

## "Old sertaneja song": narrating a backcountry life story about aging process in homosexuality

*“Velha canção sertaneja”: narrando história de vida interiorana sobre o processo de envelhecimento nas homossexualidades*

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**ABSTRACT:** In contemporary times, the discussions about aging become very relevant as a consequence of the increased visibility of the old age issues presented in daily life. Many investigations and statistics bring out the growing number of people entering the so-called third age. This reality is mobilizing all social spheres in order to produce interventional strategies in agreement with the specificities required by this population, as far as what this public can revert back to the society. However, most of these studies seek to identify and locate this population in plans of life that can often suggest the reification of norms and stereotypes that delimit what become old mean or just discuss the practice of medical care. This paper invests in questioning of modes of subjectification and lifestyles, from the intersections between generation (aging), homosexuality (sexuality and gender) and territoriality (provincial town). It presents an analysis of a life story from the perspective of cultural studies and sexualities and gender to capture the subjective lines which construct subjects and discourses, indicating social practices, modes of subjectification and social, historical, political and cultural conjunctures of determined contexts.

**Keywords:** Aging; Homosexuality; Life Story.

**RESUMO:** *Na contemporaneidade, o entorno e as discussões sobre o envelhecer tornaram-se relevantes a partir da visibilidade apresentada no cotidiano. Muitas investigações e dados estatísticos trazem à tona o número crescente de pessoas que adentram a dita terceira idade. Essa realidade vem mobilizando todas as esferas sociais no intuito de produzir estratégias e condições interventivas condizentes com as especificidades requeridas por essa população, tanto quanto o que esse público pode reverter para a sociedade. Entretanto, é fato que grande parte desses estudos busca identificar e localizar essa população em planos de vida que, muitas vezes, podem sugerir a reificação de estereótipos e normativas que circunscrevem o tornar-se velho ou apenas discutem a prática do cuidar. O objetivo deste trabalho investe na problematização de modos de subjetivação e estilos de vida, partindo das intersecções entre geração (envelhecer), homossexualidade (sexualidade e gênero) e territorialidade (município interiorano). Para tanto, apresenta a análise de narrativa de uma história de vida à luz dos estudos culturais, das sexualidades e dos gêneros para captar as linhas subjetivas que constroem sujeitos e discursos e que, conseqüentemente, indicam práticas sociais, modos de subjetivação e conjunturas sócio-históricas, culturais e políticos de determinados contextos.*

**Palavras-chave:** *Envelhecimento; Homossexualidade; História de vida.*

### **Old age narrated in prose: about the research's construction**

According to Simone de Beauvoir (1990), social practices usually transform the analyzer "old age" in a social construction disconnected from the production of desires and the experiences related to feelings and sensations. This way, the problematization of the sexualities, genders, bodies and new lifestyles remained, compulsorily, situated in studies about adolescents and young adults. This reductionist vision of the human being has contributed for the ridicule and interdiction of subjects in aging processes in their possibilities of expressing and experiencing sensations in their bodies.

Thus, the reflection about aging and the homosexualities in backcountry territories has risen during the period when I was writing my psychology master's dissertation<sup>1</sup>, between the

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<sup>1</sup> Nascimento, M.A.N.do. (2007, 2º semestre). *Homossexualidades e homosociabilidades: hierarquização e relações de poder entre homossexuais masculinos que frequentam dispositivos de socialização de sexualidades GLBTTC*. Dissertation (Psychology Masters). Faculdade de Ciências e Letras de Assis (SP). Universidade Estadual Paulista "Júlio de Mesquita Filho". Assis (SP), Brasil.

years 2005 and 2007, in which occasion I would make field incursions in bars and nightclubs oriented towards the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transvestite and transgender (LGBT) community, among other possible sexualities. The ethnographical visits had the objective - besides making observations - of finding volunteers to interview and, consequently, the construction of life-history narratives.

Among the methodologically chosen characteristics of the participants to be interviewed, it was desired to find a subject who was a self-denominated homosexual, lived in the interior territory of Paraná, and whose age was equal or above 60 years old. About a preliminary data related to field activity, we can describe the difficulty in contacting someone who would fit the described characteristics. Where were such people found? What reasons made them invisible in the interior region of northern Paraná? It is a fact that I have found them, some of them. However, many have refused to narrate their stories, based on the fear of becoming visible - even if only through anonymous discourses. Amongst some contacts accepted throughout the years, I'll present, next, the account of Marcelo as well as some illustrative records from other subjects who have emerged during the field incursions.

From the above mentioned practical experience, two objectives have been created for this job: a) to problematize the analysis of the life-history narrative of a 60 year old participant, who has always resided in Paraná's backcountry, who was single, a self-denominated homosexual man and a regular to social and recreational facilities LGBT-oriented; and b) to describe some of the discursive practices found during the visits to bars and nightclubs.

The narrative has come through audio-recorded interviews and transcribed *a posteriori* in its whole, in the ethical molds for human researches. The interview sought to problematize questions pertinent to moments which marked and made history in the participant's life, his lifestyle, recurring social practices, affections and the perception of facts by the interviewee. The analysis of the narrative was effectuated in light of the position of cultural studies, of the sexualities and genders of post-structuralist authors, once it is understood that this theoretical reference allows the capture of historical lines which tailor discursive practices and, subsequently, the flow of ways to subject and subdue homosexuals over 60 years of age in backcountry territories.

## Notes and other theoretical indicators used on the research

Historically, according to Ariès (1978), the notion of chronological age became relevant around the 16th century, and rising with it, the age divisions for classifying populations and their "new" needs. Thus, the categories, infancy, youth, adulthood (and it is suggested the thought of old age), follow social presuppositions coming from the Middle Ages and intensifying throughout Modern Age. Danzelot (1980) even comes to indicate that with the new age divisions there were created, all along the 19th century, professions oriented to a social work which would seek to use pre-existing institutional dispositives to find, "care for" and discipline those stages of human chronological development.

Nowadays, the *generational* (aging) social marker is in vogue. Epidemiological data and quanti-qualitative research from distinct and converging areas of knowledge point to growing interventive discourses and strategies which focus on world populational aging and its consequences in the social and economic order. The World Health Organization - WHO (2005) defines an old person, in developed countries, as one who has reached the age of 65 years old or above. However, in developing countries (such as Brazil), old age is reduced to people who are 60 years old or above. Those delimitations about the elderly, by WHO, take into account aspects of the social reality from epidemiological and chronological data: the rate of infant mortality and the average age of death of the elderly of that nationality. Thus, it is observed that the indicators for the classification presented by the WHO on the elderly consider only as a parameter the matter of physiological aging and the overall country development.

Coming from the exposed situation, it is problematized that the WHO does not deepen in the studies of the life processes brought by the interseccionalities of social markers, which interface among themselves and produce subjectivities and, subsequently, form social practices over the social construction of old age in the present time. Generation, lifestyle, cultural processes, the way society lives the beliefs and values over old age can be the way they determine, to these subjects, the possibility or interdiction of the expression or life production; meaning, the heterogeneity and the multiplicity of subjects aging suggest converging (and diverging) ways on the degree of pleasure and vulnerability in life, depending on the context under which the individual is inserted. In synthesis, it is analyzed that many studies on the elderly are not attentive to the development and effectiveness of public policies related to the health and assistance of all social classes as well as the

legitimacy, in fact, of the Human Rights propagation in the areas of social, political and civil rights.

The happenings brought by the accelerated rise of aging people on the planet are a consequence of many achievements for the citizens in comparison to earlier periods. Still, that evidenced populational rise has oriented the implantation/implementation of public policies and the preoccupation of the State, of Science and of Capital in managing interventive strategies particular to the elderly's needs.

In the specific matter of studies relating to the interconnection between the studies of the sexualities and the aging processes, it is considered an academic thematic still little discussed in respect to the expressions of eroticism and of the affectionate (re)configurations.

However, even before the academic problematizations about aging and homosexuality begin, we can find some important reflections in art about this thematic which were presented in literature and film. The classic novel *Death in Venice*, published by Thomas Mann in 1912 (and directed by Luchino Visconti for the movie industry in 1971) brings to surface the platonic passion of an old man for a young lad. This masterpiece has also inspired the movie *Love and Death on Long Island*, directed by Richard Kwietniowski in 1997, which once more stages the veiled and confused homoeroticism. In *Gods and Monsters*, of 1998, director Bill Condon brings to screen the homoerotic pursuit of a lonely and old movie director over a young gardener, muscled and full of life, a relationship that later becomes a confiding friendship. Just like in *Gods and Monsters*, the discussion on loneliness, desire, limitations and stigmas related to the intersection "old age and homosexuality" is indicated in *Beginners*, filmed by Mike Mills in 2010, a production that depicts the drama of Hal Fields, a 75 year old sir who decides, after the passing of his wife, to live his homosexuality "out of the closet" even if late, reinventing a pleasurable life beside his young boyfriend. The discussions on this last movie circle around how at any given moment it is possible to give a new meaning to life and live it intensely, giving way to desires, without fears or worries of moral judgments and ridicule; it is a soft and intense movie, with passages which can encourage us for happy moments and to share good feelings with who deserves them.

The presentation in sequence of the cited movies clearly demonstrates distinct stories, but with the same dilemmas: *How to live homosexuality at old age? Why is this thematic still a taboo and bring so much suffering?*

According to Iacub (2006), the studies on old age moved in priority to the gerontological aspects of the use of medicines, the participation in health care facilities, the

incidence of sickness and quality of life, in detriment to studies on erotism, affection and other forms of expression of the sexualities. The denial to the elderly of an autonomous and productive life on the affectional-sexual field corroborates to the continuity of the stereotypes of them being "asexed and desireless", even more when it comes to subjects who part themselves from the heterosexual normative matrix.

According to Barros (1997) and Peixoto (1997), the analytical positioning of the lifestory narratives cannot be based on the understanding of old age as an irreversibly declining biological phenomenon. Although the authors do not deny the importance of the studies on the physical and mental wear of the elderly, they believe that old age is a multi-faced phenomenon composed beyond the biological sphere, including several social-cultural and historical meanings, such as, pleasure, erotism and the living of feelings. Also, according to the writers, the experiences lived and the knowledges accumulated can be understood as achievements which provide the aging with possibilities to the realization of projects of continuity of actions and the establishment of more pleasurable relations with life.

In a complementary way, we cite some researchers on the field of human sciences who have made visible the sexual practices between people of the same biological sex among elders and/or in intergenerational relationships (elderly and young adults), given in facilities of homoerotic socialization, as presented in the ethnographical work of Pocahy (2011). On this research, the author announces the relations of power which treat elderly homosexuals as despicable (deviant) beings, as well as how these very subjects produce strategies and positions to life in the search for sexual-affectional pleasure. Still on the discussions on the categories of *generation* and *sexuality*, is found the work of Henning (2010) which, through ethnographical processes, (re)mounts to the discussion on the imaginary and living construction of elderly homosexuals in homoerotic socialization facilities in the city of São Paulo, describing the impasses brought by the generational difference, the subjective constructions and the coexistences on these social traps (impasses) between young and old who present homoerotic desires.

However, as stated previously, the present article proposes itself to analyze the narrative of the life-history of a participant who has made himself available to share his account on aging on homosexuality in a town of the backcountry of Paraná. The interviewee Marcelo (fictional name) was approached in a nightclub destined to the LGBT public, during one of the ethnographical episodes there, and made himself available to tell his story. This way, subsequently, it was looked for the method of the life-history narrative, for the

reflection, analysis and illustration of possible livings of people who have homoerotic experiences in places considered more culturally traditional (the case of interior towns).

### **The life-history narrative as a methodological possibility to research old age**

The life-history narrative can be understood as a determinant qualitative method of research which focuses on discourse, once it prioritizes the experiences lived, being them continuous episodes or with significant ruptures. According to Terto (1997) the life-history narrative is used as a technique and method in qualitative researches, mainly in the social sciences and psychology. This methodology seeks to reconstruct, through discourse, the individual experiences which happened in given social, historical and cultural contexts, with the objective of remembering historical moments from the vision of the speaker.

This way, it is understood that this method makes possible, in the dialogical (interviewer/interviewee) process, the continuous expression of emotions and experiences which can represent singularities or collectivities, once it seeks to analyze the influences of social, political and psychological constructions which produce ruptures, adjusts and negotiations on the dynamic processes of the subjects' lives (TERTO, 1997).

Thus, in accordance to the above stated propositions, the object of analysis to which it is proposed to investigate is the discourse, being a way of subjective functioning produced on the social field, not being, then, only a text or refraining only to the order of titles (of what is said). To Foucault (2006), the discursive practices are attached to desire and power, for in all societies, discourses emerge in the political struggles in the objective of controlling, organizing and establishing truth regimes through procedures which legitimate some titles in relation to others.

To Foucault (2006), the discourse is where the hierarchyization and the relations of power can be performed, by excellence, in the social and political spheres, in the construction of the sexualities, of the corporalities; in essence, contexts where discipline and control derive from social-historic and political crossings and processes. It is in this unreachable and pulverized *locus* that discourses can be observed; therefore, the productions of subjectivities.

For production of subjectivity is understood how the collective agenting of titles - while a fact socially constructed by processes and continuous flows in the intrapsychic function and created by political and historical conditions - integrants of distinct instances of

culture which produce lifestyles, social practices and singular or normatized ways of existence (Guattari & Rolnik, 1986; Deleuze & Guatarri, 1996). Thus, to problematize discourses recurs in implicating on the studies of the conditions which cross the subjects and permeate the ways of subjectivating. To cast social markers and their intersectionalities - the generational question (aging), sexual orientation and gender (homosexuality) and the geographical/cultural/lifestyle cut (backcountry town in the northern region of Paraná) -, while interconnected categories, allow the construction of an interesting theoretical-methodological referential to discuss and analyze subjectivities (Piscitelli, 2008).

In the field of daily experiences, old age is still today conditioned to the social imaginarium as loss and ending, closeness of death, the reason of burden to the family, trigger of isolation, loneliness, pain, sadness and many intergenerational conflicts, so, related to the impediment of possibilities of a pleasurable life which is softened throughout the years. According to Paiva (2007), in his research on the intimacy of homoerotic partnerships, it is revealed that, among the preoccupations with the future of the interviewed homosexuals, is the fear of loneliness, of aging and of the little credit given to the duration of relationships. The matter of loneliness and the small credibility in finding a partner to age together was constant in the discourse of homosexuals of over 60 years of age found on field, as said by Mateus: "Yes, my son, you are young, you do not know what it is to be an old fag. Everything falls, we get uglier, resented. I don't even have a son. As the Legião Urbana song says - "... and they say solitude fits me well... It is hard to explain, only he who was young and grew old can understand what is hard..." (sic).

Specifically to the account of interviewee Marcelo, we can observe his impressions on an interview, which he watched on TV, in which the gains and losses from old age were analyzed:

*"When you are born, you gain, you only gain, you gain, you gain, you gain, I mean, you gain life, you gain your father, like..., a fantasy..., you gain your mother, so many relatives who come, etc.; then after a certain age... Well, then, she said, and she gave a number, from your forties on, for example, you only start to lose, you lose your health, so to speak, you lose someone you love who died or who went somewhere else. For instance, I had a friend who was single and we would get along so well, but then she got married. Oh, I don't even know why I was talking about it. You asked me a question. What was it again? [...] the mind..., I use to say the mind is twenty (years*

*old), that I'm still a bit of an adolescent, if you take it literally, I am, but the body is tired, the mind, the thoughts, the soul, I don't know what, is twenty years old, but I'm tired, but then, I like to travel, but at the same time, I want to stay home as well. Oh, I want to go to the movies, but no, I'll stay home. I'm like this now, I'm on this phase now. But I don't know if it will go on like this[...]" (sic).*

On the losses brought by aging, in the specific case of LGBT population, it was noticed during the field insertions, and from the reminiscence of here interviewed Marcelo, the lack of a proposal capable of managing aging and a singular lifestyle which did not return only to the ruling model - the heterosexist lifestyle. Still in the process of insertion to LGBT-oriented socialization facilities, the difficulty in reflecting and joining sexuality/aging/backcountry life was present in the discourse of all regulars of those places, regardless of their age.<sup>2</sup>

A possible justificative for the information brought in the above paragraph can be attributed to the analysis of Marina Castañeda (1999), which says the latin culture (in which Brazil is included) is considered one of the most homophobic cultures among the western countries, once there can be found in the latin peoples a derivation of social practices (values and beliefs) based on a christian-ruled, machist, misogynist, white, heteronormative, nuclear and patriarchal family matrix perspective. Complementing this reality, Nascimento (2007) analyzes that these values and beliefs intensify in the backcountry regions of Brazil due to the proximities and mixes between public and private life, conditions that disfavor the expressions of socialization among the LGBT public, directing the formation of ghettos, such as bars, nightclubs and parties specific to that public, among others.

On the territoriality social marker, more specifically on the interior geography/demography, it can be found on Raffestin (1993) that territory can be understood as a space where power relations are projected on the social and labor spheres, in experiential and informational processes, which culminate in determinants that create and manage daily lifestyles which, in their turn, emerge into new social-cultural aspects. About the way how the here interviewed Marcelo deals with his insertion in socialization and pleasure facilities, it is illustrated:

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<sup>2</sup> It must be made clear that, in the places I visited, it was only allowed the entrance of people over 18 years of age.

*"Yes, I've avoided social all my life. I hated it, even more with relatives. I've always detested it, practically all my life. [...] I've always lived close to my father's family. I was born and raised close to my father's family. [...] But then, we grow up and grow apart, because they're straight, and so they started dating and got married, etc. And I didn't do any of that. How do I get..., but I could have led the friendship on. [...] Even though I don't want to be feminine, I have a feminine soul. [...] I want to be with women and not with men and that generates conflicts, even if not consciously, but that thing is stinging in our minds, damn, the male body, but I feel attracted to men, but I don't like to have... You can see people know you are gay even when you don't tell them. It is like this at work, with family, at the market, it's like this... but we, sometimes, try to choose, so they don't know (laughs)" (sic).*

The interviewee's discourse has revealed, during the six continuous hours of interview, the recurring interdictions brought by the violent practices of homophobia and, more recently, the segregation and discrimination among the gay community, from the time he became an elder. These interdictory conditions in Marcelo's life have given him the conditions to facilitate an internalized homophobia<sup>3</sup>, meaning, the self-rejection of his homosexual condition and the despise for the plurality of the distinct and ample expressions of the sexualities. Castañeda (1999) and Nascimento (2007) analyze that homophobia plays a harmful role when it crosses homosexual subjects, "internalizing itself" in them, making them inferiorate and subject themselves to the hierarchyizations of the heterosexual-homosexual sexual binary. In the case of interviewee Marcelo, the narrative of his life-history has revealed a lifetime of guilt, feelings of inferiority and fear for being a homosexual.

*"[...] I have lived all my life in fear, and I think it was the greatest loss of time in the world to live in fear that people would know. I was terrified that they'd know. [...] yes, I have a background of rejection, of a deep self-rejection [...] My..., my difficulty of relating to my boyfriend, to friends also has a lot to do with that rejection background"(sic).*

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<sup>3</sup> Internalized homophobia is the incorporation of the despise other subjects direct towards homosexuals and that these, in many cases, accept, for feeling guilty in not corresponding to the idealized heterosexual standards (Nascimento, 2007). It is also analyzed that internalized homophobia makes the very homosexuals to feed with self-embarrassment - sometimes being afraid of being "discovered" (producing their self-isolation), sometimes projecting the repulse of the homosexuality found in other people who present the same sexual orientation.

*"I have that thing, I've spoken it many times, that deep down I don't accept my homosexuality. At the same time that I want to be in the gay world, that I want to be, there's something stopping me from being there, can you understand? So, today, I'm more into being home in loneliness" (sic).*

The shame, the interdiction of affection, the low self-esteem, an undesired self-image, the feeling of ridicule and inappropriate are some of the psychological aspects brought by homophobia; many of these feelings are narrated throughout the interview and can be identified as internalized homophobia. The way the interviewee constructs himself as a homosexual, old and a "bumpkin"<sup>4</sup> is told on the following excerpt of the interview made:

*"Some people say: 'You're old'. And some people point, and gay people are the champions to talk about it. 'You're old'. They always say it, they've said it to me. But, if God allows it, they'll be old too, that if they don't die first. Because we are from the backcountry, they also talk about the accent, right, the bumpkin accent" (sic).*

It is analyzed that Marcelo's discourse, if in comparison to the set of other accounts<sup>5</sup> collected during the ethnographical incursions, does not diverge when it comes to the social determinants which refrain and consent the social participation facilities. As observed in the first account, Marcelo, in flirtatious moments or in the search for an amiable conversation, is ridiculed by young homosexuals who point him as an "old faggot" and a "queer" due to his body language which denotes signs of aging. In a complementary way, we cite the discourse of Miguel (fictional name) revealed during field: "From us not only youth is taken away, but also the pleasure of living beside it" (sic).

In contrast, it is also a fact that in *gay* culture the aging man becomes the object of sexual-affection desire of some youngsters who are interested in the denominated "big daddy". Among the *gay* aesthetics categories, the "big daddy" allows for the ages over 40 years old, a "paunch", being hairy, among other attributes which can part from the normative aesthetics of the *fashion* worked-out youngster. About that, Marcelo says:

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<sup>4</sup> The term "hick" means a rural lifestyle, proudly proclaimed by certain groups who cultivate a culture (music, dressing, uses) in common. However, in many contexts, one can refer to a pejorative and stigmatizing approach in understanding this lifestyle as a subculture, thus the term "bumpkin".

<sup>5</sup> This is about accounts described in the field diary during the incursions. Still, for this analysis, only speeches of self-denominated homosexual persons, coming from and resident in the interior region of northern Paraná, and who had reached the said third age were selected (but it is also a fact that I have spoken to many men between the ages of 54-59 years old).

*"It is true that these people exist and I take advantage of it, but none of them want something serious, they want me as an object, as a fetish and later I always end up alone. Who wants to take an old man home? Would you want to? I wouldn't (laughs). I like young people, of old people myself is enough! That's it! (laughs)" (sic).*

In the sequenced accounts here presented, it is analyzed that the contexts in which he participated/participates put Marcelo in a plane of "non-belonging" which produces a way of subduing that makes him out of place in these contexts. Under the perspective of Goffman (1988), Marcelo is "disbelieved" in LGBT-oriented socialization facilities, once he is differentiated by the generational matter (being "old" for other homosexuals), just as he is identified as a homosexual on the heteronormative contexts where he is inserted (work, family, etc.). Those conditions make Marcelo try to be "disbelievable", when he tries to hide and show ambiguity about his sexual orientation. The ambiguity promotes doubt in others and makes possible, then, to duck from the stigmas that produce disarray on what concerns prejudice, discrimination and segregation in the social environment, as can be illustrated in the discourse of Carlos (fictional name) during field:

*"I deny that I'm gay; while I can deny, I do so, or I leave the doubt by not saying anything, because I don't want to talk about myself to someone who doesn't understand or who will back away from me. I already have few friends. But deep down people know" (sic).*

The trial for invisibility from the homoerotic expression suggests the flight from the psychic suffering socially imposed by heteronormativity, which rejects the subject who parts himself from the model of man - heterosexual - adult - white - virile - provider - healthy - middle-class. Usually the penalty given to the excentric is the "wretched being" stigma (Butler, 1999), meaning, those people who differ from the norm and start living violent social practices in relation to their existences and their marginalized identities. We illustrate this with the discourse of Miguel, given in one of the visits made to a bar:

*"Enough! To come to old age and be afraid of getting beaten for being gay is too much for me. I have preferred to stay quiet or home alone. But I don't like loneliness" (sic).*

However, according to Foucault (2005), the exercise of power does not constitute a superior force that only acts as a repressive/interdictive way, once it stimulates and produces. To the philosopher, power is constituted in the impossibility of finding and identifying itself, a condition that makes it more potentialized in pulverized strategies in all contexts. Under this perspective, we can consider that, in the trial of power exercise/power subjection, there are possibilities for rupture, of resistance to the subjecting; this political facing strategy was denominated by Foucault (2003) as meeting with power. Following, excerpts of trials of rupture with social subjection:

*"After my fifties, I don't care about the world. But not because I wanted it to be like this, I didn't stop and decide it would be like this. It happened like this. [...] You know, like this, automatically, I lost, I'm not afraid of things anymore. I'm a recent sixty year old, nothing else matters in my life. I have died to the world, I guess (laughs). Oh, but I saw you dancing in the nightclub all happy, kissing the other guy in the mouth, they say. Sure, because it happened, but in general, I don't care anymore, there are no reasons for me to care like, so much about the world. If I want to dance sober, I do. I don't know and I don't want to know if someone's looking at me or not. So I guess the places are indifferent. But if you ask me: Do you prefer going to a gay club or to a straight club, I'd say I'd rather go to a gay club"* (sic).

The above discourse was announced during the questions on how Marcelo dealt with prejudice in his work and in other social contexts. The "loss of fear" is in respect to the facing (or at least the trial of facing) he does when provoked by a work colleague, or when he intervenes on a homophobic action on the streets. He still completes that he believes this encouragement in face of social arbitrarities has fundamented itself due to the significant losses in life (death of his mother, friends, boyfriend), the end of the joy of youth, and also by the use of the stigmas of "decrepit", "nutter", "crazy", given to people who are in the process of aging. It is analyzed that, possibly, the remeaning of the use of stigmas can be a form of resistance to the normative power, once any behavioral rupture can be justified by those adjectives (e.g.: "I'm decrepit, so I do as I wish"). However, it is also analyzed that there is a "saddening" about life when they say not to "care about the world"; the "not caring" may work, sometimes as a form of resistance and conscience of the social manipulation,

sometimes as a lack of implication on the strength of life. When asked how he could imagine life ten years from now, Marcelo replies:

*"I'm in a moment I say: Everything that happens from now on is a profit. When I was a teenager, I already thought life was..., meaningless. First, because I had no one to relate sexually. Imagine, me, in the beginning of my sexuality, and I, instead of revealing myself, imagine, when I was seventeen, fifteen or sixteen, I don't know. Then I thought if I liked someone I would suffer and it happened. I already thought life was shit, because I already knew about diseases, about death, about how life was, I could already see it. Yes, and now after fifty-something, I'm not afraid of anything anymore, and at work, next year I'll complete the thirty-five years of welfare contribution, and I'll retire, because I don't want to work there anymore, because I'm tired and I can't stand being there anymore. [...] So, I'm the one who's tired and things that happened in my life made me even more tired. So, I'm not thinking that I'll be sixty-three years old, I don't even know if I'll want to be sixty. I'd like to, but on these last, these last..., I said this week, that on these last three months, I think I have aged some ten years in my appearance"* (sic).

Through the exposed, it is believed that old age has circumscribed in stigmatizing processes that have shaped a way, or better saying, an identity of how to be old and that is notorious in Marcelo's discourse. Although the interviewee does not appear to be 60 years old, he tries, by all means, to identify with the how-to-be-old style preached by the social imaginarium.

From Hall (1992), it can be understood that identity can be constituted by ruptures with what's instituted, thus making possible to put subjects in interconnections with possibilities dissident from a linear-projected life. It is a fact that aging brings grief and interdictions, in comparison to the corporalities of youth; however, there are many possibilities of rupture with the crystallized sexual, age and *script* identities desired by interior towns. At each moment in life, man takes on multiple identities and, this way, builds singular life-stories on how to age in the homosexualities in backcountry and traditional territories. Performativity, according to Butler (2003), allows the de-attachment from linearity and the plastering of the rigid lines that mark identities; this way, giving space to contextual actions, to flows of desire of a creative and pleasurable life.

The story of the interviewee has allowed, through narrative, the emphasis on the experiences in the life of the interviewee, demonstrating how the intersectionalities between the "gender-sexuality-territory" social markers elevate the quality of the analysis of discourse on the subduing processes given by the social-historical and cultural context. If nowadays the intelligibility of the expressions of the sexualities is plausible, it is a fact that in the decades of 1970 and 1980 the management of social life was much more ordained by social practices which brought in their bulge the domestication and discipline of the bodies, desires and lifestyles. Marcelo's story has pointed out, many times, the subjection to normatives which interdicted his life, but which also brought the emergency in bringing up ways of representing and managing old age as the re-meaning of new stages of life to be discovered.

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