

Sons/Daughters of the Same Sex Couples: Meanings Assigned to the Concept of Family¹

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Abstract. Affective and sexual relationships among the same sex people are still marked by prejudice and the non-recognition of rights, especially regarding the family formation. In this paper, children and adolescents, who live in families whose parental couple is formed by the same sex people, are investigated on how they assign meaning for their families. Participants were four children and one adolescent aged from 4 to 14 years old. Data collection was carried through using a photo album as a stimulus for narrative stories by the participants. These data were submitted to the Discursive Analysis in a Foucauldian perspective. The results show that, for the participants, among their members, the sense of family is based on affectivity ties and not by biological descent or the sexual couple orientation. In this way, it is considered that despite the participants' discourses being marked by heteronormativity, they are not passive to the references imposed on them, positioning themselves as active subjects in the very subjective process.

Keywords: Family; homoparenthood; prejudice.

Filhos/as de Casais do Mesmo Sexo: Sentidos Atribuídos à Noção de Família

Resumo. As relações afetivo/sexuais entre pessoas do mesmo sexo ainda são atravessadas por preconceitos e o não reconhecimento de direitos, sobretudo no que concerne à formação de uma família. No presente trabalho, investigou-se como crianças e adolescentes, que vivem em famílias, cujo casal parental é constituído por pessoas do mesmo sexo, atribuem sentido a suas famílias. Participaram da pesquisa quatro crianças e um adolescente, com idades entre quatro e 14 anos. Para a construção dos dados, utilizou-se um álbum de fotografias como estímulo para a narrativa de histórias, por parte dos participantes. Os dados produzidos foram submetidos à análise discursiva em uma perspectiva foucaultiana. Os resultados mostram que, para os/as participantes, o sentido de família é demarcado pelos laços afetivos que são estabelecidos entre seus membros, não pela descendência biológica, nem pela orientação sexual do casal parental. Considera-se que, apesar de o discurso das crianças e adolescente ser atravessado pela heteronormatividade, elas/ele não são passivas/o aos referenciais que lhes são impostos, posicionando-se como sujeitos ativos no próprio processo de subjetivação.

Palavras-chave: Família; homoparentalidade; preconceito.

Hijos de Parejas del Mismo Sexo: Sentidos Asignados al Concepto de Familia

Resumen. Relaciones afectivas/sexuales entre personas del mismo sexo aún son atravesadas por prejuicios y por la ausencia de reconocimiento de los derechos, especialmente en lo que se refiere a la formación de una familia. En el

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presente trabajo, se investigó cómo niños y adolescentes, que viven en familias cuya pareja de padres/madres es constituida por personas del mismo sexo, atribuyen sentido a sus familias. Formaron parte de la investigación cuatro niños y un adolescente con edades entre 4 y 14 años. Para la producción de datos, se utilizó un álbum de fotografías como estímulo para la narrativa de historietas por parte de los participantes. Los datos producidos fueron sometidos a la Analítica Discursiva en una perspectiva foucaultiana. Los resultados muestran que, para los participantes, la definición de familia es demarcada por los vínculos afectivos que son establecidos entre sus miembros y no por la descendencia biológica o por la orientación sexual de la pareja parental. Se considera que, a pesar del discurso de los niños y del adolescente ser atravesado por la heteronormatividad, ellos no son pasivos a los referenciales que les son impuestos, posicionándose como sujetos activos en el propio proceso de subjetivación.

Palabras clave: Familia; homoparentalidad, prejuicio.

The thematic subjects that take as their focus or as their background the family have been the subject of numerous studies and discussions. However, the legitimization and legalization of the affective bonds that people have made over time, which distance themselves from the hegemonic models of each period of time, are finding many obstacles and difficulties, as the social recognition.

In Brazil, the constitutional texts, published until 1969, recognized as legitimate and worthy of the state protection only the families legally constituted by marriage. That was the concept of family which appeared in tune with the historical, social and political context underlying the Constitution of 1969. Profound changes, in regard to this concept, only occurred in the 1988 Constitution, in which, under much criticism from the conservatives, the stable relationships and the single parenthood have been recognized as family entities (Tapia, 2012). This represented a great progress because, in addition to recognizing those in which there is only one parent, this Constitution untied the wedding family concept, as the sole and legitimate model. It is noteworthy that the legal sciences, today, are no longer limited to biological questions to define what a family is, but they favor the existing affective relationships.

Nevertheless, far from the theoretical manuals on equal rights and politically correct discourses in practice what can be seen is a strong and predominant idea of nuclear and traditional family model consisting of a heterosexual couple and its children (Guerra, 2013). Although this model is, increasingly, a minority experience, while ideal, and a couple of different sexes is still considered necessary (heteronormativity) for the family to function well, which can be observed in the various areas of the social organization.

In the legal field, it can be identified the familiar ideas directly influencing decisions on the custody and on the adoption applications (Santos, 2012). In schools, it is noticeable the legitimacy of the nuclear family idea in academic procedures, anniversaries, in the teaching materials used in schools (Amazonas, Lima, Smith & Arruda, 2008), and in the view of the elementary school teachers, who have the concept of family as consisted by an opposite sexes couple and his children (Amazonas, Vieira, Leite & Lima, in press).

It is true that the family structures have come up changing, especially given the increased number of divorces, the lone parenthood, the sexuality independence in relation to the marriage, among other factors. However, the social and legal recognition of family that emerged from the union of two men and/or two women is still considered a threat to the concept of natural and sacred family, whose values, habits and behaviors for a long time, were considered universal and immutable (Mello, 2005). These unions still represent an issue that, for the Conservatives, mobilizes and threatens the social structure, based on the dichotomy man/woman model.

If, in the traditional family model, the promoters of socialization agents are a man and a woman, the homoparental family configurations suggest that other subjectivity production modes are possible. However, countless are the assumptions used to question the family constitution by these subjects, such as: the idea that the child will be exposed to the difficulty of reference and identification with the male or female (depending on the type of the relationship); the fear that this child or adolescent will also have his sexual orientation directed to persons of the same sex; the fantasy that the child/adolescent is at risk of being sexually abused by parents/mothers; the hypothesis that they would be more likely to have problems in the psychosocial development, among others. These are questions

that are in the mind of the popular imagination and they are used to justify or rationalize the existing and evident discrimination, both in interpersonal relations and in legal models (Almeida, 2012).

In contrast, several studies with this population point to the absence of losses in the development of the children who live in families whose parental couple is made up of people of the same sex (Martinez, 2013; Zambrano, 2006; Golombok et al., 2003). Although it is easily deconstructed, the arguments used to discredit the dynamics of these families still act as impediments in the social recognition of them.

Interestingly, the studies that have addressed this theme rarely elect the own children/adolescents as protagonists. The research *corpus* generally focuses more on adults, as data providers, that is, although the objectives turn to the children's universe, children and adolescents are only reserved the supporting roles in the development of the scientific production.

Faced with so many impasses of the various family configurations and the diversity of the discoursed on the minors involved in them, it is considered important to highlight, through the researcher listening, the experiences of children/adolescents living in families, whose parental couple is formed by the union of two men or two women. Thus, this study aimed to think about some of the meanings produced by them, about how they experience their familiar settings. The relevance of this study lies in the fact that, by identifying the meanings attributed to the notion of family, we can infer how these children/adolescents are building up as subjects, since, the notion of meaning is linked to the identities and differences production, by authenticating or becoming a way of being illegitimate.

Taking the notion of meaning, it is in a Nietzschean perspective that considers it of a plural form, as "a constellation, a set of sequences, but also coexistences, which makes the interpretation an art" (Deleuze, 1962/1986, p. 10-11). The meaning is always dependent on the forces that have taken hold and are expressed in the event, in the thing. You cannot understand the meaning of an event without considering the forces that appropriates, dominates and exploits it. A phenomenon changes the direction according to the force which appropriates it (Deleuze, 1962/1986). It was tried, in this study, to grasp the meanings produced about what is family for some children and a teenager, who are the participants in this study in the power game that appears in their discourses.

This study aimed to make room for the voices of these children/teenagers, giving them the roles of protagonists, even through the researcher interpretation and her subjective position in the world. Assuming that the subject positions are built from childhood, it is considered that the juvenile universe is very rich in meanings and experiences, which makes children and adolescents extremely able to talk about their own experiences, desires, feelings and fears.

Method

This research is a project unfolding dedicated to studying the parenting and the conjugality between same-sex couples and its impact on the construction of the children's subjectivity, which was approved by the Ethics Committee of the Catholic University of Pernambuco, under number 154/2006, CEP 0101.0.096.000-06.

It is a qualitative research that aimed to investigate how children and adolescents, children of couples constituted by people of the same sex, attribute meanings to their families.

Data production tool

For the construction of the data, it was used a photo album, made by the own researcher. This technique, inspired by a work by Melo (2008), aims to encourage stories narratives from visual stimuli and provides the participant to talk about his feelings, desires and his own history. The option for a playful technique, using photographs, found that most children prefer to communicate through stories, as a free expression way.

This is an album built from the selection of 14 images, obtained over the internet, so that each page contained only a figure. The images used portrayed different people, in different situations of their daily life, which may or may not be interpreted as families.

The characters

The study included four children and a teenager, both sexes, aged from 4 to 14, all residents in the state of Pernambuco, three in the Metropolitan Region of Recife and two in the state interior. Four of the participants are children from the union of two women and only one from union of two men. All of them know their biological parents.

Three of the five participants live with their mothers, but somehow they were adopted affectively by their mothers' partners. The other two were adopted by both the companions. To preserve the identity of the participants, all the names used are fictitious.

A brief characters presentation in this study and their stories follows.

João, 14, lives in the state interior. His biological parents separated before his birth. He grew up with his mother, a teacher of a public school, and her companion, who is a merchant. João often receives his father's visit. At the time of the instrument application, his mother had become separated from her partner, with whom she maintained a 10-year relationship, and she has been living with another woman for a few months.

Carol, 8, lives with his mother and her partner in the Metropolitan Region of Recife and attends the 3rd year of elementary school in a private school. She is a biological daughter of her mother's first relationship. She knows her biological father and spends some weekends at his house. Carol's mother is a lawyer and her companion is a psychologist.

Lucas, 8, is attending the 3rd year of elementary school in a private school. He was delivered by the biological family to two university teachers. A few times a year he visits his origin family, in a provincial town in the state of Pernambuco. Since his adoption, even newborn, he lives in the Metropolitan Region of Recife. However, Lucas adoption is informal, as his mothers do not yet have the full custody of him.

Anne, 7, is in the 2nd year in a private school in the Metropolitan Region of Recife. Her parents separated soon after her birth. When she was 1 year old, she went to live with her maternal grandmother because his mother traveled to Portugal and his father not authorized her mother to take the child with her. Ana's mother returned when she was 4 years old. Since then, the participant lives with her mother, who is a lawyer, and her partner, a journalist, but she is still subject to a legal dispute on his guard between her biological parents. There is an intention on the part of Ana's mother, to move to the south of the country, origin region of her mate. For this, she needs not only the definitive daughter guard, as well as the child's father's permission. These facts are providing a strong tension among the adults responsible for the participant.

Mateus, 4, comes from a provincial town. His mother died just before he turned 1 year old. His biological father refused to take care of him, leaving him in the godfather's care. Currently, he lives with his godfather and his partner, whom he calls uncle. Mateus knows his biological father, he lives relatively close to him and he sees him frequently. However, his father resists at any attempt to emotional closeness between them. Nowadays, Mateus attends the 1st Children's Education period of a public school. His godfather is a cleaner and his "uncle" works as a doorman of a college.

The data production procedure

The instrument was applied individually, after reading and signing the Informed Consent Form by the responsible for the children/adolescents, and the consent of the own participants. The application took place in the home of each participant.

The photo album usage had an approximate application time of an hour. The album was offered to the participants and for each image it was asked him/her to tell a story. The telling stories and the dialogues between the participants and the researcher were recorded on a digital voice recorder and, later, transcribed, strictly following the words of the participants, trying to keep as much fidelity as possible to what was said. The relevant gestures, for example, facial expressions, gestures, smiles, among others were also recorded by the researcher.

Data analysis procedure

The data were submitted to a descriptive discourse analytical, from Foucault's perspective. However, it is important to say that "Foucault doesn't make a Discourse Analysis in the formal sense of a methodological tool developed predominantly in France by Pêcheux" (Lima, 2015, p.70). According to Machado (2006), for Foucault, in the discourse analysis, it is necessary to: (a) define a field of the thematic possibilities; (B) set the formation rule of the possible topics, and (c) analyze it as a pure dispersion. Thus, "the discourses analysis will be the description of dispersion" (p.146).

So, to make this analytical, it was necessary to give up the search for a hidden truth behind the saying, an ultimate truth, single explanations and easy interpretations (Fischer, 2001). Here, the discourse was understood not only as an expression of ideas, through a verbal or non-verbal language, but as the conditions that enable the construction and the attribution of meaning to things and to ourselves (Silva & Silva, 2012).

When talking about the discourse, Foucault (1969/2008) states that in it there are only statements which are based on the same discursive formation and relationships that he puts into operation. Analyzing it is to realize that these relations are historic and very concrete practices, that they are alive in the discourses.

The statement analysis eliminates the reference to a *cogito*. There is no question on the subject who speaks, manifested or hidden in what he says, exercising his freedom to say or undergoing constraints, although he does not note it. Rather, the statement analysis is made at the level of said things, of the relations, of the regularities and of the changes that in them can be seen, of the place from where these things are said. No matter who says, it will always be from a place, from a position. It means, it refers to an externality and, therefore, the discourse relates to the discursive and non-discursive practices. In other words, non-discursive practices are also part of the discourse, since they identify types and levels of discourse, defining their rules (Foucault, 1969/2008).

A descriptive discourse analytical, to that end, should research the relationship between the discursive events and rules that define the conditions of the discourse existence. The question is to understand what was allowed to be expressed and to realize the connections between what was said and the power game that is manifested in the discourses (Jerome, 2005). Thus, the stories created from the photo album were analyzed, taking into account the said and the production context of what was said.

Directions Assigned to the Family Concept

The struggles for recognition of marital unions between same sex people represent a milestone in relation to the demands of the sex classes discordant of the norm, because it shows not only the requirement of the citizenship rights, at the individual level, but also the family constitution (Mello, 2005). However, although there are advances in legitimizing the rights of these couples, the presence of children in these families is still controversial.

By contrast, children who live in that kind of family setting indicate that it is possible to develop healthily in this environment. The speech of Mateus, 4 years, the only participant of this research, whose parental couple consists of two men, before an image in which two men play with two children on the floor of a room, points to that possibility. He tells the following story: "*Once upon a time, there was Duda and Lipe family. They came home from school and went playing with their dads. They played until night. Then, this dad said (pointing to the image of one of the men): 'It's time to sleep', and everyone went to bed.*"

Mateus' narrative about a family scene resembles that of any other child, indicating a care and affection environment among the parents and the child.

In recent years, the society has undergone small, but significant changes, with regard to the acceptance of the new family structures and to the rights assigned to them. While until recently, a

man or a woman and their children (single parenthood) were not even considered as a family, today, this concept was expanded, housing people who remain together for a long time, supporting each other and maintaining emotional ties (Dias, 2011). In the statement above, the participant indicates his inclusion in this recent discursive formation, whose living conditions allow him to think on a family made up of people of the same sex.

Foucault (1969/2008, p.132-133) calls the discourse:

A set of statements, insofar as they draw on the same discursive formation; it does not form a rhetorical or formal unity, indefinitely repeatable, whose appearance or usage we could point out (and explain, if applicable) in the history, it is constituted of a limited number of statements to which we can define a set of existence conditions.

Faced with the same image, described above, Ana, 7, who has been living with her mother and her partner for four years, prepares the following story:

Once upon a time there was a man who had two sons. He broke up and stayed with the children. Until he fell in love again. But at this time people did not like his courtship because he was dating another man. But he went to the judge and the judge said okay, he could be with his children and with his boyfriend. Then, everybody was happy.

Although Ana is able to think about this new family model, she is not immune to the contradictions in her discourse. Despite the advances already mentioned, there is still prejudice and intolerance to the different, especially when it comes from the sexual behavior, and this can be seen in what Ana says: *"People did not like his courtship because he was dating another man."* In fact, to constitute affective bonds in ways that diverge from the heteronormativity is not, properly, a comfortable situation for an individual.

According to Berlant and Warner (. 2002, cited by Pelúcio & Miskolci, 2009), the heteronormativity is a set of "institutions, structures of understanding and practical guidance that makes not only the heterosexuality seems coherent - that is, organized as sexuality -, but to be privileged" (p. 142). The heteronormativity said rules, not just for heterosexuals people, but also for homosexuals, that is, the latter, although they relate affective and sexually with people of the same sex, are required to organize their lives, from the supposedly coherent model, the heterosexuality superior and natural. They are called to operate "from the current social representations" and they express "the subjects demand by recognition" (Pelúcio & Miskolci, 2009, p.152).

Moreover, Ana statement reveals that the struggle between the social discourse of the non-recognition of the relationship between people of the same sex and the wishes of those same people in having their legitimate relationship often ends for electing the State as a legal mediator of these practices. Thus: "The state becomes the means by which a fantasy becomes literal; desire and sexuality are ratified, justified, known, declared publicly instated, imagined as permanent, lasting "(Butler, 2003, p. 234). In this regard, the State or any of its legal representatives (in this case the judge) would symbolize the possible exit to the statement of these family configurations.

Ana's life is marked by a legal battle on her guard between her biological parents. In this sense, the judge's figure is the highest authority upon the recognition of the established family relationships. The participant speech points to the establishment of the power relations marked by a hierarchy. For her, the fact that the judge states "Okay", he legalizes and recognizes the family emotional ties and somehow he authorizes the happiness of all the involved, without her character needs to choose between having his children or his boyfriend near him.

However, although in Ana's story, the power is represented by the judge's figure, one cannot understand it as something that is centered and has the dominant order, but that comes from all sides and moves in all directions, affecting the various relationships (Foucault, 1976/2007). In Ana's story, despite the characters await the position of the judge in front of their family setting, the emotional relationships among their members and its constitution already exists, even without

the legal consent, subverting the norm. In this sense, "The power does not act simply overwhelming or dominating the subjectivities, but it operates immediately on its construction" (Aran & Peixoto, 2007, p. 132).

Built in a context governed by heteronormativity, Ana reflects, in her statements, several ambiguities and contradictions. When faced with an image from the photo album where two women and a baby are presented, she tells the following story.

Once upon a time there was a happy family. They loved each other and wanted to have a child but they could not because they were two women and "women with women is alligator, right?" Then, they adopted a baby. They were so happy, so happy, that they did not get away from him not even a minute. They took him for a walk everywhere. They took him to see Santa Claus, to the park, to the beach. And they were all happy ever after.

Despite her story opens the possibility of a loving relationship between two women with a happy ending, her narrative is still crossed by prejudice social discourses: "*Woman with woman is alligator.*" This statement refers to the idea that a relationship between women brings something that contradicts the human nature, i.e., it reaffirms the notion of abnormality of relations between equivalents sexually people and naturalizes the conception of the sexes complementarity. "These assignments or interpellations feed that discourse field and power that orchestrates, defines and sustains what can legitimately be described as 'human'" (Butler, 2001, p.161).

But it is important to emphasize that she tells a story of two women who go beyond the limits set by the impossibility of generating a biological child and who resist the barriers imposed by the rules. In this sense, the power relations involved in the production of the subjectivity are characterized by the fact that, in the very "power gear" (Arán & Peixoto, 2007, p.135), it is manifested a resistance force with an important potential for change. Power and strength are not opposed, but coexist in the subjectivity means and are in constant tension.

Other speeches point out the difficulty of questioning and resisting the truths related to the sexuality, as they are strongly naturalized and incorporated (Nardi & Quartiero, 2012). This is the conclusion in Carol, 8. This girl lives, recently, with her mother and her companion. Her mother, however, has always maintained homoerotic relationships and Carol always coexisted with her girlfriends. In such circumstances, in a conversation made possible by the photo album, she says:

... I do not know ... like this: everyone has a mother and father ... I have also a father ... but, well, my mother is dating a woman ... it is not a man ... then it's different ... I say she is almost my aunt-almost-mother, she is a friend of my mother ... I do not say she is my mother's girlfriend. ... I do not know ... they might find my family weird.

This clipping of Carol speech pointed to the difficulty of thinking and being included in the diversity. For her, despite maintaining very narrow bonding with her mother's partner, it is more comfortable presenting her socially as "*aunt-almost-mother*" and to omit the existing love relationship between her mother and another woman. She defines her mother's relationship as "*Different*". Later, she talks about the fear of having her family labeled as "*weird*." Carol's speech highlights the connection established between the different and the weird, sometimes used interchangeably.

According to Butler (2001), sex is not only and simply something one has, but what makes someone viable and intelligible. In this sense, the sexual practices that differ from the standards would be (dis)qualify as unintelligible, absurd or, as said by Carol, "*weird*". Thus, "the performativity must be understood not as a singular or deliberate 'act', but instead, as the reiterative and citational practice by which the speech produces the effects that it calls" (p. 154).

João, 14, the single teen study participant, talks about some situations where he had to learn to deal with the heterosexual norm.

They are mocking; "Wow, your mother is taking the girlfriends from you." "Your mother gets more woman than you". ... The boys arrived... "Your mother is a bull dyke." Then I picked him up and dropped him from his chair and gave him a few punches, I was expelled from school. I

fought directly with the boys. ... Then I began to understand, right? Will I have prejudice with this situation? If my mother is this, I'll have to support...

João speech presents a discourse that alternates between giving in to the schoolmates provocations or showing that he does not mind so as to resist to the provocations. The clipping of this participant speech points to the existence of a discursive versatility. In this sense, there is no rotation between the discursive forces, but coexistence between them. One of the speech characteristics is that they "are made up of elements that are not bound by any principle of unity" (Machado, 2006, p. 146), that is, the speeches are pure dispersion. In the João statement, speeches about not only what is to be a woman, but also of what being a woman-mother are presented. The heteronormativity is present, woman should marry man, as well as the naturalization of the mother model that is only care and cannot compete with his son.

According to Fairclough (2008), there may be different discourses, even contradictory, meeting the same strategy; or a same discourse that transit by opposing strategies. There is not a "power discourse and in opposition to this another discourse that works against it. Discourses are tactical elements or blocks operating in the field of the power relations" (p. 86).

Nevertheless, the expression "*bull dyke*", used up in the words of João, calls us to attention. This expression refers to the "*big feet*", a trait typically attributed to the male figure. The use of this expression emphasizes the lesbian woman as one who is masculine, reinforcing stereotyped patterns. For Silva (2000), the performative utterances repeated allow the identities construction. What is marginalized needs to be framed, categorized and named to be recognized. However, this recognition means control; it functions as a contradictory discourse, a power discourse that complicates to experience the difference. Thus, "the act of naming is at the same time, a rule repetition and a border establishment" (Aran & Peixoto, 2007, p.134).

In the same way, at another time the questionnaire was administered, the teenager questions the heterosexuality as the relations and family structures regulatory:

Why must everyone have father and mother? And who has not, what will do? Nothing. How will he live? The same way, but different. I'm not so special; I am also no less cool than my schoolmates, right? Well, one has to be the same, does he? No. He has to be different. Or does everyone do all the same, always in the same way? (João, 14 anos).

João speaks about the possibility and the need to be recognized as "*different*". If to be different is to point to a new possibility, for a way of being that at the same time it repeats itself, it creates "*The same way, but different.*" Aran and Peixoto (2007, p.129) state that "although gender and subjectivity are reiterations of the sexual norm, in the very instability of the same repetition is possible to see the positivity of the subjectivity as strength, uniqueness and production of the difference."

Each family creates its own ways of living and communication. This language and peculiar symbols imply a constant adaptation, construction and assemblage of meanings which are not always harmonious. The family life is marked by an intense and continuous movement of reorganization. So, Lucas, 8, after telling a story about the image of two women holding a baby introduces the theme on his various mothers and his two families: "*I have two mothers, do you know? ... Yes, I do. They are the two that took me to create: one I call mummy and the other is mother.*" When he was asked how about having two mothers, he replies:

I'm pretty cool ... so ... I like my truth mother... That one who had me ... my father ... But to really like, I like my two mothers ... They are the coolest. ... I'm used to them ... from tiny that I live with them. ... There's strange (his origin family house)... I do not know the people ... well ... I know ... but here ... I know the full name of my mothers ... we always do things together ... I know everything about them, you know? (Lucas, 8 anos).

Lucas was adopted when he was a small boy by the two women. However, he knows his biological family and he always visit it at school holiday period. His speech is very significant because he uses the word truth, both to characterize his mothers and to talk about the feeling

devoted to the adoptive mothers. The "*truth mother*" is the one that generated him. However, the "*truth*" feeling is nourished to those who created him.

When using the truth expression to designate his genitor, he points to the biological motherhood myth, as that natural. This myth concerns a discursive practice collectively produced and rooted in our culture, which permeates the entire social, the organizational and the institutional relationships, working around the subjective process of the subjects, a process that is always ongoing and unfinished.

The expression used by Lucas is not a voluntary representation but of a statement built by discursive forces produced by the power games that permeate the practices of the self. Foucault (1985, cited by Ferreira Neto, 2011), states that these practices are not a solitary exercise, but something that is built in the social practices, occurring, often, in institutionalized community structures.

However, despite Lucas names the origin family as truth, it does not mean he is adopting it as his family. It is important to note that he justifies the veracity and the strength of his emotional bond with the foster mothers by having grown up with them, established a routine and know about personal details, a fact that highlights the establishment of a strong identification with the companions who adopted him.

The participants' speeches point much more than the parenting exercised by their parents, adoptive or biological. The speeches brought here talk about life experiences, where the existing relationships are constantly signified and re-signified. In a Foucaultian perspective, the experience is regarded as a constitutive dimension of the subjectivity, that is, a process, both, of subjection and resistance to the governing and current standards in the different social discourses that make them intelligible subject to themselves and to the others.

For them, family is the people who they can count, regardless of the kinship or the configuration model. This sense apprehends families' notions that can be constructed and/or deconstructed as the life contingencies. Thus, people can be aggregated or maintained, as long as the relationships are permeated by affection.

Final Considerations

Although the sexual orientation is still an element that hinders the social recognition of the parenthood by couples constituted by people of the same sex, there is no scientific support that disables these people to exercise this parenting. Besides, what can be observed before this study is that, although the consanguineous ties are an important factor in the concepts of the family constitution, they do not represent the only or the most important determinant of the family boundaries. To the participants, the relations of affection and care between the elements of the family group look to be primordial.

Thus, despite all the prejudice that still exists and all the social concerns that these children and adolescents suffer discrimination based on their family status, it can be said that they are active subjects in their own socialization process, they are able to mean their reality and the lived situations.

The study revealed a very strong partnership between the participants and the parental couple, causing them to have an important role in the subjectivity of these children and this adolescent. In this sense, the relations of parenting cannot be interpreted as a device that carries itself a primarily determined structure, but something that is built from the life vicissitudes and that is independent from the family configuration. The parenting practices may be exercised by anyone who takes this place, since they are permeated by affection and care, feelings needed for a healthy relationship.

Finally, it is considered that the participants speeches cannot be analyzed or interpreted by themselves, all the contingencies of their lives should be taken into consideration as discursive practices and power plays that underlie the construction of the participants' subjectivity. Creating opportunities for these children and teenagers to have the speech space led to apprehend another

look at the relationships within the family practices, which, on several occasions, were denied socially. In light of the reflection caused by the speeches brought here, the only thing is "to want to choose another story, to operate somewhere that is neither legitimate nor illegitimate" (Butler, 2003, p.228), but that simply exists as one of the infinite possibilities of the human relationships.

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