Expressive character identity of teen lesbian characters
on *Glee & Pretty Little Liars*

Master's thesis

Elisa Rahikainen

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

Tiedekunta – Faculty	Laitos – Department
Humanistis-yhteiskuntatieteellinen tiedekunta	Kieli- ja viestintätieteiden laitos

Tekijä – Author
Elisa Rahikainen

Työn nimi – Title
Expressive character identity of teen lesbian characters on 'Glee' & 'Pretty Little Liars'

Oppiaine – Subject	Työn laji – Level
Englannin kieli	Maisterin tutkielma

Aika – Month and year	Sivumäärä – Number of pages
Lokakuu 2017	97

Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Seksuaalivähemmistöjen asema heteronormatiivisessa yhteiskunnassa on puhututtanut ahkerasti muutaman viime vuosikymmenen aikana. Globaalisti seksuaalivähemmistöjä laajalle yleisölle ovat tehneet tutuiksi populaarikulttuuriset valtavirtasisällöt kuten amerikkalaiset elokuvat ja televisiosarjat. Monet nuoret, jotka vasta rakentavat omaa seksuaali-identiteettiään, ammentavat vaikutteita näistä sisällöistä, erityisesti heidän ikäryhmilleen kohdistetuista tuotannoista kuten nuorten sarjoista. Siten on tarpeellista tutkia seksuaalivähemmistöjä edustavien fiktiivisten hahmojen kokonaisvaltaisia representaatioita suosittujen amerikkalaisten nuorten sarjojen kontekstissa ja päivittää tutkimus 1990-luvulta nykypäivää heijastavaksi.

Tässä tutkielmassa tarkastelun kohteena ovat nuorten sarjoissa *Glee* ja *Valehtelevat viettelijät* (eng. *Pretty Little Liars*) esiintyvät lesbohahmot Santana Lopez ja Emily Fields. Erityisesti havainnoinnin kohteena ovat hahmojen ilmaisulliset identiteetit (expressive character identity), jotka rakentuvat ilmaisullisten keinojen kuten kielen, ilmeiden ja äänenkäytön kautta. Kontekstina näiden ilmaisullisten identiteettien esiintymiselle ovat narratiivit liittyen hahmojen kaapista ulostuloon. Aineistoksi on valittu yhteensä kahdeksan kohtausta, neljä kummastakin sarjasta, käsitellen hahmojen elämiä ennen ulostuloa, ulostulon aikana ja ulostulon jälkeen. Aineistoa tarkastellaan lisäksi queer teorian näkökulmasta keskittyen erityisesti heteronormatiivisuuden ilmentymiseen.

Lopullisten havaintojen perusteella Emilyn ja Santanan hahmot ilmentävät negatiivisia tunteellisia ja asenteellisia ilmaisullisia identiteettejä, jotka rakentuvat erityisesti kielellisten, visuaalisten ja paralingvistisien keinojen myötä. Erityisen huomioitavaa on hahmojen identiteettien kehitys narratiivin edetessä. Esimerkiksi ulostulon jälkeen identiteetit heijastavat päättäväisyyttä ja itsevarmuutta olla oma itsensä. Lisäksi häpeän esiintyminen on vain marginaalisessa osassa, kun puolestaan rehellisyyttä ilmennetään suuressa osassa aineistoa, viitaten pyrkimykseen kertoa avoimesti omista tunteistaan ja seksuaali-identiteetistä tuntematta häpeää. Queer teorian näkökulmasta heteronormatiivisuutta sekä vahvistetaan että haastetaan, mutta homoseksuaalisuus katsotaan lähtökohtaisesti normista poikkeavana.

Asiasanat – Keywords
characterization, media, queer theory, popular culture, TV series

Säilytyspaikka – Depository
JYX

Muita tietoja – Additional information

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

Sexual minorities have slowly begun to establish their position in the globalizing world. In recent years, the community's quest for equality has been fruitful as, for example, marriages between same-sex couples have been legalized in several countries, most notably in the United States of America. However, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender (LGBT) and other sexual minority groups still encounter prejudice, stereotyping and borderline hatred. Thus, not all of the goals of sexual minorities have been reached and the struggle to openly be one self is yet to be over.

The LGBT community's phenomenally expanded presence in the media during the last couple of decades can be argued to have contributed to the community's recent strides for equality. In particular, sexual minority portrayals on broadcast and cable channels on television are more extensive than ever before (GLAAD: Where are we on TV Report 2015). However, popular culture as a commercialized product arguably enforces heteronormative sexuality by representing differing sexualities as *the other* (Pennycook 2007: 82).

It is very common for people to rely on television to show them realistic portrayals of the LGBT community, since for many, television still remains as the window to the world (Gross 1991; Hart 2000; Meyer 2003; Raley and Lucas 2006; Linneman 2008; Frei 2012). Thus, it is important to have representations that offer a multitude of depictions of the LGBT community (Evans 2007: 3). Television is also a medium that has the ability to create "immediate intimacy" so that for many viewers reality and fiction can become intertwined and television can become "the foundation of our shared collective experience" (Anderson-Minshall 2006: 11). Furthermore, as Chambers (2009: 89) suggests, television is an influential aspect of culture that contributes to the challenging and reinforcing of norms. In addition, as argued by Frei (2012: 22) with specific reference to television series and their popularity: "they have the potential to reach a very wide range of people, gain immense publicity, and remain part of social discourse for years." Thus, television series hold significant power over the way people view the world.

A group that, along with the internet, hold television in a prime position in regards to identity building and sociocultural learning are teenagers, many of whom are just discovering their sexual identities. They look to the screen in order to see a reflection of the lives their imaginary peers are leading. Their screens are everywhere – from their mobile phones and tablets to laptops and, occasionally, an actual television screen. The

transition from a child to a teenager, and eventually to an adult is an arduous task, where figuring out and constructing one's identity are crucial but necessary tasks. This must be done in a way that allows one to "fit in" and "belong", which often is not accessible to LGBT youth (Pullen 2014: 9). Thus, the narratives that television series following sexual minority characters provide are important for LGBT youth in the sense that they provide hope and understanding in the ways in which one can aspire to belong and fit in.

Fictional television has given media researchers a great deal of ground to cover, from the technical aspects to questions of content, such as narratives, representations and characterization. The latter, in tow with several others, have in some form included examining sexual minority characters, too. However, very little research has so far been conducted on characterization by focusing in the expressivity of characters, the focus of the present study. Expressivity takes into account the overall performance of the character and contributes to the overall characterization and representation.

More specifically, the aim of this study is to examine the expressive character identities of two fictional LGBT characters in coming out narratives on American television series aimed for youth audiences. The characters examined are Emily Fields (Shay Mitchell) from *Pretty Little Liars* (Freeform 2010–2017) and Santana Lopez (Naya Rivera) from *Glee* (FOX 2009–2015). Both characters are lesbian teenagers who go through building their sexual identity in a high school setting. These characters represent sexual minorities in series that are majorly popular among youth audiences, thus, the way the characters are portrayed in their coming out-narratives holds a significant cultural and societal meaning.

In the present study, the expressive character identities and expressive features exhibited by the characters of Emily Fields and Santana Lopez are analyzed. More specifically, the characters' expressive character identities in the context of their coming out-narratives are investigated in scenes placed before, during and after coming out. In tow with the expressive features and identities analyzed, cinematographic features of the scenes are also taken into consideration. Moreover, the nature and subject matter of the scenes are evaluated from a queer theoretical perspective. The overall aim of the analysis is to trace the expressive character identities exhibited in the course of the coming out-narratives of these adolescent lesbian characters.

The study is constructed as follows: first, the theoretical concepts relating to characterization, expressivity, cinematography and queer theory are introduced, followed by an overview of previous studies on LGBT characters on television, relevant

background information on fictional television and the genre of teen drama. Second, the research questions, data and methods of analysis are presented. Third, the analysis of the data is conducted on four scenes of each series, followed by a comparison between the characters. Lastly, the discussion section ties together the present study.

2. Background

In this section, the relevant background information for the present study is presented and discussed. First, the theoretical approach taken in the study – the framework provided by Bednarek's theory on characterization on television series – will be discussed, with particular reference to her concept of expressive character identity. Second, cinematographic elements will be discussed, since these elements will support the analysis of the data. Third, queer theory will be presented as the other significant theoretical framework for the present study. This section will also include an overview on relevant previous studies on fictional LGBT characters with overall representation and presence of LGBT characters on American television. Finally, fictional television will be addressed focusing on the changes in television landscape and the way television is watched. In this section, also the genre of teen drama will be presented.

2.1 Language and characterization of televisual characters

In this section, language and characterization of fictional television characters is discussed following mainly Bednarek's (2010; 2011) views. In addition, also Culpeper's (2001) views on language and characterization are elaborated, since these points can also be applied in the scope of fictional television series. In addition to the introduction of the basic concept of language and characterization, the more specific concept of expressive character identity is introduced. Expressive character identity, a concept introduced by Bednarek (2010), is the cornerstone of analysis in this study. In short, it relates to verbal and nonverbal means for constructing expressive character identities.

Bednarek (2011: 4) examines televisual characterization from three points of view: from the perspective of professional practice, stylistics and media, and television studies. From the point of view of professional practice, i.e. that of scriptwriters, the character is the most valuable aspect of storytelling – without which the story is unable to take form. From their point of view, characters are essential for audience engagement. The professional point of view intertwines with the stylistics point of view – as language is crucial for character formation (Bednarek 2011: 5).

Media studies have often neglected the ways in which language and other semiotic features contribute to the construction of characters. However, some work exists in which the differences of characters in the context of genres have been touched upon (Bednarek 2011: 6). In these studies, it has been shown how in some genres, such as teen drama in focus of this study, characters are used to contrast differing ideologies between lifestyles.

In these genres, characters stand for values and attitudes which are contrasted with each other, and they differ from genres, such as sitcoms, where characters are devised to be easily recognizable and stereotypic. (Feuer 2001, cited in Bednarek 2011: 6; Selby & Cowdery 1995: 108, cited in Bednarek 2011: 6).

Televisual characterization, as argued by Bednarek (2011: 6), is rare in the field of stylistic research, which most often looks to characterization in films and literary texts. Moreover, on a larger scale, the field of linguistics has neglected to focus on television dialogue in general (ibid.). However, some theoretical frameworks can be applied to televisual material, such as Culpeper's (2001) research on textual cues, which will be discussed later on in this study. Overall, Bednarek's research – and, in some regards, also this study – aims to contribute to the expressivity in stylistics, particularly in televisual characterization.

In fictional genres, such as television series, language and characterization become intertwined in discourse. One crucial function of dialogue is to reveal something about the characters to the audience, mainly aspects of their personality, mental states and "inner life" (Kozloff 2000: 43; Bednarek 2010: 101). Kozloff (2000: 44) points out that all the lines uttered by characters are designed to reveal some of their aspects, as viewers interpret characters on the basis of dialogue and its characteristics. However, other processes of character interpretation cannot be fully overlooked when examining the characterization.

For example, Culpeper (2001: 10) and Bednarek (2010: 99) argue that cognitive processes cannot be erased from the process of interpreting characters from discourse. They argue that in the process of comprehension of fictional characters we draw on processes from real-life interpretation of people. However, the processes are altered based on the knowledge of fiction, namely, that a character is a construct created by an author. Moreover, a viewer's predictions of the role of the character in the text (e.g. whether s/he is a protagonist, sidekick, or villain) may figure into the interpretation process (Culpeper 2001: 10–11). Overall, a viewer cannot be considered to be a *tabula rasa* while character interpretation is investigated.

Bednarek's (2010; 2011) approach to televisual characterization focuses on the textual (linguistic and multimodal) level in which the character and discourse become intertwined. Her specific focus on linguistic analysis of dialogue means, in her words, "that we are interested in searching for what in the text tells us (viewers) about character

and identity" (Bednarek 2010: 101). Bednarek's work is also influenced by Pearson's (2007) studies on televisual characterization. For example, Pearson has investigated the characterization of Gil Grissom on the original *CSI*, and she argues that television writers aim to mold their characters "person-like", based on the culture's shared knowledge of people (Pearson 2007: 41). Pearson (2007: 42–3) further expands her thoughts on televisual characters:

> "Television characters are not like holograms. Each tiny fragment does not contain the sum of the whole, but rather becomes fully intelligible only when juxtaposed with all the other tiny fragments in all the other scenes in all the other episodes in which the character appears."

Thus, when analyzing a television character, this gradual construction of character must be taken into consideration and not make conclusions on characterization based on just one scene if the character inspected appears frequently. For the purposes of the present study means that, as its data consist of individual scenes, the overall conclusions will be drawn on the basis of combined findings on each scene.

In Pearson's (2007: 56) view, on television it is not accurate to talk about character development, instead, character depth and accumulation are more accurate terms. She argues the use of these terms by the fact that particularly in a long-running drama series, the characters have more depth than in any other medium, as the life-span of a television character can continue for several years in of hundreds of episodes – this was particularly common in series beginning their run in the last two decades. Thus, the term character development can be considered too narrow for some television characters. Here, the type of genre referred to is significant, since, for instance, in comedy series, due to the genre's conventions and nature, several characters do not have much depth. Pearson's argument can also be considered to apply to the genre of teen drama where the characters' identity construction is more emphasized. Pearson (2007: 45) also deems character interaction important: "all fictional characters are partially defined by the other characters with whom they interact." In terms of the present study, some essential findings can come from the inspection of relationships between characters, as relationships construct sexual identities of characters through dialogue which is essential for character building (Kozloff 2000: 43).

Scriptwriters are encouraged to invest in the construction of characters and think about characters' places in the storylines (Bednarek 2010: 23). Furthermore, the writers emphasize the "character's spine" (e.g. motivation, goals, intention change) and character

types in character building. Pearson (2007: 49) notes that gender and race tend to function as a distinguishers between characters, often negatively. In her study of the crime procedural *CSI* (CBS 2000–2015), both women and African American characters' problems stem from their personal life, also affecting other aspects of their lives negatively. Similarly, homosexuality can be viewed to cause problems for LGBT characters, since their personal problems often stem from their sexuality in one way or another. In contrast, the white male characters' problems rarely affect them negatively, particularly in work-place dramas (Pearson 2007: 49). Realistic character actions are essential for continuous viewer engagement and parasocial interactions, which encourages the audience to spend even more time consuming and engaging with the material (Giles 2002: 291, cited in Bednarek 2010: 22).

As televisual characterization is still an area where research has not been widely conducted, several scholars are attempting to create a concept through which televisual characters can be easily analyzed. One of the more developed approaches have been suggested by Pearson (2007: 43). She has created a taxonomy consisting of six elements that constitute character: psychological traits/habitual behaviors; physical characteristics/appearance; speech patterns; interactions with other characters; environment; and biography. In her approach, these elements together make up a "rounded" character and can be recognized in most televisual characters, as well as in other mediums with fictional characters (Pearson 2007: 49). Moreover, the functions of the elements can change depending on the medium. In the next section, Bednarek's concept of expressive character identity is considered in more detail.

2.1.1 Expressive character identity

The concept of expressive character identity indicates a scripted identity that is in line with the attitudes/ideologies/values, as well as emotionality of characters in fictional genres. More specifically, expressive identity acts as an umbrella term for "emotional identity", "attitudinal identity" and "ideological identity" (Bednarek 2010: 118–119). These identities, particularly emotional identities are valuable for the basis of narratives and for the television series itself as they enable audience engagement (Bednarek 2011: 13). On the whole, the concept of expressive character identity pertains to expressivity, an element of stylistics.

According to Bednarek (2010: 125), expressive identity combines both the individual and the social identity of the character. In her view: "[expressive identity] is both a way of expressing a character's unique identity and simultaneously aligning one character with

other characters who share similar expressive identities […] –". When actors perform an expressive character identity, they apply both "scripted linguistic features" as well as "multimodal performance features", these features constituting *expressive features* (Bednarek 2010: 119). These will be introduced in more detail in the following section.

Television series often convey a number of different ideologies. More specifically, Bednarek (2010: 119) argues that television characters possess and express ideologies and attitudes constantly. Several scholars argue that television genres are influential in implementing and reflecting social change in terms of ideology (Bednarek 2010: 181). For example, LGBT characters in fictional television series are often utilized to bring forth ideologies of equality, and to promote social change (Bednarek 2010: 183). In Bednarek's (2010: 118–119) view, emotive interjections, evaluative statements or announcing ideological beliefs are all linguistic resources that particularly construct expressive identities.

Bednarek (2011: 13) states that the analysis of construction of expressive character identity should take place on three levels: micro-, meso- and macro-level. The micro-level analysis focuses on verbal and nonverbal behavior of characters. Their expressive resources can sometimes be unique to one character only, or they can be shared with other characters, thus forming an expressive community (Bednarek 2011: 13). In other words, on the meso-level, the characters' expressive resources can be examined to form different expressive styles, actions or strategies (Bednarek 2011: 14). Finally, on the macro-level, the micro- and meso-level findings are explored in a broader scale in order to detail the expressive identities in place. On this level, attention can be paid to whether particular identities form a group of typed identities such as stereotypical or cultural identities (ibid.). An expressive identity can also be stable and innate for the character, or temporary and tied to a particular context. For example, considering the topic of this study, a character might express a particular emotional identity when coming out as lesbian, thus highlighting a temporary emotional identity.

Audience engagement, as mentioned before, is greatly influenced by characters. Bednarek (2010: 121) argues that expressive identities of characters have a role in constructing parasocial relationships. Parasocial relationships have to do with the audience's identification with the characters as well as with the development of kinship with them on the basis of shared attitudes or emotional reactions. Scriptwriters use dialogue to distinguish one character from another (Pearson 2007: 44). Viewer identification is also shaped by the unique features of character voice. As argued by

Bednarek (2010: 106) each character in a television series has a unique voice different from other characters, and it can distinguish them from the others.

2.1.2 Expressive features

As mentioned above, Bednarek's concept of expressive character identity concerns aspects of identity which relate to emotions, ideologies, values, attitudes, opinions and stances, for instance. These are expressed through *expressive features*, or *resources* utilized in verbal and nonverbal acts, which make for different character identities. (Bednarek 2011: 13.)

In Bednarek's (2010) approach, she has modified Culpeper's (2001) textual cues in order to make them more suitable for the analysis of televisual characters. These cues make up expressive features, or resources. They will be used in the analysis of data in this study, since they are suitable tools for distinguishing expressive identities of fictional characters. These cues are the following:

- o Explicit cues
    - self-presentation (character gives explicit information about self, e.g. *I am gay*);
    - other-presentation (character gives explicit information about other character(s), e.g. *She is gay*)
- o Implicit cues
    - conversational structure (e.g. hesitations, interruptions, anger, emotional turmoil)
    - lexis (e.g. affective language, surge features)
    - syntactic structure (e.g. inversion in exclamations, e.g. *Oh my god!*)
    - paralinguistic features (e.g. tempo, pitch range/variation, loudness, voice quality)
    - visual features (e.g. stature, clothing, facial expression, posture)
    - context: a character's company and setting
    - (im)politeness strategies or features

(Bednarek 2010: 102–103)

In the analysis of aspects that construct expressive identities, what are considered expressive features or resources must first be defined. Basically, an expressive feature is one that contributes to the construction of an expressive identity, namely, it has to with

emotionality, attitudes, values, ideologies and evaluations. Expressive features are functionally defined, meaning that there is not a pre-defined set of these features. Thus, expressive resources constructing, for example, an angry emotional identity can include varyingly both explicit and implicit expressive cues. Context often directs the meaning behind expressive features and whether they are tied to an emotional, attitudinal or ideological meaning. Bednarek (2010: 120) argues that expressive features also have a significant role in the interpretation of characters by the viewers.

Bednarek (2010) has applied her approach to the analysis of character identity on the entire series of *Gilmore Girls*. While her analysis relied on corpus stylistics, the present study takes a discourse analytic approach in its investigation of selected scenes on *Pretty Little Liars* and *Glee* paying particular attention to the characters' coming out-narratives. In a corpus study like Bednarek's, only selected expressive resources can be considered (Bednarek 2010: 123). However, in a qualitative study like the present one, attention can be paid to a large number of expressive resources simultaneously and not merely focus on interjections, for example. Thus, narrowing the data to scenes instead of episodes or seasons still offers a sufficient amount of material to analyze.

Bednarek argues strongly the importance of expressive character identity as a focus of characterization research. However, she also emphasizes that expressive identity is only one aspect of identity, and not the only one to be considered in characterization. For example, Culpeper's (2001) research focuses on these other aspects such as social role and group membership. Bednarek (2011: 16) maintains that the researcher's role is important in deciding which aspects of character or identity are important to narrative development, for instance, in certain genres, series, episodes and scenes. To this study, most importantly, sexual identity is the crucial aspect of characterization that will be focused on in the analysis of the two series selected as its data.

2.2 Cinematographic elements

In this section, the multimodality of a television series is considered by discussing the relevant cinematographic elements involved in creating the product of fictional television. Furthermore, in this section, the connection between the works of Bednarek (2010; 2011) and Bordwell and Thompson (2008) is presented, as both are part of the model of analysis in this study. Bordwell and Thompson (2008) have done extensive work in the field of film studies. In this study, however, their findings on films are applied to televisual material, as both products share numerous cinematographic elements.

In a sense, cinematographic elements on television series highlight the character performances and story elements, and create the worlds seen on the viewers' screens. Cinematographic features such as setting and costumes can play a crucial role in contributing the overall narrative progression of the entire series (Bordwell and Thompson 2008: 122). Moreover, setting and costume are viewed to be crucial in influencing viewers' conceptions of the story and constructing the narratives and motifs of the characters (Bordwell and Thompson 2008: 117, 122). In a television or a film production, the costumes are a part of the overall "environment design" and, thus, carefully thought out (Vaz 2002: 45). Conveniently, costumes also help to separate between characters (Bordwell and Thompson 2008: 122). While with setting, the goal is to create an environment that works best for the purposes of the story (Vaz 2002: 43), for example, several scenes in teen dramas take place at a high school.

Cinematography is the art of creating a camera shot, in which, for instance, lighting, composition and selecting the right camera angle are all considered – this work is done by the director of photography (Vaz 2002: 41). According to Bordwell and Thompson (2008: 139), the closer the camera is to the actor, the more emphasis is put on facial expressions. The most expressive sections of the face are eyes, mouth and brows, which work together to create the character's visual responses to a situation (Bordwell and Thompson 2008: 134). Thus, it is common particularly for the portrayers of female characters to wear dark eye makeup in the form of mascara and eyeliner in order to "draw attention to the eyes and emphasize the direction of a glance" (Bordwell and Thompson 2008: 124).

Close-ups, wherein changes in facial expressions are underlined, indicate drama (Bordwell and Thompson 2008: 124) – a very common element in teen drama series. In addition to close-ups on characters' faces, filming characters from behind also serves a significant purpose, since having a character's back towards the camera draws attention to the character (Bordwell & Thompson 2008: 141). The camera's movements can create a different influence on the viewer. Michael Bonvillain (cited in Vaz 2002: 41), a director of photography on a television series, sees that heightened realism is created by moving the camera constantly. Bordwell and Thompson (20008: 196) suggest that a handheld camera, which allows for more movement, creates a subjective point-of-view. On the whole, the work of a director of photography is to create an atmosphere most suitable for the story and its performance.

Bordwell and Thompson's (2008) views on cinematographic elements can be linked to Bednarek's (2010; 2011) research on characterization on television. In her work, Bednarek (2010; 2011) is focused on language in creating expressive character identities but neglects to give proper attention for cinematographic elements that also contribute to the process. However, she (2010: 17–18) states that the multimodal nature of a television series allows room for other semiotic modalities besides language, thus, recognizing the cruciality of other modalities. Furthermore, she argues that multimodality in a television series is twofold by the distinction of multimodality of characters and the product (e.g. a scene as a whole). The multimodal aspects of product include specific cinematographic features – as detailed above – namely setting, lighting, costumes, camera angles and post-production additions of soundtrack, editing and sound effects (Bednarek 2010: 17–18).

The multimodality of characters is tied to the performance of the actors. The performers' actions, appearance and speech compile the multimodal performance that draws attention to the dialogue (Bednarek 2010: 19). In regards to an actor's performance, Bordwell and Thompson (2008: 133) emphasize similar features by explaining that the performance consists of visual elements such as facial expressions and gestures, as well as sound elements such as voice. In Bednarek's (2011) model on expressive cues, these aforementioned elements of acting are broadened in order to interpret the actors' work on a deeper level. Thus, a connection between these bodies of work is established. In the present study, the multimodality of characters and product are both considered with the multimodality of product, i.e. cinematographic features, supporting the multimodality of characters.

2.3 Queer theory

In this section, the concept of queer theory is introduced and discussed, while the sub-section provides an overview and discussion into previous research conducted on LGBT characters on fictional television series. Queer theorists consider popular culture as an important field of study as it is concerned with, among other things, how sexual identities are wanted to be viewed by mainstream audiences.

In the beginning of the 1990s, philosophers, literary and film theorists pondered about sexuality, identity and gender, and, as a result, a new framework known as queer theory (QT) emerged (Walters 2001; Cameron and Kulick 2003). QT examines how heterosexuality as the norm, or, heteronormativity, is enforced through discursive actions and cultural features. As Avila-Saavedra (2009: 6) puts it: "queer theory discusses how

power operates with sexuality in contemporary society to define social and cultural norms". Moreover, QT questions the traditional concept of sexual identities (Nelson 1999; Cameron & Kulick 2003; Motschenbacher & Stegu 2013). Thus, the basic idea of queer theory is to challenge the heteronormativity of our society as well as the language we use to talk about gender and sexuality.

Avila-Saavedra (2009: 6–7) explains that "queer studies propose that sexuality is not restricted to heterosexuality or homosexuality, a binary system reinforced by hegemonic patriarchal societies, but is a more complex array of gender possibilities." In accordance with this, queer theorists such as Judith Butler (1999) posit that gender, sexuality and identity are not fixed entities but constructed via performativity and performance. Butler's thoughts on gender are universally valued and respected, as she has investigated the issue profoundly. The following is her idea on the non-fixed nature of gender that can also be applied to sexuality:

> "—there is neither an "essence" that gender expresses or externalises nor an objective ideal to which gender aspires, and because gender is not a fact, the various acts of gender create the idea of gender, and without those acts, there would be no gender at all." (Butler 1999: 178)

The effects of gender, as Butler argues, are constituted through body movements and gestures, for example, which contribute to "the stylization of the body". Thus, gender can be performed and produced in performance in various ways, and we can portray the gender aspects we choose to the world (Cameron & Kulick 2003: 150; Pennycook 2007: 58). Despite the freedom we have to perform gender or sexuality, we disapprove and penalize those who "fail" to perform theirs according to the norm, since performing gender or sexuality discreetly is the most culturally acceptable way (Butler 1999: 178). Consequently, sexual identities are also performative and subjective, and, according to Walters (2001: 12660–12661), queer theorists support breaking the heteronormative categorizations of society and displaying one's subjective sexuality.

Heteronormativity is a term that is rarely explicitly defined or conceptualized probably due to its moderately self-explanatory name. However, in her study Herman (2003: 142), has constructed a definition through the works of Cooper (2002) and Epstein and Steinberg (1997). This definition is applicable in this study as it also takes into account the role of popular culture.

"Heteronormativity encompasses, at a basic level, the view that heterosexuality is natural and normal for individuals and society; however, total heteronormativity may never be fully achieved and therefore heteronormative societies often have to sustain heterosexuality as a political project. In such cases, heteronormativity also includes an injunction that people ought to be heterosexual. Equally importantly, heteronormativity is an epistemological project – it shapes what we know and how we know it. In other words, heteronormativity does not just construct a norm, it also provides the perspective through which we know and understand gender and sexuality in popular culture." (Cooper 2002; Epstein & Steinberg, 1997, as cited in Herman 2003: 142).

For teenagers, displaying one's sexuality is something that can cause anxiety and stress. LGBT youth still face many hardships in their daily lives and even suicides among LGBT youth are dangerously common, as Pullen (2014: xvi) points out. Dhaenens (2013: 306) posits that heteronormativity plays a role in teenagers' processes of negotiating sexual identities, since many feel the need to "embody a fixed sexual identity". The ones with same-sex desires are presumed to identify inherently with gay or bisexual identities, which, in turn, are viewed as inferior and explicitly different from the heterosexual norm (Dhaenens 2013: 306).

2.3.1   The queer eye of television research

Queer theory sees the value of popular culture in understanding the changing nature of sexuality (Roseneil 2000). Roseneil (2000) suggests that popular culture affects how relationships and identities are built in the real world, as products of popular culture, such as television series, are intertwined with real life through reflecting and expressing it. Chambers (2009: 89) suggests that television is not only a "representation of reality" but something that also lives "beyond the screen" and acts as an important cultural practice which produces, reproduces and maintains the norms of gender and sexuality that arguably are the lived reality, in both social and political sense. Furthermore, Chambers (2009: 96) assesses that television series can challenge the notions of heteronormativity.

The most prominent research conducted in the field of queer theory focuses on how heteronormativity is maintained and prioritised in societies (Roseneil 2000). With the increasing number of LGBT characters on television, queer theorists have become engaged with the representation of queer culture on television. Questions relating to the meanings the series with LGBT characters attach to being gay and by what means, as well as the nature of the representations, have begun to occupy queer studies on television. Moreover, it is examined how the characters are positioned in relation to

heteronormativity. (Butler 2007: 458–459; Dhaenens 2013: 305.) Furthermore, according to Dhaenens (2013: 305), the ways heteronormativity is negotiated in the representation of LGBT characters is under examination by queer scholars. Butler (2007: 458–459) posits that sexual politics of the television series under examination must be kept in mind by the researchers as they conduct their research.

Applying a queer perspective does not simply mean that one decides what is "queer", but views, for example, a fictional television series from a non-heteronormative point of view by focusing on aspects that reflect reinforcing or challenging heteronormativity in society (Motschenbacher & Stegu 2013: 520). Furthermore, as suggested by Avila-Saavedra (2009: 8), a queer perspective requires an outlook that ignores quantifiable representations of LGBT characters and, instead, examines their complexity and quality in regards to the context of heteronormativity. Thus, quantitative studies cannot be conducted with the desire to apply a queer perspective.

Television as a medium has long been dominated by the people in power: white, middle-aged, heterosexual men (Gross 1991: 131). Thus, it took a long time for marginalized minority groups such as the LGBT community to become visible on television screens (Butler 2007: 450; Frei 2012: 26). Sexual minority characters first appeared in minimal roles on American television in the wake of the AIDS epidemic in the early 1980s (Gross 1991: 137–138). LGBT characters used to be depicted often as victims or predators, mentally ill and – as it remains their role on several comedy series to this day – as the objects of humor and ridicule (Westerfelhaus & Lacroix 2012: 124). Furthermore, several stories revolved around AIDS or dealt with homosexuality as a problem the characters had. These types of depictions communicated a negative image of the life of sexual minorities, and were deeply damaging to the community as a whole through creating prejudices (Frei 2012: 27). As time went on, LGBT characters were often incorporated in series such as *Law & Order* as victims, suspects and perpetrators in order to routinely present a wide range of different characters (Westerfelhaus & Lacroix 2012: 125).

Queer studies conducted on fictional television series have provided interesting findings on LGBT representation as well as aspects of heteronormativity on television series. In their independent works, Battles and Hilton-Morrow (2002), Linneman (2008) and Hart (2000) investigate the comedy series *Will & Grace* (NBC 1998–2006, 2017–). Meanwhile, in his work, Chambers (2009) investigates heteronormativity on the cable series *The L Word* (Showtime 2004–2009) and the challenging of the concept on *Desperate Housewives* (ABC 2004–2012). Meyer (2003), Evans (2007) and Dhaenens

(2013) on their part, focus on the content meant for adolescent audiences on series such as *Dawson's Creek*, *Buffy, the Vampire Slayer* and *Glee.*

The research on how the LGBT community members have been represented on television has most often focused on comedy series, such as *Will & Grace*, which presented the first gay characters the mainstream audience truly embraced. During its first run, *Will & Grace* presented as fruitful data for research on fictional gay representation. The most essential findings were suggested by Battles and Hilton-Morrow (2002), Linneman (2008) and Hart (2000). According to these scholars, *Will & Grace* portrays gay relationships as asexual "male bonding" and enforces heteronormativity and sexual stereotyping by effeminizing gay characters. This is taken to be motivated by the view which posits that heterosexual men want to differentiate themselves from homosexual men by effeminizing them. Thus, it is more comfortable for the heterosexual men at home viewing effeminate gay men on television. Similarly, to the other scholars' views, Meyer (2003: 270) posits that like *Dawson's Creek* (WB 1998–2003), *Will & Grace* also justifies sexual minority content through a homosexual male/heterosexual female friendship.

The basic issue with LGBT representations on television series is the complex and controversial nature of the matter. Westerfelhaus and Lacroix (2012: 126–127) argue that *The L Word* (Showtime 2004–2009), which aired on a premium cable network Showtime, offered a look into the lives on LGBT people unlike any other series on American television had done before its time. Moreover, particularly the series' focus on lesbian characters is considered groundbreaking, as lesbians have historically not garnered as much airtime on television as gay males have. Chambers (2009: 86–87), however, makes a point about *The L Word* being a "heteronormative show about homosexuals" and losing almost as many representation "points" as it gains. Thus, proving that even the most superior examples face critique after close inspection.

As *The L Word* is a series about lesbian women and *Desperate Housewives* a series about heterosexual women, the setting of Chambers' research forms a clear binary. Chambers' (2009: 95) findings on *The L Word* almost astound him, as the aspects reinforcing heteronormativity appear in several forms, such as the heterosexual male fantasy – an issue also discussed by Jenkins (2005) and Jackson and Gilbertson (2009) – which argues that the series is marketed to heterosexual male audiences, instead of LGBT audiences. Moreover, the heterosexual male fantasy of a threesome acts as a cover for the series to quietly add lesbian sex, which suggests that the series acts in the sphere of heteronormativity, only seemingly challenging it (Chambers 2009: 96). *Desperate*

Housewives, on the other hand, reveals interesting aspects which challenge the heteronormative aspects with which the series is promoted. For example, storylines on gender ambiguity and challenging of sexual identities rise behind the series' seemingly polished heterosexual surface (Chambers 2009: 115). The reason for *The L Word* succumbing to more heteronormative portrayals of storylines could be simply due to the medium of television itself. According to Frei (2012: 22), on television series it is more common to represent LGBT characters in a "safe" way, as the makers of the series expect a loyal and diverse group to turn in every week. Here, even with *The L Word's* audience consisting of lesbian and gay community, a notable portion of the series' audience is still heterosexual men (Chambers 2009: 95) who need to be catered to with content that is easily consumed.

The character that first initiated research into sexual minority representations in television series for youth audiences was the character of Jack McPhee from *Dawson's Creek* (WB 1998–2003) (Meyer 2003: 263). After the introduction of Jack, a regular character on the series, other youth directed series such as *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* began introducing sexual minority characters as well. Jack, as the first gay character on a teen drama, got to experience narratives that mostly revolved around his sexuality from the coming out process to facing discrimination from the society (Meyer 2003: 263). These narratives are still common for today's LGBT characters almost over two decades later, even though they have taken new forms in the changing world of teenagers.

Evans (2007) focuses on determining the affects LGBT representations on television have on gay and lesbian teens. His main findings suggest that gay and lesbian teenagers purposefully watch television series that have LGBT characters in order to receive acknowledgement and come to terms with their own identities. However, few of those series are purposefully directed at adolescents (Meyer 2003: 271). LGBT teens wish to see more LGBT characters on fictional television series, whose sexuality is not perceived as an issue. Moreover, they are worried about stereotypical depictions, since people often take them at face value. (Evans 2007: 12.) Evans (2007: 13) theorizes, with the support from D'Augelli and Patterson's (2001) research, that teens watch more series targeted to LGBT audiences such as *Queer as Folk* and *The L Word* than series targeted to their own age group, since they want to envision themselves as adults. Overall, it is crucial for LGBT youth to be able to view characters on TV that they can relate to, since they cannot recognize each other on the street like racial and ethnic minorities (Evans 2007: 10).

Dhaenens (2013) has quite recently focused on heteronormativity in youth-oriented series *Glee*. Dhaenens (2013: 308) argues that depictions of LGBT youth characters in fictional television series often victimize and normalize them, using the heteronormative view as their justification. Furthermore, he posits that particularly coming-out narratives – narratives under examination in this study – on television series emphasize the deviant position of homosexuality from heterosexuality and, thus, highlight the heterosexual/homosexual binary. In Dhaenens' (2013: 311) view, the victimization is brought to the center in these storylines, and only through safety promised by adults, can the process of coming out be accomplished. The normalization of LGBT characters also points to succumbing to the heteronormative rule.

In terms of the present study, coming out-narratives warrant a closer look in addition to Dhaenens' views on victimization. Herman (2005) sees the coming out-narrative dividing organically to three parts: "before", "declarations" and "after" – the categorization of the present study follows a similar categorization. Herman (2005: 14, 16) marks that most commonly coming out-narratives include a personal struggle preceding the coming out-decision and the feelings of shame and fear are present. At the next stage, a declaration announcing identity or desire is voiced (Herman 2005: 15). The distinction between announcing identity and desire is through words; "I'm gay", signals identity, while, for example, "I want a woman" signals desire (Herman 2005: 16). Lastly, after coming out acts as a stage where a gay or lesbian "space" for the character is discovered (Herman 2005: 18). As an example, Herman offers a stereotypical "lesbian coffee house" seen on the comedy series *Ellen* after the main character came out as a lesbian. Herman's study examines coming out-narratives from the point of view of adult lesbian characters, however, the subjects of the present study are adolescents, thus offering a different perspective.

In one of her previous studies, Herman (2003: 142) views most television series dealing with homosexuality through a heteronormative perspective. Most often it is either a source of humour, an issue or depicted through heteronormative space of tolerance (Battles & Hilton-Morrow 2002: 98; Herman 2003: 142). However, there is also another perspective from which homosexuality can be presented, namely, a homonormative perspective. Homonormativity, as Herman (2003) explains, represents lesbian and gay identities as the norm, in other words, as natural and unremarkable. Herman openly celebrates homonormativity as the more authentic and more proper way to portray sexual minorities on television. Dhaenens (2013: 307–308), however, sees homonormativity as

something that is the result of heteronormative oppression. Furthermore, he claims that homonormativity forces sexual minorities into a fixed sexual identity of gay or lesbian instead of embodying a label-free queer identity. On television, however, it appears to be more common to simplify and erase than offer complex depictions.

2.4 Studying fictional television

In this section, reasoning for studying fictional television is given, additionally, the altered nature of the television landscape and how television is viewed is discussed. This section also delves into the genre of teen drama, which in regards to this study is deemed the most suitable genre to categorize *Glee* and *Pretty Little Liars*.

In the past, even the overall examination of popular culture was conservatively considered "superficial and vulgar" (Pennycook 2007: 79). Nowadays, as research into popular culture is very common and wide ranging in several fields of study, the notion of what is considered as "superficial and vulgar" has shifted onto more specific fields, such as fictional television series. Even in the current golden age of television, scripted television series are yet to be considered as traditionally valued products of popular culture as films. Consequently, scholars such as Bednarek (2010), offer reasoning for investigating popular culture. Next, such reasoning is applied for the purposes of examining fictional television.

According to Bednarek (2010: 8), television series viewers' engagement is not only limited to viewing the shows, but it extends beyond it, through the conversations and identity negotiations it creates. Not only do television series give rise to social interactions, they also prompt viewers to compare and construct their own identities to ones seen on television (Selby & Cowdery 1995: 186, cited in Bednarek 2010: 8). Moreover, as works cited by Bednarek (2010: 10–11) bring forth, fictional series engage viewers on an intimate level when a bond between the series and the viewer is formed. Viewers can become enthusiastic fans of a series, as far as the series becomes a daily household topic and its characters almost like family members. The viewer engagement – in addition to parasocial interaction mentioned in section 2.1 – can be considered to increase the time spent on consuming the fictional cultural product itself not to mention the time spent on online platforms further engaging with the series.

Television series are available everywhere and they are as popular as ever. Particularly, American television has a considerable amount of variety when it comes to the nature of

television channels. There are the traditional, free broadcast networks; *NBC*, *CBS*, *FOX*, *ABC* and *The CW*; free basic cable networks including *Bravo*, *USA*, *Freeform*, for example, and chargeable premium cable networks such as *HBO*, *Showtime* and *Starz*. Basic and premium cable networks offer content tailored to the tastes of particular viewer populations. Thus, channels made appealing for the LGBT community by adding sexual minority-friendly programming are mostly cable networks (Westerfelhaus & Lacroix 2012: 126).

Today, when television is sometimes duped as the old and dying media, television content can be easily transferrable to other platforms as well, and it can be viewed whenever and wherever (Bednarek 2010: 8). For example, one can own or rent TV series on *DVD* and *Blu-ray*, download episodes or seasons on *iTunes*, or simply stream them online from *Netflix*, where also the series focused on in this study are available. Moreover, streaming services such as *Netflix* are widening and eternalizing television landscape, as series that have ended long ago are made available to new audiences. As far as popularity is concerned, scripted fictional television series take up the most watched titles in several countries most watched lists including the US and United Kingdom (Nielsen US Top 10, 2016; BARB 2016). Thus, fictional television series are still the most popular genre of television for traditional television viewers.

As an essential part of popular culture, television series have the possibility to influence their audiences' ideologies, values, knowledge and viewpoints step by step over time (Frei 2012: 22). In accordance with this, television series can produce representations that challenge the dominant structures of society on social issues (Dhaenens 2013: 305). However, in order to this to happen, the viewer must adopt a certain ideological viewpoint. Butler (2007: 450) introduces three ideological positions from which to view television. First, one can choose the dominant-hegemonic position, from which television is viewed as the social group in power wants it to be viewed, no questions asked. This is said to be the preferred viewpoint. Second, one can choose the oppositional position which rejects the first viewpoint and interprets the text themselves. Lastly, as suggested by Butler (2007: 450), one can choose the negotiated position in which the viewer is neither fully adopting the dominant or oppositional viewpoint but combining the options and forming a viewpoint of sociocultural ground rules intertwined with their own personal experiences. The long-reigning dominant-hegemonic position has become more and more rejected as the marginalized groups have made their way on to the mainstream's television screens (Butler 2007: 450, 455). These marginalized groups such as sexual minorities

appear to reject the hegemonic position, which bring forth questions relating to the form the resistance takes and whether hegemony can be resisted. Queer theory among others is a crucial approach for resisting hegemony on television and shining a light on sexual minorities.

In the perspective of this study, television serves an important vessel for LGBT youth trying to navigate their way from adolescence to adulthood. Various LGBT depictions on television, even the misleading ones, contribute to creating an image in the minds of teenagers. Jackson and Gilberts (2009: 200) state that young people's view of LGBT depictions in the media are essential due to their sexuality formation and as active users of the media. Furthermore, as Frei (2012: 25) notes, for several teenagers, television still remains as a crucial source of information that influences their identity construction. Moreover, media holds a place in constructing and molding teenagers' sexual identities.

2.4.1 The genre of teen drama

In this section, teen drama, the television genre most significant for this study, is briefly introduced. The function of this section is to present the features and characteristics specific to the genre that also apply for the series analyzed in this study. Despite falling onto different places in the spectrum of teen drama, *Pretty Little Liars* and *Glee* can both be considered as representatives of the genre on the basis of their themes, character types, setting and stylistic elements, for example (Moseley 2015: 38).

The genre of teen drama first began to blossom in the 1990s in the wake of such series as *Beverly Hills, 90210* (FOX 1990–2000) and *My So-Called Life* (ABC 1994–1995) (Moseley 2015: 38). Moseley (2015: 38) points out that the genre is the clear offspring of the teen movie genre, sharing similar character types (e.g. the geek, the jock, the cheerleader) and settings (e.g. high school, college, small town.). Nowadays, specific networks such as *Freeform* and *The CW* lead the way in series designed to attract adolescent viewers. However, this audience is also coveted by larger networks.

Teen drama series are commonly based around an ensemble cast with often no particular main character (Gavin 2001: 79). With exploring the identity construction and relationships as experienced by teenagers, the ensemble cast consisting of different characters gives the viewers many options of with which character to identify (Gavin 2001: 79; Moseley 2015: 39). Furthermore, as often the storylines deal with significant issues in the lives of adolescents, such as teen pregnancy, drug and alcohol abuse and homosexuality, a large core cast of characters presents a chance for the audience to view

and consider topics from different viewpoints (Moseley 2001: 39; Gavin 2001: 79). According to Gavin (2001: 79), these varying viewpoints aim to give viewers a multisided view on issues tackled in storylines and, also, give a chance to participate in the search for meaning. The storylines are constructed to create anticipation, for instance, around would-be romantic couples, and the anticipation develops into addiction, thus, creating large and vocal fan groups around the series (Moseley 2015: 39).

As it is with several television series, music appears as a common element in the genre of teen drama (Moseley 2015: 39). Michael Giacchino (cited in Vaz 2002: 135), a television and film composer, views that the use of music is most notably tied to the subject matter of the scene. Moreover, he states that music helps to explain the nature of a scene to the audience. In Moseley's (2015: 39) view, most often in teen series popular music is relied on to express the character's identity or feelings, but also to evoke a reaction from the viewer. *Glee* is a textbook example of the former with the characters performing songs suited for expressing their feelings, identity or an overall theme of a particular episode. Meanwhile, on *Pretty Little Liars*, instrumental music is often utilized to intensify the viewers' reaction, for instance in suspenseful scenes. However, music is just an element that accompanies televisual probes thriving the multiple continuous storylines forward (Moseley 2015: 39).

3. Present study

In this section, the aims and research questions of the study are presented, followed by the introduction and rationale for the chosen data. Lastly, the methods through which the data is analyzed are introduced.

3.1 Aims of the study

The aim of this study is to examine the characterization of teen lesbian characters of Emily Fields of *Pretty Little Liars* and Santana Lopez of *Glee* through the means of examining expressive identities and resources in their coming out-narratives. These expressive means act as the building blocks of expressive character identities and, in the case of this study, attempt to reveal meaningful information about the nature of the characters in coming out-narratives. This, contributes to the overall representation of sexual minority characters on fictional teen dramas, which has previously mostly based on studies featuring textual and narrative analysis as a research method. Furthermore, Bednarek's theory on expressive character identity has previously only been applied to corpus studies and to basic heteronormative televisual characters. Another aim of the study, from queer theoretical perspective, is to examine the role heteronormativity plays in the coming out-narratives. The rationale of this task is to investigate, whether stereotypes and the overall heteronormative convictions of the society are attempted to be challenged.

3.2 Research questions

The research questions of this study are formed on the basis of Bednarek's (2010) work on expressive character identity.

1. Which expressive features are most salient in the creation of expressive character identities?
   o What expressive styles and strategies are formed by expressive features?
   o Are expressive means unique or shared between characters in the analytic units?

The first research question, based on Bednareks' work, concerns the expressive features that the characters display on the micro-level in the data. This question looks closely into the process of forming expressive character identities by mapping the resources vital for expressive identity construction. The first sub-question concerns the meso-level elements of expressive styles and strategies which contribute to forming expressive identities. The

second sub-question marks whether expressive communities are formed between individual characters in the analytic units.

    2.   What expressive character identities are constructed by the characters of Emily and Santana in their coming out-narratives?

        o   What are the expressive identity types present in the characters' coming out-narratives?

        o   Are the expressive identities temporary or stable for the characters?

The second research question, formed also based on Bednarek's work, focuses on the expressive identities on the macro-level constructed via expressive features. The expressive identities give an overall expression of the characters' nature in a specific situation. Expressive identities reveal, whether the identities are temporary or stable for the characters. The first sub-question concerns the identity types formed by the expressive identities present in the data units, while the second sub-question details, whether the expressive identities are context-bound or innate to the characters.

3.3 Data

American television series *Pretty Little Liars* (Freeform 2010–2017) and *Glee* (FOX 2009–2015) are selected as the data for this study. The data are chosen on the basis of the nature of the teen lesbian characters; the coming out-narratives featuring the characters; the popularity and standing of the series among LGBT community; the number of the overall youth audience, and the genre of the two series.

To give a more detailed description of the reasoning, the series in question have been chosen, since the teen lesbian characters featured on both series, Emily Fields (*Pretty Little Liars*) and Santana Lopez (*Glee*) represent intriguing and complex sexual minority characters whose coming out-narratives play an integral part in their respective series. Furthermore, both characters are easily approachable by youth audiences as they come from average wealth families in contrast to rich teen characters who appear in several teen dramas. Both series have also enjoyed praises from LGBT youth audiences and won awards given on behalf of the sexual minority community (IMDB 2015a; 2015b). Furthermore, the series are suitable data for this study as both of them have established a large audience of youth viewers, with *Glee* averaging 10 million viewers on broadcast television in its first three seasons (Goldberg 2014), and *Pretty Little Liars* averaging 3 million viewers on a youth-directed cable network in its first two seasons (TV by the Numbers 2011). Even with both series having reached their conclusion, the audience

continues to grow as both series are available on *Netflix* and other streaming services. A less important rationale behind the data is that both characters are ethnic, which is rarely the case with LGBT characters (GLAAD Where are we on TV 2015 2015) even in today's otherwise diverse television landscape.

Both *Pretty Little Liars* and *Glee* can be viewed to fit in to the genre of teen drama. However, it is questionable whether the programs are considered to be television series or serials. According to Bednarek (2010: 12) many television shows nowadays fall into the middle of the series-serial paradigm. In this case *Glee* could be seen more as a series than *Pretty Little Liars* since *Glee* often features stand-alone episodes with season long meta-narratives and mini meta-narratives (ibid.), while, *Pretty Little Liars* is more serialized with continuing storylines and open-ended narratives (ibid.), the series does however also feature meta-narratives and mini meta-narratives. Despite the distinction between the shows being acknowledged here, for the sake of clarity both shows will be referred to as series in this study.

3.3.1   Units of data

From the total amount of data that is the first season of *Pretty Little Liars* and the second and third seasons of *Glee* – a total of eight scenes from eight episodes are chosen for a detailed analysis. The chosen analytic units focus on the coming out-narratives of Emily and Santana in their respective series. The scenes chosen as analytical units depict both characters' coming out storylines, featuring narratives of coming out to your family, romantic relationship struggles and social stigma faced due to being a lesbian. The scenes are further divided into three categories based on the chronological stages of the coming out-narrative. These categories will be more explicitly discussed in section 3.3. All analytical units feature conversations between two characters, even though other characters might also be present in the scenes.

The scenes from *Pretty Little Liars* are selected from the first season of the series, as it is in those episodes where Emily's sexuality is dealt with most profoundly. These episodes are: 1.04 *Can You Hear Me Now?*, 1.11 *Moments Later,* 1.17 *The New Normal* and 1.19 *A Person of Interest*. In the case of *Glee*, where the character of Santana was only better established in the second season, the units selected will be from the second and third seasons of the series. These episodes are: 2.15 *Sexy*, 3.06 *Mash-Off*, 3.07 *I Kissed a Girl* and 3.13 *Heart*.

3.3.2 *Glee* **& Santana Lopez**

Glee (FOX 2009–2015), a musical comedy series, was met
with praise upon its premiere in 2009. *Glee* centers around
a high school glee club called New Directions, which hosts
talented misfits together with a few popular kids. The group
is hated by the school's cheerleading coach Sue Sylvester
(Jane Lynch) due to funding issues, and she causes trouble
for the otherwise successful singing group. The character
of Santana Lopez (Naya Rivera) is a cheerleader who along
with her friends Brittany (Heather Morris) and Quinn
(Dianna Agron) is sent by coach Sylvester to spy on the
glee club.
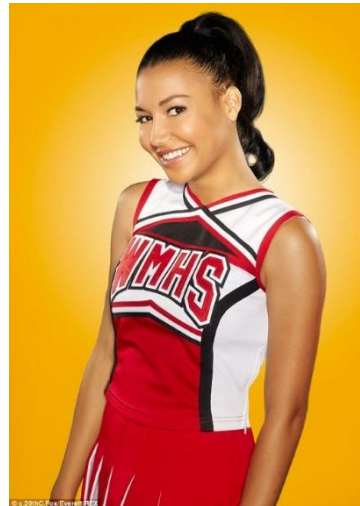
Santana Lopez (Naya Rivera)
(20th Century FOX 2010)

In its first three seasons, *Glee* enjoyed the position of being the most praised television
phenomenon of the decade. The series successfully combines fictional television and
music, while handling storylines that are easily approached by the targeted youth
demography. The series offers a range of LGBT characters from gay and lesbian teens to
a transgendered football coach. In its narratives, the series often pushes the boundaries of
the heteronormative society but finds its characters also succumbing to them. In its last
two seasons, the series experienced a decline in both ratings and creativity as the series
struggled to reinvent itself with new characters and new locales. Nevertheless, the overall
series still holds the interest of youth audiences and passionate fans, known as the Gleeks.
The songs performed on the series by the actors have been compiled into several albums
and also profited the music industry by causing peaks in digital downloads (Nielsen
2010).

The character of Santana Lopez is known at McKinley high school as the popular
cheerleader who is sexually promiscuous and unkind to everyone. However, she has
found her place in the school's glee club and befriended the other members of the club,
even though she can also be very mean towards them. Santana is known to speak directly
and not shy away from confrontation in any situation. She is also involved in the schemes
of the cheerleading coach Sue Sylvester, who is the only school authority she respects.
Santana has a friend and a lover in fellow cheerleader, Brittany, who is openly bisexual.
In the course of the series, Santana's relationship with Brittany experiences changes, as
Santana struggles to come to terms with her sexual identity.

3.3.3 *Pretty Little Liars* & Emily Fields

Pretty Little Liars (Freeform, 2010–2017) is a popular teen suspense drama based on the *Pretty Little Liars* book series written by Sara Shepard. The series centers on a group of friends in high school, who are brought together by the loss of their friend. As Aria (Lucy Hale), Hanna (Ashley Benson), Spencer (Troian Bellisario) and Emily (Shay Mitchell) struggle to come to terms with the loss of their friend Alison (Sasha Pieterse), they begin to receive threats and ultimatums from an unknown source, calling itself A and claiming to know all of their and Alison's secrets, including how she died. In the course of the series, A's threats become more serious as the girls attempt to find out who their tormentor is.

Emily Fields (Shay Mitchell)
(ABC Family 2013)

Pretty Little Liars premiered in the summer of 2010 on the cable network ABC Family (currently known as Freeform) and was an instant hit among its target audience. The series is one of the first series to invest in social media, a decision that has paid off; in 2014, the fourth season finale of the series garnered 1.45 million tweets producing a record at the time (Ng 2014). In 2015, the series continued to be the most popular series on Twitter directed at youth audiences and overall the fifth most tweeted about series with 222 000 tweets per telecast (Statista 2016). The series finale in June 2017 spurred 1.7 million tweets making it the most tweeted television episode of the year (Patten 2017), thus echoing the series' popularity all the way to its last episode.

Of the four girls, Emily was the one closest to their missing friend Alison. Unknown to the other girls, she also had a crush on Alison, which Alison ruthlessly exploited to her gain. Emily is a swimmer and lives with her mother, as her father is deployed by the military. Emily is a sporty, girl next door-type, who is kind to everyone and loyal to her friends. When the girls' tormentor A begins to reach out to the girls, Emily is threatened to expose her sexuality to her family and friends causing her anxiety and stress. Coming to terms with her sexuality requires her to leave her boyfriend and, at first, to be evasive with her parents and friends about her life. Soon, she finds a confidant in her new neighbor, Maya, who becomes her first girlfriend. Their relationship is tumultuous with frequent ups and downs, ending with Maya being sent away to boarding school. In Maya's

absence, Emily meets Paige, a swimmer in her team, who bullies her at first but later reveals to be a closeted lesbian with a crush on Emily. They begin a relationship in secret because Paige is afraid to come out, and the secrecy bothers Emily. (*Pretty Little Liars* season 1).

3.4 Methods of analysis

In this section, methods of analysis of the study are introduced. The chosen methods are qualitative and will draw mostly on Bednarek's (2010; 2011) work on characterization, more specifically, on the concept of expressive character identity introduced in section 2.1.1. In the following, the ways in which Bednarek's concepts will be applied in the analysis conducted in this study will be presented. Moreover, the methods of examining the data from a queer theoretical viewpoint will be discussed.

The analysis builds closely on Bednarek's work, particularly with respect to expressive resources, features or cues, which are explicit and implicit cues that contribute to the construction of expressive identities. Expressive identities, as explained in section 2.1.1, can include emotional, attitudinal and ideological identities. The construction of expressive character identities in this study are analyzed on the micro-level, meso-level and macro-level in order to trace whether the characters' expressive behavior is unique to one character or whether it is shared between characters (micro-level), whether expressive resources form specific expressive strategies or styles (meso-level), and whether the expressive identities embodied are temporary and context-bound or stable (macro-level) (Bednarek 2011: 14). Explicit and implicit verbal and nonverbal expressive cues in the data contribute to the construction of expressive identities. The list of expressive cues, originally referred to as textual cues by Culpeper (2001) and subsequently modified by Bednarek are applied in the analysis of this study.

As discussed in section 2.2.3, Bednarek emphasizes the different multimodalities of characters and the product, the characters relating to the actors' multimodal performances and the product relating to the multimodal cinematic tropes (e.g. camera angles, music, costume) that create the final product of fictional television. Thus, also cinematographic elements – referred to as cinematographic cues here – are taken into consideration in the analysis of the data, in addition to Bednarek's list of expressive cues, as can be seen on Table 1. Cinematographic cues consist of resources and activities suggested by Bordwell and Thompson (2008) as key means of cinematic narration.

Table 1. Expressive and cinematographic cues (Bednarek 2011: 9, Bordwell & Thompson 2008)

Explicit cues	Self-presentation (character gives explicit information about the self), e.g. *I'm a feminist; I'm emotional*
	Other-presentation (character gives explicit information about other character[s]), e.g. *She's a feminist; He's emotional.*
Implicit cues	Conversational structure, e.g. hesitations, interruptions signaling nervousness, emotional turmoil, anger
	Lexis, e.g. surge features/affective language (*Oh my God!*)
	Syntactic structure, e.g. inversion in exclamations (*How dare he!*)
	Paralinguistic features, e.g. tempo, pitch range/variation, voice quality, loudness
	Visual features, e.g. facial expression, gesture, posture
	(Im)politeness strategies/face/image/relational-work
Cinematographic cues	Cinematographic elements, e.g. camera-angles, setting, costume, music

As one corner stone of the present study is queer theory, examining the data with a queer perspective is also crucial while conducting the analysis. Basically, this dimension of the present analysis consists of the examination of the data not through the heteronormative lens but, through the queer perspective by focusing on aspects that question the heteronormative status quo or are present due to its existence. Thus, while examining the data, the role of the heteronormative world view present in the data will be critically considered and discussed.

The eight analytical units chosen to be included in the analysis follow the coming out-narratives of the characters of Santana and Emily, respectively. Four scenes are chosen to represent each characters' narrative focusing on their sexual identity. The chosen analytical units comprise of scenes that depict instances from the characters' lives before coming out, declaration of coming out and after coming out, thus, these are the three categories into which the scenes are divided – similarly to Herman's (2003) study. The chosen categories offer an explicit way for segmenting the data and examining them in a chronological order. By selecting four scenes from both characters' narratives, the one extra scene provides an opportunity to further examine the stage that is particularly poignant in each character's coming out journey. In Santana's case, two scenes are from

the stage before her coming out in order to shed more light on her struggle to come out. Meanwhile, in Emily's case, the stage after her coming out is examined through two scenes – this is due to the difficulties she experiences after coming out. Santana Lopez' scenes are from *Glee* episodes: 2.15 *Sexy*, 3.06 *Mash-Off*, 3.07 *I Kissed a Girl* and 3.13 *Heart*. Emily Fields' scenes are from *Pretty Little Liars* episodes: 1.04 *Can You Hear Me Now?*, 1.11 *Moments Later,* 1.17 *The New Normal* and 1.19 *A Person of Interest*.

The analysis will be conducted scene-by-scene, and both characters will be analyzed separately in relation to the three categories. The rationale for choosing each analytical unit will be offered at the beginning of each segment of analysis as well as background information for the narrative. Furthermore, each analysis segment includes a transcript of the detailed scene. The objective is to analyze each scene closely following Bednarek's model. Number of visual observations will be demonstrated through photographic illustrations of the characters. The analysis is mainly focused on the expressive cues utilized by the characters of Emily and Santana, but in some relevant instances also the expressive cues utilized by other characters that appear in the scenes with them are discussed. In this way, it becomes possible to examine how the main characters are perceived and represented through other characters. After the analysis of scenes in each segment, a queer theoretical perspective will be applied in discussing the broader issues present in the scenes. Finally, as each scene in each category is analyzed, the overall observations on each character will be compared to one another. All units selected for the analysis will be processed multiple times.

From a theoretical perspective, the analysis is conducted by first considering the micro-level elements (see Table 1.) before discussing the meso-level and macro-level instances formed by them. On the micro-level, the analysis commences by considering nonverbal implicit cues beginning with conversational structure and then considering paralinguistic and visual features. Second, verbal implicit cues, namely, language use is considered, focusing mostly on affective language and surge features. Finally, before cinematographic features are discussed, explicit cues of self-presentation and other-presentation are examined. After these micro-level elements are discussed, the expressive styles and strategies on the meso-level and expressive identities on the macro-level are discussed. The macro-level analysis of expressive identities is conducted by examining the meso- and micro-level elements that construct these identities. The expressive features, styles and strategies are combined and categorized into emotional identities, attitudinal identities and ideological identities. The emotions, attitudes and ideologies are

determined without specific theoretical guidelines, since psychology is not an essential focus point of this study. However, Plutchik's 1962 wheel of emotions is considered as a suggested framework for determining emotions.

4. Analysis

As detailed in the previous section, the analysis will be structured in three segments and, after each segment of analysis, meaningful issues present in the scenes are discussed from a queer theoretical viewpoint. The first segment of analysis features two scenes from *Glee* and one from *Pretty Little Liars* followed by the first Queer talk-section. The second segment features each characters' coming out scene, followed by a Queer talk-section about coming out. Finally, the last segment features one scene from *Glee* and two from *Pretty Little Liars*, followed by the last segment of Queer talk. Scenes marked with the letter *A* are scenes from *Glee*, while *Pretty Little Liars*-scenes are marked with the letter *B*.

4.1 Before coming out

This segment of the analysis presents chosen analytic units from both series during the time period before the characters' coming out. The section consist of two scenes from *Glee* and one from *Pretty Little Liars*, based on the crucial role this period plays in the overall coming out narrative of Santana Lopez on *Glee*. After a detailed analysis of scenes 1A, 1B and 2A, the broader issues touched upon in the scenes will be discussed in a queer theoretical perspective in the first Queer talk-section.

4.1.1 Scene 1A

Background and rationale

Scene 1A depicts the struggle Santana faces with having feelings for Brittany but being too afraid to show them freely. On a more general level, the scene deals with the insecurities LGBT teens feel about coming out and being themselves at school. Particularly, the fear of being bullied affects all teenagers, even if they seem tough like Santana. For Santana, this scene is monumental as she is able to voice her feelings for Brittany for the first time and face rejection from her.

The scene is from the 15th episode of *Glee's* second season titled *Sexy* (Falchuck 2011). The conversation in scene 1A between Santana (Naya Rivera) and Brittany (Heather Morris) takes place near the end of the episode after the girls have been struggling with the state of their relationship. The situation is complicated, since even though the girls are regularly having sexual encounters with each other, Brittany is dating Artie and Santana is dating Sam. In the course of the episode, the girls have a talk about their relationship with their substitute teacher Holly Holliday and sing Fleetwood Mac's *Landslide* in glee club together with her. During the performance, Santana is very emotional as she finally

realizes that she has feelings for Brittany. Thus, Santana approaches Brittany after Glee club and shares her feelings.

Transcript: scene 1A

1		*Santana walks up to Brittany who is standing by her locker in the school hallway.*
2	**SANTANA**:	Hi.
3	**BRITTANY**:	Hey.
4	**SANTANA**:	Can we talk?
5	**BRITTANY**:	But we never do that.
6	**SANTANA**:	I know… but I wanted to thank you for performing that song with me in Glee
7		club.
8	**BRITTANY**:	Yeah.
9	**SANTANA**:	Cause it's made me do a lot of thinking. (*pause*). What I've realized… is why
10		I'm such a bitch all the time. I'm a bitch because I'm angry. I'm angry because
11		I have all of these feelings (*pause*) Feelings for you that I'm afraid of dealing
12		with, because I'm afraid of dealing with the consequences. And Brittany, I can't
13		go to an Indigo Girls concert. I just can't.
14	**BRITTANY**:	I understand that.
15	**SANTANA**:	Do you understand what I'm trying to say here?
16	**BRITTANY**:	(*shaking her head*) No, not really.
17	**SANTANA**:	I wanna be with you. (*pause*) But I'm afraid of the talks and the looks. I mean,
18		you know what happened to Kurt at this school.
19	**BRITTANY**:	But, Honey, if anybody were to ever make fun of you, you would either kick
20		their ass or slash them with your vicious, vicious words.
21	**SANTANA**:	(*crying*) Yeah, I know. But… I'm so afraid of what everyone will say behind
22		my back. Still, I have to accept that I love you. I love you and I don't want be
23		with Sam or Finn, or any of those other guys. I just want you.
24		Please, say you love me back. Please.
25	**BRITTANY**:	Of course I love you. I do. And I would totally be with you if it weren't for
26		Artie.
27	**SANTANA**:	Artie?
28	**BRITTANY**:	I love him, too. I don't wanna hurt him, that's not right. I can't break up with
29		him.
30	**SANTANA**:	Yes, you can! He's just a stupid boy!
31	**BRITTANY**:	But it wouldn't be right. Santana, you have to know that if Artie and I were to
32		ever break up, and I'm lucky enough that you're still single…
33		*Brittany grabs Santana's arm.*
34	**SANTANA**:	(*pushes Brittany's hand away*) Don't!
35	**BRITTANY**:	I am so yours. (*pause*). Proudly so.
36	**SANTANA**:	Yeah, wow! Whoever thought that being fluid meant you could be so stuck?
37		*Santana is crying.*
38	**BRITTANY**:	I'm sorry. Don't…
39		*Brittany tries to hug Santana.*
40	**SANTANA**:	Get off me!
41		*Santana leaves. The school-bell is ringing.*

Expressive features and identities

In scene 1A, the most salient micro-level expressive features constructing expressive styles on the meso-level are nonverbal implicit cues such as paralinguistic and visual

features. Visual features are emphasized through cinematographic features such as setting, costume and makeup. Moreover, the scene also depicts expressive identities constructed verbally by affective language use and surge features. The overall nature of macro-level expressive identities constructed via expressive features and styles, is mainly emotional and attitudinal. Next, these findings will be expanded on and discussed in detail.

Beginning with nonverbal implicit cues on the micro-level, the *conversational structure* of the scene is built around the emotional turmoil Santana is experiencing, which includes hesitation and nervousness in the beginning of the scene and anger in the end. Before Santana has gathered the courage to share her thoughts with Brittany, beginning on line 10, her turns are short and she skirts the issue by thanking Brittany for performing *Landslide* with her. Moreover, the pause and a deep breath after the line '*cause it's made me do a lot of thinking*' (line 9) signals nervousness and hesitation to really begin the conversation. After this, the conversation goes through stages of Santana first expressing her feelings – which will be discussed later on – then explaining what she is saying to a clueless Brittany, who reassures her and also confesses her love to Santana, only to finally say that she cannot be with her. This is when Santana becomes angry and upset, which holds until she exits the conversation. Overall, Santana's feelings change drastically in the course of the conversation, which will be examined next.

Continuing with nonverbal implicit cues, *paralinguistic features*, play a significant role in the scene in tracing Santana's emotions. From the very first line that Santana utters in the scene, a simple, "*hi*", it is clear that Santana is not her usual tough and "bitchy" self. The most noticeable changes in her overall demeanor is the way she speaks. The usually distinctive strong paralinguistic features of the character, which will be discussed further in the analysis of scene 4A, have undergone a drastic change. First, this can be heard from the quality of her voice, which is quite shaky as she is on the verge of crying before finally bursting to tears on line 21. Second, she is speaking in a low-pitched voice that is soft and deep. Finally, the volume of her speech is low, which is the most significant change from her usual vocal features. Furthermore, she pauses from time to time in order to regain composure and to ensure that they are not overheard, on line 17, for example. Consequently, all of these vocal aspects indicate that she does not want to be overheard in a crowded school hallway. However, as the hallway appears to be empty when Brittany rejects Santana, her volume rises and her tone becomes harder when she exclaims: "*Yes you can! He's just a stupid boy*", indicating rising anger.

Another significant set of nonverbal implicit cues present in scene 1A are *visual features*, including facial expressions, posture and gestures that paint a very distinctive picture of Santana's emotions during the scene. Santana has a very strong brow that intensifies her facial expressions. Furthermore, she relies on strong, dark eye makeup in the form of mascara and eyeliner, which emphasizes her glance. This is achieved in this scene, since in the course of the conversation, Santana makes noticeable glances to the hallway several times in order to ensure that no one hears them. For instance, when she announces that she has feelings for Brittany (on line 11), a football player walks by and she glances at him and momentarily tenses and pauses to ensure that the boy is not paying attention to them before continuing (Image 1a.1). This happens again, as she takes the time to glance to the hallway before explaining to Brittany what she is saying (Image 1a.2). Due to this watchdog-like behavior, the eye contact she has with Brittany is somewhat erratic. However, the most meaningful utterances, such as "*I wanna be with you*" on line 17, are backed up by an intense gaze. Moreover, she blinks frequently, particularly during the pauses she takes, and even shuts her eyes briefly when she says that she cannot go to a concert with Brittany. In sum, her eye-level movements indicate fear, distress, the truth in her words, and overall difficulty she experiences during the conversation.

Image 1a.1

Image 1a.2

Santana's visual communication experiences a change as Brittany rejects her; her brow rises and her mouth opens indicating surprise and she slightly turns her head in confusion (Image 1a.3). Her surprise morphs quickly into hurt and anger, which can be seen from her stare and gesturing at the end of the conversation. Earlier in the conversation Santana is uncharacteristically stoic in her gesturing but as Brittany tries to touch her at the end of the scene, she pushes her hand forward to stop her (Image 1a.4), and when Brittany tries to hug her, she pushes her away violently.
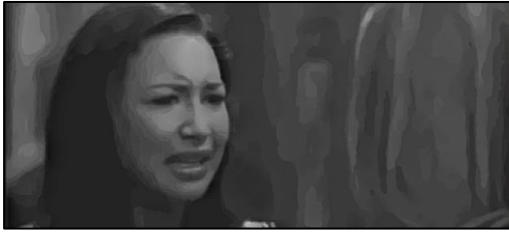
Image 1a.3

Image 1a.4

Continuing with verbal implicit cues, Santana's language use in scene 1A consists of *affective language*, i.e. language that has emotional connotations. For instance, she uses the word "*bitch*" to describe herself, which, in this context, has a negative connotation. She goes on to reaffirm, on line 10, that she is that way because she is "*angry*", which also holds negative emotional connotations. Another essential example is her use of the evaluative word "*stupid*", on line 30, referencing to boys. She generalizes Artie into being just "*a stupid boy*" just like Sam and Finn are generalized as "guys", signaling negativity, contempt and indifference towards the male groups that should not interfere with her relationship with Brittany. The evaluative statement "*He's just a stupid boy!*" is also an instance of the explicit cue, other-presentation. Santana reacts to Brittany's choice of being with Artie angrily with the emotive interjection: "*yeah wow!*" (line 36) and yelling "*don't!*" and "*get off me!*" clearly upset when Brittany tries to touch her. Finally, on line 36, where Santana brings out the irony of Brittany being "*fluid*" but "*stuck*", the word "*fluid*" – meaning sexual fluidity – could be considered to have a more negative meaning for Santana than it did before.

In addition to affective language, *surge features* also appear in Santana's language use. Surge features are present in emotional outbursts and can be viewed to be included in demonstrating *personal affect* (Taavitsainen, cited in Culpeper 2001: 190). Here, Santana frequently uses lexical repetition and pronouns, which are the markers of surge features that appear often in the midst of emotional distress. The lexical repetition in Santana's monologue, from line 9 to 13, is almost poetic: "*What I've realized… is why I'm such a bitch all the time. I'm a bitch because I'm angry. I'm angry because I have all of these feelings… Feelings for you that I'm afraid of dealing with, because I'm afraid of dealing with the consequences*". The pattern of repetition is clear, starting with the repetition of '*bitch*' and moving on to repeating "*angry*" and "*feelings*" finally ending with "*afraid of dealing with*". The repetition could indicate that she is pacing herself to say the words she has been neglecting to utter. However, she is also making sure that the often clueless Brittany understands what she is saying, which she consequently does not. Furthermore,

"*afraid*" is repeated again later on lines 17 and 21, indicating that Santana really is very frightened of the consequences of coming out. However, she also says "*I love you*" twice, stressing the honesty in the statement.

The abundant usage of pronouns in Santana's speech is in this instance strongly linked to self-presentation, an explicit cue. She is explicitly giving information relating to herself by saying "*I'm a bitch*", "*I'm angry*" and "*I'm afraid*", thus revealing her emotional expressive identity. The explicit statements also emphasize the honesty behind them as well as the process of self-realization she is going through. Furthermore, she is displaying her vulnerability with these statements and by saying "*I love you*" and "*I wanna be with you*", which makes Brittany's rejection more painful.

Cinematographic features such as setting and costume contribute to the construction of expressive identities by intensifying selected expressive features. Here, the setting is emphasizing the emotional turmoil Santana is in, as the conversation takes place at the school, and not, for example, in Brittany's house where the girls spent time in the beginning of the episode. This indicates urgency to share her realized feelings with Brittany and be with her, regardless of the fact that they are not alone but still at school, where anyone can overhear them, which is her worst fear. Furthermore, the fact that neither of the girls are wearing their usual cheerleading uniforms at school suggests that they are stripped from their high school labels and appearing just as themselves. Santana is wearing a black leather jacket and Brittany a light t-shirt, emphasizing the girls' differences and states of mind; Santana is in a dark place, struggling with her identity, while Brittany is comfortable with who she is.

On the meso-level, these micro-level features described above form different expressive styles and strategies in the course of the scene. One of the significant expressive styles featured in scene 1A can be described as a cautious style which Santana upholds by utilizing paralinguistic and visual features, namely by keeping her voice down and glancing at the hallway, for example. Another essential expressive style here can be considered as angry and upset, when Brittany rejects Santana. Her language use as well as facial expressions and gesturing, in tow with raising her pitch and volume, form this expressive style. Expressive strategies in scene 1A are mostly formed by verbal explicit and implicit features. For example, on lines 9 to 13, she is subjectively reasoning her behavior via self-presentation. Moreover, her talk of "boys" and "guys" evoke negative evaluations of males in general as an expressive strategy. Accordingly, also her last

comment about Brittany being fluid but stuck conveys the same negative evaluation strategy about being sexually fluid.

In sum, the macro-level expressive identities the character of Santana presents in scene 1A are constructed on the micro-level by implicit cues, namely visual and paralinguistic features, affective language and surge features, which together form expressive styles on the meso-level. In addition, the explicit cues of self-presentation and other-presentation form expressive strategies on the meso-level and contribute to the configuration of Santana's expressive identities. The most salient identities displayed were emotional identities in the form of fear, anxiety, hurt, disbelief, disappointment and anger that can be deduced from both implicit and explicit expressive cues, as well as expressive styles and strategies utilized by the character. Consequently, attitudinal identities are mainly dealing with affect and are signaled mainly through explicit cues and expressive strategies. These are: uncertainty, honesty, fearfulness, hostility and cautiousness. Finally, an ideological identity can be detected through other-presentation and the expressive strategy of negatively evaluating males, which indicates a slight misandry and feminism. Overall, the identity types that most effectively describe Santana during this scene are "upset" and "vulnerable".

The expressive identities are temporary, since Santana is going through a range of emotions that she rarely emits and speaking about issues she rarely talks about. The uniqueness of micro-level expressive features, however, is split, as the features appear to be partly shared at first with Brittany lowering her voice and glancing around, but in the end, prove to be inherently unshared with Santana behaving aggressively while Brittany remains stoic. Overall, this conversation is monumental in Santana's coming out journey as a whole. Sharing her feelings with Brittany is a first step in admitting her sexual identity, but being rejected is hurtful and causes her to doubt herself. Nevertheless, this scene can be considered to begin Santana's quest to accept her sexual identity even though Brittany's rejection causes her to revert back in to the closet for a while.

4.1.2   Scene 1B

Background and rationale

Scene 1B represents the period in Emily Fields' life where she has come to terms with the fact that she likes girls, but is not yet ready to share it publically. This period can be filled with fear, insecurity, doubt and uncertainty, which Emily is experiencing in the

middle of beginning a romance with her new next-door neighbor, Maya. These negative aspects darkening a new relationship are exhibited in scene 1B and call for a deeper analysis of Emily's expressive character identity.

Scene 1B takes place on *Pretty Little Liars'* fourth episode '*Can You Hear Me Now?'* (Dougherty 2010). The conversation between Emily (Shay Mitchell) and Maya (Bianca Lawson) involves pictures of the two of them kissing. The kiss in the pictures is also the girls' first kiss. The pictures were taken in a photo booth during a party and stolen before the girls saw them. At school Emily finds the pictures inside her textbook but is unaware who put them there. Emily is afraid that the person who stole the pictures and put them in her book is the same person who has been tormenting her and her friends. However, before jumping to this conclusion she confronts Maya during her shift at the coffeehouse.

Transcript: scene 1B

1 *Emily approaches Maya outside the coffeehouse where Maya is at work.*

2 **EMILY**:   Hey. Can I talk to you for a sec?

3 *Emily leads Maya away from the coffeehouse area and shows her the previously missing photo*
4 *booth pictures of them kissing.*

5 **EMILY**:   Look.
6 **MAYA**:   Ohh, great, you found them. Where were they?
7 **EMILY**:   In my chemistry book. Did you put them in there?

8 *Maya is looking at her coyly.*

9 **EMILY**:   Just tell me if you did, I won't be angry.
10 **MAYA**:   What's there to be angry about? I think we look cuute!
11 **EMILY**:   Did you put them in my book?
12 **MAYA**:   No. I didn't.

13 *People are passing by and Emily takes the photos away from Maya and puts them in her bag.*

14 **MAYA**:   Emily, it's no big deal, somebody must have grabbed them at the party.
15 **EMILY**:   That somebody saw these. This is us…you and me kissing. Understand?
16 **MAYA**:   (*nodding*) Mhhm.

17 *Maya turns her back and starts walking towards the coffeehouse.*

18 **EMILY**:   Maya.
19 **MAYA**:   I have to get back to work.

20 *Maya takes a tray and heads inside. Emily is still standing on the street.*

Expressive features and identities

In scene 1B the conversation between Emily and Maya is different than in the scenes thus far seen on *Pretty Little Liars* between the two characters. The most salient expressive features exhibited by Emily are nonverbal implicit cues in the form of visual and paralinguistic features that also form expressive styles on the meso-level. The expressive features and styles construct both emotional and attitudinal expressive identities as will be presented in the following.

In scene 1B, the conversational structure guiding the scene forward is clear cut. The turns are short and divided equally among the two girls. Emily takes the lead in the conversation by adamantly demanding to know – in the course of three turns – whether Maya put the pictures in her book, signaling nervousness. Maya, in her part, sees a different side of Emily for the first time, and is slightly surprised. Maya joins the conversation without realizing the serious mindset that Emily is portraying. Her coy smile after Emily asks her about the pictures for the first time, is indicative of Maya believing that the exchange is just their basic, light and flirty conversation. She is confused about Emily's attitude and attempts to steer the conversation into a lighter direction by commenting on the photos and saying that the pictures and someone taking them is a "*no big deal*". This, however, gives Emily the impression that Maya does not care about the pictures or what takes place in them, which causes her to stress the issue in an impolite manner. Maya is immediately hurt and answers to Emily's utterance with only a nod and a slight sound of acknowledgement before returning to her work. Thus, the conversation ends with Maya taking control. Overall, the conversation in Emily's part is led by fear, suspicion and uncertainty, which causes her to behave nervously and in an impolite manner. Next, Emily's behavior will be examined in more detail.

The cluster of visual features Emily exhibits in the scene construct an overall tense and serious demeanor. She leans in (Image 1b.1) when speaking to Maya and clutches her shoulder bag where she puts the photos and nervously guards them. Moreover, Emily glances continuously at the people passing by (Image 1b.2) in order to ensure that they are not overheard and that the pictures remain private. Emily's movements are uncommonly aggressive which can be seen when she grabs the pictures swiftly from Maya's hand and shoves them in her bag. She is not treating the pictures as any other pictures that need careful handling but as something shameful that need to be forcibly hidden. Furthermore, her facial expressions convey worry and anxiety over where the pictures came from and how Maya feels about the kiss. These feelings are indicated with

a furrowed brow and a slightly opened mouth (Image 1b.3), which at the end also convey guilt over being insensitive towards Maya.

Image 1b.1

Image 1b.2

Image 1b.3

The paralinguistic features on the micro-level also contribute to Emily's overall demeanor exhibiting tension and anxiety. The volume of her voice is lower than normal due to the secrecy and her tone is soft but firm, particularly on line 9, where she reassures Maya that she won't be angry at her. However, Maya's amusement at Emily, as indicated by her laugh, along with implying that their kiss not 'a big deal' elicits an irritated reaction from Emily. This is achieved by her slightly raising her voice and stressing the word "*kissing*" and the tag question "*understand*" to make her point, which is both about the significance of the kiss and someone else seeing the pictures. A distinctive feature in nearly all of Emily's turns is the rapid-paced speech, which endures pauses only when someone is passing by. The fast manner of speaking demonstrates the impatience she feels about the issue. She yearns to know where the pictures came from but she is also unsure about her relationship with Maya after the kiss.

Verbal implicit cues hold significance even in a short scene with compact dialogue like scene 1B. Here, even the compact and simple utterances reveal crucial aspects of language use that are meaningful in creating expressive character identities. The most salient features of language use in the scene by Emily, deal with pronoun use, which, in this instance, are aspects of surge features which indicate personal affect. Personal affect presents an image of the characters' "behavior patterns and mental characteristics" (Culpeper 2001:190). In this instance, personal pronouns are used by Emily to demonstrate her uncertain feelings towards Maya on line 15. "*This is us…you and me kissing*", first the use of "*us*" represents what Emily would want them to be but, as she

reverts to the separate "you" and "me", she indicates that she is unsure of it, since Maya let her understand that the pictures along with their first kiss "is no big deal". The emotional connotation of the word "*kissing*" overcomes a change in this context as Emily is implying the act as something shameful.

Cinematic features such as music and setting along with how the scene is filmed, play a role in understanding Emily's behavior. The setting of the scene in the middle of a busy street, outside a coffeehouse, emphasizes the secretive nature of the conversation. Moreover, it highlights the impatience Emily feels about wanting to know where the pictures came from. She could not wait until Maya's work shift was over to discuss the matter. The privacy of the conversation had in a busy walkway, is created by filming the scene with mostly medium close-ups and regular close-ups, as can be seen from images 1b.1–1b.3. In this scene, background music gives the scene dramatic nuances as it begins slowly and quietly at the climax of the scene, on line 12, and intensifies from there following the drama until the end of the scene.

On the meso-level, in scene 1B, the aforementioned expressive features combine expressive styles of being cautious and ashamed. These styles are formed via visual features, mainly by Emily's forceful handling of the photos and her gazing to the street. Moreover, paralinguistic features such as her low volume contribute to the expressive styles. Furthermore, by demanding to know about Maya's involvement with the pictures appearing in Emily's book, she is applying an accusatory expressive strategy, which results in feeling guilty about her behavior. These expressive styles and strategies contribute also to the construal macro-level expressive identities.

On the macro-level, Emily's expressive identity represents a mix of identities formed due to the mystery of the newly appeared pictures and the pudding relationship with Maya. Together these unresolved issues made Emily behave in an uncharacteristic manner, displaying expressive features unique to her character, and emitting temporary expressive identities. These expressive identities are emotional and attitudinal. In the emotional identity spectrum Emily can be considered to be ashamed, frustrated and guilty, as indicated by both verbal and nonverbal implicit cues. Consequently, these cues also contribute to the creation of attitudinal identities, namely, anxiousness, uncertainty, cautiousness and fearfulness. The identity type, which can be constructed on the count of these expressive identities is "overreacting". Overall, in scene 1B, all Emily's fears and insecurities come together and it causes her to slightly erupt. The chance of a relationship

with Maya and the possibility of someone telling about her sexuality before she is ready to share it, is a major source of anxiety for her.

4.1.3   Scene 2A

Background and rationale

Scene 2A can be seen as the catalyst for Santana's coming out depicting Finn (Cory Monteith) outing her in public. The scene is chosen for a detailed analysis on the basis of its crucial part in Santana's overall coming out narrative, and the subject matter of someone purposefully revealing another person's homosexuality without their permission. Furthermore, the scene serves as a good example of the expressive character identity of Santana, as she can be very mean and even threatening but when the topic of her sexuality is brought up, she instantly becomes vulnerable.

In the scene, from the sixth episode of *Glee's* third season, *Mash Off* (Hitchcock 2011), Santana approaches Finn in the crowded hallway of McKinley High School. Finn is accompanied by Rory, a Scottish exchange student. Earlier in the episode, Santana has made hurtful remarks about Finn's weight and is now pretending to apologize for her behavior.

Transcript: scene 2A

1   *Santana approaches Finn and Rory in the hallway*

2   **SANTANA:**   (addressing Finn) Hey Tubs, can I talk to you for a second?

3   **RORY:**   Hey, listen here. You can't make fun of Finn anymore.

4   **SANTANA:**   (to Rory) Shut your potato hole. I'm here to apologize. (to Finn) Rachel's right. I
5   haven't been fair to you. (pause) You're not fat. I should know, I-I slept with
6   you. I mean, at some point I must have liked that you look like a taco-addict
7   who's had one too many back-alley liposuctions.

8   **RORY:**   Whoa.

9   **SANTANA:**   Please stick a sock in it or ship yourself back to Scotland. I'm trying to apologize
10   to Lumps, the Clown. (to Finn) I am sorry Finn. I mean really, I'm-I'm sorry that
11   the New Directions are gonna get crushed by the Trouble Tones. I'm also sorry
12   that you have no talent. I'm sorry that you sing like you're getting your prostate
13   checked and you dance like you've been asleep *for years* and someone just woke
14   you up. Have fun riding on Rachel's coat tails for the rest of your life. Although,
15   you know what, I would just watch out for her come holiday time if I were him,
16   because *if I were her,* I'd stick a stent in one of those (*pointing at Finn's chest*)
17   boobs and let the Finn-blubber light the Hanukah lamp for eight magical nights.

18   *Santana walks away smiling. Finn turns to Santana's direction*

19   **FINN:**   Hey, Santana, why don't you just come out of the closet?

| 20 | *Santana stops walking away, a cheerleader passing by turns to look at her.* |

| 21 | *Finn walks closer to Santana who is standing still her back towards Finn.* |

22	**FINN:**	You know, I think I know why you're so good at tearing everybody else down.
23		It's because you're constantly tearing yourself down because you can't admit to
24		everybody that you're in love with Brittany and she might not love you back.
25		That must hurt, to not be able to admit to everyone how you really feel. You
26		know what I think you are? (*pause*) A coward. (*pause*) See you at the mash-off.

| 27 | *Finn turns and walks away. Santana looks shocked. The school bell rings.* |

Expressive features and identities

In scene 2A the most salient findings on the micro-level have to do with verbal implicit cues such as surge features and nonverbal implicit cues such as visual features. These features act together to combine meso-level expressive strategies and styles, all of which form emotional and attitudinal expressive identities on the macro-level. Furthermore, explicit cues such as other-presentation play a crucial part, revealing key aspects of the character of Santana. Lastly, cinematographic cues reveal that scene 2A utilizes mostly close-ups and extreme close-ups, thus, focusing more on visual features. Next, the aforementioned findings will be elaborated and described in detail.

Concentrating first on nonverbal implicit cues, the conversational structure of scene 2A is reflective of an intense argument with long monologue-like turns and short interjections. Santana claims the control of the conversation by pretending to be regretful and apologetic after Rory steps in to defend Finn. Her objective is to not relinquish control during her manifest of Finn's faults, and believes that Finn will not retaliate even after her turn. However, Finn does just that on line 19 and takes control of the conversation Santana thought was finished. Overall, Santana's turns hold the objective to be hurtful without signaling hesitation or nervousness, however, she does laugh during her speech on lines 9 to 17. The only time she pauses is for effect on line 5 before beginning to insult Finn.

Impoliteness is an essential nonverbal implicit feature in scene 2A and can also be noted as a distinctive, stable characteristic of Santana. Here, her impoliteness is featured as early as in her first utterance when she refers to Finn as "*Tubs*". Afterwards also using the monikers "*Lumps the Clown*" and "*the Finn-flubber*" – this is also indicates Santana's attitudes towards Finn as mean and hostile. Santana's impoliteness strategy (Culpeper 2001: 247) is simple and can be observed utilizing the concept of face (Culpeper 2001: 238). However, it should be noted that nonverbal implicit cues, such as paralinguistic (voice quality, tone) and visual features (gesturing) used to emphasize her utterances, also

figure into the manifestation of her impoliteness. Santana's objective is to boldly attack both Finn and Rory's faces, although for different reasons. Rory's face is attacked for defending Finn and for interrupting and "talking back" to Santana. Finn's face is attacked for other reasons, which Finn brings forth in his turn. Santana expects the attack on Finn's face consisting of several insults not to elicit any reaction that could affect her own face, as it is how people usually react to her insults. However, surprisingly to Santana – and perhaps to the viewers as well – Finn attacks back.

Visual features, such as facial expressions and gesturing exhibit the drastic change in Santana's demeanor after she is outed by Finn. During her turn on lines 9–17, she intently embellishes her colorful words by gesturing with her arms and fingers (Image 2a.1 & 2a.2) and nodding her head to her words, these features indicate a joyous stance. Furthermore, she glances to the side at Rory and to revel in his stunned expression and the fear he exhibits towards her. As she finishes her speech, she raises her brow and gestures with her fingers (Image 2a.2) glowing in self-satisfaction. However, as she hears Finn's words, she stops walking away and her body tenses, while her previously self-satisfied smile morphs into a disbelieving look with an open mouth, and furrowed brows (Image 2a.3) indicating surprise and horror.
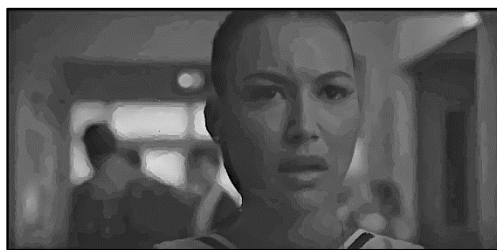
Image 2a.1

Image 2a.2

Image 2a.3

Finally, with reference to nonverbal implicit cues, paralinguistic features emitted by Santana embody the mean nature of her insults. The volume of her speech is loud, apart from the beginning when she is pretending to apologize, at this point, her voice quality is strong and her voice thick as usual. Furthermore, her tone can most poignantly be described as sneering and sarcastic. Seeming to enjoy the cleverness of her own words,

she emphasizes the parts in her utterances that are most likely the funniest for her, for example "*for years*" on line 13 and "*if I were her*" on line 16. Her speech is rapid, which implies the aggression she has to unburden herself of her best quips before forgetting them. Overall, she is speaking like she is untouchable by Finn, which only emphasizes the shocking treatment she receives from him.

Moving on to verbal implicit cues, Santana's language use in this scene consists mostly of surge features and affective language. As discussed in the analysis of scene 1A, surge features include different linguistic choices such as lexical repetition and pronouns and can be utilized in demonstrating dislike or anger, for example. These linguistic features are utilized by Santana several times in her speech on lines 9 to 17, for example, in her turn on lines 12–13 "*I'm sorry that you sing like you're getting your prostate checked and you dance like you've been asleep for years and someone just woke you up*". Here the personal pronoun "you" is used numerous times and the simile "like" is also repeated. Moreover, she begins utterances with "*I'm sorry*" numerous times during her turn. The overall encounter between Santana and Finn can effectively be seen as an outburst demonstrating both dislike and anger on both characters' part. Other meaningful linguistic features include affective language. For example, in this instance, the aforementioned names Santana calls Finn "*Tubs*", "*Lumps, the clown*" and "*Finn-flubber*" all represent evaluative monikers with negative connotations of being overweight.

Other-presentation has an important role in the scene. Explicit other-presentation of Santana is delivered by Finn, while other-presentation on Santana by Rory remains implicit. Rory's utterances speak implicitly on how he views Santana. His initial reaction is to defend Finn when Santana first approaches them, indicating that Santana is someone who needs to be defended from. Rory's only other line in the scene is the emotive interjection '*whoa*'. This further implies that even though Rory knows that Santana can be mean to others, he is shocked to find out the level of cruelty she can reach and, as a result, he is no longer willing to interfere in the conversation.

In this scene, the point of other-presentation is to reveal significant details of Santana. The other-representation of Santana by Finn is explicit and public. Through his utterances: "*you're so good at tearing everybody else down*", "*you're constantly tearing yourself down*" and "*you can't admit to everybody*", he is describing Santana – with the help of surge features – as someone who is afraid to be honest with herself and others about who she is, and using the build-up anger from it to being mean to others. Overall, the purpose of the scene is to reveal more about Santana's vulnerability and insecurities

than about her mean personality, under which her insecurities are hidden. On the whole, the micro-level expressive resources prove to be partly shared by the characters, for instance, the loudness of volume and facial expressions exhibiting surprise.

Cinematographic features such as camera-angles, setting and costume enhance the atmosphere of the scene. The scene is filmed using mostly extreme close-ups, where the characters' facial expressions can be easily viewed and deciphered, which is important as neither character has an immediate verbal response to the other's turn. In addition to several close-ups of the characters' faces, other kind of camera angles are also utilized, for instance, in the end of the scene, as Finn approaches Santana, her back is towards the camera drawing attention to her (Image 2a.4). Here, the audience is left wondering for, what kind of expression is on Santana's face when Finn outs her and calls her a coward. This is answered in the final shot of the scene that focuses on her shocked face.

Image 2a.4

Other essential cinematographic features in scene 2A are setting and costumes. Here, these cinematographic cues contribute essentially to the overall structure of the scene. The setting is a crowded high school hallway, which highlights the subject matter of the scene and figures into its outcome – Finn outing Santana. Santana insults Finn in front of everybody, thus, Finn is motivated to reveal to everyone that she is a lesbian. Here, Santana is still part of the cheerios (the cheerleading group of the school) and wearing her cheerleader uniform, thus, identifying herself as one of them. As costumes help separate the characters, the red and white cheerios uniform is very distinctive in the overall world of *Glee*. The cheerleader uniform ties Santana to a certain clique of popular girls, and when the cheerleader walking past them indicates having heard what Finn said about Santana, the ramifications of the very public conversation are already in motion. The cheerleader costume Santana is wearing can be considered to index heterosexuality, and cause viewers to draw certain associations linked to heterosexuality. The associations are so strong that Santana could be argued to wear the uniform as a shield or armor to protect her authentic sexual identity. Nevertheless, here, the traditionally heteronormative status of the cheerleading uniform is challenged as it is worn by Santana, a lesbian.

Examining expressive styles on the meso-level and expressive identities on the macro-level, warrants the combining of micro-level elements. To briefly summarize, the most salient expressive features consists mostly of implicit cues both verbal and nonverbal, excluding other-presentation which is an explicit cue. On the meso-level, Santana's expressive styles are built upon these micro-level expressive features. The most significant expressive style of mocking is the combination of both verbal and nonverbal implicit cues. The lively facial expressions and gesturing in tow with her loud volume and sarcastic tone help deliver her words poignantly, aiming for the unashamed mocking of Finn.

Expressive cues in tow with expressive styles create distinctive expressive identities, which, in Santana's case, are mostly attitudinal and emotional identities. When having the floor in the beginning of the scene, Santana is emitting the expressive identities most stable for her character; confident, self-satisfied, hostile, mean and sarcastic, which are attitudinal identities. Her emotional identity during her own turns can be described as joyful. However, her emotional identities drastically change as Finn takes the floor, which can only be determined through visual features and explicitly through Finn's other-presentation. Her emotional identities are: sad, afraid and surprised, while her attitudinal identities are: insecure, shocked and numb. These reformed identities are context-bound and temporary, as they arise from the situation and are unusual expressive identities for the character. Overall, the identity types most suited for Santana in scene 2A are 'mocking' in the beginning of the scene and 'vulnerable' in the end, both of which capture the essence of her behavior in the scene.

4.1.4   Queer talk: Before coming out

The period preceding both Santana and Emily's coming out in their respective series depicted in scenes 1A, 1B and 2A, brings out broader issues faced by LGBT youth. These issues include fear and anxiety over potential threats following coming out in a heteronormative environment. Namely, the issues shed light on in the scenes presented above are: bullying, being prevented from controlling one's coming out and secrecy.

Scene 1A deals with Santana's fear towards bullying that would ensue if she came out as a lesbian. The emotion is surprisingly strong for the character, who is usually very tough and a mean bully herself, as addressed by Brittany in the scene and also seen in scene 2A. Santana confesses to being afraid of "the talks and the looks" and possibly enduring the same faith as other students they know who have come out, and as a result, had to change

schools. This emphasizes the fact that teenagers, regardless of their personalities, recognize and fear the threats of coming out.

Another fear and anxiety inducing threat present in scenes 1A, 1B and 2A, is that one might not get to control their own coming out. In scene 1B, Emily is afraid the person who saw the photos of her kissing Maya will reveal it to people. Consequently, the pictures are later sent to Emily's mother before she has the chance to come out to her parents, thus making her fear valid. In the case of scene 2A, Santana actually is "outed" by Finn, who in anger neglected to consider its implications for Santana. Thus, Santana is forced to relinquish control over her coming out, particularly as the information is used as a part of a political campaign airing on local television station.

The secretive nature of romantic relationships also elicits anxiety in the scenes of this section. Both Emily and Santana have female love interests before coming out, and have had to keep their relationships hidden. In scene 1B, Emily's relationship with Maya is just beginning, which makes her feel uncertain about it but she is afraid to discuss it with Maya in public. Similarly, Santana is cautious of talking to Brittany about her feelings towards her at school. Teenagers in heterosexual relationships do not have to endure similar secrecy in their relationships. This is a testament of heteronormativity which in this instance remains unchallenged in these scenes of *Glee* and *Pretty Little Liars*. Overall, it is considered that the fear and anxiety the social stigma elicits places LGBT community at risk of enduring mental health problems (Clark, Ellis & Peel 2014: 136).

4.2 Coming out

The following scenes from *Glee* and *Pretty Little Liars* demonstrate coming out to family and extended family members. First, scene 2B will present Emily's coming out to her father, while scene 3A will depict Santana coming out to her grandmother. After the analysis of expressive features and identities in both scenes, the second section of Queer talk will discuss coming out from a queer theoretical perspective

4.2.1   Scene 2B

Background and rationale

Scene 2B presents a coming-out scene, which are generally quite common in the genre of teen drama, which is why the scene was chosen for deeper examination. The scene is from the eleventh episode of the first season of *Pretty Little Liars*, *Moments later* (2011

Dougherty). In the scene, Emily comes out to her father, Wayne (Eric Steinberg), after his growing suspicions that Emily is in trouble. Recent events, involving a violent attack by the girls' tormentor A, has put one on one of Emily's friends in the hospital leaving Emily in an emotionally vulnerable state. She is also feeling guilty about her neighbor Toby being in police custody, and about lying to her parents about her girlfriend, Maya. Emily's parents are concerned for her as she has broken up with her boyfriend. Her father has to go to back his job with the military soon and her mother has requested him to talk to Emily to figure out what is going on with her.

Transcript: scene 2B

1		*Emily is lying on her bed talking on the phone*
2	**EMILY:**	I don't know Maya, I mean, with Hanna in the hospital (*sigh*) everything's on
3		hold (*Maya's turn*) yeah (*pause*) I miss you too (*Maya's turn*) Maybe tomorrow?
4		(*giggles*)
5		*Emily sees her father standing by the door.*
6		I-I gotta go. Right. Bye.
7	**WAYNE:**	Was that Hanna?
8	**EMILY:**	No… Maya. Does mom need help with dinner?
9	**WAYNE**:	No, not yet.
10	**EMILY:**	okay
11		*Wayne walks into the room.*
12	**WAYNE:**	Do you remember Dennis Small?
13	**EMILY:**	Yeah?
14	**WAYNE:**	He told me that he heard that you've been calling the station (*sits down*) to try to
15		visit this Toby Cavanaugh (*pause*) Do you wanna tell me why you're trying to
16		talk this boy?
17	**EMILY:**	I-I want him to know that it wasn't me who told the police where to find him.
18	**WAYNE:**	Has he threatened you in any way?
19	**EMILY:**	(*shaking her head*) No.
20		*Wayne stands up and puts his hands on the Emily's bedpost, facing her.*
21	**WAYNE:**	What is it? Your mother thinks you're keeping some kind of secret. You've been
22		jumpy since I got home. First, I thought it's because I haven't been around but
23		that's not it. Something's eating you.
24	**EMILY:**	It's like you said… I'm – I'm just a little jumpy.
25	**WAYNE:**	Look, you tell me who's giving you a hard time and I will take care of it.
26	**EMILY:**	It's not like that.
27	**WAYNE:**	If you need help, you ask for it, right. There's nothing to be ashamed about.
28	**EMILY:**	Dad…
29	**WAYNE:**	I'm gonna talk to Toby Cavanaugh myself and put an end to it.
30	**EMILY:**	I'm not afraid of Toby.
31	**WAYNE:**	You're afraid of something, I can see it in your eyes. Now, what is it?
32	**EMILY:**	I'm *afraid* of you and Mom.
33	**WAYNE:**	Wh-Why are you afraid of us?
34	**EMILY:**	Because I'm not who you think I am.
35	**WAYNE:**	(*laughs*) You're Emily Fields, my little girl, I'd know you anywhere. I got a
36		picture of you in my wallet.
37	**EMILY:**	I'm eight years old in that picture (*pause*) that's a different girl.

38	**WAYNE:**	It's the same girl. I just need a new picture.
39	**EMILY:**	It's not that simple.
40		(SILENCE)
41	**WAYNE:**	Emi…
42		(SILENCE)
43	**EMILY:**	(*very quietly*) I'm --- gay (*pause*) (*louder*) I'm gay.
44	*Wayne sits on Emily's bed and looks at her. She is crying.*	

Expressive features and identities

In scene 2B, the most salient findings involving expressive features on the micro-level are mostly nonverbal implicit cues consisting of visual and paralinguistic features. However, the most essential expressive feature in the scene is self-presentation, an explicit cue, which powers this important moment in Emily's life. The macro-level expressive identities created by expressive features, as well as expressive styles on the meso-level, are mostly emotional and attitudinal. Next, these findings will be described and elaborated on in detail.

Aspects of the conversational structure in scene 2B are quite multifaceted due to the change in Emily's motivation in the middle of the scene. In the beginning of the conversation with her father on line 7, Emily tries to take control of the discussion by directing it away from her phone call with Maya and asking about her mother needing help with dinner. The length of Emily's turns after her father prevents her from exiting the conversation are considerably shorter than her father's question-based turns but lengthen from one-word utterances (e.g. lines 12 and 18) to longer statements towards the end of the scene (e.g. lines 31 and 33). The shortness of her turns in the beginning as well as her hesitance in her longer turns on lines 16 and 23 indicate evasiveness and nervousness, which is why her father does not believe her and keeps directing the conversation towards Toby. However, Emily's evasiveness dissipates after her turn on line 29, as she assertively denies being afraid of Toby and, thus, begins to take control of the conversation, her father, in turn, becomes confused and hesitant. This is the point where Emily's motivation changes and she decides to come out to him, even though she is nervous and struggles with the announcement.

The aspects of the conversational structure of the scene are dependent upon paralinguistic features, which give the utterances their significant nature. Emily's voice is low and soft in the beginning of the scene when she mentions Hanna's accident as she is concerned for her friend. However, when her father appears in the doorway, she is forced to end her conversation with Maya with a more clinical voice. As she does not want her mother to

overhear her conversation with her father, Emily speaks softly and with a lower volume than usual. The volume and tone Emily uses reveal her insecurity and vulnerability, and emphasizes how difficult it is to rely on her father with this information. Her volume only goes slightly up and her tone becomes sterner on line 30 – the aforementioned point in which she takes control – where she admits being afraid of her parents, emphasizing the words as she says it. However, after a few utterances with this stronger voice quality, her tone begins to soften again and her volume lowers. When she is delivering her final lines on lines 38 and 42, her voice is very quiet, shaky and fragile. Nevertheless, she is able strengthen it when uttering "*I'm gay*" for the second time, this time without pausing.

Continuing with nonverbal implicit cues, visual features such as facial expressions and gesturing indicate changes in Emily's behavior in the course of the scene. During the phone call with Maya in the beginning of the scene, Emily's demeanor changes from concerned to relaxed before ending the call abruptly in panic as she notices her father listening. During the call, she is lying on her bed and twirling her hair indicating that she is distracted by her friend, Hanna, who is in the hospital. However, Maya is able to pull her away from her thoughts by shifting the conversation from Hanna to them, which is when Emily becomes more relaxed; she sits up a little, leans her head onto her hand and smiles and giggles. When she sees her father standing in the doorway, her eyes widen and her brow rises (Image 2b.1). Wanting to hide her panic, she quickly looks away from him and sits up slowly. As her father moves closer and closer to Emily, she tries to avoid eye-contact by looking to the side and down, which she does when he says that there is nothing to be ashamed about (Image 2b.2). Moreover, when she tells him she is gay, she briefly glances up at him to see his reaction, and does not look at him directly until the very end of the scene as he sits on the bed and turns towards her. Overall, Emily's visual communication signals anxiety and shame.

Image 2b.1

Image 2b.2

Moving on to verbal implicit cues, the language use in scene 2B reflects the serious and negative emotional nature of the conversation through affective language and surge features. In return to her father's negative emotional connotation ensuing word choices such as: "*threaten*", "*giving a hard time*" and "*keeping a secret*", Emily succumbs to the

same lexicon. She repeats her father's use of the word "*jumpy*" – describing the way she acted when her father entered her doorway – and uses the emotive word with negative connotation, "*afraid*", herself, signaling that what she has to hide is negative. Surge features, in turn, appear in the form of pronoun use and lexical repetition. Taking the word 'afraid' as an example, after it is uttered the first time on line 30, it is repeated on three consecutive turns, indicating its pressing keyword positing in the scene. The personal pronoun use in the scene reveals the anxiousness and worry both characters feel during the conversation. Moreover, it relates strongly to explicit other-presentation and self-presentation in the scene.

Self-presentation, where Emily gives explicit information about herself culminates in scene 2B in her declaring identity with the words "*I'm gay*". The self-presentation she does before that is also significant as it leads her to say the words. By saying "*I'm afraid of you and mom*", on line 32, she reveals her emotional identity and also forces herself to be decisive and tell her father about her sexuality, since she knows that by uttering this, she has to tell the truth. The mysterious bully, A, of whom she cannot tell her parents, has put Emily in a position where keeping secrets is dangerous. Thus, she also feels the need to reveal some secrets in order to keep others. Continuing with "*I'm not who you think I am*", on line 34, she is implying that by being gay, she is not what her parents imagine, expect or want her to be. She is in the shameful mindset that she has let her parents down by being something else than they expect. Finally, by uttering the words "*I'm gay*" twice at the end of the scene, she proves to herself that she is strong enough utter them and not keep a significant part of her life hidden any longer.

Explicit other-presentation of Emily by her father works as a type of catalyst for her coming out. Beginning on line 21: "*Your mother thinks you're keeping some kind of secret. You've been jumpy…*" and, on line 31: "*you are afraid of something*", he depicts Emily as someone who has been acting abnormally secretive and scared around her parents. Furthermore, on line 35, he states: "*You're Emily Fields, my little girl.*", thus, indicating that he could never see her as anything else. This utterance gives Emily the will and the courage to come out to him and explain why she is "*a different girl*" from her childhood picture, as she mentions on line 37. Overall, the other-presentation of Emily by her father is a thematically traditional depiction of how fathers view their daughters, as little girls who need to be protected regardless of their age.

Cinematic features such as character positioning play a key role in scene 2B. Emily sits on her bed throughout the scene but it is her father's positioning that leads the scene

onwards. At first, he is leaning against the door frame, then little by little he edges closer to Emily; sitting on the arm chair, leaning towards the bedpost, circling to the side of the bed and finally sitting on the bed as Emily reveals her secret (Image 2b.3–2b.6). On one hand, this positioning gives the impression as if Emily is trapped on her bed unable to prevent her father from closing in on her and her secret on the other hand, Emily is letting her father to move closer to her and opening up as he moves closer. This could be seen to symbolize their relationship before and after the conversation. The secret is, at first, keeping them apart and then bringing them closer, slightly indicating acceptance on her father's part, even though his back is towards her at first. On par with positioning, the camera angles subtly change from wider shots to close-ups as the camera also moves closer to Emily.

Image 2b.3

Image 2b.4

Image 2b.5

Image 2b.6

On the meso-level, the expressive styles and strategies employed by Emily in scene 2B, are also altered as Emily's motivation changes and she takes control of the conversation. The first strategy she employs is evasiveness, attempting to change the subject and answering briefly. However, as she decides to convince her father that Toby is not after her, she applies an expressive style best described as adamant, stemming, for example, from the paralinguistic features she emits. Finally, leading the conversation to her revelation, Emily's expressive style can only be considered as ashamed. This expressive style consists of visual and paralinguistic features described above. These meso-level expressive styles in combined with micro-level expressive features construct the macro-level expressive identities discussed next.

Expressive identities portrayed by Emily in scene 2B are emotional expressive identities as well as attitudinal identities. Here, Emily's expressive identities are temporary and

context-bound, as she is portraying feelings from an emotional spectrum that otherwise would not be present in a conversation with her father. Accordingly, the expressive resources on the micro-level are unique to her character. Emily's most salient emotional identities are: afraid, frustrated, sad and ashamed, which can be determined from both verbal and nonverbal implicit cues as well as explicit cues in tow with expressive styles. The attitudinal identities she is exhibiting are: anxious, honest and decisive, formed by the same features as the emotional identities. Overall, the expressive identity types formed by Emily in the scene are "shamefaced" and "vulnerable", since she is overcome with the need to be open with her father despite the shame she feels about it.

4.2.2 Scene 3A

Background and rationale

Scene 3A depicts Santana's coming out to her grandmother (Ivonne Coll), who is very dear to her. Coming out scenes are very common in the genre of teen drama, and as Santana is coming out to a grandparent, who has never been met on-screen, the scene sets apart from the clutter. Moreover, her grandmother is religious and conservative and English is not her native language, thus, a meeting of two different generations is depicted in the scene, making it an important analytic unit for this study.

Scene 3A is from the 7th episode of *Glee*'s third season, called *I Kissed a Girl* (Hodgson 2011). The scene takes place as a result of the conversation between Santana and Finn in scene 2A, which was overheard by a number of people and caused Santana's sexual identity to become public knowledge that was also featured in a television ad for a political campaign. Thus, Santana is forced to come out to her parents – not shown on-screen – and embrace her sexuality with the help of music and her friends from glee club. A positive reaction to her coming out from her parents gives her the encouragement to share the former secret with her grandmother as well.

Transcript: scene 3A

1   *Santana and her abuela (grandmother) are in abuela's kitchen.*

2   **ABUELA**:   Santana, you're all bones, like Jesus on the cross. Eat.
3   **SANTANA**:   Abuelita, I have something that I need to talk to you.
4   **ABUELA**:   Okay, who cares, talk with your mouth full, hmm?

5   *Abuela turns her back and heads back to her cooking. Santana jumps from her chair and goes*
6   *to her.*

7   **SANTANA**:   No, no, no, come on.
8   **ABUELA**:   Hmm?

9	**SANTANA**:	siéntate conmigo (*sit with me*)
10	**ABUELA**:	OK

11 *The women head back to the kitchen table.*

12	**ABUELA**:	ay dio' (*oh god*)
13	**SANTANA**:	Look. (pause) I have to tell you a secret. A secret that I've (pause) kept hidden
14		for a long time…
15	**ABUELA**:	You need salsa? (*lifts the salsa bowl towards Santana*)
16	**SANTANA**:	No, no, no, no, *escúchame* (*listen to me*)
17	**ABUELA**:	mhmm
18	**SANTANA**:	Please, you're so special to me.
19	**ABUELA**:	(*pointing a finger at her*) Santana, are you pregnant? Because I will beat you
20		up with this chair.
21	**SANTANA**:	No, it's not that. It's just that I've watched you my whole life (*pause*) and you've
22		always been so strong (*pause*) done exactly what you believe and never cared
23		what anyone else thought of you.
24	**ABUELA**:	Tell me about your life, I know mine.
25	**SANTANA**:	Abuelita, (pause) I love girls, the way I'm supposed to feel about boys. It-it's just
26		something that's always been inside of me and I really wanna share it with
27		you because I love you so much. I want you to know me. Who I really am.
28		When I'm with Brittany, I finally understand what people are talking about
29		when they talk about love. And I've tried so hard to push this feeling away and
30		keep it locked inside but every day just feels like a war and I walk around so
31		mad at the world when I'm really just fighting with myself. I don't wanna fight
32		anymore. I'm just too tired. I have to just be me. (*pause*). Say something, please.
33	**ABUELA**:	Everyone has secrets, Santana. They're called secrets for a reason.
34		(*pause*). I want you to leave this house. I don't ever want to see you again.
35	**SANTANA**:	Abuela, you don't –
36	**ABUELA**:	Go! Now.
37	**SANTANA**:	I'm the same person, I was a minute ago!
38	**ABUELA**:	You made your choice. Now I have made mine.
39	**SANTANA**:	But why?
40	**ABUELA**:	It's selfish of you to make me uncomfortable, with una vergüenza (a disgrace).
41		The sin isn't in the thing it's in the scandal, when people talk about it aloud.
42	**SANTANA**:	So, you're saying it would have been better if I would have kept this a secret?

43 *Abuela is leaving the room.*

44 **SANTANA**: Abuela…

45 *Santana starts to cry.*

Expressive features and identities

Scene 3A demonstrates the character of Santana both at her strongest and at her weakest. Thus, the expressive features, styles and identities utilized change drastically in the course of the conversation. The most salient expressive features on the micro-level are in the form of both verbal and nonverbal implicit cues as well as the explicit cue of self-presentation. These micro-level features combine expressive styles on the meso-level as well as expressive identities on the macro-level, resulting in emotional and attitudinal identities.

Beginning again with nonverbal implicit cues, the conversational structure of scene 3A is quite fragmented due to interruptions and nervousness. First, Santana's abuela is preoccupied with serving food to Santana and interrupting her with offering salsa and wrongly questioning whether she is pregnant, thus not letting her say her piece. This implicates that even though Santana is the one initiating the conversation and taking control of it, her abuela is fighting it with her unnecessary emotive interjections and questions. However, in regaining control of the conversation, Santana, in her part signals nervousness by prolonging the conversation by establishing why she admires her abuela. This utterance is disregarded by abuela on line 24 with her again seeking to control the conversation. Thus, it is not until halfway through the conversation (on line 25) that the situation stabilizes and Santana finally delivers her news causing an eruption between her and her grandmother, who signals anger over Santana's secret.

Paralinguistic features such as tempo, pitch and tone exhibit the emotions Santana is enduring, while talking with her grandmother. Her tone is stable and her voice is thick but when she mentions Brittany, her pitch slightly rises and her voice clears. This indicates that she is sincere in talking about her love for Brittany. Additionally, when she talks about being mad at the world, she stresses and prolongs her words, indicating frustration. Overall, there is a rhythm in Santana's speech during the lines 25–32 which allows for short pauses and upholds a slow tempo. In the end of her speech, she stresses each word in '*I have to just be me*' emphasizing honesty and decisiveness behind the words. When she hears abuela's reaction, she utters "*Abuela*" with a nearly voiceless sound, while on line 37, her volume and pitch rise in fear and anger. Her last line that is only a quiet whisper turning into tearful crying. Thus, the features illustrate the despair Santana feels after being disowned by her grandmother.

Continuing with nonverbal implicit cues, visual features during Santana's monologue on lines 25–32 emphasize its poignant nature. When she begins her turn, she is sitting her back straight to the chair, but then leans forward when she says "*I really wanna share it with you*", indicating the importance of delivering this information. Similarly, directed by her words, she places her hand on her chest (Image 3a.1) when delivering the line "*I want you to know me*" on line 27, indicating honesty and openness. Santana continues to gesture with her hands throughout the scene and her head tilts along with her words. During lines 30 and 31, her brow furrows when she talks about fighting with her feelings and being mad at the world. Moreover, her brow rises as if in realization when she says '*I'm just too tired*'. Finally, at the end of her speech, her expression is quizzical with her

eyes slightly squinting (Image 3a.2). Overall, Santana's visual features during her self-expressing monologue exhibit honesty, self-awareness and self-realization.

Image 3a.1

Image 3a.2

However, visual features exhibited by Santana towards her abuela's disapproving reaction differ drastically from the first half of the scene. First, abuela's reaction, on line 34, causes Santana's expression to change from the quizzical look to a disbelieving one with her mouth slightly open, head tilted to the side and a furrowed brow (Image 3a.3). Furthermore, her gesturing intensifies and she again leans closer to abuela in trying to plead her to see her point of view. However, as abuela says that she has made her choice, Santana again leans back with her back straight, trying to indicate with her posture that she is calm and collected but she is upset and her face already begins to fight back tears (Image 3a.4). Nevertheless, she is able to keep her composure when her grandmother says that the public scandal is worse than the homosexuality itself, which instead awakes another disbelieving and even slightly disapproving expression from Santana – she is disappointed and sad.
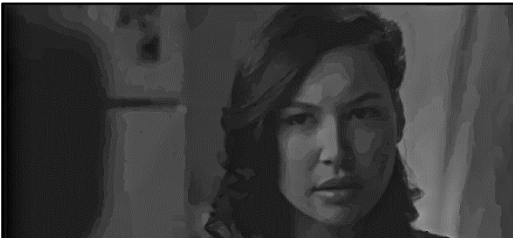

Image 3a.3

Image 3a.4

Affective language and surge features – both verbal implicit cues – exhibit the character's feelings and are, thus, the corner stones of Santana's language use in scene 3A. In the beginning of the scene, Santana's language is colored by an outburst of sincere fondness towards her grandmother. She refers to her with the Spanish term of endearment, "*abuelita*", and calls her by evaluative words as strong and special and makes an explicit emotive statement that she loves her on line 27. However, after she receives her reaction to her news, she switches to basic Spanish word for grandmother, *abuela*. This change in affect signals a change in feelings towards her grandmother, the admiration of whom is indicated to have given her courage to come out. Moreover, Santana's emotive

interjection on line 39 "*But why?*" implicates an emotional outburst of disbelief and anger. The lexical choices, in addition to the evaluative words mentioned above, paint a picture of a struggle: keeping her secret "*locked inside*", days feeling like "*war*" and "*fighting*" with herself. These words hold loaded, mostly negative connotations and are meant to have an emotional effect. Overall, the affective language use highlights the strong emotional stakes of the conversation.

Other linguistic features present in the dialogue are surge features and the use of Spanish. For instance, in the beginning of the scene, Santana repeats the word "*no*" three times in two instances (on lines 7 & 16) as an answer to abuela's evasive behavior. Another meaningful instance of lexical repetition is the usage of the adverb "*just*". In Santana's confession the word appears five times, emphasizing the following verbs such as "*feel*", "*fight*" and "*be*". According to Culpeper (2001: 191), lexical repetition can be noted as a signal of emotional anxiety, which Santana is exhibiting here. In addition to the linguistic elements mentioned above, the use of Spanish marks a significant motivation. The use of another language in the scene highlights the cultural heritage, and is used by Santana to appeal to abuela to seriously listen to her on line 9. The use of her native language for abuela is to present her emotions, for example the emotive interjection on line 12, and her negative reaction on line 40.

The explicit self-presentation that Santana delivers on lines 25–32 is reflective of her feelings e.g. "*I love girls the way I'm supposed to feel about boys*", "*I have to just be me*" and "*I'm just too tired*". She is presenting her feelings honestly and emphasizing the obligation she is feeling by saying "*I'm supposed to*" and "*I have to*". Moreover, she is demonstrating self-awareness and self-realization through these statements. However, in regards to self-presentation, it is noteworthy that Santana neglects to say the words "I'm gay" or "I'm a lesbian" indicating that her sexual identity could still on some level remain uncrystallized to her. Moreover, referring to her sexuality as "*a secret*" indicates that the conversation is about something shameful. Overall, the micro-level expressive features exhibited by Santana are unique to her character and not shared with abuela.

The cinematographic choices made with filming and setting of scene 3A support the private and intimate nature of the conversation. First, the way the scene is filmed is significant, the scene beginning with the first shot (Image 3a.5) of Santana's abuela filmed outside the kitchen window with the camera moving down slowly, before moving inside the house. This can be seen to signal the almost voyeuristic role of the audience that is allowed to view this private interaction. The camera is inching closer and closer to the

characters in the course of the conversation, as illustrated in images 3a.1–3a.4, and ending the scene with an extreme close-up of the crying Santana (Image 3a.6). Second, the conversation is had in the kitchen which is indicated to be abuela's domain from the way in which she takes control in the room. Moreover, with Santana sitting casually at the table waiting for a meal, the kitchen is signaled to be serving as the place which Santana sees as the most comfortable one for her to deliver the news and for her grandmother to hear them. Finally, Santana is dressed neatly and her hair is down, which is a change from her usual cheerleader uniform and a high ponytail she is seen with at school. Thus, the costume signals that Santana is stripped from her high school persona and exhibiting a different, more private persona.
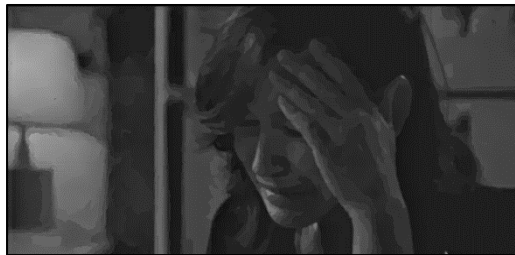

Image 3a.5

Image 3a.6

Scene 3A depicts a conversation between two different generations: the old conservative one that is used to keeping secrets, and the new more liberal one free to be one self. Moreover, here an emigrant with strong cultural values and heritage comes together with a second-generation American with weaker ties to cultural values and heritage. This interesting binary setting might be why Santana's coming out to her abuela is seen more poignant to her story than her coming out to her parents – an instance which takes place off-screen. Abuela's conservative values are referenced in her very first line with Santana looking like "*Jesus on a cross*". However, surprisingly, it is not the *sin* of being a lesbian that offends her grandmother but the *scandal* that the revelation entices, which puts abuela in a position of shame. Moreover, this shatters the image Santana has had of her grandmother and parallels her own thoughts before coming out, as witnessed in scene 1A. Nevertheless, even though the presupposition of abuela's religion being the main reason for her to disown her granddaughter proves to be wrong, her generation's conservative cultural values make Santana's love for Brittany a disgrace for her.

On the meso-level, Santana's expressive style and strategies utilized in scene 3A experience a change on the count of her abuela's reaction. First, her expressive style can be seen as impatient by the way attempts to get her grandmother to listen to her: she attempts to get her to sit at the table and disregards her questions about food. Second, her strategy is about relating admiration and respect by using evaluative language. Third, her

style of openness shows in her gesturing, tone and lexical choices, for instance. Then, in the face of a negative reaction, she utilizes a strategy of pleading by leaning forward and raising her voice before falling into sadness. The final, desperate expressive style, consists of Santana losing strength in her voice and bowing her head in sadness.

On the macro-level, Santana's expressive identities in scene 3A comprise of emotional and attitudinal identities. The most salient expressive identity is Santana's honesty, which is an attitudinal identity. The honesty she displays is sincere, which differs from the blunt and mean honesty she most often expresses, suggesting that the identity is temporary in this instance. In addition to honesty, other attitudinal identities demonstrated in scene 3A are decisiveness, self-awareness and anxiousness. In par with honesty, these attitudinal identities can also be seen to be context-bound and, thus, temporary for the character. Emotional identities displayed by Santana in scene 3A are multifaceted, beginning with feeling admiration, and ending the conversation in disappointment, disbelief, anger and sadness. Overall, the expressive identity types describing Santana most effectively in scene 3A are "vulnerable" and "upset".

4.2.3   Queer talk: Coming out

From a queer theoretical perspective, coming out scenes, such as the ones illustrated by scenes 2B and 3A, are a culmination point of heteronormativity. In these scenes, something escaping the norm is explicitly highlighted, while still emphasizing the rules of the norm. On the whole, homosexuality is often clustered with the problems typically faced by teenagers such as teen pregnancy and substance abuse. Homosexuality is thus, considered inherently negative, stemming from the conservative values that act as the cornerstones of heteronormativity.

In scenes 2B and 3A, both Emily and Santana are aware of the norms they are breaking, for example, in 3A Santana says that she loves girls the way she is supposed to feel about boys. Thus, insinuating that she is breaking the rules by loving girls instead of boys. Emily, in her part, hangs to the notion that by being gay she is not who her parents think she is, thus, acknowledging breaking the norm. Neither of the girls is faced with an understanding guardian but, instead, Emily's father is shocked and Santana's abuela is outraged. Thus, the scenes are enforcing heteronormativity by implicitly referencing heterosexuality as the only suitable option for the female youth.

Homosexuality is often referenced as a shameful secret in the genre of teen drama much like is done in scenes 2B and 3A of *Pretty Little Liars* and *Glee*. Several parallels can be drawn between coming out and revealing teen pregnancy – also depicted on *Glee* – beginning with the similar reigning emotional contexts of fear and shame. Furthermore, both issues break the conventional heteronormative values and are considered to weaken the person's future prospects in life. Considered in a broader context, both themes revolve around teen sexuality and the relationship teens have with their guardians. However, a difference between the themes is that one is about revealing one's sexuality, in contrast to the other pertaining to the revelation of careless execution of one's sexuality. Finally, a crucial difference is that the stigma behind homosexuality is profusely caused by heteronormativity while teen pregnancy ultimately relates to executing the prime notion heteronormativity is based on.

Overall, coming out scenes in the genre of teen drama are more or less all succumbing to the heteronormative world view, as the social interaction would not even exist without it. Emily and Santana would just be able to have normal conversations with their guardians about having girlfriends without fear and shame being tied to the context. However, a subtle change can be considered in the presentation of characters coming out. Namely, it is noteworthy to acknowledge that Santana does not appear to feel shame over her sexuality, even though she acknowledges it as shameful by paralleling it with teen pregnancy. Overall, the self-awareness and self-realization Santana expresses instead, is a step in a more encouraging direction. These are the aspects which should be emphasized in coming out narratives instead of the shame elicited by "the secret" in order to challenge heteronormative notions.

4.3 After coming out

In the last segment featuring analytic units, two scenes from *Pretty Little Liars* and one scene from *Glee* are analyzed. Here, more light is shed on Emily's life after coming out, as she is struggling to get along with her mother and forming a new romantic relationship. After the analysis of scenes 3B, 4A and 4B the last segment of Queer talk will provide discussion on the issues arising from the scenes.

4.3.1   Scene 3B

Background and rationale

Scene 3B depicts an incident at Emily's school where her mother confronts another parent, when he claims that Emily is receiving preferential treatment on a count of her sexuality. The scene calls for further analysis, since it takes on the relationship between LGBT youth and their parents.

Scene 3B is from the 17th episode of *Pretty Little Liars* first season, called *The New Normal* (Dougherty 2011). It takes place during Rosewood High's parent-teacher conference day, during which Emily's mom, Pam (Nia Peeples), hears that a parent has accused Emily of receiving preferential treatment on the swim team due to her sexuality. The parent in question is the father of Emily's swim team mate, Paige, who is a very competitive swimmer. Paige's father (Connor Trinneer) visits the school cafeteria earlier in the episode causing a scene and everyone hears his claims about Emily's special treatment on the swim team. Emily neglects to share the incident with her mother, thinking that she would not care, as she has not been accepting of her sexuality. However, Pam hears about the incident from Aria's mother, a teacher at the school, and wants to do something about it.

Transcript: scene 3B

1		*Emily is at school leaving swim practice when her mother, Pam. arrives, takes her by the hand*
2		*and guides her away from the crowd.*
3	**EMILY**:	I don't need a ride, my car is in the parking lot.
4	**PAM**:	No I-I know. I need to ask you a question. I need to know something before I talk
5		to the school.
6	**EMILY**:	Talk to the school about what?
7	**PAM**:	Is it true what Aria's mom told me? About Mr. McCullers coming to the school
8		and saying you got some preferential treatment?
9	**EMILY**:	I don't wanna talk about it.
10	**PAM**:	Emily is it true? Is this true because—
11	**EMILY**:	Yeah, it's true.
12	**PAM**:	Why didn't you tell me?
13	**EMILY**:	You really don't know why I wouldn't tell you? It's because I know what you
14		think of me. I know what you'd say. It doesn't matter who I am, I better get used
15		to people looking at me only one way.
16		*Pam is silent. She looks and spots Mr. McCullers in the crowd of parents and students. She*
17		*starts to make her way to him.*
18	**PAM**:	Nick!
19	**NICK**:	Hello, Pam.
20	**PAM**:	We need to talk.
21	**NICK**:	I was wondering when I would hear from you. This isn't personal, you deal with
22		your family problems any way that you want. This is about what the school is
23		doing to my daughter. (*nods towards Paige who is behind him*)

24	**PAM**:	(*laughs tryly*) Yeah, it's about your daughter. It's about you trying to make her
25		into some professional victim and using my daughter to do it.
26	**NICK**:	I don't expect you to understand.
27	**PAM**:	Oh, I understand. I understand that you always think there is someone else to
28		blame when things don't go your way.
29	**NICK**:	Okay, you're upset.
30	**PAM**:	No, not yet. But I'm getting there. My daughter never got anything she didn't
31		earn that is how we raised her that is who she is, so you drop this, Nick. Drop it
32		or I'll show you what a real agenda looks like.

33 *Pam leaves and Emily rushes after her.*

34	**EMILY**:	Mom, are you okay?
35	**PAM**:	I'm fine. Come on, I'll take you home.
36	**EMILY**:	My car's in the lot.
37	**PAM**:	Right. Okay, so I'll just meet you at home when you get there.
38	**EMILY**:	Mom.
39	**PAM**:	Emily… I still don't understand… but I love you, you're my child and nobody
40		hurts my child. I'm so sorry if I…

41 *Emily reaches to hug her mother who is crying.*

Expressive features and identities

Scene 3B can be divided into three parts, the first is Emily's conversation with her mother (lines 1–15), the second, the conversation between Emily's mother and Paige's father (lines 17–32), and the third is Emily's conversation with her mother again (lines 34–41). All three parts contribute to Emily's expressive character identity, which in this instance consist of emotional and attitudinal identities, created on the micro-level by implicit cues such as visual and paralinguistic features, and explicit cues, in the form of other-presentation.

The analysis of the conversational structure of scene 3B, warrants that the scene needs to be examined it in two parts. The first part is Emily's conversation with her mother before and after she talks with Paige's father. Emily begins the conversation impolitely without a greeting and, again, impolitely interrupts her mother on line 11. Moreover, her turns are short, except for her eruption beginning on line 13. The impoliteness along with the shortness of her turns can be considered to indicate her irritation with her mother in the first part of their talk but later also the confused and surprised mindset she is experiencing. Pam, on the other hand, is increasingly upset, which comes out in her conversation with Emily through nervousness. At first, she is exhibiting emotional turmoil by lexical repetition and asking questions, and, in the end of the discussion, she pauses often and hesitates. The second part is the conversation between Pam and Paige's father, Nick, during which Pam is in control; she enters and exits the conversation impolitely, keeps

her utterances curt and pauses for effect. Her mother's behavior has a significant effect on Emily, who follows the exchange between the parents intently.

As part of her nonverbal implicit cues, the visual features Emily exhibits experience a change from irritated and angry to stunned and surprised, before ending in worry and compassion. Her facial expressions, posture and gestures are in a key role in conveying these emotions. Emily is put in an uncomfortable situation by her mother, which she signals by looking down when her mother mentions Paige's father's accusations on line 8. Her irritation builds from there on, since her mother pushes on the issue after her refusal to talk about it. Her brow rises when she interrupts her mother on line 11, and as her irritation turns more severe on line 13, her brow furrows and her mouth tightens (Image 3b.1). Moreover, she is keeping her distance and standing tall, almost hovering over her mother when delivering her speech on lines 13 to 15. As Pam approaches Mr. McCullers and begins to snipe at him, Emily is visibly stunned: she swallows and raises her brow in astonishment. After Pam finishes her discussion with Paige's father, Emily rushes after her, reaching to touch her back. She is stunned about her mother's sudden behavior to defend her, and her brow rises and her mouth opens in surprise after uttering "*mom*" on line 38 (Image 3b.2). Emily is worried about her mother and she slightly leans down with wide eyes and a slight furrow on her brow (Image 3b.3). When her mother delivers the last lines of the scene, Emily reaches to embrace her (Image 3b.4) in compassion and love, finally understanding that her being a lesbian does not make her mother love her any less, even though she still struggles to understand it.
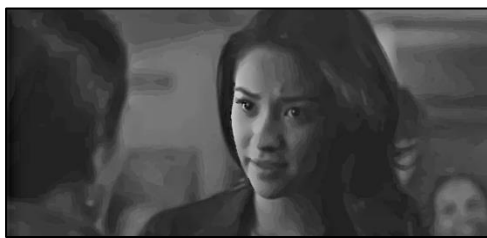

Image 3b.1

Image 3b.2

Image 3b.3

Image 3b.4

In scene 3B, paralinguistic features such as pitch, volume and tone exhibit Emily's feelings. On line 11, Emily interrupts her mother loudly in a high-pitched voice with the

emotive interjection "*yeah*", indicating her irritation with her constant prying. On lines 13–15, the tempo of her speech is rapid and she stresses loudly the words "*I know*" both times she utters them, while otherwise speaking in a stern and serious tone of voice. When she "imitates" her mother on lines 14 and 15, her voice becomes more flowing but is still rushed to emit her thoughts. This reflects her anger and disappointment towards her mother, lacking the respect she typically has when talking to her. At the end of the scene, Emily does not say much but takes is deep breath in attempting to find words after uttering a breathy, "*mom*", this indicates her surprise and worry about her mother's behavior.

Moving on to verbal implicit cues, the linguistic aspects most salient in scene 3B deal with surge features. Emily is exhibiting an emotional response to her mother on lines 13–15 and demonstrating it via ample use of personal pronouns and lexical repetition. The pronouns, "*I*", "*me*" and "*you*" are each used several times, making it clear that there is an issue creating hostility between the characters relating to opposite views. Thus, Emily is having an emotional outburst targeting her mother's views on her sexuality. Moreover, the phrase "*I know what*" is repeated twice to indicate Emily's certainty about her mother's opinions of her.

Other-presentation is a significant explicit cue present in scene 3B on two levels. First, the other-presentation of Emily is provided by Pam during both her discussion with Mr. McCullers, and the discussion between her and Emily at the end of the scene. In Pam's statement to Mr. McCullers, on line 30, "*My daughter never got anything she didn't earn that is how we raised her that is who she is…*" gives testament to Emily's hardworking nature and diminishes the thought that she could attempt to receive preferential treatment by using her sexual minority status. Moreover, Pam refers to Emily repeatedly as "*my daughter*" to Paige's father and later repeatedly as "*my child*" to Emily indicating the strong bond the two of them share, despite their resent shortcomings. This positive other-presentation by her mother helps Emily to understand her mother better and begin to repair their relationship. Second, the other-presentation of Pam by Emily, reveals the disappointment and anger she has towards her mother in her statement: "*I know what you think of me. I know what you'd say*". It is also noteworthy that in this first part of the conversation, Emily refers to her mother only by the personal pronoun "*you*", and not "*mom*" as she does in the last part. Thus, indicating that Emily wants to distance herself from Pam at first by neglecting to call her "*mom*", but eventually has a change of heart. Overall, the micro-level elements in the scene are partly shared between the characters,

since both Emily and Pam exhibit an angry demeanor in the parts preceding their second interaction and a softer one during the last interaction.

Cinematographic features in scene 3B highlight the most salient aspects of the scene. How the scene is shot during Pam and Mr. McCullers' discussion, emphasizes Emily and Paige's presence in the scene. The camera focuses on each girl, while blurring their respective parents' faces (Image 3b.5 & 3b.6) and, in Emily's case, also close-ups of her face (Image 3b.7) are utilized in signifying her reaction to the conversation. Another cinematographic trope is the slow background music playing during the scene, which begins instantly when Emily delivers poignant words to her mother on lines 13 to 15. The music lasts until end of the scene, highlighting the realizations both the mother and daughter make during the scene. What is more, in this scene, Emily's position as an athlete is brought to the center via costume and setting. She is wearing her swim team's sweat suit and the scene takes place outside the team's locker room making the situation embarrassing for the girls, particularly for Paige, who has a hidden crush on Emily. Moreover, having the argument between Pam and Mr. McCullers take place at the school in public, emphasizes the importance Pam feels about the matter.

Image 3b.5

Image 3b.6

Image 3b.7

The expressive styles on the meso-level are twofold in Emily's case during scene 3B. In the first part, she is employing an expressive style best described as icy. This can be determined from the way she speaks (paralinguistic features), how she looks and positions herself (visual features) and the content of her words (surge features, other-presentation). This style, however, is shattered during the middle part of the conversation between the parents. Thus, in the second part, the expressive style she is portraying is altered and can on this instance be considered as disconcerted. She catches her breath after her last utterance (paralinguistic features), is unable to find words and her facial expression is

stunned and worried (visual features). These meso-level elements assist in determining the expressive identities and the expressive identity type most salient in the overall scene.

On the macro-level, expressive identities exhibited by Emily are emotional and attitudinal. The salient emotional identities created by micro and meso-level instances are: irritation, anger, disappointment, worry, surprise and love. The most salient attitudinal identities considered are: distant, serious, understanding, compassionate and forgiving. These identities are formed by both verbal and nonverbal implicit cues as well as explicit cues. Overall, Emily's expressive identity type in scene 3B can be considered as "accepting" and "forgiving", since her expressive identities support a positive change in her emotional and attitudinal identities towards her mother. The surprising and uncommon situation involving her mother makes Emily's expressive identities temporary.

4.3.2   Scene 4A

Background and rationale

Scene 4A depicts a situation at Santana's school where she and her girlfriend Brittany (Heather Morris) are invited to the principal's office due to their public displays of affection at school. The scene is worth analyzing further as it represents the atmosphere faced by sexual minority youth at public institutions and places such as schools. Several pieces of fiction, such as teen drama series *Dawson's Creek* and *Gossip Girl* have depicted the often-negative conversation surrounding LGBT youth, but depictions of issues particularly faced by female couples are still lacking.

The scene is from the 13th episode of *Glee's* third season, named, *Heart* (Adler 2012). The episode centers on Valentine's Day and highlights all the romantic relationships at McKinley High school, including Santana and Brittany's relationship. By this point in the series, Santana and Brittany have dated for a little while and established publicly that they are a couple. Before this scene takes place, Santana is by her locker at school when Brittany arrives to give her a romantic valentine's gift. Santana is very happy about the gift and is just about to give Brittany a kiss when they are interrupted by the Principal Figgins (Iqbal Theba).

Transcript: scene 4A

1   *In the school hall way. Santana and Brittany are just about to kiss.*
2   **PRINCIPAL FIGGINS**: Teen lesbians! I must see you in my office, right now.

3	*In Figgins' office.*	
4	**SANTANA**:	This is such bull-crap! Why can't Brittany and I kiss in public? Cause we're two
5		*girls*?
6	**FIGGINS**:	Please, don't make this about your Sapphic orientation. This is about public
7		displays of affection. PDA simply has no place in the sacred halls of McKinley
8		High. We've had complaints.
9	**SANTANA**:	About us? When?
10	**FIGGINS**:	(reaches down to check a file) Most recently? Yesterday at 12.16 p.m.

| 11 | *Flashback to Santana and Brittany pecking each other on the lips.* |

12	**SANTANA**:	That? Our lips barely even grazed! And by the way did you get any complaints
13		about that hideous display that started at 12.17 p.m. and lasted for several
14		uncomfortable minutes?

| 15 | *Flashback to Finn and Rachel kissing very graphically. Santana looks disgusted.* |

16	**FIGGINS**:	Believe me, I would much rather see you and Santana kiss than that so called
17		Finchel, but if a student files a complaint because of religious reasons –
18	**SANTANA**:	Oh! Great! So, it was some bible-thumber who complained?
19	**FIGGINS**:	Ms. Lopez, I'm sorry, but I am trying to keep this school from turning into a
20		volatile powder-keg!
21	**SANTANA**:	(*stands up*) I'm sorry too cause all I wanna be able to do is kiss my girlfriend
22		but I guess no one can see that because there is such an insane double-standard
23		at this school.

| 24 | *Santana turns and leaves Figgins' office leaving Figgins and Brittany. The school-bell rings.* |

Expressive features and identities

In scene 4A, the expressive features on the micro-level and the expressive styles and strategies on the meso-level, construct expressive identities on the macro-level that are in this instance emotional, attitudinal and ideological. Expressive features discussed below, begin with nonverbal implicit cues then move on to verbal implicit cues and explicit cues. Cinematographic features will also be discussed before presenting meso and macro-level elements.

Once again beginning with nonverbal implicit cues, the aspects of conversational structure in scene 4A do not follow a pattern traditionally imagined for a conversation between a principal and students. The scene in the principal's office begins from Santana's emotive reaction "*This is such bull-crap*", which allows her to claim control of the conversation. Consequently, she is the one to ask all the questions, which create a rhythm and pace for the conversation. Santana's typically hostile attitude reaches its height with the anger she feels towards the situation, this causes her to be rude and interrupt Figgins on line 18 with the emotive interjection "*Oh*". Moreover, her impoliteness culminates to ending the conversation by leaving the room without the principal's acknowledgement that the conversation is over and the girls are free to leave.

This is indicative of the power Santana is able to hold in the presence of weak authoritative figures like principal Figgins.

Visual features, such as facial expressions illustrate Santana's hostile demeanor during the conversation in Figgins' office. The way the scene is shot with close-ups and extreme close-ups, intensifies Santana's facial expressions. Her brow is moving frequently during the scene, most often it is furrowed in anger or confusion (Image 4a.1) for instance, during Figgins utterance on line 16 about rather watching the girls kiss than Finn and Rachel. Furthermore, she lifts her brow and opens her mouth in immediate reaction of mock surprise to Figgins' revelation about the complaining student (Image 4a.2). Santana signals her frustration and disbelief at the current exchange by rolling her eyes as she brings up Finn and Rachel's public display of affection on lines 13 and 14 (Image 4a.3). As a result, she is disgusted about the image and shows it by scrunching up her whole face with her lips pursed together and her brow furrowed (Image 4a.4). Finally, she stands up to deliver her final say on the matter – beginning on line 21 – and turns to leave with a disappointed and accusatory expression on her face with her open mouth in a frown and a slightly furrowed brow (Image 4a.5).
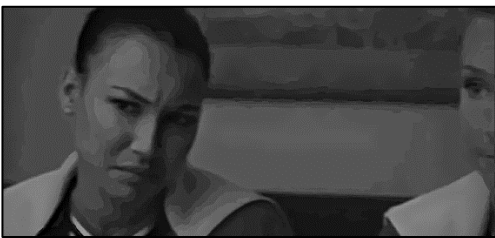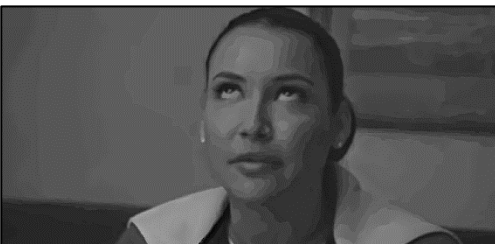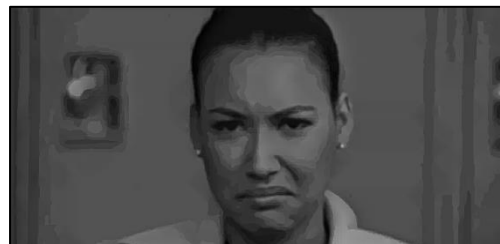

Image 4a.1

Image 4a.2
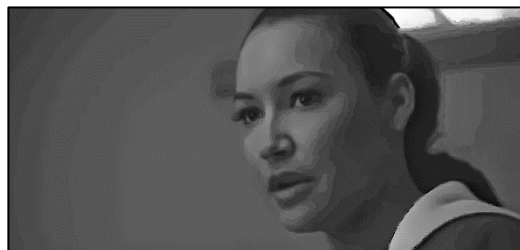

Image 4a.3

Image 4a.4

Image 1a.5

Paralinguistic features exhibited by Santana suggest that she is in part accessing her stable expressive character identity: her volume level is loud, voice quality is strong and her

tone is stern. She speaks loudly throughout the conversation but keeps her voice stable and prevents it from intensifying into shouting. Her intonation is rising, particularly when she reacts to why there have been complaints about her and Brittany. Her voice reaches a new level of loudness as she exclaims *"That?"* on line 12, indicating perplexity and disbelief. Furthermore, she emphasizes the word stress in "grazed" [grézd] implying the absurdity of the complaint. Sarcasm in her words, on line 20 about the complaining *"bible-thumber"* is emitted by a slight laugh and an unsuitably cheery tone emphasizing the word 'bible' as if placing the blame on the word. However, at the end of the conversation her tone becomes serious and she puts emphasis on the evaluative word *"insane"*, pressing the first syllable.

Moving on to an examination of verbal implicit cues in the form of language use, it can be determined that Santana uses mostly affective language in order to voice her feelings and attitudes. She uses mostly evaluative language with negative emotional connotations, for example, by calling the whole issue *"bull-crap"*, Finn and Rachel's kissing *"hideous"* and *"uncomfortable"*, and a religious student a *"bible-thumber"*, all of which demonstrate her impoliteness and unhappiness towards the issue. The first two represent negativity towards inequality, while the moniker *"bible-thumber"*, used on line 18, brings out Santana's resentment towards religion. Moreover, the religiously oriented phrase polarizes the way Figgins' refers to the school's halls as *"sacred"* on line 7. Emotive interjections such as *"oh"* and *"great"* are used by Santana to convey her sarcastic surprise towards the complainer's conviction that also reveal her negative view towards it. Lastly, by evaluating the school's double standard as *"insane"*, she is describing the face of the real issue that Figgins is aiming to hide. Overall, the expressive features exhibited by Santana are unique to her, since Brittany is silent and Figgins is unable to achieve Santana's level of loudness.

Cinematic features have a powerful effect on how expressive identities and the overall atmosphere of the scene is constructed. The shots range from tight close-ups of Figgins and Santana's faces to wider shots of the three of them sitting around Figgins' coffee table. The close-ups bring the characters' expressions closer to the viewer and emphasize their meaning. Additionally, the multitude of facial expressions keeps the characters moving, despite of them sitting down. Thus, when Santana stands up to leave, it is surprising for the viewer. Moreover, in the flashback of Finn and Rachel kissing, the close-ups from their faces preparing to meet each other's lips make it the graphic and 'hideous display' designed to make Santana and the viewers uncomfortable (Images 4a.6

& 4a.7). The scene is shot with a hand-held camera, which allows a large amount of movement. Apart from the flashbacks, the constantly moving handheld camera is following the participants' actions like Figgins reaching down to glance at a file, and Santana and Brittany glancing at each other during the conversation. In this instance, a handheld camera creates a subjective point-of-view and the movement supports and even amplifies the overall pacing of the scene, which could otherwise be slower with all the characters sitting down.
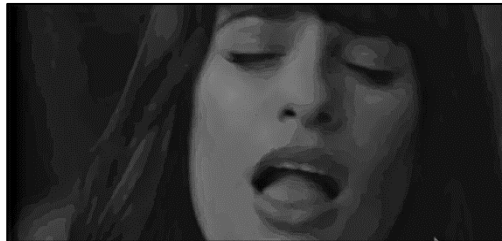

Image 4a.6

Image 4a.7

Positioning and setting in the scene are also significant. First, Figgins is distant from the girls and later walks to sit down opposite them at the coffee table in his office. This positioning of the characters around the coffee table can be seen as meaningful, since typically the scenes set in Figgins' office all take place at his desk. The atypical use of the coffee table suggests that the exchange between the characters is not a traditional conversation between a principal and his students (Image 4a.8). Furthermore, the setting indicates that the issue is not severe enough to warrant a more official sitdown. Finally, the way Figgins is positioned to lean in to talk to the girls can be considered as condescending, since it mimics the way adults lean in when talking to little children.

Image 4a.8

The meso-level expressive styles employed by Santana revolve around negative evaluation of religion and heteronormativity. The way in which she reacts to the student who filed a complaint against her and Brittany by using the moniker "*bible-thumber*", uttering it with a sarcastic tone, as well as having an expression of fake surprise on her face during it, she is signaling negativity towards religion as the catalyst of the issue. Moreover, describing Finn and Rachel's public display of affection as "*hideous*" while rolling her eyes and expressing disgust at the thought of it, she is conveying negativity at

explicit heteronormative behavior. Consequently, this expressive style carries on to Santana's last utterance of the scene beginning on line 21, where she explicitly mentions the "*insane double-standard*" the school engages in with preventing her and Brittany to behave in manner that is only suitable for heterosexual couples.

Focusing on the macro-level expressive identities in scene 4A, it can be determined that in addition to emotional and attitudinal expressive identities, also ideological identities are present. The most salient emotional identities are: anger, frustration and disappointment. In turn, the attitudinal identities signaling affect are: sarcastic, hostile, serious and accusing. The ideological identities Santana depicts are: anti-religion and anti-heteronormative. Based on these expressive identities, Santana's expressive identity type in scene 4A could be described as "wronged" as it best summons the negative emotions she has and the reasoning for them. Moreover, the expressive identities are balancing between stable and temporary for Santana, as some markers such as paralinguistic features are innate for the character but the ideological references that arise contextually are not. Thus, a partial estimation can be made that Santana has overcome her insecurities about her sexuality and embraced who she is as a person.

4.3.3 Scene 4B

Background and rationale

Scene 4B exhibits the period after Emily's coming out, when she has gained more perspective on herself and the life she wants to lead after coming out. Thus, this scene, where she refuses to hide her relationship with Paige, who is still in the closet, is crucial for further examination of Emily's expressive character identity.

The scene is from the 19th episode of *Pretty Little Liars'* first season, named *'A Person of Interest'* (King & Lennon 2011). Emily and Paige's relationship is complicated, due to the girls' rocky and competitive history on the swim team, and Paige's decision to stay in the closet out of the fear of her father's reaction. In a previous episode, Paige surprises Emily by kissing her and then begins to avoid her. Nevertheless, earlier in this episode, Paige invites Emily to a remote bar where the girls have their first date singing karaoke. Paige reveals that seeing Emily with Maya made her realize that she also likes girls and that Emily is the first girl that she has kissed. The date is very successful and Paige texts Emily the next day to ask her to join her for a picnic, which is when scene 4B takes place.

Transcript: scene 4B

1   *Emily and Paige are on a picnic in the woods laying on their backs and holding hands. Music is*
2   *playing.*

3   **EMILY**:   I love this band.
4   **PAIGE**:   Me too.
5   **EMILY**:   They are playing in the city next month. We should go and see them.
6   **PAIGE**:   I'd like to. But… you know…
7   **EMILY**:   What?
8   **PAIGE**:   We might see people we know there. (*pause*) I can't risk being seen with you.

9   *Emily lets go of Paige's hand and sits up. Paige sits up as well.*

10   **PAIGE**:   I thought you understood.
11   **EMILY**:   I so understand. Believe me, I do. But hearing you say that…Ouch.
12   **PAIGE**:   I didn't mean to hurt your feelings. I had an amazing time last night. And I would
13   really like to keep seeing you.
14   **EMILY**:   Like this? Always in the middle of nowhere? Hiding?
15   **PAIGE**:   It's the only way I can do it.
16   **EMILY**:   I'm not ashamed of who I am. But I used to be, and if we have to hide like this all
17   the time, I'm gonna start to feel that way again.
18   **PAIGE**:   I really like you, Emily.
19   **EMILY**:   I like you, too… and I'll always be here for you. (pause) But I think it has to be
20   as friends. Sorry.

21   *Both girls face away from each other.*

Expressive features and identities

In scene 4B, the most salient expressive features on the micro-level are nonverbal implicit cues in the form of visual features and paralinguistic features. However, also verbal implicit cues such as affective language and explicit cues in the form of self-presentation are present in the scene. The meso-level elements of expressive styles and strategies also contribute to the construal of emotional and attitudinal expressive identities on the macro-level, which are displayed in the scene.

The conversational structure of scene 4B is telling of the overall nature of the conversation, through exhibiting the discomfort Emily experiences in realizing that Paige wants to keep their relationship a secret. The conversation forms into a more intense exchange with Emily in control and setting up the end to their romantic relationship in long utterances, while Paige's turns are short statements with no attempts at contradicting her. Emily is determined about the objective of the conversation, and the only hesitation she exhibits is during the pause on line 19, when she is acknowledging the hurt the following utterance will cause Paige. Thus, even though Emily is disappointed about the way their relationship turned out, she is still content with her decision and compassionate towards Paige.

On the micro-level, visual features are a prominent indicator of Emily's changing feelings during the scene. Her reactions to Paige's turns are mostly expressed through facial expressions, while gesturing is a more essential part of illustrating her own utterances. Emily exhibits a carefree and relaxed demeanor while the girls are laying on a blanket and holding hands (Image 4b.1). However, this atmosphere quickly begins to vanish after Paige's turn on line 6. Emily furrows her brow in confusion and looks down briefly before lifting her head, raising her brow and opening her eyes wide (Image 4b.2) and uttering "*what?*". Furthermore, her reaction (Image 4b.3), when Paige says she cannot "*risk*" to be seen together with her, implies hurt, with narrowed eyes and a look down, in tow with opening and closing her mouth unable to find words, before turning her head straight and sitting up. Moreover, Paige's words on line 12, about not wanting to hurt her feelings and having a great time on their date the previous night, elicits two reactions from Emily. First, Emily turns to look at Paige with a stern expression with narrowed eyes, pursed lips and a wrinkled forehead and brow (Image 4b.4), which signals disbelief, disappointment and irritation at Paige. Then, her expression softens with a slight smile and a quizzical raise of her left eyebrow (Image 4b.5), conveying hopefulness that Paige might change her mind.

Image 4b.1

Image 4b.2

Image 4b.3

Image 4b.4

Image 4b.5

As mentioned above, gesturing becomes a part of Emily's visual communication during her own turns, which develop more pressing towards the end of the scene. Beginning on line 11, she nods her head in the rhythm of her words: "*I so understand*" giving them emphasis before looking at Paige and strengthening the statement further by saying "*believe me, I do*". In the end of the same turn, Emily tucks her hair nervously behind her ear and looks away from Paige, indicating hurt. The scene is shot with close-ups and, in order to bring more movement to the tight frame, slight upper body movements are employed. On line 14, different head movements drive Emily's questions: she is moving her head down in disbelief, from side to side to demonstrate the isolated surroundings, ending in slightly shaking it in rejection. During her last turns, beginning on lines 16 and 19, she slightly nods in agreement with her own words making them seem more determined. Moreover, she wrinkles her forehead and raises her brow in seriousness while saying that they should just be friends (Image 4b.6).

Image 4b.6

The use of paralinguistic features in scene 4B resonates with Emily's disbelief in Paige's will to hide their relationship, and the determination she has to live her life away from hiding. In the beginning of the scene, Emily's tone is soft but hardens already on line 7 in eliciting confusion. Then, while uttering that she understands Paige, she emphasizes the word 'so' [só] in '*I so understand*' by lengthening it [só:], thus, attempting to convey that she sincerely understands her. On line 14, her pitch rises and emphasis is put on the rising intonation in her questions: "*Like this? Always in the middle of nowhere? Hiding?*", bringing out her negative view of the secret locale. Moreover, she puts particular emphasis on the first syllable of the word "*nowhere*" making the word sound more negative than it is. Thus, she is emitting her disapproval of the situation, in tow with the disbelief that this is the way Paige wants them to have a relationship. Finally, beginning on line 16, Emily's voice lowers and thickens conveying the seriousness, truthfulness and sadness of her words.

Moving on to verbal implicit cues, the most significant features of language use demonstrating Emily's expressive character identity are affective statements and language. The first utterance of the scene that begins the chain towards conflict is an affective, evaluative statement by Emily: "*I love this band*". By evaluating the band as something she *loves* and asking Paige to come see them with her, she is conveying that this is something she wants to share with her. Furthermore, at the end of line 11, Emily uses the onomatopoeic emotive interjection, "*ouch*", indicating her hurt feelings as instantly realized by Paige. However, the most essential affective statement is uttered on line 16, where Emily mentions about being ashamed of who she was before and not wanting to feel that way again. Here, she is highlighting the negativity of the experience and expressing it being in the past.

The explicit self-presentation Emily offers about herself beginning on line 16, is an important moment for the character considering her past and future. By delivering the utterance "*I'm not ashamed of who I am. But I used to be—*" she is denying herself the option to go back and hide again while also preventing to add another secret and lie to her list. She is demonstrating self-realization through the determination to lead her life in a certain way, without hiding. Moreover, she is expressing self-knowledge by addressing that she will start to feel ashamed again if she returns to hiding. The honesty in her statement emits a pleading reaction from Paige on line 18, which does not change Emily's mind – echoing the strength of her decisiveness. Overall, the openness and vulnerability she is exhibiting implies that she is ready to move past the shame she felt about herself before.

Cinematographic features in scene 4B enhance the secret nature of the girls' meeting. The style of filming along with setting, music and costume act implicitly on the background. The scene is opened with a wide shot of the girls resting on the blanket (see above Image 4b.1), but it quickly closes in on the characters with close-ups where both girls are in the shot and only their upper bodies are visible (see Images 4b.2 – 4b.5). At the end of the scene, however, the camera is again further away, exposing the whole profiles of the characters (Image 4b.7). By setting the scene in the woods, the secrecy Paige is yearning, is highlighted and it is more apparent for it to be realized by Emily. Furthermore, the song the girls are listening to (*Moth's wings* by *Passion Pit*) plays in the background for the whole scene with a stable volume, which gives it a more authentic feel than the background score typically utilized on the series. Finally, the costume choices for the scene highlight the similarities and differences between the characters with subtle, yet

distinctive, aspects: both are dressed in casual clothes, Emily wearing a dark hoodie and Paige wearing a white one; both are wearing jeans but Paige's are knee-length; both have black sneakers on but Emily's sneakers are *Vans* and Paige's *Converse*. Thus, this could be considered indicating that even though the girls have much in common, the small differences between them ultimately separate them.

Image 4b.7

On the meso-level, Emily is utilizing expressive styles and strategies that convey her intensions to prevent Paige's plans for their relationship. Most significantly, she is acting out an expressive strategy of reasoning her view on the matter by utilizing all micro-level expressive cues stated above. Particularly self-presentation and visual features are key elements in this strategy. The expressive style behind the strategy is rationalization, which is quite abnormal for the character who usually makes decisions based on her feelings. Overall, this expressive style carries on until the end of the scene as Emily maintains her stance on the issue and Paige succumbs to her decision.

By combining the expressive features most salient on the micro-level, and expressive strategies and styles on the meso-level, macro-level the expressive identities begin to form. The most significant expressive identities are in the form of emotional and attitudinal expressive identities. The most salient attitudinal identities emitted by Emily are: rationality, determination, honesty, compassion and seriousness. The most salient emotional identities consist of: confusion, disappointment, sadness and irritation. Overall, the most salient identity type portrayed by Emily in scene 4B is "vulnerable" and "self-validating" encompassing her emotional state and rationality behind it. Examining the micro-level features of both characters, it can be determined that the features are unique to each character. The expressive identities in this instance are, for the most part, temporary, since neither vulnerability nor rationality play a significant role in her stable identity.

4.3.4 Queer talk: After coming out

In scenes 3B, 4A and 4B Emily and Santana are struggling with issues of how to conduct their lives after coming out. Coming out can result in difficulties to communicate with parents and share important information with them, as witnessed in scene 3B. Moreover, at public institutions such as schools certain heteronormative agendas might have a strong presence, which can have an effect on the daily lives of LGBT youth as seen in scene 4A. Finally, as depicted in scene 4B, the ways of conducting romantic relationships can endure changes.

For LGBT youth, who are open about their sexuality with their parents, the relationship with their parents can experience a temporary, or even a permanent falling out. The heteronormative society, among other entities, enforces certain values that affect the futures envisioned by parents for their children. If these futures cease to exist and are replaced with images often created by stereotypes, the parents may need time to adjust to the new normal. In scene 3B, Emily's mother did not immediately accept her, which caused her to distance herself from her and not tell her about the trouble she was experiencing at school. However, her mother only needed time to adjust and never wanted to be excluded from Emily's life. By defending her daughter and explicitly telling her why, she was able to make Emily realize that and begin mending their relationship. Thus, the traditional heteronormative act of disowning a homosexual child proves to be challenged.

In scene 4A, Santana and Brittany are faced with the double-standard of not being able to act similarly to a heterosexual couple, as well the ever-reigning conflict between homosexuality and religion. First, the double-standard is distinctively illustrated through the polarization between Santana and Brittany's kiss and Finn and Rachel's kiss. The setting underlines the fact that people of the same sex kissing is rarely treated similarly to people of the opposite sexes kissing, no matter the volume of graphic content. Second, the religious issue is spelled out through the person complaining about Santana and Brittany. Furthermore, the principal emphasizes the issue as flammable by stating that he does not want the school to turn into "*a volatile powder-keg*", i.e. he wishes to avoid conflict between the two instances at the school. Basically, religion can be argued to act as the shield enforcing heteronormativity and creating double-standards at schools and other public institutions. However, members of the LGBT community find solace in religion as well, and use it as a source of strength against discrimination (Clark et al.

2014: 95). Thus, the principal's actions to prevent conflict between the two instances can be viewed to further strengthen the binary between them.

Secret romantic relationships – both hetero- and homosexual – offer intriguing material for fictional television series. In the context of scene 4B, however, Emily refuses to conduct a romantic relationship with Paige in secret, stating that she is unwilling to hide anymore. Emily's decisiveness to not engage in hiding, but to have her relationships out in the open, echoes as an act of de-victimization. Succumbing into hiding, in turn, could be considered to act as a victimization of homosexuals, which enforces heteronormativity. Thus, Emily's decision can be considered to challenge the heteronormative world view.

4.4 Summary & character comparison

Four scenes chosen from both *Glee* and *Pretty Little Liars* shed light on three periods of time concerning Santana and Emily's coming out-narratives, revealing their expressive character identities before, during and after coming out. In this final analysis section, the overview of the analysis is discussed and the characters of Emily Fields and Santana Lopez are compared to one another.

4.4.1 Overview

The expressive character identities of *PLL's* Emily and *Glee's* Santana are altogether formed by emotional and attitudinal expressive identities. The expressive resources as well as expressive strategies and styles forming these identities, are most significantly visual and paralinguistic features, affective language and surge features in addition to self-presentation. Moreover, cinematographic features highlight the performances of the actors, the significance of the dialogue and the atmosphere of the scene.

Table 2. Emotional identities

emotional identity	appearing in x/8 scenes
anger	4/8
disappointment	5/8
disbelief	2/8
fear	3/8
frustration/irritation	5/8
sadness	5/8
shame	2/8
surprise	2/8

Table 2. presents the emotional identities appearing in more than one scene in the data. The most frequently appearing emotional identities can be determined to fall on the

spectrum of negative emotions. Despite being traditionally perceived as a positive emotion, also one appearance of surprise marks an instance in scene 1A where the emotional identity can be perceived as negative.

The most frequently appearing emotional identities are disappointment, sadness and frustration/irritation, which are adjoined due to similarity. All of these emotional identities appear in five of the eight scenes analyzed marking appearances in all three segments. Present also in all three segments is anger, which appears as an emotional identity in half of the data. The emotional identity of fear is emitted in three scenes focusing on the segments before and during coming out. The fact that shame only appears in two scenes, 1B and 2B, marks a noteworthy point that these coming out-narratives are more about valuing other people's behavior negatively than feeling shame over one's own sexuality. In the following sub-section, the emotional identities specific to Santana and Emily will be discussed.

Table 3. Attitudinal identities

attitudinal identity	appearing in x/8 scenes
anxious	4/8
cautious	2/8
compassion	2/8
decisive	3/8
fearful	2/8
honest	4/8
hostile	3/8
sarcastic	2/8
serious	3/8
uncertain/insecure	3/8

Table 3. presents the most frequently appearing attitudinal identities, excluding the ones that only make singular appearances. The nature of attitudinal identities coincides with the nature of the emotional identities, both having mostly negative connotations. However, honesty and decisiveness act here as more neutral examples of attitudinal identities.

The highest account of attitudinal identities appeared in half of the data, namely, anxiety and honesty. Anxiety is displayed in two of the three scenes from the before coming out-stage and in both scenes of the coming out-stage, thus excluding the attitude from the period of the narrative following coming out. Exhibiting attitudinal identities of fearfulness and uncertainty/insecurity can only be discovered in scenes from the before coming out-period. Thus, these identities are replaced later in the coming out-narrative

by exhibiting the more neutral attitudinal identity of decisiveness. Honesty, however, is a part of the characters' expressive character identity in all periods of their coming out narratives. The nature of Emily and Santana's specific attitudinal identities will be discussed shortly below.

The role of ideological identity is surprisingly small in the eight scenes chosen for further analysis in this study. The reason for this might be that the scenes are quite short and the dialogue pertains to discussing the characters' own actions or feelings or the actions or feelings of the person they are conversing with. Nevertheless, Santana does exhibit in scenes 1A and 4A, ideologies of feminism, misandry (the dislike of men), anti-religion and anti-heteronormativity. These ideologies combined suggest a lesbian who has something to say. Consequently, Santana only displays these ideologies in the presence of her love interest, Brittany, thus, signaling that in order for them to be together, Santana is required to voice her thoughts.

Overall, the expressive resources displayed by the characters prove to be partly shared and partly unique, however, in coming out-scenes 2B and 3A, the features are unique to the characters. The uniqueness of the features in these instances conveys that the topic is personal and one's expressivity in matters regarding their own sexuality can rarely be shared with anyone, particularly if the other person is unable to understand it. In the case of expressive character identities discovered in this study, the identities prove to be temporary for the characters. This implies the specific subject matter of sexual identity makes the characters assert themselves in a more emotionally vulnerable manner than in other instances.

4.4.2 Comparing characters

The expressive character identities of Santana Lopez from *Glee* and Emily Fields from *Pretty Little Liars* gives indication of the similarities and differences between the characters in their respective coming out-narratives. In Santana's story, the emphasis here is put on the period before her coming out, while Emily's story highlights the period after her coming out. Nevertheless, the comparison between the characters' expressive character identities is practical to perform.

As individuals Santana and Emily are quite different from each other, which comes apparent in examining the data. Santana is impolite and enjoys bullying people and calling them off – as seen in scenes 2A and 4A – while Emily is more considerate of other people's feelings and feels bad about hurting someone's feelings, as seen in scenes 1B

and 4B. Overall, Santana is more explicit in everything she does compared to Emily. Her facial expressions and gesturing are livelier, she is louder and more vivid in her language use. However, the emotions and attitudes behind the characters' differently exhibited expressive features have confluences that arise from similar contexts.

In the period before coming out, Santana and Emily both exhibit attitudinal identities of being anxious and uncertain about coming out. Moreover, both exhibit caution and fearfulness over what coming out would entail and what if someone reveals their sexuality before they are ready. However, during this period, Santana exhibits stronger negative emotional identities than Emily, whose emotional identities are more moderate. Emily only displays frustration in 1B, while Santana is angry and disappointed in 1A. However, Emily is ashamed which is a distinctive difference between the characters as Santana does not exhibit shame in her scenes before or during coming out.

The coming out scenes of Santana and Emily echo similar expressive character identities between the characters. However, Santana has had the opportunity to plan what she is going to say to her grandmother, while Emily decides to come out to her father in a spur of the moment. The attitudinal identities of honesty, decisiveness and anxiety are present in both 2B and 3A. In addition, Santana is exhibiting sincerity and self-awareness. However, emotional identities of the characters are quite different apart from both experiencing sadness. Emily is exhibiting shame, frustration and fear while Santana's emotions are of anger, disappointment and disbelief.

 The last segment revolving around the period after coming out, exhibits expressive character identities closer to the girls' innate personalities than in previous segments. Disappointment is present as an emotional identity in all three scenes, directed at other people. Emily is disappointed at her mother in 3B and at Paige in 4B, while Santana is disappointed in principal Figgins in 4A. Similarly, irritation and frustration are also directed by the girls at their scene partners in all three scenes. In 4A, Santana's distinctive attitudinal identities of being sarcastic and hostile are displayed prominently, meanwhile, Emily exhibits her kind but decisive nature by being compassionate and understanding in 3B and 4B. Overall, both characters are acting less emotional and more confident in the way they conduct themselves with Santana voicing the school's unfairness, and Emily telling Paige that she will not hide with her.

Table 4.   *Identity types*

Scene	Identity type
1A	upset + vulnerable
1B	overreacting
2A	mocking + vulnerable
2B	shamefaced + vulnerable
3A	upset + vulnerable
3B	accepted + forgiving
4A	wronged
4B	self-validating + vulnerable

Finally, the expressive identity types displayed by the characters are presented in Table 4. The darkened columns are Santana's scenes and the white ones Emily's. As can be discovered from the table, Santana's identity type is categorized as vulnerable in all other scenes except for 4A. Meanwhile, Emily exhibits vulnerability in half of her scenes, during and after coming out. Thus, vulnerability is the most frequent expressive identity type based on the emotional and attitudinal identities, such as disappointment and honesty. In these scenes chosen to represent Santana's coming out-narrative, she remains long in a fixed position before getting past her emotional vulnerability. For instance, she is seen exhibiting upset and vulnerable identity types in both 1A and 3A, both of which find her facing rejection. In turn, Emily's identity types form a more progressive pattern beginning from overreaction and shame and ending in self-validation. Neither of the characters is content with their lives in the course of these snippets from their coming out-narratives.

5. Discussion

In this study, the concept of expressive character identity conceived by Monika Bednarek (2010; 2011) was utilized as a slightly modified version to map expressive identities and resources of the teen lesbian characters Santana Lopez and Emily Fields on television series *Glee* and *Pretty Little Liars*. The data consisted of in total of eight scenes, four scenes from each series, focusing on the characters' coming out-narratives. The data depicted three distinctive stages of the coming out-narrative: before coming out, declaration of coming out and after coming out. In addition to examining the characters expressive character identities, queer theoretical viewpoint was utilized to discuss the role of heteronormativity in the data, namely, how the broader social issues in the scenes relate to heteronormativity.

In the present study, Bednarek's original model was complemented by adding focus on cinematographic elements as suggested by Bordwell and Thompson (2008). Thus, the model became more suitable for qualitative analysis of televisual material – with Bednarek having utilized the original for quantitative studies. Moreover, by adding focus on cinematographic elements, these particular aspects of audiovisual material became significantly regarded as a part of the data highlighting the context in which the expressive features and identities appeared. Emphasizing the context appeared as a crucial aspect considering the specific nature of the coming out-narrative presented in the data. Thus, the model utilized here, provides a more comprehensible model for the examination of televisual material by qualitative methods than Bednarek's original model suited for quantitative methods.

The overall findings of the study suggest that the expressive character identities most typical in coming out-narratives are emotional and attitudinal expressive identities. Strikingly, the presence of ideological identities is only marginal. The expressive identities present in the data are most significantly constructed by expressive resources relating implicitly to language use, visual features and paralinguistic features and explicitly to self-presentation. Furthermore, the expressive resources are mostly unique to the characters and not shared between their scene partners, due to the personal nature of the context. Similarly, the expressive identities are temporary for the characters, since the context seemingly warrants an expressive character identity deviating from the stable expressive character identity. Accordingly, the expressive identity type present most

frequently in the eight analytic units is "vulnerable" encapsulating the overall nature of the characters in coming out-narratives.

The most interesting points to be made from the findings considering expressive identities relate to their development as the narrative progresses. Before coming out, for example, the expressive identities on the emotional level relate to fear and frustration and on the attitudinal level to uncertainty and insecurity. Meanwhile, in actual coming out-scenes, the emotional identities consist of sadness and the attitudinal identities of honesty and anxiousness, for instance. Finally, after coming out, the emotional identities in play are, for example, disappointment and anger with the attitudinal identity of seriousness. Thus, in accordance with Pearson's (2007) views, the characters accumulate depth as the narrative progresses. Honesty and decisiveness are notably represented frequently in the data. Furthermore, the emotional identity of shame is marginalized. Overall, these findings emphasize the determination and assurance the characters have to openly be themselves contradicting on some level Dhaenens' (2013) views on the victimizing nature of coming out-narratives.

In regards to the role of heteronormativity in the data, each segment of scenes provides social issues discussed from a queer point of view. For instance, the coming out-scenes of both characters offer only slight challenging of heteronormativity with the expressions of self-realization and self-knowledge. Otherwise, the same social interaction includes both characters acknowledging that they are doing something wrong by liking girls, and being faced by unhappy guardians. However, heteronormativity is also challenged in the data by the characters' overall independent nature and the decisiveness to be themselves. Nevertheless, as the nature of coming out-narratives warrants the depiction of something deviating from the norm, a strong preconceived notion of enforcing heteronormativity is already present in the story. Thus, shifting the focus point to narratives outside of coming out might be fruitful in future studies.

Considering previous research, this study provides an update into LGBT representation on television with new series that youth audiences have watched and will watch in the current decade. Furthermore, it presents the characterization of new LGBT characters that act as the representatives of today's youth to today's youth, thus, bringing the focus beyond the teen characters of the 1990's. The concept of expressive character identity pores closer into representation than, for example, mere textual analysis (Dhaenens 2013) or narrative analysis (Meyer 2003) by examining the characters more thoroughly, which also gives more insight in regards to the narratives. Moreover, as discovered in this study,

the notion of expressivity provides distinctive details of the characters in relation to their identity in specific contexts. Thus, the analysis of Emily and Santana is more nuanced here than Dhaenens' (2013) textual analysis of the gay characters on *Glee*. On the whole, previous research has merely examined the role of LGBT characters on a general level without focusing on the actual characterization, thus, the results of this study can be considered as something new in the field of LGBT representation.

The scope of this study is relatively narrow in regards to the overall representation of LGBT characters on American television. Furthermore, the examination of these particular characters in these series with multiple seasons – six seasons and 121 episodes of *Glee* (IMBD 2017a) and seven seasons and 160 episodes of *Pretty Little Liars* (IMDB 2017b) – can also be considered quite narrow, since the material is vast and the characters evolve more in every season. Thus, in hindsight, examining the characters in later seasons after coming out might have provided a more conclusive resolution to their coming out-narratives.

This study has shed light on the fictional reflection of a complex lived experience in the point of view of expressivity in characterization. These characters and their struggles, granted fictional and heightened, are valuable for youth audiences negotiating and constructing their sexual identities. Particularly, both *Glee* and *Pretty Little Liars* depict long character arcs of Santana and Emily with the characters experiencing struggles and content, ending both stories in an encouraging way with both characters finding happiness as young adults. Moreover, the importance and special nature of these series is highlighted, as the television industry of today appears to be impatient for finding success, resulting in the life spans and episode counts of series to be shortened significantly. Thus, it can be considered unlikely for similar stories with deeply evolved LGBT youth characters to be told again in length in the course of over 100 episodes of television. Nevertheless, the amount of LGBT characters is constantly increasing and an avid examination of them should be continuous in order to ensure that these characters and their narratives experience development and that heteronormativity is persistently challenged.

6. Bibliography

Primary sources

Falchuk, B. (Writer), Murphy, R. (Director). (2011). Sexy [Television series episode]. In I. Brennan, B. Buecker, D. Di Lorento, B. Falchuk & R. Murphy (Producer), *Glee*. Los Angeles, CA, USA: 20th Century FOX Television.

Dougherty, J. (Writer), Buckley, N. (Director). (2010). Can You Hear Me Now? [Television series episode]. In O. Goldstick, I. M. King, B. Levy & L. Morgenstein (Producer), *Pretty Little Liars*. Los Angeles, CA, USA: Warner Bros. Television.

Hitchcock, M. (Writer), Stoltz, E. (Director). (2011). Mash-Off [Television series episode]. In I. Brennan, B. Buecker, D. Di Lorento, B. Falchuk & R. Murphy (Producer), *Glee*. Los Angeles, CA, USA: 20th Century FOX Television.

Dougherty, J. (Writer), Buckley, N. (Director). (2010). Moments Later [Television series episode]. In O. Goldstick, I. M. King, B. Levy & L. Morgenstein (Producer), *Pretty Little Liars*. Los Angeles, CA, USA: Warner Bros. Television.

Hodgson, M. (Writer), Donovan, T. (Director). (2011). I Kissed A Girl [Television series episode]. In I. Brennan, B. Buecker, D. Di Lorento, B. Falchuk & R. Murphy (Producer), *Glee*. Los Angeles, CA, USA: 20th Century FOX Television.

Dougherty, J. (Writer), Grossman, M. (Director). (2011). The New Normal [Television series episode]. In O. Goldstick, I. M. King, B. Levy & L. Morgenstein (Producer), *Pretty Little Liars*. Los Angeles, CA, USA: Warner Bros. Television.

Adler, A. (Writer), Falchuk, B. (Director). (2012). Heart [Television series episode]. In I. Brennan, B. Buecker, D. Di Lorento, B. Falchuk & R. Murphy (Producer), *Glee*. Los Angeles, CA, USA: 20th Century FOX Television.

King I. M., & Lennon J. (Writer). Lagomarsino, R. (2011). A Person of Interest Television series episode]. In O. Goldstick, I. M. King, B. Levy & L. Morgenstein (Producer), *Pretty Little Liars*. Los Angeles, CA, USA: Warner Bros. Television.

Secondary sources

20th Century FOX. (2010). Santana Lopez (Naya Rivera) [Online image] Retrieved December 30, 2015 from http://i.dailymail.co.uk/i/pix/2014/03/article-2587177-1C86D14100000578-404_634x890.jpg.

ABC Family. (2013). Emily Fields (Shay Mitchell) [Online image] Retrieved December 30, 2015 from http://cdn.static.abcfamily.com/service/image/ratio/id/9d3c8a38-be1f-4866-a78a-1031d421faf4/dim/430.1x1.jpg?cb=44654.

Anderson-Minshall, D. (2006). Sex and the clittie. In Akass, K. and McCabe, J. (Eds.), *Reading The L Word: Outing contemporary television,* 11–39. London; New York New York NY: I.B. Tauris.

Avila-Saavedra, G. (2009). Nothing queer about queer television: Televized construction of gay masculinities. *Media, Culture & Society* 31 (1), 5–21.

Battles, K. and Hilton-Morrow, W. (2002). Gay characters in conventional spaces: *Will & Grace* and the situation comedy genre. *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 19 (1), 87–105.

BARB. (2016). Most Popular Programmes. http://www.barb.co.uk/ (Accessed on May 5, 2016).

Bednarek, M. (2010). *The language of fictional television: Drama and identity.* London, GB: Continuum.

Bednarek, M. (2011). Expressivity and televisual characterisation. *Language and Literature* 20(1), 3–21.

Bordwell, D. & Thompson, K. (2008) *Film Art: An Introduction*. 8th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Butler, J. (1999). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity.* New York: Routledge.

Butler, J. G. (2007). *Television Critical Methods and Applications*. 3rd ed. New York: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Cameron, D. & Kulick, D. (2003). *Language and sexuality.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chambers, S. A. (2009). *The queer politics of television.* London: I.B.Tauris.

Clarke, V. Ellis. S. J. & Peel E. (2010). *Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Queer Psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Culpeper, J. (2001). *Language and characterisation: People in plays and other texts.* Harlow: Longman.

Dhaenens, F. (2013). Teenage queerness: Negotiating heteronormativity in the representation of gay teenagers in "Glee". *Journal of Youth Studies*, 16 (3), 304–317.

Evans, V. D. (2007). Curved TV: The Impact of Televisual Images on Gay Youth. *American Communications Journal* Vol. 9, (3). Available online http://ac-journal.org/journal/2007/Fall/5CurvedTV.pdf (Accessed on September 30, 2015).

Frei, D. (2012). *Challenging heterosexism from the other point of view: Representations of homosexuality in queer as folk and the L word.* Bern: Peter Lang AG.

Gavin, J. (2001). Television teen drama and HIV/AIDS: The role of genre in audience understandings of safe sex. *Continuum* 15 (1), 77–96.

GLAAD. (2015). Where Are We on TV. Available online: http://www.glaad.org/files/GLAAD-2015-WWAT.pdf (Accessed on November 30, 2015).

Goldberg, L. (2014). 'Glee' Trims Its Season Amid Ratings Woes. *Hollywood Reporter* 4.4.2014 (available on-line). http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/live-feed/glee-trims-season-ratings-woes-693327 (Accessed on October 28, 2017).

Gross, L. (1991). Out of the mainstream: Sexual minorities and the mass media. In E. Seiter (ed.), *Remote control: Television, audiences, and cultural power.* Paperback. ed. London: Routledge, 130–149.

Hart, K. R. (2000). Representing gay men on American television. *Journal of Men's Studies: A Scholarly Journal about Men and Masculinities,* 9 (1), 59–79.

Herman, D. (2003). "Bad Girls Changed My Life": Homonormativity in a Women's Prison Drama. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 20 (2), (141–159).

Herman, D. (2005). 'I'm gay': Declarations, desire, and coming out on prime-time television. Sexualities 8 (1), 7-29.

IMDB. (2015a). *Glee*: Awards. http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1327801/awards. (Accessed on December 30, 2015).

IMDB. (2015b). *Pretty Little Liars*: Awards. http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1578873/awards. (Accessed on December 30, 2015).

IMDB. (2017a). *Glee*: Episode list. http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1327801/episodes?ref_=tt_eps_yr_mr. (Accessed on October 29, 2017).

IMDB. (2017b). *Pretty Little Liars*: Episode list. http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1578873/episodes?ref_=tt_eps_yr_mr. (Accessed on October 29, 2017).

Jackson, S & Gilbertson, T. (2009). 'Hot Lesbians': Young People's Talk About Representation of Lesbianism. *Sexualities*, 12 (2), 199–224.

Jenkins, T. (2005). "Potential Lesbians at Two o'clock": The Heterosexualization of Lesbianism in the Recent Teen Film. *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 38 (3), 491-504.

Kozloff, S. (2000). *Overhearing film dialogue.* Berkeley, US: University of California Press.

Linneman, T. J. (2008). How do you solve a problem like Will Truman?: The feminization of gay masculinities on *Will & Grace*. *Men and Masculinities* 10 (5), 583–603.

Meyer, M. D. E. (2003). "It's me. I'm it". Defining Adolescent Sexual Identity through Relational Dialectics in *Dawson's Creek. Communication Quarterly*, 51 (3), 262–276.

Motschenbacher, H. and Stegu, M. (2013). Queer linguistic approaches to discourse. *Discourse & Society* 24 (5), 519-535.

Moseley, R. (2013). Teen drama. In Mittell, J. and Thompson, E. (Eds.). *How to watch television.* 39–42. New York: NYU Press.

Ng, P. (2014). 'Pretty Little Liars': Inside the Bold Strategy of Getting Teens to Watch TV. *Hollywood Reporter* 7.7.2014 (available on-line). http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/pretty-little-liars-inside-bold-714481 (Accessed on June 5, 2016).

Nelson, Cynthia. (1999). Sexual Identities in ESL: Queer Theory and Classroom Inquiry. *TESOL Quarterly: Critical Approaches to TESOL*, 33 (3), 371–391.

Nielsen US. (2010). Glee and the Rolling Stones Lead Surge of Digital and Indie Retail Music Sales. 27.5.2010. www.nielsen.com/us/en/insights/news/2010/glee-and-the-rolling-stones-lead-surge-of-digital-and-indie-retail-music-sales.html (Accessed on October 28, 2017).

Nielsen US. (2016). US Top 10. http://www.nielsen.com/us/en/top10s.html. (Accessed on May 5, 2016).

Patter, D. (2017). 'Pretty Little Liars' Series Finale Ratings Rise Over 2016, Dominates Social Media. *Deadline* 28.6.2017 (available on-line). http://deadline.com/2017/06/pretty-little-liars-series-finale-ratings-rise-freeform-1202121670/ (Accessed on October 28, 2017).

Pearson, R. (2007). Anatomising Gilbert Grissom: The Structure and Function of the Televisual Character. In Michael, A. (Ed.) *Reading contemporary television: Reading 'CSI': Television under the microscope.* London, US: I.B.Tauris.

Pennycook, A. (2007). *Global Englishes and transcultural flows.* New York: Routledge.

Pullen, C. (2014). *Queer youth and media cultures.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Statista. (2016). Most popular television series in 2015, sorted by average number of tweets (in 1,000s). http://www.statista.com/statistics/304363/us-twitter-tv-series-audience-buzz/. (Accessed on June 5, 2016).

TV By the Numbers. (2011). Summer Finale of ABC Family Critical Darling "Pretty Little Liars" is the Season's 2nd-Most-Watched Telecast in Total Viewers and All Key Demos. *TV By the Numbers* 31.8.2011. http://tvbythenumbers.zap2it.com/network-press-releases/summer-finale-of-abc-family-critical-darling-pretty-little-liars-is-the-seasons-2nd-most-watched-telecast-in-total-viewers-and-all-key-demos/ (Accessed on October 28, 2017).

Raley, A. B. & Lucas, J. L. (2006). Stereotype or success? *Journal of Homosexuality* 51 (2), 19–38.

Roseneil, S. (2000). Queer frameworks and queer tendencies: Towards an understanding of postmodern transformations of sexuality. *Sociological Research Online* 5 (3).

Vaz, M. C. (2002). *Alias Declassified: The Official Companion*. New York: Bantam Books.

Walters, S. D. (2001). Queer theory. In N. J. Smelser and P. B. Baltes (eds.), *International encyclopedia of the social & behavioral sciences.* Oxford: Pergamon, 12659–12663.

Westerfelhaus, R & Lacroix, C., C. (2012). Gay and Lesbian Portrayals on Television. In Kosut, M. (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of gender in media,* 124–127. Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Publications, Inc.