

Meddelande från Kulturgeografiska institutionen
Nr 146

Beyond Bright City Lights
The Migration Patterns of Gay Men and Lesbians



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ISSN 0585-3508

ISBN 978-91-7447-920-1

Printed in Sweden by US-AB, Stockholm 2014

Distributor: Department of Human Geography, Stockholm University

Cover by Tim Devos and Michael Meinild Nielsen

Author portrait by Michael Meinild Nielsen

Abstract

One of the most persistent popular notions of gay men and lesbians is that they either live in or move to larger cities. In this thesis, the geography and migration paths of gay men and lesbians are studied using the life course perspective to challenge this idea. It is argued that gay men and lesbians are affected by the time and place into which they are born. Like heterosexuals, they are subject to the normative conceptions of life paths that are present at a specific historical period and place. Adopting a mixed-methods approach, four studies related to this aim are conducted.

The first study shows that the tendency for gay men and lesbians to be concentrated to the largest cities in Sweden is greater than for heterosexuals. However, it also shows that the concentration tendency of lesbians and couples is less strong. The second study illustrates that tolerance plays no role in the geographical concentration of gay men and lesbians. Although perceived tolerance is often assumed to matter, this study shows that measured intolerance does not have an effect on the concentration tendency. The third study explores the migration motives of gay men and lesbians living in the city of Malmö, Sweden. It shows that the life stories of older cohorts resembled typical rural-urban flight stories but that the youngest cohort stressed motives similar to the overall population. This is in sharp contrast to the fourth study, which scrutinises migration stories from Izmir, Turkey. Because legal recognition is lacking, following the same life path as heterosexuals is problematic for gay men and lesbians. Because moving out is connected to this path, they remained living at home longer or never moved. Accordingly, the family played a core role in their lives rather than the rural-urban binary.

Taken together, these four studies show that the geography and migration patterns of gay men and lesbians are more multifaceted than living in or moving to a larger city.

Keywords: gays and lesbians; migration; rural/urban; tolerance; life course; Sweden; Turkey

List of studies

- Study I Wimark, Thomas and Östh, John (2013) The city as a single gay magnet? Gay and lesbian geographical concentration in Sweden. *Population, Space and Place*, early view November 2013.
- Study II Wimark, Thomas (2014) Is it really tolerance? Expanding the knowledge about diversity for the creative class. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografi*, 105 (1), 46-63.
- Study III Wimark, Thomas (2014) Migration motives of gay men and lesbians: A cohort study from Malmö, Sweden. Submitted to *Social and Cultural Geography*.
- Study IV Wimark, Thomas (2014) The impact of family ties on the mobility decisions of gay men and lesbians: Life stories from Izmir, Turkey. Submitted to *Gender, Place and Culture*.

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Acknowledgements

This thesis has taken form since October 2008 and it is with great joy that it is finally in print. Although there has been frustration and difficulties at times, the overall process has been extremely enjoyable. Over the years I have had the opportunity to spend time in different geographical environments as well as, had the pleasure to get to know wonderful people from all over the world. These experiences have been part of or aided in the production of this thesis in different ways. Therefore, I would like to take the occasion to thank some of them specifically.

First, I would like to extend my appreciation to all of those who were involved in my work environment. I have had the great pleasure of working together with three supervisors during this thesis process. A great thank to Gunnel Forsberg, Bo Malmberg and Eva Andersson for your patience and understanding during this process. I hope you had as much fun as I did during our meetings. I am also grateful for the critical readings at seminars; constructive comments by Marianne Abramsson, Mark Graham and Karen Haandrikman were particularly helpful. In one of the articles I also had the honour to spend time collaborating with John Östh. This was a fantastic experience. I am also thankful for the administrative support by Ann-Charlotte Wistedt, Iris Claësson and Johan Cederström; explicitly needed before, during and after my field work periods. Many thanks also to my mentor Lukas Smas for all the meetings and discussions. Moreover, colleagues and friends at the Department of Human Geography have assisted me in many ways ranging from discussions on theory to practical thesis dilemmas. Many great dialogues with the former roommates Ida Andersson, Linn Axelsson, Kristina Trygg and Kristina Westermarck have certainly improved the thesis production. The same applies to discussions at conferences with Martina Angela Caretta and Maja Lagerqvist. I am also deeply grateful for the help by Michael Meinild Nielsen in the very last stages of the thesis production.

Second, I wish to acknowledge all involved situated in places other than the Department of Human Geography. Many thanks to all participants from my studies in Malmö, Sweden, and Izmir, Turkey, who shared their life stories with me and made this thesis possible. I would also like to express my gratitude to *Qx Förlag AB* that granted me the permission to use *Qruiser.com* in the data gathering processes. In addition, I am thankful for Maarten Loopmans and *Katholieke Universiteit Leuven* accepting me as a visiting

scholar during the end phase of this process. There I got to know some fabulous people and found the tranquillity to focus solely on finishing the thesis.

Third, I would like to express my gratitude towards financial contributors. Financial support enabling field work, conference participation and proof reading was gratefully received from the *Lillemor & Hand W:son Ahlmann* foundation for geographical research, the *Torsten Amundson* foundation, the *Albert & Maria Bergström* foundation, the *Lars Hierta* memorial foundation, the *Axel Lagrelius* foundation for geographical research, the *Elisabeth & Herman Rhodin* foundation, *Carl Mannerfelt* fondation and *John Söderberg* fondation.

Finally, I am deeply indebted to friends and family for comforting and encouraging me in difficult times. Thanks to my siblings, especially to Eva Persson for *djungeltelegrafen* and to Karl Persson and Magnus Wimark for always being available. Also a warm thank to my partner Christian Roca-fuerte Vargas and my friend Daniel Graf for all the patience and tolerance shown in stressful times.

Thomas Wimark
Stockholm, April 2014

1. Introduction

Get thee to a big city (Weston 1995: 253).

[T]he yearning of every gay adolescent [is] to find the location of the gay El Dorado, the place where ‘the dreams that I dare to dream really do come true’ (Graham 1998: 102).

Shortly after finishing upper secondary school, I left my hometown, Eskilstuna, and moved to London. It was there that I finally dared to fully come out in all the colourful bliss that I thought was expected from me in order to be a gay man. A few years later, I returned to Sweden when I moved to Stockholm and started my university education. For me, it was never an option to move back to my hometown; I thought that I couldn’t be gay in that small town. Well settled in Stockholm, I met a man from Eskilstuna, and we became partners for a short period. Through him, I got the chance to meet a group of gay and lesbian friends that grew up and stayed in Eskilstuna. The relationship did not last long, though, and I quickly wiped out the possibility of being gay in Eskilstuna from my mind. Some 10-15 years later, I still live in Stockholm, and I tend to run into one of those guys in the yearly pride parade in Stockholm. He proudly tells me that Eskilstuna has changed a great deal and that the biggest pride parade outside Stockholm is the Spring Pride Parade held in Eskilstuna every year.

My life story does not differ greatly from the countless tales of gay men and lesbians migrating from smaller towns to larger cities in the search for a place to be. My story does, however, highlight three important issues often absent from those accounts. First, although my leaving-home migration was highly connected to the process of coming out, other gay men and lesbians have stayed and come out in their hometowns. For me, it was first in London where I dared to come out and live a fully out life, which might not differ from the expected migration outcome. However, the other gay men and lesbians I met in Eskilstuna did not migrate in the process of coming out but stayed put. Therefore, it is obvious that there is a story other than the leaving-a-small-town-in-order-to-come-out narrative. Second, it was only to start my higher education that I moved to Stockholm. Because there is no university in my hometown, it would never be possible to move there to study.¹

¹ Higher education in Sweden makes a distinction between University college *Högskola* and University *Universitet* based on the permit needed to award doctoral degrees. While a Univer-

Simultaneously, the other gay men and lesbians I met did not study at a university and had no need to migrate. Thus, the importance of education is often not considered in the tales of gay and lesbian migration. Instead, their sexuality becomes the main issue to consider. Third, the story emphasises my experience of Eskilstuna as changing from a working town to a town in which one of the largest pride parades in the country is held every year. This implies that contexts are not static but ever-changing, and individuals presently growing up there might have a different experience to mine. It might actually be possible to be gay or lesbian there nowadays.

Within life course studies, these aspects are often referred to as age effects and cohort effects (Elder Jr. 1975; Elder Jr. *et al.* 2003; Elder Jr. 1974; Elder Jr. 1994). Age effects correspond to the notion that individuals tend to move mostly when they are young, be it to form identities, education or other reasons, and this propensity later slows down (Clark & Huang 2003). By contrast, cohort effects refer to the conditions into which an individual is born, i.e., the specific social surroundings prevailing in a time and place that affect their lives (Elder Jr. *et al.* 2003). Together, the impacts of these two effects form the basis for individuals' migration decision processes (Kulu & Milewski 2007). Life course studies also highlight that individuals are expected to develop along prescribed (hetero)normative life paths, e.g., along the family path, whereby individuals are expected to begin as children and end as grandparents (Settersten Jr. 2003). Because gay men and lesbians tend to fail to live up to these normative expectations, it has been widely assumed that they try to escape these norms by moving away (Boyle *et al.* 1998), often to larger cities (Weston 1995). In the following, this research will be explained further and the aims and questions of this thesis will be developed.

Aim of the thesis

In the initial life story my dichotomous view of rural and urban areas, with living in rural areas as synonymous with heterosexuality, is also highlighted.² It has been an on-going concern within the field of *geographies of sexu-*

sity generally has the right to award doctoral degrees, a University college can only attain the right to award doctoral degrees in specific fields by the Swedish Higher Education Authority, see www.uhr.se. Mälardalens högskola is a University college situated in Eskilstuna and Västerås and has a more limited selection of studies. It has grown considerably in the last 10 years: In 2001, it attained the right to award doctoral degrees in engineering, and in 2012, it attained the right to award doctoral degrees in health and welfare. At the time of my graduation from upper secondary school in 1998, the selection of studies was limited to health education in Eskilstuna.

² In Sweden a locality is considered urban if 200 individuals reside in dwellings that are located within less than 200 meters (Amcoff 2006; Forsberg 1996). However, within geographies of sexualities the rural-urban dichotomy is mostly seen as the difference between metropolitan centres and smaller cities/towns (Phillips *et al.* 2000; Sinfield 2000; Spurlin 2000; Wilson 2000) which makes the Swedish definition meaningless. As the urban structure in Sweden is

alities that geographers have not sufficiently problematised the rural-urban binary (Bell & Valentine 1995; Browne *et al.* 2007). Recently, this concern has been responded to by a number of studies focusing on gay and lesbian migration and homemaking (Annes & Redlin 2012; Fortier 2001; Gorman-Murray 2007; Gorman-Murray 2009; Gorman-Murray *et al.* 2012; Lewis 2012; Waitt & Gorman-Murray 2007; Waitt & Gorman-Murray 2011a; Waitt & Gorman-Murray 2011b). These studies have started to problematise the gay imaginary in which gay men and lesbians conceive urban areas as synonymous with homosexuality and, consequently, leave rural areas in favour of urban areas. This imaginary was originally described by Weston (1995) as gay men and lesbians of the 1970s started to flock from towns to the larger cities of the U.S. in search of a place to live out a gay or lesbian identity. She framed this as a historical event and termed it the ‘*Great Gay Migration*’ (Weston 1995: 253). In the migration histories she collected, rural-urban migration was strikingly related to the coming out process.

Although such stories linger within popular culture, a growing body of research has been able to problematise this connection. Most of these have framed gay and lesbian migration in ways other than rural-urban travels and showed that other paths and final places are possible (Annes & Redlin 2012; Gorman-Murray 2009; Lewis 2012; Lewis 2014; Waitt & Gorman-Murray 2011a; Waitt & Gorman-Murray 2011b). Focusing on the coming out process and sexuality, however, has only made it possible to problematise the rural-urban binary in terms of a search for sexual identity. Considering that individuals’ identities are more encompassing and more complex than just a sexual identity, this focus has downplayed other important paths in the lives of gay men and lesbians.³ Simultaneously, migration studies have been reluctant to focus on (homosexual) identity cohorts and sexual identity as important part of the life course and migration paths.

Thus, the aim of this thesis is to analyse the geography and migration patterns of gay men and lesbians to challenge the idea that they move to the city as a result of falling out of normative life paths. This focus puts emphasis on geography and migration patterns instead of sexuality. In doing so, it also downplays the connection between sexuality and urbanity and attempts to explore the rural-urban binary further, thereby contributing both to the growing literature within geographies of sexualities and migration studies.

dominated by a few larger metropolitan cities and many smaller built up towns (Johansson 2002), this thesis uses a definition based on the distinction between the urban, represented by metropolitan cities *Storstäder*, and the rural, represented by towns and smaller cities.

³ Although other paths such as education and employment are acknowledged by Gorman-Murray (2009) and Lewis (2014), their focus remains on identity.

The geography and migration patterns of gay men and lesbians

Today, more than 50 per cent of the world's population live in urban areas, and the growth of urban areas is estimated to continue through the migration from rural or smaller urban areas to larger urban areas (Knox 2009). While this migration pattern is particularly observable in less urbanised countries (Tas & Lightfoot 2005), more urbanised countries also experience the same pattern (Milbourne 2007). Studies from the Nordic European countries show a net outmigration from rural areas to urban areas and up the urban hierarchy (Amcoff 2006; Andersen 2011; Fertner 2013; Grimsrud 2011; Heikkilä 2003; Korpi *et al.* 2011). Simultaneously, studies from other highly urbanised countries have demonstrated a countermovement, with migration patterns towards rural areas. Studies from Australia, Great Britain, the Netherlands and the United States illustrate a repopulation of rural areas (Bijker & Haartsen 2012; Bijker *et al.* 2012a; Bijker *et al.* 2012b; Davies Withers *et al.* 2008; Hugo & Smailes 1985; Simpson & Finney 2009).⁴ This all suggests geographical differences in migration tendencies.

The geographical differences in migration are sometimes explained by historical circumstances. The countermovement in highly urbanised countries is often discussed in terms of population birth cohorts with new desires for different lifestyles. This search is typically conceptualised in the light of a historical change, with a more affluent population seeking the rural idyll and/or climatic amenities, such as urban middle class families and retired pensioners (Andersen 2011; Benson & O'reilly 2009; Bijker *et al.* 2012b; Costello 2007; Fertner 2013; Grimsrud 2011; Hjort & Malmberg 2006; Lundholm 2012; Plane & Jurjevich 2009; Stockdale 2006; Walmsley *et al.* 1998). Even among younger individuals, historical circumstances are important. Despite the fact that younger individuals typically have been known to be attracted to urban settings, more metropolitan migration is now the norm (Andersen 2011; Grimsrud 2011; Heikkilä 2003; Hjort & Malmberg 2006; Plane & Jurjevich 2009).

Migration on the rural-urban continuum is also associated with the search for a more permissive environment (Hemmasi & Prorok 2002; Wilson 1992). The perceived liberal environment in larger cities has been especially vital for those gay men and lesbians seeking to build and explore their sexual identities. It has been an important reason for them to seek urban settings (Boyle *et al.* 1998; Hubbard 2011). This has also been considered the cause of gay and lesbian concentration to certain cities (Cooke & Rapino 2007). Weston (1995) conceptualises this in a *gay* imaginary that influences gay

⁴ Although a countermovement was reported in Sweden at the end of 1980s and beginning of the 1990s (Amcoff 1997; Forsberg 1998; Hjelm 1994), Amcoff (2006) show that this was only due to an urban spillover effect.

men and lesbians to move to cities. In the gay imaginary, urban and rural environments are opposite entities connected to certain features. Rural areas are imagined to be hostile and isolative for gay men and lesbians, while urban areas are imagined to be tolerant and a setting for community and affinity. Popular narratives of rural areas as hostile and intimidating towards gay men and lesbians also exist (LeVay & Nonas 1995; Weston 1995). Gay men and lesbians seeking to build sexual identities therefore seek urban environments, and in life story narrations, this search is commonly portrayed to begin with rural flight and end in the city (Graham 1998; Knopp 2004; Nilsson 2006; Weston 1995). In addition to stimulating rural to urban migration, the gay imaginary can also encourage those originating in cities to come out and live an out life. Laumann *et al.* (2000) reason that cities in general consist of a diversity of people and opportunities that enable the development of diverse sexual identities. Taken together, these processes lead to a concentration of gay men and lesbians to cities.

More recently, researchers have begun to question and problematise the gay imaginary and situate it within a historical context. Weston (1995) referred to the rural to urban migration between the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. Instead of equating gay and lesbian migration with rural to urban migration, Knopp (2004) conceptualises gay and lesbian migration as a search for sexual identity that entails mobility and migration over different scales and places. Furthermore, Gorman-Murray (2007) argues that most of the population in the developed world lives in urban areas and the norm is therefore urban to urban migration. Relying on life-story narratives, several studies show that the coming-out process is complex and not to be equated with a linear and final migration process from rural areas to urban areas (Annes & Redlin 2012; Gorman-Murray 2007; Gorman-Murray 2009; Lewis 2012; Waitt & Gorman-Murray 2011a; Waitt & Gorman-Murray 2011b). These studies show examples of return migration (Annes & Redlin 2012; Lewis 2012; Waitt & Gorman-Murray 2011b), migration from larger cities to smaller cities (Waitt & Gorman-Murray 2011a) and migration induced by partners (Gorman-Murray 2009). Situating rural to urban migration as a historical circumstance challenges the notion of the city as the most desirable place for gay men and lesbians. This also suggests that other residential shifts are more or equally important to younger cohorts of gay men and lesbians, which implies a different geographical concentration pattern. From this, it follows that the first research question explored in this thesis may be phrased as:

Where and why are gay men and lesbians concentrated?

Imagined and actual tolerance in urban areas

The view of cities as tolerant for gay men and lesbians has intensified through the works by Florida in economic geography. Florida (2002; 2003) brings capital accumulation from the local scale of the neighbourhood and the city to the regional scale. His Creative Capital theory stresses the impact of individual creativity on regional economic growth. In this work, he claims that this creative capacity is the basis for the new creative class, and to create economic growth, regions must attract the creative class. The creative class is attracted to tolerant milieus, and gay men and lesbians concentrate in these spaces and cities. They can therefore be used as indicators for growth.

Equating concentrations of gay men and lesbians with tolerant environments may seem obvious, as gay villages are located to cities. However, as described above, gay men and lesbians have concentrated to cities because they *imagined* them to be tolerant, but that is not to say that there is *actual* tolerance there. Although studies show that gay men and lesbians have concentrated to cities (Black *et al.* 2000; Cooke & Rapino 2007), they also show that they concentrate in certain areas, often referred to enclaves, ghettos or villages (Almgren 1994; Castells 1983). These enclaves can initially function as sanctuaries from hostile or sometimes violent majority society (Hindle 1994; Sibalís 2004) but can over time spur tolerance and recognition from society. However, there are also many examples of enclaves that receive increased resistance and intolerance from the society (Knopp 1995; Reed 2003; Sibalís 2004) as well as increased violence due to increased visibility (Davis 1995; Green *et al.* 2001). Uslaner (2011) argues that trust between populations builds tolerance and shows that a diverse population does not necessarily lead to increased trust. Moreover, he shows that residential segregation increases distrust among the population.⁵

In contact theory, this is referred to as the halo effect, when casual contact leads to withdrawal from social interaction and the strengthening of social identities (Wessel 2009).⁶ To gain tolerance and trust, increased interaction is needed with personal ties and goals as imperative (Uslaner 2011; Wessel 2009). This means that an influx of minority groups does not necessarily lead to increased contact between them and the majority due to segregation (Sharp & Joslyn 2008; Wessel 2009). Additionally, studies testing contact theory have shown very mixed results (Sharp & Joslyn 2008), which gives reason to suspect that the connection between gay and lesbian concentration and tolerance is questionable. Thus, the second question explored in this thesis is:

⁵ Segregation can also lead to social unrest and riots; see also Olzak *et al.* (1996) and Malmberg *et al.* (2013) for a discussion of residential segregation and urban unrest.

⁶ It should be noted that most of these discussions revolve around racial and/or ethnic segregation, c.f. some recent case studies by Gundelach and Freitag (2014), Listerborn (2010), Rothwell (2012), Schmid *et al.* (2014) and Sturgis *et al.* (2013).

How important is tolerance to the geographical concentration of gay men and lesbians?

Paths in the life course and migration

Recognising the importance of history and context for cohorts, the migration of gay men and lesbians must be analysed in different ways than just the search for urban tolerance or identity building. In studies of internal migration, there have recently been calls to apply the life course perspective (Cooke 2008; Halfacree & Rivera 2012; Mulder & Cooke 2009; Niedomysl & Amcoff 2011; Plane & Jurjevich 2009) because it, among others, emphasises how age in the life course impacts decisions to move. In the Western context, it is widely acknowledged that migration rates are the highest for young adults and then fall drastically, with a small increase when entering retirement age (Clark & Onaka 1983; Clark & Huang 2003; Grimsrud 2011; Heikkilä 2003; Plane & Jurjevich 2009). It is also known that development along the family, educational and work trajectories are important reasons for migration (Sandefur & Scott 1981).

Using the life course approach, researchers have been able to highlight how gay and lesbian individuals differ from the heterosexual majority. Topics from this research shows how the life courses of gay men can become asynchronous with the expected life course and that sexual intimacy can serve as a compensation (Kertzner 2001), how they differ from heterosexuals in their educational trajectory (Ueno *et al.* 2012), how gay men differ from heterosexuals in their adult identity development (Peacock 2000) and how gay men and lesbians differ from the heterosexual family trajectory (Porche & Purvin 2008). However, these studies have not focused on migration. By contrast, migration studies focusing on gay men and lesbians have omitted all other trajectories and have focused on sexuality alone. Thus, the third question to be explored in this thesis is:

How do gay men and lesbians motivate their migration paths?

The importance of history and context

The life course perspective also places individuals in a specific time and place. Elder Jr. (1974) has shown and argued that individuals in different birth cohorts have different life patterns depending on larger historical events. Placing individuals in historical and geographical times is, thus, central to the understanding of individual life courses. Life course analysis has made it possible to emphasise how different historical eras affect birth cohorts of gay and lesbian individuals. During the 20th century, the Stonewall

riot⁷ and the HIV/AIDS⁸ epidemic in particular are considered important events that have affected gay and lesbian cohorts (Boxer & Cohler 1989; Cohler & Hostetler 2003; Hammack & Cohler 2009; Rosenfeld 1999; Rosenfeld 2009; Shepard 2009). However, as Cohler and Hammack (2009) note, events are both historical and *geographical*, and the significance of place is not to be underestimated. Places outside the Western world and diasporas sometimes build on events other than Stonewall and AIDS as the works by Manalansan IV (1997) on Filipino gay men living in New York and Hall (2009) on Czech gay men indicate. These works highlight the importance of geography and indicate a need to study contexts outside the Anglo-American context. Thus, the fourth question explored in this thesis is:

How does the historical and geographical context matter to the migration of gay men and lesbians?

Structure of the thesis

In this introductory chapter, the topic of gay and lesbian migration and the accompanied research questions to be answered have been introduced. In the second chapter, the life course perspective will be outlined as a response to previous research, and the advantages of it will be elaborated on. Previous studies have only been able to focus on gay and lesbian migration and not on the whole lives of gay men and lesbians. To study the migration paths of gay men and lesbians throughout their lives, the life course perspective is argued to be beneficial. The third chapter brings this discussion further by claiming that qualitative studies can only take the research so far, and to illuminate the lives of gay men and lesbians, mixed methods are needed. It also outlines the material used for the four studies and some of the limitations of the methods and the material. Chapter four summarises the results of the studies, which can also be found as appendices. Finally, the last chapter elaborates on the possible contribution of this thesis to the migration research and literature and to the rural-urban binary discussions within geographies of sexualities.

⁷ In 1969, riots outside the Stonewall Inn in New York started as spontaneous reaction against constant police raids in pubs serving the LGBT community. It is considered (although disputed) to be the culmination of the burgeoning LGBT rights movement that became national and later international as a result. See Carter (2004).

⁸ Human Immunodeficiency Virus infection / Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

2. A life course perspective to the migration of gay men and lesbians

This chapter introduces the life course perspective as a concept with which to study the geography and migration of gay men and lesbians. In the chapter, it will be argued that key thinkers of urban studies have focused on the *city* as study object and thereby established a rural-urban way of thinking. However, studies of residential mobility originate in conceptualisations focused on households and *individuals*. They therefore have the possibility to de-centre the binary through focusing on the general life courses of individuals instead of areas. Following this strain of thought, previous studies of residential mobility and internal migration will be presented, and it will be shown how individuals choose to move according to the life course. Then, the particularity of the life courses of gay men and lesbians and their migration paths will be illustrated. It will be argued that studies of gay men and lesbians have solely focused on the particularity of *gay and lesbian* migration. Because this is only a small part of the migration of gay men and lesbians, the final discussion will stress the need to study the *migrations* of gay men and lesbians.

Urban theory and mobility

Key theorists within urban works have discussed the differences between rural areas and urban areas for quite some time. Simmel (2002) was one of the first to argue in 1903 that cities gave rise to different dwellers and different modes of living than towns. He saw the buzz and the chaos of the city as something constitutive for the personality of individuals, as dwellers needed a rational, intellectual and blasé attitude to survive in the city. This was in contrast to life in towns, where emotional bonds could develop. These bonds also came with the negative aspect of putting limitations on independence and personal freedom. Wirth (1938: 10) furthered this notion by stating that the city should be seen as a '*melting pot of races, peoples, and cultures, and a most favorable breeding-ground of new biological and cultural hybrids. It has not only tolerated but rewarded individual difference*'. Similar streams of thought are found in the well-cited work by Jacobs (1961). Discussing social behaviour in cities, she argued that in stark contrast to towns, toler-

ance is normal in cities. Recently, the uniqueness of cities has also been highlighted by Florida (2002; 2003) in his creative class thesis. He points to the importance of tolerance, creativity and innovation in cities as drivers of economic growth.⁹

In much of these urban works, the impact of residential mobility is momentous (Popoola *et al.* 2013). Describing individuals' social and mental changes derived from the on-going process of urbanisation, Simmel's and Wirth's rationale involved individuals who were on the move and individuals moving to cities in search of employment and economic opportunities. Similarly, Jacob's call for dense and diverse cities depended on residential mobility. Although she recognised that the rate of urbanisation had slowed down at that point, she found residential mobility to be essential for the creation of diverse and dense neighbourhoods. She particularly discussed slum development as a result of individuals finding areas '*dull*' (Jacobs 1961: 287) and moving out, creating a bad cycle for these areas. Likewise, Florida conceptualised residential mobility (of the creative class) as the key to success for regions. He assumed that the creative class seeks out cities that are tolerant and diverse.

One of the first to recognise the importance of residential mobility and discuss the motives of moving was Rossi (1955). Although written in the same zeitgeist as the urban works cited above,¹⁰ he nonetheless chose households as units of analysis. Situating households and individuals as the focus of his study, he can be considered as one of the first to have de-centred rural and urban differences. In fact, his results indicated,

[...] the major function of mobility to be the process by which families adjust their housing to the housing needs that are generated by the shifts in family composition that accompany life cycle changes (Rossi 1980: 61).

Rossi was also keen to argue that the car and telecommunications had altered the locational choice patterns of households to make them more mobile on the rural-urban continuum. Thus, distinguishing urban areas from rural areas is, as Rossi argued, difficult. This, together with his results, indicated that households move as a result of their need to find a housing equilibrium and not of rural and urban differences.

⁹ For a good overview on key thinkers in urban studies including the Chicago school see LeGates and Stout (2011) or Popoola *et al.* (2013).

¹⁰ He only studied urban subareas of Philadelphia. In the introduction to the second edition, Rossi (1980) also states the reasons for focusing on urban areas.

Residential mobility and the life course

The studies following Rossi continued to focus on households. This is not to suggest an omission of the importance of geography in residential migration. In the conceptualisations of residential mobility and the life cycle, space was given importance through the notion of place utility (Brown & Moore 1970; Wolpert 1965). Wolpert (1965) suggests that each household has a personal attachment to the place in which they live and simultaneously has perceived and actual knowledge about other possible places to migrate to. Furthermore, he asserted that this utility is connected to the life cycle of the household.¹¹

The emphasis on the household as the unit of analysis could, however, fail to capture the full complexity of residential mobility. To further develop the concept to encompass each individual, Leslie and Richardson (1961) argued that the trajectories of individuals matter as well. Individuals could choose to focus and develop along the family, educational and/or work trajectories. Through this recognition of the individual, most residential mobility studies after Wolpert focused on changes (events) in the household situation such as leaving home, marriage and first childbirth and found them to be important motives for the housing career (Clark & Huang 2003). Later studies on residential mobility have also highlighted the notion of individual trajectories. These studies focus on additional housing events such as divorce and separation (Feijten & van Ham 2007) and other trajectories, such as educational and labour market trajectories (Feijten & Mulder 2005). Together, these studies have shown that younger, higher educated and wealthier individuals move more frequently and that marriage and family formation increases the probability of moving (Clark & Huang 2003). The life course events of being married and childbirth also tend to increase the movement into home ownership, an effect that lasts throughout the life course (Feijten & Mulder 2005). By contrast, separation leads to increased mobility and movements into rental housing (Feijten & Mulder 2005; Feijten & van Ham 2007).

Urban migration and the life course

Although Rossi (1955) did not distinguish between residential mobility and internal migration, a distinction is most commonly used, e.g., based on labour market regions (Clark & Onaka 1983). The distinction is logical, as important differences in mobility over short and long distances are present. While life course events are translated into increased residential mobility, the opposite is true for internal migration. Sandefur and Scott (1981) have shown that education and wealth increases migration tendencies but that

¹¹ Clark and Onaka (1983) also provide an overview of residential mobility and the life cycle.

being married and childbirth make individuals less likely to migrate.¹² Once children are older and move out, the likelihood of the parents to migrate increases again (Courgeau 1985). This is most often explained by the notion that marriage and children make individuals more committed to a place and the cost of moving becomes higher.

Moreover, these studies have been able to study migration along the rural-urban continuum. Leaving the parental home, or youth migration, is generally considered to entice urban migration from rural areas, especially for individuals that are more educated (Drozdewski 2008; Garasky 2002; Thissen *et al.* 2010; Walsh 2013). Additionally, Courgeau (1989) studied the process of urbanisation and life course events and found intriguing results in France. He showed that the migration tendency towards metropolitan areas is reduced by the life course events of being married and having children. However, he also studied the migration towards rural areas. In this migration direction, marriage and children were found to increase the probability of migration. Similar results were illustrated in a study by Kulu (2008) for Austria. In general, long moves were reduced with family growth, but the birth of the first child increased rural migration, while the birth of the second and third children reduced urban migration.

This seems to be the case for Sweden as well. Studying rural migration, Lindgren (2003) showed that moves to the countryside are triggered by the birth of the first child. Furthermore, outstanding data from the Netherlands have enhanced the knowledge of the connection between life course events and migration. Apart from showing that young, single and educated individuals have the highest likelihood of migrating to the city (Mulder & Wagner 1993), the separation of married individuals and couples has also been shown to lead to migration to cities (Feijten & van Ham 2007). The same is true for older individuals who become widowers, as they tend to move less to towns and more to larger cities (Bonnet *et al.* 2010). A summary of these migration movements is illustrated below.

Table 1. Expected mobility direction according to life course events.

Life course event	Urban migration	Rural migration
Leaving Home	Increased	n.a.
Marriage/Cohabitation	Lowered	Increased
First Child	Lowered	Increased
Second/Third Child	Lowered	Increased
Separation	Increased	n.a.
Widowhood	Increased	Lowered

¹² See also Courgeau (1985) and Mulder and Wagner (1993).

Agency in the life course

As the life course perspective has its roots in the behaviouristic life cycle theory, it bases the analysis on reproductive stages in life (Boyle *et al.* 1998; Elder Jr. *et al.* 2003; Warnes 1992), i.e., we are born, mature, form couples/marry and then form our own families. Elder Jr. *et al.* (2003), however, emphasise that the life cycle theory is inadequate because it does not include individuals that do not reproduce. Moreover, it also fails to place individuals in a historical context. Similarly, the development of life trajectories such as the education, work and family tends not to consider the historical context. In response to this, Elder Jr. (1975; 1998; Elder Jr. *et al.* 2003; 1994) can be considered to have developed the life course perspective. Instead of viewing the life course as predetermined behaviour, he emphasises the agency of individuals based on the structuration theory, c.f. Giddens (1984; 1991).

The work by Elder Jr. highlights that individuals develop along different structured trajectories over their aging process and that they have agency within these. Furthermore, he stresses that these trajectories are structured within a historical and geographical context. Thus, we can locate effects that emanate from our ageing process, effects that stem from a specific time and place of our birth cohort and effects that derive from the present time and place, i.e., age, cohort and period effects. Furthermore, variations within time and place also matter, such as variations in individual characters and personal qualities.

Age effects are based on the notion that societies give opportunities, power, privilege and rewards to individuals according to a socially constructed age-stratified hierarchy (Elder Jr. 1975). Settersten Jr. (2003) highlights a difference between formal and informal age structuration, e.g., while there is a legal age for marriage, there is also simultaneously a normative expectancy about when to enter into marriage. Thus, there is a suitable and unsuitable behaviour for each age passage. Both entering and when to enter education or an occupation, to form a family, to retire and so on are connected to expectations according to an age-differentiated schedule. As social constructions, these scripts change over time. Hunt (2005) argues that today's social and geographical mobility makes family and friendship bonds difficult to sustain and that sexual relationships and dating have changed substantially. This has made the family trajectory more complex than marrying and forming a family alone to include cohabitation, singlenesship and same-sex marriages. As these changes are not covered by age effects, they refer to cohort or period effects.

Cohort and period effects are based on the idea that the behaviour of individuals is affected by historical events and processes. The difference between cohort and period effects is based on who is affected: if the individuals of a birth cohort alone are affected, it is considered a cohort effect, but if all individuals in the society are affected, it is considered a period effect

(Alwin & McCammon 2003). Elder Jr. (1998; 1974; 1994) has perhaps stressed cohort effects the most by showing how children before and after the Great Depression were affected in their later life behaviours. Generally, it is considered that individuals in their formative years, i.e., young individuals who are not committed to occupation and/or family, are most affected by events and processes, and if this change persists during the lifetime, it is a true cohort effect (Alwin & McCammon 2003).

Together, this understanding of the life course highlights that it is not sufficient to analyse the behaviour of individuals through the life cycle theory. Instead, age, period and cohort effects should be seen in the life course concept that places individuals into a time and place.

The life courses of gay men and lesbians

To analyse the differences within birth cohorts and highlight the life courses of gay men and lesbians, identity cohorts have been used (Rosenfeld 1999). With the help of gay and lesbian identity cohorts, researchers have been able to highlight how they differ from those of heterosexuals in their same birth cohorts. Topics from this research from the U.S. show how the life courses of gay men can become asynchronous with the expected life course. Peacock (2000) argues that the development of sexual identity among young gay men may lag in time because they feel different and because gay identities can be stigmatised. He also notes that the absence of marriage and family formation can make short-term relationships more common. Kertzner (2001) argues along the same line that sexual intimacy can serve as compensation for young gay adults as a result of not being able to adhere to the expected normative life course (marriage and family formation). However, he also states that sexual desire and activity decreases with age and showed that for gay men in their midlife, sexual identity became less important. With increasing possibilities for gay men and lesbians to marry and form families, Porsche and Purvin (2008) showed that this, alongside home ownership, therapy and monogamy, make long-term relationships last among gay men and lesbians. Differences have also been observed in the educational trajectory, e.g., Ueno *et al.* (2012) pointed to the dissimilarities between gay men and lesbians. Women declaring same-sex contact in their life courses attained lower educational degrees than did women with no same-sex contact. Conversely, men reporting same-sex contact in the young adulthood attained higher educational degrees. They assumed that this difference was due to the notion that women were more sensitive to the stigmatisation of their identities than were men.

Life course analysis also emphasises how different historical eras affect the birth cohorts of gay men and lesbians. During the 20th century, the

Stonewall riot, the AIDS epidemic¹³ and the rise of the Internet usage are considered particularly important events that have affected gay and lesbian cohorts (Boxer & Cohler 1989; Cohler & Hostetler 2003; Hammack & Cohler 2009; Rosenfeld 1999; Rosenfeld 2009; Shepard 2009). For birth cohorts coming of age in the pre-Stonewall era, gay and lesbian identities were not easily attainable and homosexuality was stigmatised (Rosenfeld 2009). They also lacked the opportunities to socialise and organise that the Stonewall period brought (Boxer & Cohler 1989). The Stonewall riots and the rise of the gay and lesbian rights movement in the 1960s changed the scene completely and made homosexuality associated with status instead of stigma (Rosenfeld 1999; Rosenfeld 2009). This changed again in the 1980s with the spread of HIV/AIDS, as homosexuality again became stigmatised and associated with illness (Shepard 2009). For gay men and lesbians, it became increasingly difficult to come out at the same time as the deaths and grief of lost partners and friends struck them (Boxer & Cohler 1989). This changed again with increased tolerance in society but more importantly with Internet access. Youths of the 2000s come out much earlier, are less concerned about identity and expect to live open lives without any disadvantages (Hostetler 2009). The Internet has made it possible for youths to experiment with their identities, to connect to others in the same process, to become aware of their sexual identities, to find support and to meet partners (Harper *et al.* 2009).¹⁴

However, as Cohler and Hammack (2009) note, historical eras are both historical and geographical, and the significance of geographical context is not to be underestimated. Contexts outside the Western world and diasporas sometimes build on events other than Stonewall and AIDS, as the previously mentioned works by Manalansan IV (1997) and McCajor Hall (2009) indicate. These works have contributed to the exploration of gay and lesbian lives through a life course perspective, and they have also highlighted the importance of geography. However, they have not focused on migration. Next, an attempt to place the studies of gay and lesbian migration in the life course perspective will be made.

¹³ It is clear that the AIDS epidemic has affected the lives of gay men more than lesbians because gay men were over-proportionally infected with HIV/AIDS. Boxer and Cohler (1989) stress that despite this difference, lesbians were nonetheless affected as a result of being around gay men. Moreover, the events gave rise to narratives and politics of *homosexuality* that affected both lesbians and gay men (Hostetler 2009; Shepard 2009).

¹⁴ The Internet is especially important to the formation of a sexual identity by young people, but Szulc and Dhoest (2013) argue that after the initial coming out, the Internet becomes less important.

Gay and lesbian migration

Studies of gay and lesbian migration have to some extent emphasised both age and cohort effects. The study by Weston (1995: 255) depicting the ‘*Great Gay Migration*’ has spurred several studies of homosexuality and migration. As mentioned earlier, she referred to the migration wave of gay men and lesbians from rural towns to the larger cities of the U.S. in the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s following Stonewall. The spread of AIDS altered this wave, especially considering popular media accounts. Pursuing the geography of AIDS, Raimondo (2003) located a series of newspaper articles that described a migration wave of HIV-infected gay men towards the countryside.¹⁵ Yet another birth cohort is suggested in Gorman-Murray (2007). He understands current migration directions as predominantly urban-urban and means that the older conceptualisations of gay and lesbian migration as going from/to rural areas are out-dated.

Although birth cohort effects are often implied, much more work is conducted on what could be considered age effects. Most of this work is based on the notion of ‘*Queer quests for identity*’ by Knopp (2004: 122). By this, he refers to the material and psychological search that gay men, lesbians and other minority groups undertake in a heterosexual world to find wholeness. This search for completeness typically entails a search for ‘[...] *people, places, relationships, and ways of being*’ (Knopp 2004: 123) on a variety of scales. A great deal of research has been carried out on the scale of internal migration. Gorman-Murray (2009) showed that gay men and lesbians often move for different reasons. In a qualitative study in Australia, he argued that apart from moving for educational and employment reasons, gay men and lesbians move to come out, to find other likeminded people and/or organisations or to move (in) with a partner.

This research has also problematised the importance of the rural-urban binary. In a study of the life narratives of rural gay men in the U.S. and France, Annes and Redlin (2012) show not only that the city was attractive for building a gay or lesbian identity but also that rural areas remained important for their identity and that migrating back was important. Similarly, Lewis (2012; 2014) studied the life narratives of gay men and showed that their coming out migrations were much more complex than simply rural-urban migration. Instead, their migration patterns showed segmented migration from a variety of places and cities to come out. This also entailed going back in the closet again. With this, he argued that coming out migration is relational and dependent on places that individuals migrate to and from. Indeed, Gorman-Murray (2007) has argued that coming out should be considered an on-going

¹⁵ In the discussion about individuals infected with HIV moving for care to their home communities, some argue that this migration direction has remained (Agee *et al.* 2006; Cohn & Klein 1994) and some argue that this flow is overemphasised (Berk *et al.* 2003).

process that does not end with a single migration. Instead, queer migration should be considered peripatetic.

Furthermore, a number of narratives collected from a city in Australia have gained greater attention. Waitt and Gorman-Murray (2011a) use the life story of a 16-year-old boy to show the importance of this quest for identity and how migratory behaviour is entangled. Similarly, Waitt and Gorman-Murray (2011b) analyse the life narratives of a gay man and a lesbian in their thirties, which confirms the migratory quest for identity to larger cities. However, once their identity was more stable, they moved to a smaller city for other reasons and made that city their home. Finally, Waitt and Gorman-Murray (2007) also scrutinised the life narratives of ten gay men in their forties and highlighted their homemaking practises. Growing older meant that they did not feel the urge to migrate. Instead, they focused on the home and ageing in place as well as on non-traditional family practices and constellations.

As these studies have mostly been concerned with problematising the rural-urban binary, they have been designed in ways that follow non-traditional migration paths.¹⁶ Furthermore, they have focused on the process of coming out or migrations that are associated with sexuality, e.g., Gorman-Murray (2009) omitted migrations that were due to work or educational reasons. Therefore, they have studied *gay and lesbian* migration and not the *migration of gay men and lesbians*.

Summary

In this chapter, it has been claimed that key thinkers of urban studies have focused on cities and thereby emphasised rural-urban differences. In response to this, it has been argued that studies of residential mobility have a way to de-centre the binary. By using the life course perspective, the focus lies on the individuals instead of cities. These studies have shown that life course events such as marriage and family formation affect migration in different directions. Among heterosexuals, committing through marriage and forming a family makes it more difficult to migrate, and the effect is that migration tendencies decrease, especially from towns to cities. Simultaneously, the migration from cities to towns seems to increase with the same life course events. As same-sex marriage, adoption, surrogacy and assisted fertilisation in many countries are or have been prohibited, gay men and lesbians are likely to be excluded from these events. The uniqueness of gay men and lesbians is therefore the absence of events. In the life course perspective, they should therefore show increasing tendencies towards migration from towns to cities and decreasing tendencies to migrate from cities to towns.

¹⁶ See Lewis (2012; 2014) for an exception.

Additionally, studies that focus on gay men and lesbians suggest that gay men and lesbians are unique because their differing sexuality forces them to declare their sexuality. This coming out process makes them more mobile, and the propensity to migrate is higher. Migration on and between a variety of scales is therefore common.

Taken together, though, these studies have not highlighted the *migrations* of gay men and lesbians. Instead, migration studies have either omitted them from studies or they have studied *gay and lesbian* migration, i.e., the particularity of coming out and how that affects migration. The life course perspective offers a possibility to combine these studies into one framework. Historical periods that have affected the birth cohorts of gay men and lesbians are highly likely to have affected their migration patterns; especially periods such as Stonewall, AIDS-epidemic and the rise of Internet usage. Simultaneously, age effects and life course events that are normatively expected are also likely to affect the migration of gay men and lesbians. To form couples and build families (however they may be constituted) also affect gay men and lesbians as well as making them more place-bound than their single counterparts. Even the absence will influence them to be more mobile. In the following, this perspective will be operationalised into methods.

3. Methods and materials

In the previous chapters, I have sought to introduce the research topic and situate it within the academic debate about the rural-urban divide. Furthermore, I have attempted to unpack the previous approaches to the migration of gay men and lesbians. In this chapter, I shift focus to the methodology and the process of gaining knowledge on the topic. The chapter introduces the mixed-methods approach to the migration of gay men and lesbians. I will argue that studies within geographies of sexualities have only relied on qualitative methods and that this has limited their understanding of the migration of gay men and lesbians. I will also claim that mixed-methods offer the possibility to further add to the debate on the rural-urban binary. As a response to this, two quantitative studies are designed to analyse register data on same-sex marriages and Internet data from the LGBT community *Qruiser.com*. Because the former data only contain a fraction of all gay men and lesbians and the latter only show their residences, these data are limited and cannot give elaborative information on the migration patterns of gay men and lesbians. Together, they also depict a static view on the geographical concentration of gay men and lesbians. As a complement, two qualitative case studies are designed to go beyond this image and discuss possible causalities. In these studies, interviews with gay men and lesbians on their migration circumstances make it possible to more thoroughly elaborate on both age and cohort effects. Finally, the chapter closes with some limitations/difficulties experienced during the fieldwork and how this affects the interpretation of the results.

Mixed-methods approach

Although the early geographical works exploring (homo)sexualities were performed using quantitative methods, later works are typically performed using qualitative methods. One reason for this can be attributed to the sometimes very unreflective ways in which gays and lesbians were portrayed in the early works, e.g., see Castells (1983). Most of this work also relied on secondary information about *those* places that gay men and lesbians met to map *their* areas (Bell & Valentine 1995). As Bell and Valentine (1995: 4) describe, those researchers were ‘[...] *unable to or uninterested in getting their hands dirty talking to informants*’. Therefore, the research that fol-

lowed tried to dissociate with such works, with one way being the use of other methods. Another reason could be the trajectory that geographies of sexualities have taken with the poststructuralist turn. As queer theory originates largely from the humanities (Brown *et al.* 2007), it has also influenced the methods used to be highly qualitative and has sometimes had a hostile approach towards geographers using quantitative methods (Brown 2007). However, as Brown (2007) argues, one of the perhaps most powerful critiques comes from within, and to do so, we must be able to address quantitative methods. Nevertheless, apart from Brown (2006) and Browne (2011), researchers within geographies of sexualities still tend to be solely concentrated on qualitative methods. On the other hand, to solely concentrate on quantitative methods limits the research into counting and measuring without being able to go beyond and discover different understandings. In the migration research, Findlay and Li (1999) have argued for an embrace of this complementary possibility of the mixed-methods approach. In response to this, this dissertation takes a mixed-methods approach through combining quantitative and qualitative methods to challenge the rural-urban binary.

Fixing the rural-urban binary with quantitative methods

Using quantitative methods in geographical research often means that you wish to count, measure and map to make an argument. As Browne (2010) reasons, in doing so, it is necessary to decide on a number of categories to count or measure, and in geographies of sexualities, this basically involves categorising sexuality. Sexuality is then easily narrowed down to sexual identity. However, as she argues, this is something that queer theorists have critiqued because desire, bodies and identities are difficult to put in boxes, as they are fluid and changeable. Queer researchers have helped us to understand,

‘[...] that homosexual/heterosexual categories and binaries are historically and culturally specific, such that names, categories and collective identities are social and cultural productions’ (Browne 2010: 234).

Thus, setting down categories means to exercise power and (re)create and consolidate a regime or narrative. For example, this dissertation uses the terms ‘gay men and lesbians’, which corresponds to the homosexual/heterosexual binary. As a constructed binary, it hides the lives of individuals who do not identify with such categories, such as bisexuals (c.f. Riggle *et al.* (2005) for some of the difficulties in categorising identities). Using this narrative therefore renders all lives outside or in-between these binary categories invisible. However, we cannot deny that this binary exists in the everyday lives of many people as well as in the economic (Browne & Nash

2010) and research (Brown 2007) spheres. Critically using these categories also has advantages. For instance, measuring the lives and counting the number of gay men and lesbians can have the advantage of recognising their sheer existence and empower them (Brown 2007) to allocate facilities and services that are denied to them (Browne 2010).

Using quantitative methods alone with the aim of challenging the rural-urban binary can have the effect of fixing a rural-urban narrative. However, it can also destabilise this narrative. Imagine a map of the residential patterns of gay men and lesbians. Such a map can on the one hand show that all gay men and lesbians reside in gay and lesbian Meccas, but it can also illustrate that there are gay men and lesbians everywhere, e.g., see the map in the first study. Therefore, the method can work in two ways depending on how the data are presented. Thus, using one binary (homosexual-heterosexual) can destabilise another binary (rural-urban).

Apart from the challenge of categorising sexuality, the availability of data on sexuality is an important issue. With the rising legal acknowledgment of same-sex partnerships/marriages as well as the changes made to the censuses performed in several countries, it is now possible to identify same-sex couples. However, because same-sex couples are few in the overall population, a small number of erroneous answers from opposite-sex couples in censuses have a large impact on this category (Festy 2007). This means that same-sex couples that are enumerated in censuses are not synonymous with gay men and lesbians. Simultaneously, the amount of gay men and lesbians that register in population registers as partners/spouses are quite few. As Bell and Binnie (2004) note, they do not cover singles, resulting in coverage of only a small part of the population that could be considered gay and lesbian.

Furthermore, as described in the previous chapter, forming a couple has lasting impacts on migration patterns. Thus, other ways of finding data that contain both single individuals and individuals in relationships/marriages must be used. In the first and second studies, the material is based on data retrieved from the Internet forum/dating site *Qruiser.com*, where people define themselves by their sexuality (gay, lesbian, bisexual, queer, trans or other); see the Table 2 below. To allow the subjects themselves to declare their sexuality brings the advantage of using the identity that individuals use in everyday society. It can also bridge the gap between the quantitative data and the qualitative data, as the common nominator is their own perception.

In the quantitative data there could, however, be a difference between the identity declared on the Internet and the identity used in everyday life. In everyday life, they can just as well define themselves as heterosexual/bisexual/queer or something else. Kitchin (1998) state that the Internet makes it possible for individuals to use their identities more fluidly and disconnectedly from the body, but he also suggests that this possibility is not often used, which has also been shown (Roberts & Parks 1999). In the first study, this issue is somewhat discussed, as it is shown that couples from

Qruiser.com share similar residential geographies as registered same-sex couples. However, the issue of the target population remains: they sometimes overlap and sometimes do not.

Table 2. Overview of quantitative material.

	Source	Men	Women	Av. age
Study I	Statistics Sweden	3,342	3,207	44
Studies I & II	Qruiser.com	47,264	19,129	34

As explained in the previous chapter, the life course perspective to internal migration has illustrated the effects of forming a couple and/or marrying on migration patterns. The advantage of using Internet data is therefore that they can discern the differences that the life course event of forming a couple or marrying makes to gay men and lesbians. It should be clear, however, that the first studies do not apply the life course perspective fully, which is partly due to the limitations of the material but moreover because the life course perspective was developed after the finalising of the first three articles. Thus, the results from the first articles spurred the development of the life course perspective in this thesis. This also relates to the well-known limitation of quantitative methods; that they often highlight a static view of phenomena (Bryman 2001). The quantitative studies in this thesis show a static demonstration of the residential patterns of gay men and lesbians and not the residential mobility behind that illustration. To highlight the residential mobility behind this static picture, other methods are needed.

Going beyond the binary with qualitative methods

While quantitative methods draw general pictures of the population and can be considered controversial within geographies of sexualities, qualitative methods are widely applied. As Browne and Nash (2010) note, this is not surprising because much work is concerned with destabilising the idea of individuals as stable sexual beings. However, qualitative methods have other advantages, such as the advantage of going beyond the static picture and saying something about the causality (Hammersley *et al.* 2000), receiving more in-depth accounts and putting emphasis on the perceptions of individuals (Bryman 1988). In contrast to surveys or register data, qualitative accounts can give a deeper understanding of the motives of moving to certain places. They can also give a different understanding than quantitative data offers.

To understand the rural-urban binary and the orientation of gay men and lesbians towards larger cities, a sample of case sites relying on the two rea-

soning arguments were chosen.¹⁷ First, it has been argued that most urban studies have been conducted in metropolises (Phillips *et al.* 2000) that can be considered gay and lesbian ‘Meccas’ (Bell 1991: 323). Studying individuals in such cities would logically entice individuals to stress the characteristics of the city that are related to the Mecca, e.g., a gay and lesbian village. This would also mean that other important issues are lost. With the aim of challenging the rural-urban binary, this thesis seeks to avoid such cities. At the same time, several studies have emerged recently that were conducted in rural areas and towns.¹⁸ Individuals in such towns have been shown to discuss their whereabouts along the rural-urban binary (Annes & Redlin 2012), which could strengthen the binary. As more people migrate to cities than towns,¹⁹ it would also be logical to interview individuals living in cities because the probability of finding individuals who have migrated is higher there. Therefore, rural towns and areas were avoided. Consequently, the cases of this thesis are located in cities that are in-between towns and Meccas.

Second, as the life course perspective stresses the historical time and geographical context, the selection of cities was made on the logic of finding contrasting sites. Sweden can be considered one of the most liberal countries in Europe with regard to gay and lesbian legal rights (Andersson *et al.* 2006). A contrasting case then needed to be found for the Swedish context. Therefore, a pre-study was performed in a number of cities in Europe, and Turkey was chosen because it is a highly contrasting case in terms of social and legal rights, e.g., there is no legal recognition of same-sex marriage, adoption or assisted fertilisation. Within these countries, cities were then selected on the basis of not being gay and lesbian Meccas and not being towns. The ranking of cities was made on the basis of an aspect that is generally considered important for the coming out process: the size of the gay and lesbian community. Annes and Redlin (2012) argue that visible gay and lesbian places such as gay bars and clubs are important for the identity building of gay men. The size of the gay and lesbian community was therefore operationalised into the number of gay bars, cafés and restaurants as well as the number of individuals on gay and lesbian dating sites (see Table 3 below). To be sure that a Mecca was not chosen, the third city in this ranking was chosen: Izmir and Malmö.

¹⁷ Meriam (1988: 21) argues that a case study is distinguished from other qualitative designs by the ‘*intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single instance, phenomenon, or social unit*’. After defining the case, i.e., the phenomenon, a selection of sites must be conducted (Merriam 1998). The phenomenon in this thesis would then refer to the rural-urban binary and migration patterns. However, Burgess (2000) maintains that the case study design is characterised by its adoption of a range of methods. This thesis adopts mixed methods but is limited to two methods, quantitative regression analysis and qualitative interviews.

¹⁸ E.g., see Annes and Redlin (2012) and Waitt and Gorman-Murray (2007; 2011a; 2011b).

¹⁹ As mentioned in the introduction chapter, research from the Nordic countries shows a net migration towards cities and up the urban hierarchy.

Table 3. Selection of case studies.

City	Bars, cafés, restaurants ²⁰	Members ²¹
1. Istanbul	22	24,339
2. Ankara	2	5,270
2. Izmir	4	5,183
....		
1. Stockholm	22	8,258
2. Göteborg	5	3,082
3. Malmö	4	1,671
...		

In each city, interviews were conducted (see Table 4 below). I also stayed for six months in Izmir to learn basic Turkish before conducting the interviews. In Izmir, the lack of an appropriate location for interviewing meant that I had to be flexible. The preferred place for interviews was a local gay and lesbian café, but in a few instances other places were used. Three interviews were conducted in other cafés chosen by the respondents, and one interview was conducted in the respondent's home.²² The interviews used an interview guide with open-ended questions, the first one starting with *How come you live in Izmir?* In Malmö, appointments were made prior to the fieldwork that consisted of two visits over the course of five days. There, the interviews were performed in the local library in secluded areas. A few of these interviews were disturbed by people in the library. Furthermore, respondents that were not able to come on these days or were not willing to come to the library were offered the option to conduct the interview over Skype. Before the interview, respondents received preparation materials consisting of a timeline on which they were supposed to mark their different housing locations. The interviews were also held using these materials as a point of departure.

Table 4. Overview of qualitative materials.

	Interviews	Female	Male	Age range
Study III Malmö	19	3	16	23-75
Study IV Izmir	15	4	11	20-70

²⁰ Information is from the gay and lesbian travel guide *Spartacus* (Gmünder 2011). It should be mentioned that many of the clubs, bars and restaurants in Stockholm could be considered gay friendly rather than gay.

²¹ Information was retrieved from Swedish and Turkish Internet dating forums as of 2012-02-03. In the Swedish case, the Internet forum *Qruiser.com* was used. In the Turkish case, the sum of members on *Planetromeo.com*, *Manjam.com*, *Gabile.com*, *Hadrigayri.com* was used.

²² Although Valentine (2005) states that performing interviews in their own homes can generate better atmospheres and conditions for interviewing, it was generally avoided in this thesis due to its sexual connotation.

The interviews were designed to highlight cohort and period differences in the life courses of gay men and lesbians. As described in the previous chapter, cohort differences are likely to be present due to historical events that are important for the gay and lesbian minority. Stonewall in the 1970s, the AIDS-epidemic in the 1980s and the rise of the Internet in the 2000s are events that could also be important for the migration patterns of gay men and lesbians.²³ Therefore, the sampling in the qualitative studies was based on choosing individuals growing up in these different eras. In the life course approach, it is widely recognised that events that occur during the years of coming of age and before commitment have lasting impact (Alwin & McCammon 2003). According to this logic, individuals aged 15-20 during the event were chosen (see Table 5 below). In the contrasting case, however, these events are unlikely to have had the same impact. To analyse how the geographical context matters, the sample in the fourth study in Izmir was based on choosing individuals along the whole age spectrum. However, as shall be demonstrated in the following, the collection and interpretation of qualitative data bring other issues and challenges than the similar processes for quantitative data.

Table 5. Historical events and birth cohorts.

Event	Period	Birth cohort	Current age
Stonewall	1970s (1975-79)	1955-60	53-58
AIDS	1980s (1985-89)	1965-70	43-48
Internet	2000s (2005-2009)	1985-90	23-28

Sampling and going on a lot of dates

One of the most challenging undertakings can be to find the appropriate individuals to study. Because the gay and lesbian population is a minority with regard to the general population, gay men and lesbians are more difficult to recruit (Riggle *et al.* 2005). Common sampling techniques for the recruitment of gay men and lesbians are searching in LGBT community venues, snowball methods, respondent-driven recruitment and web-based sampling

²³ Although the Stonewall riot occurred in 1969, it took several years before the liberation wave hit Sweden. The occupation of the staircase in *Socialstyrelsen* (the authority in charge of illness classifications) led to the removal of homosexuality as an illness in 1979 and can be seen as the height of the gay rights era. The reports about AIDS were also initially considered to be an American issue until the first case was reported in Sweden in 1982. The biggest hysteria, however, occurred around the middle of the 1980s. The Internet age can be considered to have started in 1999 when the first gay and lesbian Internet forum with profile pages was created (*Sylvester.se* and *Sylvia.se*). In 2003, these Internet sites introduced a fee with the consequence that virtually all members changed to the free platform *Qruiser.com*. It has dominated the Internet as a gay and lesbian contact forum, but since 2009, increasing numbers of gay men and lesbians have started using smartphone apps such as *Grindr*.

(Meyer & Wilson 2009). Thus, a multi-strategy approach was used to find enough individuals to interview. Individuals were contacted in Malmö through the LGBT Internet forum *Qruiser.com*. Finding men to interview was considerably easier than finding women. One female interviewee explained this as a consequence of many heterosexual men contacting women for sex on the Internet forum. Every day, she erases approximately ten such messages, and because it is only possible to see a person's profile name and gender in the inbox, it is probable that recruitment invitations to women were lost among the sexual invites from other men.

In Izmir, three ways of coming in contact with individuals had to be applied. First, like in Malmö, Internet forums were contacted and informed about the planned contact-making process. While *Qruiser.com* caters to both men and women and is the most widespread forum in the Sweden, several forums are used in Turkey. Two Turkish forums also cater to men and women – *Gabile.com* and *Hadrigayri.com* – but because they are almost exclusively in Turkish and I did not master enough of the Turkish language, I had to resort to the English-speaking forums: *Planetromeo.com* and *Manjam.com*.²⁴ The female equivalent, *Gaydargirls.com*, has an exclusively women-only policy and did not grant me permission to contact women though their site. Second, as many studies have made use of local LGBT organisations (Meyer & Wilson 2009), contact was arranged with the local organisation and some interviewees were sampled through it. Third, as several studies have used snowball sampling through gay and lesbian commercial venues (Meyer & Wilson 2009), much time was spent in local gay and lesbian hangouts. In one of these in particular, the owner was befriended, who referred to other lesbians to interview.

While being positioned as a gay man undoubtedly made it easier for me to make appointments with lesbians for interviews in Izmir, the same position turned out to be of a lesser 'advantage' in making appointments with gay men. Contacting individuals on Internet forums that also or perhaps foremost function as dating sites was bound to send signals other than the prospect of serious research to be conducted. As a consequence of my strategy of finding individuals on *dating* sites, many of the introduction letters on *Planetromeo.com* were replied with messages such as '*what are your measurements*', referring to physical features. Others wanted to talk on Skype so that they could '*see*' me, but became disinterested after introducing the research instead of discussing myself and my preferences. Often, respondents decided not to turn up at the place and time of the interview. One even explained that he '*knew what kind of guy I was*' because he had seen me meeting with so many different guys in the local gay and lesbian café. Similar experiences resulted from contacting individuals on *Qruiser.com* in Malmö.

²⁴ It should also be mentioned that *Planetromeo.com* had by far the largest member count in Turkey.

Some wanted to talk and meet but lost interest when they received the letter with preparation materials. Some were also unavailable during the field visits, and I offered them the option to conduct the interview via Skype. Four men insisted on doing the interview live and refused to do it otherwise.²⁵ Some also offered to be interviewed in their homes, as their calendars were filled with work and their time schedules did not allow them not come to the library, where the interviews were held.

Apart from the contact-making process, both the interview meetings and the subsequent interactions indicated that the sampling strategy resulted in the interviews being perceived by respondents differently. During one interview in Malmö, for example, Per-Olof told me (while looking into my eyes): 'Wow, *this really feels like a date*'. The resulting contact after an interview with a man named Ecebay in Izmir suggested similar effects of the sample strategy. After the interview, he sent me a message on *Planetromeo.com*:

Ecebay (male, in his 60s): Tomorrow (Sunday) a very handsome blond boy, 19 years old will come to my house. He works at an electric shop. He is a very nice guy. He likes to fuck and also he likes to be fucked. Active and passive. He came to my house in Çeşme to repair my lamp and I offered him to swim with me and after we took a shower together and that is how it started. If you want you can join us tomorrow.

However flattering these experiences may be, they are nevertheless shortcomings of my sampling strategy and of the intention to perform interviews about life migration stories. Although the advantages and disadvantages of being an insider/outsider have been discussed quite well within the field of geography, e.g., see Mohammad (2001), these shortcomings were unexpected for me. My initial understanding of my position was that of an insider because I am gay, and by contacting lesbians in Izmir in real life, this was arguably also the case. Positioned as a gay researcher, it was easier for me to make contact with lesbians in gay and lesbian commercial venues. However, because the Internet forums dedicated to women rejected my sampling, I was made aware that I am a gay *male* researcher (an outsider). Furthermore, I was also positioned as a desired object, and consequently, I tried to distance myself from that position to a more *professional* one.

²⁵ This was quite understandable in one case, though, because he did not have Skype installed and the process of me explaining how to install the program was quite elaborate. That probably made him less interested to participate.

Recently, this is something that has received attention within the field of geography.²⁶ Diprose *et al.* (2013) reflect on similar experiences during fieldwork in which they became positioned as sexual objects and consequently distanced themselves from the research objects by positioning themselves as asexual and objective researchers. Likewise, Mac an Ghaill *et al.* (2013: 83) discuss interviewers' strategies on '[...] how to manage them trying to get too close'. In their work on men's dating processes, they also reflect on how the men they interviewed moved the process that they discussed (dating) into the interview situation. Reflecting on my own interview situations, it is quite likely that my intended interview situation was confused with some male interviewees assuming a date situation with me.²⁷ The more I tried to position myself as one of them and thereby limiting the distance from them, the more my attempts could have been read as making advances (see Figure 1 below).

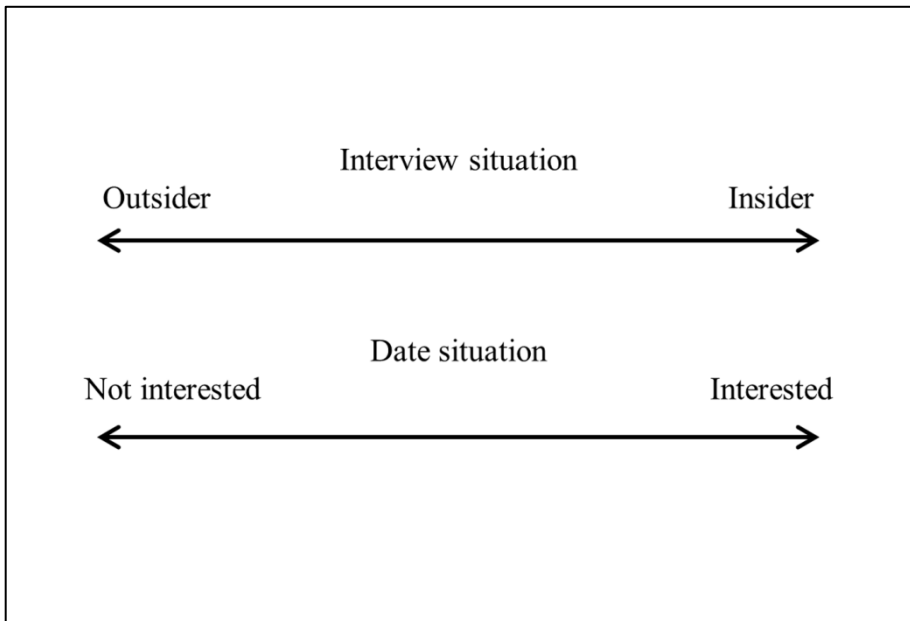


Figure 1. Discrepancy between the interview situation and the date situation.

²⁶ In discussing the insider/outsider dichotomy, Valentine (2002) also acknowledges the power of desire and calls for more reflexivity.

²⁷ It should be emphasised, though, that these situations arose as a consequence of the sampling strategy of finding individuals through a dating forum and not from respondents being unusually sexually active.

Limitations and ethical concerns

In the mixed-methods approach, Tashakkori and Teddlie (2008) argue that qualitative and quantitative research should be evaluated on two different sets of standards. While validity is vital for the quality of quantitative research, qualitative research needs to show credibility '*based on the degree of fit between the participants' realities and the investigator's constructions and representations of these realities*' (Tashakkori & Teddlie 2008: 109). Therefore, to reflect on this is important, as my performance ultimately affects the outcome of the research (England 1994). However, Rose (1997) discusses the impossibility of interpreting the researchers' impact on the research as the situatedness of the research process always makes it impossible for us to control it and attempts are bound to fail. In the interview situations, it may not have mattered how I moved along the continuum of insider/outsider, as there would always be a gap between that situation and the *date* situation some interviewees (thought they) were in. I could try to move around this gap and analyse their migration stories, but this would always be clouded by the fact that they have polished a migration *date* story. Thus, they produced a situated version of the reality of what mattered to them.

The sampling technique also affected the quality in terms of saturation, i.e., the question about the amount of sampled material (Bryman 2001). As described above, female participants were few in the qualitative measures. In particular, lesbians in the older age categories are missing, allowing for a potential gap to be present in the material. Although researchers have argued that gay men and lesbians are subject to the same types of marginalisation (Cohler & Hostetler 2003; Cohler & Hammack 2009; Hammack & Cohler 2009; Rosenfeld 1999; Rosenfeld 2009), it is plausible that there exist differences between the genders as well. In one interview in Izmir, for example, *Deva* stated that gay men were subjects to a much higher degree of marginalisation than are lesbians. She was referring to the Turkish context as macho and the importance of being a man. Taken together, these limitations indicate some degree of uncertainty and puzzles that are not solved in this thesis.

The marginalisation of gay men and lesbians is also related to the research ethics applied in this thesis. The core responsibilities of researchers with regard to ethics include guaranteeing confidentiality, informed consent and that no harm comes to the participants (Dowling 2000). Because gay men and lesbians are often subject to homophobia and vulnerability, research ethics are extra important (Valentine *et al.* 2001). Thus, personal names and the naming of people, locations and companies have been changed or cloaked to ensure participant anonymity. The participants were also informed about the research topics and what was expected from them at an early stage during the establishment of contact. Before the interview started, the research topic was explained once again and the outcome of the interview was illustrated by showing how interview quotes were presented in a

research article from a related project. They were also informed about the possibility to opt out and asked if they wanted to participate or opt out. After the interview, they were again asked if they would give consent to use the recorded material in the way explained in the beginning or if they wished me to erase the complete interview or parts of the material. They were also encouraged to stay in touch throughout the process through email or Facebook and were offered the option to read and/or adjust the transcript. To ensure that the participants were not subject to harm in Izmir, I tried not to walk with them outside the gay and lesbian café (I could be known as gay) and not to talk loudly or expressively during the interview to ensure that their sexual identities were not disclosed.

Research ethics also extends beyond the core responsibilities of ensuring confidentiality, gaining informed consent and causing no harm. Qualitative research acknowledges that knowledge is paired with power and power relations (Dowling 2000). Thus, feminist scholars have called for more inclusive methods that empower the individuals or communities researched (England 1994). Although such empowering strategies were strived for initially, they were abandoned due to some difficulties, e.g., contact with the local LGBT organisations was established but unsuccessful. Valentine (2003) reflects on the difficulties of integrating empowering research strategies and calls for a united research process between minority rights movements and researchers. However, she also acknowledges that apart from the research process, empowerment can derive from the knowledge *produced*. This knowledge should therefore be applicable to the movement to empower them. As discussed above, the research design of this thesis problematising the rural-urban binary will optimistically have such an empowering effect.

Making sense of the mixed-methods

Considering that different methods have been used, different analysis techniques have also been applied. For the quantitative methods, SPSS has been used to analyse the connections and relations between different categories.

For the qualitative methods, two strategies of making sense of the materials were used. First, to analyse how geographical context matters, NVivo was used to help code the interviews performed in Izmir. The analysis started with the open coding of potential meanings in the material through listening and reading through the transcripts and making smaller memos. Although the transcription was performed with NVivo, it was done with the help of paper memos. Thereafter, the coding took place in NVivo, performing axial coding for possible linkages and differences between the codes. Although researchers advocate starting the transcribing and coding process as soon as possible after the interview (Corbin & Strauss 2008; Crang 2005), the time limit made it necessary to do all interviews first and the transcribing

and coding of the interviews afterwards. With the list of codes and linkages, the next stage was to merge them into clearer categories and an overall concept. As the concept related to the contextual specificities of residential mobility, the categories framed a new literature search for the Turkish context. Taken together, these were finally merged into the final text.²⁸ Second, to answer more specifically how gay men and lesbians motivate their moves, the interviews performed in Malmö were transcribed and coded in a similar way. However, as the life course perspective had evolved through both the quantitative studies as well as the study in Izmir, it was used as an entrance point into the analysis. Thus, life course trajectories functioned as an entry point into the coding process. Corbin and Strauss (2008: 39) acknowledge such a process to ‘*complement, extend, and verify the findings*’, especially if the aim is to extend an extensive and already existing theory.

A common technique of mixed-methods is to use qualitative methods to understand the relationship between the variables found from quantitative methods (Bryman 2001) and make conceptual generalisations (Glaser 2001). However, one of the limitations of generalising from case sites is that the cause could derive from the differences between case sites as well as within the case sites (Hammersley *et al.* 2000). The differences between the case sites can originate in the differences between the cities in general, i.e., from geographic contextual differences but also from within the cases, i.e., from the selection of individuals in each case site. Thus, it is difficult to determine whether the relationships found are over- or underemphasised. Another problem arises from performing research in two unfamiliar contexts (where one is also culturally different). Through being familiar with one context, the researcher can be blind to the difference between context and culture. Broadfoot (2000) highlights the need to minimise the influence of the researchers’ culture in interpreting the phenomenon. Although it might be impossible for any researcher to fully reflect on the position (Rose 1997), one interview indicated that my position as Western researcher affected the interviews in Izmir. In the interview, Asena referred to herself as a *European* lesbian, but when I asked her about the meaning of such a term, she adjusted the definition to just lesbian.

In contrast to conceptual generalisation, empirical generalisation from qualitative methods is mostly rejected (Gomm *et al.* 2000). From using quantitative methods, however, empirical generalisations are usually common as long as the validity and reliability is high (Bryman 2001). Using Internet data is associated with some concerns regarding reliability. First, although the member count has remained stable, the fluctuation on *Qruis-*

²⁸ Although the study with interviews in Izmir is presented as the last article, the study was performed before the study in Malmö. The conceptual framework, i.e., the life course perspective, was also not developed before the study. Glaser (1998) argues that the concept needs to be firm before it is grounded in the literature, and Corbin and Strauss (2008) state that they prefer not to begin with a theoretical framework.

er.com is large, with new accounts being created and old accounts deleted continuously. There are also new ways of meeting and keeping in touch for gay men and lesbians through the Internet, such as *Facebook* or the smartphone apps *Grindr* and *Qrushr Girls*. Second, the Internet material gathered was based on the categories of gay, lesbian and bisexual, while the category of queer was simultaneously ignored. This category remains small (approximately a few thousand individuals), but it is likely that it will rise in popularity among younger individuals, as it is increasingly being equated with gay and lesbian identity.

As is the case with reliability, the validity in the studies is paired with limitations. The main question is whether the results can be generalised for the whole assumed gay and lesbian population. The most obvious limitation is the titling of the material to individuals in the age group between 20 and 30. Although this has been adjusted (see appendix I), fewer older individuals have been found and included. This can possibly be attributed to fact that the *Qruiser.com* functions as a dating site and a meeting forum. Because it is likely that older individuals live as part of a couple, they would also be less inclined to have a profile on *Qruiser.com*. Another limitation derives from the fact that the Internet data rely on self-reported data. For example, it is possible that male individuals may keep two profiles for different purposes, i.e., one for friends and one for dating. If these individuals report the same residence, the results would depict an overestimation of male individuals. If these individuals report different residences, e.g., individuals in smaller towns could be inclined to report larger towns to keep a respectable appearance, an underestimation of the number of individuals in smaller towns would occur.

Apart from evaluating the quantitative and qualitative methods separately, the mixed-methods approach advocates an assessment of the degree of meta-generalisations (Tashakkori & Teddlie 2008). In this last stage, Tashakkori and Teddlie (2008) suggest that meta-generalisations should be evaluated on the basis of the research design and rigor. The model below illustrates how the different studies add to the main aim of the study. The design shows that the first two quantitative studies address geographical concentration and the qualitative studies address migration. Although they feed back to the rural-urban binary, they may study two different phenomena. To some degree, it could be argued that geographical concentration is a result of migration patterns. However, as has been noted before, geographical concentration is not necessarily only a result of migration. Migration analysis of the *Qruiser.com* data would have been desirable, but the limitations of the data make such analysis impossible. Alternatively, the register data could have assisted with migration analysis, but few gay men and lesbians register same-sex marriages, which makes generalisations impossible for the gay and lesbian population.

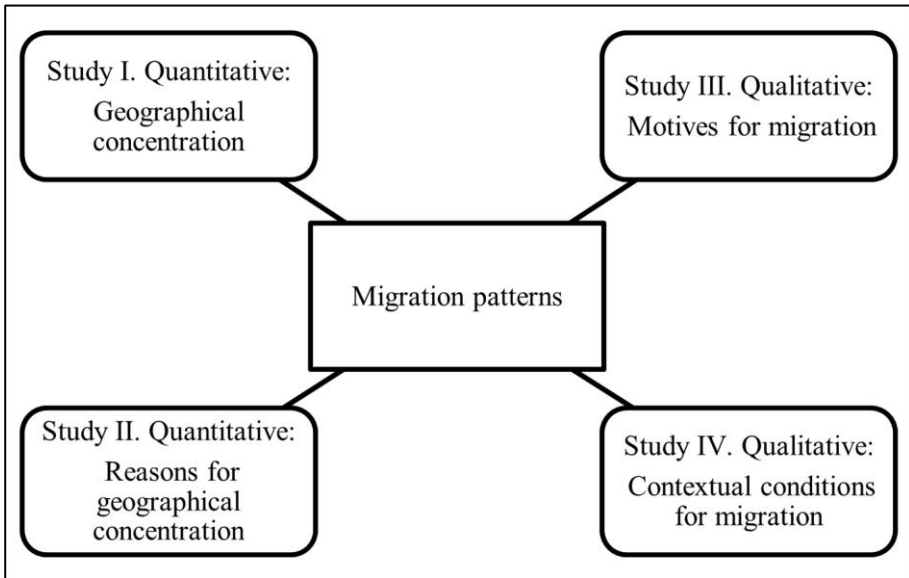


Figure 2. The design of the study.

Methodological considerations

In this chapter, I have argued that a mixed-methods approach to the migrations of gay men and lesbians is beneficial. As most studies within geographies of sexualities are performed using qualitative methods, I illustrated how both qualitative and quantitative methods can complement each other with the aim of challenging the rural-urban binary. In designing the study, I claimed that a field design with contrasting case sites were preferred with case cities that were not Meccas or towns. Therefore, Izmir and Malmö were chosen as locations for two case site studies that have the potential of adding to the debate on the rural-urban binary. The other two studies were chosen to rely on material from register data and the Internet. Because these data are not too extensive, the limitation is that they cannot say much about age and cohort effects or go beyond a static depiction. The qualitative methods, on the other hand, have the possibility of going beyond the data and creating another understanding of the migration patterns of gay men and lesbians.

One of the limitations of this material, however, is that it can be interpreted in many different ways. Therefore, I discussed some potential gaps: the underrepresentation of lesbians and the positionality of the researcher. As will be clear in the next chapter, the results from the quantitative data and the

qualitative material will be different: the quantitative data will *show* static relationships, and the qualitative material *will speak of* causal relationships.

4. Summary of empirical studies

This chapter presents the results from the four studies of this thesis in short summaries (see the appendices for elaborative results). As described in the former chapter, the first two studies are based on register data from Statistics Sweden and data collected from the Internet forum *Qruiser.com*. The analyses in these two studies are thus quantitative and address correlation tests to find relationships. The second two studies are based on interviews with gay men and lesbians in Malmö and Izmir. The analyses in these two studies are based on grounded analysis. Together, these results are discussed in the last paragraph.

I. The city as a single gay male magnet? Gay and lesbian concentration in Sweden

The first study²⁹ engages with the discussion of rural and urban differences in the concentrations of gay men and lesbians. In the study, it is clearly illustrated that gay men and lesbians are concentrated to the largest municipalities of Sweden – Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö – based on both the register data and the data received from the Internet community *Qruiser.com*. Almost all of the variation in the relative geographical concentration of gay men and lesbians can be explained by population size in the municipalities when considering the *Qruiser.com* dataset. When broken down in terms of gender and relationship status, the concentration is still highest for the same municipalities, with the exception of women registered on *Qruiser.com*. In their case, the municipality of Umeå is also among the three municipalities with the highest scores. Breaking down the data on gender and relationship status also highlights the differences in concentration intensity. In the correlation tests between population size in municipalities and the relative concentration of gay men and lesbians, it was shown that gay men had a stronger tendency to be concentrated to the largest municipalities than

²⁹ Wimark, Thomas and Östh, John (2013) The city as a single gay male magnet? Gay and lesbian concentration in Sweden. *Population, Space and Place*, early view November 2013. Joint work with John Östh as the second author. I came up with the research idea and had the major knowledge about the theoretical framework discussing sexuality and geography. John constructed the digital tool enabling the collection of data, and together, we analysed the material. The writing and editing of the document have been conducted in equal shares.

did women. The tests also revealed that the strength in the concentration varied considerably due to relationship status. While single individuals displayed the strongest concentration tendencies, the connection was considerably weaker for individuals in couples.

II. Is it really tolerance? Expanding the knowledge about diversity for the creative class

The second study³⁰ partakes in discussions around the importance of the concentrations of gay men and lesbians for the creative class and economic development. In the study, the geographical concentration patterns of gay men and lesbians are taken one step further by analysing other possible reasons for the relative concentration of gay men and lesbians to certain locations. Based on previous research around the Creative Class theory, a number of variables that are thought to be correlated with the concentration patterns of the gay and lesbian population are tested. In the first set of analyses, it is shown that tolerance as measured by attitudes and actions has no significant relationship with the concentration of gay men and lesbians. This is perhaps not surprising, as perceived tolerance and actual tolerance are two quite different dimensions, and perceived tolerance could play a role. In the second analysis, the relationships between the gay and lesbian concentration variable and variables that are based on economy and other populations are tested. It is shown that neither economic variables nor other variables of population concentrations are significant for gay and lesbian geographical concentration when controlling for regional population size and education.

III. Migration motives of gay men and lesbians: A cohort study from Malmö, Sweden

The third study³¹ joins the discussions of rural-urban differences through examining the migration motives for gay men and lesbians. In the study, the migratory motive stories of gay men and lesbians residing in Malmö, Sweden, were analysed to find causal reasons for city residential concentration. The results suggest that current conceptualisations of the migration patterns of gay men and lesbians could be elevated by acknowledging the effects of historical eras. Previous generations largely grew up in times with little societal support and a great deal of discrimination. Whereas the life stories of the older cohorts resembled typical rural-urban flight stories, the youngest co-

³⁰ Wimark, Thomas (2013) Is it really tolerance? Expanding the knowledge about diversity for the creative class. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 105 (1), 46-63.

³¹ Manuscript submitted to *Social and Cultural Geography*.

hort seemed to make a clear distinction between identity building and the city. Instead, they sought the city's ambience and opportunities. Furthermore, the youngest cohort indicated that higher education can be used as a strategy for stalling the process of becoming an adult. This approach may not differ from the overall population of the same birth cohort, but it contrasts with that of the older cohorts that sought a career. Similarly, there was a difference between the youngest cohort and previous generations, as the former indicated that the nuclear family is once again increasingly important. In contrast, the older cohorts drew on the theme of friends to explain their migration decisions. As gay men and lesbians now expect or are expected to follow the same general life courses as others in society, their courses seem to have become more similar to those of the overall population. This perspective creates a more nuanced understanding of the migration motives of gay men and lesbians than the concept of coming out migration with rural-urban flights.

IV. The impact of family ties on the mobility decisions of gay men and lesbians: Life stories from Izmir, Turkey

The fourth study³² embarks on a discussion of rural-urban differences through the notion of the individualisation of populations and the importance of family ties. In the study, the discussions among gay men and lesbians in the Izmir context on residential mobility and migration are illustrated. Previous discussions on the mobility and migration of gay men and lesbians have predominately been limited to the Western context. In this article, it is shown that the conceptualisation of the migration patterns of gay men and lesbians could benefit from taking at least four new themes into account.

First, despite living in a context where homophobia and violence towards gay men and lesbians in families is common, the interviewees still stressed the importance of the family. This would seem puzzling, but in the life course approach, the family can be seen as a structure that is both constraining and supporting. While the family might be unsupportive in the coming out process, it can offer other emotional, social and economic support. Distancing oneself from the family could lead to increased vulnerability. Second, the interviews showed the importance of Western gay and lesbian identities entering the context. The older cohorts illustrated that gay and lesbian identities were only accessible in other places (like Istanbul and Western cities) in their formation years. However, interviews with the youngest gay men and lesbians indicated that this has now changed and that

³² Manuscript submitted to *Gender, Place and Culture*.

gay and lesbian identities are available in Izmir as well. Third, the linked lives to parents were stressed. In Turkey, people still tend to leave home after or in connection to marriage and individuals that do not marry can be obliged to stay home and care for parents. Fourth, the interviewees described how their educational and employment trajectories could be empowering. Gaining higher education and securing work with a tolerant employer was an important strategy for the interviewed gay men and lesbians. Summarising these four points, the study highlights that an analysis only focusing on the coming out process fails to acknowledge the potential impacts of other trajectories.

Summary discussion

Like the general population, gay men and lesbians tend to concentrate to the larger cities of Sweden, but their concentration tendency is vastly stronger. Such an illustration matches the notion of the gay imaginary with the city as the location for gay and lesbian life and the target for the migration of gay men and lesbian (Weston 1995). In the gay imaginary, larger cities become symbols of tolerance, and towns and the countryside come to be seen as intolerant heterosexual territories. However, intolerance is not only limited to the rural regions. As the results from the second study indicate, metropolitan regions can also be the most intolerant. Moreover, the concentration tendency of gay men and lesbians does not have much to do with measured tolerance. Instead, the concentration seems to only be explained by the size of the population – the bigger the city, the higher the relative concentration of gays and lesbians.

Because the result also points to the importance of gender and civil status, there is reason to believe that life course migration events are casual explanations of this concentration.³³ First, women were shown to be less concentrated than men. This could possibly be explained by the fact that lesbian households have children to a larger degree than do gay households (Anderson *et al.* 2006). As described earlier, having one or more children makes people more prone to be bound to one place and less likely to migrate to larger cities. Simultaneously, they make people more likely to realise a move to the smaller towns. Second, gay men and lesbians in a couple were less concentrated than were singles. The previous studies mentioned earlier could

³³ As Laumann *et al.* (2000) argue, the concentration of gay men and lesbians to larger cities could also be explained by more individuals being enticed to experiment and develop same-sex desires in cities where there are others with this lifestyle that are already visible. However, it should be noted that this notion is based on visible identities in Western cities where there is also a *visible* gay community/village. Gay and lesbian identities in Turkey could be argued to be invisible, and the gay and lesbian community in Sweden lacks typical cities with gay and lesbian villages.

also explain this as being a result of increases in the hardship in agreeing on and realising migration. Studies point to the notion that cohabitation and being married decrease the likelihood of moving to larger cities as well as an increased tendency to move to smaller towns.

However, it is unlikely that the whole concentration can be explained by (the absence of) life course events. As the interviewees from the study in Izmir indicate, gay and lesbian identities are only available in certain places at certain times. Feeling same-sex desires and desiring identities that are available only in another place can function as a powerful motive to leave one place and discover another. The results also pinpoint the larger family as an important enabling and restraining entity in such a process. Similarly, the interviewees from Malmö suggested that there is a narrative resembling the gay imaginary among the older birth cohorts serving as a motive for them to migrate to the larger cities. It is probable that this narrative has affected many gay men (and lesbians) in their coming out process. Younger birth cohorts, however, do seem to make a clear difference between a coming out narrative and the pull of the big city narrative. These interviews from Izmir and Malmö indicate that there is a need to contextualise the gay imaginary to a specific time and place.

5. Concluding discussion

In this thesis, I shed light on the migration paths of gay men and lesbians. Unlike previous work, I put an emphasis on their migration patterns instead of on their sexuality. Using a life course perspective, I argue that gay men and lesbians are affected by the time and place into which they are born. Like heterosexuals, they are subject to the normative conceptions of life paths that are present at a specific historical period and place. These conceptions might be altered by time and result in different patterns, but gay men and lesbians must nevertheless create their lives in relation to them. Adopting a mixed-methods approach that combines quantitative and qualitative methods, I answer four questions related to this aim.

First, I asked myself two questions that I answered with the help of quantitative methods: (1) *Where and why are gay men and lesbians concentrated?* and (2) *How important is tolerance to the geographical concentration of gay men and lesbians?* In response to these questions, I have, together with John Östh, shown that they tend to be concentrated to the largest cities of Sweden. The relative concentration of gay men and lesbians increases with the population size of the city, i.e., the bigger the city, the bigger the relative concentration of gay men and lesbians. Almost all of this concentration can be explained in this way. Quite surprisingly, I have also shown that measured tolerance as attitudes and actions does not matter to this concentration. This does not mean that perceived tolerance matters to gay men and lesbians, as such a relation could not be tested.

Second, I answered two questions with the help of qualitative methods: (3) *How do gay men and lesbians motivate their migration paths?* and (4) *How does the historical and geographical context matter to the migration of gay men and lesbians?* In response to this, I highlight the migration narratives in two different contexts, Malmö in Sweden and Izmir in Turkey. In the study of Malmö, I argued that gay men and lesbians mainly motivate their migrations according to four narratives. The most commonly studied reason for migration is the coming out process. However, I maintained that this process currently has little to do with the city and more to do with the distance from a specific locale and finding a sense of belonging, especially for younger gay men and lesbians. I also argued that there is a narrative of the city that pulls them there, but that it has more to do with the overall dimensions of the city than something that is specifically gay or lesbian. Furthermore, I claimed that the educational and work careers of gay men and lesbi-

ans are also of importance. Finally, the interviewees stressed the vital role of family and friends in their motives. In the analysis of interviews from Izmir, I found four themes that are usually absent from the Western conceptualisations of gay and lesbian migration. Foremost, the central importance the core family plays in the migration narratives was stressed, which is missing from Western accounts. In a context with low tolerance towards gay men and lesbians, this would seem surprising, but I argued that the family may serve not only as a constrainer but also as an enabler. Through these studies, I have downplayed the connection between sexuality and urbanity, and I have therefore tried to challenge the rural-urban binary.

Life course matters

One of the most important contributions of this thesis is to show how important life courses are. In highlighting the particularity of gay men and lesbians, studies have shown that they tend to be concentrated to larger cities (Black *et al.* 2000) and that cohabiting same-sex couples tend to migrate out of larger cities (Cooke & Rapino 2007). This would seem contradictory at first glance. However, by adopting a life course perspective, this thesis has been able to elaborate further on this to show that the life course events of cohabitation and having children might be responsible for such effects.

Simultaneously, studies have emphasised the particularities of gay and lesbian migration by focusing on the coming out process (Gorman-Murray 2007; Lewis 2012; Waitt & Gorman-Murray 2011a; Waitt & Gorman-Murray 2011b). It is undeniable that the coming out process is important for gay men and lesbians, but through implementing a life course perspective, I maintain that motives change over a lifetime and depend on your birth context. Through the study in Malmö, I theorised that coming out may have been associated with a strategy of fleeing the countryside and migrating to the larger cities among older cohorts, but now it has less to do with the city and more to do with coming out only. I also argued that the coming out process fades away with age, which makes other migration motives more important, which could be missed when associating the coming out process with an on-going never-ending process (Lewis 2012).

Furthermore, I maintain that the effects stemming from historical time and geographical context must be considered as well. Focusing on the coming out process misses certain contexts in which coming out is perhaps not possible or desirable, like in Izmir. Distancing oneself from the family and migrating might therefore be less important for them. The coming out process also fails to acknowledge many motives that gay men and lesbians have to migrate. Although Gorman-Murray (2009) has noted that there are motives other than coming out, the life course perspective puts these motives into a context in which age and historical time matters.

The findings illustrating the weightiness of life courses cannot, however, be seen without limitations in at least four ways. First, both the quantitative and the qualitative methods make use of Internet forums. Acknowledging that these sites are also dating forums, it is likely that the thesis only drew on information from a certain part of the imagined gay and lesbian population. Although this is discussed to some extent in the first study, which also use register data, it is likely that individuals living together with their partners in monogamous relationships and individuals with families are absent from the Malmö and Izmir studies. Having a partner and/or children might lead an individual to have less time to spend on the Internet. In fact, I only managed to interview one man with children, and his children were in their late teens. Thus, it is likely that the life course would be underestimated in these studies.

This also relates to the second limitation: that very few women could be persuaded to partake in the third and fourth studies. As shown in the first study, the tendency for women to be concentrated to larger cities is less strong. It would therefore have been interesting to illuminate their migration histories more to see whether there could be explanations for this other than the migration motive narratives discussed in the Malmö study. Third, apart from a limitation of the methods, this also illuminates a conceptual limitation. Assuming that gay men and lesbians share the same historical events (Shepard 2009) might have downplayed other events. For lesbians, other events could be important, such as the equal right to assisted insemination, which has been available in Denmark since 2007.³⁴ Fourth, this thesis highlighted the lives of gay men and lesbians, although some defined themselves as bisexuals. This is also discussed somewhat in the first article, i.e., the reason being that there were very few individuals, but in the latter articles, these individuals could have been elevated more but for simplification reasons, they were not. This means that bisexuals could have been rendered invisible in the thesis.

Fading of the rural-urban binary?

Another important contribution of this thesis is the challenge it makes to the rural-urban binary. Geographers have emphasised that work within the geographies of sexualities have been unsuccessful in problematising the rural-urban binary (Bell & Valentine 1995; Browne *et al.* 2007). Despite this concern, mainly qualitative methods have been used within geographies of sex-

³⁴ In general, it should also be emphasized that this thesis has not proved in any way that the Stonewall, AIDS and the Internet period are events that have affected birth cohorts. It could just as well be that the general societal changes affected them, i.e., period effects. As Glenn (2009) emphasizes, the task of determining whether an effect is one of age, cohort or period is a quite difficult statistical matter, which has not been the goal of this thesis.

ualities. By using quantitative methods, this thesis has made it possible to both acknowledge rural-urban differences but also to refute popular understandings. The misconception of gay men and lesbians being concentrated to tolerant cities by Florida (2002) has been heavily criticised by several authors (Bell & Binnie 2004; Brown & Knopp 2006), but it is only through the use of quantitative methods that such a relationship could be problematised.

The same authors have also argued that the largest part of the gay and lesbian population is missing from existing quantitative illustrations, especially single individuals. It was only through adopting quantitative methods that this thesis could show that single gay men and lesbians are more concentrated than couples are. By contrast, the use of qualitative methods made it possible to visualise a more multifaceted portrait of the migration patterns and motives of gay men and lesbians. While earlier works have framed gay and lesbian migration in other ways than rural-urban travels and showed that other paths and final places are possible (Annes & Redlin 2012; Gorman-Murray 2009; Lewis 2012; Waitt & Gorman-Murray 2011a; Waitt & Gorman-Murray 2011b), I argued that the rural-urban migration linked with coming out has been quite important for gay men in previous generations. I also argued, however, that this narrative is fading away and being replaced by another general pull of the city narrative. Thus, I show that individuals' identities are more encompassing and more complex than just a sexual identity and that the same applies for their migration paths.

This thesis also raises additional questions for future work to investigate. As I have opened the door for the use of quantitative methods within geographies of sexualities, future studies can make use of register data to further explore the geography of gay men and lesbians. Perhaps the most interesting queries can be made around migration paths. There is still a need to empirically discover how migration paths alter over a lifetime. I have suggested that four narratives of motives can serve as the reasons for the migration of gay men and lesbians. Such studies could test if such a relationship exists for the register data. Furthermore, additional research that is focused more closely on women is required. Although earlier studies have tended to solely focus on gay men, the qualitative studies in this thesis sampled considerably fewer women than men and could therefore not consider their migration motives adequately. The quantitative studies indicate a difference that needs to be studied further. As stated before, there also remains the potential to study other birth cohort events that could have further affected lesbians.

Moreover, as gay men and lesbians attain equal rights and are assumed to follow normative life paths, it is interesting to explore if this also results in smaller differences between gay men and lesbians on the one hand and the overall population on the other. By contrast, equal rights not being realised in other contexts could bring other migration paths into light. I mainly refer to the increased international migration waves of gay men and lesbians from

repressive contexts. Jointly, these studies could add further pieces to the puzzle of the current migration paths of individuals.

Epilogue: A migration narrative revisited

Finally, I shall revisit my migration history. After analysing the interviews and finalising this thesis, I realise that I, for some reason, left out several important episodes from my migration story that were important. First, I stated:

Shortly after finishing upper secondary school, I left my hometown, Eskilstuna, and moved to London. It was there that I finally dared to fully come out in all the colourful bliss that I thought was expected from me in order to be a gay man.

Although this is quite true, there were at least two effects that influenced my decision. During my last year in upper secondary school, my mother passed away after being sick for some time. Because my mother was single and I was the last one in my family to leave home, I did not leave home, but I lost it. This combined with the difficulty of handling the grief after her death made it much easier for me to leave my hometown and move away. In short, my family ties were quite loose at that moment (although I lived with my sister and her family for a short period of time). Furthermore, I had booked a return ticket to London and could only stay if I found a means of living, which I did find through a job. Without the job, I might have gone home again. Second, I wrote:

A few years later, I returned to Sweden when I moved to Stockholm and started my university education. For me, it was never an option to move back to my hometown; I thought that I couldn't be gay in that small town.

After some time in London, I found a boyfriend and we moved in with each other to a smaller flat. However, he only had a temporary visa and was forced to leave the country. This affected me quite hard and I toyed with the idea of moving with him, as I felt I had very little left in London. However, my emotional experience of that country made it difficult to migrate there, so I decided to move back to Sweden. To do so, my brother found me something to do in Stockholm by registering me for a course at Stockholm University, where he was also studying. He had also found another flat, so he could sublet his flat to me. This shows the importance of my previous partner and my family ties. Third, I left out a move to Berlin:

Well settled in Stockholm, I met a man from Eskilstuna, and we became partners for a short period. Through him, I got the chance to meet a group of gay and lesbian friends that grew up and stayed in Eskilstuna. The relationship did not last long, though, and I quickly wiped out the possibility of being gay in Eskilstuna from my mind.

After the short period I spent with the man from Eskilstuna, I fell in love with a German man. Because he was living in Berlin, we commuted between Stockholm and Berlin before we got married and I did my Erasmus exchange studies in Berlin for a little over a year. After that year, we moved again to Stockholm. Once again, the importance not only of partners is highlighted but also of educational possibilities. I had to arrange my exchange studies in Berlin, and if that had not worked, I would most likely not have moved there. Fourth, the story finishes with my whereabouts today:

Some 10-15 years later, I still live in Stockholm, and I tend to run into one of those guys in the yearly pride parade in Stockholm. He proudly tells me that Eskilstuna has changed a great deal and that the biggest pride parade outside Stockholm is the Spring Pride Parade held in Eskilstuna every year.

Here, I have chosen not to emphasise two smaller gaps in my migration history. As should be clear from this thesis, I have spent some time in Izmir, Turkey. The reason for this has certainly been for work. In the final year of this thesis, I also spent five months at *Katholieke Universiteit Leuven*, Belgium. In fact, I am writing this very line there now. The reason for this stay is that my current partner is living in Belgium, and we wished to live together. This stay was of course only made possible through work, but it was also made through connections at the university. Leuven is also about the same size as my hometown of Eskilstuna. By moving to Leuven, I believe that I have been able to finally leave the rural-urban binary behind me. Hopefully, this thesis will provoke similar responses from others.

Svensk sammanfattning

En av de mest bestående uppfattningarna inom populärkulturen är att homosexuella bor eller flyttar till större städer. I denna avhandling utmanas den uppfattningen genom studier av homosexuellas boende- och migrationsmönster. Genom att använda livsloppsperspektivet hävdar avhandlingen att homosexuellas boende- och migrationsmönster är beroende av den historiska tid och plats de föds in i. Precis som heterosexuella är de föremål för normativa livsloppsförväntningarna som råder på en viss tid och plats. I fyra delstudier används kvantitativa respektive kvalitativa metoder för att närma sig syftet och besvara forskningsfrågorna.

Den första studien använder registerdata från SCB samt data från internetforumet *Qruiser.com* och diskuterar skillnader i boendekonzentration med avseende på ortstorlek. Den visar tydligt att homosexuellas tendens till att vara koncentrerade till storstäder är starkare än för heterosexuella. En ranking av städer visar att koncentrationen är som högst i Stockholm, Göteborg och Malmö. I princip hela koncentrationen kan förklaras med kommuners befolkningsstorlek. En skillnad som kan skönjas gäller kvinnor registrerade på *Qruiser.com* där Umeå kommun kvalar in som topp tre på rankingen trots att kommunen inte är en storstad. Vidare visar studien att koncentrationen är starkare för homosexuella män än kvinnor samt starkare för de som lever som singlar än de som lever i par.

Den andra studien använder data från *Qruiser.com* och diskuterar hur homosexuellas boendekonzentration påverkas av den kreativa klassen och ekonomisk tillväxt. Studien bygger vidare på den första studien och analyserar möjliga orsaker till homosexuellas boendekonzentration. Baserat på tidigare forskning om den kreativa klassen testas ett antal variabler som anses korrelera med homosexuellas boendekonzentration. Även om förnimmad tolerans ofta anses vara viktig visar studien att uppmätt tolerans i form av attityder och handlingar inte påverkar homosexuellas boendekonzentration. Detta behöver inte vara förvånande eftersom förnimmad och uppmätt tolerans är två olika variabler. Det betyder att förnimmad tolerans kan ha en påverkan. Analysen testar även relationen till andra variabler såsom regioners inkomst och boendekonzentrationer av andra befolkningsgrupper. Inga av dessa variabler var signifikanta efter att regional befolkningskonzentration och utbildning kontrollerats för.

Den tredje studien baseras på en intervjustudie genomförd i Malmö och diskuterar homosexuellas motiv till att flytta. Studiens syfte var att försöka

finna kausala samband till storstädernas boendekonzentration. Många av de äldre intervjupersonernas livshistorier tenderar att följa det typiska flytta-till-storstaden-mönstret känt från populärkulturen. Det är inte heller förvånande eftersom dessa generationer växt upp under en tid med lite samhällligt stöd och med mycket diskriminering. Den yngre generationen verkar göra en tydligare distinktion mellan identitetsskapande och storstaden. De sökte snarare storstadens anda och möjligheter. Det var också en skillnad mellan äldre och yngre generationers inställning till familjen. Medan de äldre generationerna tenderade att diskutera sina flyttningar i relation till partners eller vänner så talade den yngre generationen om vikten av familjen. Detta tyder på att homosexuella nuförtiden förväntas följa samma livsloppsvägar som alla andra. Denna förväntan behöver dock inte nödvändigtvis spegla en avsaknad av diskriminering eller intolerans.

Den fjärde studien bygger vidare på denna diskussion genom att undersöka en kontext där det samhällliga stödet är mindre starkt. Genom en intervjustudie i Izmir, en storstad i Turkiet, diskuteras homosexuellas flyttningsbeslut. Även om studien är genomförd i en miljö där homofobi och våld mot homosexuella inom familjen är vanligt, så underströk respondenterna ändå familjens vikt. Det kan verka besynnerligt men eftersom familjen både är en stödjande och begränsande enhet behöver det inte vara förvånande. Medan familjen kan vara till mindre stöd i en komma-ut-process, kan den erbjuda emotionellt, socialt och ekonomiskt stöd i andra avseenden. Att distansera sig från dem och flytta till storstaden kan därför leda till ökad sårbarhet. Studien visade även att länken till familjen består genom livet. I en miljö där flytten från hemmet är förknippad med att gifta sig och skaffa barn får homosexuella svårare att lämna hemmet vilket leder till senare flyttningar eller hemmaboende under hela livsloppet. Då kan en strategi med högre utbildning och arbetskarriär bli ett alternativ för homosexuella att ta sig hemifrån. Sammanfattningsvis visar studien att homosexuellas flyttningar måste ses i ett vidare perspektiv än identitetsskapande i storstaden.

Ett av de viktigare bidragen med denna avhandling är att visa på vikten av livsloppsperspektivet. Tidigare studier har visat att homosexuella tenderar att vara koncentrerade till storstäder (Black *et al.* 2000) men samtidigt att samlevande homosexuella tenderar till att flytta från storstaden (Cooke & Rapino 2007). Detta kan verka motsägelsefullt men genom att använda livsloppsperspektivet har avhandlingen visat att livsloppssituationer såsom samlevande och familjeskapande kan vara orsaken till sådana effekter. Vidare har tidigare studier betonat de särskiljande dragen i homosexuellas flyttningar genom att fokusera på deras komma-ut-process (Gorman-Murray 2007; Lewis 2012; Waitt & Gorman-Murray 2011a; Waitt & Gorman-Murray 2011b). Även om komma-ut-processen är viktig har jag argumenterat att flyttmotiven ändras beroende på tiden och platsen man växer upp i. Studien i Malmö visar att flytta till storstaden för att komma ut inte längre är lika viktigt som för tidigare generationer. Studien i Izmir visar likaså att komma-ut-

processen är mindre viktig för deras flyttmotiv eftersom de bor i en kontext där både homofobi och familjen är starka. Studierna visar även att komma-ut-processen bleknar bort med åren, något som missas när komma-ut-processen beskrivs som en pågående aldrig sinande process (Lewis 2012).

En annat viktigt bidrag med avhandlingen är utmaningen av dikotomin mellan storstad och mindre städer och landsbygd. Genom att använda kvantitativa metoder har det varit möjligt att ifrågasätta populära uppfattningar. Missuppfattningen att homosexuella är koncentrerade till toleranta storstäder (Florida 2002) har kritiserats häftigt (Bell & Binnie 2004; Brown & Knopp 2006) men det är endast genom användandet av kvantitativa metoder som den har kunnat problematiseras. Vidare har de kvalitativa metoderna gjort det möjligt att visualisera en mer mångfacetterad bild av homosexuellas flyttmotiv. Även om tidigare studier har haft andra perspektiv på homosexuellas flyttningar än flytten-till-storstaden (Annes & Redlin 2012; Gorman-Murray 2009; Lewis 2012; Waitt & Gorman-Murray 2011a; Waitt & Gorman-Murray 2011b), så har jag argumenterat för att flyttningar till storstaden i samband med komma-ut-processen har varit viktig för tidigare generationer. Däremot har jag även visat att detta narrativ är på väg att bytas ut med storstadens generella attraktionskraft. På så sätt har jag försökt att poängtera att individers identiteter är mer omfattande och komplexa än bara en sexuell identitet.

En av svagheterna med avhandlingen är att metoderna bygger på att använda eller finna individer genom Internetforum. Eftersom dessa forum även fungerar som dejting forum är det troligt att en viss del av den tilltänkta homosexuella populationen inte nås. Det kan till exempel vara så att individer i monogama relationer samt de med barn är frånvarande i de två senare studierna. Vidare har endast få kvinnor accepterat att delta i studien. Eftersom civilstatus och kön är två variabler som är tilltänkt att påverka livsloppsvalen så är det möjligt att de underskattat resultaten. Avhandlingen väcker därför nya frågor för framtida forskning att undersöka. För det första behövs mer forskning om homosexuella kvinnor och samlevande som kan visa om och hur skillnaderna som diskuterats ovan ser ut. För det andra är det möjligt att kvantitativa studier som använder register data kan dra mer generella slutsatser om migrationsriktningarna genom livet. Detta eftersom denna avhandling endast har kunnat studera boendekoncentrationen och inte migrationsriktningen kvantitativt. Tillsammans kan dessa studier bidra vidare till dagens migrationsbild.

Nyckelord: Homosexuella, migration, urban/rural, tolerans, livloppet, Sverige, Turkiet

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