

Representation of homoaffective relationships in Brazilian telenovelas

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Abstract

The presence of homosexual characters in Brazilian telenovelas has been gaining prominence in recent years and arousing intense debates in society. The aim of this study is to analyze the representation of homoaffective relationships in telenovelas from the perspective of their presence, relevance and discussion. This study consisted of the analysis of the scenes of homosexual couple Teresa and Estela in the telenovela Ambitious Women (GLOBO NETWORK, 2015), in comparison with the literature and other same-gender relationships in telenovelas. The analysis evidences an increase in the representativeness of homoaffective relationships in telenovelas, however the representation of these relationships still remains subjected to a heteronormative logic.

Keywords: telenovelas; homoaffectiveness; representation.

1. Introduction

The presence of LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transvestite, Transsexual and Transgender) characters in television media is marked by a series of questions that range from the use of socially diffused stereotypes to a kind of "sexual invisibility" and, more recently, by an attempt to "normalize" or even to "standardize" same-gender relationships by means of a forced heteronormative framework. The role of the media on the LGBT issue gains importance as it builds and consolidates stereotypes, but it also proposes discussions and mobilizes viewers to reflect on aspects that are considered taboo, especially in a predominantly conservative society such as Brazil.

Telenovelas have always played a prominent role in the television media, mainly with the consolidation of Globo Network as of the 1970s. Although they have been losing their audiences systematically in recent years due to the advent of new media, especially the Internet, telenovelas are far from no longer having a relevant impact on the issues they present and which, most of the times, resonate in Brazilian society. In spite of the continuous telenovela audience drop, the questions raised by them gain more and

more prominence and are resignified in the scope of the Internet.

On the one hand, social transformations lead to the insertion of new themes and representations in telenovelas - such as the visibility of black people, special needs people, the LGBT segment, socially excluded people and others, who besides being part of the social issue are ultimately potential viewers and consumers. On the other hand, television needs to deal with falling audiences and with a significantly conservative portion of Brazilian society, which struggles to keep several groups away from visibility. Moreover, advertisers, who maintain the functioning of television media by financial investments and who often adopt an imperial royal posture, constitute another group that pushes, controls and commands the programs presented in national network.

This entire complex network, with so many different actors involved, appears in the work of Simões (2004), who highlights the question of who, in fact, determines the direction of television. According to the author, everyone runs the TV: the owners, who assemble teams, direct and invest; the viewers, with their unconfessed or unconscious preferences, which increase or decrease the audience ratings; the advertisers, who buy the audience of one channel or another; and also the state, which is the agent that grants the operation of the channels.

Within this intricate context, it is of utmost importance to analyze the role of television media from different perspectives, including how the representation of homoaffective relationships and the social discussions that arise from them take place. The presence of homosexual characters in telenovelas has increased significantly in the last decades, just as the variety of ways in which they are presented. According to Beleli (2009), by incorporating same-gender relationships, telenovelas also produce a call to identification. Thus, on the one hand, increasing the visibility of this social group means advancing in the conquest of their rights and in their forms of representation, but on the other hand, identification often encapsulates subjects in a model that refers to heterosexual relationships ruled by predefined practices, which would not need to be evaluated within their characteristic and proper context of homoaffective relationships, when in fact, they do.

Braga (2010) brings up the discussion about the representation of the first lesbian couple in the Brazilian telenovelas, presented in the telenovela *Anything Goes* (GLOBO NETWORK, 1988/1989). In this study, the author raises a series of questions about the homoaffective relationship lived between the characters Laís and Cecilia, such as: non-stereotyped gestures, presentation of the relationship naturally and within a heteronormative and monogamous model, construction of the relationship verbally rather than visually in order not to shock the viewer, and the discussion of the right to inheritance, making a counterpoint between moral and legal issues. Fernandes and Brandão (2010) studied the evolution of the representation of homosexual characters in telenovelas between 1970 and 2010, highlighting the progress achieved between 2003 and 2005, which, however, did not show continuity in the following period 2005-2010. The authors seek to categorize homosexual characters within the theory of archetypes, prototypes and stereotypes. Tonon (2006) presents his analysis on homoaffectiveness from the point of view of cultural studies, with respect to the understanding of the identity according to Stuart Hall, and adds the contributions of Michel Foucault on how sexuality acts in the constitution of identities and subjectivities. In 2015, Globo Network aired the telenovela *Ambitious Women* (GLOBO NETWORK, 2015), written by Gilberto Braga (same author of *Anything Goes*, 1988/1989), Ricardo Linhares and João Ximenes Braga, which presented another lesbian couple in the plot, resuming the same theme approached in *Anything Goes*, as well as in other television works by the same author. This article analyzes the presence of these homosexual characters in this 2015 Brazilian telenovela, especially between chapters 1 and 35.

2. Homosexual characters in telenovelas

In *Ambitious Women* (GLOBO NETWORK, 2015), contrary to what had been done in previous telenovelas, the authors made an option to show the lesbian couple early in the first chapter. The characters Teresa (Fernanda Montenegro) and Estela (Nathália Thimberg) live a monogamous, long-lasting and stable 35-year relationship. The presentation of the couple occurs at 06 minutes and 40 seconds of the first chapter. The great expectation surrounding the two-octogenarian lesbian couple was heavily mentioned in the media prior to the telenovela's launch and certainly contributed somehow to an overestimation of the impact of their appearance on the narrative.

From a strictly technical point of view, the scene lasted 2 minutes and 10 seconds, which is considerably long for television standards, as takes tend to be short. However, in what concerns to the content of the scene, the presentation of the couple was rather trivial. The two characters meet at home in their room after a long day of work and the dialogue between them is about the everyday life, about what each one did throughout the day, about Teresa's job and Estela's concerns about her daughter's problems. The affection approach is marked by the environment in which the conversation takes place (the couple's bedroom), the way they treat each other (Estela uses the expression "my love" to refer to Teresa) and it culminates with a kiss that lasts approximately 10 seconds, plus 5 seconds of a final hug. This time is quite long if compared to the kisses seen in recent shows involving homosexual characters.

The scene of the octogenarian lesbian kiss featured in chapter one of the telenovela was the catalyst for labyrinthine reactions that unveiled and revealed how society - or most of it - views in the social and political field the affection between people of the same gender and love in old age. It should be highlighted that the effects of the "gay kiss" were heated and intense, even mobilizing conservative parliamentarians in different spheres of power, who started a campaign in order to boycott the telenovela or approved letters of repudiation of the plot in the wake of the conservative/reactionary discourse that defends the values of the traditional family. On the side of minority rights advocates and especially the LGBT cause, the reactions were also intense, both in favor, due to the opportunity of the visibility offered to the cause in prime time on TV, and opposed, due to the standardized or normalized form of representation of the couple.

In what concerns to the differences between the telenovelas, it is clear that there are many similarities between the lesbian couple presented in *Anything Goes* (1988/1989) and the lesbian couple of *Ambitious Women* (2015), since both works were written by the same author. However, there are significant differences between such characters. In *Anything Goes*, the homosexual characters were close to the central plot of the story, but they had a clearly supporting role, in which they were close friends with the protagonist. In *Ambitious Women*, the importance of the couple represented is greater, since one of them (Estela) is the mother of the protagonist/antagonist of the story, Beatriz (Gloria Pires), and Estela's partner, Teresa, is worried and suspicious of the unethical attitudes of her stepdaughter. That is, by comparing the two plots, there was an increase in the importance of the homosexual couple within the narrative structure, as they take a more central position.

Besides this improvement in the characters' relevance within the plot, other comparisons are also possible. According to Braga (2010), the homosexual couple in *Anything Goes* stands out for a series of

characteristics such as: non-stereotyped gestures, natural presentation of the relationship within a heteronormative and monogamous model, and the construction of the relationship verbally instead of physically in order not to shock the viewer. In *Ambitious Women*, the main author seems to repeat the same prescription adopted in the previous telenovela, but with a remarkable difference: he chooses to show the construction of the relationship in a gestural/visual way and highlights it strongly by placing the couple's initial scene in the opening of the telenovela with a kiss between the characters.

In that sense, there was a clear change of perspective, in which the author believes that, 27 years after the first plot, the transformations of Brazilian society were significant enough to allow a homosexual couple to be represented in a visual way, albeit subtly, with a short kiss and discrete scenes of affection. At first glance, this seems to be one of the most crucial aspects that *Ambitious Women* shows about homoaffective representation.

On the one hand, the author's intention of promoting the expressions of affection between the couples in a homosexual relationship is marked by recent telenovelas in which the taboo of the "gay kiss" seems to have been overcome (*TRAIL OF LIES*, 2013/2014; *HELENA'S SHADOW*, 2014; *EMPIRE*, 2014/2015). On the other hand, the reaction of the more conservative sectors of society has proved to be very strong, either by the arguments on social networks, by the moves of the Evangelical Parliamentary Front in the National Congress, or by the position of the City Councils of cities located in the states of Tocantins and Bahia, which approved letters of repudiation of the work exhibited by Globo Network.

These social transformations indicate, given the controversy aroused by the octogenarian lesbian couple, that a significant part of the population is still anachronistically obedient to a traditionalist culture, which is characteristic of the times of a provincial Brazil.

A letter of repudiation issued by the Evangelical Parliamentary Front about the scene performed by the actresses Fernanda Montenegro and Nathália Thimberg, both 85 years old, circulated in social networks three days after the kiss in the first chapter of *Ambitious Women* (2015). Such kiss was responsible for scandalizing the Brazilian people more than the scenes of bribery, betrayal, racism, gold-digging, premeditated "accident", and murder, all of them sharing the same first chapter.

The aforementioned telenovela, as well as others previously shown by Globo Network, has a clear intention of confronting Christians in their convictions and principles, trying to impose to almost the entire Brazilian society the idiom they call "another way of loving", which is contrary to our customs, practices and traditions. The evangelical front asks Christians and all those who feel 'violated by the constant moral rapes imposed by the liberal media' not to watch this telenovela and to boycott its advertisers. (Castro, G., 2015)

It is curious to note that the real violence represented in the first chapter of the telenovela - bribery, racism, murder – was ignored by the judgment of the respectful gentlemen who occupy prestige seats in national politics, not representing major threats to Brazilian society. It is also worth noting that the prestige of the actresses, two great icons of the performing arts, did not free them from exclamations like "disgusting", "horrible", "now the world is over", but on the contrary, their prestige seemed to enhance such reactions.

The aggravating point is that, this time, besides being gay, the characters who performed the kiss are elderly people. The difference between this prejudice and others is that it is already institutionalized, even by the media themselves. According to Christophe and Camarano (2010), in May 2010, at the launch of a film by Woody Allen, who was 74 years old at the time, the world media - including the Brazilian one - repeated to exhaustion the celebrated filmmaker's statement: "There is no advantage to getting older. You don't get smarter, you don't get wiser, you don't get mellower, you don't get more kindly - nothing happens. But your back hurts more, you get more indigestion, your eyesight isn't as good and you need a hearing aid. It's a bad business getting older and I would advise you not to do it if you can avoid it." In a society that cultivates youth and seeks to extend young vigor, nourishing and nurtured by market interests, talking about sex in old age is still taboo. This is what Goldani (2010) calls "challenges of age prejudice": the veneration of youth by most Western societies often makes aging an object of shame, something ridiculous and disgusting. The author also cites a study by Valente (2008), which reveals that the increase in cases of HIV-positive patients was large among the elderly, since AIDS programs are essentially aimed at young or middle-aged people and ignore the elderly, assuming that they are not sexually active.

Although it is impossible to map the intentionality of the author, his plot gains prominence by unveiling and revealing old prejudices still rooted in a twenty-first-century Brazil: the affection between people of the same gender and pleasure in old age, among others. For example, one may compare the current enthusiastic and violent repercussions with those of the couple represented by the actresses Sílvia Pfeifer and Christiane Torloni in *The Babel Tower* (1998/1999), whose profile was similar to the current couple formed by Estela and Teresa. The plot, just like the current one, chronicled the love relationship between two rich, independent and feminine women, who were already in a stable relationship as from the beginning of the telenovela.

The main dissimilarity between the couples concerns to their age and their importance in the development of the plot. "It must have been this damn prejudice!" - This is the last line that Rafaela Katz, stylist, portrayed by the actress Christiane Torloni, pronounces before the mall explodes. At the time, Luis Mott, president of the Gay Group of Bahia, in an interview with *Folha TV*, on July 12, 1998, stated that society even "admits lesbianism among second-class actresses, but intolerance is manifested when it involves first class stars." In the year zero of the 80's, in an interview granted to the *Playboy Magazine* about his telenovela *Jellyfish*, Gilberto Braga, the same author of *Ambitious Women*, when asked about the "audience ratings dictatorship" replied: "But I think that this dictatorship will exist even if I leave the television and start working in the theater, cinema or doing anything else, because I will always be concerned about success, money and about pleasing people. I reason a lot with *Globo TV*, because I want more or less the same thing: I want people to like the telenovela." Given the repercussions, which are similar to those of 16 years ago, what will be the current response of the television media to the high rates of disapproval and low audience ratings?

An attempt of response may already be seen in the episodes that aired in the second month of exhibition of the telenovela *Ambitious Women*. Traditionally, *Globo Network* promotes "discussion groups" concerning its telenovelas in order to make changes in their scripts aimed at reaching the highest audience possible for its audiovisual products. These discussion groups are made up exclusively of

women, mostly older housewives, who preferably have a strong bond with telenovelas. Among innumerable considerations made in the first discussion group on *Ambitious Women*, and that considerably changed the direction of the telenovela, it is the relationship between Teresa and Estela. The viewers heard do not disapprove or reject the characters in the narrative structure; they actually appreciate the ethical and exemplary way the couple raises their son Rafael (Chay Suede), which is clearly an advance in relation to previous works. However, the viewers express their disapproval in relation to the display of affection (kisses, caresses, hugs, etc.) between the lesbian couple. This is a clear conservative message that they (the viewers) are willing to accept a “different” type of couple in the telenovela’s narrative structure though within certain limits; that is, as long as there is no visual sign of the affection that unites the characters.

For this point of discussion, it is worth noting some aspects regarding the advances and setbacks in the analyzed work, and the way it interacts with society through its representation of minorities. The interaction with society is visible when analyzing different scenes of the telenovela, in which through different characters, the author reflects the conservative discourse back to the society. The family unit consisting of Consuelo (Arlete Sales), Aderbal (Marcos Palmeira), Maria José (Laila Garin) and Laís (Luisa Arraes) is the main example of that. The plot presents these characters as being part of a traditional Brazilian family, defender of morals and principles, extremely religious, but that hides a social hypocrisy. Besides possessing an enormous load of the most varied social prejudices, this family unit is also involved in political corruption, revealing narratives that the media themselves, through their different means of communication, bring to the center of social debates in the current Brazilian scenario.

As a narrative resource, the author directly connects this family, conservative and immoral at the same time, with the family of Teresa, Estela and Rafael, which represents a liberal family arrangement that defends real human and civil rights values not those dictated by good morals and customs. The lack of character of Consuelo’s family is simultaneously a critic to the conservative part of society, which is still full of prejudgments and does not like to be seen as reactionary, intransigent and prejudiced, as well as a “ladder” to point out the correct values of Teresa’s family as a way to facilitate the acceptance of homoaffective families.

In what concerns to representation, the most noticeable advance in *Ambitious Women* is the partial acceptance of the characters in relation to previous works, in which homosexual characters had to die – Cecília, in *Anything Goes* (1988/1989), or Leila and Rafaela, in *The Babel Tower* (1998/1999). Nonetheless, a setback is evident as this partial acceptance is based on the moral strength of the characters and the scenes of affection between them are rejected. Beleli, Pereira and Sobrinho (2015) state that the acceptance of minorities in telenovelas is marked by intense “negotiation” with the audience and Globo Network’s interests. In one hand, Globo knows its immense power to influence the mass of viewers and uses it continually in its television structure. Therefore, the representation of excluded groups, such as LGBT, black people, women and others, is inserted in the television schedule as a last resort, in an attempt to broaden this potential consumer audience that has undeniably increased over the last few years. On the other hand, Globo Network has a commitment with the most conservative part of the audience. In fact, the network is committed to audience ratings in first place, so it cannot displease this part of the audience. Thus, its conciliatory strategy is to include excluded groups in its telenovelas – meeting the demands of this potential consumer audience – though under a “sanitized” or “standardized”

conception.

3. The heteronormative representation of homoaffective relations

The fact is that the characters did not go unnoticed; either by the advance they promoted, but chiefly by the innumerable demonstrations of prejudice that surfaced during the exhibition of the telenovela. It is impossible to map the intentionality of the author, but a 10-second kiss between the couple raised a series of heated discussions in the country that had remained concealed for a long time. Despite the discussion rose, it is important to highlight that the standardization of homoaffective relationships is strongly represented in the *Ambitious Women's* plot. The depiction of the couple as heteronormative is evident in many scenes of the telenovela. Teresa is clearly “the head of the family”. She is depicted as being the strongest one of the couple whereas Estela is the weakest. This is shown, for instance, in Teresa’s speech in front of the school principal, who asks the couple to hide their relationship due to the bullying their son has been suffering in school (chapter 2); in Teresa’s critical stance in relation to Beatriz (her partner’s daughter); and even in Teresa’s position at the dinner table: she is always at the head of the table. In turn, Estela is portrayed as the most fragile in the relationship. She hides her daughter’s mistakes, she is insecure in her dialogues, she is even robbed when the couple walks by the shore, besides, of course, being the “bride”, the one in charge of the wedding’s arrangements (role usually reserved to women in heterosexual relations) since Teresa has a more important career that demands much more time from her (role usually of a man in the patriarchal society).

According to Stuart Hall (2006), we live an identity crisis and this is due to the new ways individuals express their desires. The representations, associated to and broadcast by the media in their more diverse contexts, exert a lot of, when not predominant, influence on the construction of human identity(ies), even though their depiction is still attached, even if subconsciously, to heteronormative standards. The media are thus, created by and creator of heteronormative discourses that are relentlessly reproduced as “natural”, putting in evidence, even when silenced, the behaviors out of their standard. This full of prejudices and excluding normative trend enables us to confirm what society understands as “right” concerning to sexual orientation, in a territory of fabricated, deviant and stigmatized identities.

Media uphold the discourse, the in-formation and, consequently, the consolidation of the control and the opposition. The consolidation of opposition happens when denial starts, for instance, when someone tolerates the relationship but denies the existence of the “gay kiss”, which ended up not happening again – as a desire of the viewers – not even within the heteronormative narrative, in which a kiss could never be left out. As a consequence, in Teresa and Estela’s wedding, the right to kiss the bride was denied to the bride.

Thus, it is the individual’s responsibility to balance its subjective desires with the objective “needs” of culture, in which identity is, according to Hall (2006), the result of the tensions that end up composing the social scenario out there. Therefore, people transform their feelings in objects when, through mechanical, and usually subconscious behaviors they reproduce, in art and in life, only one possible type of acceptable relationship, disregarding the innumerable possibilities of affection. So, media position themselves as a tool present in different spaces that dictates the behaviors people should follow, and use

these same spaces to invisibilize, marginalize and deny the existence of groups that do not comply to their molds.

Contrary to the other heterocentric representations present in several contexts of the behavior of the couple interpreted by the actresses Fernanda Montenegro and Natalia Thimberg, in a clear attempt to “normalize” the homoaffective relationship that goes beyond acceptable norms, their wedding did not have a kiss between the brides. According to one of the authors, Ricardo Linhares, the viewers taking part in the survey group liked the characters, but did not want to see the actresses exchanging affection on television. Telenovela writers nowadays have the role, as described by Goffman (1988), of being the “speakers”, agents or agencies responsible for representing persons with a particular stigmas. One of the characteristics of these representatives is to convince the audience to use a more flexible social label in relation to the category in question, for instance:

(...) The New York League for the Hard of Hearing agreed to use only such terms as hard of hearing, impaired hearing, and hearing loss; to excise the word deaf from their conversation, their correspondence and other writings, their teaching and their speeches in public. It worked. New York in general gradually begun to use the new vocabulary. Straight thinking was on the way (Warfield, apud GOFFMAN, 1988, p. 34).

This is how Brazilian telenovelas are. They paint the colorful shades of reality gray, such as the gay cause, when they embrace the viewers’ screams of refusal. In this fictional push- pull, mediated by audience, they attend the desires of the most liberal part at times and of the most conservative part at others.

The analysis of the scenes highlights other key points, such as Lauro’s (Denis Carvalho) rejection to his mother’s (Teresa) homoaffective relationship; the appreciation of the homosexual wedding as a way to validate this type of relationship; the constant reassurance that only love gives people enough power to overcome prejudice; the homophobic actions against the lesbian couple’s son (Rafael); and the homosexual couple’s acceptance by Laís because of her private affection for Rafael.

Every aspect mentioned above makes up this narrative of “standardization” or “encapsulation” that the media dictate as mandatory for the acceptance of the outcasts. In several chapters, Teresa has doubts whether she should invite her biological son Lauro or not to her wedding, as they had fallen out with each other 35 years ago in an emotionally violent way when she decided to go through with her homoaffective relationship with Estela. Despite Teresa giving up, Estela and Rafael invite Lauro, without her consent. He does not show any sign that he will show up at the wedding, but unexpectedly appears and not only accepts his mother homoaffective relationship but also walks her down the aisle. At this point of the plot, chapter 35, the changes proposed by the discussion groups had already been in effect and the speeding up of the telenovela in order to increase the audience made Laura and Teresa’s scenes editing too fast; as a result, a troubled relationship of 35 years of conflicts and distance is resolved in a few moments. The long conflict is resolved in the simple line in which Lauro says he has changed and now accepts his mother’s relationship. Then, after the wedding, mother and son spend some time together and recall the good memories of a distant past. In the following chapter, Lauro, who had made a lot of effort to be in the wedding due to his poor health conditions, dies. Lauro’s almost instant death after the

wedding works as a way to not dig deeper into the discussion on his sudden acceptance, after 35 year, of the validity of his mother's homoaffective relationship.

Unfortunately, another discussion that could lead to a deeper reflection on prejudice, the relationship between Laís and Rafael, also ends up falling into standardization. Rafael avoids telling Laís that he has two mothers but she ends up finding it out during the plot. Such revelation leads to one of the longest scenes (13 minutes) related to the homosexual couple in the telenovela, in which there is a strong clash between Rafael's humanitarian values and the influence of Laís' conservative education, which culminates in the couple drifting away from each other. Instead of using the intense argument between these characters to deconstruct homophobia, the author decided to, a few chapters later, reconcile them without any further questioning from both sides, based on the premise of private affection; that is, Laís makes an effort to overcome her prejudice against Rafael's mothers, not because she judges their relationship correct or acceptable, but only because she has affection for Rafael. To sum up, the message in Laís' attitude is that she will try to accept Rafael's lesbian mothers, not because they deserve respect and understanding, as any human being does, but because they are the mothers of the man she loves, and therefore, not accepting them would imply in losing her loved one.

At last, the plot puts in evidence the consequences of Teresa and Estela's homoaffective relationship on Rafael. This correlation appears on Guto's (Bruno Grizoni) homophobic attitudes towards Rafael. This is a common behavior in conservative social conduct, which tries to justify its dogmas against homoaffectiveness claiming that homosexual parents influence their children's sexuality, especially during childhood.

Under this bias, the storyline throws back to society what is strongly implied in its prejudice: the assurance that Rafael would be homosexual due to being raised by homosexual mothers and a clear intention to deconstruct this idea, since Rafael is not only heterosexual but also endowed with maturity and an enviable character, the opposite of Guto, raised by a traditional family.

4. Conclusion

The octogenarian lesbian couple, shown and represented in *Ambitious Women* by two outstanding actresses, was not blown up in a shopping mall neither died in a car accident, but it lost, gradually, the spotlight and visibility, as an answer to the voices echoed by those who have eyes, who know, but do not want and pretend not to see. In this sense, the work analyzed is contradictory in essence, as it brings up important issues to the center of discussion and at the same time depicts a distorted representation in favor and interest of others, to which most viewers are blind.

Synthetically, *Ambitious Women* has made advances on the issue of representativeness/visibility of homoaffective relations in an unprecedented scale in Brazilian telenovelas. It is evident, in the reassurance of the political nature of homoaffective marriage, in the representation of the homosexual couple by well-established actresses, and in the inclusion of the homoaffective topic associated with other prejudices (such as gender and age), a clear attempt to advance on the discussion against homophobia, either the open homophobia of conservative groups or the concealed one of middle groups of society. In the opposite direction of these advances, it is the encapsulation of the representation of the homosexual

couple within a heteronormative logic, the “sanitization” of the characters through the exacerbation of character and constitution of a solid family unit and professional prestige, the excessive use of the argument that only love gives people enough power to overcome prejudice, the unfeasibility of visual affection in order to please a more conservative audience and the lack of further development of the discussion on homoaffectiveness acceptance, which is reduced to the scope of private affection and leaves behind the social dimension of the problem.

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