

Rapporto di ricerca COI Realizzato dall'Ufficio Immigrazione di ARCI nazionale  
-aggiornato al 07 novembre 2022

| CONTESTO                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | NOTE                            |
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| Paese di origine                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Ghana                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | N/D                             |
| QUESITO COI                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | NOTE                            |
| Tematica                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | LGBTI                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | Normativa/atteggiamento sociale |
| Formulazione quesito COI                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | <p><b>1. Informazioni sul trattamento delle persone appartenenti alla comunità LGBTI , con particolare attenzione ai profili di:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Previsioni normative/legislative;</li> <li>- Atteggiamento sociale;</li> <li>- Forze di sicurezza e tutela giurisdizionale;</li> </ul> |                                 |
| <p><b>Disclaimer metodologico</b></p> <p>1. Il presente rapporto intende configurare una mera introduzione al trattamento degli appartenenti (o presunti tali) alla comunità LGBTI in Ghana, non esaurendo tuttavia i singoli profili richiamati;</p> <p>2. Il rapporto non entra nel dettaglio delle singole questioni citate, di volta in volta analiticamente trattate negli stessi rapporti citati in nota;</p> <p>3. Il presente Ufficio resta a disposizione per confrontarsi relativamente alle fonti e ai contenuti citati, oltre che per eventuali approfondimenti rispetto ai quesiti posti e le risultanze emerse</p> |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |                                 |
| <p>Roma<br/>09 novembre 2022</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |                                 |

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**1. Informazioni sul trattamento delle persone appartenenti alla comunità LGBTI in Ghana, con particolare attenzione ai profili di:**

- Previsioni normative/legislative;
- Atteggiamento sociale;
- Forze di sicurezza e tutela giurisdizionale;

**Previsioni normative e legislative**

Da un punto di vista normativo, sebbene il Ghana abbia firmato molteplici trattati che formalmente obblighino il Paese al rispetto dei diritti LGBTI:

“...Ghana has signed and ratified several regional and international human rights treaties that oblige it to respect and protect the rights of LGBTQI people, albeit not explicit, including

the right to equality before the law, non-discrimination, human dignity, privacy and the right to be free from violence...”<sup>1</sup>

Tuttavia, concretamente, la legislazione ghanese non proibisce le discriminazioni basate su orientamento sessuale e identità di genere, che si rivelano invece diffuse nel mondo del lavoro e della educazione:

“...The law does not explicitly prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity. LGBTQI+ persons faced widespread discrimination in education and employment...”<sup>2</sup>

In questo senso si noti che, nel dettaglio, sebbene l’omosessualità in se non sia punita, è tuttavia considerata reato l’unione carnale “innaturale”<sup>3</sup>:

“...The law criminalizes the act of “unnatural carnal knowledge,” which is defined as “sexual intercourse with a person in an unnatural manner or with an animal.” The offense covers only persons engaged in same-sex male relationships and those in heterosexual relationships. There were no reports of adults prosecuted or convicted for consensual same-sex sexual conduct...”<sup>4</sup>

La vaghezza del concetto, che sembrerebbe delimitare la copertura del reato delle sole condotte riconducibili (e comprovabili) alla penetrazione:

“...The absence of gender-neutrality within the relevant provision of the criminal law also comes to judgment. As noted earlier, the Ghanaian Criminal Offences Act insists that “penetration” is an essential element in proving carnal knowledge, whether natural or unnatural.<sup>9</sup> By this logic, sexual intercourse cannot be established in law where penetration is wanting. It has accordingly been held that no lesser act of sexual gratification such as, “brush work”<sup>10</sup> would suffice to establish carnal knowledge. It follows that acts associated with lesbianism would ordinarily not meet the “penetration” test established under section 99 of Ghana’s Criminal Offences Act for the simple reason that lesbians do not possess a natural penis...”<sup>5</sup>

Preterrebbe invece il fianco ad una applicazione arbitraria della normativa, concretamente implementata per l’arresto di sospetti o presunti LGBTI:

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- 1 Our Voices, Mapping the Needs of LBQ Women and Trans People in Ghana, 2019, available at: <https://lgbtrightsgh.files.wordpress.com/2020/09/our-voices-ghana-report.pdf> , accessed on 05 November 2022
  - 2 USDOS – US Department of State: 2021 Country Report on Human Rights Practices: Ghana, 12 April 2022 <https://www.ecoi.net/en/document/2071158.html> (accessed on 5 November 2022)
  - 3 Per esempi di criminalizzazione di condotte omosessuali (anche se sotto altre forme di reato), si veda, ex multis: “...Trial for homosexual acts According to reports on 26.09.21, the leader and founder of a Christian church in Abura Asebu Kwamankese District (Central Region) was arrested for engaging in homosexual acts with church members. He was charged with sexual assault under the Criminal Offences Act. He remains in police custody pending continuation of court proceedings on 19.10.21...”BAMF – Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (Germany): Briefing Notes, 27 September 2021 [https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/EN/Behoerde/Informationszentrum/BriefingNotes/2021/briefingnotes-kw39-2021.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile&v=3](https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/EN/Behoerde/Informationszentrum/BriefingNotes/2021/briefingnotes-kw39-2021.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=3) (accessed on 5 November 2022)
  - 4 USDOS – US Department of State: 2021 Country Report on Human Rights Practices: Ghana, 12 April 2022 <https://www.ecoi.net/en/document/2071158.html> (accessed on 5 November 2022)
  - 5 Raymond A. Atuguba , Homosexuality in Ghana: Morality, Law, Human Rights, DOI 10.5539/jpl.v12n4p113, available at: <https://www.ccsenet.org/journal/index.php/jpl/article/view/0/41428> , accessed on 05 November 2022

“...Jones Blantari, Assistant Commissioner of Police, told Human Rights Watch that “the term unnatural carnal knowledge is vague, does not have any clear meaning in law, creates difficulties in consistent interpretation and its application is used to target LGBT people.”<sup>41</sup> In certain instances, the law has been used to arrest individuals suspected of being lesbian or gay...”<sup>6</sup>

Alcune fonti sottolineano come, a fronte di una scarsa implementazione della legge in se per se, la sua stessa previsione tende ad amplificare e legittimare un complessivo clima di odio e discriminazione nei confronti della comunità LGBTI:

“...Human Rights Watch has [documented](#) the human rights impact of section 104(1)(b) of Ghana’s penal code, which prohibits and punishes “unnatural carnal knowledge,” and the authorities’ failure to actively address violence and discrimination against LGBT people. While few, if any prosecutions, have been carried out under this provision, Human Rights Watch found that the criminalization of adult consensual same-sex conduct contributes to a climate in which violence and discrimination against LGBT people are commonplace. Section 104(1)(b), commonly referred to as the anti-gay law, is seen as tacit government approval of discrimination, and even violence, on the basis of real or imputed sexual orientation and gender identity. ..”<sup>7</sup>

Altre fonti internazionali sottolineano invece come la stessa legge sia comunque applicata, esponendo gli arrestati ad abusi fisici e psicologici durante la detenzione, oltre che a diffamazione ed esposizione pubblica:

“...Several arrests of adults for consensual same-sex sexual acts have been documented in recent years. Detentions oftentimes involve psychological abuse, damaging media exposure and medical examinations.<sup>27</sup> Local police are reportedly known to entrap and lure LGBT individuals (predominantly gay men) through social media.<sup>28</sup> In September 2020, local media indicated that 11 lesbian women were arrested in the city of Aflao, in the Volta region, after a video of two of them reportedly engaging in sexual acts became known...”<sup>8</sup>

Nel 2022 il Parlamento ghanese si è trovato quindi a discutere una proposta di legge che mira a criminalizzare le persone LGBTI (includere le dimostrazioni di supporto alla causa), oltre che incoraggiare le terapie di conversione e “riallineamento” di genere:

“...In June, the Promotion of Proper Human Sexual Rights and Ghanaian Family Values bill was introduced in parliament. The bill further criminalized LGBTI people and introduced prison

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6 HRW, “No Choice but to Deny Who I Am” Violence and Discrimination against LGBT people in Ghana, 2018, available at: [https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/report\\_pdf/ghana0118\\_web.pdf](https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/report_pdf/ghana0118_web.pdf) , accessed on 05 November 2022) , come citato da Asylos (Author), ARC – Asylum Research Centre (Author): Ghana: State treatment of LGBTIQ+ persons, March 2021 <https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2046533/Final-Ghana-state-treatment-of-LGBTQI-persons.pdf> (accessed on 5 November 2022)

7 HRW – Human Rights Watch: Ghana: Drop Charges Against LGBT Rights Defenders, 17 June 2021 <https://www.ecoi.net/en/document/2054155.html> (accessed on 5 November 2022)

8 ILGA 2020, Global Legislation Overview Update, available at: [https://ilga.org/downloads/ILGA\\_World\\_State\\_Sponsored\\_Homophobia\\_report\\_global\\_legislation\\_overview\\_update\\_December\\_2020.pdf](https://ilga.org/downloads/ILGA_World_State_Sponsored_Homophobia_report_global_legislation_overview_update_December_2020.pdf) , accessed on 05 November 2022

sentences for anyone expressing support or “sympathy” towards LGBTI people. The bill also encouraged conversion therapy and gender “realignment” for children...”<sup>9e10</sup>

La proposta di legge mirerebbe a criminalizzare le dimostrazioni di affetto LGBT, le pratiche di cross-dressing e l’advocacy dei diritti LGBTI:

“...In August, Parliament began considering a bill that would criminalize displays of affection, cross-dressing, and LGBT+ advocacy, the latter of which would be punished with prison sentences of up to 10 years. The bill was under consideration by a parliamentary committee as of December...”<sup>11</sup>

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## Atteggiamento sociale

Quanto dedotto risulta coerente con un clima di diffusa stigmatizzazione, discriminazione e violenza a danno della comunità LGBTI, riscontrato in maniera sostanzialmente univoca da diverse fonti internazionali:

“...Since 1992, Ghana has held competitive multiparty elections and undergone peaceful transfers of power between the two main political parties. Although the country has a relatively strong record of upholding civil liberties, discrimination against women and LGBT+ people persist...”

[...]

LGBT+ people face significant discrimination. Same-sex sexual activity remains criminalized, encouraging impunity for violence and harassment against LGBT+ people. LGBT+ Rights Ghana, which opened the country’s first LGBT+ community center in January 2021, faced significant opposition from political and religious figures as well as violent threats. The center was raided by security officers in February and was closed by police later that month. In May, police arrested 21 people participating in a legal training workshop operated by Rightify Ghana, alleging that they sought to promote homosexuality. The participants, who were charged with unlawful assembly, were bailed in June...”<sup>12</sup>

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9 AI – Amnesty International: Amnesty International Report 2021/22; The State of the World’s Human Rights; Ghana 2021, 29 March 2022

<https://www.ecoi.net/en/document/2070274.html> (accessed on 5 November 2022)

10 Nel dettaglio: “...On 11.11.21 the parliamentary committee for constitutional, legal and parliamentary matters began the public hearing of the bill to promote people’s sexual rights and Ghanaian family values (cf. BN of 16.08.21). The law criminalises not only homosexual acts, but also defending the rights of LGBTIQ persons. It also allows conversion therapy for relevant individuals. More than 150 memoranda have been received on the bill from individuals, groups and religious organisations. Before parliament votes on the bill, ten of these submissions are to be heard each week. Under the law as it stands, homosexual acts are punishable with up to five years’ imprisonment. The legal provisions have not been enforced in recent years, however. Groups supporting the rights of LGBTIQ people have recorded an increase in attacks on such people since the bill was tabled in parliament in August 2021....”BAMF – Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (Germany): Briefing Notes, 15 November 2021

[https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/EN/Behoerde/Informationszentrum/BriefingNotes/2021/briefingnotes-kw46-2021.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile&v=2](https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/EN/Behoerde/Informationszentrum/BriefingNotes/2021/briefingnotes-kw46-2021.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=2) (accessed on 5 November 2022)

11 Freedom House: Freedom in the World 2022 - Ghana, 24 February 2022

<https://www.ecoi.net/en/document/2071873.html> (accessed on 5 November 2022)

12 Freedom House: Freedom in the World 2022 - Ghana, 24 February 2022

<https://www.ecoi.net/en/document/2071873.html> (accessed on 5 November 2022)

La pervasività del clima di stigmatizzazione della popolazione LGBTI spinge le persone LGBTI al di fuori della società ghanese, attraverso un ventaglio di azioni discriminatorie che affettano il percorso educativo, lavorativo, e l'inserimento comunitario:

“...While visiting Ghana in April, Alston found that “stigmatization and discrimination make it impossible for [LGBT] individuals to become productive members of the community when disclosure of their sexual orientation is likely to lead to them being thrown out of their jobs, schools, homes, and even their communities.”...”<sup>13</sup>

Similmente (ex multis):

“...Persisting human rights issues include weaknesses in judicial independence and the rule of law, corruption, political violence, prison overcrowding, child labour and the persistence of discrimination against women and LGBTI persons. ..”<sup>14</sup>

I fondamenti della discriminazione della popolazione LGBT viene ricollegata in parte a diffusi sentimenti religiosi, che ostacolano lo sviluppo di politiche maggiormente libertarie:

“...Because of the strong religious beliefs most Ghanaians hold, discrimination is possible in everyday life and takes place, sometimes also inside state institutions, and checks against prejudice do not always work properly. Some liberal political beliefs – like decriminalization of homosexuality – are frowned upon for religious reason...”<sup>15</sup>

E ancora:

“...In recent times, discussions about the treatment of homosexuals have been taking place, mostly induced from abroad. The deeply conservative and discriminatory attitude of the majority of opinion leaders in both the political arena and in civil society has become quite apparent in this case, spurred by very discriminatory beliefs of important religious bodies and their representatives. Tolerance of homosexuality is negligible...”<sup>16</sup>

In questo senso può essere utile richiamare alcuni fatti di cronaca relative ai provvedimenti adottati da alcune autorità tradizionali ghanesi, sull'onda del dibattito Parlamentare, tese alla proibizione delle attività omosessuali e la creazione di specifiche task forces locali per l'individuazione di persone presunte LGBTI:

“...Ladies and Gentlemen, therefore, without prejudice to the outcome of Parliament deliberation on the issue, the deviant sexual activities of lesbians, gays, transgenders, queers, etc are banned in the Wala Traditional Area with immediate effect. The punishment for breaching the ban will be swift and severe,” he said.

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13 HRW – Human Rights Watch: UN Expert Spotlights LGBT Poverty in Ghana, 26 June 2018  
<https://www.ecoi.net/en/document/1436511.html> (accessed on 5 November 2022)

14 European Union (Author), EEAS - European External Action Service (Author): EU Annual Report on Human Rights and Democracy in the World; 2020 Country Updates, 21 June 2021  
[https://www.eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/documents/2020\\_eu\\_human\\_rights\\_and\\_democracy\\_country\\_reports.pdf](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/documents/2020_eu_human_rights_and_democracy_country_reports.pdf) (accessed on 5 November 2022)

15 Bertelsmann Stiftung: BTI 2022 Country Report Ghana, 23 February 2022  
[https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2069781/country\\_report\\_2022\\_GHA.pdf](https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2069781/country_report_2022_GHA.pdf) (accessed on 5 November 2022)

16 Bertelsmann Stiftung: BTI 2022 Country Report Ghana, 23 February 2022  
[https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2069781/country\\_report\\_2022\\_GHA.pdf](https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2069781/country_report_2022_GHA.pdf) (accessed on 5 November 2022)

To ensure that the ban is enforced, an anti LGBTQ+ taskforce is being formed to investigate and bring forward, persons who still engage in such activities. The Overlord of the area also implored religious leaders to commit to preaching against the activities of the LGBTQ+ at their various places of worship...<sup>17</sup>

E all'allontanamento dei presunti omosessuali dalle comunità di villaggio :

“...The Nkoranza Traditional Council in the Bono East Region has banished the 21-year-old man who was allegedly caught engaging in homosexual activity.

According to Adom News' Christian Ofori Kuma, he was banished after being ordered to procure some items to appease the gods of the area.

The items, which include sheep and Schnapps, were not only to drive away bad omen from the area, but also exorcise the gayism from the young man....<sup>18</sup>

La violenza fisica ai danni della popolazione LGBTI risulta essere comune in Ghana (pestaggi, umiliazioni pubbliche e a mezzo media), in un trend di generale inasprimento:

“...Beatings and public humiliation of LGBTQI+ persons by community members were common and growing in number. The attacks were sometimes shared on social media in an effort to further humiliate and ostracize LGBTQI+ persons. There was a notable increase in anti-LGBTQI+ statements by political, religious, and community leaders, and media coverage of these statements...<sup>19</sup>

In particolar modo la esposizione pubblica delle persone (effettivamente o presuntivamente appartenenti alla comunità LGBTI), sembrerebbe sufficiente per scatenare un processo di ostracismo sociale a partire dalla stessa comunità familiare:

“...However, their troubles did not end with their release. When they returned to the training camp, the coach expelled the three women from the team, and when they returned home, their parents disowned them for “bringing shame” to their respective families. Six months later, they described their desperate living conditions: “We move from one friend’s place to another because we can never go back home. We have no work, no money and sometimes we do not eat for two or three days,” one of them said. 73 Victoria, a 29-year old lesbian from the Cape Coast, told Human Rights Watch that not only did her father disown her when he learned of her sexual orientation in July 2016, but he also reported her to the police, who arrested her...<sup>20</sup>

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17 Bbc Ghaba Online, Waala Traditional Area bans LGBTQ+ activities in its jurisdiction July 30, 2021, available at: <https://www.gbcghanaonline.com/general/waala-traditional-area-bans-lgbtq-activities-in-its-jurisdiction/2021/>, accessed on 05 Novembre 2021

18 Myjoyonline, Alleged homosexual banished from Nkoranza community Source: Ama Cromwell 8 October 2021, available at: <https://www.myjoyonline.com/alleged-homosexual-banished-from-nkoranza-community/>, accessed on 05 November 2021, fonte confermata da Bbc Ghaba Online, Waala Traditional Area bans LGBTQ+ activities in its jurisdiction July 30, 2021, available at: <https://www.gbcghanaonline.com/general/waala-traditional-area-bans-lgbtq-activities-in-its-jurisdiction/2021/>, accessed on 05 Novembre 2021

19 USDOS – US Department of State: 2021 Country Report on Human Rights Practices: Ghana, 12 April 2022 <https://www.ecoi.net/en/document/2071158.html> (accessed on 5 November 2022)

20 HRW, “No Choice but to Deny Who I Am” Violence and Discrimination against LGBT people in Ghana, 2018, available at: [https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/report\\_pdf/ghana0118\\_web.pdf](https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/report_pdf/ghana0118_web.pdf), accessed on 05 November 2022

Con un diretto rischio di esposizione a violenza domestica:

“...Lesbians and bisexual women are vulnerable to domestic violence at the hands of family members. Human Rights Watch interviewed several who experienced physical violence, psychological abuse and intimidation by family members when they learned of their sexual orientation. Many women said that even after they tried to deny or conceal their sexual orientation, their family members assaulted, expelled, or ostracized them. ...”<sup>21</sup>

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## Forze di sicurezza e tutela giurisdizionale

Le fonti danno conto di diffusi episodi di violenza a danno di membri della comunità LGBTI compiute dalle stesse forze dell’ordine (estorsioni, arresti arbitrari ecc), oltre che da una generale riluttanza da parte delle forze dell’ordine di investigare casi di violenza e assalti:

“...There were some reports of police violence against LGBTQI+ persons. LGBTQI+ persons faced police harassment and extortion attempts (see also section 1.d, Arbitrary Arrest). There were reports police were reluctant to investigate claims of assault or violence against LGBTQI+ persons. Stigma, intimidation, and the perceived negative attitude of some police toward LGBTQI+ persons were factors in preventing survivors from reporting incidents of abuse. LGBTQI+ activists also reported widespread attempts to blackmail LGBTQI+ individuals, with prosecution difficult due to police inaction. LGBTQI+ persons in prison were vulnerable to sexual and other physical abuse, which authorities generally did not investigate...”<sup>22</sup>

Similmente, rispetto alla pratica degli arresti arbitrari con fine di ricatto e estorsione:

“...Nevertheless, police sometimes use the law to conduct arbitrary arrests of individuals suspected to be homosexual, and as a way to extort money from them. Such abuses in turn lead to a chain of adverse consequences in victims’ lives.

In June 2016, police arrested three women at a soccer training camp in Kumasi accused of being lesbians allegedly after being tipped off by the partner of one of the women. Adama told Human Rights Watch: ..”<sup>23</sup>

In questo contesto le vittime di violenza tendono a non sporgere denuncia, per paura dei potenziali effetti stigmatizzanti :

“...None of the victims interviewed by Human Rights Watch had filed complaints with the police. In many cases, the deep-seated fear of stigma and social isolation, stopped victims from reporting crimes against them....”<sup>24</sup>

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21 Ibidem

22 USDOS – US Department of State: 2021 Country Report on Human Rights Practices: Ghana, 12 April 2022 <https://www.ecoi.net/en/document/2071158.html> (accessed on 5 November 2022)

23 HRW, “No Choice but to Deny Who I Am” Violence and Discrimination against LGBT people in Ghana, 2018, available at: [https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/report\\_pdf/ghana0118\\_web.pdf](https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/report_pdf/ghana0118_web.pdf) , accessed on 05 November 2022

24 Ibidem



In un clima complessivo di violenza e sospetto, da parte delle autorità della forza pubblica, che va intensificandosi nel corso del 2022:

“...Discrimination against LGBTI people intensified. In February, police officers searched and closed the recently inaugurated office of LGBT+ Rights Ghana, a non-profit organization. On 20 May, police arrested 21 LGBTI activists for unlawful assembly during a training session. They were released on bail in June and their charges were dismissed on 5 August...”<sup>25</sup>

Con effetti anche nel livello di accesso alla giustizia processuale. Infatti da un lato il fortissimo livello di isolamento e stigmatizzazione (culturalmente pervasivo), si riverbera altresì sui diversi di difesa processuale, rendendo difficile trovare avvocati disponibili. Dall’altro lato, la stessa autorità giurisdizionale risulta essere fortemente condizionata a livello religioso o culturale:

“.....] the judiciary we have are religious and make decisions based on their religious inclination and not based on science or fact. Most of the judiciary will tell you I'm a Christian and therefore cannot handle your case. Religion plays a very critical role in the adjudication process in Ghana. They give judgements based on their religious ideologies or their religious beliefs and not because of the law or the facts. In most cases when we have approached a lawyer to handle a case and the lawyer will put it to you, "Look, I'm a Christian. I can't handle this case." And some of them even uses that as a base to extort money from you. Like they will tell you if you want me to handle your case, this is a LGBT case, it is a high-level case, so you have to pay-- if their charge is 2,000, you have to pay 7,000, 10,000 before I will handle it. They also told us “I will lose my friends and most friends and admirers will ask me why am I defending your kind of person”?. And so to avoid all these, it means that I have to be given more incentives to be able to handle your case... [...] ...The problem with this however, is getting a lawyer, who is willing to take on the case, in a homophobic society. Legally representing an LGBTQI + may have adverse effects on the lawyer’s career, through dissociation by anti-LGBT people...”<sup>26</sup>

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25 AI – Amnesty International: Amnesty International Report 2021/22; The State of the World's Human Rights; Ghana 2021, 29 March 2022  
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26 Asylos (Author), ARC – Asylum Research Centre (Author): Ghana: State treatment of LGBTQI+ persons, March 2021  
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