From Westeros' #vemprarua to shipping gay kisses on Brazilian TV: Fan activism – concepts, resistances and practices in the digital culture[1]

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Abstract:
Fan activism is a form of resistance from a creative and cultural perspective. In this article, we seek to reflect upon the mobilization of these groups of fans in support of their idols, and to discuss how the search for intimacy and closeness in the relationship between celebrities and their fans fosters a number of activities that shape, (re) define and transcend the boundaries of fandom. Based on a theoretical reflection of these phenomena and the discussion of everyday examples, we note how the rich universe of digital practices and its productions – *fanfics, fanvids, fanzines*, etc. – produce sociocultural events such as the '*rolezinho' (going or hanging out.),* crowdfunding, fanmades at demonstrations, offering new meanings to what we understand as resistance and questioning the duality between the 'world of consumption and pop culture' and the 'world of active citizenship'.

Keywords: fan activism; digital culture; resistance; pop culture

This paper discusses modes of 'fan activism' as a means of social mobilization (Bennett, 2012) and also political participation (Brough and Shresthova, 2012) in the Brazilian context

of political manifestations of June 2013. In this sense our main objective is to map and to contextualize these mobilizations inside the broad terms of mobilizations and the relations between fan cultures and politics that were new inside a broader context of Brazilian protests that happened in a complex way.

> Looking at the Brazilian protests, we can identify events where social media created meeting places online, linking points between people's ideas, views, and calls for action that, in turn, connected individuals to other offline meeting and protest places. Our argument is that social media appropriation might catalyze one's autonomous action when actors feel empowered in their choices and gain awareness of their life as part of a set of networks (either local and interpersonal or global) through social media use. This does not entail, however, that in the diffusion of protest all actors display the same degree of autonomy. (Cardoso, Lapa & Di Fátima, 2016, p. 3923)

We also comment on the clear notion of daily resistances contained in this concept, in free appropriation of the idea of De Certeau (1994). We begin with theoretical notions and explore some of the practices and examples of what is called 'fan activism' within the context of the Brazilian digital culture and which help illustrate how fans relate with their own media products like TV telenovelas and reality shows; fandom practices related to global pop culture used in the demonstrations in June 2013; the growing approximation between the types of mobilization among activists and fans by using Twitter and the relationship between celebrities and their fans as a motivation for engagement. In order to present this discussion in a more organized way, we have explored key aspects on fan activism and transcultural fandom studies that linked to the mobilizations such as the role of celebrities, global fandom and micro-politics and fan activism as daily resistance. All these aspects help us to understand the way that Brazilian fandoms engage in digital culture set of practices and enable us to describe different types of mobilizations and practices that were used by fans during these protests. The importance to bring this initial debate is rooted mainly on the lack of fan studies scholarship written in English that discusses cases in the Global South such as Latin America as argued by authors such as Chin & Morimoto (2013) and Pande (2018). We think that is a starting point for understanding how those fan mobilizations have different meanings and developments in different countries that vary from the examples brought from Anglo-American authors.

Our discussion in this paper is focused on an exploratory attempt to map initial cases, objects and fan practices that were emerging during two weeks in June 2013. Our set of images, memes and commentaries were collected mainly through Facebook and Twitter in a cartographic approach (Rosario & Coca, 2018) leaning on the observation of public profiles.

Fan activism, and the transcultural proposal of fandom studies
Several authors like Hills (2002), Jenkins (1992, 2006, 2008), and others have previously

presented different periodizations and approaches to the study of fans and their amplitude over the years. But it was only in 2000 that the idea of civic and political participation and social mobilizations became a permanent topic in the debate on the organization of fandoms. Jenkins (2008) pointed to this relationship between fans, entertainment and political participation, highlighting the need to question this supposed divide between the worlds of consumption and active citizenship as forms of political activism have gained more visibility thanks to the lessons from popular culture consumption practices. 'Fan culture' is very relevant in the discourse about political participation and the exercise of active citizenship.

> Despite the growth of fan studies in recent years, few analyses have considered fan activism and its relationship to civic participation, with notable exceptions, such as van Zoonen (2005) and Burwell and Boler (2008). (...) Here, we also use the term civic participation broadly to include activities including civic engagement, traditional political action, and various forms of activism in order to capture the range of manifestations of fan activism. (Brough & Shresthova, 2012).

Van Zoonen (2004, p. 46) argues that the forms of fan organization and engagement allow us to identify precisely the most 'essential for democratic politics: information, discussion and activism'. As from 2010, there is noted preoccupation among a section of fan researchers in considering the relations between fandom practices and political participation, which are nothing new and have previously come up in discussion groups connected since the 1990s.

> The *Midialivristas* (Free Media) discussion groups on the Internet are based on performance processes and practices, the type of which radical politics steers well clear. They proletarianize the Internet through the action of non-governmental organizations, demonstrators from gender, race, gay, environmental, anarchy movements, as well as entertainment aficionados. (Malini & Antoun, 2013, p. 24)

Thus, certain authors use the terms 'fan activism' to describe the forms of political engagement in fandoms, especially those related to products and celebrities from the global pop culture. These relations on global pop culture and their fans in a country such as Brazil are deeply connected to what Chin & Morimoto (2013) argue on transcultural fandom

> the genesis of transcultural fandom lies in the affinities of industry and/or semiotic practice between two or more popular cultural contexts. In other words, fans become fans not (necessarily) because of any cultural or national differences or similarities, but because of a moment of affinity between the fan and transcultural object.' (2013, p.97)

In her research focused on how Brazilian fans negotiate and modulate their political identities in transcultural fandoms, Amaral (2016, p.68) claims that her initial results show that through mobilizations (fan activism for example) and the culture of memes, we can trace a better understanding of the materialities of Brazilian digital pop culture in its relation with transnational pop cultural in two ways – both related with humour: 1) appropriation of media franchises produced outside Brazil to our social political context; 2) the constitution of a digital Brazilian pop culture that reveals contradictions on gender, generations, age, social classes and races. (Amaral, 2016, p.68)

In this paper our examples vary from a range of materials that can be connected to these two aspects.

Fan activism and the role of celebrities

Bennett (2012) argues that fan activism is directly related to celebrities and perceptions of familiarity within their connection, especially by means of social networks. In the author's opinion, there is a complex relationship among celebrities, fans and communities that becomes more explicit in the engagement of fans when following these communities, creating a platform for proximity, experiences, habits, or what Marwick and Boyd (2011) call 'performed intimacy'. Celebrities like Lady Gaga and George Takei[2] are able to engage with their fan base through activism campaigns or causes against bullying or in favor of equal marriage rights.

The characteristic of mobilization through fan networks by adopting causes may emanate directly from celebrities or emerge spontaneously from within the fandom, which is organized in several ways: *hashtags* on Twitter, or *blogs* and *crowdfunding* (Bennett, 2012). In Brazil, Recuero, Amaral & Monteiro (2012, p.02) have studied how

> Restart (a Brazilian pop rock group) fandom learned to create hashtags in a cooperative way in order to spread their relations with their idols; which strategies they used to create the hashtags and get them into the TTs; and how they fight back the tags created by anti-fans, generating what we call Fan Wars. Finally, they show how fans are able to create bonding ties, network clusterization and influence visibility of information in Twitter.

Monteiro (2013) also noted that fans of this band hosted a bazaar to exchange and donate colorful pairs of jeans for people who could not buy it, using Twitter contacts and live meetings. Both examples help us to understand how this kind of negotiations and practices revolving micro-politics and celebrities are still new and underestimated in the country, even though social media networks are highly used in the country as scholars have pointed out such as Malini & Antoun (2013) have pointed out.

Global fandom and micro-politics

Brough & Shresthova (2012) highlight four points for understanding fan activism: 1) it lies at the intersection of cultural and political participation; 2) the tension between participation and resistance; 3) affect and its role mobilizing civic participation; 4) the impacts of 'fan-style' mobilizations. Our focus in this article is centered on the second point.

> Activism is understood to be intentional action to challenge existing hegemonies and provoke political and/or social change. Fan activism, however, has most often been associated with active fans lobbying for a content-related outcome, such as a program staying on the air (Lichtenberg, Marshak, & Winston, 1975; Scardaville 2005), the representation of racial or sexual minorities (Garber & Paleo, 1983; Lopez, 2011), or the promotion of social themes in program content (Ross, 2008)' (Brough & Shresthova, 2012)

The authors critique the notion that fan activism would only seem political, but, in reality, it would be used for non-political or non-politicized purposes (Earl & Kimport, 2009). In their minds, these 'definitions are problematic, given the porosity between politics and culture, as well as the political leanings of the actual fans' (Brough & Shresthova, 2012).

The argument of Brough and Shresthova (2012) converges with the proposal by Chin and Morimoto (2013), that is, a fandom analysis model that is transcultural and extrapolates social, political and economic factors, and consider the contexts of gender, race, etc. According to Chin and Morimoto (2013), these analyses would gain in depth if more authors that study social movements were to take interest in the abundant material provided by fandoms.

On the other hand, there is much to consider in the way of what levels of fan activism can be considered a form of transgression (Booth, 2012), micro-politics (Freire Filho, 2007) or resistance and to what measure classification within entertainment industry models would depoliticize such actions.

Fan activism as resistance

When raising questions about the history of fan participation, Brough & Shresthova (2012, Online) have already signaled a possible contradiction in the expression 'fan activism'. If we are to understand 'activism' as a practice of resistance, that is, as an intentional action against a force considered hegemonic in order to provoke change, the question posed by the authors is: how to understand resistance towards a system (the space of pop culture) that does not break with this system? How do fans participate and, at the same time, attempt to change the same hegemonic space?

Freire Filho (2007) posits that specific meanings of the concept of resistance include not only ideas on social structure and control, but rather the socially and culturally mediated

capacity to act with purpose in the face of cohesive imposition and the state of domination, preventing or catalyzing changes in regulation and cultural and social hierarchy.

One of the hurdles in formulating definitions for the concept of resistance is due to the presuppositions that support certain approaches and underlie their arguments. Roux (2007) pointed out that in the Social Sciences there are at least two types of conceptualization surrounding the notions of individual freedom and its strife with market structures. Understanding resistance means comprehending how the problem of consumption is situated *per se*, if it is seen as a structure of domination, passivity and alienation (post-structuralist view) or if there is opportunity for creative appropriation (post-modern view).

Roux (2007) states that post-structuralist approaches tend to highlight the oppressive nature of the market and resistance, seen here as 'reflexive resistance', and considered both combative and necessary (Poster, 1992; Peñaloza & Price, 1993). On the other hand, 'creative resistance' originates with post-modern approaches and sees the fragmentation of contemporary societies as an excellent opportunity to exercise individual freedom and the growing incapacity of firms to control them.

It is important to note that the consequences of opposing acts are not under discussion, but rather to what degree the level of visibility reached by these actions is a condition to qualify them as resistance. There is no consensus in the literature on the conditions of intentionality and visibility in resistance acts (Hollander & Einwohner, 2004). Visibility refers to the recognition of actions of opposition that occur in the form of direct conflict with the sources of oppression, as in the cases of explicit forms of social conflict or other forms of activism.

To Scott (1985), an act of resistance is not always in the form of a rebellion, demonstrations or collective mobilization, but often subtler, individual and unattached to cultural resistance. In these cases, the opposition is characterized by daily acts of discordance, very often manipulated by individuals to avoid direct conflict or cloak the intent to resist.

Similarly, to De Certeau (1994) resistance is understood as daily tactics or practices based on an alternative system of meaning. The use of alternatives to the scripted uses inscribed by corporations on their products and services reflects modes of individual resistance. These alternative uses constitute anonymous creations in daily practices. De Certeau (1994, p. 39) affirms that there is a movement of micro-resistance that forms the foundation of micro-freedoms.

To understand whether there is a contradiction of origin in the concept of fan activism, it is first necessary to define which theoretical perspective we are using to investigate the phenomenon in question. Furthermore, as reported by Hollander and Einwonher (2004), resistance is not always presented as combative and explicit, nor does it always strive to break with a given system. Even when resisting an oppressive source, individuals can, simultaneously, support these same structures of domination. *Resistance* and *assimilation* can coexist in a given situation, as individuals can challenge their positions

within a given social structure without, however, questioning the validity of that structure as a whole (Hollander & Einwohner, 2004). As we begin to recognize fan activism as a micro-resistance or as a subtle form of cultural resistance, classifying the phenomenon does not presuppose that such actions will be depoliticized.

Fandoms and their digital culture practices

Based on the understanding of fan activism as a daily practice of resistance, it is important to investigate which fandom practices can be observed within this context. The creation, appropriation and reproduction of new material usually related to their respective idols and media products are the leading characteristic. According to Darnton (2010), Jenkins (2006, 2008) and Baym (2011), texts are a constant process and fans participate in these ongoing reformulations, modifying, updating and reworking established pieces. Productions like *fanfics* (fiction writing), *fanarts* (artistic works)*, fanvids* (videos) *and fanzines* (magazines), distributed freely and easily accessed by fans, provide feedback and a new process cycle: fans appropriating material created by other fans. This effort characterizes the very essence of fandom.

As such, it is worthwhile briefly explaining certain of the more common practices and activities within fandoms and which are facilitated by production technologies like image editing, subtitling and animation software, as well as information distribution and dissemination platforms like blogs and social networks, among others. We have divided the practices into two subtypes. Firstly, the most popular – and already duly documents by several studies – the production of which generates a type of fan product – Fanzines, Fanfics, Fanarts and Fanvids; the other subtype, which we will discuss in greater details, is related to practices in networks that generate content and mobilization, but not necessarily products: Fansubbing / Scanlation, Crowdfunding, Fan Mobilizations, Marathons and Meet & Greet.

Fanzines

Etymologically, *fanzine* is the combination of the words *fanatic* and *magazine.* They are magazines produced exclusively by fans. Just like initial online fandom, the magazines began in groups interested in science fiction. According to Pohl (1974, apud Coppa, 2006, p.43), fans got the idea to create their own magazines to fill the gap in terms of the insufficient volume of material produced by major media corporations.

Fanfics

The term *fanfic* (diminutive of fan fiction) refers to fictitious stories written by the fans. The popularity surrounding these stories began within the Star Trek fandom, when women in the group decided to pen stories – especially romances – involving the characters. Authoring *fanfic* is currently the leading practice among many fan groups and, with the rise of the

internet, these stories multiply rapidly. Websites like *Livejournal* contain thousands of specific *fanfic* pages, catalogued according to author, genre, length and age bracket.

Busse and Hellekson (2001) divide *fanfics* into three main genres: *gen, het* and *slash*. *Gen*, in reference to general, is exactly that, with no emotional involvement among characters. *Het* are the stories with heterosexual relationships and, lastly, *slash fanfic*, involves people of the same sex. Besides the main classification, namely *gen, het* and *slash*, *fanfics* can be conventional continuations of the original stories, called *canon*, or otherwise they are *fanon* type stories, created by fans, which sometimes become so popular they are considered on the same level as the originals.

Love stories among characters are extremely popular among fans. Admirers of these couples, also called OTP[3] (*one true pair*), use the term '*shipper*'[4]. *Shipping* a couple is the practice of hoping they end up together at the end of the story. *Shippers* usually call the main couples by an abbreviation of their names, or separated by a slash (and thus the name *slash fanfic*), for example: K/S (Kirk and Spock, from Star Trek), M/S (Mulder and Scully, from The X Files), among others.

Fanfiction.net is considered the website with the largest archive of *fanfics* in the world, with over two million stories published. The stories are catalogued in subsections, scored by users and there is even a comments (review) section, important to the continuity of the story. Normally, authors publish *fics* in a series of chapters. Depending on reader feedback, the story may take a different turn.

Fanarts

Fanarts (fan + art) are artistic productions created by the fans of a specific group. Drawings, comics and animation are the most common forms. Within fandoms, it is important to highlight a group of people – called '*blenders*' and who produce this art – who create material on demand, that is, there are specific forums where fans can request the art they want. In some case, this art comes at a price, but, most times, the groups produce the art for free, requiring only that they be promoted in the credits. Websites like deviantart[5], specifically for *fanart* publication, has over 60 million pieces on exhibit and artists have the opportunity to share or sell their work. Very often, *fanarts* complete *fanfics*, portraying specific moments from the story. Some *fanfics* are completely translated into *fanart*, bringing the stories to life in the form of comics; this melding of *fics* and *fanarts* is the main material in *fanzines.*

The internet exponentially increased *fanart* promotion in forums and communities. The forums reveal one of the most common forms of *fanart:* icons, banners and gifs (the popularization of gifs can be seen on websites like Buzzfeed, Tumblr and, currently, even on Twitter, which began accepting animation in June 2014).

Fanvids

Vidding is the act of producing videos based on media productions – whether they be television programs, music programs or film – and generate a specific product, a *fanvideo.* Also known as *fanvids*, these productions have gained ground with the AMVs (*Anime Music Videos*), created based on Japanese anime. These videos are characterized by striking soundtracks, the insertion of other images and videos unrelated to the original and usually romanticizing or parodying the content. The directors of these videos use editing programs to achieve the results they want, with the most popular being Vegas (Sony), Windows Movie Maker (Windows) and Adobe Premiere (Adobe).

One of the most common *vidding* practices is the creation of *fantrailers*, whereby trailers for books and films yet to be released are developed according to the imagination of fans. These videos, when well produced, become so popular that they often surpass the number of views for the original trailer.

Fansubbing / Scanlation

Another widely disseminated practice within fandoms is *fansubbing* or *legender,* that is, translators for series and films. With the delay in series episode arriving in Brazil, fans usually download pirated releases to watch their favorite series. Many do not speak or understand English and depend on subtitles to watch. As such, *legender* groups are created to enhance subtitle production; split into small groups, while some produce the subtitles, others review and sync the subs with the episode.

Scanlation, in turn, is the translation and digitalization of foreign material, usually Japanese. According to Carlos (2011), the phases of *scanlation* are: digitalization, translation, cleaning, editing, review and distribution, activities similar to those of *legenders.* The difference is that a *scanlator* scans the printed material and the *legender* translates and/or syncs the audiovisual material.

Other collaborative activities within fandoms

Crowdfunding

Crowdfunding allows projects to be made viable thanks to fan contributions, whether large or small. The popularization of collaborative projects has rocketed in the past two years. Through crowdfunding, collaborators donate the amount they can and receive benefits proportional to that amount, ranging from sticker packs to mentions on Twitter, names featured in credits or dinner with the director. Among the platforms that stand out as organizers of this type of process, the most popular are *Kickstarter* and *Catarse*.

Fan Mobilizations

Mobilizations within fan groups can be split into three subcategories which can overlap and articulate with other models (Monteiro, 2013): (1) when *idols call on their fans for help* to

promote a single/film/game and the fandom collaborates; (2) when *social campaigns* are mobilized through which fandoms dispute visibility and status. Some artists run campaigns that see the winning fandom earn a special chat session with their idol. To stand a chance, fans need to collaborate on specific campaigns, with food donations at shows the most common; (3) mobilization *against bullying*, a *battle for space/visibility among fans and haters*. Fans comes together to defend their idols from those who dislike them. A good example is the case of *beliebers*, Justin Bieber fans who used tags like #WeAreWithYouBieber, when the artist was arrested and became a joke on the internet.

Shipping is another form of arranged mobilization, when fans unite to promote their favorite couples from *novelas* and series. The past year in Brazil alone saw three gay kisses on television that instantly became mobilization phenomena on social networks[6], which impacted the storyline in the novela (inclusion of a gay kiss and marriage) and saw victory in a reality show. Felix and Niko #feliko, Clara and Marina #clarina in the novelas - *Amor à vida* and *Em família*, and Clara and Vanessa #clanessa in *Big Brother Brasil,* produced by Rede Globo de Televisão. The social importance of intensive fan shipping if referring to and mentioning gay couples on platforms, increases the value of this mobilization and embraces topics that are still taboo among wider audiences. Besides the practice of shipping, another important feature of mobilizations is when *material of a fanmade nature goes viral*[7] transcending the boundaries of fandom and used in social movements, such as the demonstrations in June 2013 throughout Brazil. Posters with sayings like 'The Doctor wouldn't let this happen' from the Doctor Who series (IMAGE 1); 'Ash stole my bicycle, I need quality public transport', from Pokemon (IMAGE 2); '*Dracarys*' and 'Unbowed, Unbent, Unbroken', motto of House Martell, all from Game of Thrones (IMAGE 3 and 4), have become common at demonstrations, corroborating the appropriation of pop culture that is usually associated to fans and unimportant activities, by social and political movements.

IMAGE 1: Doctor Who at demonstrations by Brazilians in London, June 18, 2013

Source: Shares on Facebook

IMAGE 2: Cosplay of a Pokemon character, São Paulo, June 2013

Source: Shares on Facebook

IMAGE 3: Dracarys at the demonstrations in Porto Alegre City (Word spoken by the character Daenerys Targaryen in *Game of Thrones*)

Source: Personal archive of journalist Bruna Amaral

IMAGE 4: Unbowed, Unbent, Unbroken (Motto of House Martell from *Game of Thrones*) at demonstrations in Rio de Janeiro, June 2013.

Source: Shares on Facebook

Marathons

Marathons are another common practice among fandoms during periods prior to major awards ceremonies (VMA - Video Music Awards, Multishow Award, etc.). Fans work in shifts to vote for their idols with the sole objective of carrying them to victory in specific categories. This way, someone is always voting and the chances of winning increase. Fandoms use Twitter to organize and they use a motivational hashtag in parallel to reach Trending Topics (#RestartNoEMA).

Meet & Greet

Meet & Greet is part of the pre and post show engagement for artists and when fans get the opportunity to meet their idols and take photographs for a brief moment. Some artists create different 'packages' for fans, according to ticket types, similar to the crowdfunding rewards. This direct contact with idols is what lead to the controversial 2013 '*rolezinhos*' case in Brazil. Thays Almendra[8] explains that youths from the low-income neighbourhoods, in the hope of become national celebrities and MCs, promote their music on the web and invite their followers to meet at shopping malls. *'Rolezinhos'* thus emerged with these youths, aged between 12 and 16, who get together at these venues to personally meet their idols. With over 100,000 followers on social networks like Facebook and Twitter, these young *webcelebrities* have enormous fandoms. Juan Carlos Silvestre, one such youth, has over 50,000 followers on Facebook, which he calls '*juanáticas*' (Juan + fanatics). Followers flock to shopping malls in São Paulo just to watch the boy dance to Funk music. Over time, '*rolezinhos*' have become common in shopping centers around the country and, with so many people together, the practice has begun to cause problems and debates within public opinion which extend far beyond the initial motivation behind the practice, whether due to the appearance of the participant or due to their consumption habits, social class, and the occupation of public/private space.

Final Considerations

Our aim in this article was to open the debates on fan activism in the context of Brazilian digital fandoms. We based our argument on understanding fan activism as social mobilization and political participation proposed by Bennett (2012) and Brough and Shresthova (2012) respectively. We highlighted the relationship between fans and celebrities in the process of taking on causes (Bennett, 2012), as well as the debate on issues surrounding forms of resistance or possible 'depoliticized uses'. A transcultural model of analysis that articulates the relation between studies on social and fan movements is of vital importance to a more plural theorization on the analyses of these practices (Chin & Morimoto, 2013).

We understand fan activism as a daily micro-resistance (De Certeau, 1994) with a dualistic nature. This makes it a complex phenomenon in observing the relationships between the entertainment industry, political participation, pop culture and social

mobilization. These pieces seem engendered with the creativity of fans in their most popular and trivial practices that include everything from the production of *fanfics, fanarts* and *fanvideos* to mobilizations and marathons, among others, briefly exemplified herein.

The examples that we´ve highlighted here such as practices of shipping of LGBT pairs in telenovelas through social platforms such as Twitter cause TV Globo to change the narrative of the characters of the telenovelas (a media product made in Brazil) adding LGBT relationships in a very popular product that was airing in a very conservative country. Another example such as the 'rolezinhos' that we understood as a kind of meet & greet organized via social media by fans were taken into account in discussion on mainstream media – such as newspapers and TV news – about social classes and exclusions on public spaces and it led to a wave of debates and some changes in relation to surveillance on shopping malls.

The discussion about fan activism calls for deeper theoretical studies surrounding the differing concepts of political and cultural participation; on the role of affection in mobilization relationships for the civic participation of fans; on the impact of this style of activism through off-line and online actions (Brough & Shresthova, 2012), as well as more applied research with multifaceted and empirical approaches that consider the diversity and wealth of these cultural phenomena. Thus, the creativity of appropriation among Brazilian fandoms in their relationships with the digital culture and national media products has brought to light a series of questions that call for continued study.

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Notes:

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[1] An earlier version of this paper was published only in Brazilian Portuguese at *Galaxia Journal*,from PUCSP, in June 2015. Available at
https://revistas.pucsp.br/index.php/galaxia/article/view/20250/16750.

[2] Lady Gaga, the stage-name of Stefana Germanota, a North American pop singer. George Takei, a Japanese actor living in the USA who became famous for his character Hikaru Sulu in science fiction TV series Star Trek and, currently, a vocal advocate of the gay rights movement.

[3] One True Pair is the term used by *fandoms* to refer to an 'endgame' couple, that is the perfect, lead couple. There are many within this category, like: OTP:IRL (in real life), with the names of the actors, such as Brangelina (Brad Pitt and Angelina Jolie) or OTP:friends, to refer to a 'perfect' couple of friends, like Rony and Harry n Harry Potter.

[4] 'Ship' is also the diminutive of the word relationship. And this then gives rise to terms like *shippers*, who hope couples get together and create content. Then there is the verb, *shipping*, used to describe the practice.

[5] Deviantart is an online community created to exhibit artworks. The artists post their work, exchange ideas and, sometimes, gain recognition.

[6] We do not intend to discuss gay kisses considered predecessors to these, nor the #marcelaandmarinauncensored campaign headed by LGBT advocate groups for the couple Marcela and Marina in the novela *Amor e Revolução* (2011) on channel SBT and analyzed by Krambeck (2013). This is an example of practice within fandom.

[7] Fan produced.

[8] Read the article 'Aspiring MCs host "rolezinhos" to bring together fans and stage a show', by journalist Thays Almendra. Available at:
http://musica.uol.com.br/noticias/redacao/2014/01/20/aspirantes-a-mcs-fazem-de-rolezinhos-encontro-de-fas-e-palco-para-show.htm. Accessed in June 2014.