SHIPPING THE MARGIN TO THE CENTRE: EXCAVATING TUMBLR; FILLING IN THE SELF

A Thesis

by

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ABSTRACT

Queer fandoms on tumblr aid in the formation of identity and the self. As a micro-blogging website, tumblr works to create a constantly expanding archive of each user's posts, and thus can potentially document the development of the self. Some of its users may be undergoing a shift in queer identity and thus be seeking others, fictional or real, who are undergoing the same thing. Other users have already undergone this shift and are using fandom in order negotiate and manage this change in self identity. The queer self is one frequently contested both by society and the individual. Tumblr aids in the fight against heteronormativity, and archives the acts of identity formation. Queer fandom provides a doorway directly to a fictional queer character, or characters, who can help to assemble a user's self and provide an anchor, drawing other like users together.

In this thesis I use my position as an indigenous member of the tumblr community to navigate female-orientated queer fandoms. I investigate user's interactions with fandom characters, fandom relationships and each other, in order to show how tumblr can be a way to assemble and display the self. By examining posts from a range of fandoms I am able to examine the way users assemble aspects of the self. I discuss the difficulties of representation on television faced by queer women, and how fandoms can provide users a lens through which they can see an aspect of their self that is often closeted by society, or even closeted by the user themselves. I have found that users take to tumblr to assemble aspects of their self. Through their interactions with shows, characters, and each other, users are able to discover fragments of the self, new and old,

and use tumblr to display these fragments. I can therefore conclude that for members of tumblr that reside within female-orientated queer fandoms tumblr has provided them with a space where they can negotiate their identity, and collect and assemble aspects of the self.

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I want to thank every member of the fandoms discussed in this thesis; you create, you inspire, you support, and you provide hope. To JT in particular, thank you for helping me chart the universe.

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Joan Didion once wrote that "We Tell Ourselves Stories in Order to Live"; you have all proven this to be true and you each inspire me tell your story, as well as my own. Thank you.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

José Muñoz describes Marga Gomez's performance in *Marga Gomez is Pretty, Witty* and Gay as doing "the work of prying open memory for me and elucidating one important episode of self-formation". Here Munoz sums up the process of identification. In December 2014 the series finale of *Legend of Korra* aired. This kind of event happens frequently—series come and go all the time—but the final scene especially marked this event. Lead protagonist Korra, hero from the southern water tribe, really proved that "it's true what they say: the hero does always get the girl in the end." She walked off into the proverbial sunset with Asami, someone who had initially been set up as her romantic rival for male character Mako's affections. Korra and Asami, ship name Korrasami, sparked a plethora of posts on tumblr about just how much their relationship meant to people. One user provided a compilation of their tweets that were posted in response to the finale. One of those tweets reads, "I've been struggling for so long over my bisexuality. And it was so amazing to see it not only represented, but in a show I hold so dear." This post indicates that the scene pried open a memory and

¹ Muñoz, José Esteban. *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota P, 1999. Print.

² "The Last Stand." *Legend of Korra*. Writ. Michael Dante Dimartino. Nickelodeon. 19 Dec. 2014. Television.

³ McDonald, Sam (jogproof). "@RCDispatch @jowrotethis @Da7e @misterpatches @Devindra it's true what they say: the hero does always get the girl in the end. #Korrasami =D". 19 Dec 2014, 10:43 UTC. Tweet.

⁴ Medievalpoc. "To cite this blog in MLA or Chicago". *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 17 Oct. 2013. Web. 17 Oct. 2013. http://medievalpoc.tumblr.com/post/64291212981/to-cite-this-blog-in-mla-or-chicago.

helped the fan piece together what was going through their mind in that moment when they believed they were in Korra and/or Asami's shoes. What exactly was going through their mind when their universe shifted and how that changed their own self-presentation was all brought back to them in the moments of seeing Korra and Asami. They saw and identified themselves in the scenes between these two characters in much the same way Muñoz did with Margo Gomez. Larzzing's episode of self-formation is literally a series of episodes in this case.

Tumblr is one of the biggest and most active social media platforms, with an extensive and active user base but it is more than that.⁶ Tumblr is also a site of performance - a stage on which fandoms are used to produce autobiographies. This is demonstrated in tumblr user lokgifsandmusings's statement regarding the Korrasami outcome which includes the line "here's where I'm [finally] going to directly defend the

This tumblr post by user larzzing has 40 notes.

One comment to this post was given by tumblr user wildwildeyes echoes larrzing's sentiment with: "I didn't realize how much it meant to me to have a poly Avatar until they made it canon." (Wildwildeyes. "Probably my most coherent thoughts on the Korra finale". *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 19 Dec. 2014. Web. 19 Dec. 2014.

Tumble has information about the number of posts, press reviews and user demographics, available on its website, this gives an updated count of the number of blogs and posts on the site in close to real time.

Gaille, Brandon. "26 Astonishing Tumblr Demographics, Trends and Stats." *BrandonGaille*. BrandonGaille, 03 Aug. 2013. Web. 10 Dec. 2014. http://brandongaille.com/26 astonishing-tumblr-demographics-trends-and-stats/>.

Provides detailed information about tumblr's demographics and site traffic and when used with tumblrs given statistics the growth of the site and its significance as a site of interest becomes apparent .

⁵ Larzzing. "Probably my most coherent thoughts on the Korra finale". *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 19 Dec. 2014. Web. 19 Dec. 2014 http://larzzing.tumblr.com/post/105644961214/probably-my-most-coherent-thoughts-on-the-korra.

< http://wildwildeyes.tumblr.com/post/105658244696/larzzing-probably-my-most-coherent-thoughts-on>.)

⁶Tumblr. "About." *Tumblr*. Tumblr, Feb. 2007. Web. 10 Oct. 2013.

http://www.tumblr.com/about>.

writing, as well as get a little bit personal". Each post on tumblr appears to be a representation of the thoughts of the user, from the content of the post to the tags that accompany it in the tagging area below the post's content. Each part of the post seems to reflect some fragment of the user, from their intimate thoughts, personal biographies, or private pleasures.⁸

Tumblr is a micro-blogging website in which users can post their own content, which is often influenced by a television program, song, film, or book they have consumed. Art work, essays dissecting an episode of a television show, photography, and more are welcomed, encouraged, and shared by the site's population. Users can follow each other, and all the posts of the people they follow appear on each users' home screen known as a dashboard. Posts appear chronologically on the dashboard and users can scroll down through the various posts, reblogging content as they go. It is the reblogging function which differentiates tumblr from other social media platforms. With a click of the mouse, users can post someone else's content to their own blog (with the original user being credited as the source). Users can tag these posts with descriptive phrases or a single word, searchable through the site's search engine feature. This feature

⁷ Lokgifsandmusings. "Korrasami is great writing". *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 14 Jan. 2015. Web. 14 Jan. 2015 http://lokgifsandmusings.tumblr.com/post/108130406008/korrasami-is-great-writing. This post has 2998 notes. It not only analyzes the series finale, it delves into the progression of Korra and Asami's relationship whilst comparing it and drawing parallels to this user's own experience with sexuality.

⁸ "Table: Gender Neutral Pronoun Usage." *Trans@MIT*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Web. 10 Oct. 2014. http://web.mit.edu/trans/GenderNeutralPronouns.pdf>. In all cases if the gender is subscribed by the user I will use that gender. If the gender is not noted, instead of 'his/her' when speaking about tumblr users, I will use "their." This is due to the difficulty in ascertaining a user's gender, as well as the dominant belief of and respect for gender fluidity on the site. Some users may not use the same personal pronouns assigned to their biological gender; they may not use standard pronouns at all.

makes it easy for other users to search in turn for content based upon their likes, as well as search through someone else's blog for content of a similar nature. Reblogging a post allows it to quickly spread across various dashboards, disseminating amongst various users.

The tumblr user seemingly generates various parts of their own public self using both the fragments of others' and television show's narratives. ⁹ By looking at the Fandom part of tumblr it is possible to see how content can reflect an aspect of the self for users. Not only is it a huge part of what makes tumblr unique, but the shows and characters that are frequently featured on the site are open to so much interpretation. Users of the site can live vicariously though the shows' characters by using television and tumblr in tandem. The material users have at their disposal comes in two forms, "subtext" or "canon," both of which are vernacular terms that my position as an indigenous member of tumblr has allowed me to define. "Canon" is information that is explicitly stated by the show; there is no room for argument. "Subtext" is the messages that are found between lines, or underneath the text. It is information that is never explicitly stated by those who make the material but is instead inferred and developed by the users. ¹⁰ Many users work with subtext on tumblr; they look for deeper meanings than those conveyed in the canon, searching for metanarratives beyond the text. Thus, I argue,

⁹ Fanaticalqueergeek. "The Importance of Visibility, History, and PLL's Paily in the Noir Episode." *Tumblr*. Tumblr,11 Feb. 2014.Web 13 Feb. 2014.

http://fanaticalqueergeek.tumblr.com/post/76399703840/the-importance-of-visibility-history-and-plls. An example of "self assembly" of fragments using television narrative.

¹⁰ Duffett, Mark. *Understanding Fandom: An Introduction to the Study of Media Fan Culture*. London: Continuum. 2013. Print. Duffett theorized "subtext" and "canon", and he used fandom definitions and examples to create his own definitions as to what these two terms meant. I will

a user's opinion on the "subtext" is almost inevitably laced with traces of the self since interpretation on the site often references users' preconceived ideas and is authenticated in relation to personal experiences; lokgifsandmusings' post shows this. A user's experience creates a lens through which they analyze the canon's subtext. The Korrasami storyline featured on *Legend of Korra* is dissected and analyzed purely because of lokgifsandmusings' realization that not only did they see a great narrative progression that others seemingly weren't, but that the story of sexual identity on display had similarities with their own and the user felt that this realization needed to be recorded and shared.

By reblogging a post regarding the story-arc of Korrasami and how it reflects or deals with the original poster's sexuality can indicate that the reblogger has similar sentiments. Until they saw that post the reblogger may not have even realized that their identification with Korra/Asami was because they remind them of a part of themselves. It took seeing someone else identify to see their own identification. They read how the original poster felt about their sexuality, about how the Korrasami story so clearly mimicked their own and this recognition helped them to make sense of the way they were feeling. Reading this, the reblogger may feel the same way, like they have found someone they can identify with, both the original poster and Korrasami.

This last part of the process, where the second user sees a textual post and is prompted to ask themselves questions about identification, is a prime example of generative autobiography which according to Devika Chawla "emerges as audiences"

combine my own definitions with Duffett's to create my own framework for what "canon" is and

become practical collaborators in audiencing autobiographical performance." ¹¹ The reblogger may identify with the character and the original poster. Muñoz suggests that they may also disidentify with a character or poster: "to disidentify is to read oneself and one's own life narrative in a moment, object, or subject that is not culturally coded to "connect" with the disidentifying subject." Regardless of whether they identify or disidentify, the reblogger responds to the questions engendered by the initial post. In this case they have come together with the original poster to affirm said poster's personal feelings through the process of liking/reblogging the post, whilst simultaneously generating their own fragments of autobiography. ¹³ The user may also add their own commentary to the original post, engaging with the text and possibly adding their own thoughts (which have at times led to a public conversation on the original topic); this is something that is unique to tumblr and can be found in both cases of identification and disidentification with posts. Whilst you can like and share posts on facebook the ability to engage with commentary is limited. The ability to engage so intimately with the original post, to reblog posts and highlight commentary is only found on tumblr. Facebook may share but tumblr more fully engages the users. These conversations can help solidify a fragment of the self; agreement is almost always considered to be a

what "subtext" is.

¹¹ Chawla, D. "The First Disciple: A Generative Autobiographical Performance From an Ethnographic Field." Cultural Studies Critical Methodologies 7.4 (2007): 357-77. Print.

¹² Muñoz, José Esteban. Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1999. Print. 22.

¹³Ijustdiedingodmode. "Korrasami is great writing". *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 15 Jan. 2015. Web. 15 Jan. 2015. http://ijustdiedingodmode.tumblr.com/post/108167978666/korrasami-is-great-writing. Tumblr user ijustdiedingodmode commented upon lokgifsandmusings' post with "I really like this analysis, especially with the notion about same-sex relationships blossoming in real life, it

positive thing and it can be seen as the equivalent to a round of applause or excellent review after a play. It is a confirmation of the legitimacy of thoughts for/in the community in which they exist.

Sidonie Smith describes narrating one's life as "an occasion for assembling and claiming identities" and how these acts "position readers as secondary witnesses." Tumblr acts as a site of assembling and claiming; it also acts as a site of performance. For Dwight Conquergood, for example, performance is first "a work of *imagination*, as an object of study; (2) as a pragmatics of *inquiry* (both as model and method), as an optic and operator of research; (3) as a tactics of *intervention*, an alternative space of struggle." Tumblr allows users to make interventions in their own self-presentation in an online space. It provides a space for their struggle to work itself out and it can even help ease the struggle by giving them a tool kit in the form of texts or posts to put words to how they are feeling. Tumblr is a place where users can inquire about things like their sexuality and find the resources they need to get answers. It is a site where the imagination (or user content) can provide us with an insight into a user's presentation of the self. The user publishes their content publicly and thus presents it for study.

If the presence of an audience is a key aspect to the autobiographical performance, then tumblr is indeed a site of autobiographical performance. Tumblr users are fully aware of how public their content is and it is why many do not use their real

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reflects my experiences with same-sex romances." This affirms the original posts stance on the Korrasami romance, and also agrees that the relationship resonates with their real life.

¹⁴ Smith, Sidonie. "Narrating Lives and Contemporary Imaginaries." *PMLA* 126.3 (2011): 564-74. Print.

¹⁵ Conquergood, Dwight. "Performance Studies: Interventions and Radical Research." TDR/The

names; it is because of the ability to be anonymous that they post there. They may not want their real life friends or family to know that they like Paige McCullers because they too considered hurting themselves when they thought they might be queer. They may also be hoping to find someone who felt similar emotions to talk to or identify with. Tumblr provides a place and a way to do that. Without an audience, posts would not get reblogged; the main feature of the site, indeed the entire site, relies upon the idea that what is being posted has an audience and that said audience is just as much of an architect in its own right as the poster they are watching. Reblogging is the connection the user was likely striving for when posting in the first place.

The way in which tumblr allows a user to scroll through every post they have made in chronological order immediately brings about thoughts of autobiography—the account of the self. In fact, this part of the user's blog is called "the archive." Combined with the "dashboard" feature of tumblr where users can scroll through and reblog posts from blogs they follow in chronological order, the site turns users into both producers and the audience of content — they both create and view the autobiographical performances on display. They post their art, essays etc. and can scroll through each other's contributions to the site. Their lives are on display for the audience to see, look back at, and keep up with. This form of construction is addressed by Bruner: "life is created or constructed by the act of autobiography."¹⁶

Drama Review 46.2 (2002): 152. Print.

¹⁶ Bruner, J. "The Autobiographical Process." *Current Sociology* 43.2 (1995): 161-77. Print.

Tumblr is a site of generative autobiography. It is performative, collaborative, can produce vicarious experiences, and creates a collage of the user's life. 17 If all of these hold true then the wider implication of "life being created or constructed by the act of autobiography" has real world ramifications. 18 Furthermore these ramifications are constantly changing and evolving as the autobiographical process goes on. The more fragments of the self a user can stage, be it their sexuality, their stance on feminism, dealing with race/racism, the more constructed the collage of the self is. The process is ongoing, fluid, and in constant production and subject to interpretation. Tumblr allows users to track their own and others' ongoing processes — to see their autobiographical collages of posts and gain insight into their self-presentation and what it is in the process of becoming. This performance of the self in flux, the "interpretation of one's own life story" as it progresses in full public view of a functionally infinite number of audience members that makes tumblr a site of interest and importance to performance studies, and society as a whole. 1920

Data: The fragments of the self used

This thesis investigates how tumble is a site of autobiographical performance and how site users display fandom and characters to produce, to perform, and to interrogate the

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¹⁷ Smith, Sidonie, and Julia Watson. *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota, 2001. Print.

 ¹⁸Bruner, J. "The Autobiographical Process." *Current Sociology* 43.2 (1995): 161-77. Print.
 ¹⁹ Carver. M.Heather. "Risky Business: Exploring Women's Autobiography and Performance." *Voices Made Flesh: Performing Women's Autobiography*. Eds. Lynn C. Miller, Jacqueline Taylor and M. Heather Carver. Madison. The University of Wisconsin Press. 15-29. Print.

self on tumblr. In order to answer these questions, I accumulated tumblr data. The data I collected came from specific fandoms on tumblr, posts within these fandoms, blogs that post in the fandoms, tags that accompanied some of these posts, and other online sites with ties to fandom posts.

The data accumulation and analysis varied depending on which fandoms I investigated. I found that limiting the time the post was created or reblogged helped in narrowing down the mass of data I could accumulate, but eliminated relevant popular posts. For example, when looking at the *Glee* Faberry and Brittana fandoms, the number of posts fluctuated between episodes based upon episode content and any publicity produced by or about the actors. ²¹ In Contrast, the Paige McCullers and Paily fandoms from *Pretty Little Liars* (which airs a split season from June to September then January through March) has a large social media presence and uses social media to increase publicity and online chatter surrounding the show, often on tumblr, even when it is not airing. ²² This made it difficult to predict when potentially useful posts would be created or reblogged. Analyzing the posts became a judgment call on my part, relying on my insider knowledge of the site as well as my knowledge of the fandom communities.

I narrowed down my focus to three queer fandoms for each of the three thesis chapters: the Faberry fandom, the Paige McCullers fandom (with some data from the

²⁰Tumblr "Press". *Tumblr*. Tumblr, Feb. 2007. Web. 10 Oct. 2014.

http://www.tumblr.com/press>.

This page provides for statistics and press commentary on the importance and reach of tumblr ²¹Brittana is the portmanteau for the relationship between Brittany Pierce and Santana Lopez on the television show *Glee*

²² Paige McCullers is a character on the show *Pretty Little Liars*, portrayed by Lindsey Shaw. Paily is the portmanteau for the relationship between Emily Field and Paige McCullers on the television show *Pretty Little Liars*

Paily fandom), and the Brittana fandom. The Faberry fandom originates from the television show *Glee*. It is a fandom that believes in the subtextual relationship between Quinn Fabray and Rachel Berry. The Brittana fandom is also from *Glee* and its fandom consists of people who ship the canon relationship between characters Santana Lopez and Brittany Pierce²³. The Paige McCullers/Paily fandom comes from the show *Pretty Little Liars*, and the fandom members are supporters of Paige McCullers or in the case of Paily, ship Emily Fields and Paige McCullers. I selected representative posts from each of these fandoms at various times based upon their note count, tags, content, and relevance to the generation of self.

Tumblr's archive allowed me to go back to a blogger's first post and work chronologically through their posts up to the present day. This meant that I was able to look for a specific popular user within a fandom, narrow down the posts with the largest number of notes [the combined number of reblogs and likes], and look at its content for relevance. This ensured that the posts I selected were rich in potential. The tags a post was given were particularly relevant data because often users put seemingly personal thoughts and ideas into the tag section as opposed to writing it directly underneath the content. I carefully scrutinized this content layer since extensive tagging reveals a lot of information, with user sometimes responding directly with pictures or text.

Other sources of data were blogs and fandom content that were not on tumblr, but whose users/authors generated traffic to that content using their tumblr page. For example tumblr user skywarrior108 who uses their tumblr to link users to a second blog

²³ To 'ship' is to be a fan of the relationship between two characters. It is tumblr and internet –

with their detailed breakdown of Quinn Fabray and the Faberry pairing on Glee. 2425 The content on these non- tumblr sites is also often disseminated through tumblr, and prompts others to engage with it; to dismiss the importance and relevance of these blogs would have been to dismiss more potential sources for autobiographical fragments of the self.

A challenging part of my work was determining how the fragments of self cohere. Not all posts indicated clearly that the reason a post was reblogged was because the user identified with the character or original poster's thoughts and ideas: are posts reblogged for aesthetic or personal reasons? Further, not everyone who likes a queer coupling or character in a show is themselves queer. I sifted through the data I accumulated, focusing on the posts I found and looking at the other content of the reblogger and/or original poster's blog to see what their blog tells others about their lives. Specifically, I looked for posts with queer-oriented content, such as posts about Faberry, as well as posts of/about other shows by the same user to see how the post's tags and content compared. For example, if the user had a post with a quote from AfterEllen.com, a well known queer popular culture site, then I could use that as an

and fandom more generally – shorthand for shipping, which derives from the term relationship.

²⁴ Skywarrior 108. *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 14 Feb. 2013. Web. 03 Sept. 2014.

. This tumblr blog is one of the more popular in the Faberry fandom. It contains a large amount of fandom related posts.

²⁵ Skywarrior108. "The Truth About Quinn Fabray." Skywarrior108. LiveJournal, 09 Jan. 2011. Web. 10 Nov 2014. http://skywarrior108.livejournal.com/955.html.

Faberry is the portmanteau of the relationship between the characters of Quinn Fabray and Rachel Berry and a detailed breakdown of Quinn Fabray as a character can be found on skywarrior108's livejournal page.

indicator as to the motive of a reblog as it spoke to the wider internet web browsing habits of the user.

As well, some tumblr users give large amounts of detail when posting, use specific tags, and answer questions about their private lives or give insight into what they thought a characters motives to be. These allowed me to glean information about a user's presentation of self and potentially track how it has progressed over time.

Literature review

Tumblr as a site of performance is a concept that is a relatively new topic and as such there is little specific literature available. When combined with the specifics of it being a site of queer autographical performance of the self, that literature diminishes in specificity even further. Therefore I combined various scholarly works based around the larger key concepts in order to create a theoretical framework to help me find and analyze tumblr posts and content. The texts I used deal with autobiography, the presentation of the self, performance, queerness, and the online, but tumblr as a specific site is never mentioned. By combining these aspects I generated a theory of the presentation of the self and/as a queer autobiographical operation on tumblr.

Eve Sedgwick's *Epistemology of the Closet* provides a way of looking at the importance of the coming out process, and why a site like tumblr can be seen as mediating this process. ²⁶Applying Sedgwick's theory I am able to examine the troubles a person can face when coming out and provide a look at why tumblr may be used to

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²⁶ Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Epistemology of the Closet*. Berkeley: U of California, 1990. Print

stage such a step. Vanessa Wayne Lee's chapter in *Over the Rainbow*, "Unshelter Me," allows for the character fandom aspect of tumblr to work in conjunction with queer theory.²⁷ The emerging fictional lesbian, or queer woman, is a common theme within my selected fandoms, and by taking and modifying them to an online setting, I was able to theorize why queer fandoms and characters resonate with tumblr users. Lee's work allows for the characters in the fandoms I study to be viewed as key figures in the personal coming out narrative of users. Finally Seidman's Beyond the Closet provides a look at the actuality of stepping out of the closet. Seidman offers a look at the reality of the closet, which helped me to see why some users chose to come out with one facet of themselves – their online self-presentation – before coming out in offline spaces that may not be as supportive or physically safe. By grounding the closet in real life Seidman shows the weight the coming out decision carries, and how it can truly change the life of a person. It demonstrates the importance of the coming out act. This helps to frame the tumblr coming out step as being an important act. Not quite leaving the closet, but removing some of the weight of that coming out process from the shoulders of the user.²⁸

Fandom is an integral part of tumblr and my thesis; it is the avenue through which I theorize tumblr as a site of autobiographical performance. *Fan Phenomena* edited by Jennifer Stuller is a text about cult television show *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*.

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²⁷ Lee, Vanessa Wayne. "Unshelter Me: The Emerging Fictional Adolescent Lesbian." *Over the Rainbow: Queer Children's and Young Adult Literature*. Eds. Michelle Ann Abate and Kenneth B. Kidd. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan, 2011.164-82. Print.

²⁸Seidman, Steven. *Beyond the Closet: The Transformation of Gay and Lesbian Life*. New York: Routledge, 2002. Print.

Kristen Julia Anderson's chapter "Seeing Green: Willow and Tara Forever" written speaks to the way in which queer couples and characters can have a lasting effect on fans and how such a relationship can have real world consequences for those watching the show. Pepresentation is not something to be dismissed and this is a topic also covered in "Sexuality and Teen Television: Emerging Adults Respond to Representations of Queer Identity on Glee" in by article Meyer and Wood. This article directly addresses the link between *Glee* and sexuality. It discusses how the presence of a queer character/couple on screen can open the discussion for viewers to contemplate their own sexuality, something I believe tumble enables to happen more easily.

The online autobiography of a user on tumblr was theorized with various works on autobiography and autobiographical performance. Alexander's article "Skin Flint" positions the audience as collaborators within the performance of autobiography; from this I was able to frame rebloggers' and other tumblr users in relation to staging of the self on tumblr. He also theorizes "generative autobiography", a key term in my research, and thus gave me the link between audience (users of tumblr) and construction the self. The link between performance and the self is further strengthened in my use of Cynthia Zimmerman's *Auto/Biography and Re/Vision: Betty Lambert's Under the*

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²⁹Anderson, Kristen Julia. "Seeing Green: Willow and Tara Forever." *Fan Phenomena: Buffy The Vampire Slayer*. Ed. Stuller, Jennifer K. Chicago: Intellect. 2013. 102-11. Print.

³⁰ Meyer, Michaela D. E. and Megan M. Wood. "Sexuality and Teen Television: Emerging Adults Respond to Representations of Queer Identity on Glee." *Sexuality & Culture* 17.3 (2013): 434-48. Print.

³¹Alexander, Bryant. "Skin Flint (or, the Garbage Man's Kid): A Generative Autobiographical Performance Based on Tami Spry's Tattoo Stories." *Text and Performance Quarterly* 20.1. (2000): 97-114. Print.

Skin. ³² By looking at how a producer's mind easily slips into the creation, something explored by Zimmerman, it was possible to look at the posts on tumblr as being embedded with a fragment of the user's self. *Voices Made Flesh* provides the link between autobiography and actual performance of the self. ³³ It provides examples of how the performance of autobiography can help position the self and make sense of it.

The lines drawn between autobiography, performance and the self are detailed in Deirdre Heddon's *Autobiography and Performance*.³⁴ In the first chapter she puts these terms into conversation with each other, allowing the ramifications of a performance of the self to be made clear and thus providing me with a way to look at the importance of such a performance on tumblr. The importance of the self when it is performed on tumblr is able to be theorized through the use of Foucault's *Technologies of the Self*, which allows for an explanation of tumblr's discursive self making.³⁵

Finally, it is vital that the performance of the self, queerness, and autobiography can be theorized with the virtual. Sarah Gatson's *Self Naming Practices on the Internet: Identity, Authenticity, and Community* applies to tumblr's online existence. ³⁶ Gatson looks at the difficulties that may come with finding the self online. Importantly, she

³² Zimmerman, Cynthia. "Auto/Biography and Re/vision: Betty Lambert's Under the Skin." *Theatre and Autobiography: Writing and Performing Lives in Theory and Practice*. Eds. Sherrill Grace and Jerry Wasserman. Vancouver: Talon, 2006. 152-66. Print.

³³ Miller, Lynn C., Jacqueline Taylor, and M. Heather Carver. *Voices Made Flesh: Performing Women's Autobiography*. Wisconsin Series in Autobiography. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003. Print.

³⁴ Heddon, Deirdre. "Politics (of Self): The Subject of Autobiography." *Autobiography and Performance*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. 20-52. Print.

³⁵ Foucault, Michel. "Technologies of the Self." *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault*. Eds. Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman and Patrick H. Hutton. Amherst: U of Massachusetts, 1988. 16-49. Print.

positions the online self that is found as being just as important as the real life self. Placing the online self in a position of importance allows for the tumblr user, and their presented self, to be seen as being significant. The importance of the online self in relation to the real life self is also a feature of Marjo Laukkanen's chapter in *Queer Online: Media, Technology and Sexuality.*³⁷ Laukkanen provides a look at the way in which the online can help negotiate how one identifies themselves, specifically queerly. Thus, tumblr can be viewed as a site where the queer self can be discovered, negotiated, mediated, and staged. Laukkanen talks about internet chatrooms but it is possible to extrapolate this to tumblr by way of looking at the anonymity and ability to control what is presented in both.

Theorizing tumblr

The presentation of identity online and how virtual interactions shape identity is a key portion of my theoretical frame. Kiri Miller suggests how the self is created by the forging of a loyalty based upon identification. Miller works with the *GTA: San Andreas* game and how players become attached to their avatars through "collaborative learning experiences" which can "create a deep sense of identification and loyalty." With this in mind I looked at how the posts on tumblr I analyzed can signal loyalty to characters,

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³⁶ Gatson, S. N. "Self-Naming Practices on the Internet: Identity, Authenticity, and Community." *Cultural Studies Critical Methodologies* 11.3 (2011): 224-35.Print.

³⁷ Laukkanen, Marjo. "Young Queers Online: The Limits and Possibilities of Non Heterosexual Self-Representation in Online Conversations." *Queer Online: Media Technology and Sexuality*. Eds. Kate O'Riordan and David J. Phillips. New York: Lang, 2007. 81-100. Print.

³⁸ Miller, Kiri. *Playing Along: Digital Games, YouTube, and Virtual Performance*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012. Print.

usually marked by specific, unique, tags for characters or couples. Clearly, tags convey at least some part of the attachment a user has to a fandom: this attachment has likely been formed through a collaborative learning experience involving other users and the show, demonstrating the presentation and staging of the self as a queer autobiographical process.

Furthermore, the collaborative learning experience does not exist only between fandom characters and users, but also exists between users. The reblogging of posts, and the tags that accompany most reblogs, allow users to show that they have loyalty to certain blogs because they follow them. In reblogging fandom-based posts from a specific blog, they indicate a shared sense of self forged through identification with a certain character/ship; further the initial identifications between these blogs is mediated through the fandom and augments that sense of loyalty. ³⁹ Miller proposed that by playing through missions, moving the joy stick to make him move, and trying to keep CJ alive and successful though throughout the game, users form an attachment. I propose that by following characters and engaging with them, fans also form an attachment. Recognizing that others do the same is that step beyond Miller's. Lokgifsandmusings's post is an *I am Korra/Asami* which then called out to ijustdiedingodmode, who saw it as a *You are Korra/Asami*, and commented with"[...] it reflects my experiences with same-

³⁹Ship is tumblr vernacular short hand for shipping, if something if your 'ship' it is the relationship you support (be it canon or subtext)

sex romances". This then makes the post and the reblog a *We are Korra/Asami*. This last part cements the relationship between character and user, and user and reblogger. 4041

The expressiveness of the individual is a concept developed by Goffman and through this theory I focused my data collection on the users' posts and tags. 42 "[T]he expression that he gives off" is the impression of a user you get from their posts, and this expression is dependent on post content and tag content. The "setting" is another term used by Goffman which, in the case of tumblr acts in conjunction with the expression given off. The "setting" acts to "supply the scenery and stage props for the spate of human interaction", and in tumble s case the setting is the ability to ask a user a question, to reply to comments, and to reblog and add commentary to a post. It is what gives users the ability to interact with one another and provides a stage for them to express who they are and how they are seen. Whereas Goffman argues that the individual will demonstrate the values of society in how they present themselves, I believe tumblr flips this and acts as a site where the individual can demonstrate their sense of self regardless of the values of society. It is not that users don't adhere to the values of society, or they don't subvert these values in real life. It is that tumblr gives users a place where they can present themselves as, for example, queer, without the risk of being called out for challenging society's heteronormativity. Tumblr is a place where a performer does not

⁴⁰ Lokgifsandmusings. "Korrasami is great writing". *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 14 Jan. 2015. Web. 14 Jan. 2015 http://lokgifsandmusings.tumblr.com/post/108130406008/korrasami-is-great-writing. lokgifsandmusings' original post.

⁴¹ Ijustdiedingodmode. "Korrasami is great writing". *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 15 Jan. 2015. Web. 15 Jan. 2015. http://ijustdiedingodmode.tumblr.com/post/108167978666/korrasami-is-great-writing.

Reblog of lokgifsandmusings' post with added commentary from the reblogger.

have to "conceal or underplay...activities, facts, and motives which are incompatible with an idealized version of himself". Tumble acts as a concealing and revealing curtain, allowing users to express who they are in their own time whilst also potentially acting as a stage to produce that idealized self that society demands.

Jerome Bruner's definition of autobiography is as something that was not necessarily "life as lived", but rather as something that is "constructed by the act of autobiography". It is this that I believe tumblr truly exemplifies; the life of a user is only as constructed as the posts they share amongst their followers. Bruner describes autobiography as being narrative in structure; its construction gives insight into a person's inner thoughts. Tumblr challenges this by way of the micro-turn. It does not have a clear linear narrative. Users can delete posts, add them in, change dates, and the user can also decide to stop posting content that may be insightful to their presentation of the self and their queerness, only to begin posting again months later. Tumblr is unique in the production of autobiography because it is difficult to fall into the trap of "self-sealing," which Bruner believes is the way autobiography can "tempt the teller into a 'life' that suits circumstances so comfortably that it even conceals the possibility of choice".

Tumblr is also a site of utopian performance, as theorized by Jill Dolan. 44 Dolan places the utopian as something unfixed; it is an idea or construct that seems to be

⁴² Goffman, Erving. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday. 1959. Print.

⁴³ Bruner, J. "The Autobiographical Process." *Current Sociology* 43.2 (1995): 161-77. Print.

⁴⁴ Dolan, Jill. *Utopia in Performance: Finding Hope at the Theater*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2005. Print.

approaching something that has no set limit. This idea ties in with Bruner's thoughts on the unfinished and ever expanding autobiography. Tumblr has no maximum lifetime post limit, you can endlessly scroll through the dashboard until your internet browser freezes because of the amount of memory it requires. Dolan imbues utopian performance with the idea of hope, and this is something I think tumblr gives its users. Whether it is a post about the importance of representation in the *Legend of Korra* finale or a post with a simple phrase written to cheer up anyone who sees it, tumblr can provide hope for users. Dolan proposed that we "find our feet in another's shoes", and I put forward that tumblr allows users to find their feet in a character's shoes and in a fellow user's shoes. Tumblr is a site where we find ourselves in another person's self. We scroll through the blogs and reblog the posts that resonate with us, posts about another user's self that we have found a slither of our own self in.

It should be noted though that not every aspect of fandom is harmonious or without its conflicts. There are many instances of shipping conflicts within fandoms; users find themselves at odds with one another's interpretation of the canon or subtext and resort to creating hate posts and tagging it with their rival's ship name. Kirsten Pullen wrote on this kind of phenomena in her chapter of *Web.Studies: Rewiring Media Studies for the Digital Age* "I Love-Xena.com: Creating Online Fan Communities". ⁴⁵ This non-utopian aspect causes many within fandoms to generate detailed meta posts

⁴⁵ Pullen, Kirsten. "I Love-Xena.com: Creating Online Fan Communities." *Web.Studies: Rewiring Media Studies for the Digital Age.* Ed. David Gauntlett. London: Arnold, 2000. 52-61. Print.

about why their ship is more canon, or worthy of recognition above another. Whilst not the best practice is does generate many interesting posts regarding self-identity.

Queer theory, utopia, and autobiographical performance intersect, as indicated in my literature review. The final aspect my theoretical framework came from Berlant and Warner's Sex in Public. 46 Queer culture is a "world-making project, where 'world', like 'public', differs from community or group because it necessarily includes more people than can be identified". Within tumblr this works in a number of ways. Tumblr as an autobiographical performance that allows us to imagine that the people who may not identify as queer offline still exist in the world and it gives us the idea these people are able to have a queer identity online. Further, that through the act of reblogging these people can imagine a place in the offline world for themselves. Second, tumblr acts as a site of public intimacy. As described by Berlant and Warner, queerness belongs firmly in the private; intimate acts of queerness especially so. Tumblr is a public site, thus witnessing a user's coming out process, or their proclamation of queerness is an intimate act viewed in public. The public nature of intimate heteronormative acts has few social ramifications . Queer intimate acts do, and this is why tumblr is important. Tumblr provides a safe place for the performance of queer intimate acts of self-expression; it also provides a space for users to form a collective of these acts, to give access to others. Acts, especially autobiographical ones, are demonstrative of Dolan's utopian performance, and provide a way for others to express their identity in the queer culture.

⁴⁶Berlant, Lauren, and Michael Warner. "Sex in Public." *Critical Inquiry* 24.2 (1998): 547.Print.

Chapter outline

Queerness, autobiography, the self, performance, and fandoms online converge in my thesis in a variety of ways and these are dependent upon the specific fandom that is being discussed. Each chapter addresses a different fandom.

Chapter One focuses on the Faberry fandom. This fandom is a shipping fandom based on the subtextual interpretation of the relationship between *Glee* characters Quinn Fabray and Rachel Berry. Those in the fandom use a queer lens to see subtext in the canon interactions between the two. This subtextually-based fandom is important because it has a loud voice in the female, queer, tumblr community. Its creative posts and the meta-narrative it constructs make it worth exploring. This fandom is entirely based on subtextual interpretation of the characters, thus it is the most abstract in terms of how the characters are interpreted by users against the canon. The way the characters are spoken about by users potentially allows for the greater reveal of self. This chapter demonstrates the way in which a character can be read as subtextually queer by means of identification, and close analysis by users, even without the support of the canon. The presentation of the self in this fandom may not be based on visible queerness, which means users must have gone through some process to view the characters as subtextually queer, a process which can speak to the user's self.

Chapter Two focuses on the Brittana fandom. This fandom is a shipping fandom from the television show *Glee* and involves the characters of Brittany Pierce and Santana Lopez. The journey of both of the characters within this couple is unique in that it began as purely subtextual and became canon. This meant that fans used subtextual moments to

create their fandom, and then when the ship was confirmed canon these subtexts became text. This allowed me to delve back into early posts and see how the subtext was picked up and look at how their interactions became more meaningful when the couple became canon. This fandom is important because it goes through the process of subtext to canon. This meant that posts based on subtext gained validity retrospectively, affirming users' interpretations and strengthening their belief in the couple. The presentation of the self when the couple was subtext is looked at in tandem with the presentation of the self when the couple was canon. This chapter thus allows for the progression of subtext to canon to be viewed in relation to the way users own identification with characters can work, they are viewing characters are markedly queer before they are confirmed as such, then upon confirmation are provided with proof that the queer signals they read are correct. This can have a great impact on the user's self. This also addresses the race of one of the characters and how that can affect both interpretation and identification.

Chapter Three focuses on the Paige McCullers/Paily fandom on tumblr. In this I apply the theoretical framework I have constructed to the canonically queer character Paige McCullers and the couple of Paige and Emily Fields. I look at the way in which visibly queer characters are important in the construction of a user's self, specifically as a potential initial indicator that a self may present and queer. Placing the framework on a solid fandom structure, there is no doubt that Paige is queer and as such the posts relevant to her address that more directly, gives insight into how it affects a user's sense of self. They read Paige's action as queer before the character herself does. Race is also addressed in this chapter and it becomes apparent that the character of Emily Fields is

held particularly close by members of the fandom because of her duel representation as a queer woman of color. *Pretty Little Liars* as a show has used social media in order to increase its interactions with fans. Using Twitter it encouraged fans to use the portmanteau Paily, and also asked for fan feedback on the couple. The couple's popularity on tumblr can be read to be at least partially a result of this official acknowledgement of their canon ship by the network and show. This kind of validity undoubtedly affects the fandom, and the users involved, the users are getting confirmation that their interpretations, their shipping, and their participation in fandom are valued.

Tumblr, by its very nature, catalogs. It keeps a running record of the posts a user decides to display on their blog. So when a user joins a fandom it it is often observable to see why or how they got involved. What characters or story line drew them in, why they reblog posts and search through tag, and why (in some cases) they feel the need to generate original content and provide personal commentary on what they see.

In the subtext reading we see moments where a user is hailed by specific actions or scenes. They are reading beyond the text presented and can frequently be found looking for confirmation from others that what they are concluding is plausible. In tumblr this confirmation comes in the form of likes and reblogs. Testimonials come in the form of gif sets and essays. There is no incorrect way to voice your identification of self in these fandoms.

Tumblr works together with fandoms to centralize those often relegated to the margins and this thesis aims to show how. The through line for each chapter will be the

way in which these fandoms can allow for the discovery and presentation of the queer self, and how tumblr stages this process. There are mentions of the importance of the representation of race in the Brittana and Paily chapters. This is because the overt representation of the non-white self is important when looked at in conjunction with queerness. The impact race and queerness in the fictional universe can have on identity in the real world is not to be dismissed, and as such it would have been negligent of me to not address it.

CHAPTER II

SUBTEXT, A DUET, AND A PROM QUEEN

"Rachel Berry: We're kinda friends huh.

Quinn Fabray: Kind of"

- Glee, season 3, episode 08.47

'Subtext' is defined by Mark Duffett as the messages that are found between the lines of a show's text. Subtext is information that is inferred by fans of a show but never stated by those who create the material. Subtext works under the show's primary visible and audible layer and instead persists beneath. Canon on the other hand is the primary layer of a show. It is lines written by the writers, and direction given by those behind the camera. It is information that is stated clearly, with little room for interpretation, by the show. 48 Subtext is not part of the show's canon; however subtext can be a prelude to canon, and canon can be strengthened by 'subtext'. The circumstances surrounding what is considered canon and subtext differ from user to user and fandom to fandom. Interpretation is key to what gets to be defined as subtext and what gets to be defined as canon. If a character is not canonically identified as queer, but their actions are identifiable as queer to a fandom, or series of users, I would argue that those fans would position the character as being canonically queer. However, other fans may not agree and may simply argue that those fans are actually talking about their subtexual

⁴⁷ "Hold on to Sixteen." *Glee*. Writ. Ross Maxwell. Fox. 6 Dec. 2011. Television.

⁴⁸ Duffett, Mark. *Understanding Fandom: An Introduction to the Study of Media Fan Culture.* London: Continuum, 2013, Print,

interpretation. My position on 'canon' v 'subtext' is that anything considered to be truth/fact by the creators of a show is 'canon' but anything else is 'subtext.' Mark Duffett takes up a similar position. What isn't carried in this definition of subtext though, is the weight and impact it can have on the fan experience of a show. Subtext can resist canon and provide a ground on which fans can stand against the show's canon text. Subtext can resist, it can thrive, and it can continue regardless of changes later in the show's canon.

Faberry is the portmanteau given by fans for the relationship between Quinn Fabray and Rachel Berry, characters on *Glee*. This relationship is a non-canon relationship, and the shipping that occurs within the Faberry fandom sprang from moments in the show where fans could not logically see the canon, without seeing the subtext that there was something more between these two characters. That something was attraction. The journey that Quinn Fabray and Rachel Berry take on the show, especially in the first 3 seasons, has helped to develop a loud and active fan base. In this chapter, I explore why and how the Faberry relationship was seen by the fandom through their reading of the canon through a queer lens, and importantly how this reading took on a life of its own and has resulted in a resistant fandom that persists despite the canon becoming increasingly challenging to watch. ⁴⁹⁵⁰ Faberry works to unpack the ways in

⁴⁹ D'Amico, Jordan. "Glee Season 6 To Air Friday Nights." *RecentlyHeard*. RecentlyHeard, 20 Nov. 2014. Web. 05 Jan. 2015. http://recentlyheard.com/2014/11/20/gleeseason-6-to-air-friday-nights-will-premiere-on-spoiler/. *Glee's* ratings have significantly dropped since its earlier seasons, and the show was moved to the 'Friday night death slot' by FOX to finish out its sixth and final season.

⁵⁰Goldberg, Leslie. "'Glee' Trims Its Season Amid Ratings Woes." *Hollywood Reporter*. The Hollywood Reporter. 4 Apr. 2014. Web. 6 Jan. 2015. http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/live-feed/glee-trims-season-ratings-woes-693327. Glee originally aired with an average of

which fans interpret moments to be queer, and how that interpretation can lead to important moments of identity and community building for those fans.

Muñoz gives us the information needed to discuss what is meant by "identification". ⁵¹ Watching Marga Gomez allowed Muñoz to identify a part of himself he had not come across before. I will consider this form of identification – the act of accessing a part of yourself through the use of a someone/something else, be it a character, actor, place, or community. What is key to this specific definition of identification is that it is also an act of discovery: the longer you are exposed to the character/community etc. the more you are able to identify.

In Lisa Gabbert's article "Distanciation and the Recontextualization of Space"

Gabbert analyzes the way in which the locals of a town navigated the roads before street signs were put up, and how using that system now is a way of hailing others as locals.

This works in relation to tumblr, and to subtext by means of the vernacular words used in posts. There are an innumerable number of words and phrases that are only discernible to people within specific fandoms. By using these specific phrases/words you hail others as members of that fandom, and set yourself apart from 'outsiders.' For Gabbert, the outsider is the one who navigates the town by way of a street sign, the insider is the one who navigates using local knowledge. The use of local knowledge over

¹¹million viewers, but this dropped to 6 million for its 5th season, with lows of 3 million in the key 18-49 demographic.

⁵¹ Muñoz, José Esteban. *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota P, 1999. Print.

⁵² Gabbert, Lisa. "Distanciation and the Recontextualization of Space: Finding One's Way in a Small Western Community." *Journal of American Folklore* 120.476 (2007): 178-203. Jan 05. 2014. Print.

regulated, government initiated street signs can be seen as a sign of resistance. This interpretation can also be translated to tumblr and fandom, since 'subtext' can be read as actively resisting a shows 'canon.' In the case of Quinn Fabray and Faberry the interpretation by fans in the fandom is one that is a 'subtextual' reading of the show resists the 'canon.' The act of hailing works in tandem with identification: in order to be hailed you have to have some sort of prior knowledge and it is this knowledge which identifies you as an insider/local. The more time you spend at a site, the greater your knowledge; the greater your knowledge the more signs of you are able to be hailed by' the more signs you are able to be hailed by, the greater the identification. Identification strengthens the longer you spend within a site.

There are moments in season one that are deemed by fans to be an indication that there is something more to Quinn and Rachel's rivalry/friendship. These moments rely upon the guiding principle that what we see presented to us on the screen has a meaning deeper than the canon initially presents. The surface layer is just that, a layer. The deeper meaning (as argued by fans) is one that indicates the queer self of Quinn Fabray and Rachel Berry.

Speaking about the inner and outer spaces of a body, Judith Butler in *Gender Trouble* allows for the discussion of the outer 'self' and the inner 'self'. ⁵³ If the primary identification given to a body by society does not match the gender experience then the performance must be analyzed.

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⁵³ Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge. 1999. Print.

The performance of drag plays upon the distinction between the anatomy of the performer and the gender that is being performed. But we are actually in the presence of three contingent dimensions of significant corporeality: anatomical sex, gender identity, and gender performance.

If these are different then it suggests that there is a conflict in the "sex and performance,[...] sex and gender, and gender and performance". In terms of looking at these as a performance of self, Butler thus allows us to consider that the self we are expected to perform is a mix of gender and sexuality expectations. That is to say, if one is biologically female, one is expected to look as a female is expected to look, act like a female is expected to act like, and perform the female sexuality.⁵⁴ This immediately brings forth the biggest conflict raised in queer theory; the mismatch between the heteronormative societies' gendered expectations and the truth of the self. Gender is performed. It is a construct that frequently finds itself at odds with the individual. Thus any performance of gender or sexuality must be scrutinized.

In SkyWarrior108's detailed livejournal entry regarding Quinn Fabray's actions in season 1 and part of season 2 of *Glee* it is clear that skywarrior108 views a disconnect between Quinn Fabray's inner and outer self, and by deconstructing the self presented to us by the canon, the "true" self of Quinn Fabray is visible. ⁵⁵That true self of Quinn

⁵⁴ The biological female is expected to meet the gendered expectations of society. That is to be feminine, demure, submissive etc. The female is also then expected to get married to a male, want children and fully embrace the 'n natural desire' to be a mother. Furthermore her clothing should meet the expectations of society –dresses, skirts, floral, blouses, etc. Finally said female should only have sex with men, preferably as few as possible before marrying. There is no homosexuality in the expected female.

⁵⁵ Skywarrior108. "The Truth About Quinn Fabray." *Skywarrior108*. LiveJournal, 09 Jan. 2011. Web. 10 Nov 2014.http://skywarrior108.livejournal.com/955.html.

Fabray is a queer self. Skywarrior108 remarks upon the behavior of Quinn in the episode "Throwdown":

Then we have the Quinn/Rachel throwdown, which is quite possibly the most UST [Unresolved Sexual Tension] scene in the history of television. Quinn is back in full force with the defeminizing insults of "treasure trail" and "stubbles." And while Rachel offers her initial rebuttal, Quinn looks at her like this [...]This look in particular does not scream "I hate you," but it looks more like she wants to do unspeakable things to Rachel in the janitor's closet.[...[At the end of their confrontation, Quinn falls into a fantasy dream sequence where she sings "You Keep Me Hangin' On," which just so happens to be the gayest thing I've ever seen. ⁵⁶⁵⁷

This scene and the song performance that follows is taken to be an example of Quinn Fabray's inner self surfacing. Quinn is fixated on Rachel Berry, beyond the realms of being the stereotypical television trope of jealous girlfriend. Her actions indicate, and can be interpreted as sexual attraction. What little we know about Quinn Fabray is that she's a cheerleader who is a frequent staple of teen drama. However, according to skywarrior108 the true Quinn Fabray is far more complex. Quinn Fabray is a member of the celibacy club which "affords a really convenient excuse for fending off her

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⁵⁶ "Throwdown." *Glee*. Writ. Brad Falchuk. Fox. 14 Oct. 2009. Television.

⁵⁷ Skywarrior108. "The Truth About Quinn Fabray." *Skywarrior108*. LiveJournal, 09 Jan. 2011. Web. 10 Nov 2014.http://skywarrior108.livejournal.com/955.html. These parts, and this entire entry, has pictures in order to go along with the analysis. Each picture is utilized to provide visual evidence of the apparent subtextual queerness of Quinn Fabray. What is important to remember in this respect is that each entry is entirely based on subtext, backed up using canon moments.

boyfriend's advances doesn't it". ⁵⁸ She is also shown to be a part of a deeply conservative Christian family who end up kicking her out of the family home once she reveals she is pregnant. ⁵⁹ Given her situation, it would make sense that Quinn would repress any "abnormal" sexual urges she felt towards Rachel Berry, and that she would channel these urges into something she could outwardly show, such as "hate". I use that term loosely because her actions, while indicating a dislike, never truly descend into hatred. In fact, as SkyWarrior108 frequently notes, Quinn seems to care a lot about Rachel's wellbeing.

Quinn's home life and conservative upbringing when used in conjunction with Butler's *Gender Trouble* allows for further interpretation of her actions. We can now see why and how the performance of the queer self is so fraught with turmoil, why the coming out narrative and the denial of one's sexuality is rampant in the lgbt+ community. If the individual is burdened by expected gender constraints then any divergence from them would be considered deviant, and with "deviance" comes the possibility of becoming an outcast. If gender is a performative act, then it automatically constructs meaning. This meaning may be one we do not agree with or fully align with. The issue then becomes how the individual deconstructs that meaning for an audience, the only way to do that is to "come out", to expose one's deviations from that gender performative. Quinn can't do this. Her family and her position in the social hierarchy at the high school would be at risk, but she also can't truly deny it either. This is why these incidents that skywarrior108 brings up can be read as being queer; they are the bleeding

⁵⁸ ibid

through of Quinn's inner self to the outer self.

Butler states that "[g]enders can neither be true nor false, neither real nor apparent, neither original not derived" (141). She is essentially saying that gender is always fluid. It should not be considered a solid mass that provides us with an apparent true insight into the individual self. Therefore what we see when we look at an individual must be considered carefully before we deem it to be fact. Furthermore, even if gender is "performance that is repeated" (140), it doesn't necessarily indicate truth. Rather, it can be "instituted through acts that are internally discontinuous, [thus] the appearance of substance is [...] a constructed identity, a performative accomplishment which the mundane audience, including the actors themselves, come to believe" (141). In regards to Quinn Fabray, it is her multiple incidents of apparent queerness that allow fans to construct that queer interpretation. Whilst Quinn Fabray may believe herself to be entirely straight thanks to her repeated performances of heterosexuality, there are some who are unconvinced. Thus, what is put forward here is that even when the performed gender appears (even to the actor) to be true, it does not necessarily make it so, because the influence of society and the expectations it thrusts upon us is so great it is easy to believe our gender is the truth. What calls this truth into question is the introduction of a question or unexpected problem, and in the LGBT+ community that 'problem' is frequently the unexpected attraction to someone of the same sex, that brings into question one's sexuality. In terms of the revelation of one not being heterosexual it's not unreasonable to suggest that once navigated and accepted, many begin to realise that

⁵⁹ "Ballad." *Glee*. Writ. Brad Falchuk. Fox. 18 Dec. 2009. Television.

the 'signs' were there all along. Thus the body unconsciously acted out the disconnect between presumed sexuality and gender, by leaning towards things (such as the person they are attracted to, hyper sexualised dream fantasy sequences involving cheerleaders etc.) that played out the subconscious desire. This 'problem' in the Faberry fandom is Quinn's attraction to Rachel Berry, and those signs are abundant.

In season 2, *Glee* included a scene between new character Sam Evans and Quinn Fabray⁶⁰ that prompted teadalek to discuss Quinn's potential queerness.⁶¹ In the post teadalek provides a gif set of Quinn Fabray questioning the sexuality of Sam. Fans then proceed to analyze the reason why Quinn may have felt the need to know at all.

Sam says "I know what it's like to have a... secret you're ashamed of."

Quinn's instant reaction? "So you are gay?" [...] why would this be the thing Quinn jumps to when Sam mentions keeping a secret? And why did she look so disappointed about it, and like she'd been caught out, when he laughed it off?

User teadalek redubs the line under the gif with "So you are gay (like me)?" This interpretation was met with explicit agreement in the form of comments written on the reblogged versions of this post. One of these comments came from quinnavyre who extended teadaleks' own analysis with the following:

⁶¹Teadalek. "Quinn Fabray: Too Gay To Function." Tumblr. 15 Aug 2011. Web. 07 Sept 2014. http://teadalek.tumblr.com/post/9395114576/quinn-fabray-too-gay-to-function-ive-brought. This post has 526 notes.

^{60 &}quot;Duets." Glee. Writ. Ian Brennan. Fox. 12 Oct. 2010. Television.

but I agree with this analysis: she was clearly hoping he'd say yes (and why else would she have cared unless she wanted to find someone who understood what she was going through?), and you're so right about the way her face fell - she clearly wasn't just disappointed because she was wrong [...]As I see it, Quinn's trying to not be gay because she wants to be the perfect daughter even after everything that happened. I really feel for her with this interpretation of her character.⁶²

This interpretation goes to show the extent to which the Faberry fandom is willing to search for potential subtext to provide support for their belief that Quinn is queer. That is not to suggest that they are reaching, but rather that they feel so strongly and see the queerness in Quinn to be so plain that they find evidence even when she is away from Rachel. It only seems natural to interpret quinnavyre's added commentary as being one that indicates they see something of themselves in Quinn Fabray and her actions. It shows empathy and a potential site of identification between the user and Quinn.

The unique construct of the tumblr blog is one that revolves around reblogging things you like and are invested in. It becomes very possible to conclude that the users that contributed to a posts note count found that the content, e.g. a queered music performance, is something they wish to have on their blogs, and the reason behind that choice may well be because they too are queer. The musical performance held up by the Faberry fandom as an example of queer performance is music video of the "I Feel

⁶² Quinnavyre. "Quinn Fabray: Too Gay To Function." *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 03 Sept. 2011. Web. 05 Sept. 2014. <a href="http://quinnavyre.tumblr.com/post/9772320170/teadalek-quinn-fabray-too-gay-to-day-

Pretty/Unpretty" duet performed by Quinn Fabray and Rachel Berry. 63 This queer reading of this duet requires active subtext reading from the viewers; the characters in question at the time are not considered canonically considered queer. ⁶⁴ As noted previously it is subtext that many users work with in a tumblr fandom; they look for alternate meanings than those conveyed in the canon, searching for meta beyond the text. Thus, I argue, a user's "opinion" on the "subtext" is almost inevitably laced with traces of the self, since interpretation on the site often references users' preconceived ideas and is authenticated in relation to personal experiences. A quick search for "Faberry duet" on tumblr brings up fan art, posts, and interpretations of the music video narrative as does searching for "I feel pretty unpretty". The song even won the TVLine run competition for "All time best music number", and the couple of "Faberry" won E! Online pole 65 for best couple despite the fact they were non-canon and their victory actually resulted in the website changing the rules afterwards to prevent non-canon couples winning. ⁶⁶

When discussing the Indigo Suzanne G. Cusick states that:

function>. This reblog of teadalek's post included the aforementioned commentary and was tagged with "Quinnis Gay".

⁶³Being a part of something special, makes you special! ♥. "I feel Pretty/Unpretty". Online Video Clip. Youtube. Youtube, 20 Oct. 2013. Web. 01 Jan. 2014.

...">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vRaJkZ_Za3c>...

⁶⁴ "I Do." *Glee*. Writ. Ian Brennan. Fox. 14 Feb. 2013. Television.

In this episode Quinn Fabray sleeps with Santana Lopez, seemingly confirming what most Faberry fans believed about her being queer. It is also notable that this episode was also written by the same writer who gave us the "so your are gay scene" in season 2 episode 'duets'.

⁶⁵ Slezak, Michael. "Glee All-Time Best Musical Number Tournament: 'I Feel Pretty'/'Unpretty' Takes the Crown!" TVLine. TVLIne Media, 28 Jul. 2011. Web. 06 Dec. 2014.

http://tvline.com/2011/07/28/glee-all-time-best-musical-number-tournament-winner-unpretty-i- feel-pretty-faberry/>. What is important here is that "Faithfully", the song which lost to the winning duet was sung by the shows main canon pairing of Finn and Rachel.

[W]ith their voices[...]they perform themselves as "girls" (even as good "good girls") whose voices (bodies) "fit together perfectly" and "sound spectacular" in unexpected, identity-blurring, erotically charged ways. With their voices, then, they perform their gender, their sex, and a sexuality (a way bodies might relate intimately to each other) that is culturally intelligible in our time as lesbian.⁶⁷

The line of thought provided here by Cusick gives us a way in which we can understand how the Faberry duet may not only be seen as queer, but also as a challenge the heteronormative. The singing partnership of Rachel and Quinn was seen as queer (in lieu of Cusick's "lesbian"), and thus challenged the heteronormative interpretation that the mainstream audience, as well as the creators of the show were pushing. This theory is further strengthened when you look at the number of notes the posts about this performance has and the prevalence of the song even in mainstream media. Et appears that even those naïve to the subtextual interpretation done by fans sense that there is

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⁶⁶ Dos Santos, Kristen. "TV's Top Couple Tournament: And the Winner Is..." *E! Online*. E! Entertainment Television, 14 Feb. 2012. Web. 06 Dec 2014.

http://www.eonline.com/news/294212/tv-s-top-couple-tournament-and-the-winner-is.>.

⁶⁷ Cusick, Suzanne G. "On Musical Performances of Gender and Sex." *Audible Traces: Gender, Identity, and Music.* Santa Clarita: Theodore Front Music, 1999. 25-48. Print.

⁶⁸ Tumblr. "Search: I feel Pretty Unpretty." *Tumblr*. Tumblr, Web. 14 Sept. 2014.

https://www.tumblr.com/search/i-feel-pretty-unpretty>">.

This particular url brings up any and all posts on tumblr tagged with "I feel pretty unpretty" in order of popularity.

Gleeperformances. "I Feel Pretty / Unpretty". *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 01 Jun. 2011. Web. 11 Oct. 2014. http://gleeperformances.tumblr.com/post/6064448835/i-feel-pretty-unpretty>.

This is the most popular post as deemed by tumblr's search engine which has 2718 notes. This is not to say that everyone who reblogged this must be queer but rather that there are fans of the pair who see something special in this performance, as evidenced by it winning the E!poll.

something in this performance that marks it as special, as unique, or outside and above what is considered to normal.

On tumblr this song is analyzed by fans for the word choice as well as cinematography. *Glee*'s active decision to forgo the original lyrics of "pretty, and witty and gay" is something fans picked up on. ⁶⁹ The obvious way in which the song is basically Quinn and Rachel telling each other they are beautiful is commented upon in a post discussing their "more than friendship moments," as interpreted by a fan of the couple. ⁷⁰ Everything about this performance seems to prompt tumblr users to see the queer way to interpret their relationship, and therefore challenge heteronormativity. From their vocals, to the story line, to the very way in which the video is shot, the Faberry duet provides us with an example of another performance in the show that can be read as queer. Not only that, the queering in question could only really become widely known and disseminated through the use of tumblr. The fandom organized voting hours to win the E!poll, it shared fan art based upon the duet on tumblr, and the posts provided above are all hosted by tumblr. Tumblr's platform is the framework by which this challenge is mounted.

An example of a tumblr post in which the video is referenced comes from user valiendomother, who commented upon a gif set of the video with "[t]his duet was the

⁶⁹Gleememore. "I Wonder why they cut the I feel gay in pretty/unpretty". *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 20 Nov. 2012. Web. 11 Oct. 2014. http://gleememore.tumblr.com/post/36188044471/i-wonder-why-they-cut-i-feel-gay-in-i-feel. This post has 175 notes.

⁷⁰ Poetzproblem. "Rachel and Quinn's Seven Best More Than Friends Moments on Glee". *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 13 Mar. 2012. Web. 08 Sept. 2014.

http://poetzproblem.tumblr.com/post/19258501304/rachel-and-quinns-seven-best-more-than-friends. This moment is 'moment number one' in that list, and the post is tagged "#thisiswhyweshipthem."

epitome of lesbian subtext". ⁷¹ The way in which the Faberry fandom has taken what few obvious scenes of friendship the show has given them, and also reinterpreted other scenes between Faberry, displays just how important this couple has become to the fandom. One user achelereferences was asked about 'the 6 faberry scenes that have been cut". ⁷² Their reply clearly indicates the dissatisfaction fans have at the way even the show has seemingly tried to cut out any potential scenes where a queer subtext could be written. The result of this is, of course, fans creating their own interpretations of the relationship between Quinn and Rachel, as well as keeping an eye out for any background moments between the two. ⁷³ Tumblr user maewhitwoman created a gif set of a subtle background moment that was reblogged by fortheloveoffaberry. ⁷⁴ This moment shows a look between Quinn and Rachel that has again been picked up on by fans, made permanent through the creation of a gif set, and reblogged. More evidence is found in the original, though now removed, posts by somethinginexpressible entitled

⁷¹ Valiendomother. "faberry -> I feel Pretty/unpretty". *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 04 Dec. 2013. Web. 28 Dec. 2014. http://valiendomother.tumblr.com/post/69041529489/faberry-i-feel-pretty-unpretty-this-duet-was. The original post has 327 and is entitled 'faberry-> I feel pretty unpretty". It was also tagged as faberry, allowing for the assumption that most of/all of those notes are reblogs and likes in support of the duet being interpreted as queer.

⁷²Achelereferences. "Ask". Tumblr. Tumblr, Web. 15 Apr. 2012.

http://achelereferences.tumblr.com/post/21158160885/which-are-the-6-faberry-scenes-that-have-been-cut. The response post to this ask has 56 notes.

⁷³ Megan-8. "We could have had it aaaaallllllllllll". *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 17 Jan. 2015. Web. 17 Jan. 2015. http://megan-8.tumblr.com/post/108319743924/we-could-have-had-it-aaaaalllllllllllll.>. This post by megan-8 clearly acknowledges the way in which fans will seek out subtext or look for moments, even those that are in the background

[&]quot;We could have had it aaaaallllllllllll By Me, sobbing while I watch Faberry scenes in the background that most people wouldn't even notice"

⁷⁴ Fortheloveoffaberry. *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 17 Jan. 2015. Web. 17 Jan. 2015. http://fortheloveoffaberry.tumblr.com/post/108397885951. This post has 701 notes.

"times I thought Quinn was gay for Rachel". The gif sets in question here are almost mirror of SkyWarrior108's livejournal post of scenes that indicate Quinn may be queer.

This belief in the queerness of Quinn Fabray was finally given canonical credence in the episode I do, where she slept with Santana Lopez. The 'morning after' scene between Quinn and Santana has Quinn stating that it was a "one time thing" before proceeded to go to kiss Santana again after Santana suggests they "could make it a two time thing". ⁷⁶ This scene, despite the canon that continues after its fade out, vindicates the interpretations of the faberry fans. Quinn Fabray slept with a girl, more than once, and whilst such an action does not testify to the explicit sexual orientation of Quinn it does indicate that these fans may well have been correct. An assumption made strengthened by the canon line "I've always wondered what it would be like to be with a woman". Skywarrior 108 indicates that this is exactly the assumption made by fans with their post regarding the morning after scene. They state:

> Okay, I just watched the Quinntana morning after scene, and the only thing I am left thinking after that is this: Quinn is gay. She's thought about having sex with women before. She likes having sex with women. And she's going to have sex with women again.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Lunartweet. *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 2013. Web. 07 Nov. 2014

http://lunartweet.tumblr.com/tagged/Times-I-thought-Quinn-was-gay-for-Rachel. This allows us to see the reblogs of the original posts, of which there were apparently 22 parts. Some posts have less than 100 notes whilst others have more than 500. Each is either a background shot of the two, cut scenes that indicate an apparent attractions, or shots that appear to indicate Quinn is heavily focused on Rachel during a scene.

⁷⁶ "I Do." *Glee*. Writ. Ian Brennan. Fox. 14 Feb. 2013. Television.

⁷⁷ Skywarrior108. *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 14 Feb. 2013. Web. 03 Sept. 2014.

http://skywarrior108.tumblr.com/post/43121322680/okay-i-just-watched-the-quinntana- morning-after>. As indicated by their url this is the same user who wrote the livejournal blog

This interpretation of Quinn Fabray as queer has been proven correct by this scene; as such the subtextual interpretations made by fans have also been given a form of validity. The fans that looked at the scenes between Quinn and Rachel and interpreted them to be a romantic type have been validated.⁷⁸

The final aspect to the faberry fandom is perhaps the most important. The fandom has thrived in such a way that it now has a meeting of fans, known as a convention.⁷⁹ This subtextually based fandom has generated enough of a sense of comradery that in February 2013 they successfully organized and put on their own convention in Georgia.

Known as Faberry Con East, this convention brought together members of the faberry fandom :

[T]o celebrate everything about our awesome ship in amazing ways that can't be duplicated online. For some, it's a chance to meet their Tumblr friends or favorite fic authors in-person. For others, it's a chance to make

detailing Quinn Fabray's interactions with Rachel, and how they seem to indicate Quinn some sexual attraction towards Rachel.

⁷⁸ Abiroleplays. Tumblr. Tumblr, Web. 27 Jul. 2014.

http://abiroleplays.tumblr.com/post/93010344855/stfabrayroleplays-dont-ever-try-to-tell-me. This post, with 1375 total notes, featured tags by stfabrayroleplays, posted in a comment by another user after they reblogged the posts from stfabrayroleplays. These tags read:

[&]quot;#don't ever try to tell me quinn fabray is selfish or that faberry didn't matter#they mattered more than any canon couple on that show#in episode TWO quinn fabray is thinking about being prom queen#it's everything she's ever wanted#and when she finally wins#SHE CROWNS RACHEL HER PROM QUEEN#do you not understand ffs#also lolllling over fabrevans and how repressed quinn is#quinn also lost that one time and immediately blamed rachel frorforlf#and then still crowned her anyway#stupid idiots."

This indicates that user stfabraysroleplays has noticed the evolution too, and importantly that they agree with what the gif set is indicating – that Quinn gave up her dream of being prom queen so Rachel could be happy, because she loves her.

new friends they'd never get to meet otherwise. It's certainly a rare opportunity to be in a safe space surrounded by others who love Faberry as much as you do. No matter what your angle, it's going to be a fantastic time. ⁸⁰

The convention that was so successful that there have now been three conventions and a fourth is in the works, scheduled for July 2015. The first convention featured panels including "Quinn Fabray: Pressed Lemon Extraordinaire", "Polls, Tumblr, and Twitter: Why Faberry Visibility Matters, and Is Fan-Baiting Marginalizing?", and "The Impact of Faberry: Why is Faberry not just a Crackship?" Both these panels speak directly to this thesis, in that they explore the importance of fandom, and they stress how subtext isn't simply rose tinted queer glasses. A crackship is a ship that is never going to happen, by addressing it in a panel the fandom is addressing those who disagree with the ships validty. The title and likely content of these panels alone show that the information posited in this chapter is not mere conjecture, but that the fans really do think this ship is important, Quinn Fabray is queer, and that the visibility provided by faberry not only matters but needs to be taken seriously.

The official website for the con even provides testimonials from attendees of the three conventions. These testimonials show the sense of community the fandom has managed to establish, and that the bonds formed online through shipping Quinn and

⁷⁹ "FaberryCon!" *FaberryCon*. FaberryCon, 24 Oct. 2012. Web. 07 Jan. 2015.

http://www.faberrycon.com/

^{80 &}quot;FaberryCon FAQ's." FaberryCon. FaberryCon, 24 Oct. 2012. Web. 07 Jan. 2015.

http://www.faberrycon.com/faq.php.

Rachel can be moved offline, and into the real world. Poetzproblem gives the following description of the con:

> To quote my very feelsy essay on West - Jarrow created this place where we can ramble on about our passions and other people just get it. There are no blank expressions, just lots and lots of open arms. It really is the most beautiful weekend.⁸²

To find a space online that you can ship what you want to ship regardless of whether it is canon important. To somehow find a space offline that is dedicated to that too is a rarity. There are many conventions in the world, but to find one dedicated to a subtextual ship, that by that point had not even had confirmation of Quinn's queerness in the form of the episode "I do", is incredible.

Quinn Fabray, and faberry, began life in the pilot episode. Their interactions and thus their potential for subtext grew into the faberry fandom that is still vocal and producing fanworks today. Tumblr users argue objectively that as a ship it makes sense. Queer fans support the ship and the queering of Quinn Fabray by posting about the ways in which her actions read as queer. 8384 How the self is presented and performed, and

^{81 &}quot;FaberryCon East Programming." FaberryCon. FaberryCon, 24 Oct. 2012. Web. 07 Jan. 2015. http://www.faberrycon.com/eastprogramming.php/>.

^{82 &}quot;FaberryCon Testimonials." FaberryCon. FaberryCon, 24 Oct. 2012. Web. 07 Jan. 2015. http://www.faberrycon.com/testimonials.php/>.

⁸³Drshebloggo. "Brief and Objective Thoughts on Faberry as a Ship". *Tumblr*, Tumblr, 14 Feb. 2011. Web. 16 Nov. 2014. http://drshebloggo.tumblr.com/post/3293665667>.

This post has 307 notes and features many comments indicating support on the notes including "This is certainly one of the more interesting and again, logical ways of looking at a ship that I love from more of a producer/writer's point of view" from madgirlwitharainbowbox.

⁸⁴ Nicejewishqueer. "Ask". *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 2015. Web. 07 Jan. 2015 http://nicejewishqueer. tumblr.com/tagged/quinn+fabgay/>.

why, is often the central conflict in queer narratives and faberry fans believe that Quinn's character arc, when traced subtextually, indicates this conflict.

This subtextual reading, following from Butler, allows for a deeper analysis of how an audience can view the self, and what being true to one's self can mean. In the case of Quinn Fabray, fans have chosen to move from canon and create an interpretation that is more pleasurable and beneficial to themselves, and to anyone who may be questioning their own queerness. ⁸⁵The use fanfiction, fan art, and other fan works to correct the mistakes of the show and demonstrate how they see Quinn tackling coming out, living her life, and finally embracing the inner self she had long since repressed. It just so happens that they see her doing all of this with Rachel.

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This user identifies as "(probably) Queer" and not only ships faberry but believes in Quinns queerness to the point that she has a tag "Quinn Fabgay" that when clicked brings up posts that she believes supports this point.

⁸⁵ Drshebloggo. "Ask box: Quinn Fabray, Gay or Nay?." *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 15 Apr. 2011. Web. 11 Nov. 2014. http://drshebloggo.tumblr.com/post/4634064372.

This post has 206 notes, and features the following "This issue is really just whether or not you look at these people like actual people you might know in real life, or like characters on a TV show with characterization and arcs and all that stuff that's easier to discern because it's fiction." When taken in the context of the post writ-large, drshebloggo is suggesting that the interpretation of Quinn's narrative arc as queer may well indicate that the one that is doing the interpreting is queer. Of Course, such a sweeping statement is not without its problems, and drshebloggo writes in a way to avoid making such a statement. However, this does indicate the that I am not the only one to believe that the potential is there that many queer Quinn because they see some of their own actions in those that she carries out, and they themselves are queer.

CHAPTER III

FROM SUBTEXT TO CANON: GLEE, TWO CHEERLEADERS AND A FANDOM

"Santana Lopez: Sex is not dating.

Brittany: If it were, Santana and I would be dating "

- Glee, season 1, episode 13.86

Glee's Santana Lopez is a popular Latina cheerleader and, as we slowly begin to see, a lesbian. This Glee character's six-season journey goes against the heteronormative; she moves from the closet in rural Ohio to being out and proud on the streets of New York City, from love denying young teen to a soon to be married young woman. Brittany S. Pierce, her best friend takes this journey with her. Brittany is considered to be sexually fluid, and though the terms pansexual or bisexual are not used in the show, many in the fandom believe her to fall on those particular parts of the LGBT+ spectrum. Their ship portmanteau is Brittana, and their fandom remains one of the most vocal and active fan bases on tumblr. What makes this relationship and fandom particularly notable is the development of the pairing. In this chapter I will interrogate and explore how the performance of Brittany and Santana's relationship on Glee, moving from subtext to canon, is uniquely able to hail queer women, and significantly queer women of color. By moving from a subtextually based relationship to a canonically confirmed relationship, this pairing provides fans with confirmation that the small nuances they picked up on and called 'queer' were indeed queer.

86 "Sectionals." Glee. Writ. Brad Falchuk. Fox. 9 Dec. 2009. Television.

Much like Paige and Emily from *Pretty Little Liars*, Santana and Brittany maintain their own individual queer identities outside of their status as a couple. Both Santana and Brittany navigate their own unique sexualities separately from each other in a way that allows for more fans to identify their own queerness in these characters. Identifying with a character is important to the visibility of queer characters on television, and of queer people in the real world. In 2009, GLAAD reported that 18 LGBT characters were series regulars in scripter television shows, which is 3% of all scripted series regulars.⁸⁷

Santana Lopez's burden of representation is twofold in both the *Glee* world and the marginalized and underrepresented LGBT+ community. She represents both women of color (in the canon of the show Latina women), and queer women. The importance of this representation is more emphasized by *Glee* than in *Pretty Little Liars*, though that is not to take away from the work Emily Fields does. Nowhere in *Glee's* storylines and narrative is this more highlighted than when Santana comes out to her abuela. One tumblr post provides a video of the scene in question, and in total this post has more than 1400 notes.

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⁸⁷GLAAD. "GLAAD Releases 14th Annual Where We Are on TV Study." *GLAAD*. GLAAD, 01 Oct. 2009. Web. 13 Nov. 2014. http://www.glaad.org/2009/10/01/glaad-releases-14th-annual-where-we-are-on-tv-study>

The number of LGBT characters had increased in 2009 from 2.6% in 2008.

⁸⁸ "I Kissed A Girl." *Glee*. Writs. Matthew Hodgson and Ali Adler. Fox. 29 Nov. 2011. Television.

⁸⁹Teambrittana. *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 29 Nov. 2011. Web. 01 Oct. 2015.

< http://teambrittana.tumblr.com/post/13528394080/chantgirl-santana-coming-out-to-herabuela>.

This particular blog is one of the most popular fandom blogs for this pairing. Whilst the note count is high, what is particularly of note is the comments users posted when reblogging.

This post demonstrates the ways in which Santana Lopez works as a character that queer people of color can look towards as a figure of representation. This episode and scene in particular caused strong emotions from tumblr users. Arguably, this is because of the strength of the acting as much as it is the fact that a queer character of color is coming out to her grandmother, and being rejected. This is a scene many seemed to identify with. In the most extensive comment on this post, Tumblr user windondowntheroad encapsulates the feeling many got when they watched the scene:

When one of my friends asks me why I'm so scared to come out to my family and close friends, I shall show them this. I know that they love me and they know I love them. But when that fear of losing the ones you love the most, watching them turn their back on you because of who you are, that's what hurts the most. That's the crippling fear that stops your heart and twists your stomach. To see the disappointment in their eyes is the worst thing ever. ⁹⁰

Windondowntheroad points out that watching Santana was watching their fear come to life. For some, the potential of family rejection is enough to keep them firmly in the closet, lest they (like Santana) lose an important family member. LaSala, in "Lesbians, Gay Men, and Their Parents: Family Therapy for the Coming-Out Crisis", acknowledges that "For a variety of reasons, some parents may never be able to have relationships with their openly gay, adult children, and will sever all ties when their son or daughter comes

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⁹⁰ Windondowntheroad. *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 29 Nov. 2011. Web. 29 Sept. 2014.

http://windondowntheroad.tumblr.com/post/13529469570/chantgirl-santana-coming-out-to-her-

out". With this in mind Glee's handling of Santana's narrative becomes even more important. Williams Institute data demonstrates between 60-69% of LGBT+ adults aged 18 and older are white/non-hispanic, meaning that between 31-40% of LGBT+ adults aged 18 and older are non-white. ⁹¹ Santana Lopez represents these individuals, individuals more likely than non-queer, or queer, white youths to end up homeless.⁹² When viewed in tandem with these facts, the reaction of users like windondowntheroad becomes more understandable. They are watching a character they love experience something painful that could realistically happen to them.

Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick discusses the history of the closet and how it has been "the defining structure for gay oppression in this century". 93 Santana Lopez carries out the task of demonstrating the importance of the closet in a queer person's life. Before she is outted, she works to make sure she is seen as heterosexual: her identity revolves around her appearing to be straight. Being a cheerleader, sleeping with male friend Puck, and even going so far as to stop her relationship with Brittany, all build this identity. She works to remain in the closet. This struggle is one familiar to many of the LGBT+ community. The risk of being kicked out or disowned is not an unusual occurrence

abuela>.

Windondowntheroad posted this comment the video post it was written beneath has 1424 notes. ⁹¹Gates, Gary J. "LGB/T Demographics: Comparisons among Population-based Surveys."

Williams Institute. UCLA School of Law, Sept. 2014. Web. 08 Oct. 2014.

http://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/lgbt-demogs-sep-2014.pdf>.

⁹²Quintana, Nico, Josh Rosenthal and Jeff Krehley. "On the Streets The Federal Response to Gay and Transgender Homeless Youth." American Progress. American Progress, Jun. 2010. Web. 09 Jan. 2015. http://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-

content/uploads/issues/2010/06/pdf/lgbtyouthhomelessness.pdf>.

[&]quot;Among the homeless youth who identified as gay, 44 percent were black and 26 percent were Hispanic."

⁹³ Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Epistemology of the Closet*. Berkeley: U of California, 1990. Print

within the community and as such Santana's decision to stay closeted is understandable. "Even at an individual level, there are remarkably few of even the most openly gay people who are not deliberately in the closet with someone personally or economically or institutionally important to them" (67-68). Santana remains in the closet because she is now a cheerleader on a nationally ranked team and to come out may risk her position. She remains in the closet because her abuela would (and does) disown her. Santana remains closeted to protect herself. As a queer woman of color, Santana is especially at risk if she is pushed out of the closet.

Naya Rivera, who plays Santana, acknowledges the impact her own ethnicity could have in the way in which Santana and her storylines could be viewed. Naya Rivera is of African American and Latina descent. She struggled with how to identify herself in a world that demands labels at every turn. She states that her mixed heritage would whold me back when I was younger. Casting directors didn't understand what I was. I wasn't black enough, or Latina enough- I kind of fell through the cracks. Rivera's own battle labeling her ethnicity parallels the identity crisis queer people may face. If they do not fit the labels, then where do these youths position themselves? This is precisely this kind of identity crisis that leads to LGBT+ youths seriously considering taking their own

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⁹⁴ I will be using the terms Latina and Hispanic through this piece with the acknowledgement that there is a history behind both words, and that one who identifies as Hispanic may not necessarily use or like the term Latina and vice-versa.

⁹⁵ Theboxscene. "Naya Rivera - Actress and Singer." *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 04 Sept. 2013. Web. 08 Sept. 2014. http://theboxscene.tumblr.com/post/60332679027/naya-rivera-actress-and-singer-on-her.

The quotes come from her interview with Latina magazine in October 2013, it has 57 notes and this blog in particular focuses on fandoms and their fight for representation.

lives. ⁹⁶ Between 23.7%-40.3% of LGBT+ youth have considered suicide in comparison to 11.7% of heterosexual youth. ⁹⁷ Further, Black and Hispanic youths were more likely than white youths to attempt suicide, with 8.3% of black youths and 10.2% of Hispanic youths having attempted to kill themselves compared to 6.2% of white youths. ⁹⁸ These numbers increase when we look at the statistics for females: 8.8% of black female youths and 13.5% of Hispanic female youths attempt suicide compared with 7.9% of white female youths. Thus, Santana's position as a queer female of color has a potentially enormous generational impact on her audience.

Tumblr user theboxscene quotes Rivera's 2013 Latina interview: "There are very few ethnic LGBT characters on television, so I am honored to represent them. I love supporting this cause, but it's a big responsibility, and sometimes it's a lot of pressure on me." Naya Rivera understands that her visibility can make a difference. Arguably, the work done by the actress and fans counterbalance narrative inconsistencies in *Glee* storylines. The show routinely discounts Santana's journey and any issues she may have in regards to her being a queer woman of color. The work done

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⁹⁶"Facts About Suicide." *The Trevor Project*. The Trevor Project, Web. 10 Jan. 2015. http://www.thetrevorproject.org/pages/facts-about-suicide. "LGB youth are 4 times more likely, and questioning youth are 3 times more likely, to attempt suicide as their straight peers" ⁹⁷ Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. "Sexual Identity, Sex of Sexual Contacts, and Health-Risk Behaviors Among Students in Grades 9–12 - Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance, Selected Sites, United States, 2001–2009". *MMWR Early Release*. Vol. 60. 06 Jun. 2011. Web. 01 Jan. 2015. http://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/pdf/ss/ss60e0606.pdf>.

⁹⁸ Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. "Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance – United States. 2011." *MMWR Surveillance Summaries*. Vol. 61. No 4. 08 Jun. 2012. Web. 01 Jan. 2015. http://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/pdf/ss/ss6104.pdf>.

⁹⁹ Moreno, Carolina. "Naya Rivera Discusses 'Glee' After Cory Monteith's Death, Heritage And Pressures Of Being Santana Lopez." *The Huffington Post*. AOL, 03 Sept. 2013. Web. 28 Dec. 2014. < http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/09/03/naya-rivera-cory-

by fans by their posts, and comments made by the actress work to show the importance of the representational work Santana does. It places her identity at the forefront even when the show doesn't (the producers decide to cut important scenes of her coming out to her cheerleading squad, or forget the conflict with her abuela for 3 seasons.)

In the episode prior to Santana's conversation with her Abuela, she is outted by fellow glee club member Finn Hudson. "Mash Off" depicted perhaps the worst case scenario for a young, closeted, queer woman of color: someone you trust outs you to the world. 100 Finn had his own story line regarding his relationship with Kurt, his out and proud stepbrother, and it is almost inconceivable that someone you trust would declare your sexuality before your peers, but he did. Compounding this particularly cruel outing is the fact that the moment was caught on camera and used to discredit McKinley cheerleading coach Sue Sylvester's candidacy for Congress. Tumblr user ban05 notes that Finn's actions are inexcusable, responding to an anonymous tumblr user's narrative of their sister's reaction to the episode: she is "more scared than ever." Such a reaction shows how both *Glee* and those with the show have to do right by the queer community. As Rivera noted, she has a duty to represent the marginalized to the best of her abilities, but her capability is also limited by the writing of the show.

monteith_n_3861989.html>. This quote is also referenced by the Huffington Post in an article further discussing Naya's own mixed background.

^{100 &}quot;Mash Off." Glee. Writ. Michael Hitchcock. Fox. 15 Nov. 2011. Television.

¹⁰¹ Ban05. "Rebloggable Anon Response". Tumblr, 17 Nov. 2011. Web. 15 Oct. 2014. . This user received an anonymous ask prompting a conversation about the real life ramifications of what an outing like Santana's could have for those still in the closet.

Santana's conversation with her Abuela is only possible because Finn outted her. She was forced to confront her sexuality earlier than she may have imagined, which brought rawness to the scene. Without the vicious hallway scene, the conversation surrounding the sexuality of a person of color, from a religious background, may never have been bought up. This scene is therefore available for fans to discuss.

Freshpressedlemon discusses the ramifications outing someone can have:

[C]an you imagine coming to terms with your sexuality after having been raised in a family/church/society that has told you it was wrong your whole life? and then having to figure out when and how to tell your family, so that you no longer have to keep the best relationship you've ever been in, and the person that you are completely in love with, a secret?¹⁰²

Once again, tumblr demonstrates that characters such as Santana have a substantial connection to viewers. Their actions, their feelings, and their very lives are reflected in these fictional characters. Tumblr offers a public forum for those connections, allowing queer fans to find others who feel as they did when watching Santana break down with her Abuela. Every user who makes up that 1400+ note is enters into the conversation in some way. Some acknowledge their fear, some praise the actress for managing to convey the emotions they felt in similar circumstances, and some simply say "me too".

¹⁰² Freshpressedlemonade. "Glee 3.06: Mash-Off". *Tumblr*. Tumblr. 16 Nov. 2011. Web. 17 Nov. 2011. http://freshpressedlemonade.tumblr.com/post/12914232992/glee-3-06-mash-off. Despite only having four notes, this post exhibits a great amount of emotion and empathy with the plight of Santana, and as such it is noteworthy.

The same video was posted by another tumblr user, and it garnered 609 notes. ¹⁰³ On this particular post. tumblr user just-because-i-love-u commented that "The first time I saw this I cried oceans. This is real people. The kindest of *abuelitas* hurt you the most when you come out and aren't accepted for who you are." ¹⁰⁴ Just-because-i-love-u's use of '*abuelitas*' indicates that they may be Hispanic or Latina. Their comment about crying when they first viewed this scene, and speaking about its authenticity points to this user identifying deeply with what they are watching.

Santana and Brittany's interactions in the first twelve episodes was subtextual; the promotional material suggested that they were nothing more than best friends and did not suggest that they would develop a romantic or sexual relationship. During a conference call between glee club members in the season finale, however, Santana explained that "sex is not dating," and Brittany quickly added that "If it were, Santana and I would be dating". This seemingly came out of the blue for most viewers, but to tumblr users it was something that had been suggested by background moments in episodes prior. In this detailed analysis of the couple themostrandomfandom provides a careful look at Santana and Brittany, their relationship to each other, and their

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¹⁰³ Theperksofbeingagleek. "Santana comes out to her Abuela". *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 18 Mar. 2012. Web. 17 Sept. 2014. http://theperksofbeingagleek.tumblr.com/post/19556554364/santana-comes-out-to-her-abuela. This Post by theperfksofbeingagleek has 609 notes, and has been played 3219 time.

¹⁰⁴ Just-because-i-love-u. "Santana comes out to her Abuela". *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 4 Mar. 2014. Web. 16 Oct. 2014. http://just-because-i-love-u.tumblr.com/post/78528203180. This is the reblogged post with the comment by just-because-i-love-u

¹⁰⁵ "Sectionals." Glee. Writ. Brad Falchuk. Fox. 9 Dec. 2009. Television.

storylines.¹⁰⁶ It becomes clear that this couple prompted fans to engage with what they were seeing even before the relationship became explicit.

The migration of Brittana fans to tumblr happened in approximately 2011, as evidenced by the number of posts surfacing from that year, and the difficulty in finding any mention of the couple prior to this. ¹⁰⁷ Before existing on tumblr, Brittana fans relied on livejournal.com to gather and discuss the couple. ¹⁰⁸ The Brittana livejournal precedes the first canonical acknowledgement that Brittany and Santana may be more than just friends, and it therefore indicates that fans saw something between the two in the subtext.

Santana and Brittany moved from subtext to canon in thirteen episodes. In six seasons we have seen them laugh, love, cry, and learn what it means to love someone of the same gender "proudly so." The musical numbers of *Glee* provide unique moments for the couple to show off their love and affection for each other. In the Brittana fandom

Apr. 2011. Web. 11 Sept. 2014. http://themostrandomfandom.tumblr.com/post/ 4560647812/observations-of-a-crazy-brittanalyst-part-i>. This post is the first in a series of detailed analysis of the Brittana relationship by this user. Whilst they identify as straight, this blog in particular was quickly accepted as one of the premier Brittana blogs and provided a place for queer fans to partake in the discussion of the couple, as evidenced by the notes ad comments each subsequent analysis attained. Whilst this one only has 19 notes,

Themostrandomfandom. "Observations of a Crazy Brittanalyst: Part XL" *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 18 Jan. 2015. Web. 18 Jan. 2015.

http://themostrandomfandom.tumblr.com/post/108426240955/observations-of-a-crazy-brittanalyst-part-xl. This is a post written at the start of 2015 and has 391notes at the time of writing. It shows the dedication this particular user has to the Brittana fandom. They are still writing after 4 years.

This could be due to changes in tumblr's system design, but it is notable that many of the name fandom blogs [anothergayshark.tumblr.com, fuckyeah-brittana.tumblr.com, and brittanaluv.tumblr.com only began posting in 2011.

there have been many moments within musical numbers that are seen as key to their relationship. However, their first duet together which takes place just ten episodes after Santana's outing, holds a significant place in the fandom as it provides an optimistic look at their future together. Between the vocals and the way in which the scenes of the musical number unfold, viewers are left without no doubt that Brittana is just as important a couple as the others in the show.

Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick in *Tendancies* asked if the position of the word queer in first, second, or third person changed its meaning and power, and I think the way in which these songs are demonstrates those shifts. 109 'I am gay' does not hold the same power as 'they are gay'. The former is an unquestionable statement, whilst the latter leaves room for interrogation. How do you know they are gay? What evidence do you have? Have they stated their queerness or are you interpreting it? A song in which the queerness shifts because of pronoun changes has a greater sway over the queer community listening to it. To hear one woman sing to another 'I Wanna Dance With Somebody' has more meaning, and feels more like she is singing to her rather than at her when the pronouns are changed. 110 This song originally slides nicely into the heteronormativity of the world we live in, but queering it provides a potential point of

¹⁰⁸Brittana. Live Journal. 05 Nov. 2009. Web Log. 10 Nov. 2014.

http://brittana.livejournal.com/profile. This was created on November 5th 2009, before the 'sex isn't dating' scene aired.

¹⁰⁹ Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. "Queer and Now." *Tendencies*. Durham: Duke UP, 1993.Print. Gleememore. "I Wonder why they cut the I feel gay in pretty/unpretty". *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 20 Nov. 2012. Web. 11 Oct. 2014. http://gleememore.tumblr.com/post/36188044471/i-wonder-rough. why-they-cut-i-feel-gay-in-i-feel>.

resistance. The heteronormative is challenged rather than conceded to by those behind the track.

Brittany begins the duet in the episode "Dance With Somebody" by going through each of the guys in class, trying them as dance partners and rejecting them. 111

Shots regularly linger on Santana Lopez whom she eventually points to and then pulls up, leading Santana to join in singing. This turns the traditional solo performance of "I Wanna Dance With Somebody" into a duet. This song has become a flagship song for the Brittana ship on tumblr; it presents their first actual duet as a couple as well as a significant point in their relationship, which over the course of the third season had been uncertain and rocky. They are both out and proud about their relationship at this point and what they mean to one another. The impact of the duet is evidenced by the number of notes this performance garnered when posted on tumblr. One particular post of the performance video post has 845 notes. 112 The users that contributed to that note count wanted that queered performance to be on their blogs, and the reason behind that choice may well be because they too are queer. 113

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^{111 &}quot;Dance With Somebody." *Glee.* Writ. Ross Maxwell . Fox. 24 Apr. 2012. Television.

¹¹² Heyyouwiththeflashingsmile. *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 29 Apr. 2012. Web. 09 Sept. 2014. http://heyyouwiththeflashingsmile.tumblr.com/post/22103231354/gleeperformnces-i-wannadance-with-somebody. This is one of the blogs that reblogged the "I wanna dance with somebody" glee video. I chose this one over the original blog because the user in question commented "EVERYTHING IS BRITTANA AND NOTHING HURTS." This speaks to the way in which this video not only transmits the message that these two are together, and happy, but that the performance in question is indeed a flagship moment for fans of the couple. The style of language used here ("everything is X and nothing hurts") is one frequently seen on tumblr, usually in a situation where a character or characters in a fandom are experiencing turmoil at the present moment in the show and fans are retrospectively searching for happier moments

Heyyouwiththeflashingsmile. "Heather and Naya Interview". *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 05 Oct. 2011. Web. 09 Sept. 2014. <a href="http://heyyouwiththeflashingsmile.tumblr.com/post/11067592138/heather-post/11

The progression of the Brittana relationship led to many fans posting about their personal lives in relation to the couple. One (now defunct) tumblr blog showcases the impact this representation has had on the queer community within the Brittana fandom. Brittanagivesmehope was a tumblr blog that allowed people to anonymously send in their reasons for shipping Brittana, and how the couple had an impact on them. ¹¹⁴ One user wrote that "Brittana showed me what love should look like", indicating that out of all the representations of love on television, this specific queer pairing showed at least one fan what love could be.

Another example of the impact this couple has had can be found in the 'Save Brittana' project, the video for which opens up with that now legendary line "sex is not dating". 115 Organized by Hungarian tumblr user maresska, this fan video not only details moments the couple shared throughout the first three seasons of the show, it gives fan testimony to the impact this couple had on the lives of fans. What began as a movement in resistance to the couple's onscreen split quickly became an example of the way in which lines uttered can be used by a fandom to put across the message that Brittana are more than just a couple, but also are a beacon of hope. Despite the decrease in

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naya-interview>.The user mentioned above also reblogged this post, in which an interview with Naya Rivera and Heather Morris (Santana and Brittany) is transcribed and they discuss how important the representation they provide is to people who watch the show.

¹¹⁴ Brittanagivesmehop. "Brittanagivesmehope.tumblr.com." Way Back When Machine, Way Back When Machine, Web. 20 Aug. 2014.

https://web.archive.org/web/20140820210903/http://brittanagivesmehope.tumblr.com. Unfortunately the nature of tumblr means that when a user deletes their blog, or changes their username the posts they have are at risk of being removed from the site. By using the web archive it becomes possible to see at two of these posts.

¹¹⁵ LittleFiercely. "The "Save Brittana" Project Video (Reuploaded) OFFICIAL." Online Video Clip. *Youtube*. Youtube, 29 Dec 2013. Web. 02 Nov 2014.

viewership *Glee* has suffered, the one thing that has not changed is the way in which this fandom has persisted. These fans are not just from North America, but exist all over the world, and thanks to tumblr they have been able to get in contact with one another, speak to one another, and share their stories. One girl from Hungary brought together fans from as far away as Argentina, China, and Australia to try and get across the message that this couple gives people hope to real people. The final minutes of the fan video includes a detailed testimonial from 'Lola'. She attempted to take her own life. As the video plays, the audience learns that "this story about two best friends in love with each other" helped her to fight for the people she loves, "Brittana saved me". After Lola we meet Amanda Ortiz, who held onto Brittana when she felt the world was falling apart: they reminded her that "everything gets better". In the final part of the video we meet Maris aka Maresska, the person who created the savebrittana project. Her story is similar to Lola's. She felt she couldn't live in a world where she struggled to find her place and find love, and then she found Brittana; the couple helped her find 'real love for myself'. Maris' struggle as a queer woman to find her place, to fit in, is undoubtedly one of many within the fandom. The couple gives courage to people who are in the closet, as indicated in the video and in the posts found on tumblr. The SaveBrittana project is one of the more emotional posts to be found on the net about the couple, but I believe it speaks volumes about the importance of this couple in queer fandom, and fandom as a whole.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q188DWA4Pdg.

AfterEllen sums up the importance of Santana and her queer journey in their recap of "I Kissed a Girl."

In ten years, the gay teenagers who stuck with this show — whether they knew they were gay or not, whether they were out of the closet or not — will remember what it was like to watch Kurt come out to his father, to watch Santana come out to her grandmother, to watch Kurt and Santana's friends accept and adore them, to watch them fall in love. For lots and lots and lots of people, this will be the very first time they ever see themselves reflected on a screen, and they will store those images up and treasure them in the[sic] hearts for always.¹¹⁶

Brittana makes visible the romantic relationship between queer women, a crucial intervention in an NBC/broadcast network season that had on 3.3% LGBT+ characters. Santana especially carries the burden of representation as a queer Latina woman. The GLAAD statistics for LGBT+ representation have only marginally improved since *Glee* began: 3.9% of scripted regulars are LGBT+. Of the scripted regulars in primetime broadcasts in 2014 (*Glee*'s 5th season year), 27% are people of color, an improvement on previous years. In the years that will follow *Glee's* end it is difficult to imagine that

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¹¹⁶Hogan, Heather. "Glee Episode 307 Recap". *After Ellen*. TotallyHer Media, 30 Nov. 2011. Web. 08 Jan. 2015. http://www.afterellen.com/tv/94296-glee-episode-307-recap-i-kissed-a-girl-sort-of/5.

¹¹⁷GLAAD. "GLAAD's Where We Are on TV Report 2014." *GLAAD*. GLAAD. ,30 Sept. 2014. Web. 12 Jan. 2015. http://www.glaad.org/whereweareontv14>.

The number of LGBT+ scripted regulars was at a high of 4.4% in 2012. This has dropped since. ¹¹⁸ GLAAD. "2014 Where We Are On TV". *GLAAD*. GLAAD, 30 Sept. 2014. Web. 17 Dec. 2014. http://www.glaad.org/files/GLAAD-2014-WWAT.pdf.

The 2014 GLAAD report indicates that representation of people of color on television has

the Brittana fandom will cease to exist. Other fandoms exist far beyond a show's original run (The Xena: Warrior Princess fandom still exists as does the Buffy the Vampire Slayer fandom) so why wouldn't the Brittana fandom? The way in which these characters and this pairing has shaped the lives of real people leads me to believe that even though the show may die, the fandom will live on. Buffy still has active message boards, as detailed in Gatson's "Self-Naming Practices on the Internet", whilst Pullen's work "I Love-Xena.com", published in 2000, is just as relevant now for many reasons not least of which is that the show has a still active fanforum in xena.yuku.com and a tumblr blog dedicated to reasons why the show is still loved. 119120

In a fandomforequality and theboxscene tumblr crosspost we discover Ashley's story. 121 Santana was the trigger for Ashley realizing her sexuality was perfectly normal, she provides further testimony to the longevity of the impact Santana Lopez and Brittana has had. "Representation can spark amazing things and bring out the best in people. I can attest to this because Santana Lopez, a loud-mouth (I mean that in the best way) lesbian from the FOX hit Glee, showed me who I am and am meant to be while looking gorgeous doing it." Even if that representation begins as subtext, it still has an impact. Queers strain to see themselves in the media and sometimes that requires a queer reading

improved, but the representation of LGBT+ people is still lower than the 2012 high, but higher than the 3.3% of 2013.

¹¹⁹ Xena Online Community Forums. Yuko. Web. 20 Jul 1999. http://xena.yuku.com/>. This site is still running after more than 15th years, there are posts from 2015 indicating it is still being used by fans of the show.

Whywelovexena. *Tumblr*. Tumblr, Web. 15 Jan. 2015. <whywelovexena.tumblr.com/>.

¹²¹ Theboxscene. "Girl on Fire: How Santana Inspired Me". *Tumblr*. Tumblr,15 Feb. 2014. Web. 14 Sept. 2014. . This post provides access to Ashley's story; it received 13notes, and provides

of moments between characters. Brittana is a different take on this kind of representation because those queered moments were validated by the couple becoming canon. That kind of representation matters because it could lead to fans declaring their own sexualities "proudly so".

a link to fandomforequality.com where users can testify to the impact fandom representation has

CHAPTER IV

THE CANONICALLY QUEER & PRETTY LITTLE LIARS

"Paige McCullers: If I say it, out loud...If I say "I'm gay", the whole world is gonna change

Emily Fields: Yeah, It will."

Pretty Little Liars, Season 1, Episode 20. 122

Heteronormativity is a way that society strips power from those who identify as queer: it pushes them back into closets until they submit to the majority's view that cis-gendered heterosexuality is the right and normal way to live your life. Heteronormativity thus places anything queer—anything in the LGBT+ spectrum—as other or marginalized. This chapter takes Paige McCullers and Emily Fields, who are characters on the television show *Pretty Little Liars*, mark the queer identity in society and resist the heteronormative oppression that often leads to erasure (or re-closeting). I will be looking at how the performances of Paige and Emily generate affect and identification, paying particular attention to how this is demonstrated on tumblr.

Paige and Emily maintain their own individual queer identities; they also have a joint identity in the form of a ship-'Paily'. This particular ship is textually canon, as is the queerness of both the women. *Pretty Little Liars* has a large number of viewers

had on their lives.

¹²² "Someone To Watch Over Me." *Pretty Little Liars*. Writ. Joseph Dougherty. ABC Family. 07 Mar. 2011. Television.

considering its content and network.¹²³ The power of that representation for the queer community is one that cannot be ignored¹²⁴, especially considering the target demographic. The 18-24 demographic has the most active social media presence. Queer characters visible in the eyes of this group can be hugely influential. They are seen by a younger community that is often more vocal online and also likely to be the ones affected more by what they are witnessing.

Paige McCullers is a teenage athlete. She is smart, pretty, and ultimately a goodhearted person. She is not someone who is easily erased, nor is she someone who is easily silenced. Heteronormative society generally grants those last two characteristics to those who are not queer. When Paige steps out of the closet and identifies herself as queer, she challenges the heteronormative to erase her, silence her, and closet her. The heteronormative fails because she remains on the show, queer and proud. This happens because her actions started a chain of events that led to blog posts and tumblr

¹²³Seidman, Robert. "Monday Cable Ratings." *TVbytheNumbers*. Zap2it, 08 Mar. 2011. Web. 13 Oct. 2014. . *Pretty Little Liars* used to air Monday's at 8/7C and was (and still is) popular with the 18-24 demographic. This is important when looking at the impact the pairing can have amongst the LGBT+ community. The 18-24 demographic contains some of the most at risk members of the LGBT+ community, members at risk of being kicked out when they come out, winding up homeless, or contemplating suicide.

¹²⁴ Minister-for-femslash. "Gay Visibility and Pretty Little Liars or Why Paige McCullers is the Most Important Character on Television." *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 22 Sept. 2013. Web. 12 Jan. 2014. http://minister-for-Femslash.tumblr.com//post/32051873627/gay-visibility-and-pretty-little-liars-or-why-paige.

Minister-for-Femslash's post about Paige McCullers coming out. This particular post has 396 notes and was also reblogged by afterellen.com's tumblr.

¹²⁵ Williamsl. "Ladies Who Need More Love: Paige McCullers (Pretty Little Liars)." *Fandom For Equality*. WordPress, 05 Sept. 2014. Web. 05 Jan. 2015.

http://fandomforequality.com/2014/09/05/ladies-who-need-more-love-paige-mccullers-pretty-

posts. She resists the silence whilst allowing others to use her to resist too. Emily Fields is a teenage athlete and a woman of color who strives to do the best in all aspects of her life. She works hard to balance work, school, and swimming, her chosen sport. Outside the plot driven leaps of faith required by *Pretty Little Liars*, she and Paige both represent the average teenage girl rather truthfully.

This first blog post is an example of how important queering characters that can easily be identified with can be. The fact that the relationship these characters has is not hidden behind subtext but rather it is present and prevalent in the shows canon is the reason why this post exists.

"I was completely alone." Four words. Four words that seem so simple, so inconsequential, but when put into the context of the scene are essential for an in-depth and accurate reading of Paige's character. The scene itself; where Paige confesses to Emily that a mixture of her own self-loathing and Alison's torment resulted in her engaging in acts of self-harm (what form her self-harm took is not mentioned) and contemplating suicide, is one of the most heartbreaking scenes in Pretty Little Liars history. But it's also one of the most important, not just because it explains who Paige was and what she was feeling during her Season 1 arc, but because the phrase "I was completely alone" can resonate so

little-liars/>. This post puts Paige as 6th on their "Ladies Who Need More Love" list. They cite fan hatred for the character, and go into the homophobia that has been directed her way.

The above quote demonstrates the act of identification, whilst also being an example of the ways in which Paige McCullers' actions can serve to hail members of the queer and potentially queer community. Viewers who are watching the show may end up asking themselves why they feel isolated, or why when they watched season 1 that Paige and her obvious crush on Emily stuck out to them. It's because they see their journey being played out on television. The blog post where this appears is a site of self identification, and a place where one's queerness can be discovered, affirmed or questioned for the very first time. Tumble's tagging system means that any blogger who searched the 'Paige McCullers' tag, or the 'Paily' tag would see this post. Given the viewership of Pretty Little Liars and their unapologetic encouragement of social media use as a way for fans to talk to one another, it stands to reason that there may be fans of the show seeing that post and for the first time wondering why they connect so much to Paige's journey, or why it is they ship 'Paily' so fiercely. The show encourages users to tweet with hastags, drawing together a twitter community, and the show's writers and creator have acknowledged that they often look at online sites in order to gage the viewers opinion. This stresses to viewers just how important social media is to the show, and therefore encourages them to take to it.

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¹²⁶ Minister-for-femslash. "Gay Visibility and Pretty Little Liars or Why Paige McCullers is the Most Important Character on Television." *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 22 Sept. 2013. Web. 12 Jan. 2014. http://minister-for-Femslash.tumblr.com//post/32051873627/gay-visibility-and-pretty-little-liars-or-why-paige.

It would be reductionist to suggest that all fans of a queer ship are themselves queer. I do believe there is evidence within posts on tumblr that characters like Emily and Paige help others discover and come to terms with their own queerness. On tumblr, fans of the show can read about and reblog the stories of others who have put that process into words. It provides tangible proof that this kind of coming out to oneself happens. If a user posts about Paige in a positive light it can be said that they agreeing with the representation of the queerness of Paige McCullers or Emily Fields. This agreement can be explicit or subtle. A user reblogging a post with these sentiments can be said to be agreeing with the representation too. This, it can be argued, creates a microcommunity of resistance against hegemonic, heteronormative structures fans encounter offline. These fans and users of tumblr can all communicate with each other and form groups online, visible in the notes section of whilstestop-cafe's post where it shows that user called Minister-for-femslash reblogged the original post. ¹²⁷ The power of this post is shown not only in the act of reblogging, but in the fact that minister-for-femslash wrote that first post about Paige McCullers coming out. ¹²⁸ Aesthetically there is nothing too enticing about the way the resistance to the heteronormative is displayed in these posts. Both are text heavy with no pictures or other visuals; they rely entirely upon users

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¹²⁷Minister-for-femslash "Why people like Paige McCullers?." *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 19 Dec. 2012. Web. 01 Jan. 2014. http://minister-for Femslash.tumblr.com/post/38301581116/why-people-like-paige-mccullers. Minister-for-femslash's reblogged post

¹²⁸Minister-for-femslash. "Gay Visibility and Pretty Little Liars or Why Paige McCullers is the Most Important Character on Television." *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 22 Sept. 2013. Web. 12 Jan. 2014. http://minister-for-Femslash.tumblr.com//post/32051873627/gay-visibility-and-pretty-little-liars-or-why-paige.

being drawn in by the mention of Paige McCullers and/or AfterEllen. ¹²⁹ This in itself gives further credence to the power of the characters and their identification as queer.

J. L. Austin defines a perforative utterance as something that does what is says; it is not true or false but has consequences that reach beyond the end of the sentence in which it appears. 130 Peggy Phelan expands on this by suggesting that the utterance makes real what is lost; it remembers. ¹³¹ The first blog post demonstrates both ideas. Paige McCullers performs through utterances, inspiring others to perform the same or similar utterances themselves, using tumblr to do so. The performatives in this case act as a way to mark the character as being against the social norms, despite their appearances. Like Jill Dolan's concept of utopian performatives, this one disrupts heteronormativity. The utopian performative is the ideal, it is the narrative we wish to see. She suggests theatre is a kind of performative that "in their doing, make[s] palpable an affective vision of how the world might be better". 132 The utterance carries the power to affect change after it has been performed. It disrupts. The queer utterance is unique in that makes real a person's non heteronormativity, and this announcement can often surprise others. As such, it disrupts their view on the world. The person they know hasn't changed, but they have revealed through an utterance a part of themselves previously hidden. The performative utterance here is one that is said when someone is

¹²⁹ After Ellen Staff. "2012 Visibility Awards." AfterEllen. TotallyHer Media, 03 Jan. 2013. Web. 13 Oct. 2014. http://www.afterellen.com/2012-visibility-awards-results/01/2013/. AfterEllen a popular queer focused popular culture website. Paige McCullers went on to win the Visibility Award for favourite lesebian/bi tv character

Austin, J. L. How to do Things with Words. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1962. Print.
 Pollock, Della. "Performance Trouble." The Sage Handbook of Performance Studies. Eds.
 D.Soyini. Madison and Judith Hamera. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2006. 6. Print.

leaving the closet, at that moment when they have to disclose their sexuality. It makes real their sexuality, whilst simultaneously being imbued with the hope that the person uttering it will be accepted for who they truly are.

"And then she said a sentence that was exactly what I was feeling back then: "If I say it out loud... If I say 'I'm gay'... The whole world's gonna change." I believe that all of us who hid (or have been hiding) in the closet for a long time can relate to this fear of the world changing just because we dared to say something so personal, so fundamental, so... true. If this sentence isn't relatable in the least to you, you are one of those lucky ones who have always been out, since childhood or you aren't gay at all." 133

By opening her post with comments about identification Whistlestop-cafe opened up the conversation about how identification can make one character more important than another. This could because the viewer in question is wrestling with their sexuality and that character is too. It hails people who are struggling or have struggled with identifying where they fit on the LGBT+ spectrum, and in society as a whole. Mentioning Paige works similarly. It hails people who have found themselves interested by her character.

¹³² Dolan, Jill. *Utopia in Performance: Finding Hope at the Theater*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2005. Print.

¹³³Whistlestop-cafe. "Why people like Paige McCullers?" *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 19 Dec. 2012. Web. 23 Sept. 2014.http://whistlestop-cafe.tumblr.com/post/38298851986/why-people-like-paige-mccullers.

This particular post has 44 notes – that is 44 reblogs/likes, however it was reblogged by afterellen.com's tumblr which means it can be reasonably said that the amount of people who viewed this may be higher than the notes suggest.

The hailing opens the door for the content of the post to seep through and reach anyone who then reads it, it allows the power of the post to have a chance to spread and reach more people. Dana Piccoli's "My advice for Paige McCullers" demonstrates how this hailing works. ¹³⁴ This post indicates that the author has not only identified with Paige, but also recognizes that Paige is a character others can identify with. They have been hailed and are in turn hailing the queer community.

The scenes with Paige that these posts have identified are quieter than most 'coming out scenes' on television. I believe it is this that makes it a more powerful act of hailing, one that can stand the test of time. The conflict Paige is feeling in regards to her sexuality is an intensely private affair. To witness this on screen is to witness something most people in society do not get to see. The show does a great job of building up the affect of the scene, indicating the power "I'm gay" can have despite it being a two word sentence. Giving weight to the sentence (and thus the coming out process) conveys the milestone-like nature of this performative act. Paige visibly struggles with saying the words; the audience is almost voyeuristic in their witnessing of the discussion between Emily and Paige. When she finally utters the phrase, Paige cannot be unlabeled; in much the same way real people who have come out and identified themselves as queer can't. She stepped out in front of witnesses; the scene is available to watch on Netflix whenever the audience wishes. Once real queers have stepped out of the proverbial closet, they are marked as other and promptly erased/made invisible by most of society.

¹³⁴Danapiccoli. "My advice for Paige McCullers." *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 12 Mar. 2014. Web. 06 Jun. 2013. http://danapiccoli.tumblr.com/post/79367224829/my-advice-for-paige-mccullers. This post has 171 notes

This is why this moment holds so much power and can be seen as resistance to the heteronormative. By stating her queerness, Paige as a fictional character cannot be recloseted. Her act is archived for all to see and refer back to. It is citable. In real life many experience coming out as a constant process. 135 There are always people you have to come out to; family, friends, someone you are interested in, etc. For Paige that is less of an issue; she doesn't have to keep coming out since her act is permanent. It is considered unnecessary in the fictional world of *Pretty Little Liars* to have her keep coming out, since those that need to (viewers) already know. "I'm gay" in this context is not just coming out to be forced back in; it is coming out to stay out. The moment is forever captured on film, giffed and posted on tumblr, and entered onto the show's fanwiki page. There is no misreading of what Paige meant, no possibility for it to be written off as being subtextual or made up by queer viewers. Paige McCullers is gay. Real life coming out moments can be dismissed or written off by those witnessing it as a passing phase. There are no gifs of a person coming out, or in depth analyses written about someone's facial expression when they do. The coming out moment of a person can be erased in a way the coming out of a fictional character cannot. The coming out process in real life is on-going.

Paige coming out is cemented online by way of blog posts about the scenes and characters. Though Paige McCullers' statement is explicit, I argue reflects de Certeau's notion of tactic. De Certeau's tactic is one where a reader "invents in the text something

¹³⁵ Hurst, Biz. "Why 'Coming Out' Is A Way Of Life Rather Than A Moment In Time." *The Huffington Post.* AOL, 14 Oct. 2013. Web. 12 Jan. 2015.

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/10/14/coming-out-way-of-life_n_4097732.html.

different from what they [the authors] 'intended'" (169). The intention is explicit in this case—there is no mistaking the quiet heaviness of "I'm gay"—and the depth in which the users who wrote these texts posts go into that line and its delivery is definitely tactical in nature. De Certeau asserts that readers poach texts. Minister-for-femslash and whistlestop-cafe have added depth to the scene and line's meaning in order to create a connection to Paige McCullers, one arguably stronger than the writers and the actors originally intended, and only post-airing realized they had created. Lindsay Shaw, who plays Paige, stated "That scene. I had no idea that scene was going to become what it was. At that point, I don't think I had a full understanding of how important it was for people to see that kind of coming out, how important Paige would be to people." ¹³⁶ The affect generated by that performative act allowed fans to identify so clearly with Paige, and overcome the dominant heteronormativity seen so frequently on television.

In *Digital Fandom*, Paul Booth states that a "fan externalizes her own feelings, her own sense of self, and inscribes these feelings into an external source, the extant media character". ¹³⁷ In the case of Paige McCullers' coming out, the fan in this case has (or is) internalizing their own feelings and sense of self due to the dominance of the heteronormative. They see these feelings inscribed on an extant character, in this case Paige McCullers or both Emily and Paige. By having these feelings and therefore sense of self, be made visible by Paige the fan is able to externalize their thoughts and self

¹³⁶Hogan, Heather. "EXCLUSIVE: Lindsey Shaw: "Shay and I Are the Biggest Paily Shippers of All Time!"" *AfterEllen*. TotallyHer Media, 12 Jul. 2013. Web. 14 Oct.

^{2015.&}lt;a href="http://www.afterellen.com/exclusive-lindsey-shaw-shay-and-i-are-the-biggest-paily-shippers-of-all-time/07/2013/">http://www.afterellen.com/exclusive-lindsey-shaw-shay-and-i-are-the-biggest-paily-shippers-of-all-time/07/2013/>.

¹³⁷ Booth, Paul. *Digital fandom: New Media Studies*. New York: Peter Lang, 2010. Print.

through the use of tumblr. They are inspired to look closer at themselves and their own feelings, to question their queerness. Not only does the tumblr fan see Paige and Emily they also see, by way of those text posts, their internalized feelings being vocalized by a fellow user, they see their self and feelings being explained when they could not do so themselves. Through the act of reblogging they are claiming their feelings. The performance makes visible the invisible.

Minister-for-femslash states that:

I can remember feeling the same way Paige did when I realised I was gay. I remember the anger at being different, the fear that people would find out. Most importantly I remember the longing for it not to be true, and the lengths I went to make sure that nobody suspected, the lies I told and the mask I wore to hide who I really was. ¹³⁸

This advances Booth's work, in which the fan is able to identify the externalization that they're experiencing with the extant media character. That identification and the internalization of the self is precisely why Paige is such a powerful character. This scene closes off the heteronormative naysayers whilst hailing those who are most in need of seeing the heteronormative smashing contents of the scene. Minister-for-femslash felt they had to hide because of the heteronormative social norms represented on most television shows. Paige shows this same thought process, uses that same performative,

¹³⁸ Minister-for-femslash. "Gay Visibility and Pretty Little Liars or Why Paige McCullers is the Most Important Character on Television." *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 22 Sept. 2013. Web. 12 Jan. 2014.

and becomes happy with who she is and what she identifies with: her narrative is therefore so important to these users, and to society.

Tumblr is the site where fans can work out their identities in a safe place. They can anonymously blog about how they identify with Paige or other characters. They can explore female queerness by reblogging posts about 'Paily'. Due to the nature of this corner of tumblr it is not assumed that all fans of the pairing are queer, thus it is possible for fans to explore without having to worry about being labeled, even online. Emily Field's coming out was a major event because she is a main character on the show, but Paige's coming out is arguably more important because of the character's history of self-hate. She isn't just a two dimensional queer love interest for Emily, or a ratings ploy. She is fleshed out. Fans are being shown that there are people creating shows that understand that each person's individual story matters. Fans see themselves in Paige, they see themselves in Paily's story arc, it is their lives being alluded to on screen and their struggles that large audiences are in some way bearing witness to.

Nowhere is the identification of the self more apparent in the case of Paige McCullers/Paily than in minister-for-femslash's post: "In many ways, I was Paige. I've been where she was and I've come through the other side. I know that things can get better, that just because there are idiots and bigots in the world doesn't mean that there's something wrong with me. But there are people who don't know this, who don't know

 $< http://minister-for\ -Femslash.tumblr.com//post/32051873627/gay-visibility-and-pretty-little-liars-or-why-paige>.$

that things can get better. Characters like Paige McCullers can show them."¹³⁹ Not only are they stating that they identify with Paige and her struggles, but they are also stating that they are aware of how much Paige's journey means to others too. They are not an isolated example as the number of posts makes clear.

The amount of queer characters on television is increasing, ¹⁴⁰ but recent figures show that that number lies well below what it should to be considered an accurate representation of the United States of America. ¹⁴¹ The power of representation here shows just how important that 3.3% is, and why it is necessary to increase it to a figure more representative of real life. The identification with queer characters provides those who need it with a set of behaviors they can use in their everyday lives. If they are struggling with coming out to their parents, experiencing self-hatred as a result of the realization that they are queer, or even being bullied, the characters they see can allow them to exert some form of power over their situation by giving them tools they can use to help them cope.

The National Bureau of Economic Research recently published a paper that concluded that "it is perceived as socially undesirable both to be open about being gay,

¹³⁹ Minister-for-femslash. "Gay Visibility and Pretty Little Liars or Why Paige McCullers is the Most Important Character on Television." *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 22 Sept. 2013. Web. 12 Jan. 2014. http://minister-for-Femslash.tumblr.com//post/32051873627/gay-visibility-and-pretty-little-liars-or-why-paige.

¹⁴⁰ GLAAD. "Where We Are on TV Report 2013." *GLAAD*. GLAAD, 10 Oct. 2013. Web. 13 Oct. 2014. http://www.glaad.org/whereweareontv13>.

Currently 3.3% of all broadcast, scripted television characters are LGBT+ identifying.

¹⁴¹Coffman, Katherine, Lucas Coffman, and Keith Ericson. "The Size of the LGBT Population and the Magnitude of Anti-Gay Sentiment are Substantially Underestimated (Working paper no.19508)." NBER. the National Bureau of Economic Research, Oct. 2013. Web. 14 Oct. 2014. http://www.nber.org/papers/w19508.pdf>.

This paper puts the number at just under 20% of the population

and to be unaccepting of gay individuals" by social norms. 142 Queer characters act as modes of resistance to this discourse. They force people to reconcile that a larger percentage of the population is queer than previously thought, even though it's just 3.3% of characters that 3.3% is important in doing this. It also means that the power the character of Paige McCullers has is greater than originally believed. By saying "I'm Gay" Paige is putting herself out there to be the queer population and striking against the social norms. She occupies that 20%. Emily Fields, the other half of the Paily couple, adds strength to. She not only is out for the queer population as a whole to see but she is also a face for queer people of color. The visibility of Emily Fields as a queer person of color gains greater impact when the audience sees her parents. Shay Mitchell has a Filipino mother, something the show emulates with the casting of Nia Peeples as Pam Fields, Emily's mother, who herself is of Filipino descent. Hardward Emily's father on the show is played by Eric Steinberg who has a Korean mother and mixed European father. 145 Emily Fields is therefore a huge beacon of visibility for people of color, and queer people of color.

 $^{^{142}}$ IBID

¹⁴³ "PLL' Star Celebrates Being Half-Filipino." *Yahoo News Philippines*. Yahoo, 18 Dec. 2012. Web. 15 Oct. 2014. < https://ph.news.yahoo.com/pll-star-celebrates-being-half-filipino-044535338.html>.

^{144 &}quot;Nia Peeples 2003 Philippine Daily Inquirer Interview - Fame Episode Guide." Interview. *The Kids From Fame Media Blog.* Google, 08 Aug. 2009. Web. 20 Oct. 2014. https://sites.google.com/site/fametvseriesepisodeguide/Home/interviews/nia-peeples-2003-philippine-daily-inquirer-interview>.

Unavailable online except through this blog, the interview was published here online by site owner Mark Perkins. The interview is from Nia Peeples' 2003 interview with the Philippine Daily Inquirer.

¹⁴⁵ "Mixed Metaphors: An Interview with Eric D. Steinberg." *UCLA International Institute*. University of California, 26 May 2005. Web 20 Oct. 2014.< http://www1.international.ucla.edu/article.asp?parentid=24752>.

As noted above, around 20% and 31-40% are queer people of color. ¹⁴⁶¹⁴⁷ The numbers seen here bolster the impact that Emily Fields could have as a queer person of color. To see her strive through adversity, to come out to her parents and friends, and to ignore the stigma that could come with being an openly gay student athlete is something fans of the show get to experience when watching. Emily Fields' ethnicity is not irrelevant.

Tumblr has a vast network of blogs and users; you don't have to watch a show to have a post with content appear on your dashboard. All it takes is for someone you follow to reblog a picture of Emily and Paige for you to be exposed to the pairing. If a potentially queer woman of color see this it is not too absurd to believe that they might want to seek out more information about someone on mainstream television with which they could identify. The might check out more posts about them using the tags, and even decide to watch the show.

Emily Fields provides audience members, who otherwise may have had to disidentify, with someone to identify with as a queer woman of color. Tumblr as a site of identity negotiation provides viewers with a space to discuss this identification. Paige McCullers acts in a similar way, allowing users to use her to form their own identities as queer individuals and resist heteronormativity. As a couple these two characters have a

¹⁴⁶ Coffman, Katherine, Lucas Coffman, and Keith Ericson. "The Size of the LGBT Population and the Magnitude of Anti-Gay Sentiment are Substantially Underestimated (Working paper no.19508)." *NBER*. the National Bureau of Economic Research, Oct. 2013. Web. 14 Oct. 2014. http://www.nber.org/papers/w19508.pdf>.

Schlesinger, Robert. "U.S. Population 2013: More Than 315 Million People." US News.
 U.S.News & World Report, 28 Dec. 2012. Web. 20 Oct. 2014.

< http://www.usnews.com/opinion/blogs/robert-schlesinger/2012/12/28/us-population-2013-more-than-315-million-people>.

chance to potentially influence a great number of people not only as the show airs but also as the scenes are giffed, analyzed, dissected and stripped down by tumblr users who have followers of their own. If just one person who has not seen *Pretty Little Liars* comes across whistlestop-cafe or minister-for-femslash's posts, and finds traces of themselves they can identify with, then that is potentially one extra person resisting the heteronormative, being able to proudly declare they are a queer woman of color, or proudly queer. Furthermore, even if the person is not queer there is no reason to believe that they may not become an "ally" to the cause. ¹⁴⁸ An ally would likely voice their opinions to others who may not have heard of Paige McCullers or Emily Fields. They have the potential to inspire identification and resistance in people beyond the immediate reach of the show and even beyond the immediate reach of the posts.

By stepping out of the closet, both Emily Fields and Paige McCullers identified themselves as queer characters in a world dominated by heteronormativity. They realize and then perform their queerness for the audience. In doing so, Emily and Paige create an affect amongst the audience that allows them to identify within them aspects of themselves. They empower others with that ability. Some audience members are so empowered that they take to the tumblr to sieve through their emotions, and hers, vocalizing their own queerness in the process and thus resisting the heteronormative too. This is evidenced in Minister-for-Femslash's post whose analysis of Paige concludes

¹⁴⁸ LGBT Terms and Definitions." *International+LGBT At the University Of Michigan*. University of Michigan, Web. 13 Oct. 2014. http://internationalspectrum.umich.edu/life/definitions.

[&]quot;Ally: An ally is a person who is a member of the dominant group who works to end oppression

with their identification as a queer individual. They felt the same way Paige did when they realized they were gay. The felt strongly enough about this moment that they posted about it and this can lead to others doing the same thing through the act of reblogging the Minister-for-femslash's post. This allows us to categorize tumblr, Emily Fields, and Paige McCullers as sites where the performance of resistance occurs. Power is situated in the way in which Emily and Paige can open up the closet for other people to step through, their visibility acts as beacon for others to look towards and see hope. Through their visibility they fight against the bigotry and homophobia that is a social norm — "there are people that don't know this, who don't know that things can get better. Characters like Paige McCullers can show them." Resisting the oppressive force of the majority Emily and Paige allow others to see that there is a way to exist in the world, that you are remembered and that you are not powerless or forgotten, you are represented and you matter, and to that potential 20% of the population, who are forced into searching out television for their current 3.3% representation. That means a lot.

in his or her own personal and professional life by supporting and advocating with the oppressed population."

Minister-for-femslash "Why people like Paige McCullers?." *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 19 Dec. 2012. Web. 01 Jan. 2014. http://minister-for Femslash.tumblr.com/post/38301581116/why-people-like-paige-mccullers.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Legend of Korra has rallied fans to call for greater representation on television in the year 2015. It ended its run with two female characters walking off, hand in hand, together. Korra and Asami gave queer, female orientated, fandoms something they had been crying out for in the wake decreased representation on television. Visibility. One user went so far as to call it "revolutionary". ¹⁵⁰

Queer representation in the media has been one of the biggest criticisms leveled against television in the 20th century. The GLAAD report does have an impact on the executive decisions made, and positive representation is lauded by LGBT+ media. Television shows like *Glee* and *Pretty Little Liars* have been acknowledged in the media for their work in representing the queer community, but little acknowledgement is given directly to the fans of the show. Those that participate in fandom are often over looked for the work they do in building a safe community for people who are queer, or think they may be queer. Fandom has a huge presence online. Its ability to generate content is astounding, and the reach that content has is almost impossible to calculate. Fanfiction can have thousands of readers; fan art, fan mixes, fan videos, meta based essays, and gif sets all add to that reach. What has advanced in the 8 years since tumblr was launched is

¹⁵⁰ Magnificent-vennificus. *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 09 Feb. 2015. Web. 09 Feb. 2015 http://magnificent-vennificus.tumblr.com/post/106922803379/korra-made-a-amazing-entrance-but-made-a. This post has 6200 notes, and includes a gif of the final moment of the series in which Korra and Asami enter the spirit world together.

the ability of content to be easily disseminated to a larger amount of people than ever before. The reason for that advancement is tumblr.

Self identity is boosted when the subtext of a show advances to canon; when the interpretation of a queer fandom has been acknowledged as correct by the writer/creators of a show. This affirmation carries a weight. It signals to outside the fandom that their interpretation of what they were watching was correct. Quinn Fabray is queer, Santana Lopez and Brittany are romantically involved, Paige McCullers is queer and very much interested in Emily Fields.

This kind of identification is important. The work the LGBT+ community has done in order to create awareness of the issues facing its members has grown in recent years, but there is still work to be done. Television shows provide a way for this community to be seen by a larger audience. It can make a sweeping statement to millions in one single episode, reaching people who may never have previously considered queerness in such a direct or deep way.

Throughout this thesis I explored how tumblr works as a site of generative autobiography through bloggers' use of fandom characters and relationships. I also looked at how fandoms are used as a way to assemble and display the self. I believe the first aspect is very much apparent in the posts I have analyzed. The use of personal narrative as a way of negotiating the identity of a fictional character tells us that the user in question feels that resonance, that sense of comradeship between themselves and the life they are watching on screen. They are also looking at the specific journey each of these characters are going on, their reasoning behind the characters choices in the

narrative and even going as far as to look at the choices not on screen. In the case of subtext this can be the choice to repress, and even if that is the user's own interpretation it still carries weight. It tells us that regardless of whether it is canon or subtext a character's decisions can be relatable. What matters most is how that impacts or speaks to the users sense self.

The self becomes both the lens through which these characters are viewed, even unwittingly the aspect of the user most affected by the character. Their favourite character is Paige McCullers because they are Paige, a fact that may only come to light in retrospect. Thus, they start identifying with Paige because it is like seeing themselves. Some users may not even figure out that they are empathizing with a character's situation because it is similar to their own until they see a post by another member of the fandom. Their formation of the self thus comes not only from watching the character on screen, but from their participation in the fandom. A user may see a gif set of the moment a character is struck by a realization about their sexuality and they too may be struck with a similar realization. Watching a character you identify with experience something that world changing can provide a language for you to deal with such a thing yourself. Junot Diaz said that "if you want to make a human being into a monster, deny them, at the cultural level, any reflection of themselves". ¹⁵¹ What these shows do, and what the fandoms help assert is that you are not a monster.

¹⁵¹ Donohue, Brian. "Pulitzer Prize-winning Author Junot Diaz Tells Students His Story." *New Jersey Ledger*. New Jersey-Online, 21 Oct. 2009. Web. 03 Feb. 2015. http://www.nj.com/ledgerlive/index.ssf/2009/10/junot_diazs_new_jersey.html.

The way in which characters and fandom can help someone form and negotiate their own identity is an idea that has been around since fandoms first began, and it persists today and will persist into the future. *Legend of Korra* demonstrates a clear synthesis of ideas from all three of the chapters in this thesis. Korrasami is the culmination of subtext entering the canon. It is queer representation, and is made up of two characters that are not white and not clearly marked as queer until the last moments of the show. A four season long build up ended with a series of shots that, to many viewers, made it very clear that Korra had fallen for her best friend Asami, and planned on spending time on vacation exploring their new romantic relationship. The creators of the show went out of the way after it aired to make it very clear to any doubters that Korra and Asami are bisexual and that the buildup shippers saw was indeed intentional. ¹⁵²¹⁵³

The Korrasami relationship becoming canon is a visible example of the way in which the self can be assembled through subtext, then strengthened when the characters are made canon. As well as those moments of self formation that come from seeing posts by other users in the fandom working out their own feelings of the self. It exemplifies all

¹⁵² Bryankonietzko. "Korrasami is Canon." Tumblr. Tumblr, 22 Dec. 2014. Web. 22 Dec. 2014. http://bryankonietzko.tumblr.com/post/105916338157/korrasami-is-canon-you-can-celebrate-it-embrace.

This post by co-creator Bryan Konietzko has 121,331 notes. The opening line states

[&]quot;Korrasami is canon. You can celebrate it, embrace it, accept it, get over it, or whatever you feel the need to do, but there is no denying it."

¹⁵³Michaeldantedimartino. "Korrasami Confirmed". *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 22 Dec. 2014. Web. 22 Dec. 2014. http://michaeldantedimartino.tumblr.com/post/105916326500/korrasami-confirmed-now-that-korra-and-asamis.

This post by co-creator Michael Dante DiMartino has 76210 notes. It states "Our intention with the last scene was to make it as clear as possible that yes, Korra and Asami have romantic feelings for each other."

three of the fandoms in this thesis, and shows that these fandoms are not exceptions to the rule. The queer representation accomplished in these fandoms through subtext and canon has helped many users in their struggle to find their identity. Tumblr becomes a way for them to keep a record of that self identity and to negotiate and wrestle with it. It is a sounding board for their own voice and the voices of others. Tumblr is a site of generative autobiography, and allows for users to fill in aspects of the self they may have never considered, or have found to be at odds with what society expects. It shows them they are not alone, and that it's not just the characters on screen that feel the same way, but there are other users that do too, and these users are found in the fandom.

One tumblr user summed up the importance of this kind of representation in a blog post, and I feel it only fitting that a thesis that aimed to find sites of the recognition and formation of the queer self on tumblr end with a post that textualises the importance of these fandoms and characters:

"We don't get many queer canon couples at all. Not in cinema, not in books, not in television shows, and most certainly not in cartoons.

Heteros? Oh, they are EVERYWHERE. Straight ships as far as the eye can see, and half of the time I can't even understand why the chick ends up with that guy[...]Okay, I get it. You didn't get the hetero-normative pairing that everyone expected. Even I expected it, even though I was praying for Korrasami.[...] We, who typically get dusted under the rug for canon pairings, were for once shown that main characters could love both female and males, and it was okay.[...]So, long story short; cool

off, simmer down, and go back to your countless hundreds of thousands of canon hetero ships. Let us enjoy our queer girls in peace. **We fucking** deserve a happy ending too, you know."154

Whether it *Glee, Pretty Little Liars*, or even a cartoon like *Legend Of Korra*, the televisual representation provides visibility. It presents itself for consumption, from which users mold fragments of the self and use tumblr as a framework on which to lay this ever growing self. What makes tumblr unique is that we can see each stage of the construction, each fandom post, character loved, and small piece of the self identified and stitched on. By excavating tumblr, we can see just how queer fandoms have helped users fill in the self.

¹⁵⁴ Hopelesslyshippingthem. *Tumblr*. Tumblr, 19 Dec 2014. Web. 19 Dec. 2014 http://hopelesslyshippingthem.tumblr.com/post/105644871561/i-see-so-many-people-enraged-by-the-korrasami.

This post by tumblr user hopelesslyshippingthem has 34 notes, and clearly demonstrates the importance that queer couples, both subtextual and canon, hold for users who themselves identify as queer. I have left the bolded emphasis present as it was in the original post as I believe it stresses the feelings of the poster as they originally intended.

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