



INSTITUT DU GENRE EN GÉOPOLITIQUE

International sexual mobilities

A typology of spaces, temporalities and power stakes

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The opinions expressed in this text are the sole responsibility of the author.

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INTRODUCTION

Objects of the worst and the most utopic fantasies, economic instrument of emancipation or crystallisation of their familial, traditional and social determination, sexualities induce their own international mobilities.

The concept of sexuality alludes to a bodily dimension, as well as sexual practices and social and gendered constructs of sex. Sexuality form and give a cultural sense to bodies, to practices, to desires and identities. Even though they are seen as intimate and personal, they're inherently collective and political. They are based on hierarchised gender relations, and their definitions evolve with time and space. Sexualities can be marked with desires, pleasures, but also power relations. Sex can be an end in itself as well as an instrument to get what you want, wanted and consented as much as endured.

Wanted or not, with all the nuances that the idea of freedom entails, sexualities appear on the international stage as mobility vectors: those are seen as movement of individuals or groups in physical space. They take place on different spatial scales and temporalities, and they are answers to stakes of costs and opportunities, possibilities and imperatives.

Sexualities are motives of mobility and as such, they constitute sexual mobilities. They're linked to sex as practices, but as organs as well; to sexuality as individual and collective identities, as social rites and as body and relationship possibilities in the realm of the law. Sexual mobilities, which are full of cultural, spatial, geopolitical and gender issues, are initiated by territorial, social and political constraints as much as choices. They induce exceptional or single movement, traffic or even the establishment in other spaces, whether it is durable or permanent.

International sexual mobilities are a testimony to spaces and how they can create pressure and opportunity for people depending on where they are. Here, we define space with geographical concepts, and it is seen as a tool of understanding for social phenomena. Spaces are endured¹, so they are built but also felt, represented, perceived, imagined by individuals and society. Spaces made of places, people, landmarks, memories, feelings, projections and fantasies belong in the realm of knowledge as well as that of imagination or subconscious². Spaces are built socially, and they are the image of individual or social

¹ Armand Frémont, *La région, espace vécu*, Presses universitaires de France, 1976, 223 pages.

² Beucher Stéphanie, Reghezza Magali, *La géographie : pourquoi ? comment ? Objets et démarches de la Géographie d'aujourd'hui*, Initial, Hatier, 2005, 288.

symbols that determine human actions. Cut by borders, spaces characterised by resources and constraints are filled with breaks and administrative, legal, political and symbolic discontinuities. By creating differences and as interfaces, borders divide humans, their possibilities and activities, and influence mobilities and flows.

In this report, we will show the diversity of mobilities that are induced by sexualities and the stakes that they represent. Without being exhaustive, this report will try to paint a picture of the greater stakes of sexual mobilities through the current world spaces, with the help of a precise analysis of a particular example for each category. Other situations will be mentioned and will enrich or balance these illustrations. In this study, we will focus exclusively on international mobilities where the stakes of crossing borders are important. We won't be studying the journeys itself, but rather the departing places and destinations, as well as the duration and the power and constraint stakes linked to staying abroad. Some graphs will support the studies.

The analysis will be based on a typology of sexual mobilities in order to shed a light on the stakes and whether these mobilities are done under constraint or not. Firstly, we will analyse sexual mobilities that aim to stay abroad for a short time, whether they're forced or motivated by an opportunity. Then, we will look at sexual mobilities that result in a durable or permanent establishment outside of their usual residence. The stakes of constraints and power that are involved will also be examined. The analysis of different spaces in terms of gender, jurisdiction, culture, economy, representations and geopolitical stakes will be present throughout this entire report.

Preface: Some epistemological thoughts.

The stake of this report is notably to question the different epistemological and symbolic limitations of the analysis of sexual mobilities. Without exceeding all of these limits, here are some of the procedures highlighted both in terms of their heuristic contribution and the limits of their analytical relevance.

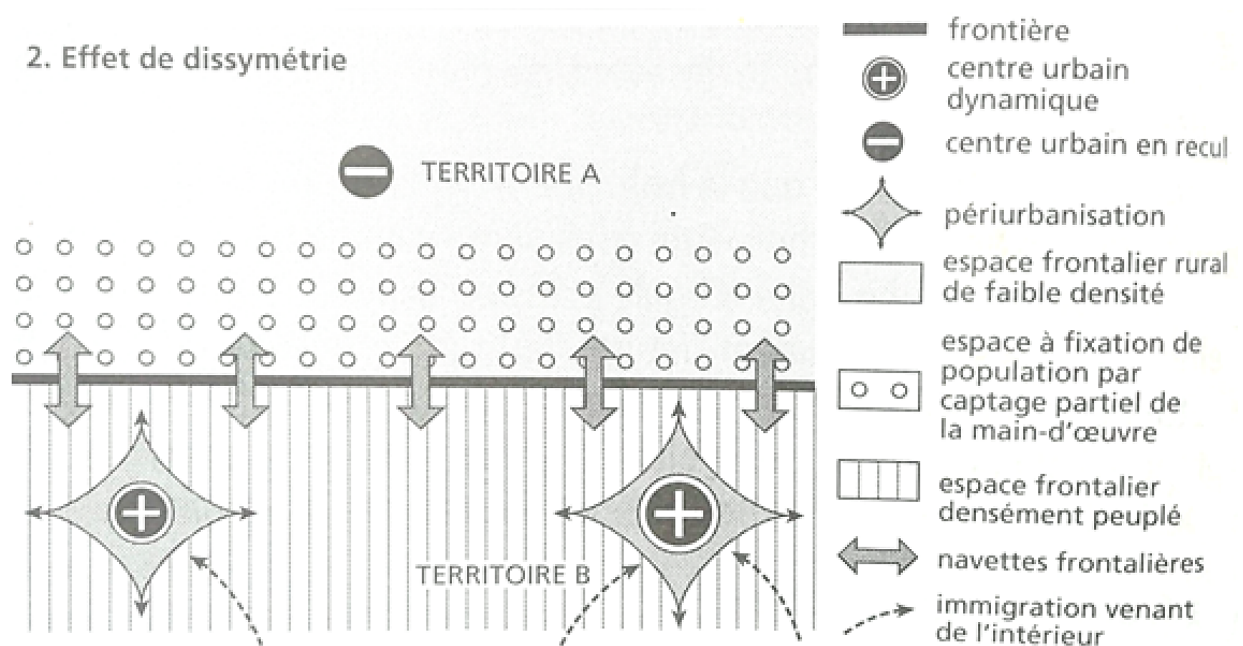
The analysis of sexual mobilities in this report is based on the development of a typology. This tool of synthesis allows for the identification of regularities and different logics of space. It is a way of giving a detailed account of multiple realities without developing them in a precise manner. However, it carries a risk of extreme simplification. If it is necessary for a conceptualised analysis of multiple situations on a large scale, it must be devoid of any caricature, ethnocentric bias or crude generalisations.

This risk of simplification and arbitrariness particularly concerns the internal division of the typology of sexual mobilities. The study of issues and power relations leads to questions about the forced, chosen or free-willed nature of those mobilities. However, the limits of these concepts are rather vague and their definitions overlap depending on the situation. A conscious choice of mobility may be influenced by economic constraints, an obligation for some may be an opportunity for others, a symbolic or cultural constraint is sometimes felt by only a few individuals, etc. In this report, we will try to ensure a certain homogeneity of the gradients in the power relationships. In order to nuance the crystallisation of certain statements, the same example may illustrate two facets of the same situation in terms of constraint or freedom.

Another particular point of vigilance concerns the concept of sexuality which guides the selection of international mobilities for this report. Historical and localised, this notion is always changing. Since the 19th century, when it first appeared, it has been redefined according to the evolution of scientific knowledge and social mores. What is understood here as sexualities is anchored in the spatial and temporal context of the writing of this report.

I. Sexual mobilities for short-term stays.

Sexualities entail transitory sexual mobilities that are motivated by differences in territories. Individuals temporarily leave their national territory for a short-term stay abroad before going back to their territory of residence. These mobilities are motivated by administrative, economic, political, cultural, symbolic and other facts, and are limited by one or more borders. It is this asymmetry³ that creates shortages on one side, and a certain attractivity on the other, and therefore there are flows between the two spaces. Traffic routes are taken differently depending on the gender of the travellers and the specific social pressure or opportunities that they go through. Two great categories of sexual mobilities can be identified depending on the power relations that enabled them: constrained and chosen mobilities.



Graph of an asymmetrical border dynamic.⁴

³ JP. Renard, P. Picouet, *Frontières et territoires, Dossier Documentation photographique*, La Documentation française, 1993.

⁴ Ibid.

1. Constrained sexual mobilities

Each space has its own social, legal and cultural characteristics. Borders divide the world in different territories with their own attributes. They create “Somewhere else’s” where it is possible to experiment other possibilities linked to sexuality. These differences create mobilities between spaces that are less popular and spaces that create opportunities linked to sexuality. Some mobilities are then constrained, as soon as these sexualities cannot exist in the territory of origin and these people have to migrate to benefit (or not) from another social and political context. These human flows follow many routes, and they are as internal in the Global South as in the Global North.

Constraint can be exerted on the traveller by a third party. Each summer for example, thousands of girls and young women of 1st, 2nd or 3rd generation of immigration leave their country of residence in the West to go on vacation in their country of origin or their parents’ (South-South, North-South). Many endure excisions⁵ that are not done on their country of residence. Their travel overgoes this legal and cultural difference and perpetuates a tradition beyond nationality and/or space of residence.

Constraints can also be administrative, legal or financial without there being interpersonal pressure. It’s the case in Belgium for example, with the frequent travels between it and the Netherlands (North-North) to benefit from abortion with a legal limit of 22 weeks rather than 12. On a greater scale, it is also the case for mobilities related to surrogacy⁶.

For example, a great majority of European Union countries forbid surrogacy (19 out of 27). Only the United Kingdom, Greece, Romania and Portugal allow it. Five other countries tolerate it (Ireland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Slovakia and Poland), generally because of a legal vacuum. The recognising of substitute parentage is therefore not guaranteed. There are great differences in legal and medical context between these countries depending on gender, sexual identity, the parents’ nationality, whether the surrogacy is paid or not, techniques and possibilities, etc.

These spaces – which are characterised by a shortage, blurred lines that are limiting or profitable or a framed offer of services – have created important traffic networks. Considered as “procreative tourism” by some, they are called “transnational solutions” by

⁵ There are no accurate numbers of these excisions abroad, either that or the numbers are outdated. However, as an example, it is estimated that at least 60,000 women in France have undergone female genital mutilations. (Secretary of State in charge of gender equality and the struggle against discrimination, 2019)

⁶ See Annex 1.

others⁷. This traffic is internal to the European Union (North-North) or to Europe, notably with Ukraine or Russia as a destination (North-South, South-South), but also on much greater scales. Many Europeans travel to Canada and the United States (North-North) but also to India (North-South), who made it an advantage in its national economy. Some countries from the Global South create offer of services for surrogate mothers as economic dumping to create competition for the countries of the Global North. The challenge is to divert North-North mobility to favour North-South flows. In India, private clinics are launching communication campaigns on "packages" at unbeatable prices, including surrogacy, travel, local amenities, etc. Therefore, they are competing directly with national fertility agencies in the United States, for example, where surrogacy is paid for.

Having become a truly international market, the offer of surrogacy is adapting to social developments. It has particularly developed under the effect of the acquisition of marriage rights for same-sex couples. New international sexual mobilities have emerged thanks to that.

2. Free-willed and chosen sexual mobilities

A discontinuity between two territorial spaces can also be a source of opportunities. Borders act as an interface. They separate two universes, therefore creating an attractive, fantasy, advantaged Somewhere Else, all the while making the two different spaces communicate through their norms, cultures, specificities and functioning. These different spaces therefore represent opportunities for gain, change of scene and others, and create specific flows. Cross-border spaces become contact space that create more exchanges.

These occasional and chosen cross-border mobilities are often signs of tourism. They correspond in particular to heteronormative 'love' tourism (visiting a spouse abroad, 'lover trips', honeymoons, etc.), which takes place between and within the Global North and Global South. These short mobilities also echo sex tourism. Globalisation has given rise to a libidinal cosmopolitanism in which sexual demand arises from the desire for what cannot be found at home. These are the results of sexual representations linked to colonialism and orientalism, and they are at the crossroads of different power relations of gender, race and class that participate in the construction of sexual imaginaries and desires. Sex tourism occurs particularly in travels between countries in the South (e.g., from Dubai to Morocco)

⁷ Rozée Virginie, *L'assistance médicale à la procréation au-delà de nos frontières : état des lieux et des pratiques*, 2013, INED.

(South-South), from countries in the North to those in the South (e.g. from the United States to Thailand) (North-South), or between countries in the North (e.g. from France to its neighbouring countries where paid sex is decriminalised - Belgium, Spain, Germany, Switzerland) (North-North). While sex tourism is mainly heterosexual and male (cisgender men travelling abroad to consume sex), a few networks owned by female clients exist. They are generally white, cisgender and heterosexual and come from the former colonial countries of the North. They practice sex tourism mainly in Sub-Saharan African countries because of their common language⁸.

Sex tourism is also practiced by LGBTQI+ audiences. This change of space offers these tourists the opportunity to experience their sexuality, although the motivation is most often the desire to live their sexual identity (differently). Mobilities originate almost exclusively in countries from the Global North, with the two main centres being North America and Western Europe⁹. Traffic mainly occurs within this pole (North-North). Australia is also a space for this tourism (North-North), as well as some cities in the Global South, which are almost exclusively hosts (North-South). The areas of development of this LGBTQI+ tourism are mainly large cities, where the capitals hold a prominent place, as well as seaside areas. These places are chosen because they embody "heterotopias"¹⁰ in the eyes of travellers. They allow them to experience their own representations of these places. As concrete spaces of an idealised sexuality, they offer the opportunity to live and follow other rules, other temporalities, other norms, and finally to give the impression of being cut off and protected from any other spaces.

These touristic and sexual mobilities also represent a key issue for the host countries. Filled with an image of deviance, of neo-colonialism that perverts, they can be feared and fought. Other countries, on the other hand, rely on the image of modernity that they confer in order to feed and enhance their international influence. Israel is a paradigm of this pinkwashing. Tel Aviv has developed a marketing and political strategy to attract LGBTQI+ tourists to its territory. The city therefore gives a liberal image of Israel, a "pink mirage"¹¹, which helps to legitimise its position in the eyes of the West. It is also and above all a way

⁸ Altaïr Despres, *Venues pour les plages, restées pour les garçons ? Du tourisme à l'expatriation amoureuse des femmes occidentales à Zanzibar*, Recherches familiales 2017/1 (n° 14), pages 67 à 78.

⁹ Voir Annexe 2.

¹⁰ Michel Foucault, *Des espaces autres* (conférence), 1967.

¹¹ Jean Stern, *Mirage gay à Tel Aviv*, Libertalia, 2017, 168 pages.

to make people forget the Israeli occupation of Palestine, its religious conservatism and paradoxically its latent homophobia. Thus, the country manages to divert attention from its ultra-security policy by giving itself a gay-friendly advantage. By playing the homonationalism card, Israel instrumentalizes LGBTQI+ tourist traffic and turns it into a new asset to discredit its Palestinian neighbour, which is then necessarily homophobic by comparison.

II. Sexual mobilities for long-term establishments

Borders as defining elements of spaces are sometimes marks of socio-cultural and legal gaps, as well as in terms of gender stereotypes. It's especially the case in terms of sexualities. Under the pressure of these major differences, the cross-border exchange dynamics are more ingrained in time and transnational sexual mobilities are considered in a long-term manner.

1. Constrained sexual mobilities

Long-term constrained sexual mobilities are marked by an asymmetry between the two spaces. It depends on different gradients: from fleeing a territory for shelter abroad, to expatriation to benefit from external work. When we talk about constrained sexual migration, we often hear about human trafficking, especially of women, for forced sex work. There are for example the networks that bring young Ukrainian women (North-North) or young Nigerian women (South-North) to France. However, it is important to not mix up foreign sex workers and sex slaves, because there are people who consciously move abroad to practice sex work (it's the case for many Chinese sex workers in France for example¹²).

Without being the cause of that traffic, sexualities can also be an end. That's the case for cross-border forced marriages. Often internal to Global South countries, these matrimonial arrangements generally are the result of economic, cultural and filial stakes (South-South). If a woman isn't forced to marry explicitly for sexual relations, her virginity or her excision, or even her capacity to have a son are the main and most common expectations.

Due to their identity and/or sexual practices, some spaces constitute a threat for individuals. Because of the lack of protection that is given to them on their country of residence, these people migrate to another space that is perceived as more welcoming legally and/or culturally. It's the case, for example, for LGBTQI+ people who migrate for political asylum, to benefit from services for gender or sex changes, etc. These mobilities

¹² Hélène Le Bail, Mobilisation de femmes chinoises migrantes se prostituant à Paris. De l'invisibilité à l'action collective, Genre, Sexualité et Société, 2015.

happen between countries of the Global North, countries of the Global South and between these two poles¹³.

Chechenia's treatment of LGBTQI+ people that has made the rounds these last few years is a perfect example of the nationalist and geopolitical exploitation of homophobia¹⁴. At the end of the Cold War, Russia saw its regional influence gradually shrink. One of its strategies to stop its European neighbours from turning to the West is to associate it to homosexuality, therefore also to decadence, immorality and the destruction of traditional values, all the while feeding the fire of homophobia in those countries. The fight against homosexuality becomes the flag of the Western cultural anti-imperialism. With this propaganda, Russia positions itself as an alternative ideological power to the West, and thus it befriends governments and parties that are against human rights policies. It presents itself as the spearhead of the right-wing wave and populism.

This regional policy also serves its own national stakes. The Russian political homophobia was a deliberate choice of redefinition of its national identity. By creating scapegoats, Russia was able to redirect social demands towards a group that couldn't defend itself, making everyone forget about economic failures and winning over the public. Political homophobia is also a way to oppress the opposition, and on a greater scale, civil society.

This repression was particularly notable in Chechenia from 2017 on. After a year, this need for a "homosexual purge" led to more than a hundred people who were presumed to be LGBTQI+ being arrested, tortures, arbitrarily detained, harassed, and even killed. This local violence created international migratory movements. The state encouraged families to commit honour crimes, which pushed a lot of victims, potential or escapees, out of the country.

In this case, the socio-political difference between the spaces gives borders a role of shelter and transit¹⁵. Many European countries offered asylum to LGBTQI+ people (South-North), especially Finland, Sweden and Germany¹⁶. The welcoming policy of migrants, whether they recognised the sexual stakes and knowing how to properly investigate

¹³ See Annex 3.

¹⁴ Maietta Michel, *Géopolitique de l'homophobie*, 2019, Observatoire Genre et Géopolitique, IRIS.

¹⁵ JP. Renard, P. Picouet, *Frontières et territoires*, Dossier Documentation photographique, La Documentation française, 1993.

¹⁶ Bronnikova Olga, *Les nouvelles migrations politiques russes*, 2020, ILCEA4 - Institut des Langues et Cultures d'Europe, Amérique, Afrique, Asie et Australie.

individual situations, was decisive in the choices and possibilities of expatriation, as well as the access to information when it came to open support abroad.

When it wasn't the case, other people migrated, invoking political reasons but without asking for asylum linked to their sexual migration, therefore only receiving a residence permit (South-North, South-South). The presence of diasporas also played a role in these constrained sexual mobilities, because borders are not only cross-State but they also move with their citizens and are cultural, symbolic and psychological. Therefore, moving to a country with a large Chechen population could be just as dangerous as staying in the country.

2. Free-willed and chosen sexual mobilities

When they constitute porous interfaces between different spaces, borders present opportunities and possibilities of dynamic and creative flows between them. Sexuality allows access to foreign countries and to benefit from its potential.

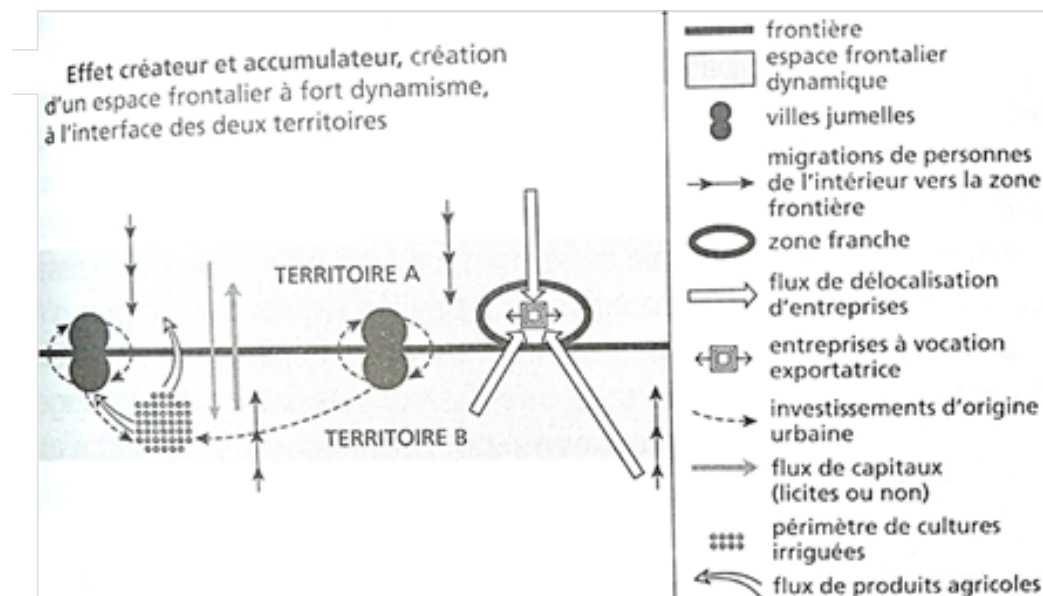
Whether sexuality is instrumentalised or an end in itself, sexual mobilities can be chosen depending on migration conditions and quality of life abroad. Sexuality can therefore be a consented resource to migration. It's the choice of many women that leave their country, which is economically devoid of a future, for another space where, by sex work or marriage, they can satisfy their own needs and become emancipated. Internal to poles (North-North or South-South), these chosen sexual mobilities generally happen from the Global South to the Global North (like Nigerian or Chinese women coming to France for sex work: South-North¹⁷).

Sexuality can also be a finality to migration, and not a means. Whether the partner emigrated from their home country when they met, or if they are a foreigner to their partner's country, migration to join one's partner can happen within the poles as well as between the Global North and Global South.

In reality, there can be a mix of instrumentalisation and finality of sexuality in those mobilities. It's a situation that's very common at the border between China and Vietnam,

¹⁷ Florence Lévy, Marylène Lieber, *La sexualité comme ressource migratoire, Les Chinoises du Nord à Paris*, 2009, *Revue française de sociologie*, pages 719 to 746

which is characterised by binational marriages. "Double cities"¹⁸ or "twin cities"¹⁹ were formed because of dynamic exchanges between the two countries. Cultural, consumer and interpersonal relation flows created a "contact metamorphism"²⁰ which is the origin of the creation of a real cross-border interface of traffic, and of mobility for Vietnamese fiancées in China (South-South). Matrimonial exchanges always happen with the Vietnamese woman's mobility to her Chinese promised.



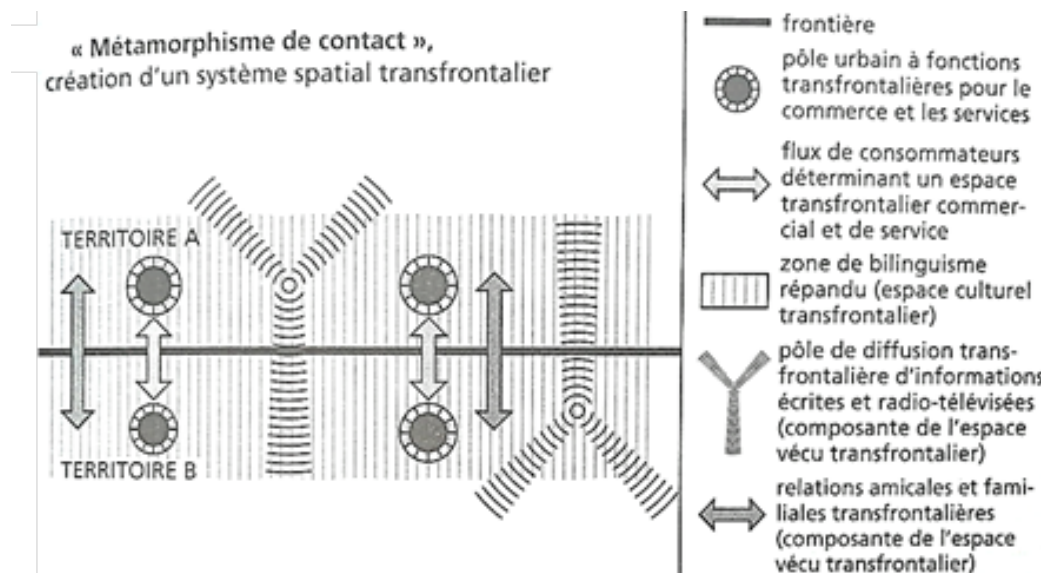
Graph of a dynamic border that creates and accumulates.²¹

¹⁸ Caroline Grillot, « L'aimez-vous ? – C'est-à-dire, il me traite bien... » Le voisin chinois ou l'incarnation d'un idéal conjugal, Les institutions de l'amour : cour, amour, mariage : Enquêtes anthropologiques en Asie et dans l'océan Indien, 2018, Presses de l'Inalco.

¹⁹ JP. Renard, P. Picouet, Frontières et territoires, Dossier Documentation photographique, La Documentation française, 1993.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.



Graph of a contact metamorphism between cross-border spaces.²²

As for the migratory stakes linked to sexualities, many gendered, economic, cultural and symbolic patterns can appear. Chinese men and Vietnamese women, who are outcast from their respective national matrimonial market, see in the spatial asymmetry marked by this border of opportunities coming from, or within this Somewhere Else. Because of the growing economic disparities between China and Vietnam, many Vietnamese women try to marry their neighbours as a mean to escape the local marriage model and gendered expectations that are seen as too oppressive. It's especially the case for those who have made long studies and expect respect, equality, comfort and emancipation.

²² Ibid.



Sino-Vietnamese twin cities²³

This border also creates attractive cultural differences. Vietnamese women who migrate to marry a Chinese man often introduce themselves as wounded romantics: “Vietnamese men for romance, Chinese men for marriage”²⁴. Chinese TV shows that are watched beyond the border and reputation strategies to “save face” from Vietnamese women who have married Chinese men participate in feeding this fantasy of the ideal Chinese husband. On the other side of the border, Vietnamese women are culturally seen as the archetype of the ideal wife. The cultural difference and expectations in terms of gender also benefit migrants and their suitors because Chinese men will marry women that are seen as “old” in the eyes of Vietnamese society (older than 22, when the average age is 27 in China). Vietnamese women use this opportunity on the Chinese matrimonial market because they fill the holes left by Chinese women, who left to marry foreign men themselves, looking for similar dreams of Somewhere Else. This phenomenon of cross-border sexual mobilities for marriage is therefore to be considered as a continuity in a regional and even international space. These women are not to be seen exclusively through

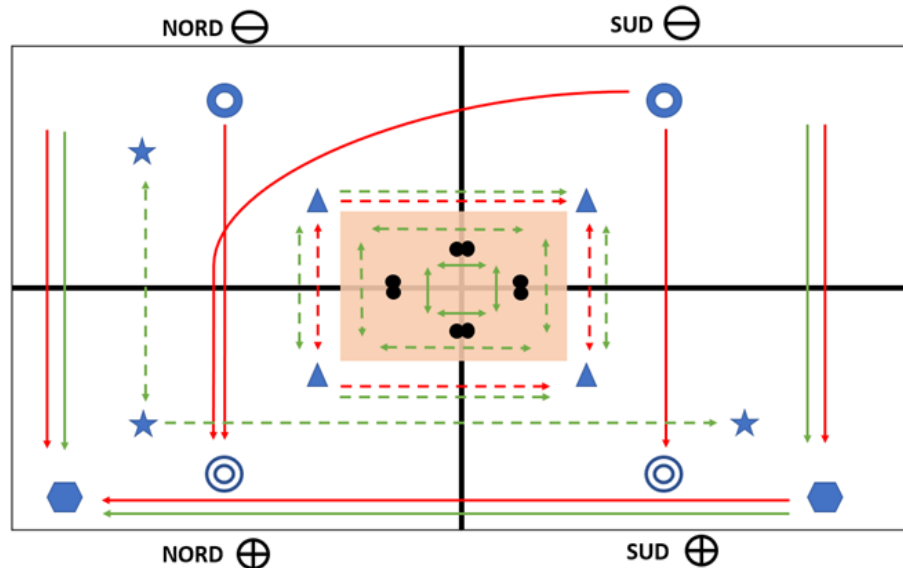
²³ Caroline Grillot, « L’aimez-vous ? – C’est-à-dire, il me traite bien... » Le voisin chinois ou l’incarnation d’un idéal conjugal, Les institutions de l’amour : cour, amour, mariage : Enquêtes anthropologiques en Asie et dans l’océan Indien, Paris, Presses de l’Inalco, 2018.

²⁴ Quy, par Caroline Grillot, « L’aimez-vous ? – C’est-à-dire, il me traite bien... » Le voisin chinois ou l’incarnation d’un idéal conjugal, Les institutions de l’amour : cour, amour, mariage : Enquêtes anthropologiques en Asie et dans l’océan Indien, 2018, Presses de l’Inalco.

the prism of poor, young country girls who are to be sold, or looking to escape their condition through foreign marriage, but as actresses of their own emancipation.

III. Analytical overview

Synthetical graph of sexual mobilities between spaces, temporalities, stakes of gender and power.²⁵



Key:

Éléments structurants de l'espace :

- : Frontière *
- ⊕ : Espace dynamique
- ⊖ : Espace en recul
- : Villes jumelles

Caractéristiques spatiales :

- ▲ : Cadre juridique et socio-culturel attractif
- ⬡ : Manne financière et socio-économique
- ★ : Espace culturel, récréatif, symbolique attractif (espace perçu)
- ⊙ : Pression ou danger juridique et communautaire
- ⊗ : Espace de refuge (droit d'asile, défense des droits humains, communauté militante active)

Mobilités spatiales :

- : Mobilités en vu d'un établissement de longue durée
- - - : Mobilités temporaires
- (red) : Mobilités contraintes
- (green) : Mobilités libres et choisies
- ⬜ (orange) : Interface frontalière dynamique. Relations familiales, amoureuses, sexuelles transfrontalières *

*Here, borders are defined as the broader sense of the term. They're not exclusively on land or adjacent to each other, but they can also be on water, in the sky or even virtual.

²⁵ Made by Isaline Mallet, February 2021.

Analysis

This synthesis graph shows that the world is structured by two dynamic poles that attract sexual mobilities: one is among the Global North, the other among the Global South. They're the only ones that combine legal as well as financial, cultural, symbolic, social and gender-related advantages. They're the only ones to attract flows related to the protection of human rights, notably for LGBTQI+ communities.

A sexual mobility that can be found in all the poles is linked to legal differences between spaces. The four poles attract and emit population flows that take advantage of the different legal contexts. Therefore, borders play a role in marking discontinuities and spatial specificities.

Within these poles, there are very specific spaces. Cross-border interfaces link foreign spaces together by abolishing the idea of a border as a barrier. On the contrary, they emphasise the spatial differences that they offer, whether they are gender-related, socio-cultural, legal, economic and other differences. These interfaces allow for free and two-way traffic for establishments that are more or less durable. They have a high symbolic capital due to cultural, linguistic, familial and other mixes. If sexual mobilities go both ways, they are not necessarily motivated by the same intentions. The role of twin cities²⁶ is particularly important, since they go beyond borders and erases the dichotomy of spaces to create another that is structured with and around these differences.

Aside from these interfaces, two-way mobilities are quite rare. They are, in fact, only internal to the Global North and the Global South (North-North, South-South). They are endured as well as chosen, and are also exclusively temporary. As soon as these mobilities are aimed at longer-term establishments, they are only one-sided and exclusively have their destination in more attractive poles.

It is also interesting to note that sexual mobilities often travel between former colonies and former colonisers. The linguistic and economic links often explain these specific flows. When it comes to sexualities, symbolic stakes, power relations and fantasies – which are built on hierarchised relations of gender and race – in particular, the history and culture between these countries still feed into these exchanges. A great part of these mobilities is, among other reasons, based on the sexist and racist myths of “the new coloniser is dressed

²⁶ JP. Renard, P. Picouet, *Frontières et territoires, Dossier Documentation photographique*, La Documentation française, 1993.

as a tourist: the flowery shorts replaced the colonial helmet, and it no longer wants to conquer the geographic space, but rather the corporal space”²⁷.

In spite of some epistemological precautions, this analysis still has its limits. It is anchored in time, and only speaks of current sexual mobilities. The idea of sexualities evolves in time and space, for those who live them as well as for those who legalise and analyse them. For example, homosexuality is punished in many countries of the Middle East today, but it was fantasised about in the same place by 19th century Europe, even though the term and practices named as such didn’t exist beyond the Mediterranean. Spaces and perceptions change with geopolitical events. Therefore, the island of Lesbos, an important spot of lesbian tourism that feeds on images of ancient Greece, has become a refugee camp that carries other fantasies.

The analysis of sexual migrations rested on the distinction of whether they were endured or proactive. In fact, power relations are always latent in mobilities as well as sexualities. In this mix of constraint and choice, the difference lies in the motivation of each mobility, but also on its symbolism whose importance changes greatly depending on the person. Constraints are generally easily identified when they’re physical (forced marriage, kidnapping, human trafficking, etc.), or when they stem from a culture that is foreign to our own. It is interesting to question the sources of knowledge, and what our white, elitist and patriarchal societies write about the Somewhere Else and the Others. Analysis that exclusively victimise prostitution and cross-border marriages are very common in the West. These phenomena, even though they are often fantasised about, still hold a certain truth to them²⁸. But it is interesting to question this reality that is revealed by these ways of thinking of the Global North on these migrations which it always separates itself from.

The geography of gender emphasised that spaces reflect disproportionate power relations and triggers strong, and even violent dynamics of geopolitical and social control. This leads us to questioning mobilities and sexualities within the spaces that we cross, our representations and practices under the light of questions from Somewhere Else.

²⁷ Franck Michel, *Voyage au bout du sexe : trafics et tourisms sexuels en Asie et ailleurs*, 2006, Presses Université Laval, 361 pages.

²⁸ Machikou Nadine, Perseil Sonny, *Sexualités imputées, migrations des corps*, 2008, Migrations Société, pages 25 to 42.

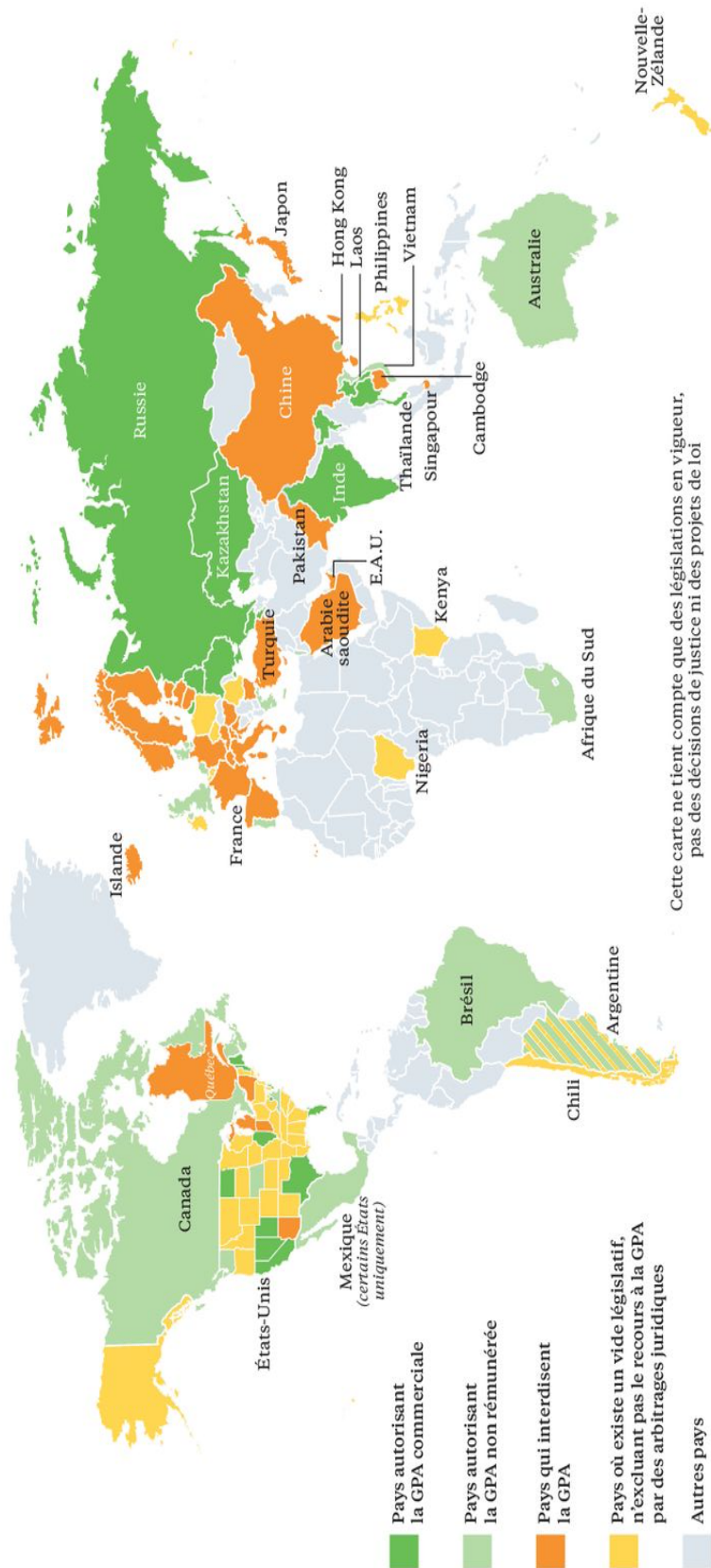
CONCLUSION

Sexual mobilities are based on the combination of many elements that are linked by their distinctions and complementarity. People come from specific spaces that are built by particular characteristics which partly condition their own cultural understanding of sexualities. Then there is the conception of Somewhere Else. They have a geographical, legal and social reality, but are as much the result of symbolic and cultural representations as fantasies. Between resources, risks and constraints, opportunities and costs, crossing a border means seeking to benefit from a difference between two territories, between two cultures, in order to live one's sexuality differently.

Whether sexual mobilities are chosen or constrained, they are always based on relationships of domination. These movements are based on disparities of power – geopolitical, gender, class, race, etc. – but are also themselves sources of social mobility and power acquisition. Sexual mobilities are filled with classism, racism and sexism, and play into the hands of both the patriarchy and capitalism. In the end, it is not so much the issues related to sexualities or the spaces reached that create sexual mobilities as these hierarchical differentials of norms, both within each space and internationally.

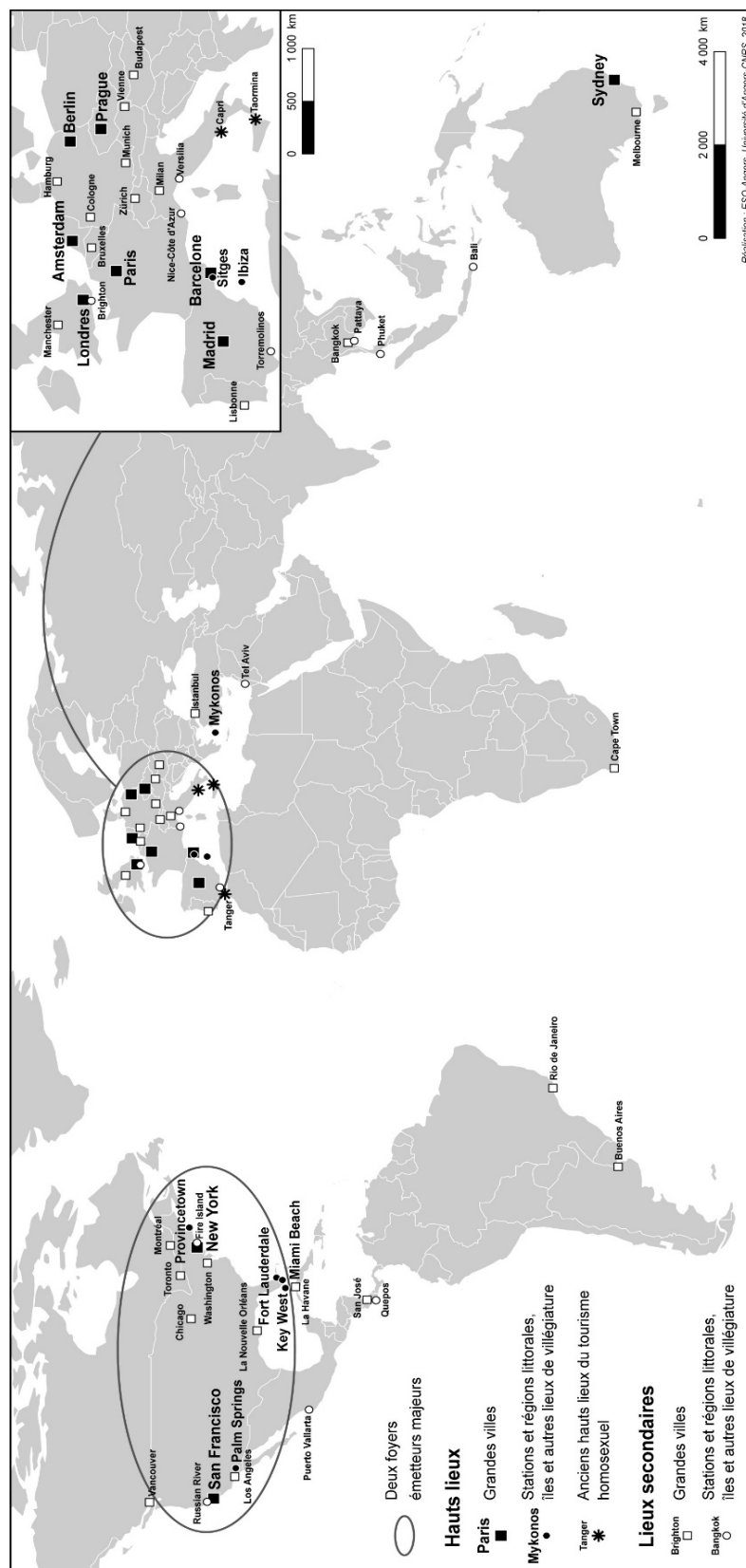
ANNEXES

Annexe 1: Legal status of surrogacy in the world (2018).²⁹



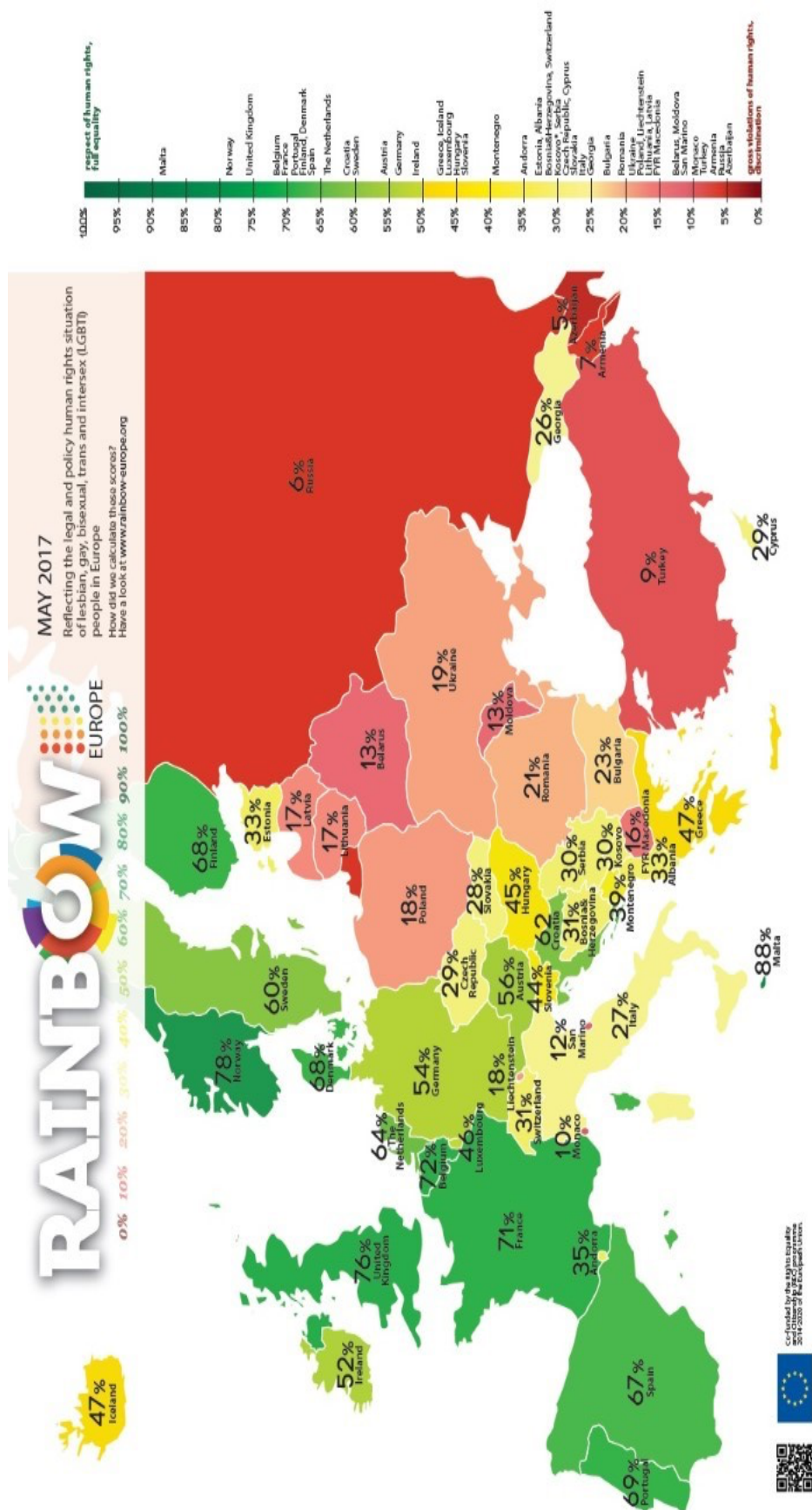
²⁹ Thomas Reuter Practical Law, Institut Thomas More, Toute l'Europe, Corethics, université Columbia, medias, 2018.

Annexe 2: Spaces of gay tourism in the world (2018).³⁰



³⁰ Réalisation ESO-Angers, Université d'Angers CNRS 2018, Dans Emmanuel Jaurand, « Des lieux autres pour un autre tourisme ? Les espaces du tourisme gay », Bulletin de l'association de géographes français, 95-4 | 2018, 492-507.

³¹ Rainbow Europe/Iлга, 2017.



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