



MALMÖ UNIVERSITY
Faculty of Culture and Society

**Western Paternalism in Africa
A Comparative Case Study of Nigeria
and The Republic of Niger on Gay
Rights**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examined the influence of Western paternalism on the adoption of gay rights by Nigeria and the Republic of Niger. It seeks to provide an answer to the research question: How has Western paternalism determined Nigeria and the Republic of Niger's positions on the adoption of gay rights? The opposition of gay rights is widespread among African countries, and existing research is yet to provide an encompassing explanation for the trend. This study used the Linkage and leverage theory of Levitsky and Way (2010) to expand on research gaps found in previous literature. This thesis argues that the position of African nations on gay rights depended on their Western Linkage and Leverage from Western and non-Western external powers. A comparative, qualitative analysis of Nigeria and the Republic of Niger showed that both countries have strong Western Linkage and Leverage from Western countries. However, Nigeria has been able to resist the pressure to adopt gay rights because of its alternative leverage with non-Western countries like China and its vast oil reserve. The findings also provide further theoretical insights into the linkage and leverage concept, and it makes recommendations for further studies.

Keywords: democracy, gay rights, leverage, linkages, Western paternalism

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The efforts of Western countries in promoting gay rights in Africa has met with minimal approval as many African countries, despite the levels of influence being wielded by the West in their political and socio-economic frameworks (Felter & Renwick, 2020). The African nations chose and insisted on the fact that Western pressure cannot substitute African values and norms with regards to homosexuality (Alozie et al., 2017). Norms are instruments that help to shape global governance in administration and regulation of the standard of appropriate behaviour for actors within the global society (Levitsky & Way, 2006; Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998:891). European countries also applied them in justifying and validating their incursion into indigenous African societies and making fundamental rearrangement of African legal institutions (McNamara, 2018:516).

Article 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to which African countries are equally signatories to, preserves the rights of every individual “without distinction of any kind such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.” (United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, 2020). Western countries such as Great Britain, France and the United States of America, used this as one of the bases for insist upon the importance of gay rights in other countries as an essential fundamental human right, which should be recognised, adopted and protected (Londoño, 2016).

At the inception of the American quest for global adoption of gay rights, the former Secretary of States to the United States of America, Mrs Hillary Clinton, gave a speech at the United Nations summit in Geneva in December 2011 (Londoño, 2016). She stated, among other things, that 'gay rights are human rights and human rights are gay rights' (Brown, 2016; Londoño, 2016; Chothia, 2011). Hence, nations of the world need to follow the new Western lead again and adopt gay rights.

Levitsky and Way (2006) stated that Western nations, in their effort to influence global politics often utilise the instrument of linkages and leverage to pressure governments. In pushing the ideology of gay rights, the West made use of sanctions as a way to ensure that other nations adopt

the new policies, in almost a way of saying that they have no choice but to follow the opinion of the West (BBC News, 2011, Chothia, 2011).

Also, Western nations consider themselves as the preservers of democratic rules and policies. They take exclusive responsibility of sustaining these rules within their borders, and beyond even if they have to use any form of pressure to do so (Levitsky, 2006).

The administration of former President Barack Obama made the promotion of gay rights an integral part of American foreign policies, and it sought to ensure that homosexuality becomes accepted overseas (The White House Office of the Press Secretary, 2016; Onishi, 2015). Between 2012 and 2015, the United States spent more than \$41 million in the promotion of gay rights globally as well as a further \$700 million set aside for the support of gay communities and causes, more than half of the funds spent on sub-Saharan Africa (Onishi, 2015).

Former British Prime Minister, David Cameron, stated that Britain was going to cut financial aid to countries that do not support gay rights (BBC News, 2011) for which cause, Malawi experienced a budget cut from Britain as a result of its anti-gay attitude (BBC News, 2011). France, in 2017, launched a series of policy initiatives in 2017 among which included a push for decriminalisation of homosexuality at UN level and ensuring that 'embassies take initiatives to support LGBT rights defenders and their participation to international events' (ILGA, 2017).

Despite these efforts, many African nations, along with several other nations of the world have resolutely refused to adopt the new ideologies on gay rights, to the extent of choosing to face Western sanctions rather than bend to the ideology (Purefoy & Karimi, 2011; Chothia, 2011; BBC News, 2013). African nations have pointed out that same-sex relationships violate their traditional morals, norms and values; hence, they would resist it (Chothia, 2011).

An overview of the nations that have adopted or resisted gay rights globally shows a pattern which many have attempted to use as an explanatory factor for the African resistance to same-sex relationships (Pew, 2013). A study by Pew (2013, 2020) on 'the Global Divide on Homosexuality' showed that most of the African countries, along with many other countries in the world like India among others had the similar colonial heritage of having being colonised by Great Britain (Figure 1) (Pew, 2013; ILGA, 2019).

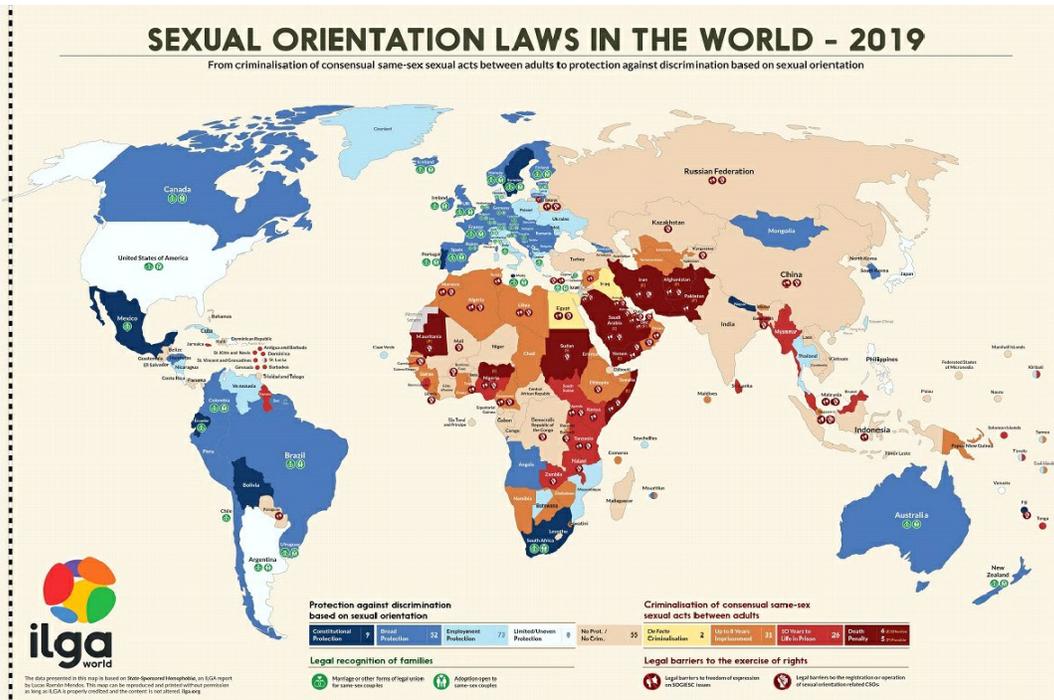


Figure 1: Sexual orientation laws around the world (ILGA, 2019)

The British Prime Minister, Theresa May, hinted on this fact when she spoke thus, "I am all too aware that these laws were often put in place by my own country", (Edozien, 2018). Also, considering that the Western non-governmental organisations like Western evangelical missionaries cascaded the anti-sodomy perspectives (van Klinken & Chitando, 2016), which makes it paradoxical that the same West is now at the centre of advocating for gay rights.

The African nations continue to be averse to the paternalistic tendencies of Western nations, insisting that they have a right to their views, norms and morals. They further argued that homophobia is not a colonial heritage; instead, it is a clash of Western values with African values.

If the above assertion is true, then it should be expected that all African countries would maintain a joint stand against gay rights, at least those who have most similar ethnicity, religious or regional characteristics should resemble one another. The African resistance to gay rights is, however, not unanimous (Felter & Renwick, 2020). African countries like South Africa, have legalised same-sex marriage and there are indications of changing attitudes towards same-sex relationships in some other African countries like Cape Verde, Mauritius, Namibia, Kenya, Uganda and Zambia (Felter & Renwick, 2020). It becomes vital to understand what could account for the reason why there are divergent attitudes towards homosexuality on the African continent.

A classic example, which provides the grounds for this research, is a comparison of Nigeria and the Republic of Niger (Figure 1). Both countries are geographically contiguous, being located within the West African sub-region and sharing similar ethnoreligious characteristics.

Nigeria and the Republic of Niger are sub-Saharan African countries located on 10° North and 8° East (Maps of World, 2020a); 16° North and longitude of 8° East (Maps of World, 2020b), respectively, have been chosen to study Western paternalism in Africa (Figure 2).



Figure 2: Image of sub-Saharan Africa showing Nigeria and the Republic of Niger (Hasa, 2017)

Nigeria has been under British influence since the 19th century. After the Second World War, it went through a series of constitutional changes and was finally granted independence from the British government in 1960 (The World Factbook, 2020a). Post-independence, Nigeria has grown to become the most populous country in Africa as well as the largest economy in the continent (Bloomberg, 2020 March 03). Nigerians made a famous stand against gay rights policy, citing it as immoral and unacceptable (The Telegraph, 2014, January 14). Consequent upon this, the Nigerian government under President Goodluck Jonathan, signed the Same-Sex Marriage Prohibition Act on Monday, 2014, January 13, which bans same-sex marriages and imposed a 14-year jail term for same-sex relations (The Washington Post, 2014, January 16). The act was passed earlier by the legislature in May 2013 (The Washington Post, 2014, January 16). Since then, there have been increasing oppositions to gay rights in the country with support from various high-standing individuals and bodies in Nigeria (Human Dignity Trust, 2020).

The Republic of Niger, like Nigeria, also got independence from France in 1960 and after its independence, has maintained close ties with its former colonial master while also adapting the French model of government (GlobalSecurity.org, 2017). The country's economy is rather weak.

In 2016, the UN ranked it as the second least developed country in the world as a result of multiple internal challenges such as food insecurity, lack of industry, high population growth and a weak educational system (The World Factbook, 2020b). Same-sex marriage is legal in the Republic of Niger (Equaldex, 2020; Refworld, 2017). Although there are some restrictions on the age of consent, yet, no laws are prohibiting sexual relations between persons of the same sex (Equaldex, 2020).

The comparison of both countries is feasible (Bryman,2012:99). Both countries are signatories and have ratified the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other International Convention against all forms discriminations (United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, 2020), within the same geographic location of West Africa, with similarities as former colonies, democratic systems of government, same economic aggregate standard (World Economic Index, 2017) but holding different positions on gay rights policy.

Given the increasing understanding of sexual freedom as an integral part of human rights, and as a modern trend in democracy, and in the light of the divergent attitudes towards homosexuality in Nigeria and the Republic of Niger, a comparison is necessary to delineate and expound on the queries of Western influence on Nigeria's opposition to the gay right's propaganda. At the same time, the Republic of Niger is permissive to gay rights. The degree of influence that Western nations have on African countries has been studied using the concepts of Linkage and Leverage, as proposed by Levitsky and Way (2010). Also, this study expounds the concept of Western paternalism in the understanding of Western influence on the international community.

Consequently, this study will examine agencies of global governance as legitimate players who weigh relevant internal and external influence on the relevance of national governments in the international arena, considering that the international society is administered in a multilevel governance structure (Hale, 2008: 74). To this end, this study aims to answer the question: "how has Western paternalism influenced Nigeria and the Republic of Niger's positions on the adoption of gay rights?"

The study will also consider the following sub-questions:

- What ratio of Western linkage was needed to influence Nigeria?
- What ratio of Western linkage was needed to influence the Republic of Niger?
- What ratio of Western leverage was needed to influence Nigeria?

- What ratio of Western leverage was needed to influence the Republic of Niger?

1.2 Hypothesis

The linkage and leverage theory is used in this study to explain how the extent of linkage and leverage that a country has can influence its adoption or resistance to the gay rights policy. African countries targeted by Western nations for their resistance to gay rights adoption are threatened with sanctions if they continue to resist. Linkages describe the relationship between the Western powers and African nations. Leverage refers "to the extent to which an African country depends on the relationship with the West for the survival of its economy". It also means that an African country has to restrain pressure from the West.

In this thesis, Western Paternalism describes the superior role adopted by Western nations, in trying to convince other nations that gay rights, like other aspects of human rights, should be adopted, following the principles of democratic governance. Governments use gay rights to signify the call for decriminalisation and destigmatisation of individuals who engage in sexual relationships with persons of the same sex.

According to the framework, a higher level of Western linkages and leverage increases the likelihood that a government will bow to Western pressure to remove the restriction of gay rights. This means that the extent of pressure from external monitoring and demands, and local oppositions may threaten a government's international reputation and hold on power. Under such circumstances, such a government has the challenge of deciding whether to adopt or resist the pressure to act in a particular direction.

In a situation where there are higher levels of Linkage and Leverage with non-Western nations, it becomes less likely that a government will bow to Western pressure. There are also non-Western linkages which counterbalance the pressure from Western governments by providing alternative sources of support that reduce the dependence of the target country on the West. This also means that the potential cost of resistance is not strong enough when compared to the government's incentives to remain in power and the potential gains of imposing such restrictions.

Consequently, for the Western pressure to adopt gay rights to be successful, the levels of Western linkages and leverage must be high enough to counterbalance the pressure or support from non-Western linkages. This further means that the level of linkages and leverage can be high or low for both Western and non-Western powers, and the ratio between the two is what determines the

outcome. This study, therefore, hypothesises that governments resist external pressure to adopt gay rights when their linkages and Leverage with Western powers are outweighed by their linkages and leverage with non-Western powers.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

In order answer the research question of *how Western paternalism influenced Nigeria and the Republic of Niger's positions on the adoption of gay rights*, it is of interest to review the contributions of previous literature on the subject matter. Thus, in this section, the author will present the reports of studies that have been carried out on the topic and round up with a summary. The main concepts considered here are colonial legacy, Western paternalism and gay rights in Africa.

2.1 Colonial Legacy

Yousaf (2019), cited (Chandra 2013; Krishna 2001), stating that mainstream political science theories often lack rigour and objectivity because they do not consider the impact of colonialism on former colonies. They instead choose to treat institutions and State structures as being comparable with the Western States, whereas mainstream IR theories ignore the colonial history of the Global South (Yousaf, 2019:178). He further stated that native societies had been disorganised by colonial rule (ibid: 180). The strategies adopted by colonial powers in their colonies have not necessarily been in the interest of the colonies; instead, they have been aimed at preserving the social control and economic interests of the colonial ruler, much to the detriment of the colonies (Lotshwao and Maruatona, 2018). Therefore, the role of the norm in global politics is highly debatable, as it is presumed that interest-driven actors use it to their advantages. Thus, the imposition of a democratic system of government in colonies like Nigeria and the Republic of Niger was not primarily with the aim of addressing developmental challenges, but they were meant to sustain the colonial powers' interest (Lotshwao and Maruatona, 2018:1038). This equivocal role of the norm in the global arena affects how a particular norm is accepted/perceived by international and national actors or how it affects their political behaviour in the global playfield. For this reason,

it is not unnatural to expect a crash in the relationship between international actors and the function/implementation of the norm on local, national, and international level.

It has been further argued that post-colonialism implies the post-independence period; and that the thoughts of the colonisers have dominated global culture while marginalising the culture of the colonies (Luburic-Cvijanovic and Muzdeka, 2016, cited in Selden and Widdowson, 1993: 189). Postcolonialism, as explained by Mishra and Hodge (2005) does not necessarily imply the end of colonisation; instead, it is another form of colonisation, also known as neo-colonialism. This is manifested in the use of political, economic, cultural, and other pressures to influence and control disadvantaged States, especially former colonised States and dependent ones (Mishra and Hodge 2005). Africans, in opposition to post-colonialism, fought against the imposition of Western cultures which they see as being alien to indigenous African culture irrespective of whatever impact that colonisation has had on the African culture (Fontera, 1960). Ramasubban (2008), in his anti-sodomy law in India study, posits that 'the colonial law' is being defended today by the modern state – as an integral element of "culture" and that states now have the history of resistance to further control (Ramasubban, 2008:25), citing Said, also explains that the imperialism focuses primarily on once colonised societies where the traces and consequences of imperialism play out. In this light, authors have stated that the drive for LGBT rights by Western powers is a form of neo-colonisation, and it is foreign to the African culture (Alozie et al., 2017). The West is said to be trying to force its ideologies on African countries. There have been reactions against the efforts of developed nations to get other countries to follow their position in legalising homosexuality, even to the extent of using threats in the form of aid withdrawal or other forms of sanctions.

2.2 Western Paternalism

Published literature is rife with definitions of paternalism, prominent among which are the propositions of Clarke (2002), Coons and Weber (2013), and Dworkin (1972), among others. These writers generally described paternalism as an instance of the interplay between two parties where one takes a superior position of reason on behalf of the other, for the purpose of procuring benefits for the receiving party. Dworkin (1972) explained that paternalism is the interference with a person's liberty of action justified by reasons referring exclusively to the welfare, good, happiness, needs, interests or values of the person being coerced'. Clarke (2002) painted a more graphic picture of paternalism with the following scenario:

X behaves paternalistically towards Y:(1) only if X aims to close an option that would otherwise be open to Y, or X chooses for Y in the event that Y is unable to choose for himself; (2) to the extent that X does so in order to promote Y's good.

In a paternalistic situation, the actor executes a substitution of the recipient's judgment on the grounds that it is in their interests, happiness, and well-being (Barnett, 2015), through an innovating Norms and ideas perceived by the international actors as the standard of life.

Six key elements were highlighted by Barnett (2015), as being essential components of a paternalistic relationship. First is a paternalist who is partially or wholly motivated by compassion, care and benevolence. Next is the assumption that the subject of paternalism is unable to make an informed decision whether resulting from incompetence, incapacity, irrationality, or some other oppressive circumstance or deficit in judgment (ibid. p.221). Third, the paternalist believes that his/her own judgment is superior or more rational than that of the subject (ibid. 221). Fourth, the paternalistic relation will exist as acts of substitution (positive or negative) such that one can choose to override another person's preference on paternalistic grounds. The paternalist can also exhibit feelings of fulfilment in exercising an existing duty or responsibility, much like a parent acts towards a child (Barnett, 2015: 221). Finally, paternalism allocates roles of superiority and inferiority which positions are distributed based on relative competence and incompetence (Barnett, 2015:221).

There are however arguments about the justification for paternalism based on the debate of balancing the need for State control of human activities and the need to the fact that it interferes with; individual liberty (Le Grand & New; 2015; Coons & Weber, 2013; De Marneffe, 2006; Kleinig 1983). State control can be, often justifiably, in the interest of parties being controlled, most notably when such actions also serve to maintain the order of societal balance (Le Grand & New; 2015; Thomas & Buckmaster, 2010). However, it will be dicey to assess this in light of international politics. On how some States attempt to influence what another should do, especially in relation to what counts as moral or immoral acts?

More so, Barnett (2015:216) stated that contemporary global governance is organised in a system of care and control. The world's global governance is designed to reduce human suffering and improve the flourishing of humankind while permitting each individual to decide what was best for them. On the other hand, the same global governance system is also entwined with a control

mechanism. There is a delicate balance between trying to care for the people while also having to deal with the task of controlling what is considered inappropriate (Barnett, 2015). It can easily be argued that paternalism can be employed in the protection of international democratic principles and agitation for human rights.

For instance, in situations where a State is infringing on the human rights of its citizens and a stronger nation wades in to assist in addressing the gross human rights abuse. Much of global affairs follow such paternalistic patterns where international development agencies and peacebuilders set themselves as having better expertise, and they use that as grounds to make decisions that others should at least have a say in or be allowed to make for themselves. Such actions should probably be carried out with the consent and cooperation of the presumed beneficiaries. In such an instance, the paternalistic scenario will probably need to be redefined.

For instance, in the African context, Oloruntoba (2020) believed that paternalism is more of a restriction of State freedom to seek to direct the affairs of one state because of a belief that such will serve for the good of such state in the final analysis. Such rules are somewhat presumptuous, assuming that the recipient wants help in the first instance (Oloruntoba, 2020).

2.3 Gay Rights in Africa

There has been an intense backlash against gay rights in Africa spanning more than 50% of the countries on the continent. Mithika (2019) reported that 34 of the 54 African nations still criminalise homosexuality, and they target gender non-conforming and transgender individuals. Homosexuality, in some of these countries, attracts sanctions that range from imprisonment to life imprisonment or even death (International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association, ILGA, 2016). Despite several displeased reactions by many nations, including powerful Western nations, these countries have persisted in resisting the pressure to legalise gay rights. The Western nations argued that gay rights are human rights which should be upheld under a democratic State. Obama equated anti-gay attitudes in Africa to racist attitudes in the United States of America (USA) as they are targeted against a minority group, and this does not work well in an ideal democracy (Baker, 2015).

The strong public reaction against gay rights that is characteristic of many African populations, Nigeria inclusive, is grounded on the "notion that homosexuality is un-African (Cock, 2003:41, Divani, 2011). Such anti-gay narratives have for a very long time been continuously re-echoed in African societies.

Western countries, riding on the report of many studies have insisted that Africans are merely holding on to imported homophobia given that there is historical evidence that gay practices existed in several parts of the African continent prior to the advent of colonialism. They argued that Christian Evangelicals were the vehicles through which homophobia spread to the African continent and which has become entrenched within the continent. Riding on this argument, they propose that it is vital that African nations abandon their archaic ideology, given that advanced countries have concluded and adopted gay rights, thereby repealing the earlier notions that gay practices are evil (Evaristo, 2014; Smith, 2014).

2.4 Summary of Literature Review

In summary, the review of the literature showed that there is a trend of global domination and control by Western powers, spanning from the time of colonial rule up to the post-colonial period. The West makes an effort to decide what other countries should do using themselves as a standard. This stance was applied in the quest for gay rights adoption with the West proclaiming that any previous notions held against homosexuality need to be discarded as there is a modern trend of human rights which requires that gay rights should be legalised. However, they have met with, possibly, unexpected resistance from African countries who believe that the West is taking it too far. This viewpoint has persisted in the face of various forms of campaigns, pressures and subtle threats from the West. This study will attempt to examine the extent to which this trend of Western paternalism has influenced the decision of Nigeria and the Republic of Niger is the adoption of gay rights.

The next chapter will expound on the possible relationships between the West and the African nations through the linkage and leverage concepts of Levitsky and Way (2010).

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This section will highlight the theoretical framework that will be used to test the empirical materials in order to answer the research question *how has Western paternalism influenced Nigeria and the Republic of Niger's positions on the adoption of gay rights*. The theoretical framework rests on the insights that were drawn from the review of previous literature, followed by an elaboration of the Linkage and leverage theory of Levitsky and Way (2010). This section starts

with an overview of the linkage and leverage theory. Then it proceeds to assess an adjustment of the theory to the framework of the study.

3.1 The Linkage and Leverage Theory

Several perspectives have been adopted in attempting to explain the forms and types of Western influence in the promotion of Western democracy, ideologies and technologies across the globe (Gruavogel & von Soest, 2014; Grugel & Singh, 2013; Pyykkönen, 2012; Levitsky & Way, 2010; Pridham, 1997). One of them is the linkage and leverage theory of Levitsky & Way (2010:379) which seeks to explain the extent of ties and transnational border flux between particular countries; and leverage, the extent to which a government is vulnerable to and impuissant to external democratisation pressures (Levitsky and Way, 2010:379-380). The Levitsky and Way (2010) proposed that a particular government's Linkage to the West, its organisational power, and vulnerability to Western Leverage determines the impact of external influence and how this reduces or increases the cost of authoritarianism and government repression (Levitsky & Way, 2010). This meant that there was a unique relationship between the two concepts such that the inadequacy of one affects the outcome of the other and vice versa. Thus, Leverage without Linkage is associated with the inability to elicit effects resulting from pressures and influences, whereas the presence of linkages improves the chances and success of change due to pressures and influences. Consequently, the degree of inequality between Linkage and Leverage has the potential to influence a State (Levitsky & Way, 2010). The following subsections give further details of the linkage and leverage theory.

3.2 Linkages

Linkages cover the extent of economic, geopolitical, social, communication and transnational civil society attachments between countries which operate through material mechanisms and diffusion of ideas and norms (Levitsky and Way, 2010). A country would be able, from the foregoing, to influence the activities in another country as a result of shared connections on any of the aforementioned grounds. The stronger the bond, the higher the possibility of influence from one government to the other.

In applying this notion to this study, an assessment of the Western use of several linkage variables – post-colonial, economic, social and political attachments provide grounds for pushing for reforms or outright change in both Nigeria and the Republic of Niger with regards to LGBT rights. The authors explain that it comprises five main dimensions (Levitsky & Way, 2010: 384):

- *Geopolitical Linkage* refer to connections to Western governments as well as and participation in Western-led international cooperation;
- *Economic Linkage*: includes investments, aids, import and exports of goods and services;
- *Social Linkage*: the movement of people from one nation to the other for educational, political, economic or even recreational purposes;
- *Communication Linkage*: the international flow of information which includes internet connectivity, telecommunication services and media coverage
- *Transnational civil society Linkage*: includes ties to Western non-governmental organisations and groups.

Colonial heritage also forms another significant source of Linkage (such as the relationship between Britain and Nigeria as well as France and the Republic of Niger), along with military occupation, or long-standing geopolitical alliances. It may be further enhanced by cultural and ethnic similarities. (Gozzi, 2018; Mawere & Mubaya, 2016; Njoh, 2000).

There are several actors who play different roles in the Linkage and leverage relationship (Figure 3). These are the national government, international actors, and domestic actors. The national government refers to the state which is the recipient of international support or influence such as the government of Nigeria and the Republic of Niger; international actors are bodies and organisations which operate on a platform of multinational influence such as the United Nations, International Committee of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent, World Bank and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees among others. They also include countries who wield global influence as a result of their dominant positions in these organisations such as the United States, Great Britain, France and China. These countries also seek to stand as the fore-bearers and standards for democratic governance globally (Tabulawa, 2010; Pridham, 1997). Domestic actors are influencers within a country (Levitsky and Way, 2010). The government of any country purports to act in their interest, seeing that it stands to represent them as political heads. However, as Levitsky and Way (2010) pointed out, the government only acts to the extent to which its personal interests are secured.

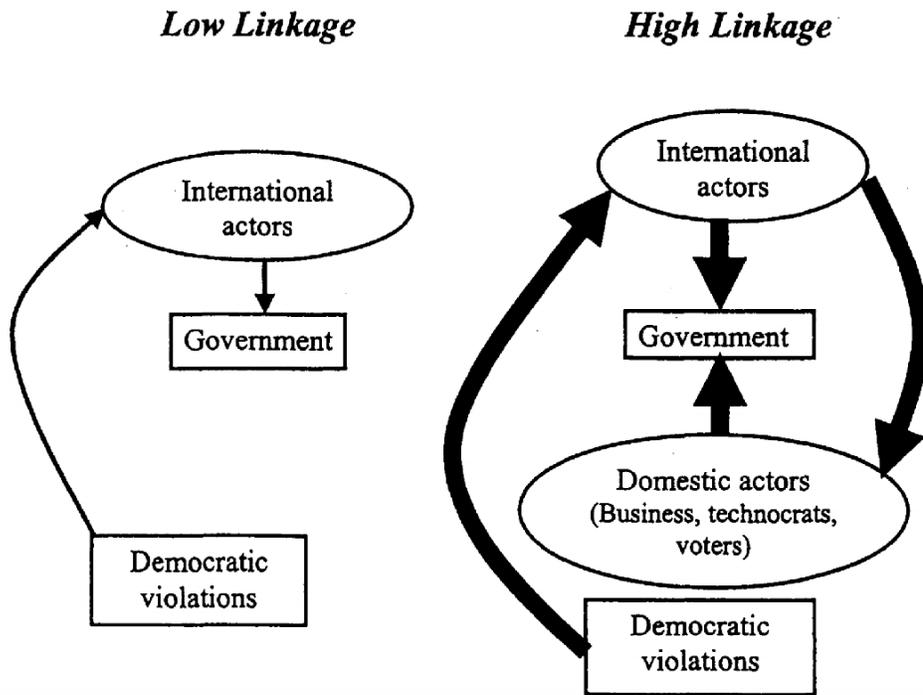


Figure 3: *Linkage and the Boomerang Effect (Levitsky and Way, 2006: 387)*

In explaining the interaction between actors, Levitsky and Way presented two linkage scenarios which show the path of influence which international actors can have on a national government (Figure 3). The first scenario is low Linkage. In this situation, international actors, identifying instances of violation of democratic principles, seek to force a government to modify its policies. They try to bring a change in national policies directly. This could be accomplished through sanctions, coercion, subtle threats or outright aggressive intervention, depending on several factors like the level of influence the international actor is able to exert directly on the government. Such Linkage as this, according to Levitsky and Way, will be weak because the government is able to resist the pressure, probably due to the other sources of capacity for resistance (Levitsky and Way, 2010).

High Linkage, on the other hand, refers to a situation where a national government is being influenced not only by international actors but also by bodies within its territorial jurisdiction, to act in a certain way or to enact a given policy (Levitsky & Way, 2010). For instance, assuming there is a situation where a national government is considered to be acting in violation of democratic principles, international actors may seek to influence such government to renege on its stance. This, as explained, earlier, is a low linkage situation and may not be significant enough to

cause the government to want to change its position. However, where the government, in addition to the pressure from international actors, is also being pressured by domestic actors within its territory the level of perceived pressure will be much, and it is more likely that it will be possible to make the government reverse its position (Levitsky & Way, 2010). International actors, acting along will only be able to put direct pressure on the government, and this may not help them in accomplishing accomplish their desired aim; however, with the help of domestic actors, they will be able to put both direct (boomerang effect) and indirect (double boomerang effect) in putting pressure on the government to bring about a change (Levitsky & Way, 2010). Levitsky and Way (2010) believed that the method is more likely to be successful in putting pressure on a national government and for making it conform to whatever issue it is needed to be addressed.

Levitsky and Way (2010) further indicated that Western Linkage generates a pressure of various sorts on countries such as increased international attention on autocratic regimes, higher likelihood of Western interference in instances of abuse and increased local preference for pro-democratic governance against authoritarian regimes. This helps to protect minority groups (Levitsky & Way, 2010: 384-385).

3.3 Leverage

The concept of leverage, according to the Levitsky and Way (2010), refers to an incumbent government's vulnerability to external forces (pressure). In a democratic government, pressure may be exerted in a number of ways such as positive conditionality via acceptance in the global community, and aid or (support franchise); while negative indices manifest through punitive sanctions like aid withdrawal, trade sanctions; diplomatic persuasion and military might (ibid. p. 382-383). The level of influence susceptibility from leverage is generally affected by the size and strength of countries. Countries with small, aid-dependent economies like the Republic of Niger and most African countries, are more susceptible to external pressures than those with higher population index, stronger economies, and a strong military base, such as China, India and Russia (Levitsky & Way, 2010:383). Apart from the above, the extent of Western influence on a country can also be limited by the existence of non-Western powers that provide alternative support frameworks in economic, military, and diplomatic aspects (ibid. p.383). Furthermore, competition for foreign policy objectives can also be a factor. In countries where Western States hold economic or security sway, autocratic governments may ward-off external demand for a democratic process, by adopting or adjusting their policy to Western dictates or demands as a way of protecting their

national interest (Levitsky & Way, 2010:383). Consequently, leverage removes opposition to Western manipulation (Figure 4).

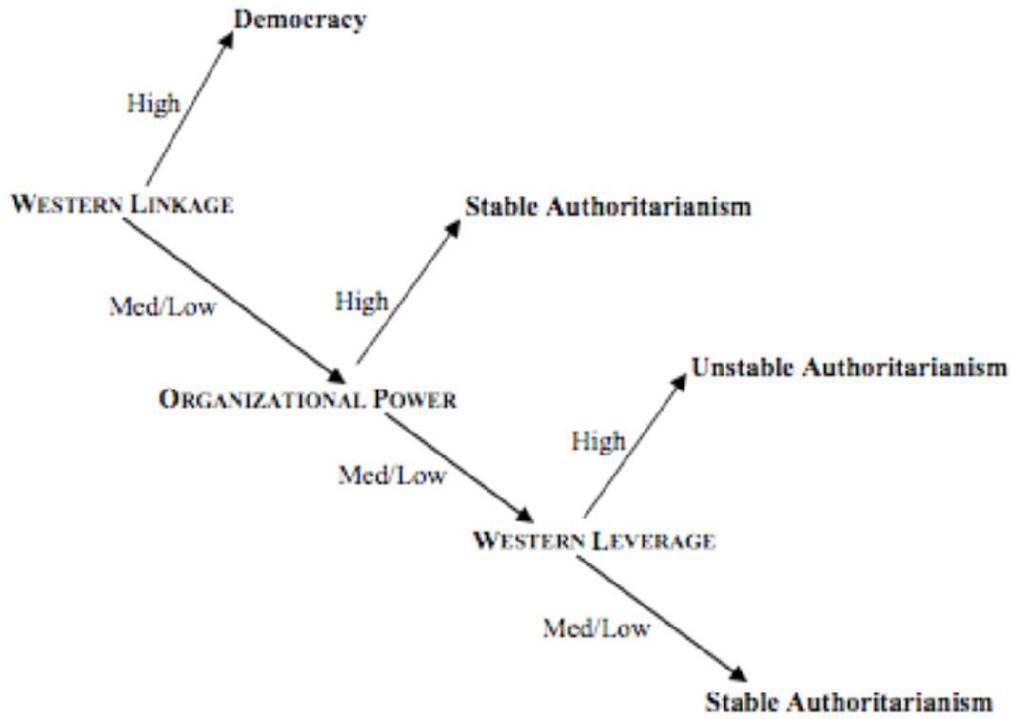


Figure 4: *The three-step argument of linkage and leverage (Levitsky and Way, 2010)*

3.4 Adjusting linkage and leverage to the Research Framework

According to the linkage and leverage theory, there are three factors that define Western influence: 'Western leverage', 'Linkage to the West, and 'the organisational power of the incumbent regimes' (the State organisation) (Levitsky & Way, 2010). The concepts of Linkage and Leverage have a unique relationship with one another such that the inadequacy of one affects the other and vice-versa (Grinde, 2018). Hence, Leverage without Linkage is associated with the inability to elicit effects, resulting from pressures and influences whereas the presence of Linkage improves the chances and success of change due to pressure and influence (Grinde, 2018). The degree of inequality between Linkage and Leverage has the potential to weaken the influence of a State (see figure 3 above) (Levitsky & Way, 2010).

Grinde (2018) proposed an adjustment to the linkage and leverage theory by proposing that the linkages are more susceptible to short-term change and influence from domestic factors; and that the variables of organisational power and leverage could be better understood alongside Western and non-Western linkages (p.20). This argument is similar to the propositions of Jackson (2016)

and Tolstrup (2015). Linkage to non-Western countries can weaken the effect of the pressure of the West on a country, especially as it applies to the adoption of a given policy (Figure 5). The West, through the strength of its connection to a national government, may be able to exert pressure on it to conform to some policies, to the extent to which they consider it as being in accordance to their value propositions (Grinde, 2018). With minimal options for action, a government has no choice than to follow the line of the Western powers. However, in situations where such a government has other alternative sources to which it is equally connected and whose influence is able to match the pressure from the West, such government is able to have enough ability to resist the pressure from the West (Grinde, 2018).

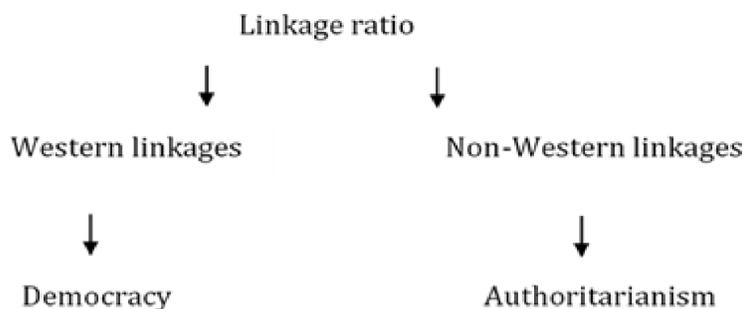


Figure 5: Improved version of linkage and leverage theory (Grinde, 2018)

In applying this notion to this study, an assessment is made of how the several forms of Linkage to the West – economic, geopolitical, social, communication and transnational civil society – influence the push for reforms or outright change in both Nigeria and the Republic of Niger with regards to gay rights. Western nations consider gay rights as part of human rights, which should be protected, and they have resolved to ensure that other nations of the world adopt this viewpoint. They push this ideology forward through both overt and covert channels to the extent of issuing threats to countries that do not follow their ideology. However, Nigeria has been able to resist the pressure, whereas the Republic of Niger has been silent on the policy although it did not outrightly resist the push, unlike Nigeria. This study seeks to assess the extent to which linkages to West determined Nigeria and the Republic of Niger's positions on gay rights. This is accomplished through a careful examination of the operation of the above-listed factors in each country, in accordance with their relationship to the West, and the degree of acceptance or opposition.

3.5 Conclusion

The linkage and leverage theory offers a way to explain how the activities of international actors can influence the operations of a government. Linkage refers to the relationship between one government and the other, whereas leverage refers to the extent to which one government depends on others for assistance. Higher linkages and leverages mean that a government will have limited space to operate independently of external pressure, whereas lower linkages and leverage will mean that a government will be able to resist external pressures. In the context of this study, Western paternalism will be able to influence the decision of a government to the extent to which such government does not have alternative routes of action such as the presence of non-Western Linkage and Leverage. This study will attempt to assess the extent to which Western paternalism has influenced Nigeria and the Republic of Niger in the adoption of gay rights.

CHAPTER FOUR METHODOLOGY

This section presents the methodology that guided the execution of this research, which seeks to answer the research question of *how has Western paternalism influenced Nigeria and the Republic of Niger's positions on the adoption of gay rights?*, based on the conceptual and theoretical background of the study. This also informed the procedures for data collection, analysis and illustration of how the Western notions of Linkage and Leverage reflect different positions by Nigeria and the Republic of Niger on the adoption of gay rights policy.

4.1 Research Methodology

The research question for this thesis was investigated through qualitative comparative case analysis. *This method of documentary research combines the strength of both the case study and the comparative research proved resourceful to carry out an analysis of a small number of cases even with limited resources (Collier, 1993). In the context of the present study, it provided a clear guide for the method of data collection, case selection, data analysis and interpretation of results. Authors like Mishra and Hodge, (2015, Ramasubban (2008), in his anti-sodomy law in India study and Barnett, (2015) have used a similar approach of a qualitative method in studying issues relating to colonial studies.

4.2 Case Selection

The author considered case selection to be a critical step in qualitative studies that requires careful attention in order to maximise the use of available resources and to minimise bias. Consequently, Mill's method (George and Bennet 2005) was utilised in case selection for this study, with specific considerations given to instances where Western Linkage was referenced to influence public opinions on gay rights policy an instance of which is the UK and US involvement in the pressure on Nigeria not to enact the Same-Sex Marriage Prohibition Act (SSMPA) of 2013 along with the attendant role of France in the Republic of Niger's policy formations.

Cases in this study were selected based on their relevance to the variables of the study as well as the possibility of variance in the dependent variable (Bryman,2012:388), meaning that cases were selected based on their relevance to the subject matter of the Western influence of gay rights adoption in Africa. The author, considering that Western paternalism has many variations and for the purpose of this study, focused on the materials that were relevant in explaining the subject matter of Western Linkage and Leverage. This covers both countries' histories from their colonial past till date while specific attention was paid to recent history on gay rights campaign (Bryman, 2012:77). An example of this is the gay rights campaign of the United States President Barack Obama in some African countries.

The researcher chose Nigeria and the Republic of Niger as a case study of reactions to gay rights policy in Africa, with Nigeria having established a formal law against gay rights while the Republic of Niger did not (Bryman,2012:77; 418). The geographical contiguity of both nations provided a basis for proposing that they have shared values, and this makes them comparable (Bryman,2012:77). Instances, where there were specific actions for and against gay rights in both countries, were considered using articles, reports and studies that have been produced in line with the study goals.

In summary, this study considered that both Nigeria and the Republic of Niger were colonised by European States (Bryman,2012:77) whose interests were economic, social and cultural expansion, both are located in West Africa and maintain a continued relationship with their former masters after they obtained political independence in 1960. Several indices support contextual similarities in the two states except for few differences in economic dependence. Nigeria opposes the global gay rights movement while the Republic of Niger has not shown any opposition to the policy, nor

does it make any sanction against gay activities in its territory. The prevailing circumstances that could account for this contrast would be highlighted in the course of this study.

4.3 Data Collection

Scott (1990; cited in Bryman, 2012), recommended four criteria to be used in assessing the quality of documents for use in research which are authenticity credibility, representativeness and meaning. For practical reasons, arising from the methodology and design of this study, the author collected data from primary and secondary sources through media that are easily accessible and via the internet. All data collection activities were guided by these principles.

Primary sources of data included news media like the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Telegraph Newspaper, Daily Post and press releases. Secondary data from Non-Governmental Organisations such as the Human Rights Watch, Freedom House and International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA), which provided quotations of speeches made by prominent figures from the Western world, Nigeria and the Republic of Niger were also considered. Furthermore, the author examined the constitutions of Nigeria and the Republic of Niger, and the Same-Sex Marriage Prohibition Act (SSMPA) of 2013, for the causal relationship between colonial law and the SSMPA. Moreover, academic articles were utilised. The combination of both primary and secondary data sources allowed for more reliable findings and strengthened the analysis of data.

4.3.1 Method of Data Collection

As earlier stated, the author collected data based on documentary research methods. This method involved the review of documents that contain information related to the issue being investigated (Bailey, 1994). Documents and texts were sourced from official websites and online databases of relevant organisations, groups and related sources. Information source was limited to sources that were considered credible like official websites of international organisations, official newspaper sites and government websites (Appendix 1). Relevant information was also sought through online search engines like Google and Google Scholar. Appropriate keywords were entered, and relevant search results were checked, and information that was appropriate to the study were identified and reviewed. This method also helped provide a guide to organisational websites that further helped the study enquiry.

4.4 Method of Analysis

Mill's method was applied in the analysis of the study data. The method was employed in comparing the emergent themes in each country to identify the patterns of similarities and differences with regards to the variables under study - Western relations and activities in the effort to cascade the norm of gay rights in Africa, with a particular interest in Nigeria and the Republic of Niger. Both present and past information. This Way, it was possible to identify and attend to the research questions.

4.4.1 Analytical Framework

The researcher structured the analytical framework to answer the research questions of the study, as stated below. This was done using a step by step approach to address the research questions of the study one after the other. First was a consideration of Linkage to the West in Nigeria and the Republic of Niger. An assessment was made of the various dimensions of Linkage viz: geopolitical, economic, social and communication. Then, the study considered how Linkage affected the adoption or rejection of gay rights policy in the two countries. Next was an assessment of the ratio of Western Leverage in Nigeria and the Republic of Niger.

Consequent upon these assessments, inferences were drawn, within the context of the study framework, to determine the extent to which Linkage and Leverage with the West could determine the adoption of gay rights policy in the two countries. This led to the drawing up of conclusions on the analysis.

4.4.2 Dependent Variable (Gay Rights Policy)

The dependent variable of this research is the position of Nigeria and the Republic of Niger on gay rights policy. Some countries have evidently not legitimised gay rights regardless of the increasing pressure to recognise lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender rights. Gay rights advocates have gained popularity across Western democracies, whereas anti-gay laws are increasingly being passed in African countries. Up to 78% of the 33 African countries are reported to be intolerant to homosexuality (Afrobarometer, 2016).

4.4.3 Independent Variable (Western Paternalism: linkage and leverage)

Western paternalism is the independent variable, and it is studied through the extent of Linkage and Leverage that the Western nations have with Nigeria and the Republic of Niger. The involvement of Western institutions and organisations in the selected countries constitute linkages. It is beyond the scope of this study to satisfactorily account for and draw inferences from ties

existing between the West and Western organisations. Instead, the focus of analysis will be based on:

- Geopolitical linkages (ties with multilateral institutions, political ties)
- Economic linkages (trade, loans, state aid or funding)
- Social linkages (flow of people across borders, including migration, diaspora communities and elite education in the West)
- Communication linkages (flow of information, including internet services and connectivity, digital satellite television, etc)

This is used to assess and elaborate on the levels of the Western and non-West linkages, and the impact of leverages, in the form of sanctions on targeted States (such as aid withdrawal).

Different levels of Linkage and Leverage help create distinct external influences, and the ratio of outcome and balance between linkages and leverage can be found in the comparison between the levels of the cumulative factors (Levitsky & Way, 2006: 386).

This framework will evaluate and establish the norm transfer and diffusion effect of Linkage. Haven presented the colonial ties of Nigeria and the Republic of Niger with Britain and France, respectively. This document will further establish the role of Western Leverage in these States, especially in Nigeria, whose anti-gay position has exposed it to some pressure from the several Western States such as described in speeches below (Appendix 2).

4.5 Operationalization

As outlined in the theoretical framework, linkages and leverage are the independent variables with the most causal influence in explaining the outcome in the dependent variable. In turn, the US, EU, and Western-led institutions constitute the base of Western linkages, and China as the non-Western actor (Levitsky and Way, 2010:43). These linkages do not fully represent the inherent variety of components, especially as touching factors listed above. Linkages make the impact evaluation of both the technique and process of norm diffusion feasible (Levitsky and Way, 2010:43-45). These actors were included to reflect gay rights policy and the "norm diffusion" effects of linkages. In specific terms, each was used to determine the density of Western and non-Western linkages' influences. By so doing, the ratio, or balance quotients were based on comparing the factors with its attendant cumulative level.

4.6 Conclusion

The research method employed by the researcher for this thesis was a qualitative case study, engaging Mill's method of comparison in understanding the similarities and differences of the variables in both countries for an adequate comparative analysis. The case study analysis was chosen because it affords a comprehensive and wide range of data collection from multiple sources with comprehensive information. The case study afforded the researcher the opportunity to examine the variables to provide an understanding of the situation of the divergent view of the particular norm in Nigeria and the Republic of Niger with similarities in Democratic governance, geopolitical relations, social and economic status. The execution of this study was limited by certain constraints. First, the researcher was not able to go outside of the knowledge production process due to the constructivist methodology utilised (Bryman, 2012:405). This meant that there was a limitation in the perception of social phenomena and issues (Halperin and Heath, 2017:227). Also, the documentary research method used in collecting the data had limitations since it had to rely only on information that was available in existing documents (Bryman, 2012:405). Such documents could have been subject to bias. The global spate of Covid-19 pandemic further limited the feasibility carrying out any fieldwork in the countries under investigation. The implication of the above is that reports of various documents were subject to the authors' interpretations, which might be subjective in some cases (Bryman, 2012:405).

Direct quotations from primary sources of data were used in the analysis given that they were the only source of valid information that could support the arguments of this study. However, efforts were made to minimise the use of such quotations and where they were used, appropriate citations were included for proper referencing.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS

The chapter presents an analysis data based on the research question of *how has Western paternalism influenced Nigeria and the Republic of Niger's positions on the adoption of gay rights.*

5.1 Linkage to the West

The first sub-question of this study asked, Does Western Linkage explain Nigeria and the Republic of Niger's positions on gay rights policy? In answering this question, this study examined the ratio of Western Linkage to Nigeria and the ratio of Western Linkage to the Republic of Niger.

5.1.1 What ratio of linkage was needed to influence Nigeria?

Geopolitical linkage

There is a close geopolitical Linkage between Western countries and Nigeria. The country's colonial history influenced its adoption of a democratic system of government, just like Britain and its constitution was derived mainly from the British constitution (Parkinson, 2013). Nigeria is also a member of the Commonwealth, a voluntary association of 54 independent and equal countries, which were all former British Colonies although other countries who wish to join were subsequently allowed to do so (The Commonwealth, 2020). The head of the Commonwealth is the British Crown, represented this time by Queen Elizabeth II; the Commonwealth meets once a year to discuss issues by which she is able to exert some level of influence on the member countries. The country is also a member of several international organisations, along with Western countries such as the United Nations and the World Health Organisation (US Embassy & Consulate in Nigeria, 2020). Nigeria depends on these relations to maintain its position in the international comity of nations which includes opportunities for trading, border integrity and alliance in times of conflict. This describes the neo-colonialist connection between Britain and its former colonies, as mentioned by Lotshwao and Maruatona (2018).

Economic linkage

There are significant economic linkages between Nigeria and the West as Nigeria trades with many Western nations (Adesoji, 2019). The country belongs to several international economic and trade organisations such as International Monetary Fund, World Bank, World Trade Organisation and the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (US Embassy & Consulate in Nigeria, 2020). These organisations are mostly led by Western countries, and they significantly influence the decisions of their member-nations.

Several Western organisations such as Shell BP, Chevron, Mobil, Nestle and Unilever have significant operations in Nigeria (The Oil Bloc, 2019). Similarly, many Nigerian firms are seeking to establish their business in these foreign countries, such as financial institutions like banks (Alade, 2014).

Furthermore, a significant part of Nigeria's imports and exports go to Western countries like the United States, Netherlands and Sweden while Nigeria also imports a significant volume of goods

and services from them. Nigeria's export products include Crude petroleum, petroleum gas, refined petroleum, cocoa and other agricultural products while it mostly imports refined petroleum, passenger and cargo ships, wheat, cars and raw sugar (Observatory of Economic Complexity, 2020a).

Social linkage

There is a high level of social Linkage between Nigeria and Britain. The UK has been home to a substantial Nigerian diaspora, due to the ongoing educational links (notably at the tertiary education level where Nigerians are the third-largest group of overseas students). These continue to strengthen ties between the Nigerian elite, the upper-middle class, and the UK government. Also, shared similarities in weather conditions and time zones make it easy for Nigerians to settle in the UK. For instance, about 134,000 Nigerians visited the UK in 2014 (Hearne, 2017:1-2). This is coupled with the fact that British English has been adopted as the official language in Nigeria and is even spoken by many Nigerians than their own native language (Osoba & Alebiosu, 2017).

Given the level of Nigeria's Linkage to Britain, it would be expected that there would also be a diffusion of favourable disposition towards gay rights. The focus of this study has proven otherwise. Nigeria has refused to legalise same-sex marriage. This retains the puzzle of what could account for the country's resistance to Western pressure to legalise same-sex marriage.

Communication linkage

Nigeria uses lots of communications channels which are serviced from Western nations. These include the internet, social media, technological innovations and office technologies (Kemp, 2019a).

Non-Western linkage

Nigeria trades with non-Western countries like India, China and South Africa. On the import side, more than a quarter of Nigeria's import comes from China followed by Belgium-Luxembourg, the Netherlands and South Korea. (Hearne, 2017:1-2; Simoes, 2020). The significant level of trade with non-Western countries makes Nigeria have alternative trade partners apart from the Western nations, and it could afford to bargain its position in issues of international concerns.

Western linkage and gay rights adoption in Nigeria

The link between Nigeria and the West, especially Britain, has made the UK attempt to take responsibility for the rejection of gay rights in Nigeria. The former British Prime Minister Theresa May on behalf of her country took responsibility for the position Nigeria has taken concerning gay rights policy issue by saying "I know that these laws are enacted mostly by my country" (BBC, 2018; Edozien, 2018), Britain smuggled, legalised homophobia into its colonies (Jideonwo, 2018). Britain was trying to prove to Nigeria that the colonial history of Nigeria is the reason why Nigerians have inherited and held firmly to the viewpoint that stands against gay rights. It has become essential for them to change this mindset seeing that the Western countries have found gay rights to be something that should be protected.

The Democratic process in the countries, the Freedom House organisation's 2018 index, rates the country of an overall grading of 50% in political rights, civil rights, electoral process, and governance (Freedom House, 2018). However, considering the country's established position on gay rights, the complexities lie in the government's mode of attainment of this goal. John Kerry, former United States Secretary of state, speaks on Nigeria's position on gay rights "Beyond the prohibitions on same-sex marriage, this law (SSMPA 2013) restricts freedom of association and expression for Nigerians" he further went on to say, "this no doubt is not consistent with the Nigerian international legal obligations but seriously undermine democratic reforms and fundamental human rights" (Sotunde, 2019; Onuah, 2014).

These and many more were the linkage-facilitated efforts to make Nigeria change its position on the adoption of gay rights.

5.1.2 What ratio of linkage was needed to influence the Republic of Niger?

The Republic of Niger has several levels of linkages with France as posited by Levitsky and Way (2006). It also has such relationships with other Western nations, although its primary interaction is with France.

Geopolitical Linkage

First, there is a close geopolitical linkage between the Republic of Niger and France arising directly from their colonial history. The Republic of Niger practices a democratic system of government just like France, and its constitution was adapted from the French constitution. Apart from this,

France, as mentioned earlier, maintains a strong relationship with its former colonies, to the extent that some have accused the country of neo-colonialism (Melly & Darracq, 2013). The Republic of Niger is tightly enmeshed in this arrangement, given its close geo-political ties with France (Kane, 2017).

Economic Linkage

There is a significant economic linkage between France and the Republic of Niger. The currency of the Republic of Niger, like many other former French African colonies, is the Franc of the Financial Community of Africa (CFA). The West African CFA franc (XOF) is differentiated from the Central African CFA (XAF), but both are guaranteed by the French Treasury (Chen, 2019). Also, France is Niger's most significant economic partner to over 50 per cent, making the country vulnerable. The economic weakness of the Republic of Niger meant that it depends a lot on financial aids from foreign countries of which France is a significant contributor. Apart from this, France sources lots of raw materials from Niger most important of which is uranium.

Social Linkage

Social Linkage with France is revealed in the fact that French is the official language of the Republic of Niger and much of the socio-cultural life in Niger is primarily influenced by its colonial heritage from France. Similarly, lots of Nigerien citizens reside in France, many of whom have naturalised there. Also, many French expatriates are residing across the Republic of Niger. For the Republic of Niger, the Linkage to France is high. Apart from France, the Republic of Niger has strong relations with the European Union, the United States and newer partners like Turkey and China (GlobalSecurity.org, 2020b). However, France still has a very significant presence and influence in the activities of the Republic of Niger.

Communication linkage

The Republic of Niger has internet connectivity over various ICT, Broadband and E-commerce channels. These are powered by both local and foreign Telecommunications provider companies. (Miniwatts Marketing Group, 2013). These facilitated various digital communications within and outside the country (Kemp, 2019b).

Non-Western Linkage

The Republic of Niger has relations with other non-Western countries like China, Nigeria, Thailand and India (The World Factbook, 2020b). It maintains substantial socio-economic

relations with these countries in several areas such as trade partnerships, refugee management and geopolitical alliances (The World Factbook, 2020b)

5.1.3 Summary on ratio of linkages

In summary, an overview of the linkage and leverage ratios of Nigeria and the Republic of Niger shows that both countries have high Linkage to the West. These linkages were manifested in geopolitical, economic and social interactions. On the grounds of these linkages, the Western nations have been able to be in positions where they can have considerable influence on the two nations. However, apart from the Western world, these countries also have relations with non-Western countries like India, China and other African countries (Observatory of Economic Complexity, 2020b) (Table 1).

Table 1: Overview of Western linkage with Nigeria and the Republic of Niger

<i>Case</i>	<i>Ratio of Western Linkage</i>
Nigeria	High
Republic of Niger	High

5.2 Leverage with the West

5.2.1 What ratio of leverage was needed to influence Nigeria?

Western Leverage in Nigeria

Nigeria has several socio-economic challenges which make it dependent on foreign assistance in the form of aid. These challenges include high levels of poverty, low life expectancy, high birth rates, high infant mortality rate, low literacy level regional violence and conflicts, low per capita income, insurgency and reduced quality of life (Foreign Assistance, 2020; Internet Geography, 2020). In 2018, Nigeria received \$3.302 billion in foreign aid (World Bank, 2019).

The primary funders of Nigeria's foreign aid are the United States (through the United States Agency for International Development – USAID) and the United Kingdom (through the Department for International Development – DFID). Other sources of funds include organisations like the World Bank and charities (Internet Geography, 2020; Foreign Assistance, 2020; DFID 2018).

The substantial investment of foreign aid into Nigeria means that the donor countries have the protection of particular interests in Nigeria, and they are able to influence government activities to an extent. However, the extent of donor control in Nigeria is checkmated by the fact that Nigeria

is an emerging country, but it is a victim of unequal wealth distribution and resource mismanagement.

Nigeria has a relatively stable financial position due to its large deposit of natural resources, especially crude oil. Her vast crude oil and petroleum deposits remain an integral part of the Nigerian economic prosperity. The country has been able to trade its commodities with other countries in the world. The country's top export products include crude petroleum, petroleum gas, refined petroleum, cocoa beans and rough wood whereas its top import products include refined petroleum, passenger and cargo ships, wheat, cars and raw sugar.

Non-Western Leverage

Nigeria also has leverage, the massive petroleum deposits and her relationship with non-Western countries, with whom it has trade relationships. Trade with China has been on a steady rise, as the latter's trade in Africa increases. China's influence is relatively stable in most nations the world over. China ranks second after the US as a developmental model and exerts palpable external influence like the colonial powers, thereby making China a counter-hegemony force (Lekorwe, Chingwete, Okuru & Samson, 2016) (Figure 6).

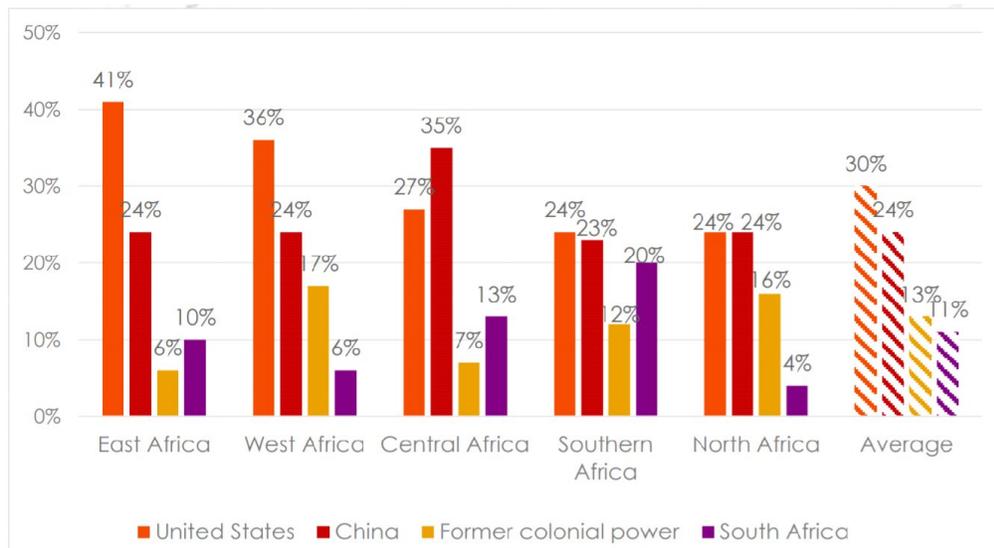


Figure 6: Illustration of China’s involvement in Africa Source: Afrobarometer, 2016)

The role of China, as seen in the above diagram, is indicative of her influence in Africa.

On the other hand, Nigeria's top export destinations of Nigeria are India, the United States, Spain, France and the Netherlands while most of its products are imported from China Belgium-

Luxembourg, the Netherlands, South Korea and the United States (Observatory of Economic Complexity, 2020a).

This financial Leverage of Nigeria is a likely reason why it was able to maintain a stance against the gay rights push, which was being championed by many Western nations. The Associated Press (2014) hinted at the bargaining power of Nigeria against aid donor threats when it stated that:

“The British government last year threatened to cut aid to African countries that violate the rights of gay and lesbian citizens. However, British aid remains quite small in oil-rich Nigeria, one of the top crude suppliers to the US...”

Several Western nations attempted to coerce Nigeria to adopt gay rights. Prominent among these were the United States and the United Kingdom. The former US President, Barack Obama threatened to cut aid to Nigeria if the country passed the proposed Same-Sex Marriage Prohibition Act (SSMPA) because it was considered to be a violation of human rights (Nsehe, 2011). He was quoted as saying:

“I favour legalizing same-sex marriages and would fight efforts to prohibit such marriages” (Nsehe, 2011).

Similarly, the former United Kingdom Prime Minister - David Cameron warned that Britain would readily withhold support from countries found discriminating against gay people.

Nigeria was able to insist and maintain its stance that gay rights would not be asserted. Many prominent Nigerians resisted the idea, stating that it was contrary to their culture and moral stance. The Former President of the Nigerian Senate, David Mark, reacted thus:

“If there is any country that does not want to give us aid or assistance just because we want to hold on to our values, that country can keep her aid and assistance,” he said, in what may have been a reference to the threat. “No country has the right to interfere in the way we make our own laws because we don’t interfere in the way others make their own laws.” (Waksman, 2011)

The former Senate President was further quoted as saying:

“We will not compromise on this...there are many good values we can copy from other societies but certainly not this one (same sex marriage)...[Nigeria

has got to] prove to the rest of the world, who are advocates of this unnatural way that we Nigerians promote and respect sanity, morality and humanity.” (Emmanuel, 2013).

The actions of the Former Senate President confirm the resistance, and defence from nation-states (African states) to external pressure (Barnett, 2015:216; Cock, 2003:41).

5.2.2 What ratio of leverage was needed to influence the Republic of Niger

Western Leverage in the Republic of Niger

The Republic of Niger is located in a mostly arid region of Africa. The country is considered as one of the poorest nations of the world (Aidara, 2020). The United Nations ranked it as the second least developed country in the world in 2016 due to several challenges including food insecurity, lack of industry, high population growth, a weak educational sector, and few prospects for work outside of subsistence farming and herding (Index Mundi, 2020). Agriculture is a significant activity in the country, contributing to 44.3% of its GDP in 2017 and employing about 87% of the country's labour force. This means that only a small portion of the country is engaged in other activities apart from agriculture. Apart from agriculture, Niger also has several natural resources which it trades, including oil, uranium, coal and gold, among others. In fact, it is one of the world's largest producers of uranium (5% of global production), occupying the fifth position after Kazakhstan, Canada, Australia, and Namibia (World Nuclear Association, 2020). The primary export products of Niger, are therefore radioactive substances, refined petroleum, other oily seeds, gold and petroleum gas (Observatory of Economic Complexity, 2020b).

More than 30% of Niger's export goes to France, followed by Thailand (12%), Malaysia (11%), Nigeria (9.5%) among others (Trading Economics, 2020b). On the other hand, 28% of its imports are from France and 16% from China, among others (Trading Economics, 2020b). The implication of the above is that the Republic of Niger depends a lot on France for its economic prosperity. This is further made critical by the fact that the Nigerien national currency is tied to the Bank of France. This means that the economic planning in Niger is at the mercy of the French and EU monetary policies. In fact, Aboa (2019) described the situation thus:

"A strong currency like the CFA Franc makes exports from the CFA-franc zone much more costly than they would ordinarily be and as a result economic

growth suffers accordingly. Since most of the countries that use the currency are poor, mostly agricultural economies, this has put a stranglehold on their trade and made them overly dependent upon continuing, privileged access to French and, through them, European markets. That this effectively recreates a quasi-colonial trading relationship between France and its former African colonies that benefits France mightily has not been lost on observers".

The high level of poverty in the Republic of Niger also meant that it depended on foreign aid in order to finance many projects. The most important donors to the country include France, the European Union, the World Bank, the IMF and other UN agencies as well as the United States, Belgium, Switzerland, Canada and Saudi Arabia. In 2002, up to 45% of the government's spending was derived from donor sources.

The Republic of Niger does not have an official position against gay rights.

5.2.3 Summary on Ratio of Leverage

An overview of the analysis reveals that Nigeria and the Republic of Niger receive a significant amount of Leverage from Western countries, non-Western countries and international organisations. These aids come mostly in the form of aid (military, financial, educational, technical). Both countries receive a significant amount of aid from Western countries which help meet significant needs. However, Nigeria is able to maintain more of its trade relations with non-Western countries, unlike the Republic of Niger. Also, the vast deposits of oil that Nigeria has given it a bargaining position against the domination of the Western world (Table 2).

Table 2: Overview of Western leverage with Nigeria and the Republic of Niger

<i>Case</i>	<i>Ratio of Western Leverage</i>
Nigeria	Low
Republic of Niger	High

5.3 Discussion of analysis

Table 3: Linkages between Nigeria and the Republic of Niger, and the West

<i>Case</i>	<i>Ratio of Linkages</i>	<i>Ratio of Leverage</i>	<i>Position on gay rights</i>
Nigeria	High	Low	Gay rights denied (authoritarianism)
Republic of Niger	High	High	Gay rights tolerated (modest)

The analysis of data indicated that there is a high ratio of Linkage with the West by both countries, thus partially supporting the hypothesis. On the other hand, while Nigeria has low leverage against the West, the West has a high level of Leverage with the Republic of Niger. Several issues emerge from these scenarios that will guide the understanding and interpretation of the study hypothesis.

First, is the need to understand that both countries have shared similarities in certain aspects, but few differences remain palpable. It is on these differences that the study's comparative stance is based primarily, as it has to do with the gay rights policy adoption. The role of Linkage is, therefore, revisited to show that while both countries have similar levels of Linkage to the West. This agrees with Levitsky and Way's concepts of linkages in theory that the Republic of Niger has similar linkages to the West just like Nigeria. The high linkage ratio suggests a high level of ties between the two countries and the Western world, which raises their levels of vulnerability. Therefore, the linkage level in Nigeria and the Republic of Niger allowed Western powers to influence domestic politics. Furthermore, given the high Western Linkage has made Western influence to cascade the norms of these two countries easily.

Second, leverage, according to Levitsky and Way (2006), is another factor that impacts Western influence in a country. The Republic of Niger's ties to France is responsible for the high leverage rate that permits France's pursuance of its policy interests like it has been able to do in other Francophone countries in the West African sub-region. These policies may manifest in different ways, such as funding projects with stringent conditions. Thus, high leverage has been responsible for the vulnerability ratio of the Republic of Niger.

In Nigeria, one of the most targeted Western Leverage is the government's position on the adoption or ratification of gay rights with conditional incentives and negative repercussions of sanctions. However, an evaluation of factors influencing the government's stance on enacting the SSMPA 2013 notwithstanding the pressure is noteworthy. Superficially, non-Western leverage is evident in Nigeria's supposed self-sufficiency, that is, robust economic ties with non-Western entities owing to massive oil production and market indices.

Third, the established processes of external interference differed in Nigeria and the Republic of Niger. For example, France's democratisation efforts in the Republic of Niger were more institutionalised and top-down than what was obtained in Nigeria. The EU leverage did not have such import in Nigeria. In both countries, Linkage motivated extensive Western engagement –

including intense diplomatic pressure, and a high level of attention to even minor abuse, such as gay rights.

However, in comparing Nigeria and the Republic of Niger, there are some alternative explanations - such as the influence of economic might. In this sense, although both countries are rated inadequate, Nigeria is more economically self-sustainable than the Republic of Niger. Foreign influences though palpable in the case studies but resulting from various unrelated sources, as in the Nigerian example where opposition to gay rights policy was used to garner support/ or promote African solidarity, is a clear indication that other hidden motives may be driving this move.

Thus, drawing a conclusion on these specific findings can be either typical or deviating for linkages and leverages as indicated in Nigeria's status because the case remains questionable.

Finally, the Republic of Niger proved to be one of the few cases which demonstrate the positive impact of Western democratic support by accepting the norm. This could be the basis for considering Nigeria as a rare case. It also contributed to the Western and non-Western competition and the objectified foreign policies leading to unmediated support and pressure absence. Hence, whether this is applicable in other cases given similar levels of Western linkages becomes questionable.

5.4 Conclusion

The aim of this study was to determine how the Western paternalism influenced Nigeria and the Republic of Niger's positions on the adoption of gay rights through the lens of Western Linkage and Leverage. The central hypothesis of the study was that the extent of Linkage and Leverage that a country has, that can influence its adoption or resistance to the gay rights policy. Nigeria was able to resist the adoption of the gay rights policy due to its non-Western Linkage and vast petroleum resources, whereas the reverse is the case for the Republic of Niger in that the Leverage and Linkage to its former colonial master might have hindered its decision to resist gay rights. In testing the hypothesis, the study expanded on Levitsky and Way's linkage and leverage concepts, noting that the density of Western linkages and leverage in the target (weak) States dictates the impact on government's possible decisions; as seen in this case study with the adoption of the international gay norm policy in the Republic of Niger, and opposition in Nigeria. Woolcock and Narayan, (2000) citing Uphoff (1992:273) submits: "paradoxical though it may seem, 'top-down' efforts are usually needed to introduce, sustain, and institutionalise 'bottom-up' development. We

are commonly constrained to think in 'either-or' terms - the more of one, the less of the other when both are needed in a positive-sum way to achieve our purposes" (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000:238).

However, findings from Nigeria and the Republic of Niger analysis deviates from the study hypothesis yet are indicated in the controlling argument and serve as a possible explanation for outcomes in both cases. Added to this is that alternative explorations within the same methodological and theoretical boundaries limit the analytical scope of the study.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

6.1 Research Puzzle Revisited

In this study, the paper sought to answer the research question of *how has Western paternalism influenced Nigeria and the Republic of Niger's positions on the adoption of gay rights*. It explained how Western paternalism influenced Nigeria and the Republic of Niger's positions towards gay rights. Levitsky and Way's theory of Linkage and Leverage was used to test this proposition, with the argument that the ratio of Western and non-Western linkages in both countries would affect their positions on the adoption of gay rights.

The first proposition was to examine how the Western Linkage could explain the position of Nigeria and the Republic of Niger on the adoption of gay rights. Specific sub-questions in this aspect assessed the ratio of Linkage that was needed to influence Nigeria and the Republic of Niger, respectively. The study findings showed that both countries have strong Linkage with the Western world, including their former colonial masters. This included economic, geopolitical and social linkages. Both countries are signatories and have ratified the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted the languages and constitutions of their former masters, they have socio-economic relations with them, and they have a significant flow of people between them. The culture of both countries has been equally influenced mainly by that of the former masters. However, there was also non-Western Linkage with countries like China, with whom they maintained economic relations. The non-Western Linkage was more prominent in Nigeria than in the Republic of Niger.

Next, the study examined the extent to which Leverage of the West could explain the position of Nigeria and the Republic of Niger on the adoption of gay rights. Specific sub-questions asked what

ratio of leverage was needed to influence Nigeria and the Republic of Niger, respectively. The findings revealed that both Nigeria and the Republic of Niger have some form of leverage which could influence their relations with the West. Nigeria has vast reserves of crude oil which it sells to both Western and non-Western nations while the Republic of Niger has reserves of oil and several mineral resources that it trades majorly with France, a Western nation. Nigeria has been able to maintain its position due to the control of its resources, unlike the Republic of Niger whose trade has been closely tied to that of France. Hence, the oil reserves of Nigeria has given it much economic leverage.

Western paternalism in the form of pressure to adopt gay rights has not been able to successfully make Nigeria change its position on gay rights because Nigeria has the leverage of oil which it could trade with both Western and non-Western nations, much unlike the Republic of Niger which is closely tied to its former master, France.

6.2 Findings

The findings and conclusions drawn from the analysis are as follows:

The research findings have shown that the Western paternalism in the form of linkages is high in both Nigeria and the Republic of Niger. A common antecedent to these for both countries is their colonial legacies where they have both adopted lots of practices of their former masters. This included the claim that Nigeria inherited homophobia from Britain the 'the Nigeria anti-sodomy law of 1960'.

Nigeria and the Republic of Niger also have some leverage with the Western countries as they both depend on help in the form of foreign aid to attend to some of the issues in their respective economies. However, Nigeria seems to have a better bargaining position when compared to the Republic of Niger because it has vast resources of crude oil which it is able to trade with both Western and non-Western countries. The Republic of Niger also has resources, but it is constrained to trading with mostly France and its currency is the Franc CFA which is also closely tied with the French Central Bank (Table 4).

Table 4: Overview of Western Linkage and Western Leverage with the Nigeria and the Republic of Niger

<i>Linkage/Leverage</i>	<i>Nigeria</i>	<i>Republic of Niger</i>
Western Linkage		
Geopolitical linkage	High	High
Economic linkage	High	High
Social linkage	High	High
Western Leverage	Low	High
Gay rights policy adoption	Rejected	Permitted

6.3 Reflections and Implications

The researcher compared Nigeria and the Republic of Niger on their tolerance for homosexuality from the viewpoint of Linkage and Leverage.

A closely-knit comparison was capable of determining the level of linkages and leverages. This limitation is evident in determining Western influence regarding support related linkages.

However, this approach was challenging in both cases, as observed during data collection and further points to the intricacies in analysing these particular ties. Limitations were observed in the conceptualisation of the case study, as the findings indicated that relating linkages to pressure is unnecessarily unidirectional, especially in the light of the struggle over linkages realised in negligible values. This was the case in Nigeria primarily due to unfavourable imports arising from non-Western linkages; as well as how China as the "counter-hegemonic force advanced the non-Western tie through its roles of providing alternative supports. Deducible from the Nigerian example is that any government with high Western Linkage can still be illiberal in behaviour, when the Western interest is at stake, enabling the ward off of adequate sanctions (Levitsky and Way,2010:383) considering the fact that Nigeria is an oil-rich state, and the many Western States have an interest and have invested in the oil sector of Nigeria.

Despite the limitations observed, the study research design and conceptual examination seem reliable in other relevant aspects, especially in focused comparison that analyses of Western paternalism such that influential alternate variables are better controlled.

Regarding the method engaged, it allowed for in-depth comparative analyses. In the course of the analysis, some striking findings were that linkages are weightier, while leverage became less

significant owing to drive-by Nigeria to limit or undermine the West leverages by voting against gay rights bill. Also, her assertiveness, despite the risk of the pressure from the West and the consequences, indicates that an alternative source of support could reinforce such incentives.

The research question on similar variables of each case was remarkable and taken into accounts and considering the intricate nature of the contexts. Also, the perceived limitations in data collection were reciprocated in both cases.

Operationalising those variables proved valid and permitted the definition of linkage and leverage ratio and, as well, the implementation of the international norm and the Western influence on domestic policies when indicators in independent variables sufficiently accounted for the Western influence (linkages and leverages) through established processes and norm diffusion. The study is significant given its expansion of the Linkage to the West and Western leverage framework and vigorously account for Western paternalism with domestic or local affairs in Nigeria and the Republic of Niger. It equally showed that linkages can influence policy changes on a short-term basis and how the direction of linkages and leverage differ within countries.

The analysis, however, did not confirm the findings that shifts in geopolitical power relations and norms adoptions remain palpable in practice.

Happenings within the West African States under review support the claim of the controlling thesis statement on Western paternalism. Again, from the research carried out, it becomes arguable or clear that Western paternalism affects targeted weak states in the internalisation of the global norm, although with attendant opposition(s).

The explanation of Western paternalism, as supported by the linkage and leverage theory, showed that Western nations have sought to exert their influence in convincing Nigeria to legalise homosexuality. It seemed that the former colonial masters still have an influence on their former colonies given that the current stance towards gay rights in the developing countries is similar to the stance of these developed nations to whom they were former colonies.

The main weakness of this thesis is that it involves the comparison of two cases only, thereby limiting generalizability. Nevertheless, it is also a strength of the thesis, as it enabled a detailed explanation of the difference in the tolerance and opposition of Human Rights in very similar circumstances.

Furthermore, it is impossible to keep all independent variables constant, thereby Mill's method is limited to a certain number of cases. However, the careful selection of theoretically significant and interesting independent variables assured that the two cases were as similar as possible.

Overall, this thesis provided relevant contributions to the field of Global Political Studies in Africa, by empirically testing the theory of Linkage and Leverage. Finally, the research showed that comparative research provides useful insights for studying Westernization in today's world. The study recommends further research on Western paternalism to consider countries with similar colonial histories, i.e., either Anglophone or Francophone, to examine if a variance in this can determine a different outcome.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Sources of Data

Sources	Purpose	Location
Websites	Data on gays rights issues and the western linkages and leverage from the west for both Nigeria and the Republic of Niger	http://afrobarometer.org/sites https://wits.worldbank.org/CountryProfile/en/Country/NER/Year/2016/TradeFlow/EXPIMP https://tradingeconomics.com/niger/exports/france https://www.reuters.com/article/africa-gaymarriage-idUSL8N0ZG4U620150701 https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-43795440 https://www.forbes.com/sites/mfonobongnsehe/2011/12/09/obama-fights-nigerian-anti-gay-bill-threatensto-cut-off-aid/#5da919524f7b http://impunitywatch.com/despite-british-objection-nigerian-senate-passes-bill-banning-homosexuality/ https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jan/13/nigerian-president-signs-anti-gay-law https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/114085-no-going-back-on-criminalizing-same-sex-marriage-in-nigeria-david-mark.html https://www.heritage.org/index/country/niger http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries
Publications of Organizations	Official sources of data like socioeconomic indices and international trade	https://www.foreignassistance.gov/explore/country/Nigeria https://ng.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/io/
Official Publications	To provide information on official declarations of governments	Same Sex Marriage Prohibition Act (2003) The Constitution of the Republic of Niger

APPENDIX 2

Western Leverages on Nigeria

Barack Obama	United States of America	Barack Obama threatened to cut aid to Nigeria if the country passed a proposed bill prohibiting same-sex relationships—a concern that Obama shared with the EU Parliament (Nsehe, 2011)
Theresa May	United Kingdom	“They were wrong then and are wrong now” (BBC, 2018). “I am all too aware that these laws were often put in place by my own country” “the colonial-era legislation in formal colonies and the legacy of discrimination left behind” (Buchan,2018).
Andrew Lloyd	United Kingdom	“According to Andrew Lloyd, the U.K.’s former High Commissioner to Nigeria, he reiterated the possibility of sanctions and explained the British position, which he believed would be matched by most of the Western world” (Waksman, 2011).
John Kerry	United States	“Beyond even prohibiting same-sex marriage, this law dangerously restricts freedom of assembly and expression for all Nigerians" he further went on to say, "It is inconsistent with Nigeria's international legal obligations and undermines democratic reforms and human rights” (Sotunde, 2019; Onuah,2014).