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A Growing Queer Divide: The Divergence between Transnational Advocacy Networks and Foreign Aid in Diffusing LGBT Policies

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Despite years of success, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) norms are becoming increasingly polarized across the global landscape—with some countries strongly complying with new expectations while others openly defy them. To explain these divergent paths, I investigate the transmission of global LGBT norms via two mechanisms: transnational advocacy networks and foreign aid conditionalities. In examining LGBT policy adoption across 110 non-Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries between 1990 and 2016, I find evidence that the process through which states are exposed to LGBT norms can indeed help explain these different approaches. Exposure to LGBT norms through transnational advocacy networks enhances the effect of these norms and is associated with more progressive policy adoption, while greater dependence on foreign aid pushes states to reject LGBT norms. Consequently, this study provides new insights into how the mechanism through which countries are exposed to norms shapes compliance and adds new evidence questioning the effectiveness of foreign aid as a tool to advance LGBT rights.

While popular discourse and research focus on the adoption of policies benefitting lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) communities, especially in Western, industrialized countries, this attention de-emphasizes the growing chasm among states and their regulation of LGBT populations outside these settings (Currier 2012; Weiss and Bosia 2013; Symons and Altman 2015; Hadler and Symons 2018). Because, in part, such studies look to the emergence of new global, cultural norms or expectations around LGBT rights as a key factor in explaining LGBT policy adoption (Frank and McEneaney 1999; Kollman 2007; Fernández and Lutter 2013), their global scope tends not to capture nascent evidence of resistance and policy backlash. Consequently, local case studies are documenting how the same normative expectations explaining cross-national policy adoption are also prompting anti-LGBT policies and spurring what Weiss (2013) calls "anticipatory countermovements," such as the infamous "Kill the Gays" bill in Uganda (Nuñez-Mietz and Iommi 2017; Dreier 2018). Insights from such case studies are requiring scholars to re-examine global models to better explain the realities around LGBT politics in recent years (see Halder and Symons 2018 and Roberts 2018).

To illuminate the mechanisms driving this divide, in this article I investigate *how* countries are connected to the international community. Scholars of social norms suggest that social relations are important mechanisms through which norms transfer (Boli and Thomas 1999; Hechter and Opp 2001). In particular, the quality and character of these social relations determine how actors interact and negotiate with such expectations and, ultimately, modify behaviors (Hechter and Opp 2001). In the realm of international relations, neo-institutionalists contend that states adopt "appropriate" behaviors once legitimated on the world stage (Meyer et al. 1997). The deeper states are embedded within the international community, such as through transnational advocacy networks, the more likely they are to adhere to new expectations (i.e., LGBT rights) (Ayoub 2016). Meanwhile, realist scholars instead emphasize the externalities, or outside consequences, that compliance with a norm brings (Horne 2001). For example, the adoption of economic liberalization and democratic reforms in developing countries were coupled with threats of losing foreign aid (Siegel and Weinberg 1977; Sanahuja 2000). While both approaches emphasize relations, underlying assumptions differ in why these relations matter. Therefore, the growing evidence showing transnational advocacy networks and foreign aid conditionality as both becoming mechanisms through which global LGBT norms are being pushed (Kretz 2013; Paternotte and Kollman 2013; Ojilere 2018; Seckinelgin 2018) provides an opportunity to assess how these different types of connections to the international community explain norm polarization and policy change outside the most industrialized countries.

To assess the effects of different ties in advancing global LGBT norms, I perform two-way fixed effects models using data from 110 non-Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries from 1990 to 2016. For the dependent measure, I use the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association's (ILGA) *State-Sponsored Homophobia Report* to develop an index comprised of sixteen LGBT policies (Velasco 2018). I predict a country's index value by developing a novel measure of global LGBT norms and interacting this term with two measures of ties with the international community: (1) centrality within LGBT transnational advocacy networks; and (2) strength of relationships with foreign aid-granting countries.

The findings demonstrate that the growing divide among states can be explained, in part, by *how* states are connected to the global arena and how the nature of these interactions changes the way norms are received, negotiated, and enacted. Namely, states connected via transnational advocacy networks respond positively, adopting more progressive policies, while states with more aid partners and funding challenge pro-LGBT expectations, resist changing policies and, in some cases, act counter to these expectations. For those concerned about advancing the treatment of LGBT

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communities, the results demonstrate that the focus should be on fostering civil society and questioning the effectiveness of stipulating policy changes through aid conditionality (Kretz 2013; Biruk 2014; Ojilere 2018; Seckinelgin 2018).

The Spread of LGBT Policies

In 1991, a resident of Tasmania filed a complaint against the United Nations (UN) Human Rights Committee arguing that the anti-sodomy laws of the Australian state violated his privacy rights under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) (Baisley 2016). In 1994, the Committee agreed in *Toonen v. Australia* that anti-sodomy policies violated the treaty's anti-discrimination provisions, prompting the Australian federal government to overturn the state statute (Baisley 2016). *Toonen* serves as an important symbolic and substantive achievement as the first time a UN body explicitly considered concerns expressed by members of the LGBT community to fall within established human rights obligations—a goal of transnational LGBT activists for several decades (Rupp 2011).

Following this, the 1990s saw an increasing number of LGBT-related policy changes. For example, although some states had already started to decriminalize same-sex sexual acts, this expanded during the 1990s (Frank and McEeaney 1999). Meanwhile, states that already had anti-sodomy provisions removed pushed for more progressive agendas such as same-sex unions (Kollman 2016).

Although Western Europe historically led the way on progressive reforms (Ayoub and Paternotte 2014), advancements have not been limited to this region. Recently, states across Latin America, North America, Central Europe, and South Africa have all adopted marriage equality (Paternotte and Kollman 2013; Carroll 2016). Latin America has also been a leader in enacting LGBT non-discrimination policies, such as in employment (Encarnación 2016; Corrales 2017). In 2015, Nepal followed South Africa in establishing one of the most pro-LGBT constitutions in the world (Mahato 2017). And in 2017, the Supreme Court of Taiwan ruled the island-nation's ban on same-sex marriages unconstitutional (Chappell 2017)—giving the legislature two years to enact marriage equality. In 2019, Taiwan became the first Asian nation to introduce marriage equality.[1] Figure 1 outlines the number of non-OECD countries that adopted a select set of LGBT policies between 1990 and 2016, to demonstrate that policy growth is indeed a global phenomenon and not limited to the industrialized West.

Positive policy reforms have not been universal, however. Beginning in 2006, several provinces within Russia passed "anti-propaganda" laws that sought to protect public morality vis-à-vis sexual orientation and gender identity. In 2013, the federal government followed with a national ban on the promotion of such "amoral" identities (Persson 2015). Opponents of this law often cite the vagueness of it as one of its most detrimental features. For example, while some claim that the legislation's primary goal is to limit sexual acts, in practice it deters any expression of LGBT identity within public space (Buyantueva 2018). Following Russia, Algeria, Nigeria, and Lithuania all adopted similar provisions and additional states also limited public promotion to varying degrees (Carroll 2016).

[1] After the Supreme Court's ruling, in 2018, a group of evangelical actors, led by the Happiness of the Next Generation Alliance and supported by U.S. organizations like the National Organization for Marriage, forced a public referendum on the issue (Reid 2018). Voters favored a traditional one man, one woman definition of marriage but the legislature adhered to the Court's ruling and approved marriage equality in early 2019 (Ramzy 2019).

Furthermore, some states have intensified anti-sodomy provisions or laws criminalizing same-sex sexual acts (Hadler and Symons 2018). For example, in 2004, Tanzania criminalized same-sex acts between women in addition to men (Human Rights Watch 2013a), with Maldives following in 2014. In 2005, Cameroon started to aggressively arrest people accused of breaking their sodomy laws despite rarely enforcing such provisions historically (Human Rights Watch 2013b). In 2014, Uganda and Nigeria both adopted laws intensifying the punishment for same-sex acts while Nigeria's bill also re-banned same-sex marriages (Chitando and van Klinken 2016; Nuñez-Mietz and Iommi 2017). Weiss and Bosia (2013) refer to these actions, and similar ones by other states, as "anticipatory countermovements," because these countries are trying to prevent the advancement of LGBT rights even before there is a robust domestic demand for them.

As a result of these varied state responses toward LGBT communities, several scholars have developed new conceptual tools to explain these events. For example, in the aptly named *Queer Wars*, Symons and Altman (2015) echo arguments made by Weiss and Bosia (2013) and Nuñez-Mietz and Iommi (2017) that it is the inherently *globalized* nature of current LGBT discourses that can explain both advancements in some countries and active resistance in others (see Langlois 2017 for a critique on overemphasizing global, top-down processes). Indeed, Hadler and Symons (2018) build on these arguments to highlight how public opinion regarding homosexuality is polarizing, in part, due to the globalized nature of the present debate. The present assessment asks, then, how can the globalization of LGBT human rights norms produce polarization explicitly within policies?

Explaining Cross-National Policy Diffusion

In studying LGBT policy adoption, scholars of international relations increasingly look to how transnational forces shape domestic processes (Kollman 2007; Paternotte and Kollman 2013). Although the domestic arena still remains important (Langlois 2017), within an ever-connected world, it is necessary to consider factors that extend beyond the state and their relation to those unique local contexts.

Though there are many perspectives that consider transnational processes and mechanisms prompting policy change, for the purposes of this study I primarily consider two competing arguments for why actors comply, or not, with normative standards: neo-institutionalists who emphasize the *appropriateness* of compliance; and realist scholars who emphasize the role of externalities and sanctions to achieve compliance.

World Society: A Neo-Institutional Perspective

To explain the isomorphic political structures across states, a growing body of literature within international relations looks to the development of normative expectations. Scholars from this tradition argue that domestic policy debates are influenced and driven by the "world society"—a network of international organizations, non-governmental organizations, states, and epistemic communities that "create, institutionalize, and disseminate global models" (Meyer et al. 1997; Boli and Thomas 1999; Dobbin, Simmons, and Garrett 2007; Longhofer et al. 2016, 1749). Although Boli and Thomas (1999) first characterize the world society as relatively flat, with norms being achieved through consensus and taking a truly global quality, subsequent work challenges this characterization by highlighting the structural inequality within

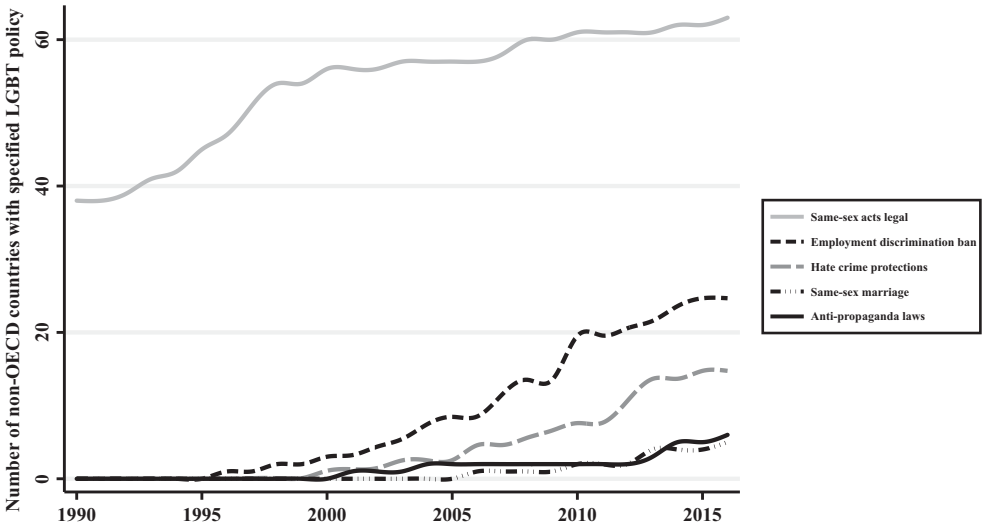

Figure 1. Number of non-OECD countries that adopted a select set of LGBT policies between 1990 and 2016

these networks (Beckfield 2003, 2010), the role of Western gatekeepers (Linde 2018), and the emergence of regionalized norms or "multiple modernities" (Hadler and Symons 2018; Roberts 2018). Nevertheless, as the world society develops expectations for "appropriate" policy scripts, these macro-level, global norms and emerging discourses indeed get internalized by domestic actors and shape policy-making processes (Meyer et al. 1997; Boli and Thomas 1999). Rather than investigating how regionalized norms alter the meaning and resonance of LGBT rights, then, I focus on the role of dominant, Westernized global norms to contrast how ideas of *appropriateness* from these states shape policies as opposed to externalities emanating from these very same states.

By looking at the global landscape, it appears that this theoretical frame is pertinent for assessing issues pertaining to sexual orientation and gender identity. From the early 1990s, international organizations, namely the UN system, started to address LGBT causes with increased veracity (Baisley 2016; Mulé, McKenzie, and Khan 2016). Although LGBT activists targeted international organizations like the UN and, especially, European bodies long before this (Rupp 2011, 2014; Paternotte 2016), a number of events, including *Toonen*, help to symbolically demarcate the arrival of LGBT issues onto the global agenda.[2] In 1995, for example, lesbian organizations were allowed to formally participate in the Fourth Conference on Women's Rights in Beijing for the first time (Baisley 2016). The then-named International Gay and Lesbian Association (ILGA) received consultative status through the Economic and Social Council at the UN in 1993—although it was rescinded the following year due to backlash from U.S.-based religious actors (Rupp 2011). Finally, in 1991, Amnesty International, a key gatekeeping organization (Linde 2018), incorporated sexual orientation into its prisoners of consciousness campaigns after years of lobbying from ILGA, which helped to legitimize sexual orientation as a human right.

While identifying new global norms, which are "behavioral prescriptions that are accepted by subjects as legitimate and authoritative" (Halliday 2009, 268) at the global level, is difficult given the "amorphous mist" quality of cultural expectations (Ghaziani 2009), the institutionalization of new ideas within international organizations is one key mechanism and indicator that new standards are emerging (Kentikelenis and Seabrooke 2017). Therefore, the aforementioned events helped to establish the saliency of LGBT rights explicitly as human rights on the global stage and marked an important turning point in transnational organizing (Kollman and Waites 2009; Baisley 2016; Linde 2018).[3]

Over the subsequent decades, various UN bodies continued to make intermittent progress in promoting issues related to sexual orientation and gender identity (O'Flaherty and Fischer 2008; Linde 2015; Baisley 2016; Mulé, McKenzie, and Khan 2016). Since 2006, in particular, larger strides have been made within the international space. The first LGBT organizations to receive consultative status since ILGA's acceptance and subsequent removal took place in this year (Linde 2015). The Organization of American States, the European Union, and the African Commission for Human People's Rights all since passed resolutions in support for LGBT communities (Encarnación 2011; Ayoub and Paternotte 2014). Also, in 2013, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights partnered with LGBT civil society organizations to launch "Free and Equal," its largest human rights campaign to address homophobia, transphobia, discrimination, and violence across the world (Mulé, Khan, and McKenzie 2017). Then-Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon called it the most "unprecedented" human rights initiative by the UN (United Nations 2013).

One important way for states to connect to the world society and be socialized by global norms is through transnational advocacy networks—often embodied through international non-governmental organizations (INGOs). INGOs play a unique role in being "carriers of world culture" (Boli and Thomas 1999). A range of studies demonstrate that greater ties to INGOs make states more likely to adhere

[2] For a more robust overview of LGBT organizing and international relations, see Thoreson (2014), Picq and Thiel (2015), and Mulé, McKenzie, and Khan (2016).

[3] Although mainstream organizations like ILGA and the then-named International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission embraced a human rights frame, this was (and continues to be) a highly debated strategy within the broader movement, with some queer activists critiquing the conservative, identity-based approach. For an overview of these debates, see Valocchi (1999), Ibhawoh (2014), and Weber (2017).

to international norms because these transnational advocacy networks anchored by INGOs are able to help translate global expectations to the domestic audience, increasing their salience, and maintain pressure against the domestic government to uphold new scripts (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006; Boyle, Kim, and Longhofer 2015; Ayoub 2016).

Studies trying to understand the adoption of particular LGBT policies increasingly acknowledge that how a country is situated in a global context that increasingly promotes rights for LGBT communities is a key factor (Kollman 2007; Paternotte 2015; Karimi and Bayatrizi 2018). For example, Ayoub (2015, 2016) finds that greater connections to the world society through transnational advocacy networks positively influence LGBT policy adoptions in Europe. Additionally, by increasing the salience of LGBT rights, in particular, scholars find that it increases the likelihood of members of LGBT communities publicly coming out (Garretson 2018). These dual processes encourage the likelihood of actors within the state to internalize LGBT norms—an important step in modifying behaviors (Ayoub and Garretson 2017). Therefore:

H1: *As global LGBT norms develop, states are more likely to adopt pro-LGBT policies.*

H2: *States more embedded within the world society are more likely to adopt pro-LGBT policies.*

The Role of Externalities and Consequences

While neo-institutionalist scholars point to the appropriateness of norms to explain compliance and actor behavior, realists contend that states adopt new policies as a response to changes within their incentive structure (Dobbin, Simmons, and Garrett 2007). As stated by Horne (2001, 9): "Norms thus emerge when behavior produces externalities, when people recognize a right to sanction such externality-producing behaviors, and when the group has the ability to enforce its decisions." For example, changes within powerful institutions like the UN, the World Bank, or the International Monetary Fund (IMF) could make states that are reliant upon these organizations for trade, security, or financial assistance likely to adhere to the preferred policy (Hafner-Burton 2005; Gleditsch and Ward 2006).

Specifically, the use of foreign aid dollars may be a particularly important externality, or outside ramification, when understanding the diffusion of policies. Bush (2011) found that states with increased reliance on foreign aid were more likely to adopt gender quotas within their national parliaments. Others have highlighted how aid conditionality imposed through the World Bank, the IMF, and other international organizations can lead to effective policy changes (Siegel and Weinberg 1977; Sanahuja 2000). Tying back to scholars of social norms, compliance is not the result of the "ought-ness" of the norm, but, rather, the rational incentive to follow preferred practices.

Alternatively, Swiss (2017) demonstrates that foreign aid transactions are not necessarily cold, rational, material transactions compelling certain actions. Instead, Swiss (2017, 113, emphasis added) conceptualizes aid ties "as a broader transnational *relationship* between states." Therefore, following previous work on norm transfer, foreign aid is an effective tool precisely because of its relational attributes, falling within previously established mechanisms.

Conversations around LGBT equality are now intertwined with debates on economic development, fiscal-based rationales to extend rights, and the appropriateness of doing so (Jolly 2000). For example, Badgett et al. (2014a) did an assessment on how homophobia impacted the Indonesian economy—estimating losses as high as $12 billion. Working with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Badgett et al. (2014b) also analyzed how LGBT inclusion impacts development in emerging economies around the globe. Even LGBT people and their allies promote similar arguments. The U.S.-based National LGBT Chamber of Commerce and its global partners held an event in 2017 with the World Bank "to discuss the value of LGBTI inclusion for the public sector, private sector, and for international economic development efforts" (Crehan 2017). Rao (2015, 41) refers to the process of tying LGBT rights to productivity, development, and markets as *homocapitalism*, stating that "the basic argument is simple enough. Homophobia imposes avoidable costs on economies by lowering productivity and output as a result of workplace discrimination." Within this framework, it is the economic incentives that compliance brings that are driving the adoption of global LGBT norms.

Within the broad umbrella of *homocapitalism*, foreign aid is one important mechanism and policy lever to advance LGBT rights (Currier 2012; Kretz 2013; Bergenfield and Miller 2014; Biruk 2014; Bosia 2014; Lind 2014; Encarnación 2016; Mason 2018; Ojilere 2018; Seckinelgin 2018). In a 2011 speech in Cairo, then-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton famously stated that "gay rights are human rights, and human rights are gay rights" (Clinton 2011). Shortly after this speech, Clinton's State Department and the British government, under then-Prime Minister David Cameron, announced that the treatment of LGBT communities will be a factor in foreign aid decisions (Kretz 2013). Upon this announcement, which Cameron made to a meeting of commonwealth states in Australia, the UK Foreign Office stated: "[I]f countries can afford to prosecute and imprison people for consensual relations, then they can clearly afford to lose aid" (Kretz 2013). In addition to taking LGBT treatment into aid decisions, Secretary Clinton also announced the creation of the Global Equality Fund—an initial fund of $3 million to provide support for civil society organizations fighting for LGBT rights within oppressive states (Brettschneider, Burgess, and Keating 2017; Mason 2018).

Following these announcements, connecting aid and the treatment of sexual minorities began to spread to other aid-granting agencies and institutions—as is typically done in foreign aid policy (Swiss 2018). Bergenfield and Miller (2014) reviewed how twelve of the world's largest development agencies, such as the European Union, the United Nations Development Program, the World Bank, and several state agencies, like USAID, handled LGBT issues. A key takeaway is that leaders of nearly all organizations have made public statements linking their work to preventing discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity, although there is variation in the extent to which these statements have made their way into official policy. Nevertheless, a new institutional norm within development agencies emerged (Hechter and Opp 2001; Bergenfield and Miller 2014; Swiss 2018). This recent development makes the need for understanding its effects that much more salient. To date, there are few quantitative studies investigating this exact dynamic. Following this perspective on the role of material incentive, therefore:

H3: *States receiving more foreign aid are more likely to enact pro-LGBT policy reform.*

Understanding Backlash, Resistance, and Polarization

Thus far, the proposed explanations have centered on the expansion of LGBT policies. As mentioned, though, there is also backlash and resistance to these advancements and increased polarization across the international arena—a process of growing research interest (Weiss and Bosia 2013; Symons and Altman 2015; Nuñez-Mietz and Iommi 2017; Dreier 2018; Ayoub 2019). Within this emerging literature, scholars argue that this growing queer divide is attributable to the unique ways in which global norms threaten alternative norms, such as self-determination and local collective identities (Tilly 1993; Hechtor and Opp 2001). Below, I outline how the key drivers of expanding LGBT policies (e.g., global norms, advocacy networks, and foreign aid) could also explain the emerging queer divide.

International Norm Polarization

To explain the polarization transpiring, Symons and Altman (2015) look to expand on Finnemore and Sikkink's (1998) "norm life cycle" model. Symons and Altman argue that similar to norm development and cascade, polarization is driven by a network of states and activists working against new expectations. In reference to women's rights, the authors argue that "two spirals emerged wherein the Vatican, many Middle Eastern states, and conservative allies in Western civil society opposed a women's rights agenda supported by many Western states and some non-Western civil society allies" (Symons and Altman 2015, 69).

Similar to this counter-network against women's rights, a new network began forming in the early 2000s to counter expectations linking sexual orientation and gender identity to traditional human rights protections—encompassing Russia, the UN Arab and Africa Group, the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation, and Western Christian missionaries (Weiss and Bosia 2013; Grossman 2015; Nuñez-Mietz and Iommi 2017). For example, not only did Russia adopt anti-propaganda legislation, but it also pushed against LGBT rights internationally under the veil of "universal traditional values" (Horvath 2016). Additionally, Christian missionaries helped fund the "Kill the Gays" bill in Uganda and similar projects throughout Africa (Grossman 2015; Dreier 2018). Together, these actors are developing a network to challenge the "norm life cycle" and attempting to prevent a complete cascade of norm acceptance by promoting alternatives against the dominant global narrative.

One key focal point in arguments countering LGBT norms is the threat they present to another norm: self-determination. Self-determination for nations is often characterized as having two distinct components: that citizens should choose their own form of government and that they have a right to form their own collective identity (Tilly 1993; Hechter and Opp 2001). Given its enshrinement in the UN Charter, self-determination is a strong norm within the international arena and is a primary cause for the proliferation of new countries and separatist movements since the Second World War (Tilly 1993). Indeed, much of the discourse of political leaders resisting LGBT rights is through the framing that they are antithetical to local identities and customs (Currier 2012). Because of this, the compliance with LGBT norms may be less likely given the presence of alternatives (Hechter and Opp 2001). Indeed, greater integration into the world society may mean a greater adherence to the norm of self-determination, creating a conflict between norms—when presented with competing or alternative choices, it makes the consolidation of any single behavioral expectation more difficult (Hechter and Opp 2001).

To explain the differences in state resistance to LGBT rights in Central and Eastern Europe, Ayoub (2014: 338) argues that "successful norm diffusion is moderated by differing perceptions of threat. . .social understandings within the domestic realm define the way state actors respond to international pressures." Queer and feminist scholars have demonstrated the close link between sexuality and the state (Conrad 2001; Stychin 2003). Stychin (1998, 9) outlines the historical narrative that homosexuality "is linked to conspiracy, recruitment, opposition to the nation, and ultimately a threat to civilization." Therefore, as normative understandings of new definitions of sexuality and gender identity emerge, states with an opposing view may harden their opposition as a means of protecting national sovereignty (e.g., in terms of Iran, see Karimi and Bayatrizi 2018).

Therefore, greater integration into the world society via transnational advocacy networks and stronger exposure to global LGBT norms could mean competition between globally legitimated ideas and local collective identities—resulting in a *negative* interaction and explaining part of the polarization seen. Indeed, Hughes, Krook, and Paxton (2015) find that for women's rights, stronger ties resulted in weakening the effect of women's norms.

H4: *Greater embeddedness within transnational advocacy networks will reduce the effect of global LGBT norms in improving LGBT policies.*

Alternatively, there is growing evidence that aid conditionality measures put in place by Western governments and international organizations are having a counter effect—reflecting the inherent power dynamics within these types of social relations (Kretz 2013; Seckinelgin 2018). For example, Weiss and Bosia (2013) outline how an increasing number of states outside of the West are instrumentalizing conditionality measures to push back against LGBT rights as a threat to national identity and as a means to consolidate power. Biruk (2014) analyzed the complex dynamics between foreign aid, national identity, and sexual orientation in Malawi. Biruk concludes:

> As the figure of conditional aid gains transnational legitimacy, moral concerns and imperatives are increasingly tied to North-South flows of dollars and resources. Notably, some African LGBT groups have spoken out against tying aid packages to LGBT rights, suggesting that conditional aid not only reinforces the argument that sexuality is a western construct but also distracts attention from the intersectional and structural oppressions that affect all Africans. (Biruk 2014, 469)

Additionally, scholars have found that aid conditionality measures re-invoke histories of imperialism that violate state autonomy (Biruk 2014) and that such *homocapitalist* practices are inappropriate within African countries (Ojilere 2018; Seckinelgin 2018). Therefore, this type of relationship may make it easier for countries to deny normative expectations because while viewed as a violation to the broader global community, domestic constituencies are likely to reward such behaviors (Weiss and Bosia 2013). How countries differentially experience aid relations, then, could explain

why some are reacting negatively to LGBT expectations, resulting in polarization. Therefore:

H5: *More ties to donor countries will reduce the effect of global LGBT norms in improving LGBT policies.*

Domestic Considerations

While international relations scholars focus on globalizing forces, others emphasize domestic attributes that situate how the state will respond to international ideas (Zürn and Checkel 2005). For example, Ayoub (2015) highlights that state "porousness," as indicated by the degree to which outside ideas can influence domestic policy through information flows, has a significant association with LGBT policy adoption in Europe. Hafner-Burton (2005) also contends that state openness, through trade as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), also improves human rights practices within a state.

Inglehart and Norris (2003) posit in their modernization theory that as states democratize and industrialize, respect for gender equity and minority rights should improve. Given the interwoven dynamics between gender and sexuality, modernization may be a key factor in explaining LGBT policy adoption (Encarnación 2014; Ayoub 2015). Several other domestic factors have also been linked to domestic policies toward minority communities and human rights, broadly, and LGBT communities, specifically. An important one is the proportion of women parliamentarians, shown to improve conditions for minority populations and social welfare programs (Paxton and Hughes 2015). Another common indicator of human rights practices is population density due, in part, to "the threat (real or perceived) that large populations pose to entrenched regimes" (Cole 2012, 1148–9).

Data and Methods

Dependent Variable

LGBT Policy Index

While most studies on LGBT policy adoption tend to focus on a single policy, such as same-sex marriages or the decriminalization of same-sex acts (Frank and McEneaney 1999; Fernández and Lutter 2013), this study instead turns to a newly constructed policy index (Velasco 2018). The LGBT Policy Index is comprised of sixteen different policies, ranging from the death penalty for same-sex sexual acts to hate crime protections and joint adoptions for same-sex couples (see Table 1 for a full list of policies). By having a measure that encompasses both restrictive and progressive policies, the index is better able to capture policy change in either direction compared with single-policy measures. Policy indices are also more desirable than single measures because they are able to capture multiple manifestations of the same underlying phenomena (Htun and Weldon 2012; Ayoub 2015, 2016; Corrales 2017).

To construct the index, data on different policies, except LGB people allowed to openly serve in the military, are collected from ILGA's annual *State-Sponsored Homophobia Report*. This report documents the status of a variety of LGBT-related policies in countries and territories, including year of adoption, links to legislative or policy texts, and some contextual information around the policy, such as degree of implementation.[4] Due to the level of detail, the report is used in a variety of cross-national LGBT research (Frank and McEneaney 1999; LaViolette 2009; Frank, Camp, and Boutcher 2010; Reynolds 2013; Ayoub 2015, 2016; Velasco 2018). For data on the military, Reynolds (2013) and The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies' LGBT Military Index were consulted.

Table 1. LGBT policies used with coding score

Policy	*Score*
Same-sex acts legal	1
Equal age of consent	1
Employment discrimination	1
Hate crime protections	1
Incitement to hatred	1
Civil unions	1
Marriage equality	1
Joint adoptions	1
LGB military	1
Constitutional anti-discrimination protections	1
Death penalty	−1
Propaganda laws	−1
Same-sex acts legal	−1
Unequal age of consent	−1
Ban on marriage equality	−1
LGB military bans	−1

For a reported policy to be encompassed within the index, it must be adopted, through judicial ruling, parliamentary adoption, or executive decree, at the national level. So, for example, although same-sex acts are criminalized in several provinces in Indonesia (Carroll 2016), Indonesia is not coded as having this policy since it is not implemented federally. Policies that are restrictive in nature are coded −1 and those more progressive or accessible are coded as +1. Totals are then summed to create a composite index score for each country in each year (see Velasco 2018 for validation of the measure). The index captures the scope of policy adoption as it relates to LGBT rights but does not capture their degree of implementation (Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005). Nevertheless, scholars argue that understanding the adoption process is still meaningful because of the effects they have on signaling state preferences, mobilizing movements, and eventually influencing lived experiences (Htun and Weldon 2012).

Independent Variables

Global LGBT Context

To measure the broader global context, I conduct a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) using three sources of data. By conducting a CFA, I am able to create an index measuring the underlying latent construct, global LGBT norms, while assessing goodness-of-fit statistics (Brown 2014; Hughes, Krook, and Paxton 2015). The first source of data is the cumulative number of resolutions, reports, concluding observations, and general comments published throughout the UN system that make explicit references to sexual orientation or gender identity. These data are collected annually by the International Commission of Jurists. Given the unique role of the UN in the international system, statements from this body have an elevated position to signal and express positions and models for the global

[4] In each edition, the report typically expands to incorporate new policies or provide more contextual information regarding each policy. On occasion, this results in acknowledging that previous policy situations were incorrectly reported once more information was acquired. When this occurs, the LGBT Policy Index I construct is corrected as well to try to maintain a consistent measurement of the index across time.

community (Strang and Meyer 1993; Krook and True 2012; Kentikelenis and Seabrooke 2017). The first concluding observation was made in 1982 and then every year from 1992 onward.

The second measure is the cumulative number of LGBT INGOs around the world (Hughes, Krook, and Paxton 2015; Velasco 2018). Using the *Yearbook of International Organizations (YIO)*, published by the Union of International Associations, I coded INGOs based on whether their aim described working on behalf of any part of the LGBT community. Given that INGOs are often considered carriers of world culture (Boli and Thomas 1999), the growth of INGOs in a particular issue area tends to coincide with general interest and attention paid to the topic (Davies 2014).

The third measure is the global cumulative count of English-language newspaper articles that mention LGBT communities, using LexisNexis.[5] This measure serves as a way to capture the extent to which LGBT norms are present within popular discourse (Ortiz, Myers, Walls, and Diaz 2005; Strand 2012; Grossman 2015; Adamczyk, Kim, and Schmuhl 2017).

Correlations among the three indicators range from 0.75 to 0.96 and strong goodness-of-fit statistics from the CFA demonstrate that these items are indeed measuring an underlying construct. The resulting index, Global LGBT Norms, is scaled to the cumulative count of LGBT INGOs.

Transnational Advocacy Networks (TAN)

To capture the neo-institutional explanations for how global LGBT norms influence policies, I use two measures for the degree to which countries are integrated into the world society, and therefore exposed to normative expectations, via transnational advocacy networks. First, I use a traditional measure of the number of country-level ties to LGBT INGOs (Frank and McEneaney 1999; Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2006; Longhofer et al. 2016). This measure coincides with the argument that the overall strength of the relationships will influence how norms are received. Second, following Hughes et al. (2009), I use social network analyses to determine the position of countries connected to one another via joint membership in INGOs—also called INGO Network Country Scores (INC Scores). INC Scores, rather than raw counts, are able to take into consideration *who* countries are connected to and recognize that not all ties result in the same exposure to the global community and international norms (Hughes et al. 2009; Paxton, Hughes, and Reith 2015). Using data from the *YIO*, I create a two-mode, Country by LGBT INGO matrix every three years, beginning in 1991. To calculate the INC Score, I then convert the two-mode matrix into a one-mode, Country by Country matrix, where the cells represent joint membership in an LGBT INGO. Eigenvector centrality is then used to calculate a country's position within the network (Borgatti and Everett 1997; Borgatti 2005; Hughes et al. 2009; Paxton, Hughes, and Reith 2015). Centrality ranges from 0 to 1, with 1 being the most central actor. Centrality and ties are calculated every three years with previous observations carried forward to fill in missing values.[6]

[5] LGBT terms: "homosexuality," "homosexual," "lesbian," "bisexual," "bisexuality," "transgender," "sodomy," "same-sex," "sexual orientation," "gender identity," "intersex," "queer," and "LGBT." Following Grossman (2015)'s guidance, I do not include the term "gay" due to high variability around its meaning. This is limited to strictly newspaper articles.

[6] Missing values are also replaced with linear interpolation and results are similar.

Foreign Aid

Two measures of foreign aid are used, representing different ways through which norms can transmit from the international community to recipient states. First, following Swiss (2017), I calculate the number of OECD donor countries that each non-OECD country receives any type of assistance from (or 'in-degrees'). This measure seeks to instead understand the *relational* aspect of these ties, rather than strictly conceptualizing them as material transfers (Swiss 2017). The second approach is a more traditional measure of foreign aid: annual net receipts of official development assistance as a percentage of Gross Domestic Income (GNI) in constant 2010 U.S. dollars (Yuichi Kono and Montinola 2009). This measure is logged due to the skewed distribution. Data for both measures are provided by the OECD Query Wizard for International Development Statistics.

To provide comparisons across variables, all transnational advocacy and foreign aid measures are standardized using z-scores.

Controls

Other Donors

Recent studies on LGBT policy adoption have found that when countries have affiliations with and seek resources from communities outside of the Western-dominated global community, they are less likely to adopt progressive policies and may even implement more restrictive legislation (Ayoub 2014; Nuñez-Mietz and Iommi 2017). Therefore, I control for the number of non-OECD donors a country receives assistance from. Countries that receive assistance from China and Saudi Arabia, for example, may be less influenced by pressures stemming from the more Western-dominated global landscape.

Women in Parliament

Using the Varieties of Democracy dataset, women in parliament is measured as the proportion of women in the lower chamber (or unicameral) national parliament (Lindberg et al. 2014). Missing values are replaced using the previous year's observation (Hughes et al. 2015).

Level of Democracy

Democracy is measured using data from Freedom House due to the well-fitting conceptualization of democracy employed (Bollen and Paxton 2000). Freedom House rates countries' level of democratization on a scale from 1 to 7, with 1 being the most democratic. This score is inversed so higher values correspond to greater consolidation of democratic practices (Norris, Frank, and Martinez i Coma 2013).

Control variables for Trade, Population Density, and Economic Development are all gathered from the World Bank (2018). Trade is measured as the percentage of overall GDP. Population density is measured as the number of residents per square kilometer, while economic development is measured as GDP per capita in constant 2010 U.S. dollars. GDP per capita is logged to minimize skew in the distribution. In cases when the GDP per capita was reported as zero for a country, these cases were dropped.

Cultural Globalization

Social porousness is measured using the KOF Index for Cultural Globalization developed by Dreher (2006). This measure, ranging from 0 to 100, is derived from five component parts: (1) imports and exports of cultural goods as a percentage of the population; (2) imports and exports of personal,

cultural, and recreational services as a percentage of the population; (3) percentage of international trademarks registered; (4) number of McDonald's restaurants as a percentage of the population; and (5) number of IKEAs (Swedish furniture shops) as a percentage of the population. Higher values indicate a greater degree of cultural connections to the international community.

Methods and Sample

To assess how the aforementioned factors influence LGBT policy adoption, this study uses two-way fixed effects models with cross-sectional time series data (Beck and Katz 1995). Because it is the change within the global context and variation in countries' connections to the international community that are theorized to influence LGBT policies, country and year-level fixed effects are employed. Results ensure that time-invariant country-level attributes, like unique cultural factors, are controlled for. Additionally, year fixed effects ensure that these models are measuring changes within the newly created Global LGBT Context variable and not conflating this change with time. To account for the violation of independence, robust standard errors are clustered at the country level (Beck and Katz 1995). All independent variables and control variables are lagged one year to ensure proper time ordering.

Data are only collected for countries that are recipients of aid from OECD countries. Therefore, OECD member states are excluded from this analysis since they are not exposed to one of the mechanisms—allowing for an analysis that de-centers industrialized, primarily Western countries. Only countries with populations greater than 500,000 in 1990 are included. Analyses begin in 1990 because this time period is often seen as the beginning of LGBT human rights norms being recognized on the world stage and more intense transnational organizing (Kollman and Waites 2009). Due to missing values on some predictor variables, the resulting sample includes 110 countries—resulting in 2,826 country-year observations. Descriptive statistics are provided in the supplementary appendix.

Results

Table 2 shows the results from the two-way fixed effects models predicting LGBT Policy Index. Model 1 serves as a baseline for how Global LGBT Context is associated with index scores. Models 2–3 build on this by adding in Transnational Advocacy and Models 4–5 test Foreign Aid. Beginning with the baseline model, there is a significant, positive association between the Global LGBT Context and a country's position on the LGBT Policy Index ($b = .064$, $p < .001$). Between 1990 and 2016, then, this suggests an average increase of roughly two points on the LGBT Policy Index—a sizeable effect attributed solely to increases in norms around LGBT rights. The baseline model accounts for 23 percent of the within-country variation in the LGBT Policy Index during the panel.

How countries are connected to the global community, though, may influence the effect global norms are having. Models 2–3 assess how the Global LGBT Context changes depending upon how embedded countries are within transnational advocacy networks. Model 2 considers the structural position within these networks through eigenvector centrality—INC Scores. Model 2a reveals that there is a negative association between Tan INC Scores and LGBT Policy Index. This is an unexpected association given that world society literature suggests that countries more deeply embedded within the international community via such networks are theorized to be more likely to comply with international norms. In Model 2b, however, once an interaction term is included, results demonstrate that the effects of global norms are indeed stronger for those more centrally positioned within these networks ($b = .033$, $p < .001$). Therefore, to properly understand the association that network centrality, via INC Scores, has with LGBT policies, it is imperative to factor in the social context. In Model 3, transnational advocacy networks are measured through traditional tie counts—In-Degree. Model 3a shows that unlike Tan INC Scores, Tan In-Degree has a positive association with LGBT Policy Index ($b = .249$, $p < .05$). This suggests that it is not the structure of ties or which countries have mutual membership in the same INGOs that is important, but simply having relationships to INGOs themselves. In turning to Model 3b, the interaction between Global LGBT Context and Tan In-Degree is similarly significant—revealing that as global norms get stronger, the effect of INGO ties also increases and vice versa. However, when comparing the standardized interactions in Models 2b and 3b, the interaction effect is larger for Tan INC Sores than In-Degree ($b = .033$, $p < .001$ vs. $b = .019$, $p < .001$).

Next, Models 3–4 test how the effects of global norms are influenced by countries that have stronger relationships with foreign aid donors. Model 4a reveals that Foreign Aid Net ODA (overseas development aid) by itself does not have a significant association with the LGBT Policy Index. Through the interaction term in Model 4b, however, it is evident that unlike Tan measures, countries with a greater dependence on Foreign Aid respond negatively to the global context ($b = -0.013$, $p < .05$). As the Global LGBT Context grows, pushing norms through these types of channels, such as by threatening aid, has an increasingly negative effect on LGBT policies. The standardized interaction terms for Tan In-Degree and Foreign Aid Net ODA are roughly similar in magnitude but in opposite directions, $b = .019$ vs. $b = -0.013$, respectively. Models 5a and 5b reveal that Foreign Aid In-Degree is not significantly associated with LGBT Policy Index nor does it moderate the effects of the Global LGBT Context—suggesting that it is the material tie to donor countries rather than the more social element that influences how recipient countries are interpreting and responding to these relationships.

Figure 2 highlights the average marginal effects of Tan and Foreign Aid connections changes at different values for the Global LGBT Context. In parentheses are the years in which different values for the global context are achieved. Although the Global LGBT Context is presented in consistent four-unit intervals, the years are not consistently spaced, which reflects the exponential growth of LGBT norms over the previous decades. What is immediately noticeable are the divergent trends between these two forms of social relationships between countries and how they are exposed to the Global LGBT Context. First, when there were few expectations around LGBT rights, having ties to LGBT INGOs had no significant effects associated with the LGBT Policy Index. However, as pressure grows over time, integration becomes highly coupled with policy improvements. In comparing between the measures, INC Scores within the network enhance the effects of normative expectations more so than simply just having ties (In-Degrees). This follows Hughes et al.'s (2009) argument that the world society is a fundamentally networked theory and that ties to other central actors are more effective at exposing countries to normative standards than any type of tie, generally.

Table 2. Two-Way fixed-effects models predicting LGBT Policy Index, 1990–2016

	Baseline	*Transnational advocacy networks*				*Foreign aid*			
Model	*1*	*2a INC Score*	*2b INC Score*	*3a In-Degree*	*3b In-Degree*	*4a Net ODA*	*4b Net ODA*	*5a In-Degree*	*5b In-Degree*
Global LGBT Context	0.064***	0.065***	0.058***	0.050*	0.048*	0.081***	0.070***	0.066***	0.066***
	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.019)
International Connection		−0.261*	−0.331**	0.249*	−0.167	−0.019	0.031	−0.123	−0.126
		(0.101)	(0.100)	(0.117)	(0.117)	(0.070)	(0.082)	(0.099)	(0.103)
Context x Connection Interaction			0.033**		0.019***		−0.014*		0.000
			(0.011)		(0.005)		(0.007)		(0.005)
Controls									
Non-OECD Donors	−0.015	−0.015	−0.020	−0.017	−0.018	0.011	0.031	0.007	0.006
	(0.032)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.030)	(0.029)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.031)
% Women in Parliament	0.013	0.013	0.011	0.011	0.011	0.011	0.012	0.014	0.014
	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.012)
Level of Democracy	0.022	0.005	−0.018	0.010	−0.003	−0.003	−0.000	0.022	0.022
	(0.054)	(0.052)	(0.047)	(0.051)	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.053)	(0.053)
GDP per Capita (logged)	−0.233	−0.238	−0.094	−0.179	−0.143	−0.367	−0.417	−0.291	−0.292
	(0.281)	(0.259)	(0.228)	(0.272)	(0.247)	(0.255)	(0.264)	(0.263)	(0.267)
Population Density (logged)	−2.533***	−2.620***	−1.745*	−2.186**	−1.865**	−3.528***	−3.070***	−2.655***	−2.657***
	(0.716)	(0.698)	(0.703)	(0.712)	(0.709)	(0.757)	(0.734)	(0.688)	(0.695)
Cultural Globalization	0.015	0.014	0.006	0.012	0.010	0.016+	0.012	0.016+	0.016+
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Constant	11.351**	11.774**	7.756*	9.866*	8.374*	16.122***	14.841***	12.123**	12.143**
	(3.920)	(3.670)	(3.555)	(3.882)	(3.720)	(3.846)	(3.677)	(3.696)	(3.751)
Observations	2,826	2,826	2,826	2,826	2,826	2,742	2,742	2,826	2,826
R-squared	0.231	0.261	0.323	0.255	0.300	0.269	0.288	0.235	0.235
Number of countries	110	110	110	110	110	109	109	110	110

Notes: ODA = overseas development aid. Robust standard errors in parentheses. All models include country and year fixed effects. $^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $+ p < 0.1$.

Second, both measures of Foreign Aid diminish the effect of the Global LGBT Context over time. Although In-Degrees is not statistically significant, the Net ODA measure is. While elaborated upon further below, these findings reveal that indeed it is the quality and character of social relations between states and the international community that determine how they understand and enact normative behaviors. Additionally, it is important to note that while Global LGBT Context strongly influences policy adoption, the change in this effect size through these interaction terms is modest.

Now turning to the control variables, while all of the variables, save GDP per Capita, are in the theorized direction of influence, only Population Density has a statistically significant association with the LGBT Policy Index. Following previous arguments, countries that have seen dramatic increases in population density are more inclined to restrict human rights practices in order to control populations—this finding builds on that evidence. The lack of significant associations with any of the other variables may be due, in part, to the conservative model design with the implementation of two-way fixed effects that account for specific within-country changes while ensuring these are not conflating with time.

Discussion and Conclusion

While recent years have been celebrated for the promotion of LGBT policies in a variety of contexts, across the global landscape there is new evidence of states working to resist and counter LGBT norms and discourses (Weiss and Bosia 2013; Bosia 2014; Hadler and Symons 2018; Ayoub 2019). This study expands current understanding of LGBT policy adoption by assessing the differential effects global norms are having based upon *how* countries are exposed and connected to the international arena, with the specific aim of understanding recent linkages between LGBT rights and foreign aid. More importantly, these findings provide some of the first quantitative evidence for how different exposure mechanisms to global norms can explain polarization among states. Lastly, while some view foreign aid conditionality as the "stick" for transmitting policy preferences (Weyland 2005; Kretz 2013), these findings suggest that this approach is ineffective and, potentially, counter to one's aims when it comes to improving LGBT policy adoption. This adds to growing evidence questioning the viability of hard conditionalities as a mechanism for changing LGBT policies (Ayoub 2019).

First, findings from this study add to the already established body of literature demonstrating that to understand why countries adopt certain LGBT policies, it is important to take the global context into consideration (Frank and McEneaney 1999; Kollman 2007; Ayoub and Paternotte 2014; Ayoub 2015, 2016; Paternotte 2015; Velasco 2018). As international actors, such as the UN, INGOs, and other states, continue to promote LGBT rights both transnationally and internationally, states will continue to experience pressures, symbolic or material, to comply. But unlike previous studies, these findings explicitly consider how the process of polarization is also linked to the global context by considering

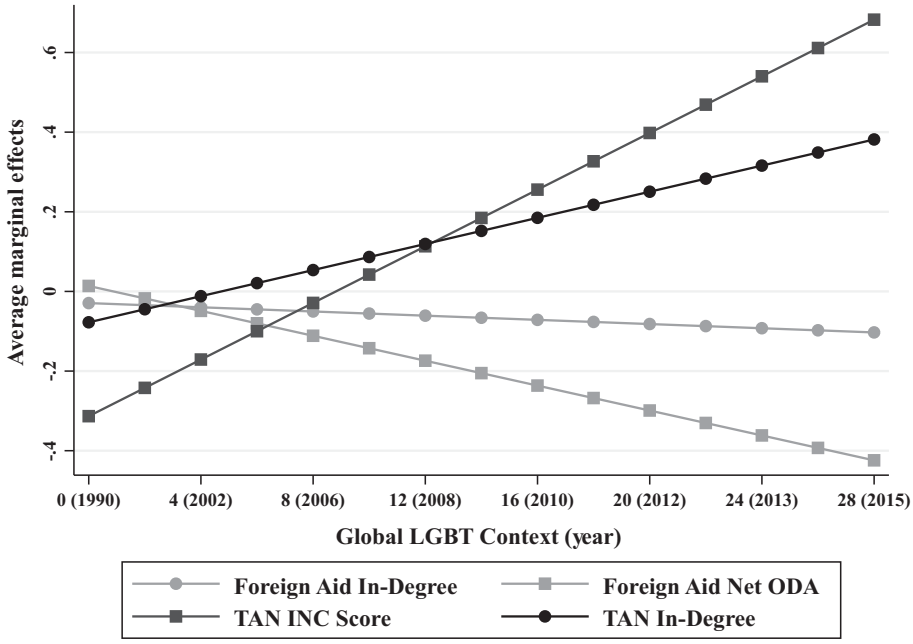

Figure 2. Average marginal effects of TAN and FOREIGN AID connections changes at different values for the GLOBAL LGBT CONTEXT

two different types of connections and focuses beyond the traditionally studied industrialized West.

The degree to which countries are integrated into the world society via LGBT transnational advocacy networks and, thus, exposed to LGBT norms is foundational to understanding the proliferation of progressive LGBT policy adoption. Using social network analyses to develop LGBT INC Scores (Hughes et al. 2009; Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2015) reveals that the effects of global norms increase as countries move closer to the core. Even using traditional counts of LGBT INGOs showcases similar findings. The stronger effects for centrality measures support previous theorization that it is *who* countries are connected to through these transnational relationships that matters more so than having connections to INGO actors, generally (Hughes et al. 2009; Paxton, Hughes, and Green 2015). The differential effects add to the growing body of research showing that understanding the structure of social relationships and not just relationships themselves can provide new insights across a range of social processes (Hughes et al. 2009).

The more unexpected findings come about when assessing the effects of foreign aid relationships on LGBT policy adoption. Since David Cameron first announced linking UK foreign aid to LGBT protections in 2011, the idea of coupling these two policies has spread across a variety of development assistance institutions (Currier 2012; Kretz 2013; Bergenfield and Miller 2014; Biruk 2014; Bosia 2014; Lind 2014; Encarnación 2016; Mason 2018). While individual case studies in developing countries suggested that this policy may not be as effective as first hoped (Currier 2012; Biruk 2014; Mason 2018), there had yet to be a cross-national comparison to assess whether the findings from case studies were unique or reflective of a broader process. This study demonstrates that, indeed, normative pressure does not increase for countries with greater ties to development-assisting countries— in fact it has a negative effect.

To explain why this is the case, Weiss and Bosia (2013) develop the term *political homophobia*. They argue that political leaders exercise homophobia as a political tool against the international community, especially when domestic audiences view LGBT norms as a threat. Therefore, countries that have a higher dependence on foreign aid may feel more exposed and at risk to LGBT norms from the international community and try to counter these efforts by mobilizing *political homophobia* to secure public support. This similarly matches to the processes Biruk (2014) finds in Malawi when the UK threatened foreign aid due to the government's imprisonment of two gay men. To understand when domestic audiences and/or political leaders are likely to view LGBT norms as threats, Ayoub (2014, 2016) and Nuñez-Mietz and Iommi (2017) argue that it is most likely to occur when national identity is draped in religious identity. While this is certainly true, findings from this study suggest that foreign aid ties may also trigger similar responses of backlash and resistance that threats to cultural identity markers do. Future research is necessary, though, to fully adjudicate these dynamics as the present study is limited in being able to tease apart these processes.

These findings are not without limitations, however. As mentioned, part of the polarization in LGBT rights is due to growing counter-mobilization networks (Weiss and Bosia 2013). This study does not assess the degree to which states are connected to these opposing forces and, therefore, misses a potential aspect of LGBT norm polarization and resistance—especially driven by religious actors (Dreier 2018). Also, I use the world society approach to understanding the normative environment, which theorizes one dominating global standard, though Western-biased, permeating across all countries (Boli and Thomas 1999). However, more recent literature has started to stress the importance of regional norms and multiple modernities (Roberts 2018). Variation in regional norms is presently excluded but taking it into account in subsequent research will be fruitful in understanding from where states seek normative legitimacy on this issue. Additionally, foreign aid is only one type of externality and there are other types of social relationships that may be more effective tools for prompting compliance

with LGBT norms. Also, the nascency of foreign aid conditions may mean that more time is needed for their effects to be felt. However, the negative interaction suggests that they may have even more negative effects as norms develop. Lastly, the interaction effects, while robust to various model specifications, are modest. While centrality in the network enhances the effects of global norms, these effects were already substantial so the marginal effect is limited. Additionally, while foreign aid relations have a negative effect, this is only significant in more recent years when normative pressures have been at their highest.

Nevertheless, however, this study is able to advance our understanding of how norms influence state behavior, generally, and are associated with polarization around LGBT rights, specifically. For world society scholars, this study again demonstrates the importance of norms in pushing policy change but adds to the debate by demonstrating that *how* countries are tied to the international community and experience norms is fundamental to understanding the type of policy response they will have. And for foreign aid scholars, the findings reveal the limitations of foreign aid conditionality on contentious policy. While conditionality has been successfully tied to democratic practices, generally (Siegel and Weinberg 1977; Sanahuja 2000), when trying to apply this logic toward less agreed upon policy prescriptions, conditionality can spur opposite outcomes. For those wanting to advance LGBT rights, then, findings from this study suggest that the best avenue is to invest in local LGBT civil society organizations while trying to limit the impression of coercive Western imposition.

Supplementary Information

Supplementary information is available at the *International Studies Quarterly* data archive.

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