

LGBTIQ ALLIANCE OUTCOME REPORT



Picture caption: Members of the LGBTIQ Alliance in Kenya

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1. THE CONTEXT AND THE LGBTIQ ALLIANCE

Same sex relations are illegal in Kenya under a colonial law and carry a penalty of 14 to 21 years in prison. Social norms in Kenya are hostile towards LGBTIQ persons as the vast majority find such identities immoral, unafican, unkenyan, and against their religion. LGBTIQ persons experience discrimination and violence at work, schools, hospitals, by the police, neighbours and families alike. They are constitutionally allowed to organise, however such work is very dangerous, as they are vulnerable to attacks by the public,

and the police which often arrest them in order to blackmail and extort them for money. In 2018 the Kenyan High Court started deliberating on the case to repeal the anti-homosexual law, however it dismissed it on grounds of insufficient evidence of discrimination. The Appeals court is expected to schedule a hearing in 2020.

ActionAid Denmark started working on LGBTIQ rights in 2017 by partnering with All Out, an international LGBTIQ-mobilising organisation, with the financial support of the Obelske family fund, Denmark. The project aimed to create a network of LGBTIQ activists in Kenya, Uganda, and Nigeria by capacity building them in campaigning, online organising, fundraising and digital security. After 12 months, the external funding stopped, and the LGBTIQ project was then funded by AADK in 2018 and 2019 and the project focuses on Kenya, which is why most project outcomes relate to Kenya. The analysis during the 2017 project showed that religious leaders and their institutions were one of the most influential pillars of power that actively denied the rights of LGBTIQ persons. This started an Alliance between LGBTIQ activists and allied religious leaders of different denominations who started advocating for LGBTIQ rights, holding workshops, sensitising their congregation, mediating between parents and children, creating safe spaces at their churches and mosques, and testifying in court to repeal the law. Sensitising religious leaders on LGBTIQ identities and rights is not a new area of work, however what is new about this Alliance is that religious leaders are not passive recipients of trainings, but proactive partners who equally contribute to advocacy of LGBTIQ rights. AADK and AAIK GP have supported the Alliance with capacity building trainings, providing space for meetings, financially supporting their events and campaigns, and advising/coaching the Alliance leaders on how to make the Alliance sustainable, democratic, and effective. The aim of the project is to expand the Alliance to other stakeholders such as police, politicians, businessmen, and the media, as well as to other sub-Saharan countries, especially in East Africa.

2. METHODOLOGY

In order to document and analyze the results of AADK support to the LGBTIQ Alliance, AADK has used Outcome Harvesting as a flexible and participatory evaluation method, which measures progress not against predetermined outcomes and objectives, but by collecting evidence of achievements and working backward to determine whether and how the evaluated project or intervention contributed to the change. This approach is especially useful to evaluate activities undertaken in complex settings, like most settings where movements operate. Outcome Harvesting defines outcome as a change in the behaviour — actions, activities, relationships, policies or practices — of one or more societal actors. (More information can be found at: <http://outcomeharvesting.net/>).

Outcomes were harvested in a two-day outcome harvest workshop held in Nairobi, Kenya, in December 2019, with 20 members of the Kenyan LGBTIQ Alliance, an individual interview with Collins Odhiambo, the former GP deputy, and data gathered by Olivera Catic as the project coordinator from the beginning of 2017. The outcome harvesting focused on the time period of 2019. The outcomes have been quality assured and triangulated with information from project activities and reports. The evaluation questions for the outcome harvesting were:

- What changes did our support activities contributed to?
- Which social actors was influenced?
- At what level? (local, national, international)
- How significant were the changes?

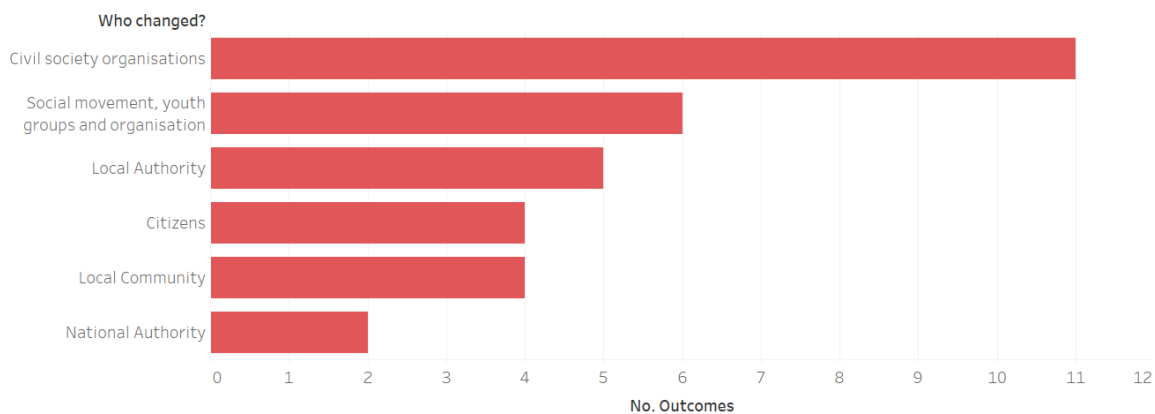
- What kind of intervention contributed the most?

Most of the analytical categories for the outcomes have been drawn from other AADK programmes (who changed, significance, contribution and level). For the category “who changed?”, we used “Civil society organisations” to categorize churches and mosques as they are faith-based organisations, and priests and imams have also been categorised as civil society organisations as they represent their respective faith-based organisations. The categories for the types of intervention used to support movements were inspired by the short paper “How we (also) support and work with social movements” which presents examples of ways in which we support social movements, namely: (1) Tool for campaign strategizing, (2) Flexible resources and organizational infrastructure (3) Safety, digital security and fast response, (4) Convening movement leaders, (5) Coaching, (6) Acts of solidarity. Those categories were used to analyze the types of contribution. The analysis was done by categorizing each outcome and the by extracting insights from narrative data.

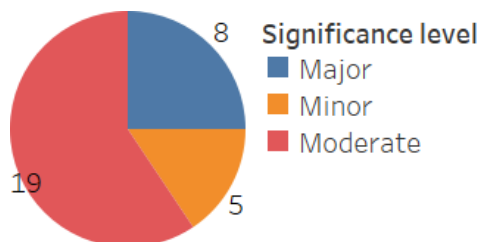
3. RESULTS

A total of 32 outcomes were harvested, 1 from Nigeria, 2 from Uganda, and the remaining 29 from Kenya. The following is an analysis according to the social actors who changed, significance level and the level of the contribution to the change.

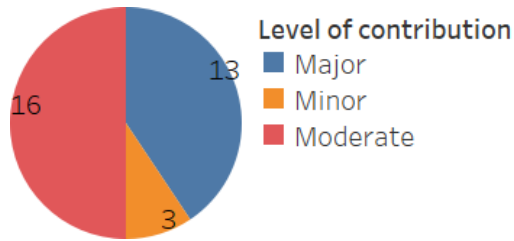
Who changed? The social actors that changed as a result of actions of the LGBTIQ Alliance were primarily civil society organisation, which included church/Mosque and priests/imams as faith-based CSO (11) - and NGO CSOs (3), followed by social movement, youth groups and organisations (6), Local authorities, including police, school principal, and university (5), Citizens (4), local community (5), and National authorities (2).



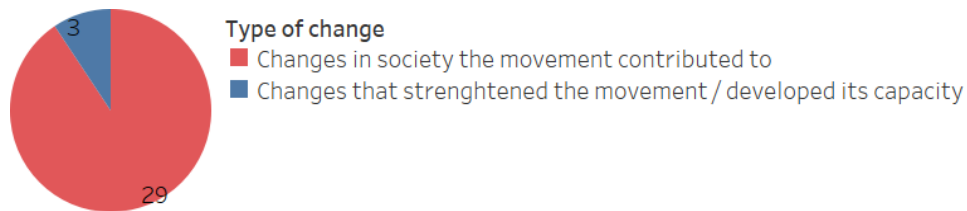
Significance: The outcomes mostly of moderate significance (19 outcomes), followed by outcomes of major significance (8) and minor (5)



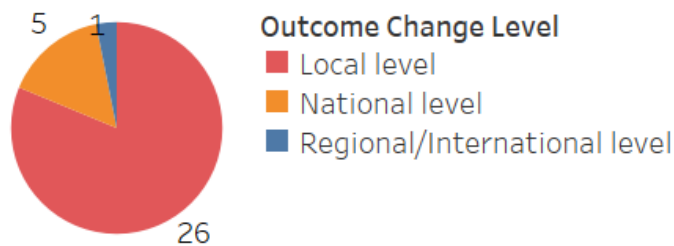
Contribution: The AADK contribution to the outcomes was rated as mostly of moderate significance (16 outcomes), followed by of major contribution (13) and minor (3)



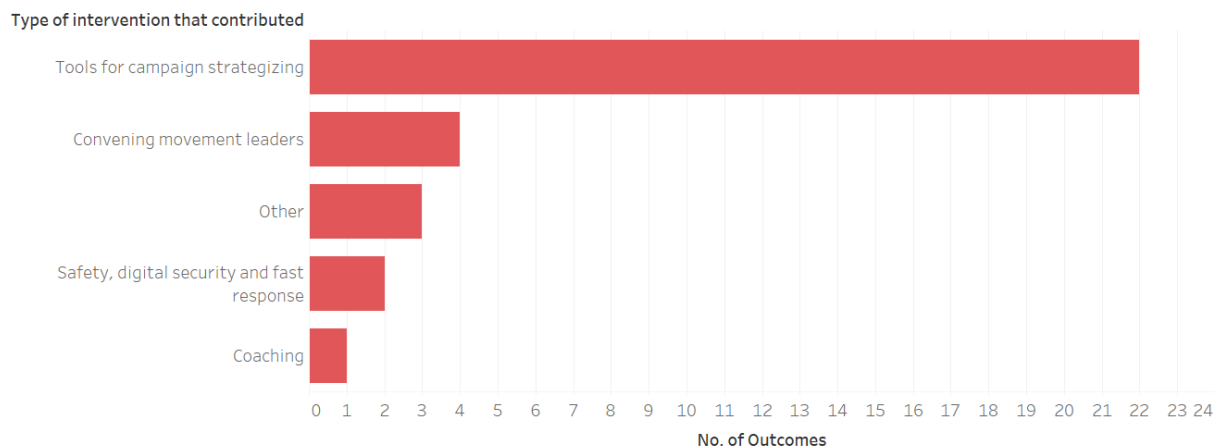
Types of changes: The outcomes referred mostly to changes in society that the LGBTIQ alliance contributed to (29 outcomes) and in a few cases to changes that strengthened the movement (3).



Level: The outcomes referred mostly to changes at the local level (26 outcomes), in some cases it referred to changes at the national level (5) and only in one case at the international level.



Types of interventions that contributed: The AADK interventions that contributed the most were “tools for campaign strategizing” (21), in some cases it was “convenings of movement leaders” (4) and only in one case it was “Flexible resources and organizational infrastructure” (1) or Safety, digital security and fast response (1).



4. HOW LGBTIQ ALLIANCE CONTRIBUTED TO CHANGES IN SOCIETY: CASES



Picture caption: Marylize Biubwa, LGBTIQ activist and Pastor Kambo, LGBTIQ Alliance member

From the 32 outcomes, some of the most significant areas of change were selected to be described as cases with clusters of outcomes. While these cases are not exhaustive, they provide insights in the types of changes the LGBTIQ Alliance contributed to.

Changes in social norms and practices in faith-based organisations and religious leaders

In Kenya, as in many other Africa countries religion plays a major role. Faith based organisations and their representatives are one of the major forces behind anti-LGBTIQ sentiment in Kenya, but also have a direct influence on laws, since the anti-homosexual law from the colonial times is based on old religious, strictly heterosexual, morals. Religious leaders are also the loudest opposers to equality and acceptance of LGBTIQ persons, claiming it is a Western corruption, unkenyan and unafican. Representatives of communities such as religious leaders have great influence on the public and have the power to change institutional policies and social norms.

This made it clear that an alliance is needed with progressive thinkers among religious leaders who would send out a different message to the public from their positions of influence and greater safety. The Kenya LGBTIQ Alliance is between LGBTIQ activists and religious leaders from various Christian churches and Muslim mosques. The religious leaders themselves have joined the Alliance as initial allies but they have also exhibited a significant change – after learning more about LGBTIQ identities and issues, what human rights are and how to claim them - they started preaching acceptance to their own congregations, convening meetings with other religious leaders to spread the message of acceptance, coming out as gay or lesbian themselves, sheltering LGBTIQ youth turned away from homes, mediating their return with parents, talking to school principals and the police to reduce discrimination, expulsions and arrests, making radio appearances and appearing in court to support the Repeal case. YMCA, as an incredibly influential Christian network inviting LGBTIQ persons to hold a workshop on LGBTIQ rights and issues is

also a significant change whose influence spread to all the people who attended the conference and their organisations/communities. Here are some example of outcomes in this area:

- In February 2019 a bishop conducted a meeting on inclusion of lgbtiq people at Hope centre Amboseli in Lavington, a suburb of Nairobi with 30 religious leaders of different denominations.
- In March 2019 a pastor organized a sensitisation workshop on LGBTQ in Mombasa attended by 11 religious leaders and 10 LGBTQ activists to discuss religious and LGBTQ identity and discrimination issues.
- In April 2019 in Nairobi Kenya a group of 10 religious leaders and 15 lgbtq activists from the Alliance created a safe space kit for use by religious leaders for reference and as a resource when conducting their own trainings on lgbtq inclusion.
- In April 2019 a church in Nairobi facilitated a 2 day meeting on LGBTIQ rights and contextual Bible study/liberal theology with 25 church leaders.
- In July 2019 two pastors from Changamwe Mombasa formed a social group that meets monthly to discuss the rights, acceptance, issues and identities of sexual minorities in their churches.
- In September 2019 an apostle of New Life Pentecostal church advocated for LGBTIQ acceptance in churches in a radio talk show and indicated his church as queer friendly church in Nairobi, Kenya.
- Since August 2019 an Imam who is part of the LGBTQ Alliance now preaches LGBTQ inclusion in his mosque Kongo, in Diani Kwale in Kenya.
- In November 2019 the Young Christian Association (YWCA) invited the LGBTQ Alliance members to facilitate a session on faith and LGBTQ at their 29th World Council in Johannesburg, South Africa with over 60 of their members.

These outcomes are significant because they show that working with religious leaders, despite being a non-traditional strategy when it comes to finding allies by choosing allies amidst the opposition. This new approach has proven successful and might inspire other movements if the Alliance is given the opportunity to share its experience and grow its network. Recommendation: Activist exchanges with regional countries with experience and success in LGBTIQ advocacy such as South Africa.

Recommendation: increasing outreach to other East African countries to expand network and share experience, and to other movements within Kenya to expand ally base (ie environmental, feminist, unions).

Development of a Safe Space kit

The development of a “Safe space kit” is an example of a major contribution by the AAIK GP but also an outcome of major significance. A “Safe space kit” is a guide to creating safe religious spaces, and it invites religious leaders to mindfully ally themselves with LGBTIQ persons, understand their identities and issues, and fight for their rights. Its creation was entirely conducted at the GP, supported by a GP facilitator, while made entirely by the Alliance members. This kit is a tangible document which can be used as a reference

for all future workshops between LGBTIQ activists and religious leaders to help make an effective and healthy allyship.

Changes in practices local authorities and communities

The Kenya LGBTIQ Alliance reached out to representatives of local authorities and influenced their behaviour largely in reducing instances of discrimination: Police officers in a Soweto slum reduced arrests based on sexuality/gender after a training, a principle of a school invited a pastor to discuss issues of sexuality and gender identity with their students, a nurse in a hospital stopped discriminating against LGBTIQ patients after an intervention, while an African university student network opened up for the first time to discuss LGBTIQ topics. Encouraged by the Alliance actions, local community and individual citizens are changing their behaviour – parents accepting LGBTIQ children back into their home, LGBTIQ youth feeling safe to come out to their community leaders and raise funds in church, and queer women meeting with non-queer women to discuss femicide – particularly high among LBQ women. These are all local events; however, such actions are either very rare or represent a first of its kind in a deeply conservative and anti-LGBTIQ context, and are as such, very significant. Here are some examples of outcomes in this area:

- In March 2019 three police officers mediated a reconciliation between homophobic parents and a queer child after a ‘gate keeper’ training at CCI Utawala church Nairobi, Kenya.
- In April 2019, the police in Soweto slums Nairobi reduces arrests based on lgbtiq identity after a training of 10 police officers on the rights of lgbtiq persons.
- In July 2019 the principal of Meruriri boys highschool in Meru county invited a pastor to talk to the students about LGBTQ identities and issues.
- In November 2019, a nurse stopped discriminating against LGBTIQ persons at Embakasi health centre in Nairobi after an LGBTIQ Alliance member talked to her on handling queer communities.
- In November 2019 the Catholic University of Eastern Africa invited the LGBTQ Alliance to speak as panelists about the work on faith and religious rights at the East African Students for Liberty Conference in Nairobi, Kenya.

Changes in policies and practices of national authorities

Kenyan national authorities showed some changes in practices and in the agenda based on the LGBTIQ issue becoming a hot topic in public debates. For example in May 2019 the Kenya High Court heard the Petitioner’s case and considered repealing the colonial anti-homosexuality law, *162 case*, which penalises same sex relations with 14-21 years of prison. This sets a precedent in sub-Saharan Africa. The case was denied in May 2019 on the grounds of insufficient evidence of discrimination against LGBTIQ persons, but the petitioners are appealing, and the Appeals Court is expected to set the date in 2020. However, this outcome is significant because it is the first time that the Milimani High Court of Kenya had on the agenda the discussion on the repeal of the decriminalization of same sex relations, which is an ongoing struggle for equality for LGBTIQ rights.

In August 2019 the Kenyan national census officially recognising intersex people from 2019 when the National Bureau of Statistics accepted the category. The Kenya LGBTIQ Alliance members participated in the advocating process together with other national LGBTIQ organisations.

Changes in policies and practices of ActionAid

The LGBTIQ project is not part of standard work of either ActionAid Denmark or Kenya, which is why it also changed both organisations – it encouraged AADK to make a Diversity and Equal Opportunity policy, which is now a part of the employee contracts and adds for new positions. Despite initial hesitation towards working on such a controversial issue, after two years of Global Platform Kenya working with the LGBTIQ activists, AAIK started to draft a position paper on working on LGBTIQ rights in Kenya.

HOW AADK SUPPORTED LGBTIQ ALLIANCE

The AADK interventions that contributed the most were “tools for campaign strategising” (21) , in some cases it was “convenings of movement leaders” (4) and only in one case it was “Flexible resources and organisational infrastructure” (1) or Safety, digital security and fast response (1).

- **Tools for campaign strategizing:** Most outcomes came as a direct result of the training the LGBTIQ activists received on strategic planning, campaigning, organising, movement building, security, fundraising, alliance building, and mobilising. While campaigns tools proved to be instrumental in outcomes that strengthened the movement and enabled it to bring changes in society, the [simulation workshop](#), self-defence workshop and a mental health workshop done with the LGBTIQ activists also showed the need for a more holistic approach to supporting a movement which goes beyond providing them with campaign tools, especially when it comes to a sensitive and dangerous struggle such as the LGBTIQ rights in Kenya.
- **Flexible resources and organisational infrastructure:** This type of intervention referred to mini grants for events / Safe space kit - Flexibility around funding has made it possible for the Alliance to create their own workshops and meetings and extend their reach. The Alliance itself is still largely supported financially by the LGBTIQ project, and by the AAIK GP through facilitation of trainings, meetings, through coaching and providing a safe space. This made the Alliance capable of conducting their own workshops and meetings, and gave them skills and encouragement to make public appearances, to join forces with other organisations, and reach out to important local authority figures whose behaviour have a direct influence on LGBTIQ people’s lives. The Safe space kit is a result of a workshop funded by a mini grant for events. The Alliance horizontal leadership structure of family groups was inspired by AA’s work with movements such as the BDS in Palestine, and its values rest on the feminist leadership and learning principles of the GP. The project’s effort in 2019 was to make the movement as independent and sustainable as possible by the end of 2020.
- **Safety, digital security and fast response:** A Nigerian LGBTIQ activist from the 2017 activist network had his life threatened by a so-called anti-gay death squad, and he reached out to the project team which after more than a year of support managed to procure a grant from PDEU on his behalf and together with ActionAid South Africa succeeded to get him a temporary visa to South Africa. In the meantime, he got temporary financial support for his rent and bills, as well as a three-week safe harbour at the GP in Kenya. Safe harbour was also provided to several Tanzanian LGBTIQ activists during the 2019 persecution of LGBTIQ people by the Tanzanian government. The team developed a thorough [risk analysis and travel/communication guidelines](#) as a result of the experience. This was all made possible by the flexible funding for emergency situations, and the team’s experience with digital security.
- **Convening movement leaders:** The Global Platform was not only a training hub but primarily a safe space for the LGBTIQ activists to be themselves and organise for advocacy. The involvement

of religious allies in the Court proceedings, the creation of the Safe Space Kit, and other collaborations with social movements were made possible because of the safe space created at the GP. The Alliance activists significantly contributed to the case, and the GP directly organised and supported the meetings, facilitated some, helped prepare presence in court, devise security plans for dispersal, and regrouped with activists after the repeal was rejected.



Picture caption: Pastor Grace, LGBTIQ Alliance member

4. LESSONS LEARNED, CHALLENGES, OPPORTUNITIES, RECCOMANDATIONS

From an analysis of the outcomes and selected cases it can be concluded that the Alliance between the LGBTIQ activists and religious leaders has started and is developing under the support of the project – being divided into family groups to better self-organise, building leadership skills, initiating their own events, and making decisions democratically under horizontal leadership. From this project we can draw the following lessons, challenges, and opportunities on how AA can support growing LGBTIQ movements.

What worked in supporting an LGBTIQ movement there was **building alliances with religions leaders is an innovative and winning strategy**: In Kenya, as in many other Africa countries religion plays a major role. Faith based organisations and their representatives are one of the major forces behind anti-LGBTIQ sentiment in Kenya, but also have a direct influence on laws, since the anti-homosexual law from the colonial times is based on old religious, strictly heterosexual, morals. The strategy to build alliances with religions leaders and faith-based organisations have proven to be successful and resulted in significant outcomes. This may inspire other movements if the Alliance is given the opportunity to share its experience and grow its network.

Among the lessons learned of supporting an LGBTIQ movement there were the following:

- **LGBTIQ rights are human rights:** As a human rights organisation, AA experiences on advocacy, campaigning, and now organising, have merit when it comes to LGBTIQ rights and target group.
- **Campaign tools are not enough for LGBTIQ work:** In order to strategically plan campaigns, the LGBTIQ Alliance also needs physical and mental preparation for the reality of conflict and aggressive opposition.
- **Flexibility:** Funding movements requires a lot of flexibility as movements are not legal entities that can easily receive money for their activities.

Among the challenges of supporting an LGBTIQ movement there were:

- **Movement building:** Challenges in growing the movement without a broader long-term vision for the future of such work at ActionAid
- **NGOisation:** The risk of delegitimising a movement by turning it into another NGO or forcing a structure that would fit AA rather than the movement (e.g. for easier micro-funding)
- **Bureaucracy:** NGO bureaucracy around funding makes it challenging to be agile and responsive to movement needs.
- **Fundraising:** Due to required safety and anonymity of this kind of work, much of the activities around this project were uncredited and invisible to the public, which makes it difficult to seek external funding. Since LGBTIQ support is not one of the main themes of AA work, it has been challenging to acquire internal funding as well.

The support to the LGBTIQ Alliance also opened a number of opportunities:

- **Changes in national discourses and policies:** The repeal petition was rejected in high court, but it was still a positive outcome as the case being heard in front of a national court is unprecedented in the region. It provided the movement with a lot of media coverage and international attention. The case is moving to the court of appeals and another hearing is expected in 2020. The activists from the movement are preparing for it with the support of the LGBTIQ project team and the GP Kenya.
- **Changes in AA policies and practices:** The LGBTIQ project opened opportunities within AADK and AAIK to advance organisational security plan, brought in new allies, inspired new policies, and brought new lessons when it comes to working with organizing and social movements.

Based on this analysis the following recommendations could be suggested:

- **Share strategies that worked:** Share the strategy of building alliances with religious leaders and faith-based organisations with other movements and programmes promoting LGBTIQ rights, particularly in contexts where religion plays a major role like in Africa. (e.g. organize activist exchanges with regional countries with experience and success in LGBTIQ advocacy such as South Africa)
- **Offer specific tools to LGBTIQ movements:** Develop tools that specifically support LGBTIQ activism such as simulation training for key campaign activities, self-defence training for everyday survival, mental health workshops for resilience and sustainability of an Alliance between unusual partners, and specific media/messaging training for keeping a sharp focus.

- **Support with research and court appearances:** Support LGBTIQ activists with prepping for court cases such as documenting evidence of discrimination with Alliance activists and coaching Alliance religious leaders for testifying in court and media interviews.
- **Improve security:** Improving NGO communication plan to keep activists safe when communicating sensitive information and minimize leaks in case of arrests.
- **Improve financial support:** Develop a clear, long term vision of LGBTIQ work within ActionAid, placing more effort and funding into growing movements: making financial support more easily obtained, making non-formal sub-granting easier. Develop a way to make it feasible and easy for AA offices to support movements with small funds that is responsive to movements needs.

APPENDIX: Outcomes of AADK LGBTIQ project

1. LGBTIQ Alliance organises forum between LGBTIQ activists and religious leaders - [LINK](#)
2. Pastor organises LGBTIQQ sensitisation workshop in Kenya - [LINK](#)
3. Pastors organise group to discuss rights of sexual minorities in their churches - [LINK](#)
4. LGBTIQ persons meet pastor for conselling in Kenya - [LINK](#)
5. Catholic University of Eastern Africa invited LGBTIQQ alliance members as conference panellists - [LINK](#)
6. Young Christian Association (YWCA) invites LGBTIQQ alliance to facilitate a session at world council - [LINK](#)
7. Religious leaders and LGBTIQQ activists co-create training resource on LGBTIQQ inclusion - [LINK](#)
8. Imam preeches LGBTIQQ inclusion in Kenya - [LINK](#)
9. Family of LGBTIQ person welcomes him back home - [LINK](#)
10. Muslim community accepts their LGBTIQ children back home in Kwale, Kenya - [LINK](#)
11. Community members meet youth and children in church to discuss queer issues - [LINK](#)
12. Church facilitate meeting on LGBTIQQ rights in Kenya - [LINK](#)
13. Kenya National Bureau of Statistics counts intersex people in 2019 census - [LINK](#)
14. LGBTIQ+ women meet to discuss femicide in Kisumu, Kenya - [LINK](#)
15. Bishop conducts a meeting on inclusion of LGBTIQ people at christian centre in Nairobi - [LINK](#)
16. Kenya high court discusses the decriminalisation of same sex relations - [LINK](#)
17. School principal invites pastor to talk about LGBTIQ identities in school - [LINK](#)
18. LGBTIQ group organises fundraising event at church in Nairobi - [LINK](#)
19. LGBTIQQ Alliance members collaborate with members of environmental group in Kibera, Kenya - [LINK](#)
20. Community members come out to their pastor in Nairobi - [LINK](#)
21. Religious leader advocates for LGBTIQ acceptance in churches in a radio show in Kenya - [LINK](#)
22. Kenian police officers mediate reconciliation between a queer child and homophobic parents - [LINK](#)
23. Religious leader "comes out" during a training in Nairobi - [LINK](#)
24. Nurse stops discriminating LGBTIQ persons at her health centre in Kenya - [LINK](#)
25. ActionAid Kenya starts collecting information on "other" gender participants in their activities - [LINK](#)
26. AADK develops Diversity and Equal opportunity Policy - [LINK](#)
27. ActionAid Kenya develops position paper on LGBTIQ rights - [LINK](#)
28. Nigerian LGBTIQ activist relocated to South Africa for safety - [LINK](#)
29. Religious leader publicly comes out as lesbian in Kenya - [LINK](#)
30. Police reduces arrests based on sexuality in Soweto slum of Nairobi - [LINK](#)
31. LGBTIQ activists organize Uganda Pride - [LINK](#)
32. Ugandan HIV support organisation campaigns for LGBTIQ rights and ending intimate partner violence - [LINK](#)

