

WHO ARE THE “BOTTOM BILLION”? LGBT PEOPLE

INTRODUCTION

There is no globally agreed estimate of how many people identify as being in a sexual or gender minority. Research has found prevalence rates between 1.5% to 11%.ⁱ Experts in sexual orientation, gender identity and expression (SOGIE) inclusion in development and humanitarian aid have recommended to assume that at least 5% of the population belong to sexual and gender minority groups.ⁱⁱ

Despite multiple links between violence and discrimination based on SOGIE and income poverty, there is very limited quantitative data from low- and middle-income countries (LMICs),ⁱⁱⁱ leaving major evidence gaps around the nature and extent of poverty among lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people (LGBT)^{iv,v} This profile summarises the existing evidence on LGBT poverty, with focus on linkages between health and education disparities, limited access to livelihood opportunities, and broader exclusion that creates a situation of multi-dimensional poverty.^{vi}

The evidence in this profile largely pre-dates COVID-19. Emerging evidence and reports from LGBT and human rights organisations suggest that LGBT people are disproportionately affected by the crisis, exacerbating pre-existing inequalities.^{vii} The economic impacts of the crisis have had devastating consequences for many LGBT people, especially in countries where LGBT people are overrepresented in the informal sector and experience high levels of unemployment. Over half of the respondents in a recent global study reported concerns about food shortage for themselves or other LGBT people due to economic insecurity and exclusion from food support.^{viii ix} Furthermore, government imposed restrictions on people’s movement and social gatherings have in some countries been used to target LGBT people. In Uganda, 20 LGBT individuals were arrested in March 2020, accused of disobeying social distancing rules.^x Human rights activists called this a “targeted” attack on LGBT people.

EVIDENCE ON POVERTY AND EXCLUSION

Income poverty: While there is a lack of quantitative data on the link between SOGIE and poverty, it is widely recognised that the systematic discrimination and violence faced by LGBT people contributes to high levels of poverty.^{xi} Data and analysis on LGBT poverty from LMICs include:

- Analysis by the World Bank suggests that LGBT people are likely to be overrepresented in the bottom 40% of income distribution.^{xii} While there is a significant lack of data on poverty rates among LGBT people in LMICs, evidence from high income countries (HICs) highlight how systematic barriers such as discrimination and exclusion from education and employment translate into LGBT poverty and food insecurity.^{xiii}

- A survey with 'kothis' in Bangladesh (a feminine male identity) found that 70% of the respondents reported that having sex with other men have had an impact on their economic status, most often negative.^{xiv} 64% of the respondents had a monthly income that placed them in the lowest income bracket.
- In Nepal, over half of LGBT respondents in a representative survey reported that their income was not sufficient to meet their needs, and their average income was lower than that of non-LGBT people.^{xv}

Health and education: Global evidence shows that LGBT people face structural barriers to accessing education and health services due to discrimination, stigma and violence, and experience multiple health disparities.^{xvi} Some examples include:

- Globally, LGBT children are more likely than peers to experience violence in school.^{xvii} ^{xviii} In Thailand, 55% of LGBT students reported physical, psychological or sexual violence in the past month, and 41% to 44% of students and teachers in Botswana, Lesotho and Namibia reported that they were aware of violence related to gender diversity in their schools.^{xix} School-based violence affect LGBT students learning achievements and increases the risk for absence and drop-out.^{xx}
- The risk for acquiring HIV is 13 times higher among transgender people, and 26 times higher among men who have sex with men than the general population.^{xxi}
- Small sample studies on sexual minority women's health in Southern Africa have found HIV prevalence rates between 8% to 14% and high levels of mental health problems.^{xxii} ^{xxiii}
- A study with men who have sex with men in India found that 45% of participants had thought about or attempted suicide.^{xxiv} ^{xxv}
- Global data suggest that substance abuse is elevated among LGBT groups.^{xxvi} ^{xxvii} A study in India found that 15% of men who have sex with men, and 37% of transwomen reported frequent use of alcohol.^{xxviii} ^{xxix}
- A survey with sexual and gender minorities in Nepal found that 32% of transwomen and 16% of transmen reported denial of services when seeking health care.^{xxx}

Broader exclusion: In addition to experiencing education and health disparities, evidence shows that LGBT people face wider exclusion in society. Examples with clear linkages to poverty include:

- LGBT people face high levels of workplace discrimination.^{xxxii} In Thailand, a survey with 2,302 LGBT people found that 10% of lesbians, 21% of gay men, and 22% of transgender people reported that employment related discrimination had resulted in having a lower income.^{xxxii}
- LGBT people experience high levels of unemployment.^{xxxiii} For example, a study with lesbian women in Nepal found that 38% were unemployed, and 13% reported that they had lost a job in the past year due to SOGIE related discrimination.^{xxxiv} ^{xxxv}
- A survey with 2,302 LGBTI people in Thailand found that those who reported having experienced discrimination in school reported earning less than those who reported no discrimination at school.^{xxxvi}

- Social protection programmes and other social safety nets often exclude LGBT people.^{xxxvii} A review of social protection policies in the Philippines found that lesbians and transmen could not access retirement and disability benefits.^{xxxviii}
- In contexts where family and kin are important social networks, including providing financial support, family rejection can have big impacts on LGBT people's economic security. A study in Nepal found that among the respondents who were open to their families about their SOGIE, none were receiving economic support from their family.^{xxxix xl}
- Securing safe housing can be a significant challenge for same-sex couples and transgender people.^{xli} Research from Rwanda highlight how landlords discriminate against LGBT people, and evictions were cited as a big problem.^{xlii xliii}
- Employment related discrimination and the lack of social support systems push many LGBT people into sex work, begging and migration as survival strategies.^{xliv} A study with transwomen in seven countries in South Asia found that these strategies, especially sex work, often expose them to violence and abuse.^{xlv xlvii}

HOW POVERTY AND SOGIE INTERACT WITH OTHER IDENTITIES

There is no data that systematically explores how income poverty rates vary between different LGBT groups in LMICs, or that disaggregates poverty data by LGBT status and other factors such as disability and ethnicity. However, evidence suggests that LGBT people's experiences of discrimination and exclusion, with interrelated economic challenges, are shaped by multiple identities and status, for example:

- **LBT+ women:** Sexual and gender minority women may face a double or even triple oppression due to intersecting patriarchal, homophobic and transphobic structures, resulting in a high risk of violence.^{xlvii} While prevalence data is scarce, studies have showed that LBT+ women face similar forms of violence as other women (e.g. forced marriages and intimate partner violence) as well as violence related to their SOGIE, such as "corrective rapes" which have been well-documented in e.g. South Africa.^{xlviii xlix}
- **LGBT people with disabilities:** There is no data on disability prevalence among LGBT people in LMICs, however, data from HICs have found that lesbian, gay and bisexual people have a higher disability prevalence.^l While there is no data on poverty rates among LGBT people with disabilities, it is recognised that the intersection of LGBT status and living with a disability is likely to compound exclusion and discrimination, elevating the risk of experiencing poverty.^{li}

SOGIE, POVERTY AND GEOGRAPHY

Location and contextual factors such as living in a country that criminalises same-sex sexual acts and does not recognise diverse gender identities, or in area that is affected by conflict, natural disaster or other crisis shape LGBT people's experience of poverty.

- **Criminalisation/ legal recognition:** Living in a country that criminalises or that does not legally recognise sexual and gender minorities has a significant impact in the lives of LGBT people. In 2019, 68 countries criminalised same-sex sexual acts; the majority being in Africa (32) followed by Asia (21).^{lii}
- **Conflict and displacement:** LGBT people are often excluded from food, housing and other service provision following emergencies and conflict, since support services are commonly designed based on heteronormative assumptions and binary understandings of gender.^{liii} For instance, there are examples where transgender people have been denied access to shelters and gender-specific service provision.^{liv} In 2018, none of the 10 largest Humanitarian Response Plans in the world considered sexual and gender minorities.^{lv}
- **LGBT refugees and asylum seekers:** There is evidence that LGBT refugees and asylum seekers are subject to discrimination and violence in countries of asylum and refugee camps, as well as face livelihood challenges.^{lvi} ^{lvii} Findings from a livelihoods project with LGBT refugees in Kenya found that harassment and discrimination limited participants' economic activity and successful uptake of livelihood support services.^{lviii}

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MEASUREMENT AND DATA

Collecting data on LGBT people's experiences of poverty, discrimination and violence comes with ethical and safety challenges, and any evidence generation has to carefully consider safeguarding.^{lx} In addition, heteronormative assumptions and binary notions of gender have rendered LGBT people largely invisible in development and humanitarian programming and research. As a result, there is a lack of data as well as best practice on data collection methods and how to meaningfully and safely include LGBT people in research.^{lxi} Nevertheless, there are some emerging data collection tools and platforms for LGBT data and evidence. These include:

- **The LGBTI Inclusion Index** – Launched by UNDP in 2019, this index proposes a set of indicators for measuring inclusion of LGBTI people and progress against the Sustainable Development Goals. The index has five dimensions – the economic well-being dimension includes indicators related to access to jobs, adequate income, social security, and business climate. The index holds the potential to further understandings of LGBT people's experiences of multidimensional poverty across the world.
- **The 42 Degrees Library** - This online library managed by Edge Effect contains a variety of resources, including research reports and articles, think pieces and beginners guidance on terminology and key documents related to SOGIE in development and humanitarian aid.

Challenges and limitations of the data include:

- Poverty data is not systematically disaggregated by SOGIE. For instance, household census and Demographic and Health Surveys in LMICs do typically not collect data on SOGIE.^{lxii}

- There is a lack of disaggregated data by different sexuality and gender minority groups, as well as on other intersecting factors such as disability and age.^{lxiii} There are distinct evidence gaps on the experiences of transgender people, intersex people, low-income LGBT people, and ethnic minority LGBT people.^{lxiv}
- Research on LGBT people’s health outcomes have often focused on HIV while data on other health disparities is largely absent.^{lxv} Given the focus on HIV, the existing health data is skewed towards men from sexual minorities, while there is less data on sexual minority women’s and transgender people’s health.^{lxvi}

KEY RESOURCES:

- **The Yogyakarta Principles +10** (2017) The Yogyakarta Principles address a broad range of international human rights standards and their application to SOGI issues. The +10 document was adopted in 2017 to supplement the Yogyakarta Principles from 2006.
- ILGA World (2019) **State-sponsored Homophobia Report**. Every year, ILGA publishes a report that examines the state of sexual orientation laws around the world.
- The Independent Expert on protection against violence and discrimination based on SOGI is mandated to report annually to the Human Rights Council and to the General Assembly. Reports of the Independent Expert can be found [here](#).

This profile was produced by the **Disability Inclusion Helpdesk**, managed by **Social Development Direct** (SDDirect). SDDirect is a leading provider of high-quality, innovative and expert social development assistance and research services. We work to build inclusive societies in which people in all of their diversity are valued and empowered to make choices about their own development.”

The Disability Inclusion Helpdesk provides research and advice to the **Foreign Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO)** and other UK government departments on disability inclusion in policy and programming across FCDO’s five minimum standards on disability inclusion. We are a team of experienced in-house helpdesk researchers working alongside over 60 senior disability inclusion experts with experience across different themes, sectors and geographies. We can advise on disability inclusion in development, FCAS and humanitarian settings.

The Helpdesk is part of **FCDO’s Disability Inclusive Development (DID) Programme** under the banner of **Inclusive Futures**, led by **Sightsavers**, which brings together 16 international development organisations, disabled people’s organisations and country partners to ensure no one is left behind.

These factsheets were produced for FCDO to enhance knowledge and understanding of how different identities are impacted by poverty. The research was conducted using primarily pre-Covid sources, although the factsheets have sought to summarise the impact of COVID-19 where information is available. The authors of this profile are Veronica Ahlenback and Erika Fraser.

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- ⁱ Humanitarian Advisory Group (2018) *Taking Sexual and Gender Minorities out of the Too-Hard Basket*, https://humanitarianadvisorygroup.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/HH_Practice-Paper-Sexual-and-Gender-Minorities-in-humanitarian-response.pdf
- ⁱⁱ Ibid.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Hawkins, K., Wood, S., Charles, T., He, X., Li, Z., Lim, A., Mountian, I. and Sharma, J. (2016) *Sexuality, Poverty and Law*, Evidence Report No 53, Institute of Development Studies, <https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/20.500.12413/3525/ER53.pdf?sequence=1>
- ^{iv} As terminology and concepts around SOGIE vary across the world, there is no universally agreed or applicable umbrella term that can capture the full diversity of identities and experiences. This profile uses the term ‘LGBT’ to refer to lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people, but recognises that there are people that identify beyond these categories. The profile will also use the terms sexual orientation, gender identity and expression (SOGIE) and sexual and gender minorities.
- ^v Badgett, M. V. Lee., and Crehan, P. (2016) *Investing in a research revolution for LGBTI inclusion*, <https://documents.worldbank.org/en/publication/documents-reports/documentdetail/196241478752872781/investing-in-a-research-revolution-for-lgbti-inclusion>
- ^{vi} The profile is part of a package of profiles focusing on women and girls, LGBT people, race and ethnicity, mental health, older people, youth and religious minorities.
- ^{vii} See e.g. Edge Effect (2020) *Topical Paper: COVID-19 and diverse SOGIESC communities*, <https://www.42d.org/2020/06/29/topical-paper-covid-19-and-diverse-sogiesc-communities/>
- ^{viii} Bishop, A., MSW, MPH and Outright International (2020) *Vulnerability Amplified: The Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on LGBTIQ People*, https://outrightinternational.org/sites/default/files/COVIDsReportDesign_FINAL_LR_0.pdf
- ^{ix} The research was qualitative and consisted of literature review and semi-structured interviews with 59 LGBTIQ people from 38 countries across the world. The research is likely missing voices from the most marginalised LGBT people, including those living in conflict areas, migrants and refugees.
- ^x McCool, A. (2020) “The inhabitants of an Ugandan LGBT+ shelter were charged with disobeying COVID-19 social distancing rules”, *Openly*, 31 March 2020, <https://www.openlynews.com/i/?id=7a824827-1bfb-47e3-99f3-ed0714ddf6ec>
- ^{xi} Hawkins, K., Wood, S., Charles, T., He, X., Li, Z., Lim, A., Mountian, I. and Sharma, J. (2016) *Sexuality, Poverty and Law*, Evidence Report No 53, Institute of Development Studies, <https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/20.500.12413/3525/ER53.pdf?sequence=1>
- ^{xii} Koelher, D. and SOGI Task Force (2015) “LGBTI people are (likely) over represented in the bottom 40%”, *World Bank Blogs*, August 03, 2015, <https://blogs.worldbank.org/governance/lgbti-people-are-likely-over-represented-bottom-40>
- ^{xiii} Ibid.
- ^{xiv} Bondyopadhyay, A., Khan, S. and Mulji, K. (2005), *From the front line: A report of a study into the impact of social, legal and judicial impediments to sexual health promotion, care and support for males who have sex with males in Bangladesh and India*, Naz Foundation International, <https://www.eldis.org/document/A32468>
- ^{xv} UNDP and Williams Institute (2014) *Surveying Nepal’s Sexual and Gender Minorities: An Inclusive Approach*, https://www.asia-pacific.undp.org/content/rbap/en/home/library/democratic_governance/hiv_aids/surveying-nepal-s-sexual-and-gender-minorities--an-inclusive-app.html
- ^{xvi} SDDirect (2017) *Strengthening Economic Growth through Investments in LGBTI Inclusion*, Social Development Direct Factsheet Series, http://www.sddirect.org.uk/media/1512/51-strengthening-economic-growth-through-investments-through-lgbti-inclusion_pdf.pdf
- UNESCO (2016) *Out in the Open: Education sector responses to violence based on sexual orientation and gender identity/ expression*, <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000244756?posInSet=2&queryId=433b9169-2be5-4490-b6b7-6b6327afe1d0>
- Badgett, M. V. Lee., and Crehan, P. (2016) *Investing in a research revolution for LGBTI inclusion*, <https://documents.worldbank.org/en/publication/documents-reports/documentdetail/196241478752872781/investing-in-a-research-revolution-for-lgbti-inclusion>

- ^{xvii} UNESCO (2016) *Out in the Open: Education sector responses to violence based on sexual orientation and gender identity/ expression*, <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000244756?posInSet=2&queryId=433b9169-2be5-4490-b6b7-6b6327afe1d0>
- ^{xviii} In 2016, UNSECO conducted a global review that included countries from all regions of the world. To ensure regional diversity, it only included the most recent or relevant data from countries with more data available. Studies with very small samples were excluded. Least evidence was available from Africa, however, it included a five-country study from Southern Africa, which was the first study of school-based violence in the region that examined violence related to sexual and gender diversity.
- ^{xix} Ibid.
- ^{xx} UNESCO (2016) *Out in the Open: Education sector responses to violence based on sexual orientation and gender identity/ expression*, <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000244756?posInSet=2&queryId=433b9169-2be5-4490-b6b7-6b6327afe1d0>
- ^{xxi} UNAIDS (2020) *Global HIV & AIDS statistics — 2020 fact sheet*, <https://www.unaids.org/en/resources/fact-sheet>
- ^{xxii} Muller, A. and Hughes, T. I. (2016) 'Making the Invisible Visible: A systematic review of sexual minority women's health in Southern Africa', *BMC Public Health* (2016) 16:307, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4827176/>
- ^{xxiii} A systematic review of sexual minority women's health in Southern Africa identified 15 studies. Most studies were conducted with small sample sizes and were from South Africa, however, there were also a small number of studies from Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Lesotho.
- ^{xxiv} Sivasubramanian, M. et al. (2011) 'Suicidality, clinical depression, and anxiety disorders are highly prevalent in men who have sex with men in Mumbai, India: Findings from a community-recruited sample', *Psychol Health Med*, 2011, 16(4): pp. 450–462 <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3136931/>
- ^{xxv} The study was conducted in Mumbai and included a sample of 150 men who have sex with men.
- ^{xxvi} Ploderl, M. and Tremblay, P. (2015) *Mental health of sexual minorities. A systematic review*, <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/26552495/>
- ^{xxvii} It should be noted that HICs are heavily represented in the global data on LGBT people's mental health and substance use. In a 2015 systematic global review of sexual minorities mental health (Ploderl and Tremblay, 2015), 75% of the identified studies were from USA or Canada, 15% from Europe, 6% from Australia or New Zealand, and 2% from Asia or Mexico.
- ^{xxviii} Chakrapania, V. et al. (2017) 'Syndemics of depression, alcohol use, and victimisation, and their association with HIV-related sexual risk among men who have sex with men and transgender women in India', *Global Public Health* 2017, 12(2), pp. 250-265, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17441692.2015.1091024?src=recsys&instName=SOAS&journalCode=rgph20>
- ^{xxix} The data collection was collected in 2011 through a cross-sectional survey with 300 men who have sex with men and 300 transwomen in four states in India.
- ^{xxx} UNDP and Williams Institute (2014) *Surveying Nepal's Sexual and Gender Minorities: An Inclusive Approach*, https://www.asia-pacific.undp.org/content/rbap/en/home/library/democratic_governance/hiv_aids/surveying-nepal-s-sexual-and-gender-minorities--an-inclusive-app.html
- ^{xxxi} SDDirect (2017) *Strengthening Economic Growth through Investments in LGBTI Inclusion*, Social Development Direct Factsheet Series, http://www.sddirect.org.uk/media/1512/51-strengthening-economic-growth-through-investments-through-lgbti-inclusion_pdf.pdf
- ^{xxxii} World Bank (2018) *Economic Inclusion of LGBTI Groups in Thailand*, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/thailand/publication/economic-inclusion-of-lgbti-groups-in-thailand>
- ^{xxxiii} SDDirect (2017) *Strengthening Economic Growth through Investments in LGBTI Inclusion*, Social Development Direct Factsheet Series, http://www.sddirect.org.uk/media/1512/51-strengthening-economic-growth-through-investments-through-lgbti-inclusion_pdf.pdf

^{xxxiv} CREA (2012) *Count me IN! Research Report on Violence against Disabled, Lesbian, and Sex-working Women in Bangladesh, India, and Nepal*, <https://www.oursplatform.org/wp-content/uploads/CREA-The-Count-Me-In-Violence-against-Disabled-Lesbian-Sex-working-Women-in-Bangladesh-India-Nepal-Report.pdf>

^{xxxv} The study was conducted in 2012 and included a survey with 475 respondents and in-depth interviews with 10 respondents.

^{xxxvi} World Bank (2018) *Economic Inclusion of LGBTI Groups in Thailand*, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/thailand/publication/economic-inclusion-of-lgbti-groups-in-thailand>

^{xxxvii} Hawkins, K., Wood, S., Charles, T., He, X., Li, Z., Lim, A., Mountian, I. and Sharma, J. (2016) *Sexuality, Poverty and Law*, Evidence Report No 53, Institute of Development Studies, <https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/20.500.12413/3525/ER53.pdf?sequence=1>

^{xxxviii} Ibid.

^{xxxix} Coyle, D. and Boyce, P. (2015) *Same-sex Sexualities, Gender Variance, Economy and Livelihood in Nepal: Exclusions, Subjectivity and Development*, Sexuality, Poverty and law, Evidence Report No 109, Institute of Development Studies, https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/20.500.12413/5773/ER109_SamesexSexualitiesGenderVarianceEconomyandLivelihoodinNepal.pdf?sequence=1

^{xl} The study was designed as an ethnographic case study, which included 10 in-depth interviews with sexual and gender minority people.

^{xli} Jolly, S. (2010) *Poverty and Sexuality: What are the Connections? Overview and Literature Review*, Sida, <http://www.sxpolitics.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/sida-study-of-poverty-and-sexuality1.pdf>

^{xlii} Haste, P. and Gatete, T-K. (2015) *Law Sexuality, Poverty and Politics in Rwanda*, Sexuality, Poverty and law, Evidence Report No 131, Institute of Development Studies, https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/20.500.12413/6062/ER131_SexualityPovertyandPoliticsinRwanda.pdf?sequence=1

^{xliii} The study was designed as a case study and included informal discussions and semi-structures interviews with representatives from LGBT organisation, and participant observation during public LGBT events.

^{xliv} See for instance Coyle, D. and Boyce, P. (2015) *Same-sex Sexualities, Gender Variance, Economy and Livelihood in Nepal: Exclusions, Subjectivity and Development*, Sexuality, Poverty and law, Evidence Report No 109, Institute of Development Studies, https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/20.500.12413/5773/ER109_SamesexSexualitiesGenderVarianceEconomyandLivelihoodinNepal.pdf?sequence=1

^{xlv} UNDP, ICRW and APCOM (2018) *Know Violence: Exploring the links between violence, mental health and HIV risk among men who have sex with men and transwomen in South Asia*, https://www.asia-pacific.undp.org/content/rbap/en/home/library/democratic_governance/hiv_aids/know-violence--exploring-the-links-between-violence--mental-heal.html

^{xlvi} The study was conducted in 12 sites across seven South Asian countries: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. It used qualitative methods, including focus group discussions with 77 transwomen.

^{xlvii} World Bank (2015) *Violence against Women and Girls Resource Guide: Brief on Sexual and Gender Minority Women*, Violence against women and girls Resource Guide, The World Bank, http://www.vawgresourceguide.org/sites/vawg/files/briefs/vawg_resource_guide_sexual_and_gender_minority_women_final.pdf

^{xlviii} ActionAid's (2009) *'Hate Crimes: The Rise of 'Corrective' Rape in South Africa'*, London: ActionAid. <http://www.actionaid.org.uk/news-and-views/hate-crimes-the-rise-of-corrective-rape-in-south-africa>

^{xlix} The linkages between violence against LBT+ women and poverty are under-researched, however, there is some evidence that indicate that such linkages exist. A study of violence against LBT+ women in five countries in Asia highlights how economic status and safety can be connected – LBT+ women described that those with more economic safety could “buy” physical safety by being able to avoid unsafe spaces to a greater extent. The study also found that respondents from the lower economic brackets in Pakistan, Malaysia and the Philippines were more likely to have experienced police violence

^l Blyth, J., Alexander, K. and Woolf, L. (2020) *Out of the Margins: An intersectional analysis of disability and diverse sexual orientation, gender identity, expression & sex characteristics in humanitarian and development*

contexts, Edge Effect, <https://www.42d.org/2020/08/10/out-of-the-margins-an-intersectional-analysis-of-disability-and-diverse-sexual-orientation-gender-identity-expression-sex-characteristics-in-humanitarian-and-development-contexts/>

^{li} Ibid.

^{lii} ILGA World and Ramon Mendos, L. (2019) *State-Sponsored Homophobia 2019: Global Legislation Overview Update*,

https://ilga.org/downloads/ILGA_World_State_Sponsored_Homophobia_report_global_legislation_overview_update_December_2019.pdf

^{liii} Oosterhoff, P. Waldsman, L. and Olerenshaw, D. (2014) *Literature Review of Sexuality and Poverty*, Brief supporting Evidence Report 55, Institute of Development Studies, https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/20.500.12413/3529/ERB55_Literature_Review_Sexuality_Poverty.pdf;jsessionid=6CCFEF5E34687CCF881754DBA559F008?sequence=4

^{liiv} See e.g. Knight, K. (2016) *LGBT People in Emergencies – Risks and Service Gaps*, Human Rights Watch, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/05/20/lgbt-people-emergencies-risks-and-service-gaps>

^{liv} Humanitarian Advisory Group (2018) *Taking Sexual and Gender Minorities out of the Too-Hard Basket*, https://humanitarianadvisorygroup.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/HH_Practice-Paper-Sexual-and-Gender-Minorities-in-humanitarian-response.pdf

^{lvi} Nathwani, N. (2015) *Protecting Persons with Diverse Sexual Orientations and gender Identities: A Global Report on UNHCR’s Efforts to Protect Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex Asylum-Seekers and Refugees*, <https://www.refworld.org/docid/566140454.html>

^{lvii} Findings in the report draws from analysis of the results of a global questionnaire with UNHCR country offices. 106 country offices participated in the project.

^{lviii} RefugePoint (2018) *Disaggregating LGBTIQ Protection Concerns: Experiences of refugee communities in Nairobi*, https://www.refugepoint.org/wp-content/uploads/bsk-pdf-manager/FINAL_LGBTIQ_07122018_web_33.pdf

^{lix} The livelihood project targeted 350 participants and findings draw on an assessment of the outcomes from the project.

^{lx} Ibid.

^{lxi} Badgett, M. V. Lee., and Crehan, P. (2016) *Investing in a research revolution for LGBTI inclusion*, <https://documents.worldbank.org/en/publication/documents-reports/documentdetail/196241478752872781/investing-in-a-research-revolution-for-lgbti-inclusion>

^{lxii} Ibid.

^{lxiii} Ibid.

^{lxiv} Ibid.

^{lxv} Ibid.

Muller, A. and Hughes, T. I. (2016) ‘Making the Invisible Visible: A systematic review of sexual minority women’s health in Southern Africa’, *BMC Public Health* (2016) 16:307, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4827176/>

^{lxvi} Muller, A. and Hughes, T. I. (2016) ‘Making the Invisible Visible: A systematic review of sexual minority women’s health in Southern Africa’, *BMC Public Health* (2016) 16:307, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4827176/>