



**UNIVERSIDADE ESTADUAL DE CAMPINAS
INSTITUTO DE FILOSOFIA E CIÊNCIAS HUMANAS**

FERNANDA FORTES DE LENA

**INTERNAL MIGRATION TRAJECTORIES OF SEXUAL MINORITIES IN BRAZIL
TRAJETÓRIAS MIGRATÓRIAS DE MINORIAS SEXUAIS NO BRASIL**

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TRAJETÓRIAS MIGRATÓRIAS DE MINORIAS SEXUAIS NO BRASIL

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**UNIVERSIDADE ESTADUAL DE CAMPINAS
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A comissão julgadora dos trabalhos de Defesa de Tese de Doutorado, composta pelas Professoras Doutoras a seguir descritos, em sessão pública realizada em 24 de fevereiro de 2022, considerou a candidata Fernanda Fortes de Lena aprovada.

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A Ata de Defesa com as respectivas assinaturas dos membros encontra-se no SIGA/Sistema de Fluxo de Dissertações/Teses e na Secretaria do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Demografia do Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas.

The Defense Protocol with the respective signatures of the members can be found in SIGA/System of Flow of Thesis/Dissertations and at the Secretary of the Program of Graduation in Demography of the Institute of Philosophy and Human Sciences.

To my family and my friends that are also my family.

LETTER OF ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Barcelona, 24th of January of 2022

Dear readers,

I'm writing this letter to thank everyone that in some way helped in the endeavor of writing this thesis. I would also like to acknowledge some events that contributed to the paths I took to finally get here.

I look back on the first year of my PhD and remember that I was not funded by any institution in that year and would only be in the years to come. I recall my parents, Jorge and Isabel, deciding to finance my stay in Campinas (SP) and continue my studies. I thank them for allowing me the opportunity to choose to focus on my studies. Unfortunately, I know that not many people have the luxury of that choice.

In Campinas, I shared a house with Maria Clara, her pets, Bossa Nova and Caligari, and an Argentinian named Agustín. I had an amazing time living with them and will always remember those years fondly. I carry with me the love for vinyl and yerba mate as a symbolic reminder of the years we shared living in Vila São João. It was a bittersweet goodbye when I left. I cannot thank enough the friends that became family during those years, Pagu, Leo, Shirley, Larissa, Janete and so many others that were a part of a special moment in my life that like all good things had to come to a fold.

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This letter could go on and on for many pages for there are many people over the years that have somehow made their way into my life and helped me achieve this goal. As you can see it took a village to write this thesis. Therefore, I thank them all from the bottom of my heart and I thank you for taking the time to read this thesis, which is the sum of many years of work.

Fernanda Fortes de Lena.

Travessia

*Quando você foi embora fez-se noite em meu viver
Forte eu sou, mas não tem jeito
Hoje eu tenho que chorar
Minha casa não é minha e nem é meu este lugar
Estou só e não resisto, muito tenho pra falar*

*Solto a voz nas estradas, já não quero parar
Meu caminho é de pedra, como posso sonhar
Sonho feito de brisa, vento vem terminar
Vou fechar o meu pranto, vou querer me matar*

*Vou seguindo pela vida me esquecendo de você
Eu não quero mais a morte, tenho muito o que viver
Vou querer amar de novo e se não der não vou sofrer
Já não sonho, hoje faço com meu braço o meu viver*

(Milton Nascimento, Fernando R. Brant, *Milton Nascimento*, 1967)

ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to explore internal migration of sexual minorities in the Brazilian context. I breakdown this aim into three research questions: 1) What are the gaps in migration of sexual minorities in demographic studies? 2) How internal migration flows of gay men and lesbians are different to heterosexual men and women in Brazil? 3) How do family relations affect the trajectory of sexual minority migrants, non-migrants and returned migrants in small towns? First, I establish a benchmark by reflecting on how sexual orientation has been incorporated into migration studies in the field of demographic research from which the hypotheses of this study were drawn. After reviewing the works within the field, I highlight the research gaps and I propose a research agenda with the objective of pointing out the gaps that need filling and pushing forward this topic in demographic studies. Secondly, I contribute to studies that have shown that there are differences between the migration patterns of gay men and lesbians. Therefore, in this study I take a step forward and I analyze a Global South context by using the 2010 Brazilian Census, which contains data on migration of gay men and lesbians, in order to understand if their migration patterns differ from those of heterosexual men and women in Brazil. Lastly, I focus on a case study of LGB individuals in small/medium cities in the state of Minas Gerais, located in the Southeast region of Brazil. I contribute to this work by trying to understand the social process of migration of sexual minorities, in which little has been investigated about sexual minorities that have never migrated or have migrated but returned to their hometown. To understand why some leave, it's important to look at why some stay and why some return. In this sense, the qualitative data in this thesis enables the research of a more diverse aspect of mobility within this group. Also, adds to the literature by exploring how families can bear on the decision to stay, leave or return to the city of origin. The combined results of these studies show that internal migration of sexual minorities is still understudied in the field of demographic research and that there are differences in migration patterns between the Global North and South with the latter having family as one of the main focal points of migratory decision-making.

Key words: Internal migration; Sexuality; Gay men; Lesbians; Demografia.

RESUMO

O objetivo deste estudo é explorar a migração interna de minorias sexuais no contexto brasileiro. Eu divido este objetivo em três perguntas de pesquisa: 1) Quais as lacunas nos estudos de migração de minorias sexuais nos estudos demográficos? 2) Como os fluxos de migração interna de gays e lésbicas se diferenciam de homens e mulheres heterossexuais no Brasil? 3) Como as relações familiares afetam a trajetória de migrantes de minorias sexuais, não migrantes e migrantes retornados em pequenas cidades? Inicialmente, estabeleço um referencial teórico refletindo sobre como a orientação sexual tem sido incorporada aos estudos de migração no campo da pesquisa demográfica a partir da qual as hipóteses deste estudo foram extraídas. Posteriormente, proponho uma agenda de pesquisa com o objetivo de apontar as lacunas que precisam ser preenchidas e avançar esse tema nos estudos demográficos. Em seguida, contribuo com estudos que mostraram que existem diferenças entre os padrões de migração de gays e lésbicas. Portanto, neste estudo analiso um contexto do Sul Global a partir do Censo Brasileiro de 2010, que contém dados sobre a migração de gays e lésbicas, a fim de entender se seus padrões de migração diferem dos de homens heterossexuais e mulheres no Brasil. Por fim, concentro-me em um estudo de caso de pessoas LGB em cidades de pequeno / médio porte do estado de Minas Gerais, localizado na região Sudeste do Brasil. Contribuo para este trabalho procurando compreender o processo social de migração das minorias sexuais, no qual pouco se investigou, principalmente sobre as minorias sexuais que nunca migraram ou migraram, mas voltaram para sua cidade natal. Para entender por que alguns migram, é importante ver por que alguns ficam e porque alguns voltam. Nesse sentido, os dados qualitativos desta tese possibilitam a investigação de um aspecto mais diversificado da mobilidade dentro desse grupo. Além disso, acrescenta à literatura, explorando como as famílias podem influenciar na decisão de ficar, sair ou retornar à cidade de origem. A combinação dos resultados desses estudos mostra que a migração interna de minorias sexuais ainda é pouco estudada no campo da demografia e que existem diferenças entre os padrões migratórios entre o North e Sul Global em relação a esse grupo no qual a família se mostra central nas escolhas migratórias.

Palavras-chave: Migração interna; Sexualidade; Homens gays; Lésbicas; Demografia.

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PAPER II

FORTES DE LENA, F. From urban to highly urban: Internal migration patterns of sexual minorities in Brazil. Submitted and resubmitted with minor revisions to *Population, Space and Place*.

PAPER III

FORTES DE LENA, F. “Their opinion counts as far as you let it”- understanding queer migration in the Global South. Submitted to *Gender, Place and Culture*.

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INTRODUCTION

In the 1960's and 1970's, the push and pull theory was notoriously used as an explanation of migration patterns in migration studies (LEE, 1966). In the years that followed, the socio-political aspect of the migration paradigm started to become more popular when economic factors could not comprise its complexity. Gradually, the social aspect of migration began to overlay the economic factors of this phenomenon (SAMERS; COLLYER, 2010). In recent years, there has been a pursuit in many different fields of knowledge seeking new methodologies that can shed light onto the diversity of migration flows. An example of an aspect of migration that has been overlooked over the years is that of sexual minorities, specifically LGBT¹ individuals, which initially were understood as migrating from a rural-urban dichotomy explained by the need for sexual freedom and exploration in order to live their lives (WESTON, 1995).

The idea of mobility within a country has embedded in its concept the idea that anyone that is willing to move between administrative borders is allowed to do so freely (BRITO, 2009). Although that concept seems simple enough it is otherwise misleading if taken out of context. In Brazil of 1941, a law known as “Vagrancy Law” stated that anyone that was in the streets and didn’t have a job could be arrested. This law was in many ways used to keep sex-workers and homeless people out of the streets, but what it also did was institutionalize the control over our bodies. During the 1970's and 1980's in Brazil, it was common practice amongst police officers to arrest LGBT people that were in the streets by enforcing that law (GREEN, 2010). Currently, this law² still exists, but has become somewhat obsolete, although regulations over bodies remain a constant trait of Brazilian society. This becomes even more apparent in a context of small towns in which conservative practices of religious beliefs are part of day-to-day life, which are very common in the Brazilian landscape. The Catholic Church has always been an institution of control and for centuries has been its most efficient conduit. However, over the last decade, we have seen a shift in religious dominance in the country, Brazil is still in its majority a Catholic country, although the ever-growing Evangelical religion is putting that dominance to the test (ALVES et al., 2017; NATIVIDADE; OLIVEIRA, 2013). This shift has consequences in regard to the control of bodies given that Evangelical religions are more incisive about “gay cure” than the Catholics (NATIVIDADE; OLIVEIRA, 2013). Another instrument of control as Foucault

¹ Stands for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender community.

² Brasil. Decree-law nº 3.688, October 3rd of 1941. Lex: Contravention Penal Law, Art. 59. Single paragraph.

pointed out in his book *Discipline and Punish* (2014) is the school system in which the bodies are taught to become docile. In the life course of an individual, schooling is one of the most important parts, and as the literature has shown it plays an even stronger role in the lives of queer³ individuals (ASINELLI-LUZ; CUNHA, 2011; TEIXEIRA-FILHO; RONDINI; BESSA, 2011). However, the institutions of higher education have been seen as spaces of acceptance of sexual minorities regarding education and tolerance (SCHOTT-CECCACCI; HOLLAND, 2009). All these aspects influence in some way the mobility and immobility of queer people in Brazil for they are intertwined with their trajectories. Therefore, sexuality and gender are at the core of the migration trajectories of sexual minorities and it also suggests that the internal migration of sexual minorities in Brazil is somewhat different from the knowledge produced in the Global North (BROWN et al., 2010; SILVA; VIEIRA, 2014).

Studies in different field of social science have shown the impacts on mental health and wellbeing (BOERTIEN; VIGNOLI, 2019; SILVA, 2021), educational achievement (MOLLBORN; EVERETT, 2015; UENO; ROACH; PEÑA-TALAMANTES, 2018) and family formation (DE LENA; OLIVEIRA, 2015; KOLK; ANDERSSON, 2020; RUIZ-VALLEJO; BOERTIEN, 2021) of sexual minorities, which in turn impacts the life course of these individuals. In studies related to migration and the life course, life events such as leaving parents' home, entry to education, union formation, childbearing, divorce are all related to age at migration and migration outcomes (destination and distance of moves) (BERNARD; BELL; CHARLES-EDWARDS, 2014; MULDER, 2018; WARNES, 1992).

In contrast, studies that relate migration, life course and sexuality have shown that migration is central to sexual minorities to negotiate other transitions that differ from those in the life course of heterosexual individuals (LEWIS, 2014; WIMARK, 2016a). Adding to that, a transition to adulthood in the life course is considered one of the most important periods in life (HOGAN; ASTONE, 1986; VIEIRA, 2008) and for sexual minorities migration during that period can have positive impacts to mental health of these individuals (UENO; VAGHELA; RITTER, 2014).

However, the field of migration studies within demographic research in Brazil has not addressed the implications of sexuality when analyzing migration flows until this present study. It is undeniable that a country that is historically conservative against queer population with violence as its most common outcome will have effects in the demographic dynamics of this marginalized population (PINTO et al., 2020). Within the social sciences França (2013)

³ In this thesis, *queer* is used as an umbrella term to comprise all identities that are considered part of the LGBT community.

has investigated how gay men have from the cities of Recife with different social markers than those from São Paulo and how these markers and mobilities lead them to relate sexually. Studies on life course of sexual minorities in Brazil have mostly focused on aging (DEBERT; SIMÕES; HENNING, 2016; PASSAMANI, 2016) and have not explored migration as a life event that shapes the lives of these individuals and their transitions related to other life events.

The aim of this study is to explore internal migration of sexual minorities in the Brazilian context. I breakdown this aim into three research questions: 1) What are the gaps in migration of sexual minorities in demographic studies? 2) How are internal migration flows of gay men and lesbians different from those of heterosexual men and women in Brazil? 3) How do family relations affect the trajectory of sexual minority migrants, non-migrants and returned migrants in small towns? In order to understand this, I go beyond the studies in the field of demography (e.g., BAUMLE, 2013; BAUMLE; COMPTON; POSTON JR., 2009; COMPTON; BAUMLE, 2012) and combine them with studies in geography (BINNIE, 1997; BINNIE; VALENTINE, 1999; BROWNE; LIM; BROWN, 2007; FERREIRA, 2010; GORMAN-MURRAY, 2007; LUIBHEID, 2008; SILVA, 2007), as tools to establish a framework to analyze migration of gay men and lesbians in Brazil.

Firstly, I establish a benchmark by reflecting on how sexual orientation has been incorporated into migration studies in the field of demographic research from which the hypotheses of this study were drawn. Afterward, I propose a research agenda with the objective of pointing out the gaps that need filling and pushing forward this topic in demographic studies.

Secondly, I contribute to studies that have shown that there are differences between the migration patterns of gay men and lesbians (COOKE, 2005; WIMARK; FORTES DE LENA, 2021; WIMARK; ÖSTH, 2014). I do this through analyzing a Global South context by using the 2010 Brazilian Census, which contains data on migration of gay men and lesbians, in order to understand how their migration pattern differs from those of heterosexual men and women in Brazil.

Most studies concerned with migration and mobility of gay men and lesbian derive from North America and north-western Europe, which is also denominated the Global North, and have contributed immensely to the growth of this field (LEE et al., 2018). The majority of studies based on their findings make use of different types of qualitative data and, to a lesser extent, others make use of quantitative data like census or registry data. The literature on migration of gay men and lesbians has shown since the 1970's how queer individuals seek larger cities to live (PARKER, 2002; WESTON, 1995). I contribute to this

bulk of work through quantitative data used in this study that answer queries about gay men and lesbians' migration flows.

Lastly, I focus on a case study of LGB⁴ individuals in small/medium cities in the state of Minas Gerais, located in the Southeast region of Brazil. This work contributes to the understanding of the social process of migration of sexual minorities, in which little has been investigated about sexual minorities that have never migrated (PASSAMANI, 2015) or have migrated but returned to their hometown. To understand why some leave, it's important to look at why some stay and why some return. In this sense, the qualitative data in this thesis enables the research of a more diverse aspect of mobility within this group. Also, it adds to the literature by exploring how families can bear on the decision to stay, leave or return to the city of origin.

In the following, I draw from the literature on lesbian and gay migration and propose to use a life course perspective to understand the process of lesbian and gay migration. Then, in the methods section, I discuss the source of data used as well as the methodologies applied. The papers are then summarized with the main findings, as they are to be published individually. Finally, I tease out the main contributions that these papers give to the understanding of lesbian and gay migration in the field of demography.

⁴ LGB: Lesbians, Gay men and Bisexual identities.

A LIFE COURSE PERSPECTIVE OF THE LIVES OF GAY MEN, LESBIANS AND BISEXUALS

In this chapter I will present the theoretical foundation of the thesis and tease out why this is important for the study of lesbian and gay migration. In proposing to use the life course perspective, I draw on the understanding that lesbian and gay life courses differ from their heterosexual counterparts. In the life course, the specific geographic context plays a vital role for the understanding. Thus, I finish the chapter with a discussion of the specific challenges that lesbians and gays face in the Brazilian context.

Life course consists of assuming that the lives of individuals are divided into phases that can be identified in the majority of the population. The life course approach analyzes the movement of lives through time and space. In the life course perspective, there are many important concepts such as ‘events’, ‘linked lives’, ‘trajectories’, which have been created to improve the understanding of the phenomenon analyzed.

Therefore, when examining migration and its complexity the qualitative perspective can give the researcher an in-depth approach. The qualitative life course approach takes into account the individuals’ life and the relation between their experience and the structural and historical context that surround them at different points in time. In addition, human geographers have made use of this method to understand how spaces like neighborhoods, locales and places can influence the people’s lives (ELDER JR.; GIELE, 2009; WIMARK, 2020).

The life course framework takes into account different social, institutional and geographic contexts when analyzing the lives of individuals (ELDER JR.; GIELE, 2009) and is sometimes even referred to as life course theory (ELDER JR.; JOHNSON; CROSNOE, 2003). This framework combines a macro analysis of life events with micro-level individual traits such as age, gender or ethno-racial identities making it possible to identify timing and patterns throughout the life course. The use of a life course approach regarding sexual minorities have been shown to unveil parts of trajectories of these individuals that were not being highlighted (LEWIS, 2014; WIMARK, 2016a) and impacted their agency and the structure of the paths taken by these individuals.

Among the life events of gay men and lesbians the coming out story is one that stands out. This experience in the life of sexual minorities has shown to be essential when studying this specific group (LEWIS, 2014; WAITT; GORMAN-MURRAY, 2011; WIMARK, 2016b). In this sense, the effects that this life event has on other life events such

as getting educated, finding a job, getting married, forming a family are necessary to understand the differences and communalities of the paths taken by sexual minorities and heterosexuals.

Another important concept in the life course approach is the possibility to distinguish groups of individuals that have experiences different historical context, these groups are usually called birth cohorts. For example, LGBT population in Brazil lived their adulthood through the military dictatorship (1964-1985) in the country have a different experience of LGBT population that are living their adulthood after the legalization of same-sex marriage in the country 2013. These life course experiences set these groups apart not only for of the historical context they lived, but for the different context have influenced the possibilities of choice and the agency of these individuals (WIMARK, 2020).

According to Mulder (1993), internal migration is a frequently observed event that occurs during adulthood and can shape the life course of those individuals. Moving to another city is a disruptive process that entails adaptation and resilience, which not all individuals are in position to cope with and will prefer to remain in the current location (COURGEAU, 1985). The migration process is usually related to individuals that are seeking better opportunities and wellbeing (HUININK; VIDAL; KLEY, 2014). Although, it can be argued that seeking wellbeing and opportunities can mean different things for sexual minorities. To this point, a study that relates migration and wellbeing have found that to migrate in the period of transition to adulthood can be beneficial to sexual minorities (UENO; VAGHELA; RITTER, 2014).

The qualitative life course approach is important in analyzing migration because it allows the researcher to ask different questions from those asked with quantitative methods. This approach can answer questions related to how space, place, people and events are represented through the narratives of the people interviewed. Another point that could be made is that the qualitative approach to migration can clarify the role of social practices and identities in the migratory trajectory. Therefore, this approach sheds light onto new understandings of migration that brings us closer to greater knowledge of the migratory phenomenon as a whole. Adding to that, the choice of this framework fits with the objective of this thesis, which has an aim to explore the complexity of the internal migration process of sexual minorities.

Studies of Queer Population in Brazil: A Historical Context

The historical context of the LGBT movement in Brazil is important to delineate in a study that focuses on the life course of individuals that have being affect in some way by the rights that have been gained by this social movement. Secondly, this short review gives insight to the social context that have shaped the Brazilian society towards queer population.

In the 17th century, Brazil, a Portuguese colony at the time, was subjected to the rules of the Inquisition that condemned sodomy and other behaviors considered crimes punishable by death (TREVISAN, 2018). It was only in the 20th century that there was a shift in the treatment of same sex desires, which were still socially stigmatized given the deep rooted Catholicism in the country (GREEN, 2000; PARKER, 2002; TREVISAN, 2018).

During the dictatorship in the country that took place between 1964 until 1985, marginalized groups such as sex-workers and queer people were easy targets for the police that would make use of the ‘Vagrancy Law’ as an excuse to arrest these groups (GREEN, 2000; TREVISAN, 2018). Although the oppression against sexual minorities was strong, it was during this period that many homosexuals became public figures through mass media. At the same time, there was a parallel media exclusive for homosexual population at the time called ‘Lampião da Esquina’, created by a group called SOMOS (MAcRAE, 2018).

In the 1980s and 1990s, SOMOS and Grupo Gay da Bahia (GGB) NGOs were instrumental for the awareness, prevention and treatment of the HIV/Aids pandemic in the country that only later the Brazilian Government took measures to fight (SIMÕES; FACCHINI, 2009). According to Facchini (2005), the homosexual movement in the 1990s was ignited by the HIV/Aids pandemic which made flourish a number of NGOs and organizations in the civil society interested in articulating cooperation between national and international organizations to fight and control the HIV/Aids outbreak. It was also in the mist of these articulations that the first gay parades happened in the country, at the time known as GLBT parades. The stigmatization created against people with HIV/Aids is until this day is one of the flags that the LGBT movements rallies around as Brazil is one of the few countries to break the patent on medications to treat patients with HIV/Aids.

In the early 2000, the Brazilian Federal Government created a public policy called ‘Brazil without Homophobia’ interested protecting the health of LGBT population. However, it was only in 2011 the National Policy of Heath of LGBTs which was a major step into mitigating health inequalities regarding LGBT population in the country (SILVA, 2021).

After 2010, an exponential number of rights were acquired by the LGBT population amongst them are same-sex marriage (2013), the criminalization of homophobia (2019) and blood donation (2020). Although, these rights were acquired via the Judiciary, the articulations of the largest social movement in the country cannot be taken for granted and have been fundamental in the political spheres having in the most recent election in Brazil elected a number of chairs in the legislative congress (FACCHINI; FRANÇA, 2020).

In this context, a political backlash occurred in presidential election of 2018 when a far-right candidate was elected president that has publicly given homophobic statements before and after elected. Therefore, this review gives highlights into the periods in which the data was gathered for each paper, the quantitative with data from 2010 and the quantitative with data from 2019. Therefore, this information is taken into consideration while analyzing the results in each paper and while drawing the conclusion of this thesis.

Methods & Material

It has been argued that the relationship between migration and sexuality is a complex process that needs to go beyond the dichotomy of rural-urban migration on which it was initially built (BELL, 2006; GORMAN-MURRAY, 2009). A way to understand this complexity is to use mixed-method which enables the use of two or more methods with the intention of giving more insight into the migration phenomenon and allows an understanding of the complexity of the dynamics that are interrelated when analyzing migration trajectories of sexual minorities. The migration studies with a demographic perspective have historically used quantitative methods to understand and measure migration in the country. The migration studies that rely on qualitative methods are concentrated in the social sciences and use quantitative data to describe the general field without making use of quantitative methods. Studies by Wimarck (2016a; 2016b) has proven that a mixed-method approach can be beneficial to the understanding migration of sexual minorities. In this thesis I build further on these works and make use of a mixed-method approach is able account for different aspects of migration and shed a light on an understudied matter such as migration of sexual minorities in a Global South context.

Systematic Review

In this thesis, Paper I presents a systematic review of internal migration and sexuality in demographic research between the years of 2000 and 2021. In this study, there are certain steps that need to be taken to ensure a rigorous review of the literature and therefore a protocol was created to guide this process (WATSON, 2015). According to the protocol, first delineate the words that will be searched to obtain the maximum number of articles that fit the aim of the review. I used the combination of the keywords: “same-sex”, “gay men”, “lesbian”, “homosexuality”, “sexuality”, “sexual minorities”, “sexual orientation” and “migration”.

Afterwards, the choice of the journals in which the searchers were conducted. Initially, I chose the 10 top-ranked journals in Demography according to SCImago in July of 2021, then expanded the search in Scopus and JSTOR for articles in other journals that were related to Demography.

A total of 63 articles on sexuality in the top 10 ranked Demography journals and classified them into six topics: Family and Household Dynamics (23), Labor Market (4), Measurement (11), Education (5), Health Issues (10), Tolerance (4) and Migration and Spatial Distribution (6). The search in Scopus and JSTOR, retrieved a total of 212 articles including the 6 articles found in the Demography journals. I filtered these results and selected only those related to migration, spatial distribution, spatial segregation and sexuality, which left me with 106 articles. These articles were then classified into four categories: Sexual and Mental Health (40); Refugees and Asylum Seekers (3); International Migrants (11); Internal Migration (26). After this classification, I kept the articles that used quantitative data related to internal migration, spatial distribution or spatial segregation of sexual minorities. The choice of focusing on quantitative studies is due to the greater affinity that they have with demographic research. Therefore, it makes the dialogue between the subfields found in the research more agreeable with the objectives of the article. In the end, I was left with 26 articles that were reclassified into three categories: Internal Migration (10), Spatial distribution (8) and Spatial Segregation (8).

Mixed-Methods Approach

This study uses a mixed methods approach in an effort to shed light onto a subject that has been underexplored in Brazil. The choice of a mixed methods approach is based on

the complementarity aspect of this method (SMALL, 2011) with the intention to analyze the phenomenon using census data and life course interviews. In this way, it is possible to tackle the phenomenon of migration by quantifying the migration flows of gay men and lesbians as opposed to heterosexual individuals as to have a clearer dimension of the differences in numbers. In addition to that, the life course interviews give depth to try to answer other questions of the same phenomenon.

The spatial distribution and migration patterns of gay men and lesbians are still emerging in the field of migration studies in Brazil, which makes this study even more important for understanding these dynamics. Not only little is known about these dynamics, but also the studies that exists from the Global South have focused their attention on large cities like São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro (FACCHINI; FRANÇA, 2009; FRANÇA, 2007a; PELÚCIO, 2006). This study contributes to the discussion by analyzing migration patterns at the national scale and at the municipal scale with the use of census microdata. The microscale is also focused on with the life course interviews conducted in eleven municipalities of Minas Gerais located in the southeast region of Brazil.

The studies that have been conducted in Brazil that touches the subject of sexual bodies, spaces and sexuality come mainly from an anthropological perspective and these contributions have shaped the field of research on sexuality in the country (FRY, 1982; GUIMARÃES, 2004; PARKER, 2009; PERLONGHER, 1987). In view of recent availability of quantitative data on same-sex couples in the Brazilian census of 2010, that is two adults of the same-sex that cohabitate and have declared to be partnered in the household the studies of sexual minorities with a quantitative perspective have grown.

Quantitative Methods

Data on non-heterosexual populations in Brazil

In 2010, the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics started collecting data on same-sex couples, which in this study I denominate gay men and lesbians for the purpose of easier readability. There is an underlying assumption in the use of these terms that assume that all males in same-sex relations at the time were gay men and that all females in same-sex relationships were lesbians. I acknowledge that this might not be the case for all responders, in spite of that, most studies that use census data have the same assumptions allowing for international comparisons. Collecting this type of data was a big step for the Brazilian census considering that same-sex marriage was not legalized at the time and would only come to be

legal in 2013. Although, only 67,167 couples were accounted representing about 0,18% of all couples in Brazil, it was a victory for the LGBTQ⁵+ social movement to have the most important population-based survey in the country collecting this data.

In addition to that, the difference of collecting this type of information through the census and not just depending on the registry data that exists since 2013 is having more possibilities of analysis towards a better understanding of same-sex couples in Brazil. The census collects information not only about the individual, but also their surroundings, which adds more layers to the analysis of migration trajectories (BAENINGER, 2012; GONÇALVES, 2001).

Like so many nations⁶ that started including in their census forms of identifying same-sex couples, Brazil started collecting data on same-sex couples in their 2010 Census. This source of information on same-sex couples has some limitations that need to be disclosed beforehand. The first limitation is that given that marriage was not legal at the time in Brazil, all the couples in the sample are considered to be in cohabitation, which excludes any couple that doesn't live together (BUISSON; LAPITE, 2013). The second limitation is related to the nature of the data, in other words, how the questionnaire was built. In this sense, IBGE chose to collect the data through kinship inside the household and classifying them into male or female couples by using the sex variable. On one hand, it is a straightforward way to compute this information and consequently reduces some likely errors (BANENS, 2013; CORTINA; FESTY, 2014; DEMAIO; BATES; O'CONNELL, 2013; DIBENNARDO; GATES, 2014; FESTY, 2006; TOULEMON; MORAND; RAZAFINDRATSIMA, 2014). On the other hand, only couples that necessarily had a person of reference of the household amongst them were counted, excluding all the same-sex couples that were living in other types of family arrangements (MOORE; STAMBOLIS-RUHSTORFER, 2013). The errors regarding the sex variable small and were verified looking at the imputation sex variable available by IBGE. The errors regarding kinship in the household were corrected in the microdata in a previous work (DE LENA, 2016).

The census is widely used in Brazil as the main source for migration studies because it covers all the country making it possible to have robust information of this nature. Since migration is not a straightforward phenomenon to capture there are no population-based

⁵ LGBTQ+: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Queer and other sexual minorities.

⁶ In Latin America, Argentina, 2010; México, 2010; Uruguay, 2011; Venezuela, 2011 and Chile, 2012. In North America, the United States has 1990, 2000 and 2010; Canada has since 2001. Australia and New Zealand has since 2006. In Europe, there is Czech Republic, 2011; England and Wales, 2011; France, 2011; Germany, 1996; Hungary, 2011; Portugal, 2010; Spain, 2001 and 2011. Using civil registry there are: Belgium, 2003, Netherlands since 1998 e Sweden since 1996.

surveys as complete as the census available in the country (CARVALHO; RIGOTTI, 1998). Although the census is the best option for migration studies in Brazil, we also have some limitations regarding the use of this information combined with couples. The main limitation is that we don't have the date of when these couples came together and while using retrospective data we can't say for sure if the couple was together at that time (COOKE, 2005). I solve this by considering their migration as individual trajectories and only if they both lived in the same city before and migrated to the same city as well will we consider it a family migration. Hence, the analysis is done to obtain the general aspects of internal migration nationally and shows the different aspects of migration patterns amongst gay men, lesbians and heterosexual migrants.

To this end, a first exploratory use of the census data regarding migration of gay men and lesbians is presented and discussed by comparing the values to the population in general. The objective is to highlight what are the main differences and similarities among these groups regarding the sociodemographic characteristics and distribution.

TABLE 1 – Descriptive statistics of Gay, Lesbian and Heterosexual men and women, migrants and non-migrants – Brazil, Census 2010

Variables	Gays		Lesbians		Heterosexual men		Heterosexual women	
	Migrant	Non migrant	Migrant	Non migrant	Migrant	Non migrant	Migrant	Non migrant
Ever married								
No	81,14	81,11	84.5***	82.68***	40.01***	31.42***	40.96***	30.19***
Yes	18,86	18,89	15.5***	17.32***	59.99***	68.58***	59.04***	69.81***
Ethnic group								
White	60,19	59,84	58.62***	54.46***	50.51***	48.88***	51.79***	50.53***
Non-White	39,81	40,16	41.38***	45.54***	49.49***	51.12***	48.21***	49.47***
Educational level								
Less than Primary	15.26***	14.97***	18.4***	22.44***	40.45***	47.76***	35.08***	43.1***
Primary	12.66***	12.29***	15.39***	17.55***	17.5***	17.19***	18.91***	17.47***
Secondary	46.17***	39.66***	43.59***	39.21***	28.55***	25.96***	31.99***	28.05***
Tertiary	25.91***	33.08***	22.62***	20.8***	13.51***	9.1***	14.02***	11.38***
Family structure								
No children	97.93***	94.25***	71.19***	68.92***	29.55***	20.45***	31.25***	21***
With children	2***	5.7***	28.73***	31.05***	70.33***	79.3***	68.64***	78.76***
Missing	0.07***	0.05***	0.08***	0.03***	0.11***	0.25***	0.1***	0.24***
Age (18 to 60)								
Mean	32***	35***	31***	35***	36***	40***	33***	39***
Std.	9	10	9	9	10	10	10	11
Ln Income (R\$)								
Mean	7.75*	7.90*	7,89	7,81	7.38***	7.26***	8.75***	8.45***
Std.	1,98	1,80	2,16	2,20	1,87	2,18	2,99	3,08
Total (%)	20	80	16	84	8	92	9	91
(N)	11.993	48.036	11.635	59.665	2.549.869	28.195.775	2.779.798	29.827.140

Source: IBGE, authors' calculations.

In this exploratory analysis, the variable used to determine the migratory status of the individuals is the fixed-date variable. The fixed-date variable informs all individuals that

were living in different municipalities in 2005 than that of residence in 2010. When comparing the percentages of migrants, gay men have over twice the percentages of heterosexual men migrants and lesbians have also twice the percentages of heterosexual women migrants. This comes to show that gay and lesbians migrants represent a larger part of these minority groups in Brazil. However, this information alone does not answer questions regarding where these migrants come from and where did they land in a period of 5 years. These questions will be answered in Paper II that investigates the migrations flows of these groups while characterizing the municipalities according to sociodemographic variables considered important to sexual minorities in the literature.

In regard to educational achievement, in general the migrants have higher educational levels than the non-migrants. However, when looking at the tertiary education non-migrants gay men are more well educated than their migrants counter parts. Adding to that, educational wise the gay men and lesbians have proportionally is an overall a group with higher levels of educational achievement than heterosexuals. This result is the same even when compared between migrants and non-migrants. In other countries such as U.S, Sweden and France, the case seems to be the same regarding educational level of sexual minorities (ANDERSSON et al., 2006; BLACK et al., 2000; RAULT, 2017). A study investigated the effects of sexual orientation on educational achievement and found a gender effect in which females have more problematic outcomes and a sexual orientation effect in which bisexuals have also more hardship in educational achievement (MOLLBORN; EVERETT, 2015). Another investigation related same-sex contact in different periods of the life course and educational achievement and showed that women have lower levels of education independent of when they had same-sex contact (UENO; ROACH; PEÑA-TALAMANTES, 2018).

Cluster Analysis

The literature on migration of gay men and lesbians has shown that there are preferences when choosing a city to live. In the U.S, Cook and Rapino (2007) have shown that there are some spatial characteristics like highly urban cities and level of amenities that seem to be important when moving to a city. Another important finding by Cook and Rapino (2007) is that lesbians tend to have different preferences than gays when choosing where to reside, which include places where there are pre-existing lesbian couples. Lee et al. (2018) in their systematic review have shown the gaps and shortcomings of some papers regarding sexual minorities and migration. Most studies focus on spatial distribution of gays and

lesbians and don't consider the relationship of the individuals and the cities of origin and destination. Therefore, in Paper II I found it important to test similar factors in order to understand if gay and lesbians in Brazil take into account the same type of characteristics of those in the Global North. To that end, I make use of cluster analysis.

The cluster analyzes is by nature an exploratory tool that allows for the analysis of similar groups in a larger sample. In this regard, using cluster analysis it is possible to summarize the information and aggregate similar observations (municipalities) in a same category (MANLY, 2004). The cluster analysis takes into account the similarity and dissimilarity of your unit of analysis (municipality). One of the ways to measure the similarity is the distance of the object from all the other objects. In the hierarchic method of clustering we chose the Euclidian distance between the variables to identify the municipalities that are similar to each other:

$$d(X_l, X_k) = [(X_l - X_k)(X_l - X_k)]^{\frac{1}{2}} = \left[\sum_{i=1}^p (X_{il} - X_{ik})^2 \right]^{\frac{1}{2}}$$

In which X_{ij} is the observed value of the variable I measured in element j .

Then I make use of a dendrogram to visualize the grouping of municipalities and choose the number of clusters that express the similarity amongst municipalities. After that, I characterize each cluster according to the average of the variables in each dimension. The next step after each municipality is designated to a cluster is to classify the type of trajectory between clusters in the period of 2005-2010. This identifies not only the type of cluster of origin but also the destination and therefore gives us a more complete picture of the influences that some factors can have in the migration of gays and lesbians.

Qualitative Methods

The qualitative methods have been used in demographic studies to further the understanding of the paradigms of demographic research (CARVALHO; WONG; MIRANDA-RIBEIRO, 2018; RODRÍGUEZ GÓMEZ, 2012; OLIVEIRA, 2003). According to Fazito (2009) the qualitative aspects of demographic research have the advantage of inserting meaning to some demographic processes and giving it structures that are built through the interactions of social actors. In migration studies, qualitative work has shown to

be essential identifying networks that are otherwise unknown when analyzing only the quantitative data on migration patterns (PERES, 2015; WIMARK, 2016b).

Fieldwork and Field Sites

The fieldwork took place in the state of Minas Gerais (MG), which is located in the Southeast of Brazil, known for being one of the most developed and populated areas in the country. In regard to its territorial extension, Minas Gerais is fairly comparable to the size of Spain, which is not a small area to be covered. It is also a state that has a favorable location regarding mobility since all the main highways of the countries go through Minas Gerais. Therefore, to get from the North to the South, from the East to the West, or vice-versa you have to necessarily go through MG when traveling by land, which is the most common and accessible type of transportation in the country.

A qualitative approach is drawn focusing on the state of Minas Gerais, which was chosen for three reasons: it is located in the most developed region of the country and as it is considered by many scholars in Brazil as a state that represents the diversity in the country because of its location, which makes it unique for it has borders with most regions in the country. Lastly, most studies regarding migration of sexual minorities in Brazil have taken place in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Bringing an analysis from a different part of the country may add to the existing knowledge of internal migration of sexual minorities. Thus, the life course interviews took place in 12 small and medium towns in the state of Minas Gerais, in order to address the issue of mobility and immobility of queer people.

The choices of the cities that were chosen to be visited were made based on population size, location and if it had any universities in the vicinity. Firstly, I wanted to interview individuals from different administrative meso-regions of the state of Minas Gerais and we were able to gather interviews from 9 of the 12 meso-regions (North, Jequitinhonha, Vale do Mucuri, Triângulo Mineiro, Metropolitana de Belo Horizonte, Vale do Rio Doce, Oeste de Minas, Campo das Vertentes e Zona da Mata) of Minas Gerais.

The choice of cities that had universities or a university in close proximity, was made because in the life course literature in which leaving home to go attend university has become more common among people between the ages of 18 and 25 years old (LOPES, 2008). Another assumption is if having a university in your hometown made it less likely for queer individuals to move. Secondly, the population size of the cities had to be at least 5,000 in order to get in touch with any LGB individuals in the cities that were chosen.

Interviews

The semi-structured interviews began with a sociodemographic questionnaire (see Appendix) about the participant. The questionnaire was composed of eight questions that gather information on age, place of birth, race/ethnicity, civil status, educational attainment, who they were living with at the time of the interview and finally the migration stages with the city of origin and destination and the year of migration, if they never migrated then that would be left in blank. This information was later on compiled and used to describe and aggregate the participants into groups that were analyzed in Paper III.

After filling in the questionnaire, the interviews were conducted using a script (see Appendix) that was divided into six themes: Family, Education/Work, Historical context, Migration, Sexuality and Networks. This gave the interviews a semi-structured approach of what was being asked to the participants. The first section on family was set to open the interview and let the participant talk about his/her family in whatever way they felt best. After that, if the participant mentioned *coming out* or their relationship to their parents regarding their sexuality then that would be the next topic of the conversation and would stir the interview until all the questions had been answered. Therefore, if the participants mentioned sexuality before education we would focus on that topic until education would come up and if it didn't then I would actively ask about that topic later. The next step was to ask the participants to fill in a timeline with the most important moments in their lives that could be viewed as good or bad, but mainly they were considered by the participant as a memorable moment in their lives. This instrument was helpful in ordering the events that were narrated in the interview and opened the opportunity to discuss some events that initially weren't given much importance during the interview.

The location of the interview was chosen by the participants and varied from their houses or a friend's house (private spaces) to coffee shops, bakeries, shopping mall, university grounds (public spaces) and in fewer cases at their workplace. The choices between having the interview in a public as to a private space were related in some cases do to facility, for example, if the person had classes in the university, then usually the interview took place at the university grounds. The participants that chose their home as the setting were mostly not living with their parents and felt at ease in that space, which in most cases were the migrants. Amongst the non-migrants the only one interviewed at their home was married and was not living with their parents. The interviews with the returned migrants were mostly conducted in public spaces or at a friends' house with only one being interviewed at their

home, but the parent that lived with them wasn't in the house at the time. It became clear that in some cases, the choice of not having the interview at home was related to not feeling comfortable in their homes to talk about their lives with their parents in the same house, especially if the participant had not disclosed their sexuality to their parents.

Methods of Analysis

This research combines different methods of analysis of migration that have the same function as pieces to a puzzle. To complete the puzzle, it is necessary to have pieces that are different, but fit when put together (SMALL, 2011). The analyses of the qualitative and quantitative studies are done separately with discussion and conclusions that consider the findings in all studies.

The qualitative paper was analyzed using the methods described by Creswell (2014) where the transcriptions were coded in the open source collective program Taguette and exported to docx files to analyze the coding. The final codes were organized into the major themes:

- Migration: Thoughts of Leaving, why I returned, reasons to stay, leaving home, coming back home, the city acceptance, the queer community in the city.
- Education: Bullying, School life, role of the university
- Identity Building: sexuality compensation, self-image and homophobia, first sexual experience, romantic relationships.
- Family: Family expectations, family ties, family migration, living in the same city as family, coming out to family, moral appearances.
- Network support
- Small town environment
- Religion: religion and family, religion and the city.
- Financial dependency
- Labor market.

After the coding into the nine main themes in the interviews, the choice of the three themes of Education, Financial dependency and Family were justified by the number of times these themes appeared during the interviews. This method allowed for the comparisons

between the groups of interest that all had relation to the chosen themes. The qualitative study brings up an aspect of the migratory trajectories of sexual minorities that were not possible to find in the quantitative study. However, the quantitative study showed that there are differences between the migration patterns of gay men, lesbians and heterosexual, which is also found in the lives of the participants in the qualitative study.

Positionality and Reflexivity

This thesis makes use of qualitative methods and reflexivity was necessary during the fieldwork and the analysis of the data. I have exercised reflexivity with the objective to consciously reflect on my role and assumptions as a researcher to the production of knowledge in the studies of migration and sexuality (ROULSTON, 2010). This study takes place in several small and medium towns in the state of Minas Gerais, Brazil. It is important to state how my positionalities may have affected my fieldwork and inform the situated knowledge of this study. There are limitations as a researcher that can be argued as to what I was able to draw from the interviews with the participants. On one hand, as a cis-gender woman, I was able to connect more to some of the female participants in some subjects that were familiar to my own trajectory and with that some topics might have spiked more interest than others. On the other hand, I was unable to relate to some male participants and that might have helped me ask more questions about specific topics. I was asked by most of the participants of about my sexual identity and had no problem disclosing my identity as a lesbian, which felt like it made them more at ease. Although, it made me have to be extra careful about making the participants be more explicit in their narratives. Because we shared a common knowledge of LGBT community many times the phrase “you know what I mean” would be directed at me and therefore an unspoken understating was implied because I was also part of the LGBT community. I noticed that me being a part of the LGBT community and conducting research on LGB individuals made some of the participants hesitate when saying something negative about the LGBT community or other LGBT individuals.

I was born and raised in the capital, Belo Horizonte, and as a ‘city girl’ I could have created barriers or miss understood some symbols about the life in the small/medium cities of Minas Gerais. Not having this experience of coming from a small town also made me ask some questions that might have felt obvious to some of the participants. At the same time, I’m unable to know how much of being from the capital made the participants less likely to share some of their experiences or if that contributed at all to their narratives.

Not all the participants were white and me being white in this context reflected to these participants an unknowing of how it feels to be a sexual minority of color. In the pursue of trying to understand these differences, I asked the participants to draw on their own experiences as a LGB person of color in their hometowns. Although it was not the focus of the study the importance of taking into account the intersections of race and class during the interviews were fundamental for these participants to express their experiences as sexual minorities of color that led to a better understanding of their own narratives.

I traveled from city to city by bus and stayed in hotels or Airbnb that would be closer to the bus station. Since most towns weren't that large there was no problem in mobility in meeting the participants in the place of their choice, which was an interesting input regarding which spaces they felt comfortable in their town.

Since all participants were attending or had attended university at some point in their life course, I felt that being a researcher with a higher education did not intimidate the respondents, on the contrary, many were curious about the research and at the end of the interview would ask questions about it. The positionality and reflexivity are important steps to recognize our own limitations in the fieldwork and analysis of the data, but also it makes sure that the content of the narratives is worth being analyzed even with its limitations.

Ethics

This study uses information on sexual minorities and therefore has a responsibility towards the protection and safe keeping of the personal information of the participants. Sexual minorities are a marginalized group that are constantly targeted by homophobic groups. The researchers need to take all measures to prevent any harm is done to the participants which include any type of identification of the participants. Therefore, the original names of the people and family members, the names of the cities, schools and universities have all been altered to protect the participants' identities.

Beyond ensuring the confidentiality of the participants, qualitative work is the production of knowledge that can be used to help shed light on problems and point to solutions in the social sphere. Therefore, there is an ethical responsibility to portray the narratives of these individuals and ensure that the conclusions and remarks that are being made were based on the narratives of the individuals that are used to illustrate the findings.

Confidentiality and Anonymity

There were some procedures to be made before the fieldwork was conducted in Minas Gerais. One of the most important steps is the approval of the project by an Ethics Committee. In order to obtain this approval, the project was presented with a consent form that needed to fulfill the required conditions established by the rules of ethics when conducting research with humans. The term of consent was approved by the Ethics Committee of the University of Campinas (nº 18674519.7.0000.8142). Afterwards, before the interview two copies of the term are presented to the participant that is asked to read and sign if he agrees with the document. The researcher keeps one of the copies as proof of consent and the other is given to the participant as means of protection and of contact if any of the terms in the document are broken by the researcher. The term is in the Appendices and the signed versions are secured by the researcher for five years.

Another procedure to establish consent were the recordings of the interviews in which at the beginning the interviewer asks the participants if he/she agrees to be recorded. This verbal agreement between the researcher and the participant also reassures the consent and sets a safe environment for both parties. It is also made clear that if at any given moment the participant does not want to continue the interview or feels uncomfortable answering any questions, he and she can stop and leave with no issues. These recordings are kept safe, transcribed and analyzed in Paper III.

Methods Summary

In this section, I have laid out the methodological steps I have taken to insure a clear and transparent stages of analysis as well as methodological decisions made over the period of fieldwork and data analysis of all studies. I have argued that mixed-methods is a method that guides this thesis and allows the complementarity of the quantitative and quantitative studies.

I argue that migration studies within demographic research have not advance recently in studies of sexuality quantitatively and therefore, that gap needs to be addressed. To this end, I make used of census data and point out its limitations. The analysis of the migration of gay men and lesbians using the census data give a general perspective of the migration patterns of sexual minorities. Some of the results found using the census data were unable to be explained given the complexity of the migratory process. To this end, I

investigate migration of sexual minorities with a qualitative perspective in order to see pass the general migration flows and qualify these patterns based on findings through live course interviews. The qualitative methods are not without their own limitations, which I discuss and present through positionality and reflexivity. Both studies have limitations and gaps that are part of the process of building knowledge around a specific theme that is still scarce in the Global South. Therefore, the quantitative study brings more macro-overview of migration patterns of gay men and lesbians, and the qualitative study shows the implications regarding the migratory trajectories of sexual minorities in the Global South.

SUMMARY OF PAPERS

This chapter is structured to present the results of the studies in short summaries. In the first study, I contribute by reviewing the literature on sexuality and migration in the field of demographic research. With that, I was able to propose a research agenda with the main gaps that were identified in the study. The second study is a quantitative paper in which I investigate the migration pattern of gay men and lesbians compared to heterosexuals using cluster analysis and log-linear regressions to categorize the municipalities in the Brazil according to characteristics that are deemed important to sexual minorities when migrating. The results show that gay men migrate more to megacities than lesbians as found in other countries and I contribute to this field of studies by analyzing also their city of origin which shows that these gay men come mostly from large and medium cities and lesbians come mostly from medium and small towns towards these megacities. The third paper is a qualitative study in the state of Minas Gerais, in the Southeast region of Brazil. A total of 21 people that self-identified as lesbian, gay or bisexual were interviewed in small/medium cities of Minas Gerais and the analysis were based on grounded analysis. The paper shows the role of family in influencing the decision-making regarding migration of sexual minorities that live in these small/medium towns. These three papers are an attempt to start a discussion on internal migration of sexual minorities in Brazil and the results point to necessity of future studies to further the agenda and knowledge about migration of sexual minorities in the Global South.

RESUMO DOS ARTIGOS

Este capítulo está estruturado para apresentar os resultados dos estudos em breves resumos. No primeiro estudo, contribuo com a revisão da literatura sobre sexualidade e migração no campo dos estudos demográficos. Com isso, proponho uma agenda de pesquisa a partir das principais lacunas que foram identificadas no estudo. O segundo estudo é um trabalho quantitativo em que investigo o padrão migratório de gays e lésbicas em comparação com heterossexuais usando análise de cluster e regressões log-lineares para categorizar os municípios do Brasil de acordo com características consideradas importantes para minorias sexuais ao migrar. Os resultados mostram que homens gays migram mais para megacidades do que lésbicas, resultados esses similares aos encontrados em outros países e contribuo para esse campo de estudos analisando também a cidade de origem o que mostra que esses homens

gays vêm principalmente de cidades grandes e médias e as mulheres lésbicas vêm majoritariamente de cidades médias e pequenas em direção a essas megacidades. O terceiro artigo é um estudo qualitativo no estado de Minas Gerais, na região Sudeste do Brasil. Um total de 21 pessoas que se auto-identificaram como lésbicas, gays ou bissexuais foram entrevistadas em pequenas/médias cidades de Minas Gerais e as análises foram baseadas em análise fundamentada. O artigo mostra o papel da família em influenciar a tomada de decisão em relação à migração de minorias sexuais que vivem nessas pequenas/médias cidades. Esses três artigos são uma tentativa de iniciar uma discussão sobre migração interna de minorias sexuais no Brasil e os resultados apontam para a necessidade de estudos futuros para aprofundar a agenda e o conhecimento sobre migração de minorias sexuais no Sul Global.

I. Review of literature and setting a research agenda of sexuality and migration in demographic research

This article systematically reviews articles that focus on internal migration and sexuality using quantitative methods and data related to demographic research. After review, I find the articles can be aggregated in to three main topics: Spatial distribution, Internal migration and Spatial segregation. Subsequently, I map out what has been studied and learned so far in these topics related to sexual minorities and identify gaps in the field. Among the gaps is a lack of studies of sexuality and migration in the Global South. Thus, I focus on Brazil as a case study for migration and sexuality in the Global South; from this retrospect I identify where have these studies stifled in the last decades and what are the gaps that need filling for the field to advance. In Brazil, there is a concentration of qualitative studies related to sexuality that have been overlooks due to conceptual differences between fields in international studies and lack of possibilities of generalization. With that I establish a research agenda for studies of internal migration of sexual minorities in the field of demographic research with emphasis on Brazil. The gaps encompass health issues, family and ethnicity, which I identify as being the main topics that need to be addressed in order to create better understanding of the relationship of sexuality and migration.

I. Uma revisão da literatura e definição de uma agenda de pesquisa em sexualidade e migração nos estudos demográficos

Este artigo revisa sistematicamente artigos que enfocam a migração interna e a sexualidade usando métodos quantitativos e dados relacionados à pesquisa demográfica. Após

a revisão, acho que os artigos podem ser agregados em três tópicos principais: distribuição espacial, migração interna e segregação espacial. Posteriormente, mapeio o que foi estudado e aprendido até agora nesses temas relacionados às minorias sexuais e identifico lacunas no campo. Entre as lacunas está a falta de estudos sobre sexualidade e migração no Sul Global. Assim, concentro-me no Brasil como estudo de caso para migração e sexualidade no Sul Global; a partir desse retrospecto, identifico onde esses estudos estagnaram nas últimas décadas e quais são as lacunas que precisam ser preenchidas para que a área avance. No Brasil, há uma concentração de estudos qualitativos relacionados à sexualidade que têm sido negligenciados por diferenças conceituais entre campos de estudos internacionais e falta de possibilidades de generalização. Com isso estabeleço uma agenda de pesquisa para estudos de migração interna de minorias sexuais no campo de estudos demográficos com ênfase no Brasil. As lacunas abrangem questões de saúde, família e etnia, que identifico como os principais tópicos que precisam ser abordados para criar uma melhor compreensão da relação entre sexualidade e migração.

II. From urban to highly urban: internal migration trajectories of sexual minorities in Brazil

There are many studies in the Global North that shed a light onto the distribution and mobility of gay men and lesbians, but not much has been done regarding Latin American countries. This paper is a first effort to analyze the migration patterns and spatial distribution of gay men and lesbians using the Brazilian census of 2010. The aim of this paper is to analyze the migration patterns of gay men and lesbians, specifically in Brazil, and to show if they differ from those of heterosexuals. The common understanding is a concentration of gay men and lesbians to large cities such as regional capitals in more developed parts of the country and to major cities, like São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. However, in this study I show that gay men and lesbians migrate mostly to medium cities, as do heterosexuals following recent internal migration patterns in Brazil. Although, compared to heterosexuals, gay men and lesbians still migrate more to large capitals and megacities. This shows that when we move beyond the Global North, the migration patterns of gay men and lesbians remain similar to those found in other countries with emphasis towards highly urban cities. Adding to that, the findings also suggest that high education played a bigger part in the migration than the religious profile of the municipalities. Lastly, the results show that gay men, lesbians and

heterosexuals have different migration patterns suggesting that motivations for migration might be different for each group.

II. Do urbano ao altamente urbano: trajetórias migratórias internas de minorias sexuais no Brasil

Existem muitos estudos no Norte Global que lançam luz sobre a distribuição e mobilidade de gays e lésbicas, mas pouco foi feito em relação aos países da América Latina. Este artigo é um primeiro esforço para analisar os padrões de migração e distribuição espacial de gays e lésbicas usando o censo brasileiro de 2010. O objetivo deste artigo é analisar os padrões de migração de gays e lésbicas, especificamente no Brasil, e mostrar se diferem dos heterossexuais. O entendimento comum é uma concentração de gays e lésbicas para grandes cidades, como capitais regionais em partes mais desenvolvidas do país e para grandes cidades, como São Paulo e Rio de Janeiro. No entanto, neste estudo mostro que gays e lésbicas migram principalmente para cidades médias, assim como heterossexuais seguindo padrões recentes de migração interna no Brasil. Embora, comparados aos heterossexuais, gays e lésbicas ainda migrem mais para grandes capitais e megacidades. Isso mostra que, quando vamos além do Norte Global, os padrões migratórios de gays e lésbicas permanecem semelhantes aos encontrados em outros países com ênfase em cidades altamente urbanas. Somando-se a isso, os achados também sugerem que o ensino médio teve um papel maior na migração do que o perfil religioso dos municípios. Por fim, os resultados mostram que gays, lésbicas e heterossexuais têm padrões de migração diferentes, sugerindo que as motivações para a migração podem ser diferentes para cada grupo.

III. “Their opinion counts as far as you let it” – understanding queer migration in the Global South

The literature regarding the life course and migration has shown that many gay men and lesbians seek large cities in order to live their lives away from the prying eyes of their families and build their sexual identity. In the Global South, little is known about the effects that sexuality can have on the migratory trajectories of individuals. In that sense, what happens to the lives of those that have never left their hometowns and have had to find ways to experience their sexuality in these places. The aim of this paper is to discuss queer migration, the impact on the lives of the individuals that left their hometowns, others that at one point came back and those that never left in the first place. Based on 21 life course

interviews with self-identified LGB individuals in small/medium towns in Brazil, this paper shows how aspects such as coming out to family, educational trajectory, financial stability affects the migration trajectories of LGB individuals that live in small/medium cities. Therefore, this study contributes the literature that investigates sexuality and migration in the life course of individuals by showing that families are an important influence in the decision-making to migrate, to stay or to return to your hometown.

III. “A opinião deles conta até onde você permite” – entendendo a migração queer no Sul Global

A literatura sobre trajetória de vida e migração tem mostrado que muitos gays e lésbicas procuram as grandes cidades para viver suas vidas longe dos olhares indiscretos de suas famílias e construir sua identidade sexual. No Sul Global, pouco se sabe sobre os efeitos que a sexualidade pode ter nas trajetórias migratórias dos indivíduos. Nesse sentido, é importante perguntar o que acontece com a vida daqueles que nunca saíram de suas cidades de origem e tiveram que encontrar formas de vivenciar sua sexualidade nesses lugares. O objetivo deste artigo é discutir a migração *queer*, o impacto na vida dos indivíduos que deixaram suas cidades de origem, outros que em algum momento voltaram e aqueles que nunca mais saíram. Com base em 21 entrevistas de curso de vida com indivíduos auto-identificados LGB em cidades pequenas/médias do Brasil, este artigo mostra como aspectos como a saída do armário para a família, trajetória educacional, estabilidade financeira afetam as trajetórias migratórias de indivíduos LGB que vivem em pequenas/médias cidades. Portanto, este estudo contribui com a literatura que investiga a sexualidade e a migração no curso de vida dos indivíduos ao mostrar que as famílias são uma importante influência na tomada de decisão de migrar, permanecer ou retornar à sua cidade natal.

A REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND SETTING A RESEARCH AGENDA OF SEXUALITY AND MIGRATION IN DEMOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

ABSTRACT

This article systematically reviews articles that focus on internal migration and sexuality using quantitative methods and data related to demographic research. Therefore, this article aims to map what has been studied and learned so far in demographic research regarding internal migration of sexual minorities. A second objective is to use the development of studies of sexuality and migration in Brazil as a case study for migration and sexuality in the Global South; from this retrospect I intend to identify where have these studies stifled in the last decades and what are the gaps that need filling and therefore, establish a research agenda.

Key words: Systematic review; Global South; Internal migration; Sexuality; Demography.

INTRODUCTION

For several decades, sexuality remained absent from the studies of mobility and migration, which assumed migrants to be heterosexual and mostly male for a long time (MANALANSAN IV, 2006). It was only during the 1970's with the rural-urban flows in the U.S. that attention was brought to the migration of sexual minorities from small towns to large cities (WESTON, 1995). Since then, the rural-urban migration of sexual minorities has been a reoccurring topic while analyzing the migratory trajectories of these individuals that seek urban spaces (HUBBARD, 2011). In the last decades the shift in the dynamics of internal migration to a predominately urban-urban flow has also changed the way scholars have perceived sexuality and migration (SCHEITLE; GUTHRIE, 2019). In the field of demographic research, migration of sexual minorities hasn't advanced as much as other subfields like family demography (RECZEK, 2020), but some studies have shown that sexual minorities have higher chances of migrating than heterosexual individuals (BAUMLE; COMPTON; POSTON JR., 2009), that they are over concentrated in highly urban cities (BLACK et al., 2000; COOKE; RAPINO, 2007; WIMARK; ÖSTH, 2014), and that migration can also improve mental health of these individuals (UENO; VAGHELA; RITTER, 2014; WIENKE; HILL, 2013). These studies reveal the need for more research that is interested in the study of how internal migration affects sexuality and vice-versa. Therefore, a research agenda is necessary in order to understand more clearly the dimensions of this type of migration, which could benefit not only migration studies, but also all other subfields in demographic research that intersect with sexuality and migration. Another gap that needs filling are migration studies of sexual minorities in the Global South in which recent studies have emerged with focus on international migration (ANDRADE, 2017; FRANÇA, 2017), but little has been done regarding internal migration (AZEVEDO, 2014; FRANÇA, 2013; PARKER, 2002).

Therefore, this article aims to map what has been studied and learned so far in demographic research regarding internal migration of sexual minorities. A second objective is to use the development of studies of sexuality and migration in Brazil as a case study for migration and sexuality in the Global South; from this retrospect I intend to identify where have these studies stifled in the last decades and what are the gaps that need filling and therefore, establish a research agenda.

The growing importance of international migration in population dynamics has made queer migration studies related to refugees, sex workers and citizenship be more widely

researched in comparison to internal migration flows (LUIBHEID, 2008). In migration studies, in many cases the individual is an internal migrant before becoming an international migrant. Therefore, a necessary step is looking into the internal flows that exist previous to the international flows in order to understand them better and identify the cities that could be considered steppingstones for other types of migration. Not only that, but internal migration has a structural importance to the place of destination as much as the place of origin of the migrant, which create historic flows of sexual minority migrants that are unknown or understudied. On that note, few studies have focused specifically on internal migration of sexual minorities with a quantitative perspective (LEE et al., 2018), which led this study to a boarder review of the literature including spatial distribution and spatial segregation of sexual minorities, which also contribute to delineate the dimensions of internal migration.

This paper won't attempt to revise migration theories but will give space to discussions on how the inclusion of sexuality in migration studies improve the understanding of population mobility.

Systematic Review of the Literature

The growing literature of studies of sexuality in the field of demography has increased over the last decades, but studies that intersect sexuality and migration are still scarcer in demographic research. With the aim to map these changes, I conducted systematic research from January of 2000 to June of 2021 in the 10 top-ranked journals in Demography according to SCImago in June of 2021. Also, I searched Scopus and JSTOR databases to access studies of migration and sexuality in journals of other fields that are related to Demography. Initially, in the Demography journals I used the combination of the keywords: "same-sex", "gay men", "lesbian", "homosexuality", "sexuality", "sexual minorities", "sexual orientation" and "migration".

I retrieved a total of 63 articles on sexuality in Demography journals and classified them into six topics: Family and Household Dynamics (23), Labor Market (4), Measurement (11), Education (5), Health Issues (10), Tolerance (4) and Migration and Spatial Distribution (6). The search in Scopus and JSTOR, retrieved a total of 212 articles including the 6 articles on migration and spatial distribution from the search in the Demography journals. I filtered these results and selected only those related to migration, spatial distribution, spatial segregation and sexuality, which left me with 106 articles. These articles were classified into four categories: Sexual and Mental Health (40); Refugees and Asylum

Seekers (3); International Migrants (11); Internal Migration (26). Then, I filtered the articles and only kept those that used quantitative data and that were related to internal migration, spatial distribution or spatial segregation of sexual minorities. The choice of focusing on quantitative research is due to the greater affinity that they have with demographic research. Therefore, it makes the dialogue between the subfields found in the research more agreeable with the objectives of this article. I was left with 26 articles that were later reclassified into three categories: Internal Migration (10), Spatial distribution (8) and Spatial Segregation (8).

Most studies found were from the Global North, with a concentration of studies in European countries and the United States, which was already shown by Lee et al. (2018). Baumle (2018) has described the hardship of navigating the intersection between sexuality studies and demographic research over the years. She shares her experience on how sexuality scholars are not very receptive to a limited categorization of sexual identity or the use of *proxy* categories of sexual behavior and kinship to assume one's sexual identity. According to Baumle (2018), an extra effort is needed in order to convey to reviewers the importance of the findings and carefully explain the limitations and the reasons for using a determined category of sexual identity and excluding another. On the other hand, in demography journals the skepticism lays on the data being sufficiently reliable for quantitative modeling. This could be the reason why the studies found in the review are scattered over journals related to sexualities, demography, sociology, economy and geography. Also, the interdisciplinary nature of migration and sexuality makes it hard to concentrate into a specific field.

In light of having retrieved no articles from the Global South that filled the filtered requirements, an extended review on sexuality and migration in Brazil was made in order to build a case study as to why few studies have been conducted related to migration of sexual minorities in the Global South using quantitative data.

The exercise of revisiting this body of literature is fitting and will ground the analysis and delineate the state of the art of this growing field of knowledge. I argue that establishing a research agenda can help move forward the studies on migration of sexual minorities since it is an important life event and therefore, must be included to intersect with other life events such as transition to adulthood, family formation, parenthood, schooling, entering labor market, childbearing.

Sexuality & Migration

The study of sexuality within the field of demography is still in a process of establishment and has been in constant growth in the last couple of decades (BAUMLE; DREON, 2019). In order to point out the absence of this theme in demographic research, the term demography of sexuality was coined alongside demography of sexual orientation by Baumle; Compton and Poston Jr. (2009). Before that, Badgett and Williams (1992) established a research agenda in the field of economics in the attempt to start a conversation about the need for studies that included sexual orientation. In this effort, a common critique amongst the scholars was lack of good quality data to conduct research in a broader manner (BLACK et al., 2007; DEMAIO; BATES; O'CONNELL, 2013).

After the legalization of same-sex marriage in the early 2000's mostly in European countries, civil registry data became available and after 2010 many population-based surveys also started to collect data on same-sex couples. At first, the initial studies focused on measurement of errors in the data collection where in countries such as the U.S a significant number of miscoded different-sex couples were found when analyzed (O'CONNELL; FELIZ, 2011). In an attempt to make the data usable, DiBennardo and Gates (2014) created a formula for researchers to adjust the U.S Census data on same-sex couples in future research. Another step would be to understand the best ways to obtain this kind of information in surveys, which few studies have done over the years (CORTINA; FESTY, 2014).

In the last 20 years, a total of 29 countries have legalized same-sex marriage and have been able to obtain good quality survey data or/and registry data on same-sex unions. This gave way to groundbreaking research related to the demographics of same-sex couples and of new studies on partner and family dynamics (ANDERSSON et al., 2006; BAUMLE; COMPTON; POSTON JR., 2009; GOLDANI; ESTEVE; TURU, 2013). Since then, over the last decade more data have become available on sexual orientation, sexual behavior and sexual desire, which have led to the emergence of studies in the field of demography that focus on family dynamics, labor market outcomes and health issues (BOERTIEN; VIGNOLI, 2019; CARPENTER, 2020; LAGOS; COMPTON, 2021; RECZEK, 2020).

In contrast, the studies of sexuality related to migration, spatial concentration and spatial segregation have many aspects in common that limit their study in demographic research. The primary is the lack of data on migration and sexual orientation, in which the few surveys with this type of information are mostly focused on same-sex couples. This limitation

makes it hard for studies in the field to advance and have robust conclusions about the mobility of sexual minorities. This implicates that the limitation of analysis lies on assuming that same-sex couples are representative of the entire gay and lesbian community and that the information about migration is specific to certain locations and period of life course of the migrant that also is similar to the population in general (WIMARK; ÖSTH, 2014).

The spatial aspect of studies related to sexual minorities have been the main subject of interest of scholars that saw the importance of knowing where sexual minorities live and if this spatial distribution was concentrated or disperse given the stigma, discrimination and violence against sexual minorities. Another theme that derived from spatial distribution is spatial segregation, which has its origins in analyzing unequal distribution of minorities spatially (BOLT; VAN KEMPEN; VAN HAM, 2008; BROWN; CHUNG, 2006; PEACH, 1996). Thus, it adds another layer to spatial distribution in order to qualify and investigate the reasons behind the segregation of sexual minorities. An interesting topic that ties these themes is internal migration, which is a key factor that contributes to spatial distribution and segregation (CURRAN et al., 2006; MASSEY; GROSS; SHIBUYA, 1994). Therefore, I'll review the articles from the systematic search related to migration and sexuality using quantitative data divided into the respective categories: Spatial distribution, Spatial segregation and Internal migration

Spatial Distribution

It was only in the early 2000s that demographic studies recognized the potential of using population-based surveys to analyze the spatial distribution of gay men and lesbians. In the systematic review there were 9 articles that conducted research using quantitative population-based surveys to map the spatial distribution of sexual minorities. Initially, Black et al. (2000) used the geographical distribution of same-sex couples in the U.S as means to identify possible measurement errors in the collection of the data. The results of geographic concentration of same-sex couples in major cities in the U.S compared to the population in general validated the data and pointed to a tendency that was already seen in qualitative studies (WESTON, 1995).

Afterwards, Black et al. (2002) investigated the spatial distribution of male couples in the U.S and tested if these couples chose cities with high amenities to live in. They found that gay men concentrated in cities with high housing value and coastal climate when compared to lesbians and heterosexuals. Adding to that, Gates and Ost (2004) showed that

same-sex couples had a diverse distribution geographically in the 2000 U.S. Census, when taking ethnicity into account it became evident that African-Americans and Latinos in same-sex couples had different spatial distribution than the rest of the couples. Baumle (2010) also brings attention to the concentration of same-sex unmarried couples in the U.S-Mexico border. The results built on the necessity to incorporate ethnicity as well as the intersection with sexual minorities in determining residential choices.

In the mist of understanding the residential preferences of sexual minorities and their spatial distribution have led to the identification of neighborhood characteristics that are related to a higher concentration of same-sex couples. Since geographers had already pointed out the importance of space for sexual minorities in previous case studies the pursue of this type of research seemed natural in the field (KNOPP, 1992; SIBALIS, 2004; VALENTINE, 1996).

Anacker and Morrow-Jones (2005) have shown in their national level study that same-sex households cluster in neighborhoods that have lower cost of living and at the same time have higher number of new jobs available. Also, these couples concentrate more in neighborhoods with low levels of crime and high levels of arts, health and recreation. These findings suggest that there are social and spatial characteristics that influence where same-sex couples chose to live. The authors concluded that quality of life is one of the motivators behind the spatial concentration of same-sex couples in certain parts of the U.S.

Still in the U.S, Baumle; Compton e Poston Jr. (2009) studied what spatial aspects could explain the concentration of same-sex couples in metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas in the U.S. The results found that climate, poverty rate, population size, the heterosexual cohabitation rate and the percentage of voting Republicans were associated with where these couples were residing. Walther; Poston Jr. e Gu (2011) also used the 2000 U.S. census to understand the concentration of same-sex couples in metropolitan areas of the country, but added heterosexual couples to the comparatives. The results are quite similar to those found by Baumle; Compton e Poston Jr. (2009) with the addition that heterosexual couples have different results, which according to the study are related to the role of migration for these couples. The correlations between the percentage of migrants and the prevalence indexes of male and female couples are much higher than for heterosexual couples, which led the authors attributing part of the differences in prevalence to migration decisions to relocate to warm weather locations (WALTHER; POSTON JR.; GU, 2011).

Another important aspect of the spatial distribution of population is the civil status of the individuals. Since most studies rely on data on same-sex couples, Wimark and Östh

(2014) took on the challenge of comparing spatial concentration of single gay men and lesbians to coupled gay men and lesbians in Sweden. The results suggest that single gay men concentrate more in urban cities as opposed to couples. Therefore, the authors conclude the difference between single and coupled gay men and lesbians might have a life course factor that needs to be addressed further such as couples preference for less or urban space to raise children.

Brown and Knopp (2006) questioned how the information available in the 2000 U.S. Census about gay men and lesbians can lead to closeting individuals that became invisible once a specific geographical level of analysis was chosen. To this point, the authors use the work done by Gates and Ost (2004) as an example of how different decisions and can bring upon conclusions that exclude certain gay and lesbian individuals from spaces.

Recently, a systematic review conducted by Lee et al. (2018) assessed how the measure of area unit characteristics can affect what is known about sexual minority concentration and their surroundings. At the region level, sexual minorities concentrate in regions that are high in resources and when the analysis is at the neighborhood level they are concentrated at in places with fewer resources. Thus, the authors showed that the lack of studies in the field and how variation in geographical levels of analysis can come to opposing conclusions about where sexual minorities reside.

Another recent study using same-sex couple data from the Spanish census showed a concentration of 40,7% of same-sex couples in the cities of Barcelona and Madrid (LAMA; NIETO CALAMAESTRA, 2018). The gender differences in geographical concentration of same-sex couples were also found in Spain, which calls attention to necessity of a gender perspective when analyzing this type of data since male partners are concentrated in fewer cities than female partners. Not only that, but the concentration in more urban and touristic places adds to the findings in other countries of the Global North (BLACK et al., 2002; WIMARK; ÖSTH, 2014).

Identifying the spatial distribution of sexual minorities is only the first step in creating a bigger picture in regard as to where these individuals live and what do their surroundings look like. Another study worth mentioning by Everett (2014) have linked the relationship of between neighborhood characteristics to mental health of sexual minorities, in which fewer urban spaces with high percentages of Republican voters are associated to high risk of depression.

Wimark and De Lena (2022) are interested in understanding the spatial concentration of gay men and lesbians in Sweden. The study avoids the limitations derived

from the census by using registry data and also calculates individualized neighborhood (ÖSTH; MALMBERG; ANDERSSON, 2014) to tackle the Modifiable Area Unit Problem (MAUP). In order to detect where the same-sex partners are concentrated they identify 12 clusters in the country using neighborhood characteristics. The dissimilarity index show that female same-sex partners are more concentrated in cooperative Stockholm, cooperative metropolitan and cooperative metropolitan large scale, which are mostly characterized for having less deprivation, high levels of high education and presence of migrants and predominantly having cooperative tenure. Same-sex male partners are even more concentrated in cooperative Stockholm and also are overrepresented in Migrant deprived metropolitan borders, which differs from their female counterparts. Adding to that, different-sex partners are mostly concentrated in owner-occupied suburbia, which are characterized by high levels of highly educated, and few migrants and low deprivation. The findings show that the preference of residence in each group is different with a concentration of same-sex partners in more urban areas with the exception of male same-sex partners that also concentrate in bordered deprived areas. Another interesting finding using a multinomial logistic regression is that when controlling for child the results aren't altered when compared those found with the dissimilarity index, which differ from the hypothesis of previous studies (BLACK et al., 2002) that base the difference in same-sex partner spatial distribution on family structure. These results show the importance of future studies that may explain the differences in residential mobility that differ from the established knowledge that is mainly based in U.S. studies.

The studies mentioned above have shown that sexual minorities tend to concentrate in more urban cities with warm weather and with large population size and that lesbians are more spatially dispersed than gay men. At the neighborhood level these groups tend to surround themselves with more tolerant, ethnically diverse and high in natural amenities. These initial findings open a discussion on spatial segregation that is discussed below.

Spatial Segregation

The studies that have focused on segregation of sexual minorities were a initial attempt to understand the “gayborhood” phenomenon (GHAZIANI, 2014). Early scholars denominated these enclaves as “ghettos” and tried to establish connections between gentrification and spatial concentration of sexual minorities as consequence of social

marginalization. Some studies were able to establish connection between areas considered deprived with the presence of gay men and lesbians (KNOPP, 1990; LAURIA; KNOPP, 1985). The systematic research found 8 studies that are related to segregation using quantitative data. Most studies are focused in the U.S. with the exception of two studies: one in Australia (GOLDIE, 2018) and another in France (GIRAUD, 2006).

One of the first researchers on residential segregation of gay and lesbians couples by Baumle; Compton e Poston Jr. (2009) uses an exposure index to quantify the segregation between same-sex couples and different-sex couples in 40 large cities of the U.S. The findings show that gay male partners are less exposed to heterosexuals than lesbians. Afterwards, they consider what variables might be related to their segregation and find that population size, number of gay men and lesbians are important predictors of segregation between homosexuals and heterosexuals in the U.S. in 2000.

Hayslett and Kane (2011) focused their study in Columbus, Ohio and found mixed results in which co-location of gay and lesbian couples was an important explanatory variable for high concentration of same-sex couples. Although, other variables like diversity, openness and diversity were also significant in the regression models. The findings evidence that gay men are more concentrated in neighborhoods with less family households and more rented houses and lesbians concentrated in neighborhoods with more family households and foreign-born residents. The impossibility to generalize and compare the results with other counties in the U.S left questions regarding the results found in the study.

An also local study centered in the San Francisco Bay Area conducted by Compton and Baumle (2012) uses mixed-methods that shows evidence of the larger concentration of gay men in the San Francisco County and of lesbians more concentrated in Sonoma County. Other findings include differences in racial and ethnic composition and average age, in which Alameda County had a more diverse racial/ethnic population of lesbians with a younger age average opposed to the San Francisco County that was predominately white and Sonoma county that had the highest age averages. Although, the counties were different regarding demographic characteristics, the qualitative interviews found that the residential choices in all counties were motivated by the presence of a gay/lesbian community and a liberal political climate. Therefore, the creation of gay/lesbian enclaves in the San Francisco Bay Area might have similar motivations, but different demographic profiles may also have different preferences and constraints in check when choosing where to live.

Spring (2013) with a study using U.S census from 2000 and 2010 tried to fill-in the gap regarding segregation of same-sex partners from different-sex partners at city a level. The findings show here was a decline in segregation of same-sex couples from different-sex couples from 2000 to 2010. This was in tune with the studies that were questioning if social acceptance or tolerance were driving the decline of segregation, which could mean the end of the “gayborhood”. Adding to that, the study sheds light onto the segregation of same-sex partners and its similarity to segregation of ethnic minorities, which shows that sexual orientation should be taken into account in segregation studies that usually only considered race and economics as main factors of segregation (SPRING, 2013).

A study by Madden and Ruther (2015) also uses two points in time (2000-2010) to follow how the presence of gay men and lesbians influence population growth and income in U.S. census tracts. The evidence points to lesbians and gay men being less segregated than African Americans and also found that lesbians are less spatially concentrated than gay men. Not only that, but census tracts that in 2000 had more gay men finished the decade with more population growth and income. The same cannot be said for lesbian concentration in census tract regarding these two variables. A downside of this article is not accounting for how much of the population growth in the census tract are due to migration, which could help explain if gay men are indeed attracted to high amenity places and are they the protagonists of that growth.

The most recent study of residential segregation in U.S. uses the American Community Survey from 2008 to 2012 to calculate dissimilarity indexes and tests if gay and lesbian partners are segregated from heterosexual partners (POSTON JR. et al., 2017). The hypothesis are based on previous evidence (BAUMLE; COMPTON; POSTON JR., 2009; SPRING, 2013) and initially compares the dissimilarity indexes between male same-sex partner, female same-sex partners, male-female married partners and male-female cohabitating partners. Afterwards, sets of five regressions are used to understand which variables (Prevalence of gay and of lesbians, poverty rate, temperature rate, conservatism rate, sodomy and discrimination index, White-Black segregation and population size) influence the levels of segregations among these groups. The authors conclude that gay men are more segregated than lesbians, which reaffirms the evidence of previous studies in the field. From the regressions, the results suggest that the prevalence of gay men contributes to a higher segregation. Adding to that, conservatism and population size influence the segregation between male same-sex partners and male-female married or cohabitating partners. Poston Jr.

et al. (2017) reinforces the findings in previous studies and advances little in the discussion that connects individual and neighborhood characteristics.

Goldie (2018) traces the levels of aggregation and segregations between gay men and lesbians in Australia in an attempt to understand if there are differences in the relationship of these groups to urban spaces and to each other spatially. The results show that gay men and lesbians have high levels of clustering in Sydney and less in Melbourne, with lesbian couples being less clustered than gay couples in both cities. Another finding is that gay couples are actually segregated from lesbian couples, although being in close proximity to each other. An interesting result found by Goldie (2018) is that ethnic diversity, which was an important variable in other studies of spatial distribution in the U.S., were non-significant in the Australian context.

A study by Giraud (2006) uses the number of subscribers of a gay magazine in 2007 and the French census of 1999 to calculate a gay coefficient in each Parisian neighborhood. The author controls the distribution of the gay men by occupation and age group, which show that occupation is a good *proxy* for economic status given that senior executives live in more central neighborhood and blue-collar workers live in less desirable neighborhoods. Another interesting finding is that the age group 30-39 years concentrates in the central highly desirable neighborhoods and adults over 50 years old are living in the outskirts of Paris. The study has its data limitations, but show in a simple manner how sexuality intersected with stages in an individual's life can influence where they live.

The studies of segregation reviewed here are mainly focused in the U.S., which evidences the need to expand the studies of residential and spatial segregation of sexual minorities. The small scope of studies in other countries has shown that the process of segregation that occurred in those places has parallels with the U.S., but the comparisons are limited as the methods are different and the data are from various types of sources that make comparability quite difficult. On one hand, the findings stir a conversation about the importance of taking into account the surroundings of sexual minorities when looking at where they live or choose to live. On the other hand, these studies miss the opportunity of combining individual with neighborhood sociodemographic characteristics to help understand the profile of the groups that live in a determined part of a city. Not only that, but the relationship between internal migration and spatial segregation has yet to be explored in future studies.

Internal Migration

It was in the field of anthropology that a first step was taken towards creating a narrative that focused on gay and lesbian individuals and internal migration with the classic *Get Thee to a Big City* by Weston (1995). The collective imaginary of the small-town queer individual that fled to the large city in order to live their true selves has been the benchmark for queer migration studies for decades. Not long after, geographers were drawn to the subject with the works done by Bell and Binnie (1999), which explored the relationship between space, sexual orientation and gender identity. The studies of where gay men lived were ample since academia is not exempt of gender bias, which meant that there were more men interested in studying other men. The feminist scholars pushed for a more inclusive perspective and lesbians started to get more visibility in geography of sexualities in the early 2000s.

In the systematic research, 10 articles on internal migration were found some of which were related to subjects such as wellbeing, labor market, marriage laws and sexual behavior. Only 4 of the articles are specifically about the internal migration phenomenon, the other studies used migration status as a control variable in regression models or as a variable in descriptive analysis. When analyzing what information about sexuality were used in these articles: 4 on same-sex couples, 3 use data on men who have sex with men, 3 on LGB individuals, 3 on lesbians and gay men and 1 uses sexual attraction and sexual identity.

A first attempt to use the 1990 U.S. census data with migration status was done by Cooke (2005) that tested if same-sex couples are affected in the labor market when moving to a new city. The hypothesis is that given that heterosexual married women suffer employment issues when moving to a new city, a same-sex couple would not have that problem given that there isn't a gender role difference between the couples. The results indicate that employment and working hours are not affected by the move made by same-sex couples, which for the author is indirect evidence that heterosexual women that migrate with families are affected in the labor market because of their gender role. While the study has interesting findings, an addition to the analysis would be inserting the family structure of the couples, which seems odd since the author recollects the importance of family migration for heterosexual married women.

Rosenfeld and Kim (2005) were interested in the relationship between independence from community of origin and unions that are nontraditional in U.S. society. To that end, the authors focused on interracial, same-sex unions, married and cohabitating

unions. They used geographical mobility as a *proxy* for independence from place of origin and found that nontraditional unions are more likely to move from the place of origin than heterosexual, same-race, married unions. In that spectrum, the most mobile group is the same-sex, interracial and cohabitating couples. Adding to the initial findings, the authors separate the residence of destination by rural, suburban and urban and find similar results with the exception of heterosexual, interracial married and cohabitating couples from rural areas being more likely to migrate than same-sex cohabitating couples in rural areas. Lastly, Rosenfeld and Kim (2005) found that the independence life stage is declining over time, which could be an indication of more acceptance and tolerance towards nontraditional unions in the communities of origin. Although, the findings made by Rosenfeld and Kim (2005) are enlightening regarding the likelihood of internal migration in the U.S., there is little indication of distance from the community of origin and no differentiation between male same-sex and female same-sex couples, which previous studies have shown be important in the migration and spatial distribution of gay men and lesbians in the U.S. (BLACK et al., 2000; COOKE, 2005).

A study by Cooke and Rapino (2007) uses census data on interregional migration to show the migration patterns of gay men and lesbians in the U.S. The findings showed that migration flows of gay men were mostly to moderate-sized urban regions that have abundance in natural amenities and that lesbians migrated to less populated regions with a significant pre-existing lesbian community. An interesting result is that population density isn't significant to lesbian migration and is important for gay migration, which could be gender related in which women don't have preference for large and dense cities or could be that they do not take those variables into account when choosing where to migrate. Unfortunately, there wasn't a regression with heterosexual couples and therefore conclusions regarding the comparisons between these groups cannot be drawn from the study.

Rault (2016) was able to add knowledge about distance from the family of origin in his study regarding the geographical mobility of gay men and lesbians in France. These results suggest that sexual minorities are more prone to move further away from their family of origin, especially gay men when compared to lesbians. Another finding is that compared to heterosexual couples, the same-sex couples invest more in education and upward social mobility. Gay men are also more likely to move to larger cities than their heterosexual counterparts. Some of the latter findings are in line with other studies in the U.S. that focus on spatial concentration of gay men in large cities (BLACK et al., 2002; COMPTON; BAUMLE, 2012).

At the same time, this study shows the importance of taking into account distance from family as an important indicator of migration decision making among sexual minorities.

A topic that has had traction in demographic and epidemiological studies is those related to migration and HIV/AIDS. Most of these studies are focused on men that have sex with men (MSM) and want to understand the migration patterns and risk behavior of these migrants. On that note, Catania et al. (2006) uses migration status, closetedness and family structure to create a profile on urban men that have sex with men in the U.S. The authors hypothesize that minority ethnic groups and lower socioeconomic groups will disclose less their sexuality than other groups. On the other hand, they use migration status to test if it affects the disclosure of sexuality when controlled also by age, ethnicity and social class. The findings evidence that most of the sample of MSM is of in-migrants (82%) and that they are more likely to be white high educated men. Age and social class were not variables that differentiate MSM from non-migrants MSM in large urban areas. Overall, the results suggest that sub-representation of ethnic minority groups in surveys of MSM might be due to non-disclosure of sexuality by these minority groups that when in-migrants lower the chances of disclosing their sexuality.

An innovative study by Hughes; Chen e Scheer (2017) created a modeling method to estimate the migration patterns of men that have sex with men controlled by race and HIV serostatus. With the use of data from the National HIV Behavioral Surveillance project, the authors estimated in-migration, out-migration and net migration from 2006 until 2013 of MSM in San Francisco. The results show that the out-migration of HIV-positive is higher than in-migration of HIV-positive MSM and when controlled by race the values are even higher when compared to white MSM. In regard to HIV prevalence in the population, the results show a decrease in HIV-positive in the population over time for all race/ethnicity as well. The importance of having a model that relates migration with HIV serostatus is an important step in establishing a base work that can be beneficial for future studies that want to understand how migration can impact HIV transmission (HUGHES; CHEN; SCHEER, 2017).

The wellbeing of sexual minorities has been a subfield of interest that relates minority stress, stigma and discrimination with mental health of queer individuals. Wienke and Hill (2013) expanded on this topic and were interested in investigating how the place on residence could influence the wellbeing of gay men and lesbians. Controlling for individual characteristics they found that gay men and lesbians have less wellbeing in large cities than those living in rural areas. In more specific terms, using migration status the results suggest

that non-migrant lesbians from large cities were less happy than migrant lesbians to large cities and from rural areas. Also, migrants to rural areas reported more satisfaction with their work than migrants and non-migrants of large cities. These results are contrary to what some studies have suggested over the years that rural settings are detrimental to the wellbeing of sexual minorities. Therefore, determinist theory can explain to some extent that urban life is not without costs, which include noise, pollution, traffic, crime and ethnic conflicts that all diminish wellbeing (WIENKE; HILL, 2013).

Wienke and Hill (2013) started the conversation surrounding mental health, place of residence and migration status, another study by Ueno; Vaghela e Ritter (2014) tries to filled in the gaps left by previous studies regarding internal migration, sexual orientation and mental health. Using the Add Health data from the U.S., the authors found that sexual minorities have a higher migration rate than heterosexuals and also have better mental health when they migrate to counties that are more urban than the places they left. These findings add to the importance of migration for sexual minorities that use this strategy to escape stigma and discrimination, and with that improve their mental state. Having data that allowed the study to be delineated around transition to adulthood is innovating and necessary since migration is in many cases closely related to that life event, which makes the results even more robust.

A more recent study by Scheitle and Guthrie (2019) acknowledges that few studies have tackled internal migration systematically and using data that allows for measures of childhood and current residency. In this context, their article utilizes the General Social Survey from 2008 until 2016 to calculate in which residential context of gay men, lesbians, bisexual and heterosexual people lived when they were 16 years of age and where they are living in their current situation. The authors conclude with descriptive and regression models that there is no clear sexuality effect in moving towards more urban areas, this is mainly because most of sexual minorities are already from an urban context. They also found that ethnic minority individuals were more likely to have moved to more urban areas since the age of 16. The article has its limitations, in which they capture only one stage of movement of these individuals. Nevertheless, their study shows the importance of residential context in the childhood of sexual minorities when analyzing migration patterns.

A lot of studies on migration use data on same-sex partners but none had used it with a purpose of establishing a relationship between marriage and migration. It was Marcén and Morales (2022) that connected the dots and analyzed the impact of same-sex marriage legalization on migration patterns in the U.S. With the use of data from the America

Community Survey there is evidence that the legalization of same-sex marriage does have a positive effect on the migration flows of homosexual individuals to the states where it became legal. The novelty of the study is using an external factor that can impact and shift the spatial distribution of sexual minorities in the country. This line of research deserves more attention where the study of marriage migration takes on a mean of its own when it comes to same-sex marriage.

The systematic review shows that there are still many mixed results and at the same time many possibilities of dialogue within migration studies and with other fields of interest related to sexuality. The fact that space and mobility are two important factors for demographic research makes it an ideal environment to develop research about the relationships between sexuality and migration. Therefore, an important articulation is paramount to solidify the subfield of demography of sexualities, which has scholars pulverized in many different fields and need to establish a network in order to push this agenda forward.

The next step is to use Brazil as a case study in which migration are intertwined with sexuality studies. The aim is to give the reader a historic context that will help understand what is known about the relationship between sexuality and spatial mobility in Brazil and the challenges faced to advance these understandings.

Sexuality & Migration: Demographic Research in Brazil

The systematic review has shown that there are many isolated studies from different parts of the world with a large concentration of studies in the United States that investigate the relationship between sexuality and migration. There were also no quantitative studies found on migration and sexuality using Brazilian data. Therefore, I bring an overview of the context in which sexuality and migration co-exist in Brazil and try to create an agenda of research of studies that could contribute to this subfield of knowledge in the country more recently.

It was only a decade ago that the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) finally started collecting data on same-sex couples through the 2010 Census. At the time same-sex marriage was not yet legal and would only become a reality in the country in 2013. The availability of quantitative data on same-sex couples such as the 2010 Census, later on the civil registry, and most recently the National Health Survey of 2019 could be the

missing link necessary for Brazilian demographers to research and produce knowledge on the subject.

Despite the fact that studies about sexual minorities using quantitative data are scarce, qualitative studies brought the topic to light already in the 1980s, as Maria Andrea Loyola recalls in her paper *Anthropology of Sexuality in Brazil* (2000), in which she describes the first seminars of Sexuality and Reproduction Work Group of the Brazilian Association of Population Studies (1983), where she found “a real desert of studies regarding the subject”⁷. In 1984, at the IV Brazilian Association of Population Studies Meeting, Loyola alongside Peter Fry coordinated a seminar that had a wide range of subjects related to sexuality such as equality, hierarchy, liberty, dependency and many others. While Loyola’s (2000) intention with her paper was to describe the trajectory of studies of sexuality in the country, it also unveiled that research on sexuality in population studies had encountered conceptual disagreements that were put to the test given the interdisciplinary nature of the subject. This seemed to have made scholars at the time gravitate towards their core fields of sociology, anthropology, psychology and history and not the other way around. Of all the scholars that participated in the 1983 seminar, only two would remain in the field of demography: Elza Berquó and Elisabete Dória Bilac.

Elza Berquó, a reference in demographic studies in Brazil, would continue her studies on family planning and postponement of motherhood that were related to sexuality and reproduction (BERQUÓ, 1987; 1990; BERQUÓ; LOYOLA, 1984). She would also investigate sexual behavior and risk behavior specially related to HIV/AIDS (BARBOSA et al., 2008; FERREIRA et al., 2008). Elisabete Bilac would go on to become a reference of family demography in the country shedding light onto the discussion of gender, labor and family (BILAC, 1995; 2014). The other participants in the seminar would become references in their own fields regarding sexuality, names like Peter Fry e Edward MacRae (1991); Maria Luiza Heilborn (2004); Nestor Perlongher (1987) and Carmen Dora Guimarães (2004) that paved the way for many anthropologists and sociologists that were interested in researching sexuality and identity. The difference between these paths is that the latter did their work on sexuality related to sexual orientation and not sexuality, related to reproductive rights, therefore the methodological and conceptual discussion that Loyola points out at the end of her paper did not advance:

⁷ Loyola (2000, p. 146) freely translated.

Considering the field of sexual-affective relations in its totality, with tensions and internal contradictions among different organizational and category systems, we can think and visualize the logical and political function that implement a more ample reproduction of a social system that it constitutes and is constituted by it (LOYOLA, 2000, p. 160-161).

Tracing back to the first studies about sexuality in Brazil most of them were focused on individuality, power dynamics and romantic relationships. A step further was finding the first studies that related mobility and migration to sexual minorities, which were found to be concentrated in the field of Urban Anthropology.

The first works to allude to migration of gay men and lesbians in Brazil started in the 70's with Guimarães (2004) that studied homosexual men from the middle class in Rio de Janeiro that happened to be migrants. Unfortunately, this line of queries regarding migration was not the focus of her work, but came up in the interviews where "freedom and anonymity" were the main motivators of the migration of those individuals. It was only in the 80's and 90's that Richard Parker (2002) dedicated a chapter of his book to identifying internal migration in three major cities in the country. The conclusions after several interviews with gay men was that most of the migration occurred in two stages, in which the migrants left small rural towns towards regional capitals and then eventually went to São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro as a final destination. In some cases, the final destination was another country, but to get there all of them had gone to São Paulo and Rio beforehand. Also, in the 80's Perlongher (1987) who focused his work on male prostitution in São Paulo acknowledged the importance of migration to that city, which led to the structuring of a network that revolved around the male prostitution market. Other scholars such as the historian Green (2000) pointed to the rural-urban migration in the 70's as an important mobility made by gay men at the time, which were fundamental for creating networks for homosexual individuals move and establish themselves in these large cities. Some scholars have even argued that this migration help built and fortify the homosexual civil rights movement that emerged in the 1970's in the cities of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro (SIMÕES; FACCHINI, 2009).

The rural-urban migration trajectories of sexual minorities described by qualitative research were not unique to this group, but inserted into a national dynamic of internal migration flows that were occurring at the time in the country spiked by the economic growth and job availability centered in the Southeast region, mostly São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro (BRAGA, 2006). The industrial development of the country between 1970-1980 was responsible for the redistribution of population in Brazil and for making internal migration part of Brazilian culture (DURHAM, 1984; FARIA, 1991; PATARRA; PACHECO, 1997).

Although being part of a larger dynamic of internal migration the reasons behind this type of migration had more than just economic motivators as depicted by Parker (2002).

In 1994, the International Conference of Population and Development established the control of the HIV/AIDS epidemic as one of the most important actions population wise. This opened a field of studies of sexual behavior especially in epidemiology that were in sync with demographic research at the time (PARKER; BARBOSA, 1996; KNAUTH et al., 2002). The funding of these studies in the 1990's, which focused in HIV/AIDS made an impact that still reverberates in the field of sexuality and sexual behavior (FERREIRA et al., 2008; PAIVA et al., 2015). Although there are international studies that relate to migration and HIV/AIDS (CATANIA et al., 2006; HUGHES; CHEN; SCHEER, 2017), in Brazil this topic has not been explored yet.

In recent years, some qualitative studies have emerged and discussions surrounding the specificities of migration of sexual minorities in Brazil have resurfaced. França (2013) examined the migration of gay men from São Paulo to Recife and found that social practices common to these men in both cities is what bond them even having different backgrounds. Later, Teixeira (2015) discusses homosexual migration in the context of urban spaces while using the concept of *metronormativity* (HALBERSTAM, 2005), where the urban space is supposed to be the equivalent of freedom and sexual satisfaction, to discuss how much does the migration process have a part on the narratives of the lives of homosexuals. In his final remarks, the author concludes that the mobility of homosexual individuals to different cities and even to other countries is almost an imposition of how their subjectivity is built and therefore: "the homosexual would be an innate migrant" (TEIXEIRA, 2015, p. 36). Unfortunately, there is no quantitative data available that can support his conclusions, which are therefore left open for discussion.

Campos and Moretti-Pires (2018) focused their study on homeless gay men and lesbians in Florianópolis, in the South region of Brazil, and found that most of the individuals interviewed were migrants that were kicked out by their family because of violence triggered by homophobia and that their socioeconomic background was determinant for why they ended up in homelessness. More recently, research on international LGBTIQ+ migrants showed that internal migration has occurred in the trajectories of sexual minorities once established in Brazil. Hadriel and Cogo (2020) show how internal migration by international migrants and their partners occurs in three stages: first leaving a small-town heading to the state capital and afterwards going to São Paulo, a similar path noticed by Parker (2002) in the late 1990s.

It was only in 2015 that studies in demographic research in Brazil, which focused on sexual minorities resurfaced using data on same-sex couples from the 2010 Census comparing assortative mating of these couple to different-sex couples (DE LENA; OLIVEIRA, 2015). A subsequent study by De Lena (2016) that explored conjugality and parenthood of same-sex couples in the descriptive statistics of same-sex couples showed that 12% of gay men and 8% of lesbians in same-sex relationships had both migrated between 2005 and 2010. Unfortunately, no further analysis was done in that research to identify if these couples had migrated together between those years.

Recently, a qualitative study by Souza (2020) that investigates the childbearing and parenthood intentions of same-sex couples in Brasilia, capital of Brazil, found differences in parental intentions of lesbians when compared to gay men. The reproduction of heteronormative roles regarding family formation were found amongst the couples, which made feminine care giving a general a more common approach to parenting. Lastly, a study by Silva (2021) draws on a mixed-method approach to understand the relationship between mental health and identity building of sexual minorities in Minas Gerais in the Southeast region of Brazil. The author finds that lesbians and bisexual women in more advanced ages were mostly migrants and fair better in regard to mental health when compared to younger lesbians and bisexual women. In the qualitative part of the study, there were indications that lesbians and bisexual women migrated at an earlier stage of their life course than gay men. These results suggest that migration might be a strategy for lesbians and bisexual women that can affect their future mental health.

Most of the studies that have been showcased here stem from the social sciences, but the field of geography of sexualities, which was marked in the country by the work of Silva (2008), has also flourished with publications related to sexual minorities, territoriality and space (SOUZA; ORNAT, 2020; ORNAT, 2008; SILVA; ORNAT, 2015). In their review of articles published on sexuality in the field of geography in Brazil, Silva and Vieira (2014) set the scenery of what was published between 1995 and 2012 and the problems faced by Brazilian scholars in a field dominated by Anglophone literature. Initially, the authors thought that the existence of established international journals of geography of sexualities would facilitate the insertion of their discussions in the field. They call attention to the requirements imposed by top-ranked journals that make the possibility of a wider dissemination of knowledge produced by geographers of sexualities about Brazil become very limited. Adding to that, the little regard that Anglophone reviewers have of concepts and methodologies that

are not based on native Anglophone scholars create a specific way of producing knowledge in the field, which exclude productions from the Global South (SILVA; VIEIRA, 2014).

The difficulties encountered by Silva and Vieira (2014) could be part of the explanation as to why no articles from the Global South on migration and sexuality using quantitative data were not found in the systematic review. Another reason might be related to lack of articulation between scholars of the subfields of sexualities and migration in the country. Silva and Vieira (2014) point to the importance of launching the *Revista Latino-Americana de Geografia e Gênero* in 2009 creating a space where articles of geography of sexualities from the Global South could circulate.

So far, the studies conducted in Brazil that research migration and sexuality have used qualitative methods, which limits the power of generalization of the results in terms of the Brazilian population. The recent studies in demographic research, which have only touched on the subject of migration of sexual minorities don't allow many conclusions to be drawn from them (DE LENA, 2016). Nevertheless, the studies indicate that migration of sexual minorities is an important event in the life course of sexual minorities in the country and that needs to be addressed quantitatively in order to have a bigger picture of this phenomenon.

Setting a Research Agenda

After reviewing the studies from the systematic research, it is clear that the questions: where sexual minorities live? And to where do they move? Are both important aspects of the lives of sexual minorities, which underneath have social and economic processes that are related to availability of capital, warm weather, tolerance and urbanity to name a few (BLACK et al., 2002; COMPTON; BAUMLE, 2012). It is still unclear as to the profile of sexual minorities and if their individual characteristics make a difference as to where they choose to live. The studies reviewed here point to some topics that stand out and have the potential to be explored and incorporated into migration studies. Three main topics thread the needle into discussions about internal migration of sexual minorities: Migration & Health, Migration & Family, Migration & Ethnicity.

Migration and Health Issues

A field of studies that can benefited from a wider knowledge on internal migration are the epidemiology and health related studies, which have data on sexual orientation and gender identity that fuels the production of knowledge around issues such as HIV/Aids, minority stress, mental health and access to healthcare. The legalization of marriage has generated studies interested in wellbeing of same-sex couples after marriage equality. The results have shown the importance of how equal rights can increase the wellbeing of these couples and social acceptance of sexual minorities in many places (BOERTIEN; VIGNOLI, 2019; CHEN; OURS, 2018).

Adding to that, health disparities amongst the LGB population have been shown to increase over birth cohorts, which show the importance of identifying the causes of these disparities for public policies (LIU; RECZEK, 2021). In the study Liu and Reczek show that LGB people fair worse regarding mental and physical health controlling for sociodemographic factors such as age, race/ethnicity, marital status, education, poverty and geographical factors like if they were born in the U.S. and region, but there is no information on migration status, which could be a factor since migration of sexual minorities is part of life course of many queer individuals, especially those that suffer discrimination and stigma.

Two of the studies reviewed in this study have showed the importance of wellbeing of gay men and lesbians and migration, which have come to different conclusions regarding migration and mental health. Wienke and Hill (2013) found that gay men and lesbians that live in urban areas have a higher wellbeing than those in rural areas. On the other hand, Ueno; Vaghela e Ritter (2014), showed that in the context of transition to adulthood migration to urban cities improves the mental health of sexual minorities. In the Brazilian context, future studies that focus on internal migration of sexual minorities in the country related to mental health might be able to explore the relationship initially found by Silva (2021).

Migration and Family

Family demography has been the entry point for studies of sexuality in demographic research that takes into account the sexual orientation of the population. The field of family formation and family dynamics has been the most studied in demographic research, especially those related to marriage equality laws and differences between same-sex

and different sex couples regarding marital choices and union stability. In the 1990's many of the family studies had not successfully incorporated family diversity into their analysis mostly due to the lack of data (ALLEN; DEMO, 1995).

More recently, Reczek (2020) reviewed studies on sexual – and gender-minority families (SGM) and found that a lot has changed in the last decade. The author calls attention to the multiplicity of research related to sexual – and gender-minority families that focus on adolescence, young adulthood, family formation, household dynamics, parenthood, relationship dissolution, health and wellbeing. On the other hand, Reczek shows that there are still limitations to studies on these families such as the underrepresentation of some groups like bisexual, transgender and asexual individuals and polyamorous families. Another important point is the lack of racial-ethnic representation and the necessity to incorporate studies with a life course perspective (RECZEK, 2020). Another theme that had no mention in the study conducted by Reczek was migration related gender- and sexual minority families, which suggests an oversight in this field.

Wimark (2016) has shown that family ties are an important factor in the analysis of migratory trajectories of sexual minorities in Turkey. As family ties influence migration by constraints and supportiveness (WIMARK, 2016), migration can also be the factor that influences family formation and dissolution of sexual minorities. In the systematic review there were some studies that signaled the incorporation of family structure by insertion of having children in the household.

Also, the size of marital markets is important in union formation (VERBAKEL; KALMIJN, 2014) and have not been correlated with the knowledge that migration of sexual minorities occur in part not only as a pursue of sexual freedom but also a pursue of sexual and marital markets. Marcén and Morales (2022) showed that legalization of same-sex marriage had an impact on the spatial distribution of same-sex couples. Another question would be if the decision of where to migrate of gay men and lesbians has correlation with the size of the marriage markets. Wimark and Östh (2014) found that single gay men and lesbians concentrate more in larger cities. Therefore, a follow up question would be is the urban space the only environment for family formation of sexual minorities? There is evidence that support the large concentration of sexual minorities in large cities, but most of these studies rely of individuals that are already in romantic relationships. Therefore, the importance of urban spaces for family formation of sexual minorities is a subject to be tackles by scholars and how that may also explain the appeal of large cities for migrants in chase of partners.

Migration and Ethnicity

In the systematic review, some studies showed the similarities between the spatial segregation of sexual minorities and ethnic minorities (SPRING, 2013). Other studies showed how ethnicity might influence where some sexual minorities choose to live (BAUMLE, 2010). Another finding related to the migration of MSM, showed different patterns when controlled by race/ethnicity (HUGHES; CHEN; SCHEER, 2017). All of these studies contributed in showing the importance of ethnicity in migration studies of sexual minorities. Nevertheless, these studies are based on the U.S, which have historic differences when compared to Brazil of how race/ethnicity are engendered into our society. Studies on spatial segregation and race in the Brazilian context have shown that internal migrants according to race are spatially segregated to peripheral regions (FACCHINI; FRANÇA, 2020). Therefore, adding to these finding would be the incorporation of sexual minorities by race and their migration patterns which remain unknown so far and how they might contribute to the spatial segregation found in previous studies.

Final Remarks

Demographic research is an interdisciplinary field at its core and therefore is the perfect setting for studies of sexuality and migration that are complex and require quantitative and qualitative research to produce knowledge. In reviewing the body of work produced so far regarding migration and sexuality, I have identified some hypotheses as to why there are so few publications regarding this subject in the demographic field and also towards the Global South. The systematic review also gave some indication as to themes that should be explored in future research creating a research agenda that can help build a network around migrations studies and sexuality in demographic research.

However, there are still few quantitative studies that have information on both sexuality and migratory status, which stifles advances in the understanding of how sexuality operates in the spatial distribution and mobility of populations. Also, most studies are also concentrated in the Global North where social acceptance of sexual minorities is much higher than in countries in the Global South. Therefore, how sexuality operates in these locations tend to differ since tolerance has shown to be a migratory motor.

As a case study, the production of sexuality studies in Brazil has created a narrative of urban migration studies interested in sexuality and the city. The advance in

geography of sexualities in the country has shown how the relationship between sexuality, gender, urban spaces and territory are a source of interesting findings even with some resistance in the field of geography (SILVA; ORNAT, 2019). Although, the studies that focus on internal migration and sexuality quantitatively in demographic research and geography of sexualities in Brazil remains scarce. The lack of advances in the field of demographic research is met with an unfamiliarity of migration scholars with sexuality studies and vice-versa. In this sense, it is important for future scholars to articulate cooperation's among these scholars to investigate how sexuality affects the spatial distribution of sexual minorities in the country through internal migration.

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FROM URBAN TO HIGHLY URBAN: INTERNAL MIGRATION PATTERNS OF SEXUAL MINORITIES IN BRAZIL

ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the migration patterns of gay men and lesbians in Brazil and seeks show if they differ from those of heterosexuals. The common understanding is that gay men and lesbians are concentrated in more developed parts of the country especially in major cities. However, in this study I show that gay men and lesbians migrate mostly to medium sized cities, as do heterosexuals following the internal migration patterns in recent decades in Brazil. Although, compared to heterosexuals, gay men and lesbians still migrate more to large cities. Therefore, when moving beyond the Global North, the migration patterns of gay men and lesbians differ with an emphasis of flows to medium sized cities as opposed to concentrating to larger cities like in the Global North. Lastly, the results show that gay men, lesbians and heterosexuals have different migration patterns suggesting that sexuality could be a defining factor in internal migration.

Key words: Gay and lesbian; Internal migration; Sexual minority; Cluster analysis; Log-linear model.

INTRODUCTION

Studies on the spatial distribution of gay men and lesbians over the last decades have shown that despite the growth in tolerance and acceptance of queer individuals in many places, they continue to concentrate in major urban cities (BLACK et al., 2002; COOKE; RAPINO 2007; LEE et al., 2018; WIMARK; ÖSTH, 2014). The narrative of escaping the small town to reach a 'safe haven' in the big city is still a large part of the queer collective imaginary and has proven to be an important chapter in the constitution of many gay and lesbian spaces in urban areas (BROWN, 2014; CHAUNCEY, 1994; WESTON, 1995). Although, this type of imaginary has historically spawn internal migration of queer individuals, recent studies have unfolded other types of mobility which have shown the multiplicity of trajectories of gay and lesbian individuals beyond the traditional rural-urban dichotomy (ANNES; REDLIN, 2012; NASH; GORMAN-MURRAY, 2014; WAITT; GORMAN-MURRAY, 2011).

In this sense, the migration patterns of gay men and lesbians have been of great interest in recent decades with studies that range from economic development to the importance of households in migration studies (COMPTON; BAUMLE, 2012; COOKE; RAPINO, 2007; FLORIDA, 2004; RAULT, 2016; WIMARK; ÖSTH, 2014). For example, the importance of the *creative class* (FLORIDA, 2004) in boosting regional economies in the U.S. showed that gay and lesbian couples were mainly living in these areas, which established them as a sort of cultural niche for investments and a breaking point for gentrification (KNOPP, 1990). Other scholars, especially from a public health perspective, found that the knowledge of migration patterns of gay men and lesbians could be helpful from an epidemiological standpoint concerning the transmission and diffusion of HIV/AIDS (COHN et al., 1994; POLLACK, 1990). Also, understanding the mobility of gay men and lesbians can give an insight into a less normative view of migration theories (CARPENTER; GATES, 2008; COOKE, 2005; COOKE; RAPINO, 2007; GATES; OST, 2004).

Cooke and Rapino (2007) in the U.S, showed that gay men and lesbians migrate to moderate sized urban regions, but gay men chose locations, which were high in natural amenities sources, and levels of tolerance had no part in where they ended up. On the other hand, lesbians migrated to places with a large concentration of pre-existing partnered lesbians (COOKE; RAPINO, 2007). Compton and Baumle (2012) also found evidence in the U.S that supports the idea that gay men and lesbians live in locations that are considered more liberal and have a large pre-existing presence of gay men and lesbians in the neighborhood. The

concentration of gay men and lesbian in cities are also found in studies conducted in Europe, as shown by Wimark and Östh (2014) in Sweden and by Rault (2016) in France.

Although, previous studies have shown differences in the spatial distribution of gay men and lesbians, quantitative studies have always been focused on the Global North (BLACK et al., 2002; COOKE; RAPINO 2007; GOLDIE 2018; RAULT 2016; WIMARK; ÖSTH 2014). Hence, by using quantitative data on gay men and lesbians for the first time regarding migration in Brazil, I can contribute with initial understandings of how internal migration of gay men and lesbians work in the Global South. Therefore, do gay men and lesbians primarily migrate to large cities, as observed in early studies on the Global North? Or can we observe a more complex migratory pattern as seen in more recent qualitative studies in the field?

In the first part, I review the literature on internal migration and spatial distribution of Brazilians in general and look at what research has been done so far regarding gay men and lesbians in the country. Afterwards, using variables that according to previous studies were deemed important for migration and concentration of gay men and lesbians, I conduct a cluster analysis to group the Brazilian municipalities using characteristics related to Urban life, Tolerance and Environment.

Subsequently, I calculate the origin and destination matrices for gay, lesbian and heterosexual men and women, which showed that gay men and lesbians have a larger concentration of migration flows to capitals and megacities when compared to heterosexuals. Then, I use topological log-linear models to verify if these groups have different migration patterns. The results show that, the best fits for gay men and lesbians differ from heterosexuals, which demonstrate that there are clear differences in their migration patterns.

Internal Migration and the Brazilian Context

Internal migration affects both directly and indirectly the spatial distribution of a given population and therefore it is of great interest to population studies. In Brazil, up until the second half of the 20th century the migration patterns were driven by rural to urban flows, mainly towards the Southeastern parts of the country (MARTINE; DINIZ, 1998). Consequently, the interstate migration during this period was largely responsible for the growth of megacities such as São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro.

In the 1970s, the population was concentrated mostly in urban spaces, shifting the migration pattern, which became predominantly urban to urban, meaning a redistribution of

population not only to important economic centers, but also to other urban cities for different purposes (CUNHA; BAENINGER, 2005; MATOS, 1995). Another important element of Brazilian migration flows and their constraints is that internal migration cannot be dissociated from its historical context defined by a process of globalization (SINGER, 1980). For this reason, the migration flows have been affected by deep-rooted regional economic inequalities throughout the territory. During the 1990s, the country underwent economic changes that deeply altered labor market flexibility that in turn affected the labor migration. This precariousness of labor contributed to a decline in mobility and created new mobility strategies (PATARRA; PACHECO, 1997). In the early 2000s, a decrease in the total volume of migration to larger cities pointed to the emergence of new patterns that were being shaped by short distance mobility, migrant selectivity regarding education, income and age, and an increase in return migration (BAENINGER, 2012; CUNHA, 2011).

In recent years, the Brazilian migration patterns have become more complex and dynamic with spaces of absorption and repulsion depending on the scale of analysis (BAENINGER, 2012; CARVALHO, 2017; LIMA; BRAGA, 2013). Also, the decrease in the volume of migrants unveiled other flows that were up until then masked by the large volumes of incoming migrants. Brito (2015) argues that the Brazilian migration patterns are converging towards a stabilization of the migratory trajectory that is imbibed by historic internal flows (from Northeast to Southeast) and the migratory culture of Brazilian society (DURHAM, 1984). Therefore, contemporary migration in Brazil can be described as less intense for long distances, destinations such as São Paulo remain the same, and more intense at shorter distances with short-term duration, especially in metropolitan areas where daily commuting has taken over as the most frequent modality of mobility creating a space of migratory circulation (CUNHA, 2011).

Internal migration in Brazil is specific to its context. The historical migration culture of mobility that resonates with the economic development has generated a series of historic flows, which exist till this day (BRITO, 2015). In the Global North, countries such as the United States have their own specificities regarding internal migration and the same can be said for European countries (CHAMPION; COOKE; SHUTTLEWORTH, 2019). Although rural-urban migration is a common denominator for most countries in development, it occurs in different historic periods, each with different economic factors, which are the main drivers of this type of mobility.

Queer Migration and Brazilian Magnetic Cities

There are certain cities that are known for having large gay and lesbian communities such as San Francisco, New York, London, Paris, and Berlin. In Brazil, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro are famous both within the country and outside for their vibrant LGBTQ communities. One of the biggest cities in the world, São Paulo, is very much in the map of LGBT friendly cities, having the largest pride parade in the world, and Rio de Janeiro does not fall far behind, with its iconic carnivals that are complemented with its natural beauties making it the capital for gay tourism in the country (BANDYOPADHYAY; NASCIMENTO, 2010; JARRIN; PITTS, 2020). Simultaneously, like other major cities in Latin America, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro have high levels of violent crimes, which include high levels of homophobic crimes (PINTO et al., 2020). These cities are both known in the imaginary of queer Brazilian individuals as places of opportunity and sexual liberty (PARKER, 2002). Even with the history of violence surrounding these cities, it is argued by qualitative findings that Brazilian sexual minorities still prefer to migrate towards larger cities because different from the small towns these locations have larger gay and lesbian communities, queer spaces and a market for queer people (FACCHINI; FRANÇA; BRAZ, 2014; FRANÇA, 2007a; JESUS, 2017; TEIXEIRA, 2015).

Guimarães (2004), in her pioneering work about homosexuality in the middles classes of Rio de Janeiro during the 1970's encountered a group of gay men that had migrated from Minas Gerais, also in the Southeast part of the country. Even though her work wasn't focused on migration itself, there were traces of that process in which she reports that the interviewees were pursuing "freedom and anonymity" when they decided to move to Rio (GUIMARÃES, 2004). Richard Parker (2002) during the 1980s and 1990s conducted interviews in three major cities in Brazil and identified internal migration flows in two stages, firstly from rural to urban (small towns to medium/large cities) and then from urban to urban (medium/large cities to São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro). He argued that the migration from small towns to regional capitals was only the first step in the direction of the main objective of these individuals, which was to reach Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. He argued that the establishment and growth of gay subcultures in major cities in Brazil had generated a ripple effect making more gay men seek these cities to live and thrive (PARKER, 2002, p. 260). Another scholar, James Green (2000) was the first to study historic documents about relationships amongst gay men in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo from the end of the nineteenth

century until the 1980's, he also paid notice to the rural to urban migration experiences in the country and their importance to young gay men in the 1970s.

Nelson Perlongher (1987) acknowledged the importance of the migration flow of gay men to São Paulo between the 1960s and 1980s that also fed the male prostitution scene structuring a network that revolved around this market (cinemas, public restrooms, parks, saunas and bars). More recent studies, such as França (2013), explore the migration of gay men from São Paulo to Recife, a city situated in the Northeast of the country, where regional differences related to gender and sexuality symbols and labels give space to social markers that bond individuals from these cities through social practices.

An important contribution by França (2007a, 2007b) and Facchini; França and Braz (2014) which explore the relationship between queer identities and consumption in the city of São Paulo show how labels and spaces of queer culture are still very limited to the city center. Jesus (2017) analyzes the unequal spatial distribution of the night-life economy in Rio de Janeiro where most are concentrated in the wealthiest parts of the city. These findings give indication of an unequal distribution of access to queer spaces in these cities that can ultimately influence the spatial distribution of gay and lesbian in these locations.

Most of the studies that explore internal migration in Brazil over the years have relayed on qualitative data that make generalizations about migration patterns of gay and lesbians limited. Therefore, this article can contribute to a wider understanding of internal migration of gay men and lesbians by analyzing the data of the 2010 Brazilian Census with information on gay and lesbian couples in cohabitation.

Dimensions that tip the Migration Scale of Gay Men and Lesbians

In order to study the migration patterns of gay men and lesbians, this study takes in three steps. Firstly, a cluster analysis is conducted to group municipalities that are similar regarding the dimension of urbanization, tolerance and environment. Secondly, I analyze the migration patterns of gay men, lesbians, heterosexual men and women between these clusters using contingency tables, in order to see if the assumptions regarding the migration flows are confirmed by the data. The final step is the creation of log-linear topological models to test if there are statistical differences between the migration patterns of gay men, lesbians, heterosexual men and women. This article characterizes the municipalities of origin and destination of gay men and lesbians that in 2005 lived in a different city from their current residence in 2010. The interest here is to describe the cities regarding not only economic

factors but also dimensions that had shown to be important in other studies of internal migration of gays and lesbians (BLACK et al. 2000; 2002; COOKE; RAPINO 2007; WIENKE; HILL, 2013). Based on previous studies three dimensions were created (Urban life, Tolerance and Environment) that are considered important to characterize these municipalities and which incorporate the assumptions of where gay men and lesbians migrate to and from in Brazil.

Urban life Dimension – As mentioned previously, urban areas have been the main destination for gay men and lesbians for decades and recent studies confirm that this tendency is still part of queer migration (WESTON, 1995; WIENKE; HILL 2013; WIMARK; ÖSTH 2014). Cooke and Rapino (2007) found in their study for the U.S. that gay men migrate more to urban cities than lesbians. Therefore, the assumptions are as follows:

- A1 – Gay men and lesbians migrate from less urban to more urban and populated cities when compared to heterosexuals.
- A2 – Gay men migrate more to urban cities compared to lesbians.

Tolerance Dimension – An important aspect of queer migration is the openness of the city of destination that allows for articulation of social networks that can help these migrants in finding places to stay and seeking job opportunities (PARKER, 2002). Other studies have found that cities with a large percentage of individuals with high education tend to be more tolerant towards gay men and lesbians (HAYSLETT; KANE, 2011; WIMARK, 2014). The assumptions regarding this dimension are:

- A3 – Gay men and lesbians migrate to municipalities that have high proportion of young individuals with high education.
- A4 – Gay men and lesbians migrate to municipalities where the proportions of Catholics and Evangelicals are lower than the proportions in the municipalities of origin.

Environment Dimension – Previous studies have pointed out that gay men are more attracted to places that are high in amenities as shown in studies in the U.S. (ANACKER; MORROW-JONES, 2005; COOKE; RAPINO, 2007; HAYSLETT; KANE, 2011). These studies argue that higher income availability makes this group more attracted to places with high amenities.

- A5 – Gay men, lesbians migrate more to environments with infrastructure, presence of a cultural sector and high GDP per capita when compared to heterosexuals.

The clustering of the municipalities creates groups that are more similar regarding these three dimensions. This makes it possible for a better understanding of what dimensions are important for gay men and lesbians when deciding to migrate.

Therefore, this method allows for a more detailed description of the municipalities of origin and destination. In this sense, our study goes beyond the rural to urban and urban to urban dichotomy to perceive the migratory space of gay and lesbian individuals as more complex when taking into account these dimensions to cluster the municipalities.

Data & Methods

To understand the migration patterns of gay and lesbian couples this study uses the 2010 Brazilian census from Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, which is the only data available with national coverage that collected data on gay and lesbian couples (DE LENA, 2016) and is also the best choice when analyzing a phenomenon like migration (CUNHA, 2012). Even though in 2010 same-sex marriage in Brazil wasn't allowed and only became legal in 2013, the Brazilian census was able to collect data on 131,329 individuals in same-sex relationships in cohabitation, in which one of the partners was responsible for the household. Therefore, other household structures different from that were not identifiable, which is a limitation of the Brazilian census (DE LENA, 2016). On the other hand, heterosexual couples didn't have this limitation of identification inside the household. Thus, to maintain both types of couples with the same intra-household relationship only different-sex couples in which one of them was responsible for the household was kept in the dataset.

Other studies such as Cooke and Rapino's (2007) study on the U.S. have also made use of census data as a primary source of information, but at the same time have limitations related to the nature of the data that is comprised of only same-sex couples in cohabitation leaving out other types of civil status and living arrangements. It can be argued that this is a workable limitation given that most sources of information on gay men and lesbians derive from an adaptation of data on same-sex couples. Therefore, comparisons are easier to be made given that most census data suffer from the same limitations. In addition to that, this data allows the possibility to study same-sex couples using only one source of information at the municipal level linked with sociodemographic characteristics.

Also, for sake of readability the terms gay men and lesbians are used to classify individuals in female or male same-sex relationships in 2010 and heterosexuals as equivalent

to individuals in different-sex relationships in 2010. Therefore, no assumptions towards the sexual orientation of these individuals are being made in this study.

Another limitation is lack of information on when the couple was formed leaving it unknown if it was before the migration or afterwards, which makes it difficult to classify as a family migration, which is most common for women in Brazil, as Chaves (2009) has shown in her work. Since the analysis is at an individual level, the assumption is that all couples were formed in 2010 and therefore all migrations made in 2005 were an individual decision.

The analysis focuses on a fixed-date migration variable, which has the information of where the individuals in same-sex and different-sex relationships were living in 2005 at a municipal level. The fixed-date variable allows the calculation of in-migration, out-migration and net migration making it a very rich source of information migration wise (RIGOTTI, 1999). Unfortunately, any other mobility that occurred between 2005 and 2010 cannot be accounted for in the data, which is a limitation for the analysis assuming that these individuals didn't migrate between these years (BOYLE; HALFACREE; ROBINSON, 1998).

An initial difference between gay men and lesbians, and heterosexuals is the distribution of the "age in 2005", calculated using the individuals age in 2010 minus 5 years resulting in their age in 2005. The gay men and lesbians have very low representation in older age groups (above 60 years old), not only because migration occurs more frequently at a younger age, but also surveys in different countries have shown that gay men and lesbians have a younger age distribution (ANDERSSON et al., 2006; BLACK et al., 2000). Therefore, the data focuses on the age group from 18 to 59 years old that comprises 99% of gay men and lesbians in the database and 93% of heterosexuals, and therefore removes elderly migration which is a specific type of migration (CAMPOS; BARBIERI, 2013).

Cluster Analysis

The cluster analysis is by nature an exploratory tool that allows the breaking down of large samples into groups. In this regard, the use of cluster analysis allows the summary of information while aggregating similar observations (municipalities) into the same category (MANLY, 2005). The cluster analysis takes into account the similarity and dissimilarity of the variables of choice that characterize the unit of analysis (municipality). The hierarchical agglomerative method of clustering is a bottom up method that uses the distance between the observations to create the clusters. In this study, the Ward method was chosen for it results in the minimal variance within the group.

Table 1 displays the variables that characterize the three dimensions Urban life, Tolerance and Environment were obtained through the data available by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) in their official database SIDRA⁸ and were used to cluster the municipalities. The variables that describe the dimensions were obtained through the 2010 census and are transposed to 2005 assuming they are constant between the two periods in analysis.

----- Insert Table 1 here -----

The dimensions in Table 1 are composed of variables that describe and measure these characteristics of urbanicity, tolerance and infrastructure of the Brazilian municipalities.

In order to group and characterize the municipalities according to the degree of urbanization this study used the urbanization rate and the size of the population in the municipalities. Based on Hayslett and Kane's (2011) study of spatial concentration of gay men and lesbians in Columbus in the U.S, the proportion of individuals from the age of 15 to 24 years and the proportion of individuals coursing or that have completed higher education are used as *proxies* for tolerance (WIMARK, 2014). Another measure of tolerance used is the proportion of Evangelicals and Catholics in the population. This proportion indicates if a municipality has a high proportion of Evangelicals or of Catholics when compared to the average on the general population in the country. Thus, it is assumed that places with proportions above the national average of Evangelicals or of Catholics are to be considered more conservative (NATIVIDADE; OLIVEIRA, 2013).

In this study, amenities are considered an environment dimension and are measured as public infrastructure and cultural labor market, the first being the proportion of households that have access to piped water and drained sewage and the second being the proportion of individuals employed in the culture economy. These measures are important in Brazil, given the unequal access to them, and their use as measures of quality of life (RAZZOLINI; GÜNTHER, 2008) and regional development (DINIZ; MENDES, 2017; MACHADO; PAGLIOTO; CARVALHO, 2018). In the U.S., Florida (2004) has linked the presence of gay and lesbians to the *creative class*, in which case it is expected that gay men and lesbians migrate to cities with a large number of individuals employed in the cultural

⁸ Disponível em: <https://sidra.ibge.gov.br/pesquisa/censo-demografico/demografico-2010/inicial>. (Tables 631,761,1301,1378,1489,1552,3485,3538 and 3598).

sector. Another important factor related to migration is the city's affluence; a common *proxy* used to measure it is the GDP per capita.

Characterizing the Clusters by Dimensions

In order to describe the municipalities, a cluster analysis was conducted to group these municipalities according to the dimensions: Urban life, Tolerance, Environment. After applying the Ward method of hierarchical clustering, a dendrogram was created and the Duda/Hart stopping rule was applied to choose the number of clusters. The dendrogram and Duda/Hart test didn't give a clear-cut number of clusters so the best options ranged from 7 to 16 clusters as possible fits. The best fit was obtained for the 12-cluster solution, which gave different types of groups of municipalities with minimal variance within groups. This classification is an interesting framework to analyze internal migration of gay, lesbian and heterosexual individuals since it describes the municipalities not only in an economic perspective, but provides insight into factors that can influence migration and wellbeing of these individuals depending on where they lived in 2005 and where they chose to live in 2010.

Each of the twelve clusters are characterized below according to the dimensions that best set them apart from the other clusters. This description is used further in the analysis of the migration patterns of gays, lesbians and heterosexuals with the objective to characterize the different flows between the clusters. The twelve clusters are described and sorted regarding level of urbanization, level of tolerance, educational profile and religious profile of the populations that constitute the cluster.

-----Insert Table 2 -----

Figure 1 illustrates the regional differences regarding the localization of the twelve clusters, where the most tolerant and highly urban clusters are mainly located in the Southeast of the country and the less tolerant and less urban clusters are mostly located in the North and Northeast regions.

----- Insert Figure 1 here -----

Lesbian, Gay and Heterosexual Migrants and Non-Migrants

In 2010, Brazil had 5,565 municipalities in which 57% of them had at least one gay man or lesbian that was in cohabitation at the time, and 18% of those individuals were living in another municipality in 2005 compared to 8% of heterosexual individuals in a different sex relationship during the same period. This information alone shows that in comparison the proportion of gay men and lesbian migrants in cohabitation in 2010 was at least twice the proportion of heterosexual's migrants in cohabitation, which points out to the first group having more migrants amongst them than the latter. Hence, it is important to describe these groups by sociodemographic characteristics that may influence their migration patterns as well as show beforehand, which of these characteristics define and differentiate the groups from each other.

----- Insert Table 3 here -----

The demographics of gay men and lesbians (Table 3) show that they have higher educational attainment than heterosexual men and women, a result also found in studies of gay men and lesbians in the U.S and Sweden (ANDERSSON et al., 2006; BLACK et al., 2000). The findings regarding the level of education of gay men and lesbians reinforce the assumption (A3) that they migrate to clusters that have a high percentage of individuals with high education. Table 3 also shows that heterosexual men and women that are migrants have very similar socio-demographic characteristics, which could point to these groups having similar migration patterns. Gay men who are migrants aren't statistically different in terms of race and civil status from gay men who are non-migrants, which is an interesting result given that race and civil status have shown to be variables of migratory selectivity in Brazil (GOLGHER, 2012).

Gay men and lesbians are very similar in all accounts except for the presence of children in the household, which sets them apart, where more than 90% of gay men and around 70% of lesbians have no children in the household. Another variable that is important when analyzing migration is the age distribution of these individuals. Figure 2, shows that all four groups have different age at migration distribution with lesbians migrating at an earlier age than gay men and heterosexual men and women. Adding to that, gay men and heterosexual men migrate at an older age than lesbians and heterosexual women, this points to

gender differences in the life course of migrant women and men that could influence the type of migration that is being captured in the data.

----- Insert Figure 2 here -----

The Log-Linear Model

The log-linear model approach is used as an instrument to further analysis of contingency tables and make it possible to infer more than a descriptive analysis. In migration studies, Herting; Grusky and Rompaey (1997) famously used log-linear models to show the dimension of internal migration in the United States. Unlike linear regressions, log-linear models assume as their dependent variable the contingency tables frequencies (F_{ij}), in this case the gay men, lesbian and heterosexual migration frequencies between clusters in each of the 144 possibilities of mobility, that represent together inter-cluster mobility and intra-cluster mobility.

In order to identify the association between the origin and destination, it is estimated, beyond the independence model, a saturated model that includes all the variables that reproduce the observed frequencies. Considering the hypothesis of perfect mobility or independence between the origin and destination clusters as reference, some statistics test the fit of this reference model.

This study makes use of another statistic to test which model fits best the data: the log-likelihood ratio G^2 , which is part of the maximum likelihood estimation that yields parameter estimates that maximizes the joint probability of occurrence of all observed events. High values of these statistics reject the hypothesis of perfect mobility or of independence. Nevertheless, in large samples, the G^2 statistics may be unsatisfactory for rejecting a model in favor of another. When the sample size is large, it is easy to accept complex models because the G^2 is built to detect any divergence between observed and expected data. Thus, adding more interactions to the model would always increase the fit of the model. A solution is the use of the BIC statistics (Bayesian Criteria of Information) to find more parsimonious models with an adequate fit to the model.

Another statistic (R^2) derived from G^2 that is used to measure how much the interactions of a model contribute to the better fitting of the model when compared to the independence model. Therefore, the use of BIC and R^2 combined will point to the best fit for

the data used. When comparing multiple models, a lower value of BIC indicates a model with a better fit and the higher the R^2 the more the complex model is a better fit to the data.

Log-linear Topological Models

After the clustering of the municipalities and the creation of the contingency tables to analyze the migration flows of gay men lesbians and heterosexuals, the next step is to test if the migration patterns seen in the contingency tables follow a pattern that can be explained and tested with topological models. The topological models are log-linear models that can be used to identify patterns that best represent the hypothesis to be tested in the data. In order to test different mobility patterns, different topologies are created as matrices (POWERS; XIE, 2000).

The first model (TP1) tests the independence between the cluster of origin and the cluster of destination, which means that the mobility between the clusters have the same chances of occurring and the assumption is that there aren't factors that attract individuals to specific clusters. The second model (TP2) differentiates the inter-cluster migration from the intra-cluster migration. The assumption here is that the chances of migration between clusters are different from the migration inside the cluster. A third model (T3) derives from the second model and it differentiates the migration originated from less urban and less tolerant clusters to more urban and more tolerant clusters (ascending migration) from the migration from more urban clusters to less urban and less tolerant clusters (descending migration). Therefore, these types of migration have different chances of occurring in this model (TP3). The fourth model (TP4) indicates that the intra-cluster migration has different chances of occurring, which means for example that a migration inside the *Tolerant Cultural Large Cities (1)* cluster have different chances of happening than a migration inside a *Evangelical low Environment (12)* cluster. Since the topological models allows the creation of different barriers of migration flows, the fifth topological model (TP5) was created with the assumption that migration to the clusters *Tolerant Cultural Megacities (1)*, *Tolerant Cultural Large Cities (2)* and *Tolerant Cultural Medium Cities (3)* are different from the migration to other clusters. This model also assumes that the chances of migrating to these three clusters are also different depending on the cluster the individual is coming from. Therefore, the individuals coming from the clusters (12, 11, 10 and 9) have different chances than those coming from clusters (8, 7, 6 and 5), which also have different chances than those coming from (1, 2, 3 and 4). The sixth

topological model is based on the social mobility model of “distances” between social categories. When transposed to migration what this model does is sorts the migratory “distances” between the clusters giving the same chances of migrating to closer clusters and different chances to distant clusters. The assumption is that the individuals have the same chances of migrating to clusters that are similar regarding urbanization, tolerance and environment and different chances of migration to clusters that are not similar in those dimensions. Therefore, Figure 3 displays the topological models with the hypothesis that they represent in the Appendices.

Results & Discussion

Internal migration of gay men and lesbian is still an under-studied phenomenon in demographic studies of human mobility. In Brazil, little is known about migration patterns of sexual minorities and this study was able to shed some light on that subject.

When the distribution of the individuals by cluster is expanded to contingency tables it increases the understanding of where the individuals came from (Table 4) and where they went (Table 5). This is important to answer the assumptions made regarding the dimensions of urban life, tolerance and environment. At first, the assumption (A1) that gay men and lesbians migrate more from less urban to highly urban municipalities do not hold since most of the migration flows are happening within the *Tolerant Cultural Medium Cities* cluster. However, the percentage of gay men and lesbians that migrated to clusters *Tolerant Cultural Large Cities* and *Tolerant Cultural Megacities* are twice the percentage of heterosexual men and women that migrate to the same clusters (Table 5). Adding to that, 15% of gay men had moved to live in *Tolerant Cultural Megacities* in 2010 as opposed to 8% of lesbians, which also is a finding similar to studies in the Global North where gay men seek more urban spaces than lesbians (BAUMLE; COMPTON; POSTON JR., 2009; COOKE; RAPINO, 2007).

When analyzing heterosexual men and women, both have very similar spatial distribution in each cluster with most of them concentrated in *Tolerant Cultural Medium Cities* and *Urban less Environment* clusters as opposed to gay men and lesbians that migrate more to *Tolerant Cultural Medium Cities* and *Tolerant Cultural Large Cities* (Table 4 and 6). Therefore, gay men and lesbians are migrating more to municipalities with high proportions of young higher educated individuals. 80% of gay men and 74% of lesbian migrants are living in the three clusters with the highest proportion of young higher educated individuals in the

country in 2010 (*Tolerant Cultural Megacities*, *Tolerant Cultural Large Cities*, and *Tolerant Cultural Medium Cities*). In contrast, only 54% of heterosexual men and 58% of heterosexual women are concentrated in the same three clusters.

The religious profile of the clusters seems to bear more for gay men when migrating with the exception of the flow in which 68% of the individuals from *Evangelical low in Environment* went to *Evangelical Affluent* municipalities. In contrast, the migration flows of lesbians, heterosexual men and women have a more similar pattern with a higher percentage of intra-cluster migration between clusters that have a dominant religious profile such as *Highly Catholic Low High Education* and *Evangelical low in Environment*.

Adding to that, what this study brings to the table is that most of the out-migration of gay men and lesbians towards *Tolerant Cultural Megacities* has come from already highly urban cities. This means that the migrations are mostly happening in an urban-highly urban context and also occurring between clusters that are considered tolerant with a large cultural sector and elevated infrastructure. Therefore, the motivations behind these migrations could be related to population size as Wimarck and Östh (2014) found in their study in Sweden.

The *Highly Catholic and Cultural* cluster stands out for having opposite characteristics that could attract sexual minorities and repel them at the same time. The results show that most (54%) of gay men in that cluster migrated to *Tolerant Cultural Large Cities* and that 45% of lesbians from the same cluster migrated to *Tolerant Cultural Megacities*. Both migrations could be driven by the cultural sector, or could be a first stage migration in which gay men at first migrate to a regional capital and after that migrate to megacities as a final destination (PARKER, 2002). In contrast, lesbians seem to be migrating from a small municipality directly to São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, which is also a new finding when comparing migration patterns of these groups.

----- Insert tables 5 and 6 here -----

The findings of the contingency tables show most of the migration flows occurred from and to *Tolerant Cultural Medium Cities*, which is expected since the new migration patterns in Brazil in recent years have been of mobility towards metropolitan areas (BAENINGER, 2012; CUNHA, 2011; LIMA; BRAGA, 2013).

On the other hand, when looking at other preferred destinations for gay men and lesbian, it is clear that regional capitals and megacities are the top two destinations, which isn't the same for heterosexuals that prefer to go to *Small Affluent* and *Urban less Environment* municipalities. It is an interesting result that can give a glimpse into the

difference in the migration between these groups and make us ponder if these groups are in different migration stages or/and if they in fact have different migration patterns. Therefore, log-linear topological models can help in testing if there are differences in the migration patterns of these groups.

The Migration Patterns of Gay Men and Lesbians

The next step is analyzing the log-linear models in order to identify which model fits best the data. Afterwards, the analysis of the topological models indicates if the migration patterns of these groups are different and can be explained by one of the hypotheses behind the topologies. A summary of the statistics of each model is displayed in Table 6, in which it is possible to identify the best fit when looking at the BIC and R^2 statistics.

The analysis of the log-linear models initially shows that age is an important variable in the analysis of the distribution on frequencies in the contingency tables. Also, the interaction between origin and destination are better adjustments to the model as displayed in Table 6. Not only that, but this interaction plus age accounts for 97,95% of the frequencies of heterosexuals. Therefore, the pattern for the heterosexual group is mostly explained by the interaction between clusters of origin and destination and age at migration, as for gay men and lesbians the same model only explains 84,69% and 87,85%, which leads to believe that there are other elements in play regarding the migration of sexual minorities. This suggests that there is something related to the migration pattern of gay men and lesbians that isn't being accounted for in these models. Therefore, the higher the value of R^2 in Table 6 the closer the model is to reproducing the values in Tables 4 and 5. In other words, the model that best fit the data will inform which variables and what topology explains best the migration pattern of gay men, lesbians and heterosexuals.

----- Insert table 6 here -----

The model that suits best gay men and lesbians is the topological 5 (TP5) with an R^2 of 81,61% and a BIC of -403.35, and R^2 of 84,41% and a BIC of -16664.20, respectively. The topological 5 model tests the hypothesis that the migration to the three most urban and tolerant clusters in the country are different from the migration to other clusters. In addition to that, it is interesting that of gay men have the least explained patterns when compared to lesbians and heterosexuals, which leads to believe that there are unobserved elements for this

groups that may influence the migration pattern of these individuals when compared to lesbians and heterosexuals.

The migration patterns of heterosexual men and women are very similar as displayed in Tables 4 and 5, and after running the log-linear models separately the results were the same, which led to display the statistics of the models with both groups together. For heterosexuals the model that fit best was the topological 4 with R^2 of 93,87 % and BIC of 715615. This result shows that intra-cluster migration for heterosexuals are conditioned by which cluster you are located in the origin and that inter-cluster migration has the same chances of occurring.

CONCLUSIONS

There have been some studies that touch on the subject of migration and spatial mobility of gay men and lesbians, but most still have limited data regarding migration and identification of sexual minorities in the population (COOKE; RAPINO, 2007; RAULT, 2016; WIMARK; ÖSTH, 2014). This paper is a first effort to study internal migration of gay men and lesbians in Brazil using quantitative data from the Brazilian 2010 Census. In this study, the municipalities were grouped into clusters using three dimensions (Urbanization, Tolerance and Environment) that were found to be important for gay men and lesbians when migrating. The objective of clustering was to understand more about the origin of the migrants and their destinations and if these dimensions in fact were important when analyzing the migration patterns of gay men and lesbians.

The dimensions of Urban Life, Tolerance and Environment were in fact important for gay men and lesbians, which showed a significant concentration to megacities, large and medium cities as opposed to heterosexuals that concentrated to medium cities and smaller cities. Among the dimensions, Tolerance related to religion wasn't a big fact for lesbians from clusters with high levels of Catholics or Evangelicals, which shows that religion may not be the best predictor of tolerance in Brazil and that high education may be a better *proxy* of tolerance in this case. Therefore, the motivations behind the internal migration of gay men and lesbians might be related more to pursuing of high education themselves since the proportion of both these groups have elevated educational attainment (Table 3).

The intra-cluster mobility with a concentration in *Tolerant Cultural Medium Cities* cluster is also an addition to the findings, showing that this migration to cities with similar characteristics can be unrelated to traditional explanations for gay and lesbian migration and more related to a general aspect of internal migration in the country for the same pattern is found for heterosexuals (BAENINGER, 2012; LIMA; BRAGA, 2013)

The results found on migration of gay men, lesbians have similarities to the studies found in the U.S and Europe where sexual minorities are still concentrating in highly urban cities and capitals (COOKE; RAPINO, 2007; WIENKE; HILL, 2013; WIMARK; ÖSTH, 2014). The differences are found when comparing the internal migration beyond the Global North, show that migration of gay men to megacities (São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro) come mostly from regional capitals (23%) and medium cities (45%). In contrast, most lesbians migrate to those cities come from medium cities (49%) and small affluent cities (10%). Therefore, it is important to analyze where these individuals are coming from as

factors that make a difference when explaining their destination adding another layer to the discussion.

Another finding that is related to age, which brings attention to the life course in migration studies and how the log-linear models with age were those that explained best the mobility pattern (Table 6). The age of migration (Figure 2) calls attention to the different patterns of men and women, but also of difference of age at migration of lesbians and gay men, in which lesbians migrate at a younger age than all other groups. Therefore, more studies with a life-course perspective can give clues to what dimensions are more important at different moments in the life-course when migrating.

The log-linear topological models showed that the migrations patterns of gay men and lesbians differ from that of heterosexuals as shown in Table 6. It is important to notice is that the models fit the data of gay men, lesbians and heterosexuals in different proportions in which the age, origin and destination explain less of the patterns for gay men than lesbians and heterosexuals. This could show an underlining factor might be unobserved for gay men that could explain more of their migration patterns.

Overall, the topological model TP5 was the best fit for gay men and lesbians, which shows that there are differences in migration flows to the three clusters with most urbanicity, tolerance and infrastructure. In addition to that, the chances of migrating to those top clusters depend on the cluster of origin. This suggests that more common characteristics the other clusters have with the top three clusters the easier it is for gay men and lesbians to migrate in their direction. In contrast, the topological model TP4 was the best fit for heterosexuals, which suggests that the migration patterns for this group are more intra-cluster oriented and not focused to specific clusters as is seen in the migration of gay men and lesbians.

Finally, the results in this study bring up more questions, which sets the scene for a new agenda on migration studies of sexual minorities in the Global South. The findings displayed here point the directions of new endeavors related to internal migration of sexual minorities in Brazil. Research regarding life course and personal motivations related to migration are key and should be investigated in order to better understand if these different migrations patterns of gay men and lesbians are driven mainly by external factors. Also, studies of networks could shed some light onto the findings that could be have been influenced by marriage migration as seen more clearly in the migration flow of heterosexual men and women.

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**“THEIR OPINION COUNTS AS FAR AS YOU LET IT”- UNDERSTANDING
QUEER MIGRATION IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH**

ABSTRACT

The literature regarding the life course and migration has shown that many gay men and lesbians seek large cities in order to live their lives away from the prying eyes of their families and build their sexual identity. In the global south, little is known about the effects that sexuality can have on the migratory trajectories of individuals. In that sense, what happens to the lives of those that have never left their hometowns and have had to find ways to experience their sexuality in these places. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to discuss queer migration, the impact on the lives of the individuals that left their hometowns, others that at one point came back and those that never left in the first place. Based on 21 life course interviews with self-identified LGB individuals in small/medium towns in Brazil, this paper shows how aspects such as closeness to family, educational trajectory, financial stability affects the migration trajectories of LGB individuals that live in small/medium cities. The results show that families are an important influence in the decision-making to migrate, to stay or to return to your hometown.

Key words: Life course; Migration; Gay men; Lesbians; Bisexuals; Brazil.

INTRODUCTION

As migration dynamics become more complex during the twenty-first century, the mobility paradigm unfolds into a process that impacts and shapes the lives of individuals and their surroundings (SHELLER; URRY, 2006). In the field of geography, internal migration is responsible for the redistribution of population in a given territory. The question as to what drives internal migration has been addressed through many theories and has its roots in the 19th century in which labor mobility was responsible for large migration flows (ETZO, 2008; RAVENSTEIN, 1980). The recent changes in the mobility paradigm have influenced internal migration in many countries including Brazil that is undergoing a restructuring of its urban landscape in recent years (BRITO, 2015). In this context, the country has changed its migration patterns that were mainly directed to large cities and their metropolitan areas to an increase in short distance migration that are mostly interregional (BAENINGER, 2012; CUNHA, 2011; LIMA; BRAGA, 2013). Another aspect of recent migration patterns in the country is the increase in the number of returned migrants that has a great impact in states like Minas Gerais and states in the Northeast region of the country (BAPTISTA; CAMPOS; RIGOTTI, 2012; BRITO; GARCIA; CARVALHO, 2002). In this Brazilian context, as well as in Global South contexts in general, an aspect that hasn't been investigated is the internal migration of sexual minorities in a country that has acquired many civil rights in the last decade such as the legalization of same-sex marriage in 2013 and the criminalization of homophobia in 2019 (FACCHINI; FRANÇA, 2020).

Most studies that focus on migration of sexual minorities, often referred to as queer migration studies, have explored the rural-urban migration and the potential of migration for self-realization and sexual freedom (KNOPP, 2004; LEWIS, 2014; WESTON, 1995). Since the increase in urbanization the internal migration of sexual minorities has become more complex with some studies focused mainly on their spatial distribution in urban areas and the characterization of their surroundings (COMPTON; BAUMLE, 2012; COOKE, 2005; WIMARK; ÖSTH, 2014). With the increase in social acceptance of homosexuality over the last two decades (POUSHTER; KENT, 2020), some scholars have turned their attention to rural areas and the lives of sexual minorities in those spaces (GORMAN-MURRAY; WAITT; GIBSON, 2008; 2012). Annes and Redlin (2012) have analyzed returned migrants that initially migrated to the city and have gone back to small rural areas later in life, showing that the multiplicity of trajectories of sexual minorities over their life course.

The aim of this article is to contribute further to the latter direction in queer migration studies by both adding a perspective from the global south and exploring what happens to those unable to realize queer migration. In this study, I focus on the life course narratives of gay men, lesbians and bisexual women in small/medium towns in the Southeast part of Brazil, in which they describe their thoughts of leaving, their reasons for staying and also the feelings of returning to their cities of birth.

Queer Migration Through a Life Course Approach

The life course approach has gained more ground in social science over the last decades for it takes into account different social, institutional and geographic contexts that may impact the lives of individuals (ELDER JR.; GIELE, 2009). This method not only allows for a more macro analysis of life events but also combines them with individual traits such as age, gender or ethno-racial identities making it possible to identify timing and patterns throughout the life course enabling comparisons across and within groups. The life course approach regarding gay men, lesbians and bisexuals has grown in recent years (LEWIS, 2014; WIMARK, 2016a), but there is still a lot to uncover regarding the differences and communalities of the life course of these individuals.

In the narratives of the life stories of gay men and lesbians, one life event stands out for being particular to this group: the coming out story. This experience in the life of sexual minorities has given fuel to studies that make connections between this event and others such as residential mobility, migration, educational trajectory and entering labor market (LEWIS, 2014; WAITT; GORMAN-MURRAY, 2011; WIMARK, 2016a).

In analyzing the life course of gay men, Lewis (2014) shows that migration is an important life event that not only helps to build sexual identity, but also assists young gay adults in transitions of establishing careers or becoming a part of a community. The study also identified traces of “coming out migration”, which Gorman-Murray (2009) had called attention to in his essay towards the search of an imagined gay community by individuals that migrate from small towns. It was also Gorman-Murray (2007) that recognizes that what is known about migration of gay men and lesbians has mostly been based on the experiences of individuals in the Global North. Adding to that, Brown et al. (2010) acknowledges the absence of analysis of sexualities in the Global South by scholars in the Global North and points to the importance of engagements that dialogue between these two spheres.

Adding to that, the life course approach enables the analysis of individual agency, which forges the structure of pathways of sexual minorities. Although, limited to the opportunities that are presented according to social background and economic constraints (ELDER JR., JOHNSON; CROSNOE, 2003). According to Settersten (2003), age-related experiences are important in establishing the different roles expected for individuals in a specific time and place. To this end, individuals are expected to leave their parents' home, get an education, enter the labor market, marry, form a family, and retire at different points in their lives.

In this context, Wimark's (2016b) worked on how family ties in Turkey are important in the life course trajectories of gay men and lesbians, brings attention to the impact of the coming out process for sexual minorities. The findings show that family can have a positive impact by being supportive in different aspects of life emotionally, financially and socially. At the same time, they can be unsupportive of the coming out process, which leads to a continued impact on the migration trajectories of these individuals.

Another dimension worth pointing out is the importance of location to the trajectories of sexual minorities. Wimark (2016b) shows that Turkey has a context that is different from other countries in Europe. Adding to that, he argues these non-capital cities are more conservative which influence the trajectories of sexual minorities in these spaces, especially their family ties. The first studies that depicted the relationship between rural areas and sexuality originated in the field of geography, in which David Bell and Gill Valentine have been pioneers by showing the different misconceptions of 'Queer Country', one of them being the necessity of urban surrounding to live a "gay life" (BELL 2006; BELL; JAYNE, 2006). Annes and Redlin (2012) explore the relationship between coming out, first same-sex experience, self-acceptance and migration from rural to urban spaces. The study focuses on four narratives of gay men that show the dichotomy of the city that allows sexual exploration, but at the same time expects a certain type of gay identity behavior. On one hand, the study finds that the city is key for identity formation and on the other the return to the country is important for a greater understanding of who they are away from the city. Thus, the life course framework enables the acknowledgment of different contexts in which sexual minorities are inserted as well as identifying the life events that are specific to them and others that they share with heterosexual individuals. This framework establishes parallels between the trajectories within the group of sexual minorities

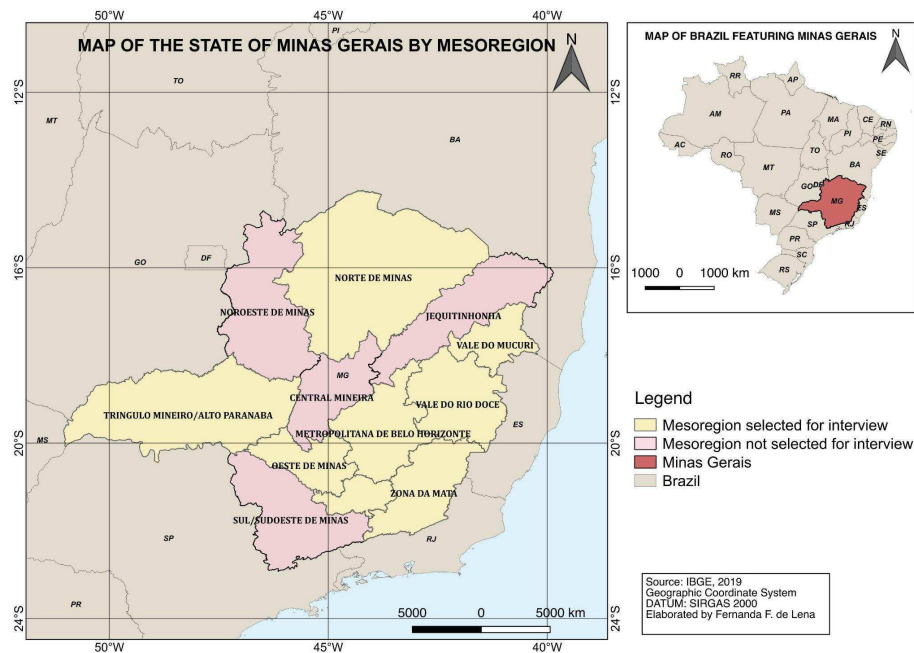
This study takes on this aspect of rural migration by focusing on the lives of sexual minorities that reside in small/medium towns. Therefore, I delve on the connections

between coming out and migration come together using a life course perspective that shed some light on the repercussions that this event can have on the decisions of gay men, lesbians and bisexuals to migrate, to return or to stay in their city of origin.

Field Site and Internal Migration in Minas Gerais

In this study, I focus on small/medium towns in the state of Minas Gerais located in the southeast region of Brazil. This geographical scope allowed to reflect on how places that are very religious and with limited resources regarding educational training and labor market can affect the migration trajectory of sexual minorities that reside in these towns.

In order to contextualize the field sites, it is important to bring some information about Minas Gerais, which is composed of 853 municipalities and has twelve meso-regions from which nine were selected, and from these nine mesoregions at least one municipality was chosen to find individuals to be interviewed (see Figure 1). In order to choose the municipalities that would be visited a number of considerations were taken into account. The first condition was that the municipality should be a mesoregional capital in the region. This would make it easier to satisfy the other two conditions; presence of at least one university in the municipality and population size of at least 50.000. In the end, 11 cities were visited, and 21 individuals were interviewed between July and August of 2019 (see Appendix I). The two other conditions were chosen because in recent migration literature in which there has been indications of how leaving your parents' house to attend university in another city has become a common practice after the creation of public policies towards the expansion of higher education in the country (SOUZA; ALMEIDA, 2019). Therefore, having a university in the city could open the possibility of staying in the city to study or leaving to attend another university. In this context, this situation enables the discussion related to the individual agency of leaving or staying in the city of origin. Adding to that, cities with a minimum population size of 50.000 opened the possibility of finding individuals willing to be interviewed and also making sure that their identity remained anonymous and protected during the interview.

FIGURE 1 – Map of the state of Minas Gerais by Mesoregion, 2019

Source: Elaborated by author.

The choice of conducting fieldwork in Minas Gerais is three folded. First, most studies about LGB individuals and migration in Brazil have been conducted mainly in the metropolis of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro (CAMPOS; MORETTI-PIRES 2018; FRANÇA, 2013; PARKER, 2002), and a study in another state of the same region can contribute to specific contexts as well as to establish similarities with previous studies. Secondly, the state of Minas Gerais is known for its deep-rooted Catholicism especially in small/medium towns that have historic churches as main attractions for tourism. The implications of living in an environment based on Catholicism are reflected on how people should conduct themselves in that society (BUSIN, 2011). In this sense, I show the influences of religion in the decision-making of sexual minorities that reside in cities in which the population is mainly Catholic. Thirdly, Minas Gerais has an advantageous localization because of its large extension it has administrative borders with almost all other regions in the country, which are connected through roads that cross its territory making the mobility between municipalities more accessible.

In this section, I also give an overview of the internal migration in Minas Gerais in order to situate the migratory trajectories of the participants in a more general context as part of a larger migration process that has been occurring in the last few decades. According to Amorim Filho (1976), the medium cities in the state of Minas Gerais have a labor market

that can absorb individuals from small towns and rural areas, which eventually interrupts the migration trajectory of these migrants that were initially directed to large populated cities. This flow to medium cities is present in the migration of some participants, but the main reason is the search for educational achievement that medium cities in Minas Gerais that have universities.

Recently, Carvalho and Rigotti (2015) studied the impact of migration on the population growth of medium cities in Minas Gerais. The analysis consisted of using net migration, population growth rate, sex ratio and age group to understand the profile of the in-migrants and out-migrants from these cities. The findings show that most medium cities benefited from in-migration, which was responsible for a large part of the population growth in medium cities in the last decade. The sex ratio and age group of the in-migrants and out-migrants were composed of a majority of women and young adults between 24 and 28 years of age in the period of 2005-2010. The conclusions point to the importance of young in-migrants in slowing down the aging of the city's recipients of those migrants and that the medium cities that had negative net migration were aging faster.

With the changes in migration patterns in the country, return migration became more common and some scholars were interested in measuring the impact of this type of migration in the population of Minas Gerais (GARCIA; MIRANDA-RIBEIRO, 2005; LOBO; MATOS, 2017). The studies show that returned migrants arrive from other states of the country with their families creating an indirect migration effect of population growth in the state.

Therefore, in a general context Minas Gerais is presented as a state that was historically losing population via out-migration to other states (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Brasília) and became a state that is retaining population and receiving returned migrants in the last couple of decades (GARCIA; MIRANDA-RIBEIRO, 2005; LOBO; MATOS, 2017).

Study Design and Method

The use of life course perspective to study migration has allowed for a greater understanding of the dynamics that involve decision-making in spatial mobility. This approach allowed the identification of life events, transitions and turning points that influence individual agency and consequently, the trajectories of LGB individuals in the study (WIMARK, 2020).

In this study, a life course perspective is used where events in the individuals' life are highlighted through life course narratives. The life course interviews were conducted tracing parallels to the participant's life events focusing on understanding their sexuality, coming out, school life, migration, relationships, return to city (when it occurred), financial independence and networks. All these events have been shown to influence the trajectories of these individuals that can differ from the life course of non-LGB individuals (HAMMACK; COHLER, 2009). The life course narratives were collected through a method of life story narratives that highlighted the relationships to family, friends and the city (ATKINSON, 1998).

The selection of participants was based on the snowball method with an initial contact through a wider social call in my personal LGBT circles in the cities that filled the requirements to be chosen (Figure 1). The research project underwent an ethical review by the Ethics Committee through the University of Campinas (no. 18674519.7.0000.8142). The interviews lasted between 50 minutes and 2 hours and 45 minutes and took place in locations of choice of the participants and convenience of the interviewer. The interview was composed of an initial questionnaire of sociodemographic characteristics of the participants. The information on that questionnaire was later aggregated to Table 1. Since the participant's self-identified as lesbian, gay or bisexual during the interviews I maintained this classification that was spontaneously given during the narratives (see Table 1).

TABLE 1 – Sociodemographic characteristics of the participants

Age	Gender	Sexual Identity	Educational level	Race/ Ethnicity	Civil status	Migratory status
23	Female	Bisexual	Undergrad	White	Single	Migrant
25	Female	Bisexual	Undergrad	White	Married	Migrant
21	Female	Bisexual	Undergrad	Black	Single	Migrant
34	Male	Gay	M.A	White	Single	Migrant
25	Male	Gay	Bachelor	White	Single	Migrant
27	Male	Gay	Undergrad	White	Single	Migrant
27	Female	Lesbian	Undergrad	White	Single	Migrant
25	Male	Gay	Undergrad	White	Single	Non-migrant
29	Male	Gay	Bachelor	Pardo	Single	Non-migrant
25	Male	Gay	Undergrad	Pardo	Single	Non-migrant
22	Male	Gay	Undergrad	Black	Single	Non-migrant
34	Male	Gay	Bachelor	White	Single	Non-migrant
35	Male	Gay	Bachelor	White	Married	Non-migrant
31	Female	Lesbian	Bachelor	White	Single	Non-migrant
25	Male	Gay	Undergrad	White	Single	Returned
35	Female	Lesbian	Bachelor	Pardo	Single	Returned
28	Female	Lesbian	Bachelor	White	Single	Returned
28	Female	Lesbian	Undergrad	Black	Single	Returned
28	Female	Lesbian	Bachelor	Black	Single	Returned
30	Male	Gay	Bachelor	White	Single	Returned
31	Female	Lesbian	M.A	Pardo	Single	Returned

Source: Elaborated by the author.

The interviews were transcribed and coded with the migratory trajectory, as the main category of analysis (CRESWELL, 2014). If the participant was a non-migrant then the focus was on thoughts of leaving and the reasons related to staying in their hometowns. Afterwards, sub-coded were created according to the themes that were interesting and related to migrations like coming out, moving to study, coming back, thoughts of leaving, etc. There was a multiplicity of narratives that were quite diverse which are not all described in this study for it would defy its purpose. Nevertheless, three main themes were identified: coming out, educational trajectory and financial dependence. I analyze these themes separated mainly by migratory status: migrants, returned and non-migrants. Inside each group I take into account the compositions by age, gender and race/ethnicity.

Migrants, Stayers and Returned

In migration studies, the focus on the trajectories of the migrants can help explain mobility across borders by identifying the mechanisms that can influence the migratory

decision-making. On one hand, the non-migrants (stayers) are mainly neglected in migration studies, but can also inform the migratory phenomenon since they are what can be called the control group. On the other hand, there are the returned migrants, which create a reverse migratory flow back to the city of origin that is also an important point to understand mobility and the demographic impact of that mobility on the receiving population. Therefore, the participants in this study were divided into three groups of migratory status: migrants, non-migrants (stayers) and returned migrants. Of all the participants, only four were born in a municipality, but moved with their parents to another municipality at a very young age. This mobility was not considered in the final categorization in Table 1, since all of these four participants lived their childhood and adolescence in this second municipality with their parents. The non-migrants were those individuals that had never moved to another city for longer than six months. Lastly, the migrants were those who had left their town of birth having at least 17 years of age and were now living in another municipality. Therefore, unintentionally I interviewed 7 migrants, 7 non-migrants and 7 returned migrants.

Most of the non-migrants were gay men (6), which was something that came up during one of the interviews where I asked Ivo, a returned migrant, gay, 25 years of age, living with his mother, that said that most of his lesbians' friends had left the town, but his gay friends still remained there. I asked why he thought that and his response was: *"Courage! They are braver than us! The gay man to step out from underneath his mother's wing [...] I think it's a question of bravery! We (gay men) wait for the need to leave our parents house, women have the desire to leave"*.

A factor that stands out to differentiate these groups is their educational trajectory, financial dependency and family acceptance. The migrants in this study share a migratory trajectory that has education as its main driver, as they have left their small towns and went to a medium city to attend university and obtain a higher education, which wasn't a possibility in their hometowns. Among the returned migrants, the main driver is financial dependency. After graduating they weren't able to find a job and were left with the only option which was to return to their parent's house. Another common narrative was the participants that didn't want to continue in the course they initially chose and found themselves having to move back to their parents' house to figure out what they wanted to pursue professionally. The non-migrants had different reasons for staying that ranged from fear of leaving, financial stability, financial instability and some that never had the urge to leave in the first place. In contrast, a study in Brazil focused on homosexuality of non-migrants in the city of Corumbá, a city close to the border with Bolivia, found that the distance to large cities and socioeconomic status

were the two main reasons for non-migration of the individuals in the study (PASSAMANI, 2015). It's also important to point out that in the Global North men leave the parents' home before women, which is an initial finding related to gender differences in the Global South.

Results

After a careful analysis, I was able to identify three main themes related to the life course that unfold in the following sections: disclosure of sexuality, educational trajectory and financial dependency of the participants. The first theme, disclosure of sexuality, is a common thread among the narratives of sexual minorities and can be classified as a life event that leads to a turning point in the life of an individual, affecting the other themes. The second theme, educational trajectory, is important in the life course of most individuals and understanding the negotiations that happen between the participants and family members is essential to the development of these trajectories. The third theme, financial dependence, is the force that holds some participants captive to their parents' expectations. At the same time, financial independence can release the tensions between the disclosure of sexuality and family ties. In these sections I analyze how those experiences can be different for the three groups: migrants, non-migrants (stayers) and returned migrants.

(Non-)disclosing Sexuality in Small/Medium Towns

In the life course of sexual minorities it has been identified that the disclosure of their sexuality to family, or commonly known as “coming out story”, is considered to be not only a life event, but also a turning point for some individuals (HAMMACK; COHLER, 2009). However, not all individuals disclose their identity to the family and there are different strategies and outcomes to this life event (LEWIS, 2014; WIMARK, 2016b). In this study, 14 of the 21 participants had disclosed their sexuality to their parents, 3 had not disclosed and 4 had partially disclosed, i.e. one of the parents was aware of their son's/daughter's sexuality.

A vast literature has investigated the ‘coming out’ story in queer migration studies in the global north (VALENTINE, 1996; BINNIE, 1997; BROWN, 2000; KNOOP, 1999; ELDER; JOHNSON; CROSNOE, 2003). This event is part of the trajectory of almost all the participants and is usually not well received by parents. In some cases, the non-disclosure of sexual orientation by a minority of the participants was met with fear of confrontation and was justified mainly by the lack of need to disclose this information to loved ones since they

thought in some way it was implicit in their life choices. This was a common mechanism used by these participants in which they presumed that someone other than them would disclose their sexuality to their parents so that meant that they didn't have to do themselves:

My father doesn't know about my sexual orientation, but like... he doesn't know... like from my mouth, but I'm sure that other people have said something to him in that sense, but until this day he never had the curiosity of asking me (Túlio, 34, non-migrant).

I never told them...from my mouth, but everybody knows, obviously! I dated for six years a guy from my hometown and we were inseparable. He would go to my house and my family really liked him. They still do. So, it was quite clear, right? It was clear that we were together and it is clear that I'm gay for them! But I never said anything (Emerson, 34, migrant).

A recent study conducted in Belo Horizonte, the capital of Minas Gerais, analyzed the silence in the relationship between family and participants concerning their sexual orientation. The mechanism used by the parents of not talking about their sons/daughters sexuality after their disclosure as a form of denial and non-validation of that part of their lives (OLIVEIRA; BARRETO, 2019). Another study analyzed the disclosure of homosexuality to family members in a medium city of Minas Gerais and found that this process varies across the participants. Although some family members were receptive, most struggled accepting the news, which led to situations of silence or total disbelief of the coming out process (NASCIMENTO; SCORSOLINI-COMIN, 2018). This behavior was also detected in the narratives of the participants in this study, which comes to show that there is a common thread of how parents react to the coming out of gay, lesbian and bisexual family members.

I told her on a Thursday and on the same day she told me to leave the house and as I was leaving, she came and said: 'Ok, you can stay, but you have to have a girlfriend. You can be with other men, but it has to be hidden, no one can know about it.' I said no and got my things and went to my father's house. I didn't talk to her for almost two years (Joaquim, 27, migrant).

My father, we talk about everything just not about being gay, not about me being gay, but we talk about everything else, we are great friends. We always need each other. He just doesn't deal with the gay thing (Milton, 35, non-migrant).

In analyzing the narratives of the coming out process of the participants and the reaction of their families make it clear how the family of migrants have the worse reactions as opposed to the stayers. The families of the returned migrants have mixed reactions when the sexuality of their sons/daughters is disclosed before the migration, which was the most common among the participants. How the family reacts after the disclosure of sexuality over

the years that they are away from their families have a direct influence in the decision of the participants to actually return to their parents home.

My parents always knew I was gay, you can't really hide a big homo like me in the closet. [...] So I never had to say anything. When my father died, I told my mother. (...) She said 'we already knew but we didn't say anything because we didn't know how. I still love you the same way'." (Roberto, 28, returned migrant)

In the case of Roberto there was no expectation of hardship related to the disclosure of his sexuality. Therefore, coming back to live with his mother wasn't a major decision that involved much negotiation. In contrast, Bruna describes having to move back to her hometown to live with her parents after living the last two years of college in cohabitation with her girlfriend:

I was afraid of coming back. Dreadful! I came back with another head, more conscience, but I retrograded. I retrograded a lot. I think I didn't retrograde in my acts, but in my fears (Bruna, 28, returned migrants).

When analyzed by age, the disclosure of sexuality is more common among the younger participants, which can be related to a cohort effect where younger generations have been more exposed to the LGBT civil rights movement on the television and on the internet making them more comfortable to disclose their sexuality. Older generations were exposed to less acceptance, which influenced the way they dealt with their own sexuality as well as the disclosure to family that when it happens usually occurs at a late stage in their life course.

In this section I have shown that the relationship with the family is valued even with cases of non-acceptance by parents. Unlike studies in the global north, I show that in the Brazilian society where family is at the core of social structures, the negotiations and strategies of living with family are diverse as represented Joaquim's mother that will allow him to date men as long as he has a girlfriend to maintain appearances. This type of negotiation is unthinkable in other conservative societies as shown by Wimark (2021).

Education as a Gateway for Independence and Identity Building

Educational mobility in Brazil has become more common after the implementation of public policies that were put in place to support students that come from a socially disadvantaged background (SOUZA; ALMEIDA, 2019). The participants came from small towns not very far from the medium cities they were residing at the moment of the interview to pursue a higher education. The group of migrants interviewed can be

characterized as mostly bisexual women and gay men that migrated at a young age between 17-20 years in order to obtain their Bachelor degree. Only two of them came from cities that had universities, the other five came from very small towns with no possibilities of continuing their studies. This was a common thread found in their narratives of wanting to leave to advance in their studies as Karina, 23, white, stated “*I said I wanted to leave...There were not many opportunities there. [...] So I had to leave if I wanted to study.*” Other participants saw the opportunity to leave to study as a means to an end, which was always to leave their hometown:

When I studied, I always thought of the continuation of my studies. Actually, I took a long time to start college. I got in with 25. [...] But I always had the idea that I would go back to study. So I think that education gave me the opportunity to leave (Emerson, 34, migrant).

It was through a course that I managed to find space to say: I'm going to move out! I think that now I have a reason to go, right? I seized the opportunity and came. [...] I was accepted into the university with a scholarship and said: this is where I'm staying until I get my college degree and all (Alexandre, 25, migrant).

Although, the objective of the participants was to leave to study the reasons for the decisions of each participant varied quite a lot. In some cases, like Joana, 21, black, having family members in the city of destination made her parents push her to decide to go to university there, even having been accepted in another university in the capital. “*My parents said it was too big (the capital), but I liked coming here also*”. Another participant says that the choice of leaving had mostly to do with where she could find a city that had a labor market she could be inserted and manage to support herself while studying:

I was accepted into the university here and [alternative city of destination]. But because I needed a job, I thought [city of destination] looked like a city with more commercial activity, of services, that didn't just revolve around the university, which I thought [alternative city of destination] looked more closed out in that aspect. You know? So I made a choice and chose [city of destination] at the time (Luciana, 27, migrant).

These findings show that the places these individuals are found after migrating are regarded as the best option at the moment of the transition between finishing high school and entering university. The influence of family, whether it be in regard to having a network you can count on in the city of destination, or on the other end having a family without financial support that limits your options as to where you can establish to study. A few of the participants were clear about their alter motivations of leaving their hometowns and both participants that related the move to their sexual identity were gay men. The bisexual women only started self-identifying as bisexual once they were in the university environment and

started dating women. Therefore, for these participants the migration isn't necessarily a 'coming out' migration for they had no idea of their sexuality before they migrated. Different from the gay men in the study that recollected knowing they were gay from a very young age. These narratives of identity building have parallels with sexual fluidity theory by Diamond (2008), in which women experience more their sexuality than men and therefore have more possibilities of changing their sexual identity over the life course.

Roberta talks about living for six months in another city, in the South region of the country outside of Minas Gerais, for an internship and how that place and that experience made her self-identify as bisexual:

*It was in [name of the city] that the key turned, because I was living in a more alternative space, very cool. And I found out that I didn't like just masculine girls. There I liked **girls**, the ones with make-up, with long hair, from the feminist movement. It was then that I realized that it wasn't that I only liked a certain type of woman, that I liked **women**. It was a discovery for me that I liked women and men (Roberta, 25, migrant).*

This comes to show that migration can have an initial motivator such as the search for education, but can have different effects in the life course of individuals related to their sexual identity building. This embodied sexuality mobility is referenced in Knopp (2004) as a quest for an identity and in this case the migration was motivated by educational purposes and the environment help Roberta realize her bisexual identity, which wasn't clear even having had homosexual experiences before the migration.

The decision to migrate in search of education is not restricted to LGB individuals in Minas Gerais as Lopes (2008) has shown in her study with individuals that migrate to the capital (Belo Horizonte) to obtain education at a higher level. The difference in the decision to migrate in this study is that gay men have also a second motivation related to their sexuality and the need to leave that city and their parents' home in order to live their lives more freely. This result is also in tune with the findings of other studies in the Global North (ANNES; REDLIN, 2012; LEWIS, 2014; WIMARK, 2016b). In contrast, this study goes beyond by adding the motivations of sexual minorities that aren't migrants or returned migrants. Both these components indicate that the educational trajectory of these individuals isn't one-sided, but rather relational that takes into account the relationships to family, financial resources and the availability of educational resources in the city of origin.

The Curse and Relief of Financial Dependency

An important theme that came up during the interviews was how financial independence was a goal for most of the participants and how the relationship to their parents was changed by the transition from a dependent to an independent son or daughter financially. The monetary hold that parents have on their sons/daughters can influence the disclosure of their sexual identity because of the limitations that they can impose to the accomplishment of this financial independence by not investing in their children's education. Another way to perceive it is through financial independence comes social acceptance by the parents.

Because an important thing also was not needing my mother's money. Our relationship changed from water to wine...Actually, today it's she who owes me money... (J, 27, migrant).

I think that the main thing for me to come out to my family is me having my own money to support myself. Because what holds me down now is that I depend on my father. That's it. So, if I go somewhere else, I'll have more freedom, but what determines that in my head is having financial independence (Joana, 21, migrant).

In many ways the financial dependency can be a trigger that sets in motion a series of events that make gay men and lesbians who feel unwelcomed in their parents' home come up with strategies to leave. In some cases, they are asked to leave after disclosing their sexuality and are forced to become financially independent at an early age.

She asked me: Are you sure about what you said? I said: Yes! Then she said: It's hard for us to live together then. [...] So, I took all my things and called my uncle and asked If I could go stay with him. [...] So, it was my luck being asked to leave my home...But I worked and it was ok, because I wasn't paying college or housing expenses. So, my uncle was an angel that appeared in my life (Leonardo, 25, non-migrant).

After his main financial provider, his mother, had asked him to leave, Leonardo turned to his uncle, a possibility that for Leonardo was determinant for him to stay in his hometown and continue attending college and remain close to his sisters, which he would visit every two weeks on the weekends.

The literature of migration studies in Brazil has frequently used the concept of return migration based on Sayad (2000) "*The return is the desire and dream of every migrant, it's like regaining vision, the light taken from the blind, but like the blind, they know it's an impossible equation.*" This concept of return migration is not fit with the finding of studies regarding gay men and lesbians that migrate and return (ANNES; REDLIN, 2012). The return migration of rural gay men after living in the city weren't economically related as most return

migration argue are the main drives of this type of migration. Annes and Relin (2012) show that the rejection of city environment regarding the gay scene found by the participants were not what they wanted for them.

In this study, the returned migrants are older than the groups of migrants since they are in a different phase of their life course. The migrants are mostly college students and the returned migrants have obtained their diploma recently in another city, but were not able to transition into the labor market and therefore, had to resort to moving back in with their parents. Another situation found are those participants that because of financial difficulties had to leave college and return to their hometown.

Although women were more inclined to leave their hometowns it seems that they are also the most inclined to return given that among the returned migrants five in seven are women. Most of these women that didn't find a job were black, which could point to racial and gender inequality in the labor market for these individuals. The returned gay men also come back because of economic reasons, but have inserted themselves in the labor market of their hometowns with plans to leave to go to another city.

In the life course of the returned migrants that had left to study and found themselves without a job and having to move back to their parent's house was the most recurrent theme in the field. The complaints regarding moving back to their parents' house had mostly to do with freedom and space they had gotten used to once they left. Although, there were participants that pointed out the problems of living in the same town as their parents by being LGB and how that affected their own behavior.

If you are living here in (name of the city), you will be close to your parents. In a way you will not do things because of your parents, you know? Someone knows your father... has a family history. Because when you go to a different city you are Bianca and that's it. Here in (Name of the city) I am Bianca da Silva Pereira, daughter of Maria and João, you know? For them it's like a clan. It is a clan, because you need to be known by someone to probably get a job (Bianca, 28, returned migrant).

Another situation was Laura, 35, white, that had left her hometown to escape her family, but after a while her parents asked her to move back and she agreed as long as they paid for her studies:

I came back to finish my studies. The moment I finished college I was going to leave. Because this city is a city where people still have a narrow way of thinking. And, I don't agree with most of the things I hear. And, I didn't like living here. But with time I adapted, I positioned myself and understood what was important, in truth; it's not about being homosexual. It's about being a person with opinions, that I have the right to speak, that I live in a society, but that need to respect what we are and what

we say, being a lesbian started to be a mere detail and not the main thing (Laura, 35, returned migrant).

The use of migration as a tool to negotiate access to education can be beneficial to making financial independence a goal that can enable the participants to leave their parents' house. Although, as Laura stated this coming back had its price of enduring living with parents that didn't accept her sexual orientation.

So, when I bought my house, bought my things, put everything inside it, got dogs and took them to the house, I started living my life. [...] And they started to understand that: 'Well, there's no other way, we are going to have to start understanding and respecting her because if not...' They would lose their daughter! (Laura, 35, returned migrant).

Different from Sayad (2000), most of the participants that returned don't see the return as a dream, but as a temporary situation that will end once they find financial stability to move out. Some of them are content in living in the same city as their parents, but those are the participants that have families that were more accepting of their sexuality when they disclose it to their parents.

When you leave home, you create your independence. And when you come back, you come back to your old house with the rules of that house. But you were already living with other rules so it's complicated [...]. So I stopped worrying and stopped freaking out like I was before because I know it's temporary and it's for a greater good which is me establishing myself as an artist so that I can go wherever I want to go afterwards (Roberto, 30, returned migrant).

I would stay because it's convenient, you know? I don't have to pay rent, my family is pleasant, but I like living by myself. But if I found a job here I would stay, but I wouldn't live with my parents. I miss the freedom of before when I lived by myself (Bianca, 28, returned migrant).

In the study conducted by Wimark (2016a) in Malmö, the author finds that education is used as a strategy to insert themselves in the labor market, but for younger cohorts it is used as a delay for entering adulthood. In the case of the returned migrants there isn't a trace of delay to enter adulthood. The difficulty in entering the labor market after getting their diploma has made them resort to returning to their parent's home. This can be considered almost as a forced delay of transition to adulthood and the participants reaffirm the transitory position of living with their parents. Therefore, the migrants in this study mostly return not because they want to, but because they need to do so in order to have a roof over their head.

Discussion

It is striking that the relationship of the participants with their family is, to some extent, always returned to when the life events (educational attainment and financial stability) above are analyzed in the trajectories of these individuals. Firstly, how the family reacted to the sexuality of the participants being disclosed and also, how is that relationship with their next of kin if it hasn't been disclosed. These actions and reactions influence the mobility and immobility of the participants. Not only, because some are put in movement by the family's non acceptance, but also it sets the scene for what kind of relationship the participants will build with their families over the next years in the aftermath of this major life event. Secondly, if the family of the participants have financial means to help them pursue an education in another city is also important in the migratory decision-making process. Therefore, staying in the hometown to study might be related to financial restrictions. I found that this simple explanation is not without exceptions.

The non-migrants live mostly with their parents and although some of them had problems with their family when they disclosed their sexuality, others didn't find much resistance and have solid ties to family. The participants that chose to study in the university of their hometown had different feelings regarding their decisions. Leandro, 22, pardo, felt like he had conquered a dream of going to the university he had grown up wanting to attend. On the other hand, Beatriz, felt she didn't have the strength to leave the city and go somewhere else.

The stayers that don't feel the urge to leave have either a very good relationship with their parents regarding their sexual identity or haven't disclosed this information to their parents yet and don't see that happening anytime soon. The need of distancing themselves from family and obtaining financial independence is something that is found in previous studies (WIMARK, 2016b). Therefore, the most common strategy for accomplishing this aim is through seeking educational training.

The case of return migration that was willingly was Natália, 31, the oldest in the group of returned migrants and who had left her hometown not to study, but to pursue a relationship with another woman in Belo Horizonte (capital of Minas Gerais). Thus, once the relationship had ended, she felt she wanted to go back to her hometown where her childhood friends and family are living. Therefore, family ties and relationships are important in understanding the decision-making process of migration of sexual minorities that have returned to their hometowns.

Final Remarks

Studies from the global north have shown that gay men and lesbians migrate leaving their parents' home in search of other cities to build their lives (ANNES; REDLIN, 2012; LEWIS, 2014; WIMARK, 2021). This study has shown that family is at the core of the decision making of all participants independently of their migration status. Like most Catholic countries, Brazil also has family as a central institutional pillar that must be protected at all costs and the same can be said about the state of Minas Gerais, one of the most Catholic states in the country. In this context, it can be contradictory how family has such an important role in the lives of sexual minorities even of those in search of distance between them.

The objective of this study was threefold: first was to explore the process of coming out in small towns and how that affects their relationships with their family. The second objective was to understand the role of education in the decision to stay, migrant or come back to their municipality of origin. Lastly, the third objective was to explore how financial limitations imposed to sexual minorities living in a small town in Brazil can affect their agency to migrate. There are clear differences between the participants that are migrants to those that have never migrated and those that have recently come back to their hometown.

Another interest of this study was to identify in the life course of sexual minorities in a Global South context how sexuality operates to influence individuals' immobility or mobility. The literature has shown the importance of migration to the lives of sexual minorities that live in very small towns and feel the need to leave those places in order to free themselves of the oppression of family and the conservative moral expectations of the population resident (GORMAN-MURRAY; WAITT; GIBSON, 2008; LEWIS, 2014; WAITT; GORMAN-MURRAY, 2011; WIMARK, 2016b).

The migrants in this study are a young group that is mostly doing their undergrad in a medium city close to their hometown. The stayers, in contrast, have the choice of continuing their studies in the same town their parents live. There are some stayers that due to financial constraints have limited choices of moving to another city. Other stayers that gained financial stability at an early age of their lives are also more prone to stay given that leaving their job would mean abdicating to that stability.

This study also shows that the structure of the educational system in Brazil reflects on the educational trajectories of sexual minorities that differ from those in the Global North. The public policies regarding access to higher education in the country have allowed many of the participants to migrate and remain in their city of destination until they obtain

their degree. Another point is the instability of the labor market that made most participants vulnerable to returning to their parents' home or in fewer cases unable to continue their studies.

The small/medium towns in Minas Gerais are very Catholic and are reflected in the narratives of the participants in their coming out process and in the environment that they grew up in. Although, the migrants that went to study in another city are also inserted in a religious context the distance from family enables them to live and experience their sexuality more freely. In terms, the sexual minorities that remain in these small/medium towns are faced with the choice to live and express their affection for someone of the same-sex only in private spaces. They are faced with the choice of maintaining a relationship with their parents by allowing them to ignore their sexuality and the romantic relationships that spawn from that.

Lastly, the findings in this study show that migration of sexual minorities have parallels with other studies in the Global North, in which the distance from family, the educational migration and the financial independence are important to identity building and well-being of the participants (WIMARK 2016a; 2016b). The differences found in this study when compared to the Global North are structurally related to economic context, educational policies and also the role of family in the lives of the participants. The latter bring up an important mechanism of negotiations made by participants and family members with the objective to maintain their ties even with the non-acceptance of the participant's sexual identity.

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CONCLUSIONS

The migration patterns of gay men and lesbians have been said to be directed to large and urban cities (COOKE, 2005; WIMARK; ÖSTH, 2014). In this thesis I have argued that more knowledge is needed to understand migration of gay men and lesbians in other contexts than the global north. I set up the aim to explore internal migration of sexual minorities in the Brazilian context. The first part entails understanding where migration of sexual minorities is situated in demographic studies and having done an extensive literature review, I find that there are three (Spatial distribution, Internal migration and Spatial segregation) main topics that drive the studies in that field. Although, there have been a considerable number of studies regarding migration and sexuality, what I show is that there haven't been any studies of this nature in the Global South using quantitative data. To this end, I delve into the sexuality studies done in Brazil and try to identify the issues that might have prevented the expansion of the topic in Brazilian demographic research. The issues regarding the difficulty in operationalizing the concepts of sexual orientation affect most studies that make use of quantitative data from surveys. The effort made in this study is to restart a conversation about the incorporation of sexuality in migration studies specifically in the Global South in which cultural context have shown to influence individual agency and outcomes of sexual minorities (CORREIA; PARKER, 2011; PARKER, 2002).

After identifying the gaps in demographic research related to migration of sexual minorities, the next step was to contribute to this discussion by analyzing the migratory patterns of gay men and lesbians in the 2010 Brazilian Census. The findings in Paper II show that lesbians migrate at a younger age than gay men and that heterosexual women also migrate at a younger age as heterosexual men. This finding points to a gender difference in the migratory trajectories of men and women and the reasons behind this can be theorized to be due to the social differences of how men and women are culturally raised. Another finding is the difference in the migration patterns between gay men and lesbians in Global South, in which gay men migrate more to megacities and lesbians migrate more to medium cities. In the Global North it is known that gay men and lesbians migrate to urban cities, but few studies have given input towards the characterization of the cities of origin as much as the cities of destination. Therefore, Paper II contributes by showing that some characteristics can have more weight in the migration patterns of gay men and other for lesbians as opposed to their heterosexual counterparts.

However, quantitative data cannot show the reasons and motivations behind the migratory process. The qualitative study corroborates and dialogues with the gender differences found in Paper II in which women also migrate more than men after the migratory status categorization of the interviewed. Adding to that, it also brings to light different mechanisms that influence the trajectory of sexual minorities.

One of these findings is the importance of family in the migratory decision making of LGB individuals, which that adds to the discussion of family, gender and migration made by Peres (2014) concerning the migratory motivations in the place of origin and how family becomes part of negotiations in the places of destination. The study also has similar findings with the study conducted by Wimarck (2016b) in which family ties play a determining role in the migration of sexual minorities in Turkey, especially for migrants who want to move away from family to create physical space between them and their parents.

The results in this thesis, have limitations regarding the generalization of the migration patterns of sexual minorities in the Global South since the study encompasses only one country (Brazil). Nevertheless, it is an effort to show that more studies need to be conducted in the Global South to add to the discussions regarding migration and sexuality that are still very orientated towards the knowledge produced in and from the Global North. This thesis has the aim to point the gaps in demographic research regarding migration and sexuality and proposes to build bridges between related fields such as geography and urban anthropology to advance in this topic.

CONCLUSÕES

Sabe-se que os padrões de migração de gays e lésbicas são direcionados para cidades grandes e urbanas (COOKE, 2005; WIMARK; ÖSTH, 2014). Nesta tese, argumentei que é necessário mais conhecimento para entender a migração de gays e lésbicas em outros contextos que não o Norte Global. Nesse sentido, estabeleci o objetivo de explorar a migração interna de minorias sexuais no contexto brasileiro. A primeira parte implica em compreender situando nos estudos demográficos onde se encontram os estudos sobre minorias sexuais e migração. Após uma extensa revisão de literatura, vejo que existem três principais tópicos (distribuição espacial, migração interna e segregação espacial) que orientam os estudos nessa área. Embora haja um número considerável de estudos sobre migração e sexualidade, o que mostro é que não existem estudos dessa natureza no Sul Global com dados quantitativos. Para tanto, me aprofundo nos estudos sobre sexualidade realizados no Brasil e procuro identificar

as questões que podem ter impedido a expansão do tema nas pesquisas demográficas brasileiras. As questões relativas à dificuldade de operacionalização dos conceitos de orientação sexual afetam a maioria dos estudos que utilizam dados quantitativos de pesquisas. O esforço feito neste estudo é retomar uma conversa sobre a incorporação da sexualidade nos estudos de migração especificamente no Sul Global em que o contexto cultural mostrou influenciar a agência individual e os resultados das minorias sexuais (CORREIA; PARKER, 2011; PARKER, 2002).

Após identificar as lacunas nas pesquisas demográficas relacionadas à migração de minorias sexuais, o próximo passo foi contribuir para essa discussão analisando os padrões migratórios de gays e lésbicas no Censo Brasileiro de 2010. Os resultados do Artigo II mostram que as lésbicas migram mais cedo do que os homens gays e que as mulheres heterossexuais também migram mais cedo como homens heterossexuais. Essa constatação aponta para uma diferença de gênero nas trajetórias migratórias de homens e mulheres e as razões por trás disso podem ser teorizadas como devido às diferenças sociais de como homens e mulheres são criados culturalmente. Outra constatação é a diferença nos padrões de migração entre gays e lésbicas no Sul Global, em que os gays migram mais para as megacidades e as lésbicas migram mais para as cidades médias. No Norte Global, sabe-se que gays e lésbicas migram para as cidades urbanas, mas poucos estudos têm contribuído para a caracterização das cidades de origem tanto quanto das cidades de destino. Assim, o Artigo II contribui ao mostrar que algumas características podem ter mais peso nos padrões de migração de homens gays e outras de lésbicas em oposição a suas contrapartes heterossexuais.

No entanto, os dados quantitativos não podem mostrar as razões e motivações por trás do processo migratório. O estudo qualitativo corrobora e dialoga com as diferenças de gênero encontradas no Artigo II em que as mulheres também migram mais do que os homens após a categorização do status migratório dos entrevistados. Somando-se a isso, também traz à tona diferentes mecanismos que influenciam a trajetória das minorias sexuais.

Um desses achados é a importância da família na tomada de decisão migratória dos indivíduos LGB, o que se soma à discussão sobre família, gênero e migração feita por Peres (2014) sobre as motivações migratórias no local de origem e como a família se torna parte de negociações nos locais de destino. O estudo também tem achados semelhantes com o estudo realizado por Wimark (2016b) em que os laços familiares desempenham um papel determinante na migração de minorias sexuais na Turquia, especialmente para os migrantes que desejam se afastar da família para criar espaço físico entre eles e seus pais.

Os resultados desta tese apresentam limitações quanto à generalização dos padrões de migração das minorias sexuais no Sul Global, uma vez que o estudo abrange apenas um país (Brasil). No entanto, é um esforço para mostrar que mais estudos precisam ser realizados no Sul Global para se somar às discussões sobre migração e sexualidade que ainda são muito orientadas para o conhecimento produzido no e a partir do Norte Global. Esta tese tem como objetivo apontar as lacunas na pesquisa demográfica sobre migração e sexualidade e se propõe a construir pontes entre áreas afins como geografia e antropologia urbana para avançar neste tema.

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APPENDICES

A. PAPER II

TABLES

TABLE 1 – Dimensions definition and descriptive statistics

Dimensions	Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Urban life	<i>Urbanization rate</i>	63.83	22.04	4.18	100
	<i>Population size</i>	34,278	203,113	805	11,300,000
Tolerance	<i>Proportion of Catholics in the population</i>	75.35	13.50	7.77	99.19
	<i>Proportion of Evangelicals in the population</i>	17.10	9.46	0.41	85.82
	<i>Proportion of the population with of High Education</i>	1.99	1.06	0.11	7.86
Environment	<i>Proportion of population with access to piped water</i>	69.09	19.93	0.00	99.96
	<i>Proportion of population with access to sewage system</i>	42.29	31.27	0.00	100.00
	<i>Proportion of population employed in the cultural sector</i>	0.41	0.36	0.00	5.46
	<i>Ln of GDP per capita</i>	9.15	0.71	7.72	12.65

Source: SIDRA – IBGE (Census 2010), calculations made by author.

TABLE 2 – Description of clusters

Clusters	Description
<i>Tolerant Cultural Megacities</i>	Composed of two major cities of Brazil, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, highly urban with no clear dominance of either Catholics or Evangelicals, high in amenities and with the highest proportion of population employed in the cultural sector.
<i>Tolerant Cultural Large cities</i>	Composed of most state capitals (such as Salvador/BA, Brasília/DF, Fortaleza/CE, Belo Horizonte/MG, etc.). More Catholic oriented, but with an expressive number of Evangelicals, high in amenities and affluent with a meaningful proportion of people employed in the cultural sector.
<i>Tolerant Cultural Medium cities</i>	Composed of metropolitan areas most of them located in the Southeast parts of the country. The proportion of Catholics is close to the national average with an above national average proportion of Evangelicals. With fewer infrastructures than Large and Megacities, these municipalities also have a large employment in the cultural sector when compared to the rest of the less urban clusters.
<i>Small Affluent Cities</i>	A cluster that is composed of highly urban cities that have more Catholics than Evangelicals and a significant proportion of population with high education. These municipalities are high in infrastructure amenities and affluence, but low in cultural amenities.
<i>Highly Catholic Affluent</i>	A Catholic dominant cluster with a significant proportion of population with high education and elevated access to infrastructure, but don't have an expressive cultural sector.
<i>Evangelical Affluent</i>	This cluster has the highest proportions of Evangelicals compared to the other clusters with high proportions of high education and access to piped water, but not high access to sewage systems. Also, this cluster has below national average of people employed in the cultural sector.
<i>Urban less Environment</i>	The second largest cluster has a below national average proportion of Catholics and above average proportion of Evangelicals. Very close to the average proportion of highly educated individuals and a more low and dispersed access to sewage system and below average cultural sector.
<i>Highly Catholic and Cultural</i>	A more Catholic dominant cluster with a low average of Evangelicals and poor access to sewage systems and low GDP per capita, but a significant cultural sector.
<i>Highly Catholic with High Education</i>	A more Catholic cluster with a high proportion of individuals with high education and low in infrastructure and cultural amenities, but high in GDP per capita and very small cultural sector.
<i>Highly Catholic Low High Education</i>	Also a very Catholic cluster with a low proportion of individuals with high education and low levels of infrastructure and affluence.
<i>Evangelical low in Environment</i>	A less urban cluster with a high average of Evangelicals and below average number of Catholics with low proportions of highly educated individuals and the lowest access to infrastructural amenities and insignificant cultural sector.
<i>Highly Catholic low in Environment</i>	The largest cluster is the least urban with low proportions of highly educated individuals, low access to infrastructural and cultural amenities and low GDP per capita.

Source: Elaborated by author.

TABLE 3 – Descriptive of gay, lesbian and heterosexual individuals in cohabitation in 2010, Brazil

Variables	Gays		Lesbians		Heterosexual men		Heterosexual women	
	Migrant	Non migrant	Migrant	Non migrant	Migrant	Non migrant	Migrant	Non migrant
Ever married								
No	81.14	81.11	84.5***	82.68***	40.01***	31.42***	40.96***	30.19***
Yes	18.86	18.89	15.5***	17.32***	59.99***	68.58***	59.04***	69.81***
Ethnic group								
White	60.19	59.84	58.62***	54.46***	50.51***	48.88***	51.79***	50.53***
Non-White	39.81	40.16	41.38***	45.54***	49.49***	51.12***	48.21***	49.47***
Educational level								
Less than Primary	15.26***	14.97***	18.4***	22.44***	40.45***	47.76***	35.08***	43.1***
Primary	12.66***	12.29***	15.39***	17.55***	17.5***	17.19***	18.91***	17.47***
Secondary	46.17***	39.66***	43.59***	39.21***	28.55***	25.96***	31.99***	28.05***
Tertiary	25.91***	33.08***	22.62***	20.8***	13.51***	9.1***	14.02***	11.38***
Family structure								
No children	97.93***	94.25***	71.19***	68.92***	29.55***	20.45***	31.25***	21***
With children	2***	5.7***	28.73***	31.05***	70.33***	79.3***	68.64***	78.76***
Missing	0.07***	0.05***	0.08***	0.03***	0.11***	0.25***	0.1***	0.24***
Age (18 to 60)								
Mean	32***	35***	31***	35***	36***	40***	33***	39***
Standard deviation	9	10	9	9	10	10	10	11
Ln Income (R\$)								
Mean	7.75*	7.90*	7.89	7.81	7.38***	7.26***	8.75***	8.45***
Standard deviation	1.98	1.80	2.16	2.20	1.87	2.18	2.99	3.08
Total (N)	11,993	48,036	11,635	59,665	2,549,869	28,195,775	2,779,798	29,827,140

Source: IBGE (Census 2010), calculations by the author. Pearson chi2 test significant at p-value 0,05* <0,01**<0,001*** on variables Ever married, Race, Educational level, Family structure; T-test significant at p-value 0,05* <0,01**<0,001*** on variables age and Ln income

TABLE 5 – Matrix of gay men, lesbians and heterosexual between clusters in 2005 and 2010 (out-migration), Brazil

Cluster of residence in 2010													
Cluster of residence in 2005	Cultural Megacities	Cultural Large	Cultural Medium	Small Affluent	Cath Affluent	Evang. Affluent	Urban.	Cath. Cultural	Cath.High Educ	Cath. Low Educ.	Evang.	Cath .	Total
Gay Men													
Cultural Megacities	14%	15%	58%	3%	0%	6%	2%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Cultural Large	20%	13%	47%	2%	2%	4%	6%	1%	0%	2%	1%	2%	100%
Cultural Medium	18%	14%	53%	4%	1%	4%	4%	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	100%
Small Affluent	20%	14%	36%	13%	2%	7%	6%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Catholic Affluent	0%	12%	60%	3%	9%	3%	8%	1%	1%	3%	0%	1%	100%
Evangelical Affluent	10%	14%	52%	6%	0%	18%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Urban	5%	17%	51%	4%	0%	1%	14%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	100%
Catholic and Cultural	0%	54%	10%	12%	0%	0%	20%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	100%
Catholic High Educ.	0%	38%	22%	22%	5%	0%	5%	0%	6%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Catholic Low Educ.	13%	7%	38%	1%	8%	4%	18%	0%	1%	2%	0%	8%	100%
Evangelical	0%	0%	19%	7%	0%	68%	7%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Catholic	0%	27%	38%	3%	0%	0%	17%	0%	6%	4%	0%	4%	100%
Total	15%	15%	50%	4%	2%	5%	6%	1%	1%	1%	0%	1%	100%
Lesbians													
Cultural Megacities	3%	13%	66%	3%	1%	7%	4%	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%	100%
Cultural Large	4%	10%	61%	6%	2%	1%	14%	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	100%
Cultural Medium	8%	12%	58%	5%	2%	6%	4%	0%	2%	2%	1%	0%	100%
Small Affluent	12%	11%	48%	14%	4%	4%	4%	0%	1%	0%	1%	0%	100%
Catholic Affluent	17%	5%	37%	13%	23%	0%	1%	2%	0%	2%	0%	0%	100%
Evangelical Affluent	12%	7%	48%	5%	0%	23%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Urban	3%	21%	44%	1%	2%	4%	15%	0%	1%	4%	1%	4%	100%
Catholic and Cultural	45%	0%	31%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	24%	0%	0%	100%
Catholic High Educ.	0%	0%	47%	10%	35%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	8%	100%
Catholic Low Educ.	7%	9%	33%	7%	16%	3%	5%	3%	0%	13%	0%	4%	100%
Evangelical	0%	26%	24%	0%	0%	8%	14%	0%	2%	0%	21%	4%	100%
Catholic	19%	16%	14%	3%	12%	4%	9%	0%	0%	2%	0%	20%	100%
Total	8%	12%	54%	6%	4%	5%	6%	0%	1%	2%	1%	1%	100%

Continuation of Table 5 – Matrix of gay men, lesbians and heterosexual between clusters in 2005 and 2010 (out-migration), Brazil.

Cluster of residence in 2005	Cluster of residence in 2010												Total
	Cultural Megacities	Cultural Large	Cultural Medium	Small Affluent	Cath Affluent	Evang. Affluent	Urban.	Cath. Cultural	Cath.High Educ	Cath. Low Educ.	Evang.	Cath .	
Heterosexual Men													
Cultural Megacities	4%	6%	50%	6%	3%	5%	16%	1%	1%	3%	2%	2%	100%
Cultural Large	5%	8%	50%	9%	5%	6%	10%	1%	2%	3%	1%	1%	100%
Cultural Medium	2%	5%	47%	18%	7%	5%	9%	1%	3%	1%	1%	1%	100%
Small Affluent	4%	7%	42%	12%	13%	2%	8%	1%	3%	5%	0%	2%	100%
Catholic Affluent	4%	5%	41%	8%	2%	22%	11%	0%	1%	1%	4%	1%	100%
Evangelical Affluent	2%	9%	35%	7%	3%	5%	25%	1%	2%	3%	4%	3%	100%
Urban	6%	11%	35%	5%	5%	3%	14%	4%	1%	10%	1%	3%	100%
Catholic and Cultural	1%	4%	42%	12%	7%	2%	11%	0%	17%	1%	1%	2%	100%
Catholic High Educ.	9%	8%	33%	7%	9%	3%	12%	3%	1%	11%	1%	3%	100%
Catholic Low Educ.	1%	9%	24%	3%	1%	8%	19%	1%	1%	2%	27%	4%	100%
Evangelical	5%	11%	31%	7%	5%	3%	17%	2%	2%	7%	4%	6%	100%
Total	4%	7%	46%	9%	5%	6%	12%	1%	2%	4%	2%	2%	100%
Heterosexual Women													
Cultural Megacities	2%	6%	63%	7%	3%	8%	4%	1%	0%	3%	0%	1%	100%
Cultural Large	5%	6%	48%	6%	3%	4%	16%	2%	1%	3%	2%	2%	100%
Cultural Medium	6%	8%	49%	9%	5%	6%	10%	1%	2%	2%	1%	1%	100%
Small Affluent	3%	5%	47%	17%	7%	5%	9%	0%	3%	1%	1%	1%	100%
Catholic Affluent	5%	7%	43%	11%	13%	2%	8%	1%	3%	5%	0%	2%	100%
Evangelical Affluent	4%	5%	42%	8%	2%	21%	11%	0%	1%	1%	4%	1%	100%
Urban	3%	10%	35%	7%	3%	5%	24%	1%	2%	3%	3%	3%	100%
Catholic and Cultural	7%	12%	36%	5%	5%	3%	14%	4%	1%	9%	1%	3%	100%
Catholic High Educ.	1%	5%	42%	12%	6%	2%	11%	0%	17%	1%	1%	2%	100%
Catholic Low Educ.	11%	9%	33%	6%	8%	3%	11%	3%	1%	11%	1%	3%	100%
Evangelical	1%	9%	24%	3%	1%	8%	19%	1%	1%	2%	26%	3%	100%
Catholic	5%	12%	31%	6%	5%	3%	17%	2%	2%	7%	4%	6%	100%
Total	5%	8%	45%	9%	5%	6%	12%	1%	2%	3%	2%	2%	100%

Source: IBGE (Census 2010), Calculations made by author.

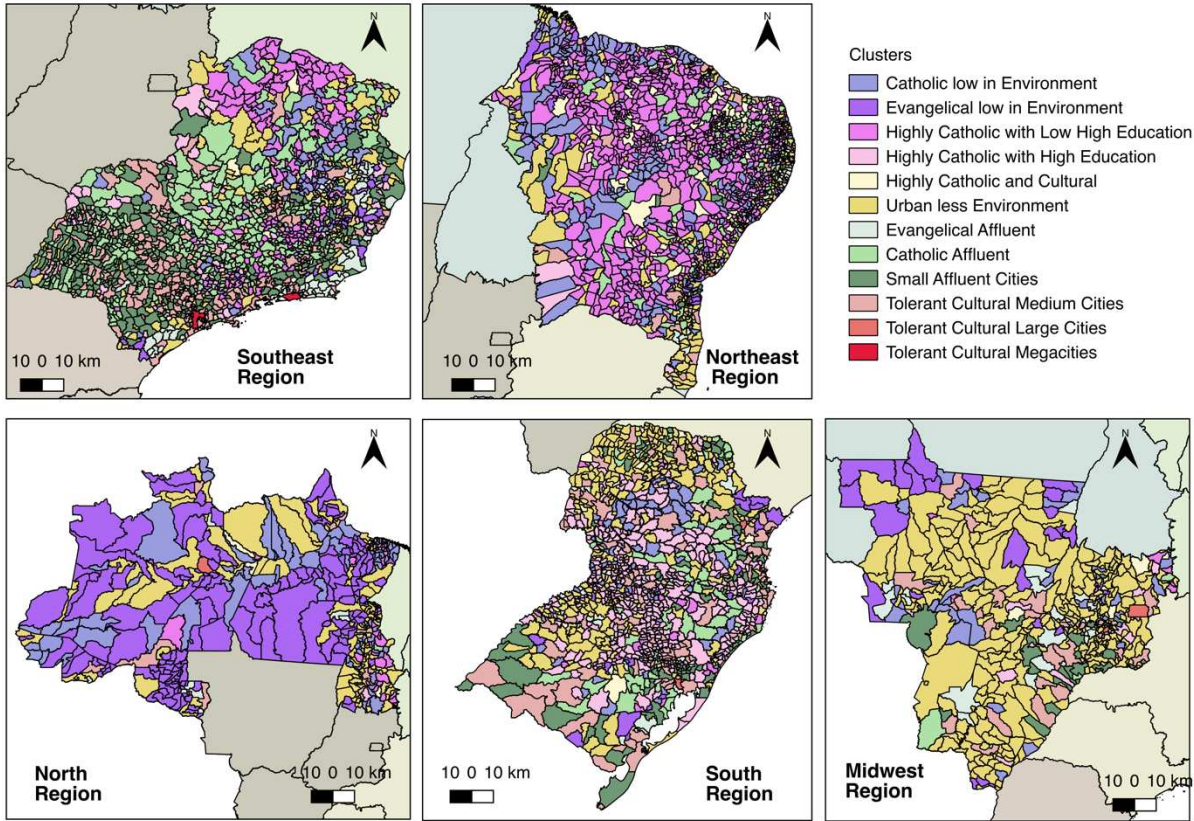
TABLE 6 – Summary of statistics of log-linear models of Origin (O), Destination (D), age group (AGE) and topological (TP) for gay men, lesbians and heterosexuals

	Gay men			Lesbians			Heterosexuals		
Models	G ²	BIC	R ²	G ²	BIC	R ²	G ²	BIC	R ²
Null	46956.49	37675.18		47305.78	38024.46		11816294.84	11800000	
O, D	15803.66	6680.03	66.3	15057.58	5933.94	68.17	3174648.75	3165525	73.13
O, D, AGE	9586.37	520.07	79.5	8509.00	-557.3075	82.01	1368547.26	1359481	88.42
Interaction									
O*D	13312.70	5056.27	71.6	12294.02	4037.597	74.01	2048088.71	2039832	82.67
O*D, AGE	7095.41	-1103.69	84.8	5745.44	-2453.651	87.85	241987.21	233788	97.95
O*AGE, D	7941.54	-494.06	83.0	7145.25	-1290.35	84.90	1180280.78	1171845	90.01
O, D*AGE	8664.04	228.44	81.5	7735.12	-700.4791	83.65	1340488.00	1332052	88.66
Topological									
O, D, TP1	15803.66	6680.03	66.3	15057.58	5933.94	68.17	3174648.75	3165525	73.13
O, D, TP2	15664.25	6547.78	66.6	14856.80	5740.33	68.59	3041327.69	3032211	74.26
O, D, TP3	15659.52	6550.22	66.6	14711.89	5602.59	68.90	2875794.80	2866685	75.66
O, D, TP4	15246.17	6208.53	67.5	14007.71	4970.07	70.39	2530696.70	2521659	78.58
O, D, TP5	14851.57	5756.60	68.3	13922.01	4827.05	70.57	2586164.81	2577070	78.11
O, D, TP6	14878.21	5833.40	68.3	14076.61	5031.81	70.24	2659941.53	2650897	77.49
O, D, AGE, TP1	9586.37	520.07	79.5	8509.00	-557.31	82.01	1368547.26	1359481	88.42
O, D, AGE, TP2	9446.96	387.82	79.8	8308.22	-750.92	82.44	1235226.19	1226167	89.55
O, D, AGE, TP3	9442.23	390.26	79.8	8163.31	-888.66	82.74	1069693.31	1060641	90.95
O, D, AGE, TP4	9028.88	48.58	80.7	7459.12	-1521.18	84.23	724595.20	715615	93.87
O, D, AGE, TP5	8634.28	-403.35	81.6	7373.43	-1664.20	84.41	780063.31	771025	93.40
O, D, AGE, TP6	8660.92	-326.55	81.5	7528.02	-1459.44	84.09	853840.03	844853	92.77

Source: IBGE (Census 2010), calculations made by author.

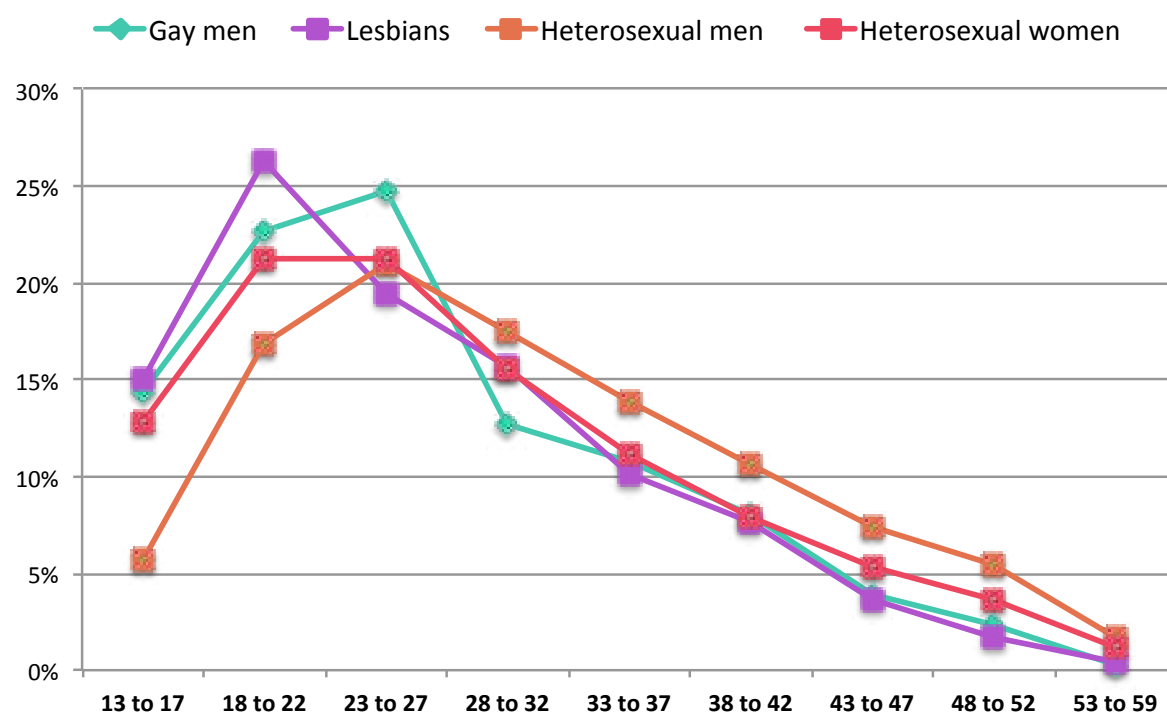
FIGURES

FIGURE 1 – Clusters by municipality and Region, Brazil – 2010



Source: IBGE (Census 2010), calculations and map elaborated by author.

FIGURE 2 – Distribution of gay men, lesbians, heterosexual men and women by age group at migration, Brazil – 2010



Source: IBGE (Census 2010), calculations and map elaborated by author.

FIGURE 3 – Topological models

TP1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

TP4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
3	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	7	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	8	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10	1	1	1
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11	1	1
11	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	1
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	13

TP2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
4	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
5	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
6	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
7	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2
8	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2
9	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2
10	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2
11	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2
12	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1

TP5	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	6	5	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	5	6	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
3	5	5	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	2	2	2	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	2	2	2	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	2	2	2	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	2	2	2	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1
8	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	1
9	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1
10	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1
11	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1
12	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4

TP3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
2	2	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
3	2	2	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
4	2	2	2	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
5	2	2	2	2	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
6	2	2	2	2	2	1	3	3	3	3	3	3
7	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	3	3	3	3	3
8	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	3	3	3	3
9	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	3	3	3
10	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	3	3
11	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	3
12	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1

TP6	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
2	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
3	3	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
4	4	3	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
5	5	4	3	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
6	6	5	4	3	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	2	3	4	5	6
8	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	2	3	4	5
9	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	2	3	4
10	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	2	3
11	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	2
12	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

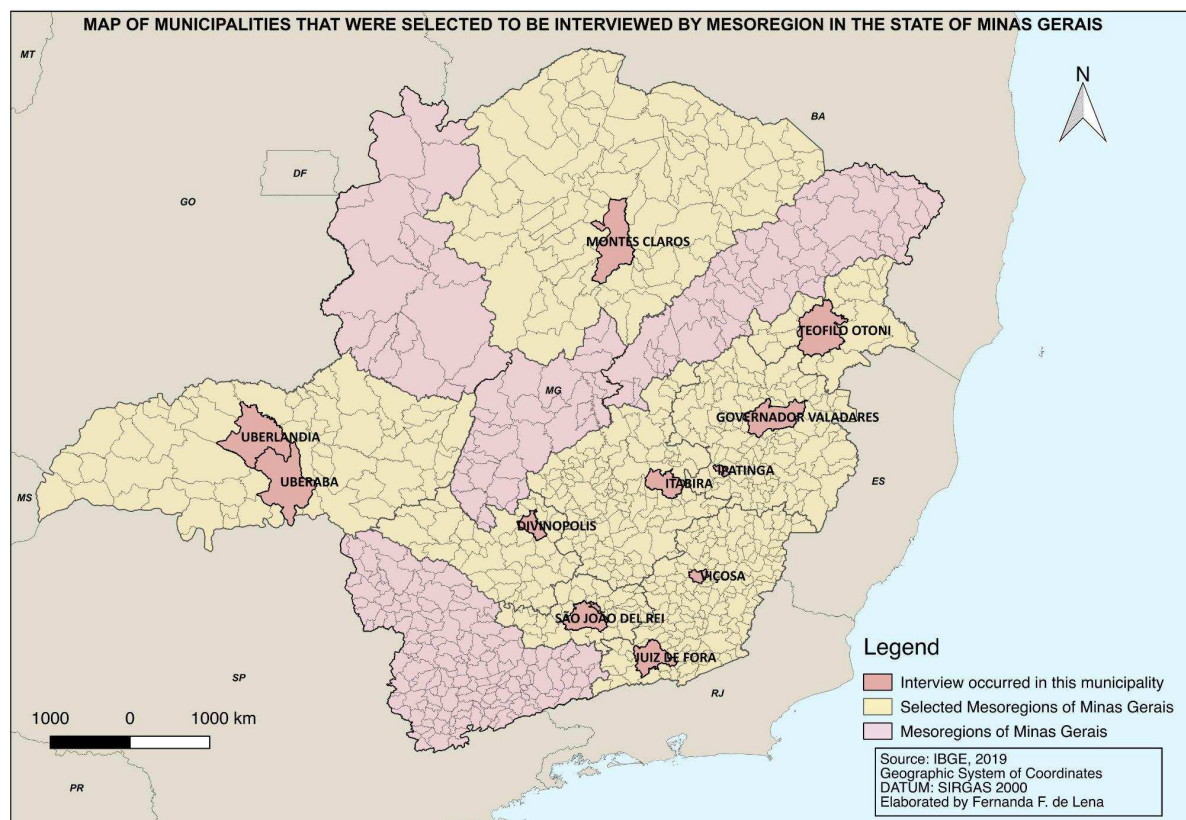
Source: Elaborated by the author.

TABLE 7 – Descriptive statistics of mean and standard deviation* of each dimension in the ten clusters of municipalities

Clusters	Pop. Size	Urban rate	% Cat.	% Evan.	% High Educ.	% Access to piped water	% Access to sewage system	Ln GPD per capita	% Cultural sector
<i>Tolerant Cultural Megacities (1)</i>	8786975	99.55	54.65	22.74	4.53	98.78	94.22	10.50	1.55
N (2)	(3488198)	(0.64)	(5.03)	(0.89)	(0.29)	(0.44)	(0.97)	(0.14)	(0.33)
<i>Tolerant Cultural Large cities (2)</i>	1926953	99.48	58.26	25.04	5.32	91.62	82.44	10.08	1.35
N (10)	(536651)	(1.06)	(5.69)	(6.70)	(0.89)	(9.40)	(12.85)	(0.43)	(0.36)
<i>Tolerant Cultural Medium Cities (3)</i>	137260	92.62	64.34	23.14	3.61	89.79	78.95	9.83	0.96
N (493)	(181305)	(6.98)	(12.00)	(7.54)	(1.26)	(8.89)	(20.28)	(0.53)	(0.48)
<i>Less tolerant Affluent Cities (4)</i>	26894	83.64	67.33	22.55	2.38	82.87	80.28	9.88	0.41
N (458)	(36981)	(11.61)	(7.05)	(4.87)	(0.77)	(11.33)	(16.61)	(0.72)	(0.24)
<i>Catholic Affluent (5)</i>	18336	79.29	81.07	13.13	2.03	81.56	74.60	9.17	0.46
N (606)	(18649)	(10.08)	(6.13)	(4.43)	(0.65)	(8.46)	(15.66)	(0.47)	(0.28)
<i>Evangelical Affluent (6)</i>	35196	72.63	45.98	38.88	2.17	73.43	54.35	9.56	0.39
N (197)	(55063)	19.51	(9.84)	(11.40)	(0.97)	(15.73)	(25.39)	(0.72)	(0.33)
<i>Urban with less Environment (7)</i>	17928	70.86	69.49	21.29	1.92	73.45	27.85	9.27	0.37
N (1093)	(25677)	(15.63)	(9.09)	(6.24)	(0.85)	(13.21)	(21.89)	(0.54)	(0.27)
<i>Highly Catholic and Cultural (8)</i>	17911	67.09	81.47	11.58	1.87	77.60	16.82	8.71	1.04
N (179)	(19746)	(16.01)	(7.96)	(4.76)	(0.86)	(11.22)	(14.37)	(0.45)	(0.43)
<i>Highly Catholic with High Educ. (9)</i>	7748	49.24	86.52	11.06	2.69	63.66	47.18	9.69	0.23
N (549)	(8625)	(18.30)	(6.87)	(5.48)	(0.93)	(18.94)	(25.82)	(0.43)	(0.21)
<i>Highly Catholic Low High Educ. (10)</i>	13560	48.95	86.78	8.79	1.35	65.67	23.38	8.46	0.30
N (1093)	(11897)	(13.78)	(5.75)	(3.63)	(0.57)	(13.35)	(20.17)	(0.28)	(0.22)
<i>Evangelical low in Environment (11)</i>	20414	46.37	56.21	29.88	1.34	35.60	18.62	8.90	0.23
N (273)	(20312)	(17.02)	(8.76)	(7.77)	(0.66)	(20.38)	(17.22)	(0.45)	(0.20)
<i>Catholic low in Environment (12)</i>	13778	40.88	81.12	13.61	1.19	43.58	20.77	8.66	0.24
N (1705)	(14468)	(13.74)	(7.65)	(5.79)	(0.59)	(14.76)	(17.95)	(0.50)	(0.23)
Total	34278	63.83	75.35	17.10	1.99	69.09	42.29	9.15	0.41
N (5565)	(203113)	(22.04)	(13.50)	(9.46)	(1.06)	(19.93)	(31.27)	(0.71)	(0.36)

Source: SIDRA – IBGE (Census 2010), calculations made by author. * The standard deviations are in parenthesis.

B. PAPER III



I. INFORMATION LETTER AND INFORMED CONSENT

TERMO DE CONSENTIMENTO LIVRE E ESCLARECIDO

Trajetórias migratórias de indivíduos LGB
Fernanda Fortes de Lena e Maria Coleta A.F. de Oliveira
Número do CAAEE: 18674519.7.0000.8142

Você está sendo convidado a participar como voluntário de uma pesquisa. Este documento, chamado Termo de Consentimento Livre e Esclarecido, visa assegurar seus direitos como participante e é elaborado em duas vias, uma que deverá ficar com você e outra com o pesquisador.

Por favor, leia com atenção e calma, aproveitando para esclarecer suas dúvidas. Se houver perguntas antes ou mesmo depois de assiná-lo, você poderá esclarecê-las com o pesquisador. Se preferir, pode levar este Termo para casa e consultar seus familiares ou outras pessoas antes de decidir participar. Não haverá nenhum tipo de penalização ou prejuízo se você não aceitar participar ou retirar sua autorização em qualquer momento.

Justificativa e objetivos:

Essa pesquisa tem por objetivo compreender as motivações e trajetórias de indivíduos LGB que não migraram para cidades médias e grandes de Minas Gerais ou até para outros estados. Além disso, tem por objetivo investigar as trajetórias de indivíduos LGB que retornaram para suas cidades de origem no interior de Minas Gerais. A metodologia empregada será coletada através de histórias de curso de vida ligadas às migrações de indivíduos LGB. Logo, você foi convidado a participar dessa pesquisa por se enquadrar em algum desses tipos de trajetórias.

Procedimentos:

Participando do estudo você está sendo convidado a: dar uma entrevista que pode ter uma duração entre 1 a 3 horas e que será gravada em áudio. A entrevista será no formato de curso de vida. Logo, serão feitas perguntas relacionados a sua vida educacional, familiar, mercado de trabalho, sexualidade e network de amizades.

Os dados desta pesquisa serão armazenados [em áudio e transcrição do áudio] pelo período de 5 anos após o final da pesquisa, de acordo com a Res. CNS 510/16 sob a guarda do pesquisador responsável. Os áudios e transcrições serão armazenados em HD externo criptografado com acesso somente pelos pesquisadores.

Desconfortos e riscos:

Não há riscos previsíveis. O participante será alertado sobre a possibilidade de que a realização da pesquisa traga algum desconforto em relação a eventuais perguntas que serão de cunho pessoal. Caso o participante opte por não responder as perguntas que lhe deixaram desconfortável, isso não será prejudicial à pesquisa e nem ao entrevistado. Informar sobre as providências e cautelas adotadas para minimizar esses desconfortos e riscos. Outros riscos não são previsíveis, mas o pesquisador responsável lhe deixará o(a) participante livre para que interrompa a entrevista a qualquer sinal de desconforto por parte do(a) participante.

Você **não** deve participar deste estudo se **não** se identificar como LGB (Lésbica, Gay Bissexual) e ter menos de 18 anos ou mais de 65 anos.

Benefícios:

Não há previsão de benefícios diretos aos participantes. No entanto, a pesquisa irá contribuir para o melhor entendimento sobre o curso de vida e mobilidade da população LGB no estado de Minas Gerais. A divulgação dos resultados será feita através de artigos em periódicos, posterior a defesa da tese de doutoramento em Demografia pela pesquisadora responsável.

Acompanhamento e assistência:

A qualquer momento, antes, durante ou até o término da pesquisa, os participantes poderão entrar em contato com os pesquisadores para esclarecimentos e assistência sobre qualquer aspecto da pesquisa em danos decorrentes da pesquisa.

Sigilo e privacidade:

Você tem a garantia de que sua identidade será mantida em sigilo e nenhuma informação identificadora será dada a outras pessoas que não façam parte da equipe de pesquisadores. Na divulgação dos resultados desse estudo, seu nome não será citado ou qualquer forma que acarrete na quebra do sigilo de sua identidade.

Ressarcimento e Indenização:

Caso o participante tenha qualquer custo de deslocamento para participar da pesquisa, ele será ressarcido. Caso a pesquisa não traga ônus aos participantes, não há necessidade de ressarcimento. Você terá a garantia ao direito à indenização diante de eventuais danos decorrentes da pesquisa quando comprovados nos termos da legislação vigente.

Contato:

Em caso de dúvidas sobre a pesquisa, você poderá entrar em contato com os pesquisadores Fernanda Fortes de Lena e Maria Coleta F. A. de Oliveira, Núcleo de Estudos de População “Elza Berquó”, Av. Albert Einstein, 1300 – Cidade Universitária Zeferino Vaz, 13083852 – Campinas, SP – Brasil, (19) 3521 – 5893, fortesdelena@gmail.com, mcoleta@unicamp.br. Em caso de denúncias ou reclamações sobre sua participação e sobre questões éticas do estudo, você poderá entrar em contato com a secretaria do Comitê de Ética em Pesquisa em Ciências Humanas e Sociais (CEP-CHS) da UNICAMP das 08h30 às 11h30 e das 13h00 às 17h00 na Rua Bertrand Russell, 801, Bloco C, 2º piso, sala 05, CEP 13083-865, Campinas – SP; telefone (19) 3521-8936 ou (19) 3521-7187; e-mail: cep-chs@reitoria.unicamp.br.

O Comitê de Ética em Pesquisa (CEP).

O papel do CEP é avaliar e acompanhar os aspectos éticos de todas as pesquisas envolvendo seres humanos. A Comissão Nacional de Ética em Pesquisa (CONEP), tem por objetivo desenvolver a regulamentação sobre proteção dos seres humanos envolvidos nas pesquisas. Desempenha um papel coordenador da rede de Comitês de Ética em Pesquisa (CEPs) das instituições, além de assumir a função de órgão consultor na área de ética em pesquisas.

Consentimento livre e esclarecido:

Após ter recebido esclarecimentos sobre a natureza da pesquisa, seus objetivos, métodos, benefícios previstos, potenciais riscos e o incômodo que esta possa acarretar, aceito participar:

Nome do(a) participante: _____ Data: ____/____/____.

(Assinatura do participante)

Responsabilidade do Pesquisador:

Asseguro ter cumprido as exigências da resolução 510/2016 CNS/MS e complementares na elaboração do protocolo e na obtenção deste Termo de Consentimento Livre e Esclarecido. Asseguro, também, ter explicado e fornecido uma via deste documento ao participante. Informo que o estudo foi aprovado pelo CEP perante o qual o projeto foi apresentado e pela CONEP, quando pertinente. Comprometo-me a utilizar o material e os dados obtidos nesta pesquisa exclusivamente para as finalidades previstas neste documento ou conforme o consentimento dado pelo participante.

(Assinatura do pesquisador) Data: ____/____/____.

INFORMATION LETTER AND INFORMED CONSENT

Migratory trajectories of LGB **Fernanda Fortes de Lena e Maria Coleta A.F. de Oliveira** **CAAAEE number: 18674519.7.0000.8142**

You are being invited to participate voluntarily in a study. This document is called Information Letter and Informed Consent that secures your rights as a participant and is elaborated as a two-way document in which one should stay with you and the other with the researcher.

Please take your time to read the document carefully and stop to ask if you have any queries while reading it. If you have queries before or after you have signed this document, you are able to clarify them with the researcher. If you prefer you can take the Form to your house and confer with family or other people before agreeing to participate. There won't be any type of penalization or loss if you do not agree to participate or withdraw your authorization at any moment.

Aim:

This research has the aim of understanding the motivations and trajectories of LGB individuals that didn't migrate to medium and large cities in Minas Gerais or to other states in the country. In addition to that, it has the objective of investigating the trajectories of individuals that returned to their hometowns in Minas Gerais. The methodology used in this study will be through the gathering of life course narratives connected to the migratory trajectories of LGB individuals. Therefore, you have been invited to participate in this study because you fit into one of the criterias above.

Proceedings:

By participating in this study, you are being invited to: give an interview that can take between 1 to 3 hours and that will be recorded. The interview will have a life course format in which the queries will be regarding your educational trajectory, family, labor market, sexuality and friendship networks.

The data in this research will be kept safe [audio and transcripts] for a period of 5 years after the finalization of the study, according to the Res. CNS 510/16 in the responsibility of the researcher in charge. The audios and transcripts will be stored in an external HD encrypted with access only to the researchers in charge.

Discomfort or risks:

There are no predictable risks. The participant will be warned about the possibility that the study might bring some discomfort in regard to some eventual questions that are of a personal

nature. In case the participant chooses not to answer the questions that make them uncomfortable this will not be prejudicial to the study and to the participant. The researcher will inform about the measures and precautions adopted to minimize these discomforts and risks. Other risks are not predictable, but the researcher in charge will leave the participant free to stop the interview at any given moment at any sign of discomfort of the participant.

You should **not** participate in this study if you do **not** identify as LGB (Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual) e have less than 18 years or more than 65 years of age.

Benefits:

There is no direct benefits to the participants. However, the study will contribute to the better understanding of the life course of the LGB population in the state of Minas Gerais. The dissemination of the results will be made through papers in academic journals after the doctoral thesis defense in Demography by the researcher in charge.

Assistance and follow-up:

At any given moment, during or even after the end of the research the participants will be able to contact the researchers for further clarification and assistance regarding any aspect of the study that could have caused any harm to the participant

Secrecy e privacy:

You have the guarantee that your identity will be kept safe and no identifiable information will be given to other people that are not from the research group. In the release of the results of this study your name will not be cited or in any form that will break the secrecy of your identity.

Reimbursement and Restitution:

In case the participant has any cost of mobility to participate in the research, they will be refunded. In case the study does not entail burden to the participant there is no need for refund. You will have guarantee to the right of restitution if eventual harm occurs because of the study when proven in legal terms.

Contact:

In case of queries about the study you can contact the researchers Fernanda Fortes de Lena and Maria Coleta F. A. de Oliveira, Núcleo de Estudos de População “Elza Berquó”, Av. Albert Einstein, 1300 – Cidade Universitária Zeferino Vaz, 13083852 – Campinas, SP – Brasil, (19) 3521 – 5893, fortesdelena@gmail.com, mcoleta@unicamp.br. In case of complaint about your participation in the study you can contact the secretary of the Ethical Committee of Research of Human and Social (CEP-CHS) of UNICAMP from 08h30 to 11h30 and from 13h00 to 17h00 at the address Rua Bertrand Russell, 801, Bloco C, 2º piso, sala 05, CEP 13083-865, Campinas – SP; telephone (19) 3521-8936 ou (19) 3521-7187; e-mail: cep-chs@reitoria.unicamp.br.

The Ethical Committee in Research

The role of the Ethical Committee is to evaluate the ethical aspects of all the studies that involve human beings. The National Committee in Research has the aim to develop the regulation and protection of human beings involved in studies and is responsible for coordination of the networks of Ethical Committees of institutions. Adding to that, it also has the function of a body of consultancy in the field of ethical research.

Informed consent:

After receiving the clarifications of the nature of the study, its objectives, methods, benefits, potential risks and discomforts that may occur, I accept to participate in this study:

Name of participant: _____ Date: ____/____/____.

 (Signature of participant)

Researchers' Responsibility:

I assure that I have obliged to the fulfillment of the requirements of the resolution 510/2016 CNS/MS and complementary in the elaboration of the protocol and the obtainment of this Information Letter and Informed Consent Form. I also assure that I have explained and provided a copy of this document to the participant. I inform you that the study has been approved by the Ethical Committee before which the Project was presented and by the CONEP when relevant.

I commit to using this material and information obtained in this study exclusively for the intended purposes in this document or according to the consent given by the participant.

_____ Date: ____/____/____.
 (Signature of researcher)

II. QUESTIONNAIRE

Sociodemographic characteristics

1 Name: _____ E-mail: _____

2 Date of Birth: ____/____/____

3 Civil status: _____

4 Educational Level: _____

5 Race/Ethnicity:

- ☐ Black
☐ Parda
☐ White
☐ Asian descent
☐ Indigenous

6 Place of Birth: Municipality _____ State: _____

7 Who do you live with at the moment?

- ☐ Alone
☐ Mother/Stepmother
☐ Father/Stepfather
☐ Brothers/Sisters
☐ Stepson/Stepdaughter
☐ Sons/Daughters
☐ Grandchildren
☐ Grandmother/Grandfather
☐ Other relatives
☐ Spouse/partner/girlfriend/boyfriend
☐ Friends
☐ Acquaintances

8 List below the cities you have lived and the period you lived in each city.

If you never left our city leave it in blank.

Example:

	<i>Municipality</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>from year ____ until year ____</i>
1	Belo Horizonte	Minas Gerais	from 1987 to 2013
2	Campinas	São Paulo	from 2014 to 2016
3	Belo Horizonte	Minas Gerais	from 2016 to 2019

	<i>Municipality</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>from year ____ until year ____</i>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

III. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCRIPT

FAMILY

Tell me how it was growing up in [name of the town].

Tell me about you and your family.

Do your parents know you are [sexual orientation]?

Did you tell them? How did that go?

How old were you at that time?

Who else in your life know your [sexual orientation]?

Why haven't you told your parents?

EDUCATION/WORK

Tell me a little about your school life.

Did you suffer bullying? Do you recall other kids suffering bullying?

Did you tell your parents? Did they know about the bullying?

Were you openly [sexual orientation] in college?

Were there other LGBT people in your class?

*If went to college in another town ask: Did going to college in another town have to do with your sexual orientation?

In your work environment are you open about your sexual orientation?

Have you suffered any discrimination at work for being [sexual orientation]?

Have you had trouble finding a job for being [sexual orientation]?

MIGRATION

How did you come to life in [name of the town]?

Have you lived or visited other cities?

Where were the spaces of socialization in your town? Were these places exclusively LGBT?

Do you still go to these spaces? How would you characterize these spaces?

Tell me how you see your town related to the LGBT community?

DO you think your city is a good place to live being LGBT?

HISTORIC CONTEXT

Was there any historic event or celebrities that were LGBT that were important to you growing up?

Did you have any LGBT person that was a reference to you in your childhood/adolescence?

Do you think there has been change regarding discrimination against GBT in your town??

SEXUALITY

Do you recall when you recognized yourself as [sexual orientation]?

Do you remember who was the first person you talked about being [sexual orientation]?

Have you had romantic relationships? Tell me about the most important ones to you.

Do you feel a part of the LGBT community?

What do you think you have learned from the LGBT community?

What is the best thing about being LGBT?

Do you go to therapy? Would you like to go to therapy?

NETWORKS

Tell me about your group of friends. Who was the most important to you?

Were your friends in your adolescence also LGBT?

Did you tell your friends about your sexual orientation and what was their reaction?

Currently are most of your friends LGBT too?

Would you say your closest friendships were made before or after you recognized yourself as [sexual orientation]?

From your friends that are LGBT, are most of them still living in [name of the town] or have they moved?