**Supplementary Online Appendix**

This online Appendix offers additional methodological detail surrounding the empirical sections of the paper (Parts 4 and 5). We provide more context around our network analysis, as well as additional data on the shift in LGBTI movement organizing frames.

*Network Analysis in Part 4*

The graphs were created with the R language and environment for statistical computing and graphics version 4.1.1 (R Core Team 2021). The code was written in the RStudio development environment, Ghost Orchid version (RStudio Team 2021). A number of packages were used: tidyverse (Wickham et al. 2019), igraph (Csardi and Nepusz 2006), ggmap (Kahle and Wickham 2013), ggraph (Pedersen 2021), and rnaturalearth (South 2017).

The latitude and longitude of congressional cities and participant states were found by querying the Google Geocoding API through ggmap’s geocode function (Kahle and Wickham 2013). Triangles representing states are typically geolocated at the center of a state. In some cases, namely Spain, Italy, and Russia, they have been slightly shifted to avoid overlap or improve visualization clarity. The Spanish coordinates were placed near Madrid by the Google Geocoding API, overlapping with the conference held there. Those of Italy straddled those of the Vatican. To avoid excessive overlap, the locations of these states were slightly displaced. Russia was situated away from other European countries.

The diagrams representing the congressional attendance of individuals and organizations are created using the ggplot function with the geom\_tile option (Wickham et al. 2019). A darker color and lower position on the chart indicate more participation by a person or participants in a given organization, respectively. The blocks represent participation in a particular conference.

Finally, in order to get a better understanding of the changes in the country-composition of participations in the WCF, we calculated the presence of speakers’ countries over time. A simple comparison in percent shows that the WCF has diversified in recent years, in particular since 2014. Considering the overall composition of active participants at all the congresses after the Moscow WCF (2014), participation from countries of the European Union and former Soviet Union has increased. If we look only at the European Union, (EU-27) participation rose from 25 percent to 36 percent of the total participants. This corresponds to a 44 percent increase compared to the pre-Moscow phase. If one considers the geographical Europe (51 countries), the increase is from 32 percent to 50 percent, which corresponds to a 56 percent increase compared to the congresses before Moscow. However, the distributions of European participations over the congresses are skewed, with a high range of values, with certain congresses featuring a more- or less-high proportion of European participants. Therefore, these statistics represent a rough estimate of the trend in participation. Hence, in order to obtain a more reliable interpretation, we compared the frequency distributions of European participants up to the congress in Moscow of 2014, and after 2014, with a one-tailed Mann-Whitney test. The Mann-Whitney test is a nonparametric statistical test that can be used to ascertain if two distributions of values are equal or if one includes values that are systematically higher (or lower) than the other. In this case, the two distributions we compared are represented by the proportions of European participants to the World Congresses of Families up to 2014 and after 2014. The test was performed both on participants from European Union countries (EU-27) and from geographical Europe (fifty-one nations). Results show that the difference in participation from EU-27 countries has not significantly changed from before (N = 5, Mdn = 0.21) and after 2014 (N = 5, Mdn = 0.20) (W = 16, p = 0.27). Instead, the difference in participation from geographical Europe has significantly changed from before (N = 8, Mdn = 0.27) and after 2014 (N = 5, Mdn = 0.54) (W = 33, p < 0.05).

*Traditional/Family Values Discourse Analysis in Part 5*

Alongside our interviews with and participation at LGBTIQ strategic activist meetings, we also studied the changes in their written communication via conference programs (or delegate packets) of ILGA Europe (the largest and most regular international gatherings of LGBTI NGOs spanning 47 countries) between 2004 to 2016.

Table A.1 and Figure A.1 zoom in on the delegate packets with the family values frame first appearing in 2011. After 2011, there was a very slow increase in the number of references to family values per delegate. In comparison to the other document types, there was a relatively larger proportion of texts (seven) coded as proactive, compared with four texts coded as reactionary. This shift toward relatively more proactive texts makes sense considering these conference programs are meant to directly address issues within the LGBTI community. Also depicted in figure A.1, the timing of the family values frame also matches clearly with the intensification of moral conservative activism at the international level, especially when compared to other kinds of family issues.

Table A.1: Delegate packet raw counts for family issues and family values. Source: Data compiled from ILGA-Europe annual conference delegate packets, 2004–2016.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Year | Family issues | immigration | children | partnership | Family values | reactionary | proactive |
| 2004 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2005 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2006 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2007 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2008 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2009 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2010 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2011 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 2012 | 8 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 2013 | 8 | 0 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 2014 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| 2015 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| 2016 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 |

Figure A.1. Delegate packet references to family/traditional values;

Note: \*Number of references includes both reactionary and proactive coded texts

The delegate packets are direct in addressing family values. Some of the workshops, even in their names, mentioned “reclaiming” family/traditional values (for example, see Workshop 6 from Delegate Packet 2013, 9; and Workshop 19 from Delegate Packet 2016, 28). While less explicit, many workshops took on the issue of how to reframe and celebrate family diversity and discuss family values in relation to LGBTI parenting (see Workshop 27 and Workshop 39 from Delegate Packet 2015, 30, 36)—much as our qualitative analysis of movement discourse also suggests.

Coding and Data

Several different types of organization documents were coded, including annual reports, organization newsletters (Euro-Letter), and the annual conference delegate packets made available to us. While we uncover similar patterns across all, we reported the delegate packets above.

1. Annual Reports: a comprehensive report on ILGA-Europe’s activities and events, finances and fundraising, board membership/staff, and important developments over the course of a year. Years made available and coded: 1998–2015.

2. Euro-Letter: a political and legal news bulletin put together by ILGA-Europe and partners (depending on the year), which highlights European news on LGBTI issues and ILGA-Europe organizational updates. Years made available and coded: 2000–2016.

3. Delegate Packet: conference information provided to the attendees/delegates of the annual ILGA-Europe conference, which includes conference schedules, panel/event details, and brief updates/information on ILGA-Europe and their priorities. We chose not to code conference reports, since they were not consistently published over the years and had greater fluctuations in page length. Years made available and coded: 2004–2016.

While we collected and coded these same three document types over the years, inconsistencies in the layout and length of these documents due to the organizations’ decisions impact our research. Listed below are some particular limitations of documents, coded as they relate to changing layouts and how this affects the interpretation of the coding.

1. Annual Reports

a. On length—the length of each report is highly variable, with the shortest report at 10 pages (2012) and the longest at 72 pages (2010). Significant changes in length include:

i. From 30 pages in 2006 to 52 in 2007

ii. From 56 pages in 2011 to 10 pages in 2012

iii. From 13 pages in 2014 to 25 pages in 2015

b. On shifts in layout—

i. From 1999 to 2000: move to more comprehensive coverage of regional activities and developments on LGBTI issues and coverage of thematic issues (e.g., immigration, HIV/AIDS, and the like)

ii. From 2003 to 2004: move to reports according to strategic objectives rather than issue areas

iii. From 2011 to 2012: move to a much more condensed update on yearly activities/provision of broad-level snapshots of a few completed activities; not based on strategic objectives or thematic issues; and does not include specific information on finances, board membership, or staff

iv. From 2012 to 2013: a still-briefer update, but a return to framing the report around strategic objectives

2. Euro-Letter

a. On length—the length of each newsletter changes from issue to issue, ranging from 3 to 35 pages, dependent on news and developments in LGBTI issues in Europe

i. From 8 pages in November 2005 to 26 pages in December 2005

ii. From 27 pages in June 2010 to 3 pages in July 2010

b. On publication consistency—depending on year, the newsletter did not run consistently every month. To account for the inconsistency in publishing, we coded only six Euro-Letter newsletters (every other month, when possible).

c. On shifts in layout—

i. From November 2005 to December 2005: includes more updates on ILGA-Europe, funding opportunities, and more comprehensive reporting on LGBTI issues across Europe

ii. From January 2006 to February 2006: new newsletter design, new cover image, longer table of contents, and provides more space for news stories

iii. From June 2010 to July 2010: organization making the shift from designed PDF attachment to an HTML format—during the transition the Euro-Letter was an email summary of recent stories/ILGA-Europe news (moved to only three pages)

iv. From April 2015 to May 2015: shifts to a webpage format—this increases the number of pages, even though the amount of content is similar

3. Delegate Packet

a. On length—the overall trend was to become longer over time. The shortest packet is 21 pages (2007) and the longest is 88 pages (2016). Many of the additional pages that are added, though, do not add any new substantive information. We will break this down further under the “shifts in layout” section, but some examples include: new additions over the years, such as nicely designed front and back cover pages, longer introductions from the host, photos and bios of conference presenters and ILGA-Europe staff, list of participants, and the like. Some of these additions pack in many extra pages but should not impact the analysis or final raw counts. Over the years, the annual conference itself got bigger, meaning there were more workshops and other sessions. For example, the number of workshops starts at around 28, but slowly increases to 46 over time. This could have an impact on the end analysis.

b. On significant shifts in layout

i. 2004—includes a guide to the EU, CoE, and OSCE in relation to LGBT rights; also includes staff information (staff information stops after 2004 for several years)

ii. Starting in 2005—includes more information on ILGA-Europe’s strategies, accomplishments, and goals

iii. 2007, 2008, 2012—does not include front or back cover pages

iv. Starting in 2011—includes speakers’ biographies

v. Starting in 2012—longer sponsor/contributing organization pages, includes list of participants