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Introduction

We would like to present *Quaderns del CAC* issue 45, solely dedicated to the theme of ***Communication, media and gender,*** which aims to highlight problematic gender disparities that the Catalan Audiovisual Council (CAC) has been observing through continuous systematic analysis.

Research into communication and gender has been extensive, with particularly relevant contributions over the last four decades. Research into the role of the woman in the media and their representation in its content has contributed to highlighting the disparities, their manifestations and consequences, and has provided a platform for new perspectives on this complex topic. Despite this thorough research, the theme continues to provoke interest and be a central focus of social debate. With the papers that make up this issue, both established and original contributions providing different perspectives, we wish to enrich this debate.

We invited **Cláudia Álvares**, lecturer at Lusófona University, Lisbon, to contribute as the crossover between gender studies and means of communication constitutes one of her main research projects. The idea came about during her role as ECREA (European Communication Research and Education Association) president, the most international European association in the field of communication. Her article G*endered Media Representations beyond Television: Charting Stereotypes Then and Now,* systematically tackles the debates which arise when the media effects theory meets gender studies. It also explores the changes in gender stereotypes and their representation in the world of television and incorporates an up-to-date view of the online construction of such stereotypes. The article concludes by emphasising the need for a regulation of the online universe, where discriminatory and misogynistic contents are found in abundance.

Laura Rodas and **Mònica Gasol Tost's** article, *Reporting on Gender-based Violence. Context and evolution* makes use of empirical data spanning over fifteen years, systematically collected by the CAC, regarding the portrayal of violence against women in television. It provides a solid reflexion on the evolution of the concept and its regulation, monitoring how this evolution has been handled in television and how it has been analysed. The text also extends this observation to the sphere of audiovisual content online, an area of growing influence which often escapes the scrutiny of regulatory bodies and acts as a platform for circulating discriminatory contents.

Nuria Araüna, Iolanda Tortajada and Cilia Willem have also contributed their article, *Feminist discourses and videos by Youtubers: limits and horizons of I-centric politicization*, studying one of the more representative online audiovisual manifestations: youtubers. The text examines how recognised female youtubers integrate gender inequality discourses into their videos. The systematic analysis reveals that the videos act as a form of empowerment which, although it has its limits, contrasts some of the online discriminatory practices expressed in the previous article.

Mònica Gasol Tost, Carles López, Carmina Puig Sobrevals and Isabel Sánchez, in *The Presence of Gender Stereotypes in Toy Advertising. Two decades of analysis,* use data from twenty years of studies performed by the CAC concerning gender stereotypes in the television advertisement of children's toys. This allows them to carry out a longitudinal evaluation regarding the presence of these stereotypes and their evolution over time. From this study, consequences of the persistence of the phenomenon are revealed, as well as elements which contribute to its transformation. The article also tackles the analysis of data from the last study carried out on the same subject, which considers the advertisement of children's toys on youtuber channels aimed at young children.

Finally, **Marina García Blanes** in her text, *The Trans Issues on TV3. Analysis of the Representation of Gender Diversity in Television Documentaries and their Reception,* focuses on studying, based on two case studies and three focus groups, how gender diversity (mainly the trans group) is represented and received in televised documentaries. The findings of this research document the degree of discrepancy between the representation derived from the audiovisual discourse and the testimonies given by trans people. The author presents a variety of recommendations in order to eliminate existing discrepancies.

Emili Prado
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Gendered Media Representations beyond Television: Charting Stereotypes Then and Now

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Abstract
This article explores the intersections between media effects theory and gender studies. It analyses whether gender stereotypes have become to decrease, both in television and internet contents, as a result of the increasing gender balance in the public spheres. The study, moreover, reflects on the tendency of the internet to produce and reproduce misogynous discourses and to reinforce gender normativity.

Keywords
Media effects theory; gender studies; digital convergence; gender stereotypes; hate speech.

Resum
Aquest article explora les interseccions entre la teoria dels efectes dels mitjans i els estudis de gènere. S'analitza fins a quin punt els estereotips de gènere han començat a decréixer, tant als continguts d'internet com televisius, a conseqüència del creixent equilibri de gènere en l'esfera pública. L'estudi, a més, reflexiona sobre la tendència d'internet per produir i reproduir discursos misògins i per reforçar la normativitat de gènere.

Paraules clau
Teoria dels efectes dels mitjans; estudis de gènere; convergència digital; estereotips de gènere; discurs de l'odi.

1. Introduction

Within the short but intense history of Communication Studies, media effects theory has placed great emphasis on viewers' tendency to reproduce message contents, drawing attention to the importance of monitoring or regulating the latter. Cultivation theory (Gerbner et al. 2002) in particular, within media effects, has concerned itself with the mainstreaming effect of television contents, the latter appealing to a majority of spectators and, in the process, reinforcing the social and communitarian bonds that hold them together. These consensual values that are reinforced through television are explored by the commercial media model, which seeks to give audiences the encoded meanings, or frames, that are in line with the cognitive maps that they have acquired through socialization. Any attempt at urging audiences to decode meaning (Hall 1984) outside their habitual cognitive parameters could run the risk of leading to a loss in audience shares in the highly competitive and saturated media market, of which television is a prime example. The cognitive maps that media producers seek to activate in viewers take recourse in stereotypical images that are used to legitimate a particular view of the world as natural, rather than constructed, and, therefore, ideological. One of the areas in which such stereotypes are particularly visible is that of gendered representations, with women being habitually associated with relational and communal social roles and men with agentic social roles (Eagly and Steffen 1984). Analysis of televisual entertainment and news has focused minutely on such stereotypes, addressing how attitudes towards gender imbalance may be influenced by exposure to stereotypical media content.

This article gives voice to such debates, exploring intersections between media effects theory and gender studies. Simultaneously, on the basis of the observation of increasing gender balance in the public spheres of most Western countries in our day and age, the extent to which gender stereotypes have come to decrease as a response to this changing situation will be explored (Lopez-Zafra and Garcia-Retamero 2012). Studies are invoked that indicate that changes in gendered representations have resulted mostly in reversals of gendered performance, whereby women tend to assimilate masculine characteristics (Lacalle and Gómez 2016).

Finally, considering the age of convergence (Jenkins 2006) in which we live, it is argued that there appears to be little separation between patterns of television and Internet consumption, with the Internet facilitating the consumption of gender stereotypes in a more intense and immersive mode than television. The reason for this situation resides in various affordances of online architecture, namely its disembodied and instantaneous nature, which, despite appearing at first glance to facilitate experimentation with normative identity frames, ends up offering increasingly coherent and non-ambiguous identity frames in comparison with offline domains (van Dijck 2013).

The article ends by reflecting on the Net's capacity to reinforce gendered normativity through the dissemination of misogynous discourse (Sadowski 2016). The necessity of thinking new forms of regulation against hate speech in online contexts is elaborated on, taking into account that traditional forms of regulation devised for the mass media are no longer applicable in the online domain.

2. Cultivation Theory and Gender Stereotypes

Cultivation theory presupposes that television contents shape the way spectators view social reality, with those who spend more time watching television revealing a greater tendency to reflect the perspectives of message patterns that have been consistently articulated through that medium than those who watch less television (Gerbner et al. 2002; Morgan, Shanahan Signorielli 2014). With this viewpoint, exposure to a 'reality' that is repeatedly depicted through television broadcasting and entertainment programming, and which favours certain narratives over others, leads spectators to adopt similar world views, thus conditioning their interpretation of social context (Selepak & Cain 2015; Signorielli 2009), even when images are incongruous with real-world events (Selepak & Cain 2015; Botta, 2000; Dixon & Linz 2000). The critique of violent TV programmes has often based itself on cultivation theory, due to assuming that these provoke irrational and unfounded fears in viewers as regards the risks of violence in the environment and that of individual susceptibility to crime (Britto et al. 2007; Custers & Van den Bulck 2012; Doob & Mcdonald 1979).

Originally presented in the 1970s by George Gerbner, cultivation theory became one of media and communication's most popular theories to analyse mass media effects, placing emphasis on issues concerning the reproduction of 'the established structure of power' (Gerbner 1983: 358). According to Gerbner, the attitudes and values that are cultivated by mass media are those that already exist in wider society. Through the dissemination of such values among viewers, the media were seen to contribute to the renovation of the shared social bonds that hold members of any 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983) together. In effect, Gerbner et al. (1984, 1982) described television as having a 'mainstreaming' effect due to reproducing tendentially consensual, middle-of-the-road values that appeal to the majority. While first-order effects refer to the direct perceptual changes that derive from media consumption, second-order effects correspond to the updating of currently-held values and beliefs resulting from media exposure (Dahl 2015: 65)

Despite living in an increasingly digitised society in which the way we receive entertainment or news has changed significantly, it is not clear the extent to which the mainstreaming effect of such content has come to change. Indeed, among the cultural aspects that Morgan et al. (2015) indicated as noticeably persistent across various TV programmes are those related to gender roles. Norms pertaining to gender roles correspond to second-order cultivation values, as they stand for attitudes and judgements that research has shown to be influenced by exposure to television (Kahlor & Morrison 2007; Scharrer 2018). Watching certain television genres has also been shown to correlate with the adoption of views regarding the allocation of gender roles in real-life contexts (Kahlor & Morrison 2007; Scharrer 2018). When televisual broadcast and cable contents systematically portray women as associated with certain social roles to the detriment of others, the former 'take on an aura of naturalness and truth' (Merskin 2007: 135) and become stabilised within the prevalent gender economy of signs.

In this perspective, gender stereotypes arise from a regular and repetitive pattern of representation of women and men performing distinct social roles both in the interpersonal and work domains (Eagly and Steffen 1984; Lacalle and Gómez 2016). As such, social roles can be regarded as providing the essence of gender stereotypes. The allocation of social roles to women and men revolves around alleged inclination towards either communal or agentic objectives (Lopez-Zafra and Garcia-Retamero 2012) with the first being associated with 'selflessness, concern with others, and a desire to be at one with others' and the second manifesting itself through 'self-assertion, self-expansion, and the urge to master' (Eagly and Steffen 1984: 736). Various studies (Berg and Streckfuss 1992; Gerbner et al. 2002; Lacalle and Gómez 2016; Morgan 1982; Signorielli 1989; Signorielli and Kahlenberg 2001) focusing on the effects of television have pointed to the role of prime-time programming in perpetuating widespread beliefs concerning the stereotypical performance of gendered social roles, whereby women habitually appear in communal activities, essentially focusing on the enactment of interpersonal connections as regards family, friends or romantic partners, as opposed to men, more frequently associated with agentic activities oriented towards self-affirmation (Lauzen, Dozier and Horan 2008: 210).

Indeed, Signorielli and Kahlrenberg (2001) note that marital status and professional roles are depicted as tensional on prime-time television, with women spectators being conditioned into believing that more qualified jobs are incompatible with a successful marriage. Lacalle and Gómez, in turn, observe that successive studies have indicated that work context, as represented in fiction, is still a man's world, due to 'a significant percentage' (2016: 61) of female characters being assigned roles as housewives or unqualified female workers in comparison with their male counterparts, whose identity is habitually defined in terms of occupation. Likewise, Berg and Stekfuss (1992) claim that, when represented in the context of work-settings, the female characters who appear on CBS, NBC and ABC prime-time television programming tend to perform 'more interpersonal/relational actions (motivating, socialising, counseling, and other actions which develop worker relationships) and fewer decisional, political, and operational actions than do male characters (cf. Lauzen, Dozier and Horan 2008: 202).

3. Televisual Cognitive Maps and Reversals of Gender Performance

Television portrayals tend to base themselves on rather rudimentary gender stereotypes, due to the necessity of catering to the largest possible audience through the production of mainstreaming effects, described as consensual values that appeal to the majority of viewers and that cater to the commercial media model. Merskin (2007) invokes the Gramscian concept of hegemony to describe how stereotypes thrive on a social control strategy of consent, whereby simplistic representations are normalised due to reinforcing a particular definition of social identity that contributes to legitimating the cultural, political and economic mores of any dominant culture (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz 2005).

Consent for such stereotypical images is thus based on the reenactment of a cognitive mapping which tends to justify and naturalise dominant ideologies by buttressing the belief structures that are held in common by members of a group (Leudar and Nekvapil 2000). In this perspective, prime-time television gendered representations promote social consensus by expressing a notion of unity, translatable through the pronoun 'we' and reflecting a particular view of events which is in synchrony with preestablished habits acquired through socialisation. The 'power' of media effects thus resides in their capacity to cognitively reproduce the mental representations that are presumably shared by members of any particular 'ingroup', rather than in any capacity to effect significant change on the basis of the presentation of products that conflict with those representations (Alvares 2016).

This cognitive reproduction corresponds to a 'preferred' encoded meaning (Hall 1984: 136), namely the attempt on the part of media producers to define the parameters, or frames, within which decoding can occur. In other words, there is an 'implied audience' (Nielsen 2009, p. 24) for whom media producers encode their messages, heuristically reproducing the cognitive structure that is distinctive of that particular 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983) (cf. Alvares 2017). Regular contact of TV spectators with prime-time characters, who enter viewers' intimate living space on a daily basis, implies that TV portrayals be 'interesting enough to entertain, yet familiar enough to be recognizable and comforting' (Lauzen, Dozier and Horan 2008: 211). Frames which encode characters performed by women as focusing on relationships and those performed by men as revolving around work-related activities are in tune with prevalent social expectations and therefore resonate with audiences' prevalent cognitive maps.

However, taking into account that women have, in the vast majority of Western countries, come to prominently occupy non-traditional social roles, it would be legitimate to infer that the recourse to gender stereotypes in the representation of women on television would be likely to decrease (Lopez-Zafra & Garcia-Retamero 2012) as a sign of the times. This decrease in stereotypical female social roles essentially translates as a reversal in gendered performance whereby empowered women, often occupying leadership positions, are increasingly depicted as having masculine traits, namely that of rationality, allowing them to hide emotional expression behind a mask of 'insensitivity'. Lacalle and Gómez note, for example, that 'television fiction rarely opts for the novel representation of a dominant, independent woman, but rather opts for copying characteristics associated with masculinity, namely aggressiveness, individualism, competitiveness and decision-making, as well as authority and organizational skills' (2016: 64). In this optic, female professional success is frequently represented as deriving from frustrations in the private sphere, thus foregrounding the association of women with the primacy of interpersonal and relational roles.

The North-American television series *Sex and the City*, which originally aired on HBO for six seasons from 1998 to 2004, articulates a feminist master narrative that is in tune with a gendered reversal of femininity, by emphasising that 'women's aim is to gain equal power to white, heterosexual, middle-class men within the hegemonic social structure' (Brasfield 2014: 133). This series thus attempts to portray women in agentic rather than communal social roles – 'not shy but aggressive, not docile but assertive, not private but boldly public'–, ultimately failing in its reversion of stereotypes due to simultaneously articulating traditional 'formulas of nudity, hetero-coupling and, most importantly, gender division' (Lorié 2011: 49).

4. Stereotypes Online: Beyond Convergence with Television

In its 1998 Green Paper on *Regulating communications: approaching convergence in the Information Age* (DCMS/DTI), the British government claimed that the market would, in the near future, essentially become more homogeneous in terms of providers rather than consumers, due to differences continuing to prevail in the pattern of consumer demand among traditional broadcast audiences and Internet users. In our current context, it appears that this separation is negligible, to the extent that the Net is facilitating the consumption of gender stereotypes, similarly to what has traditionally happened in the domain of television. However, the specificities of the Net, namely the relative anonymity that derives from the apparently disembodied nature of the online environment, as well as the circulation of messages beyond their original spatiotemporal context of authorship (Murthy 2012), potentiate a voyeuristic capacity that reinforces a 'hypersexualised mediatised staging of gendered power relations' (Alvares 2018: 2). In a context of ubiquitous data, social media users seek clear and non-ambivalent identity categories that avoid confusion as to how the person is to be defined. As such, despite appearing to facilitate the experimentation with normative identity frames through the expression of 'multiple selves' (Turkle 1999: 647) in an immaterial virtual environment, online social networks offer increasingly coherent, homogeneous and non-fragmented 'pegs' that serve to anchor identity more firmly than in offline

contexts (Alvares 2018; Farquhar 2012; van Dijck 2013). By privileging the presentation of non-ambivalent identity online, a normative femininity is reified within the economy of gender difference structured by the male gaze, thus reinforcing a prescriptive connection between gender and sexuality.

Such identity categories, exploited by the architecture of platform interfaces, play in to the demands of neoliberal consumer culture by overemphasising particular brands of femininity in digital contexts, namely those that, due to attaining high rankings on social media platforms, can be converted into value and profit (Carah and Dobson). Indeed, platform companies profit from the production of an online self that appears as 'standardised tradeable' merchandise (van Dijck 2013: 212), by selling coherently organised behavioural data to agencies, governments and advertisers, contemplating both security and marketing purposes (van Dijck 2013; Bivens and Haimson 2016).

The privileging of topics and images that cater to the highest number of people, on the part of social media, facilitates the conversion of women into objects of surveillance through the dissemination of images, often of a sexualised and depersonalised nature. In this process, gendered dichotomies, based on relations of power, are reinforced by the threat of 'intimacy made public through the transgression of boundaries' (Alvares 2018: 5). Disciplinary effects are thus exercised through the production and reproduction of women as out of context, with images that violate intimacy acting as technologies of control over female behaviour.

Online misogyny operates by displacing or expelling signs of embodied femininity (Sadowski 2016) onto a realm of virtuality where women tend to experience loss of control, due to loss of context (Butler 1997). Under such circumstances, impression management becomes important in the attempt to avoid loss of context and assume control over one's identity, playing, according to Siibak (2009) a prominent role in the construction of a feminine ideal. Adolescents, in particular, manifest the necessity of constructing online identity profiles that are in synchrony with those attributes valued by online peers. An identity is thus chosen and performed in tandem with messages and comments received from peers.

Back in the late seventies, Nancy Chodorow (1978) had proposed a psychoanalytic model that explained the female relational self as deriving from a parental structure according to which daughters tend to be treated as narcissistic extensions of their mothers, thus having difficulty in affirming themselves as autonomous subjects. This relational model of continuity with the mother is then projected onto others, with women habitually defining themselves as 'connected' (Westkott 1989: 1) with others, as opposed to boys, who, treated as distinct from their mothers, tend to form more delimited ego boundaries than their female counterparts. This general tendency can be observed in the gendered use of media, whereby women, unlike men, tend to prioritise the building of relationships (Bullen 2009; Goodall 2012; Wood 2011) through their interactions on social network sites. Men, in turn, tend to favour the use of media for instrumental objectives (Goodall 2012; Wood 2011), in tune with the agentic values that correspond to stereotypically male social roles.

Taking into account that popularity, measured either through a large number of 'likes' or clicks, is clearly favoured by the architecture of new media, messages that give rise to affective or emotional engagement are those that spread most rapidly on digital media (Wahl-Jorgensen 2018). The easy spread of emotion is reinforced by a digital environment in which communication tends to occur within groups ('discursive cocoons' or 'echo-chambers') of like-minded individuals, who tend to reinforce each other's opinions (Dahlgren and Alvares 2013). In such circumstances, in which individuals do not have to persuade those who do not share their viewpoint over the validity of their claims, the division between an ingroup and an outgroup, distinctive of the cognitive structure that reproduces stereotypes, becomes particularly entrenched. In other words, conformity to a group ideal (that of the 'ingroup') becomes increasingly ingrained both through the reinforcement of opinion that characterises communication online as well as through the relational intimacy offered by online space. If it is already the case that female stereotypes tend to resuscitate communal values, this characteristic appears to be inflated in online communication, where the affirmation of the self through relationality is very much emphasised. This means that, due to the prevalence of group logic online, social media profiles tend to reflect the need for social acceptance, with individuals establishing cohesive ties with those with whom they wish to identify. With this perspective, the number of friends, or connections, on a SNS profile is used to signal certain aspects of identity to audiences, in what corresponds to a public exhibition of social capital, interpreted as a sign that the selected identity ascriptions are reliable (Papacharissi 2009).

This form of communication, which is increasingly linked to affect, results in a polarization of discourse on the basis of a persistent mobilization of emotions (Wahl-Jorgensen 2018). As such, this polarisation works both ways, contemplating communication both in ingroup and outgroup. For example, the enhancement of communal values and relationality that has been singled out as occurring in communication among girls online may have as opposite effect the reinforcement of misogynous forms of behaviour online. According to Sadowski (2016), misogyny involves the strategy of expelling those who do not fit into the norm by displacing or decontextualising figurative signs of femininity, in a process whereby bodies are converted into objects. By making particular signs fix onto certain female bodies, those engaging in intimacy online either accept such bodies as part of an 'ingroup' or ostracise them by relegating them to the 'outgroup' (Alvares 2018; Sadowski 2016). Misogyny thus reveals itself as a 'profoundly evaluative cultural practice based on emotions' (Alvares 2018), whereby value is attributed to particular modes of femininity over others (Ahmed 2004; Sadowski 2016).

5. Regulation Online

The characteristics of the online world make it particularly receptive to the amplification of misogyny, partly because of a simultaneous reinforcement of the normativity of punitive social structures that reinforce gender dichotomies (Alvares 2018). Hence, the misogyny that inheres in mass media stereotypes in an offline context is somehow augmented in an online environment. Not foreign to this situation would be the inexistence of regulation against hate speech in online contexts, where the regulation applied to traditional mass media is no longer sufficient. Indeed, most regulatory bodies throughout Europe have introduced some monitoring of the representation of women on the mass media, with the EU Audiovisual Media Services Directive (2010, recently amended on November 14, 2018) prohibiting 'discrimination based on sex in commercial communications' and urging 'Member States to promote a diversified and realistic picture of women's and men's skills and potential' (MLP in gender equality seminar 2018). This is, however, not the case with online media.

The affordances of online architecture, namely the expansion of an offline to online audience, the relative anonymity with which new accounts can be created –so as to guarantee the continuation of communication activities in case any one account is suspended (Alvares 2017)–, the instantaneity of message exchange and ease of access make digital contents very difficult to monitor (Brown 2018). This requires that we rethink forms of regulation that exist in the mass media and that are no longer capable of being applied in the online domain. In effect, norms of acceptability that prevail among mainstream broadcasting companies tend to be subverted in the current context (Alvares and Dahlgren 2016), with implications in terms of polarisation of misogynist discourse online.

However, despite authorities being increasingly reactive to online threats, in part due to the ubiquitous threat of terrorism, hate speech must include some indication of a violent plan of action to legitimate action on the part of those authorities (Shepherd et al. 2015). As such, sexist, misogynist, racist, anti-Semitic, homophobic online contents maintain themselves in a kind of no man's land, where it is difficult to apply legislation. The application of judicial competences becomes even more complicated, bearing in mind that online hate operates across borders.

A joint effort on the part of the European Commission and various Internet platform companies has nevertheless resulted in adherence to a 'Code of Conduct on Countering Illegal Hate Speech Online', since 31 May 2016. However, this code of conduct consists in a public commitment to implement regulation, lacking any legal capacity to make binding decisions. According to Brown (2018), this code can be regarded as problematic due to consisting of a set of measures aiming to restrain freedom of expression (i.e. cyberhate) at a national level, without involving the consent of national governments. Moreover, because the Code does not consist of European Union legislation but rather of a form of voluntary self-regulation, the former cannot be scrutinised nor subject to approval on the part of the European Parliament. As such, the Association for European Digital Rights criticises this Code for paving the way for the implementation of procedures that may be decontextualised from a framework of accountability. Absence of accountability is linked to the Code's relegation of law to a secondary status, with the possibility of private companies enjoying the right to implement their terms of service in an arbitrary manner, leaving users vulnerable to accusations they cannot appeal (Brown 2018).

6. Conclusion

This article has shown that media effects theory, in particular cultivation theory, continues to be relevant in an age of convergence (Jenkins 2006). However, the televisual gendered stereotypes that tend to be studied by cultivation theory have intensified in an online context, partly due to the impact of an algorithmic culture that extends voyeuristic capacity. By privileging topics and images that cater to the largest number of visualisations, social media facilitate the conversion of women into objects of surveillance through the dissemination of images, often of a sexualised and depersonalised nature. In this process, gendered dichotomies, based on relations of power, are reinforced through the public exhibition of intimacy, corresponding to a transgression of boundaries.

Disciplinary effects are thus exercised through the production and reproduction of women as out of context, with images that violate intimacy acting as technologies of control over female behaviour. Online misogyny works by displacing signs of embodied femininity (Sadowski 2016) onto an online domain, where women tend to experience loss of control due to loss of context (Butler 1997).

Considering the fact that the Internet has come to facilitate online hate speech, of which misogyny is an example, forms of regulation that have been applied to the traditional mass media have to be rethought in these novel circumstances. Indeed, while most regulatory entities within Europe subject mass media content, namely television, to some form of monitoring, regulation online is much more difficult to implement. Although corporate social media responsibility of Internet platform companies has been made visible through their collaborative effort with the European Commission in adopting a 'Code of Conduct on Countering Illegal Hate Speech Online', the fact that the latter is not legally binding greatly limits its regulatory capacity, serving solely as a declaration of good intentions.

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QUADERNS
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Reporting on Gender-based Violence in the News: Context and Evolution

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Abstract
The way violence against women is portrayed has been the object of analysis by the Catalan Audiovisual Council on a regular basis for more than 15 years. During this period, the concept of violence against women has undergone a profound transformation that has led to very important legislative changes: violence is no longer strictly circumscribed to the private sphere (domestic violence) and is conceptualized as the consequence of systemic structural inequality, a definition that allows for discussion of violence. This article follows this conceptual and legislative evolution with respect to violence against women, and how this evolution has been transferred to the area of news reporting and its analysis.

Keywords
Sexist violence, reporting, recommendations, evolution, gender-based violence, domestic violence

Resum
El tractament informatiu de la violència contra les dones ha estat objecte d'anàlisi del Consell de l'Audiovisual de Catalunya de forma regular des de fa més de 15 anys. En aquest període, el concepte de violència contra les dones ha experimentat una profunda transformació que s'ha acabat materialitzat en canvis legislatius molt importants: la violència deixa d'estar circumscrita estrictament a l'àmbit privat (violència domèstica) i passa a conceptualitzar-se com la conseqüència d'un sistema de desigualtats estructurals en tots els àmbits, definició que ens porta a parlar de violències masclistes. Aquest article ressegueix aquesta evolució conceptual i normativa de la violència contra les dones, i com aquesta evolució s'ha traslladat a l'àmbit del seu tractament informatiu i a l'anàlisi d'aquest.

Paraules clau
Violència masclista, tractament informatiu, recomanacions, evolució, violència de gènere, violència domèstica

1. Conceptual Evolution

It is a truth acknowledged by a broad sector that includes international organizations, institutions, academia and civil society, among others, that the violence perpetrated against women has its origin in the patriarchal culture on which our society is based and organized, and which persist today. Patriarchy assigns very specific and stereotyped gender roles that attribute social prominence to men and relegate women to secondary positions. In this context, violence, in its different expressions, has become an instrument to ensure the maintenance of this hierarchy. A violence that, for centuries, society in general, including women, has kept silent due to its "normalization". However, in recent decades and largely as a result of the work of the feminist movement, this social model has been called into question and there has been a growing collective awareness and rejection of violence against women, which democratic societies have not been able to ignore.

Without being exhaustive, since this is not the objective of this article, a brief overview of the facts that have led to the conceptualization of violence against women evolve takes us back to the 1970s when the visibility of discrimination against women and the need for empowerment gained strength. The year 1976 was declared by the United Nations **International Women's Year** and in 1979 the General Assembly of the United Nations drafted the **Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)**. This international treaty, ratified by the Spanish State in 1984, establishes that men and women have the same rights as men and proposes actions to achieve gender equality. The 70s was also an important decade in Catalonia in terms of raising awareness about discrimination against women with the celebration of the First Catalan Women's Conference in the Paraninfo at the University of Barcelone in May 1976.

However, it would take almost two decades to address the problem of violence against women from a social perspective. The **Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women** (Resolution 48/104 of 20 December 1993) **adopted by the United Nations General Assembly** was a step forward and defined violence against women as "any act of gender-

based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women (...) whether occurring in public or in private life".

Subsequently, in 1995, the **Beijing Declaration** emerging from **the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women** was adopted, reinforcing the principle that violence against women is a manifestation of the historically unequal power relations between women and men and defines its existence as structural in nature.

Following in the footsteps of the United Nations, Spain's legal system progressively incorporated changes in the fight against gender-based violence. Thus, in 2004, the **Ley orgánica 1/2004, de 28 de diciembre, de medidas de protección integral contra la violencia de género (Organic Law No. 1/2004, of 28 December, on Comprehensive Protection Measures Against Gender-Based Violence)** was adopted. The law's explanatory memorandum states that "gender-based violence (...) manifests itself as the most brutal symbol of inequality in our society". Despite this recognition of violence against women as a structural fact, its definition within Law 1/2004 regulates its manifestations to the sphere of the couple or ex-partner and, therefore, to the existence of an intimate relationship between the victim and the aggressor.

In Catalonia, **Llei 5/2008, de 24 d'abril, del dret de les dones a erradicar la violència masclista** (**Law 5/2008, of 24 April, on The Right of Women to Eradicate Sexist Violence)** takes a further step in the approach to violence against women. It conceptualizes it not only as the result of a series of elements of structural inequality but also, in line with the United Nations doctrine of the 1990s, develops the idea that there are multiple forms of exercising this violence (physical, psychological, sexual and economic) as are the areas where it manifests (intimate relationships, work, community, etc.). This legal text, therefore, hinges on a broader concept, which encompasses any form of violence against women because they are women.

In the same spirit, in 2014 Spain ratified the **Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence**, presented in Istanbul in 2011. This document lists all forms of violence that affect or may affect women—both in public and private life—and classifies them as a violation of human rights.

Thus, in the last four decades, the concept of violence against women has made great strides in our society which, progressively, has involved a shift from referring to it as *domestic violence*—which refers strictly to the private sphere—to designating it as *gender-based violence* and, ultimately, as *various forms of gender-based violence*, to reflect the multiplicity of ways and areas in which it manifests itself.

2. The Responsibilities of the CAC

Law 5/2008 on the Right of Women to Eradicate Sexist Violence includes a specific section dedicated to the media. Within this section, Article 20 bestows the Catalan Audiovisual Council (CAC) with the power to "[...] guarantee the fulfilment of the obligations of the providers of audiovisual communication services to ensure that women are treated in accordance with the principles and values established [...]" by the same law.

Likewise, Article 21 establishes that the CAC must "[...] promote agreements and guidelines for self-regulation or co-regulation in all media, which must incorporate orienting criteria regarding the way programs engage with gender-based violence and the representation of women". These self-regulatory agreements or conventions "[...] must have the character of ethical codes and act as criteria for the decisions taken by the media and as a guideline for *a posteriori* controls".

In fact, **Llei 2/2000, del 4 de maig, del Consell de l'Audiovisual de Catalunya (Law 2/2000, of 4 May, of the Catalan Audiovisual Council),** establishes in letter i) of Article 10, that one of the functions of the CAC is to "promote the adoption of self-regulation standards for the audiovisual sector". Over the course of its history, the CAC's various recommendations have existed precisely within the context of this power to foment self-regulation and are structured as a combination of criteria and guidelines that have been agreed upon by the different parties involved and adopted voluntarily by the media, who seek to improve the quality of the content broadcasted about particularly sensitive issues in regards to public opinion such as violence against women.

3. Guidelines Regarding Reporting on Violence against Women

Within the framework of the powers the law confers on the Catalan Audiovisual Council in terms of the promotion of self-regulating standards within the audiovisual sector, in 2004 the CAC released its ***Recommendations on the Coverage of Gender Violence in News and Entertainment Programmes***. The document synthesized the reflections and collective contributions of institutions, associations of professional journalists, the media, and representatives from public safety institutions.

Five years later, in 2009, and pursuant to the approval of Law 5/2008 on the Right of Women to Eradicate Sexist Violence, it became necessary to revise and update said Recommendations. The result would be the ***Guidelines on the Portrayal of Violence against Women in the Media***, also created in collaboration with other institutions and associations of journalists. This second set of recommendations consists of fifteen points that concisely describe what principles the journalists should use as inspiration when they inform about violence against women, respecting the privacy of the people affected, sensationalist coverage, the kinds of discourse used in the report, and the sources of information or context provided.

As established by the Law, the CAC periodically monitors the extent to which the media are following and implementing these

guidelines. The results of these observations are released to the public through specific reports analysing the reporting on violence against women.

4. The Analysis of the CAC Regarding Reporting on Violence against Women

The initial analysis that the CAC undertook regarding the portrayal on violence against women was a 2003 report in reference to reporting on domestic violence in Catalan news media. In this first analysis, women are portrayed as a group of people who might suffer violence (analogously to men, children, and the elderly). This report predates the existence of the *Recommendations on the Coverage of Gender Violence in News and Entertainment Programmes.*

Following the approval of the Recommendations, follow-up reports have been issued every three years in 2005, 2008, 2011, 2014 and 2017, all available online.

Additionally, coinciding with the 2018 International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, CAC published some data on reporting gender-based violence from a transnational report coordinated by the CAC with the Gender and Media Working Group of the Mediterranean Network of Regulatory Authorities (MNRA). MNRA is a network of audiovisual regulators that have also released reports on **gender stereotypes and advertising** and on the representation of **women in sports reporting**.

The evolution of the conceptualization of gender-based violence is evident in the CAC's reports. In this sense, the first two reports in the series, for the years 2005 and 2008, although they continue to treat reporting on violence against women as a subgroup of the domestic violence dataset, incorporate the specific analysis of the follow-up to the 2004 CAC's guidelines on the treatment of gender-based violence.

The 2011 report differentiates for the first time between domestic violence and gender-based violence, in accordance with the definition included in Article 3 of Law 5/2008 on the Right of Women to Eradicate Sexist Violence. It is also the first time that the tracking of the new *Guidelines on the Portrayal of Violence against Women in the Media* have been analysed. CAC drew up these recommendations in 2009 in order to adapt those of 2004 to the new regulatory framework.

Finally, the exclusive focus of the 2014 and 2017 reports, as well as the data published in 2018, is reporting on gender-based violence and continue to track the implementation of current recommendations in this area.

All these analyses are based on a common methodological approach: putting into practice the concepts established in the standardizing documents and in the recommendations, in order to structure a system of quantitatively measurable variables and indicators, the combined reading of which provides a qualitative analysis of the media's treatment of gender-based violence.

5. Research Methods

The research methods used regarding the background for the series of reports on the portrayal of gender-based violence in the media are based on analytical tools. These incorporate a series of general variables and items that are part of the methodological corpus that the Council usually applies to their analysis of audiovisual content, along with specific variables and concepts, deriving from the implementation of the normative texts and codes that are applicable in each case.

5.1 General Variables and Items

The first level of analysis from which it is possible to construct a general and common framework, and therefore a basis of comparison with other themes, is structured through four basic elements:

1. Segment time corresponds to the total of the duration of the segment referring to a specific report or theme; in this case, violence against women.
2. Actors are defined as individuals who appear in the audiovisual broadcast with speaking time, either as a representative of an interest group, an association or an organization, a political party or an institution, or as an individual and not representative of any collective.
3. Speaking time is the total sum of the duration of the sequences in which an agent intervenes, as a subject, by making an *insert* (insertion of images and voice of a political or non-political agent, without there being any kind of voiceover on the part of the medium).
4. Actor groups are categories that classify actors according to the role they play in each of their appearances.

5.2 Specific Variables and Concepts

The second level of analysis, which allows for a singular focus on reporting on gender-based violence, is articulated around the concepts that are derived from both the legislation and the recommendations, starting with a concrete definition of violence against women.

Starting with the 2011 report, violence against women is conceptualized in the terms used in Article 3 of Law 5/2008 ("that which is perpetrated against women as a manifestation of discrimination and the situation of inequality in the framework of a system of power relations of men over women and which, produced by physical, economic or psychological means, including threats, intimidation and coercion, results in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering, whether it is produced in the public or private spheres") and in Article 4, which lists and defines four forms of sexist violence: physical violence, psychological violence, sexual violence and sexual abuse, and economic violence.

In addition, the creation of a series of thematic categories (specific themes) related to the general concept of segment time allow the analysis of the specific content and a focus on violence against women reporting that is issued through a specific media or time period. As mentioned above, the creation of these categories has evolved over time to accommodate the conception of the many forms of gender-based violence. The current list of thematic categories used is as follows:

- **Actions of Political Entities:** news about the actions by the government, administrations and legislative powers of Catalonia and the State, as well as the dynamics of the political parties around this issue.
- **Other examples of structural discrimination based on sex**: actions or situations, apart from physical, psychological or sexual violence, which are related to the manifestation of discrimination and the situation of inequality of women in different spheres of society.
- **Assaults:** news about the commission of acts of gender-based violence.
- **Judicial processes:** information on court cases related to gender-based violence.
- **Statistical data:** quantitative information related to gender-based violence.
- **Ideological debate:** information on the expression of the different ideological positions of social and political actors regarding gender-based violence.
- **Proceedings of the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women:** news about events commemorating this day, held on 25 November.
- **Sexual exploitation:** news about on human trafficking sexual purposes and forced prostitution.
- **Social and awareness-raising programmes:** news about support programmes for victims of gender-based violence or the dissemination of these issues.

The analysis also incorporates a specific categorization of the informational actors, calculated in terms of speaking time, which allows the incorporation of elements regarding the quality of information in the analysis. The classification applied is as shown below:

- **Affected person**: limited to the aggressor and the direct victim of the violence.
- **Qualified sources**: people who bring to the news an expert or professional view, including political appointees whose responsibilities include themes related to gender-based violence.
- **Third parties:** people who are neither victims nor aggressors, who appear in the audiovisual media depending on the news in question, contributing their strictly personal experience. This category includes neighbors, the family or witnesses of acts of gender-based violence.

Additionally, a third level of analysis is established aimed at providing information on aspects of visual content and verbal discourse that contribute to the construction of the reporting narrative. In conclusion, the follow-up analysis of the *Guidelines on the Portrayal of Violence against Women in the Media* (2009) in quantifiable elements is articulated around six major axes of action.

The first of these axes refers to the informative attention and the thematic structure of the information: How much do daily news outlets talk about gender-based violence and, equally important, from which perspective. **Recommendation 1** advises not only reporting on the violence itself, but also portray the phenomenon in all of its complexity. With this in mind, **Recommendation 3** calls for making women's contributions in all spheres society visible and considering their experience as a first-order documentary source, while **Recommendation 7** advises making "other violence stemming from machismo" visible, going beyond physical violence confined to the intimate realm. In sum, it is recommended that news regarding violence against women transcend the chronicling of events and provide elements of reflection and social awareness in order fight its structural nature. The analysis of the values obtained in relation to segment and speaking time, as well as their different categorizations, provide an answer to this first block.

The sources of information constitute another important axis for the reporting of violence against women. The selection of voices is not harmless but rather contributes to shaping a certain vision of this problem. **Recommendation 2** suggests prioritizing the use of qualified or specialized sources over those that only circumstantially relate to the facts, since the latter often do not provide any relevant information on the case. The assessment of the degree of compliance with this recommendation is based on the quantification of the speaking time of qualified sources and third parties (i.e. neighbours, relatives and witnesses) in comparison to the total number of voices involved.

Recommendations 8 and 9 call for avoiding sensationalism and drama when reporting on violence against women. Consequently, excessively dramatic reporting is discouraged. The quantification and analysis of the use of visual resources (close-ups, zooms, slow-motion, etc.), sound (dramatic music, for example) or lexicons (detailed descriptions, rough language, striking turns of phrase, etc.) make it possible to evaluate if these recommendations have been followed.

Recommendations 6 and 10, which explicitly allude to the discourse used in the report, respond to the presence in the narrative of certain expressions that may trivialize or justify violence against women or establish cause-effect relationships. Special attention is given to the use of descriptors that can be understood as justifying aggression (for example, *crime of passion*) and the presence in the discourse of elements that favor the establishment of cause-effect relations between the facts and characteristics, such as the origin of the people

affected, their socioeconomic situation or any other personal circumstances.

Recommendations 4 and 5 relate to respecting the privacy of the persons concerned, protected both by the right to privacy of the assault victims and by the presumption of innocence of the alleged aggressors. In this sense, the dissemination of personal data or other elements that may lead to their identification is analysed.

Finally, **Recommendations 11, 12, 13 and 14** relate to the need for the media to provide contextual information that goes beyond the mere commission of the act of violence and interrogates the elements that surround it as a way to combat this type of violence. Analysis of the category of data related to segment time provides a sense of how much these recommendations are being observed.

6. Results of Gender-based violence Reporting Analysis

The series of reports that include the different analyses carried out by CAC on the reporting of violence against women show how, parallel to the evolutions of the conception and the legal framework of the same, reporting on the conditions that surround this violence has also evolved within news media content.

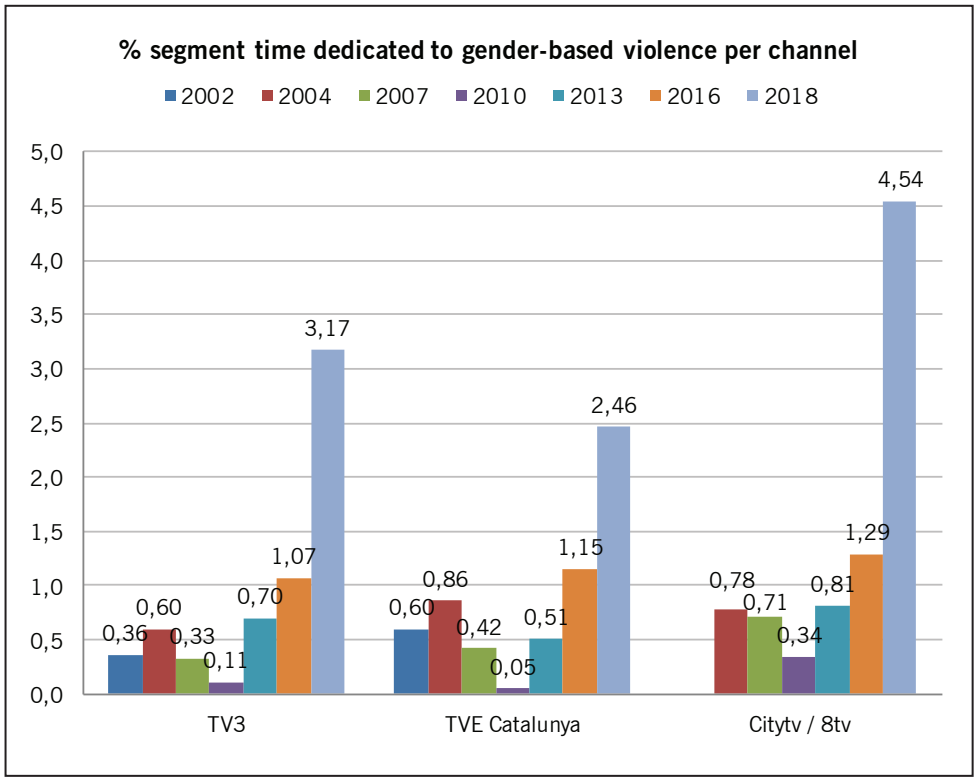
The analysis of this evolution is based on data from TV3, TVE Catalunya and 8tv corresponding to the quarter October-December of 2010 2013 and 2016 (corresponding to the reports published in 2011, 2014 and 2017 respectively). Additionally, the results of the analysis of data from these same channels that has been carried out within the framework of the international report of the Gender and Media Working Group of the Mediterranean Network of Regulatory Authorities (period March-May 2018), has been incorporated. Similarly, and with regard to news coverage, the comparison offers official data of the first three reports (2003, 2005 and 2008).

6.1 News Coverage and Thematic Structure

In the analyses carried out by the CAC there is a clear tendency to increase the depth of the **coverage** related to gender-based violence in the set of the televisions analysed, which increases from 0.41% in the 2003 report to 1.13% in the 2017 report, and exceeds 3% in the data referring to the period March-May 2018, which is an exponential growth in the coverage of this issue.

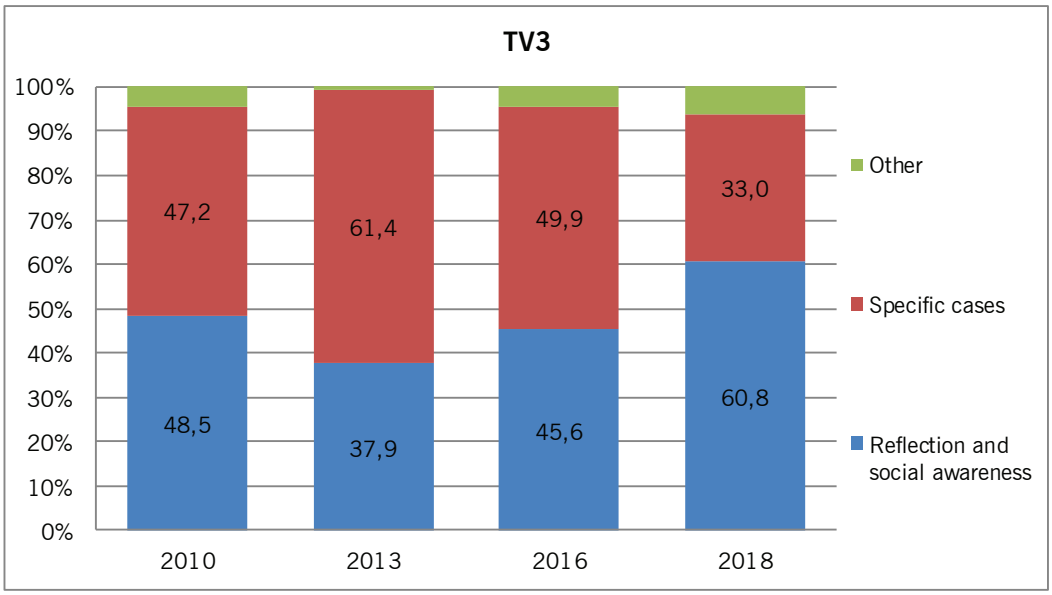
By channel, between 2011 and 2017 —when the period analysed covered the October-December quarter— the percentage of news about gender-based violence grows gradually in TV3, TVE Catalunya and 8tv. This increase shoots up in 2018, in the next period analyzed (the March-May quarter), due to social demands and awareness-raising campaigns coinciding with International Women's Day and by the societal rejection of the judgment by the Audiencia de Navarra in relation to the group sexual assault of an 18-year-old girl during the San Fermin festivals in 2016.

Figure 1. Evolution of news coverage with respect to gender-based violence by channel



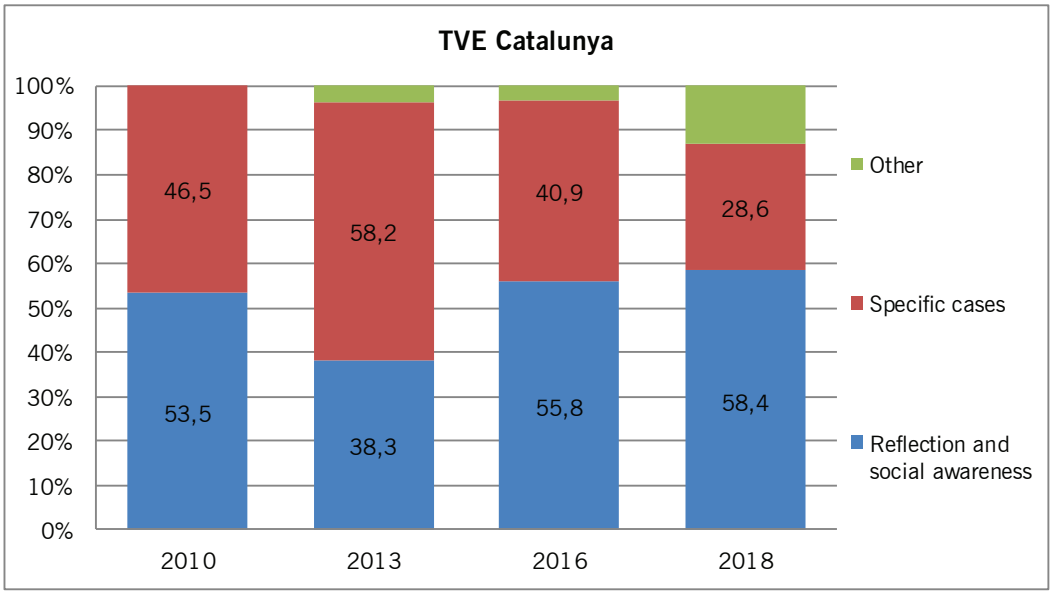
Source: By Authors.

Figure 2. Evolution of the thematic structure of information on TV3



Source: By Authors.

Figure 3. Evolution of the thematic structure of information on TVE Catalunya



Source: By Authors.

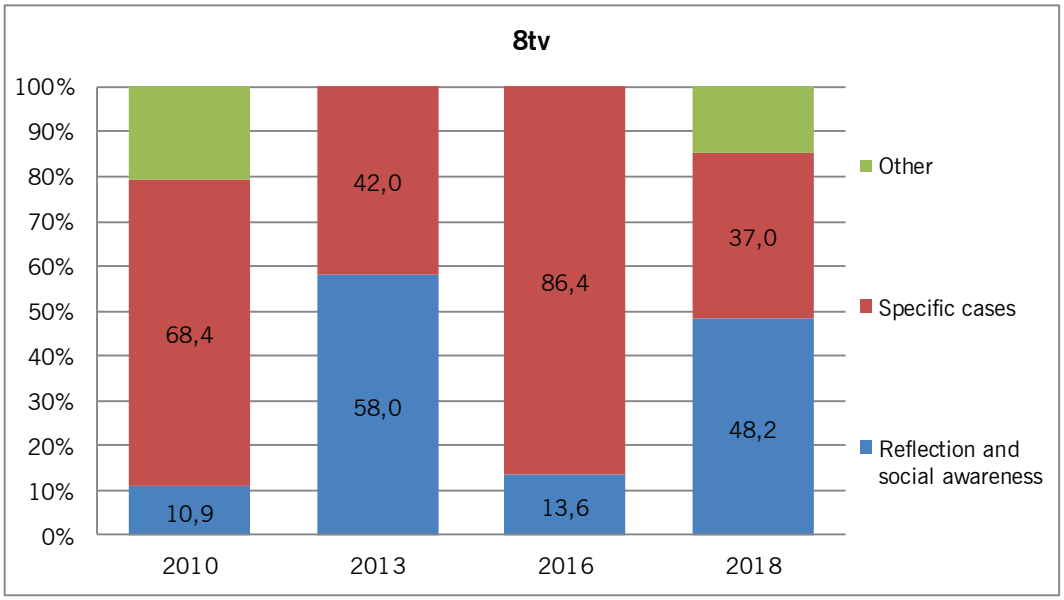
With regard to the thematic structure of the information (from which perspective do television news media approach information on gender-based violence), there is a trend towards a raised awareness and reflection over specific cases and the judicial process.

In the first reports of the CAC, the media attention of public television channels regarding male violence focused, above all, on the chronicle of events (corresponding to the "specific themes" of *assaults*, *judicial processes* and *cases of sexual exploitation*). This type of content, which in relative terms achieved the highest proportions in all channels in 2007, has been progressively decreasing since 2013 on both TV3 and TVE Catalunya.

Conversely, the information with elements of reflection **and awareness of social issues** (corresponding to the specific issues of *social movements and awareness campaigns*, *statistical data, the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women* and other *elements of structural discrimination*) have been steadily taking up more space on TV3 and TVE Catalunya.

On 8tv, on the other hand, the weight carried by these two main types of information (concrete cases versus reflection and raising awareness) has fluctuated considerably over time.

Figure 4. Evolution of the thematic structure of information on 8tv



Source: By Authors.

6.2 Sources of Information

It is also true that the participation of **qualified** sources constitutes a large majority on public television news broadcasts, which only allow the participation of third parties to a very limited extent. Although with different proportions that have fluctuated over the years, the two public broadcasters have devoted most of their speaking time to qualified sources during the periods analysed in 2010, 2013 and 2016, while 8tv shows a gradual decrease.

As for the most recent period analysed (March-May 2018), the increased reporting on protests has led to a high percentage of participation of demonstrators and, consequently, to a decrease in the proportion of interlocutors who provide a professional or expert view regarding gender-based violence. Despite this factor, which affects the relative values of the data, expert voices continue to represent almost half on TV3, more than 40% on TVE Catalunya and more than a third on 8tv.

6.3 Sensationalist elements

In general terms, the evolution of this parameter in the series of CAC reports over time shows that televisions have significantly lowered the **sensationalist tone** of news about gender-based violence, despite the fact that it persists in some cases.

TV3 is the channel that has improved the most in the last four periods analyzed: it has gradually but consistently reduced the presence of sensationalist elements in the reports on violence against women, which go from being present in 40% of the news in 2010 to doing so in 15% of the cases in 2018. The other public television channel analysed, TVE Catalunya, makes moderate and generally consistent use of this type of audiovisual resource over the course of the research. The private medium 8tv usually incorporates a greater proportion of visual and/or lexical elements aimed at dramatizing the contents of the broadcast, notwithstanding that during the last period studied there was a notable decrease.

This decrease in sensationalism, especially in the last period analysed, is directly related to changing priorities with respect to the typology of information: as the media dedicates more time to raising awareness to the detriment of chronicling events and excessive dramatization of events, the level of sensationalism also decreases.

6.4 Discourses in News Stories

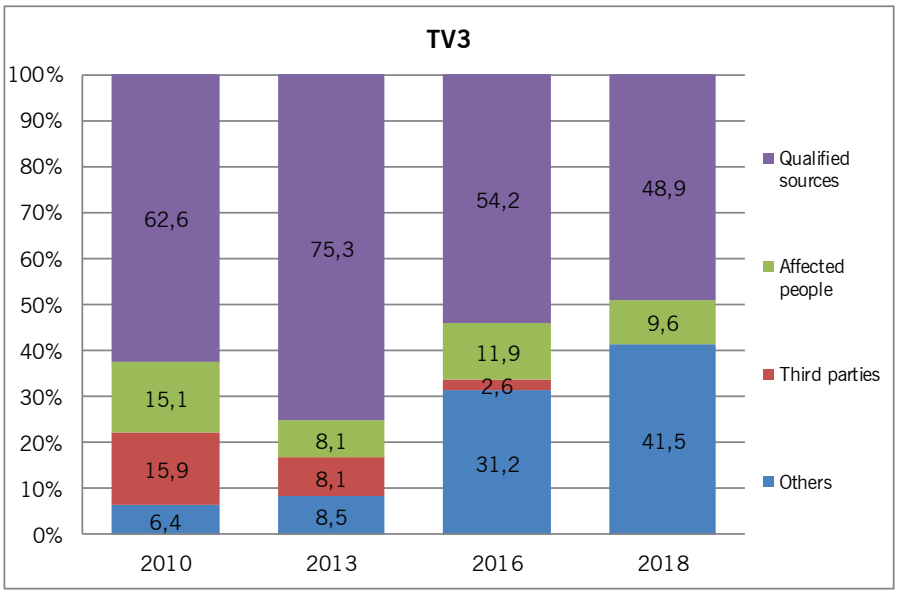
Throughout the successive periods studied, none of the channels has made use of elements that could be interpreted as **trivialising** gender-based violence. In the same vein, neither has the use of adjectives that implicitly **justify** aggression been noted.

In contrast, the CAC reports for the quarter October-December 2010, 2013 and 2016 do note, albeit with a clear downward trend, the tacit establishment of **cause-and-effect** relationships, often resulting from old reporting habits, between the violent act or assault and elements such as the origin of the persons affected, their socio-economic situation or other personal circumstances.

6.5 Respect for the Privacy of Affected Persons

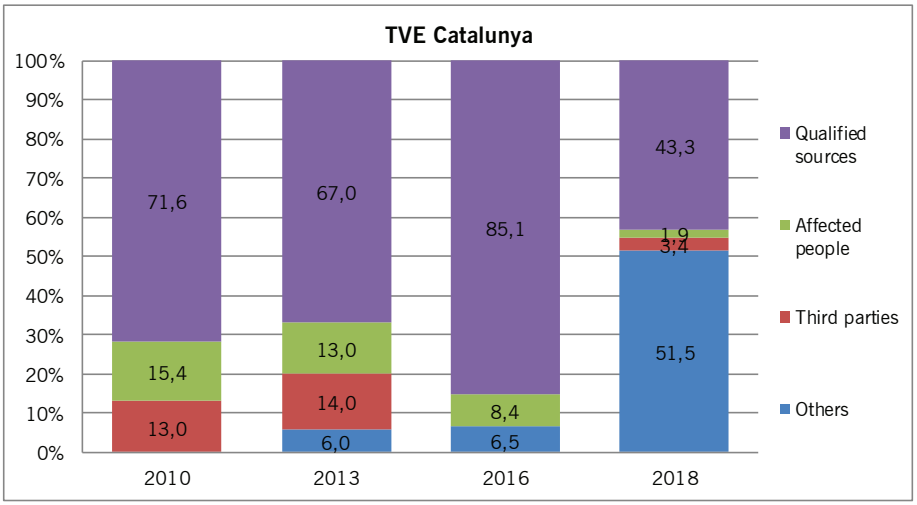
In the studies subsequent to the approval of Law 5/2008, which defines the concept of ***secondary*** victimization, no case has been detected in which the identification of women currently affected by an act of machismo has been carried out in such a way as to be understood as contributing to their revictimization.

Figure 5. Evolution of the sources of information on TV3



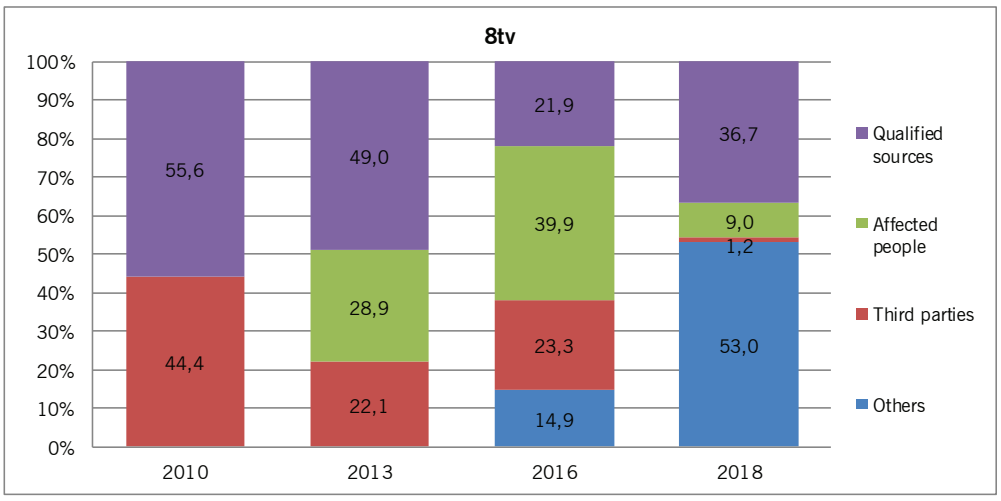
Source: By Authors.

Figure 6. Evolution of the sources of information on TVE Catalunya



Source: By Authors.

Figure 7. Evolution of the sources of information on 8tv



Source: By Authors.

It has also been found that there is an increasingly restricted use of elements that can contribute to the identification of those affected. In this context, the restriction of the dissemination of **images where the assault took place** can be viewed as the evolution of a positive journalistic practice.

The identification **of affected persons** with their full names and/or images, whether they be victims or aggressors, as well as the inclusion of their personal data (age, nationality, physical characteristics, employment situation, etc.) is probably the element that fluctuates the most depending on the casuistry of specific cases in each period.

The results of the most recent analysis by the CAC, corresponding to the quarter of March-April 2018, show that, strictly in regards to the victims, there were almost no images shown of affected persons and their personal characteristics were disseminated in less than 10% of the news stories analysed for each channel.

6.6 Contextual Information

In relation to the contextual information on gender-based assaults provided by broadcasters, the series of CAC reports shows that as regards the **following up on cases** and portraying the **negative consequences** that acts of violence have for perpetrators of violence are directly proportional to the amount of news dedicated to specific cases broadcast by each channel.

On the other hand, the presence of concrete elements that contribute to a comprehensive view of gender-based violence, such as the dissemination of statistical data and the inclusion of resources for victims, has progressively diminished.

The proportion of news segments including **statistical data** experienced a very significant decrease between 2010 and 2016 on the 3 television channels analysed. This continuous decrease is compensated in 2018 in terms of awareness of the coverage provided on the March 8 demonstrations.

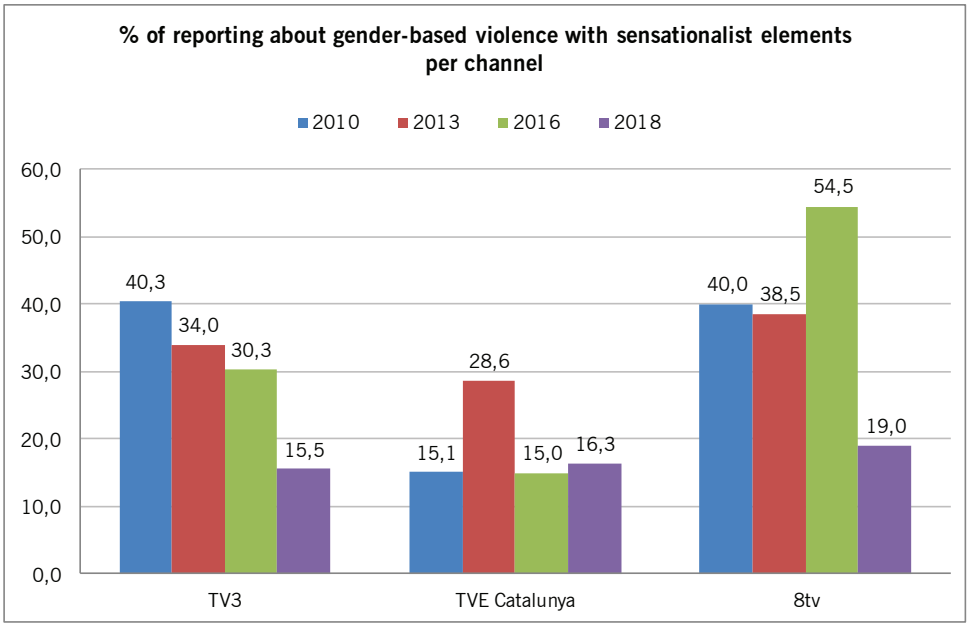
As regards information on **resources and services** (telephone numbers and e-mail addresses for women suffering gender-based violence, contact information for associations working in this area, etc.), there is also a **general decline** on public television channels, while data for 8tv was only collected in 2016.

7. Assessment of Gender-based violence News Reporting Analysis Results

Despite the fact that specific cases have undoubtedly affected the results of the different periods analysed, the data allow us to state unequivocally that, in general terms, the quality of the information that televisions transmit in relation to gender-based violence has improved considerably:

- There is a higher volume of coverage, which in turn translates, above all, into more coverage aimed at raising awareness regarding the problem.
- There is a growing awareness of all forms of violence against women, as reporting increases about inequalities between women and men, and about court cases, activism and information campaigns.
- The presence of identifying characteristics of the persons affected has reduced, especially in terms of images of the scene of the crime.
- Channels have reduced, but not eliminated, the use of sensationalism.
- On the channels analyzed, the news story neither trivializes nor justifies the gender-based violence, but

Figure 8. Evolution of the use of sensationalist elements in TV3, TVE Catalunya and 8tv



Source: By Authors.

rather to the contrary, there are more and more elements of reflection.

- Information comes mostly from quality sources and provides expert insight. Testimony from third parties who do not provide valuable information are being used less and less frequently.

In short, more is reported and reported better, despite the fact that there are still aspects to be corrected and others on which we must continue to insist. From an empirical point of view, violence against women continues to be a social problem of the very first order. Television channels have made space for the problem within the news cycle and have delved into its causes through the incorporation reflection and analysis, despite the fact that old habits that favor the sensationalist news stories die hard.

8. Other Narratives

While it is true that the traditional audiovisual media have positively modified the way in which they report gender-based violence, it is also true that they are not the only means of disseminating content, and for younger age groups they are not even the main source.

More than 90% of Catalonia's 16 to 24-year-old population connects to the Internet several times a day. This fact alone denotes a change in the habits of consumption of audiovisual content. This content is accessed via a complex framework, both in terms of the quantity of material and the plurality of actors involved in its production and dissemination.

Faced with this reality, the Catalan Audiovisual Council has conducted, among others, several analyses on discourses around gender-based violence in audiovisual content broadcast over the Internet.

Three analyses have been carried out in three different time periods (June 2016, February 2018 and June 2018) with a user-based approach and with full awareness that the Internet is impossible to cover in its entirety.

However, the results of all three analyses show a worrying picture. The existence of audiovisual content has been detected in which gender-based violence is incited, justified or trivialized; discourses in which women are disbelieved and through which misogynist messages are conveyed. Degrading stories in which women are treated as objects; defences of women's inferiority and demonstrations in favour of restricting their rights, such as the right to freedom of movement, education, voting, sexual freedom, the purchase of property, etc.; victim-blaming and trivialisation of the use of drugs to commit rape, and even videos showing children simulating scenes of gender-based violence as if it were a game.

After the Council denounced these contents, close to 50% have been removed and more than 30% have been subject to access limitations.

However, the fundamental question remains. While the discourse of reports on gender-based violence produced by traditional audiovisual media demonstrates an awareness of the problem, other narratives are created on other audiovisual platforms, which discriminate against women and justify sexist behavior. Other stories that are very easily accessible to younger generations.

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Feminist Discourses and Videos by Youtubers: Limits and Horizons of I-centric Politicization

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Abstract
Within the current centrality of feminist movements in the Spanish public sphere and the transnational dynamics of feminist solidarity and calls to action made possible by social media, this article seeks to obverse how a distinct group of well-known Youtubers has integrated discourses denouncing gender inequalities in their videos. YouTube videos are an audiovisual genre voiced in the first person that promote a connection between the authorial I (necessarily agentive) and the audience, which, cultivated by a commercial culture, goes on to constitute a personal brand that can be positioned as its own product. From within these "I-centric" spaces, Youtubers take on the challenge of articulating a feminist consciousness that is compatible with their public identity and is constantly in dialogue with other Youtubers and their audiences.

Keywords
Feminism, LGBTQ+, YouTube, pop-feminism, prosumer culture, social change

Resum
En l'actual centralitat dels moviments feministes en l'esfera pública espanyola i les dinàmiques de transnacionalització de l'agenda i la solidaritat feminista que han permès les xarxes socials, aquest article vol observar com un conjunt de reputades youtuberes ha integrat discursos de denúncia de les desigualtats de gènere als seus vídeos. Els vídeos de youtuberes són un gènere audiovisual basat en la primera persona i que promou una connexió entre el jo autoral (per necessitat agèntic) i l'audiència, que en el si d'una cultura comercial construeix una marca personal des de la qual posicionar-se com a producte. Des d'aquests espais "jo-cèntrics", les youtuberes s'enfronten al repte d'articular una consciència feminista adient a la seva identitat pública i sempre en relació dialògica entre altres youtuberes i els seus públics.

Paraules clau
Feminisme, LGTBIQ+, YouTube, feminisme popular, cultura prosumer, canvi social

> *A political consciousness –and a political conscience– are not formed by learning to apply the abstract vocabularies of totalizing and experience-distance teories to particular situations, but by coming to the lived, embodied certainty that the personal is political.*
>
> Susan DiGiacomo

The March 8th demonstrations in 2018 and 2019, along with the massive protests against the judgement handed down in the case of La Manada have brought into sharp relief the importance that feminism has taken on in the Spanish public sphere within a the context of a transnational reinvigoration. Fourth-wave Feminism (Zimmerman 2017; Chamberlain 2017) is distinguished from the waves that proceeded it by its strategic use of social media and technology –also commonly used in other contemporary social movements– and by its intersectional perspective. The strength that this movement has in Spain responds, among other factors, to the accumulation of wealth of older generations, to the influence of transnational media campaigns such as #MeToo #TimesUp or #Cuéntalo, to the anger generated by widespread misogyny and to the articulation of other demands originating in a series of demonstrations against austerity. The persistence of violence against women and the gender wage gap, despite the growing incorporation of women into the national labor market (Aguado 2018) have been two vectors of awareness of the specific precariousness of the position of women. As Gámez Fuentes (2015) points out, the anti-austerity 15-M Movement (*Movimiento 15M*) and feminist movements have been able to articulate an awareness of shared vulnerability and have set their sights on collective empowerment,

understanding sexist oppression as part of a patriarchal system of inequalities that operates in several axes. In this way, the inclusion of feminism in the 15M and political movements would have fostered the relevance that intersectionality has taken in the heart of this struggle and would also have allowed it to expand through activist networks. Likewise, the massive incorporation of young women into activism and the creation of networks that are capable of promoting a unified awareness of the marginalization of young women –while recognizing the specificities of each locality, racialized group, social class and religion– have promoted transnationality and the use of new technologies in the feminist movement (Hunt 2017). Apart from deliberate activism, feminist discourses have permeated entertainment, hybridizing the hegemonic values of neoliberalism and features of Third Wave Feminism such as the fragmentation of the female political subject and the celebration of popular culture (Wolwacz Heinz 2018). The achievement of legitimacy by feminism and its success in majority spaces is reflected in the production (and success) of popular musical styles such as the *reguetón feminista* (Araüna, Tortajada and Figueras 2019) or what some authors begin to problematize as the fact that "feminist" is becoming a label for a "television genre" (Cattien 2019). Nevertheless, the interaction between the meanings of popularized activism and the popular culture labelled "feminist" propose multiple readings and participate in the contemporary articulation of feminism.

This article investigates the forms that feminism has adopted in social networks and, particularly, in the audiovisuals of a selection of Youtubers that are part of the LGBTQ+ panorama: Dulceida, Yellow Mellow, Devermut and Andy Asadaf. They all, from a register created in the first person and the construction of a personal brand, in addition to a defense of sexual diversity, have expressed a certain commitment to feminist precepts, although hybridized with other discursive formulas centered on the "I" and supposedly devoid of ideologies. The analysis of their productions and discourse deepens the debate on the capacity of new media, first-person formats and the *produsage* (Bruns 2008) or *prosumerism* (Jenkins 2001) practices of young women to encourage diverse identities and positive messages in favor of human rights (Mihailidis and Thevenin 2013) and sexual rights and responsibilities (DeRidder 2018).

Feminism and mediatization

The current centrality of feminism emerges not only as a necessary response to institutionalized misogyny (Núñez Puente and Gámez Fuentes 2017) but also as a result of the strategic dissemination by feminist movements, who have achieved a notable media presence, as well as expanding on the knowledge they have accumulated. Shortly after the Transition, Rague-Arias (1981) surmised that Spanish feminism, despite its late expansion in the European context due to the restrictions of the Franco dictatorship, was diverse and prolific, but had little presence outside the cities. The institutionalization of certain demands of the movement carried out by social democratic governments and culminating in the approval of a comprehensive law against gender violence and one for equal rights (Gámez Fuentes 2015), as well as, later, the re-emergence of activism on the internet have contributed to extending the scope and repertoire of meanings and practices related to feminism to rural environments. As Banet-Weiser (2018) states, expressions of feminism can be found everywhere. This expansion of feminist demands, in more or less popularized forms, has overtaken the hegemony that post-feminism enjoyed in the media until recently (Lotz 2001; Gill 2007). Post-feminism has been one of the main areas of discussion in gender and media research in recent years (McRobbie 2004; Gill 2011). Essentially, post-feminism has been defined as a discursive framework which purports feminism, defined as collective social action, to be obsolete (McRobbie 2004; Gill 2016) and, instead, aims at legitimizing women's capacity to empower themselves through consumption, cosmetics and professional success (Gill 2008). Post-feminism broadly entails the assumption of the neoliberal premise that women, effectively, already have the same rights as men and that their challenge is thus to participate in the meritocratic system on an individualized basis in order to take full advantage of them. Within this framework there coexists, on the one hand, a nod towards a present based on a market understood as a fully integrating mechanism with, on the other hand, a recognition of the traditional codes of femininity (fundamentally, beauty and the capacity to generate sexual attraction) and the implicit acceptance that these codes are enablers of women's success. This post-feminist framework and the influence of *heterosexy* beauty superimposed and constructed on women's bodies (Dobson 2011) has been present both in mainstream media productions and in the self-representations that young women have made of themselves on social media and, particularly, on video platforms such as YouTube (Caballero Gálvez, Tortajada and Willem 2017; Dobson 2015). This pressure to recreate the tiny boxes defining beauty as assigned to women by consumer culture explains many of the pressures that young women say they feel experience when becoming sexualized on social media, and also that they judge this sexualization according to patterns of success with a strong class component (Willem, Araüna, Tortajada and 2018). In addition, this post-feminist framework has tended to make power relations invisible and to hold individuals accountable for their subalternity, through a culture that promotes mechanisms to self-correct and control that impel them to think, judge and reproduce an "adequate femininity" (Araüna, Dhaenens and Van Bauwel 2018).

Previous studies show that Spanish Youtubers tend to reproduce gender stereotypes (Canales Segovia 2018), but on the other hand studies of fashion blogs note that young creators exhibit a certain ability to overcome traditional models of femininity (Roca-Salas and López-García 2017). Hence, it is important to observe whether the audiovisual material

produced and distributed through YouTube, made by young people who are demographically close to their audiences, also has transformative potential to contribute to overcoming the heteronormative and patriarchal models and references of mainstream fictional series that the majority of young people consume (Fedele, Masanet and Ventura 2019; Aran-Ramspott, Medina-Bravo and Rodrigo-Alsina 2015; Araüna, Tortajada and Capdevila 2013). In the changing media ecosystem, the platform YouTube has become the go-to place for young people to consume content (Poveda and Morgade 2018). Likewise, the free circulation of audiovisual material in multiple directions and geographies serves to question the traditional divisions and colonial frameworks that have defined LGBTQ+ identity in the media; meaning, the presumption that the media outlets most likely to construct feminist and LGBTQ+ collective identities are primarily produced in western urban contexts (a description that usually applies to Anglo-Saxon geographies) and that, radiating out from that point influence, "emancipate" audiences in the South, as well as in the East and rural areas (Sanz López 2017). The potential emancipatory role of Spanish Youtubers as creators of southern European audiovisual content minimally valued by prestigious institutions breaks these dichotomies.

Feminism's New Luminosity on YouTube

In recent years, running parallel to the feminist movements in the streets, authors like Gill (2016) have noted feminism's "new luminosity" in media discourse and popular culture. The effect of the popularization of feminism and its possible de-politization when its proclamations are filtered through mainstream spaces and agents is one of the themes on which gender activists and academics are reflecting (Banet-Weiser 2018). YouTube has been one of the platforms disseminating this corpus of messaging linked to a feminist framework and is of particular interest as, firstly, over the course of a few years it has become the priority object of consumption among young people and, secondly, because it comes out of the practices known as *produsage* (Bruns 2008) or *prosumerism* (Jenkins 2001); this means that it allows for a high volume of individuals to act both as consumers or users on the one hand as well as content producers, facilitating the emergence of peripheral identities and discourses in public discourse. As Szostak suggests, YouTube has feminist potential, given that it "operates as a support network for women dedicated to the general goal of acceptance and respect" (2013: 56). In this sense, movements such as #MeToo have demonstrated the capacity of network activism to interrogate rape culture (Mendes, Ringrose and Keller 2018), though it is also true that groups founded on popular misogyny are also taking advantage of the possibilities of online communication to spread their messages (Banet-Weiser 2018).

The genre of "videos by Youtubers" (so distinguished from other categories of audiovisual content that may be distributed through the platform) is an extension of the videoblog concept; this is to say, they are voiced in the first person, uploaded regularly, and relate personal experiences and reflections. Youtuber videos can be classified into several subgenres spawned from imitation and virality. Through more or less professional means, they employ simple devices inspired by the webcam set up to face the speaker, evoking a confessional formula originally made popular by reality television, which allows addressing the audience directly. These communiques are recorded within personal spaces (at first, the bedroom or dorm room, although the recordings vary over time) and include various intimate references to the personal thoughts and feelings of the Youtuber. In short, this genre is structured in such a way as to transmit authenticity and a feeling of closeness between the audience and the creator of the video. Authenticity, which is claimed as a central value in the productions in relation to other audiovisual genres, is in any case congruent with the personal brand aspect (Genz 2015), which is in turn converted into a strategy for achieving the aspirations of the Youtubers: to make a career out of the same audiovisual content or the marketing of products that are complementary and consistent with their personal brands. From there emerge contradictions between the search for authenticity and the strategically constructed dimension (Banet-Weiser 2012), often based on gender-based norms. Within this framework of successful authenticity, performing gender becomes particularly important and, in a precarious neoliberal economy, some research has already warned of the large investments of labor and auto-exploitation that many Youtubers make without compensation in order to create their personal brand (Duffy 2017). Likewise, this structurally precarious work of self-presentation often entails exclusions and the drawing of boundaries between adequate gender roles and failed gender roles according to racist and classist premises that interact with femininity (Moreno Segarra, Bernárdez Rodal 2017). However, the way that YouTube favors niche audiences is correlated to the possibilities that different expressions of diversity have, from different orientations toward feminism to products for LGBTQ+ audiences, and despite the risk that these products create ghettoized audiences and "identities without roots in the rest of society" (Ventura 2016:945).

In this sense, Youtubers videos are multisemantic spaces for the expression of frameworks and positioning around gender, sexuality and feminism. In a context in which feminism has achieved broad legitimacy, the proclamations they refer to have become frequent in videos of contemporary Youtubers and in the expressions on Twitter and Instagram of young influencers. Sometimes, they are even central elements of the online personal brand of media celebrities. In any case, we cannot ignore that the wide dissemination of YouTube videos among young people represents a challenge to the interpretation due to its potential to generate identities and intimate alliances. This activity plays an important role in the development of the collective consciousness and repertoire of young feminist activists (Charles, Wadia, Ferrer-Fons and Allaste 2018).

Methodology

From a critical feminist perspective (Van Zoonen 1994; Gill and Orgad 2017; Gill 2008), we have carried out an analysis or close reading of the discourse and staging of 31 videos, intentionally chosen from among Spanish LGBTQ+ Youtubers, employing two criteria: that their themes be related to feminism and that they have amassed a significant number of views through YouTube. All of them appear in the lists compiled in the media related to popular or outstanding Youtubers in the field of feminism and sexual diversity.

Dulceida, with more than 2 million subscribers, is a well-known Youtuber, with a traditional media-presence and embodying what Catherine Rottenberg (2014) calls the new neoliberal feminist subject, focused on one's own well-being and self-care. Yellow Mellow, with more than one million seven hundred thousand subscribers to one of her YouTube channels, was a pioneer in this area and stands out for her defense of feminism and, especially, of the freedom to be oneself. Andy Asadaf, with more than twenty-five thousand subscribers, exemplifies how minority online spaces are constructed and, although not one of the most followed, is considered a reference point for feminism on YouTube. She lays bare her deep reflections on feminism that she combines with stories from her own experience. Devermut, with more than three hundred thousand subscribers, allows us an interesting look into the evolution from a neoliberal feminism to a much more political feminism.

The analyzed pieces by Dulceida, Yellow Mellow, Andy Asadaf and Devermut deal with feminism, offer critical readings on expressions of femininity, and make the visibility of individual sexual orientation possible, allowing these Youtubers to go from observing the world to making us see it through their eyes (Halberstam 2018). The analysis developed ties together that which Youtubers create through exhibitions of authenticity, gender, sexuality and the political positioning of these, whether they reproduce traditional values and stereotypes or, on the contrary, are manifest counter-hegemony in ways that question these models (Kellner and Kim 2010).

Beyond the Male Gaze

By speaking for themselves and making use of a simple device that they have mastered, these five Youtubers take control over how they present themselves to others and to whom they address their message. What they offer is constructed in a space parallel to that of the male gaze (Mulvey 1975), which does not mean that they never opt for a *heterosexy* aesthetic or emphasize a *mainstream femininity*, as in the cases of Dulceida or the couple Devermut.

Even so, from this potentially contradictory position, Dulceida publishes a piece, "Respeto" (*Respect*, 2018, 05:49, 3,163,846 views), where she gathers, through the participation of a group of friends (some also Youtubers), all the criticisms regarding their physical appearances that they have received from other women. They all express the insecurities they feel about their bodies because of how they are perceived by other women and how they perceive themselves, and they show themselves in underwear, talking about complexes and telling each other what parts of their bodies they like. To show compliments instead of criticisms, to speak for themselves or with each other and to give visibility to non-normative bodies, while they smile and embrace each other, is a way of reflecting on the mechanism of the male gaze, which doesn't have a passive presence, and tries to shine a light on the scrutiny that women deal with and its consequences. In this alignment towards what has been called the trend toward body positivity or LYB/Love Your Body discourses (Roca-Sales and López-García 2017) however, there has never been at any time any discussion of structural or systemic issues or a fundamental debate about the reasons behind these pressures that women bear. Dulceida closes the video by encouraging us to love our insecurities while telling us that she hopes to have created something "beautiful" in us and affirms that she will always support "beautiful" causes like this one. She reiterates concepts such as "precious", "beautiful" and "love" to highlight her positive view of the world and encourage the public to change their individual perceptions. In Dulceida's way to "make us feel good", taking care of and trusting oneself becomes the formula for empowerment (Banet-Weiser 2018).

Yellow Mellow, in two of the videos analyzed, plays with makeup (an extensive practice on YouTube), and creates, through the act of putting on make-up (which, for her, is unusual), a perceptive shift concerning both make-up and femininity itself. She is much more comical than Dulceida and, using direct and fresh language, exaggerates to show them for the mask that they are, proving that they are indeed performances and constructions, as in the case of dressing up as a woman. Asadaf is more cutting but still departs an important lesson with her direct and simple question ¿Y si soy fea? (*And so what if I'm ugly?*, 2017, 08:34, 62.197 views) reflects on the scrutiny of the body in a misogynist society, citing authors and concepts that she situates within the history of feminism. She talks about diet as a sedative for women and the internalization of misogyny, questioning the beauty/ugliness dichotomy and demanding freedom for women. Both Yellow Mellow and Asadaf analyze traditional feminine tricks as potentially oppressive constructions, using humor and theory, respectively, and overcoming the body positivity framework in favor of questioning the importance of and fixation on the body in the construction of gender identities.

In Cómo conseguir un cuerpo perfecto? (*How to get a perfect body?*, 2017, 09:34, 145,630 views), Devermut present themselves as an activist and feminist channel, which for them is not incompatible with admiring (or literally "drooling over") the bodies of Victoria's Secret models. They argue "that is evidence" that the bodies of these models are healthy (without providing any data or raising health issues related to the pressure of body worship and the narrowness of beauty standards). They propose their own (normative) bodies as parameters

and recommend doing sports instead of stopping eating, in a discursive framework that moves between promoting healthy living and good physical appearance as a result of the same. Later, Devermut's videos incorporate a more critical view, as in "Gordofobia en el cine" (*Fatphobia at the Movies*), where they make a timid defense of non-normative bodies, partially overcoming a neoliberal feminist discourse.

Unlike the productions of Yellow Mellow and Asadaf, which do not focus on their bodies and question the cultural practices of modifying bodies, or Dulceida, who, with her own (normative) body and by collaborating with other friends to show bodily diversity, also questions the scrutiny suffered by women, Devermut, in this case, produce a story based on some of the most recurrent post-feminist patterns of representation. The femininity promoted by post-feminism is centered on the body and attractiveness and celebrates objectified and *heterosexy* (Dobson 2015) or *homosexy* (Caballero, Tortajada and Willem 2017; Ventura 2018) representations of women, legitimizing the hypersexualisation or fetishism of these practices (Menéndez 2017) and transferring the pressure onto female subjects to reach these standards. Lesbianism, filtered by post-feminism, appears in this case to complement to the personal brand of these Youtubers, rather than as a sexual or political identity that can mobilize a response to heteronormative patterns. What is made public, in the case of Yellow Mellow and Asadaf, is a questioning of hegemonic beauty standards and a certain vindication of the condition of being ugly as a way of subverting established aesthetic norms. Dulceida, although not particularly original (some commercial brands had come out with this strategy years prior), questions the scrutiny of female bodies and shows us the solidarity between women as a vector to break with female competitiveness and encourage compliments. Thus, with different and perhaps even opposing strategies, these Youtuber establish a space to shake the extreme normalization of female bodies in media representation.

Authenticity and Sexuality

In terms of maintaining a successful personal brand on social networks, authenticity is a strategy for survival (Dare-Edwards 2014; Tolson 2010). In our research, we have detected that there are two aspects that the analyzed Youtuber videos link to the promotion of a presumed "natural self": the exposition of sexual orientation and the emphasis placed on imperfections. As for the display of weaknesses, Dulceida and Yellow Mellow insist on their condition as non-experts and non-professional people, on speaking from personal experience and on being imperfect, turning this weakness into something pedagogical from which other people can learn (Dobson 2015). Authenticity, as in other post-feminist contexts, is also linked to the women's sexual agency, which, in this case, and for most of these Youtubers, involves the public manifestation of their sexual orientation.

Yellow Mellow and Andy Asadaf do not exhibit a normative femininity and opt for more transgressive exhibitions of their body and gestures, while Dulceida or Devermut embody a hegemonic femininity, which is still presented as something authentic (Gill 2007). From this construction of the body and the diverse genre, Dulceida, Yellow Mellow and Devermut share their *coming out videos* (videos where they "come out of the closet"), a practice that is linked to the reaffirmation of identity, but which is also common among Youtubers who are already known and which serves to reinforce their brand (Wuest 2014). The coming out videos have become a subgenre on YouTube, a format with identifiable aesthetic conventions focused on intimacy, authenticity and emotional displays (Lovelock 2019). In this case, the revelation of sexual preferences that surpass heteronormativity and that, at the same time, can encourage collective identifications and counter negative stereotypes (Charles, Wadia, Ferrer-Fons and Allaste 2018).

In "Mi orientación sexual" (*My Sexual Orientation*, 2015, 06:15, 481,131 views), Dulceida states that she is a lesbian as much because she wants us to know as she wants to say it, essentializing what it means to date another girl, jokes about being able to dress her in her clothes, and expresses the will that her wide-ranging testimony can help others to accept the transgression of heteronormativity. She doesn't mind crying at certain moments of the story and hopes "t*his video has affected you in some way*". Her video "Roast Yourself" (2016, 04:30, 7.186.786 views) gathers all the criticisms that accuse her of being a false lesbian, but the challenge does not lend itself to providing context for this contempt, and Dulceida, although she makes ironic statements such as "I married a woman because it's fashionable" or "there's nothing more overdone than being a fake lesbian", her central purpose is the preservation of her self-image. She parodies the criticisms she receives, saying ironically that her relationship with Alba is for financial gain, or that, in fact, she has not seen her since the day of the wedding (and the effect of denying it is immediate because Alba appears in many of her videos well-known to the public). In this same line of circumscribing the experience to an intimate space, but not a political one, would be the video of her wedding "Sí quiero" (*I do)*, "Emocionada con el worldpride" (*Excited About Worldpride*) or "El tabú de la transsexualidad" (*The Taboo of Transexuality*), with the Youtuber Enzo. Dulceida often shows her emotions and insists that "I think this video will help a lot of people" or that "to feel good we have to think of our own needs". The discourse, however, remains in the individual and experiential analysis, without denunciations or references to structural inequalities or homophobia. Instead, physical and emotional reactions predominate the story itself, as well as the insistence on the idea that videos are meant "to help".

From a similar discursive and aesthetic construction, in "Cómo salimos del armario" (*How we came out of the closet*, 2016, 12:46, 308,158 views), Devermut, in a superficial way and without giving details, try to transmit that "every day of your life" you're coming out of the closet, that it is not easy, that each

situation is unique, and they explain that when it's explained to everyone, people tend to react in a positive way (although they admit that their families, at first, did not accept it). Their slogans are "don't appear weak" and "come off strong". Like Dulceida, they dedicate other pieces to talk about lesbianism, as in "Cómo ligarse a una lesbiana" (*How to Hit on a Lesbian*) or "Ventajas de ser lesbiana" (*Advantages of Being a Lesbian*), where they try to dismantle some clichés about lesbian sexual desire while reiterating a lesbianism linked to mainstream femininity and normative romantic relationships.

On the other hand, subverting the mainstream feminine aesthetic, in "No me siento mujer" (*I don't feel like a woman*, 2018, 07:37, 772,481 views), Yellow Mellow tells us that she doesn't feel like a woman, nor a man, that she doesn't feel anything. She wants to escape labels like lesbianism and bisexuality and interrogate what she really thinks and feels. She says she doesn't know if she's genderqueer or genderfluid, that she believes that her gender is neutral. She argues that human beings can think beyond binarism and, taking an anti-intellectual stance, concludes "if we think things are right, it's because they're right." She states that the responses to video scare him (explicitly referring to trans and homophobia) and, reinforcing the direct and fresh language of the whole piece, she tells us that she doesn't know how to end it and signs off with a simple "bye." This reinforces an idea that already appeared in ''Mi orientación sexual" (*My sexual orientation*, 2016, 07:04, 1,416,792 views), in which she commented that it was not necessary to define oneself or know how to name what one is, while encouraging those watching to experiment and "hash things over". She also states "I hope this helped you" adding empathic and supportive messages, wishing luck to those seeking to express their sexuality, explaining, among other things, that you get over rejection.

Asadaf also presents us with a fluid identity, in continuous construction. The authenticity she exhibits is based on the self-critical distancing from the self and, thus, she speaks to us of her present self or contrasts her public and private selves. She eschews labels, arguing that in order to label oneself one has to have read a lot. However, in each one of her videos she explores several concepts related to activism and theory and, offers us a didactic discussion on how radical feminism and queer theory differ and what it means to be trans. In each of her lessons, she shows herself to be a knowledgeable person but one who is far from a sage, an expert, or a teacher. She presents herself as a non-binary person who, speaking from her own experience but also based on texts and active participation, seeks to share her concerns by taking advantage of the opportunities presented by audiovisual platforms online.

These subjective positionings take on a deeply reflective character, and displaying them in public becomes another potential transgression regarding normative sexual identities and gender norms that allows for the creation of a space that allows for gender and sexuality to exist in a transformational way, despite the risks that are entailed with exposing them (De Ridder and Van Bauwel 2013). As such, all of these manifestations are not incompatible with a certain level of artifice: performing that the main purpose of the videos is to help others (Wuest 2014) or that they often cry, speed up their breathing or stammer due to the difficulty of putting their emotions into words (Lovelock 2019). As in the case of the videos analyzed, that which is personal and about sexuality can become public; the audience is invited to feel what the Youtubers are feeling within these larger ideological structures (Lovelock 2019). Besides, although their message, often, is limited to "be yourself" o "accept yourself as you are", the videos on YouTube make the collective task of producing and disseminating strategies to experience the diversity of sexuality possible (Lovelock 2019).

Feminism to Post-Feminism and Everything In Between

The coalescing of post-feminist tropes in popular culture has influenced the concepts of feminism that circulate on YouTube (Caballero, Tortajada and Willem 2017). While spaces are being created for the subversion of sexuality and gender, they are not always linked to feminist discourse and, when they are, the lack of theory and the personal aspect of feminist feelings does not necessarily generate a political space.

Devermut and Asadaf openly describe themselves as feminists and define their channels as spaces to promote this empowering ideology. Yellow Mellow, when asked directly, has defined herself as a feminist and alleges that "any person with any sense at all is a feminist and supports feminism" ("73 preguntas a YellowMellow", 73 Questions for YellowMellow, 2017, 07:49, 585.036 views). Dulceida, on the other hand, exhibits a cosmetic self (Lazar 2009), where the political becomes blurred by individualization and the centering of the "I", the thing against which everything else is measured. The world is seen from the point of view and for the self, and one's individual contribution has the most value. The authenticity she exhibits does not go beyond the limits framing this discourse. Her entire transformation is based on exposing her own flaws as discussed above, and the constant affirmation that thanks to her followers she has understood how to put herself in others' shoes and be self-critical. For Dulceida, empowerment is about being oneself and individual success (Caballero, Tortajada and Willem 2017) which, in her case, consists of, among other experiences, travel, summarized in "perfect days" and "Oh my god, I've made it" (positing the merits of pleasure). In addition to promoting other brands, she publicizes her own lines of lipsticks, perfumes, hamburgers, jewelry, and phone cases. All this merchandising is integrated in a problematic way within a discourse about personal experiences, romantic advice and slogans such as "don't get comfortable" or "give it your all" ("Lo que aprendí en 2018", *What I learned in* 2018, 2019, 17:13, 370.281). Many of Dulceida's productions also make use of the ability to laugh at oneself. Incorporating the criticism you receive into your own content is an empowering narrative strategy

for Youtubers. In Dulceida's videos there is an empowerment discourse that is verbalized in the idea of "I have made this video (a part of myself) in case it can help", and that focuses on the idea of "be who you want" and "you are brave for being who you want". The capacity and freedom to create oneself are the core of Dulceida's stories. There is reflection, but the whole discourse is centered on the self as a personal life experience and lifestyle. Youtubers exploit authenticity and naturalness to sustain that self-made self that she practices, but at no point does she reference oppression or structural inequalities. In this sense, speaking optimistically leaves the system out of it. In this case, authenticity appears to be congruent with commercial and self-reflexive dimensions (Genz 2015).

Yellow Mellow, if we imagined a cosmetic-political axis, would be situated in a space less devoid of political content than Dulceida. In terms of sexual identity, beyond expressing her feelings and eschewing labels, she develops a set of concepts to support her reflection, expresses her admiration for the courage of trans people and speaks of the construction of identity as a process that occurs throughout life and related to which you experience different stages and moments of uncertainty. She makes videos for people who feel alone or isolated (as opposed to the vague concept of "helping"). Coming off as natural, with fresh language and a fun affect, she supports, from her own experience, people feeling free to express their sexual identity. As such, Yellow Mellow reflexively appropriates the identity and authenticity she projects. Unlike Dulceida, who remains on the cosmetic plane, Yellow Mellow's open defense of equality and reflexivity is not based just on a particular construction of the I, but rather making visible certain collective rights and modes of structural oppression.

Devermut present themselves as novices with regard to feminism, but with the desire to reflect ("we try to have a feminist message but we aren't experts on the subject"). In the video "Feminazis", even though they don't offer arguments refuting criticisms of feminism, they introduces concepts such as "sexism" and "patriarchy" and talk about the importance of unlearning, condemning situations in which they've found themselves, like how men have reacted when they kiss in the street, cat-calling at women or increasing sexism. In "Si nos tocan a una nos tocan a todas" (*If They Touch One of Us They Touch All of Us*, 2018, 15:44, 170,042 views), they start with a feminist motto to give a voice to a group of women who, as a chorus, comment on the judgment in the Manada case, and among other reflections and testimonies, address the judge and the girl who was the victim of the crime, wearing shirts that read "sisters." It is an explicitly accusatory video where, with sororal solidarity, they explore the causes and consequences of the judgment for women and society, and discuss how women are socialized among fear, pornography or misinformation regarding false accusations. The video ends with the feminist conviction that things will change and an expression of support for those that have suffered not only at the hands of their abusers but also by the failure of society to support them; they affirm their belief in the victim's story and send her their love. In this and other videos, Devermut demonstrate an evolution with respect to their first productions in relation to the collective consciousness. It also marks a change in the format of their videos, which no longer just center on the two of them but rather go beyond the first-person form to seek the participation of others.

Asadaf makes videos that are explicitly feminist and political. Her channel is niche and thematic, creating feminist pedagogy with didactic arguments. It touches on many issues, among them, the relationship between sexism and machismo and the causes and consequences of gender-based violence. She is also concerned with constructing a fair and positive image of feminism as a social movement, dismantling clichés about feminism, questioning the types of humor that are weaponized to discredit it, and reinforcing the fact that feminism is based on history and theory, "it is objective and is studied at universities." Asadaf wants to share feminist ideas, defends the movement, is an activist, and likes to clarify that "feminists do not hate men, they hate sexist society".

Hence a panorama of positions are displayed in which we find a fresh, explicit, feminist Youtuber discourse that draws on feminist theory and activism, practices which are feminist but that avoid being labeled as such, post-feminist versions that creep up to politicization, and post-feminist narratives and representations. These latter ones substitute the freedom of choice for politics, an ability to choose that creates a mirage of emancipation while reinforcing the normative (Gill 2007, Genz 2015, Menéndez 2017). By contrast, the rest of the positions outlined above sustain themselves on the construction of a reflexive identity based on solidarity that projects outward to the community (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2003) and that, in words of Devermut, show "the feminist growth we're trying to achieve." The videos are the tool they use for this purpose and exhibit the identities they put into practice, the result of uniting reflection, the desire to be free, commitment to others and "I-centrism" as a brand of its own. Certain feminist precepts form part of this project.

Conclusions

While true that the capital held by groups in the majority has managed to acheived a greater control over and involvement than ever before in the lives of people vis-a-vis social networking platforms (Guardiola 2018), it is also true that practices of resistance are capable of articulating language and calls to physical action through these same networks. This is to say, the way they are used can surpass, to a certain extent, the profit-driven and controlling objectives of the platforms and participate in the dissemination of ideas that can overthrow the hegemonic frameworks that interpret gender relations. As Castilho and Romancini (2017) observed, based on the sit-ins at Brazilian schools organized by adolescent demonstrators, the production and consumption of feminist discourses online

can incentivize dialogue and contribute to the politicization of young people and, through continued activism beyond the physical encounter, social change. In the case of videos made by Youtubers, moreover, their personal, intimate style contributes to the development of an intimate relationship with their audiences, who are invited to participate in the dialogue with content creators who are perceived as more accessible than conventional celebrities.

The Youtubers analyzed in this article offer a range of narratives and scenes that incorporate manifestly feminist elements. In this way, they contribute to transforming the negative associations, based on the stigma that the label "feminism" carried up until a few years prior, into positive associations; meaning, into collective pride and identification (Charles, Wadia, Ferrer-Fons y Allaste 2018). All of the Youtubers share in the most agreed upon feminist issues, such as fighting against gender and sexual violence, the awareness and criticism of the fact that women are under enormous pressure when it comes to their physical appearance. From this perspective and going beyond the analytical limitations promulgated by the videos themselves, one can observe that they creative a critical divide in regards to the oppressive values assigned to traditional femininity, such as the submission to the command to cultivate physical attractiveness. However, successful Youtubers do not break with normative codes of beauty, as young people, far from considering social networks as a space for disembodied communication, judge gender performances (and their adaptation to dominant standards) as factors of online reputation (Tortajada and Araüna 2014).

The same goes for LGBTQ+ identities. Although the intersectionality of the cultural movement leads to the sharing of a collection of positive action and portrays a positive attitude to "*coming out*" (as a feminist and as LGBTQ+), these individual identifications do not always construct images and discourses that go beyond binarism. This gives rise to a certain tension between the normative imaginaries and the LGBTQ+ aspect of the Youtubers analyzed. Lesbianism may be the sexual choice of a successful celebrity and icon of cosmetic femininity (with her own brand), but the forms in which she is most successful tend to have her embodying *heterosexy* and *homonormative* models (Ventura 2018). In fact, there is an overload of positivity in the encouraging messages of these Youtubers, pierced through with a neoliberal culture that imprints on these audiovisual productions the post-feminist stamp of making any solution up to the individual and her potential to adapt to the challenges in her environment. If, given the freedom of expression that makes these discourses possible means they can surpass the established frameworks for understanding gender inequalities, it is also true that the majority fall in line with a kind of celebrity feminism that dilutes the transformational potential from the privileged position occupied by the promotional figures (the Youtubers), who have a wider margin of choice than the majority of women: "The choice, blurred with political actions, is born from a banal understanding of empowerment based on which, like the trap of positive thinking, where there's a will there's a way, free of any constriction or subjection," (Gámez Fuentes, Gómez Nicolau y Maseda García 2016: 839). The Youtubers are, within this framework, examples of humanity and of success; close enough to touch and, at the same time, a fantasy of empowerment which suggests that, despite the structures and their intrinsic violence, there exists a margin of freedom.

Although devoid of politics, the reciprocal help and the possibility that an educational community seem to make the communicative strategies of the Youtubers possible, to a certain extent by nature of the platform, which is highly dependent on commentary from society, but which also serves as a commentary on society. As we see with Devermut, videos that start out quite banal and concerned with day-to-day, autobiographical topics, go on to acquire a more engaged tone and culminate with pieces that denounce "fatphobia", conservative politics, and the Manada judgment. Despite the fact that Youtuberism is a practice resulting from the incisive individualism of the present moment and an incarnation of discourses centered on the self-articulated through the language of audiovisual content online, creators such as Andy Asadaf are capable of using this register to joining the large group of contemporary activists who use non-fiction audiovisual content to influence and provoke change. In addition, the platform's accessibility and the simplicity of the format allow for the Youtubers to transcend gender biases and traditional positions of authority (Araüna y Quílez 2018) that are still dominant in other non-fiction genres with more prestige

Note

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QUADERNS DEL CAC

The Presence of Gender Stereotypes in Toy Advertising. Two Decades of Analysis

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Abstract

This section examines the evolution of the results of the analyses conducted by the Catalan Audiovisual Council (CAC) on the presence of gender stereotypes in the advertising of toys on television. Although, the volume of advertisements that make up the study universe of the different studies follows a decreasing trend, in recent years there has been an increase in the proportion of representations of stereotypes linked to traditionally feminine roles. The most recent report (2018-19), which incorporates into the analysis framework the new phenomenon of toy promotion channels on video exchange platforms, notes the reproduction of the same gender stereotypes present in traditional television advertising.

Keywords

Gender stereotypes, advertising, toys, television, video distribution platforms

Resum

Aquest article examina l'evolució dels resultats de les anàlisis elaborades pel Consell de l'Audiovisual de Catalunya (CAC) sobre la presència d'estereotips de gènere en la publicitat de joguines a la televisió. Tot i que el volum d'anuncis que conforma l'univers d'estudi dels diferents estudis segueix una tendència decreixent, en els darrers anys es detecta un augment de la proporció de representacions d'estereotips lligades a rols tradicionalment femenins. L'informe més recent (2018-19), que incorpora al marc d'anàlisi el nou fenomen dels canals de promoció de joguines de les plataformes d'intercanvi de vídeos, constata la reproducció dels mateixos estereotips de gènere presents a la publicitat televisiva tradicional.

Paraules clau

Estereotips de gènere, publicitat, joguines, televisió, plataformes de distribució de vídeos

1. Introduction

The Catalan Audiovisual Council (CAC) has carried out, since its beginnings, an analysis of the contents and the presentation of the advertising of toys on television.

The CAC's interest in this topic responds to the concern about their effects on children. We must bear in mind that this group is legally subject to special protection, also concerning audiovisual content.

On the other hand, this is not any ordinary interest in *media* research. The literature on the effects of television content on minors has a long history and has been approached from different points of view.

Thus, for example, Gerbner's theory of cultivation establishes a relationship between television consumption and the values and opinions adopted by each person, especially when it comes to children which are, "more susceptible than adults to adopt a television world view, particularly as it relates to the social construction of gender and gender roles" (Jennings and Pike 2005: 84).

From this point of view, toy advertising would have effects on the construction of children's gender identity and on the propagation of sexist roles amongst others.

Without attempting to critically review the information on the subject, it can be said that there is a certain consensus in considering that advertising (of toys and other products and services aimed at minors) represents girls and boys in a gender-stereotyped manner.

Several studies show the abundance of gender stereotypes in toy advertising in recent decades and in different countries

(Etheridge, 2015) and the allocation of different behaviors and values to girls and boys in toy advertising (Martínez, Pérez-Ugena and Salas 2011; Martínez, Nicolás and Salas 2013). Other studies also demonstrate, "a relationship between exposure to these gendered images and children's perceptions about gender roles" (Jennings and Pike 2005: 84), in a way that offers "an interpretation of reality full of stereotypes" (Iglesias and Pereira 2008: 10).

The concept behind these studies is, therefore, *gender stereotype* and the analyses conducted by the CAC have aimed to identify its presence in toy advertising.

This section studies the evolution of the presence of gender stereotypes in toy advertising over almost two decades. The CAC has homogeneous and fully comparable data that allow for diachronic analysis and an assessment of the trends that have accompanied the advertisement of these products on television in recent years.

2. Legal Framework

As mentioned in the previous point, minors are part of the population subject to specific legal protection in terms of content and advertising in the audiovisual media.

Moreover, this protection is found both in general rules for the regulation of the audiovisual sector and in the sectoral rules for the protection of children, advertising, women's rights and the fight against gender-based violence.

Thus, the Catalan and national laws regulating audiovisual communication explicitly refer to the presence of sexist elements in advertising.

Section 92 of Catalan Law 22/2005, of 29 December, on Audiovisual Communication in Catalonia classifies as unlawful advertising and teleshopping any that "discriminates based of birth, race, sex, religion, nationality, opinion or any other personal or social circumstance".

The Spanish State Law of Audiovisual Communication 7/2010, of 31 March, establishes in paragraph 3 of section 7 regarding the rights of minors:

> "3. Commercial communications must not cause moral or physical harm to minors. Consequently, they will have the following limitations: [...]
>
> (e) They must not incite behavior that encourages inequality between men and women."

At European level, Directive (EU) 2018/1808 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 14 November 2018 on Audiovisual Media Services, which incorporates audiovisual services over the Internet as subject to its jurisdiction, forbids in section 9(c) sex discrimination in audiovisual commercial communications:

> "(c) audiovisual commercial communications may not: [...]
>
> (ii) include or promote any discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, nationality, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation;".

Regarding sectoral legislation on advertising, section 3 of State Law 29/2009, of 30 December, which modifies the legal regime of unfair competition and advertising to improve consumer and user protection, establishes the unlawfulness of advertising that presents women in a discriminatory manner:

> "The following shall be considered illegal:
>
> Advertising that is an affront to personal dignity or that violates constitutionally recognized values and rights [...].
>
> Included in the foregoing are advertisements that portray women in a degrading or discriminatory fashion, either by specifically and directly using their bodies or parts thereof as mere objects unrelated to the product being promoted, or their image associated with stereotyped behaviours which violate the basis of our legal system while contributing to generate the sort of violence referred to in Organic Law 1/2004 of 28 December on Comprehensive Protection Measures against Gender-based Violence".

Catalan Law 5/2008, of 24 April, on the Right of Women to Eradicate Sexist Violence, contains specific measures aimed at the media. Thus, Article 22 forbids, in the media within the sphere of the Generalitat de Catalunya:

> "The creation and the dissemination of content and advertising which, by means of treatment or staging […], which tacitly or implicitly convey sexist and misogynist messages"

From the point of view of the legal regulation of children's rights, Article 59 of Catalan Law 14/2010, of 27 May, on Rights and Opportunities in Childhood and Adolescence, relating to advertising aimed at children and adolescents, establishes a series of limits on advertising aimed at this group:

> "a) Advertisements, pursuant to the child and adolescent's knowledge level and to their education, must not incite [...] any type of discrimination, nor project stereotyped images of the aforementioned [...]
>
> d) Messages containing discrimination or differences based on the consumption of the advertised product must be avoided. Particularly, toy advertising aimed at children and adolescents must be intended at promoting non-sexist toys. [...]
>
> e) Advertising or teleshopping aimed at minors must convey an equal, plural and non-stereotypical image of women and men."

The Catalan Audiovisual Council has also had an impact on the protection of minors regarding advertising content, using its regulatory power. For this purpose, it approved in 2004 the *Instrucció general del Consell de l'Audiovisual de Catalunya sobre protecció de la infància I l'adolescència* (modified in 2007 to adapt it to Catalan Law 22/2005 on Audiovisual Communication in Catalonia). The Instruction includes explicit references in the content of advertising aimed at minors and toy advertising

and incorporates, as an obligation, most of the guidelines of a previous co-regulation document: the *Recomanacions del CAC sobre la publicitat de joguines a la television* (*Guidelines on Toy Advertisements in Television*) elaborated in 1997 and amended in 2000 by the precedent of the CAC as a regulatory body.

Thus, section 16 of the aforementioned establishes that:

> " [...] television service providers should pay attention to the following measures for the protection of minors with regards to the broadcasting of advertising and teleshopping:
>
> a) Pursuant to the child and adolescent's knowledge level and bearing in mind their educational status, advertisements should not incite [...] discrimination based on birth, ethnicity, sex, sexual orientation, religion, nationality, opinion or any other personal or social circumstance. [...]
>
> c) Advertisements for products aimed at minors may not contain discrimination or differences based on sex in the use of the product advertised. [...]
>
> e) Advertising or teleshopping aimed at minors must convey an equal, plural and non-stereotypical image of women and men."

3. Purpose and Methodological Aspects

However, the existence of standards and regulations aimed at avoiding gender discrimination fails in eliminating the presence of stereotypes in audiovisual content in general terms and more specifically in advertising, given that stereotypes are constructed from the generalization and normalization of the preconceived designation of gender roles and values in specific social and cultural contexts.

Normalization is precisely the tendency to reverse in order to avoid the propagation of gender stereotypes. Showing the presence of gender stereotypes, making them visible and identifying them is an essential step for critical reflection on their existence and dissemination and, consequently, for their elimination.

It is in this context that we must frame the analysis of the Catalan Audiovisual Council on the presence of gender stereotypes in toy advertising.

The purpose of these studies is to identify and describe the presence of discursive patterns in the representation of gender stereotypes in toy advertising.

The CAC, established as the regulatory body for the audiovisual sector in Catalonia, has issued a total of 12 reports on toy advertising since 2001.

A precedent of these analyses lies in the task that the Catalan Audiovisual Council carried out as an advisory body, created by Law 8/1996, of 5 July, on the regulation of audiovisual programming distributed by cable, and which was in operation until the constitution of the CAC as an independent regulatory authority in 2000. Between 1997 and 1999, that advisory body also produced reports on toy advertising that provide comparable data to the historical series of CAC analyses.

Although the methodology of the reports has evolved, it is possible to establish comparable data series in relation to the study sphere and unit of analysis; the presence and type of representations of gender stereotypes in advertising; and the typology of toys.

The studio sphere consists of commercials broadcasted on linear television channels during the Christmas campaign. The unit of analysis is the *commercial*.

Therefore, the presence or absence of gender stereotypes in toy spots is analyzed, considering various aspects of the story of the advertising message (the audio of the message, the activity developed by the protagonist and the context of the action).

These indicators identify the presence or absence of representations of the following gender stereotypes, although *a priori* it is not a closed relationship:

a. Female Stereotypes:

- A girl that plays with a doll
- A girl who only plays with other girls and/or does not interact with boys equally.
- A girl who takes on the role of the mother while playing.
- A girl who is worried about her physical appearance.
- A girl who does household chores while playing.
- A girl who appears accompanied only by her mother.
- Girl who plays shopping.
- Girl in a primary symbolic game: Other stereotyped gender roles in which girls are associated with a reproductive sphere or private sphere (home and family).
- An anthropomorphic female toy that develops an activity associated with a stereotyped female role.

b. Male Stereotypes:

- A boy who only plays with other boys and/or does not interact with girls equally.
- A boy who plays with toy cars.
- A boy who competes.
- A boy who plays with war toys.
- A boy who appears accompanied only by his father.
- Boy in a secondary symbolic play: other stereotyped gender roles in which boys are associated from a social point of view, developing activities that take place outside the home.
- An anthropomorphic male toy that develops an activity associated with a stereotyped male role.

With regard to the typologies of toys, between 2001-02 and 2017-18 the same classification was used, which in the last report (2018-19) has been slightly modified, mainly in relation to the naming of each category.

The last report shows a greater number of variables that provide more depth to the analysis. It also studies formal elements (voice over and predominant color) and narrative elements (space, actions, language used) of each commercial as well as the characteristics of the parties who appear in the commercial (sex and age) and the interaction between them.

The voice over, predominant color and language variables used

allow a comparison with the report carried out during the 1998-99 campaign and, consequently, the analysis of its evolution over a prolonged period.

On the other hand, in the report for the 2018-19 advertising campaign, the analysis framework is extended to audiovisual content on video distribution platforms.

4. Results of the Analyses Elaborated by the CAC

In all the reports on the representation of gender stereotypes in the advertising of toys produced by the CAC, their presence is noted. However, throughout the series quantitative (number of commercials with some representation of stereotypes) and qualitative (gender and specific representation of stereotype; typology of toys with representation of stereotypes) variations have been observed.

4.1 Presence Gender Stereotypes Representations

The presence of stereotypes representations in toy advertising tends to decrease during the period studied, although it does not do so consistently. Thus, during the first advertising campaign analyzed (2001-2002), 4 out of 10 toy advertisements were found to contain representations of gender stereotypes; during the 2018-19 campaign, the proportion decreased to 3 out of 10.

Throughout the 12 reports conducted by the CAC on television advertising for toys in Christmas campaigns, the volume of advertisements with representations of gender stereotypes varies between 31.2% (percentage of the 2018-2019 campaign) and 50.4% (2004-2005 campaign) of the total sample analyzed (see figure 1).

Likewise, another constant throughout the series of reports is the asymmetric distribution of representations of male and female stereotypes: representations **of female stereotypes are always more** than male ones.

In this sense, the representations of stereotypes referring to women have been, in all the advertising campaigns analyzed, higher than those referring to men, with percentages ranging from a minimum of 55.4% (2013-14) to a maximum of 87.5% in the last reports. It is also worth noting the growing trend in the proportion of representations linked to traditional female roles in the last four reports (see figure 2).

4.2 Representations of Stereotypes According to their Associated Gender

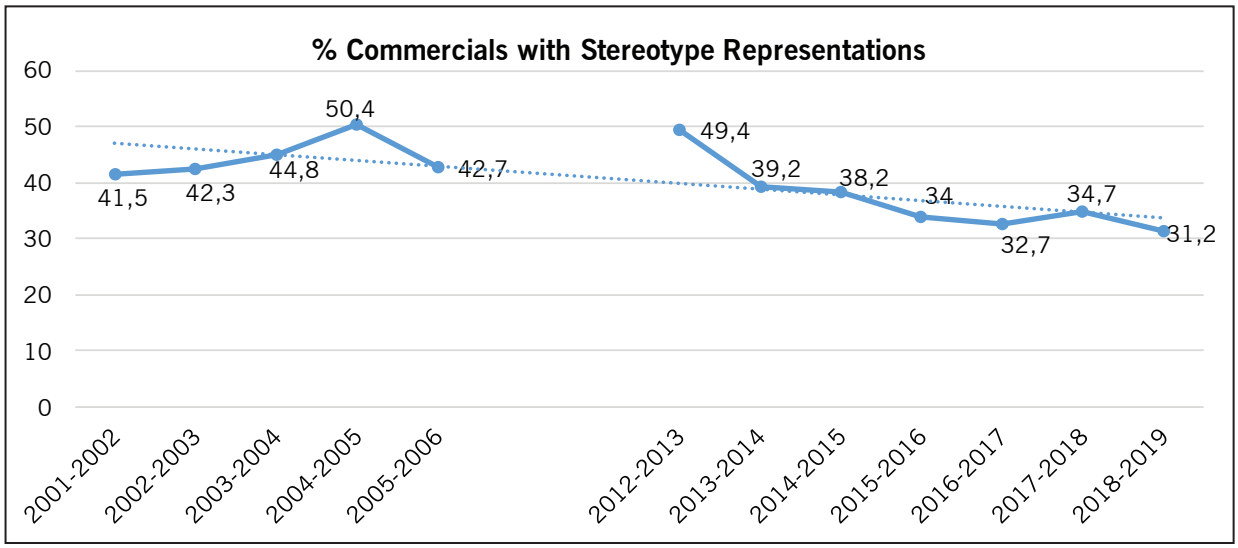
Another element of continuity in toy advertising has to do with the most repeated representations of stereotypes.

Thus, in 9 of the 12 advertising campaigns analyzed, the two main stereotypes appearing are the same and are also associated with women: those showing a girl playing with a doll and another showing girls playing exclusively with other girls, without any interaction with boys. In the other remaining 3 advertising campaigns (between 2013 and 2016), the stereotype that appears the most shows boys only playing with other boys.

Concerning female stereotypes, in addition to the two mentioned, in the 2014-15 and 2016-17 advertising campaigns there is also an important presence of the staging, through female anthropomorphic figures of roles traditionally intended for women (see section 3).

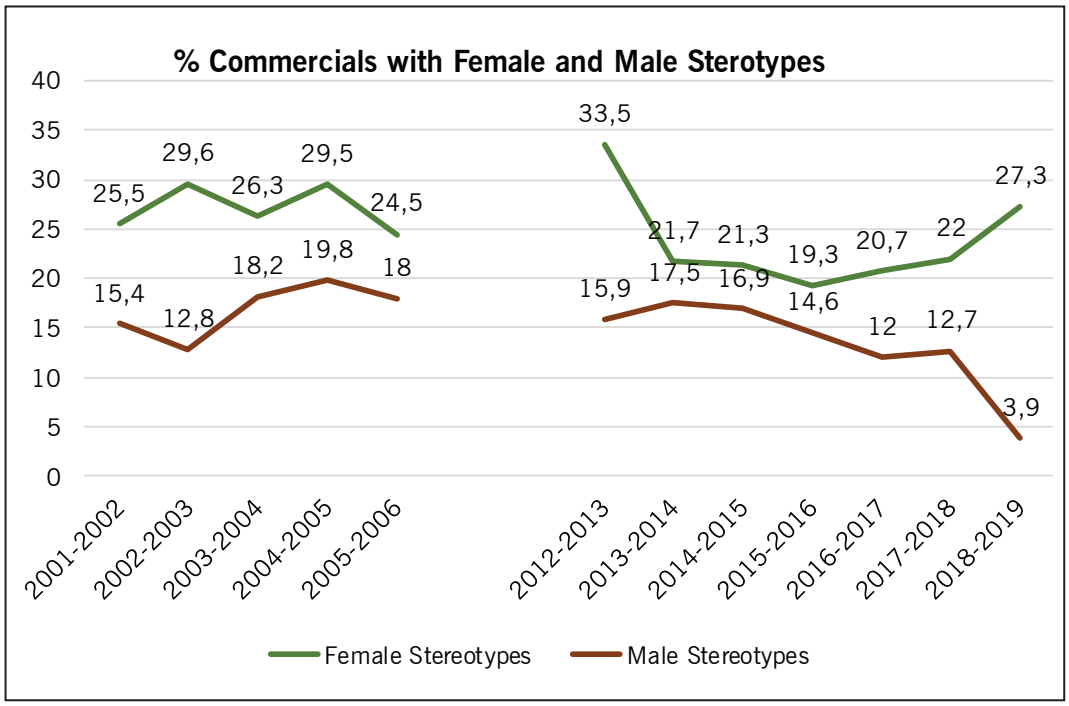
The presence of representations of gender stereotypes has not changed over the past 17 years. Moreover, in all but one campaign, the two main stereotypes depicted are those showing

Figure 1. Evolution of Gender Stereotype Representations in Toy Advertising



Source: By the authors.

Figure 2. Evolution of Gender Stereotype Representations in Toy Advertising



Source: By the authors

boys playing only with other boys as well as with cars. In 2018-19 campaigns, boys were also shown playing war games.

Therefore, the stereotypes most represented in toy advertising during the analysis period coincide in recommending a segregation of play between girls and boys: They do not play together and play different games.

4.3 Types of Toys & Representation of Stereotypes

Studies have also shown that advertising associates certain toys with girls and others with boys by assigning gender stereotypes.

In this sense, the types of toys that concentrate the most representations of female stereotypes are mainly dolls, which always concentrate more than half (between 61.5% of the 2017-18 advertising campaign and 88.2% in 2013-14). The second category of toys most stereotyped are games that mimic reality.

The doll commercial usually presents a girl playing with them, often accompanied by other girls (without playing with boys on an equal level) and carrying out actions that mimic the role of a mother. Toy commercials that mimic reality, containing female stereotypes, are usually products that emulate professions related to beauty (hairdressers, make-up artists, kits for making braids and nail decoration, etc.) where a girl is shown playing only with girls and is worried about her physical appearance.

On the other hand, advertisements representing cars or trucks (miniature vehicles and circuits or motorways) are the products advertised that include the most male stereotypes throughout all of the campaigns analyzed. In this sense, however, the concentration of stereotypes in these typologies has decreased. Therefore, in terms of advertising for motorways and accessories, while in the period 2001-2006 these toys accounted for between 70 and 80% of stereotypes. Instead, between 2012 and the last of the reports, it stood at around 35%.

Both the circuit and car commercials, when stereotyped, show boys interacting only with other boys (without the presence of girls in the game on an equal level), playing with cars and often competing. Moreover, on more than one occasion, the figure of the father appears.

On the contrary, there are a number of toys types that contain male and female stereotypes in similar proportions. This is especially the case for dolls, figures and accessories, but also for constructions and kits, and electronic games.

In these cases, further analyses show that toys classified in these categories also segregate according to whether they are, for example, figures suggesting a game that mimics everyday life situations or whether they are warrior or hero figures. Moreover, they are also classified as to what can be built with the toy, either shopping centers or princesses' houses, combat vehicle or a train circuit. In the first examples, the commercial includes female stereotypes, whilst in the second it includes male stereotypes.

Finally, there are some toy types that recurrently throughout a series of analysis are advertised by commercials that do not include stereotypes: Above all, this is the case of board games, but also of consoles and video games, aiming and skill-required games, in which girls and boys share the games and paternal or maternal figures appear indistinctly.

Even so, the report for the 2018-19 advertising campaign introduces a more detailed analysis of the interrelationship between girls and boys in the commercials in which they share the spotlight. Hence, different and unequal roles and attitudes are detected between girls and boys when they interact in board games or skill-requires games.

In this sense, in games that involve competition, the boy wins many times more than the girl. In board games, for example, 70% of the times the boy is shown as the winner, while in the case of aiming and skill-required games, even though the majority share achieving the objective, boys appear as winners 4 times more than girls.

4.4 Comparison between Elements of Toy Advertising between 1998 and 2018

As mentioned above, el Consell de l'Audiovisual de Catalunya, created in 1996 as a governmental advisory body and before its constitution as an independent regulating authority, conducted several analyses on toy advertising.

The existence of these reports, which share some methodological elements with those carried out by the CAC as a regulator, makes it possible to evaluate, in those common variables, the evolution over two decades of toy advertising in aspects related to gender stereotypes. Specifically, they compare the following elements: who has the leading role in the commercial, whether the voice-over is male or female, the predominant color and the language implemented.

In terms of the people starring the commercial, in 1998 girls and boys participated similarly. In 35,6 % of the commercials, the girls play the lead; 31 % of the commercial have boys starring in them and 33,5 % include both. Twenty years later, girls play the leading roles in toy spots in half of the samples analyzed (48.3%) - with a figure slightly higher than the combined presence of girls and boys (44.4%). The most notable difference lies in the decrease in the presence of boys (7.3%) as main actors.

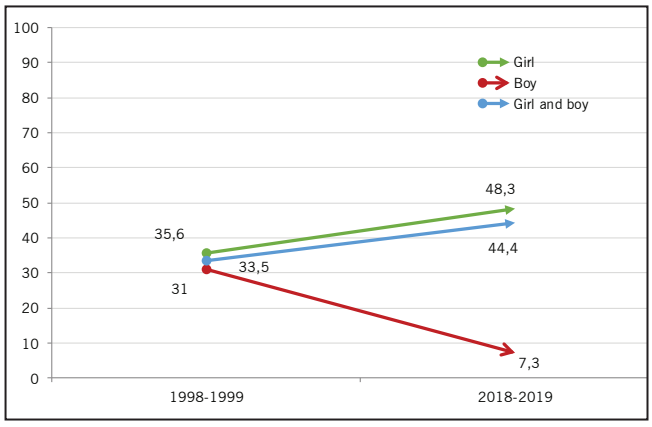
What hasn't changed in 20 years is what girls promote: In 1998, they starred 86.6% of doll commercials and in 2018 they are still the same in almost identical percentages (87%). On the other hand, 20 years ago boys almost exclusively starred motorway and miniature car commercials (100% and 77.8% respectively). During the 2018-2019 campaign, half of these toys are advertised both by boys and girls.

Regarding the voice-over of toy advertising, there is a clear decrease in the male voice as the main one. While in 1998, 63% of the commercials were narrated by male voices (they were the majority in all types of toys except dolls and games mimicking reality), 2018 is reduced by exactly half (31%). This latest report states that the female voice is the main voice of all the toys advertised. However, the male voice is predominant in the advertising of miniature vehicles and circuits (80%), board games (92%) and skill-required and aiming games (66.7%).

The color that predominates in the advertising of each type of toy also has stereotypical connotations. Thus, pink and pastels that are traditionally associated with girls, continue to colorbe part of 6 out of 10 doll advertisements, both during the 2018/19 campaign like in the one from 20 years ago. On the other hand, blue and dark colors, usually related to boys, no longer predominate in advertisements where they previously did (miniature vehicles, motorways and electronic toys). Therefore, while the association of a girl with pink and pastel colors is still present nowadays, boy have experienced how the advertisements aimed at them have diversified the color palette.

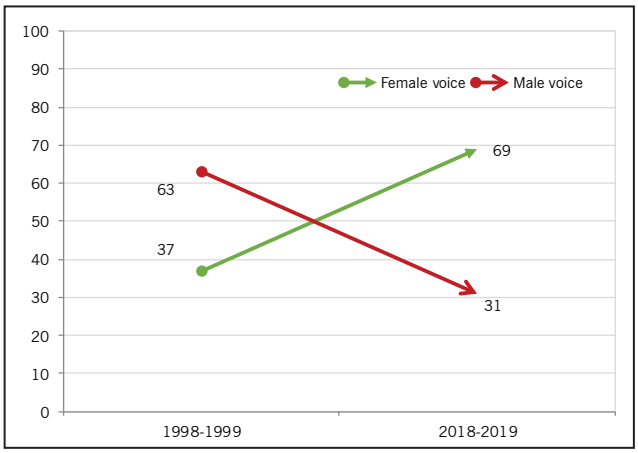
In relation to the language used in advertising, in 1998 the use of diminutives was detected repeatedly in the presentation of dolls (72% of commercials contained diminutive forms). Twenty years later, there has been a clear decline in this type of toy to 47.2%.

Figure 3. Protagonists of Toy Commercials Broadcast during the Christmas Advertising Campaigns of 1998/99 and 2018/19



Source: By the authors.

Figure 4. Voice over of Toy Commercials Broadcast during the Christmas Advertising Campaigns of 1998/99 and 2018/19



Source: By the authors.

The study of the 2018-19 advertising campaign has also included the analysis of the language used throughout the entire commercial (voice-over, dialogues, song and promotional overlays). The results show a clear differentiation between commercials featuring only girls or boys. Thus, among the first ones, a language is used that evokes mainly idyllic and magical worlds *(magical, dream)* and the actions that dolls do *(singing, learning, dancing, loving)* are repeated.

Regarding language presented in commercials featuring only boys, words related to "action" stand out: *shooting, thief, figure, police, crash* or imaginary beings *(aliens).*

5. Video Distribution Platforms: Gender Stereotypes in Toy Advertising

Currently, the audiovisual framework for the consumption of content (also advertising) by minors goes beyond traditional linear media, and one of the main sources is the video distribution platforms. That is why in 2018, the CAC incorporated them for the first time in the sample of the report on toy advertising.

The analysis focused on YouTube channels starring boys and promoting products aimed at this audience. Six of these Spanish language channels were selected –3 carried out by

Image1. Cloud of Words Used in Commercials Exclusively Featuring Girls [in Catalan]

Source: By the authors.

Image 2. Cloud of Words Used in Commercials Featuring Exclusively Boys [in Catalan]

Source: By the authors.

boys and 3 by girls– **and with a high number of subscribers.** Thus, the six analyzed totaled more than 18 million subscribers and 151 toy videos published in the analysis period totaled 351 million views. **Therefore, audiovisual content has a very large audience.**

These videos show how the protagonists receive a new toy, unpack it *(unboxing*) and play either challenges or simulate real-life situations in which they interact with one or more toys.

5.1 The Segmentation of the Videos between Female and Male *Youtubers*.

In the analyzed channels, *youtubers* interact mainly with children of the same sex and, when one of the two parents appear in the videos (either regularly or at any given time); boys are usually play with their father while girls play with their mother.

Thus, these channels reproduce one of the features present in television advertising: the segregation by sex of the content offered.

5.2 Type of Toys and Gender of the Protagonist of Advertisements

As in the case of television commercials, the videos reflect the relationship between gender and type of toys promoted.

Thus, in the three channels led by girls, the toys that appear most frequently are dolls and accessories, representations of animals or pets and games that copy activities linked to the care of personal appearance. *Youtubers* are boys, toys are dolls, figures and accessories, often action items, vehicles and riding gear, miniature vehicles and circuits, and also video games.

Moreover, it has been observed that when a channel featuring a boy incorporates the participation of a girl (or vice versa) it aims to include the presence of toys traditionally associated with the other gender.

5.3 Actions and Roles Carried Out

The actions and roles carried out in the game by the video protagonists also differ radically by gender.

On Youtube channels featuring girls, they appear carrying out activities related to the role of mother through the advertised dolls (which are fed, bathed, taken in the stroller, etc.), as well as taking care of the house, with activities such as sweeping, cooking or tidying up the house.

When playing games, girls also appear regularly in roles linked to taking care of their physical appearance: they put make-up on, comb their hair and have fun using the different toys presented, such as a dressing table or a make-up case. This concern is also reflected in the girls' comments while playing.

As for the symbolic representation of professional roles, girls appear to be developing traditionally feminized professions, such as those linked to physical appearance (hairdresser, make-up artist), customer service (saleswoman) and childcare (worker in a baby adoption center).

On the other hand, YouTube videos starring boys focus on action situations and are characterized by showing children in competitive or simulated fighting games. For example, when they play a video game based on combat, they race the promoted car circuit, or they develop sporting challenges.

As for the professional roles represented by boy *youtubers*, they correspond mostly with professions traditionally attributed to men, whether real or fiction (mechanic, firefighter, archaeologist, explorer, pirate…).

Conclusions

The diachronic analysis of toy advertising highlights the persistence of the representation of gender stereotypes of the 18 years between the first and the last report in the series. In this way, toy advertising on television would continue to reinforce a stereotyped approach towards children.

Nevertheless, the number of commercials that include some representation of stereotyped roles experienced a decrease of 10 points between the first studies (2001-2002) and the last one (2018-19), and a decrease in 6 of the last 7 campaigns analyzed.

However, qualitatively speaking, the overall reduction of stereotyped commercials has not been uniform: in recent studies, females represent an increasing share of total stereotypes.

Likewise, over the years the establishment of a relationship between the promoted toy and the gender of the person who appears as the protagonist of the advertising story survives, in such a way that a segregation of the game and the toys according to sex is suggested –a phenomenon that is also seen on toy advertising YouTube channels.

Especially constant is the stereotyped story of boy and girls playing only with other children of their same sex who, when dealing with girls, play with a doll, and when they are boys, play with cars. Throughout the findings, without any significant changes seen, these four stereotypes account for the vast majority of the representations detected.

Accordingly, doll advertisements and miniature car advertisements among others are the typologies that always appear with the most representations of stereotypes, feminine and masculine, respectively.

Moreover, the videos of the YouTube channels analyzed in the last of the reports (2018-19) also reflect this association between gender and typology of the toys promoted.

In this way, toy advertising proposes, through the symbolic function of play, a different interpretation of reality for girls and boys. Girls are offered a world related to the primary sphere: roles of motherhood and caring for people. In contrast, boys almost never appear to be related to this sphere. The language used, which is analyzed in the last report, reinforces this unequal perception: usage of idyllic worlds related to dolls and plush toys in the advertisements starring girls and action vocabulary in those featuring boys.

To sum up, the studies shows trends that evolve in different directions.

On the one hand, the presence of representations of gender stereotypes continues to be present in toy advertising, although to a lesser extent than that detected at the beginning of the analysis series. On the other hand, several elements could indicate the increasing concentration of gender stereotypes in visions that discriminate against women.

However, the decrease in the presence of gender stereotypes in toy advertising and the increase in advertisements in which girls and boys share the game must be positively assessed.

Despite this positive assessment, we must redirect our attention towards the new forms of diffusion of audiovisual content aimed at children and, very especially, at the diffusion of advertising content. In the latest CAC report on the presence of gender stereotypes in toy advertising, it was found that audiovisual content promoting toys through video exchange platforms reproduces the gender stereotypes of traditional advertising. Given the characteristics of this diffusion framework (multiplicity of agents such as content generators, professionally unsupervised elaboration, possibility of virilization, among others) it could mean a new difficulty on the way towards the elimination of these stereotypes.

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QUADERNS DEL CAC

The Trans Issues on TV3. Analysis of the Representation of Gender Diversity in Television Documentaries and their reception

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Abstract
Trans identities today are part of the media agenda, but their coverage continues to generate conflicts. This article takes as a universe of study two documentaries broadcasted by the Catalan public television (TV3) in 2016 to analyze the representation of the trans issue in the television documentary and the reception by trans people of these contents in Catalonia. This research shows that there is an important distance between what is expressed in journalistic discourse and what is narrated in the testimonial discourse of trans-identities, and recommendations are offered to try to shorten it.

Keywords
Television documentary, diversity, gender, journalism, transsexuality.

Resum
Les identitats trans hui formen part de l'agenda mediàtica, però la seua cobertura continua generant conflictes. Aquest article pren com a univers d'estudi dos documentals emesos per la televisió pública catalana (TV3) l'any 2016 per analitzar la representació del fet trans en el documental televisiu i la recepció per les persones trans d'aquests continguts a Catalunya. Amb aquesta investigació es posa de manifest que existeix una distància important entre allò que expressa el discurs periodístic i allò que narra el discurs testimonial de les transidentitats, i s'ofereixen recomanacions per tractar d'acurtar-la.

Paraules clau
Documental televisiu, diversitat, gènere, periodisme, transsexualitat.

Introduction

In recent years, transsexuality has fully entered the political and media agenda in our country. However, gender diversity is still a poorly standardised issue in Spanish and Catalan society. In 2016, Catalonia was the autonomous community where most hate crimes due to sexual orientation or gender identity were recorded (Ministry of the Interior 2016).

In this analysis, we understand gender as a cultural and social product co-constructed by the media and journalistic discourse, among other actors (Butler 2007).

The media, with their great symbolic significance, propose schemes and provide identity references in terms of gender. They are socializing agents insofar as they "facilitate the understanding of the outside world, and allow individuals and groups to contextualize themselves. Even so, they convey identity narratives, create media imagery and condition the memory and the cultural and communicative tradition shared by the members of a community" (Sola 2012, 396). That is to say, they propose a possible vision of reality that can be assimilated and internalized by the consumers.

The media, and especially the publicly-owned media, following criteria of journalistic ethics and social responsibility, would watch over the representation of social minorities and collaborate in eradicating any discrimination. Now, what is the vision that Catalan public television suggests about gender diversity? Is it broad and complex? Do transgender people identify themselves with it?

This article proposes to study the documentary discourse of Catalan public television regarding trans issues. Secondly, in order to be able to compare the two stories, it is absolutely necessary to ask trans people if they identify with this discourse or if, on the other hand, it constitutes an image far removed from their reality.

1. Investigation background

This text is based on the observations made in recent years by some researchers in Europe and shows a discontent on the part of the trans community towards their representation in media content. Karine Espineira's work reveals this discomfort since the mid-1990s in France (Espineira 2015). In the Spanish context, other works have also reflected the difficulties faced

by journalists when representing this community, mainly due to ignorance and lack of research.

As researcher Adolf Carratalá points out, journalists "incorporate hegemonic structures and ideologies into their own newsmaking routines, also affecting the role that, as socializing agents, they play in the creation of personal and cultural identities" (Carratalá 2011, 188).

This article arises, on the one hand, from these lines of academic research But, in addition, it is motivated by a series of demands of the community. Specifically, the choice of the analytical corpus is the result of a controversy that arose from the critiques of the Young Trans Community in Barcelona of the documentary *Tránsito, menores transsexuals,* broadcasted by TV3.

After the broadcast of this documentary, on Sunday 10 April 2016, the members of the Barcelona association published a communiqué on the platform YouTube, where they expressed their discomfort and accused TV3 of simplifying the trans reality and of offering only what fits the binary system of male/female gender, which they consider erroneous:

> "[...]. This program, like most of the programmes that are put on the air, only wants to show that part that could be assimilated by the system. The programme shows those experiences that are normative except the subject at hand (being trans), in order to be able to accept the latter. And people don't remember that there are trans people that don›t want or can't take hormones, that some trans people aren't straight, that there are trans people that aren't men or women, that there are trans people that don›t always identify themselves in the same way, that there are trans people that don›t have the capacity and/or the desire to put up people telling them if they are trans or not, and so on. [...]"

2. Theoretical framework: correspondence *between sex* and gender, a false paradigm

Gender and *sex* are not synonymous. However, they are often confused both in informal conversations and in the media.

By way of example, a news story published on the website of the Catalan Audiovisual Media Corporation (CCMA) said: "There are more and more children who, already at a very young age, clearly dislike the gender with which they were born".[1] Sex is a biological aspect and, therefore, you are born as a certain sex, not as a particular gender.

The sex presents, in biological terms, a male/female binary[2]. The exception to this universal and historical pattern is presented by intersexual people, who, due to a discrepancy between the genetic sex, that of the gonad, and/or that of the genitals, they may have features of both sexes.

Even so, people with some kind of recognized intersexuality represent no more than 1% of the world population according to the World Health Organization (Ayuso 2016). The fact that the figures are low should not prevent us from reflecting. Some specialists such as biologist Anne Fausto-Sterling believe that sex must also be understood in its diversity (Fausto-Sterling 2006).

On the other hand, gender is a social and cultural construct that in its binary form works as a corset that tells us what attitudes are as acceptable for a woman and what is socially "appropriate" for a man. Although gender may be deconstructed, there are a whole series of political and economic factors that preserve this binary, since it bases the society's structure in areas as important as family or work (Coll-Planas and Vidal 2013).

In order to go further into the definitions, it is important to remember the classification of gender and sex made by post-structuralist philosopher Judith Butler in the essay "El género en disputa". Butler explains that gender is learned through its performance, since "it is not the causal result of sex" (Butler 2007, 54).

However, the reading of sex in binary form also responds to a social construction. We understand our own body from the language and symbols that are framed within a given value system (Berger and Luckman 1996; Bekerman 1996 a Coll-Planas 2012, 65). We assume, then, the role of masculine or feminine gender according to the reading that we make of our body.

It is precisely the belief that gender and sex must correspond that has placed trans experiences under the label of alterity or anomaly: "The people who alter the gender and sexuality standards endanger the social order, for this reason they are marked as other and, from this position, they are designated as marginalizable, aggressible and even exterminable" (Coll-Planas 2010, 85).

The inclusion of transsexuality in the "personality and behavioural disorders" chapter of the WHO International Classification of Diseases until 2018 is an example of how anything that does not demonstrate this so-called correspondence is pathologized. As sociologist Miquel Missé argues, all the information around transsexuality is impregnated with this speech that treats trans identities as an individual problem (Missé 2012, 94).

Acting against this way of thinking, trans activists propose to show different gender possibilities. It is therefore argued that not taking into account the plurality in gender identity and expression means not understanding that non-binary positions are part of gender as well (Butler 2006, 70).

3. Methodology and justification of the corpus

To carry out our work we have established a methodology that combines analysis of content and its reception. This has allowed us to obtain more complete data than we could have with a single method.

3.1 Content analysis

The area of study on which the analysis of content has been carried out is composed of two television broadcasts by Catalan public television in 2016 in the programs *30 minuts* and *La gent normal*. The format of the first programme is based on the documentary and the TV report, while the second programme combines interviews, reports and space for debate. We analyse the contents of public television because we understand that, as it's a public service, it must have an indisputable commitment to minorities. In addition, the reach of TV3 is considerable, given that in 2016—the year anaylzed—it had the largest audience in Catalonia (CCMA 2017).

Even though—with the objective of being able to analyze it in depth—the corpus is small, we can get an overall picture of the representation of transgenderism in the television documentary. The selection of the documentary genre responds to the fact that, unlike other short journalistic texts, the documentary allows a greater reflection on the angle and perspective we want to show of a reality, as well as a greater meticulousness when selecting sources and witnesses. On the other hand, the audience gives credibility to this format, since it is epistemophilic in its approach, that is, concerned with the search for knowledge (Nichols 2013).

We dealt with all the documentary content broadcasted by TV3 in the year prior to our research in 2016. Specifically, the two contents are the *30 minuts* documentary "Transit, transsexual minors" and "Ser transsexual, com es viu?" by *La gent normal.*

From now on we will call the first programme *Document I and the* second *Document II*.

This work could be framed within the branch of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a perspective, since we study the text in relation to all that affects the meaning. CDA focuses on questions such as the transmission of social dominance how inequalities are practiced and reproduced; or even how they are sometimes fought by communicative action (Van Dijk 1999).

We analyze the contents of these five categories: myths or themes, stereotypes, archetypes, sources and witnesses. First, from a thematic approach, we look at the mythopoetic elements that construct discourse: themes, archetypes and stereotypes (Chillón 2000).

The most popular story or myth about the trans issue is one that recreates the idea that the trans person lives in the wrong body (Missé 2018). This point investigates if the studied documents repeat this dominant vision or if they offer different ones.

The symbolic narrative is reinforced by archetypes and stereotypes that form part of "the collective unconsciousness" (Jung quoted by Duch and Chillón 2012, 202). As for the representation of transsexuality, Julia Serano explains how pop culture portrays trans women from two archetypal figures that

Figure 1. Document I

File	Informative
Format	Documentary
Program	*30 minuts*
Episode title	"Tràsit, menors transsexuals"
Episode number	957
Date of issue	10/04/2016
Duration	00:42:05

Source: Own elaboration from the data offered by the Documentation Department of TV3.

Figura 2. Documento II

File	Programs
Format	Report, interview and debate
Program	*La gent normal*
Episode title	"Ser transsexual, com es viu?
Episode number	5
Date of issue	07/03/2016
Duration	00:28:04

Source: Own elaboration from the data offered by the Documentation Department of TV3

link with the idea that there is a body that does not fit: "La impostora" the one who "deceives" us with her feminine image, or the pathetic one, the one who can't manage to look like a "real" woman no matter how much she tries (Serano in Galofre and Missé 2015, 223). In this paper we will look at which figures and stereotypes the documents present.

On the other hand, in a second level of analysis, we study who participates in this discourse from the study of quantity and a classification according to the typology of the sources of authority (according to whether they come from the field of medicine, mental health or activism). As the Recommendations on the Treatment of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex (LGBTI) Persons in the audiovisual media advise, information on these issues should include both institutional sources of information, as well as qualified and specialised individuals and/or groups, and LGBTI associations and entities (CAC 2017).

In this same section, we also study the number and typology of witnesses according to the gender they express—male, female or non-binary—and the way they understand trans identity from the textual study of their narrations.

These two categories, sources and witnesses, will allow us to approach the context of production and what discourse it has been intended to (re)create. Thus, access to the media is key to directing or modifying the story (Fairclough and Wodak 2000).

3.2 Reception analysis

In a second section we will focus on how the trans community in Catalonia is represented on television. In order to be able to answer this question, our methods relied on data from discussion groups. A questionnaire will be established with short-answer questions, which has been the same in all the groups, but which has been slightly adapted to follow the conversation and influence the topics introduced by the participants. The themes of this questionnaire could be briefly summarized in the following three items: how well the participants define the fact of being trans; what identities are visible on television and if these identities correspond to the reality of the collective, and what are the areas for improvement, if any.

The first question relates to the study of myths and topics, which, as we have seen above, is key in the construction of a concrete story. The second discussion point, on what identities the television documentary presents, is linked to the study of stereotypes and archetypes, and to the witnesses who present certain experiences and sources of authority that reinforce a specific vision. Finally, the third item gives us the possibility to record what are the visibility claims of the collective to improve their representation where it may be necessary.

The sessions, which lasted between forty-five and eighty-five minutes, were attended by thirteen people from the

Figure 3. Composition of Group I

Participant	Age	Expressed gender
A	28	Nonbinary
B	22	Woman
C	17	Woman
D	46	Man
E	29	Woman

Source: By the authors.

Figure 4. Composition of Group II

Participant	Age	Expressed gender
F	60	Woman
G	43	Woman
H	65	Woman
I	22	Woman
J	31	Woman
K	56	Woman

Source: By the authors.

Figure 5. Composition of Group III

Participant	Age	Expressed gender
L	18	Man
M	21	Man

Source: By the authors.

associations Espacio Trans de Terrassa, En Femme and Joves Trans de Barcelona. In order to design these discussion groups, and given the complexity of the terrain of identity[3], we did not consider it necessary to define certain profiles ahead of time, since we wanted all those people who identify themselves as trans to be able to participate. The participants were distributed equally in the first two groups (five in the first and six in the second), but in the third there were two participants. Even so, we considered that keeping this last group was appropriate, since it balanced the balance of gender and age.

4. Results

4.1 Content analysis: figure catalogue

4.1.1 Document I

Myth or topic

In the documentary studied, the topic addressed talks about transsexuality as an error of nature. Transsexuality is narrated from the myth of imprisonment and liberation. This story resorts to one of the basic archetypes of human imagination: the rebellion against nature (Chillón 2000, 152). The natural body imprisons the sexual and gender identity of the trans youth and medicine will succeed in releasing him/her through hormonal treatments, blockers or aesthetic surgeries of vaginoplasty or gynecomastia, among others.

For example, Marta, aged 23, describes the moment of waking up from the vaginoplasty operation as one of the best in her life: «For many days when I went to sleep, put my hands on it and thought: "I don't need this, I don›t want it, this isn›t mine.»

Archetypal figures

In this story there are prisoners (boys and girls), a prison (the body) and some liberators (parents and medicine).

Here the narrative presents various figures such as the *prisoner* or the *hero* as the parents who have faced social stigma and their own prejudices and have joined their sons and daughters on the road to liberation [transition]. In fact, the documentary ends with an explicit statement that reinforces this whole mythological narrative. Estrella, a transgender girl concludes: "It was like being locked up in a prison [...]. They've helped me and I've managed to escape"

Gender stereotypes

As for the subjectivities reflected in the plot, two figures are the main character: strong masculinity and vain femininity.

Boys are presented in public through intense activities, such as playing drums or other sports that involve strength: working out in the gym, doing acrobatics in the pool, lifting heavy materials, etc.

On the other hand, girls reincarnate the figure of the "ultra-femme", women that care about their appearance. They appear carrying out mostly tranquil activities: we see them at home, painting their nails or lips, combing their hair, showing their dresses to the camera, discussing with their mothers what clothes to wear or explaining to us directly what they do to feel prettier, and so on.

Thus, the topic reinforces the dual and polarized gender standard that reproduces stereotypes in order to subvert them.

4.1.2 Document II

Myth or topic

The subject focuses on the social aspect on how trans people experience coming out, how society responds, how they are treated. In addition, historical background is provided, addressing social change in relation to transsexuality. One of the interviewees explains that "society is starting to have more and more empathy".

However, the text repeats the idea of liberation In Document II, prison would not be our own body any more, but the idea of the prevailing binary gender in the imaginary community and the fear for social rejection.

Archetypal figures

If parents were the heroes before in Document I, now the roles have changed and the partners have become the new heroes. The wives of the two protagonists, whom they will marry before changing their gender, are represented as "saints".

The documentary host also reinforces the idea of couple exaltation when she introduces a question in which she discusses the following: "It's extremely important for a transsexual person to have an environment that accepts his/her condition and transition. You guys have been very lucky, haven't you? Or is just me that thinks that?" When the two witnesses, transwomen, nod and explain that not all couples accept this decision, the journalist says: "It's understandable, it's the fear of the unknown." It shows comprehensibility with discrimination in the sphere of the couple and does not encourage reflection on the rejection of the process.

Gender stereotypes

Trans people have often been criticized for reproducing the most stereotyped aesthetics and behaviours of each gender. The documentary is evidence of how this tendency still occurs. When one of the protagonists talks about her public appearance as a woman, she says that she did it with a dress: «We were chosen as presidents of the homeowner's association [...] and here I arrived in my dress and then a neighbour came and said to me: "Hey you, how are you doing?"» The journalist here rapidly interjects: "all of a sudden, all eyes on her." It's a gender stereotype that women are seen more like women when they wear dresses.

In another case, another protagonist explains that she associates masculinity with aggressiveness, and masculine clothing with an "unpleasant masculine odour ": "Out on the street I showed what people and my family wanted to see: a man. I even exaggerated my masculinity, aggressiveness. However, when I got home, I acted like a woman. [...] Getting home, tak-

ing my clothes off and throwing it into the laundry basket... that disgusting masculine smell, I couldn't stand it anymore. It got worse and worse every time; it became traumatizing.

Although the social system of the classifying and stereotyped gender does not find a clear confrontation in this documentary, one of the interviewees, the mother of a trans child, does allude to the fact that gender is socially and culturally constructed, and concludes therefore: "Our son was born as Mia, but when he turned two and started to decide his clothes or started choosing his role in games, he started to express himself as what we understand today as a boy."

4.2 Content analysis: sources and witnesses

4.2.1 Document I: voices

Expert sources

In the video, the voice of four expert sources appears next to the children and their parents. They all belong to the field of medicine and mental health: endocrinology, surgery and psychology. Expert sources report on medical advances in making follow-ups to trans people who want to receive treatment, but they are also given a voice as an expert source to talk about trans people's experiences and their process. For example, one of the endocrinologists states that many transsexuals experience puberty "as if they were in hell".

In addition, in the statements we see that some clichés typical of the pathologizing discourse are repeated, such as the anomaly between brain and body, or the incongruence.

Testimonials

In this documentary three girls and two boys narrate their experiences in the first person. The witnesses that appear are all underage with the exception of one young woman who is 23 years old, who understand transgenderism as a process of migration towards the gender with which they are identified inside the male/female binary. Generally, they are also willing to undergo sex reassignment operations or hormonal treatments with blockers that stop development at puberty, etc. The new interviewed parents mostly agree with this description of what it means to be trans..

There are, however, two brief exceptions. Eva, the mother of one of the children, explains that her intention is to teach her son to esteem his body as it is: "He's not going to be more manly just because he's got a penis." At the end of the documentary, during approximately twenty-five according to us, we also heard Raquel, one of the minors, who explains that there are people who don't want to have surgery and that we don't have to judge anyone by how they decide to live their identity.

4.2.2 Document II: voices

The expert sources

In this case, the one expert source comes from the field of psychology. She speaks from her background as a specialist in diverse gender identities and as a therapist at Transit, a public counselling service for transsexuals in Catalonia. She defines the trans matter in terms of social diversity. She contrasts with the previous psychologist's definition of Document I of transsexuality as an "anomaly", since in this second case, in Document II, the psychologist clarifies: "We have to able to include reality and that's why we have to set aside those theories [binary sex-gender system] that prevent us from seeing the person as how or who they really are"

Testimonials

In this documentary the witnesses are four adult persons: two women who speak in first person and the parents of an underaged trans youth. From participants we discover other realities, such as homosexual trans people. It is also explained that there are people with fluid genders, meaning that they fluctuate between the diverse possibilities of gender in time; or transvestism[4], an expression of temporal identity. Thus, the documentary briefly presents these other gender identities and expressions.

4.3 Discussion groups

4.3.1 The narrative of the trans issue by the community

There are two great discourses from which trans identities are narrated. Trans are those gender identities that do not fit with the socially defined sex/gender system and trapped in two large cis groups[5]. And they do not fit in this group, according to those who express themselves in these terms, because the social and biological standards are rigid and hinder the recognition of the real identity of the person. That's what M. says: "Being trans is like the tip of the iceberg in the gender system. On the basis of many centuries, two very clear figures have been constructed: men and women. Being trans are all those identities that break with this; they either go from A to B, in a more dualistic way, or there is also a whole series of identities that do not want or cannot be contemplated in this framework". Therefore, those who participate in this discourse understand the trans fact as a symptom, we could say that the gender, opposite to what has been historically transmitted, is diverse.

Particularly remarkable is the case of I., who explains identity from the denial of the wrong body rhetoric: «I do not agree when people say, "it›s a woman inside a man›s body". No, my body is mine and there's nothing bad or wrong with it.»

In a smaller section (3/13) we find those who do explain that they were born in a wrong body and that their reality can be expressed in biological terms. There are those who feel this way and there are those who believe that it is the simplest way to make the rest of the population understand their identity. For example, K. explains the assumption of wrong body myth: "Sometimes telling someone that you were born in the body that wasn't yours, helps them understand what you're talking about. On the other hand, if we explained more in detail and more accurately what and how we feel, people don't seem to understand it."

4.3.2 Identities and representation: stereotypes, archetypes, sources and witnesses

The sessions gave rise to the idea that the media are in control of the standards, since by themselves they would recognize the two hegemonic genders, male and female, from the reproduction of the binary system of gender, sex and sexual orientation, which, moreover, they describe as sexist and hetero-centric.

Specifically, regarding the representation of trans identities, the participants pointed out that the pattern most reproduced in the documentary continues to be that of the medicated transsexual person who moves from one point to another, who wants to take hormones and undergo a sex change operation, and, as we have seen above, this experience only corresponds to one member of the community. A, who is a person with a non-binary gender identity, is of the opinion: "my reality doesn't come out in the media, the trans reality that appears on tv is just one of the many realities." D. supports it: "They only speak about a small section of the community, and it's the one that sells the most: operations, hormonation, etc..".

They criticize the fact that the representation of the trans issue often reproduces dualistic gender stereotypes. According to L., it would have been better to avoid placing witnesses in stereotyped environments or actions, as Document I does: "*30 minuts* explains it clearly. The girls play with bracelets, they have pink rooms, they put on dresses... the boys pretend to be at the gym... ".

They feel represented in those contexts, such as Document II, where the sources of authority prioritized the voices of trans people. They consider that the use of the latter may imply a minority nullification strategy. G. commented: «In the same way that in the sixties women could not give their opinion without having a man next to them saying that they were right, with trans people something similar happens: this community needs a doctor or therapist next to them telling people that they›re not crazy.»

Finally, they report the fact that there is a greater presence of trans women in television in comparison to men and that this does not reflect reality. This would be because of an obsession to ridicule and/or reify the trans woman. In addition, G. asserts that television represents trans women under paradigms of hyper-sexualization or fetishisation: "They'll try to bring a cis-looking, attractive woman with a noticeable bulge *(the impostor*), or the other way round, they'll choose a pathetic-looking woman, with lots of make up on". L. also made a very interesting reflection on this: «I think there are more trans men than trans women in society, but if they show a typical trans man on TV you›ll think "he›s a normal guy," because we go more unnoticed. On the other hand, approaching femininity is always punished.»

4.3.3 Recommendations to the media

The last point of the discussion groups is dedicated to debate on what improvements could the documentaries incorporate in terms of the representation of the trans issue.

In the first place, it is necessary to emphasize the fact that the participants consider that it is important to make the trans community visible on television.

The participants want the media to stop victimizing the trans experience and instead show it as something natural. That documentaries and information about trans people showed how they acted in their personal lives, but also in their professional life. The trans people the media could invite are, according to J.: "Anyone here who has a job, a life, a person with a normal life like anybody else" But, G. adds that we must be aware and try to avoid the exploitation of stereotypes: «We›re going to see what they do in their everyday life, because the typical stereotype of I wake up, get dressed and put make up on is ridiculous and sexist. Not all trans women put on makeup.»

As for the visibility of the community, F. makes a brief summary of the trans identities that he considers should be claimed on television and that are also shared by the rest of the participants: "I would today focus more on the male trans, because along with intersexual people, they›re mainly invisible to the rest of society". I would once again like to stand up for those people whose gender fluctuates with time, who can wake up in the morning feeling like a man, dress like a woman in the afternoon and return home feeling like a man again, or who simply don›t see themselves inside the man-woman binary. Finally, trans people who are homosexual or who are asexual, for example. These three communities are the most invisible and also the most disbelieved, since, as K. concludes: "the problem is that if they don›t see you, they automatically count you out."

5. Conclusions

The aim of our project was to reflect on the relationship between the documentary content of Catalan public television and the normalisation of gender diversity. For this reason, we established a double methodology that jointly studies the contents and reception of the discourse around the trans matter.

In the first place, we have observed that in the documentaries studied there is a major centring of trans binary identities, especially feminine ones. As for sources and subject matter, we can make certain comparisons, since Document I includes more sources from the field of medicine and the discourse focuses on the myth of the wrong body, while Paper II focuses on transphobia.

However, in neither case can we affirm that the discourse corresponds to the demands for visibility of the trans community.[6] As we have already mentioned, the identities of those people who express themselves in binary terms are protagonists and other trans realities are marginalized. In short, both approach the trans fact as other, as the exception in the gender system, without explicitly questioning its rigidity.

Secondly, from the discussion groups we have seen that the participants are not able to see themselves projected in the images presented in the television documentary and that the

majority does not correspond to the myth of the wrong body that we see in depth in Document I.

If it is a matter of showing social reality as it is, making minorities and their experiences visible must be a priority, since, according to Gimeno: "Invisibility is one of the most frequent representative strategies when it comes to excluding everything that does not fit into the ideal of a coherently structured society" (Gimeno a Carratalá 2011, 197).

But how can we include gender diversity in journalism? First of all, we have to vary the identities we show: promote the appearance of trans men, trans people with diverse sexual orientations and non-hegemonic trans identities (non-binary positions, people with fluid gender or trans people who do not feel the need to modify their body).

We are living in a key moment in which all the media should take on the responsibility of pointing out the fallacies of what has long been portrayed as normal. However, TV3, as a public broadcaster in a community where the level of transphobia is higher, has the challenge of contributing to make society understand that what is normal and everyday is this: diversity.

Notes

1. This entry belongs to the description of the documentary *Transit, transsexual minors (version 52')*, 30 *minutes.* <https://www.ccma.cat/tv3/alacarta/30-minuts/transit-menors-transsexuals/video/5613571/> [Accessed: 18 April 2019]
2. According to the second edition of the *Diccionario de la llengua catalana* (DIEC2), *sex* is: Set of biochemical, physiological and organic peculiarities that divide the individuals of a species into males and females and make possible between them, through the appropriate conjugation or fertilization processes, a periodic modification of the genetic information'. (T.N.: Translation of the original text in Catalan)
3. In drawing up the tables for the composition of the discussion groups, the gender expressed by the participants was taken into account, depending on whether they presented themselves as a boy, a girl or a non-binary person and with which pronouns (he, she, *elle*) they referred to themselves.
4. According to the Termcat Terminology Centre, a transvestite person is a person who adopts the external manners and clothes and complements considered socially appropriate for the opposite sex. (T.N.: Translation of the original text in Catalan
5. *Cis* or cisgender, according to the glossary prepared by the Trans*formalasalut platform, refers to that'person in whom there is an equivalence between the diagnosed sexual identity at birth and the gender identity and expression: male person who identifies himself as a man and female person who identifies herself as a woman'. (T.N.: Translation of the original text in Catalan
6. As a final note, it is important to record the fact that after the criticisms made by the association Jóvenes Trans de Barcelona, TV3 broadcast on July 31, 2016 a second extended version of the documentary Transit, transsexual minors of a duration of 52 minutes, which included a debate table with three members of the association. This second version may be consulted on the CCMA website.

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Critical Books Review

Yeste, E.; Canosa F. *Dones que surten del paper. Periodistes catalanes que expliquen un país.*
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by Cristina Baulies i Batiller
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Pioneering and fearless journalism teachers

It's a book to enjoy the voice and experiences of the journalism pioneers in Catalunya. This anthology of articles fills the great cognitive void that history has administered to women's contributions. The proposal is immensely rich for those who approach the book with a historicist, feminist and journalistic perspective. Apart from allowing the direct and chronological reading of the history of the country over time, the book contains another treasure: through the 44 articles the audience discovers how journalists are incorporating for the first time the gender perspective in the discussions of social life.

They're not only pioneers, they practice journalism as professionals and as daring ones. Whether for the subjects they choose, the way they treat them, the writing resources they use, their surprising ability to place themselves in the front line, f rigour, or for an informative experience and precision that are hardly aired on tv. And all this was done in a hostile context of deep discrimination and absolute lack of rights, where the capacities of women were still being questioned in relation to those of men.

The work is an accurate selection made by Elena Yeste and Francesc Canosa, doctor and doctor, respectively, by the Universitat Ramon Llull, both of whom have a long and extensive journalistic and academic trajectory, very often centred on issues of historical memory and communication.

The articles, the chronicles, the reports and the interviews allow us to approach the desires of each period, from 1879 to 1938, from the Renaissance to the Civil War, through the experience of women. The perspective of the life and country of the generations of women journalists who published. A swimming pool to dive in to the history of Catalonia, with the feminist purple-tinted glasses of that time, to obtain a vision of our past that goes beyond patriarchy and usual androcentrism contained in history books and old diaries, and that, unfortunately, continues being a ballast today.

The fact that the articles haven't been corrected too much and that the original Catalan has been kept is great news. The anthology allows access to the direct style and lives of the authors in a transparent way.

The 18 journalists who sign this anthology are Dolors Monserdà, Maria Josepa Massanés, Paulina Reig, Isabel Serra, Carme Karr, María Luz Morales, Llucieta Canyà, Irene Polo, Rosa Maria Arquimbau, Aurora Bertrana, Maria Teresa Gibert, Anna Maria Martínez Sagi, Anna Murià, Rafaela Ferro, Maria Pi de Folch, Mercè Rodoreda, Conxa Espinalt and Teresa Pàmies.

Of the 18 authors, some are more famous than others. This is the case of Rodoreda and Pàmies, for whom journalism was the starting point of their writing careers. Some are more known than others because they became head of newspapers, such as Morales and Murià, or those that had an important public position due to other reasons, such as Martínez Sagi, director of Barça, or Llucieta Canyà, the first woman to enter the Ateneu Barcelonès.

However, one thing is knowing their personality, and another is reading several of their articles in a chronological anthology. This global and structured proposal allows us to see the implication and contribution of these women in the construction of the country- one that thanks to their contributions, may now leave androcentrism behind.

The anthology begins with Dolors Monserdà, whose centenary of death is commemorated this year. It should be noted that she did not only criticize on paper the discrimination suffered by women, but broke boundaries and got involved in the improvement of women's living conditions by founding and directing the Patronage for the Obreres de l'Agulla. Today we call it *sorority*. In the first article of the anthology, Monserdà takes advantage of a cultural topic –the chronicle of an embroidery exhibition– to report the situation of labour discrimination against women sewers: "their miserable salary [...] at the price of 25 peseta cents. How can such exploitation of human blood be allowed?" (p. 28).

While we follow the top pioneer transfer the claims of women's rights to newspapers, the book proposes the articles of Maria

Josepa Massanés "Sobre la instrucció de la dona"; Paulina Reig and Sala, "L'home es superior a la dona", where this superiority is questioned; Isabel Serra, who transfers "Feminal al Marroc"; and Carme Karr, who claims "El vot de la dona" with arguments such as: "Is there any evidence that those states that have already recognized women's voting rights are worse than ours?" (p. 44).

The anthology continues with María Luz Morales and the article "El mejor piropo", which requires the urgent modification of the Civil Code in favour of women's rights. Morales is already asking herself something that we still do today through social media: "¿Dónde están las mujeres? (p. 47). From the first director of *La Vanguardia* we can also read the articles "¿Qué leen los barceloneses?", where she reveals the number and type of book read in each library and therefore states: "no matter how much the people from Barcelona read... they read less than they should" (p.194).

This is followed by three articles by Llucieta Canyà on feminism, "La dona i la agricultura" and marital relations from a critical point of view. Five articles have been chosen from Irene Polo. In "Sallent, el cau de l'angúnia", she explains as a special envoy the anarchist revolt of the potassa mines in 1933. In "Com ha donat el primer pas el feixisme d'Espanya", narrates the details of her infiltration as a fascist follower in a demonstration of the Juventuts de Acció Popular. In the other articles, Polo shows the world of the "pawn shops", reports illiteracy or talks to us about the female maillot before the declaration of the "platja inmoral" of Barcelona in the thirties.

Three of Aurora Bertrana's four articles have prostitution as their central topic or reflect it somehow. The first anti-abolitionist who writes in a newspaper says: "The first thing we have to do is find out what the interested parties think. Let's interrogate them, since this is about their interests and we collect their signatures, for or against organised prostitution. Their opinion is more important than ours" (p.182). In the other article she explains the difficulties she must take pictures of women in Morocco.

Six articles that have been selected from Arquimbau allow us to enjoy this great chronicler of the time: In "Els memoralistes de la Virreina", she explains the work of the few people who know how to write letters and offer themselves to a large illiterate population. She also focuses on a conflict in which "the gypsies of Barcelona complain about the crisis and competition". A series of articles on the new and old peculiarities show curiosities, such as those who sell and buy the tobacco that comes out of cigarette butts thrown on the ground. And of course, she also explains what roles women and men have in this commercial environment. In "Les functionaries públiques" she explains how "men who work as civil servants keep getting promoted while women who started in the same position stay with the same salary for years" (p.109). She highlights "Nosaltres", a manifesto in which she points out that "women must have virtues and merits other than their physical appearance, since their look does not take any effort. We demand the things we've earned; we don't want anything else. "*Feminisme*" will mean feminine citizenship with all its consequences" (p. 98).

Maria Teresa Gibert reveals in an interview, the problems and desires of women when playing sports. "On the second anniversary of the Women's Sports Club," she says, "our girls are absolutely confused between what old men say (you get me, right? and what they feel. Apart from their undeniable desire for freedom, for self-government, we also find their fear for their father or mother (p. 87). In another article she calls for itinerant public libraries. She wants workers to be able to access books, since they cannot go to libraries due to incompatible timetables.

Six articles have been selected from Anna Maria Martínez Sagi. On the one hand, an interview with a "frank, simple, cordial" Caterina Albert who speaks of herself, of politics, of women, of Catalunya and, in "Les senyores de companyia", she talks about this position with direct witnesses. On the other hand, a series of four magnificent chronicles on the "Front of Aragon" with the columns of the POUM, between the 4th and 12th August 1936. We must read them to find out what was happening, but also to find out what the war was like from a woman's perspective and how journalism was practised from the front, when they still could. The daring Sagi explains an aerial attack on the car that was taking her in that moment: "I didn't think I was going to make it" (p. 206).

The four articles of Anna Murià, director of the *Diari de Catalunya*, reflect her ideology. In "Les nits al ras" she says that "this winter" - the first one in the Republic – no one else should sleep in open air in Barcelona. In "El servei domestic", where she interviews a lady and later, the girl, she states that "we will make the two of them talk and thus balance the scale" (p. 105) in order to be able to be as impartial as possible and reflect the "domestic service problem". In the other articles she portrays the office workers and the life of a woman who irons.

Rafaela Ferro's only article in the anthology also looks into a job that women do, shoe sewers, and talks about their precariousness. She assures that "There are no laws that favour and defend women who work [...] and if international ones exist, they have never been implemented here." (p. 122).

Maria Pi de Folch speaks of secularism in schools. Rodoreda interviews the wife and daughter of Francesc Macià in "La casa dels canonges". Finally, Teresa Pàmies closes the anthology with two war articles: "Les trinxeres li han fet d'escola" and "Marsén, no t'amaguis".

The prologue, an essential part of the book (p. 9-23), should be highlighted as it perfectly situates the political context and the value of the new voices of journalists in the development of history, as well as in the construction of a new narrative of journalistic contents thanks to the perspective of women.

A glance that, despite the years that have passed by, still needs to be reclaimed in our days. With regard to content, as the director of the newspaper Público, Ana Pardo de Vera, pointed out at an event organised by the Association of Women Journalists of Catalonia (ADPC) in March 2019 at the Col.legi de de Periodistes de Barcelona: "if you want to transmit good

information you have to apply a gender perspective and explain how issues affect half the population".

As for the place of women in the media, we also must ask ourselves why Catalunya has only one director for generalist media: Ester Vera, in charge of the newspaper *ARA*. This fact shows that although the years go by, but there is still no standardised and balanced situation for journalism professionals. Data from the latest and most recent research carried out by the ADPC show that women account for 22% of media addresses and 32% of boards of directors.

And this is a very good path that these 18 authors –and many more– started and that must now be continued. Along with laws such as Organic Law for Effective Equality of Men and Women, which establishes, among other things, that female authorship must be included in the media through positive action mechanisms as well as guaranteeing the active participation of women, the equal presence of women and men, and a plural image of the two sexes in all areas, with special attention to the areas of knowledge and opinion.

Carter, C.; Steiner, L.; Allan, S. *Journalism, Gender and Power.*
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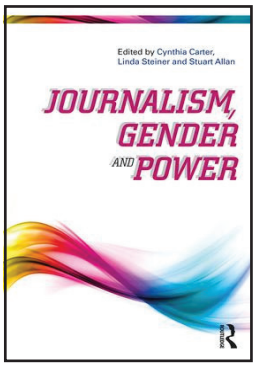

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Leading voices and challenges of women's role in journalism

The current context, indicated by the constant change and ability to change, has favoured the emergence of new concepts, tendencies and perspectives. Among them, gender advancements significantly stand out, aiming to reach an established level of equality between men and women in public and private sectors, thanks to the arrival of new tools, rights, authorities and organisations that protect and develop said equality. At the same time, there has also been a notable growth in the visibility of feminism and its evolution through post-feminist trends and understandings. In accordance with Brooks' vision (1997), there has been a historic change which represents the third wave of feminism and has caused it to unite with other postmodern movements, bringing about an epistemological breakdown, upon the establishment of a critical attitude towards previous feminist attitudes and the revindication of identity diversity.

Moving forward, and focusing on the matter of gender in journalism and the mass media, the *Journalism, Gender and Power* (2019) editors, Cynthia Carter, Linda Steiner and Stuart Allan, communication and journalism researchers specialised in gender and feminist studies, offer us an updated revision of their latest publication *News, Gender and Power* (1998). They recognise all the social changes that have arisen since its publication and the various advances that have been made in theoretical studies. This revision, in the form of an overview, acknowledges a series of relevant texts which express different perspectives, methodologies and geographic realities, specifically studying cases from the United Kingdom, United States, Puerto Rico, South Africa, India, Arab countries and China. All these texts try to offer a global perspective of the role of the woman today, in this sector, with a critical focus that successfully manifests the importance of gender equality in journalism in democratic societies.

Its structure is divided by theme into four parts, examining different key topics in each one, such as gender policies in news production; aspects of objectification, sexualisation and sexual violence; normative hierarchies; the secondary role of women in more technological professional roles, such as data journalism; the importance of women´s physical appearance and clothing in the media; the presence and participation of women in trade unions; gender hearings; sporting violence; the relationship between women and war photography; the perpetuation of gender roles in young girls; masculinity; the representation of gender identities or the importance of creating activist movements. Through this structure, the revision manages to combine more general thematic studies, such as those previously mentioned, with other more specific cases, such as the Tunisian Jasmine Revolution, the controversy of *The Sun´s Page 3* (topless model photo publication), the rape and death of the young woman Anene Booysen in South Africa, or the analysis of electoral candidate Hillary Clinton's press coverage. It is important to note that the chosen format allows for a great number of conceptions, but at the same time loses the sense of unity, as, despite being told through different chapters, as a means of practicality, the thematic separation is still not very defined, studies of a similar nature being found in each one. Additionally, the fact that a small introduction is lacking at the beginning of each chapter, as well as a conclusion, which refers to the initial ideas presented throughout the articles, creates a sense of disorganisation of ideas.

Broadly speaking, *Journalism, Gender and Power* (2019) emphasises the changes and advances that have occurred in recent years and the progress that they have brought about, but also exemplifies that we still cannot contemplate the existence of complete gender equality in our society today, that women continue to have a secondary role in decision-making and positions of power. Equally, it has also noted that this favourable environment coexists with mentalities that perpetuate the sexual objectification and rise of misogynistic attitudes that legitimate

"machista" attitudes and the persistence of a purely patriarchal system. Although there are numerous new feminist waves and movements and the participation and representation of women in the media and at a professional level is constantly improving, there is still a long road ahead. With this in mind, there are simple areas that can advance the achievement of equality, in particular, education and the continuation of ideological change. The need for major equality policy growth and the implementation of new plans and procedures that guarantee its compliance are also highlighted. Specifically, in relation to the content, the importance of establishing an improvement in error identification style books, learning from them and returning to them in order to achieve an appropriate level of normalisation, is noted. Finally, it is proposed that the amount of research and studies that result in the clarification of the notions of *masculinity* and *femininity* in the media are increased. This is in addition to others that discuss the relationship which exists between equality adoption in a socio-cultural context, the degree of women's access to power hierarchies, their role in trade unions and gender studies related to *online* activism, and the presence of women on social networks.

Consequently, *Journalism, Gender and Power* is successful in updating the study of the role of the woman in the media, both in the professional sphere and in their representation as a newsworthy object. It offers a critical and detailed evaluation of the discussion and provides a clear knowledge and focalisation of the communication sphere for media professionals, activists, academics and students specialising in different areas of gender studies to utilise.

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Barcelona: Universidad Autònoma de Barcelona, 2019. 351 pages.
ISBN: 978-84-948252-6-2.

by Carles Sora Domenjó
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Tool Map and Cyber Journalism Key Concepts

We find ourselves with a collaborative project—result of a shared editorial process between faculty and students from the master's in Journalism and innovation of digital content from the Universitat de Barcelona. Within the framework of an idea lab, key concepts were studied and debated concerning the transformation of digital journalism that materialized months after in this edition, under the coordination of professor Santiago Tejedor, director of the department of Journalism and Communication Sciences and expert in cyber media and multimedia journalism.

The objective of the project was to create a piece in order to identify the latest topics on journalism and digital communication and that will help to situate the reader, journalist or researcher with a series of concepts, processes and challenges that impact cyber journalism. The approach varies from different points of views and methods, while offering a wide range of topic as it tries to cover almost all the aspects of digital information practices. The fact that this work has surged from a professional context, where students, teachers and various professionals have also been linked, favors a current outlook centered on the usefulness of the book. Thus, the result is a specialized manual with 28 essays that pose the challenges of digital technology and emerging communication, and a glossary of resources and tools consisting of 60 entries.

In the first section of the texts, we can find previous debates that are still completely current and new views towards the most innovative formats of communication, such as informative microformats or transmedia, described in an article by Ainara Larrondo. We can find texts signed by professionals and researchers from both sides of the ocean, with a strong Ibero-American presence. Some of them present new teaching practices in journalism and digital literacy classroom, such as the use of mobile phones in curricular practices in the essay "*Medios móviles y nuevos lenguajes fílmicos en el aula*", by Fernanda Tusa Jumbo. The work also offers more reflective texts, widely debated but no less important, such as "*Periodismo, ¿Para qué sirve lo que hacemos?*", by Aldo Enrique Romero Z., or, "*Gutenberg 2.0: des de la impremta a la intel·ligència artificial*", by Juan Francisco Jiménez Jacinto. They are enjoyable readings of two or three pages that can present a good starting point for first investigations or of interest for professionals who want to make quick readings and think collectively about their career

In the second part of the book we find the directory. It has a totally practical approach and summarizes the most interesting tools, resources and platforms that digital communication professionals have at their fingertips to carry out digital projects. The glossary is organized in 5 large blocks with the following categories: search, analyze, write, visualize and collaborate.

Each of these five blocks contains some remarkable resources. For example, in the glossary we can find the search engine *CC Search*, which allows us to search for images, sounds, documents or videos with Creative Commons licenses. As readers know, these licenses facilitate in most of their meanings the use of the contents by third parties. As a second example, we can cite the *Hashtagify* analysis section. This tool allows us to analyse the impact and evolution of hashtags in the Instagram application. A special mention goes to *Memegenerator*– a memes search engine. In each of the glossaries, the reader will find a section with suggestions of how the tool or resource can be applied in the field of cyber journalism.

The directory is well structured and offers several useful tools for the day-to-day work of "digital" media professionals– if it still makes sense to add the adjective 'digital' to the media. Having them sorted and systematized will make the job easier and save us time when searching online.

In this sense, it should also be said that this second section's decline will be worse than the first, suffering from the usual

obsolescence of content and novelties of the Internet, as it competes with other directories and online resources that will probably be more updated in the future.

Ultimately, the book "*Herramientas digitales para comunicadores*" is a good teaching resource that updates previous projects; ideal for the training stages and useful for professionals that wish to have access to a selection of the latest news, resources and opinions regarding the new challenges in journalism in the ever so catalyst but unpredictable occurrence of the informative digital possibilities.

The current edition is available online on the website of the **Gabinete de Comunicación y Educación** of the Autonomous University of Barcelona:
<http://www.gabinetecomunicacionyeducacion.com/es/publicaciones/herramientas-digitales-para-comunicadores>.

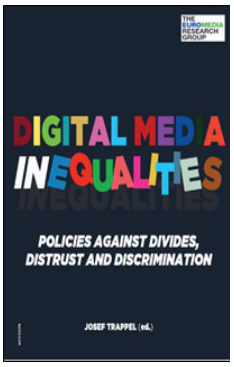
Books Review

Bernal Triviño, A.
Hacia una comunicación feminista. Cómo informar e informarse sobre violencia machista
Barcelona: Editorial UOC, 2019, 206 pages
ISBN: 9788491804871

Hacia una comunicación feminista presents a reflexion on the role of the media in the promotion of women's rights and, in particular, the media coverage of cases of *machista* violence. Ana Bernal-Triviño seeks to raise awareness in readers regarding the trials that women face when they become victims of machista violence, and she aims to contribute to minimising media diffusion of machista discourses and disrespect with regard to these situations.

The publication is organised into four main chapters, preceded by an introduction, a prologue by Ana de Miguel, and a preface by Ana Pardo de Vera, and followed by an epilogue by Pastora Martínez Samper. Chapter 1 conceptualises what the author understands feminist communication perspective to be and analyses the role of the media in discourses and machista violence. The 8th March 2018 case is also introduced, as well as the role of social media in the feminist movement. Chapter two discusses the media coverage of machista violence in context, with references to patriarchy as a social structure, and international laws and conventions on the matter. This chapter comments on the need to publish news in a responsible, contextualised way, paying close attention to content matter. The third chapter focuses on explaining the relationships, reactions and consequences of gender mistreatment and violence. Finally, chapter four presents, more specifically, a series of key points for journalists and the media to follow, with regard to the representation of machista violence. The selection of sources, the victimisation of the attacker, the victims' feeling of responsibility for the incidents, triviality and sensationalism surrounding the topic are some of the aspects covered. Lastly, the author provides guidelines for information combatting machista violence.

Trappel, J. (ed.)
Digital media inequalities. Policies against divides, distrust and discrimination
Göteborg: Nordicom, 2019, 290 pages
ISBN (print): 978-91-88855-10-7
ISBN (pdf): 978-91-88855-11-4



This book, edited by Josef Trappel, presents research carried out by The Euromedia Research Group in relation to class, gender, health and education inequalities related to European media. The 16 articles/chapters that make up the book analyse these issues within a digital media, social network and algorithms context, and in the general context of the incorporation of new mass data processing technologies.

The first article is written by Josef Trappel and introduces the theme, emphasising the novelties that the new media digital ecosystem presents. In the second chapter, Denis McQuail identifies a succession of inequalities in the public communication sphere related to cultural imperialism, ethnic inequalities, gender and education levels in society. In the third article, Hannu Nieminen proposes a radical reform of European policies so that they comply with information and communication rights. Jeremy Tunstall's paper analyses how the changes in entertainment that have come about in recent years, and that are related, among others, to the incorporation of subscription systems on video platforms on demand, affect large scale economies and generate new economic disparities among international audiences. Stylianos Papathanassopoulos and Ralph Negrine study the digital inequalities provoked by new communication policy strategies and the rise of popularism. Barbara Thomass analyses the relationships between inequality and economic crisis, the valuation of the European Union on the part of citizens and the reception of news issued by the media. Péter Bajomi-Lázár's article argues that non-conformity with the self-regulation model, in terms of Central and Eastern European countries' media, linked to the fight against inequality, must be due to a lack of necessary circumstances, such as press freedom, employment security or acceptable working conditions. Judit Bayer analyses the legal aspects associated with achieving equality in terms of media publication and access to information. In chapter nine, Leen de Haenens, Willem Joris and Quint Kik examine the recent changes in national and European information and investigate the circumstances

in which this media contributes to increasing and/or reducing inequalities in this area. Claudia Padovani, Karin Raeymaeckers and Sara De Vuyst examine the timeline of international initiatives dedicated to incorporating a gender perspective into the media and analysing the potential of social change that can derive from media publications, with a gender perspective and regulatory mechanisms. Jeanette Steemers analyses the inequalities of the access to national and international children's audiovisual contents. In chapter 12, Elena Vartanova and Anna Gladkova discuss the inequalities related to the digital dichotomy which emerge as a result of the rise in digital media throughout the world. Tristan Mattelart, Stylianos Papathanassopoulos and Josef Trappel state that there is an imbalance in the distribution of economic resource for news production between central and peripheral countries in the European Union and they analyse how digital technologies have given rise to different social inequalities which exist in news consumption in these countries. In chapter 14, Hallvard Moe analyses the differences between media consumption patterns and the willingness to access information in three Nordic countries: Finland, Denmark and Norway. Auks Balčytien and Kristina Jurait examine the causal relationship between the unequal representation of European political systems in the media and the unequal capacity for recipients to act against information produced about them. Finally, Wener A. Meier studies the risks associated with "surveillance capitalism" and the difficulties of European states to formulate new policies against transnational corporate power and strengthen the existing ones.

Available at: <https://www.nordicom.gu.se/sv/system/tdf/publikationer-hela-pdf/digital_media_inequalities_0.pdf?file=1&type=nodo&id=40258&fuerzo=0>

Press, J.
Dueñas del show. Las mujeres que están revolucionando las series de televisión
Barcelona: Alpha Decay, 2018, 368 pages
ISBN: 978-84-948210-6-6

In 2018, Joy Press published *Dueñas del show. Las mujeres que están revolucionando las series de televisión,* a book that looks at the transformation of one of the main areas of the entertainment industry since the mid-20th century up until today: the television series.

The book is divided into nine chapters, each one of which tackles the journey of a woman in the North American audiovisual world who is crucial in this transformation. The first is dedicated to Diane English, playwright, producer and director, known for creating the series *Murphy Brown.* The second looks at Roseanne Barr, presenter of the interview programme, *The Roseanne Show* and more recently, star of reality shows such as *Roseanne's Nuts.* Amy Sherman-Palladino, playwright, director and writer, is the subject of the third chapter, known for *Gilmore Girls.* The next chapter focuses on Shonda Rhimes, playwright, producer and director, mainly known for creating the series *Grey's Anatomy,* among other globally successful series. Tina Fey, Liz Meriwether and Mindy Kaling share the focus of chapter five. Tina Fey is an actress, comedian, writer, playwright, producer and one of the main characters in the television comedy *Rockefeller Plaza* (originally *30 Rock*). Liz Meriwether is also a writer, producer and television showrunner. She's especially known for creating the television comedy *New Girl*. The third featured woman in this chapter, Mindy Kaling, is an actress, comedian, writer, producer and main character in the series *The Mindy Project*. The sixth chapter focuses on Lena Dunham, playwright, director and actress and creator and main character in the HBO series *Girls*. Chapter seven looks at two of the most popular television programmes on Comedy Central, *Inside Amy Schumer* and *Broad City.* Both series are created or written by women and protagonized by female characters who break stereotypes and socially established norms. The series *Weeds* and *Orange is the New Black*, created by Jenji Kohan, are the focus of the next chapter in this book, which discusses family values. Finally, the ninth chapter looks at the case of Jill Soloway, creator, showrunner, director and writer, particularly known for her role as executive producer and director of the series *Transparent*.

Aguaded, I.; Romero-Rodríguez, L.M. (coordinadors)
Competencias mediáticas en medios digitales emergentes
Salamanca: Comunicación Social ediciones y publicaciones, 2018, 236 pages
ISBN: 978-84-17600-03-7

Competencias mediáticas en medios digitales emergentes is a collective work, written by more than 20 researchers. The volume has a prologue by Joan Ferrés and an introduction by the two editors of the book, Luís M. Romero-Rodríguez and Ignacio Aguaded.

The book tackles the current overriding issues in the Communication and Education sphere, for instance, new media and digital competencies, miscommunication and fake news, audiovisual communication and education.

The first chapter of the book studies the media competencies in a digital convergence context. In this chapter, themes such as transmedia narratives or digital storytelling as an educational tool are studied. The second, dedicated to the ethical and media jurisdiction of new digital environments, tackles issues such as environmental digital ethics, Cybernet, moral robotics, the "digital diet-ethics" and virtual ethics for blockchain and deep web. The theme of the third chapter is miscommunication and infoxication of the fourth screen. Fake news, hoaxes and miscommunication are central themes. The fourth section tackles the possibilities of education on information and communication for inclusive education on communication and technology. The use of digital technology for teaching and learning, the development of digital competencies and skills, and the improvement of education through data analysis are some of the topics covered. The fifth chapter is dedicated to instrumental type dichotomies and those produced by different digital competencies, as well as tackling their role and education. Chapter six focuses on the responsibilities and vulnerabilities derived from the social introduction of new mobile devices. The next chapter focuses on the educational potential of public service media on themes of communication in the digital environment. Chapter eight is dedicated to transmedia creativity in interactive learning processes through emerging digital media. Reading and literacy education through means of digital books, participative culture and new literacy strategies linked to electronic books, booktubers and augmented reality are the themes of the ninth chapter in the volume. The last chapter is focused on digital convergence and the integration of communication and media competencies into information technology.

Recoder, M.J. (ed.)
Com formar ciutadans crítics? Alfabetització informacional i mediática
Barcelona: Institut de la Comunicació de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2019, 195 pages
ISBN: 978 84 120344 3 1

Com formar ciutadans crítics? Alfabetització informacional i mediática presents the work produced in the *Jornada sobre alfabetització informacional i mediàtica per una ciutadania crítica,* celebrated in the great hall of the Department of Communication Studies at the Autonomous University of Barcelona on 30th November 2018. The book consists of an introduction by the book editor, which explains the problematic critical education for citizenship in this day and age, concerning media and digital subject matter.

Furthermore, some of the main reflexions are synthesised, arising from the works: "Periodistes, codi deontològic i informació rigorosa" by Neus Bonet, "El suport del govern a la alfabetització informacional i mediàtica" by Ignasi Genovés and "La necessària vinculació de la universitat amb la formació d'una ciutadania crítica" by Virgínia Luzón.

Alternatively, the articles, "Mediatización Intensiva", by José Manuel Pérez Tornero; "L'educació al llarg de la vida gràcies a les biblioteques públiques" by Aurora Vall; and "El paper de les autoritats reguladores europees en la *media literacy* i el programa desenvolupat pel CAC en educació mediàtica" by Salvador Alsius are also presented. The third part of the book is dedicated to another five papers from the works. The first is "Media and Information Literacy and the Media Industries: Best practices" by Laura Cervi. The second is "La competència informacional i els estudiants universitaris" by Pilar Cid and Remei Perpinya. Marta Civil is the author of the third article titled, "Els graduats en comunicació: quin rol poden jugar en l'ensenyament de la competència informacional i mediàtica a les escoles?". The fourth article is "Els bibliotecaris: de guardians dels llibres a divulgadors del coneixement" by Joan Gómez Escofet. And the last is "P Professionals de la informació, la comunicació i l'educació davant la infoxicació i les *fake news*: col·laborem?" by Alexandre López- Borrull, Josep Vives and Joan Isidre Badell.

Before it concludes, the book presents five more case studies, again from the works of María José Recoder, written by Eva Garcia, Núria de José, Mònica Lablanca, Carlos Ortiz and Josep Viñeta Balsells.

Available at: <http://incomnet.uab.cat/download/ebookincom_18ok.pdf>

Journals Review

Comunicación y Género

Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid - Ediciones Complutense
Vol. 2, num. 1. June 2019
ISSN-e: 2605-1982

Comunicación y Género is a journal entirely dedicated to the crossover between communication and gender studies, launched in June 2018. Published twice a year, the month of June 2019 saw its third issue published, made up of 8 articles principally focused on issues related to developing the roles and representation of women and men in the media and on social networks.

The issue opens with Mariona Visa Barbosa, Francisco Cabezuelo y Teresa Piñeiro's contribution about the representation of fatherhood in the three successful TV series' *Breaking Bad*, *Mad Men* and *Homeland*.

Ana Bernal- Triviño's text provides the results of her investigation about the role of the media in the awareness and non-revictimization related to *machista* violence from interviews with women who have been victims of the latter

Nerea Cuenca analyses what constitutes the construction of masculinity and femininity in her contribution to the issue, through the concept of friendship in Pixar animation films. Focusing on "*Sex Education,* the complete sex education on Netflix", Francisca Pérez investigates the audiovisual discourses of OTT platforms, beginning with the study of the British series. She not only examines the representation of feminism, gender identities and sexual orientations, but also the role of family and educational institutions.

The issue contains four more studies: "Invisibilization of the sportswomen in the sports media Twitter accounts" by Alba Adá; "Reconfiguration of public media space. Collective actor's self-narratives (Córdoba, Argentina), disputes of meaning and proletarian public sphere", by Nidia Abatedaga and María Eugenia Boito; "Reflection and construction of the nineteenth-century women in Spanish and American Enlightenment" by María Aboal, and "'The feminine' and 'the masculine' of flamenco dancing and its current hybridization: Manuel Liñán" by María Cabrera.

Available at: <https://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/cgen>

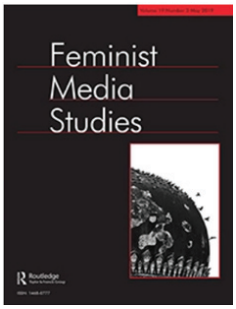
INTERdisciplina

Ciudad de México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México - Centro de Investigaciones Interdisciplinarias en Ciencias y Humanidades
Vol. 7, num. 17. January 2019
ISSN: 2448-5705

INTERdisciplina is the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México's Centro de Investigaciones Interdisciplinarias en Ciencias y Humanidades' (Science and Humanities Interdisciplinary Research Centre) journal. The January-April 2019 issue examines gender relationships with the media and new technologies. It has an editorial section, 8 original articles in Spanish and English, an interview, two independent contributions and a summary of the report *Freedom of Expression and Media Development,* published by UNESCO. The first article in the issue is called "Women documentary filmmakers as transnational 'advocate change agents'". The author, Lisa French, examines the role of documentary filmmakers as change agents in the social, cultural, political and legal transformation of society, and also as activists for women's rights in the media. María Soledad Vargas makes a comparative analysis of gendered discourse in the opinion columns of the *El País Semanal* (*El País*) and *Magazine (La Vanguardia*) publications. Aimée Vega's article analyses the structural conditions of violence against women journalists in a Mexican context. "Channels introducing life impacting small technologies for women in SNNPR: where are the media?" by Melisew Dejene and Tafesse Matewos is the result of a study carried out in the southern regions of Ethiopia to measure how technological innovations are incorporated into women's lives and to what extent the media contribute to this aspect. In their section, Claudia Padovani and Karen Ross investigate the repercussion of the media in the portrayal of gender stereotypes which can restrict employment opportunities. Isabel Rodrigo, Patricia Núñez and Luis Rodrigo contribute a study about the potential of education in values and gender-based violence as a tool for social change. The issue concludes with Édgar Vega's study "From Gays and trans and to sexual / gender diversities: two decades of decriminalization of homesexuality in Ecuador" and Lucía Sánchez-Díaz's "Street harassment perception and its relations with self-objectification of women".

Available at: <http://www.revistas.unam.mx/index.php/inter/issue/view/5093/showtoc>

Feminist Media Studies
United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis
Vol. 19, núm. 3. February-June 2019
ISSN: 1468-0777. Online ISSN: 1471-5902



This issue of *Feminist Media Studies* is divided into three sections. The first, *Gaming Gender,* contains two articles. One is "Representing sex workers in video games" by Bonnie Ruberg, who makes a critical analysis of the representation of sex workers in videogames, focused on the reification of feminine characters and the devaluation of erotic labour. The other is "Unfolding female quiet in wargames" by Enrico Gandolfi and Mariacristina Sciannamblo, which investigates the cultural mediatization of the relationship between gender and war through the analysis of the representation of female presence in *Metal Gear Solid V,* one of the most popular videogames in today's society. The second section, *Troubling Texts*, includes three articles: "Prime-time narcos: the Mafia and gender in Colombian television" by Toby Miller, Marta Milena Barrios and Jesús Arroyave, which analyses the representation of women on Columbian narconovelas; "Shameless television: gendering transnational narratives" by Beth Johnson and Laura Minor, which analyses the textual representations and formal gender constructions in the series *Shameless*; and "'I'd like an abortion please': rethinking unplanned pregnancy narratives in contemporary American cinema" by Melissa Hair, which investigates the narratives surrounding pregnancy and abortion in American indie films *Obvious Child* and *Grandma*. The third section is composed of four articles: "Unblurring the lines: a qualitative exploration of young women's opinions on popular music" by Jessie F. McCallum and Peta L. Dzidic, which seeks to understand young women's opinions of popular music; "#Slane Girl, beauty pageants and padded bras" by Debbie Ging, Elizabeth Kiely, Karl Kitching and Máire Leane, which enlightens us as to how the sexualisation of children has begun to be treated in Irish media; "We wouldn't say it to their faces" by Dunja Antunovic, which examines the circulation of feminist messages in sports media discourses; and "Feminist power and its implications on Uganda's malaria communication campaign" by Aisha Sembatya Nakiwala and Brian Semujju, which studies the apparent radical feminism present in the campaigns to end malaria in Uganda. Available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/rfms20/19/3?nav=toclist>

Doxa Comunicación
Madrid: Universidad CEU San Pablo
Num. 28. June 2019
ISSN: 1696-019X / e-ISSN: 2386-3978

The latest issue of *Doxa Comunicación* presents a monograph about minors in the digital environment, coordinated by María de Carmen García Galera (URJC) and Leopoldo Abad Alcalá (USP-CEU).

The first article of the monograph titled, "State of the issue of child sexualisation in the digital environment and media literacy proposals", tackles the way in which the new social media environment influences child sexualisation. In it, Carmen Llovet, Mónica Díaz-Bustamante and Alfonso Méndiz also respectively present some proposals for media literacy. "Minors in the digital environment", published by the coordinators of the monograph, María del Carmen García Galera and Leopoldo Abad Alcalá, is about the general way that minors adapt and learn in the digital ecosystem. Estibaliz Linares, Raquel Royo and María Silvestre contribute their article "Sexual and sexist cyber-harassment towards young girls", which focuses on sexual and sexist cyberbullying that female adolescents in the Basque Country suffer, from a gender and cyber feminist perspective. "Media convergence, risk and harm to children online" by Carmelo Garitaonandia, Inaki Karrera and Nekane Larrañaga, presents the most significant results of the *Net Children Go Mobile1* project, in which Denmark, Italy, the UK, Romania, Belgium, Ireland, Portugal and Spain have participated. These are based on the analysis of new habits generated by the introduction of mobile phones and digital media among children. Aurora Edo and Belén Zurbano add their article "Journalistic deontology on violence against women", which tackles the authorship of deontological production on violence against women and the media in Spanish and Latin American contexts from 1999 to 2018. Finally, "New audiovisual consumption habits among minors: approximation through the analysis of survey data" by María José García-Orta, Victoria García-Prieto and Míriam Suárez-Romero, analyses, through surveys of adolescents aged between 14 and 17, how the introduction of video services on demand alters the behaviour of this age group.
Available at: <http://www.doxacomunicacion.es/en/>

Film Matters
Bristol: Intellect
Vol. 9, num. 3. December 2018
ISSN: 20421869. Online ISSN: 20421877

Film Matters is a journal dedicated to film research. It is published four times a year with the aim of raising awareness of student papers, simultaneously contributing to other students' learning. The magazine's latest issue includes four articles which explore gender related topics:

James Doyle presents, "A Real Human Being and a Real Hero: Masculinity, Liminality, and Design in Nicolas Winding Refn's *Drive*". The paper presents an analysis of the immaculate image of masculinity in the film *Drive* through its visual design and construction of the main character, a stunt driver and car mechanic in Hollywood.

In addition, Emma Hughes, in her article "The New Global West: Redefining the Borders of Genre in the Post-Revisionist Western", argues that the western as a film genre lives on and that its characteristics continue to influence film today. The author uses the term *post-revisionist Western* to describe the cinematic style of the film *Unforgiven,* by Clint Eastwood.

"A Feminine Techno-Utopía: Identification/Transformation/ Transcendence of Embodiment in Spike Jonze's *Her*" by Alexandria R. Moore, argues that Spike Jonze's film, *Her*, moves away from the traditional cinematic representations of femininity, artificial intelligence and construction of sexuality.

"A Recipe to Self-Made Womanhood? Nora Ephron's *Julie & Julia*, Domesticity, and Gender" by Florian Zitzelsberger, explores how the film *Julie & Julia* challenged and to some extent reinforces, the gender ideal associated with "the self-made man" and the idealisation of "true femininity".

Available at: <https://www.intellectbooks.com/film-matters>

Science fiction fim and television
Liverpool: Liverpool University Press Online
Vol. 12, num. 1. February 2019
ISSN: 1754-3770. Online ISSN: 1754-3789

Science Fiction Film & Television is a journal attached to the University of Liverpool. Its latest issue is dedicated to the presence of female astronauts in film.

The first article, written by Yvonne Tasker, "Women, SF spectacle and the mise-en-scène of space adventure in the *Star Wars* franchise", explores gender representations in the *Star Wars* saga. "Untethered technology in *Gravity*" by Lorrie Palmer, contributes a textual analysis of *Gravity* where she argues that Sandra Bullock's character reimagines the mythic figure of the astronaut within a collaborative and professional relationship with spaceflight technology. "Square-jawed strength" by Lisa Purse, studies the representation of female astronaut characters as strong protagonists in science fiction films. Bronwyn Lovell, in "Cosmic careers and dead children", offers an analysis of four female astronaut characters: Ellen Ripley, Dr. Ryan Stone, Dr. Molly Woods and Ava Hamilton, concluding that their maternity stories are constructed in a similar way, always featuring the death of a child. In "Gendering the Anthropocene", Joseph Jenner examines films such as *The Cloverfield Paradox*, *One Under the Sun* and *The Space Between Us* and television series' such as *Extant* and *The 100*. The author argues that, in parallel to the masculinised discourse present in this geological time, the rise in female astronauts in contemporary science fiction suggests a review may be in order regarding the notions of who has the power to take action and politically intervene when faced with environmental problems on planet Earth. The final article in the issue, "Visible/invisible" by Amanda Keeler, analyses the television programme *Star Trek: Discovery* and the part-documentary, part-series, *Mars.* The article argues that these productions make visible two elements which were historically marginalised in science fiction narratives: developing technology as a not-yet-perfect science and the breadth and depth of female astronaut characters.

Available at: <https://online.liverpooluniversitypress.co.uk/toc/sfftv/12/1>

Websites Review

Who Makes the News?
<http://who makesthenews.org.>
Who makes the news? is an online portal dedicated to providing information, knowledge and resources to promote research into communication methods from a gender perspective. Its purpose is to provide evidence for the education, awareness and defence, and to contribute to women's communication outlets for their own development and that of their communities. Every 5 years, since 1995, a Global Media Monitoring Project edition is created, within which different reports are published: one on a global scale and various on a continental and national scale. The last one was published in 2015 and the next one will come out in 2020. Currently, the End Media Sexism campaign is active, dedicated to reminding media outlets of their responsibility to have equal, balanced, precise and non-discriminatory media coverage when it comes to gender topics. On the other hand, a compilation of learning resources has been published so that journalism and media outlet policies are ethical and responsible when it comes gender issues.

Goal 5 of the UN 2030 Sustainable Development Goals
<https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/gender-equality/>
The 2030 UN Goal is made up of 17 sustainable development goals which include the fight against poverty and climate change, working to improve education, designing new towns, and equality for women. It is precisely this last point included in Goal 5 that defends gender equality as a fundamental right and as a basis for a peaceful, prosperous and sustainable world. With this goal, the UN seeks to establish legal frameworks committed to women's rights and ending violence, discrimination or any harmful practice motivated by gender.

Global Alliance on Media and Gender (GAMAG)
<https://gamag.net/>
GAMAG is a worldwide network of individuals and organizations working together to increase gender equality through the media and ICTs. The initiative was launched by UNESCO and more than 500 organizations at the first Global Forum on Gender and Media held in Bangkok in December 2013. The International Steering Committee of GAMAG has five committees in Africa, Europe, the Asia-Pacific region, Latin America-Caribbean and North America, as well as six committees thematically linked to the International Association for Media and Communication Research, the Association for Progressive Communications, the International Association of Women in Radio & Television, the Young Leaders Consortium and the Permanent Conference of the Mediterranean Audiovisual Operators, and one more dedicated to training.

Advancing Gender Equality in Media Industries (AGEMI)
<https://www.agemi-eu.org/>
The European project AGEMI provides tools and resources aimed at teachers, students, journalists and media organisations who wish to combat gender stereotypes and promote a media sector committed to equality, diversity and inclusion. The three main AGEMI resources are: a resource pool of good practices, a collection of learning resources, and the organisation of meetings for media and journalism students, and communication professionals.

EuroGender

<https://eurogender.eige.europa.eu/about-eurogender>

EuroGender is the European Institute for Gender Equality's (EIGE) online cooperation and consultation hub that allows its members to share knowledge and contribute to advancing gender equality in Europe and beyond. It allows its members to share virtual workspaces, participate in online discussions on their website, discover the latest gender-related events and post information regarding their own, engage and debate with experts from around the world and participate in EIGE surveys. EuroGender's areas of interest include media and communication and digital agenda. Furthermore, EIGE published the report, *Integrating gender equality into academia and research organisations* at the beginning of April 2019 –an analysis that collected legal initiatives and state- and community-wide policies, aiming to correct gender inequality.

EPRA Report: Achieving Greater Diversity in Broadcasting - special focus on Gender; Benefits and best practice approaches

<https://www.epra.org/attachments/achieving-greater-diversity-in-broadcasting-special-focus-on-gender-comparative-background-paper>

The European Platform of Regulatory Authorities' (EPRA) report examines the representation of women in the audiovisual industry both on- and off-screen, the roles of audiovisual regulatory authorities and examples of good practice identified in different countries. Among other conclusions, the report highlights that women are clearly underrepresented or represented in an inaccurate way within the EU audiovisual sector. On one hand, the appearance of women on-screen is infrequent in many genres and is typically subject to more degrading stereotypes than men. On the other hand, women are also less represented in creative roles within the media industry.

Reports from the RIRM-MNRA gender and media group study

<http://www.rirm.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/etude-stereotypes-de-genre-publicite-2016_francais_french-1.pdf>
<http://www.rirm.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/study-gender-equallity-in-sports-programmes_2017_english_anglais.pdf>

The Mediterranean Network of Regulatory Authorities (MNRA, or the French acronym RIRM) includes a group that studies gender and the media, which has published two reports in recent years analysing the reproduction of sexist stereotypes and gender discrimination in advertising and sports programmes. On the other hand, this group is working on another report titled, *Media Treatment of Gender Violence in the Mediterranean Broadcasting Area,* which will presumably be available from the second semester of 2019.

Report on gender equality in the media sector in the EU by the Committee of Women's Rights and Gender Equality of the European Parliament.

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/a-8-2018-0031_en.html?redirect>

The Committee of Women's Rights and Gender Equality of the European Parliament published a report in early 2018 which examines central elements of the European political agenda in relation to gender equality in the audiovisual sector. It also reviews the existing research on the representation of women in media content and discourse. Furthermore, it analyses different ways to promote gender equality and it presents case studies carried out by four member states: Austria, Malta, Switzerland and the UK.

Women's Media Centre
<http://www.womensmediacenter.com/>
The Women's Media Centre (WMC) is a progressive, non-biased and non-profit organisation which works to increase women's visibility, capability and power to make decisions in the media environment. One of the recent reports published by the WMC, WMC, *The Status of Women in U.S.* Media 2019, shows that, despite some improvements, men continue to dominate all media environments. 2018 saw the report regarding the role of black women in US media.

Observatori de la Igualtat de Gènere
<**http://dones.gencat.cat/ca/ambits/Observatorio/**>
The Observatori de la Igualtat de Gènere (OIG) is an advisory body to the Government of the Generalitat, attached to the Institut Català de les Dones (ICD). The purpose of the observatory is to analyse the situation regarding inequality, violence and discrimination against women and to improve the respective intervention and public policies. The creation of this advisory body was derived from the implementation of the Law 17/2015 of 21st July 2015, of true equality between men and women. Some of the functions of the OIG include: analysing the evolution and ongoing motives of gender inequality and *machista* violence; monitoring the image and stereotypes of women and the trivialisation of *machista* violence, and analysing the information about inequality between women and men on a national, European and international scale.

Observatori de les dones en els mitjans de comunicació
<**https://www.observatoridelesdones.org/es/**>
The Observatori de les dones en els mitjans de comunicación is a participation initiative set up by 29 Catalan councils. Its purpose is to promote a critical approach to the role of the woman in the media. The observatory's activities are aimed at groups of women, educational centres, schools for adults, local technical staff, media professionals and general citizens. Among their resources and projects, what stands out is their organisation of contests, workshops, talks, film forums, exhibitions and teaching materials. On the other hand, the observatory has developed a tool for non-sexist communication with the aim of facilitating the work of the councils and other institutions or bodies at the demand of the ever more active and critical population with regard to sexist communication. Additionally, it has created a legal guide concerning the use of non-sexist communication in the local government sphere.

Associació de Dones Periodistes de Catalunya (ADPC)
<**http://www.adpc.cat**>
The ADPC was created in 1992 as the first professional association of female journalists in Spain. This Catalan association aims to improve the personal situation of professional women in the media. Since 1993, the ADPC has been linked to the Red europea de mujeres periodistas (European network of female journalists). This network carries out and supports awareness campaigns, delivers non-sexist communication awards, develops their own research and projects, organises conferences and promotes training workshops and services, as well as providing counselling to local governments. Furthermore, between 2000 and 2009, it edited the trimestral magazine *DONES,* which later became *DONESdossier.*

Inter-University Women and Gender Studies Institute (IIEDG)

<https://www.iiedg.org/en>

The IIEDG is an institute created from the collaboration of different research groups attached to the UPC-Barcelona Tech, Autonomous University of Barcelona, University of Barcelona, University of Girona, University of Lleida, University of Vic and the Rovira i Virgili University. The institute carries out its own research and offers a Master's Degree in Women, Gender and Citizenship Studies, and a Doctoral Program in Gender Studies: Culture, Society and Policy. In addition, they form part of the gender, citizenship and policy excellence network (GENCPOLIS), a state research programme funded by the Ministry of Economy and Business.

Centre for Gender Studies – CEdGE UPF

< https://www.upf.edu/web/genere >

The Universitat Pompeu Fabra's Centre for Gender Studies is a *think tank* focused on gender studies and other lines of social inequality, such as class, identity, ethnicity, sexuality or disability. Its main purpose is to promote and encourage research and teaching from a gender perspective, carried out by different departments within the institution, in order to contribute to community awareness both at the university and in society. It also seeks to support individual researchers and teachers involved and offer meeting spaces to allow them to exchange information.

Master Gender and Communication (GiC - UAB)

<http://www.mastergenerecomunicacio.org/en/>

The Departamento de Medios, Comunicación y Cultura (Department of Media, Communication and Culture) at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, offers a Master's Degree in Gender and Communication (GiC). This course offers students the possibility of forming a theoretical and expert perspective of the social conditions that affect gender identities and communication systems. It is aimed at social science graduates interested in adopting a gender perspective when it comes to analysing media and online communication, in particular press offices, advertising agencies and cultural industries. The Instituto Catalán de las Mujeres (Catalan Women's Institute) offers a grant for communication professionals from the Generalitat de Cataluña and media professionals who require funding to be able to take this course.

Manuscript submissions guidelines

Presentation of the articles

The article must be presented in electronic support (PC and Word format preferred). Every page must be 30 lines approx. and **body size 12**. The maximum length is about **6.000 words**.

The cover sheet has to be provided only giving the title, the name of the author(s) and position, postal and e-mail addresses. The article has to include an **abstract of 90-100 words and five keywords**.

Articles will be accepted in **Catalan, Spanish and English**.

Submission

Articles should be addressed at: quadernsdelcac@gencat.cat

Copyright clearance

Every author whose article has passed the blind review and has been accepted for publication must send to CAC a signed letter accepting the text publication by CAC in its journals and website (<http://www.cac.cat>) and confirming that the article is original, unpublished and is not assessed in other publications, being the author responsible of any reclaim due to the non-fulfilment of this warranty. .

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Consell de l'Audiovisual de Catalunya
Carrer dels Vergós, 36-42
08017 Barcelona

References and notes

The list of references and end notes has to be placed at the end of every article. References in the text must appear into brackets with the name of the author, the year of edition and the pages. (Name year, pages).

The model used for citing the bibliography must follow the criteria given by TERMCAT, which may be consulted at:
<http://www.termcat.cat/docs/docs/Bibliografia.pdf>
[in Catalan]

- **Books**

Last name; Initial/Institution. Title. Edition. Place of edition: Publisher, year. Volume. (Collection, number). ISBN number

- **Articles in journals**

Last name; Initial. "Title of the article". Journal. Volume. (year), issue number, pages. ISSN (optional)

- **Contributions to books**

Last name; Initial/Institution. "Title of the chapter". In: Last name; Initial/Institution. Title. Edition. Place of edition: Publisher, year. Volume. (Collection, number). ISBN number

- **Online documents**

Last name; Initial/Institution. Title [Online]. Edition/Version. Place of edition: Publisher, year.
<URL address>[Consulted: date]

Tables and figures

Tables and figures have to be provided with **short, descriptive titles** and also be numbered in Arabic numbers. All footnotes to tables and their source(s) should be placed under the tables. They must be inserted not as an image but in an **editable format** (e.g. in Excel).

Colour figures, tables and graphs are admitted and they all should have the **source well identified.**

Book reviews guidelines

1. The aim of the section 'Critical books review' is to review the most important new publications in the world of communication and particularly in the field of broadcasting.
2. Reviews must be original and previously unpublished.
3. Reviews must be adequate for readers to get a general idea of the content of the book under review, as well as providing a personal assessment of its interest. The review must therefore contain a description and analysis of the book, as well as some conclusions indicating its value and importance to readers.
4. The recommended length for reviews is around 1,000 words, not exceeding 1,300 words in any case.
5. Reviewed books must be contemporary, i.e. they must have been published during the last two full calendar years, although an earlier book may be included if duly justified.
6. The review must be given a title that summarises its content, with the bibliographical details and the author of the review below, including his or her position and the institution to which he or she belongs.
7. The model used for citing the bibliography must follow the criteria given by TERMCAT, which may be consulted at:

   <http://www.termcat.cat/docs/docs/Bibliografia.pdf>

   [in Catalan]

   Last name; Initial/Institution. *Title*. Edition. Place of edition: Publisher, year. Volume. (Colection, number). ISBN number
8. The author should be introduced briefly by commenting on his or her background or most recent work.
9. The most important part of the review is the summary and analysis of the content. Here it is necessary to explain the field in which the book is placed, the perspective adopted by the author, the goals the author sets him or herself and the fundamental thesis of the book and how it is developed.
10. The critical evaluation should be generally positive but negative comments can also be included, in both cases suitable arguments being required. Readers must be informed regarding the value, interest and usefulness of the book under review. If relevant, other details can also be included, such as the use of sources, documentation, the bibliography used by the author, the book's formal presentation, etc.
11. Any possible references to text from the book under review must be written in inverted commas, with the page number afterwards, in brackets. "Quote" (p.XX)
12. Bibliographical references to third parties cited in the text of the book under review must use the following model: (Last name year, page number)
13. Bibliographical references from other works quoted in the review must be contained in full at the end, using the same format as the initial bibliographical reference but excluding the ISBN.
14. The review must be sent digitally, in Word or Word RTF, to the following email address: quadernsdelcac@gencat.cat
15. The book review editor will evaluate every submitted review, in order to approve it publication or ask for some modification for his definitive publication
16. Reviews may be written in Catalan, Spanish or English and will be published on this three languages on the CAC website in PDF format.
17. After a review has been accepted, the author must authorise the CAC to publish his/her review in any of its written publications and on its website (<htpp://www.cac.cat>), by means of a signed letter. In the letter the author must confirm that the article is original, unpublished and is not assessed in other publications, being the author responsible of any reclaim due to the non-fulfilment of this warranty. Letters should be addressed by e-mail to quadernsdelcac@gencat.cat or by post mail to:

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