands	71%	56%	100%	N/A	1985	N

*C = Country continues to criminalize homosexuality

**N = No (No legal recognition of gender identity)

***Y = Yes (Country has legal recognition of gender identity)

Table 3. Caribbean Countries: Level I Protection 2011-2020

Country	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Antigua and Barbuda	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%
Bahamas, The	57%	57%	57%	64%	64%	64%	64%	64%	64%	64%
Barbados	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%
Cuba	71%	71%	71%	71%	71%	71%	71%	64%	64%	64%
Dominica	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%
Dominican Republic	43%	43%	43%	43%	43%	43%	43%	43%	36%	57%
Haiti	43%	43%	43%	43%	43%	43%	43%	57%	57%	57%
Jamaica	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%
Puerto Rico	71%	71%	71%	71%	71%	86%	86%	86%	86%	79%
Saint Kitts and Nevis	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	29%
Saint Lucia	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	29%
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	29%
Trinidad and Tobago	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	64%	64%	64%
US Virgin Islands	64%	64%	64%	71%	71%	71%	71%	71%	71%	71%

Table 4. Caribbean Countries: Level I & II Protection 2011-2020

Country	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Antigua and Barbuda	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%
Bahamas, The	36%	36%	36%	40%	40%	40%	40%	40%	40%	40%
Barbados	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	12%
Cuba	40%	40%	40%	44%	44%	44%	44%	44%	68%	68%
Dominica	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%
Dominican Republic	24%	24%	24%	24%	24%	24%	24%	24%	20%	32%
Haiti	24%	24%	24%	24%	24%	24%	24%	32%	32%	32%
Jamaica	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%
Puerto Rico	40%	40%	48%	48%	60%	72%	72%	72%	72%	72%
Saint Kitts and Nevis	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	16%
Saint Lucia	16%	16%	16%	16%	16%	16%	16%	16%	16%	20%
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	16%
Trinidad and Tobago	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	36%	36%	36%
US Virgin Islands	36%	36%	36%	40%	52%	52%	52%	52%	52%	56%

Barbados shows a high LGBT NGO advocacy score with little impact on Level I and Level I and II State protections, but as mentioned earlier, we anticipate a jump in score for Level I and Level I and II scores post 2021 with the decriminalization of homosexuality. Jamaica has also seen a considerable rise in LGBT NGO advocacy, but not a concomitant rise in LGBT legislation. Trinidad and Tobago perhaps shows the best example of how LGBT NGO advocacy led to an increase in LGBT protections, with decriminalization of homosexuality in 2018.

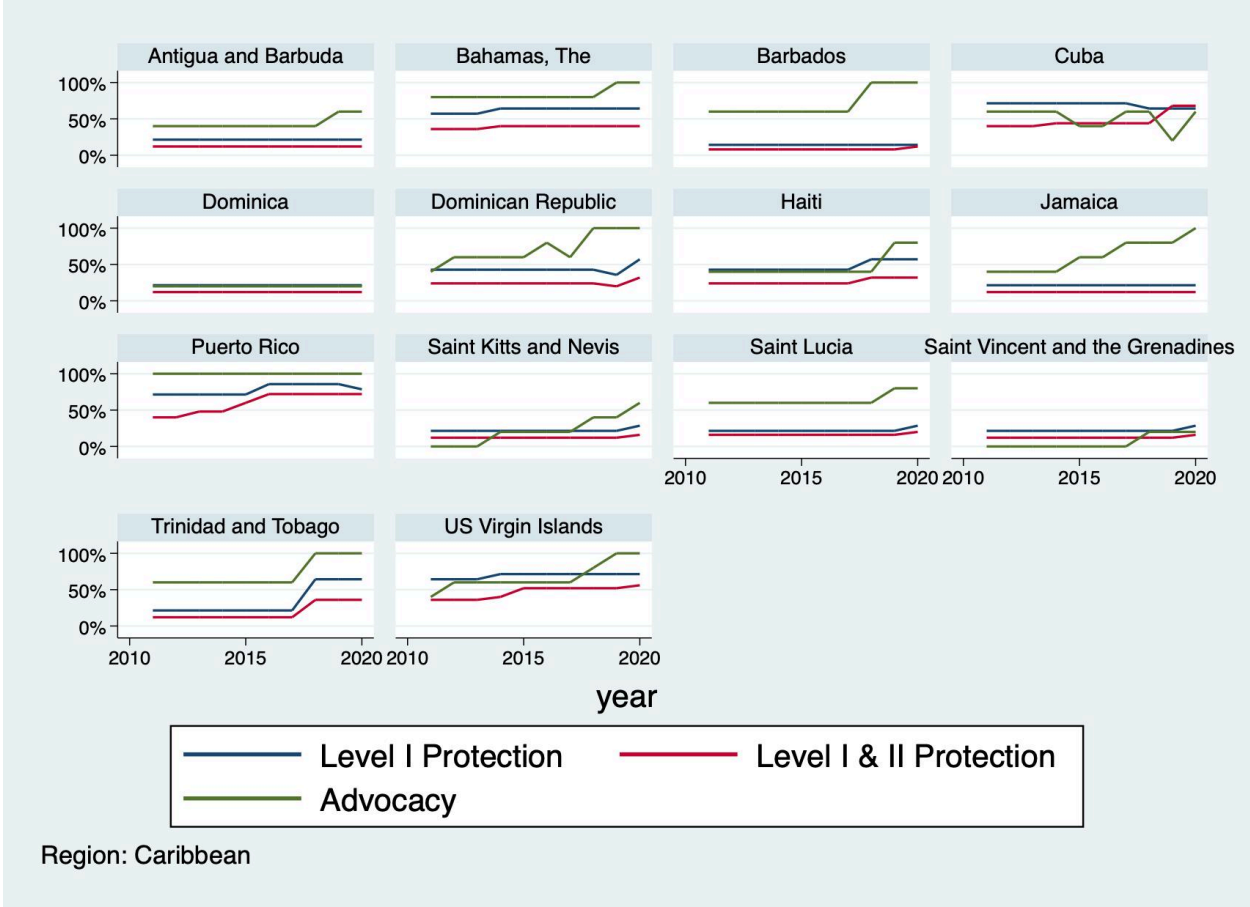


Figure 15. Caribbean Regional Comparison of Level I, Level I & II Protections and NGO Advocacy 2011-2020

Statistical Analysis of Caribbean Region

The statistical analyses for Level I and Level II protection for the Caribbean region only provide limited insight into what drives LGBT protection in the region. **With respect to Level I protection, none of the indicators of interest are statistically significant.** In other words, none of the structural or agency-centered aspects of the study affect the protection of LGBT individuals (see **Table 19**).

In part, the results can be attributed to the small sample size of only 14 countries included in the model. The results shift slightly when we include secondary rights (Level II) in the study. **For the Caribbean, state stability is statistically significant at the 95 percent confidence level. In other words, for every point increase in state stability, Level II protections increase by 1.6 percent.** For this sample, we are unable to establish any other causality between the level of protections and the structural and advocacy-centered variables (see Table 19).

Central America

As of 2020, the Level I LGBT Protection average score for Central America was 59 percent while the combined Level I and II LGBT Protection average was 46 percent (see Table 5, below). The average GBPI score was 61 percent in the region, suggesting that the lived human rights reality was comparable to the legislative reality. While all countries in the region have decriminalized homosexuality as of 2020, only two countries, Costa Rica and Panama, provided legal gender recognition. Tables 6 and 7, below, summarize the Level I and Level I and Level II state protection trends from 2011-2020.

Table 5. Central America at a Glance

Country	Level I LGBT Protection Score (2020)	Level I + II (2020)	NGO/ Advocacy Score (2020)	GBPI Score (2022)	Year of Decriminalization	Legal Gender Recognition (2020)
Belize	64%	52%	100%	58%	2016	N
Costa Rica	93%	88%	100%	73%	1971	Y
El Salvador	50%	40%	60%	57%	1826	N
Guatemala	43%	24%	100%	57%	1834	N
Honduras	71%	56%	80%	52%	1899	N
Mexico	64%	52%	100%	66%	1872	N
Nicaragua	43%	32%	60%	62%	2008	N
Panama	43%	24%	100%	N/A	2008	Y

Table 6. Central American Countries: Level I Protections 2011-2020

Country	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Belize	29%	29%	29%	29%	29%	64%	64%	64%	57%	64%
Costa Rica	64%	64%	64%	57%	64%	64%	64%	86%	86%	93%
El Salvador	57%	57%	57%	57%	64%	64%	64%	50%	50%	50%
Guatemala	43%	43%	43%	43%	50%	50%	50%	43%	50%	43%
Honduras	64%	64%	64%	79%	79%	79%	79%	64%	79%	71%
Mexico	50%	50%	50%	64%	57%	64%	64%	64%	64%	64%
Nicaragua	71%	71%	71%	71%	71%	71%	71%	50%	50%	43%
Panama	64%	64%	64%	64%	64%	64%	64%	57%	50%	43%

Table 7. Central American Countries: Level I & II Protections 2011-2020

Country	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Belize	16%	16%	16%	16%	16%	40%	40%	40%	36%	52%
Costa Rica	36%	36%	36%	32%	36%	36%	44%	56%	56%	88%
El Salvador	32%	32%	36%	36%	40%	40%	40%	40%	40%	40%
Guatemala	24%	24%	24%	24%	28%	28%	28%	24%	28%	24%
Honduras	36%	36%	40%	48%	48%	48%	56%	48%	56%	56%
Mexico	44%	44%	44%	52%	48%	52%	52%	52%	52%	52%
Nicaragua	44%	44%	44%	48%	48%	48%	48%	36%	36%	32%
Panama	36%	36%	36%	36%	36%	36%	36%	32%	28%	24%

Figure 16 provides more insight into the interplay between LGBT NGO advocacy and LGBT protections. Aside from a brief decline in LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility for Nicaragua in 2013, Central America is the only Arcus region in which LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility has been high between 2011 and 2020. Not only do countries in the region have higher LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility scores, they also have rarely even dipped below the 50 percent mark. Costa Rica, in particular, received excellent scores for Level I, Level II and LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility in the country. On the other hand, Panama and Nicaragua have declined since 2017, and based on the current trajectory, both countries are expected to further decline in the upcoming years. At best, we can expect them to level out at scores below the 50 percent mark. In Belize, Level I and II protections have slowly but consistently followed the improvement in LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility since 2015.

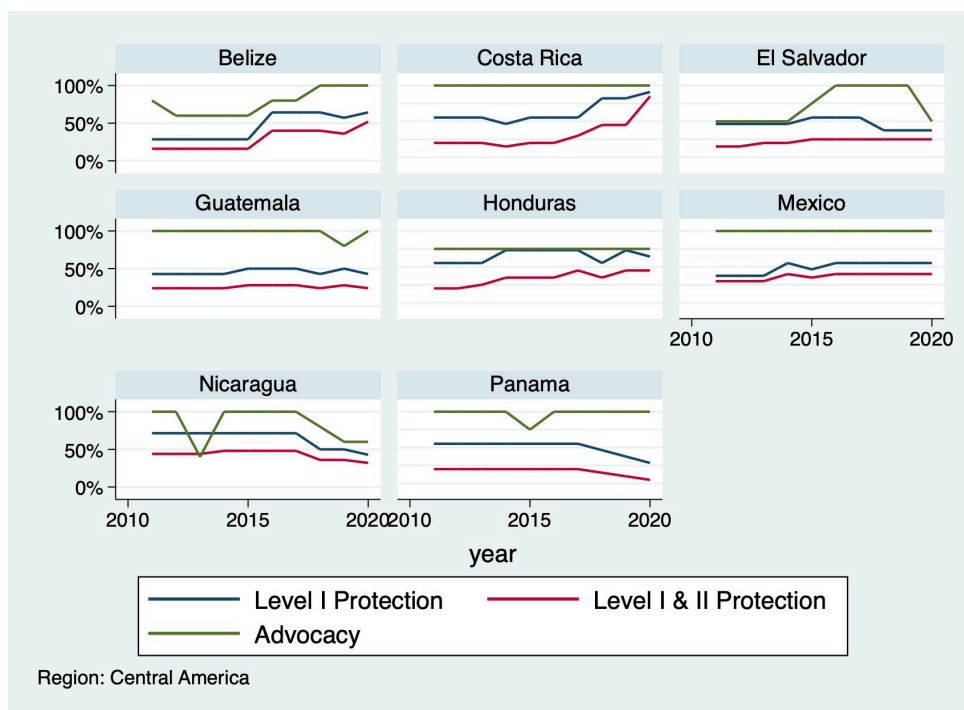


Figure 16. Central America Regional Comparison of Level I, Level I & II Protections and NGO Advocacy 2011-2020

Statistical Analysis of Central American Region

For the Central American countries, **LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility is statistically significant at the 95 percent confidence level when focused on Level I and Level II protections.**¹⁶ While the sample is fairly small (56 observations for eight countries), **the sample predicts that for every increase in the LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility score, Level I and Level II combined protections increase by almost 19 percent** (see Table 18). **None of the structural indicators has shown to be statistically significant.** As a result, we can only observe a causal relationship between LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility and the broader protection of LGBT individuals (Level I and Level II).

¹⁶ Results for physical integrity (Level I state protections) alone are not statistically significant.

East Africa

As of 2020, the Level I LGBT Protection average score for East Africa was 28 percent while the combined Level I and Level II LGBT Protection average was 17 percent (see **Table 8**). Only eight of the 18 countries in the region had scores for the GBPI, which averaged 44 percent. The majority of countries in the region criminalize homosexuality and none provide legal gender recognition.

This region had the lowest performing scores of all regions. **Tables 9** and **10**, below, summarize the Level I and Level I and Level II State Protection trends from 2011-2020.

Table 8. East Africa at a Glance

Country	Level I LGBT Protection Score (2020)	Level I + II (2020)	NGO/ Advocacy Score (2020)	GBPI Score (2022)	Year of Decriminalization	Legal Gender Recognition (2020)
Burundi	21%	12%	40%	N/A	C	N
Comoros	21%	12%	0%	N/A	C	N
Djibouti	43%	24%	0%	N/A	NC	N
Eritrea	21%	12%	0%	N/A	C	N
Ethiopia	21%	12%	20%	N/A	C	N
Kenya	21%	12%	60%	40	C	N
Madagascar	50%	28%	80%	53	NC	N
Malawi	14%	8%	20%	41	C	N
Mauritius	21%	20%	100%	63	C	N
Mozambique	64%	40%	40%	N/A	2015	N
Rwanda	57%	32%	80%	N/A	NC	N
Seychelles	64%	44%	80%	N/A	2016	N
Somalia	14%	8%	0%	N/A	C	N
South Sudan	14%	8%	0%	N/A	C	N
Tanzania	14%	8%	20%	37	C	N
Uganda	7%	4%	20%	34	C	N
Zambia	14%	8%	20%	42	C	N
Zimbabwe	21%	12%	40%	40	C	N

Table 9. East African Countries: Level I Protections 2011-2020

Country	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Burundi	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%
Comoros	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%
Djibouti	43%	43%	43%	43%	43%	43%	43%	43%	43%	43%
Eritrea	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%
Ethiopia	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%
Kenya	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%
Madagascar	57%	57%	50%	50%	50%	50%	50%	57%	57%	50%
Malawi	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%
Mauritius	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%
Mozambique	29%	29%	29%	29%	43%	57%	57%	64%	64%	64%
Rwanda	43%	43%	50%	57%	57%	57%	57%	50%	57%	57%
Seychelles	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	57%	57%	64%	64%	64%
Somalia	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	14%
South Sudan	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%
Tanzania	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%
Uganda	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%
Zambia	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%	14%
Zimbabwe	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%

Table 10. East African Countries: Level I & II Protections 2011-2020

Country	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Burundi	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%
Comoros	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%
Djibouti	24%	24%	24%	24%	24%	24%	24%	24%	24%	24%
Eritrea	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%
Ethiopia	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%
Kenya	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%
Madagascar	32%	32%	28%	28%	28%	28%	28%	32%	32%	28%
Malawi	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%
Mauritius	20%	20%	20%	20%	20%	20%	20%	20%	20%	20%
Mozambique	20%	20%	20%	20%	28%	36%	36%	40%	40%	40%
Rwanda	24%	24%	28%	32%	32%	32%	32%	28%	32%	32%
Seychelles	16%	16%	16%	16%	16%	40%	40%	44%	44%	44%
Somalia	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	8%
South Sudan	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%
Tanzania	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%
Uganda	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
Zambia	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%
Zimbabwe	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%

East Africa, the largest subregion included in the study, has an overall lower LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility score compared to the other Arcus regions. Thirteen of the eighteen countries in the region have Level I scores under 50 percent. Only six countries were able to advance their LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility in the region, and only Mauritius received a 100 percent for LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility for a total of three years. Five countries received 0 percent throughout the 2011-2020 time period, without any improvement (see **Table 8**, above).

Zambia and Malawi declined with respect to their advocacy/visibility scores, dropping to the lowest score since 2011. Seychelles can be seen as the exemplar in the region. Starting in 2015, the country experienced a solid increase in LGBT protection and LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility. The country's advances stand in sharp contrast to the eight countries which have experienced no development throughout the past ten years: Comoros, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, South Sudan, Tanzania, Somalia and Uganda, (see **Figure 17**, below).

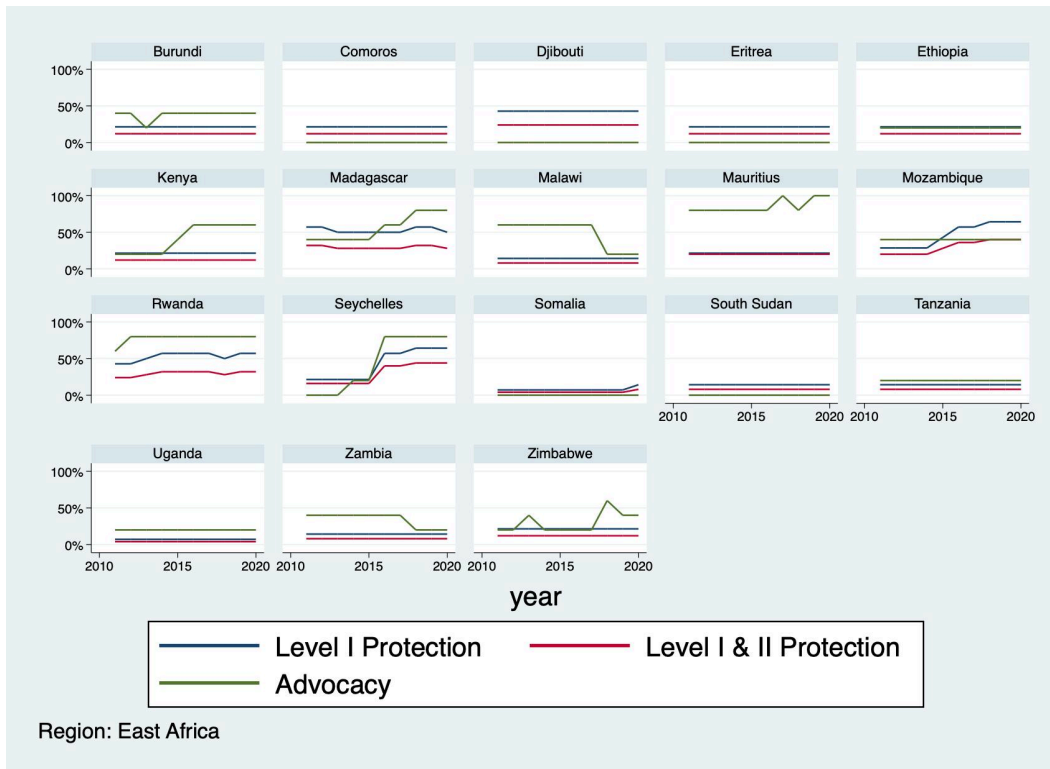


Figure 17. East Africa Regional Comparison of Level I, Level I & II Protections and NGO Advocacy 2011-2020

Statistical Analysis of East Africa Region

None of the indicators had a significant effect on Level I or Level II LGBT state protections (see **Table 17**).

Southern Africa

As of 2020, the Level I LGBT Protection average score for Southern Africa was 47 percent, while the combined Level I and II LGBT Protection average was 36 percent (see **Table 11**, below). The average GBPI score for the region was 59 percent. As of 2020, three countries in the region criminalized homosexuality, including Botswana, which did not officially decriminalize until 2021 due to an appeal.¹⁷ Two countries, Eswatini and Lesotho, have yet to implement legal gender recognition. **Tables 12** and **13**, below, summarize the Level I and Level I and Level II State Protections trends from 2011-2020.

¹⁷ "Botswana," ILGA World Database, accessed August 21, 2023, <https://database.ilga.org/botswana-lgbti>.

Table 11. Southern Africa at a Glance

Country	Level I LGBT Protection Score (2020)	Level I + II (2020)	NGO/ Advocacy Score (2020)	GBPI Score (2022)	Year of Decriminalization	Legal Gender Recognition (2020)
Botswana	43%	28%	100%	63%	2021	Y
Eswatini	29%	16%	80%	48%	C	N
Lesotho	57%	32%	100%	61%	2012	N
Namibia	29%	16%	100%	57%	C	Y
South Africa	79%	88%	100%	67%	1998	Y

Table 12. Southern African Countries: Level I Protections 2011-2020

Country	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Botswana	43%	43%	43%	43%	43%	43%	43%	43%	43%	43%
Eswatini	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	21%	29%
Lesotho	21%	57%	57%	57%	57%	57%	57%	57%	57%	57%
Namibia	29%	29%	29%	29%	29%	29%	29%	29%	29%	29%
South Africa	71%	71%	71%	71%	71%	71%	71%	79%	79%	79%

Table 13. Southern African Countries: Level I & II Protections 2011-2020

Country	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Botswana	28%	28%	28%	28%	28%	28%	28%	28%	28%	28%
Eswatini	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	16%
Lesotho	12%	32%	32%	32%	32%	32%	32%	32%	32%	32%
Namibia	16%	16%	16%	16%	16%	16%	16%	16%	16%	16%
South Africa	80%	80%	80%	84%	84%	84%	84%	88%	88%	88%

NGO Advocacy scores in Southern Africa are unique. By 2018, all Arcus countries in the region except for Eswatini received 100 percent on the LGBT NGO advocacy score. Eswatini, however, has made significant progress in LGBT NGO advocacy. Botswana has made the most impressive jump from a 40 percent advocacy score in 2013 to 100 percent in 2014, (see **Figures 18** and **19**, below).

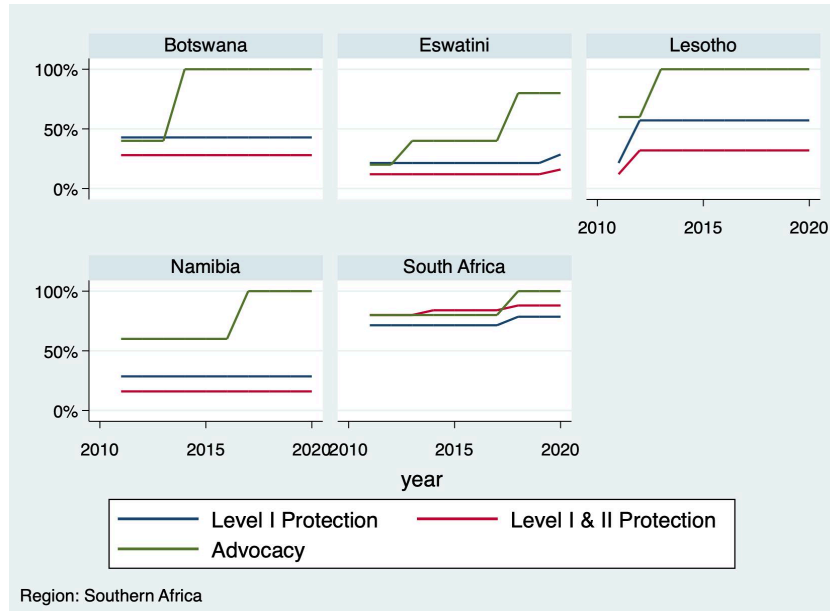


Figure 18. Southern Africa Regional Comparison of Level I, Level I & II Protections and NGO Advocacy 2011-2020

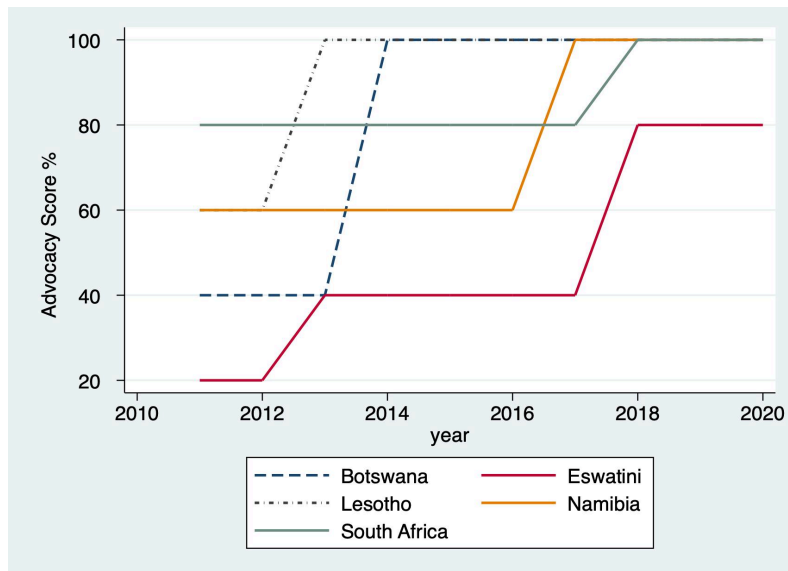


Figure 19: Advocacy scores for Southern African countries over time

Statistical Analysis of Southern Africa Region

The results for Southern Africa are distinctly different. For our dataset, LGBT NGO advocacy/ visibility has not shown significant effects, meaning **we are unable to argue that LGBT NGO advocacy visibility affects Level I protection**. Instead, **the structural indicator of globalization is statistically significant at the 95 percent confidence level**.

Very marginally, but worth mentioning, is that for every additional globalization score for the region, Level I protection drops by 0.07 percent. And while the amount is marginal at best, the connection between advancing globalization and the decreasing physical integrity of LGBT individuals should be further investigated.

All other structural indicators show no effect on Level I or Level II protections.

The results are even more limited for the region with respect to Level II. **LGBT NGO Advocacy/visibility has no effect on secondary (Level I & II) LGBT protection**.

State stability is statistically significant at the 90 percent confidence level, but produced a marginal effect. For every point increase in state stability, the overall LGBT protection increases by 0.4 percent.

Worth mentioning is that **GDP per capita, otherwise consistently insignificant, is statistically significant at the 95 percent confidence level**. However, **the effect is very marginal and negative, meaning that for every increase in GDP per capita, LGBT protection decreases by .0000153 percent** (see **Table 16**). In other words, despite the fact that GDP per capita is statistically significant, its effect is negligible.

OVERALL FINDINGS

This study finds support for a causal relationship between LGBT NGO advocacy and the protection of LGBT individuals. This study also confirms that there is a positive trend of LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility for all regions, although to differing degrees. Only in rare cases, like Malawi and Eswatini, has LGBT NGO advocacy experienced a downturn in recent years.

In absolute terms, the Caribbean and Southern Africa made the most significant progress in LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility.

The time-series panel analysis provides further insight into the role of LGBT NGO advocacy activity and structural factors such as state stability, globalization, and GDP per capita. Here, the results are mixed but point towards one important fact: LGBT NGO advocacy often matters more than structural factors. And while state stability, globalization, and GDP per capita are a necessary condition for states to provide for their citizens, they have shown to be insufficient ground for generating the protection of LGBT individuals.

Divided into the six UNDP world regions, the effect of LGBT NGO advocacy on LGBT protections remained strong. However, when focusing on the Arcus sub-regions, we found statistically significant results only for Central America. Such results are likely a result of the rather small sample sizes for each region. We are confident that, given a larger sample size, the results would confirm our findings for global regions.

In addition, the graphic display of how advocacy and protection have developed over time provides descriptive evidence that we rarely see a country succeeding in the protection of their LGBT individuals without the existence and visibility of LGBT NGO advocacy.

The findings of this study confirm what other scholars have suspected: that LGBT NGO advocacy matters to the establishment of protective LGBT legislation. Agency matters in moving the human rights needle forward. In fact, our findings suggest that agency often matters more than structural factors, at least within our ten year period of analysis (2011-2020).

It is also important to acknowledge that advocacy takes time -- changes seldom happen overnight, especially in the human rights field. Successful advocacy by LGBT NGOs in Belize, Botswana and Trinidad and Tobago are just a few examples of where

LGBT NGOs used their advocacy and visibility to demand greater LGBT protections including decriminalization. And this took a lot of time.

But what does this mean for policy-making, especially in countries and regions where LGBT NGO advocacy exists but there has been little concomitant progress in securing LGBT protections? At the very least, we would suggest that the ability for LGBT NGOs to continue their advocacy and visibility are crucial for the long-term adoption of a human rights protective regime and a rights respectful society. While backsliding on LGBT human rights may occur as a result of further visibility and advocacy, and the development of counter-advocacy networks (as recently seen in Uganda, Kenya, Ghana, Nigeria, Russia, and Hungary for example), LGBT NGOs must be able to freely operate and advocate if LGBT human rights are to be safeguarded.

In short, the global results are clear: LGBT NGO advocacy/visibility matters. LGBT NGO advocacy and visibility positively affects the adoption of LGBT human rights protections.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Breakdown of Indicators for Analysis

Level I: LGBT State Protections

1. No death penalty for sexual orientation
2. No life sentence for sexual orientation
3. No prison term for sexual orientation
4. No criminalization of sexual orientation
5. Freedom from arbitrary arrest based on sexual orientation
6. Sexual minorities have the right to privacy
7. Sexual orientation does not prejudice the right to a fair trial
8. Hate crimes legislation includes sexual orientation
9. Hate speech laws include sexual orientation
10. No criminalization of gender identity or expression
11. Country has legal recognition of gender identity
12. No physiological alteration requirement for gender identity recognition
13. No psychiatric diagnosis requirement for gender identity recognition
14. No arbitrary arrest based on gender identity

Level II: LGBT State Protections

1. Sexual minorities are not restricted or banned from serving in the military
2. Civil unions for sexual minorities are allowed
3. Same-sex marriage is allowed
4. Fair housing anti-discrimination laws include sexual orientation
5. Workplace anti-discrimination laws include sexual orientation
6. Healthcare anti-discrimination laws include sexual orientation
7. Same-sex couples are allowed to jointly adopt
8. Gender identity minorities are not restricted or banned from serving in the military
9. Fair housing anti-discrimination laws include gender identity
10. Workplace anti-discrimination laws include gender identity
11. Healthcare anti-discrimination laws include gender identity

LGBT NGO Advocacy

1. LGBT organizations exist
2. LGBT organizations are allowed to legally register
3. LGBT organizations are able to peacefully and safely assemble
4. LGBT pride events are allowed by the state
5. Security forces provide protection to LGBT pride participant

Independent Variables

1. Societal acceptance of LGBT people (GAI)
2. Economic growth (GDP per capita)
3. State Fragility (Fragile Peace Index)
4. Globalization (KOF Globalization)

Appendix 2. GBGR 2011-2020 Scores by Region

Country	Sub-Region	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Antigua and Barbuda	Caribbean	22%	22%	22%	22%	19%	22%	22%	22%	26%	26%
Bahamas, The	Caribbean	48%	52%	52%	56%	59%	59%	52%	59%	63%	63%
Barbados	Caribbean	26%	26%	22%	22%	22%	26%	26%	33%	30%	44%
Cuba	Caribbean	52%	52%	52%	56%	52%	52%	56%	59%	59%	70%
Dominica	Caribbean	19%	19%	19%	19%	19%	15%	19%	15%	15%	15%
Dominican Republic	Caribbean	26%	30%	30%	30%	30%	33%	33%	41%	41%	52%
Haiti	Caribbean	31%	31%	27%	31%	31%	31%	35%	37%	41%	44%
Jamaica	Caribbean	19%	19%	19%	22%	22%	22%	26%	30%	30%	33%
Puerto Rico	Caribbean	58%	58%	69%	69%	81%	81%	88%	88%	81%	85%
Saint Kitts and Nevis	Caribbean	15%	15%	15%	19%	19%	19%	19%	22%	22%	30%
Saint Lucia	Caribbean	27%	27%	27%	27%	23%	27%	27%	23%	31%	35%
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	Caribbean	15%	15%	15%	15%	15%	15%	15%	12%	15%	19%
Trinidad and Tobago	Caribbean	26%	26%	30%	30%	30%	30%	33%	59%	59%	59%
US Virgin Islands	Caribbean	58%	62%	62%	65%	77%	77%	77%	81%	85%	85%
Belize	Central America	30%	22%	26%	26%	22%	48%	48%	52%	52%	67%
Costa Rica	Central America	65%	65%	65%	62%	65%	65%	69%	65%	69%	92%
El Salvador	Central America	41%	41%	41%	37%	44%	48%	48%	41%	41%	33%
Guatemala	Central America	41%	41%	41%	37%	44%	44%	41%	37%	37%	41%
Honduras	Central America	44%	44%	48%	56%	56%	56%	56%	48%	56%	59%
Mexico	Central America	59%	59%	63%	70%	67%	74%	74%	74%	70%	74%
Nicaragua	Central America	56%	56%	44%	63%	63%	63%	63%	44%	41%	44%
Panama	Central America	54%	54%	50%	54%	50%	50%	54%	54%	50%	54%
Burundi	East Africa	22%	22%	19%	22%	22%	22%	22%	19%	22%	22%
Comoros	East Africa	15%	15%	15%	15%	15%	11%	15%	15%	15%	15%
Djibouti	East Africa	22%	22%	22%	22%	22%	22%	22%	22%	22%	22%
Eritrea	East Africa	15%	15%	15%	15%	15%	15%	15%	15%	15%	15%
Ethiopia	East Africa	15%	15%	15%	15%	15%	15%	15%	15%	15%	15%
Kenya	East Africa	15%	15%	15%	15%	19%	22%	22%	19%	22%	22%
Madagascar	East Africa	33%	33%	33%	33%	30%	37%	37%	52%	52%	52%
Malawi	East Africa	26%	30%	30%	26%	26%	26%	26%	19%	22%	15%
Mauritius	East Africa	35%	35%	35%	38%	38%	38%	46%	42%	50%	50%

Country	Sub-Region	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Mozambique	East Africa	26%	26%	26%	30%	41%	48%	52%	56%	56%	56%
Rwanda	East Africa	37%	44%	48%	52%	52%	52%	48%	44%	48%	48%
Seychelles	East Africa	22%	22%	22%	26%	26%	56%	56%	59%	59%	59%
Somalia	East Africa	7%	7%	0%	4%	4%	4%	0%	4%	4%	4%
South Sudan	East Africa	15%	15%	11%	15%	15%	11%	11%	11%	11%	11%
Tanzania	East Africa	7%	7%	7%	11%	11%	11%	11%	7%	7%	11%
Uganda	East Africa	7%	11%	11%	11%	11%	11%	11%	11%	7%	11%
Zambia	East Africa	15%	15%	15%	15%	15%	15%	15%	11%	11%	11%
Zimbabwe	East Africa	15%	15%	19%	15%	15%	15%	15%	22%	19%	19%
Botswana	Southern Africa	22%	22%	22%	33%	33%	37%	37%	37%	37%	41%
Eswatini	Southern Africa	19%	19%	22%	22%	15%	22%	22%	30%	30%	26%
Lesotho	Southern Africa	22%	44%	52%	52%	56%	56%	52%	59%	59%	59%
Namibia	Southern Africa	19%	22%	22%	22%	33%	33%	41%	41%	41%	41%
South Africa	Southern Africa	70%	70%	70%	74%	78%	74%	74%	85%	85%	89%

N.B. Scores displayed in red represent regression from the country's original 2011 score.

Appendix 3. GBTR 2011-2020 Scores by Region

Country	Sub-Region	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Antigua and Barbuda	Caribbean	24%	29%	29%	29%	24%	29%	29%	29%	35%	35%
Bahamas, The	Caribbean	41%	47%	41%	47%	47%	47%	47%	47%	53%	47%
Barbados	Caribbean	35%	35%	35%	29%	29%	29%	35%	41%	47%	41%
Cuba	Caribbean	47%	35%	47%	47%	29%	41%	47%	41%	53%	65%
Dominica	Caribbean	25%	25%	19%	19%	19%	19%	19%	19%	19%	19%
Dominican Republic	Caribbean	24%	29%	29%	29%	29%	35%	29%	41%	35%	35%
Haiti	Caribbean	31%	31%	31%	31%	31%	31%	31%	35%	47%	35%
Jamaica	Caribbean	29%	29%	18%	29%	29%	29%	35%	35%	41%	47%
Puerto Rico	Caribbean	50%	50%	69%	69%	69%	88%	75%	88%	88%	69%
Saint Kitts and Nevis	Caribbean	12%	12%	12%	18%	18%	18%	18%	24%	24%	29%
Saint Lucia	Caribbean	38%	31%	31%	31%	31%	31%	31%	31%	38%	38%
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	Caribbean	19%	19%	19%	19%	19%	19%	19%	19%	25%	19%
Trinidad and Tobago	Caribbean	29%	29%	29%	29%	29%	35%	24%	53%	53%	53%
US Virgin Islands	Caribbean	38%	44%	44%	44%	44%	44%	44%	56%	56%	69%
Belize	Central America	47%	41%	35%	29%	35%	41%	41%	47%	47%	47%
Costa Rica	Central America	56%	44%	56%	56%	56%	44%	50%	75%	69%	81%
El Salvador	Central America	29%	29%	35%	35%	41%	47%	47%	59%	59%	47%
Guatemala	Central America	41%	41%	41%	41%	53%	41%	41%	41%	35%	35%
Honduras	Central America	35%	35%	35%	35%	35%	35%	47%	47%	47%	41%
Mexico	Central America	35%	35%	35%	35%	35%	35%	35%	35%	35%	35%
Nicaragua	Central America	53%	41%	24%	53%	53%	53%	41%	41%	35%	24%
Panama	Central America	50%	50%	63%	63%	44%	63%	63%	63%	63%	50%
Burundi	East Africa	24%	24%	24%	29%	29%	29%	29%	29%	29%	29%
Comoros	East Africa	18%	18%	18%	18%	18%	18%	18%	18%	18%	18%
Djibouti	East Africa	24%	24%	24%	24%	24%	24%	24%	24%	24%	24%
Eritrea	East Africa	18%	18%	18%	18%	18%	18%	18%	18%	18%	18%
Ethiopia	East Africa	18%	18%	18%	18%	18%	18%	18%	18%	18%	18%
Kenya	East Africa	18%	18%	18%	18%	24%	29%	29%	29%	29%	29%
Madagascar	East Africa	29%	29%	29%	29%	29%	35%	35%	47%	47%	41%

Country	Sub-Region	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Malawi	East Africa	29%	29%	29%	29%	29%	24%	29%	12%	12%	12%
Mauritius	East Africa	38%	38%	38%	38%	38%	38%	44%	38%	44%	44%
Mozambique	East Africa	35%	35%	35%	35%	35%	29%	35%	41%	41%	41%
Rwanda	East Africa	29%	41%	41%	41%	41%	41%	35%	35%	35%	35%
Seychelles	East Africa	18%	18%	18%	24%	24%	47%	47%	47%	47%	47%
Somalia	East Africa	18%	18%	18%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	18%
South Sudan	East Africa	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	6%	6%	6%	6%
Tanzania	East Africa	24%	24%	12%	24%	18%	18%	18%	18%	18%	18%
Uganda	East Africa	18%	12%	18%	6%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%
Zambia	East Africa	29%	24%	24%	24%	24%	24%	24%	18%	18%	18%
Zimbabwe	East Africa	18%	18%	24%	18%	18%	18%	18%	35%	29%	29%
Botswana	Southern Africa	47%	47%	47%	59%	59%	59%	59%	59%	59%	59%
Eswatini	Southern Africa	24%	24%	29%	29%	29%	29%	29%	41%	35%	47%
Lesotho	Southern Africa	29%	29%	41%	47%	47%	47%	47%	47%	41%	47%
Namibia	Southern Africa	35%	35%	35%	35%	41%	41%	53%	53%	47%	47%
South Africa	Southern Africa	71%	65%	71%	71%	65%	76%	65%	71%	76%	71%

N.B. Scores displayed in red represent regression from the country's original 2011 score.

Appendix 4: Countries where LGBT NGOs Exist (2011-2020)

Country	Sub-Region	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Antigua and Barbuda	Caribbean	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bahamas, The	Caribbean	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Barbados	Caribbean	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Cuba	Caribbean	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Dominica	Caribbean	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Dominican Republic	Caribbean	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Haiti	Caribbean	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Jamaica	Caribbean	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Puerto Rico	Caribbean	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Saint Kitts and Nevis	Caribbean	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Saint Lucia	Caribbean	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	Caribbean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Trinidad and Tobago	Caribbean	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
US Virgin Islands	Caribbean	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Belize	Central America	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Costa Rica	Central America	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
El Salvador	Central America	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Guatemala	Central America	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Honduras	Central America	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mexico	Central America	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Nicaragua	Central America	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Panama	Central America	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Burundi	East Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Comoros	East Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Djibouti	East Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Eritrea	East Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ethiopia	East Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Kenya	East Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Madagascar	East Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Malawi	East Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mauritius	East Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mozambique	East Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Rwanda	East Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Seychelles	East Africa	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
Somalia	East Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Sudan	East Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tanzania	East Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Uganda	East Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Zambia	East Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Zimbabwe	East Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Botswana	Southern Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Eswatini	Southern Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Lesotho	Southern Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Namibia	Southern Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
South Africa	Southern Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Appendix 5: Countries Where LGBT NGOs are Allowed to Register (2011-2020)

Country	Sub-Region	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Antigua and Barbuda	Caribbean	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bahamas, The	Caribbean	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Barbados	Caribbean	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Cuba	Caribbean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dominica	Caribbean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dominican Republic	Caribbean	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Haiti	Caribbean	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Jamaica	Caribbean	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Puerto Rico	Caribbean	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Saint Kitts and Nevis	Caribbean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Saint Lucia	Caribbean	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	Caribbean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trinidad and Tobago	Caribbean	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
US Virgin Islands	Caribbean	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Belize	Central America	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Costa Rica	Central America	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
El Salvador	Central America	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Guatemala	Central America	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Honduras	Central America	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mexico	Central America	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Nicaragua	Central America	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Panama	Central America	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Burundi	East Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Comoros	East Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Djibouti	East Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Eritrea	East Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ethiopia	East Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kenya	East Africa	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
Madagascar	East Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Malawi	East Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
Mauritius	East Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mozambique	East Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rwanda	East Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Seychelles	East Africa	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1

Country	Sub-Region	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Somalia	East Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Sudan	East Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tanzania	East Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Uganda	East Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Zambia	East Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
Zimbabwe	East Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Botswana	Southern Africa	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Eswatini	Southern Africa	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
Lesotho	Southern Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Namibia	Southern Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
South Africa	Southern Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Appendix 6: Regression Analysis

<i>Variables of Interest</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Significance (p-value)</i>	<i>[95% conf. interval]</i>	
5-point advocacy score	.1113822	3.81	0.000**	.053706	.1690584
State stability	-.0031944	-2.85	0.005**	-.0054043	-.0009845
Globalization	.0003279	0.27	0.790	-.0020996	.0027553
Societal acceptance	.0213791	3.11	0.002**	.0077916	.0349667
GDP per capita	-3.17e-07	-0.26	0.793	-2.69e-06	2.06e-06

* Significant at $p < .10$, ** significant at $p < 0.05$

Table 14: Time-series panel model with fixed effect and robust standard error (Level I protection global)

<i>Variables of Interest</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Significance (p-value)</i>	<i>[95% conf. interval]</i>	
5-point advocacy score	.0729772	2.89	0.004**	.0231351	.1228194
State stability	-.0057852	-4.47	0.000**	-.0083424	-.003228
Globalization	.0011802	0.92	0.359	-.0013513	.0037117
Societal acceptance	.0307752	2.82	0.005**	.0092294	.052321
GDP per capita	6.61e-07	0.62	0.535	-1.44e-06	2.76e-06

* Significant at $p < .10$, ** significant at $p < 0.05$

Table 15: Time-series panel model with fixed effect and robust standard error (Level I & II protection global).

<i>Variables of Interest</i>	Coefficient Level I	Coefficient Level I & II
5-point advocacy score	0.0041	0.0717
State stability	-0.0071	0.0041**
Globalization	0.0235*	-0.0025
Societal acceptance	0.0000	0.0283
GDP per capita	0.3675	0.0000
_constant	0.3675	0.0558

* Significant at $p < .10$, ** significant at $p < 0.05$
N = 56

Table 16: Time-series panel model with fixed effect and robust standard error for Southern Africa (Level I & II protection global)

<i>Variables of Interest</i>	Coefficient Level I	Coefficient Level I & II
5-point advocacy score	0.0562	0.0319
State stability	0.0079	0.0044
Globalization	0.0017	0.0010
Societal acceptance	-0.0159	-0.0089
GDP per capita	0.0000	0.0000
_constant	-0.4666	-0.2527

NB: All results insignificant

Table 17: Time-series panel model with fixed effect and robust standard error for East Africa (Level I & II protection global).

<i>Variables of Interest</i>	Coefficient Level I	Coefficient Level I & II
5-point advocacy score	0.2411*	0.1888**
State stability	0.0060	-0.0080
Globalization	0.0318*	0.0181
Societal acceptance	-0.2320	-0.1002
GDP per capita	0.0000	0.0000
_constant	-0.6510	0.2669

* Significant at $p < .10$, ** significant at $p < 0.05$

Table 18: Time-series panel model with fixed effect and robust standard error for Central America (Level I & II protection global).

<i>Variables of Interest</i>	Coefficient Level I	Coefficient Level I & II
5-point advocacy score	0.1070	0.0726
State stability	-0.0035	0.0036**
Globalization	-0.0060*	0.0034
Societal acceptance	-0.2093	0.0646
GDP per capita	0.0000	0.0000*
_constant	2.0026	0.2695

* Significant at $p < .10$, ** significant at $p < 0.05$

Table 19: Time-series panel model with fixed effect and robust standard error for the Caribbean (Level I & II protection global).

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