

Women, Identities and Television: How News Programmes Constructed the 8th of March¹

Montserrat Ribas and Lydia Fernández

■ *Throughout the last two decades there have been opened lines of critical thought that argue about the basic notions related to the construction of the modernity. One of the most controversial notions has been the subject. The subject articulated from the binary thought us turns out to be insufficient to explain the complexity and the dynamism of the social categories, and makes necessary to introduce new forms of conceptualization. One of the operative ways to rethink the notion of subject seems to be the analysis of the discursive productions that constitute the base for the intersubjective actions.*

Television is one of the discursive productions that have a more influence in the dynamic construction of social identities. In this article are summarized the conclusions and the analysis that we carry out on the construction of the identity of woman who arose from the informative statements that elaborated the Spanish television news programmes at a state level and Televisió de Catalunya to commemorate the March 8 (International Day of the Women) of 2005.

Keywords

Woman, Identity, Television, Discourses, Subjectivity, News Programmes, 8th March

Montserrat Ribas

Lydia Fernández

What do we mean when we say “I’m a woman” or “she’s a woman”? Trying to answer a question like this is to open up questions in areas of knowledge as diverse as sociology, social psychology, philosophy, cultural studies, linguistics and communication sciences. It means traversing discourses by means of which patriarchal thought has been gradually institutionalised and maintained. In other words, it means helping to reflect on the processes involved in constructing and reproducing the forms of subjectivity that arise as an action of and reaction to the dominant social order.

The aim of this article is to provide data and speculative proposals that help to encourage collective reflection on the identity of gender. Specifically, we aim to a) introduce theoretical postulates that may be of use in analysing what we call the *construction of identities*, and most particularly the identities of *gender*, and b) to analyse how the identity of *woman* is constructed through the stories written by the Spanish television news programmes at a state level and also Televisió de Catalunya on the 8th of March (International Women’s Day) in 2005.

1. Women, identities and television

Of late, the topic of *identities* has aroused more interest in the area of social sciences, either because globalisation has encouraged the appearance of particular local identifications or because, as Laclau (1995: 93) observes, the *Subject* (in capitals), understood as a universalism around which the thought of modernity has been structured,

¹ This article forms part of a study that has been possible thanks to the recordings provided by the CAC.

seems to us inconsistent and therefore questionable. And it is precisely this calling into doubt of the notion of subject, through which we have been offered the chance to think ourselves, which may be considered a pre-condition that would explain the proliferation of studies arising around the different expressions of *subjectivity* (in lower case). However, our position is not to question the theoretical bases that have helped to stabilise discriminations of modern thought but to observe how, in the performance of the everyday, the relations of individual and collective subordination are woven that end up establishing inertias to serve as a basis for identity-based regulations.

The best way to understand identity, says Barker (2003 [1999]: 28), is by describing it as a framework of patterns of discourse that form a network without a centre, and not as a series of attributes that possess a unified nuclear “I”. This idea of identity is based on an “anti-representational” conception of language, which we already find in the last Wittgenstein, 1953, according to which words do not reflect an independent object of the world but are a resource to *shape it*. In other words, enunciation does not have the sole function of reflecting objects and states of things that exist beyond the enunciated but interactively constructs these objects and states of things. Therefore language does not directly *represent* a pre-existing “I” but *constructs* it through processes through which it is assigned *meaning*. The *self* is no more than a series of actions and discourses that enable it and, consequently, an analysis of identity needs to shift towards an analysis of the narratives that construct its meaning and structure its experiences. So what were once considered individual characteristics now become the effects of social interaction (Cabruja 1998: 55).

Television as a producer of identities

If we consider that identity is constructed by taking part in the dialogue practices with the discursive environment around us, television undoubtedly plays the most important

role. We must not forget that there are many people who do not read a newspaper at all and whose opinion of what is happening in the world therefore depends on what reaches them through the format of television. In dialogue terms, these people take on the messages and meanings carried by television and routinely incorporate them into their lives. Television constructs expressions of “reality”²

The bodies, emotions, desires, feelings, hopes, actions, etc. that structure our identifications as social subjects are, to a large extent, the result of interacting with television texts. The media in general, and particularly television, are, as Thompson (1995:43) states, deeply involved in “identity projects”: they have the chance to intervene in the behaviour of individuals and lead to new ways of life being adopted, while offering models that make one’s own personality intelligible. In other words, they form part of the discursive devices that structure social identity, while also regulating behaviour and producing knowledge and vocabulary (Cabruja 1998: 56).

And precisely because television programming is not independent of audience ratings, some studies, basically North American, insist on presenting television as one of the utmost expressions of democracy. Notwithstanding this, we believe that this approach simplifies the issue somewhat and that, beyond the importance audience involvement may have in the production of programmes, we understand that it is necessary to analyse to what extent something that could have been a direct instrument of democracy has become an instrument of symbolic oppression (Bourdieu 1996: 00208)³

In any case, we need to be clear that talking about *television* means talking about very different communicative interactions. On the one hand are programmes that try to connect with what is called “popular culture”, and on the other are informative programmes. While popular culture programmes are questioned in certain circles, the information that appears on television, whatever its type and often without knowing the source, is rarely questioned. We

2 We may take reality to mean what the members of a society learn and accept as something given (Gunter 1995:1).

3 Below, when we talk about gender, we will deal with the notion of Bourdieu's symbolic violence.

might say that it occupies a place of authority comparable to that which the church might have occupied in the middle ages. The information provided by television is unquestionable truth for most citizens.

And, if we closely observe the most recurrent structures of news discourse, we easily notice that, in general, they not only legitimise dominant representations but establish them as new. We must remember that television is one of the most productive forms of social control.

The discursive structuring of gender

In one of her best-known books, *Gender Trouble*, J. Butler (1990) proposes that gender is not an attribute of the subject that existed before it entered society but is the *performative* effect; i.e. the effect of repeating socially regulated behaviour and, therefore, *normative*. *Masculine* and *feminine* are not inherent features in an individual's biology but are the result of social construction that imposes forms and conducts on human beings that turn them into socially intelligible individuals.

Later, this same author states that the discourse and material nature of bodies cannot be disassociated (Butler, 1993); given that discourse is not the means by which we understand what material bodies are, but are the means by which these things are structured and have meaning. In short, both the dichotomy of gender and that of sex are nothing more than regulative formulas, material effects of the discursive "subjections" through which the dominant social order is inscribed within us (Foucault 1981).

Another notion that is not too far removed from these approaches, and which we feel is useful to introduce, is that of Bourdieu's *symbolic violence* (2000), which we have mentioned previously. Symbolic violence is brought about when the schema implemented by a dominated person to perceive and appreciate his or herself, or to perceive and appreciate the mechanisms of domination, are a product of his or her becoming inscribed in the culture as a social

being. In other words, it is violence exercised from within, from the schema that allow us to perceive and construct our own subjectivity.

The effects and conditions of the effectiveness of symbolic violence (be it of race, gender, culture or language) are firmly inscribed in the most intimate of our bodies. That is why Bourdieu (2000) insists on placing symbolic strength next to passion, emotions, feelings, affection; in other words, in the most indomitable areas of subjectivity. Given this situation, the dominated and dominating do not seem to be able to stop themselves from submitting to the symbolic order of the division of gender (Gordo 2001: 5)

Notwithstanding this, and returning to Butler's (1990) hypothesis on *gender* as *performative* effect, we observe that, beyond being an effect of domination, it can also become a strategy for subversion; i.e. in the same way that performative effect condemns the subject to be formulated, it also opens the door to reformulating it. Along these lines, Joan Scott (1999: 107), in an article on experience, language and historical explanation, comments that "experience is a subject's history" and argues that experience cannot be separated from language. She writes that "subjects are constituted discursively and experience is a linguistic event — it doesn't happen outside established meanings — but, thanks to the relational capacity of language, neither is it confined to a fixed order of meaning". In other words, if experience is not enclosed within a fixed symbolic order, experience can be reformulated.

2. How news programmes constructed the 8th of March

As we have mentioned previously, a study on the construction of gender identities cannot ignore the expressions of subjectivity put into circulation by television⁴. In order to observe the regulations that a large part of the hegemonic discourse imposes on gender difference in

4 Television is one of the most powerful media in terms of standardising global culture. It is difficult to find a home, whatever the country in the world we study, that escapes this influence. It is true that it is also a medium that can be used in favour of maintaining local cultures, but we do not think it is appropriate to observe the discursive production of this media differentiating the global from the local. We believe that global culture always appears "localised", i.e. resignified based on the specific experiences of each community. For this reason we do not refer to this kind of distinction.

general, and the expression of the feminine in particular, we have analysed the discourses put into circulation by news programmes from the main public and private television stations at a national level and also Televisió de Catalunya concerning the situation and social condition of women. Specifically, we have analysed the stories constructed by the midday and evening television news programmes on TVE-1, La 2, Tele-5, Antena 3 TV, TV3 and 33 concerning the 8th of March (International Women's Day) in 2005⁵.

In order to carry out this analysis, we have focused on:

- The presence of IWD in all the television news coverage.
- The topics around which the news story was organised.
- The construction of the man/woman difference.

The presence of IWD in all the television news coverage

One statistic that must be taken into account when observing the role played by certain groups in collective social construction is their presence in the media and the roles (agent, passive, state) assigned to them. In this case, as the issue was the 8th of March, the presence of women, as a group, was guaranteed. However, we thought it was pertinent to analyse in detail the time invested by each station in informing about the IWD and how this time was distributed.

Table 1 shows the time invested by each channel in news

Table 1. Time invested in news coverage of IWD (TV news 8th March 2005)

			Duration of news programme	Duration of IWD news	Duration of connected news ⁶	Total IWD duration
Public TV channels	TVE-1	Midday	48:45	4:08		4:08
		Evening	50:04	4:39		4:39
	La 2	Evening	15:58	4:20	1:02	5:22
	TVE in Catalonia	Midday	20:32	1:09		1:09
	TV3	Midday	53:52	6:35	2:41	8:76
		Evening	48:55	2:35		2:35
Private TV channels	33	Evening	62:04	3:43		3:43
	Tele-5	Midday	44:53	4:79		4:79
		Evening	38:30	2:05	0:34	2:39
	Antena 3 TV	Midday	48:30	4:22		4:22
		Evening	47:12	2:92		2:92

Source: Authors' own work

⁵ In this study we have not included subscriber channels because we felt that, although some news programmes are open to all viewers, the audience is quite small. Neither have we taken into account the references made to IWD in news programmes before the 8th of March, as happens with the coverage by TV3 of the institutional breakfast held on the 6th of March at the Palau de Pedralbes, attended by Pasqual Maragall. Our aim was to limit ourselves strictly to the coverage given by each news channel on the day, because we felt it was easier to observe any contrasts.

⁶ News that, although it forms no direct part of the news on IWD, is thematically related, such as demonstrations by women in different countries or anecdotes which the editing team have related due to some circumstance.

concerning IWD during the news programmes at midday and in the evening⁷. The total time invested, which appears in the last column, is the sum of the duration of the news per se and connected news, when there is such a news item. Notwithstanding this, this total time cannot be interpreted in absolute terms but must be related to the duration of each TV news programme, which appears in the first column.

So, based on this time-based ratio, we notice that the TV news programme that invested most time to the news item on the International Women's Day was La 2 (Evening), followed by TV3 (Midday), Tele-5 (Midday), Antena 3 TV (Midday) and TVE-1 (Evening and Midday, correlatively). These data must cause us to reflect: why is Televisión Española's second channel the one that provides the news story with most visibility; i.e. an absolutely minority channel? Why did the channels with the highest audience ratings, except for TVE-1, invest much more time in this news story at midday than in the evening? Is it perhaps because this news item was aimed fundamentally at women?

Topics the news items are organised around

When the news programmes talked about International Women's Day, what did they talk about? What are the topics selected when a story is constructed about the social situation of women? The selection of topics was, to a certain extent, the selection of the cognitive scenarios where social actors are made to act with varying degrees of importance. Selecting a topic therefore means focusing on one mental area in detriment of another. Consequently, what are the scenarios where narratives occur, broadcast by the TV news programmes, on the social fact of being a woman?

Firstly, table 2 shows whether the IWD news item appeared in the summary. Secondly, the topic by which the news item was introduced and, finally, the topic around which the report or reports were organised, depending on whether one or two were presented. With regard to the topics that start the news programme, we observe that TVE-1, Tele-5 and partly TV3 opted to talk about *equality*; Antena 3 TV, to talk about the *equal opportunity act* and *discrimination at work*; La 2 also coincided with this last

topic and, finally TV3 chose to talk about *violence against women* in the midday news programme and to show the *reading of the manifesto* and the *demonstration* in Barcelona in its evening news programme. The most repeated topic to introduce the news was therefore *equality*, either in general or as a parliamentary bill.

Introducing a news item with a specific topic means situating the story "in terms of setting" and activating cognitive domains that guide how the information is processed and interpreted. The fact that the majority of the news items located the topic of *equality* in prime place in their news item meant that the reports containing this, although perhaps not explicitly disconnected, were interpreted from this perspective. But when people talk about *equality*, what are they talking about? The reports that went to make up the TVE-1 news were particularly illustrative and we will deal with them in detail in the next section.

Other introductory topics, such as the one selected by TV3, violence against women, or the one selected by La 2 and Antena 3 TV, discrimination at work, are current media topics and therefore of concern to society (the order is pertinent). In the case of TV3, moreover, the topic was introduced by means of impacting images of awareness raising campaigns that different European governments were carrying out, through television, against the mistreatment of women. Starting the news story with these images is denouncing a crude reality but it also situates the story in a European space, in which new identity-related identifications are encouraged: *us* is no longer only the state of Spain but the European community.

With regard to the topics of the news stories, they revolved primarily around the everyday lives of various types of women. The main aim was to show the difficulties women still have to balance work and family life or to emphasise that, at present, there are women who do jobs that are considered to be men's work. Curiously, the men's jobs shown were: electrician, stonemason, quantity surveyor, bus driver, etc. Why offer these examples as an example of *equality*, of liberation, and not the fact that women have achieved certain positions of power? In fact, the key

7 TVE's news programme in Catalonia is only broadcast at midday.

Table 2. Distribution of the TV news topics (8th March 2005)

			Summary	Topics (Start)	Topics (Report 1)	Topics (Report 2)	Topics (Connected news)
Public TV channels	TVE-1	Midday	No	Equality	Discrimination at work between salaried staff and freelancers	Woman who does a man's job	
		Evening	Yes	Equality	Women who do men's jobs		
	La 2	Evening	No	Discrimination at work	Interviews with different kinds of women	Everyday life of a housewife with a degree in political science	Demonstration in Istanbul
	TVE in Catalonia	Midday	No	Equality	Events related to IWD		
	TV3	Midday	Yes	Violence against women / Equality	Discrimination at work: Women working in construction	Situation of women in Pakistan	Events related to IWD / Inauguration of Ràdio Poca
		Evening	Yes	Manifesto and demonstration of IWD in Barcelona	Discrimination at work: Women working in construction	Woman bus driver/ Salary discrimination	
	33	Evening	Yes	The situation of women in India	Interview with Anna Ferrer		
Private TV channels	Tele-5	Midday	No	Equality	Work-life balance	Consequences of a hypothetical general strike by women	
		Evening	No	Equality	Consequences of a hypothetical general strike by women		Prince Charles of England calls a protest where women show their breasts "embarrassing"
	Antena 3 TV	Midday	No	Equal Opportunity act / Discrimination at work	Analysis of sexist adverts in newspapers	Violence against women / Therapy centre for men accused of violence against women (Israel)	
		Evening	No	Equal Opportunity act / Discrimination at work	Women who work as bus drivers		

Source: Authors' own work

question is: what meanings do we associate with gender and what does *equality* mean?

Most of the reports, formulating and asking misleading questions, reproduced the usual clichés and stereotypes. However, we have found two exceptions we would like to mention. We are referring to the report broadcast by Tele-5 on a hypothetical general strike by women and another, broadcast by Antena 3 TV, on the sexist nature of job advertisements. The report by Tele-5 is particularly interesting because it used an epistemic resource that allowed new conceptualisations to be introduced concerning the economic importance of the work usually carried out by women. Specifically, it abandoned the usual "inductive"

approach of showing what there is and opted for a "deductive" approach, imagining what might be. It attempted to imagine a possible general strike by all women and asked different experts to evaluate the consequences. The opinions of everyone were categorical: the country would be submerged into authentic disaster. With regard to the report by Antena 3 TV, this is interesting because it denounced dominant sexist and androcentric behaviour by simply reading job advertisements aloud.

With regard to the connected news items, in general they were related to events that had occurred in different places around the world with some connection, direct or indirect, with IWD. But TV3 is an exception. Specifically, it used the

last part of the news programme, its report, to continue providing information on the events occurring in Barcelona for the 8th of March (e.g. the inauguration of *Ràdio Paca*). In these cases the topics were anecdotal.

Constructing the man/woman difference

As we mentioned earlier, gender may be understood as the effect of discursive “subjections” by means of which the dominant social order is inscribed in us. In other words, gender does not depend on features possessed by human beings but the socio-cultural meanings assigned to them. The man/woman difference should therefore be in a

constant process of resignification. In the previous section we have seen that *equality* was the most recurrent topic in the introduction to the IWD news item, but we believe that the way in which this concept has been put forward in some stories warrants combined consideration.

In effect, this is a news item that starts with the topic of *equality*, supposedly between men and women, and the *equal opportunities act* which the socialist government hopes to promote. Moreover, Zapatero’s words give an institutional feel in order to make it effective. However, how should we understand *equality* here? The two reports that go to make up the news item insist on the topic but, instead of giving us elements to understand the sense in which the

TVE-1 news item (midday) on International Women's Day

Introduction to the news item: *Today, the 8th of March, International Women's Day, in forums and conferences around the world people are talking about the difficulties women still have in being considered equal to men. The president of the government attended one of these forums in Madrid, accompanied by almost all his female ministers. Only the Minister for Agriculture was missing. José Luís Rodríguez Zapatero has said that his government is the first equal government in the history of Spain but he has acknowledged that there is still a lot to be done. The president reminded the forum of the measures in favour of women passed since he arrived at the Moncloa (the president's official home) and he announced a new law for equality (images and words of the president's speech). The IWD reminds us of the inequalities that still exist between men and women, for example in the area of employment. In Spain, the percentage of unemployed women doubles that of men. Increasingly more women work and many have decided to become self-employed, given the difficulty of finding a job. They are female freelancers, who have their own problems.*

Report 1: *Carolina is a translator and works for herself (images and words of C). Her main problem is that, a short time ago, she had her second child and it is difficult to combine her work with looking after her children (images and comments of C with her children). It's difficult to work and have a family for all women, but women freelancers say that it's worse for them (images and comments of C and of a female shop owner). But, out of the 7 million women registered with the Social Security, one in every 7 is self-employed. In the last year, the number of people registered as freelancers with the Social Security rose by 53% thanks particularly to women, that's why they are demanding equal rights for employees and freelancers. (images of women freelancers, and images and comments from a representative of the Freelance Workers' Federation) Most women freelancers work in the service sector (images) and many in rural tourism.*

Report 2: *Villarrubia de los Ojos is one of the earliest rising villages in Spain. Here people get up at 5 to go to work on the buildings sites in Madrid. 150 km every day to get there, and 150 km more to come home (images and comments). Around 1,200 workers make this trip every day. It's tough work, only for men. This van catches our eye because, in it, is the only woman from Villarrubia who works on the site. She's just 20 years old and, for the last 3 years, has been working in building (images and comments). They are renovating the premises to set up a lighting shop in the centre of Madrid (images and comments). Sole is used to being in a man's world and, if someone goes too far, she quickly puts him in his place (images and comments). Sole works as hard as anyone else on the site, she's a woman in her private life and a gypsy 24 hours a day.*

term has been used, they create even more confusion.

The first report talks to us about women who work as freelancers (translators, shopkeepers, beauty consultants, etc.) and the problems they have to balance work and family life. And precisely instead of situating these difficulties in the androcentric organisation of society, the problem is shifted towards the *inequalities* that exist between salaried women and freelancers. The audience infers from this news item that salaried women have achieved equality with their male colleagues, which women freelancers have not. An obviously misleading inference. So, when we talk about equality, who are we talking about?

The second report is even more alarming. A supposed equality between men and women is proposed based on the story of the professional work of Sole, a gypsy girl living near Madrid who works as an electrician. In this case, *equality* must mean being able to do “tough” work. Through the words of the text, however, we observe that it is not only a question of equality but we end up not knowing what gender Sole belongs to. Is she a woman or a man? They say: *It's tough work, only for men*, but she does it. So? Later on they say that she is the only woman who *works on the site* and, afterwards, that *for the last 3 years, has been working in building* and, to finish, that *Sole works as hard as anyone else on the site, she's a woman in her private life and a gypsy 24 hours a day*. It is remarkable how this story forces us to re-categorise gender. What does it mean, when they say that Sole's job is *only for men*? And what when they say that *she's a woman in her private life*? If ethnic identification is permanent, why isn't that of gender? Can we be men one moment and women the next? Perhaps the impossibility, as shown by this story, of thinking of a social reality beyond the worn-out stereotypes that sustain the dominant androcentrism open the doors to our transgression. Gender difference must therefore be resignified.

In conclusion

The aim of this article has been to introduce elements in order to reflect on the representations constructed by television news programmes of the identity of “woman”. In order to approach this more easily, we have introduced a small theoretical framework we believe is adequate and

indicative. From the conclusions we may reach, the following are particularly of note:

- Television intervenes directly in producing and transforming social identities and the perceptions we have of them.
- Television audiences interact with television depending on the kind of programme. A person's attitude towards a TV series is not the same as their attitude towards a news programme. An analysis of the effects of television interaction must therefore be positioned.
- News programmes usually give their information from a point of view that seems agreed and accepted by everyone and people receive the news as an expression of the “truth”. Almost no-one is aware that the perspective from which the news is constructed contains an ideological bias.
- The stories created by the different TV channels to commemorate the 8th of March (International Women's Day) in 2005 show that, in many cases (TVE-1, for example), the androcentric and patriarchal schema continue to be reproduced that go to make up the dominant symbolic and which it is supposed should have been avoided in this case.
- The time dedicated by the different channels to the 8th of March, with the exception of TVE-1, was quite a lot higher at midday than in the evening news programmes. This means that people continue to think that this kind of news item is only of interest to women, who usually watch television during this time slot more than men.
- The treatment given by the different channels to the same topics is the most interesting point of this study. While TVE-1 chose to present the equality between men and women based on stereotypical, contradictory, absurd and caricature-type models, Tele-5 did quite the opposite and opted for a discursive strategy that clearly showed the social importance of the work carried out by women and how little recognition it receives. In broad terms we may say that the private television channels took quite a bit more care in constructing the identities of “woman” which they put into circulation through their news reports than the public television channels. TV3 was the only channel that chose to start its main story within a European context and then go on to cover the local situations.

- The topics, in other words the social scenarios in which the stories on the 8th of March were situated were those which usually and historically form part of the claims of a large part of feminism: equality, lack of discrimination in employment, the struggle against abuse, etc. In 2005, the most recurrent topic was that of *equality*, given that it was related to the *Equal Opportunities Act* promoted by the socialist government.
- Some channels also provided information, albeit brief, on women's demonstrations in Muslim countries. TV3 covered a women's demonstration in Pakistan and interviewed Anna Ferrer, and La 2 covered the demonstration in Istanbul. Although these were only small anecdotes, these news items served to modify clichés about Muslim women that many media insist on reproducing.

Finally, we believe that it would be interesting to raise awareness of the need to open up social debate on the socio-cultural meanings we attribute to gender and the expediency, or lack thereof, of continuing to think and represent it in the same way.

Bibliography

- BARKER, CH. *Televisión, globalización e identidades culturales*. Barcelona: Paidós, 2003
- BOURDIEU, P. *Sur la télévision*. Paris: Liber, 1996
- BOURDIEU, P. *La dominación masculina*. Barcelona: Anagrama, 2000
- BUTLER, J. *Gender Trouble. Feminism and Subversion of Identity*. Routledge: New York, 1990 [Translation into Spanish: *El género en disputa*. Paidós: Mexico, 2001]
- BUTLER, J. *Cuerpos que importan*. Barcelona: Paidós, 2002
- CABRUJA AND UBACH, T. "Psicología social crítica y posmodernidad. Implicaciones para las identidades construidas bajo la racionalidad moderna". In: *Anthropos*, 177. pp. 49-59, 1998
- FAIRCLUAGH, N. *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. London / New York: Longman, 1995
- FOUCAULT, M. *Tecnologías del yo y otros textos afines*. Barcelona: Paidós, 1990 [1981]
- GIDDENS, A. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991 (Translation into Spanish: *Modernidad e identidad del yo: el yo y la sociedad en la época contemporánea*. Barcelona: Península, 1997)
- GORDO GARCÍA, M. "Género y libertad". In: *Espéculo. Revista de estudios literarios*. Complutense University in Madrid, 2001
<http://www.ucm.es/info/especulo/numero19/genero.html>
- GUNTER, B. *Television and gender representation*. London: John Libbey, 1995
- HALL, S. "Who needs identity?" In: HALL, S.; GAY, P. DU (comp.) *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage, 1996
- HARTLEY, J. *Los usos de la televisión*. Barcelona: Paidós, 2000
- LACLAU, E. "Universalism, Particularism and the Question of Identity" A: RAJCHMAN, J. [Ed.] *The Identity in Question*. New York / London: Routledge. pp. 93-108, 1995
- LÓPEZ DÍAZ, P. [Coord.] "Representación de género en los Informativos de Radio y de Televisión. Informe IRTV", 2005.
<http://www.mujaresenred.net>
- RIBAS BISBAL, M. "Dominant Public Discourse an Social Identities" In: PÜTZ, M.; NEFF, J.; VAN DIJK, T. A. *Communicating Ideologies: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on Language, Discourse and Social Practice*. Frankfurt / New York / Paris / Bern: Peter Lang, 2004
- SCOTT, J. "La experiencia como prueba" In: CARBONELL, N; TORRAS, M. [Eds.] *Feminismos literarios*. pp. 77-112. Madrid: Arco libros, 1999 [Original title: "The Evidence of Experience". *Critical Enquiry*, 17. 1991 pp. 773-797]
- THOMPSON, J. *The Media and Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995
- VAN DIJK, T. A. *La noticia como discurso: Comprensión, estructura y producción de la información*. Barcelona: Paidós, 1990
- VAN DIJK, T. A. *Ideology*. London: Sage, 1998 [Translation into Spanish: *Ideología*, Barcelona: GEDISA, 1999]
- VAN DIJK [Ed.] *Estudios del discurso. V. I and II* Barcelona: GEDISA, 1999
- WITTGENSTEIN, L. *Investigacions Filosòfiques*. [Translated and edited by Josep M. Terricabras]. Barcelona: Laia, 1983 [1958]
- WILKINSON, S.; KITZINGER, C. *Feminism and discourse. Psychological perspectives*. London: Sage, 1995
- WODAK, R. (Ed.). *Gender and discourse*. London: Sage, 1997
- ZOONEN, L. VAN. *Feminist Media Studies*. London: Sage, 1994