

Kenyans Attitude towards Formation of LGBTQ Association

Joyzy Pius Egunjobi, Susan Asava Ayuma, Elijah Mburu Njuguna, and Consolata Wahanga Maina

Department of Counseling Psychology, Catholic University of Eastern Africa, Kenya

DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.47772/IJRISS.2023.71048>

Received: 02 September 2023; Revised: 17 September 2023; Accepted: 21 September 2023;

Published: 20 October 2023

ABSTRACT

The LGBTQ community had a victory as the Kenyan Supreme Court ruled in their favor for the right to form association. This study sought to investigate the attitudes of Kenyan towards formation of LGBTQ association and the possible sociocultural effects. A convergent parallel design was adopted in this study. One hundred and sixty-eight Kenyans participated in the quantitative strand of the study through voluntary sampling while six other Kenyans participated in the face-to-face interview through purposive sampling. Quantitative data was analyzed descriptively while the qualitative data was analyzed through narrative and thematic analysis. The findings revealed that although, Kenyans have varied views on the prevalence of LGBTQ in Kenya, the demographic information showed that 1 in 10 Kenyans in the study identified having a same-sex attraction. Kenyans showed both positive and negative attitudes towards the formation of LGBTQ association with majority showing negative attitude. It was also revealed that Kenyans think formation of LGBTQ will have negative effects of the Kenyans sociocultural-religious environment.

Keywords: LGBTQ, Gay, Lesbian, Non-binary, Culture, LGBTQ Legalization, LGBTQ Association

BACKGROUND

The term LGBTQ on a face level could be understood as homosexuality, a phenomenon which is as old as human existence. What is new is the many versions or branches of homosexuality and is unending. Now, under homosexuality are lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transexual, pansexual, asexual, ally, queer, questioning, intersex, non-binary, etc. usually refer to as LGBTQ as an abbreviation of complex sexual or gender identities. Homosexuality, according to Brooke (1993) has been judged as a form of mental illness, morally wrong and socially deviant.

The first recorded of likely homosexual couple was in Africa, in the ancient Egypt. This was known as *Khnumhotep* and *Niankhkhnum*, an ancient Egyptian male couple, who existed around 2400 BCE (Munthali, 2023). This male couple is presented in a nose-kissing position which at that time was the most intimate pose in Egyptian art Munthali added. Also, the Ancient Greeks regarded homosexuality as normal within certain parameters (Zive, n. d.) that the Greek philosopher, Plato as quoted by Boswell (1979), wrote, "Homosexuality is regarded as shameful by barbarians and by those who live under despotic governments just as philosophy is regarded as shameful by them, because it is apparently not in the interest of such rulers to have great ideas engendered in their subjects, or powerful friendships or passionate love-all of which homosexuality is particularly apt to produce". For the Romans, it was somewhat permissible as it was among the Greeks until Christianity was introduced to Rome. By AD 533, homosexuality became entirely illegal punishable by castration as ordered by Emperor Justinian (Bullough, 1979).

Different religions and religious practitioners have varied views about homosexuality. For the Jews and Christians, it is from the Bible that the term sodomy was coined following the story of Sodom and Gomorrah in Genesis 19:5 relating to homosexuality. Leviticus 18:22 categorically called homosexuality an abomination and chapter 20:13 stated that people who engage in such shall be put to death. The New Testament of the Bible also contain many passages which relate to unacceptability of homosexuality (cf. Rom 1:26-28; Jude 1:7; 1 Cor 6:9; 1 Tim. 1:10). The Great Church fathers like Thomas Aquinas see homosexuality as the worst of sexual sins among the species of lust simply because it is contrary to the

natural order of things as ordained by God. In recent time however, Christians have a wide variety of views on homosexuality and sexual orientation. Some scholars are beginning to contest the notion that scripture speaks explicitly of homosexuality as a sin against God (Koenig & Dykman, 2012).

Like the Genesis 19's story, the Quran also talks about the story of the "people of Lot" who were destroyed by the wrath of God because their practice of homosexuality (Rowson, 2006). Among the people of Hindu religion, there seem to be no central Hindu authority, which give rise to varied opinions on LGBTQ. According to Pew Research (n. d.), 71% of Hindus say that homosexuality should be accepted.

Kenya is reported to have Christian population of 85.5% followed by 10.9% Muslims, 1.8% Hindi, Buddhists, and Baha'i Faith, according to Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2019). The population by religion could have contributed to the view of Kenyans about LGBTQ. The members of LGBTQ community had faced many challenges amidst the rise of homophobic rhetoric in Kenya. Members of the LGBTQ community have suffered harassment from the members of the police force, by being subjected to body examinations to "prove" gay sex. They have been openly insulted on social media and in public spaces, and some claimed that they have been denied access to healthcare (Lewis, et al., 2023). In responses to age long persecution of homosexuals by Church, State, and medical authorities, there developed social movements which began to organize around the acceptance and rights of persons who identify as LGBT or queer (Morris, 2023).

On February 24, 2023, the Kenyan Supreme Court ruled that the National Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission (NGLHRC) is to be allowed to officially register as a non-governmental organization (NGO) as this was considered constitutional (Human Dignity Trust, 2023). This judgement ends a 10-year legal battle which started in 2013 (Omondi, 2023). This was regarded as a grand victory for the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer (LGBTQ) community in Kenya.

The Western world had criminalized any form of sexual activities which were considered anti-nature. These include homosexuality and lesbianism which were considered carnal knowledge against the order of nature. In the Sections 162(a) and (c), 163 and 165 of the Kenyan Penal Code, introduced by British colonizers over 100 years ago, in the Kenyan law, this was punishable by up to 14 years in prison (Human Dignity Trust, 2023).

However, in 2014, the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights passed Resolution 275 urging all African Union member states to make working with LGBT issues, such as NGLHRC in Kenya more favorable. This was in the attempt to prevent the high levels of violence and discrimination against members of the LGBTQ (Human Dignity Trust, 2023).

According to Kenyan Constitution Section 36 (1), "Every person has the right to freedom of association, which includes the right to form, join or participate in the activities of an association of any kind. (2) A person shall not be compelled to join an association of any kind. (3) Any legislation that requires registration of an association of any kind shall provide that: (a) registration may not be withheld or withdrawn unreasonably, (b) there shall be a right to have a fair hearing before a registration is cancelled.

Equaldex (n.d.) mentioned three existing LGBTQ organizations in Kenya. (1) Gay and Lesbian Coalition of Kenya (GALCK) which focuses on promoting recognition, acceptance and defend the interests and rights of LGBTI organizations and their members, (2) Ishtar Men who have Sex with Men (MSM) which is a Community Based Organization aimed at attaining full sexual health rights and social wellbeing (MSM) in Kenya, and (3) Transgender Education & Advocacy (TEA) which focuses on promoting awareness and creating an appropriate environment for the well-being of all transgender and intersex individuals in Kenya.

Despite what seems to be a victory for the LGBTQ right to form association, not many Kenyans including top officials and religious leaders were in support of the rulings. According to Al Jazeera News of 23

March 2023, even the Kenyan President William Ruto together with hosts of religious leaders and political pundits condemned the court's rulings. President Ruto was quoted as saying, "I am a God-fearing man and whatever happened at the court, even if we respect the court, our culture, values, Christianity and Islam cannot allow women to marry each other, or men to marry fellow men".

Although most Western world are more and more becoming open to same-sex relationship or what is called sodomy, there are still about 67 countries that still uphold anti-LGBT laws. According to Erasing 76 Crimes (2023), about 52% are Muslim countries while about 42% are Christian dominated countries. These countries include more than 30 African countries. In Uganda for example, it becomes criminal to simply identify as LGBTQ (Al Jazeera, 2023).

What is the attitude of an average Kenyan concerning giving right of association to LGBTQ communities? This is what this study sought to investigate.

Objectives

1. To assess Kenya's view about the Prevalence of LGBTQ in Kenya
2. To determine the level of agreement concerning formation of LGBTQ Association in Kenya
3. To determine the sociocultural effect of LGBTQ in Kenya

METHODOLOGY

The study adopted a convergence parallel research design. Kenyans were the target population. One hundred and sixty-eight (168) respondents participated in the quantitative strand of the study through voluntary sampling, while six Kenyans participated in the qualitative strand. Quantitative data were collected through a simple questionnaire adapted and administered via Google Forms while the qualitative data was collected via face-to-face interviews. The quantitative data were analyzed using descriptive statistics and were presented in percentages, tables, and figures. The qualitative data was analyzed using narrative and thematic analysis. No funding for this study.

FINDINGS

Demographic Information

Almost all the respondents (97.5%) were Kenyans and almost all (96.9%) were resident in Kenya as at the time of this study.

Table 1 Age and Gender

Age		
	15 – 24	39.5%
	25 – 34	29.0%
	35 – 64	29.6%
	65 and above	1.9%
		100%
Gender		
	Male	45.1%
	Female	54.3%
	Other	0.6%
		100%

From Table 1, it is clear that most of the respondents (60%) were at least 25 years of age or older. This qualifies for understanding of the items of the research instruments. It also revealed that about 0.6% who preferred not to identify as male or female could be members of LGBTQ community.

Table 2 Religions and Educational Levels

Religion		
	Christianity	93.2%
	Islam	0.6%
	Hindu	1.2%
	Traditional Religion	1.2%
	Other	3.7%
		100%
Education		
	Certificate	13.0%
	Diploma	17.9%
	Bachelor	46.9%
	Master	18.5%
	Doctorate	1.2%
	Other	2.5%
		100%

Table 2 showed that almost all the respondents (93.2%) were Christians with good numbers (66.6%) having a bachelor’s degree or higher.

Sexual Attraction

The respondents to the questionnaire were asked about their sexual attraction. Table 1 revealed that majority (93.8%) indicated having sexual attraction towards the opposite sex while Table 2 revealed that 10.2% indicated having sexual attraction to same sex. It can be said that at least 1 in every 10 Kenyans have same sex attraction.

Figure 1 Sexual Attraction towards the Opposite Sex

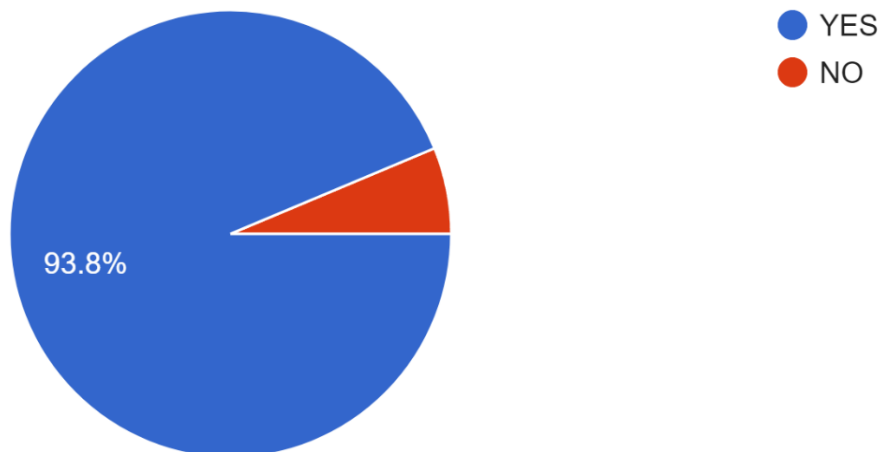
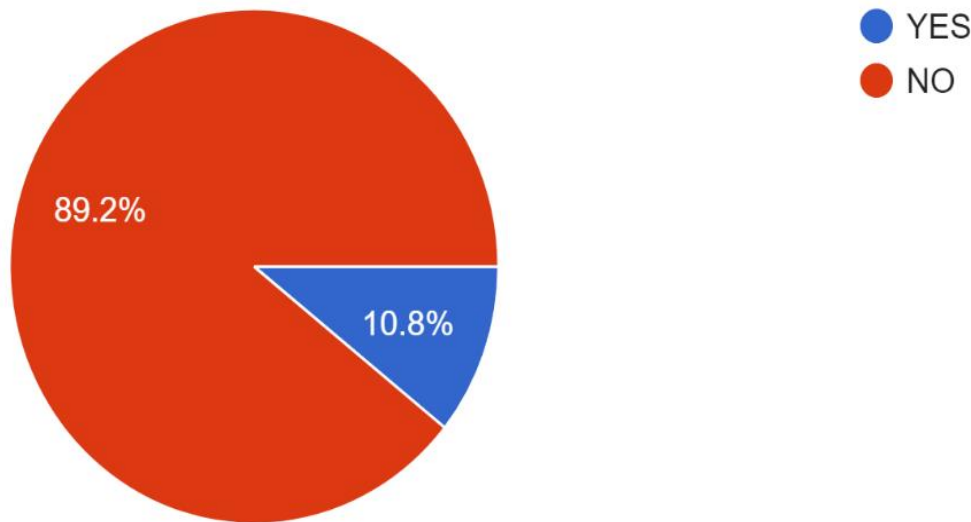


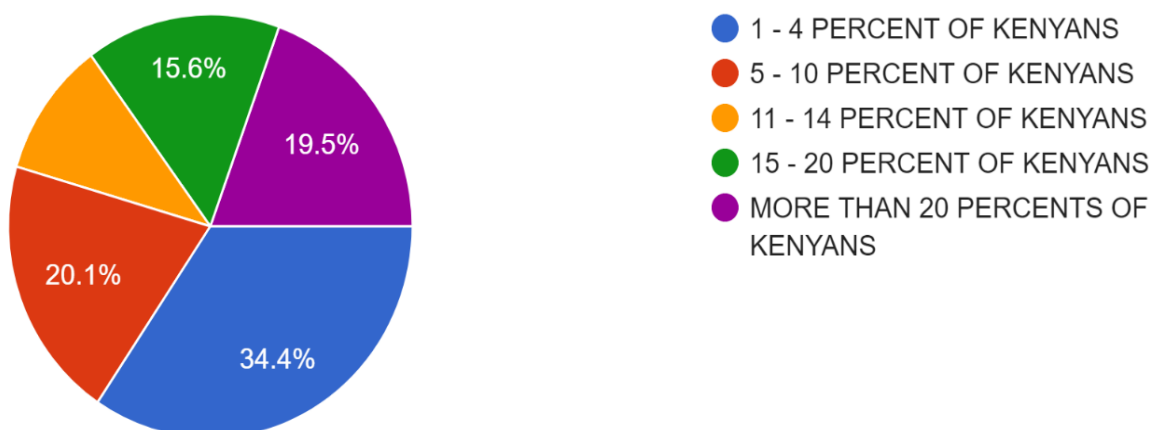
Figure 2 Sexual Attraction towards the Same Sex



Kenyan’s view about the Prevalence of LGBTQ in Kenya

This study sought the prevalence of LGBTQ individuals in Kenya. With 6.2% indicating not having sexual attraction towards opposite sex (See Figure 1) and 10.8% indicating having sexual attraction to same sex (See Figure 2), it is difficult to state how many Kenyans can be classified as LGBTQ. When the public opinion was sought through this study about the prevalence of LGBTQ, the responses also indicated varied opinions as shown in Figure 3. The interviewees also varied in their views of the prevalence. While some see the prevalence to be around five percent, others have higher prevalence of twenty-five percent, forty percent, and fifty percent.

Figure 3 Views about the Prevalence of LGBTQ in Kenya



According to the interviewees who allotted higher prevalence of more than twenty-five percent to LGBTQ, the following were responsible for the higher percentages:

1. What is seen on the social media
2. Friends who transitioned to LGBTQ community

One participant however stated that there should be about three hundred thousand LGBTQ in Kenya which according to this participant should be around one percent of Kenyan’s population. This participant said,

I have come to that figure cause historically, our community has always been against it, and it has been recent that the Western community has been trying to push it to us and the numbers are quite..., they are uprising but they are not yet there. There are those people who are trying to come out rightfully, there are those who haven’t figured out themselves, but it is still in our mindset or in our bones and blood that LGBTQ is not permitted in our tradition as Africans, as Kenyans, and in our different tribes.

Another participant stated that,

I think that many of these people are trying to copy what is happening, maybe, in the U.S, mmhh yeah in the abroad countries.....; And maybe they have unresolved trauma that they are not willing to solve so they are, they decide to....., and maybe someone was hurt by their father....

Kenyans’ Attitude towards LGBTQ in Kenya

The study reveals that not every Kenyan knows what LGBTQ stands for. Although, they may have heard about the term. Notwithstanding, many believe that it has to do with homosexuality. The study shows that there are both positive and negative attitudes towards LGBTQ in Kenya.

Positive Attitude

From Table 3, it is evident that 65.2% respondents agreed that LGBTQ individuals are normal human beings, 27.2% hold that LGBTQ is not against nature, 39.2% Kenyans have no problem with LGBTQ, 42.6% Kenyans have LGBTQ friends, and 34.4% of Kenyans agreed that LGBTQ individuals are happy people.

Table 3 Attitudes towards LGBTQ

s/n	Items	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	LGBTQ individuals are normal human beings	27.3	37.9	17.4	17.4
2	LGBTQ is anti-nature	45.6	27.2	15.8	11.4
3	I have no problem with LGBTQ	19.9	19.3	22.4	38.5
4	I have LGBTQ friends	11.3	31.3	23.8	33.8
5	People identify as LGBTQ because of financial gain	13.9	26.6	38.6	20.9
6	LGBTQ individuals are happy people	7.0	27.4	38.2	27.4

Of the six interview participants, one interviewee who identified as heterosexual expressed having positive attitude towards LGBTQ saying,

Okay, somehow, I think my attitude towards them (LGBTQ) is not negative considering (that) we are supposed to embrace what is there. I think the African communities, for a long time have tried to just assume some things, and because now due to the westernization it has led those people to at least be vocal about their sexual identity. (LGBTQ) has always been there just that people were not vocal enough to come out.

When this participant was asked about the reason for the positive attitude, it was stated that, “Everyone has a different perspective or opinions on how they want to live their lives. So, we can’t just be blindsided with our cultural values”. This participant also expressed that being exposed to different social media has influenced this attitude saying that,

It is my exposure. Yeah, which mostly I have found through social media, yeah and some people that I have even followed in some platforms, who are part of this (LGBTQ) community, yeah even close (silence) friends that later on I discovered that they are in the community.

Negative Attitude

As evident in Table 3, some Kenyans also indicated negative attitude towards LGBTQ. About 34.9% of the respondent considered LGBTQ individuals as not normal people while 72.8% considered LGBTQ as anti-nature. Most Kenyans (60.9%) have problem with LGBTQ, more than average (57.6%) have no LGBTQ friends, 40.5% hold that those who identify with LGBTQ do so for financial gains, and about 66% hold that LGBTQ individuals are not happy people.

To substantiate LGTBQ as being negative and involving funding, one interview participant said,

I am aware that they do get funds from abroad or from other people. I don't know, but I feel like there is something that goes under there that we don't really see in terms of sexual immorality that they will never speak about or shed light on. They are their own backbone of what they are doing. Its goes heavily against God, in their eye, in His eyes (inaudible). I would say thank God I don't know any.... I wouldn't know. I don't know any by name.

Another share a personal experience with a lady who was finance by some LGBTQ members,

And uhh, I think she told me, oh yeah, that there is someone who kind of like a watchdog or something, who like looks after them in terms of *akishikwa na karao* (if they are arrested by the police), or such cases. There is someone who takes care of, I'm not sure if it's true to be honest, she could just be babbling but the part for them being financed is true because she did explain that she was financed in terms of housing and shelter.

From the interview respondents, the reasons for the negative attitude were due to

1. Religious intolerance for homosexuality especially in Christian Religion.
2. Religious perception of LGBTQ as sinful.
3. Cultural perception of LGBTQ as moral decadence.
4. LGBTQ as unconstitutional.

Formation and Legalization of LGBTQ Association in Kenya

Almost all the interview participants expressed lack of knowledge of any LGBTQ association in Kenya except one (unnamed) that was said to be under Makena. However, there were some awareness of the existence of LGBTQ-exclusive events. Though, it was not clear what these LGBTQ-economic events are.

As regards the legalization of LGBTQ associations, majority of Kenyans (80%) disagreed that should be accepted or have any LGBTQ association registered in Kenya as evident in Table 4. This also includes 83% who indicated that gay marriage should be allowed in the country.

Table 4 Acceptability of LGBTQ Association Registration in Kenya

s/n	Items	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	StronglyDisagree
1	LGBTQ should be accepted in Kenya	9.4	10.6	21.2	58.8
2	LGBTQ should be allowed to register asan association in Kenya	9.2	10.4	21.2	58.7
3	Gay marriage should be allowed to be celebrated in Kenya	7.6	9.5	18.4	64.6

From the interview participants in regard to the formation and legalization of LGBTQ association in Kenya, the following themes emerged:

1. LGBTQ is constitutionally incorrect.
2. It will be a wrong decision to allow it.
3. If it is a sin, promoting the formation of associations will be a sin.
4. It can make those who think they are straight (heterosexual) to become LGBTQ.

One participant, however, see the legalization as matter of time. It was expressed that,

Okay it narrows down to how our society is. Like in African society they have not fully embraced it (LGBTQ). So, even with the formation of these associations, I think it will take a longer time for them to even be allowed because you see, like in Uganda, somehow I think if I am not wrong, like they said that there will be a death penalty so you see it will really take a long time. So, (for) these associations, it will be hard for them to even fight for the rights of their people.

Yeah, not unless there is a law that will be passed on that. But about associations I don't think it will have a great impact to protect those people. (This is) because the African society sees LGBTQ as demonic, so I think mostly they will face things like... the Ezra Chiloba's case. You see that I think the fact that he was vocal about his identity, I think that is what caused his death. Because mostly, especially for the gays it's a bit harsh than the lesbians. When I was in the university, I saw that they were even beaten if you are found to be in that community, so I guess it's that bad.

On why people view being gay worse than being a lesbian, this participant continues, I think this one goes to gender the way we are viewed that females, they are a bit close with each other than the males so, you find that even the males cannot even express themselves... (hence) people see that lesbianism is better than gays.

Sociocultural effect of LGBTQ in Kenya

This study also investigated the sociocultural implication of LGBTQ in Kenya.

Majority of the respondents to the questionnaire (79.3%) hold that LGBTQ is not cultural and 66.1% indicated that it is not African as shown in Table 5. Five in six participants are also of the opinion that LGBTQ is not cultural. A participant stated, "in my culture, let me speak about my culture, my culture strongly shuns and is against LGBTQ activities.". Some others also hold that LGBTQ is of Western influence.

Table 5 Socio-cultural View of LGBTQ in Kenya

s/n	Items	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	LGBTQ is against our culture	56.0	23.3	7.5	13.2
2	LGBTQ is not accepted in my religion	63.1	21.3	4.4	11.3
3	LGBTQ is associated with a high class	7.6	19.6	44.9	27.8
4	LGBTQ is not African	40.9	25.2	21.4	12.6
5	LGBTQ individuals suffer stigmatization in Kenya	42.8	37.7	14.5	5.0

Majority of the participants in the study believe that different religions will not accept LGBTQ. From Table 5, it is evident that 84.4% of the respondents indicated that LGBTQ is not accepted in their religion.

From a sociocultural-religious point of view, a participant stated,

Because they do know what they are doing is wrong, they denounce God, they denounce His teaching, His commandments, and His instructions then they go denouncing the African traditions and in terms of morality in society, they don't have any respect. I would say it's a downfall in a community.

The socio-cultural effects of LGBTQ that emerged were thematized as:

1. Promoting fornication
2. Not a good influence on children and teenagers
3. Negative effect on family
4. Negative on population growth
5. Moral decadence
6. A high breakout of some sexually transmitted diseases
7. Marriage breakup

There was an expression of fear about transgendered individuals. A participant stated,

We are having cases of genetically or biologically born male who are trying to be female. They can change their gender and, you know, go into the washroom with them (children). Personally, if I have a sister, I wouldn't want her to go to the washroom and find a biological male (who has transgendered to a female), using female washroom. I don't feel safe because he is in the same capability of causing danger as a thief or a rapist or a molester.

The perceived negative sociocultural effects of members of LGTBQ have led to stigmatization. Almost all the respondents to the questionnaire (80.5%) agreed that members of LGTBQ communities suffer stigmatization. This is because, as an interview participant noted that, "anybody in our culture who is said to be associated with that (LGBTQ) is stigmatized". An example was given by another participant who narrated an incident of stigmatization:

It goes back to my university days. There was a classmate of mine who was gay. Initially, in our first two years in the university, people didn't know that he was gay. But as we progressed to the third year, it came to be well known that he was gay. The friends that he had deserted him, so, he became a lone ranger. Nobody wanted to even sit close to him in class. So, I think that is stigmatization.

Another added that, some of them were being disowned by their families because the families don't want to be associated with anyone who identifies with LGBTQ.

DISCUSSIONS

The Supreme Court of Kenya on February 24, 2023 ruled that LGBTQ community have legal right to register association, the president including some citizen were said to disagree with the supreme court's judgement (Omondi, 2023). This necessitated this study which sought to investigate the attitude of Kenyans regarding LGBTQ right to legally register associations linked to LGBTQ community.

In the first place, this study sought the view of the Kenya citizens and residents about the prevalence of members of LGBTQ community. The view of the respondents varied that one cannot really tell what the prevalence is. Of course, it was just about opinion. This is in line with what Ambole (2022) on Al Jazeera stated that there is no comprehensive data on the exact number of gay people in Kenya. However, the Gay and Lesbian Coalition of Kenya (GALCK) as reported by Ambole LGBTQ can be estimated to be at 1.3 million – about two percent of the population. Notwithstanding, the questionnaire item addressing those who have same sex attraction indicated that at least 10.8% of the respondents indicated having same sex attraction. This can translate to at least 1 in 10 Kenyans having same-sex attraction.

Although there were positive and negative attitudes to LGBTQ, more people show negative attitudes. The negative attitudes include considering LGBTQ individuals as not normal people, LGBTQ as anti-nature, and that LGBTQ individuals are not happy people.

It appears that not many Kenyans are familiar with the LGBTQ associations or organization except one under Makena as expressed by one interviewee. According to Kenyamax.com, “Makena Njeri is a former Tahidi High actor, a director, producer, and a famous personality on Instagram She worked with Citizen TV (Tahidi High), NTV Kenya (producer of the Teen Republik), and the BBC.” She is said to identify as non-binary and was a gay woman. On her Instagram, she posted, “*In other news please Kenyan blogs. Get my pronouns right [They/Them]. Thank you let’s keep learning together.*” (Mbuthia, 2022). Yet, no particular organization or association was mentioned.

Concerning the right of association of the LGBTQ community, despite the ruling of February 24, 2023 that it is unconstitutional to deny LGBTQ community right of forming associations, some Kenyan believe that it is not constitutional, not African, anti-culture. As such, majority of Kenyan opined that LGBTQ associations are not be allowed to register in Kenya and Gay marriage should be abolished. This is similar to what is currently happening in some Africa countries such as Nigeria and Uganda where any gay activity is outlawed. In fact, as reported by Omondi (2023), LGBTQ is illegal in neighboring Uganda that Muslim leaders called on the government to enact even tougher laws against same-sex relations.

Majority of Kenyans agreed that members of LGBTQ community suffer stigmatization. This is unexpected in nations where there are strong cultural and religious moral values. According to Kenyamax.com, Makena Njeri had to stop attending church because she considered herself vulnerable to stigmatization after coming out as a lesbian which eventually affected her mental health. According to Center for Disease Control and Prevention ([CDC], n.d.), the stigmatization can affect the physical and mental health of members of LGBTQ.

This study also found that registering LGBTQ associations may have negative socio-cultural effects. The effects which may include promotion of same-sex union, negative influence on children and teenagers, negative effect on family, negative effect on population growth, moral decadence, high breakout of some sexually transmitted diseases, and marriage breakups. This affirms what Brooke (1993) stated that homosexuality was considered to be morally wrong and socially deviant.

Although it is not clear if Kenya has decriminalized LGBTQ, granting the right of association appears to be a path to acceptance which may eventually reduce the discriminative attacks on the persons of members of LGBTQ community. What implication will this have on upholding the cultural values? What implications will this have on religious teaching in a country which is predominantly Christians? Will this be another control of the western world? All these questions remain as Kenya battles between the legal standing and the sociocultural-religious values.

CONCLUSION

This study investigated Kenyan attitude towards the registration of LGBTQ association in Kenya. Despite the recent judgment of the Kenya supreme court in favor of the registration, majority of the Kenya people indicated having negative attitudes to the registration and are if the view that the registration will have negative social cultural effects. Kenyans, however, attested to the discrimination suffered by LGBTQ community. This may have to be looked into.

REFERENCES

1. Al Jazeera News. 2023, March 23). Why are Kenya and Uganda cracking down on LGBTQ rights?

- <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/3/23/why-are-kenya-and-uganda-cracking-down-on-lgbtq-rights>
2. Ambole, J. (2022, June 2). Kenyan queer men risk health amid homophobia in public hospitals. *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2022/6/2/homophobia-in-kenyan-public-hospitals-pushes-queer-men-to-dangero>
 3. Aquinas, T. (1225? -1274). The “Summa theologica” of St. Thomas Aquinas, ii and iii Burns, Oates & Wash burne, ltd.,
 4. Boswell, J. (1979). The Church and the Homosexual: An Historical Perspective, 1979. Keynote address to the Fourth Biennial International Convention. <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/pwh/1979boswell.html>
 5. Brooke S. L. (1993). The morality of homosexuality. *Journal of homosexuality*, 25(4), 77–99. https://doi.org/10.1300/J082v25n04_06
 6. Bullough, V. (1979). *Homosexuality: A History* Garland Press.
 6. Center for Disease Control and Prevention. (n.d.). Stigma and Discrimination. <https://www.cdc.gov/msmhealth/stigma-and-discrimination.htm>
 7. Erasing 76 Crimes. (2023, July). Nations with anti-LGBT laws: 52% Muslim, 42% Christian. https://76crimes.com/nations-with-anti-lgbt-laws-49-muslim-44-christian/?gclid=CjwKC_AjwlJimBhAsEiwA1hrp5g7Y04_oxPe4jilVTO0jvoPB375Azs7AWSgmld-o0PPjyJdmHJBUhoCI1cQAvD_BwE
 8. Equaldex. (n.d.). LGBT Organizations in Kenya. <https://www.equaldex.com/organizations/kenya>
 9. Human Dignity Trust. (2023, February 24). Victory as Kenya’s highest court allows registration of LGBT organisation. <https://www.humandignitytrust.org/news/victory-as-kenyas-highest-court-allows-registration-of-lgbt-organisation/>
 10. Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. (2019). Volume IV: Distribution Of Population By Socio-Economic Characteristics. <https://housingfinanceafrica.org/app/uploads/VOLUME-IV-KPHC-2019.pdf>
 11. Koenig, H. G. & Dykman, J. (2012). *Religion and Spirituality in Psychiatry*. Cambridge University Press.
 12. Lewis, K. A., Jadwin-Cakmak, L., Walimbwa, J., Ogunbajo, A., Jauregui, J. C., Onyango, D. P., Moore, D. M., Johnson, G. L., Odero, W., & Harper, G. W. (2023). “You’ll Be Chased Away”: Sources, Experiences, and Effects of Violence and Stigma among Gay and Bisexual Men in Kenya. *International journal of environmental research and public health*, 20(4), 2825. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph20042825>
 13. Mbutia, G. (2022, May 3). ‘Get my pronouns right!’ Makena Njeri tells Kenyan blogs. <https://mpasho.co.ke/entertainment/2022-05-03-get-my-pronouns-right-makena-njeri-tells-kenyan-blogs/>
 14. Morris, B. J. (2023, March 16). A brief history of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender social movements. *American Psychological Association*. <https://www.apa.org/topics/lgbtq/history>
 15. Munthali, B. (2023, July 19). Homosexuality: The Debate Today in Malawi (Part 1). *Malawi 24*. <https://malawi24.com/2023/07/19/homosexuality-the-debate-today-in-malawi-part-1/#:~:text=The%20first%20record%20of%20a,appear%20to%20be%20their%20heirs.>
 16. Omondi, F. (2023, February 24). Kenya wrong to ban LGBT rights groups from registering –Supreme Court. *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-64491276>
 17. Pew Research Center. (n.d.). Views about homosexuality among Hindus. <https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/religious-landscape-study/religious-tradition/hindu/views-about-homosexuality/>
 18. Rowson, E. K. (2006). Homosexuality. In McAuliffe, Jane Dammen(ed.). *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān*. Vol. 2 . Brill Publishers. pp. 444–445. doi:1163/1875-3922_q3_EQCOM_00085