Coming Out in the 2010 Census: Same-Sex Couples in Brazil and Uruguay

Ana Maria Goldani, Princeton University[1]
Albert Esteve, Center for Demographic Studies, Barcelona [2]
Anna Turu, Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics, Barcelona

Brazil and Uruguay exemplify the historical and demographic diversity of Latin America countries and so are their recent legislation and statistics regarding gay and lesbian couples. For the first time, these two countries included a specific item on same-sex partnerships in their censuses thereby offering an opportunity to examine the demographics of those couples[3]. Chile also included an explicit question on same-sex couples such as Chile, while Mexico, Argentina, and Venezuela will provide indirect estimates[4]. Census Bureau in these countries have released the new statistics on same-sex married couples and unmarried partner households, although some of the micro-data are not publicly available yet. The estimates of same-sex couples per thousand couples in unions are relatively low in the region by international standards. They vary from 3.3 same-sex couples per thousand couples in unions for Argentina (2010) to 2.7 in Chile 2012), 2.3 in Uruguay (2011) and 1.8 in Brazil (2010), compared with rates of 8.2 in Canada (2011), 7.0 in Australia (2011) and New Zealand (2006), 5.5 in the United States (2010) and 4.0 in Ireland (2010).

Our departure point is that same-sex couples are modestly contributing to family diversification in many countries. Thus, even in the presence of limited information and with potential under enumeration we consider it important to identify and draw a same-sex couples profile from the census. In doing this for Brazil and Uruguay we are not only making same sex-couples statistically visible but also calling attention to the unique challenges faced by this alternative family arrangement and the need for social policies to acknowledge them. Despite the cumulative evidence from other context that same-sex couples may function better than heterosexual couples in terms of closeness and equality within the relationship, (Stacey, 2003), it is also known that same-sex relationships tend

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[3] To date, such type of evidences are limited to the few countries for which same-sex census data are available (e.g., The United States since 1990, Canada since 2001, Spain since 2001, the Netherlands since 2001, Australia since 1996 and Germany since 1996).

[4] Indirect method means to identify same-sex couples based on the combination of two variables: the respondent's sex and relationship to the householder. The US Census Bureau has used this method since the 1990 census to identify same-sex couples. Nonetheless, errors on the sex of individuals may overestimate the number of same-sex couples as happened recently in the 2010 census of the United States (O'Connell 2011)

not to last as long as heterosexual marriages (Green, 2010). In the same way, although gay and lesbian families are often portrayed and stereotyped as disproportionately affluent, the most recent findings suggest that in many respects LGBT couples in the United States are actually more economically stressed than their straight counterparts. Badgett, et al. (2013: 1) concludes "the sexual orientation poverty gap has narrowed slightly because heterosexual poverty rates have increased, not because poverty rates have declined for LGBT people".

In discussing the Brazilian and Uruguayan census' innovative information on same sex couples we are also aware of the negative stereotyping that has been so commonplace in the public discourse about same sex couples. This has been labeled in social sciences as "heterocentrism", which has been defined as "viewing and evaluating behaviors of lesbian, gay, and bisexual people out of cultural and historical context and using heterosexual relations as the presumptive ideal" (Green, 2010:198). In practical terms this implies, first, that heterocentrism may inhibit an individual's identification as gay or lesbian in the census, which could lead to an under-enumeration of same-sex couples. Second, in the process of analysis we must be careful in comparing same sex and heterosexual couples, because "counterpoising one against the other inevitably exaggerates their differences and minimizes their commonalities". Also, "we can't ignore that in many respects, same sex couples may be more like heterosexual couples of their same social class, religious, racial-ethnic, or occupational group that they are like same –sex couples from markedly different demographic groups."(Green, 2010:199).

Statistics on the phenomena of homosexuality are very complex because they respond to specific definitions, language and methodology used in different contexts (Pecheny et.al, 2008, Baumle et.al., 2013). Recent surveys all over the world suggest that contrary to previous estimates from the 1960's and 70's that 10% of the adult population was homosexual, more current estimates are that this proportion could vary between 1% and 10% (Lauman, et all 1994) or between 3% and 5% (Bajos & Bozon, 2008). These studies also suggest that responses on self-identification, attitudes and practices of homosexuality are closely related to the socio cultural environment and levels of tolerance of homosexuality (Herek, 2002) These last results are also found in the Latin American context where religiosity emerges as a crucial element to understanding the level of approval of same-sex marriage across countries (Goldani & Garcia, 2013, Selingson and Morales, 2010, Lodola and Corrales, 2010).

Statistics and surveys on sexual conduct or identity as well as hostile attitudes towards homosexuals individuals and couples are relatively new in Latin America and they emerged with the HIV emergency in the 1990s, and more recently with the sexual rights debate on abortion and same-sex marriage (Barbosa, 1996, Mott, 2000, Bozon, 2009, Heilborn, et.al. 2006, Barrientos and Paez all. 2000). The initiatives for capturing same-sex couples through the censuses can be understood as both a response to the expansion of gender and sexuality rights and to pressures of diverse social movements, as well as part of the growing legalization of same-sex rights for couples (health benefits, pensions, adoptions, maternity/paternity leave, inheritance) that eventually led to the legalization of marriage in some countries. Internationally, the census data also followed the growing

legalization[5] of same–sex unions, particularly between 2000 and 2010, and it became a major source for examining the prevalence and demographic characteristics of same-sex couples across countries (Black et al. 2000, Festy 2007, Gates et al. 2004, Cortina et al. 2012).

To analyze and compare the demographics of same-sex couples identified in the census of Brazil (2010) and Uruguay (2011), some of our guiding questions were: How well were the total number of co-resident same-sex couples captured by the Brazilian and Uruguayan censuses? How do gay and lesbian couples differ in their structures? How do these structures differ between the two countries? How do partnered gays and lesbians differ from partnered heterosexual men and women in terms of parenting and various socio demographic issues? Does the socio-economic profile of the same-sex couples in Brazil and Uruguay fit the findings of other contexts and the well-known stereotypes of gay and lesbian couples that they are highly educated, wealthy, childless and urban individual.

I. Differences in the Trajectories Towards Legalization of Same-Sex Marriage in Brazil and Uruguay.

I.1. Similarities in the Latin American Context

Love and sexual relationships between two consenting adult women or men were not only against the law but were punishable acts for much of the Latin American and Caribbean history. Today, sodomy laws defining certain sexual acts as crimes are still in place in Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, and Trinidad and Tobago. Same-sex relations are banned in all these former British colonies. While sodomy laws can legislate sex acts between heterosexual couples, they have been used most often to discriminate against LGBT individuals (Corrêa and Parker, 2011). Sodomy laws have also been used to stop gays from adopting and fostering children and obtaining custody of their own offspring. Sodomy remain in effect not only in the former British colonies but in 36% of the countries around the world, and recently as 1998, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the last remaining sodomy laws due to the challenge known as Lawrence v. Texas [6] (Liebelson, 2013).

[5] As of July 2013, 18 countries have legalized same-sex marriage whether for the whole country, or parts of it (Mexico city and the state of Coahuila), or even to only one age segment of the population as in Costa Rica recently.

[6] This case pertains to a gay couple in Houston that was arrested under a Texas' anti-sodomy law for allegedly having sex with each other in 1998. The justices determined in a 6-3 ruling that homosexuality wasn't a crime, and overturned the country's remaining sodomy laws.

Discriminatory and violent practices regarding population sexual preferences and behavior have not disappeared by banning sodomy laws [7]. Despite increasing social tolerance, homophobia is alive and well in Latin American countries. Homophobia, as noted by Neisen (1990), means an irrational fear of erotic attraction to members of the same sex. Also, when a person who is homosexual experiences emotional turmoil over being homosexual, and avoids or devalues other homosexuals it is referred to as "internalized homophobia". In political terms, homophobia is used to refer to people, policies, and laws which are insensitive to gay and lesbian issues. Several studies have documented the high levels of homophobia in the region (Mott, 2001, Bozon, et al. 2009) as well as its association with heterocentrism, machismo and traditional gender norms (Gutmann, 2003, Heilborn 2006, Corrêa and Parker, 2011).

No doubt, so called "machismo" has effects on the acceptance of sexual diversity in the region where the expectations still are that a man must be heterosexual, a provider, and a father (Gutmann, 2003). During recent soccer games in Brazil and Uruguay, when a player from an opposing soccer team is writhing on the field after having been injured, the crowd is likely to start chanting "queer, queer!", and popular music includes some flagrantly "macho" and anti-gay lyrics. These translate into high levels of homophobia and violence against women and homosexuals (Mott, 2001). Studies on HIV for Latino men having sex with men, (LMSM), noticed that, "family and community-based homophobia, rejection, and ridicule regarding same-sex attractions and behaviors undermine sense of self and disconnect them from their support systems, thus rendering them more susceptible to HIV infection" (Brooks, et. Al, 2005: 743).

The historical "machismo" and gender inequity in Latin America, favoring heterosexual men, is changing slowly (Corrêa and Parker, 2011, Pecheny et. Al. 2008, Gutmann, 2003), in the midst of global socio-cultural changes that generate new values and behaviors, such as greater individualism and gender equality (Inglehart and Baker, 2000), as well as growing secular norms that challenge individual loyalty to religious institutions (Vaggione, 2011). Parallel to these processes of change, there has been a wave of new legislation supporting rights for same sex couples across Latin America, culminating with a growing recognition and legalization of same-sex unions in countries such as Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and parts of Mexico. Thus, despite the strong resistance of religious fundamentalist agendas in the region, the debate over gay couples and their rights to be parents have become hot-button topics and have led to a range of rulings that are giving gays rights that were once unthinkable in a such a socially conservative and Catholic region. However, in the last decades, Latin America where about 40% of the world's Roman Catholics reside, became home to some of the world's fastest growing Evangelical religious movements. Evangelicals represent more than 15% of the

[7] In North Carolina two men were arrested in 2008 by police for having consensual sex, and although the charges were later dropped, the police captain in charge of the department at the time maintained that "even- though the Supreme Court had ruled sodomy laws unconstitutional, the law is still on the book". The same occurred when the US Supreme Court struck down bans on interracial marriage in 1967 but the state of Alabama scrapped its law only in November 2000 (Liebelson, 2013)

population in at least 10 countries in the region (Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haití, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panamá, Uruguay), and in some of them they assumed an important political role in the 2000s. Evangelical attitudes toward gay persons and gay rights in Latin America in 2013 show that " individuals affiliated with Evangelical churches express the lowest levels of approval for gays being allowed to run for public office and same sex marriage. These individuals, on average, also express the lowest levels of comfort concerning homosexual neighbors in their communities, though the gaps across groups narrow in that analysis" (Marcano, 2013: 7). Despite the distinctive positions among these churches and inside them, some conservative and liberal groups were able to establish alliances around the sexual reproductive rights agenda. This new religious force reshaped contemporary understanding of religion, and what it means to be religious, as well as put in question the traditional assumptions of secularization and the role of religion in private and public life as noted by Vaggione in 2011.

It is important to note here that the volume and pace of these social-cultural and legal changes are not the same among the countries and even inside them there is a major disassociation between individuals' discourses and practices regarding sexual rights as Goldani and Garcia, (2013) found in a recent study. On average, attitudes toward homosexuality have been steadily improving for the years 2004-2012 in Latin America, despite relatively negative attitudes among particular segments of the population. Thus, "support for gay rights varies among countries as well, depending on the questions. For example, support for same-sex marriage in the region is much lower than support for homosexuals in public office. In 2012, support for same-sex marriage was 3.7 points (scale 0-10), while support for the political rights of homosexuals was 4.8, more than one point higher. Uruguay and Argentina show the most liberal attitudes in both cases, while El Salvador has the least liberal attitudes. Finally, once all other socio-demographic variables are controlled, being older, married, highly religious, Chilean, Costa Rican or Nicaraguan predicts especially strong opposition to same sex marriage compared to the right of homosexuals to hold public office. Also, being female, unmarried, non-religious, having higher education and a more liberal political orientation are all significantly and positively associated with homosexual rights. And being married and having strong religious convictions are all negatively associated with both support for gays holding public office and same sex marriage" (Goldani and Garcia 2013:42).

I.2 Distinct Trajectories in Brazil and Uruguay

Brazil

In a landmark decision in May 2011, Brazil's supreme court ruled that same-sex partners were entitled to every legal right enjoyed by heterosexual couples and by April 2013, the same sex unions were finally legalized. Preceding the events that paved the way to the final legalization of same-sex marriage were a series of legal concessions granted to homosexual couples since the late 1990s that led to the Superior Justice Tribunal's

recognition in 2006 of same-sex couples as a "*de facto* partners", which gave some rights to same-sex couples by recognizing them as stable unions.

These legal gains that culminated with the passage of equal married rights for same sex couples at the national level resulted from pioneer measures in some Brazilian states years before. For example, in the State of Rio de Janeiro, the government employees who were in same sex unions received the same benefits as married couples in 2006. In the State of Rio Grande do Sul, judges legally recognized homosexual relationships many years before the Supreme Court decision in 2011. In August 2012, the first Brazilian gay man was granted a four-month "maternity" leave for a child he and his civil partner adopted. He was the first gay father in the country to benefit from a paid leave equal in length to the one granted to a mother, rather than the usual five days off work for paternity. Thus, Brazil's social security agency has now agreed that it would be discriminatory if fathers of newborns in a same –sex union are not granted the time off.

It is important to note the role of the Brazilian movement of Lesbians, Gay Men, Bisexuals, Transvestites and Transsexuals (LGBT), in the legalization process of legalization of same-sex unions. Originating in the late 1970's, this movement grew and become very important in the mid 90's, gaining national prominence in 2008 as co-organizers of the First National Conference of LGBT with the Brazilian Government. Through a series of public events, LGBT not only captured public attention but also was able to put the "Gay Parade" on the official calendar of events for many cities and municipalities across the country (Fachini, 2005). The Gay Parade was part of the celebration of the so called "Gay Pride Day" (Dia do Orgulho GLBT - Gay, Lésbico, Bissexual, Travestis e Transgeneros), which mobilized a growing number of participants and has been helpful to improve the LGBT agenda. The so called "Gay Parade" has been a strategic tool in questioning social and institutional mechanisms of discrimination of homosexuals and its impact on their life conditions. The recognition of unions, especially public policies and other legal rights that sought consolidation of citizenship rights for homosexuals were part of the public discourses of LGBT . The First National Conference for LGBT, organized by the Brazilian Government in 2008, was also very important for the final passage of legal rights for same sex couples. The event, the first in the world to be convened by a government, was a result of demands made by civil society.

Uruguay

Uruguay was the first Latin American country to allow civil unions among gays and Lesbians on a countrywide basis. Homosexual relations have been "legal" since the 1930s, but only in April 2013 did the Parliament of Uruguay approve a law that recognizes the right to marry people of the same sex. A brief series of events help to explain the trajectory towards legalization of same sex marriage in that country and why this new legislation represents an historical achievement for gay rights activists and sexual minorities. As of January 1, 2008, unmarried couples in Uruguay, including those of the same-sex who have been together for at least five years, were legally entitled to sign a registry and enter into a civil union. Once they were recognized they become

entitled to receive health benefits, inheritance, parenting, and pension rights associated with their civil partner.

Uruguayan legislation was also passed to allow transgender individuals to change their name on all official documents, from birth certificates to passports, to reflect the gender of their choice. The measure authorizes sex changes starting at age 18, although earlier proposals did suggest allowing these changes from the age of 12. In May 2009, the Uruguayan government also lifted a ban on gay persons serving in the armed forces, which had been imposed by the 1973-85 military dictatorship. This trend is consistent with a broad movement to lift such bans in Latin America. For example, Peru, Columbia, and Argentina have also removed bans in recent years.

In June 2012, a judicial court in Uruguay recognized a foreign same-sex marriage, leaving the country in a juridical paradox in which same-sex couples could not marry in Uruguay but could marry in other countries and have their marriages recognized in the country. Even before the legalization of same-sex marriage, Uruguayans could go to a judge and have their marriage recognized under Uruguayan law if they married overseas.

The recent legalization of same-sex marriages in Uruguay seems congruent with the opinion of the majority of Uruguayans; in that they feel same- sex couples should be granted the right to marry. This is consistently revealed through public opinion surveys in which Uruguay ranked second in the region in expressing support for gay marriage. For example, in 2012, 48.1% of respondents indicated that they "strongly approve" of gay marriage while only 20.4%, strongly disapproved of it . Those who were more in favor of marriage between homosexuals in Uruguay were younger, more educated, politically tolerant and placed themselves toward the left of the ideological spectrum (Boidi, 2013, Goldani and Garcia, 2013).

II. Scope of the Data

In this paper we are discussing the demographic outcomes of partnered individuals that were enumerated by the Population Census of Brazil (2010) and Uruguay (2011). Thus, we are not working with an all gay and lesbian population, nor with the total population of gays and lesbians in union in each country. We will be referring to our subject of analysis as either partnered gay and partnered lesbian, or same-sex couples. "Partnered gay" is commonly understood to be those men who experience sexual desire for men, engage in sexual behavior with men, and/or identify as someone with such desires or behaviors. "Partnered lesbian" refers to women with same-sex sexual desires or behaviors, and /or who identifies as a woman with these desires or behaviors. These terms follow a largely shared understand of sexual orientation but only partially included in the census which offer a "clear cut and straightforward definition of what is partnered

homosexual individual" (Baumle,et.al, 2009:20). The essentialist[8] nature of the census data, regarding the same-sex couples, can be viewed both in the way the question has been formulated and the way it was applied. On the other hand, the partnered heterosexual men and women is a widely accepted category and considered to be the "normal" and dominant sexual interaction. The extensive use of the term "heterosexual" has resulted in the labeling of some opposite-sex sexual behavior as deviant (Baumle, et.al , 2009:19).

The same-sex couples in union captured by the Population Census in Brazil and Uruguay, were enumerated by making an explicit reference to them in the questionnaire. Although they did it in slightly different ways, both methods encouraged self-reporting and constitute a more reliable method than the indirect approach used in some other countries (Festy, 2007). The Brazilian 2010 questionnaire included the item *spouse/partner of the same sex* among the possible relationships to the householder or reference person. Spouses/partners of the household heads were given the option to indicate if it was a same-sex or an opposite-sex partner. Therefore, this method only registered same-sex couples that involved the household head [9]. The Uruguayan 2012 census questionnaire included '*unmarried partner of the same sex'* as an item for the *type of union* question. This question was asked of all persons in a union in the household. Therefore, contrary to Brazil, the Uruguayan questionnaire was designed to register all co-residing same-sex couples in the household, regardless of whether the householder was one of the partners. The percentage of same-sex couples in Uruguay that did not include the householder was 6,2% [10].

Our analysis is based on the public use micro data samples disseminated online by the Brazilian and Uruguayan statistical offices[11]. For Brazil, we used a 10% representative sample of households in which there are homosexual couples while for Uruguay we used a 100% micro data file of individual records organized into households. Although the 2010 micro data for Mexico, were available at the time of this writing, via either the Mexican statistical office (INEGI) or the Integrated Public Use of Micro data Series project (IPUMS-international), we did not include the Mexican results because of serious data quality concerns (Esteve, Goldani and Turu, 2013). In a perfect and desirable scenario, if the Census had captured all the same-sex couples in union within the household we would have had an amount of same-sex couples that were equal to the total universe of partnered gays and lesbian in Brazil and Uruguay. On the other hand if the

[8] The essentialist view of homosexuality presumes that a person may be categorized as being or not being homosexual and makes a distinction, often binary, between who is and who is not a homosexual individual. By contrast, a constructionist perspective argues for a continuum with varying degrees of homosexuality and heterosexuality (Baumle, et al. 2009:19-20).

[9] The Brazilian method is similar to the one used in the censuses of Canada 2006 and 2011, New Zeeland 2006, Ireland 2011 and the United Kingdom 2011.

[10] The censuses of Croatia 2011, Germany 2011, Hungary 2011, Czech Republic 2011 and Chile 2012 used the same method as Uruguay.

[11] Public use census microdata samples of the Brazilian and Uruguayan census are available through the official website of the *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estadística, (IBGE),* and the Uruguayan *Instituto Nacional de Estadística,* (INE), respectively.

Census under report the gay and lesbians in unions we do not have the total universe for each country and it affects the levels of prevalence of the same-sex couples, although not necessarily their statistical representativeness. To estimate the coverage and representativeness of partnered gays and lesbians some of the challenges are: the lack of alternative sources of measurement of same-sex couples in both countries, as well as the potential difficulties with the census information, such as misidentification, lack of willingness or "internalized homophobia" of respondents to declare their condition, as well as some methodological or technical problems to capture the information in each of the countries.

Finally, we argue that there are three specific aspects for the Brazilian and Uruguayan cases that should be taking into account to discuss how well the same-sex couples were captured in the census. First, in both countries the public expresses far more support for the right to marry for gays and lesbians than in most of the other Latin American countries. Second, the same-sex partnerships were not legally recognized in Brazil nor in Uruguay by the time of the census. Third, both countries carried out a specific public campaign to stimulate a correct public response to the Census question regarding the issue of living with a homosexual partner. In both cases, the Census Bureau worked with LGBT groups to prepare the question and these advocacy groups leaded those public campaigns. For example, in Uruguay the slogan, were *"Reconoce a tu media naranja. Di que SI en el censo a la pregunta , Vives con una pareja del mismo sexo?"*. (*"Recognize your half orange"*, which means *"Recognize your other half"*. *"Say YES to the census question. Do you live with a partner of the same sex?").* In a similar public campaign in Brazil, the slogan was *IBGE: SE voce for LGBT, diga que E!* (*"IBGE: If you're LGBT, say so!").*

III. Too few or too many? Quantifying same-sex couples

The Brazilian census captured 67,492 same-sex couples in union (after using the expansion factors) with 46 percent declaring themselves gay and 54 percent lesbian. In Uruguay the figures were 1,392 same-sex couples of which 62 percent were gay and 38 percent lesbian. Measuring the prevalence of same-sex couples, we found that the gay partnered rate is 1.6 for every 1000 men in union in Brazil compared to 2.6 in Uruguay, while the lesbian partnered rate is 1.9 per 1000 women in union in Brazil compared to 1.6 in Uruguay (Table 1). These rates were lower than in any other country, except for Spain (1.1‰) in 2001, but much closer to Argentina (3.3‰) and Chile (2.8‰) and far from rates in the so called developed countries, varying from 8.2% in Canada to the 5‰ in the US. To understand how well the total number of same-sex couples were captured by the Brazilian and Uruguayan censuses we discuss if all methods of enumeration are equally efficient. Certainly not, as the new estimation of same-sex couples of in the U.S. 2010 census show how a small fraction of errors on the sex question can easily exaggerate the number of same-sex couples (O'Connel and Feliz, 2011).

Theoretically, having an explicit reference to same-sex couples in the census questionnaire may certainly contribute to less margin for error in Brazil and Uruguay. However, there is a difference in the formulation of the census questions in these two

countries and the results suggest that partnered gays and lesbians were "better" captured in Uruguay because the Uruguayan questionnaire was designed to register all co-residing same-sex couples in the household, regardless of whether the householder was one of the partners --such was done in the Brazilian case. Taking into account this wider coverage of partnered gay and lesbian in the Uruguayan census, and assuming other factors constant, we estimated that partnered gays and lesbians in Brazil were under enumerated, at least, in the same percentage (6.2%) of the non householders in Uruguay. Thus, our estimate is that about 4,200 same-sex couples, living in the households but not as householders, were missed by the Brazilian census. In perspective, this represents as much as three times the number of Uruguayan same–sex couples identified in the census.

Another "proxy" of the coverage of Brazilian census data was our estimation of the prevalence of same-sex couples in 2007, based in a national survey called "Contagem da Populacao", of Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatistica (IBGE). This survey tested the question of gay and lesbian partners recently introduced in the census. Covering about 57% of the households and 60% of the population in Brazil, this survey included only municipalities with less than 170,000 people. Therefore, all the large cities and urban municipalities were not covered and, as expected, the rate of same-sex couple were almost half (0.8 couples per thousand) of that estimated in the census (1.8). It is noticeable that in this less urban environment, the percentage of partnered gay (55%), was larger than partnered lesbian, (45%), exactly the opposite found in the Census. To the "technical" problem of misidentification of partnered gays and lesbians restricted to the householder in Brazil, we should add the issues of stigma and discrimination influencing individual's responses that would further increase the under enumeration.
Finally, since Canada used the same enumeration strategy as Brazil and yielded a rate of same-sex couples four times as large (8.1‰ in Canada compared with 1.8‰ in Brazil), it raises the question: does this difference between Canada and Brazil show real differences in terms of prevalence of same-sex couples or is there a great under enumeration of same-sex couples in the Brazilian Census? Both aspects could be contributing to the large differences in the rate of same-sex couples between the countries. Among potential explanatory factors for these differences are: the high level of tolerance of homosexuality , the legal and public policy support for same-sex marriage in Canada, as well as the long time use of the same-sex question in previous censuses and surveys there.

III. Structure of Same-Sex Couples

Why more partnered lesbian than partnered gay or vice-versa matters?

Different levels of prevalence of gay and lesbian couples within and between countries deserve special attention and serve to remind us that being a gay couple is very different from being a lesbian couple. With regard to being lesbian involves being attracted to members of the same sex, seeking intimate relationships that society condemns, and being a minority, gays and lesbians are similar. However, in as much as being lesbian involves being a woman in a relationship composed of two women, being a woman in a

male dominated society, and holding a less valued gender role, being lesbian is very different from being gay (Platero, 2007, Libson, 2009).

Our results show that gay couples in Uruguay are more prevalent than lesbian couples and the opposite is true in Brazil. Although in different directions, the differences are the same: 8 percent more gay couples in Uruguay and more lesbian couples in Brazil. Gay couples were more prominent in Spain (68 %) ; Canada, (54%); Australia, (52%,) The Netherlands (54%), and the United States (51.5%) . On the hand lesbian couples predominated in New Zealand (57%) and Argentina 58.3% (Cortina et al. 2001, Statistics Canada 2012, Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013, Steenhof and Harmsen 2003, O'Connell and Feliz 2011, Statistics of New Zealand 2010, Argentinean National Statistical Office, 2012).

A multivariate analysis offers some explanation of how age structure, levels of education and race play a role trying to understand the differences in the prevalence of gay and lesbian couples between Brazil and Uruguay. The first four columns of Appendix 1 show log odds based on logistic regressions for the relative likelihood of being a partnered gay or lesbian vs. all others, with and without a series of controls for country (Brazil vs. Uruguay), age, educational attainment and race. The second four columns show the same only for residents of Rio de Janeiro and Montevideo. The results show that the log odds of being a partnered gay male are 50 percent less likely in Brazil without controls, then drops to 30 percent less, with controls. The log odds of being a partnered lesbian are 7 percent greater in Brazil and increase to 25 percent more than Uruguay, with controls.

When only two large urban areas are considered, the differences between Brazil and Uruguay are smaller. With controls, the odds of being a partnered gay male are only 11 percent less in Brazil (compared to 30 percent nationally) and of being a partnered lesbian are 15 percent less (compared to 25 percent nationally). Limiting the comparison to only these two large urban populations (Rio e Janeiro and Montevideo) suggests that the country differences (observed in the first four columns) are largely a urban area effect. Interestingly, when there were no controls there were no differences in the odds of being a partnered lesbian in Montevideo and Rio de Janeiro but there was a 47 percent difference for partnered gays (Appendix 1).

As might be expected, the odds of being a partnered gay or lesbian rose as age decreased, most likely suggesting a period effect. The period effect could be interpreted as younger persons coming of age at a time when being homosexual is more accepted while an age effect is less likely, i.e. younger people are more likely to be homosexuals but become heterosexual as they age. Also, more educated people are more likely to be partnered gays or lesbians and blacks are the most likely of all groups to be partnered homosexuals (if we don't count the indigenous-because there is not enough of them), Table 1.

Concluding that same-sex unions are more likely to occur among younger age/cohorts than among older ones leaves an open question as to whether this pattern denotes an age or a cohort effect . This can be disentangled when longitudinal series data become available. Nevertheless, if social acceptance of same-sex couples increased over time and

it is higher among younger generations, younger cohorts may have benefited from a more favorable context in which to form same-sex couples. Attitudes toward homosexuality in Brazil and Uruguay have been steadily improving in the last decade (Goldani and Garcia 2013) and these changes in acceptability suggest that the age pattern may signal a cohort change; young cohorts are more likely not only to form same-sex couples but also to report them. In any case, due to the lack of data, potential explanations for the observed age pattern must be considered as working hypotheses for future research.

IV. The Socio-Demographic Profile of Same-Sex Couples

To discuss the Brazilian and Uruguayan gay and lesbian couples' socio-economic background and experiences as a minority group, as well as its implications in terms of public policy, we refer to some other contexts and particularly to the U.S. experience . The most common assumption is that same-sex families are disproportionately affluent, educated and urban. However, some authors would argue that it's more likely that relatively affluent gay people are simply more visible (Gates, 2004, 2008). A U.S. based study from the early 2000s (i.e. before the economic recession) also showed that lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) people were more vulnerable to being poor than heterosexuals. Now, an update of that study, found that poverty rates have gone up for almost all American populations, and LGB people are still more likely to be poor than are heterosexual people . While showing an overall greater risk for poverty among LGB adults and same-sex couples, these recent findings found an unique risk for LGB people in the U.S. who are from communities of color, young, who have children, and who identify as bisexual (Badgett, et al, 2013).

IV.1 Spatial Distribution

Are partnered gays and lesbians spatially segregated?

The settlement patterns of same-sex couples in both countries indicate a high level of concentration in areas with the greatest urban population. They also indicate a high correlation between the proportion of gay and lesbian couples living in the same area, which may imply that they tend to settle in similar areas, although not necessarily at the same levels (Tables 2 and 3). In exploring the variation between the residential segregation of gays and lesbian from heterosexuals we found that in neither of the two countries do the spatial distributions of same-sex couples mirror the distribution of the total population. For example, 47% of all same-sex couples in Brazil are in the states of Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro however, their overall population represent only 30% of the total population of the country. In Uruguay, 65% of same-sex couples are in the province of Montevideo, which represents only 40% of the total population of the country.

The distribution of same sex couples within the Brazilian states follows that same settlement pattern; however, Rio de Janeiro is even more of an extreme case. Relatively,

it has the largest percentage of same-sex couples 18.1% of gay and 14% of lesbian but its total population represents only 8.4% of the country. Almost 30% of same-sex couples are concentrated in the state of Sao Paulo, (28.8% gay, and 25.6% lesbian), however, its population represents only 21.5% of the country. The exceptions among the highly populated states, are Bahia and Mina Gerais, were the percentage of gay and lesbian couples is lower than their share of the total population (Tables 2 and 3) .

In sum, almost half of Brazil's same-sex couples were concentrated in two of its 27 states Also, the share of gay and lesbian couples is higher than the proportion of the total population residing in five states: Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Rio Grande do Sul, Goias and Distrito Federal. (Table 2). Even more striking is the spatial segregation of same-sex couples in Uruguay. More than two thirds of gay (69.1%) and lesbian couples (62.5%) reside in Montevideo, a province that contains 40.1% of the total population of the country. In the other eighteen Uruguayan provinces, except Maldonado and Canelones, the percentage of gay and lesbian couples is lower than the province's share of the total population (Table 3). All these results for both countries are consistent with public opinion studies showing that Brazilian and Uruguayan residents of large cities, like most in Latin American, express higher levels of support for same-sex than those living in rural areas and small cities (Goldani and Garcia, 2013; Lodola and Corrales, 2010).

IV.2 Education

Are gay and lesbian couples "better educated" than heterosexual couples?

Partnered gays and lesbians in Brazil and Uruguay are "better educated" than men and women in other heterosexual unions and these differences are higher among the male population (Figure 1). Despite the similarities between the two countries there are some important differences. Regardless of age, partnered gays in Brazil are 4.1 times more likely to have tertiary education than men in heterosexual unions, while partnered lesbians are on average 2.2 times more likely to have tertiary education than women in heterosexual unions. The highly educated profile of gays and lesbians in union, compared to heterosexual couples, is particularly strong among older Brazilians (40-44). About 48 percent of partnered gay have the highest level of education at ages 40-44 compared to 27 percent for those 25-29 years old. This pattern is similar among partnered lesbians although at lower levels, about 29 percent at ages 40-44 have high education compared to almost 16 percent at 25-29 years old (Table 4). Therefore, older, partnered gays and lesbians present higher levels of tertiary education than their younger counterparts in Brazil. Also, Brazilian partnered gays and lesbians are higher educated than heterosexual couples at all age groups. All of suggests a higher selectivity in education among older cohorts. At this point, it is worth mentioning that among all couple, the older cohorts had less access to education than the younger cohorts (Figure 1).

This Brazilian pattern can either be the result of a cohort effect or an age effect, or a combination of both. An argument supporting the cohort effect would say that same-sex

couples may have been initiated by the more educated men and women and got disseminated among the less educated to the extent that homosexuality become more tolerated. However, it is important to note that despite the increased tolerance of homosexuality overtime, the differences by level of education remain. For example, in the World Survey Value of 1991, the percent of the Brazilian population (more than 18), which considered homosexuality as never acceptable, ranged from 80 percent among the lower educated to 53 percent among the highest educated. Fifteen years later 2001, the same population reported lower levels of rejection of homosexuality, 38% among the lower educated and 17% among the highest educated (WSV, 2001). Nevertheless, there is also room for an age effect to explain the size of the educational gap between partnered homosexuals and men and women in other union statuses. This age effect would essentially indicate that same-sex couples among the highly educated are most likely to survive. Unfortunately, existing data are not substantial enough to allow testing of either hypothesis.

Contrary to Brazil, the percentage of Uruguayan partnered gays and lesbians with tertiary education is not higher at older ages/cohorts than at younger ages. Instead, it remains stable across all ages. Forty percent of partnered gays have tertiary education, compared with 10% of cohabiting men, 20% of married men and 18% of men not in union. Partnered lesbians also have higher levels of tertiary education (above 40% in all age groups) than heterosexual women cohabiting, married and not in union. Nevertheless, considering that older cohorts had, on average lower levels of tertiary education than younger cohorts, such stability indicates that the educational gap between men and women in same-sex unions and men and women in other union statuses is, indeed, higher among older cohorts than among younger cohorts (Figure 1)

IV.3 Earnings

Is there an economic " cost" of been gay or lesbian?

Our analysis of differences in income, derived from wages, show that partnered gays and lesbians have higher income than partnered heterosexual men and women in Brazil. These differences remain after accounting for age and education between these two groups (Table 4). In trying to answer the question, of whether do partnered gays and lesbians earn more or less than heterosexuals, we are referring to two discourses with conflicting results, based on the U.S. experience. One is the more popular and political discourse portraying gay and lesbian couples as " better off" economically speaking, which Badgett (2001) credits to stereotypes and convenience studies. Another academic discourse sustains that gay and lesbian couples are in "disadvantage", and this is based on more academic empirical studies on income and sexual orientation (Black et al.2000, Baumle,et.al, 2009)..

The mean earnings by age, education and union status is available for the Brazilian census but not for Uruguay at this point. Earnings are based on the person's total income from their labor (from wages, a business or a farm) in the previous month or year. Earnings are expressed in "reais", the Brazilian currency, (exchange rate in July 2013

was approximately round 2.3 reais per dollar). First, we compare the earnings of partnered gay men to married heterosexual men. We find that, all else being equal, gay men earn 70% more than married men. This means a monthly average income of $3,107 for gay men compared to $ 1.828 for heterosexual married men. The wage advantage for gay men is even stronger when compared to cohabiting heterosexual men and nor partnered men. The trend persists through all age groups and levels of education, with partnered gays having the highest wage levels, followed by heterosexual married men the heterosexual men in cohabiting unions (Table 4). Turning to the results for women, we found that partnered lesbians earn on average, almost fifty percent more ($1,794) than heterosexual married women ($1,211) and even more than cohabiting heterosexual women ($848). Thus, it appears that partnered lesbian have a sizable wage advantage over partnered heterosexual women, especially over cohabiting women (Table 4).

Finally, the earnings gap by age and union status is larger among older cohorts for both genders, although these gaps are smaller for women than the men. These findings of a wage advantage of partnered gays and lesbians compared to partnered heterosexual men and women for all ages and levels of education appears consistent with the discourse based on convenience studies and seems to fit the popular stereotype of gays and lesbians as an "advantaged class". It also is in line with the recent empirical findings for the 2000 U.S. census, that confirms the advantage of partnered gay men compared to heterosexual cohabiting men Baumle, et. al, 2009)..

IV.4 Same-Sex Parenting

Which children and why are they so important?

Same-sex parenting means an assortment of family arrangements. Children of same–sex parents got there by a multiplicity of routes. They may be the biological offspring of one member of the couple or adopted, whether by an earlier marriage or relationship, or the result of an arrangement with a known or anonymous sperm donor (for lesbian couples) or by arrangement with a surrogate birth mother (for gay couples). These different paths to parenthood lead to a very different family dynamics. Here, we will not be able to discuss the family dynamics, however we are analyzing the parent-child relationships in terms of three categories: couple's child, householder's child only, and spouse/partner's child only. Fortunately, Brazilian and Uruguayan censuses classified children in the same way and so our analytical constraints are restricted to those couples in which the householder was involved[12] (Meezan and Rauch (2013), Libson, 2010).

In discussing why children are so important for same–sex couples, it is noted that the high vulnerability of same-sex couples is commonly associated with the lack of children. The idea is that the lower likelihood of raising children together facilitates their ability to walk away from the relationship during time of conflict (Green, 2010:200). Our results

[12]Of the total same-sex couples in Uruguay, 94% involved a householder while in Brazil it is 100%, because in this country only a householder same-sex couples were identified.

show that gay couples in Brazil and Uruguay are overwhelmingly childfree, 95%, while lesbian couples are less child free in Uruguay (78.5%) than in Brazil (68.7%), mostly because they are bringing children from previous relationships (Table 5). Three other unique factors that render the same-sex couple relationships more vulnerable to breaking up are: an antigay prejudice and discrimination from families of origin, work settings, religious groups and other community members that tend to be less accepting and supportive of their relationship; a relational ambiguity due to the absence of social norms and legalized statuses, and a social network fragmentation, because the gay and straight worlds are somewhat separated (Green, 2010:201).

Brazil and Uruguay allow same-sex couples to legally adopt children; however, the percentage of children that are related to both members of the couple are very low in the census. For example, in Brazil, only 1.4 percent of gay couples and 2.5 percent of lesbian couples have children which are related to both members of the couples Table 5). These percentages are even lower in Uruguay were only 1.3 percent of gay couples and 1.4 percent of lesbian couples have children that are related to both members of the couple. In fact, the majority of the same-sex couples that have children are bringing them from previous relationships, and, as expected, they are mostly lesbian couples. Out of the total lesbian couples, 28.2% in Brazil and 19.7% in Uruguay have children from previous relationship living with them. By contrast, among gay couples, only 3.8% in Brazil and 2.3% in Uruguay have children from a previous relationship living with them.
The results show that when comparing the parenting arrangements of same-sex couples to those of heterosexual couples (married and cohabiting), while most of gay couples in both countries did not have children, approximately one quarter of Brazilian and one third of Uruguayans lesbian couples had children living with them (Table 5). These findings suggest that legal discrimination and inequity remain significant challenges for parenting among gay and lesbian couples in these two countries.

Final Comments

"Coming out" in the census resembles the difficult process of individuals coming out in their own life. It is not a single step or even a "clean" stage of a developmental process. Often one may be "out" to friends but not to family and even less to a census interviewer. Individuals may be satisfied with themselves but unable to find and maintain an intimate relationship thereby preventing such as a family formation. Same-sex couples may form while individuals are at any stage of the "coming out" process. Individual members of the couple may also be at different stages, which can influence the accuracy of reporting themselves as a member of a same-sex couple. Also, in coming out in the census, gays and lesbians may experience both an internalized homophobia and a societal heterocentrism, and this certainly influences the relatively low identification of same-sex couples in the census of Brazilian and Uruguayan censuses. Despite the uncertainties about statistics and the limited data available, the demographics of partnered gays and lesbians, uncovered by the census, revealed the new world of same-sex marriage in Brazil and Uruguay.

Our findings for partnered gays and lesbians in Brazil and Uruguay suggest that sexual orientation affects several demographic outcomes:

- The spatial distribution of same-sex couples in both countries appears to be highly segregated. In Brazil, almost half of the same-sex couples are concentrated in two states, Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, although these states contain only a third of the country's population. The spatial segregation is even stronger in Uruguay where Montevideo, the largest province, contains more than two thirds of the same-sex couples and less than half of the total population of the country.

- Gays and lesbians in union are, on average, better educated than men and women in other union statuses (married, cohabiting and not in union). The educational gap between partnered same-sex and of partnered heterosexual individuals is larger among the older than the younger cohorts.

- Mean earnings of partnered gays and lesbians in Brazil are higher than among partnered heterosexual couples. On average, they are 1.7 times higher for gays and 1.5 times higher for lesbians, than the mean earnings of men and women in heterosexual unions. Regardless of age and education, same-sex couples have consistently higher earnings than partnered heterosexual men and women.

- There are children present in same-sex households and they have diverse relationships with the same-sex partners. Most of partnered gays are childfree in both countries. However, about a third of partnered lesbians in Brazil and about one fourth in Uruguay have children, and most of them come from prior relationships. These findings suggest that other forms of legislation on the presence of children in the home, such as child custody and surrogacy laws and practices should be reviewed in both countries.

The results of our multivariate analysis, offer some explanation of the differences in the prevalence of gay and lesbian couples between Brazil and Uruguay and reinforce the idea that sexual orientation should be considered as much as age, sex, and race in its consequences for policies. For example, the probabilities (log odds) of being a partnered gay male are 50 percent less likely in Brazil than Uruguay controlling by age structure, level of education and race, and 30 percent less without these controls. By contrast, the likelihood of being a partnered lesbian are 7 percent greater in Brazil and increase to 25 percent more in Uruguay, with controls for the same variables.

When only two large urban areas are considered, the differences between Brazil and Uruguay are smaller. With controls, the odds of being a partnered gay male are only 11 percent less in Brazil (compared to 30 percent nationally) and of being a partnered lesbian are 15 percent less (compared to 25 percent nationally). These results suggest that the initial differences observed between the countries are largely an urban effect. As might be expected, the odds of being a partnered gay or lesbian rise as age decreases, most likely suggesting a period effect; also more educated people are more likely to be partnered gays or lesbians and blacks are the most likely of all groups to be partnered homosexuals.

To conclude, we raise three important issues to consider in future analyses of same-sex couples:

1.The need for new methods of research to better assess sexual orientation and gender identity in self-reported surveys of LGBT individuals and couples.

Despite the public campaign stimulating self-identification in the census, the critical public eye with all the stereotypes and stigmas of homosexuality seems to come alive through both the interviewer and the respondent in the household. Methodological limitations and problems are inherent in finding and analyzing any stigmatized minority group. Also, the essentialist nature of the census data constrains conceptualizations of family and sexual orientation. The social stigma attached to homosexuality in Brazil and Uruguay certainly affects not only the way questionnaires are designed to address or measure sexual orientation, but also the ways in which individuals respond to questions about self-identification. However, the question is not just how well same-sex parents and their children were captured, but compared with whom? Should a gay and lesbian couple be compared with a heterosexual couples? In fact, comparing gay and straight families, no matter how closely matched the groups, it is very difficult because the subject-group heterogeneity and the use of a "heterosexual norm" against which same-sex parents and their children are judged Meezan and Raunch, (2005); Libson, 2010).

2. Comparative studies reinforce the need for contextual analysis and challenge conceptual and methodological perspectives.

In thinking about how the recent legalization of same-sex marriage in Brazil and Uruguay could improve LGBT rights. An idea is that the very existence of same-sex marriage may reduce the stigmatization or perceived peculiarity of same-sex families, which would presumably reduce the social stigma (Meezan and Rauch, 2005). Also, it is important to note that poverty rates are lower for all couples in states that outlaw employment discrimination based on sexual orientation in the U.S. (Badgett, et al. 2013), and that about half of the change in attitudes regarding homosexual rights can be explained by demographic shifts, such as increases in education and overall ideological shifts in American values. Some of the remaining changes in the U.S. can be explained by the emergence and growth of the gay civil rights movement, which garnered national attention beginning in the late 1960s with the Stonewall Riots, (Loftus, 2001). In Canada some of the strong shifts in public attitudes regarding homosexuals, have been attributed mostly to the increasing visibility of homosexuality in society, which in turn has caused large increases in the number of people who have befriended at least one gay person (Altemeyer, 2002).

3. The importance of analysis at the individual and institutional level.

In Brazil and Uruguay, some people believe that same-sex is a matter of basic right and should be accepted; others believe it is a matter of morality or faith and should be

rejected. While vital social movements pushed governments to promote changes in sexual reproductive rights and to legalize same-sex unions, conservative forces like Catholic and Evangelical churches pressured them to stop legislation and public policy that protects homosexuals. Understanding the demographics of same-sex couples and their differences with heterosexual couples must take into account the complexity of factors at individual and institutional levels.

At the individual level we argue that as part of the Latin culture, considered more collectivist than individualist, Brazilians and Uruguayans perceive themselves as members of a large social group, where family is central, and interpersonal relations are highly valued. In this case, sexual orientation and identity are not only an individual concern only but are also closely related to family and community perceptions. At the institutional level, the open question is: how much are public policies actually fulfilling the population demands of sexual and reproductive rights in both the countries. Pecheny and De la Dehesa (2011), suggest that governmental policies have done more in terms of "recognition" ("expressivas" in the author's words), without major political risks, financial investments or administrative challenges.

Finally, at the institutional level it is also crucial to take into account the role of religion on gay and lesbian rights and its influence on Latin Americans' attitudes. Public opinion poll results show that the more religious the countries are, the less likely they are to support homosexual rights and this negative association is stronger in the case of same sex marriage. Therefore, the growing religiosity would be dampening tolerance for gays and lesbians. However, the growing diversification of religious identification of Latin Americans in 2012 (Catholics, 65.4%, Evangelicals 14.7%, without religion, 11.0%. Protestants, 6.5% and other religion 2.2%), as well as the high levels of tolerance among women and the younger population, suggest that there is room for an increased tolerance and more liberal attitudes regarding gay and lesbian rights, particularly to support same-sex marriage (Goldani and Garcia, 2013, Marcano, 2013, Seligson and Morales, 2010, Lodola and Corral, 2010).

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Table 1. Share of same-sex partnered persons among partnered persons by age and sex, Brazil 2010* and Uruguay 2011

		Men			Women		
		Partnered Gays (A)	Partnered heterosexual (B)	A*1000/(A+B)	Partnered Lesbians (A)	Partnered heterosexual (B)	A*1000/(A+B)
Brazil*							
	Less than 25	8.940	1.956.239	4,5	12.731	3.702.769	3,4
	25-29	12.040	3.672.694	3,3	13.564	4.703.461	2,9
	30-34	11.826	4.690.579	2,5	13.981	5.384.898	2,6
	35-39	8.986	4.808.114	1,9	10.744	4.940.220	2,2
	40-45	8.148	4.746.718	1,7	9.396	4.454.725	2,1
	45-49	5.576	4.300.758	1,3	7.155	4.127.997	1,7
	50 or more	6.782	13.523.694	0,5	5.119	10.385.689	0,5
	Total	62.298	37.698.796	1,6	72.690	37.699.759	1,9
Uruguay							
	Less than 25	226	31.939	7,0	176	58.088	3,0
	25-29	256	53.760	4,7	174	66.529	2,6
	30-34	319	72.825	4,4	211	80.498	2,6
	35-39	240	77.107	3,1	146	78.867	1,8
	40-45	233	71.459	3,3	136	71.142	1,9
	45-49	193	69.374	2,8	122	67.725	1,8
	50 or more	261	294.184	0,9	91	247.799	0,4
	Total	1.728	670.648	2,6	1.056	670.648	1,6

* Results are expanded to the total population. Differences in weights explain why there are slightly less women in heterosexual unions than men.

Source: Brazil 2010 IBGE, Uruguay 2011 INE.

Table 2. Distribution of gay and lesbian couples in Brazil, 2010 Census

State	Percentage of gay sample in the State	Percentage of lesbian sample in the State	Percentage of Brazilian population in the State
Rondonia	0,4	0,5	0,8
Acre	0,3	0,2	0,4
Amazonas	0,8	1,3	2,1
Roraima	0,1	0,2	0,3
Pará	2,9	4,0	4,2
Amapá	0,1	0,4	0,3
Tocantins	0,2	0,4	0,8
Maranhão	1,1	1,0	3,4
Piauí	0,4	0,8	1,7
Ceará	4,1	5,3	4,3
Rio Grande do Norte	1,3	1,3	1,7
Paraíba	1,2	1,9	2,1
Pernambuco	4,1	4,1	4,7
Alagoas	0,8	1,4	1,6
Sergipe	0,4	1,0	1,1
Bahia	5,4	4,5	7,2
Minas Gerias	6,9	7,8	10,1
Espírito Santo	1,5	2,1	1,8
Rio de Janeiro	18,1	14,8	8,4
São Paulo	28,8	25,6	21,5
Paraná	3,0	4,4	5,5
Santa Catarina	3,3	3,5	3,4
Rio Grande do Sul	6,4	5,5	5,5
Mato Grosso do Sul	1,3	1,8	1,2
Mato Grosso do Sul	1,0	1,1	1,6
Goiás	3,8	3,2	3
Distrito Federal	2,6	1,9	1,3
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0

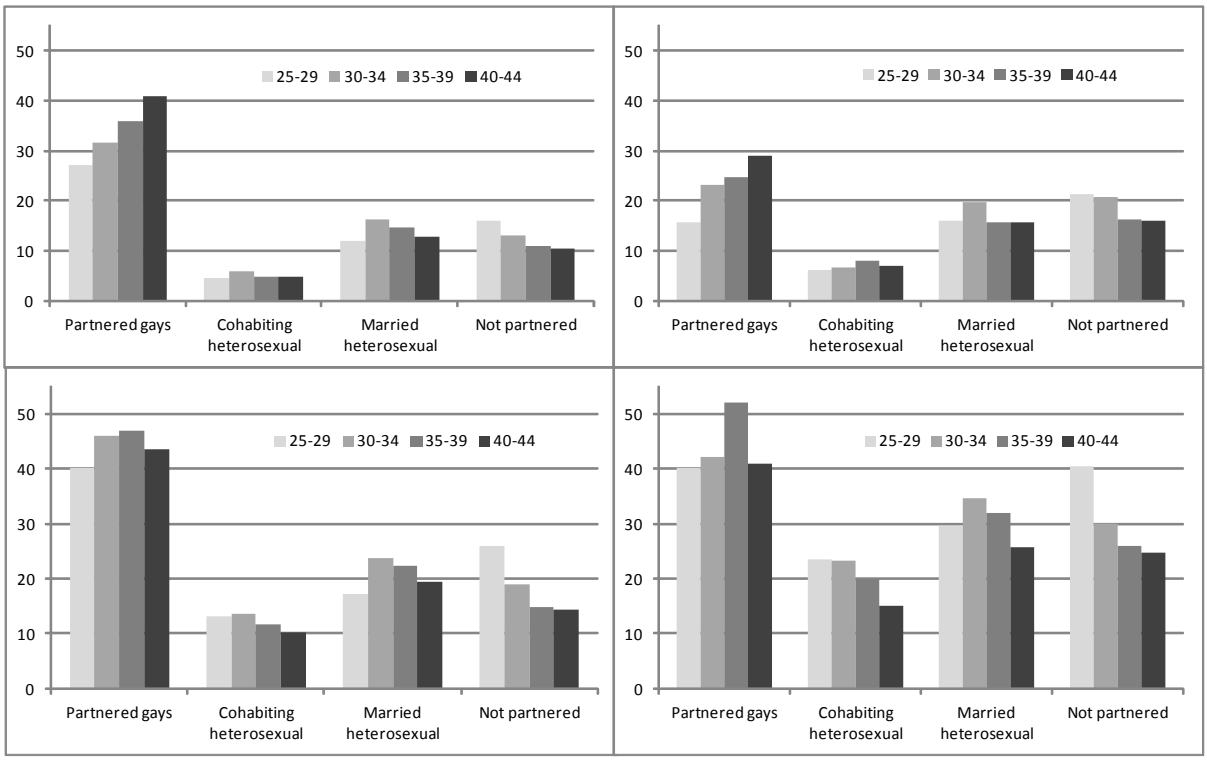
Fuente: Brazil 2010 IBGE

Table 3. Distribution of gay and lesbian couples in Uruguay, 2011 Census

Department	Percentage of gay sample in the Department	Percentage of lesbian sample in the Department	Percentage of population in the Department
Montevideo	69,1	62,5	40,1
Artigas	0,6	0,4	2,2
Canelones	9,8	16,3	15,8
Cerro Largo	1,2	1,1	2,6
Colonia	2,2	1,3	3,7
Durazno	0,6	0,6	1,7
Flores	0,7	0,4	0,8
Florida	0,3	0,6	2,0
Lavalleja	0,7	1,1	1,8
Maldonado	6,1	3,2	5,0
Paysandú	1,4	3,0	3,4
Rio Negro	0,5	0,4	1,7
Rivera	1,2	1,3	3,1
Rocha	1,2	1,7	2,1
Salto	1,2	1,9	3,8
San José	2,3	2,3	3,3
Soriano	0,6	0,9	2,5
Tacuarembó	0,3	0,6	2,7
Treina y Tres	0,1	0,4	1,5
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0

Fuente: Uruguay 2011 INE

Figure 1. Percentage with tertiary education by relationship status, age and sex, Brazil 2010 and Uruguay 2011



Source: Brazil 2010 IBGE, Uruguay 2011 INE

Table 4.- Mean earings by age, education, and relationship status, Brazil 2010

	Men				Women			
	Partnered gay/lesbian	Cohabiting heterosexual	Married heterosexual	Not partnered	Partnered gay/lesbian	Cohabiting heterosexual	Married heterosexual	Not partnered
Age 25-29								
Less than Primary	1.025	637	819	625	606	401	420	487
Primary Completed	971	869	1.003	754	697	562	627	584
Secondary Completed	1.549	1.170	1.397	1.182	1.144	763	785	795
Tertiary Completed	3.357	2.806	3.023	2.580	2.438	1.991	2.419	1.960
Age 30-34								
Less than Primary	942	713	832	638	591	503	471	531
Primary Completed	1.319	1.054	1.155	933	859	639	1.125	633
Secondary Completed	1.620	1.382	1.497	1.370	1.337	811	938	827
Tertiary Completed	4.916	3.387	4.428	3.265	3.841	2.326	2.623	2.241
Age 35-39								
Less than Primary	3.938	812	1.073	639	637	443	574	508
Primary Completed	1.362	1.140	1.368	1.188	848	783	740	629
Secondary Completed	2.394	1.584	1.696	1.352	1.448	1.033	1.055	987
Tertiary Completed	5.376	3.901	5.562	4.231	4.366	2.961	2.713	2.879
Age 40-44								
Less than Primary	2.931	814	915	666	1.338	465	526	512
Primary Completed	1.736	1.172	1.661	1.174	949	886	796	964
Secondary Completed	2.683	1.738	1.930	1.368	1.878	1.032	1.091	1.019
Tertiary Completed	8.017	6.303	5.670	4.720	4.001	2.650	2.753	2.811
Total	3.107	1.149	1.828	1.316	1.794	848	1.211	1.116

Source: Brazil 2010 IBGE

Table 5. Children presence by relationship status, Brazil census 2010

	Men			Women		
	Partnered gay	Cohabiting heterosexual	Married heterosexual	Partnered lesbian	Cohabiting heterosexual	Married heterosexual
Brazil						
No children	94,8	24,5	24,3	68,7	25,9	26,3
Only couple's children	1,4	54,8	70,6	2,5	40,1	65,5
Couple's children plus children from previous relationships	0,0	9,0	2,3	0,6	10,2	3,4
Only children from previous relationships	3,8	11,7	2,8	28,2	23,9	4,8
Uruguay						
No children	95,2	31,2	33,3	78,5	31,2	33,3
Only couple's children	1,3	41,1	61,2	1,4	41,2	61,2
Couple's children plus children from previous relationships	1,1	12,8	3,1	0,4	12,8	3,1
Only children from previous relationships	2,3	14,8	2,4	19,7	14,8	2,4

Source: Brazil 2010 (IBGE), Uruguay 2011 (INE)

Appendix 1. Logistic regression models for partnered gays and lesbian, Brazil and Uruguay (log odds)

	Brazil vs. Uruguay				Rio de Janeiro vs. Montevideo			
	Partnered gay		Partnered lesbiar		Partnered gay		Partnered lesbiar	
	M1.	M2.	M1.	M2.	M1.	M2.	M1.	M2.
Country								
Brazil	-0.54**	-0.30**	0.07*	0.25**	-0.47**	-0.11**	0.03	0,15**
Uruguay (ref.)								
Age								
20-24		1.29**		0.72**		1.24**		0.38**
25-29		0.84**		0.39**		0.74**		-0.19**
30-34		0.54**		0.29**		0.36**		-0.10**
35-39		0.30**		0.18**		0.31**		-0.23**
40-44		0.27**		0.18**		0.20**		-0.41**
45-49 (ref.)								
Educational Attainment								
Less than Primary		-2.29**		-1.15**		-1.69**		-0.96**
Primary completed		-1.72**		-0.73**		-1.22**		-0.61**
Secondary completed		-0.89**		-0.38**		-0.42**		-0.23**
Tertiary completed (ref.)								
Race								
White		0.08		0.03		0.06		0.11
Black		0.18**		0.34**		-0.12		0.34**
Brown		-0.10*		-0.09**		-0.27		0.15
Indigenous		0.38**		0.16**		1.31**		-0.07
Other								
Constant	-5.56**	-5.09**	-6.07**	-5.94**	-4.91**	-4.87**	-5.52**	-5.26**

** Significance at the 99.9 level, * Significant at the 99.5 level

Appendix 2. Distribution of same-sex and heterosexual partnered men and women by religion, Brazil 2010

	Men			Women		
Religion	Gay %	Hetero %	Partnered gay rate (per 1000)	Lesbian %	Hetero %	Partnered lesbian rate (per 1000)
No religion	9,0	21,8	3,7	5,4	20,0	6,7
Buddhist	0,1	0,6	7,0	0,1	0,6	8,3
Hindu	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Jewish	0,1	0,3	7,5	0,1	0,1	3,1
Muslim	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Christian	88,1	53,1	0,9	91,2	59,1	1,2
Other	2,3	23,3	15,2	2,8	19,6	12,5
Unknown	0,4	0,9	3,4	0,4	0,6	2,5
Total	100,0	100,0	1,6	100,0	100,0	1,9

Source: IPUMS-International