FEMINISMO/S 38

MONOGRAPHIC DOSSIER:

Women, Sexual Identity and Language

«Armonía», Plaza de la Igualdad, Universidad de Alicante

iuieg UNIVERSITAT D'ALACANT
INSTITUT UNIVERSITARI D'INVESTIGACIÓ D'ESTUDIS DE GÈNERE
INSTITUTO UNIVERSITARIO DE INVESTIGACIÓN DE ESTUDIOS DE GÉNERO

Universitat d'Alacant
Universidad de Alicante

Feminismo/s, 38, July 2021

Monographic dossier:
Women, Sexual Identity and Language

FEMINISMO/S
Journal of the Research Institute for Gender Studies at the Universidad de Alicante

Biannual journal
Published by the Research Institute for Gender Studies at the Universidad de Alicante with the collaboration of the Office of the Vice Cancellor of Research

Issue No. 38, July 2021

PUBLISHER
Research Institute for Gender Studies at the Universidad de Alicante
Campus de San Vicente del Raspeig
Apdo. 99 E-03080 Alicante
Alicante, Spain
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e-mail: revistafeminismos@ua.es; iuieg@ua.es - website: https://ieg.ua.es

Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante
Campus de San Vicente s/n
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https://publicaciones.ua.es
Tel. 965 903 480

Edited by:
Research Institute for Gender Studies at the University of Alicante with the collaboration of the Office of the Vice-Chancellor for Research.
The journal receives funding from the R+D+I grants for the Publication of UA Scientific Journals from the Office of the Vice-Chancellor of Research of the Universidad de Alicante

ISSN: 1989-9998
DOI: 10.14198/fem.2021.38
Legal deposit: A-910-2003
Cover design: candela ink
Layout: Marten Kwinkelenberg

The journal is indexed in ESCI (WOS), DOAJ, REDIB, GenderWatch (ProQuest), InDICEs-CSIC, ERIH PLUS, MLA, CIRC, MIAR, Latindex, Dialnet, Ulrich's, Dulcinea, Google Scholar, SHERPA/RoMEO, RUA, DICE, REBIUN, RESH, OCLC WorldCat, Copac, SUDOC and ZDB/EZB.

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WOMEN, SEXUAL IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE. INTRODUCTION

MUJERES, IDENTIDAD SEXUAL Y LENGUAJE. INTRODUCCIÓN

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To cite this article / Para citar este artículo:
Balteiro, I. (2021). Women, Sexual Identity and Language. Introduction. *Feminismo/s*, *38*, 13-21. Women, Sexual Identity and Language [Monographic dossier]. I. Balteiro (Coord.). https://doi.org/10.14198/fem.2021.38.01

Keywords: Feminism; language; women; identity; gender; discourse

Palabras clave: Feminismo; lenguaje; mujer(es); identidad; género; discurso

The earliest studies which were concerned with the relationship between language and women's social status can be traced back to the nineteenth century women's movement (on this see, for example, Beauvoir, 1952; Stannard, 1977), and also to linguistics and to feminist theories in the earlier twentieth century. Those publications established and led to a debate on the fact that language reflected gender differences, socially associated with women and men, but they are also said to have contributed to maintaining negative attitudes towards women and to perpetuating their secondary social status. Thus, the relationship between gender and language or linguistic variation, that is, gender differences in language use (see Coates, 1986; Jespersen, 1922; Key, 1975), on the one hand, and the significance of the relation between gender and language for sexism and patriarchy, on the other, developed into two prolific and interrelated fields, coinciding with the second wave of feminism in the 1960s and 1970s.

The relation between language, sexism and patriarchy is dealt with in «The subjugation of women through lexical innovation in Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale*», one of the articles in this volume, where Paula López-Rúa addresses the importance of novel formations or rather, morphosemantic and semantic neologisms that occur in the feminist dystopia *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985): word forms and meanings are manipulated to enhance power relations and gender inequality, among other issues. Unlike the rest of articles in this book which deal with current and more updated circumstances concerning women, López-Rúa's focuses on women who are subordinate to men not only physically or socially but also linguistically: the male military elite has the power to name and categorize women, silence women by controlling their interactional exchanges and their access to writings, etc. This article clearly demonstrates that, unlike what former feminist language researchers thought, power is not outside language. Power is in language users but also power cannot be separated from language: language is imbued with power.

During the already mentioned 1960s and 1970s, a good number of contributions were published which dealt with either the nature and importance of gender difference in language use and gender bias or dominance in language. These two alternative perpectives to language and gender were the so-called the «difference» and the «dominance» approaches. Such approaches argued that women's style of speech was not deficient or subordinate but simply different (the «difference» approach), and that language perpetuated asymmetrical gender relations (the «dominance» approach). Amongst the most prominent works were Lakoff's (1973, 1975). Lakoff's theories suggested that women use a polite language style that also reflects shyness, low self-confidence, lack of commitment or lack of strong opinion, therefore, assuming women's (social) inferiority and their relative lack of power. However, research into the relationship between language and gender has evolved considerably since the 1970s. Thus, for example, the general politeness mentioned by Lakoff, amongst others, as a feminine feature which includes the use of euphemisms instead of swearwords or profanity, is not corroborated in this volume. Virginia Acuña Ferreira, far from an essentialist view, in her article entitled «Gender and expletives as discourse markers: Some uses of *joder* in young women's interactions in Spanish and Galician» shows and explores how the expletive *joder*, which in some contexts may correspond to English *fuck*, is employed in interactions in Spanish and Galician among young females. The discursive approach adopted (as we shall see below) and the analysis suggest that this expletive fulfils an important sociolinguistic function as a marker of 'young femininities' in contrast to traditional gender rules and broader descriptions of 'women's talk' in language and gender studies, challenging adult norms and traditional rules on femininity.

Furthermore, while Lakoff argued that «the marginality and powerlessness of women is reflected in both the ways men and women are expected to speak and the ways in which women are spoken of» (1973, p. 45), Silvia Molina-Plaza in her «Blogs for women engineers: a multimodal study» shows how women engineers work towards sexual equality and how they attempt to achieve or ensure a dominant position as professional engineers in a still male-dominated industry. Her article (this volume) focuses on the mechanisms women engineers use for expressing their identities in blogs. Molina-Plaza reveals practices used by women engineers to overcome the limitations that they face in engineering by showcasing opportunities, change the perception of women engineers in society, «redress the gender imbalance in engineering companies» and, as she argues, «continue the true essence of feminism– achieving gender equality step by a step in diverse engineering fields». Studying computer mediated communication (CMC) can provide many insights into the ways males and females present themselves and interact with others in online settings (cf. also Herring, 2000, 2003; Miller & Arnold, 2000; Tannen, 1995). With this article, Molina-Plaza clearly overcomes early feminist concerns with difference and dominance as well as, amongst others, Spender's arguments (1980) that men encoded sexism into language because they had control over language and so they consolidated their supremacy or even Tannen's (1990). Tannen (1990) argued that the language women were taught to use was effective in developing relationships and rapport, while men were socialised into using more competitive or technical, 'report-oriented' communicative styles. In Molina-Plaza's article, women engineers not only use the power of language to promote their beliefs and knowledge but also use language as a source of power. This goes in line with Spender's (1995) more recent work on gender issues and the internet. Spender argued that women must be involved as users and innovators of the world wide web to avoid the internet promotion of men's interests over women's.

In the the 1980s and 1990s, research on male/female differences in conversational interaction emerged. Scholars confirmed that men and women's communication styles were different but they also claimed women's superiority and positive qualities in discourse. This was popularized by Tannen (1990) or Coates (1986, 1996, 1997a, 1997b, 2004, 2013), but also widely criticized for its neglect of power and dominance relations by others such as Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992). Related to this, in «Colour and gender: language nuances», Isabel Espinosa Zaragoza reflects on colour vocabulary elicitation performed by university students. She concludes that females outperform males in production and richness in colour vocabulary, although differences are not as striking as in the past. Technological advantages which allow colour term exposure thanks to the Internet, as well as age, appear to be important factors in the reduction in colour production differences and a more equal and balanced colour specific terminology in young males and females. However, some differences are maintained, like female predilection for MCTs and more colour-related hobbies which may provide them with a much richer colour vocabulary.

In addition to the analysis of how women speak or write, this volume also includes other articles which study how women are spoken of from different linguistic or discursive perspectives. Mykytka and Balteiro in their article «Painting with words: describing women in photography» identify and explore the linguistic devices, especially descriptive adjectives, used to describe women in texts (titles, descriptions, comments or tags) accompanying professionals' digital photographies, and the similarities and differences between women and men's descriptions. Their results show many similarities in the use of the descriptive adjectives for women and men's images, but they also seem to suggest that men and women's appearance or beauty in particular are described from the male perspective and their stereotypes in our society. The question here is whether these descriptions by male professional photographers help to perpetuate sexism. Quite similarly, in «Gender stereotyping and retro-sexism in advertising discourse: a case study of the luxury brand 'IWC' from a postfeminist perspective», Antonia Montes, by adopting a postfeminist critical discourse approach, analyzes a luxury-brand watches advertising campaign and concludes that, unfortunately, advertising seem to perpetuate misbeliefs about women's roles in society and reinforces demeaning female stereotypes in the collective imaginary about the understanding of gender equality.

Apart from the preceding, feminists following the discursive turn in psychology investigate language as a complex and dynamic system that produces meaning about social categories such as gender (see Crawford, 1995, or Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 1995, for a social constructionist perspective). Awareness of the problem of sexism as well as promoting non-sexist language uses is important, an idea or premise which lies behind the articles in this volume. Research on gender differences in discourse apparently mirrors that on sex differences outside language. In fact, despite the prolific research on women and men's language, an exclusive women or men's linguistic feature is still to be discovered. In our opinion, talking about women's speech styles or discourses may be used to either maintain, resist or challenge conventional stereotypes, but, as seen in this volume, women's language uses and their speech and discourses depend on a variety of factors which include context and personality. In fact, as in Acuña Ferreira's and Molina-Plaza's articles, women's linguistic uses and discourses seem to be changing or rather, probably the notion of gender difference in discourse or speech styles should no longer be maintained. Nowadays women are empowering themselves through their discourses, which sometimes do not correspond with stereotypes or cultural beliefs about language styles (see Molina-Plaza's, this volume). As Acuña Ferreira does, following a constructionist perspective, we should pay attention and analyse spontaneous and ordinary language use (on this see also Stokoe, 1998, 2000).

In this new social constructionist view, women's language can be understood as a symbolic cultural construct that is potentially constitutive of a feminine identity (see Gal, 1995). That is, there has been a shift from an essentialist to a constructionist theory of gender which not only has brought to light new ideas on problems pointed out in previous research on gender differences in speech but rather, it abandons the study of gender as if it were contained in discrete linguistic items to focus on the discourse level. As Acuña Ferreira shows in her article, «the individual engages with others and is defined and changed by that engagement and contributes to the changes taking place within the community of practice» (Mills, 2003, p. 30). In this case, the women's linguistic behaviours and uses are not in line with gender stereotypes, as explained above.

Within the third wave of Feminism, gender is seen as performative. Identity is constructed or achieved in the process of interacting with others and dependent on context and behaviour (Butler, 1990; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Mills, 2003); in other words, gender is neither something that we are nor aspects of the self, but something that we do. According to Butler (1990), the concept of 'performativity' demonstrates that gender is produced via cultural acts, including language, dress and other forms of self-presentation. This postmodern approach is found in Carmen Santamaría-García's article, where the author discusses the concepts of identity, face, rapport and (im)politeness from a discursive approach (Van der Bom & Mills, 2015) and analyses the construction of different male gender identities in academic contexts, drawing on data from a corpus of naturally occurring interaction compiled by the author. In «Gender identity in interaction: overcoming heteronormativity» Santamaría-García provides a theoretical framework that can facilitate the analysis of gender identity construction in interaction, moving beyond heteronormativity and gender binarism. Furthermore, she argues that gender identity face builds on attributes of both respectability and identity faces with differing strengths or saliency depending on the individuals and the context. Gay males seem to differ in their choice of resources for doing face-enhancing positive politeness and rapport with their female colleagues. Thus, «[w]hile hetero males are seen to use different gender identity patterns in a continuum of power, […] gay males show a tendency to enhance rapport and to use face-enhancing positive politeness for bonding with their female colleagues, freer from suspicions of flirtatious behaviour» (Santamaría-García, this volume). This study contributes to research within third-wave sociolinguistics, with gender examined as constructed in interaction and considering «the gendered significance of ongoing discourse» (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 4). Despite research within this third wave is growing, studies portraying speakers who do not conform to heteronormativity and gender binarism are still rare, which gives special relevance to this article.

As in Santamaría-García's, postmodern approaches to language and gender consider the interaction between gender, sexuality and language, continuing with the debate of language and feminity but with special reference to gender identities, and more particularly, to non-mainstream or non-heteronormative identities. Still, research into women's language, gender and identities revolves around women's professional roles and leadership, as in Molina-Plaza's article (this volume, as explained above), where women are successful and assertive (cf. Baxter, 2008, 2009; Mullany, 2011), but research may also evidence the perpetuation of inequalities. This and the idea that language is power or that there is power in language use are present in Martínez-Delgado Veiga's article, «'It doesn't meet the requirements of violence or intimidation'. A discursive study of judgments of sexual assault» (this volume). This study analyzes the way rape cases are treated discursively in court from a feminist perspective. The dominant discourses found have been those of sexuality, inaction of the survivor, and lack of violence and/or intimidation. Martínez-Delgado Veiga reveals hidden ideologies and power relationships to denounce the dominant ideas surrounding violence against women. The critical discourse approach in this article is also found in others such as Benwell and Stokoe (2006) or Lazar (2005), which combine such an approach with feminist theory and consider how texts support either maintenance or resistance to structural ideologies as regards heteronormativity or gender order, as in this latter case.

To conclude this Introduction, we encourage specialists and non-specialists to have a read of the articles contained in this issue in order to be aware of the remainders of inequality, the development and progress, and also of the enormous changes in the field of language and gender since the first feminist linguists in the 1970s until the postmodern approaches.

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THE SUBJUGATION OF WOMEN THROUGH LEXICAL INNOVATION IN MARGARET ATWOOD'S *THE HANDMAID'S TALE*[1]

LA SUBYUGACIÓN DE LA MUJER A TRAVÉS DE LA INNOVACIÓN LÉXICA EN *THE HANDMAID'S TALE*, DE MARGARET ATWOOD

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Submitted / Recibido: 07/10/2020
Accepted / Aceptado: 05/04/2021

To cite this article / Para citar este artículo:
López Rúa, P. (2021). The Subjugation of Women through Lexical Innovation in Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale*. *Feminismo/s*, *38*, 23-51. Women, Sexual Identity and Language [Monographic dossier]. I. Balteiro (Coord.). https://doi.org/10.14198/fem.2021.38.02

Abstract

Given the importance of novel formations in science and speculative fiction, the aim of this paper is to analyse a selection of morphosemantic and semantic neologisms that occur in the feminist dystopia *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985), namely those items more closely connected with women's lives. These items are gathered, classified and discussed by resorting to the tools provided by Morphology, Lexical Semantics, Onomastics and Women's Studies. Therefore, the paper explores how new names for people (*Econowives, Offred*), activities (*Particicution*), artifacts (*Birthmobile*) and places (the *Colonies*) play a part in the linguistic task of female subjugation. It shows how in a fictional republic where gender roles and religious totalitarianism are taken to extremes, the forms and meanings of words are manipulated to enhance power relations and gender inequality, impose an orthodox frame of mind

1. Research funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities and ERDF Funds (PGC2018-093622-B-100). This grant is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

(comply with the system), and avoid uncomfortable truths. Neologisms provide a sense of authenticity in the narrative and show how language evolves to satisfy various needs, not only pragmatic, but also social, ideological and euphemistic.

Keywords: Gender roles; Morphology; Neologism; Neoseme; Subjugation

Resumen

Dada la importancia de las formaciones novedosas en la ciencia ficción y en la ficción especulativa, el objetivo de este trabajo es analizar una selección de neologismos morfosemánticos y semánticos que aparecen en la distopía feminista *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985), centrando el interés en aquellos elementos más estrechamente relacionados con la vida de las mujeres. Estos elementos se recopilan, clasifican y analizan recurriendo a las herramientas proporcionadas por la Morfología, la Semántica léxica, la Onomástica y los Estudios de la Mujer. Por lo tanto, el artículo explora cómo los nuevos nombres para individuos (*Econowives, Offred*), actividades (*Particicution*), artefactos (*Birthmobile*) y lugares (the *Colonies*) desempeñan un papel en la tarea lingüística de la subyugación femenina. Se muestra cómo en una república ficticia donde los roles de género y el totalitarismo religioso se llevan al extremo, las formas y significados de las palabras se manipulan para favorecer las relaciones de poder y la desigualdad de género, imponer un estado de ánimo ortodoxo (acatar el sistema) y evitar verdades incómodas. Los neologismos aportan un aire de autenticidad a la narrativa y muestran cómo la lengua evoluciona para satisfacer variadas necesidades, no sólo pragmáticas, sino también sociales, ideológicas y eufemísticas.

Palabras clave: morfología; neologismo; neosema; roles de género; subyugación.

1. INTRODUCTION

Neology is an outstanding feature of narrative fiction, particularly in texts that belong to science or speculative fiction and portray worlds which are mimetic to the reader's world. In these texts, we are likely to find «new characters, new places, new machines, new social groups, new processes, and a host of new objects» (Stockwell, 2014, p. 117), all with new names. Given the importance of novel formations in these fictional genres, the aim of this paper is to analyse the neologisms that occur in the literary work *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985) –from here onwards, *HT*– by resorting to the tools provided by Morphology, Lexical Semantics, Onomastics and Women's Studies.

Often interpreted as a feminist dystopia, Margaret Atwood's novel is set in the early XXI[st] century. A military elite of Christian fundamentalists, alarmed by the loss of traditional American values and by a fertility crisis caused by environmental pollution, overthrows the US government and creates the theocratic republic of Gilead. Fertile unmarried women are forced into sexual slavery to bear children for the ruling class, whereas most of the other women work as domestic servants, indoctrinators and prostitutes, or are condemned to toil and die at toxic wastelands called the *Colonies*.

As will be shown in the sections that follow, in a fictional republic where gender roles and religious totalitarianism are taken to extremes, the forms and meanings of words are manipulated to enhance power relations and gender inequality, impose an orthodox frame of mind (comply with the system) and suppress dangerous thoughts. Language is therefore used to restrain the mind (Mansurov, 2019). Words are coined or new meanings developed to keep control over citizens' thoughts and actions and to preserve a convenient status quo which keeps the military elite in power.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. *The Handmaid's Tale* and feminist dystopian narrative

A dystopia, or negative utopia, is «a non-existent society described in considerable detail and normally located in time and space that the author intended a contemporary reader to view as considerably worse than the society in which the reader lived» (Sargent, 1994, p. 9). Dystopian works «draw attention to issues in the society that might escalate and that people do not pay enough attention to» (Bratanović, 2020, p. 349). As pointed out by Moylan (2000, p. xi), dystopia emerges as a literary form in the 1900s, its roots lying in Menippean satire, realism and anti-utopian nineteenth-century novels. One outstanding feature of dystopian literature is its critical quality: it develops «an abstract yet critical account» of a «new social spacetime» (Moylan, 2000, p. 111), and it is indeed a powerful vehicle for denouncing existing social or political conditions by taking them to extremes. This is also true in the case of feminist dystopias like *HT*, as stated by Cavalcanti (2000): «In the feminist dystopias, the critique of the present is manifested in the stylization and exaggeration of «what we have now»»(p. 153). In line with this exaggeration intended to denounce, in *HT* the reader witnesses how a totalitarian theocracy is imposed on a frightened, confused, and submissive population. The religion of a merciless God of the Old Testament permeates all spheres of life through language, and biblical connotations are present in names of people, places, events, and even in conversational exchanges. It is «the use of religion as a front for tyranny» that Atwood herself denounces in the introduction to the 2017 edition of the novel (Atwood, 2017, p. xviii).

HT is often described as an instance of feminist dystopian narrative (Bratanović, 2020; Dillon, 2020; Falk Jones, 1991; Muñoz-González, 2019; Nelson, 2012; Vevaina, 2006) which presents «an effective warning against absolutist or despotic systems» (Thompson, 2012, p. 25). The novel displays standard dystopian features – «lack of freedom, relentless surveillance, imposed routine» (Thompson, 2012, p. 25), and depicts «a futuristic space in which women's social roles have been thoroughly dominated and severely limited by a patriarchal order» (Cavalcanti, 2000, p. 166). In the fictional republic of Gilead, women are subject to «institutionalized humiliation, objectification and ownership`» (Cavalcanti, 2000, p. 166). As noted by Merriman (2012), *HT* emphasizes «persistent forms of female victimization: sexual exploitation, isolation and compelled ignorance» which go hand in hand with «economic and politic powerlessness» (p. 43). This paper explores how language (and neology in particular) contributes to this dystopian picture of female subjugation.

Concerning the relationship between Atwood and science fiction, it must be noted that, although Atwood's work has been influenced by science-fiction conventions, such as the use of established linguistic tools for the coinage of neologisms (as will be shown in the section devoted to the description of morphosemantic and sematic neologisms), she is rather a writer of speculative fiction, or even social science fiction (Thompson, 2012, p. 19). The author herself dismisses the term 'science fiction' to refer to her work because of the lack of «technological gadgetry» (p. 19). In fact, as Thompson (2012, p. 24) accurately notes, both the world of Gilead and that of 2195 Nunavit (the place where the transcripted manuscript of *Offred*'s memories is analysed in a symposium) are quite «unfuturistic» concerning technological development.

2.2. Morphosemantic framework

Porto (2007, p. 213) states that «nonce-formations and neosemes are characteristic of certain narrative genres, such as science fiction and fantasy» (by extension, they can also be found in other speculative fiction genres). In order to carry out the analysis purported in this paper, it is therefore important to start with a few terminological distinctions, i.e., what is understood by neologism, nonce form and neoseme, and also the difference between lexical productivity and creativity.

2.3. *Neologisms, nonce forms* and *neosemes*

Concerning neologisms and nonce formations, there is general agreement among linguists as to the difference between the terms, as well as to the fact that both types of coinages are linked by a process of progression or development that encompasses institutionalization, i.e. the integration of an item into the lexical stock of a language, which goes hand in hand with its listing in reference dictionaries (Bauer, 2001, pp. 38-40; Hohenhaus, 2007, p. 8; Mattiello, 2017, p. 25).

Neologisms are «words that represent an advanced state of ad-hoc formation in terms of higher frequency, tentative familiarity among the speakers of the language community and stronger context-independence» (Kerremans, 2015, p. 30). Also, they «seem to be coined to refer to new objects, events or ideas» (p. 30). By contrast, nonce formations are «context-dependent», «not coined for permanence», «not stored in the lexicon», «non-institutionalized», and «only with repeated occurrences in different contexts may we begin to consider them neologisms» (Munat, 2007, pp. 168, 171). Kerremans (2015) rightly qualifies his description of neologisms by adding that they are «form-meaning» pairings (lexical units) «that have been manifested in use and thus are no longer nonce-formations, but have not yet occurred frequently and are not widespread enough in a given period to have become part […] of the lexicon of the speech community and the majority of its members» (pp. 31-32). In this way, she is accurately taking into account the fact that, when a neologism is fully institutionalized, it is technically no longer a neologism. Adopting a Saussurean perspective, Kerremans (2015, pp. 30-31) considers form-meaning pairings and describes as neologisms combinations of a new form and a new meaning (*detweet*), a new form and an existing meaning (*snowicane*), and an old form and a new meaning (*subprime*), the last combination being «new to the speakers and therefore a neologism» (p. 31). This classification is actually based on Tournier's (1985) proposal of macromechanisms by means of which new words are coined in English (p. 51). As noted by Lipka (1992, p. 92), these processes comprise the coinage of «morpho-semantic», «morphological» and «semantic» neologisms.

Mattiello (2017) accurately notes that some coinages are borderline cases between «nonce formation and true neologisms» (p. 26), and she mentions ad-hoc formations occurring in poetic language as examples. Even though these items are attested «only once» and «not recorded in lexicographic works», they belong to the «literary heritage of a language», and they may even be «reused» by other authors using «poetic licence» (p. 26).

As regards neosemy, Munat (2007, pp. 170-171) describes neosemes as «new meanings attributed to already existing words», and Kerremans (2015, p. 30) talks about semantic changes (an existing form with a new meaning) as a type of neologisms. According to Stockwell (2014, pp. 119-122) in science fiction neosemy arises through broadening or narrowing an existing meaning, through metaphor, metonymy and recontextualization (i.e., cases in which the field of use of a word changes because of the features of the fictional world: for instance, applying 'pregnant' to both males and females). It would be possible, however, to subsume recontextualization under the general process of meaning broadening or narrowing. Along similar lines, Tournier (1985, p. 51) and Lipka (1992, pp. 93, 122, 127) agree that semantic neologisms can be coined by means of metaphor (semantic transfer based on similarity) and metonymy (semantic transfer based on contiguity). Lipka (1992, p. 122) represents metaphor by means of the following formula: X (tenor) is like Y (vehicle) with respect to Z (ground), and provides the example of 'a human elephant' where 'human' is X, 'elephant' is Y and Z is 'clumsiness' or 'a long memory'.

When decoding novel formations (neologisms, nonce forms or neosemes), the addressees (listeners or readers) may not grasp the exact meaning, but «they are familiar with the word-formation process by means of which the word has been assembled and can infer general semantic characteristics from this process» (Kerremans, 2015, p. 37). Besides, the speaker/writer will aid the interpretation of the coinage in various ways, for example, «by assuring morphological transparency» (p. 45) or by resorting to «a supportive context» (p. 47). The process of context-dependent selection is also noted by Cruse (1986, pp. 68-69) and is of particular importance in the interpretation of neosemes.

In this study I will resort to the terms neologism and neoseme (semantic neologism) to talk about the new coinages occurring in the novel under analysis. It must be considered that, from the point of view of the reader, these new coinages could be regarded as nonce forms: they can only be interpreted in the light of the context of the novel and they do not occur outside that context, they are not stored in the lexicon and they are not institutionalized by their presence in reference works. However, they can also be regarded as borderline cases in the sense explained by Mattiello (2017, p. 26): they deserve attention because they belong to the literary heritage of a language and they can be used again by other authors. Lastly, if we consider the point of view of the characters and the world depicted in the novel, these items turn out to be actual neologisms: they are created to refer to new objects, events or ideas, they are frequently used, and the speech community is familiar with them. Concerning neosemes, and following Kerremans (2015), they will be regarded as a type of neologisms in which an already existing form is paired with a new meaning.

2.4. *Lexical creativity* and *productivity*

Lastly, a few lines should be devoted to the difference between creativity and productivity concerning the lexicon. When analysing morphological productivity, Bauer (2001, pp. 64-66) suggests treating productivity and creativity as hyponyms of innovation, and distinguishing them by means of rule-governedness (a parameter which is often seen as central to the notion of productivity): thus productivity is rule-governed whereas creativity is non-productive, unpredictable and rule-changing (pp. 65-66). He eventually puts forward that both productivity and creativity could be regarded as prototypical categories along a cline, with «clear cases at either end» but «no valid way of drawing a clear distinction between what is creative and what is productive» (p. 71). In her discussion on lexical productivity and creativity, Munat (2007, p. 165) draws on Bauer's work and concludes that creative coinages «change the rules» while productive coinages «exploit the rules». Keeping this distinction in mind, the morphological coinages analysed here are basically the result of productivity, since, as we will see, they are the rule-governed outcome of current word-formation devices.

3. METHODOLOGY, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION: MORPHOSEMANTIC AND SEMANTIC NEOLOGISMS IN *THE HANDMAID'S TALE*

Following Kerremans (2015) and Lipka (1992), the neologisms spotted in the novel under analysis will be classified as morphosemantic neologisms (new forms and new meanings) and semantic neologisms (or neosemes, i.e., new meanings for old forms). Concerning the former type, new words are coined by means of productive morphological devices (derivation, composition, and minor processes like clipping or blending; more details are provided in the subsections that follow):

- Derivation (prefixation): *Unwoman*.
- Composition with combining forms[2], such as *Econowife or Birthmobile*. *Econowife* comes from 'econo(my)/econo(mical)' + 'wife', 'economy' meaning 'thrifty or efficient use of resources'; *Econowives* are economical wives who serve several functions, as will be seen later. The combining form *econo–* can be traced in items like *econometrics*, *econobox* (a small economical car), and *Econo-Heat* (a trademark for a panel heater). On its part, a *Birthmobile* ('birth' + '(auto)mobile') is a vehicle transporting *Handmaids* to birthings. The item follows the pattern of similar words containing the combining form '*-mobile*' (from Latin *mobilis* via French), such as *snowmobile*, *pimpmobile* ('a large, expensive and vulgar car'), and *bloodmobile* ('a vehicle for blood donation').

2. Combining forms are «allomorphs of full words which are used in neoclassical compounds» (Lehrer, 1996, p. 362), such as *geo–* in *geology*. They are usually of Greek or Latin origin. Neoclassical compounds are modern coinages made up of classical components, such as *hydrology* (Bauer & Huddleston, 2002, p. 1661).

- Clipping[3]: *Red Center* ('re-ed(ucation)' facility for *Handmaids*).
- Shortening and compounding. Here we find blends, such as *Particicution*, ('participation' + 'execution', an act of communal –or participative– execution performed by *Handmaids*), and different types of clipped compounds: clipped compounds of word + splinter[4], such as *Prayvaganza* ('pray' + 'extravaganza', an elaborate display of communal prayer); and clipped compounds of combining form + splinter, like *Gyn Ed* ('ed(ucation) in womanhood', from Greek *gyne* 'woman', a debasing term for a subject where *Handmaids* learn their duties). As pointed out by López-Rúa (2019, p. 128), blends and clipped compounds are the result of «simultaneous shortening and compounding» with different degrees of abbreviation and phonic and graphic integration of their constituents». Therefore, in prototypical blends «the constituents overlap (*motel*: 'motor' + 'hotel')», whereas in prototypical clipped compounds (*sitcom*: 'situation' + 'comedy') «constituents are concatenated».

As for neosemes, old words get new meanings adjusted to the requirements of the new Gileadean society, for example, the names for the different categories of women, activities or places (e.g. *Wives*, *Salvaging*, *Milk and Honey*; see below for details).

The subsections that follow delve into the morphosemantic and semantic neologisms identified in the novel, which are analysed and discussed. It must be noted that the analysis of neologisms put forward in this paper is not fully comprehensive, since it is focused on those items more closely connected with women's lives in the fictional republic of Gilead. Therefore, as will be shown, the neologisms which were of interest for the present study were selected from the whole corpus of neologisms used in the novel,

3. Clipping is a shortening word-formation device which consists in «cutting off part of an existing word or phrase to leave a phonologically shorter sequence», as in *ad* from *advertisement* (Bauer & Huddleston, 2002, p. 1634).
4. Lehrer (1996, p. 361) defines splinters as «parts of words in blends which are intended to be recognised as belonging to a target word but which are not independent formatives».

and they are classified and interpreted in the light of Morphological Theory, Semantics and Feminist studies.

3.1. Women categories: from *Wives* to *Unwomen*

In its portrait of Gileadean society, the novel brings to light the topics of gender inequality and gender roles, which are also central issues in Feminist thought (de Beauvoir, 2005, pp. 15, 30, 207, etc.; Fowlkes, 1987, p. 4; Fuchs Epstein, 2014, p. 159; Kimmel, 2004, pp. 2-3; Ortner, 1974, pp. 69-70). Female ancestral subordination due to biological (Kimmel, 2004, p. 2), socio-economic (Fuchs Epstein, 2014, p. 157; Levine Frader, 2004, pp. 30-33; West and Zimmerman, 2014, p. 121), or cultural factors (Fuchs Epstein, 2014, p. 168; Moore, 1991, p. 37), and the confinement of women to the domestic sphere (Kimmel, 2004, pp. 120-121; Leacock, 1978; Martín-Casares, 2006, pp. 165-166) are recurrent topics in Feminist critical theory.

In *HT* we find a patriarchal society which survives as a form of social organization because, as Sau (2000, p. 137) notes, it is preserved by those who benefit from it (in this case, the ruling class), and it is a consequence of human biology. Patriarchy is sustained by a conception of different gender roles for males and females, which results in gender inequality (Kiss, 2020). Women in Gilead are forced into castes according to their usefulness for the regime. This division reflects nineteenth century cultural rules, which «segregated women's and men's spheres of work» (Fowlkes, 1987, p. 4). Female multiple roles were «likely to lead to either incompatible or excessive role expectations which result in physical and /or mental exhaustion» (p. 6). This belief is endorsed by Gileadean rulers, so multiple roles are avoided, and this is done for women's welfare and protection; in Aunt Lydia's words: «Why expect one woman to carry out all the functions necessary to the serene running of a household? It isn't reasonable or humane» (Atwood, 2017, p. 163).

However, in line with dystopian hyperbole, in *HT* gender role division is taken to extremes, with female roles further distributed into different categories of women. The only value that women have is thus the role they perform in a male-dominated society. On the one hand, we come across different types of useful women: *Wives* (social and ceremonial role), *Aunts* (educational role), *Handmaids* (reproductive role), *Marthas* (domestic role), *Jezebels* (sexual role), and *Econowives* (multipurpose wives). On the other hand, there are *Unwomen* (valueless women who do not perform any useful role). Women are referred to by means of these generic names which deprive them of their individual identities. Individuals are therefore confined into roles, and this division is reinforced by the colours of their clothes: virginal and cold blue for *Wives*, soldierly khaki for *Aunts*, fecund (or captive) red for *Handmaids*, plain and efficient dull green for *Marthas*, and coloured stripes for multifunctional *Econowives*. It is also noteworthy that the names for the different castes of women are degrading when contrasted with the names for the different types of men, which carry connotations of military and religious power (*Commanders, Guardians of the Faith*, *Angels*).

Although in the novel there are males subordinate to other males (basically civilians), the most poignant subjugation is experienced by females as a group with respect to males. Female subordination is necessary to preserve the status quo: as Fuchs Epstein notes, «everywhere, women's subordination is basic to maintaining the social cohesion and stratification systems of ruling and governing groups –male groups– on national and local levels, in the family, and in all other major institutions» (2014, p. 159).

3.1.1. *Wives*

The neoseme *Wife* narrows the meaning of 'wife' and exclusively refers to a married woman from the Gileadean military elite. It must be noted that *Wives* are at the top of the female scale but still subordinate to *Commanders*. *Wives* are not at the same level as *Commanders* (their husbands); they are just another type of women, and, as such, they can also be *Salvaged*. The title of *Commander* is related to military authority, whereas the title of *Wife* refers to marriage, an instrument enhancing subordination, as in origin it is a contract or religious rite agreed upon by men to distribute women and ensure the property of children (Sau, 2000, pp. 190, 194).

Wives' power is confined to the domestic sphere. They keep household discipline, organize marriages and give away daughters: «It's mothers, not fathers, who give away daughters these days and help with the arrangement of the marriages. The marriages are of course arranged» (Atwood, 2017, p. 219). Their function is therefore mainly representative of the husband, social and ceremonial. Dressed in blue, *Wives* are pure mothers who do not often conceive (although this may be due to infertile husbands). *Serena Joy* is the only *Wife* with a personal name (according to the researchers who analysed *Offred*'s recordings, it might have been invented by the narrator). In literature, names can be figuratively interpreted using symbolic associations created by means of «irony, metonymy, metaphor and allegory» (Smith, 2016, p. 308). *Serena Joy* arouses ironic connotations, since the character is far from being relaxed and happy. She is actually tormented and sad because she is a failed woman who cannot bear children, so she has to witness the sexual encounters between her husband and her *Handmaid Offred*.

3.1.2. *Aunts*

Aunt is a neoseme with the narrowed meaning of a female figure acting as a sentinel and indoctrinator for *Handmaids*. As a symbol of her power position, Aunts keep personal names (Lydia, Helena, Sara, Elizabeth). They are «childless or infertile or older women who were not married» (Atwood, 2017, p. 308). The researchers believe that these women joined the Aunts because they truly supported the regime and wanted to enjoy power, or because in this way they would escape «shipment to the infamous Colonies» (Atwood, 2017, p. 308). Aunts keep the privilege of reading and writing, and they are in charge of the *Handmaids'* training and indoctrination, oversee births and preside over executions. As adult female relatives, aunts are feminine figures who can also assume an instructional role in the absence of the mother. Therefore, aunts can perform the traditional educational role transferred from mothers, who instruct daughters in their duties with a view to perpetuating patriarchal relationships (Sau, 2000, p. 146). In this case, the name is doubly appropriate: they are not called 'mothers' or 'grandmothers' because they cannot bear children.

While *Wives* exert moral superiority over *Handmaids* (they are the Commanders' legitimate partners), *Aunts* represent physical superiority (they can punish Handmaids and are equipped with cattle prods). Both exemplify women's subordination through other women, feminine subordination being more effective when females control other females: «At the level of gender relations, gender is about the power that men as a group have over women as a group, and is it also about the power that some men have over other men (or that some women have over other women)» (Kimmel, 2004, p. 99).

3.1.3. *Handmaids*

A handmaid is a close female servant. The neoseme keeps and narrows the biblical meaning: a female servant (a factual slave) who serves her mistress by performing all types of duties, including acting as a concubine. In the novel, the term refers to a serf, i.e., an unfree person bound to her master, with an exclusively reproductive role. As used in the Bible, the term refers to female slaves. Both Leah and Rachel handed in their handmaids for Jacob to have children with them, which is the origin of the *Ceremony*, the procreation ritual that takes place in the novel.

Handmaids are valuable and scarce, and as true slaves they are branded so that they can be held in check: «the tattoo […] a Braille he can read, a cattle-brand. It means ownership» (Atwood, 2017, p. 254). Their only role is to conceive, but not raise children. Therefore, they partially embody de Beauvoir's notion of «the servitude of maternity» (*la servitude de la maternité*): «todo el organismo de la hembra está adaptado a la servidumbre de la maternidad y controlado por ella» (de Beauvoir, 2005, p. 78). *Handmaids* are slaves to her ability to bear children.

3.1.4. *Marthas*

In the items *Martha*, *Jezebel* and *Rachel and Leah Centres* (see below) we come across examples of antonomasia (the use of a proper name to refer to a characteristic trait). As a neoseme, a *Martha* is a servant confined to domestic duties. In the Bible, Martha was the sister of Mary and Lazarus, and she is connected with household chores and hospitality: «Martha was continually busying herself with serving» (Luke 10: 40). *Martha* is thus a metaphorical extension of the biblical character: following Lipka's formula (1992, p. 122): a woman (X) is a *Martha* (Y) because of Z: 'concern for domestic duties and others' wellbeing', and 'obsequiousness', the defining features of Martha, the biblical character.

The *Marthas* in *Offred*'s household have names (Cora and Rita) but they are only used in the account of her memories: «Cora comes in first, then Rita, wiping her hands on her apron» (Atwood, 2017, p. 81).

3.1.5. *Econowives*

The neologism *Econowife* is used to name working class women who must perform all the female roles at the same time: «the women of the poorer men. Econowives, they're called. These women are not divided into functions. They have to do everything; if they can» (Atwood, 2017, p. 24). These women are 'economical' from a male perspective because in this way you do not have to maintain one woman for each role, as happens in the *Commanders*' households. They can perform several roles (social, domestic, sexual and reproductive). The term is harshly demeaning because it turns women into objects which serve different uses.

3.1.6. *Jezebels*

Jezebel's is the name of the brothel where some women work as prostitutes, so it can be inferred that those women are unofficially labelled as *Jezebels*. They are confined to a sexual role. The name is a metaphorical extension of a biblical character who was an impious, greedy, vane and scheming woman. As such, she became the model of female wickedness: «For still the fornications of your mother, Jezebel, and her many poisons, are thriving» (2 Kings 9: 22). The name is nowadays used in small letters to refer to an impudent, deceitful, or morally unrestrained woman.

Jezebels are allowed to dress as in pre-Gilead times and wear makeup. In the Bible, Jezebel was also described as wearing makeup, perhaps in an attempt to seduce her murderer: «But Jezebel, hearing of his arrival, painted her eyes with cosmetics, and adorned her head» (2 Kings 9: 30).

3.1.7. *Unwomen*

If womanhood is defined as a set of roles, women who do not perform any are *Unwomen*. Bauer and Huddleston (2002, p. 1689) note that this prefix is rarely attached «directly» to nouns. They also state that forms with *non–* (the most productive negative prefix for nouns) «are emotively neutral» whereas those with *un–* «may convey criticism and gradability» (p. 1689). In this case, *un–* conveys «an emotional sense of removal» (López-Rúa, 2019, p. 125). An *Unwoman* is therefore a person deprived of the quality of being a woman (her womanhood) because she is unfit to perform any of the assigned roles (as she is old, infertile, or non-complying).

3.1.8. Forgotten women: *daughters* and *widows*

There are two other groups of women who are mentioned in the novel but do not even receive a specific name: daughters and widows. Concerning 'mother', the term is deprived of meaning because in this fictional world being a mother comprises giving birth, which is the function of *Handmaids*, and child rearing and education, which corresponds to *Marthas* and *Wives*.

Concerning daughters, they are not a category, so the noun (in contrast with all the others) does not occur in capitals, probably because they do not seem to have a useful role in Gileadean society. Sau (2000, p. 147) explains that for centuries daughters were thought to be born because of a biological flaw during gestation (the daughter born in the novel, baby Angela, is actually an *Unbaby*). Daughters are not appreciated in traditional societies: along history, having daughters has been regarded as a defect of mothers (Sau, 2000, p. 147). Daughters in the novel participate in group weddings celebrated at women's *Prayvaganzas*. The role of daughters is basically to become *Wives* (but it is not really expected of them to have children if they cannot; that role can be performed by *Handmaids*). In any case, it must be considered that the text was a transcription made from tapes after the events took place, so capitalization was a decision of the researchers who transcribed the contents of the tapes. In the light of the events depicted, they seem to consider that in Gileadean society daughters were not important.

Similarly, widows do not perform any necessary roles either. All women, from *Wives* to *Jezebels*, are subordinate to men and perform useful functions for men (providing heirs, cleaning and feeding, social representation, sexual pleasure, indoctrination). Widows are no longer subordinate to a man, so they are not useful; consequently, they are not a specific category. *Offred* briefly mentions them only once: «Sometimes there is a woman all in black, a widow. There used to be more of them, but they seem to be diminishing» (Atwood, 2017, p. 24)

Daughters and widows illustrate Ainiala's claim that «people give names to referents they consider worth naming» (2016, p. 371). In *HT*, the group in power (the one that possesses discourse and makes decisions on naming) does not regard these categories of women as «worth naming» because they are not valuable to the regime. Therefore, their names do not deserve a capital letter.

3.2. New realities: activities, artifacts, people and places

Important events, activities and characters in *Handmaids*' lives have new denominations using morphological and semantic neologisms. Although *Handmaids* are not the only women in the narration, the choice of the point of view makes *Offred*'s experiences exclusive. The reader participates in her routines, her isolation, her fears, and places, activities and people directly relate to *Handmaids* because she is one of them. For instance, the *Wall* is a place in the city open to everyone, but it is part of *Offred*'s routine because she goes past it when shopping with her partner. It is not any wall, but the *Wall* where people are executed, and it reminds them of the price for betraying the regime. The names that follow are a persistent reminder of *Handmaids*' roles and duties; they oppress them, pervade their lives, and intend to condition their actions and impose a complying frame of mind. In sum, they intend to manipulate and control people while hiding uncomfortable or inconvenient meanings. In the blend *Particicution*, for example, the unpleasant connotations of 'execution' are conveniently hidden by clipping the word and fusing it with 'participation', so as to deviate the focus to communion and unity.

Regarding events and activities, *Testifying* and *Salvaging* are neosemes with religious connotations and narrowed meanings. Testifying is a public account of a religious conversion or experience. In *HT, Testifying* is a public act of exposure received with censure instead of understanding and forgiveness: *Handmaids* share misdeeds like illicit sexual activities, rapes or abortions from former lives, while *Aunts* lead the other women in a chant condemning the speaker. As for *Salvaging*, the verb salvage means 'save or rescue'. *Salvagers* (the suffix *–er* conveys the meaning 'one that is a suitable object of a specified action', i.e., the one who is *salvaged*) are criminals who are euphemistically saved from a sinful life (their sins being abortion, adultery, murder, etc.) in this act of public execution. Women's *Prayvaganzas* are often mass weddings for the *Wives'* daughters. *Handmaids* are forced to attend these services which perpetuate their slavery (as daughters are future *Wives* and *Handmaids*' mistresses). Lastly, the *Ceremony* pompously narrows the meaning of ceremony to refer to the monthly ritual of procreation, and it is also a euphemism for a rape.

As regards artifacts, the *Birthmobile* is a special red or blue vehicle which carry *Handmaids* and *Wives* to birthings: its red colour may be a reminder of *Handmaids'* reproductive role. Turning to places, the neoseme *Colonies* keeps connotations of 'slavery' and 'subordination', since slaves were taken from Africa to work in the American colonies. In a somehow euphemistic way, the new term refers to radioactive and heavily polluted areas where *Unwomen* are sent to work and die. *Red Centres* are «re-education» facilities where women are instructed to become *Handmaids*: re-education euphemistically refers to the disciplinary process that *Handmaids* go through to accept their new role in Gilead, and red refers to the colour of their uniform.

Finally, in a society under close surveillance to track down traitors, *Handmaids* are particularly afraid of the *Eyes*, or the secret police. The hidden meaning of the term is 'spies for the regime'. Their metaphorical denomination refers to their ubiquity and once again carries religious connotations (the omnipresent eye of God).

3.3. Proper names

In the new republic of Gilead there are also other naming and renaming needs for current realities. There are new facilities that must be named (*Rachel and Leah Centres*) and businesses and people that must be renamed (shops and individuals). This is done by means of nominal expressions with unique referents and spelling with initial capitals, which are often coined by resorting to metaphorical extension while carrying religious connotations.

English grammars tend to define proper nouns along similar lines: they name specific people, places, countries, and so on; they have unique referents and are usually written with initial capital letters (Greenbaum, 1996, p. 97;

Quirk et al., 1985, p. 288). Proper nouns can combine with descriptive words («descriptors») to form composite names (*Dallas Road*) (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 288). Ordinary common nouns can also turn into names if they have a unique referent and are written with initial capitals (*The Guardian*). It can therefore be concluded that a proper noun is a word subcategory (*Mary*) whereas a proper name is a function (the reference to a unique entity) which can be performed by a proper noun, a proper noun plus other words (*Oxford Street*), a common noun (*Time*, the news magazine), or a common noun plus other words (*The Supreme Court*), as we will see in the examples analysed. This view is supported by Zabeeh (1968, p. 51): in his philosophical study on names, he states that «any expression and not only a noun may be used as a PN» (proper name).

Researchers in Onomastics describe a proper name as «a nominal expression that denotes a unique entity […] to make it psychosocially salient» (Van Langedonck & Van de Velde, 2016, p. 18). However, Nyström (2016) also suggests that it is possible for certain personal names to have «open connections to the living lexicon» and therefore «retain something of the meaning we see in the corresponding words» (p. 42). These connections are particularly present in literature, where we often come across names that keep links to the original lexical meaning of the words, carry connotative meanings or perform additional functions. For instance, as we will see in *HT*, names of shops carry biblical connotations of abundance and function as subtle reminders of the *Handmaids*' reproductive role.

According to literary Onomastics, names can provide useful keys for interpreting literature, since name associations (iconic, symbolic and indexical) can be manipulated for artistic ends. Names can be analysed in the light of different critical approaches, and some interpretations may even go «beyond the intentions of an author» (Smith, 2016, p. 306). However, they are valid if they can convincingly explain the «thematic relevance» of semiotic associations and contribute to the thematic unity of the work of art (Smith, 2016, pp. 306-309). Therefore, it is possible (as suggested in this paper) to carry out an analysis of names under the perspective of feminist criticism.

Smith (2016, p. 307) rightly notes that, in literature, names may acquire meaningful associations as the story progresses (in *HT* we can grasp the full meaning of *Offred* or *Serena Joy* as the narrative develops), and that characters may even function without names: in *HT* proper female names are only used in *Offred*'s memories and thoughts, and *Handmaids* lose their old personal names to acquire new denominations which identify them as their *Commanders*' possessions (*Offred*, *Ofglen*, etc.). This is the way in which the novel denounces the dangerous loss of female identity. According to Smith (2016), «symbolic associations stem from the fact that all names are also words that in turn come from other contexts in which they have, or have had, additional meaning […] We may say that the interpretation of every reference is *coloured* by the lexical attributes in other contexts of the word used as a name» (p. 305). Therefore, in the Bible, the names of the characters Martha and Jezebel are associated with 'industrious housework' and 'obsequiousness' (Martha), and 'immorality' (Jezebel). These symbolic associations are metaphorically transferred to *Marthas* and *Jezebels*, two groups of women in Gileadean society.

3.3.1. Place names: *Gilead,* shops, and *Rachel and Leah Centres*

Gilead is nowadays a hilly region in Jordan. The name occurs several times in the Bible, and as a place it is first referred to in the Genesis. The mount of Gilead, or the heap of testimony, is the place where Jacob and his uncle Laban met. They agreed to a non-aggression pact and sealed their alliance by putting stones into a pile, which is an ancestral way to honour the gods among Semitic peoples. Gilead thus means «heap of testimony» and is a place to honour the gods which symbolizes peace and concord. Given the frequent references to Jacob's history in other names in the novel, the republic of *Gilead* most likely takes its name from this biblical place: it intends to refer to an enclave of harmony and agreement that honours the true faith. However, this is again a euphemistic term that hides a religious dictatorship in a totalitarian state. Besides, *Gilead* is a territory which is far from peaceful, since the republic is at war with the rebels and there is instability on the borders: «This is the heart of Gilead, where the war cannot intrude except on television. Where the edges are we aren't sure, they vary, according to the attacks and counterattacks» (Atwood, 2017, p. 23).

Gilead is also a country of violence, where disobedience and dissent are present and ruthlessly crushed in *Salvagings* and *Particicutions*. The republic lives in a permanent state of war and scarcity in much the same way as *Oceania* in *1984*. This situation keeps citizens under control and makes them feel grateful and lucky for what they have. Such submissive attitudes are noticed in studies on social responses to scarcity in industrialized societies. These studies suggest that individuals «return to traditional practices and values and become more subordinate to those in authority» (Booth, 1984, p. 113).

Names of shops also carry religious connotations and contribute to wrapping people in a suffocating religious atmosphere. Since *Handmaids* are not allowed to read and write, shop signs are illustrated with pictures, but *Offred* can still read the signs. Although the novel is not totally explicit in this respect, it seems that at least *Aunts* and *Wives* can read and write, whereas *Handmaids* are explicitly forbidden, under the punishment of the loss of a hand. Nothing is said about the «lower-ranking women» (*Marthas* and *Econowives*), but it is possible that the prohibition extends to them as well, since there is no need for them to read and write any more. This ban on female literacy conforms to Moore's (1991, p. 130) remark that women's inferior educational level contributes to consolidate their lower status in society.

The food store *Milk and Honey* takes its name from the description of Israel as a land of milk and honey in the Exodus, and metaphorically stands for fertility and abundance. For *Handmaids*, the name is a reminder of their reproductive function, but it is also ironic and euphemistic in a time of scarcity and rationing. *All Flesh*, the butcher's shop, is also taken from the Bible: «Behold, I am the Lord God; I am above all flesh» (Jeremiah 32: 27); «Because I do not worship idols made with hands, but the living God [...] who holds power over all flesh» (Daniel 14: 5). The name carries biblical connotations of servitude. *Loaves and Fishes* is the fishmonger's. Once again, it conveys abundance, and refers to the miracle of the five loaves and two fish reported in John's Gospel. Lastly, *Daily Bread* is the bakery. It is part of the sentence «Give us this day our daily bread» from the Lord's Prayer, and also conveys servitude. These names make religion pervade daily life and contribute to building a dismal environment of obedience and subjugation.

Rachel and Leah Re-education Centres is another euphemistic term. Rachel and Leah were Jacob's wives, and both gave her handmaids to Jacob for him to have children with them. The Ceremony is inspired by Rachel's words

(Rachel was the first to hand over her handmaid because she could not bear children): «But she said: «I have a handmaid Bilhah. Go in to her, so that she may give birth upon my knees, and I may have sons by her»» (Genesis 30: 3). Rachel and Leah represent female servitude and remind *Handmaids* of their child-bearing function.

3.3.2. The loss of identity through personal names: *Offred*

The main character in the novel, whose voice we hear in a first-person account of her memories, remains unnamed until we reach Chapter fourteen: «My name isn't Offred, I have another name, which nobody uses now because it's forbidden» (Atwood, 2017, p. 84). She resents the loss of her real name and keeps it hidden like a treasure, waiting for the day when she can «dig it up» (Atwood, 2017, p. 84). *Offred*'s real name is never directly revealed, and it was the author's intention to keep it hidden because personal names are not important: characters get their names changed or simply vanish, so personal identities do not really matter, as Atwood herself explains (Atwood, 2017, p. xv). She mentions the possibility that *Offred*'s actual name might be June and does not rule out this interpretation, but she admits that «that was not my original thought» (Atwood, 2017, p. xv).

The *Handmaids'* names (built out of their *Commanders'* names) epitomize sexual subjugation and objectification: *Offred*, *Ofglen*, *Ofwayne*, *Ofcharles*, *Ofwarren*, etc.. It is worth noting that the naming method used by Gileadean name-givers is similar to the one used for Roman slaves in ancient Rome: it is commonly reported that, after being sold, slaves took their master's *praenomen* in the genitive case followed by the suffix *–por* (derived from *puer*: 'boy'), for example, *Marcipor* ('boy of Marcus') (Rodríguez, 2007, p. 393; Wedemann, 2003, p. 30; Zabeeh, 1968, p. 66). There is an obvious parallelism with *Offred* and the rest of names given to the *Handmaids* which reinforces the factual slavery imposed on them.

In the naming process, *Offred* and the rest of the *Handmaids* lose their individual identity. They only have a social identity, a name that expresses their position in the group (Aldrin, 2016, p. 397): they are the possession of somebody else (a *Commander*), and when they move in to another household their name changes, as explained by the researchers at the end of the novel:

«Such names were taken by these women upon their entry into a connection with the household of a specific Commander, and relinquished by them upon leaving it» (Atwood, 2017, pp. 305-306)

As regards the possible interpretations of the name, *Offred* can be split as 'of-Fred' but also as 'off-red', and in the latter case it is premonitory: in the end the protagonist seems to manage to run away and escape from «the red», i.e. her red clothes and her life as a *Handmaid*. There is still another interpretation of the name which is put forward by Atwood herself: it is based on the similar pronunciation of 'Offred' and 'offered', so that the name can carry connotations of «a religious offering or a victim offered for sacrifice» (Atwood, 2017, p. xv).

3.4. Formulaic expressions

Formulaic expressions are «semi-preconstructed phrases that constitute single choices» (Sinclair, 1991, p. 110) and «must be understood holistically» (Filatkina, 2018, p. 20). In her study on formulaic patterns as a means of lexical expansion, Filatkina (2018) suggests that «in the lexicon of a given language, preconstructed conventionalised items seem to be as productive as free word combinations» (p. 16).

Although formulaic language is commonly described as being basically fixed, it is quite a multifarious phenomenon, as shown by Schmitt and Carter (2004, p. 3):

> formulaic sequences can be long (*You can lead a horse to water, but you can't make him drink*) or short (*Oh no!*), or anything in between. They are commonly used for different purposes [...] These sequences can be totally fixed (*Ladies and Gentlemen*) or have a number of 'slots' which can be filled with appropriate words or strings of words ([...] *made it plain that* [...]).

Schmitt (2006, p. 15) lists the following functions of formulaic language in language use: «discourse organization», «precise information transfer», «functional use» and «social interaction». The last two particularly apply to the formulaic expressions found in the novel. The functional use refers to «such (speech) acts as apologizing, making requests, giving directions, and complaining. These functions typically have conventionalized language attached to them» (p. 15). Concerning social interaction (or «phatic communion»), Schmitt notes that sometimes «social solidarity» may be the purpose of a conversation. Therefore, «people rely on non-threatening phrases to keep the conversation flowing, including comments about the weather (*Cold isn't it*), agreeing with your interlocutor (*Oh, I see what you mean*), or providing backchannels and positive feedback to another speaker (*Did you really?*)» (Schmitt, 2006, p. 15).

In the novel we come across formulaic language used by the *Handmaids* to perform the speech acts of greeting (salutation and farewell) and to express social solidarity when agreeing with the interlocutor. The linguistic expressions are stable in form but acquire a new meaning as wholes. What we find in this case is a set of sentences or phrases taken from the Bible which are given a new meaning when used in greetings, farewells and other conversational exchanges. They help realize the speech act efficiently and perform the social function of agreement. However, their biblical connotations also contribute to creating an oppressive religious atmosphere, and, on the whole, these orthodox ready-made expressions are designed to exert control over the population and constraint subversive thought. The *Handmaids*' «amputated speech» (Atwood, 2017, p. 201) is a clichéd form of communication based on the Scriptures which is representative of women's overall subjugation under male hegemony.

Praise be is the beginning of the sentence 'Praise be to God' (an idiom that expresses happiness or relief). It is a stereotyped answer conveying approval and conformity: ««The war is going well, I hear,» she says. «Praise be,» I reply» (Atwood, 2017, p. 19).

Under His Eye is used as a farewell. It is an expression with religious flavour that reminds the speakers of constant control (we are observed, we are under the eye of God, God can see everything): ««Under His Eye,» she says. The right farewell. «Under His Eye,» I reply» (Atwood, 2017, p. 45).

Blessed be the fruit and *May the Lord Open* are the orthodox salutation and answer in greetings. Their religious connotations remind *Handmaids* of fertility and their role as child bearers: ««Blessed be the fruit,» she says to me, the accepted greeting among us. «May the Lord open,» I answer, the accepted response» (Atwood, 2017, p. 14). *Blessed be the fruit* can be related to part of a sentence that Elizabeth says to Virgin Mary: «Blessed are you among women, and blessed is the fruit of your womb» (Luke 1: 43). A variation of both the statement and the answer occurs in Deuteronomy: «The Lord will cause you be abundant in every good thing: in the fruit of your womb, and in the fruit of your cattle, and in the fruit of your land […]. The Lord will open his excellent treasury, the heavens, so that it may distribute rain in due time» (Deuteronomy 28: 11-12).

As already mentioned, these prefabricated sentences reinforce control, suppress or constraint subversive thought, and prove the loyalty to the regime (if you say something different, you may be a traitor):

> «Let that be a reminder to us,» says the new Ofglen finally. I say nothing at first, because I am trying to make out what she means. She could mean that this is a reminder to us of the unjustness and brutality of the regime. In that case I ought to say *yes*. Or she could mean the opposite, that we should remember to do what we are told and not get into trouble, because if we do we will be rightfully punished. If she means that, I should say *praise be*. Her voice was bland, toneless, no clues there.
> I take a chance. «Yes,» I say. (Atwood, 2017, p. 284)

4. MOTIVATIONS FOR NEOLOGY: A SUMMARY

There are various reasons for coining previously non-existent words. As Kerremans (2015, p. 37) notes, novel formations can be coined because «the correct word does not automatically spring to mind» or because «existing words are not adequate to capture a particular concept or message». Coinages also arise due to «humorous, stylistic or creative reasons». However, in science-fiction (and other types of fiction) they commonly respond to pragmatic needs, since they «accurately name and refer to non-existing objects and ideas» (p. 37). As we have seen, in *HT* the reasons for neology go beyond the construction of a plausible fictional world; they are also euphemistic (neologisms exert subtle control and hide inconvenient connotations), social (they enhance power relations and gender inequality), and ideological (they impose a religious totalitarianism based on fundamentalist interpretations of the Scriptures).

5. CONCLUSION

In *HT* women are invisible as individuals: they are men's possessions collectivized into castes. Except for the ruling elite (*Wives*) and collaborationist

Aunts, women have lost their right to education, and as a group they do not have rights over their bodies, or the right to have a job and be financially independent. Women are subordinate to men physically, socially and linguistically, since language is an instrument of the elite to foster the status quo. In line with other literary dystopias, *HT* shows language as «a means by which social control is communicated and maintained» (Cavalcanti, 2000, p. 166). Gender domination is linguistically reinforced on various levels. The social identity of the male military elite is enhanced by their ability to decide on the identities of others: they have the power to provide names for women (*Offred*) and for categories of people (*Wives, Eyes, Unwomen*); they also have the power to silence women by regulating their conversational exchanges and by denying most of them access to the written word.

As evinced in this paper, neologisms play a part in the linguistic task of female subjugation: they provide a sense of authenticity in the narrative and show how language evolves to satisfy further needs, not only pragmatic, but also social (keeping the status quo of a patriarchal society which produces gender inequality), ideological (enhancing religious oppression and compliance with the regime), and euphemistic (avoiding uncomfortable truths).

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GENDER AND EXPLETIVES AS DISCOURSE MARKERS: SOME USES OF *JODER* IN YOUNG WOMEN'S INTERACTIONS IN SPANISH AND GALICIAN

EL GÉNERO Y LOS TACOS COMO MARCADORES DISCURSIVOS: ALGUNOS USOS DE *JODER* EN INTERACCIONES DE MUJERES JÓVENES EN ESPAÑOL Y GALLEGO

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Submitted / Recibido: 20/10/2020
Accepted / Aceptado: 09/04/2021

To cite this article / Para citar este artículo: Acuña Ferreira, V. (2021). Gender and expletives as discourse markers: Some uses of *joder* in young women's interactions in Spanish and Galician. *Feminismo/s*, *38*, 53-83. Women, Sexual Identity and Language [Monographic dossier]. I. Balteiro (Coord.). https://doi.org/10.14198/fem.2021.38.03

Abstract

This paper approaches young women's speaking style by analysing the ways in which the interjection *joder* is employed in interactions in Spanish and Galician among young females. The analysis identifies several uses of this form at the interactional and discursive level: reinforcement of speech acts, marker of disagreement, marker of complaints, expression of minimal emotional assessments, correcting and stalling. It is concluded that *joder* has developed multiple functions in interaction as a discursive marker, in contrast to arguments against the inclusion of interjections in this pragmatic category. The findings also suggest that this expletive fulfils a sociolinguistic function as a marker of 'young femininities', since it demonstrates how it has been integrated into young women's speaking style, in contrast to traditional gender rules and broader descriptions of 'women's talk' in Language and Gender studies.

Keywords: Gender; Expletives; *Joder;* Discourse marker; Young women's talk; Young femininities.

Resumen

Este artículo aborda el estilo de habla de las mujeres jóvenes analizando las formas en que se emplea la interjección *joder* en interacciones en español y gallego entre veinteañeras. El análisis identifica varios usos de esta forma en el nivel interaccional y discursivo: refuerzo de actos de habla, marcador de desacuerdo, marcador de quejas, expresión de valoraciones emocionales mínimas, corrección y relleno. Se concluye que *joder* ha desarrollado múltiples funciones en la interacción como un marcador discursivo, frente a los argumentos en contra de la inclusión de las interjecciones en esta categoría pragmática. Los resultados sugieren además que este taco cumple una función sociolingüística como marcador de 'feminidades juveniles', ya que demuestran cómo se ha integrado en el estilo de habla de mujeres jóvenes, en contraste con los mandatos tradicionales de género y las descripciones más amplias del 'habla de las mujeres' en los estudios sobre Lengua y Género.

Palabras clave: género; tacos; *joder*; marcador discursivo; habla de mujeres jóvenes; feminidades juveniles.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper approaches young women's speaking style by analysing how the Spanish word *joder* is used in interactions among female speakers in their early 20's. These interactions are produced in Spanish and Galician, as the participants are mostly from Galicia (Spain)[1]. Specifically, the study focuses on the discursive and interactional functions of *joder* in its grammatically invariable form as an expletive or 'vulgar interjection' (RAE & ASALE, 2014). In Spanish grammars, interjections of this type are only attributed an 'expressive' function: the speaker's communication of feelings (RAE & ASALE, 2010, pp. 630-632). However, some authors have defended that interjections can fulfil multiple functions in interaction, acting as 'discourse markers' (Blas

1. While *joder* is a Spanish word, which is translated into Galician as *foder*, it is also commonly used by speakers of Galician as an interjection. From a pragmatic viewpoint, this interjection can be thus considered an element of informal speaking styles, whether in Spanish or Galician.

Arroyo, 1995) or 'discourse particles' (Drescher, 1997). According to Blas Arroyo (1995, p. 86), discourse markers are «piezas importantes en los procesos de construcción conjunta de la interacción […] y también contribuirían al añadido de matices diversos de significación emotiva e interpersonal»[2]. While he argues for the inclusion of at least some interjections in this category, other researchers generally exclude them, arguing that they only serve the discursive function that corresponds to their grammatical class, such as the expression of feelings (Borreguero Zuloaga, 2015). This assumption could explain that corpus-based research on Spanish and English colloquial conversation has not paid much attention to expletives as discourse markers (Briz, 1998; Briz et al., 2008; Stenström, 2014) or that approaches to them are taken from a predominantly quantitative perspective (Murphy, 2009; Stenström, 2006, 2014), which results in an oversimplified picture of their functional properties. In this way, one of the aims of this paper is to provide a more in-depth analysis of how *joder* is employed in colloquial conversation to demonstrate its multifunctionality as a discourse marker.

A second aim of this paper is to apply a gender perspective to the analysis of this form in young women's friendly interactions, taking as a premise that expletives are stereotypically linked to men and masculinity, as sociocultural restrictions on their use have been traditionally much more severe for women in different languages and cultures (Coates, 2004; Lakoff, 1975/2004; Lozano Domingo, 1995). Because of these gender-based restrictions and their association with 'verbal aggressiveness', expletives can be considered as part of the vernacular culture that entails 'covert prestige' (Trudgill, 1983) for men, as argued by Lozano-Domingo (1995, p. 125). Such social constructions, however, do not exclude the possibility that women also employ these words because of the influence of other social factors, such as age or class, the communicative situation and/or a desire to challenge them. Taking a social-constructionist conceptualisation of gender (Acuña, 2009, 2011a; Holmes & King, 2017; Mills, 2003; Pichler, 2015), this paper will focus on these latter possibilities. More specifically, I intend to call attention to the

2. Blas Arroyo (1995, p. 86, my translation): «important pieces in the processes of joint construction of the interaction […] and would also contribute to the addition of various nuances of emotional and interpersonal significance».

multiple functions that *joder* can acquire in talk among young women from middle-class backgrounds, contributing to displaying a speaking style that notably contrasts with general characterisations of 'women's talk' in previous Language and Gender research. The following section provides an overview of this research, in which discourse markers and expletives have been studied separately, in line with the general trend that I have already pointed out from the beginning.

2. GENDER, DISCOURSE MARKERS AND EXPLETIVES

An early reference to women's avoidance of swearing was made by Jespersen (1922, p. 246): «Among the things women object to in language must be specially mentioned anything that smacks of swearing». From a feminist perspective, this matter was originally addressed by Robin Lakoff (1975/2004) in *Language and woman's place*. Lakoff critically argued that women are educated to be gentle and polite so that they learn to employ a 'powerless' speaking style, by which they are later perceived as insecure and unable to express themselves forcefully. This 'women's language' is based, for example, on the use of 'weak expletives' like *goodness* or *oh fudge* and the employment of tag questions to avoid strong statements, as in *The way prices are rising is horrendous, isn't it?* (Lakoff, 1975/2004, p. 49). Such arguments have given rise to many studies on women's and men's use of tag questions and other English discursive particles like *I think*, *sort of*, *kind of* or *probably* (see Aries, 1996, for a discussion). Drawing on the analysis of spoken discourse corpora and the politeness theory proposed by Brown & Levinson (1987), some of these studies concluded, from a more positive viewpoint, that such forms are multifunctional and that women tend to employ them as both positive and negative politeness strategies (Cameron et al., 1988; Coates, 1996; Holmes, 1995) to foster interaction, to avoid strong statements so as not to impose own's opinions and to keep contact with the interlocutor[3]. Recent research

3. Brown & Levinson (1987) elaborated a politeness theory based on Goffman's (1967) notion of 'face'. These authors distinguished between a negative and a positive face, which were defined as «the desire to be unimpeded in one's actions (negative face), and the desire (in some respects) to be approved of (positive face)» (1987, p. 13). From this perspective, positive politeness strategies are those oriented to protect the speaker's

based on spoken discourse corpora in Spanish (Albelda et al., 2020) provides similar results in relation to geographic areas like Madrid, where women showed a greater tendency than men to use linguistic and paralinguistic devices to avoid imposing on others by softening assertions. However, the spoken discourse data obtained in Valencia, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria and Santiago de Chile indicated that this gender difference was reversed or that it did not exist in this respect.

Lakoff's (1975/2004) hypotheses also stimulated a body of research on gender and expletives that was initially based on questionnaires. Earlier studies that emerged in the USA revealed that single, younger and feminist women reported using expletives more than married, older and non-feminist women (Bailey & Timm, 1976; Oliver & Rubin, 1975) or did not find a difference in comparison to men (Staley, 1978). Later research on other countries re-emphasises women's heterogeneity, noting that British women from the lower working class regularly use these kinds of words (Hughes, 1992), or a lack of gender differentiation among teenagers of an English-speaking school in South Africa (De Klerk, 1992, 1997). Chun (1991, cited in Lozano Domingo, 1995, pp. 124-125) carried out a study among Spanish speakers from Madrid, which found that men and young people without higher education used most of the lexical items under study to a greater extent than women and young undergraduate students, although *joder* was one of the expletives with a more balanced frequency of use between women and men.

More recently, studies based on the analysis of spoken interactions have stressed the links between masculinity and the use of expletives, insults and generally taboo words, as well as their special significance in men's talk as forms of camaraderie, in line with the classical study by Labov (1972) on ritual insults among male teenagers from New York. See, for example, the studies by Pujolar (1997) on two youth gangs from Barcelona, Zimmermann (2002, 2005) on young men from Spain, Mexico and Uruguay, or Martínez Lara (2009) on students from the Universidad Central de Venezuela. Coates (1996, 2003) analyses friendly conversations among British speakers and

and/or the recipient's positive face, for example, by seeking agreement, while negative politeness strategies intend to avoid impositions on the speaker and/or the recipient, for example, by avoiding promises and strong assertions.

remarks on the importance of taboo words as devices to express solidarity and to reinforce hegemonic masculinity in all-male interactions, while this type of language is much less frequent in all-female data (Coates, 2003). The magnitude of this gender difference is illustrated by highlighting the case of *fuck*, which is usually taken as the English equivalent to *joder*: «the word *fuck* and words deriving from it (*fucking, fucked, fucker*, etc.) appear 72 times in the stories in the all-male sub-corpus, 12 times in the mixed sub-corpus, and not at all in the all-female sub-corpus» (2003, p. 45). My previous research on third-party complaints in interactions in Spanish and Galician among friends and relatives (Acuña, 2002/2003, 2004, 2011a, 2011b) found that expletives were not only employed by male participants but played a prominent role in their speaking style, making their indignation displays especially 'aggressive'.

While it seems that gender continues to make a difference in the use of expletives, even among young people, other recent studies on interactions in English and Spanish that focus on teenagers or include young speakers point to the growing importance of expletives and taboo words in girls' talk, paying special attention to *joder* and the English *fuck*. Stenström (2006) compares the occurrences of taboo words in two subsets of *The Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language* (COLT) and the *Corpus de Lenguaje Adolescente de Madrid* (COLAm), which are constituted by colloquial conversations among teenagers from London and Madrid, respectively. This comparative analysis is restricted to interactions among girls, in which *fuck* and *joder* were the most frequent taboo words. Regarding gender differences, Stenström refers to a previous research on the COLT (Stenström et al., 2002), in which *fuck/ed/ing* «occurred more than twice as often in boys' as in girls' speech» (Stenström, 2006, p. 122). However, in a later study, Stenström (2014) emphasises that gender differences are diminishing in terms of frequency: «the girls are catching up with the boys when it comes to frequency, while there is still a difference in the type of words, in that the rudest words are used by boys» (2014, p. 11).

Murphy (2009) provides a quantitative and qualitative analysis of *fuck* (including its variations *fucking*, *fucked* and *fucker*) in Irish English, relying on data from the *Corpus of Age and Gender differentiated spoken Irish English* (CAG–IE), which allows comparisons to be made according to gender and three age groups: 20s, 40s and 70s/80s. The analysis found that the highest number of occurrences of *fuck* and its variations corresponded to males in their 20s (111), which was more than double the number for females in this age group (51). Male adults of the 40s group also used these forms much more than their female counterparts (65/18), while the oldest male and female groups did not use it at all. The qualitative analysis is focused on *fucking* as the most common form, which is said to fulfil two functions: as an 'amplifier' to express emotions and attitudes, and as a premodifying intensifier. Generally, Murphy stresses the more frequent use of *fuck* and its variations in the male data as a marker of masculinity, but it also seems worthy of mention that the number of occurrences of these forms in the female 20s group is close to the male 40s data (65/51).

In sum, research based on the analysis of interactions confirms that men generally use expletives and taboo words more than women, even in the case of youths, according to gender-based traditional rules. However, as men's employment of this type of language is often emphasised as a marker of masculinity, the relatively high frequency of use among young female speakers that has also been found equally deserves due attention, as it suggests a possible sociolinguistic change in process and/or underlines the contextual variability of gender. In addition to this, more qualitative approaches, which allow us to observe in detail how expletives are used and can function in interaction, are lacking. Since many studies on expletives tend to prioritise quantification, they reduce the functional properties of these kinds of words, reaching results that they cannot explain. For example, in her study of taboo words in Spanish and English conversation among female teenagers, Stenström (2006) only differentiates on a discourse level between a phatic function of taboo words and a non-phatic function, «where the taboo words only reflect the speaker's moods» (2006, p. 129). In her conclusions, she comments: «it came as a surprise that the Spanish word *joder* occurred almost as frequently as English 'fuck', despite the fact that 'fuck' not only appears in more forms but is also used for more [grammatical] functions» (2006, p. 135). The reasons for this balance could have much to do with the fact that *joder* is used for more discursive and interactional functions than those differentiated in this study, in contrast to its grammatical invariability, as I aim to demonstrate in the following section.

3. DATA AND ANALYSIS

In this section I will analyse conversational data that were taken from the *Corpus of Galician/Spanish Bilingual Speech* of the University of Vigo (*Corpus de Fala Bilingüe Galego/Castelán*, abbreviated as *CoFaBil*; Rodríguez Yáñez & Casares, 2002/2003), which was collected in Galicia (Spain) through participant observation with a hidden microphone. Overall, this corpus comprises around 250 hours of audio-recorded material. The data collection was made from an ethnographical perspective, that is, the main interest was to obtain naturally occurring interactions:

> a high proportion of the recordings were made at the home of the participants (chats over coffee, family meals, etc.) besides conversations between neighbours, housewives, students, returned emigrants, interactions between infants and carers, interactions in groups of friends (male, female and mixed), with strangers in the street, telephone conversations and also in all types of public settings: urban and village markets, groceries, department stores, chemist's shops, cafeterias, bars, hairdresser's, etc. (Rodríguez Yáñez & Casares, 2002-2003, p. 362).

The CoFaBil was a part of research projects in which the author herself participated as a researcher. Specifically, I contributed to the data collection, acting as a participant observer in the natural interactions of my own groups of friends, relatives, and acquaintances (Acuña, 2009, 2011a)[4]. I also collaborated in the data transcription, employing a system of conventions that is adapted from Álvarez Cáccamo (1990). As is usual in the transcription of data by conversation analysts, these conventions pay close attention to the facts concerning the turn-taking system, the most relevant prosodic phenomena, as well as to aspects of non-verbal communication that can be perceived in audio recordings, such as claps or whistles. Unlike other systems, however, each line of the transcription tends to correspond to a semantic-syntactic or subintonation unit as it coincides with an 'intentional

4. All members of these groups were informed of the research that was being conducted and gave consent for some of their conversations to be audio recorded. To guarantee spontaneity and naturalness, I opted not to notify participants of the recording at the time of it but once it had been made. Then, I requested their permission again to use it in research work (Tusón, 1997, pp. 98-99).

movement' (Rodríguez Yáñez, 2007), which is defined as the minimal unit in the conversational process. In this way, ellipsis, segmented constructions or self-repairs are considered to be micromoments of the discursive construction that can be better visualised in the transcript (Rodríguez Yáñez, 2007, p. 44). The Appendix provides an abbreviated version of these conventions, in which I have only included the symbols that appear in the conversational extracts to be analysed here.

The present study is based on five colloquial conversations among friends from the CoFaBil that were audio recorded in the late 1990s or early 2000s, as is the case of the *Corpus de Lenguaje Adolescente de Madrid* (COLAm) (Stenström, 2014, p. 2). The participants are all female friends in their early 20s, mostly undergraduate students, middle class and speakers of Spanish and Galician. The selection of these conversations was made because they constitute naturally occurring talk among young women and because of my previous work on them to address different issues, such as the construction of femininities (Acuña, 2009, 2012, 2017a, 2017b), complaints (Acuña, 2011a), humour (Acuña, 2012) and storytelling in conversation (Acuña, 2020). In doing this previous work, I realised that *joder* generally played an important role in these interactions and that it was used in different ways, so I initiated an analysis focused on this form, observing each of its occurrences in the five interactions to assign it a communicative function. I noted the position of *joder* in the turn, which was conceptualised as «a communicative unit in speech that is both communicatively and pragmatically complete» (Ronald & McCarthy, 2006, p. 928). Also, I paid attention to prosodic realisation, the communicative purpose and the interpersonal and/or textual level on which *joder* operates (Stenström, 2014) as well as to the type of conversational sequence or «more global communicative patterns» (Drescher, 1997, p. 239) in which it was used.

In this way, I came to categorise six uses and functions of the interjection *joder*, which are addressed in the following subsections. There were cases that remained unclassified to which I plan to return in future studies.

3.1. Reinforcing Speech Acts

One of the most frequent occurrences of *joder* in the data is found in turn-final positions as the 'closing marker' (Drescher, 1997, p. 239) of a statement, directive or request, serving to strengthen the illocutionary force of these speech acts. Following Briz (1998, pp. 128-135), these uses would be included in the category of 'pragmatic modifiers' that intensify the speaker's attitude and are dialogically oriented to emphasise agreement or disagreement. For example, in (1), *joder* is used by Raquel to strengthen a directive and to emphasise agreement with previous turns of Silvia, who asked for a cigarette and expressed a desire to smoke after a long time without having done so. The performance of said directive by using the verb *envenenar* ('to poison') and its final reinforcement by means of *joder* can also be attributed a humorous intention (lines 711-712):

(1)

695	Silvia	Lucía →
696		me das un *Chesterfield*?
697	Lucía	**non teño →**
698		**vou a comprar →**
699	Silvia	ah bueno →
700		[(xx)]
701	Lucía	[non] →
702		**vou a cambiar →**
703		**que non é o mesmo →**
704		..
705	Begoña	tengo yo →
706		..
707	Silvia	(xx)
708		<3>
709		hace mucho tiempo que no fumo →
710		..
711	Raquel	pues fuma →

712			envenena tu cuerpo joder → =
713		Silvia	= a tu salud ↑
714			<5>

Extract (2) illustrates several uses of *joder* in a segment of direct reported speech. The speaker, Natalia, is staging a discussion she held with her cousin about the sexual problems the latter had with her boyfriend. Natalia tries to convince her cousin that she should leave this relationship (2):

(2)

79		Natalia	= y mi prima iba de samaritana ↑
80			en plan →
81	→		joder ↑
82	→		tiene un problema →
83			y yo →
84			vale ↑
85			luisa →
86			tiene un problema →
87			pero es que si no lo quieres aceptar ↑
88			no lo quiere ÉL aceptar ↑
89			..
90	→		{[ac] no vas a estar toda la vida con un tío que no fo:lla} ↑
91	→		joder → <riéndose>
92			sabes? =
93		(X)	= he he he =
94	→	Natalia	= ES QUE ES ASÍ ↑
95	→		joder → =
96		Begoña	es que es así ↓
97			..

Natalia describes her cousin's attitude towards her own boyfriend as that of a *samaritana* ('samaritan', line 79) and then employs the marker *en plan* ('like', line 80) to frame a direct quotation of this character (Stenström, 2014, pp. 93-94). This quotation serves as a 'demonstration' (Clark & Gerrig, 1990) of her cousin's sympathetic attitude, as she defends her boyfriend, arguing that he has a problem (lines 81-82). Note that the quoted character employs *joder* in turn-initial position as a marker of her disagreement with Natalia, another function that is addressed specifically in the following subsection. The reporting continues with Natalia's response, which is constituted as an 'agreement-plus-disagreement turn shape' (Pomerantz, 1984, p. 72): it is prefaced by agreement components, including *vale* ('okay', lines 83-86) as a marker of concession (Briz, 1998, p. 182), followed by *pero* ('but') to articulate opposition (lines 87-88).

After a micropause (line 89), Natalia claims the impossibility of the relationship, making a statement that is reinforced by using *joder* in the turn-final position (lines 90-91). She then uses *sabes?* ('you know', line 92) as a 'trigger' (Stenström, 2014, p. 58), inviting the participants to produce an understanding or agreement response with this perspective. One participant displays such affiliation by laughing (line 93), as Natalia did in the previous turns (line 91). Natalia reasserts her point of view, increasing the volume and using *joder* again as the closing marker of a statement (lines 94-95). This prosodic emphasis and the use of *joder* also function here as triggers, inviting agreement responses. Begoña provides such a response in the following turn (line 96) through a repetition of Natalia's previous statement.

3.2. Marking Disagreement

In her analysis of the ways in which agreement and disagreement turns are shaped in conversation, Pomerantz (1984, p. 72) notes that disagreement, as a dispreferred action, tends to be delayed or prefaced in some ways, for example, by means of vocalisations such as *uhs* or particles like *wells*, «thus displaying reluctancy or discomfort» (1984, p. 72). This corpus of young women's interactions provides some instances in which *joder* functions similarly as a disagreement marker in the initial position of a turn that is clearly reactive to the previous ones as a disagreement response, thus serving an interpersonal function. These kinds of turns have been found in sequences of discussion or in segments of direct reported speech in storytelling sequences that stage such conversational activity, as we saw in extract (2) regarding the first occurrence of *joder*.

In comparison to the use of *well* and the vocalisations described by Pomerantz (1984), the use of *joder* as a disagreement marker may be surprising, from the perspective of politeness, because it is linked to strongly negative stances, so this does not seem the best way to introduce a non-preferred reaction, as it is disagreement. The examples of this use seem then to reinforce the normalisation of this expletive among the speakers, while there are cases in which it is followed by the vocative *tío/a* as a hedge or mitigator to emphasise social bonds between the interlocutors when performing face threatening acts (FTA) (De Latte & Enghels, 2019; see also Edeso Natalías, 2005)[5]. Extract (3) provides an example of this use of *joder* followed by the vocative *tía* in expressing disagreement. Eva is talking about a boy with whom she has recently started an intimate friendship, praising the fact that he gets along with his ex-girlfriends. There is a second use of *joder* in this extract that fulfils a different function:

(3)

52	Eva	detalles que me molan →
53		detalles del tipo →
54		por ejemplo →
55		que se lleva bien con sus ex novias ↑
56		(xx)
57		porque (xx) ↑
58		porque si se lleva bien con ellas ↑
59		..
60		cuando yo sea →
61		también →
62		una ex ↑

5. Brown & Levinson (1987) define face threatening acts as «those acts that by their very nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or speaker» (1987, p. 65). Thus, disagreement is included by these authors as a threatening act for the interlocutor's positive face, as it is contrary to her/his desire for approval (see also footnote 3).

63			se llevará bien conmi:go →
64			o sea
65			dice mucho de una persona →
66	→	Cris	(joder tía) cuando [tú seas una ex?]
67		Eva	[(entonces es)]
68	→		NO:: ↑
69	→		PERO →
70	→		joder →
71			<0.5>
72		Cris	YA:: →
73			QUE SÍ QUE SÍ →
74		Eva	= SON DETA:LLES ↑
75			entiendes?

Eva explains her positive evaluation of the boy based on his good relationships with his ex-girlfriends, noting that she herself also will be an ex-girlfriend (lines 52-65). In overlap, Cris expresses disagreement by using *joder tía* ('fuck, girl', lines 66-67), followed by a questioning repeat (Pomerantz, 1984, pp. 71, 77) that displays strangeness and a critical attitude towards Eva's reasoning (line 66). While *joder* marks this disagreement, the vocative *tía* that follows serves as a politeness strategy to mitigate such FTA. Eva intends to respond to this implicit criticism by using *no* ('no') and *pero* ('but') with increased volume (lines 68-69), followed by *joder* (line 70), but then a micropause is produced (line 71) and Cris emphatically asserts her understanding of Eva's point of view (lines 72-73). In view of Eva's hesitation here in trying to reply to a disagreement with Cris (lines 68-70), the second use of *joder* by this participant in line 70 can be interpreted as a means to retain the turn and to take time to organise the discourse; that is, it can be interpreted as a 'filler' (Cortés, 1991) or 'stalling' device (Stenström, 2014, p. 92). This is another use of *joder* that will also be specifically addressed in another subsection.

In extract (4), *joder* is followed by *pero* ('but'), which also serves to mark, or rather to reinforce in this case, a disagreement response (Briz, 1998, pp. 182-185). Once more, the participants are talking about sexual/affective relationships with boys. Ana reproaches Begoña for not taking the opportunity to go with a boy to his friend's apartment:

(4)

76		Ana	yo es que aún no entiendo ↑
77			cómo coño no te fuiste a la casa del::
78		Begoña	eran las seis =
79		Ana	= del amigo ése =
80		Begoña	= eran las siete de la mañana ↑
81			tía →
82		Ana	y?
83			..
84	→	Natalia	joder ↑
85			(xx)
86			..
87		Ana	qué va → =
88		Begoña	= no creo ↓ =
89		Ana	= depende de cómo sigan las cosas → =
90		Natalia	= ah ya →
91			pero él ↑
92			muy ilusiona:do ↑
93	→	Ana	joder →
94	→		pero::
95			supongo que él ↑
96			se enrollará con tía::s →

Begoña responds to Ana's reproachful question by arguing that it was too late (lines 76-81), using the vocative *tía* ('girl') to appeal to her understanding (lines 80-81), but Ana rejects this justification by asking *¿y?* ('and', line 82). After a micropause (line 83), Natalia contributes to the discussion by using *joder* in turn-initial position, but what she says next is not intelligible (lines 84-85). This use of *joder* by Natalia seems to mark a disagreement response to her friends, as can be deduced from the following turns in which both

Ana and Begoña disagree with this participant (lines 87-89), using *no creo* ('I don't think so') and *qué va* ('come on'), which is also described as a disagreement marker or 'objecting' device by Stenström (2014, pp. 77-80). The discussion continues, as Natalia introduces *ah ya* ('oh yes', lines 90-92) as a 'weak agreement component' (Pomerantz, 1984, p. 72), and next she uses *pero* ('but') to articulate disagreement. Ana disagrees with her (lines 93-99), using *joder* followed by *pero* (lines 93-94).

Thus, *joder* as a disagreement marker can be reinforced with *pero*, which also serves to mark the transition from a weak agreement to a disagreement (lines 90-92). Generally, this extract (4) provides a good illustration of the use of different disagreement markers in a discussion sequence.

3.3. Marking Complaints

The emotive meanings of *joder* as an interjection that expresses 'irritation' or 'annoyance' (RAE & ASALE, 2014) make it useful as an 'affective key' (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1989) to contextualise the speaker's discourse into a complaint frame in such a way that it can be attributed a 'complaint marker' function in certain contexts. From a broad perspective, complaints have been defined «as *expressive* acts wherewith the speaker, or *complainer* or *complainant*, expresses a variety of negative feelings or emotions» (Padilla Cruz, 2019, p. 23) in relation to a situation and/or someone's behaviour. According to this definition, the use of *joder* as a complaint marker has been found in sequences in which the speaker is talking about someone's behaviour that made her feel bad or about something that is reported as an injustice. In these cases, *joder* appears in turn-initial position as an independent sustained or rising intonational unit, sometimes along with other prosodic features, such as vowel elongations or heightened volume. It seems to play a key role in marking the speaker's negative attitude to guide the listener in the interpretation of the discourse as a complaint to get empathy or support. Thus, these uses do not only fulfil an expressive function but also an interpersonal one.

In extract (5) *joder* is used in a segment of direct reported thought (DRT), previously analysed in Acuña (2020). Eva is telling a story about what happened one day when she was home alone, thinking sadly about the fact that her male friend had not phoned her, although he knew she had an exam the next day. These thoughts are staged as a complaint that is prefaced by *joder* with vowel elongation, followed by utterances that also present this prosodic feature (lines 970-972) to communicate sadness. Such a complaint is not only oriented to get sympathy and support but also more generally to emphasise the point of the story, as Eva finally receives a message from the boy that radically changes her mood (lines 974-980):

(5)

969	→	Eva	y yo diciendo →
970	→		jode::r → <tono de tristeza>
971	→		(xx) en todo el dí::a ↑ <tono de tristeza>
972	→		no me llamó:: ↑ <tono de tristeza>
973		Cris	= sí =
974		Eva	= y en eso ↑
975			pi pi ↑
976			mensaje →
977			..
978			mucha suerte →
979			un be:so ↓
980			he he he =
981		Cris	= he he he
982			qué ri:co =

Extract (6) similarly shows the use of *joder* in storytelling. Lara is saying that she looked at some shoes in a store, and then she negatively evaluates their price as too high. Following this, she complains about this price as an injustice, claiming that she could find the same shoes in other stores for half the price. This claim is prefaced by *joder*, which here constitutes a rising intonational unit that is close to the exclamatory intonation linked to interjections (lines 94-99):

(6)

86		Lara	unos ZAPAtos ↑
87		Iria	monísimos →
88		Lara	pero carísimos →
89			catorce mil pesetas →
90			hija ↓
91		Iria	**ARRE CArallo** ↑
92			he he he
93		Lara	catorce mil pesetas → <entre risas>
94	→		y digo yo →
95	→		joder ↑
96	→		esos zapatos los compras→
97	→		en cualquier SItio
98	→		incluso en el CORte
99	→		por la mitad de precio ↓
100		Gema	es que (los comercios) pequeños→
101			suelen ser los más caros ↓

In this extract, note that another participant, Iria, reacts to Lara's turn specifying the price of the shoes (lines 88-90), expressing astonishment by means of the Galician interjection *arre carallo* ('damn it', line 91) to support her friend's view that it was too high. As is shown in the following subsection, these data include some examples in which *joder* is also used for this purpose –to express surprise– as well as other emotive reactions.

3.4. Expressing Minimal Emotional Assessments

As noted in Section 2, Stenström (2006) attributes two discursive functions to taboo words in general: one phatic, serving to maintain contact between the speaker and the listener(s), and another non-phatic, which is oriented to communicate the speaker's feelings, the prototypical function of interjections (Drescher, 1997, p. 234). One example of the phatic function provided by Stenström (2006, p. 128) shows the use of *joder* as one participant's reaction to storytelling. In this case, *joder* constituted a turn by itself and expressed surprise, as we have just seen regarding *arre carallo* ('damn it') in extract (6). Extract (7) offers another similar example, in which *joder* is used for this purpose. As in (6), the participants are talking about clothes, and *joder* is employed as a reaction to the price of an item of clothing, indicated by the previous speaker (lines 1391-1393). In this case, the interjection is used by two participants in overlap. Also, note that it is produced with a marked elongation in the first vowel, which contributes to emphasising the meaning of this reaction as surprise:

(7)

1389		Begoña	eso hice yo con una chupa de cuero en el corte →
1390			ya le conté →
1391			valía sesenta mil pelas → =
1392	→	(X)	= [jo::der] →
1393	→	Silvia	[jo::der] ↑ =
1394		Begoña	= pero era preciosa →
1395			y yo iba todos los días por allí a verla →

In this example, the display of surprise by means of *joder* in response to the price previously indicated by Begoña implies that both participants consider it very high. This use could be included along with other forms such as *anda* ('come on') and *vaya* ('wow'), which are classified by Stenström (2014, pp. 80-81) as reactive markers 'showing surprise'.

However, there are examples in which *joder* is again used alone in response to a previous turn, displaying other emotive meanings. In extract (8), it is produced by Begoña (line 647) in reaction to a story told by Silvia about a woman who found a rose in her son's room. The woman thought it was a gift for her, but it was for the boy's girlfriend. Note that *joder* is also produced with a vowel elongation:

(8)

637	Silvia	Y EL DOMINGO ↑
638		se va el chorvo con la rosa →
639		para allí a dársela a la novia ↑ <riéndose>
640		<risas>

641			en plan →
642			{[a] ENTONCES ESA RO:SA↑
643			NO ERA PARA MÍ::} → <lloriqueando>
644			<risas>
645			dice que se llevó un cha:sco ↑
646			colega →
647	→	Begoña	jode::r →
648			he he he
649		Silvia	(xx) buscándolo ↑
650			además ↑
651			me hizo mucha gracia ↑
652			porque ya le andaba buscando un floreri::to →
653			sabes?
654		Begoña	he he he
655		Silvia	**pobriña → =**
656	→	Begoña	= qué puta::da →
657			<1>

In this case, *joder* does not display surprise but a feeling of sadness or sorrow in reaction to the reported event, thus implying that the speaker considers it worthy of empathy. The same participant, Begoña, reinforces this evaluation later by saying *qué putada* ('It's a real bugger', line 656), with vowel elongation, in line with a previous expression of sympathy by Silvia: *pobriña* ('poor woman', line 655). In agreement with Drescher (1997, p. 238), I thus consider that uses of this kind generally constitute «more than a purely phatic feedback» and should be more globally accounted for as «emotional assessments or declarations of attitudes which are typical minor speaker contributions» (Drescher, 1997, p. 238).

3.5. Correcting and Stalling

While the uses of *joder* examined so far are mainly oriented to interpersonal goals or operate on both an interpersonal and a textual level, the 'correcting' and 'stalling' functions to be addressed here are purely discourse oriented. These uses have been found to be frequent in the talk of a same speaker –here, Eva– especially with respect to the stalling function, as shown in extract (3). The correcting function was identified in extract (9), which provides an excellent example of how *joder* can be used like the marker *o sea* ('that is') to introduce a reformulation or self-repair (on the correcting function of *o sea*, see Cortés, 1991, pp. 59-60; Stenström, 2014, p. 86). Eva is trying to describe the personality of her male friend and partially repeats a self-repair to correct her use of *raro* ('odd man'), replacing it with *difícil* ('difficult man'). The first self-repair is introduced by *o sea* ('that is'), while the next one is preceded by *joder* (lines 521-527):

(9)

514		Eva	(es más)
515			me dijo →
516			yo soy
517			<1>
518			soy raro ↓
519		Cris	raro =
520		Eva	= raro sabes?
521	→		o sea
522	→		raro ↑
523	→		no →
524	→		difí:cil →
525	→		joder
526	→		no es que sea raro →
527	→		es que es difícil ↓
528			y muchas veces ↑
529			pues se ago:bia ↑

As previously explained, the use of discourse markers on a textual level as stalling devices (Stenström, 2014) or fillers (Cortés, 1991) means that they serve «to gain time and think of what to say next» (Stenström, 2014, p. 92), often when the speaker is hesitating. Cortés (1991, p. 29) also argues that if a filler is often used by the same speaker, it would constitute a *muletilla* ('pet word' or 'tag'). This seems to be the case for Eva. For example, extract (10) shows that this participant uses *joder* twice in this way, while talking about the dialogue she had with her intimate male friend about the future of their relationship:

(10)

773		Eva	él desde un principio me dijo →
774			..
775		Cris	sí
776			lo que había =
777		Eva	= lo que ha:y ↑
778			o sea →
779			si lo quieres bien ↑
780			y si no lo quieres ↑
781			no lo quieres →
782			pero yo ↑
783			<0.5>
784		Cris	quiero eso →
785			sí =
786		Eva	= quiero esto →
787			y yo no voy a estar con una tía ↑
788			..
789			más de::
790			{[p] porque me (entró) ayer} →
791	→		y joder
792	→		sabes?
793			y él
794			y así hablando con é:l →
795			y tal ↑
796			<0.5>
797			eso →
798			de rollos ↑

799	→	que
800	→	que joder →
801	→	que guay ↑

In this extract, Eva is replaying what her male friend told her about the relationship between them and what he expected of it (lines 773, 777-782, 786-789), suggesting that such a relationship could not be very long (lines 786-789). The reporting is interrupted by the speaker, as she leaves the utterances unfinished, turning to comment on the moment the conversation had been maintained (lines 787-790). This parenthetical comment is contextualised by a prosodic change, as it is produced with a *piano* voice (line 790). In the following turns, the speaker's expressive hesitations become more noticeable, as there are repetitions of the connector *y*, but new information is not added (lines 791-795). The first use of *y* ('and') is followed by *joder* (line 791) as a filler, and then *sabes?* is produced as a contact marker to invite listeners' cooperation (Briz, 1998, p. 224f.; Stenström, 2014, p. 72), reinforcing the speaker's expressive difficulties. After a micropause (line 796), Eva summarises what the boy described as an informal relationship, employing the noun *rollos* ('flings', lines 797-798) and again hesitates in evaluating this, making repetitions and using *joder* once more as a filler (lines 799-801).

According to Coates (1996), women frequently use different forms that serve as hedges in all-female interactions because they often talk about very personal and sensitive topics, while the same forms can also be interpreted as stalling devices because of the difficulties in talking about such issues (see also Stenström, 2014, p. 92). The sensitive topic that is talked about in this interaction can also explain the frequent use of *joder* as a filler by Eva, while it seems unlikely that this expletive could also be employed as a hedge.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The analysis given in this paper demonstrates that *joder* has developed multiple functions in interaction that are derived and/or linked to its primary use as a 'vulgar' interjection to express the speaker's feelings. This way of developing multifunctionality is characteristic of discourse markers (Blas Arroyo, 1995, p. 87), a pragmatic category in which *joder* also should be included.

Thus, this study provides empirical support for arguments in favour of considering interjections as possible discourse markers in contrast to assumptions that these kinds of words only fulfil communicative functions to which they correspond in accordance with their grammatical category, such as the expression of the speaker's feelings. This assumption seems to be an important reason why research on expletives has generally used quantitative methods. In contrast to this, I conclude that claims concerning the functions of expletives and interjections in general should be based on empirical study and not on their grammatical categorisation. Furthermore, such empirical research should include more discourse-analytical approaches since these are precisely the ones that allow us to observe in detail the possibly different ways in which they are used in interactions.

From a gender viewpoint, the analysis suggests that *joder* can also be attributed a sociolinguistic function as a marker of 'young femininities', as it has illuminated how this expletive is integrated into young women's speaking style in contrast to gender-based traditional rules and broader characterisations of 'women's talk' in Language and Gender research. If we also consider quantitatively oriented studies on female teenagers from London and Madrid (Stenström, 2006), the use of this expletive as a discourse marker provides a key to explaining its similar frequency to the use of *fuck* in English, which is much more grammatically variable. Also, it can explain that gender differences in the use of these words are diminishing in terms of frequency of use between girls and boys, according to Stenström (2014, p. 11). Future research should explore this apparent process of diminishing gender differences in other geographical areas as well as the possible explanations for it. In the following, I raise several hypotheses related to this.

On the one hand, we can hypothesise that young females are, to some extent from a gender perspective, consciously triggering a sociolinguistic change in the use of expletives and taboo words by making regular use of them, apparently the least 'strong' words, to symbolise or to claim equality with boys. This is in line with suggestions made by other researchers (López García & Morant, 1991). Such a process can be related to the fact that in Spain, as in other countries and societies, people are becoming aware and critical of gender constructions, as gender equality has been playing an increasingly prominent role in recent decades in the political agenda and the media. On the other hand, we can also hypothesise that such a challenge is limited to the life stage of the speakers. After all, young women's actions against conventional ideas of femininity are not new, but they have been around for centuries, as Nakamura (2014) demonstrates in her historical discourse analysis of 'schoolgirl speech' in Japan at the end of 1880s.

Generally, the use of taboo words by young speakers is interpreted as «a means to provoke the older generation and to oppose authority» (Stenström, 2006, p. 124; see also Stenström, 2014). However, it should also be remarked that girls, in contrast to boys, are not only challenging adult norms but also traditional rules on femininity. Pichler (2015) reviews recent ethnographic studies on young women's displays of verbal toughness, noting that «there does not appear to be a consensus about the extent to which this toughness ultimately empowers the girls» (Pichler, 2015, p. 198), as some of them opt for changing their speaking styles over the years because of new personal and professional situations. If rebellious performances of this type are not beneficial for them in the long term, young women's challenges to gender norms by using expletives and taboo words would lose strength as they grow older, and thus this phenomenon could be limited to this youthful stage.

Lastly, we should also consider, following Murphy (2009), the influence of music, film and television, which «have pushed the boundaries of expletive use, where a word like FUCK, which was once considered taboo, is now being regarded as commonplace» (2009, p. 87). From this perspective, young women's use of *joder* and other expletives could be, if only partially, a reflection of these processes, while young men could continue to underline gender differences in talk by selecting and focusing on those forms that are still severely stigmatised. Research on the use of expletives could delve into gender issues by exploring these possibilities, employing different quantitative and qualitative research methods.

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APPENDIX: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Rounded print	Spanish
Bold print	Galician
Line of transcription	Intonational phrase
↑	Rising intonation phrase–final
↓	Falling intonation phrase–final
→	Sustained intonation phrase–final
?	Interrogative intonation
..	Pause shorter than one second
<3>	Pause of indicated length (in seconds)
(entró)	Uncertain transcription
(X)	Uncertain participant
(xx)	Unintelligible segment
pero::	Lengthened sound
pregu-	Truncated sound
Ana: qué va → = Begoña: = no creo ↓ =	No interval between turns
(X): = bueno [hombre] ↑ Sofía: [NO NADA] →	Conversational overlap

CAPITALS	*fortis* volume
{ }	Segment affected by a phenomenon
{[p]}	*piano* volume
{[ac]}	Accelerated *tempo*
{[dc]}	Decelerated *tempo*
{[a]}	Higher pitch
<riéndose>	Additional comments

BLOGS FOR WOMEN ENGINEERS: A MULTIMODAL STUDY

BLOGS PARA INGENIERAS: UN ESTUDIO MULTIMODAL

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Submitted / Recibido: 09/10/2020
Accepted / Aceptado: 5/04/2021

To cite this article / Para citar este artículo: Molina-Plaza, S. (2021). Blogs for Women Engineers: a Multimodal Study. *Feminismo/s*, *38*, 85-114. Women, Sexual Identity and Language [Monographic dossier]. I. Balteiro (Coord.). https://doi.org/10.14198/fem.2021.38.04

Abstract

This chapter examines thirty blogs for women engineers from a multimodal perspective, offering new ways of analysing their content and communicative strategies. The qualitative study focuses on how the interplay of different modes such as image, writing, typography and colour can be handled and how interpersonal and ideational realizations are construed. The final aim is to unravel relevant meaning-making practices used in these blogs, which want to achieve different objectives: overcome the limitations women still face in engineering by showcasing opportunities, change the perception of women engineers in society and redress the gender imbalance in engineering companies.

Keywords: Women Engineers; Blogs, Multimodality; STEM.

Resumen

Este capítulo estudia treinta blogs de ingenieras bajo un enfoque multimodal, con el objetivo primordial de analizar sus contenidos y estrategias comunicativas. El estudio cualitativo se centra en la sinergia de los distintos modos (imágenes, escritura, tipografía y colour) para transmitir contenido ideacional e interpersonal. Se pretenden desvelar las prácticas más relevantes para generar contenidos de calidad, que quieren alcanzar diferentes objetivos: superar las limitaciones a las que todavía se enfrentan las mujeres en la ingeniería mostrando las oportunidades, cambiar la percepción de las ingenieras en la sociedad y corregir el desequilibrio de género en las empresas de ingeniería.

Palabras clave: ingenieras; blogs; multimodalidad; carreras STEM.

1. INTRODUCTION: SOME DATA ABOUT WOMEN IN ENGINEERING. MYTHS AND REALITIES

Women and girls make up half of the world's population and therefore half of its potential. This means that engineering and gender equality are vital to achieving sustainable development in our society. The United Nations recognizes that the gender gap in the science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) sectors has persisted for many years around the world, and although women's participation in higher education careers has increased tremendously, they are still underrepresented in these fields.

The digital transformation and the growing advances in science and technology give rise to new disruptive business models and with them, new professional profiles with very advanced technological knowledge and an ability to adapt to change as vertiginous as the evolution of technology itself. STEM careers are thus fundamental for this change worldwide, which have mainly helped countries to booster their economies. However, they are also the clearest example of gender inequality all over the world (Stout et al., 2011).

Why are there still more men than women in engineering in different countries? The disparity can be attributed to any of the three widespread myths, according to Osama, S. (2016):

– Myth # 1 Men are better than women in Science: Science is one of the fundamental elements of engineering. To be a successful engineer, one has to have a good knowledge of many scientific concepts. And there is a widespread myth that men are naturally better in science than women. That is not the case. While it is true that men continue to dominate certain areas of science, there are hundreds of prominent examples –past and present– of leading scientific women and outstanding engineers.

– Myth # 2 Women cannot get better grades: The opposite is in fact true; in recent years there has been concern in countries such as the USA and the United Kingdom on a gender gap in the opposite direction –with female students improving their academic performance and participation in higher education at a faster rate than men. In the United Kingdom, for example, statistics published in early 2016 showed that women outperform men in two-thirds of the degrees, and that among those from poorer settings; women were 50% more likely to attend to college than their male peers.
– Myth # 3 Women are good at soft skills, not techniques: This is one of the most difficult myths because it is still widely believed that women are better at «soft skills», while men are successful in the technical part. But talent is not linked to gender –although the prevailing cultural norms and stereotypes most likely influence the types of work that men and women decide to follow.

These are the myths. A few facts about reality: 17% of the students enrolled in Spanish universities chose engineering and architecture studies last year according to data from the Spanish Ministry of Education published in The Spanish newspaper *El Mundo* (Lidón, 2019).Those who ended up in engineering schools represent a woman for every four future engineers, a proportion as uneven as that of three decades ago. The recruitment of female talent in the so-called STEM degrees is so worrying that the Spanish Royal Academy of Engineering has developed the Women and Engineering program to promote vocations –or at least prevent them from getting lost by prejudices and inherited stereotypes– while making women who are already leaders in this sector visible.

Sara Gómez, former Vice-rector at the Technical University of Madrid and current member of the RAI and director of Women in Engineering interviewed in the same article, tries to summarize three reasons why Spanish women are less attracted to STEM degrees; these are ignorance of the work engineers do: «nobody knows what we do even though there is not one single activity a day that has nothing to do with engineering and technology»;

pernicious stereotypes that lead to the lack of adequate references and finally, a misconception of the difficulty involved in studying engineering. According to Gómez, in the last 20 years:

> more than 20% of students in STEM schools in Spain have been lost, regardless of their gender. And the few women who have joined have done so in a very asymmetrical way. There are much masculinized sectors, such as software development and video games. Only 10% of the students go to computer science in Spain, a figure similar to that of the 80s, while 50% go biomedicine or biotechnology, two new engineering fields. Women are attracted to both disciplines, to help others. [Comment on the article «¿Por qué las mujeres no quieren ser ingenieras?» (Lidón, 2019)

Sara Gómez concludes by considering information and education as the only feasible alternatives to redress this unequal balance. A balanced gender representation in the media is also crucial to achieve equity (Popa & Gavriliu, 2015).

Blogs are a useful tool for sharing this knowledge, experiences and skills about women in engineering. The body of academic research with a focus on the main characteristics of blogs has grown over the last years (Blood, 2000; Chandler, 1998; Daly, 1998). It is fairly evident that technical blogs may encourage more women in to STEM by giving access to all sorts of pragmatic information and education opportunities. The media attention and various blogs to support STEM education gives some hope that we will see an increase in diversity figures in the nearby future. Blogs for women engineers do a fine work in changing outdated perceptions and unconscious bias; they can also make a real difference, by showcasing the opportunities available to women in STEM and ensuring access to the same opportunities for all.

2. OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

This paper looks at the different ways in which women's engineering blogs as samples of «situated activity» construct diverse women engineer identities mediated on the web. This puts the attention on discursive practices and the ideological discourse/s of promoting women in STEM. In particular, the study examines the main features of these blogs from a multimodal perspective (Machin, 2007; Pirini, 2017). Consequently, the focus is on how social identities, roles and relationships are enacted through the interplay of text and visuals, static and dynamic images (in videos); process types (whether women engineers are represented with active discourse roles or not) and the particularities of discursive strategies employed by female bloggers that can feed back into strategies for social change in engineering and technical fields.

The overarching goal is to provide an overview of the structure of these blogs to understand the communicative strategies women engineers use in evidencing their daily lives. To achieve this goal, the study first explores and explains the possible influence of engineering preferences and cultural values on the design and communicative style of blogs for women engineers in section 3. After that, method and data are described in section 4 and findings in section 5.

3. THE SUB-GENRE: BLOGS FOR ENGINEERS

Before blogs existed, technical forms of writing have always relied on visual representation to represent new methods and concepts. Blogs build upon these older forms of expression and help engineers to develop their ideas in innovative, more complex ways. They develop as well as various discursive strategies that can be used in formal print texts, aimed at different kinds of audiences (mainly women engineers in general, women engineer entrepreneurs in particular), thus creating multimodal texts where different modes integrate print, visual and oral texts together, conveying how specialized engineers build products and work together. It is not merely a juxtaposition of different modes presenting the same information redundantly. The interplay of modes creates new meaning (Bateman, 2008: 2) and conveys ideas persuasively. An earlier, established genre (Technical Blogs) is re-designed and re-deployed by women engineers in a new, emerging sub-genre.

In engineering contexts, blogs are a useful technology for professionals for telling stories about their interests, concerns and work. Predictably, blogs promote certain preferences, skills and competences highly valued in engineering, such as project coordination, numerical skills, leadership attitude, initiative, social commitment, compliance with professional guidelines set by different engineering associations, etc. These core values highlight the importance of professional and personal growth in engineering. Fortunately, there are a whole lot more opportunities now in the twenty first century for those who were previously disadvantaged –including women. Engineering is still a highly technical field which can give rise to elitism in some circles or downright discrimination in others. Information is sometimes hidden away from women entering the field, making it even harder for them to achieve the competencies of their peers. This «glass ceiling» prevents women engineers from advancing to leadership positions and women's unequal status is reflected in blogs as a source of concern. How then do women in these (sadly rather common) circumstances achieve success despite crushing barriers? Table 1 summarizes some attitudinal strategies for success from engineer chic, a blog aimed at women engineers.

Success tip #5: Speak up
Success tip #4: Join in the fun
Success tip #3: Make sure you get the credit you deserve
Success tip #2: Be Inquisitive
Success tip #1: Have Tenacity

Table 1. Tips for a successful career in engineering for women.

Women engineers as members of specific discourse community also have to meet the criteria put forward by Swales (2004). They have a broadly agreed set of common public goals; they also have mechanisms of intercommunication among its members to provide information and feedback and, finally, they use a specific lexis which reveals their knowledge of relevant content and expertise.

In turn, it is necessary to observe the blog components in detail to explore their functional and cognitive characteristics. Table 2 sums up the basic structural components usually found in most templates for creating technical blogs, which have a similar format: header, main column, fixed side columns and footer. These four parts correspond to the public part of the blog, which viewers can see and through which they can navigate. This format is also commonly used in the engineering blogs in our corpus written by women.

✓ HEADER: It is the part where the blog title is located.
✓ MAIN COLUMN: It is the place where the contents of the blog appear, that is, the entries, articles or «posts», with high-quality engineering content, linking them to other engineering works (intertextuality).
✓ SIDE COLUMNS: Next to the main column of contents there is the possibility of inserting lateral columns to the right and / or to the left where other fixed elements of the blog can be added.
✓ FOOT OF PAGE: It is placed at the end of the page and is another fixed element. It is the location for elements that do not require an outstanding presence or that do not alter the reading of the blog.

Table 2. Basic units in blogs.

Over the last few years, blogging has opened up a way for leading women in engineering to bring to light the important improvements women have made, the struggles they still encounter, and the strategies they set up for their work to be recognized. Specifically, these blogs offer career inspiration, when experienced engineers offer resources, ideas, and inspiration for helping other women to get ahead in their careers in engineering. This inspiration comes from the past: In what follows, the main features of these blogs for women engineers are described.

3.1. Features of women's engineering blogs

Nowadays, most female engineering bloggers customize a pre-given template rather than designing it from scratch. Choice of colours, visuals and typography is indeed meaningful to represent the main ideas of what they want to communicate (Kress 2010; Van Leeuwen 2011). When choosing a template, bloggers select a series of combinations which shape their blog's aesthetics as the most apt for their sign-making interests. Language with other semiotic modalities (layouts, visuals) fills in the template. A critical analysis of the visual rhetoric of these components makes for an enriching, holistic analysis of the discursive self-construction of women engineers.

The blogs in this sample are written by both women engineers and associations which promote engineering for women, trying to enhance them as professionals. A professional blog is a platform created to promote and develop other women's jobs. Through it, women engineers can promote their services, and even more importantly, networking. Engineering blogs for women also occupy a specific niche, as they are not intended to strengthen the brand image of a person, product or company, but to share issues that may be of interest and value for this certain niche, that of women engineers, such as the celebration of the International Women in Engineering Day –INWED, 23 June every year. (See Manríquez, 2020).

The potential audience is mixed: mainly women engineers, women engineering entrepreneurs and readers who can eventually become customers (in the case of personal blogs). There are different authors with content of interest, news, tips and curiosities around the world of engineering and women working in this field. To a lesser extent, the corpus sample also includes personal blogs by women engineers, who mainly seek a platform for free speech and promotion. They update other women engineers on engineering activities and whereabouts, express their own opinions to influence others and also seek others' opinions.

From a formal perspective, table 3 illustrates the main formal features found in women's engineering blogs both in the UK and Spain. This discourse community of bloggers cannot be dissociated from their social context and their blogs present a specific type of social interaction. Blogs are used to stay in constant contact with other engineers and stakeholders. That is the main reason why engineering blogs display an ability to gather information, argue proposals, solutions and results in an attractive manner. For any engineer numbers and calculations must be accurate, so that the works or projects are efficient. The same goes for blog writing. The communication must be 100% clear; otherwise, the consequences are greater, because time and money are wasted.

- **Entries**: or «posts». These entries appear in reversed chronological order, (most recent first) each time a new one is published.
- **Static and dynamic pages**: if we adjust to the definition of what a blog is, it is a website whose content is dynamic since entries are added every so often. However, a blog also has static pages; generally there are two, «Contact» and «Who we are».
- **Use of different modes for content**: traditionally, blog posts have been composed of text and the occasional image accompanying it. However, for several years, many users try to attract visitors using other modes to present complex information: animations, infographics, photographs, etc.

• **Organization**: the vast majority are organized using tags and categories. The objective is none other than to facilitate as much as possible the search of content within the blog to visitors.
• **Web Traffic**: it allows building relationships of trust among users, thus humanizing the women engineers in question.
• **Bidirectional communication**: the audience, women engineers, has the option to interact with the people behind the blog in question through comments. Collaborative engineering activity, supporting future work of other women engineers.
• **Keywords**: in blog posts, keywords and key-word rich titles are essential (*Women's Under-Representation, women's career development, women engineers, connect, collaborate*)
• **Language**: entries are concise and well-written: women engineers use short and simple sentences and paragraphs; eliminate redundant words and expressions, they «stick to the point».
• **Authorship:** the aspects of instant feedback and increased collaboration dilute the notion of individual authorship to a certain extent. However, some blogs include clearly the author of each post (mujeringeniera.com/ingenieriapetrolera)
• **Videos:** some engineering blogs include videos. More often than not, viewers will end up engaging with the content by clicking on the video because it stands out in the midst of all text in the women engineering blog post (https://www.mujeringeniera.com/talentos-ocultos-pelicula-mujeres-ingenieras)

Table 3. Formal features of women's engineering blogs.

From a socio-cognitive approach, women's engineering blogs reflect diverse ways of thinking about women engineers that construct them as such. These blogs structure what women engineers hold as true and what they act upon. They foster collective dissemination of engineering knowledge and peer discussion.

4. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

This study is based on the multimodal analysis of thirty blogs randomly selected and recorded for the purposes of analysis in March 2020 from the web. The goal of the study is to focus mainly on the qualitative analysis of these blogs to examine their power to frame concepts for women engineers. It consists of two steps: first, an overview of the 30 blogs in order to find out (a) whether their multimodal features act as a genre, and (b) whether there are differences between personal and institutional blogs in the sample. Once these general aspects have been identified, four representative blogs (two personal and two institutional) have been selected for detailed discussion.

Multimodality has attracted many scholars interested in communication and semiosis, and there is now a substantial body of scholarly work focusing on the multimodal dimensions of discourse as a social practice. One relevant concern of multimodality is studying how language is nested in other modes (Jewitt, Bezemer & O'Halloran, 2016: 17-18). Multimodality stresses that «modes work together to produce a greater meaning than either mode could on its own» (Rowsell, 2013: 147). Specifically, this study applies the analytic tools proposed by Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) to examine the interpersonal discursive construction of meaning in the websites for women entrepreneurs: *gaze, mood* and *social distance*. Gaze is a socially organized way of viewing and experiencing the world, hence visual contact on a blog homepage determines the type of relation between the viewer and the blog designer. Secondly, *mood* refers to how bold and saturated colours may communicate emotional intensity (interpersonal function). Thirdly, *social distance* refers to how women engineers are presented to the audience by checking the different sizes of their photos (*framing*). In addition, attention is focused on the particular process types (whether women engineers are presented with active or passive discourse roles) and the self-constructed dynamic identities of women pertaining to engineering networks as institutional actors with their discursive practices, i.e., how the adopted presentational styles reflect women engineers sociocultural values. Finally, Van Leeuwen's (1996) framework for the representation of social actors and social action in discourse are also adopted.

Research on the multimodal rhetoric of discourse has grown in the last decade or so (Bezemer & Kress, 2008; Buehl, 2016). Generating or inventing ideas and lines of arguments in a blog is in itself an exercise that fulfils both the ideational and the interpersonal functions of discourse. Hence, this study aims to determine the persuasive strategies used by the multimodal discourse producers, and to see how this social group creates a coherent discourse establishing ethos and appealing to logos and pathos for other women engineers and readers. The analysis focuses on the blog homepages as primary entry points to the blogs, current platforms for engineering communication.

As regards the data, this study is based on the analysis of 30 blogs from the U.K, USA, Canada and Spain; twenty institutional and ten personal blogs of women engineers. Institutional blogs from Spanish Universities (Universidad de Alicante; Universidad Politécnica de Madrid; Universidad de Castilla-la Mancha) and engineering associations (for example, the blog from the Women's Engineering Society in the UK) represent high-status women engineers and examples of successful young women to attract the young girls to join the ranks. They also highlight engineering team's culture, and introduce the talented engineers on an institution. Personal blogs keep engineers on the pulse of what's happening in their technical field –research, innovations, products, events and business inspiration. The role that these women as social actors are given to play in both types of blogs is «agent» (actor). The sample of blogs was selected in 2019 typing in Google «blogs for women engineers» in English and Spanish. Representative institutional and personal blogs of different areas in engineering were selected from English and Spanish sources.

One of the problems faced during the sample collection was the dynamicity of blogs. The front pages of a blog are short-lived as a consequence of its need of updating. To overcome this limitation, screenshots of the blogs front page were taken. Once each blog was compiled, it was numbered and codified by date and time and given a code. Then the text and the accompanying images were linguistically annotated and analysed manually.

5. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This section provides an overview of how women engineers' concerns interact with different modes and rhetoric in our sample of blogs. The layout of women's engineering blogs is strongly connected to the process of building a public image of women as professional engineers. The initial inspection of the homepages aimed to determine how different multimodal resources were arranged into clusters and different units of meaning. Noteworthy, these blogs select the trendiest and most impactful production of photography and typography. Even more significant, however, is the fact that almost all blogs display images of women and combine large size image with short text in the central position. The fact that around 95% of the homepages display photography of real women is very revealing. Gender identity, contextually constructed through entries and in constant flux, is highly present in these women's engineering blogs. The images used denote women who have to position themselves within the world of engineering nowadays.

First, general findings are addressed, in particular with reference to the way these blogs are usually structured in 5.1. Next, I analyse in depth four representative blogs which illustrate different patterns found in these blogs in 5.2.

5.1. MULTIMODAL TOOLS IN PERSONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL WOMEN'S ENGINEERING BLOGS

Analytically, it useful to consider the following categories/modes as separated (Bezemer & Jewitt, 2010) to identify their precise functions in blogs:

a. **Page layout**: refers to the arrangement of text, images, and other objects on a page through framing and positioning; framing includes all devices that connect and/or separate elements; positioning refers to the relative position of the elements on a page (Kress, 2010). Blog designers tended to favour a minimalist design in our sample with lots of uniform, open space.
b. **Colour**: it is used in framing devices, in images and fonts; modal elements of colour include palette and effects, such as lighting, saturation and nuancing (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Colours subconsciously elicit thoughts and emotions when users see them. The favourite ones in this sample were purple, blue and green with different shades (Navy Blue, Jade, Grape). Purple has a strong emotional resonance for many women as it symbolizes sisterhood, the women's movement, achievement gained and achievements yet to come; different shades of blue were also preferred colours that transmit a subtle message of trustworthiness and serenity. It is used for example in the blog sponsored by the University of the Basque Country *Mujeres con ciencia* [Women with Science] (Pérez, 2020). Generally speaking, these blogs normally used three colours, excluding black and white. These three colours may be considered as splashes of colour that

call attention to different parts of the blog to add visual appeal (i.e. the Society of Women Engineer's blog uses purple and two shades of blue, appealing colours to female engineers). However, this was not always the case. Other blogs used five or six colours, and some used just one or two. In order to create a harmonious design, these blogs tend to follow the 60-30-10 rule, which means that 60 per cent of the design is covered by a primary colour and 20 per cent by a secondary colour, as in Women in engineering blog.

c. **Font**: refers to the material shape of writing and is meaningful through font type (bold, italics and capitalization) and size (Bezemer & Kress, 2008). Interestingly, these blogs favoured simple fonts such as Arial. Font size also plays an important role whether an engineer will read a post or just ignore it. For example, «Women Engineers Needed – Join a Network for Support» written in a giant print (24 point) and bold type definitely draws the viewer's attention and creates salience (Munn, 2014).
d. **Writing:** blog posts in this study tend to avoid long chunks of text. One of the possible reasons behind this being bloggers just have about 50 milliseconds to make a good first impression. Posts in the sample are short, informative and focus on the quality of the content. The sentences tend to be single clauses or involve simple coordination ('and'). They are written to convey facts with clarity. Writers also write detailed, precise and logically sequenced posts. This specific vocabulary and grammar combine with factual precision to produce the expected register of engineering writing. Other features to be taken into account are instances of anaphoric cross-reference between messages; general feedback reactions found as opening sentences; use of certain types of grammatical constructions (i.e. active sentences), jargon or abbreviations, thus sharing linguistic character with interlocutors; and, finally, use of rhetorical questions or tag questions state personal opinions and/or stress an utterance.

An overview of the blogs revealed patterns of syntactic compression in personal blogs, such as omitted determiners, conventionalized use of past participles and present tense verb forms. The ease and low cost of publishing via blogs also involves using keywords related to each specific technological area: computing, electronical engineering, etc. In addition to the information presented in text, bloggers use the properties and resources of hypertext. These links and references add relevant additional information without extending the content and agility to the post. Thus, women engineers as authors filter out engineering web content and only let access to an edited version of the Web. Multimedia elements such as images, videos, audios, etc. associated to the article also provide additional powerful information and files hosted on other websites can be referenced.

e. **Visuals**: Image can be still or dynamic; it can be a photograph, a drawing, a symbol/shape, a diagram (often combining image and writing) or a video (which combines auditory resources too); image makes meaning through framing, modality, camera angle and others (cf. Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Blogs in our sample tend to use frontal close-up photos of women engineers at eye level, which highlight an equal relationship with the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 12). To a lesser extent, medium-long shots showing women engineers in their everyday activities, capturing their performance and surroundings.
f. **Interactivity and combination of modes**: Blogs are aimed at being interactive and women engineers comment on blog posts; these comments can be quickly and easily accessed by other women engineers once they are posted. The homepage in these blogs, as a kind of webpage, is visually dynamic and requires different levels of interactivity from users (Adami, 2015). Bateman et al. (2017, p. 305) identify three levels of interactivity: the lowest as the initial exploration, the middle where the viewer proceeds with the manipulation of slides or menu and the highest level when the viewer performs a choice over one of the elements. The present study focuses on the lowest level of interactivity and examines the clusters made salient independently from any affordance made available to use it at higher levels of interactivity. Finally, the combination of modes explains how that range of

meanings fulfils the blog's function and expresses the desired social relation with the audience.

Next, the difference between personal and institutional blogs is discussed, one of the goals of this study. The fine-grained analysis of these blogs pays attention to socio-cultural and individual aspects of semiosis, including various modes, such as layout, font, colour and photos. Individual women engineers writing on their personal websites address an audience interested in technological topics and career development, or any women engineers who 'follow' the blogger. The purpose is to express their personal opinion mainly on technical issues but also on women's situation in engineering. Stance features are integrated with other ideational lexico-grammatical features to express personal attitudes and evaluation. Overall, personal blogs tend to be quite informational and give advice to other women engineers using modal verbs, aspect verbs and process nouns. They describe the future actions that women engineers should undertake to be successful in engineering, using visual credentials (e.g. actors are seen in the lab or surrounded by computers). From a linguistic point of view, personal pronouns and deictic features are related to assumptions about audience (other women engineers and employers) and context. The pronoun 'you' can be generic (the writer does not know the individual identities of other women that the message is aimed at), but is has some pragmatic force as this pronoun is used in one-to-one spoken interaction. Besides, these individual blogs commonly include deictic markers such as 'this, here, there', which may refer to the space the engineer inhabits or the virtual space of the blog page itself.

In institutional blogs respected women engineers also write for readers interested in engineering topics. There is a complex mix of communicative functions here. Discourse is usually framed as information but it also has a covert function: to encourage especially young women to enrol in engineering. For this reason, institutional blogs include narratives or evidence of successful women in technology. They usually have a present-time orientation and reveal a frequent use of stance features. In particular, their grammatical and multimodal style approximates the average of other website-based forms of communication (institutional webpages for companies or political institutions) and certain analogies with print publishing can be found. Furthermore, institutional blogs include simple noun phrases (i.e. *members, jobs, partnerships*, etc.) usually found inside a bar –a graphological way of signaling broad semantic categories the visitor of the engineering blog may be interested in or focusing on the group that a reader of the site may identify why (e.g. *students, regional clusters*). They normally include a brief introduction: *Quiero ser ingeniera* [I want to be a woman engineer], followed by role models, specific examples of women engineers in a newsbite format, i.e. short enough extracts of their biodata to be read in their entirety on the screen, as in the blog published by the Library at the University of Alicante (*Quiero ser ingeniera*, 2019). A relevant example from the past (*Fairer Science*) is the following:

> It's Ada Lovelace Day. As many of you know, today is Ada Lovelace Day where science bloggers are encouraged to «write a blog post about your STEM heroine». I had a lot of thoughts about who to write about, but then I read an NPR story, The Forgotten Female Programmers Who Created Modern Tech and realized that there are many people who don't know who Ada Lovelace is. (Pat, 2014).

5.2. Types of women engineers and modes of representation in four blogs

Based on the blogs analysed for this study, the following types of social actors are typically represented in women's engineering blogs.

5.2.1. Institutional Affiliates

Access to the specialized discourse domain of engineering is normally restricted to professional engineers, which I call «institutional affiliates». These are women who represent different engineering organizations in different capacities (President, Vice-president, Trustee, and Ordinary Council Member). The discourse role of these participants is obviously varied, according to the cultural norms of each association and their institutional practices. This study is interested on the identities and positions these women create for themselves in their blog interaction.

These institutional blogs tend to follow a hierarchical structure. At the top of the pyramid is the president or vice-presidents who mediate and frame the most important topics. They have the authority to speak on behalf of other women engineer as experts. They are an easy way of getting information online, either to show other women engineers or for them to find on their own. It's just a way to connect professionals with that they need.

A Spanish example of institutional affiliate is the Sara Gómez, a leading member of the Spanish Engineering Academy (Table 4). Her biodata has 157 words, giving essential clues about her professional identity. This is a fairly standard format. The interplay of the written text and the visual is fairly conservative, following the conventions for the production of academic curriculum vitae. As a matter of fact, it looks like the traditional printed version of a CV revealing the construction of a coherent trajectory as engineer and, thus, projecting a coherent sense of self. Her expertise is stated explicitly by mentioning her credentials. Typically, her legitimation as expert takes the form of verbal process clauses with Sara as subject («she works at the Technical University of Madrid, whose acronym in Spanish is UPM).

On average, a woman's engineering biodata ranges from 150 to 250 words. The central role of identity in workplace interactions and public fora –how people perceive themselves and their colleagues at work– has been the subject of several studies (e.g. Angouri & Marra, 2011; Schnurr, 2013; Schnurr & Zayts, 2017). In the role models section in blogs, the most straightforward and frequent way of organizing information is to put old information in theme position and new information towards the end of the rheme, as in Sara Gomez's curriculum.

Sara Gómez Martín

Es Ingeniera Técnica en Mecánica, Ingeniera de Materiales y Doctora Ingeniera por la Universidad Politécnica de Madrid (UPM), donde trabaja desde 1985 como profesora e investigadora en la Escuela Universitaria de Ingeniería Técnica Industrial, en las áreas de mecánica de los medios continuos y teoría de estructuras.

Ha trabajado en distintas compañías privadas e instituciones públicas como la Oficina de Transferencia Tecnológica de la UPM (OTT). Fue gerente de la Real Academia de Ingeniería, de 2000 a 2004; directora de la Escuela Técnica Superior de Ingeniería y Diseño Industrial (Universidad Politécnica de Madrid) (ETSIDI), de la UPM, de 2008 a 2012, y vicerrectora de la UPM, de 2012 a 2016.

Desde julio de 2016 es consejera de la Real Academia de Ingeniería y directora del proyecto Mujer e Ingeniería.

Actualmente dirige el Grupo de Investigación Diseño y Tecnología Industrial y está muy involucrada en terminar con «el techo de cristal de las mujeres en el mundo tecnológico».

Table 4. Sara Gómez's biodata in «Quiero ser ingeniera» [I want to be a female engineer]

On average, a woman's engineering biodata ranges from 150 to 250 words. The central role of identity in workplace interactions and public fora –how people perceive themselves and their colleagues at work– has been the subject of several studies (e.g. Angouri & Marra, 2011; Schnurr, 2013; Schnurr & Zayts, 2017). In the role models section in blogs, the most straightforward and frequent way of organizing information is to put old information in theme position and new information towards the end of the rheme, as in Sara Gomez's curriculum.

Now, I am going to describe the way in which the interaction between different modes takes place and how social actors are presented in another institutional blog, *Stemettes* (Figure 1). It is an organization based in the

U.K. that strives to inspire and motivate the next generation of females in STEM fields; they aim to do this by giving them access to events, hackathons, mentoring schemes etc. For this purpose, micro and macro level multimodal strategies are used. Examples of micro level strategies are big capital letters in bold type for the expression of a verbal message: STEM MODE IN, which enhance the photo and the efforts against the Covid-19 pandemic. The photograph of young women engineers in combination with typography is also meaningful and salient. Their smiling faces add a human touch to the blog and trigger positive emotions, enhanced by their mutual gaze and postural orientation toward one another. Close-up shots of women engineers at eye level stress «an equal relationship with the viewer» (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006: 12). Calls to action are hyperlinks in blue in the text below the headline: «response to the Covid-19 outbreak», «bookmark the page» or «sign for updates here».

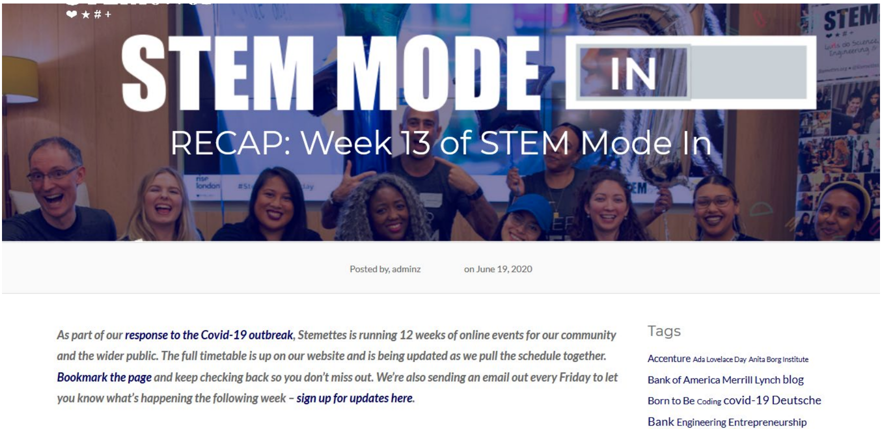

Figure 1. Stemmetes' blog.

5.2.2. Individual Social Actors

As a user's point of entry to a blog and its meanings (Baldry & Thibault, 2006), the homepage plays an essential role in conveying the contents and functions of personal blogs. In contrast to institutional blogs, they express the «author's voice» and have a more creative, reflective stance but they also reflect functional writing, such as problem-solving skills. Personal blogs help engineers to obtain the best solution possible with the resources available.

The analysis of the multimodal meaning enacted focused on two areas. The first area was concerned with the design features contributing to the creation of the blog message(s) through visual and linguistic elements. The second looked into the hierarchy of themes signalled by these features and its potential in revealing not only how content is structured and made coherent in the blog but more importantly, what elements are chosen as ideational points of departure for its message.

Their main linguistic features of these stories are use of contracted forms, beginning a sentence with a coordinating conjunction replacing a word by a number («5 days, 2 weeks, 2 hours»), and omission of punctuation signs, such as missing commas or suspensive dots. Reflective writing about the role of women in engineering blogs also involves a more personal style and the woman engineer puts her thoughts and feelings at the centre of the task. Therefore, personal pronouns such as – 'I', 'me', 'my' – or even 'we' are both acceptable and typically found.

As regards page layout, personal blogs tend to use a header with the menu or navigation bar to declutter the page and make a great first impression. It is followed up by main content area on which blog posts appear either by order of publishing or by relevance. The homepage also uses headlines as attention grabbers. A nice example is *mujeres ingeniosas* (witty women), a pun playing with the adjective «ingeniosa» (witty) and the noun *ingeniera* (woman engineer). A compelling headline like this one instantly generates clicks, drives traffic, and entices other women to read on. The comment section is typically located at the end of every post, as a place for women engineers to engage in an exchange of ideas. Down below are contact pages, privacy policies, and relevant links, neatly arranged in a footer. Optimizing content for search on engineering websites and sharing within different social channels is essential for reach and engagement of engineering blog content. Another important feature is that blogging platforms are nowadays mobile-ready: Women engineers use Wordpress, Blogger, Tumblr, which create attractive, functional mobile versions of their blogs (and associated sites).

Finally, a sidebar usually located on the right highlights favourite entries, with social profiles, favourite content and call-to-actions

The real revolution in engineering has been brought about from the fact that any woman engineer can put up her own site without, initially, having it vetted by anyone to create her own personal blog.

This study is interested to find out if personal home pages by women engineers have a language of their own and the way it interacts with other modes. Personal blogs by women engineers seem to be a curious hybrid of secret diary and public, factual information and revelation about what is like to be an engineer for women (i.e. *Laura Medalia's blog*). Laura Medalia is an engineer who loves computer science and fashion and invites others to «embrace a girly side of tech». She focuses on the production on news-bites she considers newsworthy or practical for other girls in tech and addresses issues such as self-exploration as well. Figure 2 shows her post «Productivity Tips» (Medalia, 2017) is a close-up showcasing Laura's immediate visual context and reveals what she does to stray productive: a coffee disposable cup with and action key verb in computing («code», repeated in caps attracting the viewer's gaze) and computers. Her posts identify with recent events and are coherent with ideas and understandings that are popular in computing. Readers see some relevance to their own lives as women involved in technology. Her blog is attractive for young engineers because she draws on the values of personalization and the best of computer technology.

Figure 2. Snapshot from Laura Medalia's blog

Other personal blogs in the sample also contain statements, reflections and sentiments for the rest of the world to see and sometimes are a medium for the presentation of the self. A case in point is *Girls in Tech*, composed of different testimonies of women working in engineering topics (figure 3).

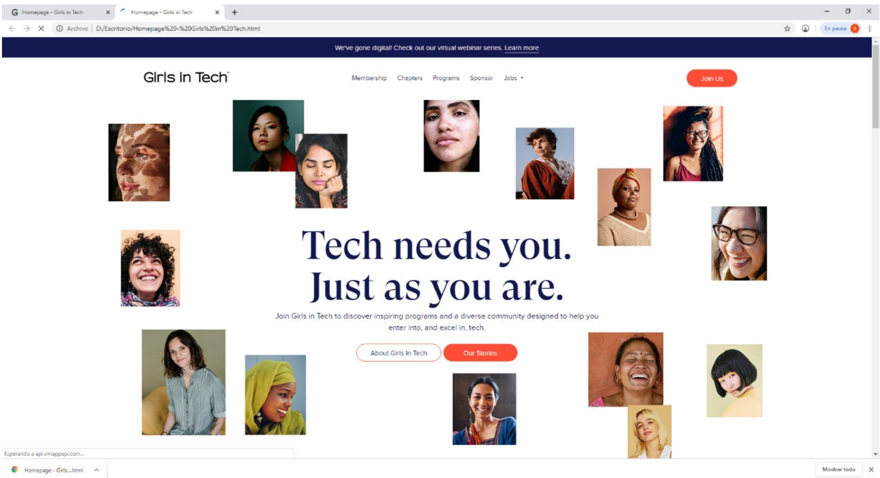

Figure 3. Testimonies of Women engineers (Girls in Tech)

The homepage layout of *Girls in Tech* is a complex multimodal sign, consisting of a range of photographs of smiling women engineers of different age groups and ethnic backgrounds, framed as members of the same community of women engineers. Paramount in the data segment is how gaze and postural orientation of the women engineers as social actors is mutually influential as they seek a position of shared knowledge and understanding which will allow them to move forward in their professional careers. Simultaneously, the range of photos with the written message «Tech needs you just as you are» functions as a coherent visual-verbal sign, which honours women for their courage despite the hegemonic masculinity in engineering. This page draws the viewers' attention to the merits of women engineers and tries to link women engineers as members of a wider social network, using hyperlinks and different modes.

Additionally, there are navigation tools around the blog, such as headings of various sections («jobs», «programs»), search functions and newsbites of women in engineering that enable viewers to click through to the full testimony of diverse women engineer role models, called here «our stories», salient for its central position in the centre and its bright orange colour. The multimodal nature of the blog allows for new, more appealing modes of communication and interaction between women engineers as «producers» and other women engineers as «viewers». The possibility to comment on stories online related to other women in engineering often leads to feedback and conversations between contributors. It is evident that blogs such as this one frame women engineers as social actors and are a powerful means of paying attention to the way information about women in technology is filtered and represented, how ideology about them can be recovered by analyzing lexical, syntactic and visual choices and how «stories» are structured in order to represent a more inclusive point of view in engineering.

As a summary of results, a multimodal approach offers potentials for investigating communication in the following respects:

From a general perspective, these blogs are calls-to-action designed to get an immediate response from women engineers, aimed at influencing any of the following aspects:

- To make known the diversity of professional opportunities in engineering: showing that they are also professions with a social purpose, an aspect that seems to have a significant influence on young women when they select their studies. They tend to use newsbites, relying increasingly on visual communication in order to position content and attract readers.
- To make visible the work and achievements made by women engineers and technologists throughout history. The lack of female referents may be a reason why there are fewer girls interested in these studies. That is why institutional and also some personal blogs include a role models section (past and present).
- To make a connection with other women engineers. Speaking in first person (*I, We, ourselves*) is an effective way women engineers use to personalize their writing and to appeal to emotion.

These topics are visible in social keywords (*gender equality, visibility, women in science*), which represent topics of interest to the women's engineering blogs is intended to reach and engage. By researching these topics and the specific language the community uses to express their interest, blogging becomes more effective at being relevant and shared on different social webs.

From a multimodal and qualitative perspective, the use of written and visual elements is considered. As far as the images are concerned, they portray individual women engineers or small groups of women at interpersonal interaction. They are presented in combination with the verbal message. A good example is figure 4, which illustrates the homepage for 'I want to be a female engineer' [*Quiero Ser Ingeniera*, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid] (Haciendo balance, 2019). As the viewer may observe, the idea «I want to be a woman engineer» is partially shown (a graphic on the top right corner with a girl plus the written message partially clipped). The photo of a competition with students implicitly suggests what message is being highlighted. Although the message cannot be seen, the phrase highlighted in bold type *haciendo balance* [taking stock] works in combination with the group photo to suggest that this blog is about promoting women in science by means of a project, as stated explicitly in the written text (Pilot Project QSI, whose Spanish acronym corresponds to «I want to be a female engineer»). The organization of verbal and visual elements on the page runs on a diagonal axis, from the left top corner towards the right bottom. Social network icons are placed there.

Figure 4. *I want to be a female engineer.* Institutional Blog sponsored by the Technical University of Madrid.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The purpose of this study was to illustrate the potential of multimodality with the subgenre of blogs for women engineers to produce creative and persuasive messages. These blogs, public fora of interest in present-day women studies and discourse research, are not just about conveying engineering content but also about the representation of themselves as women in engineering. Blog writing is an act of identity in which women engineers align themselves with current socio-culturally shaped subject positions, and thereby play their part in reproducing or challenging dominant engineering practices and discourses, and the values, beliefs and interests which they embody.

These blogs are clearly socially-situated practices, where women identities are performed socially through their semiotic practices, as well as being defined by engineers' membership status. Personal and institutional blogs help to position the self in relation to others and they are at the same time incredibly powerful tools for publication and communication for women in engineering that favours the exchange and debate of ideas, finding new information and, even more importantly, networking. Meaning-making is fluid and transformative in these personal blogs, rather than relying on existing codes. A few bloggers challenge male dominant discourses in engineering.

The women's engineering blogging community or «blogospheres» is increasing in the social, cultural, political and educational aspects, since the authors have total independence to write about what they deem appropriate in their own blog; blogs are a good indicator of what really worries women in engineering fields.

This chapter has tried to demonstrate that a multimodal framework used for an in-depth analysis of the interplay of verbiage and image can be applied effectively to these blogs as contextually motivated asynchronous communication. Women's Engineering blogs present a version of women professionals constructed for the consumption of an unknown public of experts. The narrative voice, particularly in personal blogs, very often presents itself as if it is involved in one-to-one interaction, with an imaginary reader. Female bloggers express themselves creatively in order to document their personal experiences or share them with other women engineers to strengthen bonds within the community, plus sharing pragmatic contents with others.

Bloggers need to secure a dominant subject position as professional engineers in a still male-dominated engineering industry. They do so by applying multimodal strategies of self-fashioning and by differentiating themselves from other professionals, male engineers.

In conclusion, these blogs allow women engineers to actively produce their own diverse identities that foster each blogger's self-representation uniting the genre-specific narrative constructs of the weblogs and the specifics of engineering technological writing.

No doubt, the study of blogs is a complex issue as several factors must be taken into account in the construction of women engineers. The qualitative study of blogs has enabled a fine-grained analysis of some of the multimodal tools used in this sub-genre (colour, typography, visuals, etc.).

Overall, these blogs reveal that to be a woman engineer in the 21st century is still a challenge. On a brighter note, women engineers have achieved many things over the past century. However, there is always room to grow and progress as seen in blogs, and many women hope to continue the true essence of feminism –achieving gender equality step by a step in diverse engineering fields.

APPENDIX WOMEN'S ENGINEERING BLOGS

1. *Asociación ingeniera.soy*. https://www.ingeniera.soy/#blog
2. *Blog Biblioteca Universitaria Universidad de Alicante*. https://blogs.ua.es/bibliotecauniversitaria/2019/03/01/quiero-ser-ingeniera/
3. *Blog Ferrovial*. https://blog.ferrovial.com/es/2019/06/dia-mujer-ingeniera-lo-que-las mujeres-con-ingenio-consiguieron-para-la-generacion-de-hoy/
4. *Blog from Bibliotecas del Área Tecnológica de la ULPGC*. Mujeres ingenieras – INTELING (ulpgc.es)
5. *Blog from Girls in Tech*. https://girlsintech.org/
6. *Blog from Workflow*. https://www.workflowmax.com/blog/27-resources-to-educate-celebrate-and empower-female-engineers
7. *Blog Mujer Tech*. https://mujertech.womenalia.com/
8. *Blog Universidad Castilla-La Mancha*. http://blog.uclm.es/mujeringenieria/
9. *Blog Universidad Politécnica de Madrid*. https://blogs.upm.es/quieroseringeniera/
10. *Caixa Enginyers' Blog*. https://blog.caixa-enginyers.com/mujeres-ingenieras-las-protagonistas-de-la-fundacion/?lang=es
11. *Electrifying Women*. https://electrifyingwomen.org/blog-2/
12. *Engineer chic. Womxn in technology and engineering*. https://engineerchic.com/
13. *Engineering Emily*. https://www.engineeringemily.com/
14. *Fairer Science blog*. http://www.fairerscience.org/fs-blogs/index.html
15. *Flexbot*. https://www.flexbot.es/mujeres-ingenieras-en-la-actualidad/
16. *Girl Knows Tech*. https://girlknowstech.com/category/blogging/
17. *IEE Women in Engineering's Blog*. https://www.facebook.com/page/150443418299658/search/?q=blog
18. *Inspiring Women Blog*. https://itfinspiringwomen.wordpress.com/2017/05/05/more-female-role-models-needed-as-over-half-of-older-teens-ready-to-rule-out-a-career-in-science/
19. *Laura Medalia's blog*. https://www.lauramedalia.com/blog/
20. *Mary Rose Cook's Blog*. https://maryrosecook.com/blog/
21. *Miss Aerospace*. http://www.missaerospace.com/

22. *Mujer Ingeniera*. https://www.mujeringeniera.com/
23. *Mujeres con ciencia: Un blog de la Cátedra de Cultura Científica de la UPV/EHU*. https://mujeresconciencia.com
24. *National Centre for Universities and Business*. https://www.ncub.co.uk/blog/engineering-diversity.html
25. *SpringerOpen Blog*. http://blogs.springeropen.com/springeropen/2018/05/23/being-a-women-in-engineering/
26. *Stemettes' Blog*. https://stemettes.org/blog/
27. *The female engineering Blog*. https://thefemaleengineerblog.com/
28. *UK Space Agency Blog*. https://space.blog.gov.uk/2017/06/22/celebrating-female-space-engineers-in-the-uk/
29. *Women Engineering Association*. https://www.wes.org.uk/content/nwed-blog
30. *Women in Engineering. Geek Feminism Blog*. https://geekfeminismdotorg.wordpress.com/tag/women-in-engineering/

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COLOUR AND GENDER: LANGUAGE NUANCES

COLOR Y GÉNERO: MATICES DEL LENGUAJE

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Submitted / Recibido: 01/11/2020
Accepted / Aceptado: 10/04/2021

To cite this article / Para citar este artículo: Espinosa-Zaragoza, I. (2021). Colour and gender: language nuances. In *Feminismo/s*, *38*, 115-147. Women, Sexual Identity and Language [Monographic dossier]. I. Balteiro (Coord.). https://doi.org/10.14198/fem.2021.38.05

Abstract

It is a deeply rooted belief that women possess a richer colour vocabulary than men (Rich, 1977). According to Lakoff, certain adjectives denoting colour (e.g. *mauve*) would never be naturally chosen by men unless they were «imitating a woman sarcastically, or a homosexual, or an interior decorator» (1973, p. 49). Are these affirmations adjusted to our present reality? Nowadays, colour is present in almost every economic sector. Consequently, a proficient use of colour vocabulary is expected from professionals, regardless of their gender. Hence, if the differences in colour vocabulary are learnt and highly dependent on the user's necessities and expectations, then said differences after globalisation and exposure to the Internet should not be so striking. With this objective in mind, this study analyses colour elicitation performed by university students. Both their descriptive capacity and colour lexicon availability are measured depending

1. The author of this paper is the beneficiary of a contract from the Vicerrectorado de Investigación y Transferencia de Conocimiento/ Vice President for Research and Knowledge Transfer of the University of Alicante for pre-doctoral training (from 01/01/2019 to 31/12/2021). This research has been carried out with the financing obtained in the aforementioned contract.

on students' colour terms usage. Furthermore, potential reasons for variation are provided.

Keywords: gender stereotypes; sociolinguistics; colour terminology; colours; gender differences.

Resumen

Es una creencia profundamente arraigada que las mujeres poseen un vocabulario de colores más rico que los hombres (Rich, 1977). Según Lakoff, ciertos adjetivos que denotan color (por ejemplo, malva) nunca serían elegidos espontáneamente por los hombres a menos que estuvieran «imitando sarcásticamente a una mujer, a un homosexual o a un decorador de interiores» (1973, p. 49). ¿Se ajustan estas afirmaciones a nuestra realidad actual? Hoy en día el color está presente en casi todos los sectores económicos. En consecuencia, se espera un uso competente del vocabulario de colores por parte de los profesionales, independientemente de su género. Por lo tanto, si las diferencias en el vocabulario de los colores se aprenden y dependen en gran medida de las necesidades y expectativas del usuario, dichas diferencias después de la globalización y la exposición a Internet no deberían ser tan notables. Con este objetivo en mente, este estudio analiza la elicitación del color realizada por estudiantes universitarios. Tanto su capacidad descriptiva como la disponibilidad de léxico de colores se miden según el uso de los términos de color de los estudiantes. Además, se proporcionan posibles razones para la variación.

Palabras clave: estereotipos de género; sociolingüística; terminología de color; colores; diferencias de género.

1. INTRODUCTION

Colour terms are linguistic signs assigned to certain visual stimuli that could be arranged in enclosed colours spaces or macro-categories. Undoubtedly, the study of colour will always be interdisciplinary owing to its ubiquitous nature. It involves different areas of knowledge, such as vision and perception, symbolism and meaning, colour associations and emotions, colour categorization, among many others.

A plethora of diverse and divergent occupations and areas of life entail colour knowledge: photographers, videographers, illustrators, painters, makeup artists, fashion designers, interior designers, graphic and web designers, floral designers, teachers, or even bakers require a certain level of colour acquaintance. Although language for specific purposes acknowledges different colour terms depending on the industry they belong to (e.g. automobile sector (Bergh, 2007), cosmetics and selfcare (Wyler, 1992; Skorinko et al., 2006, Merskin, 2007), fashion (Stoeva-Holm, 2007), winery (Mioduszewska, 2014), etc.), its pervasiveness may be unconsciously and unintentionally contributing to enlarging our colour lexicon.

Nowadays, colour terms are used as a marketing technique to appeal to the consumer, hence the great attention and detail put into their creation. Some of them even exude wordplay meant to spark a smirk and interest in the consumer (Obregón, 1978; Biggam, 2012) or reach extravagant extremes with fancy-sounding colour nomenclatures that do not help form a prototypical hue in our minds (Wyler, 1992; Biggam, 2012). We are constantly exposed to fancy-sounding colour terms through advertising and other culture-related tasks –such as one's job, hobbies and interests– which ultimately might conform and integrate a different sized colour vocabulary: one where the colour spectrum is divided into more spaces, and therefore, more colour labels.

Traditionally, females are deemed as highly proficient at naming and identifying colours (Ligon, 1932; DuBois, 1939; Rich, 1977; Swaringen et al., 1978; Steckler & Cooper, 1980; Nowaczyk, 1982; Simpson & Tarrant, 1991; Elias et al., 2003; Mylonas et al., 2014), although the literature covering those topics has sometimes been based on impressionistic introspections and linguistic intuitions (Lakoff, 1973; Conklin, 1974; Kramer, 1974). Colour proficiency was regarded as shallow and nonimportant matter, relegated to females far from positions of power (Lakoff, 1973, p. 49). After 50 years of advances towards gender equality, should said differences be still prevalent, new reasons must be provided to try to clarify and justify sex-related differences, if any. To do so, this study focuses on colour elicitation tasks performed by Spanish college students.

In the following sections the types of colour names will be introduced, along with gender differences and sociocultural variables that would account for such differences in colour lexicon. Then, the objectives and methodology will be explained, followed by the analysis of results and discussion and, finally, some conclusions.

2. COLOUR TERMINOLOGY

Colour is a three-dimensional continuum (i.e. hue, lightness and saturation) and when in need of determining its limits, categorizations are resorted to, that is, labels that delimit the beginning and end of colour spaces within the continuum. «Colour naming relies on the recording of sensory information about an abstract colour or the colour of an object and its expression through the medium of language» (Mylonas & Macdonald, 2012, p. 256). «Basic colour term» –henceforth BCTs– (Berlin & Kay, 1969), «the big names for colours», «the base of the colours» or «the mothers of colours» (Kuschel & Monberg, 1974, p. 218) are some of the denominations assigned to the broad colour categorizations that are first learnt at school: *white, black, red, yellow, blue, green, pink, orange, brown, purple* and *grey*. In words of Stoeva-Holm (2007, p. 428): «BCTs are the oldest color terms. They have a certain place in human language and the acquisition of them takes place in childhood». Consequently, BCTs are macro-categories that cover a wide colour range in the colour spectrum (Stoeva-Holm, 2007), considerably wider than non-basic colour terms, which are more specific (for example, when it comes to the colour *blue*, *navy* and *turquoise* are terms that fall are under the umbrella of the term «blue», but not all «blues» are *navy* nor *turquoise*). All BCTs are characterised by their (1) multi-purposefulness and applicability to several contexts (thus, *blonde* and *brunette* cannot be BCTs), (2) unique hyperonymous status, that is, they are not considered a variation or specification of other colours (e.g. *crimson* is a kind of *red*) and (3) salience, their prominence in lexical availability. Conversely, BCTs can also be defined according to what they are not: they are not (4) context-specific terms, (5) nor compounds (e.g. *blue-green*), (6) nor polymorphemic (e.g. *pinkish*), in other words, made up of a single morpheme unmarked by inflections or marked morphemes (i.e. monomorphemic). Peninsular Spanish BCTs coincide with the English BCTs (see Lillo et al., 2018)[2].

Non-basic colour terminology, often referred to as «non-basic terms» (Anishchanka et al., 2014; Biggam, 2014, p. 9), «fancy name» (Skorinko et al., 2006) or «Elaborate Colour Terms» (Steinvall, 2002) –henceforth ECTs–,

2. Mexican Spanish and Uruguayan Spanish also include *celeste* «sky blue,» *café* «brown,» and *violeta* «purple» (Lillo et al., 2018, p. 1).

could be considered as a more 'sophisticated' one, acquired with time and, especially, with exposure to colour-related contexts (e.g. graphic design, cosmetics, fashion, photography and others). Non-basic terms present three different types: compositional, consisting of a BCT as head of the compound and premodified by an adjective specifying lightness[3] (e.g. *light blue, medium red, dark pink*) or its prototypicality (*true red, classic red*)*;* non-compositional, such as *navy, forest, maroon* or *mauve*; and idiosyncratic colour terms, for instance, *woodland green, barolo red* or *summit white*, much more marketing oriented (Anishchanka et al., 2014). All of these types sharing a more restricted referential range of colour than BCTs (i.e. *forest* is a type of *green,* a hyponym, but non-compositionals being more flexible to cross boundaries or with fuzzier limits than compositionals. Thus, *light blue* is well-defined and delimited within a BCT category, as a blue with low saturation, but *navy* expands from blue to purple or even black.

In the same way, Casson's (1994) secondary colour terms are colour terms created through metonymy («entity stands for the entity's colour»), where colour denotation is conveyed through allusion to focal reference points, to prototypical objects. Therefore, «colors are perceived as properties of objects and metonymically conceptualized as physical entities» (Casson, 1994, p. 17). In this way, these terms rely heavily on physical experience with objects, entities and realities and yield a prototypical mental image of the coloured object as a cognitive focal point.

> […] colour names such as ruby red, brick red or sky blue can be thought of as evoking dual cognitive reference points. By itself, a term like red or blue evokes a focal colour, which in turn evokes the more inclusive region in colour space that it anchors. A noun such as ruby, brick or sky names an entity that not only has a characteristic colour but is sufficiently familiar to serve as a reference point. From these two reference points, we compute the desired notion: red tells us that brick is to be construed with respect to its colour, and brick directs our attention to a particular location within the red region. (Mioduszewska, 2014, p. 341)

3. Personally, I would also include within compositional terms the ones modified by a term indicating colour saturation (e.g. *intense, vivid, pure, true, pale*, etc.), hue (*reddish orange*) and temperature (e.g. *cool, warm*).

This relationship is not metaphorical but metonymic, as it is not imagined but real: «While metaphors involve an *imagined* link between two concepts, metonyms involve a *real* link. […] metonyms require a certain amount of shared knowledge in order to convey the desired message.» (Biggam, 2012, p. 49). These metonymic colour terms, –MCTs for short–, (e.g. *ruby red, brick red, sky blue*) are subject to eluding the BCT of the compound leading to a non-compositional colour term (e.g. *ruby, brick, sky*) and can be organised according to the theme or semantic field where they belong: plants and flowers (e.g. *rose, chestnut*), nature (e.g. *sea, forest*), animals (e.g. *teal, sepia*), minerals (e.g. *ruby*, *charcoal*), food (e.g. *chocolate, peach*) and objects (e.g. *denim, brick*).

A step further are idiosyncratic colour terms: «creative color names that are typically developed in advertising but are hardly used outside the marketing context», as for example *summit white, woodland green* and *barolo red*, colour terms found exclusively in the automobile industry (Anishchanka et al., 2014, p. 337). Accordingly, these idiosyncratic colour terms could be considered closer to neologisms or market-driven ad-hoc formations due to the intended suggestiveness, originality, distinctiveness and poetic nature they offer rather than salience. Although unlikely in everyday use, the distribution of this type and the rest of colour terminology is unbalanced as far as gender is concerned.

3. GENDER DIFFERENCES IN COLOUR LEXICON

Early colour studies at the beginning of the 20th century already pointed to gender differences in colour terminology (Ligon, 1932; DuBois, 1939; Rich, 1977). There is extensive literature on gender differences on colour preference (Ling et al., 2006; Hurlbert & Ling, 2007; Hurlbert & Ling, 2016), on colour perception, especially, regarding the *grue* region (i.e. *blue-green*) (Brown & Lindsey, 2004; Fider & Komarova, 2019), promptness in stimuli to colour term match (Ligon, 1932; DuBois, 1939), description of colour terms (Nowaczyk, 1982), or size of colour vocabulary (Steckler & Cooper, 1980; Nowaczyk, 1982; Simpson & Tarrant, 1991; Gekousidou & Iliadou, 1997; Bonnardel et al, 2002; Mylonas et al., 2014), amongst others.

Specifically, female proficiency and outperformance colour-wise when compared to males has been widely researched on. A richer, fine-grained colour vocabulary and faster responses (i.e. access to colour lexicon) in females is made evident through an array of different experiments carried out in the last 50 years throughout different countries (Rich, 1977; Swaringen et al., 1978; Steckler & Cooper, 1980, Nowaczyk, 1982; Simpson & Tarrant, 1991; Saucier et al., 2002; Elias et al., 2003; Ellis et al., 2008; Mylonas et al., 2014).

Some of these studies differ methodologically in the means of colour presentation to participants. For instance, Steckler and Cooper (1980) tested colour lexicon verbal skills through pictures showing unisex real-world objects (i.e. sweaters). Among the colours selected, 8 out of the 11 were BCTs worn by different male and female models with similar traits (including height, complexion, eye and hair colour, clothing, etc.). Their results attested that women used more specific colour terms (e.g. specifically, MCTs related to food), whereas men preferred premodification (e.g. saturation adjectives) and BCT compounds. However, this approach does not take into account the possibility of underlying contextual information –the fashion industry and its known fancier use of colour terminology– swaying the participants' elicitation.

Similarly, Gekousidou and Iliadou (1997) tested Greek colour production in university graduates by selecting traditionally male (cars and clothing) and female related objects (cosmetics and clothing), as well as neutral objects (food, unisex apparel, stationery, electronics and accessories) in magazine pictures. Likewise, the existence of these items within a particular context might have swayed and misled the participants into answering a particular, more elaborate colour terminology characteristic of marketing. For instance, the authors exemplify a case in which a facial cream evoked terms such as *pink* and *cream*, possibly influenced by the product itself or an ice-cream not eliciting the term *turquoise,* as shades of blue are not typically associated with edible entities (1997, p. 95-96). As a consequence, contextual information might have influenced a more specific colour terminology attributed to certain areas of expertise. Regardless of that fact, in that study «women tended to place emphasis on distinctiveness, while men emphasized similarity»

(1997, p. 97). In other words, females favour more specific and precise terminology within the colour spectrum, whereas males show preference for qualified terms, which occupy a wider space in the colour continuum.

In addition, it is important to reflect on whether or not the chromatic terminology in advertisements is evenly directed at consumers. Several clothing catalogues were analysed (i.e. women's clothing only, males clothing only and general merchandise) in Frank's (1990) study in order to determine if colour terms were differently curated depending on gender in clothing advertisements. Colour terms were grouped into two types: «conventional colour terms» (BCTs and MCT+BCT such as *canary yellow* or *forest green*) and «non-traditional ones» (*watermelon, seafoam, hibiscus*). The results reveal a wider variety of colour terminology to describe female clothing, especially in colours *red, white* and *purple*. A likely explanation is that this dissimilar exposure influences gender differences in colour lexicon. As, in this case, the colour terminology is within an advertising context –not the actual use of consumers, but what is directed at them–, the plethora of colour terms may only be executed to force a sense of novelty, to appeal the consumer and/or to emphasise the differences among textile dyes. Hence, the terminology in this study, which includes terms such as *iced pink* and *petal pink*, «merely reflects a cultural bias which already exists: 'women's colors' are complex, multi-varied, more abstract, and expressive (*raspberry sorbet, daffodil yellow, blush*) while 'men's colors' are simple, straightforward, conventional, real-world (*royal blue, gold, grey*)» (Frank, 1990, p. 123). This leads to believe that exposure to those linguistic constructions might induce the reader of the intended clothing pieces to acquire and store such terminology in their memory. Thus, it would explain why women adopt a wider variety of MCTs and males more BCTs and qualified terms.

Another study with college students by Nowaczyk (1982) consisted of two experiments: (1) providing colour terms to stimuli and describing non-basic colour terms and (2) matching colour words to visual stimuli. In order to avoid methodological flaws, like men possessing same colour lexicon as women but being reluctant to use it, Nowaczyk (1982) actively encouraged to avoid colour term repetition in the former test. His findings reveal interesting differences in colour vocabulary production. On the one hand, males show lesser ability to generate colour words, that is, to access the labels or produce them, but not an inability to use them or recognize them. Apart from that, they are more likely to use BCTs even when provided with a list of colour terms that have to be matched to colour stimuli. On the other hand, not only did women describe more terms than men but also provided more elaborate descriptions. As a consequence, high accuracy is exhibited on the females' side, who excel with greater number of MCTs.

Traditionally, all previous experiments were performed in situ with colour chips, where lighting conditions were not always properly controlled or with pictures of real objects which could potentially elicit context specific terminology. Conversely, Mylonas et al. (2014, p. 236) took a different approach and tested colour vocabulary in different languages via a lighting-controlled context-free online environment: hues shown against a neutral background to which participants must assign a term. Their results are congruent with previous in-person studies, such as those of Ligon (1932), DuBois (1939), Rich (1977), Swaringen et al. (1978), Nowaczyk (1982), Frank (1990), Simpson & Tarrant (1991) and Saucier et al. (2002).

> Specifically, women offer more often *hyponyms of BCTs* (e.g. *pastel rose, vanilla, olive*) whereas men tend to use a combination of the BCTs (e.g. *blue-green, purplish blue*) or BCTs with modifiers (e.g. *dark purple, pale orange, vivid green*). Also, women *segment the colour space linguistically more densely*: e.g. an area named *orange* and *brown* by men is differentiated in women's naming into *orange*, *salmon*, *peach*, *salmon pink, beige* and *tan*. (Mylonas et al., 2014, p. 19-20)

Finally, when taking into account variables such as age, hobbies and profession, a number of studies are worth mentioning. Simpson and Tarrant's (1991) results affirm that older participants excel at elaborate use of colour terms, regardless of sex, which is an obvious sign of vocabulary increase due to experience and exposure. Additionally, colour-related hobbies correlated significantly with enhanced colour vocabulary, but only in men. Similarly, Swaringen et al. (1978) tested colour production with college students and the study points to a higher number of leisure activities related to colour in females which could explain their proficiency. Along this line, Rich's (1977) results also demonstrate that women showcase a richer colour lexicon than men. Interestingly, nuns scored less than the rest of women but still exhibited better results than men, even though they are known to reject a 'normal life' to stick to a more 'modest' one away from materialistic commodities. Nevertheless, her study offers other surprising results, such as younger males presenting a better colour lexicon than older men, which disputes the argument of exposure and experience as a path to competence and mastery.

In sum, this section has attempted to provide a brief summary of the literature relating to gender differences in colour terminology. Regardless of the means of colour presentation, age, profession, nationality and socio-economical context, a more proficient colour use is usually made evident by female participants. The next section attempts to summarise some of the argumentations which would explain said differences.

4. FACTORS ACCOUNTABLE FOR GENDER DIFFERENCES IN COLOUR NAMING

Several culture-related argumentations that would explain significant differences in colour lexicon have been put forward over the years, although chances are some of them would not hold true today. For example, (1) that women –traditionally– place more importance on colour than men (Lakoff, 1973; Gekousidou & Iliadou, 1997) due to their lower position in society and their interests in cosmetics, clothing and fashion, house décor, jewellery, etc., whereas men underperform owing to their powerful positions in society and being uninterested in rather shallow matters as colours (Lakoff, 1973). In fact, women's advanced colour lexicon is considered to be trivial, hence, relegating and downgrading this proficient use of language by women (Gekousidou & Iliadou, 1997). Therefore, colour exposition through profession and day-to-day activities plays an important part in colour lexicon. This is exemplified by Ling et al. (2007) that mentions women gatherers needing a better colour discrimination to grab ripe fruits from trees than males, who were simply hunters.

Despite all this, it must be borne in mind the progress achieved since those studies were performed. Women have remarkably improved their position in society in the last 50 years (UN Women, 2018). Their presence in government and political positions is steadily increasing, as well as their access to traditionally male-dominated professions (Liu, 2020)[4]. Additionally, colour-related professions are increasing as a result of innumerable technological advances and a higher exposure to art in its many different forms is experienced thanks to the Internet. Thus, it is only natural that these contextual variables might be balancing the traditional gender differences explained previously (section 3).

Apart from that, (2) fine colour discrimination, that is, the active use and identification of a vast number of colour terms beyond BCTs, is associated to femaleness and even derogatory when applied to a man, as it can «damage» their reputation due to stereotyped and preconceived ideas (Lakoff, 1973, p. 52; Gekousidou & Iliadou, 1997, p. 96). McConnel-Ginet (1980, p. 16) also adds the fear of backlash and homophobia as a reason for male avoidance of proficient colour terminology. It is still left to analyse if younger generations are fully conscious of the prejudices behind of such stereotyped assumptions.

Furthermore, (3) Saucier et al. (2002) suggest females excelling in colour naming as a result of their inherent larger colour lexicons, speed at naming things in general –and, consequently, also in colour naming–, superior motor sequencing ability and articulatory speed, and superiority in visual scanning tasks. The conclusions reached for quicker female response are twofold: superior access to colours and shape lexicon, that is, label retrieval (naming factor) or superior articulation and production of names (motor sequencing factor). Likewise, Elias et al. (2003, p. 960) indicate «female advantage for speeded naming tasks is due to advantage for sequencing the oral movements required for the response, rather than a special 'naming ability'».

Additionally, (4) Steckler & Cooper (1980) ascribe different developmental colour terminology acquisition during childhood as a possibility for said differences. Nevertheless, these linguistic differences cannot be attributed to dissimilarities in the transmission of colouristic information at a young age but to contextual aspects, like expressiveness and appropriateness within a specific context and culture (Labov, 1972).

Lastly, (5) experiential and/or socio-cultural factors, such as age, gender, education level, social contact, social status, one's interests or hobbies may

4. That being said, we are cognizant of the many efforts yet to be made to achieve real gender equality.

be the underlying reason for gender differences and not physiological or biological factors (Swaringen et al., 1978; Simpson & Tarrant, 1991; Greene & Gynther, 1995; Yang, 1996; Gekousidou & Iliadou, 1997; Mylonas & Macdonald, 2012, p. 258). In fact, Labov (1972, p. 240) found lower middle-class females are more sensitive to prestige forms than males because of their constant need to secure their social status through their linguistic capabilities.

In summary, this section has analysed a number of plausible causes for gender dissimilarities in colour lexicon. The next part will tackle objectives of the present study.

5. AIMS OF THIS STUDY

The main objective of this study is to determine and measure whether there is any significant difference in colour term production in Spanish university students. The focus, therefore, lies on the participants' mental lexicon and production when exposed to colour stimuli. That is, the focus is placed on any difference in richness in term production rather than studying perception precision or promptness in production or response.

In addition, likelihood of metonymic colour term usage is analysed via Likert scale and open-ended questions to test prevalence and whether or not certain metonymic colour terms could be considered strictly female colour terms only. The intent is to shed some light on Nowaczyk's (1982, p. 264) affirmation that «women more than men have divided their internal color space into more distinct internal representations each with a corresponding verbal label» and determine whether this happens in Spanish participants as well[5]. Finally, the consistency of the responses and likelihood of repetition of terms in describing the selection is also tested, as it is also indicative of proficiency (Rich, 1977).

5. Generalisations regarding colour lexicon disposition should not be made, as cultural context plays an important part as a variable in lexicon construction. However, studies conducted in English in Western societies conclude that women use fancier colour terms.

6. METHODOLOGY

6.1. Participants

A total of sixty-three undergraduate students took part in the experiment, 39 females (62%) and 24 males (38%), with an average age of 22 years. It is a homogeneous group of students, without any known colour blindness, currently studying English language and literature. Their sexual orientation is mostly heterosexual (70%), but also bisexual (13%), homosexual (11%), asexual (2%) and pansexual (2%)[6]. Lastly, 2% did not specify their sexual orientation[7]. All participants spoke Spanish as their mother tongue and 11% of them (8% of females and 3% of males) also Catalan.

Figure 1
Sexual orientation and gender

6.2. Test

The study was performed using an online Google Forms questionnaire consisting of three parts (personal data, colour naming test, likelihood of MCT usage) during the months of June and July 2020.

6. The latter 28% are referred to as LGBTQIA+ community in the analysis below.
7. Their answers are not taken into account in analysis 7.3 as they cannot be attributed to any sexual orientation.

6.2.1. First section: personal data

The participants' personal data is of great interest in determining possible gender differences. Thus, requirements to fill in data regarding nationality (Spanish native speakers), educational level, age, gender, sexual orientation and colour experience through colour-related hobbies (e.g. arts and painting, makeup, embroidery, fashion and clothing, hair dyes, interior decoration, photography and edition of pictures, graphic design, cinematography, the automobile industry, etc.) is indicated.

Although rather intrusive, participants are asked about their sexual orientation to test the affirmation made by Lakoff (1973, p. 49) that homosexual men demonstrate a better colour vocabulary range: «if the man should say (the colour mauve), one might well conclude he was either imitating a woman sarcastically, or a homosexual, or an interior decorator». Hence, colour terms like *beige, aquamarine* or *lavender* are typical and/or expected of a women's vocabulary but mostly absent in heterosexual men, according to Lakoff (1973).

As the participants are educated students, an acceptable knowledge of colour terms is expected across genders, even though they are not specialist in the field. Thus, differences, if any, should be more apparent in such homogenous sample group. Students are also asked about their leisure activities by giving them several colour-related hobby options and including an additional option to fill in with any other possible choices.

6.2.2. Second section: colour elicitation

In order to ensure consistent lighting conditions among all participants, instructions to adjust the screen brightness are given so as to set the highest brightness value in the chosen device. The main task consists in naming a series of colour stimuli presented in small coloured rectangles[8] displayed against a neutral background. Thus, colour distortions originated from hue pairing do not affect perception (Rosenholtz, 2004). Additionally, the sequential presentation of colours was done through plain colour pictures and not through pictures of coloured objects or allusion to particular scenarios (e.g.

8. Updated lighting-controlled version of the traditional colour naming chips.

indication to describe a colour as if describing it to a salesperson (Rich, 1977)) to prevent further bias. Otherwise, this may influence the participants' response into either producing a more elaborate and ad hoc chromatic terminology typical of advertising, or towards a colour denomination based on (fe)male clothing (Frank, 1990).

When devising the methodology of this experiment, limiting the response time was considered much like in previous studies (Simpson & Tarrant, 1991). The premise behind this limitation is to avoid the temptation of retrieving obscure names that would not be salient or natural in ordinary speech. Ultimately, we opted for no time limit to prevent participants from anxiously responding brief and general responses. The present study is not concerned with fastness of response but rather with colour name production in eliciting tasks and how (dis)similar the responses are according to gender. Consequently, instructions to be precise without overthinking are given to ensure spontaneity, but no time limit is established. In addition, this experiment is unconstrained: any given response is valid as long as it assigns a linguistic label to the exposed colour stimuli. Responses may be from monolexemic up to highly descriptive compounds containing three or more words.

Our selection includes thirty-five colour stimuli retrieved from the Pantone's[9] webpage, nine of which –roughly the 25% of the sample– could be classified as BCT. When handpicking the colours[10], hue over-repetition was avoided by selecting several hues from the colour spectrum, that is, the eleven BCTs and diverse in-between macro-category hues. Instructions to name the colour perceived are given without further indications to obtain true spontaneous and unconstrained responses.

9. Although not an organising colour system per se as the Munsell System and others are, Pantone is a well-known colour-specification and standardisation system for printing ink. Their «universal language», as they call it, was created in 1963 with 500 colours and was increased as the years went by, to reach over 1300 colours by 2010.
10. Only the colour representation was shown in the test. The Pantone colour name and Hex/HTML value is only included in Table 1 for informative purposes.

Table 1
Colours tested

Pantone name	Representation	Hex/HTML
Bright White		F4F9FF
Vanilla Cream		F5D8C6
Peach Fuzz		FFBE98
Salmon		FAAA94
Cocoa Brown		6C5042
Mahogany		824D46
Tan		B69574
Red Dahlia		7D2027
Pantone 207 C		A50034
True Red		BF1932
Spicy Orange		D73D26
Orange		FE5000
Yolk Yellow		E2B051
Wax Yellow		EDE9AD
Lemon		F3BF09
Dark Blue		00249C
Navy Blue		403F6F

Deep Periwinkle		7C83BC
Sky Blue		8ABAD3
Turquoise		45B5AA
Pantone 2272 C		009A17
Pantone 2411 C		1C4220
Grass Green		9FAF6C
Green Olive		8D8B55
Violet		440099
Plum		5A315D
Mauve Mist		C49DB4
Lavender		AFA4CE
Pantone 241 C		AF1685
Pink C		D62598
Romance Rose		E8B4C2
Stone Gray		685E4F
Cool Grey 9 C		75787B
Graphite		3B3B48
Black 6 C		101820

The majority of colours selected already have a label, a name, provided by the company Pantone, whereas some others only have an alphanumeric reference. The labels provided by Pantone include modified BCTs, either by lightness and saturation modifiers (e.g. *bright white, dark blue*), MCTs (e.g. *salmon, lavender*), MCTs + BCTs (e.g. *wax yellow*), and anaphoric evocative terms (e.g. *mauve mist, romance rose*) with marketing intent. Although the aim of this experiment is not to test whether the students match their names to the ones provided by Pantone, some Pantone colours were selected for this test owing to the name given to them (e.g. *mauve, turquoise*), which are particularly interesting for the study, to compare with Lakoff's (1975) results.

The colour terms provided by participants are grouped into three main categories: (1) *BCTs* (Berlin & Kay's, 1969); (2) *Qualified*, if further hue, saturation and lightness specifications are provided (e.g. adjectives referring to lightness and saturation, such as *light, dark, intense*, *vivid, deep, pale*; mixed hues by means of dvandva compounds (*red-orange, blue-green*), derived compounds (e.g. *reddish-brown, bluish green*), derivative forms (e.g. *orangey*), modified derivative compounds (e.g. *light reddish-brown, pastel greyish-blue*) and prototypicality modifications (*true red, classic red*). (3) *MCTs*, working on their own (e.g. *turquoise, emerald, cream*), modified by adjectives (e.g. *dark beige, light salmon, dark lilac*), followed by a BCT (e.g. *turquoise blue, emerald green*), or even the combination of all the previously mentioned categories (e.g. *dark forest green, pastel military green, dull mustard yellow*), MCT+MCT compounds (e.g. *cream beige*) and derivative compounds, being the derived element a MCT (e.g. *beigy pink*), or the BCT (e.g. *reddish maroon*).

In order to measure response consistency, one colour (*sky blue*), is repeated twice in the questionnaire. Participants are not informed about the repetition, which is properly separated by 34 colour samples (i.e. first shown in question 2 and then in question 36). All subjects were presented the colours in the same order.

6.2.3. Third section: MCT usage probability

After the elicitation task, likelihood of usage of eight MCTs is implemented by means of a Likert scale, being 1 very unlikely and 5 highly likely. The MCTs selected (i.e. *chocolate, lila, turquesa, limón, malva, ocre, salmon y* *carne*[11]) belong to some of the most common categories within MCTs: food and beverages, flowers and plants, dyes and pigments, animals and minerals. *Turquoise* and *lilac* were chosen, as Mylonas and Macdonald's (2016, p. 40) study suggests the possible extension of the traditional eleven BCTs in English with their incorporation. Therefore, we wanted to test the probability of usage and identification through stimuli of those two particular colour terms, to determine whether or not these terms showcase saliency in Spanish-speaking participants. In addition, although being fairly similar colours, *lilac* and *mauve* were selected to test Lakoff's (1973) affirmation that *mauve* is an eminently female colour term. With respect to *flesh*, it was chosen because of its problematic nature when it comes to inclusivity and diversity (Dawson, 2016) and its possible switch for the euphemistic anglicism *nude*, extensively utilised in the fashion and beauty realm (Diez-Arroyo, 2016). Finally, *lemon, chocolate* and *ochre* were selected as they are relatively transparent metonymic terms, semantically speaking.

7. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results gathered include participants interests and hobbies (section 7.1[12]), the elicitation task results (section 7.2) and likelihood of MCT substitution by other terms and reasons behind it (section 7.3).

7.1. Personal data

Similar to Simpson and Tarrant (1991) and Greene and Gynther (1995) results when it comes to hobbies, females displayed a higher array of colour-related hobbies[13]. Although both males and females indicate a high percentage of colour-related interests (91.6% and 92.3%, respectively), there are differences in the number of hobbies selected per person: females selected an average of 2.23 hobbies, whereas males an average of 1.54.

11. In English *chocolate, lilac, turquoise, lemon, mauve, ochre, salmon* and *flesh*.
12. The rest of personal data can be found in section 6.1.
13. Namely, beauty (comprising make-up and hair colour), fashion, photography (including video and image edition), automobiles, art (paintings, paint), graphic design, and others.

Table 2
Hobbies per gender

	Beauty	Fashion	Photography	Automobiles	Art	Graphic Design	Others	Total
F	21 (24%)	23 (26%)	15 (17%)	0	26 (30%)	3 (3%)	0	88 (100%)
M	5 (14%)	5 (14%)	8 (22%)	5 (14%)	5 (14%)	4 (11%)	4 (11%)	36 (100%)

Principally, females indicate various colour-related hobbies (art, beauty and fashion being the primary ones), which in combination with other variables may ultimately influence colour lexicon and vocabulary proficiency.

7.2 Colour elicitation

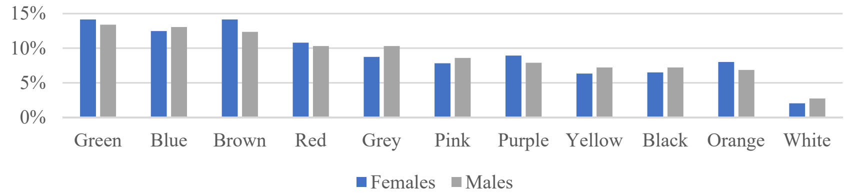
The differences in colour production, especially in BCTs and MCTs, are not as prominent as in previous studies. If anything, a predilection for qualified colour terms is felt in males, whereas females turn mainly to BCTs and/or MCTs.

Table 3
Colour elicitation results

	Females		Males	
	n	%	n	%
BCT	519	38%	294	35%
Qualified	273	20%	218	26%
MCT	573	42%	328	39%
Total	1365	100%	840	100%

As far as BCT production is concerned, it is fairly similar in both sexes with slightly more than a third of colour term production (38% females, 35% males) and coincidence on the most prevalent ones (*green, brown* and *blue*).

Figure 2
BCT usage



Insofar as the use of qualified terms in our study goes, males are far more reliant on qualified colour terms than females (20% females, 27% males) and premodification with lightness and saturation adjectives is markedly predominant (*dark blue, dull purple*). In mixed hue production, males also combine it with premodification (*deep reddish brown, light pastel blue, bluish dark grey*) when females do not. Interestingly, uninformative premodifications only occur in male production with the presence of adjectives which fail to identify the hue further than acknowledging no prototypicality (*weird black, weird purple*) or even errors.[14]

Table 4
Qualified term production

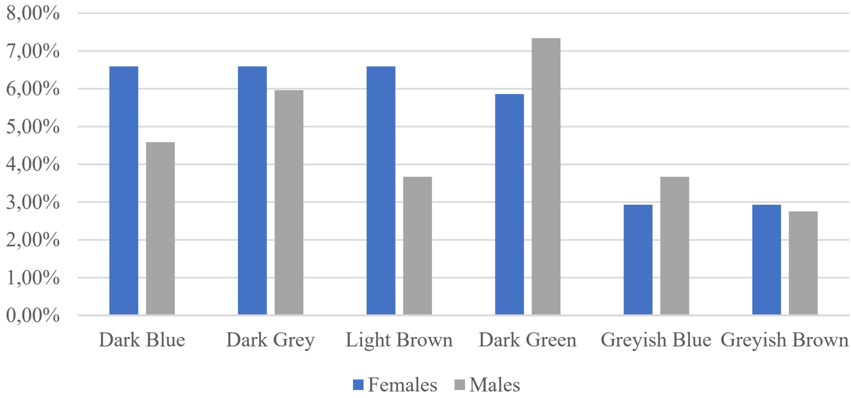
	Females			Males		
	n	Qua %	Total %	n	Qua %	Total %
Premodification	169	62%	12%	128	59%	15%
Mixed hue	104	38%	8%	74	34%	9%
Premodifier + mixed hue	-	-	-	9	4%	1%
Other combinations	-	-	-	7	3%	1%
Total	273	100%	20%	218	100%	26%

14. *Rosa palo* is a colour term equivalent to *pale pink*, that comes from the colour of the wood from a tree commonly known as ‘palo (de) rosa’ (mainly from the bignoniaceae or fabaceae family) when it is tender before drying («Palo de rosa», 2020). There are two instances produced by males (*marron palo* and *morado palo*) where ‘palo’ is used as a modifier indicating a paler hue.

Despite the many compound combinations that may occur in this section, premodifications with the adjective *dark* seem to be the most prevalent (e.g. *dark blue, dark grey*).

Figure 3

Most prevalent qualified terms



Thirdly, although males produce more isolated MCTs in proportion to females (see table 5), females utilise more MCTs altogether (42% vs 39%), through modifications and combinations (see table 3). Apart from that, females displayed higher MCT variation with up to 59 different terms, whereas males only produced 53. These results are similar to Nowaczyk's (1982) in his second experiment, where elaborate colour term description showed equal BCT usage across genders, but more quantity and elaboration in female descriptions.

Table 5
Atomised MCTs

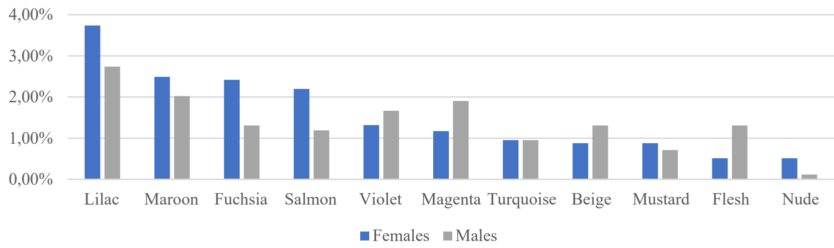
	Females			Males		
	n	MCT %	Total %	n	MCT %	Total %
MCTs	347	61%	25%	221	67%	26%
MCT + BCT	144	25%	11%	66	20%	8%
PRE + MCT/ MCT + MCT	76	13%	6%	38	12%	5%
ADJ + MCT + MCT ADJ + ADJ + MCT	6	1%	0%	3	1%	0%
Total	573	100%	42%	328	100%	39%

On the whole, *lilac* appears as the most prominent MCT, which corresponds with one of the few non-basic terms making their way towards basicness (Mylonas & Macdonald, 2016). Even though both *lilac* and *mauve* are similar MCTs (both in reference to hue and the nature of the metonymy, as both refer to flowering plants), the saliency of *mauve* is extremely low both in males and females (0,48% and 0,95%, respectively) and it is dramatically outweighed by *lilac* (5,42% females, 4,05% males). That being said, females almost double the use of *mauve* when compared to males.

On the contrary, *turquoise*, the other non-basic potentially able to reach BCT status (Mylonas & Macdonald, 2016), is in the seventh position in female production and ninth in male production. This ranking could possibly be attributed to the variety of quasi-synonyms of the term (e.g. *aquamarine, aqua green*), or the presence of *turquoise* accompanied by BCTs (e.g. 9 instances of *turquoise blue* in total, and 2 of *turquoise green*), whereas *lilac* never collocates with BCTs. Furthermore, *flesh* and *nude* are evenly distributed in female use, while males tend adopt *flesh* over *nude*.

Figure 4

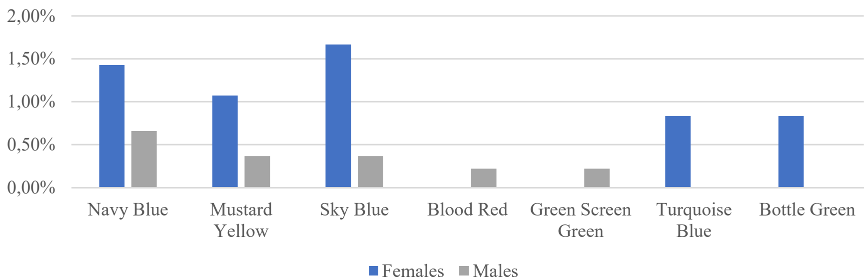
Most prevalent MCTs



Within MCT production, apart from those that work alone, the ones followed by BCT have been isolated, as well as the ones modified by lightness and saturation adjectives. The former showcases *navy blue, sky blue* and *mustard yellow* as very prominent collocations in both sexes.

Figure 5

Most prevalent MTCs + BCTs



The latter evidences highly diverse and specific answers: modified MCT (with or without BCT), as in *dark mustard (yellow)*; or mixed hue of BCT+MCT, as in *pink beige*. Despite the very varied answers, *lilac* combinations (e.g. *light, dark, pastel*) are the most prevalent. This points to its salience in Spanish, in line with what Mylonas and Macdonald (2016, p. 40) mentioned in English.

Table 6
Most prevalent modified MCTs

	Dark Lilac	Light Lilac	Pastel Lilac	Dull Mustard Yellow	Dark Magenta
F	15%	13%	8%	5%	-
M	8%	13%	8%	-	13%

Finally, response consistency was tested by including a repeated coloured image in different places across the questionnaire, far enough from each other so as to be unnoticeable. Although higher specificity is felt in both sexes as the questionnaire progresses –that is, higher prevalence of BCTs at first and, as the test progresses, more specificity offered to differentiate hues–, females exhibit more specificity changes than males. In the first instance of *light blue*, females score 67 points and males 42 points, whereas the second time around they score 89 and 52, correspondingly[15]. This further reinforces how males prefer consistency and females favour variety.

7.3 Likelihood of MCT usage

After the elicitation task, a Likert scale was used for participants to determine what their degree of MCT usage is. In all the MCTs tested, females showcase –or rather, felt– a higher percentage of usage. In other words, females feel more open to using MCTs than males.

Table 7
Probability of MCT usage

	Chocolate	*Lilac*	*Turquoise*	*Lemon*	*Mauve*	*Ochre*	*Salmon*	*Flesh*
F	62 %	90 %	85 %	53 %	51 %	52 %	76 %	53 %
M	46 %	73 %	73 %	41 %	39 %	43 %	60 %	52 %

Interesting data is revealed in table 7, where *lilac* and *turquoise* display a high prevalence when compared to the other colours in the study in both males and females. *Flesh* is identified as problematic by 10 % of the participants when asked if they would substitute some MCT by other terms. They deem

15. This is done by giving one point to BCTs, two points to qualified and three, four and five points to MCTs, MCTs + BCTs and modifications of MCTs.

it as incorrect rather than imprecise, as *flesh* is traditionally confined to light coloured skin rather than with any skin tone. Thus, it is possible that the awareness of the problematic is preventing usage. Nonetheless, should *flesh* acquire a more inclusive approach in the near future, hue precision would be lost altogether. Generally, *ochre, lemon* and *mauve* register a lower incidence, being *mauve* one the lowest in both sexes. However, if we break down data according to sexual orientation, the LGBTQIA+ community outperform in all categories except for *flesh*, where heterosexual female's usage prevails.

Table 8

Probability of MCT usage according to sexual orientation and gender

	Females		Males	
	Hetero	LGBTQIA+	Hetero	LGBTQIA+
Chocolate	59%	75%	43%	51%
Lilac	88%	100%	67%	87%
Turquoise	81%	100%	63%	93%
Lemon	50%	68%	40%	44%
Mauve	49%	60%	36%	49%
Ochre	47%	78%	44%	44%
Salmon	74%	88%	59%	71%
Flesh	53%	48%	53%	60%

Apart from the Likert scale previously mentioned, three open unconstrained questions related to the MCTs tested previously were asked to enquire about the reason behind their use of the aforementioned MCTs or lack thereof. Answers can be ordered according to favourable attitudes (precision, social conventions, contextual exposure and preferable terms) or unfavourable attitudes towards MCT use (lack of knowledge, other term preferences or no use whatsoever). What stands out in Table 9 is the high percentage of males providing argumentations against MCT use (45%): 29% of males admitted a lack of knowledge, either of the real hue term or lack of force of habit with metonyms. Paradoxically, it seems as metonymic precision and specificity is dismissed in favour of qualified colour terms, that is, males rather step back and be more general so the main hue remains unambiguous. For instance, *salmon* is more specific, short and concrete than *light pink*, as it denotes the mixture of two hues: *orange* and *pink*. In fact, other MCTs could be comprised within *light pink*, such as *bubble gum (pink)*, *cotton candy (pink)*, among others. On the contrary, mixed hues such as *orange-pink*, *pinkish orange* or *orangey pink* could be considered closer to *salmon*, although dissimilar among themselves depending on the head of the compound. Additionally, 8% acknowledge no MCT usage whatsoever and 8% disclose a preference for qualified BCTs (referring to saturation and lightness) as they deem them more common and unambiguous.

From the 55% males favourable to MCTs, 21% recognise the convenience of signalling coloured foci, 17% mention precision and 13% indicate exposure through influence of relatives or their inner circle colour experts (e.g. grandmother that worked in the fashion industry, graphic designers). Lastly, only a 4% attribute their usage to social conventions and tradition. In conclusion, males regard their MCT elicitation rather poorly when, in actuality, their performance is not as deficient. These findings complement Nowaczyk's (1982, p. 261), who mentioned men actively refusing to use MCTs in the matching task in favour of BCTs.

Table 9

Answers to question 1

Q1	Favourable attitude towards MCTs				Unfavourable attitude towards MCTs			Ø
	Social convention	Precision	Exposure	Prefer MCT	No use	Lack knowledge	Prefer other	
M	4%	17%	13%	21%	8%	29%	8%	0%
	55%				45%			
F	8%	23%	15%	31%	0%	5%	3%	15%
	77%				8%			

In contrast, an overwhelming majority of females (77%) is favourable to MCT use, whereas only 8% are reluctant to them. It is important to highlight that from that minority, only 5% admit a lack of knowledge and 3% prefer other terms. Overall, females recognise MCTs' convenience (31%), precision, specificity and ability to provide lexical variation (23%). Additionally, 15% of females indicate acquisition through exposure to specific contexts (makeup and the fashion industry).

The second question referred to whether or not MCTs are necessary in everyday speech. The results match our previous gathered data: the tendency is to consider them necessary to better convey colour precision (72% females, 50% males). Metonymic terms offer more exactitude, detail and meticulousness when making reference to a focal point related to a real object (e.g. *ivory* instead of *light yellow*) and achieve maximum disambiguation and overall better understanding. This richness in variation is deeply appreciated by females that resort to them more frequently, reason that would motivate gender differences in use. In fact, males tend to substitute MCTs more (25% of males versus 10% of females) and only men consider them unnecessary (8%). Lastly, both genders acknowledge metonymic colour terms not being indispensable but convenient roughly in the same percentage (13% and 15%), that is, admit metonymic colour terms not being strictly necessary, as they can be substituted by others, but being useful in certain specific contexts.

Table 10

Answers to question 2

Q2	Ø	Yes	Substitution	No	Context
M	4%	50%	25%	8%	13%
F	3%	72%	10%	0%	15%

Finally, the last question inquired to what alternatives they resort to, should they refuse MCT usage. This question is employed to further reinforce the results previously obtained, as a way of consistency proof analysis: just over half of females do not substitute MCTs, whereas 30% tend to use either BCTs, qualified or both. Conversely, a minority 17% of males do not substitute, while a 62% do substitute them by BCTs, qualified, a combination of both or alphanumeric terminology.

Table 11

Answers to question 3

Q3	Ø	BCT	Qualified	BCTS and qualified	Alphanumeric	Do not substitute
M	21%	21%	33%	4%	4%	17%
F	18%	5%	10%	15%	0%	51%

In consequence, the results point to more categorisations and «internal representations»[16] (Nowaczyk, 1982, p. 264) in females. To conclude, regardless of MCT attitudes, MCT production is not felt as dissimilar as in the past, which leads to believe that, amongst other reasons, society's progress is levelling colour exposure and, in turn, people's colour lexicon.

8. CONCLUSIONS

This study set out to revisit and update previous colour studies and to analyse whether or not traditional gender differences still persist. Consistent with previous research studies (Swaringen et al., 1978; Steckler & Cooper, 1980; Simpson & Tarrant, 1991; Mylonas et al., 2014), females outperform males in MCT production and richness in colour vocabulary, although differences are not as striking as in the past. Possible reasons behind this may be derived from technological advantages, as, for example, increased colour term exposure and access to unfathomable information through the Internet, as well as age being an important factor in the reduction in the colour production differences and a more equal and balanced colour specific terminology.

Nonetheless, some differences are maintained, like female predilection for MCTs and more colour-related hobbies which could ultimately instil them with a much richer colour vocabulary (Swaringen et al., 1978; Simpson & Tarrant, 1991; Greene & Gynther, 1995; Yang, 1996). Likewise, the male tendency to express internal representations with wider categories persists, specifically with saturation and lightness adjectives (Swaringen et al., 1978; Steckler & Cooper, 1980; Simpson & Tarrant, 1991; Mylonas et al., 2014). In terms of MCT usage perception, males admit a poorer production when, all things considered, it does not fall far behind females' production. Inherited and stereotyped cultural perceptions may be the reason behind this negative self-evaluation.

These findings suggest gender differences in colour naming still being prevalent but stabilising, at least in the context where this experiment was performed. Further research should be implemented in order to determine whether these findings could generalize or correlate to other groups of people

16. That is, a wider variety of mental colour gradations or depictions (e.g. *vanilla, cream, buff*, etc.) that could be subsumed under a hyperonym (e.g. *yellow*).

beyond this limited sample of university students, in Spanish and other languages and cultures, with wider age sections and other areas of expertise. It would be specially interesting to further research on dissimilarities through the age variable and test if older participants present a more diverse colour vocabulary as a result of longer exposure and experience.

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Feminismo/s 38, July 2021, 149-175 ISSN: 1989-9998

PAINTING WITH WORDS: DESCRIBING WOMEN IN PHOTOGRAPHY

PINTANDO CON PALABRAS: LA DESCRIPCIÓN DE MUJERES EN LA FOTOGRAFÍA

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Submitted / Recibido: 05/11/2020
Accepted / Aceptado: 22/03/2021

To cite this article / Para citar este artículo:
Mykytka, I., & Balteiro, I. (2021). Painting with words: describing women in photography. *Feminismo/s*, *38,* 149-175. Women, Sexual Identity and Language [Monographic dossier]. I. Balteiro (Coord.). https://doi.org/10.14198/fem.2021.38.06

Abstract

This study aims to identify and explore the linguistic devices used to describe women in photography, and the similarities and differences between women and men's descriptions. Nowadays, digital photographs are often accompanied by text such as titles, descriptions, comments, or tags. Though the language used in social media has largely been explored in relation to different fields of knowledge and from different perspectives, to the best of our knowledge, there is no work dealing with the language used by professional photographers to describe women and men. In order to carry out the study, we have compiled two samples of the keywords used to describe images representing female and male figures; the source of such sample being an image stock used by professional photographers (Alamy). To fulfill our objective, descriptive adjectives were identified, analyzed, and compared and/or contrasted. The results show many similarities in the use of the descriptive adjectives for women and men's images, and they also seem to suggest that women and women's beauty in particular are described from the male perspective and their stereotypes in our society.

Keywords: Women/female; Men/male; Gender; Digital photography; Descriptive adjectives.

Resumen

Este estudio pretende identificar y analizar los recursos lingüísticos que se utilizan para describir a las mujeres en la fotografía, y las similitudes y diferencias entre las descripciones de mujeres y hombres. Hoy en día, las fotografías digitales suelen ir acompañadas de texto, tales como títulos, descripciones, comentarios o etiquetas. Aunque el lenguaje utilizado en las redes sociales se ha explorado en gran medida en relación con diferentes campos de conocimiento y desde diferentes perspectivas, hasta donde sabemos, no hay ningún trabajo que trate el lenguaje utilizado por los fotógrafos profesionales para describir a mujeres y hombres. Para llevar a cabo este estudio, hemos recopilado dos muestras de las palabras clave utilizadas por fotógrafos profesionales para describir imágenes que representan figuras femeninas y masculinas, extraídas de un banco de imágenes de fotógrafos profesionales (Alamy). Para cumplir con el objetivo propuesto, se han identificado y seleccionado los adjetivos descriptivos utilizados, para luego analizarlos, compararlos y contrastarlos. Los resultados muestran grandes similitudes en el uso de los adjetivos descriptivos para las imágenes de mujeres y hombres. Asimismo, parecen sugerir que las mujeres y su belleza son descritas desde la perspectiva masculina y los estereotipos presentes en nuestra sociedad.

Palabras clave: mujeres/femenino; hombres/masculino; género; fotografía digital; adjetivos descriptivos.

1. INTRODUCTION

Since its beginnings in the first half of the nineteenth century, together with other artistic fields, photography has been dominated by men (Carro Fernández, 2010). Men, who historically objectified women and denied female subjectivity (Gabbard, 1998), were in charge of creating and disseminating the image of women in our society. The female figure, therefore, was the passive protagonist of art history (Pérez Gauli, 2000) and the role of women in photography was reduced for a long time to objects to be photographed (Muñoz-Muñoz & González-Moreno, 2014). This relates to the theory of the «male gaze» (see Berger, 1972; Mulvey, 1989) in visual arts: women are assigned the passive status of being looked at, whereas men are the active subjects who look (Mulvey, 1989). Women in photography are thus viewed and represented from the dominant «masculine» point of view, as the viewer is situated in a «masculine» position.

Manuals on photographing women, written mainly by men focus on posing (e.g. Perkins, 2009; Siegel, 2012) or editing (e.g. Ames, 2004, 2006; Rojas, 2016). They teach how to smooth skin, sculpture bodies, remove blemishes, and other retouching techniques «making photographs of women look better than their best» (Ames, 2004). Consequently, ideals of women's physical appearance are to a great extent created by photographs (Sontag, 1999, p. 1). Yet, photography not only shapes reality but also reflects it (see Pultz, 1995, p. 7). Döring et al. (2016) found that Instagram users not only reflect traditional gender stereotypes in their photographs, but are even more stereotypical than magazine adverts, which are considered to be highly stereotypical.

A good number of studies in photography have already considered the gender perspective. Most of them focus on gender inequality and aim at shedding light on different female photographers. On the one hand, Benjamin (1931), Berger (1972), Mitchell (1979), Gover (1988), Raymond (2017), or Newbury et al. (2020), amongst others, highlight leading women in the field of photography throughout history and around the world, while Rosenblum (2015) provides a history of women photographers. On the other hand, González-Moreno (2017) and Marín and Ganzabal (2011) study the construction of women's identity through photography, whereas other works have focused on women's visual representations in photography in different historical periods and countries (Doy, 1998; Fahmy, 2004; Otto & Rocco, 2011). Numerous studies also focus on the effect of photographs on the self-esteem and body satisfaction of women (Betz et al., 2019; Coy-Dibley, 2016; Grogan, 2017; Ruggerone, 2006). As Bordo (2003) notes, with images digital modification, women are being 'educated' to shift their perception of what a normal woman's body looks like, wanting their bodies to match an unrealistic, polished, slimmed and smoothed ideal.

This article analyzes the representation of women in digital photography from a linguistic perspective, by exploring the linguistic devices used in their descriptions. More precisely, two main questions are here addressed: (1) how women are described in photography captions, and (2) how similar are these descriptions of women and men.

2. WOMEN AND PHOTOGRAPHY: A BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The origin of photography has been attributed to a number of male inventors. References to women inventors and mentions to women are not frequent when talking about photography (or art) in the 19th century. Still, some references may be found, increasing through the 20th century: Julia Margaret Cameron, one of the inescapable classics to understand the history of photography, its invention and development in the 19th century, and the source of inspiration of pictorialist photography, appeared in Benjamin (1931) as a consecrated photographer, side by side with other pioneering photographers.

In an attempt to rewrite the history of photography and add a female perspective, recent feminist researchers like Denny (2009, 2010, 2012), González-Moreno (2017), Muñoz-Muñoz and González-Moreno (2014, 2017), Rosenblum (2015), Rosler (2004, 2012) have shed light on other female figures in this field. For example, Constance Talbot, William Fox Talbot's wife, is said to have participated in her husband's experiments, which gave way to photography (Muñoz-Muñoz & González-Moreno, 2014, p. 41); or Anna Atkins, considered the first female photographer, who made cyanotypes (early photographic process) of sea algae and published what is considered the first book photographically illustrated (Denny, 2009, p. 803). Thanks to feminist research(ers), lists of female photographers who have contributed to this field have started to emerge. However, the number is still far from equal to men. As Nochlin (1971/2018) concluded, due to women's obligations in domestic roles, they have not had space and time to become great artists. Even if women tried to participate in photography, works of female authorship were commonly signed by their relatives of the male gender in order to be published or exhibited (as in Deepwell, 1991; Guerrilla Girls, 2020; Robinson, 1987; Walsh, 1994; Wolff, 1990, 1994).

In the 19th century, photography was practically inaccessible to women and the appearance of women with cameras was rare (Gover, 1988, p. 5), due to society constraints. At the turn of the 20th century, with the introduction of the compact camera developed by Kodak in 1888, women turned to photography either professionally or as a hobby (Gover, 1988, p. 2). Women were seen as potential customers and advertisements addressed them directly, combining a dual emphasis on the small size of the camera and the simplicity of the process of taking photographs as if women were not able to engage in photography with more complex equipment. Kodak's slogan was «You push the button, we do the rest». As pointed out by Riches (2014) the «combination of reduced size and a streamlined process –one so simple *even a woman could do it*– was central to George Eastman's decision to use a female figure as the central motif in his aggressive marketing campaign» (p. 6). This coincided with the first-wave feminism, which also had an effect on the growing presence of women in photography, who, nonetheless, were still to some extent, according to Gover (1998, p. 2), in a field created by and for men.

It was after the second-wave feminism, when women rebelled through photography and began to use it as a tool against gender inequalities, trying to dismantle the roles assigned to women by patriarchal society (Muñoz-Muñoz & González-Moreno, 2017, p. 210; 2014, p. 40). Women started to claim the right to construct their own identity and representations using a camera and a female body as a space for creativity and criticism, often creating the most radical photographs (Broude & Garrad, 1996). Valie Export (1969), for example, shows a photograph of a woman (herself) wearing jeans and exposing the genitals with a cutout triangle in the pubic area –which is still groundbreaking fifty years later. Photography, as noted by Spence and Solomon (1995), is an empowering vehicle for female identity.

In the 1960s and 70s, female photographers attempted to create a more real and more authentic picture of women: Eve Arnold (1976/2020) questioned the imprisonment of women in stereotype roles, while Abigail Heyman (1974/2020) showed unknown women and celebrities in unexpected moments of their daily lives, without any retouching and so offering a vision of women far from the glamour of glossy magazines. Susan Meiselas (1976/2020) investigated into striptease sideshows giving a voice to their subjects, depicting their work, dreams, and ambitions. Many were devoted to creating alternative representations of women and the presence of women in photography started to grow significantly. This seems to have continued during the third-wave feminism, which began in the 1990s: Park & Ha (2015) analyzed fashion photographs from that period and found that they express liberation and rights of women or sexual freedom, independent women as subjects of power, challenging and threatening male power. They also define multicultural female images, reducing a gap among coloured races and other cultures and escaping from the dual oppression, besides queer female images, aiming at diverse gender identities. To give an example, photographs entitled or whose themes are «Grande stile» or «Shy, Hush» overturn passive female images, breaking up a dichotomy between virtuous women and decadent women, and aim for female rights, freedom from sexual oppression, initiative, and autonomy. This is inferred from present external expression characteristics concerning appearance and garments; location, gesture and posture (the male is the background, the woman leans on the chair and her legs open); and the gaze is staring at the front.

The fourth wave continues to challenge sexism and is characterized by its diversity of purpose and its reliance on the internet (Munro, 2013, p. 22). An example in fashion photography is Girlgaze (https://girlgaze.com; see Looft, 2017), a platform launched in 2016 by the British photographer Amanda de Cadenet, aiming to reduce gender inequalities in the field of photography by promoting talented female photographers and the way they see women, but mainly «emerging womxn and non-binary creative talent with the world's best companies». Its history began with a hashtag on Instagram (#girlgaze) and evolved into a movement (de Cadenet, 2017). Today, the Instagram page #GirlGaze publishes daily new photographs taken by women and represents women from the female perspective (see Zafra 2005, 2013).

Despite the fact that the movement for women's equality is gaining momentum and currently we are witnessing a steady rise in women's presence and success in different genres of photography (Sattari & Mousavi, 2013, p. 74), the struggle for gender equality in this field is far from fully achieving its purpose (see, Muñoz-Muñoz & González Moreno, 2017; Sebag-Montefiore, 2019). Studies show that the number of female photographers is still considerably smaller compared to male photographers nowadays. Whitley and Kalof (2020) found that only 16% of elite wildlife photographers are women, and Muñoz-Muñoz and González Moreno (2017) note that female photographers are highly underrepresented in European museums (less than 1% in some of them). Jill Greenberg, a celebrated photographer, revealed in a TEDx Talk that in the US, 92% of adverts and 85% of magazine covers are shot by men (2018). Similarly, Hadland et al. (2016) confirm that photography is a «heavily male-oriented» profession with 85% of male respondents. Therefore, women remain being disregarded and photography still seems to be a male-dominated medium. This affects what is seen in magazines, newspapers, on TV, or billboards, and, consequently, how the image of women is perceived.

3. THE DEPICTION OF WOMEN IN PHOTOGRAPHY

Despite the gap in literature regarding the linguistic descriptions of women in photography, considerable research has been done on the visual depictions of female figures in this field. It appears that gender inequality in photography continues to affect women's representation. Due to the reduced number of women photographers, on the one hand, men continue to decide how women should be depicted. On the other, women enter a cultural structure and achieve success by adopting a non-critical perspective, reproducing the stereotypes of the male gaze. The male gaze has become deeply ingrained in our society (Vitova, 2019). Thus, women tend to be «portrayed in ways that are deemed to be attractive to a male spectator, although most of the actual audience is likely to be women» (Ruggerone, 2006, p. 356).

Sontag (1999) points out that «nobody looks through a book of pictures of women without noticing whether the women are attractive or not. To be feminine […] is to be attractive, or to do one's best to be attractive; to attract». Furthermore, «women are judged by their appearance as men are not, and women are punished more than men are by the changes brought about by aging» (p. 1). Sontag (1984) argues that men in our culture have an advantage of having two standards of beauty –the boy's and the man's, while only one standard of female beauty exists– the girl's:

> The beauty of a boy resembles the beauty of a girl. In both sexes, it is a fragile kind of beauty and flourishes naturally only in the early part of the life-cycle. Happily, men are able to accept themselves under another standard of good looks –heavier, rougher, more thickly built. A man does not grieve when he loses the smooth, unlined, hairless skin of a boy. For he has only exchanged one form of attractiveness for another […] There is no equivalent of this second standard for women. The single standard of beauty for women dictates that they must go on having clear skin. Every wrinkle, every line, every grey hair, is a defeat. (p. 107)

Sontag (1999) notes that the «ideals of appearance such as youthfulness and slimness are in large part now created and enforced by photographic images»

(p. 1). Studies of the portrayal of the female body in advertising photography have found that models became thinner and thinner between the 1960s and the 1990s (see Sypeck et al., 2004). Although it was widely suggested that magazines and newspapers needed to review their practices, they continued through the 2000s and seem to be still present (Grogan, 2017, pp. 23-24).

The male gaze and stereotypes are still highly present in social media. Döring et al. (2016) have found that selfies by young females show the visual codes of subordination defined by Goffman (1979) and Kang (1997) such as feminine touch, lying posture, imbalance, withdrawing gaze, loss of control, and body display. Additionally, they found that young females' selfies more often imply seduction (e.g. kissing pout), while young males' selfies more often contain muscle presentation (implying strength) (Döring et al., 2016). Related to the idea of withdrawing gaze, Goffman (1979, p. 64) explains that when an individual withdraws the gaze from the scene he or she is going «away» and female models are often portrayed as mentally absent, putting emphasis on their body instead.

Other works on the visual depiction of women in Western society reveal that «whiteness» is the symbol of femininity and beauty (Deliovsky, 2008). As Bordo (2003) pointed out, homogenized images of «whitified» feminine beauty become normalized and «function as models against which the self continually measures, judges, 'disciplines', and corrects itself» (p. 63). Nobody in this culture wants to have his or her nose reshaped to look more «African» or «Jewish», as noted by Bordo (2003, p. 64). She states that even though sometimes we do find alternative models of beauty, this is because «consumer capitalism depends on the continual production of novelty, of fresh images to stimulate desire, and it frequently drops into marginalized neighbourhoods in order to find them» (2003, p. 62). Such elements, according to Bordo (2003), «will be explicitly *framed* as exotica» (p. 62) and will not «be permitted to overwhelm the representation and establish a truly alternative or 'subversive' model of beauty or success» (p. 63).

Moreover, women are often depicted as victims, receivers, and helpless sufferers (Morna, 2002, p. 96), or as «'decorative add-ons' and not as serious role-players in society» (Soobben, 2013, p. 37). Jennifer Moss (2014), a former fashion photographer, studied how women are depicted in fashion magazines and created four categories: (1) woman as a victim/scared, (2) undressed/positioned for sex, (3) weak/submissive/non-threatening/child-like, (4) objectified/non-human/one of many. Three years later she carried out further research and added one more category –(5) strong/in charge/happy (Moss, 2017). This might imply that the representation of women in photography in our culture might be starting to change slowly.

While research on physical appearance of women in photography abounds, emotionality and personality have not been specifically addressed. Studies on emotions and stereotypes in photography have been mainly carried out in news photography, where they seem to experience sadness, fear, and sympathy more often than men, while anger and pride are more common in men (Rodgers et al., 2007). They usually have a smile on their faces, a calm demeanour, and a submissive stance, while men have a frown on their faces and an excited demeanour (Rodgers et al., 2007, p. 132), which goes in line with the common belief that women smile more and men show more anger (see, for example, Fischer, 1993; Hall et al., 2000; LaFrance & Hecht, 1999; Shields, 1987). Studies on the personality of women in photography mostly focus on self-representation. Haferkamp et al. (2012) suggest that women place higher priority on creating a positive self-presentation, while men are less concerned about the image they present. Dollinger and Clancy (1993) studied the gender differences in auto-photography following the Big Five –a taxonomy usually used to study the personality that categorizes traits into the broad domains of Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Neuroticism, and Openness/Intellect) (see for example Digman, 1990; John et al., 2008)– and found that women scored high in Neuroticism and low in Extraversion, depicting themselves as emotionally unstable, vulnerable, insecure and introverted.

4. OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

This study aims at exploring how women are linguistically depicted in digital photography, by identifying, analyzing and comparing the terms (and their connotations) used by professional photographers to describe women and men. With these purposes in mind, a sample of images and accompanying text (captions) was compiled from one of the most popular image stocks of professional photographers –Alamy (https://www.alamy.com). The photographs and captions were selected by searching «woman» and «man» as keywords. Two similar samples, each with the first one hundred more popular images, were obtained: one with pictures and descriptions of women –Women's Sample (henceforth, WS) (5,919 tokens; 1,498 word types)– and another with men's pictures and descriptions –Men's Sample (henceforth, MS) (5,140 tokens; 1,427 word types).

Once the samples were compiled, we proceeded with the manual extraction of word types related to the description of women and men. Only words used to describe persons, specially adjectives, were considered and analyzed here. As a result, out of 1,498 word types from our sample of women's descriptions, 138 adjectives (904 tokens) were selected for the analysis. Similarly, out of 1,427 word types from our men's sample, we focused on 173 adjectives (935 tokens).

AntConc software (Anthony, 2014) was used in the data processing to generate the frequency of lexical words in the two sets of texts and the selection and classification of the adjectives were undertaken manually. *Merriam Webster's* dictionary (https://www.merriam-webster.com) was used in order to check if the items were adjectives.

5. RESULTS

The analysis of the adjectives found in the samples has revealed two major categories, namely, (1) those related to the individuals' physical features, and (2) those related to psychological characteristics. Several sub-classifications may be distinguished within each of those. As to adjectives describing physical features, five subcategories may be mentioned: adjectives describing person's age, race/ethnicity and nationality, general appearance, hair, and adjectives related to clothing. The second group is composed of adjectives describing personality and ability or state of mind, such as those indicating features corresponding to emotions and feelings (see Table 1).

Table 1. Frequency of each (sub–)category in both samples

		Women's sample				Men's sample			
Category	Sub-category	Tokens		Types		Tokens		Types	
Body		**699**	77%	**67**	49%	**725**	78%	**95**	55%
	Gentilics	153	17%	16	12%	219	23%	30	17%
	Age	295	32%	16	12%	281	30%	18	10%
	Appearance	146	16%	15	11%	123	13%	26	15%
	Clothing	44	5%	10	7%	83	9%	15	9%
	Hair	61	7%	10	7%	19	2%	6	4%
Mind		**205**	23%	**71**	51%	**210**	22%	**78**	45%
	Emotions & feelings	72	8%	29	21%	94	10%	25	14%
	Personality & ability	125	14%	38	27%	112	12%	51	30%
	Other	8	1%	4	3%	4	1%	2	1%
Total		**904**	100%	**138**	100%	**935**	100%	**173**	100%

In general, the results seem to suggest that the most important features when describing both men and women are mainly physical rather than emotional. Thus, physical appearance, age, clothing, or ethnicity, amongst others, rather than their emotions or feelings, tend to be mentioned. Accordingly, 77% of the adjectives used (699 tokens) in the descriptions of women refer to the body and 23% (205 tokens) to mind, and similarly, 78% (725 tokens) used in the descriptions of men refer to the body and 22% (210 tokens) to the mind (see Table 1 above).

5.1. Adjectives describing bodies of women and men

5.1.1. Age

As shown in Table 1, the sub-group that yielded the highest number of occurrences in both samples is that of age-qualifying adjectives: 295 tokens (32% of the total) in the WS and 281 tokens (30% of the total) in the MS, which seems to indicate the importance given to age in both cases, although apparently it is slightly more important in women. The significance of age can be additionally found in the two most frequent adjectives in both samples –*adult* and *young*, which present 113 (12.5%) and 120 (12.1%) occurrences respectively in the WS, and 81 (8.6%) and 79 (8.4%) occurrences in the MS, also suggesting that the importance of age for women is higher than for men. Although Sontag (1984) highlights that «men, too, are prone to periodic bouts of depression about aging», she adds that «getting older is less profoundly wounding for a man» and «society is much more permissive about aging in men» who «are 'allowed' to age without penalty» in comparison to women (p. 101), as reflected in this study.

Adjectives affecting age were also divided into two subcategories, namely, «young» and «elderly», which excluded adjectives like *adult*, *grown* or *grownup*, which could fit in either. Thus, the analysis of the adjectives in the WS seems to suggest that women photographed are of younger ages (as adjectives such as *young, juvenile, teenage, minor, teeny* are highly frequent) (120 tokens; 69%) and older women (or rather, adjectives describing their age) appear less frequently (e.g. *mature, senior, elderly, older, aged, middle-aged*) (55 tokens; 31%). Unlike this, in the MS the results show a very different picture: older men are more popular in photographs (and their descriptions) than younger ones, with 106 tokens (55%) in the case of the former and 87 tokens (45%) in the latter. In fact the adjective *senior* is the sixth most common adjective in the MS occurring 33 times (3.5% of the total) and also supporting the idea that getting older is perfectly acceptable in case of men.

5.1.2. Race/ethnicity and nationality

The next important subgroup is composed of the gentilics, that is, adjectives describing the ethnicity, the race, or the nationality of the subject photographed. Most of them refer to race or ethnicity and just a few describe the nationality (*Italian, Canadian, German, Japanese*) in the WS, where 153 tokens (17% of the total) and only 16 word types (12% of the total) were identified (see Table 1). Race and ethnicity, though complex categories to be further indexed, have been arranged into three groups: «white», «black/African», and «Hispanic/Latin». The most common adjectives to describe women's race in our sample are *Caucasian* (52 tokens; 5.75%), *white* (24 tokens; 2.6%), and *European* (10 tokens; 1.1%) which often are misused with the same meaning (for their misuses see for example Bhopal & Donaldson, 1998). The percentage of 73% of tokens corresponding to these three-word types which constitute the «white» group may suggest that these are the most photographed and/or preferred women in present-day photography. The second most frequent group, although with significantly lesser results (22 tokens; 18% within this group), is the «black/African» group. Eight percent (10 tokens) of adjectives in this group refer to the «Hispanic/Latin» group. There are a few other cases of ethnicity (e.g. *Asian*) which are apparently insignificant, if compared to these results. As said, this means that the majority of women from our sample are «white», and suggests that the most popular photographs in Alamy image stock show white women, which could be related to the importance of being white in order to be feminine and attractive to the (Western) dominant male gaze. Moreover, the scant presence of models of other ethnicities/races appears to support the belief that «exotica» is needed by the current consumerist society, who continuously requires novelty (Alamy's image stock is commercial).

There seems to be more diversity in the MS as there are more references to the models' origin: 30 word types (17% of the total) and 219 tokens (23% of the total) were located (see Table 1). Similarly, as in the WS, the most frequent tags related to the individuals' race are *Caucasian* (35 tokens) and *white* (29 tokens), which, together with *European* (5 tokens), constitute 43% within this category (69 tokens); 73% in the WS. The second most popular group is «Asian» (28%): *Asian* (27 tokens) and *eastern* (15 tokens), though this does not exist as a group in the WS. «Black/African» is in the third position with 22% (32 tokens). Finally, the «Hispanic/Latin» group presents only 4 tokens (3%). These four groups constitute the most frequent adjectives and the main «races» identified; however, there are other adjectives that make reference to nationalities, which are more varied in the MS (e.g. *Australian, Malaysian, Turkish, Portuguese, French, Mexican, Italian, Indian*) than in the WS.

5.1.3. Appearance

The third most significant group in both samples is that of adjectives describing the models' general appearance or look. In the WS 15 adjectives (11% of the total) constitute 16% of the total of the tokens (146 tokens), while in MS the variety of adjectives is higher (26 items; 15% of the total) and the number of tokens is lower (123 tokens; 13% of the total) (see Table 1). This proves that the appearance counts more in woman's life than in a man's. *Smiling* is the most frequently used adjective in both samples, although slightly more frequent in the MS (39 tokens or 4.2% compared to 37 tokens or 4%). This apparently goes against the common stereotype that women smile more, while men tend to show more anger. However, this corresponds to the focus on positive photographs that show content with potential commercial appeal.

Women's descriptions include adjectives such as *beautiful* (32 tokens; 3.5%), *attractive* (23 tokens; 2.5%), *pretty* (15 tokens; 1.7%), *cute* (6 tokens; 0.6%), or *gorgeous* (4 tokens; 0.4%). Adjectives such as *handsome* (22 tokens; 2.3%) and *attractive* (17 tokens; 1.7%), but also *ordinary* and *normal* (1 token each; 0.1%) are used for men, who are also described as *unshaved* (1 token; 0.1%), *fat* (2 tokens; 0.2%) or *overweight* (1 token; 0.1%). This goes in line with the idea of a double standard of beauty in men and a single standard of beauty in women, as mentioned above. Men, therefore, exchange «the beauty of a boy» for «the beauty of a man», becoming heavier, rougher, more thickly built and accepting what nature has given to them. Women, however, «must conserve» the beauty of a girl, lacking the advantage of having the second standard of beauty. Sontag (1984) notes that «one of the norms of 'femininity' in this society is being preoccupied with one's physical appearance, so 'masculinity' means *not* caring very much about one's looks» (p. 105). This study seems to prove that men are allowed to be *fat* or *overweight*, whereas women must be *slim* and *slender* and follow the ideal appearance.

Women in our sample are also depicted as *feminine* (19 tokens; 2.1%), *cute* (6 tokens; 0.6%), *angelic* (1 token; 0.1%), *delicate* (1 token; 0.1%), *pale* (1 token; 0.1%), while men appear as *cool* (9 tokens; 0.9%), *muscular* (5 tokens; 0.5%), *strong* (2 tokens; 0.2%), *muscled* (1 token; 0.1), or *rugged* (1 token; 0.1%). The former, thus, seems to be weak or non-threatening almost childlike, just like some of the women depicted in fashion magazines studied by Moss (2014), whereas men appear to follow the common stereotype of being strong.

Note that the word *feminine* is among the most frequent in the WS (19 tokens; 2.1%) which highlights the importance of femininity in women's appearance. Apparently photographs of women who look feminine sell more being more appealing to the male gaze. Similarly, in the MS special attention should be paid to *cool* (9 tokens; 0.9%) which is the fourth most common within this category, after *smiling* (39 tokens; 4.1%), *handsome* (22 tokens; 2.3%), and *attractive* (17 tokens; 1.7%). Consequently, the results suggest that while for a woman being *feminine* is essential, for a man it is being *cool*, or being *macho* (the latter is also present in our sample, although only twice). Moreover, men in our sample are described as *athletic* (3 tokens; 0.3%), *fit* (3 tokens; 0.3%), and *flexible* (1 token; 0.1%) relating them to sport, when no such references were found in the WS. As Sontag (1984, p. 105) points out, the physical ideal of both sexes is different: boys are urged to improve their bodies through sport (to become stronger), meanwhile girls are not encouraged to develop muscles; being «feminine» means being physically weak and being continually «defended».

5.1.4. Clothing

As illustrated in Table 1 above, in the MS the number of tokens is almost double that in the WS (83 tokens compared to 44 tokens in the WS), which is quite remarkable. The adjectives located are mainly of two types, those describing clothes style (e.g. *fashionable, trendy*) or clothing items themselves (e.g. *sleeveless*). Special attention may be paid to *casual*, the most frequent adjective within this category in both samples, which means that both women and men in our sample wear mostly *casual* clothes. Still, an important difference can be drawn from the use of this adjective: it seems to be significantly more frequent in the MS, used 50 times (5.3%), compared to 29 tokens (3.2%) in the WS. In fact, it is the third most frequently used adjective to describe men in our sample. This seems interesting as its use prevails considerably over adjectives related to the physical appearance, such as *handsome* (22 tokens; 2.3%), which appears on the tenth position. This may support the idea that men are less concerned about clothing or their appearance than women.

5.1.5. Hair[1]

Adjectives describing hair are particularly popular in women's descriptions (61 tokens, 7%; 10 types, 7%) and significantly less important when describing men (19 tokens, 2%; 6 types, 4%) (see Table 1). Out of 61 tokens in the WS, 53 refer to colour while 12 to hairstyle. The majority of the women included in the sample are described as *blonde* (28 tokens, 53% within this category), which goes in line with one of the most common stereotypes –that blondes are an ideal of feminine beauty in our society that «gentlemen» are alleged to prefer.

Adjectives describing dark-haired women (e.g. *brunette, brownhaired*) appear 19 times in total (36% within this category), while the least common are *grey* (4 tokens, 7%) and *redheaded* (2 tokens, 4%). The low frequency of the latter may be explained by the fact that red hair is not so common in real life. In the case of *grey,* its low frequency responds to the fact that most of the female models in the sample are «young», and grey hair is typical of older women, being also true that women try to mask their age by dying their hair as explained earlier.

Other adjectives within this group refer to hairstyle, such as *wavy* (1 token; 0.1%)*, short* (2 tokens; 0.2%)*,* and *curly* (5 tokens; 0.5%). In the men's descriptions, adjectives describing colour also prevail: *blonde* (8 tokens; 0.8%), *fair* (1 token; 0.1%), *brunette* (2 tokens; 0.2%); however, the second most frequent adjective after *blonde* is *bald* (5 tokens; 0.5%). These results suggest that, on the one hand, hair plays a more important role in physical appearance in the description of women and, on the other, they prove once again the existence of the second standard of beauty for men –acceptance of losing hair and still looking good and being accepted by society.

5.2. Adjectives describing the mind of women and men

This group includes those adjectives that refer to (1) personality and ability, and (2) feelings and emotions, apart from a few cases that did not fit in any of these categories. Out of 205 tokens (23% of the total) that make reference

1. These could have been included in the «appearance group», but due to their relatively high presence in our sample, we decided they deserve special attention.

to women's mind, 125 (14%) refer to personality and ability, and 72 (8%) describe their emotions and feelings. In the case of men, 112 tokens (12%) were used to depict their personality and ability, and 94 (10%), their emotions and feelings. Although the total number of tokens is very similar, there seems to be a higher diversity in personality-descriptive vocabulary in the MS (51 word types compared to 38) (see Table 1).

5.2.1. Personality and ability

Results reveal that women in our sample are described mainly as having a positive and extroverted personality taking into account the high frequency of adjectives such as *carefree* (15 tokens, 1.6%), *fun* (8 tokens; 0.8%), and *positive* (7 tokens; 0.7%) including other less frequent such as *joyful* (5 tokens; 0.5%), *light-hearted* (3 tokens; 0.3%), *vivacious* (1 token; 0.1%), *optimistic* (1 token; 0.1%), *lively* (1 token; 0.1%), *exuberant* (1 token; 0.1%), *entertaining* (1 token; 0.1%), and *funny* (1 token; 0.1%). Men, conversely, seem to be more reserved and introverted: adjectives such as *serious* (11 tokens; 1.1%) or *serene* (3 tokens; 0.3%) prevail over *social* (3 tokens; 0.3%), *funny* (2 tokens; 0.2%), or *friendly* (2 tokens; 0.2%).

In addition, women are also described as having a calm demeanour by using adjectives such as *tranquil* (5 tokens; 0.5%), *calm* (2 tokens; 0.2%), *peaceful* (2 tokens; 0.2%). Men are similarly depicted as *calm* (4 tokens; 0.4%) or *tranquil* (2 tokens; 0.2%), but contrary to women they can be also *mad* (1 token; 0.1%) and *crazy* (1 token; 0.1%). Moreover, men were described as *unfaithful* (1 token; 0.1%), *disloyal* (1token; 0.1%), and *flirtatious* (1 token; 0.1%), which follows the idea that society is more tolerant of men's infidelity than women's. Men were found to be more agreeable than women and showing altruism more often, which can be observed through the presence of the following adjectives in the MS: *agreeable* (1 token; 0.1%), *believable* (1 token; 0.1%), *caring* (1 token; 0.1%), *comforting* (1 token; 0.1%), *kind* (1 token; 0.1%), *nice* (1 token; 0.1%), *pleasant* (1 token; 0.1%), *reassuring* (1 token; 0.1%). The latter seems to run against the idea that women are usually more nurturing or tender-hearted (see for example Feingold, 1994; Costa et al., 2001).

5.2.2. Feelings and emotions

As shown in Table 1, in the MS 25 types (94 tokens) of adjectives qualifying feelings and emotions were found, while the WS contains 29 types (72 tokens). These adjectives have been classified following the list of emotions described first in Shaver et al. (1987) and later in Parrott (2001), who have delimited six main groups, namely, love, joy, sadness, surprise, anger, and fear. The results show that the most common emotion among women in our sample is sadness (35 tokens; 49% within this group); adjectives such as *lonesome* (5 tokens; 0.5%), *depressed* (3 tokens; 0.3%), *lonely* (3 tokens; 0.3%), *moody* (3 tokens; 0.3%), *sad* (1 token; 0.3%), *unhappy* (2 tokens; 0.2%), *nostalgic* (1 token; 0.1%), *preoccupied* (2 tokens; 0.2%), *pensive* (3 tokens; 0.3%), *remorseful* (1 token; 0.1%), prevail in the descriptions of the emotions in women. This supports the idea that women are often depicted as victims or sufferers. Similarly, they seem to follow the withdrawal visual code or gaze of subordination defined by Goffman (1979) and Kang (1997): by withdrawing the gaze women appear mentally absent, putting the emphasis exclusively on the body. Adjectives such as *absent-minded* (3 tokens; 0.3%), *wandering* (1 token; 0.3%), *moony* (3 tokens; 0.3%), *faraway* (3 tokens; 0.3%) support this idea.

The next group, close to sadness, is that of joy (32 tokens; 44% within this group), where half of the tokens (17 tokens) belong to *happy*. Other adjectives do not fit into any of the emotions (5 tokens; 7%) probably because they seem to be feelings rather than emotions; these are *relaxed, tired,* and *sleepy*. In the case of men, the panorama is different. Contrary to women, in men the most common emotion seems to be joy (64 tokens; 68% within this group), e.g. *happy, cheerful, glad, pleased, content, joyful* are among the most frequent adjectives. Adjectives related to sadness are also found, although to a considerably lesser extent (10 tokens; 11% within this group). Other less common categories are surprise (*surprised*), fear (*stressed*), and anger (*angry, upset),* which are not found in the WS. The latter is particularly interesting, as typically anger is attributed to men (see, for example, Hess et al., 2005).

Finally, there are a few cases that do not fit in any of the two aforementioned main categories (1% in both samples). In the WS they are *ponderous* (3 tokens), *fanciful* (3 tokens), *innocent* (1 token), *guiltless* (1 token), suggesting the «childlike naïve innocence of women», mentioned in section 3, and «dreamy and carefree nature». In the MS, *macho* (2 tokens) and *sweet* (2 tokens), two opposed poles which suggest that men can be both (although not at the same time).

6. CONCLUSIONS

This study is mainly linguistic in nature, as it focuses on the adjectives used by professional photographers to describe their photographs of female and male models. The results show that most adjectives in both samples describe the individuals' body: 77% (699 items) in the women's sample and 78% (725 items) in the men's sample, while the remaining 23% (205 items) and 22% (210 items) were used to refer to the models' mind, i.e. personality, emotions, etc., respectively. With regard to the sub-categories, the sub-group that yielded the highest results in the WS is that corresponding to their age, with 295 tokens (32%), followed by adjectives indicating gentilics or demonyms (153 tokens; 17%), adjectives describing general appearance (146 tokens; 16%) and those of personality and ability (125 tokens; 14%). Less relevant sub-groups were those that were made up of adjectives referring to emotions and feelings (72 tokens; 8%), the women's hair (61 tokens; 7%) and clothing (44 tokens; 5%). These results are very similar to those obtained from the men's sample: the most frequent adjectives used to describe men were also those alluding to their age (281 tokens; 30%), followed by gentilics, which were slightly more common in men (219 tokens; 23%), then by general appearance (123 tokens; 13%), personality and ability (112 tokens; 12%), emotions and feelings (94 tokens; 10%), clothing (83 tokens; 9%), and finally hair (19 tokens; 2%), being considerably less important in men. Additionally, it has been confirmed that gender and social stereotypes are a general occurrence in present-day photography and women are mainly depicted from the male perspective. For instance, we found that white young women prevail in photography while men of older ages and other ethnicities are present to a greater extent. Also, women were more often depicted as sad and nostalgic, while men were found to be more joyful. Likewise, attractiveness and beauty seem to play a considerably more important role in the depictions of women compared to men, who are «allowed» to be *fat* or *bald*.

This study attempts to make a contribution to the field of the language of photography, on the one hand, and to gender studies or women's studies, on the other. The importance of photography should not be ignored, basically for its omnipresence in our society: advertising, social media, or politics make use of it. Similarly, gender studies is a well-established but still growing field which is gaining importance in our developing and changing society, where studies reflect, examine, criticize or question issues related to mainly sexual identities, gender discrimination and attitudes.

We are conscious of the limitations of this study: on the one hand, the results are based on a limited sample which may not fully capture the variety of descriptions and, on the other, they are based on the most popular photographs, which may not show the complete panorama. This could be remedied by using wider corpora and by considering other sources. We encourage researchers to continue studying gender differences in photography, which still remains unexplored in many sub-areas.

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GENDER STEREOTYPING AND RETRO-SEXISM IN ADVERTISING DISCOURSE FROM A POSTFEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

ESTEREOTIPOS DE GÉNERO Y RETROSEXISMO EN EL DICURSO PUBLICITARIO DESDE UNA PERSPECTIVA POSTFEMINISTA

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Submitted / Recibido: 4/12/2020
Accepted / Aceptado: 13/04/2021

To cite this article / Para citar este artículo:
Montes, A. (2021). Gender stereotyping and retro-sexism in advertising discourse from a postfeminist perspective. *Feminismo/s*, *38*, 177-202. Women, Sexual Identity and Language [Monographic dossier]. I. Balteiro (Coord.). https://doi.org/10.14198/fem.2021.38.07

Abstract

Negative female stereotypes and the portrayal of women in traditional and non-agentive social roles prevail in advertising. Advertisers believe that it is an effective advertising strategy to misuse postfeminist standpoints, stressing liberated womanhood and constructing a universe where women have gained it all and men have to reconquer their lost ground. This article analyses the appropriation of postfeminist discourse with the aim of showing how negative and even demeaning female stereotypes and clichés are represented, and by doing so, how a retro-sexist imagery is constructed within the advertising discourse. Undertaking a case study analysis of an advertising campaign of the brand IWC, a luxury brand for watches, and applying a feminist critical discourse perspective (Lazar, 2005, 2007), which shows the gender asymmetries in discourse, it is argued that advertising perpetuates misbeliefs about women's roles in society and reinforces demeaning female stereotypes in the collective imaginary about the understanding of gender equality.

Keywords: advertising discourse; postfeminism; gender stereotypes; retro-sexism; gender asymmetry; gender equality.

Resumen

En la publicidad prevalecen los estereotipos femeninos negativos y la representación de las mujeres en roles sociales tradicionales, ligados a actividades y ocupaciones domésticas. Los anunciantes creen que la utilización de los planteamientos posfeministas para sus propios fines es una estrategia publicitaria eficaz. Este artículo analiza la apropiación del discurso posfeminista con el objetivo de mostrar cómo se representan los estereotipos y clichés femeninos negativos e incluso degradantes. También se examina cómo se construye un imaginario retro-sexista en el discurso de la publicidad. Se realiza, desde una perspectiva del discurso crítico feminista (Lazar, 2005, 2007), un estudio de caso de la marca de relojes de lujo IWC. Se concluye que la publicidad perpetúa las visiones erróneas sobre el rol de la mujer en la sociedad y refuerza los estereotipos femeninos negativos y degradantes mediante la construcción de un universo retro-sexista en el imaginario colectivo y dificulta el progreso hacia la igualdad de género.

Palabras clave: discurso publicitario; posfeminismo; estereotipos de géneros; retro–sexismo; igualdad de género.

1. INTRODUCTION

«Equality of the sexes has to stop somewhere». This is one of a series of claims that make up the advertising campaign of the Swiss watch brand IWC, launched in the early 2000s. It is worth analysing this peculiar advertising discourse taking into account postfeminist standpoints to examine the representation of female stereotypes and the strategies applied in the creation of a retro-sexist imagery.

Advertising as part of popular culture is a central means of social communication, and as such it tells stories about our culture, and these stories are often gendered in their structure and content (Arend, 2014). Thus, it strongly influences the collective imaginary of gender perception, as advertising creates, includes and reinforces social trends. In particular, the stereotypical portrayal of women and retro-sexism in advertising, which is the article's focus, is analysed and criticised by feminist scholars of various disciplines such as marketing and business, cultural studies, semiotics and linguistics, among others. Feminist studies with a linguistic and discursive point of view, as for example Tannen (1995) for conversational linguistics, Mills (1995) for stylistic issues and feminist critical discourse analysis (Lazar, 2005, 2007), offer a range of tools to understand and challenge «the complex working of power and ideology in discourse in sustaining a (hierarchically) gendered social order» (Lazar, 2005, p.1).

In fact, gender stereotypes and clichés about gender roles prevail in advertising. Some studies (Furnham & Paltzer, 2010; Grau & Zotos, 2016) show that advertising still conveys negative gender stereotypes and presents gender roles in unequal situations, even in egalitarian geographical areas such as Europe or the USA, where gender equality and equity has become a social demand. Some shifts in the portrayal of women and men can be observed in campaigns that represent women in agentive roles, meaning in a non-traditional professional setting, or depicting women showing their real bodies; men are depicted in softer and caring roles, as fathers acting with their children. As reported in more recent research (Zawisza, 2019), advertising profits from portraying women in a traditional, caring role or in a sexist manner, as housewives or sex objects, despite the many social changes for women in the last decades. Feminists are constantly fighting to break existing patriarchal power relations that reign in the public and private spheres. Some advertisers believe that it is an effective advertising strategy to mis-use feminist standpoints in advertising discourse to convey their advertising message. Sometimes, advertisements not only transmit destructive messages about women, but they also ridicule feminist gains in favour of gender equality in society. Such kind of advertising perpetuates misbeliefs about women's roles in society and reinforces demeaning female stereotypes in the collective imaginary about the understanding of gender equality.

The purpose of this article is the study of a retro-sexist advertising discourse, constructed by misusing feminist gains and progress towards gender equality. Retro-sexism is understood as the portrayal of a female-dominated society that generates powerful sexist feelings (Williamson, 2003). It is argued that the act of stereotyping the female role in society reinforces retro-sexist stereotypes in the collective imagery about femininities. Specifically, this study focuses on the question of how negative and even demeaning female stereotypes and clichés are represented within advertising discourse. To answer this question, a content analysis of the advertising campaign of the Swiss watch brand IWC (*IWC Homepage*) is carried out. This brand proves to be very suitable for a case study analysis, as in the 2000s IWC launched, in German and less in English, a provocative advertising campaign in the German-speaking European market, in which the advertising discourse was based on female stereotypes and clichés that were partially demeaning, thus, conveying a non-realistic female image and reinforcing a retro-sexist imagery. The IWC advertising campaign is about men's watches, and it consists of one single slogan and numerous claims. The slogan in the English version '*Since 1868. And as long as there are men*' and in the German version '*Seit 1968. Und solange es Männer gibt*' is continuous throughout the whole campaign and can be found in all advertisements. The claims change in each advertisement and they constantly reinforce masculinity at the expense of undermining femininity. By doing this, a retro-sexist imagery is transmitted, where feminist gains in favour of gender equality are pushed aside and sexist thinking is perfectly acceptable. For this study, a sample of 78 advertisements were selected, found on the internet (IWC-Werbung wirkt, 2015). The advertisements chosen in the sample and object of analysis were designed by the Austrian advertising agency 'Wirz Werbung' and were launched in the form of posters from 1999 until 2005. In order to examine this cutting-edge gendered advertising discourse, a discourse analysis approach is formulated from a postfeminist perspective, where the representation of gender stereotypes and the construction of a retro-sexist imagery is examined in a qualitative way. For our analytical procedure, the approach 'Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA)', mainly concerned with «critiquing discourses which sustain a patriarchal social order» (Lazar, 2005, p. 5), provides a useful framework in which to examine how women are addressed and represented in gendered advertising discourse.

With the aim of addressing the above-mentioned proposals, this paper takes an interdisciplinary approach, combining marketing and advertising findings with studies on postfeminism and discourse analysis. Hence, it is divided into two main parts. In the first part, with a theoretical emphasis, a literature review of feminism and postfeminism in marketing and advertising discourse is presented, which outlines the relationship between the different feminist waves and marketing/advertising. Although postfeminism has adopted a more relaxed view on the marketplace, forces have emerged that exhibit, to a certain degree, retro-sexism. The first part ends with an overview of gender roles and stereotypes and how they are depicted by advertising. The second part of the article offers a detailed analysis of the case study of the Swiss watch brand IWC, examining how a retro-sexist imagery is constructed and how the gender stereotypes are represented within a self-critical postfeminist discourse analysis following the feminist perspective to critical discourse analysis (Lazar, 2005, 2007). The paper concludes that this type of gendered advertising discourse, by employing a strategy that conveys demeaning messages about the physical appearance and social status of women, and simultaneously constructs a retro-sexist imagery, damages, to a great extent, the evolution towards gender equality and, therefore, social justice. To begin with, the notions of feminism and postfeminism are described in relation to marketing and advertising. Also, the meaning of retro-sexism is explained.

2. FEMINISM, POSTFEMINISM AND RETRO-SEXISM IN MARKETING AND ADVERTISING

There is an ongoing debate between marketing and feminism about whether the marketplace means exploitation or empowerment for women, in other words, if the market opposes or assists the feminist cause (Catterall et al., 2005; Maclaran, 2012; Rome et al., 2019; Scott, 2005). Feminist attitudes towards the marketplace are strongly influenced by the different waves feminism has gone through (Maclaran, 2012; Rome et al., 2019).

From Maclaran's historical overview (2012), which describes the relationship between feminism and marketing, it can be asserted that first wave feminism saw an improvement in the social and political position of women throughout the marketplace, where department stores were places to socialize with each other and not be under men's observation. Women became consumers, with an expertise that was legitimized in the public sphere. Department stores promised fashion for all, so they became a place where a certain social equality reigned (Maclaran, 2012, p. 463). The feminist movement sought policy reforms and the right of women to participate in the political system. Suffragettes discovered the marketplace to convey their message. Some of them used it for their own benefit to improve their celebrity status by e.g. participating in advertising campaigns as Elizabeth Cady Stanton did (Rome et al., 2019, p. 253). Hence, the first wave feminism embraced the marketplace for its cause and contributed to improve the social and political position of women.

In the second wave of feminism, the marketplace was seen as a field of oppression for women, and advertising contributed considerably to perpetuating negative stereotypes and pushing them into a housekeeping role in a patriarchal society or in an exploited position as sex objects (Maclaran, 2012, p. 465). In the 60s, second wave feminists distanced themselves from consumerism, attacking mass media and blaming the marketplace of imposing a patriarchal agenda (Rome et al., 2019, p. 253). Feminists like Betty Friedan accused advertising of perpetuating negative stereotypes of women and emphasizing their housekeeping role and other feminine duties in order to ensure their continued 'enslavement to consumerism' (Maclaran, 2012, p. 465). A critical approach to the marketplace persisted into the 90s. Feminism was against marketing and consumerism, «promoting a natural, authentic self that could be realized through various styles that were both anti-fashion and anti-capitalist» (Catterall et al., 2005, p. 494). Advertisers started to incorporate feminist ideas into the advertising messages in order to meet the consumer expectations of a majority of women.

However, the third wave sees the market as a place where women can express their femininity through empowerment and purchase power. Catterall et al. (2005) states a celebratory turn, in which gender is regarded as another ludic element of a fluid and mutable self. The construction of femininities intersecting with other social variables such as race, ethnicity or social classes is the core theme of third wave feminism, looking deeply into the production of a multiplicity of potential feminine subjectivities. The relationship between marketing and feminism has undergone a reconciliation process that links empowerment to sexual expressiveness and purchasing power.

The term 'postfeminism' is sometimes equated with third wave feminism when including intersectional subjectivities (Rome et al., 2019, p. 267). But it often suggests the absence of a need for feminism, as gender equality has been achieved (McRobbie, 2009). Regarded as «a media-friendly, consumer-oriented discourse» (Lazar, 2006, p. 505), it assures that women can 'have it all' and are able to achieve positions of power. Consumption becomes an integral part of postfeminism as it offers women independence, agency and confidence. Advertisers appropriate feminist values as freedom, choice and equal opportunities, offering the fulfilment of a certain femininity by consumption. Catterall et al. (2005) speak about a 'postmodern paralysis', understanding that the market creates the ideal of liberated womanhood that quells any activism and subversion from outside the market, as «after all, if the market is now perceived as a site for rebellion what is the point in trying to act from outside?» (p.490).

As has been stated, postfeminism appropriates certain feminist notions of empowerment and emancipation, but it is also characterized by the rejection of the most radical aspects such as the systematic oppression in a patriarchal-dominated society. There is a dualism observable between feminism and post feminism (Lewis et al., 2017, p. 214). On the one hand, feminist values such as choice, equality of opportunities and agentic self-determination are totally acceptable, on the other hand, re-articulation of traditional expectations and traditional gender stereotypes about motherhood, beauty and female sexuality are also part of the postfeminist discourse. McRobbie (2009) coined the expression 'double entanglement', referring to a sort of coexistence or take-up of feminist principles alongside the repudiation of feminist action and a process of re-traditionalization.

In line with this process and as a backlash against the postfeminist assumption that 'women can have it all' goes the term 'retro-sexism', coined by Williamson (2003), which can be defined in an advertising context as the «communication of culturally sanctioned aspects of femininity related to notions of dependency, attractiveness, and adherence to household tasks» (Plakoyiannaki & Zotos, 2009, p. 1412). It is a social phenomenon that the portrayal of a female-dominated society generates powerful sexist feelings. Williamson (2003) explains the origin of retro-sexist imagery, starting when feminism and sexism became out-of-date in the 1990s, and issues of sexuality rather than gender became the focus of cultural debate. Retro-sexism evokes an imagery where it seems perfectly right and socially acceptable to think of women in domestic roles as serving their family and at the same time being sex objects to amuse men, as if the feminist era and all the feminist gains had never existed. On the other hand, the sexual representations of women in retro-sexist imagery shows an assimilation of feminist criticism against sexist advertising to promote 'commercial femininities' in the service of commodity consumption (Lazar, 2006).

As described, in postfeminist media and advertising discourse, women are regarded as empowered consumers. Postfeminist discourses of choice, empowerment and (sexual) pleasure shape increasingly femininities with an emphasis on consumerism (Gill & Arthurs, 2006). As consumption in a neoliberal economic order has changed the understanding of femininity, Lazar (2006) coins the term 'Power Femininity' to denote «an empowered and/or powerful feminine identity» (p. 505). More specifically, it is a global discourse with postfeminist ideas about the end of the feminist struggle, the achievement of full equality for all women and the desire for self-aestheticization. Lazar (2006), in her study of advertisements of beauty products establishes four types of Power Femininity: empowered beauty, knowledge of power, agentive power and sexual power. The author comes to the conclusion that advertising constructs a sort of globalized consumer sisterhood based on erasure, accommodation and bridging the gap between women from a range of cultures and geographical areas (Lazar, 2006, p. 513/514).

Scholars researching on postfeminism (Gill & Arthurs, 2006; Gill, 2016) observe that the consumerist discourse appropriates feminist arguments that promise women they can gain the desired empowerment and freedom to choose the femininity they want by consuming a certain brand and product. But this is illusory, as the products themselves impose a certain femininity and by doing so, they reinforce standards of femininities. This commodification creates standards of femininities and, thus, gender identity becomes a construction of consumerism. Undoubtedly, marketing practices and strategies shape gender identities and social roles that continue to perpetuate gender inequality.

3. GENDER ROLES AND GENDER STEREOTYPING IN ADVERTISING

Advertising has a great impact on postmodern thinking of gender, as «consumers are seen as producers of symbolic meanings that attach to goods and services» (Catterall et al., 2005, p. 490). Gender stereotypes of women are a common feature used in advertising strategies. The social roles in which women and men are presented do not always match up in real life. There is often an unequal depiction of both genders, causing, in most cases, a disadvantage for women and, hence, reinforcing stereotypes about female roles in society. There is a consensus that «advertising contributes to gender inequality by promoting sexism and distorted body image symbols as valid and acceptable» (Grau & Zotos, 2016, p. 762).

Gender stereotypes, based on a binary assumption, are centred on a «belief that certain attributes differentiate men and women» (Eisend, 2019). This means that stereotypes convey certain images of how women and men should be, look like, behave and act. Eisend (2019) establishes four categories of gender attributes: personality traits, physical characteristics, role behaviours, and occupational status. Stereotyping in advertising occurs when gender is not depicted equally according to the gender roles expectations in a society.

Plakoyiannaki & Zotos (2009) establish four categories of female role stereotypes in advertising. The first one is the depiction of women in decorative roles. Female stereotypes that express concerns about their physical appearance and beauty, as well as the portrayal of women as sexual objects, fall into this category. The second category is the most widespread. On the one hand, women are portrayed in traditional roles, which means that they are dependent on male protection and in need of reassurance. On the other hand, they are shown as housewives, because a woman`s place is in the domestic sphere and her primary role is to be a good housewife for her children and husband. In this category, women are primarily concerned with performing tasks of housekeeping. As regards the third category, the depiction of women in non-traditional and agentive roles shows them engaged in non-traditional activities outside home, career-oriented in a professional occupation or as a voice of authority, where women are experts on certain topics. In the last category, women are shown in a neutral role, as equal to men. Grau & Zotos (2016) have shown that women are presented mainly in more decorative roles, concerned about their body and beauty, and family oriented roles, but less in professional roles. Men instead are typically depicted as more independent, authoritarian and in a professional setting. In stereotypical male portrayal, age and physical appearance are almost irrelevant. But there is a tendency to portray men in less agentive attitudes and more engaged in housework and as carers. Female portrayal in advertising has also undergone changes. There is a new wave of advertising campaigns aiming at empowering women through pro-female messages and imagery, labeled 'femvertising'. The aim of these advertisements is to «challenge female stereotypes and the social stigmas women face» (Windels et al., 2019, p. 19).

When assessing the effectiveness of stereotyping in advertising, it can generally be stated that positive effects are reached when consumers perceive that gender portrayals are congruent with their social vision about genders and these match their gender-role expectations (Eisend, 2019, p. 73). Depictions that are to some extent counter stereotypical can also lead to favourable effects. However, research reports greater effectiveness of female portrayals in traditional roles compared to presenting women in agentic roles. Male portrayal, on the contrary, has undergone slight changes in favour of the father figure and family carer. Nevertheless, marketers are more likely to choose traditional gender role portrayals, without taking the social changes genders have undergone into account. The social effects of gender stereotyping in advertising for both genders can be dramatic. Research in this field (Plakoyiannaki & Zotos, 2009, p. 1429) has shown that women suffer from negative self-perception and low self-esteem by constantly being shown in a decorative role, low body satisfaction by presenting unreachable body shapes, and, finally, a reduced professional performance and achievement as a result of being portrayed to a greater extent in traditional roles than in non-traditional and agentive roles. In the same way, portraying men from a traditional masculine ideal perspective, neglecting new attributes men have gained in social change, can lead to male anxiety and loss of self-confidence (Eisend, 2019, p. 76).

The question arises why advertisers do not adjust advertising messages to the deep social changes both genders, but especially women, have undergone. And furthermore, why advertising is not able to use its power to contribute to social change by favouring gender equality. There are two opposed standpoints. The first one is based on the mirror metaphor. Advertising, like a mirror, shows the conventions and desires of society by using existing values instead of altering them. In this view, advertising follows the dominant concepts about gender roles. Secondly, the mold argument conveys that consumers create a reality according to the advertised images. By doing so, they incorporate stereotypes presented by the media into their system of values and beliefs.

Advertising campaigns create gender identity, based on their images, the stereotyped iconography of masculinity and femininity (Grau & Zotos, 2016, p. 763). Advertising according to the 'mold' vision could be the driving power of change in gender perception, as there is clear evidence that repeated exposure to gender portrayals presented in advertising leads to a social transformation in gender-related values and behaviours. In fact, advertising has a great power in working towards gender equality replacing traditional gender role stereotypes with non-traditional, that correspond to real social gender roles in contemporary society.

4. STEREOTYPICAL RETRO-SEXIST DISCOURSE PRAXIS: THE CASE STUDY OF IWC

In the advertising universe watches show more than time and especially when belonging to a high-prized segment, watches stand for luxury and are a status symbol. The brand assigns the consumer a specific, attractive personality. Generally, brands of watches emphasize the quality and the craftsmanship in producing watches. Built around the values of competition, eagerness, achievements of goals and success, an attractive world is created. Often, outstanding people are portrayed in their activities and professions, such as actors/actresses, sportsmen/sportswomen, scientists, artists, etc. For watch brands, gender is an important issue, and some brands, such as Rolex, tend to equalize female and male performance in advertising because the branding of watches is never gender-neutral (Kreienkamp, 2007, p. 91).

4.1. About the advertising campaign

IWC, funded in Schaffhausen (Switzerland) in 1868 by the American Florentine Ariosto Jones, is a traditional Swiss brand, which produces high quality and high-priced watches especially for men, but also for women, considering that women have become a popular target group of about 20% purchase capacity (Weber, 2002). In the first decade of the 2000s and for six years, around 1000 advertising posters (Wirz ohne IWC Uhren, 2005) mainly in German and less in English were designed by the advertising agency 'Wirz Werbung'. The advertising campaign is striking because of the slogan '*Since 1868. And as long as there are men*', and very provocative claims, such as for example: '*Typical male characteristic. / Almost as complicated as a woman. Except it's on time. / How faithful are men? We've never known one to leave his IWC*'.

As a brand, IWC has undergone a radical change in its advertising campaign, and instead of promoting the watch itself or famous people that wear it, as other brands do, it launched a campaign that was acclaimed in the advertising sector as being original, humorous, ironic and trenchant, with the potential of a high image formation for the brand, as the outcome is a community feeling among those understanding this kind of humour (Wirz ohne IWC, 2005). Women journalists instead called it a «testosterone-driven advertising campaign» (Lüchinger, 2005) or a campaign «for the last Mohicans» (Weber, 2002). The Swiss magazine 'Werbewoche', a specialised magazine in advertising, characterised it as a campaign that conveys a «Machismo-Lebensgefühl» [translated: feeling for life based on *machismo*] (Uhrenwerbung im Stillstand, 2001).

As the advertising campaign was very successful in German-speaking Europe, it has been argued that a retro-sexist campaign such as the IWC can only be successful in societies which have undergone feminism, post-feminism and all the fallacies and backlashes (Weber, 2002). However the advertisers are aware that this type of campaign would not work in Japan or in the United States (IWC wechselt zu JvM/Alster, 2005). In terms of feminist critique, in our vision, the reason why such a campaign could be successful might be explained by a prevailing gender ideology, understood as a structure based on a hierarchical relation of domination and subordination with the interest in maintaining unequal and hegemonic power relations and dominance, «in that it often does not appear as domination at all; instead it seems largely consensual and acceptable to most in the community» (Lazar, 2005, p. 7). It is this taken-for-grantedness that contributes to the unawareness of power differential and gender inequality.

4.2. Analytical procedure

In order to shed light into the cutting-edge discourse praxis of the IWC advertising campaign, the data of this study comprises 78 advertisements that refer to gender conflict, gender stereotypes and retro-sexist allusions. All the advertisements in our corpus were designed by the advertising agency 'Wirz Werbung' from 1999 until 2005 and were found on the internet, where they are easily accessible.

The verbal and visual structure of the advertising campaign, in terms of spatial composition, is simple. A typical advertisement of the IWC campaign is built up by a provocative claim that catches the attention and takes up half of the advertisement's space. Then, in a very small font compared to the claim, follows the body copy with the general details of the watch, and finally the verbal code, which is made up by the brand's name and the slogan. The visual code is just the illustration of the watch in large-format, taking up about a half of the advertisement. The colours of the advertisements are black and white. The design of the campaign is minimalistic, the eye catching-effect can be found, without a doubt, in the provocative and shock-intending claims.

Fig. 1: Advertisements of the IWC-campaign

The analytical framework for the analysis is the feminist critical discourse analysis (FCDA), developed by Lazar (2005, 2007). By applying this analytical method, the complex workings of power and ideology in discourse in maintaining hierarchical gendered social order can be analysed. FCDA seeks to examine «the complex, subtle, and sometimes not so subtle, ways in which frequently taken-for-granted gendered assumptions and hegemonic power relations are discursively produced, sustained, negotiated, and challenged in different contexts and communities» (Lazar, 2007, p. 142). The approach also acknowledges multimodality of different semiotic codes for a holistic analysis of meaning-making practices. Lazar (2005, 2007) views a feminist critical discourse analysis as a political praxis articulated around five interrelated principles based on gender, power and ideology: (a) feminist analytical resistance/activism, (b) gender as ideological structure and practice, (c) complexity of gender and power relations, (d) discourse in the (de)construction of gender, and (e) critical reflexivity as praxis. The first one seeks to make sense of how social practices are discursively constructed, whereas the second conceptualises gender as an ideological construct that upholds existing ideas and/or power relations. The third principle shows that gender and power relationships in current society are complex and intersectional. The fourth one focuses on how gender ideology and gendered relationships of power are (re)produced, negotiated and represented in social practices. And the last tenet encompasses a broader reflection on the construction of gender.

This is considered to be a suitable framework for the current study, as FCDA enables an analysis of discursive strategies of unequal gender structures and the representation of demeaning stereotypes and the construction of a retro-sexist world. Inspired by the principles established by the FCDA, the practical analysis undertaken in this study intends to respond to the questions of how the IWC advertising campaign (a) deals with gender as an ideological structure, (b) presents complex power relations, (c) (de)constructs gender in the advertising discourse, and, finally, (d) finishes with a critical reflexivity of the advertising discourse praxis. It is our hypothesis that there is little humour or irony in this campaign, instead it ridicules gender equality and constructs a retro-sexist imagery, by making fun of feminist gains and conveying out-dated gender clichés, which leads to the stereotyping of women's characters and attitudes in a demeaning way. With the aim of showing how asymmetrical gender relations are (de)constructed in the IWC advertising campaign, the analytical procedure intends to examine how gender norms are reproduced in the advertisements. On the one hand, stereotypes about male and female physical appearance, personality traits, role behaviours and occupations are detected. On the other hand, retro-sexual gender clichés are interpreted. The results uncover discourse strategies expressing reverse oppression, from female to male, and rejection of postfeminist assumptions.

4.3. Representation of retro-sexist gender portrayal

The discursive world that is created by the advertising campaign is a sort of IWC-universe conveying a retro-sexist imagery within heteronormativity based on binary gender relations, in which men can be men with all the privileges they had before the 'bad' feminism took them away. Men, in this imagery, have become a sort of victim of a female-dominated world, presupposing women have gained it all: equal rights and occupations outside the domestic sphere. Inside the IWC-universe men are protected by the brand, it is outside of it where men are oppressed by a sort of female world order. The IWC-universe seeks to stereotype women in their physical appearance, personality traits and gender roles, conveying demeaning gender clichés. Hence, a retro-sexist imagery is constructed, where the gender structure is based on male power and oppressive mechanisms.

In what follows, illustrative claims are selected to explain how the IWC-universe gets rid of the female-dominated gender structures in the advertising world taking postfeminist discourse as a starting point. Four strategies represent gender portrayal to construct a retro-sexist imagery: (a) reversal of power relations, (b) heterosexual relationship, (c) gender stereotypes and (d) biological and psychological gender dissimilarities.

4.3.1. Reversal of power relations

The campaign harshly attacks feminist assumptions as it is based on the idea that feminism has gone too far and that women, in their conviction to 'have it all ', are all out to take over. The time will come, according to the slogan, that appears in all advertisements, when men as a species will die out, because of female emancipation and liberation.

(1) Since 1868. And as long as there are men.
Seit 1868. Und solange es noch Männer gibt.

A world is painted where power relations have become reversed: it is women who wield power and control over men. Men are totally subjugated by women.

The brand IWC becomes the symbol of empowerment for men living under feminist oppression. Power relations between women and men are shifting in favour of women, but the watch IWC is able to return the IWC-man into a pre-feminist stage, where gender relations are unequal and men enjoy all sorts of privileges.

(2) Equality has to stop somewhere.
Irgendwo hört die Gleichberechtigung auf. Hier.

The claim suggests that there is actually gender equality, but this is just true inside the limited IWC– advertising world, in real life this statement is not valid, as there are still many issues that have to be resolved in order to reach full gender equality.

Men are presented as victims that suffer oppression by claiming that they are a minority. It is very persuasive, as the brand itself with the personal pronoun 'we' is speaking to men. As a group they are encouraged, by addressing them directly with an imperative, to proclaim themselves to be real men without feeling ashamed of it.

(3) Wir machen Uhren für eine Minderheit. Männner.
(4) Outen Sie sich als Mann.

Men have lost everything in the struggle of the sexes. Only the IWC watch remains faithfully at their side and makes them feel strong. Women are addressed directly in a harsh way and given orders not to take away the IWC-watch, the only object men preserve, as it is the only survivor in the feminist struggle.

(5) Ladies, you ride our Harleys, smoke our Havanas, drink our Glenmorangie. Hands off our IWC.

The brand IWC restores men's dignity with a rhetoric question and a word pun in German, referring to male domination in the domestic sphere. In the male-dominated IWC-universe men dominate over women and no feminist will stop that.

(6) Wer hat bei Ihnen zu Hause die IWC an?
(7) Our titanium model is tough on women, because it's only available for men.

3.3.2. **Heterosexual relationship**

A characteristic feature of the IWC advertising campaign is the narrative about heterosexual relationship and marriage. Women in their role as wives are undermined and held in low regard.

(8) Lassen Sie Ihre Frau die Kiste Bier tragen, Ihre Uhr ist ja schwer genug.
(9) Ein erfogreicher Mann ist, wer sich etwas mehr leisten kann, als ihn seine Frau kostet.

IWC becomes a fabulous adviser in heterosexual relationships, as it even recommends the separation of property as the best legal form of living together as a married couple.

(10) IWC empfiehlt Gütertrennung.

Divorce becomes hard because of greedy wives who cause economic ruin of their husbands. On the other side, men might be unfaithful to their wives but never to their IWC watch, as men deserve a better life than their wives are willing to give them.

(11) Sie kann das Haus haben. Den Wagen. Den Hund. Aber niemals meine IWC.
(12) How faithful are men? We've never known one to leave his IWC.
(13) Männer verdienen mehr als Frauen. Zum Beispiel eine IWC.

By conveying men can fully trust the IWC brand, it implies women are not trustworthy as they cheat on men in the relationship.

(14) Immerhin etwas, worauf sich Männer verlassen können.
(15) Männer tragen ihr Geweih am Handgelenk.

4.3.3. Gender stereotypes

The IWC advertising campaign creates an imagery where men gain back their supremacy over women by overtly defending a patriarchal gender order. By doing so, empowerment of men is presented vis-à-vis the disempowerment of women. This can clearly be observed in the gender stereotypes about physical appearance and personal traits. Men are presented as attractive even if they have gained weight or if they have grown older. Underlying is the assumption that fat and aged women are not at all attractive and seductive. This is emphasized by the comparative 'as a man', implying the idea 'not as a woman'.

(16) Ein paar Gramm mehr steht allen Männern gut.
(17) Funktioniert bis ins hohe Alter. Wie ein Mann.
(18) Hart im Nehmen und mit zunehmendem Alter attraktiver. Wie ein Mann.

Women might be beautiful and decorative, and men have to pay a high monetary price. This claim implies that women can be purchased like an object. On the other hand, women do not behave appropriately towards men. The IWC watch instead is beautiful and works always to men's satisfaction.

(19) Fast so schön wie eine Frau. Kostet aber nur einmal Geld.
(20) Pünktlich, perfekt gebaut und von unvergänglicher Schönheit. Das kann nur eine Uhr sein.

One of the vast extended stereotypes is that women are unpunctual and always arrive late when having a date. Another negative personal trait about women is expressed: their complicated and unpredictable character that gives men a hard time. Instead, the IWC watch is complicated because of its machinery.

(21) Almost as complicated as a woman. Except it's on time.

When referring to gender roles, women are presented in traditional roles where they are portrayed as housewives that keep the house clean and care for the children, while their husbands earn money. Men are not made for domestic chores – instead, women should do that less qualified work.

(22) Viel zu schade zum Einkaufen. Waschen, Putzen und Wickeln.
(23) Scheiben putzen ist Männersache. Bis 42 mm Durchmesser.

Men are portrayed in a profession that requires leading qualities, while women working outside the home are portrayed in the typical female profession of stewardess. It is part of a male erotic dream having an affair with a stewardess.

(24) Männer, die in Kniestrümpfen arbeiten müssen, haben eine Belohnung verdient.
(25) Often seen in stewardesses' bedside tables.

But the IWC advertising campaign also makes allusions to the 'new' role of men portrayed in domestic labours and caring for children. But men's involvement in family life is reduced without being an active part in the household.

(26) Mit dieser Uhr können Sie die Kochzeit von zwei verschiedenen Frühstückseiern stoppen. Und das direkt im Topf.
(27) Ein Geschenk für die ganze Familie: ein glücklicher Vater

4.3.4. Biological and psychological gender dissimilarities

The advertising campaign refers also to biological and psychological differences between women and men. Men's biological traits are always positive.

(28) Männliches Erbgut.
(29) Aus unserer Testosteron-Produktion.
(30) Das beste Stück des Mannes misst 500 Jahre.

Women's biological traits, as their hormons and irritating voice, are annoying to men.

(31) Bringt den Hormon-Haushalt durcheinander. Den weiblichen.
(32) Endlich ein Navigationssystem ohne nervige Stimme.

By directly addressing men and women, the brand and the IWC-men build up a close friendship and they even become allies against women and wives.

(33) Kostet genau soviel, wie Sie für den Wagen Ihrer Frau bekommen.
(34) Keine Panik, Frauen. Euer IWC-Neid ist etwas völlig Normales.
(35) Falls Sie immer noch nicht wissen, was an einem richtigen Mann so dran ist.

There is a total exclusion of women from the IWC-universe, where only men belong to because they possess the required biological qualities.

(36) Für alle, die sich rasieren. Im Gesicht.
(37) Passt auch zu Röcken. In Schottland.
(38) Erhältlich ab Schuhgrösse 43

4.4. Construction of a retro-sexist imagery

The central message of the advertising campaign IWC lies in the assumption that it is the brand that rescues men from a female-dominated world, and gives back the pride of being a man, that has been destroyed by the feminist movement. An imagery is created in which men have become henpecked husbands at home dominated by strong-willed women. The brand becomes the only ally to liberate men from a hierarchical oppressive female-dominated world.

Men are portrayed in the campaign from a highly masculine perspective, holding up traditional gender stereotypes forcing them into confined roles and expecting them to behave according to the masculine ideal, thus, supporting a very traditional gender norm that does not tie in with the real advances masculinity has undergone. Women are depicted as unpunctual, as having a complicated and unstable personality, as being expensive for men who have to spend a lot of money on them, and as financially ruining them when getting divorced. The IWC-universe gives men simple and straightforward ideas and solutions on how to break out of the deplorable situation of being a subjugated man. It creates a world where modern men can escape from being a victim of feminism and postfeminism.

Postfeminist assumptions are the starting point in the IWC-advertising discourse, as (a) women are seen as powerful and emotionally and economically independent, (b) gender orders have switched and power relations have become reversed, and (c) men have become the new subordinated group and are victims of a female-dominated world. Hence, advertising discourse strategy is based on the appropriation of postfeminist standpoints, with the purpose of reverting this gender asymmetry in favour of women and restore the existing gender asymmetries before the feminist era. To fulfil this purpose, a retro-sexist imagery is created. By doing so, masculinity is reinforced in an exaggerated manner at the expense of undermining femininity. Gender stereotypes and clichés are employed in a way in which male stereotypes are without exception positive while demeaning female stereotypes are frequent.

Some of the claims might be catalogued as humorous as they show a creative usage of language. By using puns, as can be seen in examples (6), (15), (30) and (35), the advertising campaign seems to make fun of gendered misconceptions and existing patriarchal structures. But the humorous elements only work if one assumes that the addressees share the same kind of humour as IWC. Surely, humour is a culture-embedded subject and a translation of the IWC-claims would fail to function cross-culturally. In Eastern cultures, like China and Japan, and even in the USA, this cutting-edge advertising campaign would not work, as it is not a suitable campaign for a global advertising strategy (Lüchinger, 2005; Weber, 2002). That is why, after six years it was replaced by a more cross-culturally compatible campaign designed by a new advertising agency. Nevertheless, it has been exhibited for a long time and the vast amount of material (around 1000 posters), undoubtedly, contributed to the perpetuation of demeaning stereotypical and retro-sexist images of women, as «prolonged experience of advertising and other commercial texts contributes to shaping people's identities as 'consumers', or their gender identities» (Fairclough, 2003, p. 8).

5. FINAL REMARKS

The study presented reflects on the misuse and appropriation of feminist standpoints by advertising discourse. The starting point in this kind of discourse is a fictitious gender asymmetry in favour of women, in which gender roles are reversed and gender equality has to be cancelled. In the first part of the article, feminist waves and postfeminism, as well as gendered stereotypical portraying in advertising were outlined. In the second part, a case study was carried out, applying a feminist critical discourse analysis to show the effectiveness of a cutting-edge advertising discourse which was based on reinforcing masculinity by degrading women employing demeaning female gender stereotypes and clichés. It critically examined the advertising campaign of the Swiss brand IWC, a luxury brand that produces high quality and high-priced watches. Four strategies within a feminist critical discourse analysis approach were identified to represent gender portrayal and to construct a retro-sexist imagery: (a) reversal of power relations, (b) heterosexual relationship, (c) gender stereotypes and (d) biological and psychological gender dissimilarities

The IWC-campaign is an example of how advertising, by overtly transmitting retro-sexist and demeaning messages works against women, misuses its power, working against gender equality. The advertising agency 'Wirz' declared after finishing the campaign that «Die Kampagne war niemals frauenfeindlich, aber immer männerfreundlich gemeint» [translated: the campaign was never intended to be hostile towards women but always pleasing to men] (Wirz ohne IWC Uhren, 2005). Our study has shown the contrary. The feminist critical discourse analysis undertaken has brought the following conclusions:

The IWC advertising campaign stands for an advertising strategy that follows postfeminist assumptions, as it stresses that women's powerlessness and patriarchal oppression are outdated. And it is this standpoint that produces a cutting-edge advertising discourse with the intention of getting back to a pre-feminist stage, when the gendered social orders were hierarchical and male-dominant. By doing so, all sorts of female stereotypes about physical appearance, personal traits and gender roles are mentioned, some of them being demeaning and destructive for postfeminist women who believe in equal gender structures. Gender stereotypes and clichés are presented asymmetrically, while for women they are negative for men they are positive. The IWC campaign creates an imagery that is retro-sexist for both genders, although the way in which women and men are portrayed does not correspond to reality. There is not such power reversal, where women control gender power relations and men form a subordinated group or even a minority. It is not a fast becoming women's world, where women have gained gender equality. This assumption hardly matches the world outside of the advertising universe. Thus, retro-sexist as well as sexist advertising has a highly damaging effect on equal gender relations and gender equality. In this kind of advertising, the conception of gender as a social construct is ignored, instead the strength of the male sex is reinforced. Gender equality becomes the battlefield where male power struggles against the female sex. Social gender asymmetries are not regarded in terms of gender conflict that should be solved, but in terms of struggle of sexes based on biological strength, where men are the winning team.

Generally, advertising picks up on and reflects, like a mirror, existing sexist gender clichés. The success of the IWC campaign in German-speaking countries shows that there exists an underlying wishing back of retro-sexist gender structures. This can also be interpreted in terms of a backlash for postfeminism, as «postfeminist discourse in a way encourages a new kind of anti-feminist sentiment that attempts to thwart the re-emergence of feminist political critique» (Lazar, 2014, p. 223).

Advertising campaigns with sexist, retro-sexist and stereotypical messages cannot be catalogued as amusing and even humorous. It is my contention that advertising within media discourse plays a leading role in the perpetuation of gender stereotypes, especially those that are exploitative and stereotypical images of women, and it reinforces disfigured gender relations in the collective imagery. This kind of advertising contributes little to settle the unequal status quo and, for sure, does not encourage progress towards effective gender equality and, thus, social justice.

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GENDER IDENTITY IN INTERACTION: OVERCOMING HETERONORMATIVITY

LA CONSTRUCCIÓN DE LA IDENTIDAD DE GÉNERO EN INTERACCIÓN: MÁS ALLÁ DE LA HETERONORMATIVIDAD

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Submitted / Recibido: 20/12/2020
Accepted / Aceptado: 02/04/2021

To cite this article / Para citar este artículo:
Santamaría-García, C. (2021). Gender identity in interaction: overcoming heteronormativity. *Feminismo/s*, *38*, 203-229. Women, Sexual Identity and Language [Monographic dossier]. I. Balteiro (Coord.). https://doi.org/10.14198/fem.2021.38.08

Abstract

The present article reviews theoretical concepts that can contribute to the analysis of the construction of gender identity in interaction, moving on from heteronormativity, understood as the normalization of heterosexuality as the only, or more, legitimate form of sexuality. Identity is discussed together with the concepts of face, rapport and (im)politeness from a discursive approach (van der Bom & Mills, 2015). It is argued that gender identity face builds on attributes of both respectability and identity faces with differing strengths and saliency depending on the individuals and the context. Analysis is limited to the construction of hetero and gay male gender identities in interaction with women in academic contexts and draws on data from a corpus of naturally occurring interactions compiled by the author. Gay males seem to differ from hetero males in in their choice of resources for doing face-enhancing positive politeness and rapport with their female colleagues. Despite the limited size of the sample, the study hopes to contribute to a better understanding of the construction of gender identity from a discursive approach.

Keywords: Gender; Face; Identity; Rapport; (Im)politeness.

Resumen

El presente artículo revisa conceptos teóricos que pueden contribuir al análisis de la construcción de la identidad de género en interacción, más allá de la heteronormatividad, es decir, de la normalización de la heterosexualidad como única forma válida de sexualidad, o al menos la más legítima. El concepto de identidad se explora junto con los conceptos de imagen, conexión (*rapport*) y (des)cortesía desde un enfoque discursivo (van der Bom & Mills, 2015). La autora argumenta que la identidad de género se construye en función de los atributos de imagen de respetabilidad y de identidad, con diferentes grados de prominencia y saliencia según los individuos y el contexto. El análisis se limita a la construcción de identidades de género masculino, tanto hetero como gais, en interacción con mujeres y se basa en datos de un corpus de interacción natural recopilado por la autora. Los varones gais de la muestra parecen utilizar diferentes recursos que los varones hetero en la construcción de relaciones cercanas mediante el uso de cortesía positiva, potenciadora de la imagen social de sus compañeras. A pesar del reducido tamaño de la muestra, el estudio espera contribuir a una mejor comprensión de la construcción de la identidad de género desde un enfoque discursivo.

Palabras clave: género; imagen; identidad; rapport; (des)cortesía.

1. INTRODUCTION

Feminist linguistics is moving away from the study of gender as if it were contained in discrete linguistic items. Influenced by the work of Judith Butler, gender is seen as performative, that is, constructed in the process of interacting with others and dependent both on the context in which interaction takes place and the assumptions about appropriate behaviour that are seen to be in play (Butler, 1990). As noted by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003, p. 305) in an elaboration of her ideas, «gender is not a part of one's essence, what one is, but an achievement, what one does» and a set of practices, «through which people construct and claim identities, not simply a system of categorizing people. And gender practices are not only about establishing identities but also about managing social relations».

Traditional approaches to gender have focused on gender difference, considering gender as something that one has, or «part of one's essence» (Mills, 2005, p. 271). Such essentialist views were not only present in research on gender but also featured in traditional work on culture that are currently challenged: «According to the essentialist view, which will be challenged in a number of respects in the present chapter, culture manifests itself in one's identity, and consequently one's linguistic interpersonal behaviour is regarded as unavoidably driven by one's cultural identity» (Kádár & Haugh, 2013, p. 231).

However, after what has come to be called the «discourse turn», i.e. the move from the analysis of discrete language categories to a higher discourse level, individuals are no longer approached as coherent and stable entities but as «a range of subject positions, some of which come to the fore in interaction with particular groups of other people; the individual engages with others and is defined and changed by that engagement and contributes to the changes taking place within the community of practice» (Mills, 2003, p. 30).

Third-wave sociolinguistics views styles, rather than variables, as directly associated with identity categories, and explores the contributions of variables to styles. Variation is examined as part of the wider performative system of language and its meaning, as part of the wider meaning system (Eckert, 2012, 2019). Within this approach, gender is examined as constructed in interaction and its study has progressed from «the search for correlations between linguistic units and social categories of speakers to analysis of the gendered significance of ongoing discourse» (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 4, as cited in Mills, 2005, p. 271).

Despite research within this third wave is growing, studies of gender performativity in interaction, portraying speakers who do not conform to heteronormativity and gender binarism, are still scarce. This article aims to provide a theoretical framework that can facilitate the analysis of gender identity construction in interaction, moving beyond heteronormativity. It starts by reviewing the literature that has influenced my perspective on face, identity, rapport, (im)politeness and related concepts, including some of the criticism that has been brought forward by them. Adopting a discursive approach (van der Bom & Mills, 2015, p. 181), I will argue for the importance of these concepts in the discursive construction of gender identity in interaction and for the need to have them incorporated into current research in gender discourse.

Analysis of a sample of extracts of authentic data from interaction follows, focusing on the language choices that seem to contribute to the construction of interactants' male gender identities. The sample includes hetero and gay male professors of the same age band in interaction with female lecturers, a lower rank in the academic scale. A qualitative, sacksian tradition of analysis has been followed (Peräkylä, 2004), with a focus on gender practices (Mills, 2003 and 2005). Following House (2018), qualitative and quantitative analysis research methods are not seen as mutually exclusive but as located along a continuum.

Turning to the qualitative end of the continuum and drawing on House's (2018, p. 7) terms, the basic function of the qualitative research presented here is, «to Understand Human Behaviour» rather than «explain» it, «with hypotheses evolving gradually through interpretive findings of repeated patterns». My analysis draws on the concepts in the theoretical framework in order to facilitate understanding of the processes in the performative construction of gender. No objectivity is claimed, as «The notions of 'Understanding' and 'Interpreting' in qualitative research suggest that 'objectivity' is neither important nor indeed possible» (House, 2018, p. 7).

The analysis presented is, thus, neither data-driven nor hypothesis-testing and the corpus has been used in what Partington et al. (2013, p. 240) describe as the most frequent use in (im)politeness studies «a resource for examples». As House (2018) brilliantly explains, research in pragmatics faces a fundamental conflict between its goals and the means to achieve them. It aims at generalizable and systematic commonalities but «every single interaction is a separate linguistic action, a 'case' which features particular biographical backgrounds, particular interactional histories, particular personal competencies and preparedness to cooperate with others in a particular situation». At the same time, a multiplicity of other situation-specific factors can influence the interactional process and «All this clearly defies generalization» House (2018, p. 4).

House quotes Chafe and his «imaginatively expanded vision» as a perspective that can provide us with causal explanations for whatever we want to find out: «Understanding of whatever kind is the ability, through imagination, to relate limited, particular, concrete observations to larger, more encompassing, more stable schemas within which the particular experiences fit» (Chafe, 1994, p. 10, as cited in House, 2018, p. 4). I hope this article manages to relate the author's observations in the analysis to larger, more encompassing and stable schemas within which the particular experiences contained in the samples fit.

Analysis of the interaction sequences in the corpus have led to hypothesis formulation evolving gradually through interpretive findings of repeated patterns, following House (2018, p. 7). The working hypothesis, based also on the author's participant observation in academic life and the theoretical framework compiled, is that gender identity face is performative and builds on attributes of both respectability and identity faces for the construction of gender identities, with differing strengths or saliency depending on the individuals and the context. Hetero and gay males are expected to portray different gender identities in their interaction with female colleagues, which may result in different types of relationships. Analysis will attempt to understand why this could be so.

The extracts are part of a corpus collected by the author along twenty-five years of academic life, which contains ca. 500.000 words in different types of interactive texts: spoken texts (face to face and telephone conversations) and written texts from e-mail exchanges) in English and Spanish languages. The author was a participant in most of the communicative events, a practice recommended in current research (Partington et al., 2013, p. 241), which prevents the risk of context neglect and allows for first-hand knowledge of contextual cues. The corpus also contains some interactive sequences contributed by family, friends and colleagues, which are complemented by contextual information. Permission has been granted to use anonymised examples for research.

Whenever possible, interactants have also been interviewed in order to check their interpretation of what had happened in interaction, trying to collect «different types of naturally occurring data» (Grainger & Mills, 2016, p. 28). Participants' interaction is analysed by focusing on their orientation to gender identity, as discursively performed. The article ends with some concluding remarks on the usefulness of the theoretical framework presented and its potential contribution to a better understanding of gender identity construction in language.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The following sections contain a review of research on face and identity, rapport and (im)politeness, with a view to provide a theoretical framework for this study, based on concepts that may contribute to the analysis of gender identity construction in interaction.

2.1. Face and identity

Face has received a lot of attention by scholars in the field of (im)politeness, especially since Brown and Levinson had it incorporated in their formulation of politeness theory. Despite its conceptual proximity to face, «identity has not constituted a main focus of (im)politeness scholars until recently» (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Sifianou, 2017, p. 227), with the work by Spencer-Oatey as an example of the progressive incorporation of identity aspects into face theory. Brown and Levinson defined face as «the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself» (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 61), borrowing the term from Goffman, who had given this definition for face:

> The term face may be defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes –albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself (Goffman, 1967, p. 5)

In Goffman's definition, face is seen as the result of speakers' presentation and its construction by others, as Dippold (2009, p. 3) observes: «[…] face is a conglomerate of the self-image speakers want to present to the outside world and the image that is constructed of them by others». However, Brown and Levinson seem to have ignored the important role played by interactants in the construction of face and to have interpreted the concept as an individual's feeling of self-worth or self image (Thomas, 1995, p. 169, as cited in Bousfield, 2008, p. 33). This individualistic conceptualisation has met with ample criticism and triggered a return to the original concept by Goffman, considering face as «both constructed and projected by speakers and attributed to them» (Dippold, 2009, p. 6). In a more radical view, such as Terkourafi's (2008), face is either enhanced or threatened purely in interaction:

> Individuals alone do not 'have' face and cannot 'gain' or 'lose' face. Rather [face] is grounded in the interactional dyad. Without an Other to whom they may be directed, face concerns cannot arise. The moment an Other enters the Self's perceptual field creating the possibility of to approach or to withdraw, that is the moment when face concerns prototypically arise. To adapt a well known expression, face is 'in the eye of the beholder' (Terkourafi, 2008, p. 52).

For Terkourafi, face is either enhanced ('constituted' in her terms) or damaged, there is no middle ground, and this happens over multiple turns in interaction «in the flow of events in the encounter», using Goffman's (1967, p. 7) wording. Although accepting this, I cannot agree, echoing Bousfield (2008, p. 39) «that the individual interactant does not bring *something* concerning their own face to the interaction». As he observes, «After all, surely we approach interactions with *expectations* as to how we would like our face(s) to be constituted. Such expectations of how face should be constituted are necessarily internal» (Bousfield, 2008, p. 39). Therefore, instead of adopting a purely 'external' notion of face, I also prefer to view face «as internally expected and externally realised in interaction» (Bousfield, 2008, p. 41).

Face expectations are based on feelings of self-worth that can be further described by reference to other attributes. Spencer-Oatey makes a distinction between a situation-specific identity face and a pan-situational respectability face. Identity face «is a situation-specific face sensitivity, that is highly vulnerable» (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, p. 103) and corresponds fairly closely to Goffman's conception of face, while respectability face refers to «the prestige, honor or 'good name' that a person or social group holds and claims within a (broader) community» (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, p. 102). She observes that, according to Goffman, claims to identity face occur in specific social encounters/interactions and reflect people's social values in relation to specific social attributes. In addition, she takes *identity face* to include claims to social group membership (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, p. 103).

On the other hand, respectability face, reflects the relative weights attributed to: «biographical variables (e.g., age, sex), relational attributes (e.g., marriage ties), social status indicators (e.g., educational attainment, occupational status, wealth), formal title/position/rank, personal reputation (moral or amoral) and integrity» (Ho, 1994: 276, as cited in Spencer-Oatey, 2005,

p. 103) and are cultural constructs, as «different cultures attach varying degrees of importance to different attributes, so the bases of respectability face could be very different in different nations and social groups» (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, p. 103).

For Spencer-Oatey, «it is *identity face* rather than *respectability face* that is threatened or enhanced in specific interactional encounters» (2005, p. 103). I cannot agree with this, as it seems that respectability face can be threatened when the attributes on which it is based are ignored or attacked. For instance, addressing a senior member of a board without the degree of formality expected could amount to a judgment of lack of respect, resulting in face threat.

In my opinion, individuals may have expectations related to both respectability and identity faces that can be either constitued (enhanced) in interaction or not. This also seems to be the interpretation in Matsumoto's understanding that «face is intimately bound up with showing recognition of one's relative position in the communicative context and with the maintenance of the social ranking order» (1988, p. 415). When face expectations are not met with the expected degree of face enhancement, negative feelings may arise, which may even end up in conflict or aggression. As Bousfield observes «[…] face expectations not matching face reality may well result, amongst other things, in the communication, manipulation or management of impoliteness or aggression, linguistic or otherwise» (2008, p. 40).

Identity face can be further explored by recurring to psychological models of identity. Spencer-Oatey draws on Simon's self-aspect model of identity and proposes that people's claims to identity face are based on the positive social values that they associate with their various self-aspects, which are defined as «cognitive categories or concepts that serve to process and organise information about oneself» (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, p. 104). She turns to Simon for their illustration:

> […] self aspects can refer, *inter alia,* to generalized psychological characteristics or traits (e.g., introverted), physical features (e.g., red hair), roles (e.g., father), abilities (e.g., bilingual), tastes (e.g., preference for red wines), attitudes (e.g., against the death penalty), behaviours (e.g., I work a lot) and explicit group or category membership (e.g., member of the Communist Party) (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, p. 104)

It is important to note that some of these self-aspects may be more important than others and face sensitivities develop around those aspects that are more important: «People are likely to vary in the importance they attach to all of the various qualities, both because of their personal value systems and also because of the context» (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, p. 104). Face sensitivities can operate in foreground or background modes but are never absent. «Like computer anti-virus programs, they may run unobtrusively for much of the time, but the moment a problem arises, they capture the user's attention» (Spencer-Oatey, 2007, p. 642). These sensitivities occur across a range of elements, including the following: «[…] bodily features and control (e.g., skin blemishes, burping), possessions and belongings (material and affiliative), performance/skills (e.g., musical performance), social behavior (e.g., gift giving, rude gestures), and verbal behavior (e.g., wording of illocutionary acts, stylistic choice)» (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, p. 104). People may perceive a threat to their face «if these self-aspect sensitivities are challenged or undermined» and «conversely, if their sensitivities are ingratiated appropriately, people may perceive an enhancement of their identity face» (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, p. 104).

The concept of face seems of special relevance in the study of gender in both respectability and identity aspects. Regarding respectability face, we can explore the influence of sex and sexual orientation in the relational and status attributes intervening in the construction of gender. For instance, a heterosexual female may be construed as a wife of a man and be ascribed a particular set of relational attributes operating in a particular community of practice, such as «a respected Mrs.», enjoying a characteristic status, or as a «boring housewife», lacking that respect.

On the other hand, homosexual females in a same-sex relationship will most probably be assigned different attributes. They could be construed as the «more masculine» partners or the «more feminine» ones, for instance, following stereotyped attributes, as discussed by Mahdawi (2016) in *The Guardian*.

Heterosexual males may be ascribed relational attributes of power and respect in some contexts or lack of them in different settings and circumstances. Gay males may still need an extra effort in order to be ascribed attributes of power and respect, and even be challenged in their attempts to be entitled to them in homophobic contexts.

Regarding identity face sensitivities, it can be relevant to observe different types of gender sensitivities that can be either enhanced or challenged in discourse. A particular concern with the following features can index and constitute gender: bodily features and control situations (e.g., breast size, menstruation, incontinence), possessions and belongings (e.g., luxury objects and affiliative relations), performance/skills (e.g., good professional, skilled professional, sportsperson, artist, etc.), social behavior (e.g., gift giving, rude/sweet gestures), and verbal behavior (e.g., stylistic choice, pitch and intonation).

It will also be essential to identify which particular type of face is being foregrounded by interactants at a particular moment, as individuals can behave very differently depending on the context. Power is a very relevant factor accounting for variation, as «often individuals behave very differently depending on whether they are with equals or with those to whom they appear to be subservient» (Scott, 1990, as cited in Grainger & Mills, 2016, p. 13). As gender difference often entails power difference, this observation seems very pertinent for gender studies.

Claims to face are not only individual and «can also be a group-based phenomenon, and apply to any group that a person is a member of and is concerned about» (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, p. 106), from small groups (one's family), to larger groups (ethnic, religious or nationality group). Following Simon (2004), Spencer-Oatey takes group face sensitivities to refer to «the self-aspects of a person's identity that are derived from membership in a collective or group, and not to refer to the identity of a group as a sui generis entity» (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, p. 107). She mentions other psychologists (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991) who distinguish between independent and interdependent self-construals.

Consideration of group face sensitivities can be especially relevant in the study of gender, as discourse can either enhance or threaten the collective face of individuals, e.g. women's collective face or gay's collective face. The need for more theoretical discussion and empirical research on face and identity is noted by Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Sifianou (2017). They claim that «(im)politeness and aggression play a strong role in the construction of the out-group in processes of othering» (2017, p. 228), processes that often intervene in gender-related discursive othering.

2.2. Rapport

Rapport is defined as «the relative harmony and smoothness of relations between people» (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, p. 96). It is based on a subjective perception and consequently, different people may have different perceptions on the need and best ways for rapport management, understood as «the management (or mismanagement) of relations between people» (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, p. 96). Differing types of rapport orientations can be observed amongst people:

> […] a rapport-enhancement orientation, (a desire to strengthen or enhance harmonious relations between the interlocutors), a rapport maintenance orientation (a desire to maintain or protect harmonious relations), a rapport-neglect orientation (a lack of concern or interest in the quality of relations, perhaps because of a focus on self), or a rapport-challenge orientation (a desire to challenge or impair harmonious relations (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, p. 96).

It seems difficult to use these four levels of distinction in the analysis of naturally occurring interaction and, for this reason, I will rather adhere to Terkourafi's distinction and see face as either constituted (enhanced) or damaged in interaction (2008, p. 7). I agree with Spencer-Oatey, however, in the understanding that people make dynamic judgments regarding rapport and these judgments, which may be «conscious or otherwise», are based on the assessment of «behavioural expectations, face sensitivities and interactional wants» (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, p. 96). They will be briefly considered in turn, as constituting the bases of (im)politeness judgements.

Behavioural expectations, and the (im)politeness judgements derived from them, can be based on the following: «contractual/legal agreements and requirements, […] role specifications, […] behavioural conventions, norms and protocols, […] and interactional principles» (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, pp. 98-99). They are interconnected and can inform peoples' beliefs about behaviour. These elements can intervene in behavioural expectations about gender and can have consequences for rapport. A marriage agreement, a particular family role, conventions about the expected behaviour of wives, husbands, same-sex partners, work colleagues, friends, etc. can all influence individuals' expectations and their judgements on (im)politeness.

Face sensitivities, as described above in the discussion of the concept of face, can also influence (im)politeness beliefs in relation to gender and have consequences for rapport. Gender-related self-aspect sensitivities can be challenged or enhanced, and be perceived as salient, especially at moments of interpersonal crisis (Mills, 2005, p. 264). Bodily aspect and control, (e.g., breast size, menstruation, incontinence), possessions and belongings (e.g., luxury objects and affiliative relations), performance/skills (e.g., dancing, sports), social behavior (e.g., gift giving, rude/sweet gestures), and verbal behavior (e.g., stylistic choice, pitch and intonation) can be the source of tension and used in the discursive construction of gender.

Interactional wants refer to relational and transactional goals. They can be combined with similar weight in interaction but there are situations in which participants may show a very specific orientation to a particular type of interactional goals and this can affect peoples' judgments. Evaluation of behaviour can be negative if «judged to be too strategic» (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, p. 107). For instance, in a work environment, someone who goes direct to the point, giving priority to the transactional, can be perceived as neglecting the relational.

On the other hand, too much attention on the relational can be considered invasive or too strategic with a view to get a particular goal in the speaker's benefit. Interactional goals can play an important role in the construction of gender, as individuals can be judged according to expected behaviours in relational or transactional goals according to gender. For instance, individuals' behaviour can be negatively judged as flirtatious (too much relational) in interaction with individuals of the opposite sex for a strategic end.

2.3. (Im)politeness

Politeness research has gone through different stages since the early formulation of politeness theory by Brown and Levinson, understood as «a concern with indicating closeness or distance from the interlocutor» (Grainger & Mills, 2016, p. 4). Brown & Levinson (1987, p. 70) distinguished between two types of politeness, namely, positive and negative politeness. Positive politeness is oriented to closeness between speaker and hearer, while negative politeness is concerned with not imposing on the other person, showing respect and deference.

A growing feeling of dissatisfaction with many aspects of their framework, such as an individualistic approach to face or their universalistic statements, led to a discursive approach to the analysis of (im)politeness, which is not simply a critique but a mode of analysis (van der Bom & Mills, 2015, p. 181). The discursive approach incorporates the element of power and its impact on relations:

> The discursive approach, broadly speaking, focuses on the way that discourses inform what speakers think is possible to say, how they view their relations with others and with their communities, and how power impacts on these relations. Rather than starting with an analyst's sense of what politeness consists of, there is a tendency for analyses to be local, context-focused, and qualitative. These analyses are often focused on misunderstanding, ambiguity and the potential for interpreting an utterance as polite or impolite, rather than assuming that politeness is inherent in words themselves (van der Bom & Mills, 2015, p. 180).

Therefore, consideration of context is of paramount importance, including the ideologies that can determine the possible meanings and interpretations of politeness (Grainger & Mills, 2016, p. 8). (Im)Politeness is not inherent in utterances but depend on interactants' judgements, which are in turn, shaped by society values:

> Politeness and impoliteness are only those that are judged by interactants to be so, but interactants do not make these judgements in a vacuum. […] through dint of being used within particular contexts, they [particular forms] will begin to pick up particular values and associations and these used will begin to appear conventional or common-sense (Grainger & Mills, 2016, p. 9).

This new approach entails a different methodology of analysis, as utterances cannot be analysed without their context of occurrence nor can their uptake be ignored. A discursive approach to politeness «would analyse an utterance in a particular context and analyse the way that the utterance seems to be functioning, the way it is responded to by the interactants and whether it is treated as polite or impolite» (Grainger & Mills, 2016, p. 9). A discursive approach is interested in the description of linguistic ideologies, defined as «[…] those beliefs about language that entail evaluations, both positive and negative, about particular language styles or usage» (Grainger & Mills, 2016, p. 11). As (im)politeness consists of judgement and evaluation of other's utterances and behaviour, it is most likely to be informed by interactants' linguistic ideologies of what is (in)appropriate.

A discursive approach is also of special interest and relevance for the exploration of gender, as it will analyse interactants' judgements of what is considered gender appropriate. Gender appropriateness draws on judgements on behaviours and linguistic features that seem to be stereotypically associated with masculinity or femininity, i.e. indexing masculine or feminine gender behaviour. For instance, linguistic features that seem to be associated with masculinity, and hence with power, are: «the use of direct assertions rather than indirectness; swearing; unmitigated statements and expressions of negative opinion; face-threatening acts in general; verbal wit and humour, non-emotional language» (Mills, 2005, p. 273). As McElhinny has demonstrated, many of these features are also assumed to be indicative of professionalism (McElhinny, 1998, as cited in Mills, 2005, p. 273).

On the other hand, feminine gender identity behaviour has been constructed around notions of «'nice', supportive, co-operative behavior» (Mills, 2005, p. 263), «indirecteness» (Mills, 2005, p. 272), and associated with politeness, self-effacement, weakness, vulnerability, and friendliness (Mills, 2003, p. 203). When considering the distinction between positive and negative politeness, «Women's linguistic behavior is often characterised as being concerned with co-operation (more positively polite than men) and avoidance of conflict (more negatively polite than men) (Mills, 2003, p. 203).

However, as Mills notes, feminists have contested stereotypes of gender for many years now and many of these stereotypes have themselves been changed because of the changes in women's participation in the public sphere: «We can therefore no longer assume that everyone has the same 'take' on a stereotype, or that they share assumptions with others about what a particular stereotype consists of, or even that they accept stereotypes at face value rather than, for example, ridiculing them» (Mills, 2003, p. 203).

Research on politeness incorporated the study of impoliteness in its own right with the turn of the century. Impoliteness describes «any type of linguistic behaviour which is assessed as intending to threaten the hearer's face or social identity, or as transgressing the hypothesized Community of Practice's norms of appropriacy» (Mills, 2005, p. 268). Instead of seeing impoliteness as the opposite of politeness, there is agreement now that impoliteness does different interactional work than politeness, as discussed by Beebe (1995, p. 161) or Mills (2005, p. 264). Beebe claims that motivated or intentional impoliteness is not failure to be polite and it can achieve certain aims in a conversation, «firstly, to get power and secondly, to give vent to negative feelings» (Beebe, 1995, p. 154, as cited in Mills, 2005, p. 267).

The observation that motivated impoliteness can give power seems to be of high relevance for the analysis of gender construction, as it can be used as a resource for domination in interaction. However, impoliteness is not simply a question of making statements which are offensive, but also of displaying to others an assessment of one's social standing (Mills, 2005, pp. 267-268). Therefore, a range of behaviours that do not include offensive language can also be considered impolite if showing, for instance, domination, lack of respect or unsupportive attitudes. In more technical terms and using Spencer-Oatey's concepts discussed above, an action can be considered to be impolite when it challenges behavioural expectations of what is appropriate, interactants' face sensitivities and the interactional needs that are expected in a particular situation.

The study of the relationship between gender and impoliteness can throw light into the complexities of gender construction in interaction. In her analysis of the role that gender plays in the attribution of impoliteness, Mills proposes «a model of impoliteness which is performative and dependent upon contextual judgements» (Mills, 2005, pp. 263-264). Impoliteness and gender do not pre-exist interactions but «are constructed in slightly different ways in each interaction depending on assessments of the interactional history of particular Communities of Practice, and the stereotypes of both politeness and gender which are constituted within the course of the interaction itself» (Mills, 2005, p. 263).

Our linguistic behaviour is judged in relation to our past behaviour and to the type of behaviour that is expected and considered appropriate in a particular situation. Mills argues convincingly for the influence of stereotypes in what is perceived to be gender-appropriate behaviour in the judgments made by interactants on the appropriateness of others' actions.

> If we consider gender to be something that we perform in each interaction, and if our linguistic behaviour is judged in relation to our past behaviour and to the type of behaviour which is considered appropriate for the group, then middle class white women choosing to speak in indirect ways may well achieve their ends, that is showing concern for the Community of Practice without bringing about conflict, even though others may well judge their behaviour to be indicative of powerlessness [...]. Other women may well choose to use more direct language to signal their independence and professionalism, but may be judged as aggressive and impolite (Mills, 2005, p. 276).

Mismatching judgements may arise from stereotypes of gender-appropriate behaviour. If one of the participants in a Community of Practice assumes that females should be submissive, linguistically and interactionally, then any form of assertive or «masculine» linguistic behaviour may be interpreted as impolite or inappropriate.

> In all interaction, individuals are working out their gendered identity and their position within a community of practice, as well as communicating with others, and politeness and impoliteness play a key role in presenting and producing a particular type of identity, and negotiating a position in the community of practice. Judging someone's utterance to be polite or impolite is also making an assessment of them as individuals. Deciding to be polite or impolite is a crucial part of constructing one's own sense of identity as 'nice', 'considerate', 'assertive', or 'tough', and assessing one's role in relation to other members of a group (Mills, 2003, p. 9).

It seems of utmost importance, then, to consider gender as a factor contributing to the assessment of an act as (im)polite, and explore the consequences of such assessments on individuals and communities of practice (Mills, 2005, p. 265). Beliefs about gender, emanating from society and permeating through smaller communities of practice, can be responsible for our assessments on speakers' intentions as impolite. Kádár and Haugh (2013, p. 64) suggest that normative understandings can be situated relative to any social unit, «ranging from dyads and relatively closed relational networks (such as families or groups of close friends), through to larger and thus inevitably more diffuse societal or cultural groups».

3. ANALYSIS OF GENDER IDENTITY IN INTERACTION

The concepts discussed in the previous sections are of vital importance when considering the construction of gender identity in interaction. The analysis in this section tries to prove the hypothesis that gender identity face builds on attributes of both respectability and identity faces, with differing strengths or saliency depending on the individuals and the context. Individuals in the sample are expected to portray different gender identities in different interactions and the analysis will attempt to understand why this could be so.

A discursive approach to data analysis has been adopted, which «requires that we analyse talk in context and that we approach meaning as a social and interactional achievement» (Grainger & Mills, 2016, p. 29). The analysis of impoliteness draws on the reconstruction of what the speakers' intentions are supposed to have been (Mills, 2005, p. 265). Therefore, hypothesizing on intention is essential to assessing an act as impolite (Mills, 2005, p. 266). When I have been involved as a participant in interaction, the interpretations discussed originated in the participant, not the analyst, following the approach adopted in O'Driscoll (2017, p. 488). Data have been collected from interaction in different academic contexts.

The fragments of interaction to be analysed and discussed below have been chosen as illustrative of different constructions of respectability and identity faces for hetero and non-hetero identities of male professors in the same age band in interaction with female lecturers, a lower rank in the academic scale. In the first fragment we will see an example of a hetero male professor constructing a position of power in a group of women colleagues. The fragment contrasts with the second one, in which the same man shows alignment with one of the female colleagues in the previous interaction.

The third fragment portrays a hetero male professor who chooses to construct a powerless position in interaction with a female colleague. The fragment contrasts with the fourth one, in which the same man builds a more equal relationship with the same female colleague. The fifth and sixth extracts illustrate different positions by a non-hetero male professor in interaction with a female colleague, a position of camaraderie and affect first and a more authoritative stance in a different context in extract 6. The last extract, (number 7), further illustrates the use of face-enhancing affective language by a gay male professor in interaction with a female colleague.

The first extract to be discussed happened during interaction at a meeting by a group of university teachers. A complaint was put forward by a group of four female teachers in their early forties about what they considered to be too much familiarity and lack of respect in students' electronic mail correspondence. After several comments, providing illustration of the situation with examples, one of the teachers (a female in her forties) suggested the need for a brief style guide, which could be written and distributed amongst teachers and students. The more senior teacher in the group, who happened to be a male professor in his fifties, said that he had not experienced anything similar and therefore, did not see the need for such an initiative. This is the interactional extract, which was not recorded but scripted, right after the event happened:

> Extract 1.
> Female teacher: Podíamos escribir una guía de estilo y pedirles que la siguieran. ¿Qué os parece?
> *We could write a style guide and ask them to follow it. What do you think?*
> Male teacher: A mí no me ha pasado nunca nada de eso. No veo ninguna necesidad.
> *Nothing like that has ever happened to me. I don't see the need.*
> Female teacher: Quizá porque eres un hombre, a ti no te dicen las mismas cosas.
> *Probably because you are a man, they don't tell you the same things.*
> (Male teacher says nothing else and the topic is abandoned, as someone else introduces another topic).

In this extract, the male teacher chose not to adhere to neither his colleagues' complaints nor the proposal for a style guide. Once the meeting was over and he had left the room, the woman who had suggested the need for a style guide said that she felt they could have argued further, to which another woman replied that it would not be very practical («No es práctico»), seeming to imply that it was a difficult enterprise with no guarantees to succeed, as their male colleague was not supporting the idea. In this case, a man managed to «other» a group of four women who, as a result, chose not to continue with a claim for action in response to a problem they had.

The gender identity construction of the man in this extract can be characterized by attributes of power, authority, professional competence, assertiveness and individualism, at least in a higher degree than his female colleagues. He said he had not had a problem like the one reported by his colleagues and, hence, he saw no need for action. His female colleague in the extract can be characterized by a lower degree of power and assertiveness and a somewhat more collective orientation, as she was trying to solve a problem that was affecting several colleagues. She makes use of positive politeness by requesting her colleagues' opinion: «What do you think?»

Due to his seniority, position and authority as a male professor, i.e. his respectability face, and features of his identity face (role of responsibility in the department, professorship category, professional competence and assertiveness, among other attributes), his word was taken with the power of authority by his female colleagues, who chose not to push any further with their proposal. His gender identity face drew on attributes of both respectability face and identity face for its construction. Such attributes seem to have had a strong degree of saliency and, therefore, the power to influence the behavioural expectations by the other interactants, who, on the basis of previous encounters in a similar context, preferred not to push any further.

The behavioural expectations by the female teacher in the extract were, most probably, to find her colleagues' support in both trouble sharing and in the acceptance of her proposal. This hypothesis is based on the fact that support for trouble sharing and acceptance of a proposal are the preferred seconds for a first pair part of trouble sharing and proposal, using conversation analytic terms. Hence, the expected behavioural convention did not turn out as desired, which may have led to an assessment of lack of cooperation and impoliteness by the female teacher.

Considering her face sensitivities, it seems quite possible that her respectability and identity faces resulted damaged, with consequences for rapport. Her self-esteem and professional competence were challenged by the lack of both solidarity and appreciation on the part of the male professor. His omission to offer a preferred second part to the first pair parts (of trouble sharing and proposal) failed to meet the expected social and verbal behaviour by his female colleague. Threaten of her face sensitivities could also lead to tension and judgement of lack of cooperation and impoliteness, especially if there is an interpersonal crisis among them. Otherwise, the female teacher may have ignored the episode and this may have had few consequences.

Regarding interactional wants, the male colleague is seen to give priority to the transactional, going direct to the point and expressing his opinion while neglecting the relational needs of his female colleague, who was looking for support and reinforcement. In terms of rapport, we can characterize the professor's behaviour as rapport threatening, in Spencer-Oatey's terms.

In the following fragment, the same male speaker who has been portrayed in extract 1 shows alignment with one of the female colleagues in the previous interaction.

Extract 2.
Male teacher: Recibido. Me parece bien. Muchas gracias, María.
I've got it. It seems OK. Thanks so much, Mary.
Female teacher: Estupendo.
Great.

The male speaker in the former extract acknowledges receipt of a document and agrees with its content. In this particular interaction, neither the male teacher's gender face nor his identity face seem to be challenged by the alignment with his female colleague, so he proceeds to agree and rapport is not damaged.

Extract 3 contrasts with extract 1 and presents a very different gender construction of a male professor, featuring the same attributes as speaker above, who addresses a female lecturer by mail. They participate in a research project and he has submitted a report with several typos and mistakes. She notes the mistakes and asks for their correction:

Extract 3.
Male: Sí, ya lo sé, soy un desastre pero, por favor, no me eches bronca que esta mañana ya me ha regañado mi mujer.
Yes, I know, I'm a mess but, please, don't tell me off because I've already been told off by my wife this morning.
Female: No te preocupes. Ningún problema. Envíame cuando esté.
Don't worry. No problem. Send me when it's ready.

This male colleague takes responsibility for his mistakes and chooses to beg for his female colleague's understanding, while using a joking tone for doing positive politeness, showing closeness and presenting himself in a lower and vulnerable position to his colleague. His respectability identity face scores low in attributes of power or authority and his identity gender face does the same in professional competence and assertiveness. He is open as to his face sensitivities of lack of competence and vulnerability. Regardless of what she may have thought, she orients to his face sensitivities and opts for giving him support, instead of positioning herself in a more powerful and demanding position, which could have damaged his face and been rapport threatening.

His failure to comply to her behavioural expectations could have, otherwise, damaged both her face sensitivities, if understood as lack of support or respect, and his competence face. In this extract, we see that he chooses to compensate for his lack of competence by blaming himself and sharing some details of his private life. By portraying himself as the target of another woman, i.e. his own wife, he manages to avoid face threatening criticism and his identity construction as an incompetent co-worker.

In extract 4, the same man chooses to compensate for his lack of competence by apologizing, adopting a more neutral power stance:

> Extract 4.
> Male: María, no sé cómo puedo hacer siempre tan mal lo de las xxx. Verás, aquí te envío de nuevo con los cambios. […] Disculpa, otra vez, por quitarte tanto tiempo.
> *Mary, I don't know why I'm always making so many mistakes with xxx. Look, I'm sending again with changes. (…) Sorry, again, for wasting so much of your time.*

As the first four examples include hetero males, the fifth one illustrates interaction between a female and a non-hetero male colleague, who can also be characterized by attributes of power, authority, professional competence, assertiveness and individualism, in a higher degree than his female colleagues in the interaction. He had suggested participation in a conference to a group of four female colleagues and, after their acceptance, he undertook the role of organizer for a conference panel. One of his female colleagues was not sure whether this meant that they would not be submitting a proposal to a different conference or whether his intention was to have the team attending both conferences. She asks him for confirmation with this mail message:

Extract 5.
Female: ¿No hay edición del internacional este año? Supongo que, de haberlo, también sería online ¿Queréis que les preguntemos o preferís participar en éste? ¿O en los dos?
Isn't there an edition for the international conference this year? I guess in case there is it would be online as well. Shall we ask them or do you prefer to participate in this one? Or in both of them?
Male: EN LOS DOS, MI AMOR!!! (…) OS HACE?
IN BOTH OF THEM, MY LOVE!!! (…) IS IT FINE FOR YOU?

As a reply to her question whether they would participate in both conferences, he chose to use a brief and direct assertion that includes the addressing term of endearment «my love». While a hetero male would probably reserve the use of this term for addressing a female in a romantic/sex relationship with him, non-hetero men seem more at ease when using such terms of endearment for addressing female friends or colleagues. This instance illustrates a face-enhancing and safe use of affective language by non-hetero men in interaction with women. Feeling free from association with a flirtatious intention, they can express connection and rapport by making use of positive politeness, including the use of terms of endearment and strategies showing cooperation and reciprocity. The question «¿Os hace?» is colloquial and short for a more conventional «¿Os parece bien?», which would also feature as positive politeness of closeness and contribute to rapport.

Expected behaviours, face sensitivities and interactional wants seem to be satisfactory for both parts. The female's question «¿O en los dos?» (*Or in both of them?*) is an elicitation for confirmation of the intention by the group leader to have the team participate in two conferences. The affirmative reply entails that he wants them to participate in both of them. Instead of choosing gender practices that reinforced his authority, such as the use of bald on record directive or negative politeness strategies, he chose positive politeness, fulfilling his colleague's expectation to have a reply that enhanced her face and encouraged commitment in the enterprise of participating in the two upcoming conferences. He could have chosen to position himself in a higher position, by building a respectability face of authority together with an identity face of power due to his coordinator role. Quite the contrary, he chose to position himself on a par and enhance rapport.

In another interaction, the same male portrayed in the previous extract chooses to build a more distant stance:

> Extract 6.
> Male: María, por favor, vamos a volver a ir al congreso de xxx. Por favor, ¿puedes volver a hacer la propuesta de gasto…? Mismos datos que año pasado. Mil gracias.
> *Mary, please, we are attending the same conference xxx. Please, could you submit the expense proposal again? Same details as last year. Thanks a million.*

In this case, the speaker opts for negative politeness, showing deference and respect with the use of the politeness marker «please» and the modal «could». As a term of address, the speaker chooses the addressee's first name without any terms of endearment. This fragment results in the construction of identity and respectability faces in line with the attributes of power, authority, professional competence, assertiveness and individualism. The need for building camaraderie or closer rapport is not salient in this interaction and, therefore, the speaker relies on transactional talk for efficiency.

One last example portrays another gay male who opts for using affective language with a female colleague. After having received several documents upon request, Martin replies:

> Extract 7.
> Female: Here you are Martin!
> Male: You are my hero of the day, schatzi☺

This gay male speaker, who ranks high in respectability and identity faces, featuring similar attributes of power to those upheld by male speakers in former extracts, uses face-enhancing positive politeness, upgrading his addressee to the level of a hero and showing affection by use of a term of endearment in his native German language and an emoticon.

Despite limited space prevents from a more extensive analysis of a wider sample, I hope these extracts serve to illustrate the different resources deployed by hetero and gay male speakers in their interaction with female colleagues. The language used in extracts 5 and 7 rate high in face-enhancing positive politeness and rapport. It seems it would be difficult to understand this language in utterances by hetero professors, without further implications of a romantic/sex relationship with the addressee or intentions for such, at least.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This article is intended as a contribution to research within the third-wave of sociolinguistic studies in the exploration of gender practices in interaction, considering the management of social relations by hetero and non-hetero individuals. The concepts of face, identity, rapport and (im)politeness have been reviewed and applied to the analysis of several extracts from authentic interactive sequences, attempting to show their potential in our understanding of the construction of gender identity from a discursive approach. The sample includes hetero and gay male professors of the same age band in interaction with female lecturers, a lower rank in the academic scale.

It is argued that gender identity face builds on attributes of both respectability and identity faces for the construction of hetero and non-hetero gender identities, with differing strengths or saliency depending on the individuals and the context. While hetero males are seen to use different gender identity patterns in a continuum of power, exercising freedom to choose from very high to subservient positions, gay males show a tendency to enhance rapport and to use face-enhancing positive politeness for bonding with their female colleagues, freer from suspicions of flirtatious behaviour.

The analysis of seven extracts from authentic interaction shows that gender identity, face, rapport and impoliteness are elements that are worked out within the course of interaction, instead of stable a priori categories. Interactants build their gender identities through their gender practices. Their linguistic behaviours may, or may not, be in line with gender stereotypes but will, nevertheless, express how interactants choose to position themselves. Whether they show power or not, express rapport or distance and different identity attributes, their gender practices perform their gender identity.

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'IT DOESN'T MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF VIOLENCE OR INTIMIDATION'. A DISCURSIVE STUDY OF JUDGMENTS OF SEXUAL ABUSE

«NO CONCURREN LOS REQUISITOS DE VIOLENCIA O INTIMIDACIÓN». ANÁLISIS DISCURSIVO DE SENTENCIAS DE ABUSO SEXUAL

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Submitted / Recibido: 31/10/2020
Accepted / Aceptado: 14/04/2021

To cite this article / Para citar este artículo:
Martínez-Delgado Veiga, M. (2021). '*It doesn't meet the requirements of violence or intimidation*'. A discursive study of judgments of sexual abuse. *Feminismo/s*, 38, 231-257. Women, Sexual Identity and Language [Monographic dossier]. I. Balteiro (Coord.). https://doi.org/10.14198/fem.2021.38.09

Abstract

This study delves into the main discourses found in five sexual abuse judgments, in different Spanish Courts. The analysis employs Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis in order to explore the topic of sexual violence, its understanding, and the dominant discourses revealed in these judgments of sexual abuse, and to investigate the way rape cases are treated discursively in Court from a feminist perspective. The dominant discourses found have been those of sexuality; inaction of the survivor; and lack of violence and/or intimidation. Unravelling these hidden ideologies and relationships of power is crucial to give us a better awareness of the dominant ideas surrounding violence against women.

Keywords: Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis; Sexual abuse; Violence; Sexual violence; Rape.

Resumen

Este estudio explora los principales discursos encontrados en cinco sentencias de abuso sexual, en diferentes tribunales de justicia españoles. Mediante el Análisis crítico del discurso con perspectiva feminista se revisa cómo se comprende la violencia sexual y los discursos dominantes en las sentencias de abuso sexual. También investiga, desde una perspectiva feminista, cómo se tratan los casos de violación en los tribunales. Los discursos dominantes encontrados han sido los relativos a sexualidad, inacción de la superviviente y falta de violencia y/o intimidación. Para comprender mejor las ideas dominantes en torno a la violencia contra las mujeres, es crucial desvelar estas ideologías ocultas y sus relaciones de poder implícitas.

Palabras clave: Análisis crítico del discurso con perspectiva feminista; abuso sexual; violencia; violencia sexual; violación.

1. INTRODUCTION

Sexual self-determination is a key concept, a fundamental right, and it is dissipated through rape. When a woman is violated, her right and her dignity are stripped from her. Rape is not just physical violence towards the body, it is violence over the self, over the right to decide upon one's own body and beyond.

Several scholars have studied discourse on sexual assault in judicial processes (Coates et al., 1994; Ehrlich, 1998, 2001, 2014, 2019; Mooney, 2006, 2007). Judicial practice is made up of discourse (Coates et al., 1994); therefore, there is a very intimate relationship between the discourse and the discourses used in judicial practice and their judicial and social implications. Judgments, jurisprudence and the versions of the reality narrated in a judgment are formed by discourse. The representation of reality goes beyond the courtroom, reaching society in general, condemning or justifying survivors, rapists and the sexual assault.

Brownmiller (1975) warns of the abuse of power implicit in any sexual assault; an abuse which is clearly present at the time of the assault, and which can also occur throughout the trial process and in the judgment due to the implicit power imbalance between the victim and the officials involved in the trial (i.e. judges, lawyers, etc.). Survivors of sexual assault are re-victimised throughout the trial process, which can in turn be more damaging than the assault itself. This is what Lees (1996) calls «judicial rape» (p. 36). Survivors are encouraged to report sexual assault; however, from the moment the process of reporting begins, the woman is subjected to a series of procedures that can lead to further hidden aggressions «under the name of justice» (Lees, 1996, p. 36). It is generally understood that the role of the judicial system in society is to protect and defend victims. The approach of this analysis is to explore to what extent this protection is given to victims in practise. Depending on the outcome of the trial, certain behaviours relating to the assault and the representation of what constitutes male and female sexuality will be either legitimised or punished (Ehrlich, 2001). The legitimisation of aggressive behaviours implies that certain dominant ideologies remain unchallenged in the legal context, cross the boundaries of the judicial process and reach out to society at large, where they are perpetuated. Therefore, we can understand that these aggressive behaviours originate from both the society and the judicial system. Campos (2011) and Facio (2006, as cited in Goncalves & Cabral, 2019, p. 155) state that «law is a system that insists on the ontological separation of masculine and feminine, and produces gendered subjects along an axis of differentiated domination». This vision is produced and reproduced in the legal and judicial system from the moment that certain gendered representations are defended.

The main aim of this study is to disclose, from a Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis perspective (henceforth FCDA), the main discourses found in 5 judgments of sexual abuse cases in the *Audiencias Provinciales* (henceforth Provincial Courts) of different provinces of Spain from 01/01/2020 to 22/07/2020 (i.e. discourses of lack of violence and/or intimidation; sexuality; and inaction of the survivor). This study tries to shed light over the debate whether sexual abuse, understood as penetration without consent, is intimidating or violent per se or not.

It is important to establish from the outset that, in this study, we refer to the victim of sexual assault as either a «victim» or a «survivor» without distinction and not as a «complainant», since, although the latter term implies the legal situation, it does not fully reflect the victimisation resulting from the legal process. This position is also supported in the research of authors such as Smith & Skinner (2017).

In the following sections, firstly we discuss some theoretical considerations, such as violence against women, sexual violence and the judicial system, and Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis; secondly, we present the context of the written judgments which will be analysed in this paper. Thirdly, the analysis of the data is conducted; and lastly, there is a final discussion of the results, and conclusions.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Here, the theoretical background of the study is established. This is achieved through two interrelated sections: a revision of the concept of violence against women, and a look at the relationship between sexual violence, power and the judicial system. Then, Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) and FCDA approaches are reviewed.

2.1. Violence against women

The concept «violence against women» entails a broad and painful reality that is embedded in the rules accepted by society. Gender is one of the key variables in violence against women; this violence partly derives from socio-cultural constructions of gender. Here we situate ourselves in the variable of gender as a socio-cultural construction that is firmly established and delimited in the social patterns of different cultures, where any deviation from this understanding generates conflict and where these patterns are established in an attempt to maintain a social order that benefits a specific group and not the society at large.

The General Assembly of the United Nations (1993) defines 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, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.

This violence is a powerful tool of control used by the patriarchy towards the feminine gender. It constructs and maintains a certain social power structure (Casique & Ferreira, 2006; Patiño, 2013). Thus, we are not just looking at individual cases of assault but rather at the broader social structure (Patiño, 2013). According to Barloja (2018), we find ourselves immersed in «[a] social punitive system –by which women correct behaviour, shape their bodies, deny themselves spaces, control timetables, restrict movements and gestures: this is the discipline of sexual terror diluted in every age» (p. 34). The limitations imposed by this discipline lead women to adopt measures to avoid possible aggression and violence. And if they are victim to either, there are also a series of behavioural expectations placed upon them by society, which are used to determine «what is right» and «what is wrong» when judging how credible an accusation is, so that indoctrinates what it has to be, evaluating the victim's behaviour.

2.2 Sexual violence, power and the judicial system

Conceptualising the crime is fundamental in order to understand the existing discourses in society and, thus, be aware of how it is seen in different social spheres. For this reason, we begin our approach to its definition by questioning what sexual violence is. It involves the abuse of power, by a person or a group of people to another individual, which compromises the victim's right to sexual self-determination. This physical violence is a way of maintaining and increasing power. It is often in the service of domination and gender control (Talbot, 2005). In the same vein, Brownmiller (1975) understands rape as a crime of power, rather than a crime focused on finding sexual pleasure.

Coates & Wade (2004), based on the Interactional and Discursive View of Violence and Resistance framework, define violence as consisting of the following main features:

a) Violence is both social and unilateral, meaning that it involves at least two people, and the violence is inflicted one upon the other. It is unilateral, although, as the authors state, in legal judgments and the press, sexual violence is often represented as mutual, implying «that the victim is at least partly to blame» (p. 514) and concealing «the fact that violent behaviour is unilateral and solely the responsibility of the offender» (p. 514).
b) Violence is deliberated by the aggressor, if not in the moments before the attack, then at some point whilst it is taking place.
c) Resistance is ubiquitous, although it manifests itself in many different ways leading to different possible reactions to violence.

The process that the sexually assaulted woman goes through in Court can be as harmful as or even more traumatic than the sexual assault itself.

Particularly, when we consider that this second aggression is carried out within the Judicial System (Lees, 1996), which is supposedly a protective environment.

Coates et al. (1994) argue that «language and texts are central to the practice of law, which can be said to consist primarily on discourse» (p. 189). These laws are applied by judges and used by lawyers to frame and shape the situations experienced and the crimes committed. Judicial decisions are of great importance, not only at the individual level of each specific sentence, but also at a general level, since they may influence other judicial decisions. However, it is important to note that the Spanish legal system hinges upon written law, rather than upon judicial decisions and custom. The language used, and the discourses involved, redefine society and serve as public discourse, because «[l]anguage affects events and creates versions of reality» (Coates et al., 1994, p. 189).

In the Spanish legislation, specifically in the Organic Law 10/1995, of 23 November, of the Criminal Code, title VIII, first and second chapters (*Ley Orgánica, 10/1995, de 23 de noviembre, del Código Penal*) it is specified that the difference between sexual abuse (*abuso sexual*) and sexual assault (*agresión sexual*) is that, in the latter case, violence or intimidation is used. In Chapter I, Article 178, it defines sexual assault, as «attack[ing] the sexual freedom of another person, using violence or intimidation»[1]. On the other hand, in Chapter II, Article 181.1, the crime of sexual abuse is defined as the one carried out by someone who «without violence or intimidation and without consent, performs acts that violate the sexual freedom or sexual indemnity of another person». Relevant to this study is the specification made in Article 181.2, which states that:

> Non-consensual sexual abuse is considered to be that which is carried out on persons who experience sensory deprivation or whose mental disorder is abused, as well as that which is committed by overriding the will of the victim through the use of drugs, medicines or any other natural or chemical substance suitable for this purpose.

Here, we will select cases in which, as indicated by the law in Chapter II, Articles 179 and 181.2, «there is carnal access via the vagina, the anus or the

1. Translations from Spanish to English have been made by the author.

mouth, or the introduction of bodily members or objects» without consent, and we will look at the discourses used in cases where sexual abuse is the charge.

Also, it is necessary to note that in Spain crimes of sexual abuse and rape are dealt differently depending on whether they are perpetrated by partners or ex-partners (in which case they are protected under the framework of the Law against Gender Violence), or whether they are perpetrated by strangers (being prosecuted under the Criminal Code, without being understood as a crime of Gender Violence and without the specific protection it provides for its victims). This differentiation is fundamental when analysing the judicial process relating to the case of rape by one or more strangers.

Currently, there is a proposed legislative change to the Criminal Code in the regulation of the crimes of sexual assault and sexual abuse in Spain. The *Ministerio de Igualdad* (2020), in the draft of the Organic Law on the Comprehensive Guarantee of Sexual Freedom (*Anteproyecto de Ley Orgánica de Garantía Integral de la Libertad Sexual*) has among its aims, to regulate sexual crimes in relation to consent and not based on whether there was violence or intimidation. To this end, it proposes eliminating the term «sexual abuse» and only using «sexual assault», with aggravating circumstances depending on the aggression. Therefore, the punishment is worse depending on the extent of violence used. What defines the crime is not the violence of the aggressor, but the consent of the survivor. However, despite the proposed change, we must always consider the existing variability in the application of a law. Kennedy (2016) differentiates between law as legal norms to be applied in each specific case, and «law in action» (p. 24), meaning how a case is judged and how the rules are applied to a given conduct.

The judicial system, in the eyes of Kennedy (2016), is not efficient in resolving sexual assault cases, because, as he states «[O]ften victims of sexual abuse simply cannot prove it in court» (p. 26), because the survivor has to show that she has been sexually aggressed. Also, «the legal system does not provide […] speedy, efficient or humane justice» (p. 27). This inefficiency makes the process extremely difficult for the victim and burdens her with a number of expectations which stem from the myths surrounding rape. However, in the face of this inefficiency, it is not only the victim who suffers the consequences of what Lees (1996) already called «judicial rape»

(p. 36), but society in general and the female gender in particular. Criminal behaviour and the way it is prosecuted does not remain an isolated case but inevitably has a wider impact on society. It conditions how other cases of sexual assault are dealt with, how the crime is understood in a particular community, and how laws about the crime itself are written and modified. Therefore, we are not dealing with a static consequence, but rather a dynamic one that modifies its most immediate environment, as well as a future one.

As Brownmiller (1975) states, «[w]omen are trained to be rape victims. […] We hear the whispers when we are children: *girls* get raped. […] The message becomes clear. Rape has something to do with our sex» (p. 309). Not only were we warned about the danger of rape in Brownmiller's time; this idea is still present today in the way we raise women and girls. The fear of the possibility of this crime surrounds any girl and any woman. Unfortunately, it is indeed a reality. When it comes to sexual violence, the extent to which this power is used over the will of other human beings is multiplied. Rape implies violence, but in certain countries, the crime is not seen in the legislation as violent per se. This is the case in Spain, where penetration without consent is not considered to be in itself a violent act, although nowadays the intention to modify the legislation is on the table.

2.3 Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

This study will analyse, from the FCDA's perspective, the discursive representation of the abuse in a series of written judgments for sexual abuse. As Kress (1990) states, the focus of Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) is on language as «a type of social practice» (p. 85). Fairclough (1989) describes discourse as a specific way of representing the world, taking into account its physical, social and psychological perspective. The aim, as stated by Van Dijk (2003), is not only to describe discourses, but rather to reveal these underlying power relations and to compromise the established status quo. To this end, «CDA […] explicitly takes sides, and hopes to contribute effectively to the resistance against social inequality» (Van Dijk, 2003, p. 23), an inequality that is intended to be revealed. Therefore, the commitment of CDA is «analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language» (Wodak, 2001, p. 2).

In this case, we frame the research in a feminist perspective. Lazar (2014) warns that certain social practices are «deeply gendered» (p. 184); that is, patriarchy as an ideological system (Lazar, 2005) determines the ideologies of society in general. Therefore, it is reflected in the way society is managed, and reaches all institutions. The judicial system is not exempt from this patriarchal ideology present in our daily life, nor are trials for sexual assault. From here the survivor can suffer a second aggression, this time judicial, which uses a misogynist and rationalist perspective to dismantle her rights. CDA does not analyse reality from a feminist perspective per se, therefore we need feminism. FCDA aims to «critiqu[e] discourses which sustain a patriarchal social order: that is, relations of power that systematically privilege men as a social group and disadvantage, exclude and disempower women as a social group» (Lazar, 2005, p. 5), thus generating unequal power relations and assumptions that favour a single social group. FCDA aspires to reveal the sexist ideologies that favour these unequal power relations, as a means of «resistance and change» (Lazar, 2014, p. 184). The objective is to achieve emancipation through the transformation of society (Lazar, 2005). But Lazar (2007) warns us that it is necessary:

> [t]o locate everything in discourse and overlook experiential and material aspects of identity and power relations. That is, instead of viewing discourse as one element of social practices, the inclination has been to view discourse as wholly constitutive of the social. (pp. 150-151)

To reveal the unequal power relations and the identity marked by the norms implicitly delimited in the structure of society, we need to consider the sexist and patriarchal social practices in which the discourse is framed. FCDA also analyses the context, where the discourse is produced and in its concrete circumstances. Therefore, «[t]he emphasis shifts from the internal issues of the individual to the field of interaction, and to the institutional» (West et al., 2000, pp. 203-204).

Thus, following Lazar (2005), we subscribe to the object of criticising those discourses that in one way or another feed into and maintain the patriarchal social order. We have to work for a more humanist and feminist vision that reflects a fair society, without gender defining or interfering in any relationship, in who we are, in our future projections, in how we must behave or in the roles we must play. From this perspective, this would be a powerful strategy to end the gender patterns that condition how we behave according to certain roles, and the consequences of deviations.

Fairclough (1989) indicates that CDA aims to study any language level, even if it mainly focuses on grammatical aspects. Walsh (2001) states that FCDA seeks «to connect the detailed analysis of spoken, written and visual texts and intertexts to an analysis of the hegemonic ideologies that operate at the institutional and societal levels of discourse» (as cited in Mills & Mullany, 2011, p. 79). The analysis of micro and macro structures is key, and has the following aims:

- To detect the dominant discourses
- To locate the different identities represented through discourse (roles)
- To locate and analyse the grammatical characteristics (which include mode and lexical analysis) represented by these discourses and identities

In this application of FCDA, we began identifying the main discourses in the five written judgments, and then analysing them at a textual level, focusing overall on lexical choices and syntaxis. Then, exploring the macro structures at play, the ideological implications of these lexical and syntactical choices have been discussed.

3 METHODOLOGY

The written judgments analysed have been selected from the official database CENDOJ (Judicial Documentation Centre, *Consejo General del Poder Judicial*), a portal where all Spanish judgments, from the different Courts, are published and stored. This database is open to the general public.

The selection procedure of the judgments has followed different steps: the search focused, initially, on all those that contained the search terms «sexual abuse» in the Provincial Courts, which are the highest Judicial Courts in each of the different Spanish provinces. These Courts judge criminal and civil matters and may consist of two or more Sections per Provincial Court, formed by a President and, generally, two or more judges, in which case the President of the Provincial Court shall preside over one of the Sections. Each Section normally specialises in either criminal or in civil matters. The rationale behind focusing on Provincial Courts is that cases of sexual abuse and rape are judged by these Courts when the perpetrator is sentenced to more than nine months imprisonment. Our aim is to analyse rape cases that have been judged as «sexual abuse» and therefore, because of length of the penalty of this crime, the Provincial Courts are the courts that deal with these crimes.

In order to select the cases for this study, the following search criteria were used in the CENDOJ database: a) Jurisdiction = Criminal; b) Type of decision = sentence; c) Type of body = Provincial Court; d) Localization = all the provinces in Spain; e) Time frame = 01/01/2020 to 22/07/2020; f) Keywords = sexual abuse.

There were 512 cases recovered. From there, the selection criteria were narrowed, focusing on the cases pronounced as guilty, and where the victim was over the age of 18. This left a corpus of five judgments (Case 1 = SAP M 43/2020, 11th of February 2020; Case 2 = SAP M 128/2020, 24th of February 2020; Case 3 = SAP M 250/2020, 28th of May 2020; Case 4 = SAP LU 105/2020, 22nd of June 2020; Case 5 = SAP B 167/2020, 03rd of March 2020), which included the descriptions of the assaults and the judges' reasons for their decisions. In all cases, the defendants were men, and the survivors were women. Each case was judged by a different Provincial Court. A brief summary of each case with relevant information such as the prior relationship between defendant and victim, and a description of the case, can be found in the following table:

Table 1
Main information on the judgments

	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3	Case 4	Case 5
Relationship of the accused to the survivor	Strangers	Not indicated in the judgment	Acquaintance	Acquaintance	Strangers
Brief description of the sexual assault	Sexual assault from stranger to woman getting into what apparently was an Uber	Sexual assault in the room of the survivor when she was asleep. When she woke up, the aggressor left	Sexual assault in a park when the survivor and a friend are sleeping	Acquaintance sexual abuse, perpetrated after meeting the survivor in a bar	Sexual abuse, perpetrated by a stranger in the surroundings of a club

In the Spanish legal system, the body of the written judgments are divided in four different sections: a) Pleas of fact, where the pleas of the prosecution and the defense are transcribed; b) Proven facts, where the judge or judges give account of what happened, after assessing the evidence, according to their criteria; c) Legal basis, which includes the detailed reasons and explanations for their decision; d) Decision. The analysis is centered on sections b) and c), where the abuses are described and analysed by the judges. The «authors» of the text of the judgments are the judges that form the Court.

4 RESEARCH QUESTION

The aim of this essay is to disclose the main discourses in five sexual abuse judgments (i.e. discourses of lack of violence and/or intimidation; sexuality; and inaction of the survivor), to investigate the linguistic and discursive strategies used to construct these discourses. Therefore, the research question that we aim to answer on this study is: What are the main discourses in judgments of sexual abuse?

5 ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The focus of this analysis is on the communicative event (i.e. the discourse practice and the text). To begin with, the main discourses revealed in the judgments are identified, and then analysed at a textual, discursive and social practice level; finally, their ideological implications are discussed. Following the analysis, the main discursive features that suggest sexuality; inaction of the survivor; and violence and/or intimidation have been identified. All these discourses are linked, as we will see, by the so-called «lack of violence and/or intimidation» required in the law to understand the crime as a sexual abuse rather than a rape.

5.1 Discourse of sexuality

Scholars such as Coates et al. (1994), Coates & Wade (2004), and Ehrlich (2001) have found in previous research that in certain cases of acquaintance rape, the language used to describe the crime is quite like the language used in reference to consensual and pleasurable sexual relations.

In the analysed corpus[2] there are analogies as well in the lexis and sentence structures used by the judges to describe the sexual abuses.

> Extract 1 (case 1)
> Moved by the desire to satisfy *his lubricious desires* and taking advantage of the fact that Rocío, due to her earlier alcohol intake, had a diminished capacity to react *to any type of aggression*, he made a first stop inside a tunnel to help her vomit and took the opportunity to kiss her on the mouth without her consent. [emphasis added]

In the previous extract, «lubricious desires» (*lúbricos deseos*) imply sexual urge by the rapist, and, as Coates et al. (1994) assert, the assault is then attributed to the sexual appetite of the defendant, rather than to a violent act. Even if after, it is mentioned that due her alcohol intake she wouldn't have been able to react to «any type of aggression», the will of the rapist is presented with the language of sexuality. This terminology is widely used in the different cases that were selected for the corpus; for example, in case

2. All the following extracts from the corpus have been translated from Spanish to English by the author.

3, it is mentioned that the compliant wanted «to satisfy his lustful desires» (*satisfacer sus deseos lascivos*), and in case 5 «satisfy his libidinous instincts» (*satisfacer sus instintos libidinosos*). When the aggression is presented with these terms, it is located in the domain of sexuality. Rape is not by any means a sexual act or encounter, but a crime of power over the victim, «a crime against sexual self-determination» (Sanyal, 2019, p. 91).

> Extract 2 (case 2)
> [T]he defendant carried out *fondling* over Teresa's body in a way that *clearly had a sexual meaning*, given *the areas in which the said fondling was carried out*, the accused even penetrated Teresa vaginally with his penis. [emphasis added]

Here, the reference to sexuality is clear, where the non-consensual touching of the survivor is described as «clearly [having] a sexual meaning» (*de evidente significado sexual*). Due to the nominalization of the action of «fondling» (*tocamientos*), even when it is specified that the touching was conducted by the accused, the action is blurred. As a result, the direct agency of the perpetrator is somehow eluded. And, again, the body is objectified and disassociated from the victim: «the areas in which the said fondling was carried out» (*las zonas sobre las que llevó a cabo dichos tocamientos*).

In case 4, there are also references to sexuality when describing the crime.

> Extract 3 (case 4)
> Ms. Mari Jose kept telling him to stop because she didn't want to, he pulled down her trousers and her underwear –a thong– and then (and without any resistance from Mrs. Mari Jose, because she was afraid, and very scared), he penetrated her vaginally; when the accused *consummated the sexual act*. [emphasis added]

> Extract 4 (case 4)
> The accused admitted that he had been in the vicinity of the Club Carpas Bora Bora that day and it is clear that *he had full sexual relations with the victim*. [emphasis added]

In extracts 3 and 4, presenting a rape as «full sexual relations» (*relaciones sexuales completas*) or «sexual act» (*acto sexual*) equates once more rape with consensual sexual relations, distorting the aggression of forced penetration. The construction of the sentence in extract 4 implies that this was a consensual act, rather than rape: «He had full sexual relations with the victim» (*mantuvo relaciones sexuales completas con la víctima*). It is presented as a joint activity, were the preposition «with» of the sentence «he had full sexual relations with the victim» shows consensual sex together, one with the other, rather than a forced sexual abuse, where the defendant raped the survivor. Here the premise that rape is not a sexual relationship is obviated, equating rape with a sexual relationship, with mutuality and, therefore, with the lack of violence. «[T]he attribution of sexual assault as synonymous with sexual activity conceals violence by casting the assault as a need fulfilment and reduces the offender's responsibility by making him a participant in a non-violent, mutual act» (Coates & Wade, 2004, p. 508). As a result, the crime of rape is framed in a more benign situation and this blurs the line between rape and consensual sex. The consequence of this blurred reality is that each label carries with it a host of implications. In this case, the hidden ideology behind this labelling is that sexual assault is different from any other kind of violence.

5.2 Discourse of inaction of the survivor

In the cases that form the corpus, some of the descriptions of the survivors cast them in a merely inactive role which results in them being almost erased from the narration of the crime. There are different arguments given in the judgments (and in the law) to justify the survivor's inaction: alcohol, use of drugs, fear, lack of possibility to escape, being unconscious. In the following extracts the focus is on the apparent inaction of the survivors (i.e. absence of verbal or physical opposition).

In case 1, the actions perpetrated by the rapist are described throughout the judgment, with no mention of the actions and feelings of the survivor.

> Extract 5 (case 1)
> [H]e returned to the driver's seat, *continuing with Rocío in the car* until an open space where he stopped and, getting out of the vehicle, he went to Rocío's seat, *opened the door*, turned her around and *took her by her legs*, *taking her legs out of the seat, pulling down her trousers* and panties. [emphasis added]

She is merely an inactive body, specific parts of a body, legs pulled out of a car: «taking her legs out of the seat» (*sacándolas [las piernas] fuera del asiento*), and a name, «Rocío». As Ventura (2016) states, «victims are reduced to parts touched by the other» (p. 7), thus, they are objectified (Smart, 1990; Ventura, 2016). This objectification can be observed in the other judgments analysed, such as case 2: «he carried out touching of Teresa's breasts and vagina, and introduced his penis into her vagina» (*llevó a cabo tocamientos sobre los pechos y la vagina de Teresa, e introdujo su pene en la vagina*), case 3: «he tried to touch her breasts» (*intentó tocarle los pechos*), and case 4: «the victim stated that when he was in the vehicle, the defendant began to touch her breasts and remove her clothes» (*la víctima manifestó cómo cuando se encontraba en el vehículo, el acusado, comenzó a tocarle los pechos y a quitarle la ropa*), where the survivors are merely parts of their body, mainly breasts, vaginas and legs. The legal narrative forces, in a way, this representation of the survivors as inactive bodies. In extract 5, the sentence «continuing with Rocío in the car» (*continuando con Rocío en el coche*) shows that the journey was taken together, when in fact he is restricting her freedom by taking her in a car against her will. Again, in the narrative there is an omission of the survivor's reaction. It is impossible to understand if she is aware of the situation, if she is awake at all and, overall, it is difficult to know how she is feeling. Feelings may not be facts, but they represent the impact of the violence and intimidation upon the survivor. Ventura (2016) points out that «rape victims speak about their emotional state, which is juridical irrelevant since is not regarded an objective evidence of the crime» (p. 6); however, in a rape case it is contradictory, because feelings are a way of measuring an intimidating situation. And it can determine whether or not the crime is interpreted as sexual assault rather than sexual abuse (as it has been understood due to the so-called lack of violence and intimidation). In extract 5, the roles are clearly defined, with the rapist as the «active doer», the one who acts: «opened the door, turned her around and took her by her legs, taking her legs out of the seat, pulling down her trousers» (*abrió la puerta, la giró y la cogió de las piernas sacándolas fuera del asiento, bajándole los pantalones*) and the survivor and her body stripped of agency or emotion, somehow reduced to a series of body parts.

However, as stated in extract 6, once the aggressor ends the assault, the survivor regains an active role, showing her fear when she is «asking for help» (*pidiendo auxilio*) and escaping: «Rocío got out of the vehicle» (*salió del vehículo*). It is in this moment when her feelings can be acknowledged, when she is more than a body or a name and capable of acting and feeling.

> Extract 6 (case 1)
> As Rocio did not have any cash, they [Rocío and the compliant] went to look for an ATM, *telling Rocío her address*, arriving at her mother's house where *Rocío got out of the vehicle asking for help.* [emphasis added]

This representational choice, the «inaction» of the survivor, plays an important role in all the corpus analysed, when the case is judged as sexual abuse rather than as sexual assault. Their behaviours are represented as inaction, resulting in their erasure. The crime is described through the perspective of the rapists. References to the erasure of the victims can be found in all the analysed judgments, as it can be seen in the following extracts.

> Extract 7 (case 3)
> Both *Ana Maria and Moisés fell asleep on a bench* [emphasis added], and in order to satisfy his lustful desires, the defendant approached Ana Maria, took off her trousers and knickers and penetrated her vaginally.

> Extract 8 (case 2)
> [T]aking advantage of the fact that *she was asleep* in one of the rooms in the house, he touched Teresa's breasts and vagina, and inserted his penis into her vagina, *then Teresa woke up, rebuking the accused.* [emphasis added]

> Extract 9 (case 5)
> She remembers that she was queuing to get into that establishment and *she doesn't remember anything else until she woke up* [emphasis added] around five o'clock in the morning.

In the previous extracts, the active role of the perpetrator vs. the inaction of the survivor is evident. Another technique to represent the inaction of the survivor is the lack of consciousness: «Ana María and Moisés fell asleep on a bench» (*tanto Ana María como Moisés se quedaron dormidos en un banco*); «she was asleep» (*estaba dormida*); «she doesn't remember anything else until she woke up» (*ya no recuerda nada más hasta que se despertó*). In a way, it resembles the story of Sleeping Beauty, where the woman falls sleep, unconscious, and the prince wakes her up with a (non-consensual) kiss. As

Brownmiller (1975) claims, «[t]he utter passivity of Red Riding Hood in the teeth of the wolf is outdone by Sleeping Beauty, who lay immobile for one hundred years before she was awakened by the kiss of the prince» (p. 310). Brownmiller (1975) points that these fairy tales are parables of rape, where passivity is the desired role in the victim, in the princess. The narrative does not leave the survivor any option, her role is passive, she is erased, the action, the «doer» is always the rapist or a third party.

As we have seen, the actions of the perpetrator are visible in the judgments analysed, but this fails to provide the whole picture of what the victim had to go through. The legislation mentions the lack of action that a victim can experience when being a victim of a rape, and the legal implications of this (i.e. the perceived «inaction», as a construct of the narrative, can result in the understanding that there was no violence or intimidation in the sexual assault, and in the erasure of the survivor's experience). The victim's behaviour is interpreted as proof of non-consent by judges, and it can be taken as «an indicator of a compliant victim» (Ventura, 2016, p. 4). But being an «inactive» victim has implications on the final judgment, and the crime can be judged as a milder one, a sexual abuse rather than a sexual assault. The consumption of alcohol holds a key role in the survivors' inaction, something which is in line with the following rape myth: «People who get voluntarily intoxicated are at least partly responsible for their rape» (Smith & Skinner, 2017, p. 3). As Mooney (2006) points to, «[i]n relation to women, their alcohol consumption is mitigating of the man's actions» (p. 50).

The use of alcohol and/or drugs can also have an impact on the rapist' side, as is reflected in the following extract:

> Extract 10 (case 3)
> *The defendant*, at the time of execution of *the facts*, *had his intellectual and volitional faculties affected as a result of his previous intake of alcohol.* [emphasis added]

This reference is seen as a justification of the crime committed by the accused, meaning that having «his intellectual and volitional faculties affected as a result of the previous alcoholic intake» (*tenía afectadas sus facultades intelectivas y volitivas como consecuencia de la previa ingesta alcohólica*) can explain the rape, or, at least, mitigate his actions. It is also necessary to reflect on the euphemism «the facts» used to describe the rape, which do not explain at all the aggression suffered by the victim. In both cases, for the survivor and the rapist, the alcohol (and unconsciousness) plays a mitigating role in the crime, but, clearly, the most wounded party in this case is the victim, for the penalization that this portrayed inaction holds over her, and how these representational choices erase her.

5.3 Discourse of lack of violence and/or intimidation

Violence and intimidation are crucial factors in how rape cases are judged in the Spanish legal system. The lack of (physical) violence underpins the final judgement of the crime as an act of sexual abuse (i.e. intercourse without the victim's consent). The analysed rape cases have been judged as sexual abuse, meaning that there has been penetration without consent of the victim. However, these cases have not been judged as sexual assault due to the so-called lack of violence and/or intimidation. As a result, violence is only acknowledged when it leaves visible injuries. As Coates & Wade (2004) state, when the rape is characterized as non-violent, the offenders are not responsible for a violent crime, but a milder one: a sexual abuse. In the following extracts, we analyse discourses where the lack of violence and intimidation arise.

> Extract 11 (case 2)
> [T]aking advantage of the fact that she was asleep in one of the rooms in the house, he touched Teresa's breasts and vagina, and *introduced his penis into her vagina.* [emphasis added]

In this neutral description of the crime there is no hint of force, or of violation. The statement «[he] introduced his penis into her vagina» (*introdujo su pene en la vagina*) is the representation of the moment of the rape itself, without any reference to the fact that the forced «insertion», without consent, is a violent act, and not a neutral introduction of an object into a random, available and open receptacle. This representation constructs the vagina and the anus as always open. This is a recurring expression when referring to sexual assault, as found in case 1: «by introducing the penis twice, once through the vagina and once through the anus» (*introduciendo el pene en dos ocasiones, una por vía vaginal y otra por vía anal*) and in case 5: «he introduced his penis into the anus and vagina» (*le introdujo el pene en* *el ano y en la vagina*). In cases 3 and 4 the verb used is «to penetrate»: «he penetrated her vaginally» (*la penetró vaginalmente*). As Mooney (2006) puts it, «[t]he violence of penetration is thus normalized» (p. 49), and in doing so penetration is differentiated from any other form of violence. It is presented as if certain parts of the body were capable of being penetrated by a penis without any force or violence when a sexual assault is taking place. This all ties in to the «inaction» of the victim, the «action» of the rapist, and the objectification of the vagina and the anus, separating them from the rest of the victim's body.

In case 4, the survivor finds herself trapped in a car with the perpetrator. She tries to escape, but he grabs her arm and pull her back inside, restricting her freedom. In this case, the victim is fully awake, and she shows her lack of consent in different ways, such as saying no, «telling [the compliant] to stop, that she didn't want to» (*diciéndole* [...] *que parara, que no quería*) and trying to escape from the car.

> Extract 12 (case 4)
> The accused, ignoring the express refusal of Mrs. Mari Jose, continued to take off her clothes from the waist down, –trousers and thong– *not being able to resist or scream*, (she tried but she could not) because she was very scared, *because of the fear she had, that she «gave up»* [...] penetrating her vaginally, adding the victim, that *«while he was doing it» she did nothing because she was scared*, that she was *telling him to stop, that she didn't want to*, but despite such a repeated refusal the accused consummated the act. [emphasis added]

The intimidating situation Mari José finds herself in, can be considered, in itself, violent (irrespective of the violence of the rape). However, the fact that the survivor was trying to escape from the vehicle was not enough for the judges to rule that she suffered violence and intimidation. Even though her reaction could be considered rational, in this case, she is still seen as belonging to a response of inaction: acknowledging that she was afraid but paralysed by this fear «not being able to resist or scream [...] because of the fear she had [...] she did nothing» (*no siendo capaz de resistirse ni gritar*, [...] *porque estaba muy asustada* [...] *no hizo nada*). As a result of the reading of the proven facts, the victim is made responsible for her actions in the legal basis, because these are understood as «without active resistance by her [the survivor]». According to the rational perspective, a credible survivor of rape must actively try to avoid the assault. Here the discourse of «self-empowerment» is visible, giving her the option to resist and to avoid a sexual assault (Frazier & Falmagne, 2014, p. 480). The actions of resisting and screaming are presented as expected in the case of sexual abuse/assault, as reasonable potential reactions which are in line with how the victim should behave. Although she tried to refuse and resist, unfortunately, this was not deemed enough to consider her response to be active resistance. These expectations are aligned with the rape myth that blames the victim: «if the victim/survivor does not scream, fight or get injured then it is not rape» (Smith & Skinner, 2017, p. 3). Consequently, the conclusion in case 4 is that «by not meeting the requirements of violence or intimidation, plus without active resistance by her [the survivor]» (*al no concurrir los requisitos de violencia o intimidación* [...] *sin resistencia activa por esta*), the crime of rape is presented as non-violent or intimidating, and, thus, condemned as sexual abuse rather than rape. The adjective «active» divides the reactions into two possible options: active and passive. Even without understanding the violence involved in the abuse, the line that differentiates active resistance from passive reaction is too thin. If a survivor is trying to escape, the attacker grabs her and restricts her movements, how can her reaction be considered passive?

In the analysed cases, the only acknowledgment of violence is physical force that leaves visible injuries. Passivity of the survivor (as it is understood in the legislation) is penalized, because rape is not considered as a violent crime per se.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this research has been to explore the dominant discourses in five sexual abuse sentences, in different Spanish Courts, from a Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis perspective. It raises the question whether sexual abuse, understood as penetration without consent, is intimidating and violent or not. In Spanish legislation there are two different types of crimes: sexual abuse (*abuso sexual,* which can involve non-consensual penetration without violence and/or intimidation for the survivor) and sexual assault (*agresión sexual*, non-consensual penetration with violence and/or intimidation). Each crime holds a different sentence, the former being a milder one than the latter. Under this legislative regime, rape is not considered in itself is a violent crime. The motivation for this research comes from the interest of the researcher in how the crime of rape is discursively represented in law and in society. It is necessary to explore how rape can be categorized as inherently non-violent in the absence of physical (external) violence. This stance has been challenged by other criminal justice systems, such as in Canada, where penetration without consent, is criminalized as inherently violent.

After analysing the five judgments of sexual abuse, the dominant discourses detected have been those of sexuality; inaction and erasure of the survivor; and lack of violence and/or intimidation. All are linked with the so-called clause «lack of violence and/or intimidation» required by the law to understand the crime as a sexual abuse rather than a sexual assault. It places the crime in different interpretive frames, such as the one of consensual relations or what is deemed appropriate behaviour of resistance on the part of the survivor.

The judges found the perpetrators guilty of sexual abuse but failed to see evidence of violence or intimidation to categorize the crimes as sexual assault. The assumption that sexual penetration without consent is not violent per se is reflected in the law, in these judgments and in society, where the main evidence required to understand the assault as violent is a victim's physical injuries. In this way, the violence of non-consensual penetration is differentiated from other types of violence. To some extent, this mindset blames the victims for their «inactive» behaviour, and it is reflected in the different sections of the judgment. The inaction attributed to the victim, in most of the cases analysed, is justified by the consumption of alcohol, a determining factor of the sentences dealt with. On the one hand, a reaction from the survivor is expected, and when this is not the case, the victim's «inaction» is justified with external motives. These reasons fail to consider the victim's emotional response and feelings both at the time and in the aftermath of the attack (ironically however this is something that normally is consistently raised throughout the cross-examination in rape cases as a justification for their reaction). Consequently, the violence of the aggressor's acts is diminished. The victims, in the description of the facts, are mainly represented as inactive bodies or as parts of a body, and the rape on certain occasions is sexualized due to the lexis and sentence structures used to describe the crime. Therefore, the «inaction» of the survivor, the lack of physical resistance, may lead to a perceived lack of violence, something that from a judicial perspective damages the victim, due to the categorization of the crime suffered as a milder one.

The semantic distinction made by the law, where the relevant factor is physical violence, should be reconsidered when defining what should be condemned as violent sexual conduct. This perception tends to (re)victimize the victim, indicating that there are different types of sexual assaults, as the Spanish jurisprudence labels violence: «real» assaults vs. «unreal» assaults. This distinction in the law blurs the line between being raped or not being raped, with implications for the victims and for society as a whole. The understanding of what constitutes violence and how a sexual assault, such as those analysed in this paper, does not involve force, implies that these actions are not punished as violent acts. There is a disconnect in how sexual violence is defined and a need to change the way in which sexual abuse is understood, so that it is considered to be a violent crime in itself.

This analysis demonstrates that the definition in the law of two different crimes (i.e. sexual abuse and sexual assault) results in discursive strategies to categorise the victim into one or the other of these categories. In doing so, the criminal justice system in Spain fails to deliver survivors the protection they deserve. Through discursive strategies, the inherently violent experience of the victim is minimized or, even, erased. The relevance of this research comes from the belief that the criminal justice system has the obligation to protect victims. There has been a proposal from the Spanish Government to change the law, but as Henderson (2007) critiques, reforms only come in the aftermath of the cases discussed in this study. The change in legislation is not only imperative judicially, but to influence societal change and help prevent rapes before they occur.

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II. Miscellaneous section / Sección miscelánea

NEGOCIACIONES DE LA MASCULINIDAD EN EL *HEAVY* ESPAÑOL DE LOS OCHENTA

NEGOTIATIONS OF MASCULINITY IN SPANISH EIGHTIES HEAVY METAL

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Submitted / Recibido: 21/06/2020
Accepted / Aceptado: 26/10/2020
To cite this article / Para citar este artículo:
Arenillas Meléndez, S. (2021). Negociaciones de la masculinidad en el heavy español de los ochenta *Feminismo/s*, *38*, 261-279. https://doi.org/10.14198/fem.2021.38.10

Resumen

El *heavy* surgió en España a principios de los ochenta con bandas como Barón Rojo, que tenían influencia de la NWOBHM y se ajustaban a la articulación de lo que Deena Weinstein denomina como «masculinidad cultural» del *heavy.* A mediados de esta década aparecieron propuestas como la de Sangre Azul, que recogían el trabajo de grupos norteamericanos del *glam* y el *lite* metal. Éstos proponían un discurso más abierto en términos de género, que favorecía la implicación de mujeres dentro de la escena *heavy.* Este artículo trata de analizar las propuestas presentes en el *heavy* español de los ochenta a través del caso de Barón Rojo y Sangre Azul. Mediante una metodología interdisciplinar, se estudia cómo el primero articulaba una masculinidad más cercana al tipo de la masculinidad hegemónica, mientras que el segundo, a través de estrategias como la inclusión del romanticismo en las letras, se desviaba de ella.

Palabras clave: *heavy*; música popular urbana; masculinidades; NWOBHM; *glam* metal.

Abstract

Heavy metal arose in Spain in the early eighties with bands such as *Barón Rojo*, which were influenced by NWOBHM. *Barón Rojo* suited the features of what Deena Weinstein has labeled as heavy metal's «cultural masculinity». In the middle eighties, bands such as *Sangre Azul*, widely influenced by North American groups of glam and lite metal, gained success. *Sangre Azul* displayed a flexible discourse in terms of gender, which enabled the commitment of women with heavy metal. This research aims to analyse gender negotiations that were carried out within the Spanish eighties heavy metal scenes. Following an interdisciplinary method, it is studied how hegemonic masculinity is articulated in the case of *Barón Rojo*. At the same time, it is analysed how *Sangre Azul* blurred the limits of heteronormative masculinity by making romantic lyrics or using harmonies closer to pop music.

Keywords: Heavy; Spanish popular music; Masculinities; NWOBHM; Glam metal.

1. EL *HEAVY* Y LA MASCULINIDAD. EL CASO ESPAÑOL

El *heavy* ha sido una de las manifestaciones más analizadas desde el punto de vista de género dentro de los estudios de músicas populares urbanas. En las últimas décadas se ha realizado un número importante de trabajos que abordan el *heavy* desde la perspectiva de género (Heesch & Scott, 2019), atendiendo a cuestiones de tipo subcultural (Nordström & Herz, 2013; Rogers, 2015), musical (Heesch, 2019; Moore, 2011) e incluso desde la perspectiva *queer* (Clifford-Napoleone, 2015).

En 1993 Robert Walser fue pionero en estos estudios con la publicación *Running with the devil: power, gender and madness in heavy metal music*, donde analizaba el discurso de género en el *heavy* en el capítulo «Forging masculinity: heavy metal sounds and images of gender» (1993, pp. 108-136). Walser subraya que el metal está «abrumadoramente preocupado por presentar imágenes y confrontar ansiedades que tradicionalmente se han entendido como propias de los hombres» a través de manifestaciones y medios musicales que «se han codificado convencionalmente como masculinos» (1993, p. 110)[1]. El *heavy* presenta «fantasías de virtuosismo y control masculino»

1. «But metal is overwhelmingly concerned with presenting images and confronting anxieties that have been traditionally understood as peculiar to men, through musical means that have been conventionally coded as masculine» (Walser, 1993, p. 110).

que, musicalmente, se articulan a través de una dialéctica entre el poder y la libertad. Esta experiencia es construida a través de tesituras vocales extremas, «acordes de poder» (*power chords*), la inclusión de la distorsión y un volumen alto, gracias al uso de amplificadores (Walser, 1993, pp. 108-109).

Por su parte, Deena Weinstein en «The empowering masculinity of British heavy metal», capítulo incluido en *Heavy metal music in Britain,* describe cómo el *heavy* articula una masculinidad esencialista centrada en las características físicas de los hombres (fuerza, potencia sexual, resistencia física, etc.). Esta masculinidad, atendiendo a los estudios de autores como Connell, estaría cercana a la «masculinidad hegemónica» (Connell, 1995; Johnson, 2014, pp. 3-8; Weinstein, 2009, p. 19). Deena Weinstein matiza que el *heavy* pondría de manifiesto lo que ella llama «masculinidad cultural», que estaría constituida por «características clave de la masculinidad biológica y social», pero crecería y fluiría libremente fuera de sus grupos biológicos y sociales de origen. Así, esta «masculinidad cultural» habría permitido y permitiría en la actualidad el disfrute y la identificación de las mujeres con el *heavy* (Weinstein, 2009, p. 19). Esto puede observarse, sobre todo, a partir de la segunda mitad de los ochenta, cuando el *heavy* comenzó a tener una audiencia más equilibrada en términos de género gracias a las propuestas del *glam/ hair* metal y el metal «ligero» o *lite* metal (Walser, 1993, pp. 110-111). En este momento surgió también la corriente del *thrash* metal, que redundaba en la retórica de poder y masculinidad del *heavy.* Se creó, así, una escisión dentro del *heavy,* entre el *glam* y el *lite* metal, y subgéneros como el *thrash* metal, que tenía importantes connotaciones de género (Weinstein, 2000, pp. 45-57)[2]. Esta división es un ejemplo de cómo la ansiedad que genera la propia masculinidad ha dado lugar a constantes negociaciones del género dentro del *heavy* (Walser, 1993, p. 110).

El objetivo principal de este artículo es analizar cómo estos procesos de negociación se produjeron también en el *heavy* español de los ochenta, tomando como muestra representativa los casos de Barón Rojo y Sangre Azul.

2. En este sentido, Sarha Moore ha apuntado recientemente cómo la vertiente del *thrash* metal utilizaba con mayor profusión ciertas disonancias (la supertónica descendida), que, según ella, están ligadas a la articulación de la masculinidad en el *heavy* (2011, pp. 7-8).

El *heavy* en España ha sido estudiado desde la musicología con trabajos como «Héroes frigios, nación y distorsión. La batalla por la supertónica descendida como signo musical en el metal español» (García-Peinazo, 2019), *Espíritus rebeldes: el heavy metal en España* (Galicia Poblet, 2005) o «Monstruos y fronteras en el *heavy*: un análisis desde lo híbrido»(Martínez García, 2005). También desde la sociología (del Val, 2017), así como ampliamente reseñado desde el periodismo y la divulgación (Domínguez, 2004; López Martínez, 2009). Asimismo, el *heavy* español ha sido analizado desde una perspectiva de género desde la academia, –por ejemplo, en «Decibelios y testosterona: una aproximación a las imágenes de género del rock y el *heavy*» (Martínez García, 2003)– y el periodismo (Allué Montilla, 2017). El *heavy* se desarrolla en Madrid a principios de los ochenta, al mismo tiempo que la movida madrileña, de la mano de bandas como Barón Rojo y Obús. Éstas se convirtieron en una referencia para el *heavy* nacional. Barón Rojo y sus compañeros de escena eran la adaptación española de la NWOBHM (*New Wave of British Heavy Metal*), que estaba en auge en Reino Unido a principios de los ochenta con formaciones como Iron Maiden.

Fernán del Val, recogiendo a Walser, señala que «una de las características del *heavy* es la sobredimensión de la masculinidad», considerando que «en el caso español […] se da también una situación de homosocialidad de la escena, basada en un entendimiento implícito y explícito, en las letras y en los patrones de identificación, de que todos (músicos, audiencias, periodistas) eran varones heterosexuales» (2017, p. 516). En torno a 1985 aparecieron bandas como Bella Bestia y Sangre Azul que tenían influencia del *glam* metal norteamericano. Silvia Martínez García apunta que la mayoría de los grupos de *heavy* españoles construían un discurso basado en la hipermasculinidad, siendo infrecuente que adoptaran la transgresión de género del *glam* americano (2003, pp. 111-113). De esta forma, el caso de Bella Bestia y Sangre Azul podría considerarse una «anomalía» dentro de la escena española. Sin embargo, Sangre Azul fue uno de los grupos de *heavy* que más éxito tuvo durante la segunda mitad de los ochenta, por lo que es importante el estudio de su propuesta y, especialmente, desde la perspectiva de género.

En este artículo se analiza cómo Barón Rojo articulaba una masculinidad convencional y esencialista que, siguiendo a Walser y Weinstein, definiría a gran parte del *heavy*, mientras que Sangre Azul se alejaba de ella. La metodología que se ha seguido en este estudio ha sido interdisciplinar y ha atendido principalmente al análisis del discurso musical, aunque también se tiene en cuenta puntualmente la iconografía y los textos de las piezas. Las canciones que se han elegido para comparar ambas bandas son «Resistiré», incluida en uno de los discos de mayor éxito de Barón Rojo, *Volumen Brutal* (1982), y «Mil y una noches», del segundo álbum de Sangre Azul, *Cuerpo a cuerpo* (1988). «Resistiré» se ha escogido, además de por ser uno de los temas más conocidos del grupo, como ejemplo de uso de la armonía típica del *heavy*. Además, la temática de esta pieza encaja con lo que Weinstein y Walser señalan con respecto a la construcción de la masculinidad en el *heavy*. «Mil y una noches» se utilizó por ser una de las canciones de Sangre Azul que versan de forma más evidente sobre el amor romántico, y por tener una armonía y unas estrategias musicales interesantes que dan pie a la reflexión en torno a las cuestiones de género que aquí se plantean. Estos ejemplos permiten comparar de manera concisa el discurso propuesto por ambas formaciones, y el cambio que suponía en términos de género la aparición de grupos como Sangre Azul dentro de la escena española.

2. EL *VOLUMEN BRUTAL* DE BARÓN ROJO

Barón Rojo fue, de los grupos surgidos a principios de los ochenta, uno de los más destacados y que mayor influencia tuvo en el *heavy* español de las siguientes décadas. Galicia Poblet señala que «fue el primer grupo de *heavy* que hubo en España» y que junto con Obús «fueron los adalides del *heavy* metal español» (2005, p. 71). Barón Rojo fue fundado en 1980 por los hermanos Armando y Carlos de Castro (guitarras), José Luis Campuzano «Sherpa» (voz y bajo) y Hermes Calabria (batería). Esta plantilla perduró hasta 1990, momento a partir del cual el grupo sufrió diferentes cambios, pero manteniéndose siempre los hermanos de Castro como núcleo central de la formación. El primer disco de Barón Rojo se tituló *Larga vida al rock & roll* (1981), fue editado por el sello Chapa y producido por el locutor Vicente Romero (conocido como Vicente «Mariscal» Romero). Barón Rojo viajó ese año a Inglaterra y conoció a músicos como Bruce Dickinson, de Iron Maiden, o Ian Gillan, de Deep Purle, quien le dispone sus Kingsway

Studios para la grabación del segundo disco (del Val, 2017, p. 346; Galicia Poblet, 2005, p. 72).

El segundo trabajo de Barón Rojo se tituló *Volumen Brutal,* fue editado en 1982 y es considerado uno de los álbumes de referencia del *heavy* español[3]. *Volumen brutal* logró ser disco de platino y fue distribuido en Europa con el sello Kamaflage. Barón Rojo logró, además, actuar el año de su lanzamiento en el Reading Festival en Reino Unido, junto a grupos destacados de la NWOBHM como Iron Maiden (del Val, 2017, p. 346; Galicia Poblet, 2005, p. 73). Después, la banda continuó su ascenso con trabajos como *Metalmorfosis* (1983), el disco en directo *Barón al rojo vivo* (1984), y *En un lugar de la marcha* (1985). Ésta fue la época de mayor esplendor del grupo. Posteriormente siguió lanzando discos, continuando hoy en día en activo y manteniéndose como una referencia del *heavy* español[4].

Barón Rojo responde a las características que Deena Weinstein describe como articuladoras de la «masculinidad cultural» del *heavy*. Así, el propio nombre de la banda hace referencia al piloto de cazas alemán de la Primera Guerra Mundial, Manfred Albrecht Freiherr von Richthofen. Éste era conocido con el apodo de El Barón Rojo por su origen aristocrático y por el color rojo con el que pintó su avión de guerra. La figura de El Barón Rojo se relaciona, por tanto, con el icono del «guerrero» que Weinstein menciona como uno de los más usados en el *heavy,* y que pone en relación con su representación de la masculinidad (2009, p. 26)[5]. Otros símbolos que menciona Weinstein son el del diablo y el mal (2009, p. 26). Barón Rojo también recoge estos en canciones de *Volumen Brutal* como «Los roqueros van al infierno», «Satánico plan (Volumen brutal)» y «Las flores del mal». Además, hay una velada alusión a la conexión del grupo con la escena inglesa en «El Barón vuela sobre Inglaterra».

3. Galicia Poblet señala que es «pieza fundamental de la historia del heavy español» (2005, p. 72) y del Val que «*Volumen brutal* es considerado el mejor trabajo de Barón Rojo» (2017, p. 346).
4. Por ejemplo, en uno de los conciertos que celebró la banda americana Metallica en febrero de 2018 en Madrid esta realizó una versión del popular tema de Barón Rojo «Los roqueros van al infierno» (Lerena, 2018).
5. Uno de los casos más claros de la utilización de esta figura sería la del grupo norteamericano Manowar, que tomó su nombre de la conjunción entre «war», «guerra», y la abreviación de «mannish», «varonil».

A diferencia del *heavy* extranjero, Barón Rojo presentaba textos que parecían contener cierta denuncia social, una particularidad que compartía con otros grupos del rock urbano y el *heavy* español, y que se achaca habitualmente a la situación política del país en aquella época (del Val, 2017, pp. 482-483; Galicia Poblet, 2005, pp. 69-70)[6]. Canciones de *Volumen brutal* como «Resistiré», con las frases «yo maldigo vuestro crimen/ sé que lo tendréis que pagar/y no os servirá el dinero/ para remediar tanto mal», o «Son como hormigas», que señala «cuando el gobierno te manda una carta/ has de temblar, / señor ciudadano/ tiene que pagar un poco más», pueden dar pie a imaginar una inclinación política ligada a la protesta social desde la clase obrera[7]. La particularidad de estos textos reside en que, aunque las alusiones a la política no estaban totalmente fuera de la NWOBHM[8], los grupos anglosajones centraban sus líricas en alusiones a monstruos y fantasías diabólicas (caso del tema «The number of the beast» de Iron Maiden), y no eran habituales los atisbos de protesta o denuncia social explícita. Sin embargo, la posición de disidencia política podría encajar bien con la figura del «proscrito» o «fuera de la ley» que Weinstein incluye en su lista de iconos usados por el *heavy* para la articulación de la masculinidad (2009, p. 26), aunque también es importante tener en cuenta la influencia del punk en esta época.

Musicalmente, Barón Rojo responde a los esquemas propios del *heavy* de este período. Walser, en el ya mencionado *Running with the devil: power, gender, and madness in heavy metal music* explica que la mayoría del *heavy* está construido sobre los modos musicales eólico y dórico[9], así como también

6. España en los ochenta estaba acabando de culminar su período de Transición, después de haber sufrido una dictadura durante cuarenta años. Por ello, Fernán del Val señala que «a diferencia de los grupos británicos o norteamericanos de *heavy* metal, algunos grupos de *heavy* metal españoles mostraron en sus letras una actitud denunciatoria» (2017, pp. 482-483).
7. El caso de Barón Rojo es especialmente interesante porque los hermanos de Castro habían ingresado en el PCE (Partido Comunista de España) en 1974, y actuaron en conciertos organizados por este partido en 1984 (del Val, 2017, p. 489; Galicia Poblet, 2005, p. 73).
8. Es conocida la censura de que fue objeto Iron Maiden por incluir un dibujo de Margaret Thatcher asesinada en la portada de *Sanctuary,* de 1980.
9. Los modos a los que alude Walser son los procedentes de la música medieval, y no de la teoría musical griega. Así, el modo eólico sería el derivado de la escala de La y el modo dórico de la de Re (1993, p. 46).

serían frecuentes en él la utilización de disonancias heredadas del blues[10]. Igualmente, señala que es habitual en el *heavy* el uso de los grados VIIb y VIb, y especialmente enlazados en la progresión VIb-VIIb-I derivada del modo eólico. Esta progresión es lo que Andrew Cope denomina «tricordio eólico» y que, unida a la construcción de los acordes como *power chords,* generaría una atmósfera sonora oscura y opresiva (2010, pp. 118-119)[11].

Los *power chords* o «acordes de poder» son una de las piezas centrales con las que el *heavy* construye su discurso de poder. Son acordes sin tercera y ejecutados en las cuerdas graves de la guitarra, a menudo utilizando la sexta y quinta cuerda al aire, lo que produce frecuencias extremadamente densas. Así, los *power chords* producen potentes señales que, al ser amplificadas y con el añadido de la distorsión, generan una vibración espesa y apabullante que articularía a nivel musical el discurso de poder y masculinidad del *heavy*. Como señala Walser, estas estrategias median entre el poder que representa la música, y la experiencia de poder del oyente. Así, el «volumen extremo» del *heavy* es percibido como el más poderoso de los discursos musicales (Walser, 1993, pp. 42-45).

Barón Rojo hace uso de estos esquemas sonoros procedentes del *heavy* anglosajón. Su conocido tema «Resistiré», contenido, como señalamos, en *Volumen brutal,* es un buen ejemplo del uso del modo eólico y el tricordio VIb-VIIb-I en el *heavy*. La canción utiliza el modo eólico de Fa#, y las estrofas están construidas alrededor del I (Fa#). El puente que enlaza al estribillo

10. Walser alude al famoso *riff* del conocido tema de Deep Purple «Smoke on the wáter» (Sol-Sib– Do; Sol-Sib-Reb-Do) que introduce una 5.ª disminuida (entre el Sol y el Reb) propia del blues, combinada con el uso del modo eólico en Sol (1993, p. 47).
11. El modo eólico sería el derivado de la escala de La, que produce la tonalidad de La menor, pero sin la inclusión de la sensible (el Sol#). La progresión i-VIIb-VIb– en La menor correspondería a la secuencia de acordes de La m – Sol – Fa (Walser, 1993, p. 47): ésta es la que aparecería, por ejemplo, al final del conocido tema de Led Zeppelin «Stairway to heaven». Sin embargo, como apunta Andrew Cope en su estudio *Black Sabbath and the rise of heavy metal music*, es Black Sabbath el que comienza a usar esta estructura utilizando *power chords* en la canción «Paranoid». El uso del tricordio eólico junto a *power chords* generaría una «naturaleza lastimera» y una indefinición sonora que encajaría bien con el contenido de locura y paranoia de la canción, y cuya atmósfera oscura copiaron generaciones posteriores. En este sentido, Cope analiza cómo Iron Maiden utilizaba este recurso poniendo como ejemplo su conocido tema «The trooper» (2010, pp. 118-120).

se articula sobre el VIIb (Mi). El estribillo cierra sus frases sobre el tricordio eólico en Fa# utilizando *power chords* (Re5-Mi5-Fa#5). De esta forma, la música enfatiza y amplifica la fuerza de las palabras finales, «resistiré hasta el fin». El tricordio eólico aparece en otras canciones estandarte de Barón Rojo de *Volumen brutal* como «Los roqueros van al infierno», cuyos versos iniciales están en su mayor parte construidos sobre esta estructura en el modo de Sol (Mib5-Fa5-Sol m). Asimismo, el propio nombre de este segundo disco de Barón Rojo alude a la potencia sonora del *heavy*: al *Volumen brutal* de su «golpe» sonoro. Este significado se ve reforzado por la portada del álbum: en ella aparece el dibujo de una mano apretando una pulsera de tachuelas a modo de puño americano que rompe ficticiamente la portada de cartón (véase Ilustración 1).

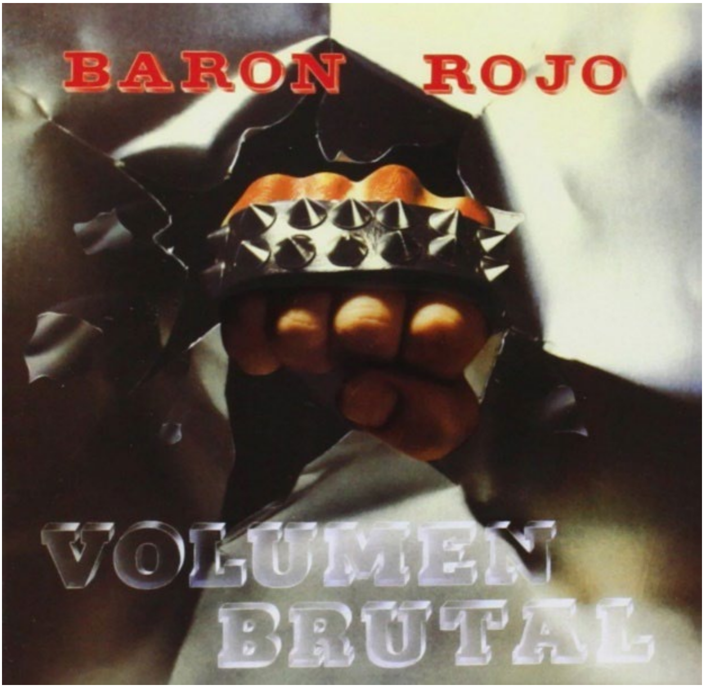

Ilustración 1. Portada del segundo disco, *Volumen brutal*, de Barón Rojo, donde se puede ver un puño con una pulsera de tachuelas que golpea y «rompe» la cubierta.

Así, este ejemplo de Barón Rojo ilustra bien cómo el *heavy* español seguía y emulaba las estrategias sonoras, visuales y discursivas del *heavy* anglosajón de articulación del poder y la masculinidad.

3. LA MASCULINIDAD «ROMÁNTICA» DE SANGRE AZUL.

Fernán del Val recoge a Weinstein y Walser para señalar el giro que la escena *heavy* dio a mediados de los ochenta en cuanto al género. Éste, como se ha mencionado, fue posible gracias a trabajos que se enmarcaban dentro del *glam* y el *lite* metal como el de Bon Jovi. Bon Jovi conjugaba la autenticidad del sonido roquero con la sinceridad del «romanticismo pop», lo que permitía que un mayor número de oyentes femeninas se sintieran identificadas con su propuesta (Walser, 1993, pp. 120-124). Del Val menciona a Sangre Azul como ejemplo de adaptación del discurso de Bon Jovi al *heavy* español, y puntualiza que este tipo de iniciativas no fueron bien recibidas por «una parte de la escena *heavy* al entender que eran excesivamente comerciales»(2017, p. 516).

Sangre Azul se formó a mediados de los ochenta en Madrid, en una época en la que, según Galicia Poblet, comenzaba el declive del *heavy* metal nacional (2005, p. 116). La primera plantilla de Sangre Azul estaba compuesta por José Castañosa (voz), Carlos Raya y Juan Antonio Martín (guitarras), Julio Díaz (bajo) y Luis Santurde (batería). El grupo produjo un primer trabajo en 1985 con cinco temas gracias a haber ganado un concurso de rock. Después, José Castañosa abandona la formación para ser sustituido por Tony Villalba, conocido más tarde como Tony Sölo. Sangre Azul firma entonces un contrato con Hispavox que dará lugar a la grabación de tres álbumes: *Obsesión* (1987), *Cuerpo a cuerpo* (1988) y *El silencio de la noche* (1989). Después de realizar varias giras por España y el extranjero, el grupo se separó en 1992 y algunos de sus componentes siguieron en primera línea del panorama musical español (Galicia Poblet, 2005, pp. 116-118)[12].

12. Por ejemplo, Carlos Raya se incorporó como guitarrista de M-Clan a principios de los 2000, y colaboró con artistas como Antonio Vega o Fito.

Sangre Azul logró vender un número considerable de copias de sus trabajos[13] y a menudo se ha señalado la mayor presencia de mujeres entre su audiencia[14]. Además de la asociación con Bon Jovi que apunta del Val, el estilo de Sangre Azul ha sido calificado como AOR y relacionado con Whitesnake y Van Halen. Si bien, Sangre Azul tenía también influencias del *glam* americano de grupos como Dokken (Galicia Poblet, 2005, pp. 116-117; «Sangre Azul», 2005)[15].

Fernán del Val señala que la novedad que aportó Sangre Azul a la escena del *heavy* nacional estaba «básicamente en las letras». Éstas redundan sobre el mito del amor romántico y la vulnerabilidad masculina, pero «manteniendo los cánones sonoros que caracterizan al *heavy*» (del Val, 2017, p. 516). Temas como «Cien años de amor», «Todo mi mundo eres tú» y «Mil y una noches» muestran este cambio de forma clara. Los textos de estas canciones no sólo tienen una temática amorosa, sino que utilizan pronombres en segunda persona como «tú» o «contigo» que afianzan la identificación del oyente anónimo con el otro al que se dirige el afecto amoroso. Ejemplos de esta estrategia son: la frase «Contigo viviré/ mil y una noches», que da título al tema «Mil y una noches» y que se repite en su estribillo; la segunda estrofa de «Todo mi mundo eres tú», que señala «sólo estando junto a ti/ nada importa ya/ todo es distinto si estás tú»; y el puente de «Cien años de amor», que indica «mírame, siénteme, estoy aquí junto a ti/ […]/ yo te prometo cien años de amor». Esta maniobra era particularmente disruptiva no sólo por tratar el tema del amor[16], sino también por la ansiedad que podía generar

13. Tony Villalba en la entrevista realizada para el programa *Rockcinante* señala que por aquel entonces Sangre Azul vendía aproximadamente 30.000 o 40.000 copias de cada uno de sus álbumes (Sangre Azul, 2011).
14. En el número 45 de la revista *Heavy rock*, publicado en mayo de 1987, se señalaba que «las chicas se acercan en número apreciable en relación con lo poco que se las suele ver en conciertos de rock fuerte a los *shows* de Sangre Azul» (Giner, 1987).
15. El propio Tony Villalba señala en una breve entrevista que le realizaron a raíz de la participación de Sangre Azul en el programa *A tope* en 1988 que la banda tenía como referencia a grupos como Dokken, Bon Jovi y Whitesnake. De hecho, en la conocida página *Discogs* se etiqueta a Sangre Azul doblemente como *glam* metal y como AOR (Sangre Azul, 1988; *Sangre Azul*, n.d.).
16. Deena Weinstein cita las declaraciones del líder de Iron Maiden Steve Harris, quien decía que hablar de romance en las canciones le parecía «debilucho» (*wimpy*), para señalar que el *heavy* no solía tener textos sobre el amor (2009, p. 25).

esta direccionalidad en la audiencia masculina. La enmarcación clara del receptor en un contexto de amor romántico hacía difícil que sus seguidores pudiesen relacionar el sentido de las letras con la fraternidad masculina y la homosocialidad que forjaba el sentimiento de comunidad del *heavy*. Sin embargo, estas letras facilitaban la identificación de las mujeres con el sujeto al que iban dirigidas.

Los textos de Sangre Azul se alejan, asimismo, de la denuncia social que había caracterizado a la primera oleada del *heavy* español, lo que aumentaba la suspicacia hacia ellos. Como apuntamos, gran parte de los fans y la crítica especializada del *heavy* vertían con frecuencia acusaciones de comercialidad sobre la banda (del Val, 2017, p. 484)[17]. Sin embargo, cabe señalar que Sangre Azul tenía canciones que redundaban sobre el propio rock, lo que del Val denomina «*habitus* roquero»[18] («Sólo rock & roll», «A golpes de rock»), el espacio urbano («El rey de la ciudad», «Invadiendo tu ciudad») y aspectos de la «masculinidad cultural» que rodea al *heavy* («Velocidad», «Abre fuego», «Sediento de sangre», etc.). Esto demuestra que la banda trataba de ajustarse y mantener los lazos con el canon del *heavy*, lo que generaba contradicción si se oponía al romanticismo de los otros temas.

El discurso de Sangre Azul también era diferente al de grupos como Barón Rojo en lo que respecta a la música. Robert Walser señala que los modos mixolidio y jónico, relacionados con el modo mayor en la armonía tonal, son habituales del pop (1993, p. 46). Tanto Bon Jovi como grupos de *glam* metal combinaban estos modos con estructuras sonoras más propias del

17. Las acusaciones de comercialidad fueron una constante en las críticas al grupo por parte de la prensa especializada del *heavy* y es posible que influyeran en la decisión de disolver el grupo. Por ejemplo, en una entrevista en *Metal Hammer* se preguntaba a la banda por el hecho de que «los heavies más duros» les hubieran criticado «en ocasiones» por ser «excesivamente comerciales», a lo que el cantante Tony Villalba se defendía señalando: «No estoy nada de acuerdo en que las canciones sean comerciales, somos una banda de rock al cien por cien, hay temas que suenan menos duros quizás por la melodía o los coros, pero luego en directo somos un grupo totalmente duro» (Singla, 1988, p. 21).

18. Fernán del Val considera que los textos de los grupos de *heavy* españoles encajaban en siete categorías: 1) la idea de comunidad; 2) críticas a lo comercial; 3) el rock como resistencia; 4) el «*habitus* roquero»; 5) el espacio urbano; 6) pacifismo y utopía; y 7) hedonismo, sexo y ocio. Del Val menciona a Sangre Azul al desarrollar la última (2017, pp. 490-518).

heavy (tricordio eólico, *power chords,* etc.) (Walser, 1993, pp. 122, 127). Esto jugaba un importante papel en la proyección de un discurso de género más abierto, al combinar la sonoridad mayor y más tonal del pop con estrategias musicales del *heavy* que connotaban fuerza y potencia.

Sangre Azul seguían esta última línea. Un ejemplo claro sería el tema «Mil y una noches». La canción se inicia con la descripción de la inclinación amorosa del narrador por el sujeto al que va dirigida. El texto comienza diciendo «la magia de la noche/ su trampa me tendió/ y entre la multitud/ solos tú y yo», y la cuarta estrofa señala «y pierdo el control/ de mis sentidos/ y mi obsesión/ es tenerte conmigo».

Musicalmente «Mil y una noches» está construida sobre el tricordio eólico de Si (Do#-La-Si) que se enuncia en el *riff* de la introducción. Este *riff* es sobre el que están articulados los estribillos y acompaña la declaración de compromiso romántico del narrador, «contigo viviré/ mil y una noches». Los acordes de este *riff* están ejecutados en posiciones que utilizan las cuerdas graves de la guitarra, generando la característica sonoridad potente del *heavy*. Sin embargo, el efecto «menor» y modal del tricordio eólico es difuminado por la utilización de acordes con tercera, y no *power chords*. De esta forma, al oír los acordes completos (como Do# menor, La mayor y Si mayor), la estructura armónica de este *riff* es leída dentro del modo mixolidio, y situada en el entorno de una tonalidad mayor[19]. Asimismo, la guitarra realiza un motivo sobre el acorde de Si que enlaza las notas Mi y Si con Re# y Si que sugiere un breve giro IV-I (Mi mayor– Si mayor) que difumina la sonoridad del tricordio eólico.

Las estrofas de «Mil y una noches», aunque utilizan los mismos acordes que este *riff* y su motivo sobre Si, posicionan los acordes en diferente orden (esto es, La mayor – Si mayor – Do# menor). Estos acordes están también realizados como acordes enteros y, por ello, las estrofas son oídas sobre un tricordio eólico en la tonalidad menor de Do #. Esta tonalidad es la relativa del tono de la subtónica (VIIb) de Si (La Mayor), que cobra protagonismo a

19. El tricordio eólico en un modo menor con acordes completos estaría formado por dos acordes perfectos mayores y uno menor. Sin embargo, si el tricordio eólico se lee en una tonalidad mayor, estos acordes deberían ser dos perfectos menores y uno perfecto mayor. Los *power chords*, al eliminar la tercera, dejarían en suspenso estas relaciones propias de la armonía tonal clásica.

través del giro VIIb-I que enlaza las estrofas y el estribillo, y en el que además se utiliza el *power chord* Si5. Por tanto, las estrofas que señalan el «tormento» amoroso del narrador utilizan de forma más evidente sonoridades del *heavy* (el tricordio eólico en menor, los *power chords* y el VIIb).

La salida de la atmósfera de tensión descrita en las estrofas se produce mediante la «romántica» declaración de compromiso del narrador en el estribillo («contigo viviré/ mil y una noches») cuya trascendencia estaría articulada sonoramente a través del giro al contexto mayor del *riff* principal. Esta estrategia se ve reforzada en los últimos estribillos, que presentan el tricordio eólico un semitono por encima en el modo mixolidio de Do. Do mayor es una de las tonalidades más usadas en la música tonal occidental, por lo que este giro contribuiría a reforzar la sensación de salida del ámbito menor y modal propio del *heavy*. Además, el paso a este estribillo final es el único momento de la canción en que Sangre Azul utiliza una sucesión de *power chords* (La5-Sol#5-E5-Fa#5-Si5), lo que amplifica este contraste.

La modulación uno o varios semitonos por encima es una característica que «Mil y una noches» comparte con «Livin' on a prayer» de Bon Jovi, y que Walser interpreta como un afianzamiento del discurso de trascendencia y poder del amor que rodeaba al tema (1993, p. 123). Como ilustra el caso de «Mil y una noches», Sangre Azul compartiría con Bon Jovi y con el *glam* metal el uso de maniobras sonoras que combinaban la fuerza y el poder del *heavy* con otras que se movían en una armonía más tonal y en un contexto de modalidad mayor asociado con el pop. Sin embargo, Walser apunta la existencia de estrategias de negociación entre el ámbito modal y menor, y el tonal y mayor en bandas clásicas de *heavy* americanas como Van Halen[20]. Esto significa que las estrategias usadas por Sangre Azul no eran sonoridades ajenas a la tradición del *heavy*, que, además, estaban lo suficientemente asentadas como para que Sangre Azul hubiera accedido a ellas[21]. En este sentido, la principal diferencia que tenía Sangre Azul con Barón Rojo era

20. Walser explica cómo Van Halen en su famoso *riff* de «Running with the devil» jugaba con la alternancia entre los *power chords* de Do5 y Re5, y el acorde completo de Mi Mayor. Así, aunque se utilizaba el tricordio eólico, su asociación con el modo menor quedaba desdibujada (1993, pp. 52-53).
21. El primer disco de Van Halen, de nombre homónimo y que contenía temas icónicos de la banda como el citado «Running with de devil», fue lanzado en 1978.

el acudir a propuestas que venían no tanto del ámbito británico, sino del norteamericano, que había dado lugar a corrientes más abiertas en términos de género como el *glam* metal.

Estas influencias podían intuirse también a nivel iconográfico. Por ejemplo, la tipografía del primer disco de Sangre Azul, en azul metálico y con acabados en forma de triángulo, recordaba al usado por Van Halen en su álbum debut. Asimismo, al contrario que Barón Rojo, las portadas de Sangre Azul solían presentar fotografías de sus miembros. Éstos acostumbraban a aparecer llevando elaborados cardados de pelo, que en ocasiones teñían en tonos de rubio platino. También eran frecuentes en su vestuario complementos con estampados de leopardo y cazadoras llamativas (véase Ilustración 2).

Ilustración 2. Portada del primer disco de Sangre Azul, *Obsesión* (1987), en la que se puede ver a los componentes del grupo con el pelo cardado y usando un vestuario que incluía estampados de leopardo típicos del *glam* o *hair* metal.

De este modo, Sangre Azul ponía de manifiesto su preocupación por transmitir una imagen atractiva y «sexy», que estaba no sólo en el discurso visual del *glam* o *hair* metal, sino también en figuras como el cantante de Van Halen, David Lee Roth (Walser, 1993, p. 51). Esta estrategia podía suponer un problema para la articulación de una masculinidad heteronormativa, al posicionar al hombre en el rol de ser el objeto pasivo al que se admira, que tradicionalmente se ha asociado con las mujeres. Por tanto, quizá lo verdaderamente problemático para los fans del *heavy* español no era sólo el tipo de romanticismo de las letras de Sangre Azul, sino la conjunción entre éste y una imagen y unas estrategias visuales y musicales que eran disruptivas del discurso de masculinidad que asociaban con el *heavy.*

4. CONCLUSIONES

La contraposición del discurso de Barón Rojo con el de Sangre Azul permite reflexionar sobre las ansiedades que la articulación de una masculinidad heteronormativa producía dentro del *heavy* español y extranjero, y las formas de negociación del género que surgían en torno a él. Barón Rojo respondía con mayor fidelidad al discurso de masculinidad que articulaba el *heavy* anglosajón, y especialmente el británico. Sin embargo, el trabajo de Sangre Azul combinaba esta masculinidad más normativa con una vulnerabilidad romántica, especialmente evidente en las letras, propia de corrientes como el pop. En términos sonoros, esto suponía el uso de unas estructuras armónicas más tonales y mayores, y la utilización estratégica de elementos como los *power chords.* Sin embargo, este proceder estaba presente en gran parte del *heavy* americano de la época, no sólo en el *glam* o *hair* metal, caracterizado por la androginia, sino también en bandas canónicas como Van Halen. Por ello, aunque autores como del Val recogen que Sangre Azul fue menos aceptado por los fans tradicionales del *heavy,* cabe alegar que su trabajo estaba influenciado en igual medida que el de Barón Rojo por las propuestas «clásicas» del género.

El acercamiento a las corrientes norteamericanas del *heavy* pudo contribuir a que la audiencia de Sangre Azul tuviera un mayor número de mujeres, pero también es posible que fuera una dificultad para la legitimación del grupo. Esto pudo ser consecuencia, en parte, de que Sangre Azul no se ajustaba de forma ortodoxa a cuestiones relacionadas con la homosocialidad y la fraternidad masculina, que permean las escenas del *heavy*. Asimismo, cabe subrayar de nuevo que las diferencias entre Sangre Azul y Barón Rojo se aprecian no sólo en los textos y la iconografía, sino también en las propias estrategias sonoras. Por todo ello, el caso de Sangre Azul y Barón Rojo es un buen ejemplo de cómo la música ayuda a configurar diferentes discursos de género, y pone de manifiesto la importancia y el peso que la articulación de la masculinidad tiene dentro del *heavy* nacional y extranjero.

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RELECTURAS E INTERVENCIONES «FEMENINAS»/ FEMINISTAS EN LA REVISTA *LA LITERATURA ARGENTINA*

«FEMININE»/FEMINIST RE-READINGS AND INTERVENTIONS IN *LA LITERATURA ARGENTINA* MAGAZINE

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Submitted / Recibido: 01/09/2020
Accepted / Aceptado: 16/11/2020

To cite this article / Para citar este artículo: Cabezas, L. (2021). Relecturas e intervenciones «femeninas»/feministas en la revista *La Literatura Argentina*. *Feminismo/s, 38*, 281-306. https://doi.org/10.14198/fem.2021.38.11

Resumen

La Literatura Argentina conforma un archivo en su materialidad más convencional, nombres propios y obras de escritoras se suceden bajo la lógica del guardado y el almacenamiento; pero, al mismo tiempo, también archiva formas de subjetivación de «lo femenino» en relación con las condiciones de existencia y producción de la literatura en ese momento histórico. Bajo la dinámica de una inclusión excluyente, las escritoras reflexionan e inflexionan sobre el dominio discursivo con un gesto lecto-comprensivo feminista: leen y se leen entre ellas, pero además leen o se leen desde su propia inscripción en ese archivo sexualizado. Esto permite que, más que una interpretación alternativa del archivo, se verifiquen movimientos dentro de él que intentan *releer inversamente* sus fundamentos patriarcales.

Palabras clave: *La Literatura Argentina*; escritoras argentinas; relecturas femeninas; archivo y feminismo.

Abstract

La Literatura Argentina forms an archive in its most conventional materiality, the proper names and the writers' works follow one another under the logic of saving and storage; but, at the same time, it also archives forms of subjectivation of «the feminine» in relation to the conditions of existence and production of literature at that historical moment. Under the dynamics of an exclusive inclusion, the writers reflect and flex on the discursive domain with a feminist reading-understanding gesture: they are read and read, but also read or read from their own inscription in that sexualized archive. This allows that, more than an alternative interpretation of the archive, movements within it are verified that try to reread its patriarchal foundations in reverse.

Keywords: *La Literatura Argentina*; Argentine women writers; Feminine re-readings; Archive and feminism.

1. VISIBLEMENTE INVISIBILIZADAS

«La obra me ha interesado especialmente por ser de mujer y entiendo la solidaridad femenina naciente, haciendo llegar a las compañeras en lucha y aspiraciones intelectuales, una opinión sincera», se lee en el quinto número –enero de 1929– de la revista *La Literatura Argentina*. Quien escribe es Mercedes Dantas Lacombe, escritora, profesora y doctora en Filosofía y Letras, cofundadora del Club Argentino de Mujeres, institución que un mes antes había organizado el Tercer Congreso Internacional Femenino y también la Exposición del Libro Femenino. Dantas Lacombe (1929) entonces escribe sobre la obra teatral de Lucía Láinez de Mujica Farías, *Y pudo más la razón…*, en el marco de un artículo que revisa críticamente los libros de algunas escritoras publicados el año anterior. La necesidad de leer, dar a conocer y hacer balances no extraña. En sus páginas, *La Literatura Argentina* alienta un proyecto bibliográfico dedicado «exclusivamente al mundo del libro y sus creadores» (Pierini, 2006, p. 93). En efecto, desde septiembre de 1928, la publicación mensual del editor Lorenzo J. Rosso recuerda a los autores del pasado al mismo tiempo que fomenta a los nuevos y nuevas exponentes del campo literario e intelectual argentino[1]. En este sentido, el objetivo archivístico democratiza la letra, de un

1. Bajo la dirección de Lorenzo J. Rosso (1928– julio de 1936), *La Literatura Argentina* se publica mensualmente entre septiembre de 1928 y julio-agosto-septiembre de 1937.

modo general y no exento de conflictos, permitiendo el ingreso, de manera creciente, de diversas voces y obras de mujeres que interesan *especialmente*, como afirmaba Dantas Lacombe (1929).

Tampoco se equivocaba la colaboradora cuando hacía mención a una solidaridad femenina naciente, que en términos literarios se comprueba en la revista-catálogo. En sus sucesivas ediciones, las escritoras van ganando terreno al reflexionar, debatir y disputar un lugar de enunciación válido dentro de una institución literaria que se presenta –y ellas se encargan de remarcarlo– como un asunto de varones letrados. Si bien en otras publicaciones de la época, como *Caras y Caretas* o *El Hogar*, las «poetisas» y escritoras encuentran visibilidad al promocionar sus libros, enviar sus textos o conceder entrevistas, en *La Literatura Argentina* ellas pueden, además, intervenir con sus opiniones personales sobre los mecanismos de legitimación que organizan el canon sexista de las letras. Es que, al plantear un periodismo que se concentre más en la «producción literaria» que en la crítica[2], la revista habilita y promueve la discusión sobre la dimensión material de la literatura, es decir, sobre los modos del hacer y circular de los libros. Y así, a partir de esta propuesta editorial, las escritoras se piensan a sí mismas como «productoras» y se involucran en las reglas que asocian lo literario a «lo femenino»: ¿qué son la poesía y la literatura femeninas? ¿Cómo se lleva adelante un movimiento cultural de mujeres? ¿Por qué las escritoras no son en general contempladas en los premios, y por qué no hay paridad de género en la conformación del jurado? ¿Quiénes son y sobre qué escriben las autoras del «interior» del país? ¿Cómo conformar una genealogía propia? Estas preguntas, que se suceden en los primeros años en que se publica la revista, dan cuenta de un programa de paridad de género que las escritoras llevan

En total se publicaron 105 números, en Buenos Aires, con dimensiones 28 x 20 cm. La mayoría de sus números se encuentran digitalizados en AhiRa (Archivo Histórico de Revistas Argentinas), https://www.ahira.com.ar/revistas/la-literatura-argentina/.

2. En el primer número se plantea como uno de los objetivos de la revista el «cómputo» y no la «clasificación», es decir, que no interesa tanto la crítica literaria como fomentar los autores más recientes al mismo tiempo que revisitar a los «de ayer». Asimismo, se propone hacer «noticia del libro escrito y la obra por escribir; del autor conocido, del olvidado, del que se asoma y del inédito aún; de las instituciones y cenáculos literarios, del editor y del librero» (La Literatura Argentina, 1928, s/p).

adelante para que se les reconozca su constante y creciente presencia dentro del ámbito literario nacional.

Fletcher (1993) en «El desierto que no es tal: escritoras y escritura» lanza un interrogante sobre quién conoce o ha leído a las sesenta autoras con noventa libros de narrativa publicados durante la década de 1930 (p. 7). Su propósito es «rescatar una parte de la tradición literaria femenina argentina, una parte tan fecunda como desconocida: la década de 1930» y así demostrar que «la literatura argentina no es una cuestión de escritores varones o algunas escritoras reconocidas» (p. 7). En palabras de la crítica feminista:

> Al no tomar en cuenta las otras escritoras –a veces menores, a veces no– se pierde de vista la relación entre ellas como también de la relación entre ellas y sus tiempos, se desconoce la presencia constante de escritoras y sus contribuciones, y se intenta valorizar y periodizar su obra según factores muchas veces ajenas a ellas y su obra. (p. 7)

Los ejemplares de *La Literatura Argentina,* en este sentido, son un buen espacio para pensar estas cuestiones ya que, como nota Fletcher, el caudal de escritoras y libros supera en número a todas las revistas de la época, literarias y feministas. De hecho, si al principio se publican colaboraciones aisladas aunque recurrentes, desde 1931 se impone una política literaria femenina de secciones: «Libro femenino» a cargo de Raquel Adler (a partir del nro. 37, sept. de 1931), en la que se concentran las notas y críticas bibliográficas sobre los libros de mujeres; «Escritoras del interior» (a partir del nro. 38, octubre de 1931), que recorre los nombres y obras de escritoras de todo el país; «Notitas femeninas» (a partir del nro. 40, dic. de 1931, luego «Notas femeninas»), que divulga actividades e información miscelánea; y «Escritoras sobre escritoras» (a partir del nro. 57, mayo de 1933) en el que una escritora elige a otra y recorre su obra. Si bien considero que el rescate es una parte importante del trabajo de archivo en relación con las escritoras y sus producciones, no es este el objetivo del presente artículo. Me interesa, más bien, rastrear las reafirmaciones colectivas que ellas realizan, sus estrategias de apoderamiento y los debates que generan para cuestionar los criterios legitimantes y habilitantes del canon que las desautoriza.

Como ha señalado Pollock (2013), la crítica del canon es motivada por «aquellos que se sienten sin voz y privados de una historia cultural reconocida» (p. 31), ya que el canon excluye los textos escritos, pintados o compuestos e interpretados por su comunidad social, cultural o de género. Y, sin ese reconocimiento, «estos grupos sienten la falta de representaciones de sí mismos para contestar aquellas otras estereotipadas, discriminantes y opresivas que figuran en lo que ha sido canonizado» (p. 31). En el caso de *La Literatura Argentina*, la respuesta se debate entre quienes defienden y quienes desestiman la apuesta por un sexo literario «femenino» que organice un canon de escritoras y compita con el oficial, masculino y masculinizante. Sea una u otra la posición tomada, lo cierto es que ambas tratan de dar una discusión mayor en relación con los derechos intelectuales de las mujeres, en tanto ven que, pese a la gran visibilidad que tienen en la prensa, carecen de una representación autorizada de sí mismas como autoras.

Un buen ejemplo aparece en el número 62, octubre de 1933. Ese año se discute la Ley de Propiedad Literaria y Artística, y se realiza una entrevista a la abogada Lucila de Gregorio Lavié, quien había dado una conferencia en el Ateneo Ibero Americano sobre la protección jurídica de las obras artísticas y literarias. Gregorio Lavié explica cómo la nueva Ley de Propiedad viene a llenar un vacío, una necesidad apremiante, y se muestra entusiasmada por la numerosa concurrencia femenina que asistió a la conferencia y produjo comentarios muy interesantes. La ironía del entrevistador no tarda en llegar: *«Teníamos conocimiento de la documentada conferencia que diera en el Ateneo y en la que fuera largamente aplaudida; pero, no resistimos el deseo de hacerle una pregunta capciosa: ¿Qué puede interesar este tema a tantas lindas damas?»* (Entrevista a Lucila De Gregorio Lavié, 1933, p. 32). Gregorio Lavié replica que la mujer se intelectualiza día a día, aumenta su cultura y se lanza con entusiasmo a nuevas conquistas; remarca cómo en las letras, la música, las artes y el periodismo se destacan cada vez más «valores femeninos» y sentencia: «no es desde luego de extrañar que se interesen por algo que les atañe bien de cerca» (p. 31). El argumento de cercanía acompaña un dato de época: la mención, con diferentes connotaciones, al número *cada vez más* creciente de escritoras en el campo literario[3]. Ahora bien, la capciosidad de

3. Como señalan Szurmuk y Torre (2018), «[l]as mujeres burguesas habían estado reclamando un espacio en el mundo letrado desde principios del siglo XIX y, a fines de la década de 1880, muchas de ellas ya publicaban libros y diarios. Las mujeres inmigrantes, las de la clase trabajadora y las de clase media baja se alfabetizaron y comenzaron a escribir como parte de su compromiso con la política, con los sindicatos y con la

la pregunta viene justamente a mostrar los límites impuestos al consenso de lo visible. La profusión de «poetisas», poetas y escritoras en revistas y diarios oculta un mecanismo cultural de poder implícito: se las incluye desde la exclusión que sostiene la narrativa de la diferencia sexual. Están visiblemente invisibilizadas, y sus textos, al igual que sus cuerpos, se tornan objetos femeninos de exhibición.

La Literatura Argentina, ya se dijo, conforma un archivo en su materialidad más convencional, nombres propios y obras se suceden bajo la lógica del guardado y el almacenamiento; pero, al mismo tiempo, también archiva formas de subjetivación de «lo femenino» en relación con las condiciones de existencia y producción de la literatura en ese momento histórico[4]. Bajo la dinámica de una inclusión excluyente, las escritoras reflexionan e inflexionan sobre el dominio discursivo con un gesto lecto-comprensivo feminista: leen y se leen entre ellas, pero además leen o se leen desde su propia inscripción en ese archivo sexualizado. Esto permite que, más que una interpretación alternativa del archivo, se verifiquen movimientos dentro de él que intentan *releer inversamente* sus fundamentos patriarcales. En este sentido, la emoción como atributo social, cultural y editorial de «lo femenino» se propone en muchos momentos como una marca identitaria y una cifra de empoderamiento.

Las emociones o sentimientos no son solamente materia lírica y narrativa en las escritoras, no son tampoco «propiedad» de su género, configuran la posibilidad misma de problematizar la condición subalterna de sus voces autorales mediante la interpretación: no porque las escritoras se pongan a interpretar lo que sienten, sino porque reaccionan desde un lugar de enunciación que articula cuerpos, emociones e historia. Que las emociones no solo mueven y hacen sentir, sino que también, como sostiene Ahmed (2015), conectan cuerpos con otros cuerpos es muy claro en la revista a través de la conformación de una comunidad de escritoras que iremos recorriendo, entre las que se encuentran María Raquel Adler, María Velasco y Arias, Nydia Lamarque, Rosa Bazán de Cámara, María Alicia Domínguez, Margarita del

educación. Fueron piezas clave en la expansión del público lector a través de la enseñanza, la publicación y la escritura» (p. 191). Por este motivo, en el periodo de 1880 a 1930, las escritoras no pueden considerarse «excéntricas, pioneras o rebeldes» (p. 191).

4. Sobre la noción de archivo, Agamben (2002), Foucault (1992, 1997)Gi y Guasch (2011).

Campo, Herminia C. Brumana, Mary Rega Molina, quienes depositan sus sueños, expectativas, enunciados en pos de construirse una realidad escrituraria como tarea del presente y promesa de futuro.

2. APODERADAS DE LA POESÍA

«Cherie García y Onrubia canta con sencillez las emociones que siente. Su verso es fluido y musical; su estrofa contenida y sobria. No pertenece, en verdad, a ninguna escuela determinada ni se empeña por sorprender al lector con melodías extravagantes o expresiones inesperadas. Quiere solamente cantar sus sentimientos con voz natural» (Chérie García y Onrubia. *Vidriales*, 1928, p. 23)[5]. Sin firma, el fragmento pertenece a las reseñas que, producidas en serie, al límite de la escritura no creativa, se detienen en las obras literarias de las escritoras. Sinceridad, corazón, sencillez, simplicidad natural, expresión conmovedora, delicados versos, sentimientos tiernos y espontáneos, intimidad, frescura…, la lista sigue, y este sistema de adjetivación, relativamente estable, cimienta el imaginario de una literatura «naturalmente» femenina que, si bien se encarniza en las «poetisas» y sus versos, no por eso deja afuera a las escritoras reconocidas, como Victoria Ocampo, o las obras en prosa. En la mitología patriarcal de creatividad exclusivamente masculina (Pollock, 2013, p. 33), a las escritoras les toca *sentir* y reproducir, de forma subjetiva y por tanto individual, su emocionalidad que, como en el caso de Chérie García, no pertenece a una escuela estética determinada ni sorprende al lector con la alteridad de lo extraño.

Como se sabe, el discurso sobre la «naturaleza femenina» que se formuló a partir del siglo XVIII y se impuso en la sociedad burguesa en ascenso, definió a la mujer en términos maternales y delicados, una «fuerza del bien» que se trastocaba en «potencia del mal» cuando «usurpaba» actividades que no le eran «culturalmente» atribuidas (Telles, 2010), de tal modo que este discurso que naturalizó «lo femenino», también lo colocó en un más allá de la cultura: si la creación era una prerrogativa de los hombres, a las mujeres les correspondía la reproducción de la especie y su nutrición. Por estar «más

5. Seudónimo de Sarah Felisa García y Onrubia (1909-1925), editó su primer libro en 1928, *Vidriales,* y colaboró en algunas revistas, como *El Hogar, Fray Mocho,* en diarios como *El Diario Español, La Capital* de Rosario y *O Jornal* de Río de Janeiro.

cercanas» a la naturaleza, las mujeres también quedaban vinculadas con las emociones que se consideraban «inferiores» a las facultades del pensamiento y la razón. En palabras de Ahmed (2015), «se narran como un signo de 'nuestra' prehistoria y de la manera en que persiste lo primitivo en el presente» (p. 22): están «por debajo» y «por detrás» del hombre/humano. De este modo, sigue Ahmed (2015), afirmar que un sujeto o colectivo *es emotivo* implica una clara dependencia de las relaciones de poder, que dotan a «otros» de significado y valor. Dentro de este esquema evolutivo, «lo femenino» en cruce con la literatura conlleva un mecanismo perverso de control y valoración: si, por un lado, se celebra la *encantadora feminidad* en las letras como marca de género del sujeto y de su textualidad, por el otro, la falta de esta cualidad femenina se utiliza como elogio. En una reseña al libro *En silencio,* a Margarita E. Arsamasseva[6] se la presenta como «un espíritu investigador», que manifiesta su pensamiento y, por tanto, «tiene muy poco de femenina». (Margarita E. Armasseva, *En silencio*, 1929, p. 24).

Si bien «lo femenino» siempre atañe a los sujetos construidos social y culturalmente como «mujeres», no alcanza a todas. Quienes no *performan* literariamente el género asignado, es decir, las escritoras que no plasman en sus textos sus emociones presuntamente naturales, se ubican más cerca del pensamiento masculino y, por lo tanto, estarían más «avanzadas» en la línea de evolución de la creación estética. Como explica Velasco y Arias[7] (1931), en una entrevista, el hombre «califica, y si a regañadientes tiene que reconocer una valía inobjetable la arrima al grupo de la producción masculina mudando el género gramatical de las palabras aplicables a la artista» (p. 8). Son las «escritoras viriles» como contracara de las escritoras del corazón, del misticismo y el idealismo: las llamadas «poetisas». Aunque, como ya dijimos, estas caracterizaciones nunca son estables, y lo masculino incluso puede convivir con lo femenino, como ocurre en la reseña del libro *Mosaico*

6. Son pocos los datos biográficos que se conocen de esta poeta, sabemos que participó en la *Revista Multicolor de los Sábados* del diario *Crítica*.
7. María Velasco y Arias es la primera mujer que recibe el título de doctora en la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras (UBA), en 1913, con una tesis sobre la historia teatral argentina. Además, escribió la biografía de Juana Manso (1937). Publicó *Alborada del canto,* en 1947 y *Cerca pasa el río,* de 1948.

de Herminia C. Brumana[8] que «tiene cerebro y también corazón»: «Cerebro para el libre examen, corazón abierto a todas las emociones humanas, nervios para el arrojo. […] Porque en todo, aun en su feminidad, es un libro masculino, escrito por una mujer» (*Mosaico* de Herminia C. Brumana, 1929, p. 117).

Ahora bien, frente a esta dicotomía entre razón y sentimiento, en *La Literatura Argentina* las escritoras forjan un discurso que no reniega de su «emocionalidad femenina», al contrario: la reafirma. Y lo hace desarmando la oposición entre emoción y pensamiento racional. Algunas de las escritoras que escriben y opinan en la revista intentan usar la emoción que se les adjudica como forma de emancipación intelectual. Así lo exhiben las jóvenes premiadas en el concurso literario femenino organizado por el Club Argentino de mujeres en 1929. Por ejemplo, Tilde Pérez Pieroni[9], segundo premio de poesía, afirma que le inspira la naturaleza y el misterio de su intimidad, sostiene el progreso intelectual de la mujer y opina que la prevención del «hombre de 20 a 40 años» contra la mujer escritora se debe a que «ansía siempre ser superior a ella y se resiste a admitir que un cerebro femenino pueda aventajarle en ingenio; tal vez impere en su ley manifestar eterna superioridad tanto intelectual como espiritual, quizá bajo la influencia del privilegio que la sociedad le concede» (El concurso literario del Club Argentino de Mujeres, 1929, p. 10). Cómo un «cerebro femenino» puede combatir ese privilegio del género masculino en las letras argentinas es una reflexión constante en las intervenciones de las escritoras. Les urge, por eso, crear un lugar de enunciación propia, una filiación y una comunidad que sea intelectual y femenina al mismo tiempo.

8. Herminia C. Brumana (1897-1954). Maestra, educadora, escritora, periodista, dramaturga y militante de ideas socialistas y anarquistas. Defendía los derechos de las mujeres, el amor libre, el derecho al divorcio y le interesaba particularmente la niñez. Tiene una gran producción en prosa y dramaturgia. Colaboró en varias publicaciones periódicas de la época, como *El Hogar, La Nación, Mundo Argentino.*
9. Tilde Pérez Pieroni (1913–) nace en Bolívar, provincia de Buenos Aires, donde comienza a publicar composiciones en verso y en prosa (por ejemplo, en la *Revista Cultural de Bolívar* y en los periódicos *La Verdad* y *Rivadavia*). Luego en La Plata, publica en *Eurindia, Nuestro Mundo* y *El Estudiantes.* En el primer concurso literario femenino realizado por el Club Argentino de Mujeres, en agosto de 1929, obtuvo el segundo premio de poesía por su trabajo *Amazona*.

Y en este armado de un archivo femenino, que se percibe a veces como feminista, Raquel Adler[10] ocupa un lugar central. La mujer «está llamada a ser el único poeta del futuro», sostiene en la primera entrevista que le conceden en la revista (Raquel Adler presenta un panorama…, 1929, p. 36). Y, sorprendentemente, el argumento que esgrime es «su falta de herencia cultural y aun de producción», ya que, sostiene, «precisamente porque no ha explotado en forma continua la poesía, como lo hizo el hombre, salvo contadas excepciones, tiene para ello una originalidad y una fuerza de expresión fresca, pura, intensa, honda… así como debe ser la poesía» (p. 36). La inversión de valoración histórica es clave en la lectura que hace Adler de la situación de las mujeres: el ingreso demorado a la cultura letrada las hace «naturalmente» más aptas para el tono poético que, en su visión, se guía por una «emoción creadora». Resulta interesante que esta operación crítica sigue de cierta manera el modo de funcionamiento que ella lee en la vanguardia. Unos meses más tarde, se publica parte de una entrevista censurada que le habían realizado en un diario de Rosario, en la que expresaba sus apreciaciones sobre la «nueva sensibilidad». Pese a no cultivar en su propia escritura las premisas de este proyecto literario y artístico, la poeta mística ve positivamente «la revolución en la forma, en la emoción, en la idea», en tanto «los adeptos de tal movimiento bregan por una libertad desconocida por los demás, intuida por ellos» (Adler, 1930b, p. 167). Para Raquel Adler, los vanguardistas son el «caudillaje de una renovación moral y social del arte» y poseen como baluarte «la libertad máxima» y como ideal «la perfección a través su imperfección» (p. 167). Libres e imperfectos, vanguardistas y mujeres se encontrarían en esa lucha que transitan los «neosensibles» contra la «tiranía y opresión que ejercen los fuertes sobre los débiles, es decir, la forma adaptada y fiscalizada sobre la palabra balbuciente y trémula de nuevos horizontes y quizá de nuevos ideales» (p. 167).

El gesto de expropiación-apropiación del género poesía por parte de las mujeres se repite y se matiza en otras declaraciones de Raquel Adler. En la

10. María Raquel Adler (1901-1974). Poetisa, mística y católica conversa. Publicó *Revelación* en 1922, *Místicas* en 1923, *La divina tortura* en 1927, *De Israel a Cristo,* en 1933, y el libro de ensayos *De la tierra al cielo,* en 1936, entre otros. Integró la comisión directiva de la Sociedad Argentina de Escritores, fue parte de la Asociación de Escritoras y Publicistas Católicas (ASESCA) en 1939.

reseña de la *Antología de la poesía femenina argentina* (1930a, p. 41), después de comentar el cuadro desparejo pero necesario de las numerosas «poetisas», como «representantes de la múltiple Buenos Aires, o como acento de lejanas provincias», vuelve sobre el tema: «Y para terminar, voy a formular una pregunta a mis colegas los poetas-hombres: ¿no les parece que la mujer se ha apoderado en demasía de la poesía, y que en algunos casos tiende ya a desplazarles por completo?» (p. 41). Adler alienta a que las escritoras se conviertan en las apoderadas de la poesía como una primera instancia de legitimidad en el campo literario.

Un año después ejerce un desplazamiento en sus palabras, en el discurso inicial de la Exposición femenina del Libro Latinoamericano, la mujer ya no viene a suplantar al hombre, sino a colaborar con él (Exposición femenina del Libro Latino = americano, 1931, p. 365). Finalmente, en 1933, retoma el tema en un artículo que responde a Arturo Cancela, quien en *El Hogar* había manifestado la afluencia de las mujeres en el campo literario como un serio peligro y competencia para los escritores. En su respuesta, Adler (1933) revisa el lugar de la mujer en los últimos doce años y pregunta quién hubiera creído que ella se habría de proyectar en la profesión de escritora; a su vez, también revisa su propio razonamiento:

> Yo dije en 1929 en la revista bibliográfica *La Literatura argentina*, sin ninguna premeditación especial, de que las poetisas vendrían en un mañana cercano a reemplazar a las poetas. Y reemplazar no es suplantar. Se reemplaza un lugar que ha quedado vacío o vacante, por deserción o por alejamiento del que lo ha ocupado. Y la hora actual del mundo no es como para que el hombre se detenga a escribir versos. La vida pide vigor, y voluntad, y no sentimentalismo; conciencia y criterio, y no ausencia despreocupada del instante caótico por el que pasamos. (p. 284)

En este fragmento se perfecciona la «treta» –un tanto débil– de la poeta-crítica enunciada cuatro años antes. Al valerse de la oposición entre lo público masculino y lo privado femenino, Adler (1933) supone un espacio vacante, dejado por los hombres ocupados en los asuntos sociales y políticos, que las mujeres pueden ocupar: «las letras son quehaceres delicados, creados, se puede decir, para ser desempeñadas por las manos sutiles de la mujer» (p. 284). Ya no es la poesía, es toda la literatura de la que puede apropiarse. La pesadilla temida por Cancela se hace realidad en la propuesta de Adler. Porque no se rompe con el estereotipo, sino que se exagera y reafirma la sexualización del género en un sentido doble: «lo femenino» identifica subjetividades y escrituras. De modo tal que la llamada literatura femenina existe en y a través de un conjunto de actos de lectura y escritura que repiten y remiten, sin conflicto, al sujeto autoral. Así, lejos de buscar «travestir» sus voces (Méndez, 2017), Adler alienta a performar la feminidad hegemónica literaria desde una de las paradojas más transitadas por las escritoras en el período: arremeten contra su invisibilidad y su no valoración, pero se legitiman mediante las normas de género vigentes que materializan ese reparto desigual de lo visible.

Sin embargo, no por esto es menor la apuesta de Raquel Adler en *La Literatura Argentina*. La segregación en torno a la «literatura femenina» impone una reafirmación colectiva que se traduce en la conformación de un movimiento femenino o «de la mujer que escribe», necesario para hacerse oír en un campo editorial que las dejaba hablar pero no las escuchaba. En la sección inaugural de «Escritoras del interior», Adler (1931b) escribe:

> Hay en nuestro medio intelectual un grupo numeroso de mujeres que escriben. Tierra adentro y en la capital han decidido a ocupar sus ocios, sus inclinaciones, o su vocación a las letras. Justo es pues que se las escuche; justo es también que se las comprenda. Fuera de un grupo escasísimo de escritoras (poetisas o prosistas) que tuvimos la facilidad, el premio o la destreza de publicar en diarios y revistas, y de hacernos conocer por un público, si bien escaso, atento, que lee y sigue de cerca el desenvolvimiento de algunas mujeres de talento, quedan sumidas en el olvido o en la indiferencia total el 90% de las escritoras del país. (p. 39)

Hay un gesto sindical y federalizante en la propuesta de Adler[11] que puede vincularse con su catolicismo, su vida en Bernal y su pertenencia a la clase trabajadora. Hacer valer la voz de las escritoras entonces supone la movilización. Y este acto involucra una memoria y un tener lugar dentro del archivo de reivindicaciones de mujeres: por un lado, la inscripción del acompañamiento y representación propia de las escritoras, a escala nacional, como parte de las

11. En un uno de sus ensayos compilados en *De la tierra al cielo,* de 1936, Adler proclama la necesidad de un «gremio de poetisas» que se organicen y reclamen un lugar de respeto en el ámbito literario argentino.

luchas de mujeres en el ámbito social en la década del veinte[12]; por el otro, el armado de un linaje trasnacional de escritoras que precede y fundamenta una literatura femenina. De este modo, si el valor literario, impuesto desde la autoridad del patriarcado cultural, no se pone en cuestión, sí se esboza una suerte de justicia literaria. ¿Qué es lo justo para las escritoras? Esta es una pregunta que se plantea recurrentemente en *La Literatura Argentina,* desde diversas modalidades, pero bajo una emoción compartida: la indignación como ejercicio de lectura y (auto)comprensión.

3. PREMIOS E INDIGNACIÓN

«Hablan para *La Literatura Argentina* todos los premiados y la única mujer votada en el concurso literario municipal, definiendo sus personalidades, sus juicios sobre el fallo y sus propósitos» (1929, p. 13). El titular inaugura una de las batallas más fuertes que las escritoras dan en la revista, su exclusión de las instancias de consagración que conllevaría no reconocerlas como autoras y seguir considerándolas «aficionadas» de la literatura. En este sentido, la «defensa de la mujer» que realiza Enrique González Tuñón en ese artículo se sostiene sobre la ambivalencia. Si bien afirma que «se ha sido ingrato con la mujer», y menciona a «autoras de valer» como María Luisa Carnelli o Pilar de Lusarreta[13], termina afirmando: «Siquiera para fomentar la afición en la mujer, debió haberse contemplado ese aspecto» (Hablan para *La Literatura Argentina*…, 1929, p. 16). A González Tuñón le genera incomodidad el fallo ya que, según sus palabras, «daría la sensación de que los premios municipales han sido creados nada más que para el hombre» (p. 16). Pero, cabe

12. La actuación de los feminismos en los años 20 fue muy relevante ya que consiguieron mayor organización, constancia y amplitud para obtener las garantías que aparecían en otras latitudes, como explica Barrancos (2007) y menciona a Julieta Lanteri, a la creación del Partido Feminista Nacional y a las publicaciones *Nosotras* y *La Nueva Mujer* de María Abella Ramírez.
13. María Luisa Carnello (1898-1987) se desempeñó como periodista y formó parte de los «escritores del margen». Escribió tangos, poesía y una novela, ¡Quiero trabajo! En 1933. Entre 1933 y 1937 vivió en España y escribió a favor de la República. Pilar de Lusarreta (1903-1967) incursionó en varios géneros de escritura, poesía, crítica literaria, crítica de arte. También fue locutora y periodista. Entre su extensa producción, podemos mencionar *Cinco dandis porteños, Hombres en mi vida* y sus *Crónicas bibliográficas*.

preguntarse, ¿cómo se premia un pasatiempo o una práctica aficionada? Por su parte, Mary Rega Molina[14], la única ganadora con un libro que compila sus poesías recitadas, también se queja de la poca atención que merecieron las mujeres y plantea un desafío en línea con Raquel Adler, pero sin su ironía: «¿Será que el hombre siempre piensa que se le quiere usurpar el puesto?» (Hablan para *La Literatura Argentina*…, 1929, p. 17), pero pondera con orgullo «mantenerse estrictamente dentro de los límites de la feminidad» (p. 17). En el número siguiente no aparecerá en la foto de los premiados (ver imágenes 1 y 2).

Comentarios de Mary Rega Molina, la única mujer votada

Después de relatarnos que se presentó al concurso por ruego de amigos y amigas, los cuales primero la decidieron a publicar "Canto llano" recopilando las poesías propias que había recitado en diversos actos de sociedad, nos declara:

—He sido sorprendida, por por tanto, de que fuera votada. Y de haber sido la única mujer. Creí sinceramente que le darían un premio a María Alicia Domínguez que tiene una obra vasta y profunda. Entre ella y yo, nunca creí que se ocuparían de mí. Pero ni como estímulo para la mujer, les mereció atención. ¿Será que el hombre siempre piensa que se le quiere usurpar el puesto?

Mary Rega Molina

La señorita Rega Molina pondera su orgullo por mantenerse estrictamente dentro de los límites de la feminidad, ya que trasponiéndolos conceptúa que la mujer perdería todo interés para el hombre, y nos

Imagen 1. Fragmento del artículo «Hablan para La Literatura Argentina todos los premiados y la única mujer votada en el concurso literario municipal, definiendo sus personalidades, sus juicios sobre el fallo y sus propósitos», *La Literatura Argentina,* n. 10, junio, 1929, pp. 13-17.

14. Mary Rega Molina de Méndez Caldeira (1895-1960) fue poeta, escritora y docente. Integró varias asociaciones católicas, incluyendo la Asociación de Escritoras y Publicistas Católicas, como Raquel Adler. Colaboró en diarios y revistas.

12 LA LITERATURA ARGENTINA

Camuatí ofreció una simpática fiesta a los autores premiados en el concurso literario municipal

Sentados, de izquierda a derecha: *Gaspar Besares Soraire, Enrique Richard Lavalle, Raúl González Tuñón, Rafael Jijena Sánchez, Jorge Luis Borges, Enrique González Tuñón, Gleizer.* **Parados, y no siguiendo un riguroso orden de colocación:** *Antonio Garguiulo, Guillermo Richard Lavalle, Alberto Diana Lavalle, Salaverry, José Antonio Saldías, Pedro Lamadrid, Néstor Ibarra, Jacobo Fijman, Pompeyo Andiver, Kornblit, Alberto Ruiz, Rufino, Pablo Tosto, Enrique Suárez, Rodolfo Irazusta, Vicente Rosselli, A. Rivas Grande.*

Imagen 2. *La Literatura Argentina,* n. 11, julio de 1929.

Si bien hay instancias de exhibición de las producciones de mujeres, como los premios otorgados por el Club Argentino de Mujeres y la Biblioteca del Consejo Nacional de Mujeres, o las exposiciones del libro femenino latinoamericano organizadas por el Ateneo Femenino de Buenos Aires o el «Club del Progreso», las escritoras disputan su lugar dentro de los Premios Municipales dejando a un lado la segregación de género. Pero lo desafiante de esta batalla literaria es que no solo las motiva la premiación, sino también la posibilidad de ejercer la elección. Raquel Adler, nuevamente, será una de las voces más activas en esta reivindicación. Así, por ejemplo, en marzo de 1931 responde preguntas sobre los autores que votaría si fuera jurado y tres meses después se publica un artículo titulado «Las escritoras versus el Jurado Municipal», en el que Adler transcribe la carta de una supuesta lectora chaqueña de *La Literatura Argentina* y admiradora suya. Teresa González, una retirada Inspectora de Escuelas, defiende a la poetisa bonaerense contra un malentendido que tuvo con Nydia Lamarque y expresa su desilusión al saber que el Jurado Municipal no había premiado a ninguna mujer. Menciona a Margarita Abella Caprile, a

María Alicia Domínguez, a Nydia Lamarque y a Norah Lange para preguntarse por qué no se premió a ninguna de ellas y responderse:

> Será porque no son hombres. ¡Cómo me exaspera todo esto! ¡Siempre han de ser ellos! Deberían batir de una vez la retirada. Este es el siglo de la mujer. Desde los tiempos clásicos de Atenas y Roma, desde antes aun, el hombre no hizo más que imponerse y ganar. *La mujer es como un segundo Él;* y tanto hicieron los años y la costumbre que el hombre se creyó un ser exclusivo, único, para desempeñar las funciones del mundo. Pero felizmente los tiempos cambiaron. (Adler, 1931c, pp. 315-316)[15]

La carta expresa tal virulencia que se entiende la elección por una máscara de identidad escrituraria. Como una Sor Juana argentina del siglo XX, Adler (1931b) se esconde para poder dar rienda suelta a sus emociones como una forma de politizar la discusión. De hecho, ya se anunciaba el carácter emocional y performático que tendría el texto al presentarse a la lectora como una mujer gesticulada que «se yergue, protesta, avanza, retrocede, y hasta abraza y besa a través de su carta» (p. 315). Los signos de exclamación y la exasperación que transmiten dan cuenta de la frustración que genera la «lucha sin tregua» (p. 315) entre sexos que se lleva a cabo en el campo literario. Pero los tiempos de ser un «segundo Él» terminaron para las mujeres, por eso tal vez Adler idea una aliada que posibilite un «nosotras».

Razona con ironía la polemista que «El Concurso Municipal compuesto continuamente de un jurado de hombres premia naturalmente la mayoría de hombres» (Adler, 1931b, p. 316) y recuerda que el 50% de la producción del país corresponde a mujeres, por lo tanto: «El Jurado Municipal debería componerse en lo sucesivo de igual número de mujeres y hombres» (p. 316). Números, paridad de género y apropiación literaria, los clásicos argumentos adlerianos, se ponen en escena en la carta, pero se llevan un poco más lejos, como se lee en la competencia sexo-literaria que organiza entre poetas y poetisas:

> A los Banchs, los Blomberg, los Fernández Moreno, Arrieta, Rega Molina, etc., se le puede ofrecer una revancha notable: de una Storni, una Adler, (discúlpeseme la vanidad de la transcripción) una Abella Caprile, una Lamarque, Domínguez, Calandrelli, Bertolé, Rega Molina, García Costa,

15. Las cursivas me pertenecen.

> etc. Hasta creo que Vds. saldrían ganando. La poesía de nuestros poetas es más bien pasiva. En cambio la de las poetisas es activa hasta en la vena erótica (Srta. Storni). (Adler, 1931b, p. 316)

No importa tanto si gana el equipo masculino, al que se interpela de forma directa, lo central es que el partido sigue y Raquel Adler confía en que ellas podrán revertir el resultado final. Hay algo mesiánico en la forma de entender la figura de la mujer que, como ya habíamos visto y acá se repite, sería la única capaz de contrarrestar la descomposición de valores actual. La realidad es que Adler no se esmera mucho en disimular su estilo y sus opiniones ya compartidas en la revista. Y esto se debe, creo, a que la función del *alter ego* no es hacer nuevas declaraciones, sino más bien intensificar el tono, hasta ponerlo en relación con el feminismo:

> Vd. seguramente me tildará de feminista. Si la doctora Lanteri o la Moreau conocieran mi pensamiento, de seguro me invitarían a pasar a sus filas. Hoy lo creo necesario en mi patria. Como un buen soldado, bregaré siempre por la mujer, en el ejército armonioso y disciplinado de su encanto y de su espíritu. (Adler, 1931b, p. 316)

A diferencia de Raquel Adler, que nunca llega a declararse feminista, aunque contribuya a visibilizar la desigualdad sexual que impregna el canon y ámbito literario argentinos, Teresa González no tiene miedo a que la «tilden» de feminista, porque sabe que es imposible sortear el calificativo cuando la indignación toma el cuerpo y se traslada a la escritura. Indignación y feminismo se presuponen, pues, como explica Ahmed, la indignación ya involucra una lectura específica del mundo e «identificarse como feminista implica que se toma esa indignación como la base para una crítica del mundo, como tal» (2015, p. 259). En la propia Adler la indignación no está borrada pero sí intelectualizada, algo curioso para una poetisa que reclama el canto de los sentimientos.

Al final del artículo-carta, su voz regresa bajo la forma del «Manifiesto», que dirige al señor Intendente de Buenos Aires, José Guerrido, exigiendo: en primer lugar, que «haga extensivo el artículo que trata de la formación del Jurado del Concurso Municipal de Letras, para que entren en su formación igual número de mujeres y de hombres»; en segundo lugar, que los premios se acuerden equitativamente; y en tercer lugar, aclara que las escritoras que redactaron el manifiesto (no las menciona) consideran a la literatura una profesión y al arte, un factor estético y de cultura. Tres meses más tarde, en septiembre de 1931, se atisban algunos resultados. Por un lado, Adler escribe nuevamente sobre los premios y los jurados para manifestarse sobre una solución positiva aunque «no resolvedora del todo» (1931a, p. 10): la designación, vía Intendencia, de una mujer escritora, Alfonsina Storni, como miembro del Jurado. Adler, que enuncia en nombre de *La Literatura Argentina,* no confía en la efectividad de una ecuación que da una contra seis: «Mucho nos tememos que el miembro femenino del Jurado Municipal sea solo una figura decorativa de efectismo y de novedad» (p. 10). No se equivocaba. En esa premiación escandalosa de 1931[16], Margarita Abella Caprile[17] podría haber ganado el primer premio, pero queda descalificada por estar su libro «impreso» en París aunque «editado» en Buenos Aires, como ella misma lo aclara en una carta enviada a la revista[18]. Sin embargo, la batalla de las premiaciones y la lucha por la paridad de género sí le dieron a Adler la consagración, que se anticipa en el enunciado colectivo que usaba en su artículo de septiembre de 1931. Desde ese número, se convierte en la responsable de la sección femenina de la revista y se posiciona como la «encargada del movimiento femenino de *La Literatura Argentina*» (Notas femeninas, 1931, p. 26).

Ahora bien, si una comunidad de mujeres que escribe heterogénea y plural, se visibiliza en la revista, hasta llegar a tener sus secciones propias, la pregunta que sobrevuela es ¿cómo definir la categoría escritora en términos profesionales?

16. Se supo que el primer premio, dado a un escritor desconocido, había estado arreglado. Alfonsina Storni y Armando Cascella renunciaron provocando un gran escándalo mediático.
17. Margarita Abella Caprile (1901-1960) fue una escritora, poetisa, prosista y periodista. Nieta de Bartolomé Mitre, escribió *Ensayos* en 1917, *Nieve* en 1919, *Sonetos* en 1931, entre otros libros.
18. En «Una aclaración de Margarita Abella Caprile», la escritora aclara su exclusión del concurso: «La Ordenanza dice: 'los libros deberán ser **editados** en Buenos Aires'. No dice **impresos**. […] Hubiera aceptado con humildad, distraídamente tal vez, mi exclusión del premio por no merecerlo ¡son tan relativas las opiniones! Lo triste es haber visto mezclado en pequeñeces a algún Jurado que uno imaginaba ya muy por encima de estas cosas». (1932, p. 183)

4. ESCRITORA NO SE NACE, SE HACE, Y SE SIENTE

En el panorama literario de 1928, Buceta (1929)[19] exhibe la dificultad de leer debido a su situación económica. No cree en los escritores o poetas que «viven de luna y horizontes rosados» (p. 11), porque «si quieren vivir han de comer» y ganarse su pan «no con la pluma» (p. 11). Maestra particular, echa una dosis de realidad sobre la labor de una trabajadora que escribe y, desde esa interseccionalidad entre género y clase, arremete contra el mito del genio burgués, propiedad natural de los hombres creadores. En sintonía con ciertas reflexiones ya esbozadas por Storni (2002) sobre la difícil relación entre el «genio» y la literatura «femenina»[20], Buceta arremete contra la idea culturalmente aceptada que presenta al genio como una individualidad creativa que conlleva la superación de obstáculos sociales y construye el arte y la literatura como una esfera inexplicable, casi mágica, que debe ser venerada (Pollock, 2013, p. 57). Pero no solo se desacraliza al genio, también se desacraliza el libro. «No leo más que lo que hallo en algún diario o revista que cae alguna vez en mis manos. Los libros no se han escrito para mí como no se hacen juguetes para los niños pobres» (Buceta, 1929, p. 11), sentencia y agrega que la producción literaria no puede juzgarse solamente por los libros editados:

> Yo he escrito y publicado versos para formar un buen tomo de poesías que hasta título tiene: «Pequeños Mundos». Sin embargo, como nadie ha visto un libro de versos míos, no soy poetisa.
>
> He venido publicando los cuentos de «El diente de oro» y otros muchos más desde 1926 hasta la fecha sin que por eso existiera. No obstante, desde que tuve la suerte de que me los editaran formando un volumen, dicen que soy escritora y recibo alentadoras cartas de personalidades que no nombro. (p. 11)

Reconocida por su humor e ironía, Clotilde Buceta enfatiza el papel central que tienen los diarios y revistas en la constitución de las escritoras y lectoras,

19. Poco se sabe de esta escritora. Poetisa, colaboradora de *Caras y caretas*. *El diente de oro* de 1928 es su libro más conocido.
20. En «La mujer como novelista», Storni afirmaba «Se ha dicho que una vida extraordinaria es, casi siempre, complemento del genio. ¿Como podría la mujer, delicada por naturaleza, limitada por el ambiente y por su propia sensibilidad, vivir esta vida extraordinaria que la haría comprender, ahondar, zambullirse, por decirlo así, en los más interesantes y hondos tumultos del alma humana?» (2002, p. 983).

desde un marco que se presenta democratizador. Y no se equivoca, desde el siglo XIX la prensa fue un instrumento fundamental para el acceso de las mujeres a la escritura, y es en el marco de los periódicos para mujeres, explica Vicens (2017), donde asoman los primeros debates alrededor de la autoría femenina y sus vínculos con el mundo del trabajo. En este sentido, como apunta Masiello, «la figura del escritor profesional, a menudo considerado como un fenómeno que acompañó al modernismo, puede encontrarse en la escritura de las mujeres desde los años posteriores al régimen de Rosas» (1997, p. 49). El salto que propone Masiello indica también una relación diferente con el Estado. Si en la Argentina la escritura profesional de los varones letrados está íntimamente vinculada con el nacionalismo cultural como ideología de Estado[21], las mujeres que, al escribir, sabotean la familia como misión patriótica y microcosmos estatal, terminan colocando a la emoción como trazo distinguido y diferenciado de su subjetividad laboral.

«¿Qué se entiende por escritora, mágica palabrita tan manoseada que, a fuerza de emplearse, ha perdido su verdadera significación?», se pregunta la socialista Herminia Brumana[22] (Herminia Brumana, mujer de recio temperamento…, 1929, p. 45). Ella, que no se considera escritora, sino una «modesta y simple trabajadora», o una «obrera» de la literatura, propone llamativamente el *sentir* como un valor legitimante: «No basta que a uno le digan o la llamen escritora por ahí los amigos o los admiradores. Hay que *sentirse escritora*, como no basta tener un hijo para ser realmente madre, o, por lo menos, para ser una madre digna» (p. 45)[23]. El sentimiento es performativo en Brumana y, por lo tanto, genera efectos políticos. La emoción no se opone a lo «pensado», al contrario, en su respuesta se construye material y maternalmente un «pensamiento corporizado» (Rosaldo en Ahmed, 2015, p. 258) que también reniega del genio y apuesta por el trabajo intelectual. Emoción, sentimiento, sensibilidad se ponen al servicio de la profesionalización de la escritora, aunque a la socialista no le guste la categoría, porque es un modo eficaz de configurar una identidad escrituraria como experiencia

21. Cfr. Altamirano y Sarlo (1997), Dalmaroni (2006).
22. Herminia Brumana (1901-1954). Escritora, periodista, dramaturga y activista argentina, de ideas socialistas y anarquistas. Escribió nueve libros, once obras de teatro, algunas estrenadas. Colaboró en *El Hogar, La Nación, Mundo Argentino.*
23. Las cursivas me pertenecen.

de contacto: no hay una instancia de éxtasis, sino un vínculo que se va construyendo, un cuerpo a cuerpo con la textualidad. Herminia Brumana, Raquel Adler, Nydia Lamarque, María Velasco y Arias se reapropian, invierten y tornan operativa la herencia afectiva que se les adjudica en tanto «mujeres». Una *nueva* «nueva sensibilidad» de jóvenes escritoras que, no tan alejadas del gesto vanguardista, contra-leen su historia. Ahora bien, no debe confundirse este mecanismo del sentir con la opción por una literatura sentimental y femenina, aun cuando en algunas ocasiones estén equiparados.

No es el caso de Velasco y Arias que, en su reseña sobre la primera *Antología de poesía femenina*, si bien sostiene la necesidad de un elemento artístico asentado en el «sentimiento», desconfía del alto volumen de poesías que exaltan las «cualidades femeninas» de «suavidad, ternura, delicadeza» (1930, p. 123). Cuenta que hace un tiempo viene recortando las columnas impresas con referencia a escritoras y ese archivo personal arroja la conclusión de que, en general, ellas participan de artículos que tienen el estilo de un «diccionario enciclopédico elemental» que las acoge con «una facilidad rayana en desgobierno» (1930, p. 123). A diferencia de Raquel Adler, Velasco no confía en la variable numérica *per se*, que asocia a cierto paternalismo literario y periodístico que, «más solícito por la hermosura de la 'escritora' que por eso lo escrito, casi de continuo, inferior, que pergeñe, con inspiración de merenguista, media columna de acarameladas palabras» (1930, p. 123). Para esta escritora, hay una relación estrecha entre las convenciones frívolas de la moda y la feminidad que se traslada al campo literario sexualizado, por eso afirma que «no existe literatura de sexo ni sexo literario; me refiero a las letras desinteresadas, no a las didácticas. No hay literatura femenina ni masculina en el alcance biológico de los términos porque ni mujeres ni hombres son progenitores en tal sentido» (1931, p. 8). De nuevo, aparece esta necesidad de desvincular lo literario de lo fisiológico-maternal para así trasladar la disputa al plano de la cultura; y, desde ahí, Velasco también responde a las declaraciones machistas que Enrique de Gandía había realizado en la revista:

> «¿Qué mujer ha osado medirse con Homero…?» El joven historiador olvida a la maestra de Píndaro, a la vehemente Safo, a Teresa de Cepeda, a la hispanamejicana Sor Juana Inés, a Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, a Carolina Coronado, a la dulcísima sin par Rosalía, a la Ada Negri de la pobreza,

> quienes tragando hieles pudieron circular las mieles de sus espíritus combatidos por la sociedad puesta en guardia contra la mujer instruida y más aún contra la escritora. (1931, p. 9)

La genealogía le da una inscripción histórica a la tarea de la escritora. Y esta historia que se escribe es trasnacional, sincrónica, plural, azarosa, discontinua. Si Adler armaba comunidad de mujeres, María Velasco y Arias le da a esa comunidad una contra-memoria.

Gandía le había otorgado una entrevista a *La Literatura Argentina* dos meses antes, y ante la pregunta del reportero sobre la idea de Adler, de que la poesía debía ser cultivada exclusivamente por escritores del sexo femenino, este había replicado que «en ninguna época hubo una poetisa superior a ningún poeta de su tiempo. (Una entrevista con Enrique de Gandía, 1931, p. 340). También había observado que la literata, por su propia profesión, se masculinizaba. En diciembre de 1931, se publica la respuesta del escritor a María Velasco; pero antecedida por un recuadro de Adler que encuadra el texto dentro del movimiento femenino de la revista. Si, leemos, todo lo que puede estimular y analizar la obra de la mujer escritora debe ser meditado por las escritoras con conciencia, en la oración final se aclara: «*Demás está decir que el movimiento femenino, que iniciamos en La Literatura Argentina, acompañará siempre con el estímulo y la justicia a todas las escritoras*» (Gandía, 1931, p. 103). La voz masculina, por primera vez, está observada, rodeada, no fluye con libertad o impunidad por la página. Gandía repite algunos de los tópicos ya comentados, como la vanidad de la poetisa y su deseo de adueñarse del género poético, ahora bajo el rótulo de «partido 'feminista'» (p. 103). Se burla de la lista de escritoras que Velasco enumeró, especialmente de la mención a Safo, «la más insignificante de los poetas de su tiempo, a quien sin duda no ha leído ninguna de las damas que la citan» (p. 103). La argumentación «novedosa» se inscribe en el discurso psiquiátrico: el contendor analiza «la mentalidad de la poetisa» como una neurótica narcisista literaria y sexual. Al año siguiente sigue la polémica, Hilda Pina Shaw y Malvia Rosa Quiroga[24]

24. Hilda Pina Shaw (1910–). Escritora y periodista, secretaria de redacción de la revista *Estampa*. Publicó *La influencia mística* en Tolstoi, *Esteban Echeverría: su nombre es una espada de libertad* y libros de poesía. Malvia Rosa Quiroga (1900-1983). Maestra, poeta y escritora cordobesa, comienza su actividad literaria en 1925 con *Mis rosas*

salen en defensa de Gandía, Velasco le responde en un largo artículo de tres páginas y seis puntos. Solo quiero, para terminar, citar este fragmento:

> ¿Insinceridad de las creadoras? Bueno; igual abstracto sustantivo cuadra a la labor masculina en varias docenas de veces; ¿estarían si no, vivos los autores? La real neurosis narcisista literaria, no es, por otra parte, enfermedad de señoras; el «gentil Narciso» fue varón… (1932, p. 139)

El razonamiento es impecable en su simpleza y contundencia, si a las mujeres se las excluye de la cultura, que los *varones* se hagan cargo de sus mitos y sus patrones de interpretación.

5. CONCLUSIÓN

En *La Literatura Argentina* las no autorizadas escriben y leen, se leen y debaten, se afirman autoras performando intervenciones variadas y creativas sobre un campo literario masculino que se organiza desde la diferencia sexual como valor. Si bien es evidente, como ha señalado Fletcher (1993), que una discriminación positiva se comprueba en la revista en relación con la creatividad femenina, también se encuentran zonas críticas que discuten las divisiones de género para pensar la literatura y problematizan los modos de acceso a la prensa y la edición.

El recorrido mostró los modos en que las escritoras confeccionaron un contra-archivo feminista como «*poiesis* de futuro» (Pollock, 2010, p. 11), es decir, como una posibilidad, un devenir que todavía no es real. Sus estrategias dieron cuenta de ello: nuevos recorridos, inversiones, expropiaciones y apropiaciones, reafirmaciones colectivas, cuestionamientos, genealogías propias. Además de las emociones que, también desde un movimiento contra-archivístico, o sea, contra-histórico, funcionaron como un sustrato compartido desde el que intervenir públicamente, hay otro gesto político que complementa y recorre todo este primer período de la publicación: la urgencia por una justicia socio-cultural, histórica y literaria que contemple las voces de mujeres. *La Literatura Argentina* es tanto un baúl que contiene las experiencias sexistas que atraviesa el ámbito literario nacional en los años

pálidas. Obtuvo el diploma en Filosofía en la Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades de la Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, donde ejerció la docencia.

veinte y treinta como un archivo testimonial de las formas de resistencia que activaron una comunidad de escritoras, y que inscribimos en la historia del feminismo latinoamericano.

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SOBRE LA NECESIDAD DE INTRODUCIR LA PERSPECTIVA DE GÉNERO EN LA JURISDICCIÓN CIVIL ESPAÑOLA

THE URGE FOR GENDER PERSPECTIVE IN THE SPANISH CIVIL JURISDICTION

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Submitted / Recibido: 24/09/2020
Accepted / Aceptado: 22/10/2020

To cite this article / Para citar este artículo:
García Goldar, M. (2021). Sobre la necesidad de introducir la perspectiva de género en la jurisdicción civil española. *Feminismo/s*, *38*, 307-329. https://doi.org/10.14198/fem.2021.38.12

Resumen

Este estudio pretende demostrar la ausencia de perspectiva de género en la jurisdicción civil española, así como la perpetuación de ciertos estereotipos de género. Para acometer este propósito, se ha elegido un tema que afecta principalmente a las mujeres (los cuidados) y se ha seleccionado una muestra de hasta veinte sentencias jurisprudenciales sobre un ámbito concreto (en este caso, las disposiciones testamentarias en favor de quien cuide al testador). Las conclusiones del análisis son ciertamente alarmantes, por cuanto suponen la constatación de una triste realidad: los cuidados no se valoran siempre con el mismo rigor, sino que se observan importantes diferencias en función del sexo del cuidador. La jurisprudencia española es definitivamente más estricta con las cuidadoras y mucho más laxa con los cuidadores.

Palabras clave: perspectiva de género; jurisdicción civil; mujeres; cuidados.

Abstract

This study aims to demonstrate the absence of a gender perspective in the Spanish civil jurisdiction, as well as the perpetuation of certain gender stereotypes. To achieve this purpose, a topic that mainly affects women has been chosen and a sample of up to twenty jurisprudential rulings on a specific area has been selected (in this case, the testamentary provisions in favor of whoever cares for the testator). The conclusions of the analysis are certainly alarming, since they imply the verification of a sad reality: care is not always valued with the same rigor; important differences are observed regarding the caregiver's sex. Spanish jurisprudence is definitely stricter with female caregivers and much more lax with male caregivers.

Keywords: Gender perspective; Civil jurisdiction; Women; Caregivers.

1. INTRODUCCIÓN: «LOS CUIDADOS TIENEN ROSTRO DE MUJER»

El propósito de este trabajo es intentar demostrar la falta de neutralidad en la aplicación de las normas por parte de los tribunales, como ya pudo demostrar hace algunos años Aguilera Rull (2012). Y por ello hemos elegido un tema en el que la perspectiva de género resulta más que evidente: el cuidado de otra persona. Esta materia sigue siendo todavía cosa de mujeres (García Rubio, 2020; Mier Villarías, Romeo Pérez, Canto Combarro y Mier Villarías, 2007, pp. 29-32; Pau Pedrón, 2020, pp. 8, 20 y 23); así lo demuestran los datos: según el estudio «CuidadorES», realizado por la Sociedad Española de Geriatría y Gerontología en colaboración con Lindor, en 2016, el 89% de los cuidadores eran mujeres. Los datos no parecen haber cambiado recientemente, pues según noticia publicada por la Cruz Roja, con datos de la Sociedad Española de Geriatría y Gerontología y el Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC), en el año 2018, de nuevo, el 89% de cuidadores eran mujeres, razón por la que afirman que «los cuidados tienen rostro de mujer».

No importa si se trata de cuidados formales (profesionales o no, pero remunerados) o cuidados informales, pues en todos ellos se observa la «feminización del cuidado»[1]. Lo único que cambia es el perfil de la cuidadora: la cuidadora formal profesional suele ser una mujer de entre 20 y 30 años, soltera y sin hijos, diplomada en Enfermería; la cuidadora formal no profesional es habitualmente una mujer inmigrante de entre 30 y 40 años, soltera y sin

1. Expresión utilizada por Red2Red Consultores, 2008, p. 39.

hijos, con un nivel de estudios medio; y, por último, la cuidadora informal es normalmente una mujer de más de 50 años, casada y con hijos, con estudios primarios y sin ocupación laboral remunerada (Red2Red Consultores, 2008, p. 146).

Lo cierto es que la mayoría de los cuidados que se prestan son los informales, realizados en el interior de los hogares. Este cuidado familiar constituye la parte invisible del denominado «iceberg del bienestar», en el que la parte visible corresponde a los servicios formales de cuidado (Rogero García, 2010, p. 48). Así lo demuestra un informe del CSIC titulado «Un perfil de las personas mayores en España, 2015: Indicadores estadísticos básicos» (Abellán García y Pujol Rodríguez, 2015): la persona que «fundamentalmente cuida de los hombres mayores con dependencia es su cónyuge, seguida de su hija. En el caso de las mujeres mayores que necesitan ayuda son las hijas las que fundamentalmente se hacen cargo de los cuidados, seguidas de otros familiares y amigos» (p. 4).

Cabría preguntarse por qué es así; por qué la mayoría de cuidados a otra persona se siguen llevando a cabo por mujeres. La respuesta a este desigual reparto se puede deber a diferentes factores: edad y ciclo de la familia, situación laboral de la mujer, incompatibilidad entre el rol familiar y laboral, o la persistencia de estereotipos de género, como los relativos al trabajo (para ellos, el trabajo asalariado es una obligación y el no remunerado es voluntario; para ellas, el trabajo asalariado es un derecho que pueden ejercer de forma voluntaria y el no remunerado es una obligación) o que las mujeres están dotadas de una manera natural por cualidades como la sensibilidad y la efectividad, lo que las convierte en cuidadoras ideales (Rubio, 2004, p. 47). Estereotipos que, por fortuna, comienzan a desmontarse poco a poco, con la progresiva incorporación de la mujer al mercado laboral y los estudios de género, pero que, sin embargo, no parecen *desaparecer* de los estándares que aplican los Tribunales; baste señalar, por ejemplo, las altas demandas que se exigen para la atribución de la custodia del descendiente a la «buena madre» (Aguilera Rull, 2012, pp. 190-196).

Para que uno pueda hacerse una mejor imagen de la importancia de los cuidados, cabría recordar que se ha estimado que existen más de cinco millones de mujeres cuidadoras informales en España (Suso Araico y Velasco Gisbert, 2009, p. 76). La cifra no puede en absoluto resultar alarmante: según el INE, en abril de 2020 existían más de 9 millones de personas en España con sesenta y cinco o más años de edad, cifra que representa casi el 20% de la población total. Además, se ha puesto de manifiesto cierta tendencia al «envejecimiento del envejecimiento» (Facal Fondo y Torrens Calle, 2010, p. 70): el 16% de ese total de 9 millones lo conforman personas de ochenta y cinco años de edad o más (en total, más de un millón y medio).

La importancia económica de los cuidados informales que son llevados a cabo en gran medida por mujeres es, pues, indudable: en el año 2009, un estudio estimó que el cuidado informal representaría el 4% del PIB nacional en 2006 (Suso Araico y Velasco Gisbert, 2009, p. 78). Tal vez fue esta incipiente percepción acerca de su importancia lo que propició la aprobación de la Ley 39/2006, de 14 de diciembre, de Promoción de la Autonomía Personal y Atención a las personas en situación de dependencia, cuya Disposición Adicional cuarta establece las bases para que reglamentariamente se determine la incorporación a la Seguridad Social de los cuidadores no profesionales. En la actualidad, y desde el pasado uno de abril de 2019, los cuidadores y las cuidadoras no profesionales de beneficiarios de la Ley de Dependencia pueden suscribir un convenio especial con la Seguridad Social para que sus cotizaciones corran a cargo de la Administración General del Estado, según dispone el Real Decreto-ley 6/2019, de 1 de marzo, de medidas urgentes para garantía de la igualdad de trato y de oportunidades entre mujeres y hombres en el empleo y la ocupación.

Pues bien, una vez puesta de manifiesto la evidente *feminización* de los cuidados informales y su trascendencia en términos económicos, cabe reiterar que el objetivo de este estudio es analizar cuál es la repercusión de aquellos en el ámbito sucesorio y comprobar si existe, o no, perspectiva de género por parte de nuestros juzgados y tribunales al lidiar con esta cuestión.

2. OBSERVACIONES GENÉRICAS

Una primera idea que hemos podido extraer del análisis jurisprudencial es que hombres y mujeres disponen cláusulas a favor de quienes los cuidan sin apenas diferencias resaltables (del total de veinte sentencias analizadas, el 40% se trata de testadores y el 60% de testadoras). Creemos que no existen, en general, preferencias que guarden relación entre el género del testador y el género del cuidador, pues se observa que tanto testadores como testadoras designan a beneficiarios varones o mujeres por igual: de los ocho testadores varones, cuatro designan a un cuidador y cuatro a una cuidadora; de las doce testadoras, cinco designan a un cuidador y cuatro designan a una cuidadora. La única diferencia reseñable es que son las testadoras quienes designan con más frecuencia a los beneficiarios de forma general: en tres de los casos estudiados en que la testadora era mujer, los beneficiarios se habían designado de forma plural, en favor de familiares (hijos, hermanos, sobrinos), pero siempre bajo la condición de que todos o uno de ellos (el beneficiario) la cuidase[2].

Lo que sí sorprende es, sin embargo, que no se observe una mayor existencia de beneficiarias-mujeres, es decir, de cuidadoras-mujeres, tal y como cabría esperar en atención a los datos ofrecidos con anterioridad (el 89% de los cuidadores a nivel nacional son mujeres). Esto podría hallar su fundamento en diferentes causas, como la infrarrepresentación ofrecida por las sentencias seleccionadas, o que exista mayor litigiosidad en los casos en que los cuidadores-beneficiarios son varones; sin embargo, ninguno de estos motivos nos parece el correcto. Creemos que probablemente la causa que mejor explique esta falta de correlación entre el género de los cuidadores informales según los datos estadísticos y el género de los cuidadores-beneficiarios en las disposiciones testamentarias que fueron objeto de controversia se encuentra en el hecho de que, con gran frecuencia, estos últimos cuidadores-beneficiarios suelen tratarse de personas del entorno familiar del testador o la testadora (hijo, nieto o sobrino). En nuestra selección de jurisprudencia así puede observarse: todos los beneficiarios varones eran familiares directos, a excepción de un caso, en el que se trataba de sobrino político (desconocemos si se trataba del marido de la sobrina o si era el sobrino del cónyuge supérstite).

Cabe pensar, pues, que los testadores y las testadoras designan como beneficiarios varones a aquellos con los que les unen lazos familiares, aun cuando tal vez no sean ellos quienes efectivamente vayan a dispensar los cuidados, sino su cónyuge u otra persona. Existen tres argumentos que nos

2. Véanse las Sentencias que corresponden con las siguientes referencias: RJ 2010, 269; RJ 2011, 5217; AC 2019, 846.

pueden ayudar a sostener tal afirmación: por una parte, en algunos de los casos analizados se demuestra que el beneficiario no era quien cuidaba al testador o testadora, sino otra persona. Así, por ejemplo, en el caso anteriormente mencionado, en el que la testadora instituye como heredero a su sobrino político bajo condición de cuidarla (SJPI de Celanova de 22 noviembre de 2012: JUR 2014, 282406), se hace mención expresa a que la misma había sido cuidada desde su traslado a la casa del beneficiario por una señora contratada llamada Ana. En otro caso que comentaremos de forma amplia posteriormente (SAP de A Coruña de 15 de mayo de 2019: AC 2019, 846) se determina que los hijos varones cumplieron con la condición de cuidar a la testadora contratando a dos mujeres cuidadoras.

Por otra parte, ocurre también que en algunos casos es el propio testador o testadora quien designa un beneficiario varón con la condición de que lo cuide personalmente, o pague a otra persona que así lo haga, incluso si es de la familia. Así ocurre, por ejemplo, en el caso del testador Narciso (SAP de Pontevedra de 5 junio de 2003: JUR 2004, 2187), que dispuso el legado de una casa y finca en favor del nieto, sujetándolo a la siguiente condición: «Impone a este nieto legatario, como condición del beneficio en su favor otorgado, las obligaciones, que cumplirá de su exclusiva cuenta, de asistir, cuidar y funerar al testador y a su esposa: o, alternativamente, si por no hacerlo así, cumpliese dichas atenciones alguna hija de estos, a satisfacción de los mismos, hacer pago a esa hija, durante todo el tiempo que realice esas prestaciones, de la suma mensual de veinte mil pesetas, quedando en otro caso sin efecto dicho legado». Lo mismo se puede decir del testamento de Nieves (SAP de Pontevedra de 17 de marzo de 2017: JUR 2018, 1928), en el que instituye heredero a su marido con la obligación personal de cuidarle en casa; y que, «en caso de no poder hacerlo su esposo se contrate a una persona para que la atienda correctamente, negándose a que se le lleve a una residencia o geriátrico».

Finalmente, el tercer argumento es que en los seis casos en los que el legado se hace a una persona «extraña» (no familiar del testador o la testadora)[3], las beneficiarias sí son mujeres, a quienes se les recompensa por

3. Véanse las Sentencias que corresponden con las siguientes referencias: JUR 2002, 136495; AC 2012, 1285; AC 2018, 1045; JUR 2019, 2021; RJ 1957, 1181; RJ 2018, 2314.

los cuidados ofrecidos o se les designa como beneficiarias de un legado bajo condición de cuidados. En las sentencias analizadas no existe ni un solo caso en el que la persona beneficiaria «extraña» al testador fuese un varón. Pasamos, pues, a analizar brevemente las características de este tipo de legados compensatorios a mujeres cuidadoras.

3. EN CONCRETO: SENTENCIAS QUE PONEN DE MANIFIESTO LA PERPETUACIÓN DE ESTEREOTIPOS DE GÉNERO POR PARTE DE LOS TRIBUNALES EN RELACIÓN CON LOS CUIDADOS

En relación con la perspectiva de género en los cuidados al testador, nos ha parecido observar en esta selección de jurisprudencia que las sentencias en las que se juzga el cumplimiento de la condición por el beneficiario varón son más laxas que aquellas en las que se juzga el cumplimiento de la condición por la beneficiaria mujer.

De los seis casos en los que se puso en duda el cumplimiento de la condición de cuidados por parte del beneficiario varón, sólo dos de ellas fueron estimadas, probablemente por la fuerza probatoria que se aprecia en ambas sentencias: en un caso (SAP de Pontevedra de 5 junio de 2003: JUR 2004, 2187), la esposa del testador, como supuesta beneficiaria de los cuidados, otorgó actas notariales en dos ocasiones (y con cinco años de diferencia) manifestando el «incumplimiento de la obligación personal de cuidado» por parte del nieto legatario; en el otro (SAP de Sevilla de 9 junio de 2009: JUR 2010, 14320), y de forma muy similar, la esposa del testador también reconoce en acta notarial que no hubo cumplimiento de la condición de cuidados al causante por parte del sobrino beneficiario[4].

4. Cabe señalar que en este caso la condición de cuidados establecida para el legado era mucho más específica, pues incluía la obligación de cuidar al testador «durante los últimos años de su vida, alimentándole y dándole habitación, vestimenta, asistencia médica y farmacológica y demás englobadas en el trato personal y enumeradas en el artículo 142 del Código Civil». Probablemente esto también facilitó enormemente la prueba, pues el legatario no tuvo en su compañía a su tío durante los años anteriores ni «realizó con él ningún tipo de cuidado» respecto a todas las cuestiones delimitadas, tal y como se señala en la propia sentencia.

En los cuatro casos restantes, la determinación del cumplimiento de los cuidados resulta un tanto dudosa en nuestra opinión; pasamos pues a ver las sentencias con mayor detalle.

3.1. Sobre la condición de cuidar y «vivir en compañía del testador»

En relación con la interpretación que se puede hacer de una cláusula en la que se establezca la obligación de cuidados y de «vivir en compañía del testador», nos gustaría traer a colación la STS de 21 de enero de 2003 (RJ 2003, 604). Este caso trata del testamento otorgado en 1964 por María, en el que ordenaba la mejora y el tercio de libre disposición en favor de su hijo, tras lo cual dispone la siguiente cláusula: «La mejora y el legado de la cláusula anterior los hace a su hijo Antonio, con la obligación modal de cuidar y asistir a la testadora y a su esposo, en cuanto precisen sanos o enfermos, y vivir en su compañía, en familia, ayudándoles, según costumbre, en los trabajos de la casa y laboreo de los bienes». Cabe destacar que la testadora había otorgado otros dos testamentos anteriores: el primero, en 1955, era prácticamente igual al ahora objeto de estudio; el segundo, en 1956, y tras haber emigrado su hijo Antonio a Santo Domingo, hizo idéntica disposición pero en favor de una de sus hijas, aunque en este caso se añadían más obligaciones (la de cuidar al resto de la familia); en concreto, se establecía que la disposición se hacía «a condición de que habrá de asistir y cuidar a su padre en cuanto precise sano o enfermo en tanto se conserve viudo y vivir en su compañía en familia ayudándole según costumbre en los trabajos de la casa y bienes y la de tener con ella también en familia a sus hermanos solteros mientras no se casen o reclamen sus participaciones hereditarias y le ayuden según el estilo del país en las faenas agrícolas y domésticas», previendo, según dice la sentencia, que «si la hija así favorecida no cumpliera por su voluntad las condiciones impuestas o dejara de vivir en compañía de sus padres, los referidos legados y mejora pasarían a otra de sus hijas en las mismas condiciones y, en defecto de esta última por las causas expresadas, a otra hija distinta, también en igual forma».

El testamento litigioso de 1964 se otorgó desde que el demandado retornase de Santo Domingo a casa de sus padres en Galicia; sin embargo, y por motivos laborales, volvió a marcharse, esta vez a Cataluña, de donde nunca volvió, salvo en vacaciones cuando volvía al pueblo de sus padres, pero para hospedarse en casa de sus suegros. Pues bien, tras el fallecimiento de los progenitores, los otros hermanos impugnaron esa cláusula del testamento, resultando que en primera instancia se desestimó al considerarse que la referida cláusula era modal y no condicional, e interpretando la voluntad de la testadora en función de sus otros dos testamentos anteriores: la testadora se había considerado suficientemente atendida por su hijo mejorado-legatario, por lo que se desestimó la demanda. El tribunal de segunda instancia, razonando que el contenido de la cláusula segunda del testamento era el propio de una condición suspensiva potestativa de hechos pasados y entendiendo que el demandado la había incumplido por propia voluntad al alejarse del domicilio materno en Galicia para fijar su residencia en Cataluña, estimó la demanda y dejó sin efecto la mejora y el legado. Llegado el asunto al Tribunal Supremo, se consideró que efectivamente era un modo y no una condición, estimando así la eficacia de la cláusula impugnada: el hijo emigrado a Cataluña resultó mejorado, a pesar de la falta evidente de cuidados, de no haber vivido en compañía de sus padres, y de no haber ayudado en los «trabajos de casa y laboreo de los bienes».

Creemos que sería conveniente contrastar esta STS de 2003 con la SAP de Asturias de 3 de febrero de 1995 (AC 1995, 393). En este caso, Domingo había otorgado un testamento en 1968 en el que mejoraba a su hija bajo condición de «vivir en compañía del testador y su esposa asistiéndoles y reverenciándoles hasta su fallecimiento» y ordenando también que «como toda la herencia forma una explotación agrícola, se le adjudique íntegramente al que resulte mejorado, el cual separará en metálico a sus hermanos y coherederos en la parte que les corresponde». Las hermanas de la mejorada impugnaron la eficacia de la cláusula, pues consideraron que no se cumplió la condición: la beneficiaria sí había cuidado a sus padres, pero se había trasladado a vivir, a raíz de su matrimonio en 1971, al domicilio de sus suegros, sito en otra localidad distante entre 5 y 12 km, según refiere la sentencia. El padre testador falleció en 1974, sin haber modificado la disposición testamentaria. Pues bien, la Audiencia Provincial termina considerando que «en el supuesto enjuiciado la cláusula sometida a debate entre las partes, en su propia literalidad, claramente evidencia que la real voluntad del testador era la de supeditar la mejora a la convivencia del hijo o hija en que recayera la misma con el mismo hasta su fallecimiento [«vivir en compañía del testador»], y aunque obviamente las obligaciones establecidas eran más amplias que la mera convivencia, es claro que éstas no se agotaban en las de sola asistencia, cuidado y reverencia, únicas cumplidas por la heredera demandada. En definitiva y como conclusión del tenor literal de tales estipulaciones puede concluirse que la intención del testador no fue sólo la de procurarse la asistencia y cuidados personales de uno de sus hijos en los últimos años de su vida, sino la de mejorar al hijo o hija que estuviera conviviendo en la casa familiar, o cuando menos en lugar próximo a la misma, si no se quiere interpretar el término convivir tan rígidamente, pero en todo caso en el mismo lugar, único supuesto que le permitiría ponerse al frente de la explotación agrícola».

Como podemos observar, en la primera sentencia el Tribunal Supremo hace suyos los argumentos del Juzgado de Primera Instancia al entender que, a pesar de la literalidad de la cláusula que obliga al mejorado a «vivir en su compañía», la voluntad de la testadora se debe interpretar en el sentido de que «se había considerado suficientemente atendida por su hijo mejorado-legatario», ello a pesar de que el mejorado no sólo no viviese con ellos, sino que se mudase a otra Comunidad Autónoma, haciendo imposible cualquier tipo de cuidado, incluso ocasional, y a pesar, también, de que ni siquiera pasase las vacaciones en su casa, sino en la de sus suegros. Por otra parte, en la sentencia de la Audiencia Provincial de Asturias, se lleva a cabo una interpretación rígida de la cláusula por la que se obligaba a la hija a «vivir en compañía del testador y su esposa», y ni siquiera el hecho de haberlos cuidado y asistido efectivamente impidió que la cláusula se estimase ineficaz.

3.2. Sobre el conocimiento o no de la condición impuesta

En relación con la importancia o no de que el beneficiario-cuidador deba conocer la condición impuesta, comenzaremos analizando la SAP de A Coruña de 26 de septiembre de 2014 (JUR 2014, 262592). Este caso trata sobre el testamento otorgado por Raimundo en el año 2006 por el que legaba a su cónyuge el usufructo universal, a su hijo la legítima estricta, e instituía como heredero a su nieto, con la condición de cuidar y asistir al testador y a su esposa hasta el fallecimiento del último. En el relato fáctico de la sentencia se hace constar que algunos años antes de que el testador otorgase el testamento, en el 2003, el nieto-beneficiario había sufrido un grave accidente, siéndole reconocida una minusvalía del 65% en el año 2005. Pues bien, dicho testamento fue impugnado por el hijo (a quien sólo se le había adjudicado la legítima estricta), toda vez que el nieto no había convivido con el testador ni le había cuidado desde el accidente. La Audiencia Provincial termina desestimando el caso, pues por un lado, el nieto no conocía la condición, y por otro, «fue instituido, pese a que, desde el año 2003, no vivía con sus abuelos, en testamento de 2006, el cual no fue revocado en vida del causante, con respecto al cual no se ha demostrado, a través de los correspondientes informes médicos, que, desde que otorgó dicho acto de última voluntad, estuviera totalmente incapacitado para testar de nuevo, dejando sin efecto la mentada institución a favor de su nieto, y todo ello dentro de un escenario de alejamiento afectivo y falta de relación entre el causante y su hijo, demandante en este proceso, que explica la pervivencia de la disposición mortis causa a favor del nieto, una vez respetada la legítima de aquél». Como se puede ver, la Audiencia Provincial no sólo tiene en cuenta la falta de conocimiento de la condición por parte del nieto, sino que hace una interpretación de la supuesta voluntad del testador para dejar sin efecto la condición de cuidados, los cuales no habían tenido lugar.

Otra sentencia que convendría analizar también es la SAP de Pontevedra de 17 de marzo de 2017 (JUR 2018, 1928). En este caso, la hermana de la testadora Nieves impugnó el testamento que esta había otorgado en 2009, en el que instituía heredero a su esposo Carlos bajo la condición de que si necesitase «atención por enfermedad, tanto mental como degenerativa, sea en la casa en la que habita donde se le cuide y se le facilite todo lo que necesite, en caso de no poder hacerlo su esposo, se contrate a una persona para que la atienda correctamente, negándose a que se le lleve a una residencia o geriátrico». Nieves había sido diagnosticada de problemas de deterioro mental en el año 2007 y permaneció en el domicilio familiar atendida y cuidada por su esposo hasta noviembre del 2012, momento en el que fue ingresada en una residencia, y posteriormente en otra, donde estuvo ingresada hasta su fallecimiento en enero de 2014. Lo que se cuestiona en la sentencia es si el demandado conocía dicha condición, de carácter potestativo y relativa a hechos pasados, pues su desconocimiento lo exoneraría: «no puede tenerse por incumplido aquello que se desconoce que se debe cumplir». Como quiera que no se pudo probar su conocimiento, la Audiencia Provincial desestimó el recurso.

Y ahora contrastemos estas dos sentencias mencionadas con la SAP de A Coruña de 25 de febrero de 2002 (JUR 2002, 136495). En este caso Manuel, un testador soltero y sin hijos, pero con tres hermanos (con uno de los cuales convivía desde hacía años) otorgó testamento el 29 de mayo de 1995 instituyendo como única y universal heredera de todos sus bienes a Susana Josefa, a quien el testador sólo conocía «por ser cliente del bar donde ella trabajaba», pero disponiéndolo «con la obligación de cuidar y asistir al testador hasta su fallecimiento». Esa misma noche «tuvo que entregar su alma». Pues bien, en la sentencia se afirma que «es indiscutible que, en el caso litigioso, la demandada no llegó a conocer antes de la muerte el contenido del testamento ni, por tanto, la condición que se le impuso para heredar»; sin embargo, se concluye que «lo supiera o no la demandada, lo cierto es que el hecho del que el testador condicionó o hizo depender la eficacia del nombramiento como heredera de aquélla no se cumplió, ni de modo propio o real o verdadero ni impropio o ficticio o legal»; por ello, procede «la apertura de la sucesión intestada o legítima y deferir la herencia en favor de los hermanos».

Como se puede observar, en este caso poco importa si la beneficiaria conocía o no la condición que la vinculaba a los cuidados. No vamos a negar que estemos de acuerdo con el resultado final, pues creemos que es necesario cierto tiempo mínimo de cuidados efectivos para que una cláusula de este tipo pueda tener valor; sin embargo, con lo que no podemos estar de acuerdo es con la argumentación jurídica, pues o se le da valor al hecho de conocer la condición impuesta o no se le da. Pero este no puede tratarse de un principio que se aplique únicamente cuando convenga, especialmente, para no desvirtuar las cláusulas testamentarias dispuestas en favor de cuidadores varones que no cumplen con las exigencias establecidas. Creemos que aquí la Audiencia Provincial probablemente llevase a cabo una interpretación *moralista,* contraria al principio de libertad de testar, del tipo de: ¿qué clase de hermano prefiere dejar su herencia a la camarera que le atiende en el bar que a su propia familia? Sin embargo, en nuestra opinión, no corresponde a los Tribunales hacer esta clase de interpretaciones, pues tal y como establece el artículo 763 CC, «el que no tuviere herederos forzosos [como ocurría en este caso] puede disponer por testamento de todos sus bienes o de parte de ellos en favor de cualquier persona que tenga capacidad para adquirirlos».

3.3. Sobre la determinación de cuidados al testador

Por último, y en relación con la determinación de cuidados al testador, convendría analizar la STS de 9 de mayo de 1990 (RJ 1990, 3696). En este caso, Melania había otorgado testamento en 1977 por el que mejoraba a su nieto Manuel, hijo de Ramona, y lo instituía heredero en el tercio de libre disposición, bajo condición «de que atienda al cuidado y asistencia de la testadora hasta su fallecimiento, y la obligación de abonar los gastos de entierro y funerales». En el remanente instituía herederas por partes iguales a sus dos hijas, con sustitución en favor de sus descendientes por estirpes. Melania falleció y fue enterrada en Dumbría, siendo atendida por su hija Ramona en su propia casa durante los últimos días; por ello, tanto Ramona como su hermana entendieron que no se había cumplido la condición expresada en el testamento y la impugnaron solicitando su nulidad. Lo que dice el TS es lo siguiente: «Su lectura revela que se trata de condición suspensiva, que impide adquirir el derecho si no se cumple, y que consiste en hechos pasados, puesto que han de tener existencia antes de que el testamento despliegue su eficacia. Además es potestativa, puesto que su cumplimiento depende de la voluntad de la persona del favorecido bajo condición (también de la voluntad de la causante). Así pues, siendo potestativa y de hechos pasados, naturalmente ha de conocerla el obligado a cumplirla para que su voluntad pueda determinar el cumplimiento. El Código prevé la hipótesis de condición suspensiva consistente en hechos posteriores a la muerte del causante y, además, potestativas (artículo 795), pero no contempla la condición suspensiva potestativa de hechos pasados. Por ello, en el caso de autos, ha de tenerse en cuenta lo dispuesto en el artículo 798, conforme al cual si el interesado en que se cumpla, que lo es, se presume, la causante, por propia voluntad cambia su domicilio, no por ello ha de entenderse que no se ha cumplido la condición, pues es él quien lo impidió y habrá de tenerse por cumplida y, por tanto, subsistente la disposición de bienes condicional, que, como bien dice la sentencia recurrida en calidad de *obiter dicta*, de haber querido la causante que perdiera eficacia habría revocado el testamento con otro posterior. Si la interesada en que no se cumpla, que son, también se presume, las hijas recurrentes, con su conducta produjeron el incumplimiento, también ha de tenerse por cumplida según el repetido artículo 798».

Es decir, según se desprende del Tribunal Supremo, poco importa si el nieto mejorado cuidó efectivamente a la testadora y cumplió con la condición establecida pues, de una parte, la testadora pudo haber cambiado el testamento[5] y, de otra, las hijas, al *impedir* el cumplimiento de la condición cuidando a su madre, la dieron por cumplida *ex* artículo 798 CC (que establece que: «cuando el interesado en que se cumpla, o no, impidiere su cumplimiento sin culpa o hecho propio del heredero o legatario, se considerará cumplida la condición»). Nada se dice, sin embargo, si las hijas *conocían* la cláusula testamentaria e impidieron a propósito la condición de cuidados con la intención de impugnarla tras el fallecimiento de la testadora, o si simplemente decidieron cuidar a su madre, tal vez, aunque de nuevo nada se pueda saber del relato fáctico de la sentencia, debido a la pasividad del nieto beneficiario, o de su posible falta de diligencia a la hora de llevar a cabo los cuidados. Lo único que queda claro es que el Tribunal Supremo decide *condenar* a las hijas por su proactividad al decidir cuidar a su madre la testadora.

Pero si en un caso se condena la proactividad de las hijas, en otro se condena precisamente su falta de determinación, como ocurre en la SAP de A Coruña de 15 de mayo de 2019 (AC 2019, 846). En este caso, Noemí, viuda y con seis hijos (tres varones y tres mujeres), ordenó testamento en 2010 por el que hacía legados y disponía de la parte de libre disposición en favor del hijo o hijos que, en caso de necesidad, la atiendan y asistan hasta su fallecimiento, quedando instituidos los demás en la legítima que por ley corresponda. Y, en caso de no necesitar la asistencia referida, instituye herederos por partes iguales a cinco de sus hijos (tres hijos y dos hijas). En octubre de 2016 Noemí enferma y se contrata primero a una señora y después a otra para que la atiendan tanto por el día como por la noche (los tres hijos

5. Esta resolución hace que nos preguntemos por qué en este caso no se aplica el principio de irrelevancia de que «la testadora, pese al incumplimiento de la condición, no revocase el testamento, pues precisamente el carácter condicional de la obligación impuesta le hacía confiar razonablemente en la ineficacia de la institución de heredera contemplada en su testamento», tal y como se afirma en la STS de 30 de mayo de 2018 (RJ 2018, 2314).

varones aportan dinero para los gastos). En enero de 2017 empeora por lo que sus tres hijos varones deciden ingresarla en una residencia geriátrica en Vigo y, como la pensión de la testadora no cubría por completo los costes, los tres hijos varones deciden poner 300 euros mensuales cada uno; uno de ellos (justamente al que sólo se le instituía en la legítima, Sebastián) remitió un burofax a sus tres hermanas solicitando que también colaborasen con los gastos. Finalmente, Noemí fallece en junio de 2017.

En la sentencia de primera instancia se determina que debe distribuirse la parte de libre disposición entre los tres hijos varones y se rechaza en todo caso la posibilidad de incluir en el pasivo los 7.504 euros que los tres hijos varones habían gastado en la residencia geriátrica en la que estaba ingresada la testadora, pese a la conformidad de las tres hijas, porque, por una parte, había precluido el trámite para variar el inventario, y, por otra, no son deudas de la herencia los pagos realizados voluntariamente por uno de los hijos a su causante, en cumplimiento voluntario de la obligación alimenticia. Posteriormente, la Audiencia Provincial afirma que valorada la prueba en su conjunto se llega a la misma conclusión que la juez de primera instancia: «Sea por la razón que fuere –distancia, situación económica, situación personal, otras obligaciones familiares, carácter…– lo cierto es que mientras los hijos adoptaron una actitud proactiva a la hora de prestar asistencia a su madre, las hijas mantuvieron una postura totalmente pasiva. Todo son discusiones, manifestaciones de discrepancias, promesas y propuestas alternativas. Pero quien adoptaba las soluciones, quien busca las señoras para cuidar a doña Noemí, quien aporta el dinero para pagar a esas cuidadoras, quien gestiona la residencia geriátrica y sufragaba el coste de las atenciones, son los hijos don Sebastián, don Oscar y don Víctor Manuel. Se puede comprender la situación personal de cada cual. Pero lo que no es posible es posponer siempre para el futuro la toma de decisiones y la adopción de medidas. Doña Noemí precisaba las atenciones cuando las requería, y no podía dilatarse en el tiempo prestarle la necesaria asistencia. Muestran su discrepancia con la aportación económica, pero claramente se les dijo que al menos reconociesen el importe que se pagaba para descontarlo en su día, y ni eso hicieron. Plantean llevársela a su casa y cuidarla allí, o bien ir a atenderla a su domicilio. Pero ninguna adoptó esa decisión realmente. Ninguna se la llevó, ni ninguna se mudó a su vivienda».

En la sentencia se critica también la frase que tanto invocan de ofrecimiento a cuenta de la herencia futura: «Claramente se está diciendo que, si alguna no puede aportar numerario lo harían los otros hermanos por ella, y que lo devolvería cuando liquidasen la herencia. Se está ofreciendo un préstamo». Por todo ello, la sentencia determina que «estamos en presencia de una institución condicional. Y la condición fue cumplida exclusivamente por don Sebastián, don Óscar y don Víctor Manuel. Y por lo tanto el recurso debe ser desestimado». Sin embargo, se hace una importante reflexión, pues si en la sentencia de primera instancia se determinaba que el contador partidor debía efectuar cuaderno particional aplicando el tercio libre de la herencia a los tres hijos varones, en la SAP y con muy buen criterio, se observa que el testamento es claro en el sentido de que Sebastián no es nunca heredero, por lo que asignarle «una participación en la parte de libre disposición, cuando es mero legitimario, supone no respetar la voluntad de la causante»; en definitiva: «quizá sea conveniente replantearse este extremo a la hora de confeccionar el nuevo cuaderno, o en posibles impugnaciones ulteriores».

Las críticas que nos suscita esta sentencia son numerosas: por una parte, no llegamos a comprender la dureza con la que se juzga a las hijas por no colaborar en los gastos de los cuidados (a pesar de que se deduce del relato fáctico que se ofrecieron a cuidar a la testadora, aunque no llegaron nunca a hacerlo), infravalorando razones tan determinantes como las mencionadas (situación económica u otras obligaciones familiares). Como pudimos advertir en la introducción de este trabajo, a menudo las mujeres son las que se quedan en casa al cuidado de los hijos u otros familiares, sin obtener a cambio ningún tipo de remuneración. Entonces, ¿no sería acaso comprensible que las hijas tuviesen razones de peso para no poder asumir el gasto de los cuidados de la testadora? En ningún caso se desprende del relato fáctico que las hijas, pudiendo, no quisieran participar en los gastos; más bien al contrario, lo que se dice es que las hijas entendían que los gastos asumidos por los hijos varones serían recompensados posteriormente con la herencia futura, incluyendo todas las cantidades como pasivo sucesorio (a lo que prestaron su conformidad, tal y como se desprende de la sentencia, aunque finalmente no fuese reconocida como deuda sucesoria); o que, en cualquier caso, se trataría de un préstamo que podrían resarcir con la herencia futura. Tanto la sentencia de primera instancia como la de apelación entendieron que los gastos por el cuidado de la testadora en sus últimos años de vida no eran deudas de la herencia, sino que se trataba de una obligación alimenticia. Esta afirmación es ciertamente rebatible, pues no es sino cuando Noemí enferma en el año 2016 que los hijos varones deciden contratar primero a dos señoras y después ingresarlas en una residencia, donde fallece en 2017, por lo que cabría interpretar que se trata de un gasto de última enfermedad que sí formaría parte del pasivo sucesorio (García Goldar, 2019, p. 105). Además, y en caso de tratarse realmente de una obligación alimenticia, tal y como se afirma en las dos sentencias, las cantidades debidas por cada uno de los alimentistas debería ser proporcionada a su caudal, es decir, a sus capacidades económicas (artículo 146 CC). Entonces, ¿por qué no se tuvo en cuenta la solvencia de cada uno de los hijos sobre esta cuestión?

Pero si hay algo que definitivamente nos descuadra por completo es que se considere cumplida la condición de asistencia por los hijos varones que nunca llegaron a cuidarla efectivamente, tal y como la testadora exigía; todo lo más que hicieron fue delegar su cuidado en otras personas: primero, en las dos señoras contratadas; segundo, con el ingreso de la testadora en una residencia geriátrica; sitio donde, dicho sea de paso, la testadora no deseaba estar, pues quería ser atendida por alguno de sus hijos, tal y como había establecido en el testamento. Si es que, de nuevo, se entiende que lo que hicieron los hijos fue un pago de alimentos, tal pago no puede considerarse hecho por voluntad propia, sino por exigencia de la ley; entonces, lo que existe no es cumplimiento de una condición testamentaria de cuidados, sino cumplimiento de un deber legal. Por ello, nos surge la duda: ¿es que se puede interpretar que hay cuidados efectivos cuando alguno o varios hijos pagan la diferencia entre la pensión del testador y lo que cuesta la residencia donde la están cuidando, a pesar del rechazo expreso del testador a su ingreso en uno de estos centros? ¿Y que, a sensu contrario, habrá falta de cuidados cuando alguno de los hijos no pueda pagar ese extra gasto, a pesar de que visiten al testador en la residencia geriátrica, tal y como hacían las hijas en este supuesto?

En nuestra opinión, este caso gira únicamente en torno a una cuestión económica: sólo los hijos varones satisficieron la diferencia entre lo que ganaba la testadora y lo que costaba cuidarla por otros; sólo ellos pagaron los gastos de la última enfermedad. Por ello, lo normal hubiese sido considerarlo una deuda sucesoria, a satisfacer con el patrimonio hereditario; o, en caso de insistir en que se trata de una obligación de alimentos, considerar que los hijos varones que asumieron la deuda tienen una acción de regreso frente a las hermanas, en función de lo que hubiesen tenido que pagar, en proporción a sus medios económicos. Sin embargo, que dicha deuda entre hermanos hubiese supuesto la exclusión de las hijas en la herencia de la testadora (salvaguardada su cuota de legítima) nos parece una consecuencia un tanto radical que puede ser además contraria a la voluntad de la testadora, que quería legar la herencia a quien la cuidase efectivamente, y en caso de no ser cuidada (por no necesitarlo, a lo que podría añadirse, ser cuidada por otros), que cinco de sus seis hijos fuesen los herederos.

Sin embargo, la dureza con la que se condena la falta de proactividad de las hijas en esta sentencia (cualidad esta, la proactividad, que se condena en la sentencia anteriormente citada) nos lleva, de nuevo, a cuestionarnos: ¿será que existe un doble rasero por parte de los Tribunales a la hora de evaluar los cuidados llevados a cabo por las mujeres frente a los llevados a cabo por hombres? ¿Se habría llegado a cualquiera de las soluciones planteadas si la situación hubiese ocurrido a la inversa? Es decir, en el caso anterior, ¿se habría conservado la validez de una cláusula en favor de la nieta bajo condición de cuidados, si finalmente quienes terminan cuidando a la testadora son los hijos?; y, ¿se hubiese excluido de la herencia a los hijos varones si sólo las hijas hubiesen prorrateado los gastos de la residencia?

4. CONCLUSIONES Y VALORACIÓN PERSONAL

La tarea de los cuidados, a familiares o a desconocidos, sigue siendo asumida en un gran porcentaje de los casos por mujeres. Su importancia social y económica es indudable, como demuestran los datos referidos, y todavía lo será más, debido al progresivo envejecimiento de la población. Tal vez por ello cada vez son más habituales las disposiciones testamentarias en favor de quien cuide al testador o bajo condición de cuidados.

En relación con el análisis jurisprudencial, nos ha sorprendido el hecho de que este tipo de cláusulas testamentarias en favor de quien cuide al testador no se hagan mayoritariamente en favor de mujeres, como cabría esperar. Esto probablemente se deba al hecho de que los testadores suelen disponer en favor de aquellas personas con las que le unen lazos familiares, aun cuando no vayan a ser estos beneficiarios varones quienes los cuiden efectivamente.

Además, creemos que en algunas sentencias es evidente la perpetuación de ciertos estereotipos de género, pues supuestos prácticamente idénticos se fallan en distinto sentido en función de si el beneficiario-cuidador es varón o mujer. Así ocurre, por ejemplo, en la manera en que los tribunales interpretan la condición de «vivir con el testador», en si es relevante o no que el beneficiario conociese la condición o no y, en general, en la determinación de la validez de la condición de cuidados aun cuando no los hubiese habido, la cual es mucho más laxa cuando el beneficiario es un varón.

No podemos dejar de llamar la atención sobre el hecho de que en dos de los supuestos examinados (condición de vivir en compañía del testador y determinación de la efectiva prestación de cuidados), son las sentencias del Tribunal Supremo las que presentan una fundamentación a nuestro modo de entender errática y dudosa con el (al menos aparente) propósito de reconocer la validez de las disposiciones testamentarias en favor de los varones. Pero esto no debe sorprendernos: al fin y al cabo, la Sala de lo Civil del Tribunal Supremo es la que tiene un peor porcentaje de mujeres magistradas[6]. La existencia de un techo de cristal en la judicatura española es evidente (García Rubio, 2014, p. 77), y dos son las posibles causas que lo explican (García Goldar, 2020, pp. 6-10): por una parte, la discriminación por razón de sexo en relación con el acceso a puestos discrecionales (Tribunales Superiores de Justicia, Tribunal Supremo); por otra, la dificultad para conciliar la vida familiar y laboral (Gómez Bahillo, Elboj Saso y Marcén Muñío, 2016, p. 204; Otero Parga, 2013, p. 469), debido en gran medida a la perpetuación de los ya mencionados estereotipos de género. Para muestra un botón: en el año

6. Forman parte de la Sala de lo Civil 10 magistrados, de los que sólo una es mujer: María de los Ángeles Parra Lucán. La Sala de lo Civil se convierte así en la Sala del Tribunal Supremo con un porcentaje más bajo de mujeres: apenas un 10%. El pasado 4 de julio de 2019 se publicó una convocatoria para cubrir la plaza que dejaba vacante el magistrado Orduña Moreno (turno de juristas), por lo que la Comisión Permanente del Consejo General del Poder Judicial tuvo la oportunidad de corregir esta situación y procurar una presencia más equilibrada de mujeres y hombres en esta sala. Sin embargo, el resultado de la selección fue decepcionante: el candidato finalmente elegido fue un varón, a pesar de que existían candidatas femeninas con tan buen o mejor perfil.

2017, el total de las 17 excedencias para el cuidado de hijos concedidas fueron solicitadas por juezas y magistradas (Consejo General del Poder Judicial). Cifras estas que demuestran que el I Plan Estratégico de la Carrera Judicial (2013) no ha alcanzado los objetivos propuestos; habrá que ver si el II Plan de 2020 arroja en el futuro datos más positivos.

A nuestro parecer, la necesaria introducción de la perspectiva de género en la jurisdicción civil será una quimera mientras el máximo órgano judicial en España siga perpetuando la imagen de la masculinización del Derecho. Kenney (2013) afirmaba que si queremos promover los derechos de las mujeres, tenemos que promover que haya más juezas; en nuestra opinión, no se trata sólo de hacer valer los derechos de las mujeres, sino de promover una organización judicial que represente a toda la sociedad en su conjunto: quién mejor para entender a una mujer o su situación que otra mujer. Y como dice Maule (2000, p. 296), un sistema judicial que no refleja a los miembros de una sociedad genera cada vez niveles más altos de desafecto y desilusión; sin embargo, a medida que más mujeres se vayan colocando en el banquillo, más fortalecido se verá el régimen democrático.

Si son las mujeres quienes soportan con harta frecuencia la carga de los cuidados familiares, deberían poder participar en la toma de decisiones sobre este y cualquier otro asunto que les afecte. Y para ello es necesaria la presencia equilibrada de mujeres (40-60%) en los tribunales judiciales. Mientras ello no ocurra no habrá, en nuestra opinión, posibilidad alguna de lograr algún día la efectiva igualdad entre mujeres y hombres.

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15. STS de 25 de marzo de 1957 (AC 2018, 1045)
16. STS de 9 de mayo de 1990 (RJ 1990, 3696)
17. STS de 21 de enero de 2003 (RJ 2003, 604)
18. STS de 3 de diciembre de 2009 (RJ 2010, 269)
19. STS de 18 de julio de 2011 (RJ 2011, 5217)
20. STS de 30 mayo de 2018 (RJ 2018, 2314)

DETERMINACIÓN SEXUAL: ¿CÓMO ESTRUCTURA LA BIOMEDICINA CONTEMPORÁNEA SU DISCURSO SOBRE LA GÉNESIS DE LA DIFERENCIA? UN ESTUDIO CON FOCO EN ARGENTINA

SEX DETERMINATION: HOW DOES CONTEMPORARY BIOMEDICINE STRUCTURE ITS DISCOURSE ON THE GENESIS OF DIFFERENCE? A STUDY FOCUSED ON ARGENTINA

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Submitted / Recibido: 16/03/2020
Accepted / Aceptado: 02/11/2020

To cite this article / Para citar este artículo:
Hadid, L. y Belardo, M. (2021). Determinación sexual: ¿cómo estructura la biomedicina contemporánea su discurso sobre la génesis de la diferencia? Un estudio con foco en Argentina. *Feminismo/s*, *38*, 331-357. https://doi.org/10.14198/fem.2021.38.13

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Resumen

El discurso biomédico contemporáneo sostiene que el elemento determinante del sexo humano es el camino de desarrollo tomado por las gónadas al comienzo de la vida. A través de un proceso conocido como *determinación sexual*, esas estructuras dejan de ser órganos sexualmente indiferenciados para transformarse en ovarios o testículos, en un enfoque binario. Eso define el resto del desarrollo genital. El objetivo de este artículo es identificar quiénes elaboran el discurso biomédico sobre *determinación sexual* entre 1990 y 2015, y qué materiales producen. Este análisis está enmarcado en la propuesta teórica de Ludwik Fleck, a partir del concepto de *colectivo de pensamiento*. La metodología es cualitativa, con fuentes primarias y secundarias. La determinación sexual es enunciada como un proceso estrictamente natural que no constituye un objeto epistemológico. Este discurso perpetúa condiciones opresivas y normalizadoras que resultan centrales en la estructuración de la verdad biomédica sobre el *cuerpo normal*.

Palabras clave: determinación sexual; sociología de la ciencia; biología del desarrollo; género; diferencia sexual.

Abstract

Contemporary biomedical discourse holds that the determining element of human sex is the path of development taken by the gonads at the beginning of life. Through a process known as *sex determination*, these structures cease to be sexually undifferentiated organs to become ovaries or testicles, in a binary approach. That defines the rest of the genital development. The objective of this article is to identify who elaborate the biomedical discourse on sexual determination between 1990 and 2015, and what materials they produce. This analysis is framed in the theoretical proposal of Ludwik Fleck, based on the concept of *thought collective*. The methodology is qualitative, with primary and secondary sources. *Sex determination* is enunciated as a strictly natural process that does not constitute an epistemological object. This discourse perpetuates oppressive and normalizing conditions that are central to the structuring of biomedical truth about the *normal body*.

Keywords: Sex determination; Sociology of science; Developmental biology; Gender; Sexual difference.

INTRODUCCIÓN

La biomedicina contemporánea explica el desarrollo genital prenatal centrándose en el desarrollo gonadal y sostiene que la determinación del sexo de una persona ocurre, en primer término, en las gónadas embrionarias. Desde una perspectiva binaria, consiste en la transformación de las gónadas embrionarias *indiferenciadas* de las primeras semanas de gestación en testículos o en ovarios. Este proceso es conocido como *determinación sexual* (Gilbert, 2010). A partir de esta *determinación* se produce, de acuerdo con el discurso biomédico actual, la *diferenciación del sexo* del resto del cuerpo del producto de la gestación. Aparecen entonces dos categorías definidas en el desarrollo prenatal: la *determinación sexual* –definición del sexo de las gónadas embrionarias– y, a partir de esta, la *diferenciación sexual* –resto de los órganos del embrión– (Gilbert, 2010). La *diferencia sexual* es presentada como un hecho natural y su génesis se ubica durante el desarrollo prenatal, en particular en el proceso de *determinación sexual*. En este relato, el sexo se estructura antes de nacer a través de una definición binaria: tomar el camino de *uno de los dos sexos posibles*.

La biomedicina suele analizar sus hechos científicos desde una perspectiva ahistórica, tomando como eje el descubrimiento de una verdad natural por parte de un observador objetivo (Fleck, 1986; Foucault, 1998, 2003; Serrano, 2007). Esta mirada contiene en sí misma la falta de reflexión crítica sobre su epistemología (Fleck, 1986). Entre las características específicas de la *determinación sexual* como objeto de estudio destaca el hecho de que está atravesada por un particular interjuego entre lo universal y lo íntimo, lo individual y lo colectivo, *lo normal* y *lo patológico*, la dicotomía sexual y las diversidades, las moléculas y las identidades. Esta singularidad hace de la *determinación sexual* un objeto privilegiado para estudiar cómo y en qué medida la manera en que la biomedicina construye sus objetos tiene sesgos que constituyen límites. Y también, especialmente, consecuencias.

El discurso biomédico –como cualquier otro– no relata objetivamente un hecho dado, sino que es un desarrollo en el que determinados actores sociales crean los patrones de la vida social a través de sus concepciones y sus acciones (David y Sutton, 2004). Constituye parte de la realidad histórica de esos actores y por lo tanto resulta central en la definición de sus prácticas. En esta línea, no es suficiente con que la reflexión en torno al discurso biomédico se haga sobre las técnicas y proposiciones de la biomedicina, sino que debe incluir el análisis de los patrones de racionalidad y aplicación que se encarnan en esas técnicas y proposiciones, así como en otras formaciones discursivas (Foucault, 1979) que componen el tejido social (Canguilhem, 1971; Safatle, 2011). Este discurso es entonces una construcción social. En tanto social, esta construcción es colectiva y no puede explicarse a través de la suma de aportes individuales: implica el desarrollo de un *colectivo de pensamiento* que lo elabora, de acuerdo con un *estilo de pensamiento* determinado (Fleck, 1986).

En relación con el recorte temporal seleccionado, se destaca que en 1990 se publicó en la revista *Nature*, de referencia en biomedicina, la descripción de un gen humano llamado SRY (Sex Determining Region Y) en el cromosoma Y (Sinclair et al., 1990). El hallazgo se presentó como la condición necesaria y suficiente para que un embrión humano desarrolle testículos. Se postuló que su carencia redunda, a su vez, en la formación de ovarios. Esta especificación de la *región determinante del sexo* marcó un hito en el conocimiento de la *determinación sexual* humana y tuvo gran repercusión en la comunidad científica (John Hopkins University, 2017; Mc Laren, 1990; Nagai, 1996; Nordqvist, 1995; Ronfani y Bianchi, 2004).

Este trabajo se centra en identificar quiénes elaboran este discurso y qué materiales producen, y se organiza en tres secciones. En la primera sección del artículo se detalla la metodología utilizada. En la segunda sección se describe el centro del *colectivo de pensamiento* biomédico que se organiza en torno a la *determinación sexual*, en clave de analizar cómo construye su discurso. En la tercera sección se caracterizan las principales producciones escritas de este colectivo.

1. CONSIDERACIONES METODOLÓGICAS

Se seleccionó para esta investigación un diseño exploratorio y descriptivo. La estrategia metodológica fue cualitativa y consideró el discurso biomédico sobre *determinación sexual* como construcción colectiva. Se trabajó sobre la base de fuentes orales y textuales. La recolección de datos se efectuó por medio de una articulación que incluyó fuentes primarias a través de entrevistas a especialistas y fuentes secundarias a partir de la revisión de dos tipos de documentos: una selección de artículos publicados en revistas biomédicas sobre la temática entre 1990 y 2015, y los 3 manuales de estudio más recomendados para su abordaje en las escuelas públicas de medicina de la Argentina. El corpus empírico –en particular la selección de artículos– se fue redefiniendo a medida que avanzaba el trabajo de campo. En términos de interacción con los datos, se elaboró en un primer momento una selección inicial de manuales y artículos. Luego se elaboró la guía de entrevistas y se las llevó a cabo. A partir de las entrevistas se efectuó la selección final de artículos y el análisis de datos. Este artículo concentra un recorte de una investigación más amplia.

Las entrevistas

Se efectuaron seis entrevistas semi-estructuradas. Para ello, se seleccionaron dos personas expertas en la temática (que trabajan en diferentes centros y son quienes más se destacan en investigación sobre desarrollo genital prenatal humano en Argentina, con inserción en el *colectivo* internacional) y cuatro especialistas que trabajan en áreas asociadas. Se incluyeron trabajadores de las áreas de la docencia, la investigación y la asistencia, y dentro de esta última a personas experimentadas en diversas disciplinas clínicas y quirúrgicas (cirugía general y ginecológica pediátrica, endocrinología pediátrica, pediatría, genética médica, investigación básica y clínica, docencia de grado y posgrado). Se evita caracterizar con mayor detalle para preservar el anonimato.

La guía de entrevistas se estructuró en 3 ejes: conocimiento sobre *determinación sexual*, estructura del *colectivo de pensamiento* y su producción, y transmisión de conocimiento sobre *determinación sexual* en las carreras públicas de medicina de la Argentina. A partir de las entrevistas se terminó de localizar el discurso sobre *determinación sexual* en cuanto a la estructura del colectivo de pensamiento y su producción.

Los artículos

Se seleccionó una serie de artículos indexados en la base de datos especializada más utilizada por el colectivo biomédico a nivel mundial: MEDLINE (Fernández-Altuna et al., 2016).

En primer lugar, la selección de artículos científicos se efectuó en MEDLINE a través del motor de búsqueda PubMed, utilizando el término MeSH[1] *sex determination processes*. MeSH define este término como «los mecanismos por los cuales el sexo de las gónadas de un individuo es fijado» (traducción propia). Se utilizó el término seleccionado como *major topic* (es decir, dentro de los temas principales del artículo). Como filtros de la búsqueda se introdujeron la fecha de publicación entre el 1 de enero de 1990 y el 31 de diciembre de 2015, la especie humana, y el idioma: inglés, castellano y portugués. A pesar de haber filtrado por especie y tema, se obtuvieron

1. Glosario de PubMed.

numerosos artículos que no cumplían con estos requisitos. Mediante la lectura de título y resumen se descartó otro grupo: quedaron 264 artículos.

Se efectuó una búsqueda adicional porque el término MeSH *sex determination processes* fue introducido en 2011 y los artículos anteriores fueron indexados utilizando este término retrospectivamente hasta 1998. Con el término MeSH *sex differentiation* como *major topic* (se utiliza como relativo al desarrollo sexual prenatal en general) para el período 1990-1997, después de la revisión inicial de título y resumen, quedaron 89 artículos adicionales.

De estas búsquedas no surgió el artículo con el que el grupo de Sinclair comunicó la descripción del gen SRY humano en la revista *Nature* (Sinclair et al., 1990). Como constituyó el punto de inflexión en el conocimiento biomédico sobre *determinación sexual* que marca el inicio del recorte temporal seleccionado para este trabajo, ese artículo fue incluido.

Fue necesaria la lectura de los textos completos para elaborar la selección final de acuerdo a la pertinencia temática siguiendo los criterios enunciados: quedaron 212 artículos.

Para efectuar el análisis se tomaron cinco ejes principales:

1. Vinculación entre *normalidad* y *patología* en la elaboración del discurso (especialmente si el análisis de condiciones consideradas *patológicas* se utiliza como insumo para la construcción de conocimiento sobre desarrollo).
2. Teoría del *default*[2]: se la sostiene, se plantea otra lógica para el desarrollo ovárico o no se incluye.
3. Destinos posibles de la *determinación*: presencia o ausencia de una mirada binaria sobre la *determinación sexual* (testículo u ovario como únicas opciones).
4. Presencia de conceptos no hegemónicos, nuevas propuestas teóricas, ideas alternativas. Este eje se ajusta a una de las propuestas analíticas de *La arqueología del saber*, donde Foucault (1979) apuntó a la identificación de márgenes en el discurso como forma de delimitarlo y definirlo.
5. Fecha de publicación.

2. Esa teoría sostiene la idea de que, a diferencia del testículo, el ovario se desarrolla por defecto (*default*). Se profundiza en este aspecto en la sección 3.

Se analizaron los ejes propuestos y se valoró su evolución a través del tiempo para estudiar la presencia o no de tendencias o periodizaciones.

Los manuales

Se seleccionaron los tres manuales más recomendados para el abordaje de la *determinación sexual* en las carreras públicas de medicina en Argentina. La temática es abordada en distintos espacios de las carreras de acuerdo a cada propuesta curricular. Se revisaron los currículos y se tomó la bibliografía recomendada en 2015 para el espacio curricular donde se aborda principalmente la temática en cada carrera. Los tres manuales más recomendados son:

1. Sadler, T.W. (2012). *Langman– Sadler Embriología Médica, 12va edición*. Editorial Médica Lipincott.
2. Moore, K.L., Persaud, T.V.N. y Torchia, M.G. (2013). *Embriología Clínica* (9na edición). Elsevier.
3. Carlson, B. (2014). *Embriología humana y Biología del desarrollo* (5ta ed.). Elsevier.

En las entrevistas se identifican los mismos textos como los más utilizados. El análisis de los manuales se elaboró sumando a los ejes considerados para la revisión de los artículos el lugar del apartado sobre determinación sexual en el texto (extensión relativa, ubicación en la organización del texto) y el origen del manual.

Se selecciona como enfoque teórico general la propuesta de Ludwik Fleck para indagar en el modo en que la comunidad biomédica contemporánea se organiza en torno a la *determinación sexual* y la construye a través de su discurso. Las categorías analíticas centrales fueron las de *colectivo de pensamiento* (en particular en este caso el *círculo esotérico*[3] del *colectivo de*

3. Este término, presente en las traducciones al castellano de la obra de Fleck, refiere al grupo de especialistas que se organiza en torno a una temática determinada. Para un *colectivo de pensamiento* en particular, el círculo central es el *esotérico*, en contraposición al círculo periférico compuesto por legos o *exotérico*. Aquí se focaliza en el círculo esotérico puesto que es el que representa el discurso biomédico en este caso. Si bien es probable que, dado el significado habitual del término esotérico en castellano, una opción más clara hubiera sido la palabra «endotérico», se mantiene el término original de las traducciones en este artículo.

pensamiento en torno a la determinación sexual en el período seleccionado) y *estilo de pensamiento* (Fleck, 1986).

2. ¿QUIÉNES ELABORAN EL DISCURSO BIOMÉDICO SOBRE *DETERMINACIÓN SEXUAL* ENTRE 1990 Y 2015?: EL CÍRCULO ESOTÉRICO DEL COLECTIVO DE PENSAMIENTO

Un *colectivo de pensamiento* es el portador comunitario de un *estilo de pensamiento* determinado (Fleck, 1986). El círculo esotérico del *colectivo de pensamiento* sobre *determinación sexual* durante el período 1990-2015 se mantuvo relativamente estable en cuanto a su organización y al tipo de materiales producidos, y su estructura es, por lo tanto, pasible de ser examinada.

A diferencia de otras temáticas abordadas por la biomedicina, la *determinación sexual* no pertenece en el campo biomédico a un área única o principal de conocimiento ni de práctica (Audí Parera y Guerrero, 2015). Como otros procesos del desarrollo prenatal, esta temática ha sido abordada clásicamente por la embriología, que en la actualidad se vincula a un grupo relacionado de disciplinas tales como la biología molecular y la genética del desarrollo. Ninguna de las áreas mencionadas corresponde a una única especialidad médica en el campo asistencial. Sin embargo, la repercusión de este discurso en la asistencia es evidente especialmente en especialidades como la endocrinología pediátrica, la pediatría y la cirugía infantil (Audí Parera y Fernández-Cancio 2015; Audí Parera y Guerrero, 2015; Guerrero-Fernández et al., 2018). Entonces, ¿cómo se organizan estas disciplinas en el *círculo esotérico* del *colectivo de pensamiento* que se estructura en torno a esta temática? ¿Qué otros actores participan? ¿Cómo se vinculan?

En el caso de la producción de conocimiento sobre *determinación sexual* en Argentina en las últimas décadas, el *círculo esotérico* está compuesto por un núcleo formado por investigadores expertos y una periferia integrada por un grupo de especialistas vinculados a la temática. Los dos centros más importantes del país en la investigación y producción de conocimiento original sobre *determinación* y *diferenciación sexual* se encuentran en grandes hospitales pediátricos de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, vinculados al Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET). Se trata del Hospital Garrahan (hospital público descentralizado) y el CEDIE (Centro de

Investigaciones Endocrinológicas), un centro asociado al Hospital Gutiérrez, hospital público municipal. Los/as principales investigadores/as de esos centros se identificaron como el centro del círculo esotérico.

> *Nos conocemos entre nosotros, nos vemos en las reuniones, en los congresos. A veces hace falta mirar algo en una muestra y yo llamo por ejemplo a* [nombre de investigadora experta] *para que me haga tal gen, lo arreglamos entre nosotros. [...] En las conferencias internacionales se hablan cosas, se cuenta la experiencia, y ahí entre todos decidimos los consensos.* (Investigador/a experto/a)[4]

Tienen conexión tanto con personas expertas en otros países como con organizaciones internacionales vinculadas a la producción de conocimiento y toma de decisiones académicas y asistenciales en la temática. Entre estas destacamos la Sociedad Europea de Endocrinología Pediátrica (European Society for Pediatric Endocrinology, ESPE), la Sociedad de Endocrinología Pediátrica (Estados Unidos) (Pediatric Endocrine Society, PES) y la Sociedad Latinoamericana de Endocrinología Pediátrica (SLEP).

> *Nos conocemos todos. El otro día me llamó* [investigador experto británico] *porque viene a la Argentina invitado por* [nombre de una empresa biofaracéutica]*, para que organicemos algo. [...] ahora con internet es mucho más fácil también. No somos tantos, nos conocemos, colaboramos.* (Médico endocrinólogo pediátrico)

El círculo esotérico del *colectivo de pensamiento* se completa con especialistas que no son investigadores/as expertos/as en el tema. Es el caso de la docencia en *determinación sexual* humana, que se da fundamentalmente en la formación médica de grado y, en mucha menor medida, algunos pocos programas de posgrado. Si bien todas las personas entrevistadas son docentes de posgrado en biomedicina, solo dos abordan la determinación sexual *normal* (en endocrinología y cirugía pediátricas). Con respecto a la formación médica de grado, en las carreras de medicina de Argentina la temática se trabaja clásicamente en una asignatura correspondiente a los primeros años de la carrera, en el contexto del desarrollo prenatal. Se destacan dentro del círculo esotérico los/as docentes de las cátedras de embriología (o equivalentes) de

4. Para los/as investigadores/as expertos/as, que constituyen un colectivo muy pequeño, se decide no especificar el género para preservar el anonimato.

las escuelas de medicina del país porque su posición resulta clave desde la perspectiva de la reproducción del discurso biomédico.

> *Desde el punto de vista del científico el que está involucrado es el genetista, el biólogo celular, el biólogo molecular esencialmente. […] Antiguos embriólogos, llamémosles así, que hoy se les llama biólogos del desarrollo. (…)Antes solo los embriólogos nos ocupábamos de esto. […] lo normal, lo vemos en función de lo que puede servir para los pacientes. De lo normal así puro, aparte de lo científico, seguimos hablando más que nada en embrio.* (Investigador/a experto/a)

El otro gran sector de especialistas no expertos/as que integra el círculo esotérico se compone de quienes trabajan en las áreas vinculadas de la medicina asistencial. En relación con las especialidades médicas que abordan la temática, a través de la información obtenida de las entrevistas y los artículos científicos se pudo confirmar y ampliar la estructuración inicial. Como fue referido, la *determinación sexual* no se corresponde con una especialidad médica única, pero se aborda principalmente en el área asistencial desde la clínica pediátrica, la cirugía pediátrica, la endocrinología pediátrica y la genética médica.

La práctica profesional de estos/as especialistas tiene la particularidad de ser ejercida sobre personas y colectivos del círculo exotérico. Tienen un efecto multiplicador del discurso hacia la periferia del círculo esotérico y sobre actores clave del círculo exotérico como las personas intersex. Son centrales para la consolidación de esta mirada sobre las trayectorias y los cuerpos de muchas personas, con grandes implicancias en la salud pública. Si bien estas especialidades son las centrales, hay otras que pueden implicarse más periféricamente en el caso de la *determinación sexual* categorizada como *normal*. Entre ellas, destacamos la ginecología y la urología pediátricas.

> *Endocrinólogos y ginecólogos infantiles. […] Cuando nace un chico y nos da duda, está el servicio de ginecología que tiene pediatría, o uro* [por urología] *[…] Ahora, de la embriología nos ocupamos en la facultad.* (Pediatra y docente de embriología)

Cabe aclarar que –en muchos casos– una persona puede participar de varios espacios dentro del círculo esotérico, por ejemplo, ser investigador/a experto/a y docente de embriología, o trabajar en asistencia y docencia. En síntesis, quienes componen el *círculo esotérico* se desempeñan en la esfera asistencial, de la docencia y/o de la investigación. Las principales especialidades médicas que abordan la determinación sexual en el área asistencial comprenden la clínica pediátrica, endocrinología pediátrica, genética médica y cirugía pediátrica.

Un aspecto adicional que se vincula directamente a la organización del *colectivo de pensamiento* es el modo en que circula la información dentro de este círculo. Una de las características del colectivo biomédico en general, y del colectivo biomédico que se organiza en torno a la *determinación sexual* en particular, es la vasta circulación de determinada información que tiende a la construcción de discursos hegemónicos globales. Los/as especialistas destacaron que la circulación de información biomédica dentro del centro del círculo esotérico de este *colectivo de pensamiento*, especialmente en los últimos años, se efectúa en gran medida a través del acceso a artículos en medios electrónicos. A diferencia de lo que ocurre en otras áreas, relatan que en biomedicina los artículos suelen ser obtenidos por separado y la lectura de revistas completas es mucho menos habitual. En este sentido, se consultó con los/as referentes del centro del círculo esotérico el modo en que seleccionan los artículos. Un investigador destacó la enorme importancia de los sistemas que proveen en forma automática recomendaciones de lectura a partir de algoritmos que toman en cuenta los perfiles y selecciones previas de cada usuario, y los señaló como la forma que más utiliza para seleccionar los artículos que leerá.

> *…de cada 100 artículos que me interesaban yo 95 los encontraba por Pubmed. Hoy eso debe haber bajado a menos de la mitad. […] Me llegan, me llegan, me llegan. Entonces: ah, me interesó. Entonces como me interesó me meto y encuentro otro, y miro otro.* (Investigador/a experto/a)

Estos sistemas pertenecen a grandes empresas de gestión de información científica, y en ocasiones las suscripciones son provistas por empresas privadas, como laboratorios de productos biomédicos. Sin embargo, la persona entrevistada destacaba la practicidad de estas recomendaciones de lectura sin problematizar el posible sesgo en el acceso y circulación del conocimiento a partir de la extensión de estos sistemas.

Otros modos de acceso destacados fueron las búsquedas directas en Pubmed y las recomendaciones de colegas dentro del círculo esotérico. Se observó una tendencia creciente en la utilización de los mencionados sistemas de recomendación como formas de selección de artículos en los últimos años, en detrimento de las búsquedas directas. Algunos/as especialistas destacaron la utilización de un híbrido entre la búsqueda directa y la utilización de algoritmos informáticos: el sistema de recomendaciones de lectura de Pubmed. A partir de las búsquedas efectuadas por un usuario, Pubmed sugiere artículos relacionados en la misma pantalla en que se muestran los resultados. Así, los sistemas automatizados van ganando terreno.

Otro punto a tener en cuenta es el acceso a los textos completos. En este sentido, dos personas mencionaron como ventaja que la industria farmacéutica y biotecnológica facilita suscripciones a determinadas plataformas que permiten obtener recomendaciones de lectura y acceso a los textos completos de los artículos sugeridos. Asimismo, ofrece facilidades para asistir a reuniones de difusión y discusión en la temática, donde –como se verá en el próximo párrafo– también se comparte información. En este punto, el complejo biomédico-industrial-financiero aparece como un actor privilegiado, por lo poderoso y lo no percibido, siendo un elemento fundamental en la configuración de la biopolítica contemporánea (Rose, 2012). No es objeto de este trabajo profundizar en su funcionamiento en torno a este discurso particular, pero resulta relevante como foco de futuras investigaciones.

Al indagar sobre otros modos de comunicar y acceder a información dentro del círculo esotérico, se mencionaron las reuniones científicas y, secundariamente, los foros profesionales u otros sistemas de comunicación online vinculados con sociedades científicas u otras organizaciones de especialistas. En algunos casos, a partir de esas interacciones se elaboran publicaciones consensuadas, como ocurrió con la producción del Consenso de Chicago (Hughes et al., 2006). Se trata de un documento elaborado a partir de una reunión de expertos ocurrida en la ciudad de Chicago en 2005. Este consenso, aún en vigencia, modificó la clasificación de un grupo de condiciones caracterizadas por un desarrollo sexual que la biomedicina considera diferente al habitual[5] incorporando aspectos no valorados previamente y erradicando la categoría «pseudohermafroditismo» (Delimata et al., 2018).

5. En este sentido, el historiador y activista intersex Mauro Cabral (2003) se diferencia de la mirada biomédica y sostiene que la intersexualidad no es una enfermedad sino que constituye una condición de no conformidad física con criterios culturalmente definidos de normalidad corporal.

Si bien el documento se enfoca en aspectos considerados patológicos de la diferenciación, está producido por el mismo *colectivo de pensamiento* que elabora el discurso sobre *determinación sexual*. Como se mencionó en el apartado anterior, aquello considerado *patológico* es tomado como insumo en la producción de este discurso sobre *normalidad*.

> *[...] en general las preguntas suelen generarse a partir de observaciones de anomalías del desarrollo sexual. Entonces eso es lo que lleva a la pregunta. Después por supuesto esa pregunta que surgió de una observación clínica la toman grupos básicos que ya tienen conocimientos y qué se yo qué y eso por allí los orienta. Y algunas veces por ahí los grupos básicos sin necesidad de esta pregunta ya están en una línea de investigación y generan conocimiento nuevo y ese conocimiento nuevo después sirve para entender algo que hasta ese momento no se explicaba. Esta es la ida y vuelta de esto que se llama investigación traslacional hoy en día.* (Investigador/a experto/a)

Nadie explicitó algún impacto de fuentes informales o creencias personales. Sin embargo, los/as dos investigadores/as expertos/as y un/a especialista no experto/a introdujeron la existencia de organizaciones de familias y –muy especialmente– *pacientes* intersex o que fueron diagnosticados con alguna de las llamadas *anomalías de la diferenciación sexual* (DSD[6]). Si bien en las entrevistas se tendía a caracterizarlos como actores demandantes –especialmente en relación con la crítica en torno a las intervenciones quirúrgicas sobre sus genitales para *normalizarlos* durante la infancia– no se mencionó su posible incidencia en la producción del discurso sobre el proceso de la *determinación sexual*. Sin embargo, en una entrevista se mencionó la conveniencia de instalar en las escuelas baños unisex para no «forzar a los niños» –en principio intersex pero luego en general a todos los niños– a optar por un baño para hombres u otro para mujeres. De este modo, aparecen elementos en el relato de que enuncian en mayor o menor medida el impacto social por fuera del círculo esotérico del discurso biomédico en torno a la *determinación sexual*.

6. Las anomalías del desarrollo sexual (DSD, del inglés Disorders of Sexual Development) son un grupo heterogéneo de condiciones que la biomedicina engloba como *anomalías* derivadas de alteraciones en este proceso del desarrollo (Guercio et al., 2010). En los últimos años se ha sugerido el término menos patologizante de desarrollo sexual diferente (Different Sex Development) (Audí Parera y Fernández-Cancio, 2015).

> *[…] trabajar sobre la aceptación de las diferencias. Hay mucho para trabajar porque habría que trabajar en las escuelas muchísimo. […] Para la comunidad médica, las escuelas, para insertar digamos en la sociedad que esta estigmatización de nena o varón no está bien, que en realidad todos nosotros tenemos componentes masculinos y femeninos.* (Investigador/a experto/a)

Asimismo, si bien como se ha señalado más arriba no se encontró referencia explícita en torno a la incidencia de otros actores sociales sobre el círculo esotérico, estos comentarios visibilizan su presencia y permiten inferir cierta noción –más o menos consciente, mejor o peor valorada– de su impacto. Este impacto, que escapa a la circulación de conocimiento dentro del círculo esotérico que es objeto de este trabajo, sería multidireccional. Por un lado, comprendería la acción de diversos actores que no pertenecen a la academia biomédica interactuando con el círculo esotérico: han sido mencionados los colectivos de personas intersex pero también podrían incidir otros grupos como la industria farmacéutica/biotecnológica y sectores religiosos. Por otro lado, actuando sobre el círculo esotérico, la circulación de conocimiento desde el exotérico podría incidir en la *normalización* de los cuerpos sexuados y de ese modo en la construcción de ciudadanía biológica en términos de Rose (2012). El aspecto multidireccional para estas circulaciones de conocimiento se complementaría, potencialmente, con la idea aportada por Fleck (1986) de que los mismos individuos pertenecen a varios *colectivos de pensamiento* en forma simultánea. Así, una persona experta en *determinación sexual* podría pertenecer también, por ejemplo, a un grupo católico o a un colectivo feminista. Estas dimensiones podrían ser objeto de futuras investigaciones.

3. LAS PRODUCCIONES ESCRITAS

Las principales producciones que reconocieron dentro del círculo esotérico sobre *determinación sexual* las personas entrevistadas son, tal como describió Fleck (1986), los artículos científicos y los manuales de estudio. Los manuales de estudio contienen un recorte del discurso elaborado por personas que –en muchos casos– no son referentes del círculo esotérico. Ese recorte reconoce como fuente los artículos científicos y cumple un rol central en la reproducción del discurso en la formación médica.

Los consensos producidos en reuniones de expertos/as, si bien son publicados también bajo el formato de artículos para revistas científicas, son un material particular. El único publicado con vinculación directa a la *determinación sexual* humana entre 1990 y 2015 es el mencionado Consenso de Chicago (Hughes et al., 2006). En la producción de los artículos se observa como la herramienta más frecuentemente utilizada una combinación entre datos clínicos, utilización de la comparación –y en ocasiones extrapolación– de datos obtenidos a partir del estudio de otras especies, y distintas técnicas de laboratorio enfocadas en aspectos moleculares. En el caso de los artículos que aportan nuevos datos primarios, ese conocimiento se presenta cotejado con una revisión de la bibliografía biomédica en torno al tema. Otros artículos se presentan como revisiones o actualizaciones del estado de la cuestión desarrolladas a partir de selecciones bibliográficas. Se indexan como *review* 78 de los 212 artículos analizados. Al revisar cada uno de ellos encontramos gran variabilidad en la calidad de las revisiones y, en muchos casos, no hemos podido valorarlas por la ausencia total o parcial de datos metodológicos. Esas selecciones contienen artículos producidos, en su mayoría, a partir de la combinación de las herramientas antes citadas. En forma excepcional algunas publicaciones aportan otros enfoques, de corte más epistemológico, como la contribución de las miradas feministas (Fausto-Sterling, 2015).

Hay una diferencia a lo largo del período analizado en la utilización de datos provenientes de otras especies. La estrategia de la embriología comparada, rama de la embriología que estudia la ontogenia en términos comparativos entre especies, es un abordaje clásico en el estudio biomédico del desarrollo prenatal. Dada la complejidad ética en la experimentación con embriones humanos, obtener datos de otras especies y luego intentar cotejarlas con lo que ocurre en nuestra especie ha sido una opción muy utilizada. En el caso particular de la *determinación sexual* ha ocurrido lo contrario en la detección de varias de las moléculas involucradas. Es decir, en lugar de ir desde los animales hacia las personas, la identificación de determinadas dianas moleculares en nuestra especie permitió intentar establecer modelos de estudio en animales. A partir del estudio de personas que la biomedicina identifica como portadoras de determinados *fallos* en el proceso de *determinación sexual,* se identificaron moléculas involucradas que luego se buscaron en otros mamíferos (Goodfellow y Lovel-Badge, 1993; Ostrer, 2001).

Sin embargo, en este proceso se han observado muchas diferencias entre especies, aun en aquellas que tienen mecanismos de desarrollo similares para otros órganos. Estas diferencias han sido señaladas en todo el período analizado pero, en especial en los últimos 10 años, la necesidad de obtener datos provenientes de nuestra especie para conocer en detalle la determinación sexual humana se ha consolidado como parte del estilo de pensamiento (Boyer et al., 2006; Valenzuela, 2008).

Al observar las formas de construir conocimiento durante este período, se destacan dos dimensiones en la articulación de los datos citados: la vinculación entre lo *normal* y lo *patológico*, y la utilización de nuevas tecnologías para análisis moleculares.

a. *Lo patológico* en la construcción del discurso sobre *determinación sexual normal*

Se observó ampliamente en los materiales analizados la utilización de elementos considerados patológicos como insumos para la producción del discurso sobre *normalidad*. Estos elementos *patológicos* pueden ser de ocurrencia no intencional –como la recopilación de datos a partir del estudio de personas categorizadas como portadoras de alteraciones en el desarrollo genital– o bien pueden estar producidos deliberadamente a través de la introducción de modificaciones en modelos animales a fin de analizar las funciones de una molécula particular.

Sobre el estudio de personas caracterizadas como portadoras de alteraciones en el desarrollo genital, las ventajas que fueran señaladas por Canguilhem (1971) son aprovechadas –y destacadas– por los investigadores. Esto es utilizado generalmente para constatar presuposiciones sobre el significado biológico de determinadas moléculas. Entre 1990 y 2015 han sido de particular interés para este colectivo de pensamiento los *casos* de *sex-reversal* (*inversión de sexo*). Estas personas tienen una constitución cromosómica esperada por la biomedicina para un sexo determinado pero los genitales esperados para *el otro* sexo, por supuesto desde una concepción binaria de esa categoría. En otras palabras, se trata de personas intersex con constitución cromosómica XX que tienen genitales que la biomedicina considera característicos de los *machos* o, a la inversa, alguien con constitución cromosómica XY que porta genitales que este colectivo espera encontrar en quienes entiende como *hembras*.

La utilización de esta herramienta se evidencia con claridad en la década de los '90, donde se estudió ampliamente la correlación entre la presencia de un gen particular y el desarrollo testicular. Se postulaba, por ejemplo, como se ha consignado en este trabajo, que el gen SRY era condición necesaria y suficiente para la producción del desarrollo testicular. En *machos* considerados *normales* el gen SRY es parte del cromosoma Y. Entonces, se presumía que las personas con constitución cromosómica XY pero sin desarrollo testicular portan una *condición patológica* de carencia de gen SRY en su cromosoma Y. A fin de confirmar este postulado se investigó la presencia de ese gen en personas con constitución cromosómica XY y sin desarrollo testicular, con resultados contrapuestos. En algunos casos se observó correlación entre la ausencia de gen SRY funcional en el cromosoma Y de personas con constitución cromosómica XY, y la ausencia de testículos (Farah et al., 1991; Ryner y Swain, 1995). Del mismo modo, resultados contrapuestos se obtienen a través del análisis de la presencia (señalada como *patológica*) del gen SRY en personas con constitución cromosómica XX y tejido testicular. Proliferan en esta época los *reportes de casos* en los que, a través del estudio genético de personas con condiciones consideradas *patológicas* por la biomedicina, se pretende aportar solidez al discurso sobre *normalidad* (Brown et al., 1998). Es interesante destacar que si bien en algunas situaciones se constata esa correlación y se utiliza para reafirmar el discurso de ese momento, un grupo de personas con esa constitución (XY pero sin gen SRY) tienen testículos a pesar de no contar con ese gen. En muchos artículos este grupo es consignado como resultado marginal pero llamativamente en la primera década no se problematiza masivamente su ocurrencia en el estilo de pensamiento, contraria al modelo hegemónico de *determinación* en ese período. Es decir, en estos primeros 10-15 años del período analizado, con una concepción general más lineal y determinista del proceso de *determinación sexual*, cuando la utilización de *lo patológico* contradice al menos parcialmente la teoría hegemónica, ese dato es registrado pero ignorado por gran parte del colectivo de pensamiento.

Además de las situaciones mencionadas, donde *lo patológico* aparece como una consecuencia fortuita de una desviación del *curso normal*, se observó en el período analizado la utilización de errores inducidos en el proceso de *determinación* en modelos animales como método de construcción de conocimiento. La estrategia más utilizada es la producción de animales mutantes para genes determinados en los que se elimina un gen específico. De ese modo, al observar la *determinación sexual* de ese animal, se pretende inferir la acción del producto de ese gen al observar el resultado de su carencia. En los desarrollos considerados patológicos no se produce la vuelta al *estado normal* –descripto por Canguilhem (1971) como central en la constatación de los mecanismos fisiológicos–. Estos experimentos funcionan como una alternativa para obtener artificialmente a través de la manipulación genética de animales esas constataciones (Graves, 1997; Josso y Rey, 1996; Lim y Hawkins, 1998; Swain y Lovell-Badge, 1997). Como se ha comentado antes, en los últimos 10 años disminuyó la utilización de estas estrategias en reemplazo de los estudios en humanos.

Al examinar el modo en que opera la vinculación con *lo patológico* en la estructuración del discurso sobre *normalidad* en la *determinación sexual*, se observa que, como propuso Canguilhem (1971), el estudio científico de aquello considerado *casos patológicos* resulta clave en la investigación de las leyes del *estado normal*. Al tratar de desentrañar esas leyes –la *normatividad vital* de la *determinación sexual*– aparece con claridad en este objeto la búsqueda de las normas de *lo patológico*. Esta condición no es la ausencia de normas, como dice Canguilhem, sino que su lógica de funcionamiento es diferente a la del *estado normal* y condiciona un funcionamiento comparativamente inferior. En el caso de la determinación sexual esa lógica es utilizada, como se consignó en los párrafos precedentes, para deducir a su vez leyes fisiológicas. En este sentido resulta importante destacar que la mayor parte del círculo esotérico de este colectivo de pensamiento compone también aquel que se organiza en torno al discurso sobre las DSD.

b. La utilización de tecnologías de laboratorio

La visualización de estructuras microscópicas ha tenido gran relevancia en la construcción del discurso sobre *determinación sexual* en la historia occidental. Entre los siglos XVII y XIX las técnicas de microscopía tuvieron un papel central en la descripción de testículos, ovarios, óvulos y espermatozoides

(Mittwoch, 2013). En el siglo XX las técnicas de visualización se centraron en estructuras sub-celulares, y en ese contexto se produjeron la descripción de los cromosomas sexuales y el nacimiento de la genética clásica (Delgado Echeverría, 2000; Maienschein, 1984; Mittwoch, 2013). Hacia finales del siglo XX las tecnologías disponibles posibilitaron hacer foco en estructuras cada vez más pequeñas. En 1990 se consolidó esta búsqueda en el inicio del Proyecto Genoma Humano, que se proponía detallar la composición del ADN de nuestra especie. En ese mismo año, la descripción del gen SRY irrumpió como la solución al enigma de la *determinación sexual* con un enfoque determinista, inscribiendo la teoría del *default* en el modelo de la genética clásica. Esto significa que, en ausencia de determinados atributos que generarían testículos –centralizados en el producto del gen SRY a partir de 1990–, las gónadas embrionarias se convierten por defecto en ovarios (Blyth y Duckett, 1991; Brown et al., 1998; Knower et al., 2003). La idea de que un órgano se desarrolle de este modo, solo por la ausencia de un elemento y sin determinantes moleculares que organicen su estructuración, en el marco de los discursos biomédicos en el período analizado era impensable en 1990 para cualquier otro órgano del cuerpo humano. Pero en *determinación sexual* no solo fue posible, sino que se instituyó en la concepción hegemónica.

En la primera década después de la presentación del gen SRY, se intentó describir su mecanismo de acción y el discurso se focalizó en cuestiones moleculares. Las tecnologías de laboratorio eran ya herramientas imprescindibles en la construcción del discurso.

A partir de 2000 se multiplicaron los artículos que apuntaban a las tecnologías de laboratorio (fundamentalmente vinculadas con genética y genómica) como fuentes, combinadas o no con datos clínicos –sobre todo relacionados con las DSD– y/o con enfoque de embriología comparada. Continuó la hegemonía de los genes en el discurso, pero fueron apareciendo elementos adicionales como la importancia de las dosis de productos del gen (ya no solo su presencia o ausencia, activación o inhibición) en el momento adecuado (timing) (Gross, 2006; Polanco y Koopman, 2006), la importancia del procesamiento postranscripcional[7] y la ubicación celular de las moléculas

7. El procesamiento postranscripcional comprende una serie de mecanismos que operan sobre la molécula resultante de la transcripción de un gen determinado, modificándola.

(Li et al., 2001), y los mecanismos epigenéticos[8] (Bouayed Abdelmoula et al., 2003). En la última década del período analizado, si bien la descripción de genes involucrados en el discurso sobre *determinación sexual* se multiplicó, la explicación se profundizó aún más en términos moleculares y se añadieron otros sistemas de regulación al de los genes, que continuó siendo hegemónico. Por ejemplo, aparecieron como posiblemente relevantes en la *determinación sexual* sistemas de regulación molecular de descripción reciente como el de los ARNpi[9] (Huang et al., 2014). Estos nuevos tipos de análisis y las descripciones de mecanismos adicionales implicaron el uso de tecnologías específicas que se fueron desarrollando en los últimos años.

En algunas entrevistas y en numerosos artículos –especialmente entre 2010 y 2015– se hace referencia a los avances recientes en términos de tecnologías genéticas y genómicas, y al modo en que posibilitan descripciones más precisas de procesos y moléculas involucradas en materia de *determinación sexual* (Bashamboo y Mcelreavey, 2015; Eggers y Sinclair, 2012; Wilhelm, Yang y Thomas, 2013; entre otros). Se señala, asimismo, que estas tecnologías aún no han sido suficientemente explotadas y representan herramientas que posibilitarán nuevos horizontes –moleculares– en la caracterización de la *determinación sexual*.

La utilización de tecnologías cada vez más complejas orientadas a la visualización de estructuras cada vez más pequeñas es notable, pero no es el único cambio. También esas tecnologías son utilizadas para describir nuevos sistemas de regulación de la *determinación sexual* que permiten

En algunos casos eso permite obtener diferentes productos –con distintas posibles acciones– partiendo de un mismo gen.

8. Los mecanismos epigenéticos son las modificaciones que puede sufrir un gen sin afectar su secuencia de nucleótidos. Tienen la capacidad de modificar la funcionalidad de los genes. Por ejemplo pueden hacer que, a pesar de que un gen esté presente en un organismo determinado, no pueda transcribirse. Es decir –en este ejemplo– las modificaciones epigenéticas que operan en un gen condicionan su funcionalidad de tal manera que pueden provocar que un gen –aun si contiene la secuencia esperada– esté presente en un organismo pero no pueda ser utilizado (lo *silencian*).

9. Los ARNpi (piwi-interacting ARNs) son un grupo de moléculas de reciente descripción. Corresponden a pequeñas moléculas de ARN que no codifican proteínas y se postulan como cruciales en el desarrollo temprano, la regulación epigenética, la gametogénesis, la regulación del ciclo celular, y el silenciamiento de elementos transposables y algunos genes que sí codifican proteínas.

analizarla como un proceso más plástico e incluso dinámico, abriendo el juego a caracterizar desde lo molecular un sexo no tan fijo ni tan binario (Hadid, 2018). Sin embargo, estas nuevas descripciones no aparecen en los manuales analizados.

Otro aspecto a considerar consiste en el modo en que circula la información a través del colectivo de pensamiento. Dentro del centro del círculo esotérico, de acuerdo con los datos obtenidos, la circulación de conocimiento se da a través de la lectura de artículos científicos y, en menor medida, por comunicación entre colegas y en reuniones científicas. A medida que nos acercamos a la periferia del círculo esotérico, los manuales se van consolidando como el principal material utilizado. En palabras de una persona entrevistada (especialista en cirugía pediátrica ginecológica) se utilizan los «libros de embriología» para abordar la *determinación sexual* tanto en los ateneos clínico-quirúrgicos como en la formación de médicos/as residentes en cirugía. Lo mismo ocurre en la formación de grado. Este material resulta central por su capacidad de multiplicar el discurso a través de la educación médica.

4. CONSIDERACIONES FINALES

Este artículo indaga en los modos en que la biomedicina contemporánea organiza su discurso sobre la *determinación sexual*. Se destaca la enunciación del discurso como la resultante del descubrimiento de una verdad natural por un observador objetivo. Sin embargo, como ocurre con otras construcciones colectivas, se observa que esta perspectiva aparentemente independiente de la historia y de las cosmovisiones no es tal. Esto se puede ver con claridad al estudiar cómo este colectivo de pensamiento utiliza una combinación de herramientas con presunta tradición de objetividad como son las tecnologías de laboratorio –especialmente aquellas orientadas a la observación de estructuras sub-celulares–, la utilización de datos obtenidos de la clínica, y el empleo de información obtenida a partir de otras especies, para sostener la teoría del *default*. Esta idea resulta impensada en la misma época para explicar el desarrollo de cualquier otro órgano humano. Sin embargo, para definir la existencia de la *diferencia sexual* como hecho natural y explicar su **génesis es** hegemónica. El ovario aparece como resultante por defecto a partir de una carencia, y el testículo es la consecuencia de la acción de un atributo positivo que permite completar el desarrollo. Sostener este tipo de explicaciones en la actualidad refuerza una concepción patriarcal fuertemente arraigada en la tradición de la ciencia biomédica y, por supuesto, se explica justamente por la presencia de este enfoque.

Esta visión se hace aún más evidente en los manuales de estudio. Este material contiene un recorte del discurso especializado elaborado especialmente para su reproducción a través de la formación médica. Si bien no es objeto de este artículo profundizar en el contenido del discurso, a fines de complementar la reflexión, destacamos que la mirada del colectivo de pensamiento en relación con un modelo de sexos binario, fijo y jerarquizado (heteropatriarcal, en definitiva) se hace especialmente presente en la elaboración de esta selección que destina a la difusión y reproducción del discurso dentro de la comunidad biomédica. De ese modo, aparece una síntesis que refleja la visión clásica sobre la *determinación sexual* humana –vinculada a la teoría del *default*– en detrimento de las nuevas miradas presentes en el discurso especializado en los últimos años del período analizado. No aparece en los manuales de estudio analizados la posibilidad de una *determinación sexual* no binaria, dinámica, ni se describe el desarrollo de las hembras como activo y positivo en términos moleculares.

Retomando el aporte que hace Fleck (1986) al considerar fundacional para el modo en que la biomedicina construye sus discursos la falta de reflexión crítica sobre su epistemología, a la luz de los resultados de esta investigación se observa que estos análisis resultan necesarios para la modificación de las prácticas biomédicas –incluyendo entre ellas al propio discurso–. En el caso particular del discurso biomédico sobre *determinación sexual* humana, la circulación es en dos sentidos. Así como las concepciones del colectivo de pensamiento sobre el dispositivo sexo-género resultan centrales para la consolidación del conocimiento, el propio discurso y otras prácticas biomédicas que se apoyan en él tienen implicancias sobre las concepciones y las acciones de diversos colectivos en torno a los cuerpos, los géneros, y los derechos sexuales y reproductivos. Expresa y sostiene relaciones de poder y estructuración de jerarquías. Perpetúa condiciones opresivas y normalizadoras, y afecta especialmente a las personas que deben decidir sobre sus cuerpos o los de sus hijos, pero también los modos de concebir la *diferencia sexual*, las corporalidades y las diversidades. En definitiva, el impacto del discurso biomédico sobre la *determinación sexual* en la estructuración de la verdad biomédica sobre *el cuerpo normal* tiene efectos para la salud colectiva, y está en construcción recíproca con las prácticas y representaciones no biomédicas.

Reconocer que el discurso biomédico no es la revelación de una verdad única y objetiva, y analizar su construcción, permite avanzar en el conocimiento tanto de las condiciones que lo sostienen como de las que lo delinean y restringen. Así, las relaciones de fuerzas, las lógicas subyacentes y la construcción de verdad se evidencian. Esto facilita ampliar las fronteras del propio discurso para abrir las posibilidades del colectivo de pensamiento a examinar nuevas posibilidades. Se destaca la falta de problematización de esta construcción como objeto epistemológico considerando sus implicancias en la estructuración de la verdad biomédica sobre los cuerpos *normales*. Este punto es central para pensar futuras acciones en investigación y política pública, como pueden ser la introducción de la reflexión epistemológica en la formación médica y la capacitación en género como parte de los planes de estudio de las carreras de grado en medicina. Consideramos que la planificación estratégica de recursos humanos en salud tanto para la asistencia como para la docencia, divulgación e investigación, debe incluir como una más de sus dimensiones de acción la formación en diversidad corporal y de género, no binarismo de género y perspectiva de derechos humanos.

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PATRIARCAVIRUS, FEMINIST DYSTOPIAS AND COVID-19: REFLECTIONS ON THE PHENOMENON OF GENDER PANDEMICS

PATRIARCAVIRUS, DISTOPÍAS FEMINISTAS Y COVID-19: REFLEXIONES SOBRE EL FENÓMENO DE PANDEMIA DE GÉNERO

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Submitted / Recibido: 14/03/2021
Accepted / Aceptado: 12/05/2021

To cite this article / Para citar este artículo:
Almudena Machado-Jiménez, A. (2021). Patriarcavirus, feminist dystopias and COVID-19: reflections on the phenomenon of gender pandemics. *Feminismo/s*, *38*, 359-388. https://doi.org/10.14198/fem.2021.38.14

Abstract

This essay examines contemporary feminist dystopias to study the phenomenon of gender pandemics. Gender pandemic narrative allegorises possible aftermaths of patriarcavirus, unleashing many natural disasters that force global biopolitics to hinder gender equality. The main objective of this essay is to explain how gender pandemics are appropriated in patriarchal utopian discourses as a pretext to control female empowerment, diagnosing women as diseased organisms that risk the state's well-being. Moreover, the novels explore the interdependence between biology and sociality, portraying the acute vulnerability of female bodies during and after the pandemic conflicts, inasmuch as patriarchal power arranges a hierarchical value system of living that reinforces gender discrimination. Particularly, the COVID-19 emergency is analysed as a gender pandemic: the exacerbated machismo and the growing distress in the female population prove that women are afflicted with a suffocating patriarcavirus, which has critically gagged them in the first year of the pandemic.

Keywords: Dystopian literature; Feminism; Gender Pandemic; Patriarchal utopia; COVID-19; Precariousness

Resumen

Este ensayo revisa la distopía feminista contemporánea para estudiar la pandemia de género. La narrativa de pandemias de género alegoriza el patriarcavirus y sus secuelas, desencadenando múltiples desastres naturales que torpedean la igualdad de género en la biopolítica global. Como principal objetivo analizaremos la apropiación de la pandemia en el discurso utópico patriarcal para frenar el empoderamiento femenino, que será patologizado como altamente peligroso para el bienestar del Estado. Las novelas exploran así la interdependencia entre biología y socialidad, a través de la vulnerabilidad del cuerpo femenino durante y después de conflictos pandémicos, ya que el patriarcado opera juicios de valor sobre la vida jerárquicamente, reforzando la discriminación por género. En particular, la emergencia de la COVID-19 se analiza como pandemia de género: el machismo exacerbado y la creciente ansiedad de la población femenina son prueba de un patriarcavirus sofocante que las ha amordazado gravemente en el primer año de pandemia.

Palabras clave: literatura distópica; feminismo; pandemia de género; utopía patriarcal; COVID-19; precariedad

1. INTRODUCTION: PATRIARCAVIRUS AS THE PRIMAL DISEASE

On 8 March 2020, several marches to celebrate International Women's Day denounced the systemic abuse perpetrated onto women sexually, workwise, in the household and the streets. Attendants to these demonstrations divulged the same topics of previous years —gender violence, the quest for equality and the feminist fight (Pando-Canteli & Aurrekoetxea-Casaus, 2020)— though new metaphorical codes were used. The vehicle utilised in the rallies of 2020 represented patriarchy as a disease: Patriarcavirus. Having killed more women throughout history than the COVID-19 virus has[1], this

1. The number of women's deaths worldwide due to the COVID-19 virus in 2020 was around 864,800 (Global Health 50/50, 2021). Small Arms Survey estimated that 66,000 women are killed intentionally every year (2012, p. 1), and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime informed that around 137 women are murdered every day by a member of their family (2019, p. 10). Particularly in 2017, there were 87,000 cases of female homicide, 50,000 of them executed by intimate partners. Considering these

endemic social malady is pictured as more deadly and destructive to citizens' well-being and stability.

The increasing rumours of an unknown virus that deeply affected China's population and advanced to Europe with Italy's imminent lockdown endangered people's attendance at these street demonstrations, particularly in Spain —only 120,000 people participated in the street demonstrations of Madrid in 2020, whereas 2019 tripled the figures with 350,000 attendees (*El País*, 2020). Europe's demonstrators highly stressed the ground shared between patriarchy and coronavirus, comparing both agents as dangerous and infectious, though paying greater importance to the former, as it was already pandemic. In Spain, banners with the following titles manifest such analogy: 'El machismo ha matado a más mujeres en España que el coronavirus pero a nadie le importa', 'La verdadera epidemia es el patriarcado', 'El único virus peligroso es tu machismo', 'El verdadero virus es el patriarcado' or 'El patriarcado mata más que el coronavirus'. In France, the term patriarcavirus was highly quoted too, and the feminist collective FEMEN made a performance in Paris equating patriarchy with coronavirus. Dressed with protective clothing and equipped with fumigation dusters, they wrote on their bodies 'Stop a la pandemie patriarcale', 'Urgence vitale, virus patriarcale', or 'Eloignez vous! Patriarcavirus'. One year later, this street neologism has become viral and extensively used in the feminist cause in social networks, proving feminism is the antidote to stop patriarcavirus from spreading.

However, the harshness of COVID-19 could not be predicted, nor its consequences globally in the sanitary, economic, and social sphere. On 14 March, the Spanish government declared the state of emergency for two weeks, but the national lockdown would last more than two months and several curfews and restrictions followed. This situation entailed a national crisis that prompted the extreme right-wing supporters to revolt, asking for the government's resignation. Among their techniques to debunk the government, the reactionary blamed feminists —and the government as their ally— for spreading the virus as part of the leftist political agenda (Achtelik,

figures, the number of COVID-19 deaths would cover 15 years of the history of women killed by gender violence.

2020; Mannering, 2020). Nonetheless, other events took place that same day, 8 March, and afterwards, which entailed a massification of groups without following any sanitary protocol: football matches, holy masses, and even a meeting of the extreme right-wing party VOX in the Vistalegre arena with thousands of people.

The vehement attack against the feminist movement as the primary source of contagion, together with the mobilisations by ultraconservative citizens during the COVID-19 lockdown, livened the latent political turmoil of an already decaying social organism. Gradually, the sanitary crisis was relegated, and COVID-19 grew as a trope to expose the underlying conditions of patriarcavirus by accentuating the existing social inequalities. This way, an analogy is established between the individual corporeal body and the socio-political body as infected organisms. Understanding disease as a «sickness that impairs or disrupts the normal functioning of the human body» (Blakemore & Jennett, 2001), the COVID-19 health crisis augmented the impairment to reach gender equality in a society affected by patriarcavirus. The chronicity of such social disease's stigmata suggests the impossibility to recover, as Porta (2018) explains when defining chronic diseases.

The pathologisation of the female body on social and mass media for spreading the virus in the name of women's rights grants the consolidation of patriarchal ways of sociality based on male solidarity to dominate women (Hartmann, 2017, p. 219). In this process of whitewashing patriarchy as a healthy organism, parallelism has been established between femininity and illness, monstrosity, abnormality (Braidotti, 1994). By establishing such correlation, patriarchal leaders feel entitled to punish, control, and salve women from their natural condition to assimilate the patriarchal construct of salutary womanhood. As Braidotti concludes: «It is quite amazing how patriarchal conservatism always manages to recreate the optimal conditions for its survival by reasserting the priority of reproductive (non)sex over jouissance while submitting it to the imperatives of advanced capitalist societies» (1994, p. 42).

Patriarcavirus can be traced back to Classic philosophy or the first Abrahamic religions. The female body is depicted as defective, even as infectious, and consequently, as sinful and morally corrupt. God's acts exhibit his almightiness to administer the treatment onto women, patriarcavirus.

Remarkably, the Old Testament presents numerous passages that portray women as infertile. Women like Sarai, Rebekah or Rachel and Leah are portrayed as sterile, and only after they show redemption to God, he bestows them the reproductive capacity: «When the Lord saw that Leah was unloved, he made her fruitful, while Rachel remained barren» (Gen 29:31). However, this pregnancy is deprived of any agency, as God utilises her body as a vessel, as the channel to maintain patrilineality: «I will bless [Sarai], and *I will give you a son* by her» (Gen 17:16; italics added).

The embodiment of healthy/infected subjects is gendered in patriarchal discourses because, by treating women as unhealthy, the expropriation of their generative capacity is justified to ensure the normative mechanism of power. Likewise, just as female corporeality is diagnosed as viral, all plagues and diseases have also been substantiated and narrated as feminine, constraining women to be the scapegoats of many human catastrophes. This parable originates gender pandemics.

2. GENDER PANDEMICS, THE ORIGIN MYTH OF PATRIARCHAL UTOPIAS

Gomel observes that the plague has been used as «one of the central tropes of biopolitics» (2000, p. 407), exploiting disease as a pretext to justify genocide. In the history of patriarchal utopias, plagues and pandemics served as a plea to acquit patriarchal abuses, incrementing the quotidian distress that the female utopian inhabitants usually experience. This violence/plague analogy is circumscribed by the previously mentioned parallelism of femininity and disease, utilising women solely as the bearers of damnation and, in opposition, installing male dominance as the salvation/solution to end with the plague. This dichotomy appears in some excerpts of the Bible, such as Sarai being blamed for some plagues in Egypt («The Lord struck Pharaoh and his household with severe plagues because of Abram's wife Sarai» [Gen 12:17]) or, more widely known, the passage of the whore of Babylon:

> Fallen, fallen is Babylon the great. She has become a haunt for demons. She is a cage for every unclean spirit. […] For all the nations have drunk the wine of her licentious passion. The kings of the earth had intercourse with her, and the merchants of the earth grew rich from her drive for luxury. […] Depart from her, my people, so as not to take part in her sins and receive a

> share in her plagues, for her sins are piled up to the sky, and God remembers her crimes. […] To the measure of her boasting and wantonness repay her in torment and grief; for she said to herself, 'I sit enthroned as queen; I am no widow, and I will never know grief.' Therefore, her plagues will come in one day, pestilence, grief, and famine; she will be consumed by fire. For mighty is the Lord God who judges her. The kings of the earth who had intercourse with her in their wantonness will weep and mourn over her when they see the smoke of her pyre. They will keep their distance for fear of the torment inflicted on her. (Rev 18:2-10)

The apocalypse itself is characterised as feminine to instil phallocentric ideological foundations from the Lord God to restore humanity from this chaos. Millenia later, this simile resonates nowadays in the mythification of COVID-19 as a new pandemonium where genetic-ethical issues are controlled. Particularly in patriarchal utopian narratives, natural disasters are employed strategically to recess in the quest for gender equality and prescribe patriarchal order. Several scholars (Braidotti, 1994, 2002; Grosz, 1994; Nast and Pile, 1998) stressed that biological bodies are circumscribed under specific geopolitics that prompt hierarchical relations. Particularly, Grosz remarks on how

> Patriarchal oppression, in other words, justifies itself, at least in part, by connecting women much more closely than men to the body and, through this identification, restricting women's social and economic roles to (pseudo) biological terms. Relying on essentialism, naturalism and biologism, misogynist thought confines women to the biological requirements of reproduction on the assumption that because of particular biological, physiological, and endocrinological transformations, women are somehow more biological, more corporeal, and more natural than men. The coding of femininity with corporeality in effect leaves men free to inhabit what they (falsely) believe is a purely conceptual order while at the same time enabling them to satisfy their (sometimes disavowed) need for corporeal contact through their access to women's bodies and services. (1994, p. 14)

This interdependence between female corporeality and patriarchal biopolitics affects health's stability not only anatomically but also socially, considering that society is a collective organism. However, a healthy condition does not entail perfection in its well-functioning. According to the World Health Organisation, «health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity». This description of a healthy organism echoes Moylan's critical utopia (1986), as patriarchal utopias aspire to be developed as a fully functioning political body without guaranteeing all their inhabitants' welfare, expressly women.

Similarly, I correlate the concept of health as a spectrum in the state of being with Cockburn's idea of the continuum of violence (2004). The variety of manifestations of sexual abuses and social oppression does not threaten the well-being of our contemporary patriarchal structures, as these ordinary stigmata attached to women tend to be overlooked, concealed, and even permitted in ruling institutions. And yet, when a malfunctioning of the social/biological system happens —as happens in times of social conflict or pandemic—, these overt dystopian realities are exposed and even magnified. These critical situations display the «reciprocal causality» (Goldstein, 2001, p. 129) between biology and culture[2].

As if it were an inter-group armed conflict, the patriarchal belligerence in the management of pandemics locates an enemy on the Other, so that the mythification of new existential anxieties does not compromise the already hierarchical power relations. Gender pandemics choose women as the target adversary while skilfully construct a patriarchal utopia as the solution. Feminist dystopian narratives explore women's experiences before, during, and after the human disaster attending to the interdependence between biology and sociality. The authors warn the readership about the political manipulations conveyed by patriarchal governments to blame women's freedom for social and natural disasters and, consequently, to proceed with a purge process in which only customary womanhood can be considered healthy. In contrast, dissident members will be exposed to significant health risks in a hostile environment.

This is what Margaret Atwood imagined in her novel *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985). Atwood narrates how patriarcavirus gradually leads to a gender pandemic worldwide. The high levels of pollution —provoked by radioactive experiments and inorganic farming exploitation and industry— have directly affected the country's natality. The declension in birth rates, together

2. Goldstein's view on this two-directional causality does not intend to view biology under a reductionist lens, stating that biology is not destiny but actually diversity, and also how gender differences in aggression or empathy are not genetically inherent.

with the demonstrations defending women's liberation, make radical conservative leaders blame women for this apocalyptic result:

> Men highly placed in the regime were thus able to pick and choose among women who had demonstrated their reproductive fitness by having produced one or more healthy children, a desirable characteristic in an age of plummeting Caucasian birth rates, a phenomenon observable not only in Gilead but in most northern Caucasian societies of the time. The reasons for this decline are not altogether clear to us. Some of the failure to reproduce can undoubtedly be traced to the widespread availability of birth control of various kinds, including abortion, in the immediate pre-Gilead period. Some infertility, then, was willed, which may account for the differing statistics among Caucasians and non-Caucasians; but the rest was not. Need I remind you that this was the age of the R-strain syphilis and also of the infamous AIDS epidemic, which, once they spread to the population at large, eliminated many young sexually active people from the reproductive pool? Stillbirths, miscarriages, and genetic deformities were widespread and on the increase, and this trend has been linked to the various nuclear-plant accidents, shutdowns, and incidents of sabotage that characterised the period, as well as to leakages from chemical —and biological— warfare stockpiles and toxic-waste disposal sites, of which there were many thousands, both legal and illegal in some instances these materials were dumped into the sewage system and to the uncontrolled use of chemical insecticides, herbicides, and other sprays. (Atwood, 1985, p. 304)

The environmental disasters are intermingled with the feminist fights, portraying women's sexual liberation and freedom over their matrixial capacity as the solely responsible for the planet's decay. Out of this chaos, Gilead is founded; a patriarchal utopia is born. This theocratic phallocentric regime retreats to the Old Testament's passages to impose the biopolitical trope of femininity as a disease. Male leaders appropriate any women's reproductive rights to channel Gilead's restoration plan. Female corporeality is deprived of any agency during this gender pandemic; their freedom becomes a privilege in a world on the brink of extinction. Thus, patriarchal utopias execute a deceptive utilitarianism, inasmuch as women's sexual and reproductive exploitation during a gender pandemic is intended to grant all civilisation's well-being.

In the Red Center, Gilead's dissident women are informed of the two only alternatives for them based on their reproductive capacity: either serving as handmaids or working in the Colonies, where women are exposed to continuous toxic waste and the cleaning of hazardous territories[3]. Living in the Colonies is an announced death, but not because of the exposure to the gender pandemic in itself, but because of the precariousness and the apathy from the governments:

> It's old women […] and Handmaids who've screwed up their three chances, and incorrigibles like me. Discards, all of us. They're sterile, of course. […] I'd say it's about a quarter men in the Colonies, too. Not all of those Gender Traitors end up on the Wall. (Atwood, 1985, pp. 260-261)

Atwood's narrative exposes how more women have struggled with the gender pandemic only after the government established solutions based on gender essentialism, e.g., greater mobility freedom for men, female isolation in the domestic space, the impossibility of group's mobilisations, austerity and chastity. Instead of acknowledging the mismanagement in environmental issues and the flaws of the capitalist socio-economic model, Gilead objectifies women's bodies to secure male liberties: greater mobility, sexual liberation, power in the public and private arena, the continuous establishment of aggressive laws.

In the latest decade, feminist dystopian narrative has widely used this trope, revealing how the environmental and social disasters of our contemporary neoliberal patriarchal civilisation can harness women through a discourse based on biological reductionism, jeopardising the advances of gender equality in pre-pandemic times. The imagery of gender pandemics in patriarchal utopias complicates the notion of gender as a construct independent from the constraints of sexual bodies. At the same time, it portrays the dangers of pursuing reductionist policies on women's biology with the pretext of granting national health security. Post-pandemic politics regard women as submissive vessels for humanity (or patriarchy)'s survival. In the sanitary administration of healthy corporealities, the patriarchal genetic-ethical views on gender see women's liberation and sexual empowerment as

3. Another option for dissidents contemplated in the narrative is to become sex workers, confined in a brothel as outlaws to satisfy those men's fantasies that are not appropriate in this Abrahamic patriarchal state. However, this option is not contemplated as an alternative for the handmaids in their indoctrination.

dangerous. However, the authors of these contemporary patriarchal utopias portray the origins of gender pandemics differently.

Louise Katz's views of gender pandemic in *The Orchid Nursery* (2015) portrays the exploitation of an environmental crash by extremist patriarchal authorities to found a utopia. Mica, a compliant young woman of Perfect State, escapes from Civilisation to look for her friend Pearl, and it is only after she meets the Hag in the territory of the Unruly that she learns about the actual transition of the pre-pandemic world to the resulting patriarchal utopia:

> Environmental ones. Tectonic. Also heat and cold and wind and water gone wild, my pet. And moral and cultural. Disasters, all. The natural and the man-made both. […] the surface comforts we erected to protect ourselves from the elements in the world—the houses and dykes and sewers and such—snipper snap—all shredded in the end! And the niceties we constructed to save us from the demons in our brains—the reflex kindnesses and manners and social services and whatnot—chipper-chop—and no time to grow a decent scar! Things fall apart. But not all at once. The outer wrecked and the inner exposed by degrees. The inner where live the deep-deep fears, the ancient hatred. (Katz, 2015, p. 72)

However, the educational, religious and political institutions of an already existent and embellished patriarchy inform that the locus of this pandemonium is solely on women's behaviour:

> Sheikh Humbum and Bishop Bozo of RUSA agree: «it's women's rudeness and disobedience that's to blame.» […] I'd heard something similar at School from Mr Pule, who'd said that although God became very angry with all evildoers, he often became incredibly crass and disappointed with his daughters who had forgotten how to deport themselves properly and were resorting to wider and wilder ways, and could even endanger the mortal souls of their men because of their irresistibly amatory nature. (Katz, 2015, p. 115)

By selecting femininity as the pandemic's genesis, the subsequent patriarchal utopia of Perfect State is excused as the social cure to save humankind from extinction. Moreover, the manipulation of history underpins this theory and provides a biased version that perpetuates the binary oppositions between man/health and woman/disease. The resulting society continues overlooking natural disasters. Nevertheless, it instils extreme coercive restraints onto women to remain clean while satisfying male sexual needs (e.g., wearing dresslesses to guarantee available nakedness). If selected to attain for Perfection, girls are sent to the underground and transformed into orchid-like womanidols, whose limbs and teeth are amputated to leave their wombs awaiting fecundation:

> The silken corsets are smooth over their waists and edged with flounces like vestigial ball-gowns to remind the Men of the Olden Days of moral pollution before the Liberation and Separation of Our Perfect state from the Agnostics, long may they burn. Above and below these broad bands their breasts and buttocks blossom out from the centre, unhampered by limbs, which are superfluous to (wo)Man's ultimate purpose. The simplicity of the Perfected forms allows no distraction from their function. (p. 20)

The impossibility of mobility in the mutilated bodies, together with their silence, grants the patriarchal leaders to consider healthy this new social organism, even though this well-being is attained by sacrificing women's rights to express dissidence.

The pandemic can be even imagined as a pretext to escape from contemporary feminist resistance in society and conceive a pure patriarchal community anew. This is the scenario that Jennie Melamed imagines in *Gather the Daughters* (2017), reflecting the paranoia of a patriarchal religious sect that escapes to an island to found the land of the ten original ancestors. The rottenness of their patriarchal moral standards with the coming of women's liberation is illustrated as an actual plague in the mainland: «the fire and pestilence that spread across the land were second only to the fire and pestilence of thought and deed hovering like a black smoke» (Melamed, 2017, p. 23). Social corruption is causal of the artificial pestilence in the wastelands. Likewise, the imposition of a righteous morality is equated to salvation from this disaster. And yet, the full responsibility to guarantee social welfare in this patriarchal utopia is onto women's corporeality, by being raped since birth by their fathers or husbands:

> «When a daughter submits to her father's will, when a wife submits to her husband, when a woman is a helper to a man, we are worshipping the ancestors and their vision. […] Only when these acts of submission are done with an open heart and willing mind,» the pastor continues, «only when this is done with a spirit of righteousness, can we reach true salvation». (pp. 24-25)

The community's foundations bring back the old patriarchal religious trope of compulsory submissiveness to gain fertility and, consequently, society's security. Nevertheless, endogamy and continuous child abuse to indoctrinate girls into normative womanhood eventually aggravate the islanders' endemic ailments, significantly affecting women and their children. This gender pandemic also pathologises female rebellion, as the island's plague bursts when the daughters start a revolt against male adults after a whole life of suffering sexual abuse:

> Why did such a terrible plague fall upon our society? Perhaps the ancestors asked God to punish us for our sins. […] As I look upon us, I can see the reasons for their displeasure. We have strayed from them. We have strayed from their vision and their holiness. We clot up the minds of our daughters with useless knowledge instead of taking the precious time to teach them to be a solace to their fathers. Wives have forgotten how to support their husbands. […] Men are swayed by the words of women, by the words of their wives and daughters who refuse to submit to their will as wives and daughters should. (p. 337)

Melamed, like other female writers on gender pandemics, observes how the patriarchal authorities show reluctance in working cooperatively to save the community, as mutual support and understanding eventually blur hierarchical power relations as well as binary oppositions. In patriarchal utopia, social health equates to the prosperity of privileged individuals, but it is with the coming of gender pandemics that the continuous abuses to women can eventually risk the phallocentric fantasy of well-being.

To prevent women from going astray either morally —with rebellion— or biologically— with the natural decay of the body, O'Neill imagines a patriarchal utopia in which natural women are no longer existing. Instead, artificial eves created with Genetic Engineering can carry the burden of this patriarchal society. While Melamed imagines an austere scenario in the post-pandemic patriarchy, O'Neill's *Only Ever Yours* (2014) combines social networks' extreme surveillance, neoliberal over-sexualisation of female bodies and patriarchal fundamentalism. Also, Melamed's ancestors blamed women's conduct, but O'Neill feminist dystopia locates the genesis of the world's decay on biology itself:

> The infamous «girl Graves», thousands of unwanted daughters disposed of in an ever-expanding hole, their heads crushing against each other like broken china dolls. Drugstores with shelves upon shelves stacked with gender-specific fertility drugs, an easy to buy chewing gum. And the body learned. It learned that a female baby was an invader, come to steal her mother's beauty. A female baby was dangerous. (O'Neill, 2014, p. 49)

Daughters become invasive viral elements that interrupt and menace the patriarchy's fabricated organism. This pathologisation justifies female infanticide, eugenics and eves' disposability to enable the system's recovery to a healthy state. The construction of a healthy system repeats the patterns of patriarcavirus as an endemic disease that only harms women because of their biology, even if that biology is fabricated as it is the case of eves. Despite lacking any agency, these mechanical dolls have a conscience and, throughout the narrative, O'Neill hints at the distress and degradations that eves undergo to become the companions of the Inheritants of the Zones.

These resulting patriarchal utopias regulate gender pandemics by executing women after having fulfilled their commitment as incubators, i.e., when they become infertile. Female bodies' disposability minimises the risk of social infection by infertile/dissident subjects and maximises healthy/male authorities' supremacy. However, other authors like Meg Elison imagine an apocalyptic scenario of gender pandemics. In her novel *The Book of the Unnamed Midwife* (2014), the use of the «women's plague» serves as an allegory of the toxicity of patriarcavirus. This deadly fever primarily affects women and children worldwide, especially during childbirth, decimating the female population and leading humanity to the brink of extinction as a species. Unlike the other novels, the genesis of this gender pandemic is not arranged by patriarchal authorities, but it originated rather organically and randomly:

> In the days when the world had not yet fallen, the screaming of sirens was constant. The structures that still held were designed to cope with emergency and disaster, but none of them could work indefinitely. Desperation moved block by block, and people fought and fled. They died of the plague, and they died of proximity to each other. […]. Some people knew that would happen; they knew better than to open their doors when they heard cries of help. Others didn't. What disease cannot do, people accomplish with astonishing ease. (Elison, 2014, pp. 6-7)

The unnamed midwife writes her testimonies during the apocalypse, recalling the pandemic's origins while working at the hospital. The lack of sanitary resources and the economic and social precariousness provoke the collapse of contemporary society. However, it is the ill-treatment of the few surviving women by heteronormative forces that provokes the endangerment of the human species. The scarcity of the female population converts the remaining living women into sexual luxuries to be commodified. If not killed by the fever, women die from conflict-related sexual violence, spending their last days being traded among male gangs to exchange food, medicines or guns, and continuously raped until death, either because of pregnancy or severe wounds:

> When the slave traders found me, I figured I would die. They beat the shit out of me and raped me for days […] I didn't know I was pregnant until I got here. […] I don't care if none of the babies live. We don't deserve it, as a species. Evolution. (p. 274)

Elison illustrates how conditioned and vulnerable women are by their biological condition in pandemic times and equates this natural disaster to armed conflict instances. Indeed, the unnamed midwife resorts to cross-dressing and masculinisation to become able-bodied in this belligerent situation.

Patriarcavirus' resulting gender pandemic only aggravates the already existing rampant patriarchal brutality of pre-pandemic times. Her diary recalls episodes with victims of gender violence in the Emergency Room:

> She looked pale, sick, hurt, and afraid […]. She looked like prey, like a mark. She'd seen that look before on women who came to the ER, bleeding from one end or the other. Nobody chooses to be a victim, but after a lifetime of practice, it just happens. (p. 24)

Elison exposes the continuum of violence as an endemic chronic disease present in patriarchal civilisations. In apocalyptic times, women's empowerment is jeopardised by their perpetual representation of victimhood. However, the author does not indict the female individual, but instead criticises the complex and multiform character of systemic violence validated in contemporary society, which thwarts honest and complete empowerment of the feminine.

Many other female authors have appealed to the metaphors of patriarcavirus and gender pandemics to show women's experiences during disasters as vulnerable entities, embodied dissidence and subversive forces. Some examples of this narrative are *Vox* (2018), by Christina Dalcher; Bina Shak's *Before She Sleeps* (2018); *The Water Cure* (2018), by Sophie Mackintosh; Larissa Lai's *The Tiger Flu* (2018); or also Diane Cook's *The New Wilderness* (2020). Particularly, Lai remarks that myths «[do not] teach lessons in that moral way. What [they] can do is [they] can show us how to pay attention. [They] can show us the directions in which stories are moving and the directions that we might be moving» (Kang, 2020). The authors of these feminist dystopias utilise the myth of gender pandemics not merely as a cautionary tale but rather as near future representations of our patriarchal reality. This biopolitical trope helps understand the complex interdependence between environmental welfare, economic stability and social happiness. Gender pandemic stories encourage readers to think of alternative futures where social welfare does not depend on the exploitation of female corporeality. It dreams of more embracing forms of sociality based on mutual support —not only in fiction but also for our contemporary society.

3. IS THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC A FEMINIST DYSTOPIA?

When COVID-19 struck as a pandemic on 11 March 2020, several scholars addressed the social consequences this pandemic could have. Authors like Butler (2020) stated that this pandemic would serve as a great equaliser:

> We could say that it treats us equally, puts us equally at risk of falling ill, losing someone close, living in a world of imminent threat. The virus operates within a global framework, but what about the rest of us? By the way it moves and strikes, the virus demonstrates that the global human community is equally precarious.

However, we have witnessed how the pandemic has reinforced the already existent social inequalities. Specifically, the mutability of patriarcavirus during this sanitary crisis has provoked a drawback in women's rights globally. Galindo addresses this quandary describing the pandemic as a tool to hide and downplay other social and political problems, like systematic racism, poverty, and machismo:

> El coronavirus es un permiso de supresión de todas las libertades que a título de protección se extiende sin derecho a replica, ni cuestionamiento

> […] El coronavirus es un instrumento que parece efectivo para borrar, minimizar, ocultar o poner entre paréntesis otros problemas sociales y políticos que veníamos conceptualizando. De pronto y por arte de magia desaparecen debajo la alfombra o detrás del gigante. (2020, p. 12)

In the last year, it has been manifested that COVID-19 was employed as a biopolitical strategy which, according to Preciado (2020), prompts to establish specific forms of understanding sociality and well-being: «Lo que estará en el centro del debate durante y después de esta crisis es cuáles serán las vidas que estaremos dispuestos a salvar y cuáles serán sacrificadas». This resolution relates to Lorenzini's politics of differential vulnerability, which arranges the value of citizens' lives hierarchically, eventually «producing and multiplying vulnerability as a means of governing people» (2021, p. 44). The infection of coronavirus has left the social organisms vulnerable to other maladies that were latent, worsening the gender breach during this natural disaster.

COVID-19 has become our contemporary gender pandemic, where women have experienced a setback to gender essentialist positions that force them to be more home-oriented and economically dependent. However, such social regression is not based on the fallacies of female disabledbodiedness during disaster/conflict or biological vulnerability, but rather on the effects of living the pandemic under a patriarchal civilisation. Several studies (Ahrenfeldt et al., 2021; Bwire, 2020; Jin et al., 2020; Kopel et al., 2020; Sharma et al., 2020) have expounded that men actually have higher mortality rates than women regardless of their age, and also hypothesised on possible effects on men's fertility, as SARS-CoV-2 binds with the ACE2's coronavirus receptors in testicles (Illiano et al., 2020). The reasons are still being under review, though it has been suggested that it can be due to genetic reasons and health and social habits like high-risk behaviours, e. g. smoking and drinking. Concretely, Bwire observes that «women have more responsible attitude toward the [COVID-19] pandemic than men. This may reversibly affect the undertaking of preventive measure such as frequent hand washing, wearing of face mask, and stay at home orders» (2020, p. 87). However, these preventive measures among the female population are related to the social construct of women's role of caregivers and because of a lack of mobility in the distribution of housework, being more in charge of 'feminine' traditional tasks, e.g., ironing or cleaning, inside the domestic space (Zamberlan et al., 2020).

Despite women being less vulnerable to the disease, the reduced physical activity, the pressure to bring healthy offspring, and the conciliation problems between work and childcare during the COVID-19 pandemic entailed more significant psychological distress —with stress, anxiety and depression— to women, and especially if they are pregnant (Davenport et al., 2020; Kopel, 2020; Liu et al., 2020). Liu et al. (2020) report that women have suffered higher Post-Traumatic Stress Symptoms than men after the COVID-19 outbreak in China. Kopel et al. explain how women are «treated aggressively if exposed to COVID-19 and remain a vulnerable risk group» (2020, p. 3) because of potential foetal distress, preterm delivery and fear of intrauterine viral transmission, although information is still lacking in this respect and further research is needed.

The ways of coping with the disease are manifested differently, and while women have been prone to anxiety and depression, men have manifested higher levels of learned helplessness (LH) and conspirational thinking, which intricately leads them to believe in conspiracy beliefs (Cassese et al., 2020). Cassese's definition of learned helplessness —a mechanism that «some individuals make when they perceive they have little or no control over aversive events» (pp. 4-5)— relates to Hernando's notion of the fallacy of individuality (2018), which sets the foundations of patriarchal civilisation. Hernando comments how patriarchal hierarchy underpins the fallacy of dependent individuality (usually attributed to men), while relational identities are exploited to bear this fantasy of the individual's self-sufficiency and control over the universe. The individual does not acknowledge his interdependence and vulnerability in the world, but he rather builds «un mundo a la medida de su capacidad de controlarlo, porque solo incluirá en él el conjunto de fenómenos que sea capaz de ordenar y por tanto de pensar organizadamente» (Hernando, 2018, p. 43). However, the COVID-19 pandemic has endangered this constructed reality, provoking a feeling of uncertainty in individuals, which occasionally leads to LH and the creation of conspiracy theories. Conspiracy theories aim to target and control the menacing power (an invisible microscopic virus) by creating myths which transform it into a noticeable entity that embodies the guilt, e.g., China, Trump's military, Bill

Gates, the government, or feminists. Conspirational thinking provides a shield to prevent individuals from confronting the unknown and changing the established conventional constructs based on the fallacy of the individual. Moreover, it feeds society's binary arrangement into opposites by materialising the pandemic on an Other that becomes the scapegoat.

Mobility restrictions and socio-economic precariousness led to increased generalised pandemic anxiety, but this also has left structural sequels on the system. The COVID-19 crisis has endangered the sexual and reproductive health rights of many countries (Gausman & Langer, 2020; Kopel et al., 2020) and has also affected the organisation of family household and workspaces, where women have undergone more changes and oppression. Women —especially those coming from lower social classes or racialised groups— have experienced more significant job loss if there were children or elders in the family household, as women were frequently assumed to be the family's childcarers (Fortier, 2020; Qian and Fuller, 2020).

Reichelt et al. (2021) argue that this greater job loss in the female population is causal of pre-pandemic irregularities in women's working conditions, e.g., having temporary or part-time jobs. Moreover, decisions such as teleworking or reducing working hours were more frequently taken among women, assuming traditional gender-roles attitudes. Particularly in Spain, Méndez-Giménez et al.'s study of depressive symptoms during confinement showcases that, from the 16.38% of their participants who suffer from depression, 78.2% were women. It is argued that this imbalance is due to relapse to conservative gender roles as mentioned above: «the confinement scenario could have caused a new imbalance between the roles of each other related to housework and childcare, which could have been a source of greater stress for women» (2021, p. 115).

Quian and Fuller (2020) and Fortier (2020) agree that state intervention must be accountable for supporting the care sector as an essential service, as well as resolving the gender wage gap. Only by solving structural inequalities in gender (and also race and class) can the institutions warrant collective well-being:

> As long as it makes economic sense for women's paid labor, rather than men's, to decrease during economic crises like the one caused by the pandemic, it will be the case that women assume more of the unpaid caregiving

> duties, causing them to have reduced economic freedom and bargaining power, and thus reduced wellbeing […]. The less that women are compelled to assume unpaid care work, the more they are free to participate in labor that accords with their desires, values, and interests. Governments' failures to enact legislative intervention that promotes gender equality needs to be seen not as respecting personal liberty, but as a choice to maintain a society that we know is actively repressive of and harmful to women. (Frontier, 2020, p. 84)

Apart from discrimination in the labour market and inequalities in unpaid care work, women have suffered from patriarcavirus in other forms during the pandemic: gender violence. Usher et al. (2020) warn that the effects of quarantine have increased the reports of domestic violence worldwide. The combination of social isolation, psychosocial stressors and precariousness, and coping addictions such as alcohol has prompted violent situations within the household that were invisibilised and, if not, could not be adequately attended to due to the sanitary crisis of COVID-19. The virus has even been weaponised, a characteristic recurrent in patriarchal mechanisms of power: «COVID-19 is used as a coercive control mechanism whereby perpetrators exert further control in an abusive relationship, specifically in the use of containment, fear, and threat of contagion as a mechanism of abuse» (p. 550). Bloem and Salemi (2020) remark that inter-group armed conflicts, like battles or bombings, diminished considerably in the first months of the pandemic, whereas violence against women and children (VAW/C), especially intimate-partner violence (IPV), almost doubled —notably in marginalised groups (Evans et al., 2020; Peterman et at., 2020). Peterman et al. (2020) alert that the global stats of IPV have risen acutely due to multiple reasons unleashed by the COVID-19 pandemic, though they stress that these figures were already alarming before, considering that more than one-third of the female population have suffered sexual abuse and more than one-third of the female homicides were committed by their intimate partners. Evans et al. refer to this phenomenon as «a pandemic within a pandemic» (2020, p. 2302). The collateral damages of the COVID-19 lockdown have obliged many women to live with their aggressors, and if not attacked by the virus, they were struck by the patriarchal pandemic.

Several public organisations have examined the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on women, LGBTQ+, and racialised collectives' freedom and rights endangerment to bring awareness of their experiences and offer information about the gendered policy responses. In the policy report «How will the COVID-19 crisis affect existing gender divides in Europe?», the European Commission publishes a conclusive argument on the issue to understand how COVID-19 has become a gender pandemic:

> Biologically women are not more at risk to COVID-19 than men are, while it seems that mwn [*sic*] are slightly more affected by the virus. However, women are risking to pay a higher price for the crisis than men. This can be in the form of a massive physical and mental workload during the crisis, that can lead to career disruptions both in the short and the long run, and in extreme cases even of physical sufferings. (Blaskó et al., 2020, p. 16)

The UN Women has included a specific dashboard called «COVID-19 and gender monitor», where information from multiple sources is collected and updated about the main concerns regarding women's rights. Besides, the organisation has published nine policy reports and more than 26 briefs, among which we can read how the effects of this pandemic on gender issues go from family-friendly advice to an urgency matter:

- «Family-friendly policies and other good workplace practices in the context of COVID-19: Key steps employers can take». (27 March 2020)
- «Impact of COVID-19 on violence against women and girls and service provision: UN women rapid assessment and findings». (27 May 2020)
- «COVID-19 and conflict: Advancing women's meaningful participation in ceasefires and peace processes». (3 August 2020)
- «Strengthening gender measures and data in the COVID-19 era: An urgent need for change». (4 March 2021)

This latest brief warns about how gender matters were already treated as a minor issue in most countries before the COVID-19 outbreak:

> Prior to the pandemic, only 13 percent of countries had a dedicated budget for collecting and analysing gender data (primarily for health and reproductive health). Amidst the economic fallout from COVID-19, collecting and analysing gender data is likely to be pushed even further down the

> priority list, thus further exacerbating preexisting data gaps. (UN Women, 2021, p. 17)

This regression in research funds and data in gender matters leads the institution to claim that this is «not an 'equal opportunities' pandemic» (p. 19), and that intersectional approach to gender issues during and after the COVID-19 pandemic is an obligation and a right that we must not overlook.

Similarly, the World Health Organization published an advocacy brief titled «Gender and COVID-19» on 14 May 2020. The brief agrees with the UN's observation that the pandemic effects have been gender-based:

> Pandemics and outbreaks have differential impacts on women and men. From the risk of exposure and biological susceptibility to the infection to the social and economic implications, individuals' experiences are likely to vary according to their biological and gender characteristics and their interaction with other social determinants. (World Health Organization, 2020, p. 1)

The report underpins the importance of conducting a gender analysis of the collected data of COVID-19's effects to elicit the most appropriate responses to this gender pandemic. Moreover, the organisation instils on member states to address this issue and guarantee access to sexual and reproductive health and rights despite the pandemic, which seems to be treated as a privilege during the pandemic moments. The inequity of health-care work is also addressed, as this field is where greater gender inequality is seen, not only in terms of precariousness (there is a lack of sanitary and psychosocial support to these workers) but quantitatively, as 70% of the global health workforce is carried out by women, 72% in Spain.

In collaboration with the Spanish Ministry of Equality, the organisation Instituto de la Mujer also published a report titled «La perspectiva de género, esencial en la respuesta a la COVID-19» in May 2020. In Spain, there is a significant disparity in the distribution of jobs related to caregiving, not only because of the previously mentioned imbalance in unpaid care work within the household but also because 84% of the sanitary staff are women. Besides, the cleaning and caregiving workers and domestic employees —a collective severely affected during the lockdown— must be added, whose majority is made of women, as well as other workers who have proved essential. Due to the high presence of women in the caregiving role, the institutions recommend giving women responsibilities in decision-making to ensure gender equality in the development of this sanitary and socio-economic crisis:

> Los condicionantes de género determinan la diferencia del impacto de la crisis en mujeres y hombres. El rol tradicional de cuidadoras asignado a las mujeres les otorga un grado de presencia en la respuesta a la enfermedad que debe ser tenido en cuenta en el abordaje de la crisis. Ignorar el impacto de género en las consecuencias económicas y sociales agravará las desigualdades. Para evitarlo, las mujeres deben formar parte tanto de la respuesta directa como de la toma de decisiones, es decir no pueden ser solo quienes proporcionan salud global mientras los hombres lideran. (Instituto de la Mujer, 2020, p. 9)

However, out of the 3,548,312 citizens who suffered from unemployment in March 2020, 57% were women. Besides, telephone reports to 016, the national hotline for gender-based violence, almost doubled in the first month of the lockdown, up to 48%. Searches of the service's official web page augmented to 733.3%, and psychological assistance via WhatsApp to 129.3% (p. 14). The disturbing figures of gender violence in Spain prompted the elaboration of a guide for the victims (and not the perpetrators), particularly of IPV, titled «Guía de actuación para mujeres que estén sufriendo violencia de género en situación de permanencia domiciliaria derivada del estado de alarma por COVID-19».

The data presented in this essay exposes that COVID-19 can be treated as a gender pandemic. It has deeply provoked an impact on all citizens worldwide, especially on women, who suffered overall more reduced mobility, conciliation problems, labour discrimination, and exacerbated violence in the gender axis —inequalities that were already existing in pre-pandemic times. Anita Bhatia, the deputy executive director of UN Women, warned that the problem of this pandemic onto women is not only in an increase of domestic violence but that it is causing

> a fundamental rethinking about the role of women taking place in some societies, because women are now carrying such a huge burden of care and there is a risk that we may just slip back to the stereotypes of the 1950s when women were at home and men were outside. (Young, 2020).

One year could risk 25 years to the development of women's rights and freedom. The criminalisation of feminism by political authorities and the media since the COVID-19 outbreak even favoured this setback to backward gender essentialism with the pretext of national security. The global political climate in the first year of the pandemic has been severely dramatic and conflictive, either because of the desperate cry for justice in discriminated groups —namely, BLM movements or Mexico's protests against rising feminicide— or because of fascist and insurrection marches, e.g., the assault on the capitol in the USA or Spain's neo-nazi rallies and VOX's hate speech. The near future looks bleak, considering the global uncertainty about the years to come regarding the pandemic crisis and the masses' violent agitation. The dystopias displayed in this essay are now read as ill omens that this contemporary gender pandemic could bring.

4. CONCLUSIONS: A CRY FROM THE GAGGED

After one year of living in the COVID-19 pandemic, it has been manifested how the disease never behaved randomly and indiscriminately. The virus has severely affected marginalised people from the lower classes or racialised groups and has turned leisure and free mobility a social privilege. The coronavirus has stretched the imparities between the oppressor and the oppressed, being the latter seriously exploited due to labour precarity, while the former grew richer and healthy. Our current situation of pandemic anxiety results from our ways of constructing society, not from the virus itself, as «el virus actúa a nuestra imagen y semejanza, no hace más que replicar, materializar, intensificar y extender a toda la población, las formas dominantes de gestión biopolítica y necropolítica que ya estaban trabajando sobre el territorio nacional y sus límites» (Preciado, 2020). COVID-19 subsequent upturns as a reflection of our social behaviour, based on nonchalance and lack of solidarity.

Likewise, the reigning mechanisms of our society were already analogue to a viral organism. Regarding the case of patriarcavirus, the object of study in this essay, the patriarchal system establishes a parasitic symbiosis (Paracer & Ahmadjian, 2000). Sustaining their fantasy of autonomy in the community's relational identities, the individual becomes a commensal in the social organism without acknowledging his dependence. The individual establishes a parasitoid relationship from which he takes benefits while slowly harming and destroying the host. Nevertheless, the wellness condition of this social organism worsens if another viral invasion strikes it. Gender pandemics attest that what leads to a state of emergency is the coinfection between the unknown virus and the existing critical social maladies. Patriarcavirus appears in moments of natural disasters as an opportunistic infection that superimposes onto the emerging disease, hindering the healing process.

This resistance to treatment will be analogous to the opposition to change the basis of patriarchal/parasitic commensalism into a relationship of mutualist symbiosis/cooperative interdependence. The feminist dystopias displayed in the present essay present such patriarchal resistance to cooperation in violent and reactionary ways, since «the power imbalance of gender relations in most (if not all) societies generates cultures of masculinity prone to violence. These gender relations […] run through every field» (Cockburn, 2004, p. 44). These toxic masculinities are ironically reinforced by establishing patriarchal utopias as the solution to cure humanity. However, the beautification of patriarchal systemic violence as a healing process works as a patch concealing women's nightmarish reality. By relating these stories from the experience of the female subaltern, the authors uncover the infected wound and expose a dystopian scenario—women are gagged and trapped by the social and geographical insularity of this system to be exploited as incubators:

> The flower (wo)Man now opens her mouth a fraction, as if to whisper… then she opens it wider […]. From the throat there issues a gutural hiss. And now, all along the line of womanidols the sound spreads, each toothless hole joining in until the room resonates with the unholy sibilance of this mutilated choir, tiers of hothouse orchids silently screaming. (Katz, 2015, p. 21)

Gender pandemic narrative hints at the most brutal outcomes of an imminent prospect. Years ago, the accounts described could be interpreted as cautionary tales, but today, after a year of the COVID-19 pandemic outbreak, we read them as reflections of our present time. Feminist marches have been forbidden and condemned, and murals of feminist leaders have been censored, whereas events in which hate crimes and fascism are exalted are permitted, glorified as acts of patriotic defence. The social alarm enshrouds misogynistic brutality; women's house walls become their muzzle. As has been demonstrated in the present essay, the COVID-19 gender pandemic does not originate in possible biological limitations of women (for this assumption was debunked), but rather on the biological reductionism of patriarcavirus on gender roles. The acknowledgement of a healthy interdependence between corporeality and sociality, between the individual and the community, could suppose the end of body limitations as we cooperatively work for better futures. However, the differential vulnerability that prevails on the biopolitics of our contemporary society continues stigmatising the Other. We may recover from COVID-19 in the coming years, but we will have to work harder together to recover from the long-term damages of patriarcavirus —a socio-historical construct so chronic that it looks like it was an incurable congenital disease. The antidote is in feminism(s), in the voices of the gagged.

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III. Reviews / Reseñas

CLARA CAMPOAMOR: PERIODISTA

Review of / Reseña de: Lizarraga Vizcarra, Isabel y Juan Aguilera Sastre (eds.). *Clara Campoamor. La forja de una feminista. Artículos periodísticos. 1920-1921*. Sevilla: Renacimiento, 2019. 431 pp. ISBN: 978-84-17950-48-4.

Review of / Reseña de: Lizarraga Vizcarra, Isabel y Juan Aguilera Sastre (ed. e introd.). *Clara Campoamor. Del foro al parlamento. Artículos periodísticos. 1925-1934*. Sevilla: Renacimiento, 2021. 441 pp. ISBN: 978-84-18387-46-3.

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En el primer tercio del siglo XX, la modernidad se va asentando con fuerza en todos los ámbitos de la vida pública y los avances en la medicina, la política, el arte y la tecnología discurren con imparable empuje en la consecución de una sociedad mejor. En este granado ambiente, la mujer se sitúa como figura central del debate que encarnan las tensiones entre lo nuevo y lo viejo, el progreso y la tradición. Los esfuerzos en la conquista de los derechos femeninos van generando, paso a paso, frutos de importante calado, pero todavía queda mucho para que la mujer alcance, en la sociedad internacional, el disfrute de su libertad e independencia.

En España, Clara Campoamor representa, con brillante eficacia e incansable pasión, al tipo de intelectual que no ceja en su empeño por conseguir que las mujeres puedan vivir una vida propia, con plenitud de oportunidades y derechos, a semejanza del varón. Clama, en cada ocasión que se le presenta, por su capacitación, término que enfatiza en muchos de sus artículos de prensa.

Precisamente a la faceta periodística de Campoamor previa a la Guerra Civil y al exilio dedican los investigadores Isabel Lizarraga Vizcarra y Juan Aguilera Sastre los dos volúmenes que reseñamos aquí, poniendo en valor la participación de la ilustre jurista en la prensa española del momento.

Lizarraga, además de profesora y escritora –cuenta con varias novelas y cuentos y ha sido merecedora de varios galardones literarios–, ha centrado sus investigaciones en torno a diversas personalidades artísticas de este período, como María Lejárraga, Carmen de Burgos, Isabel Oyarzábal o Federico García Lorca. Por su parte, Aguilera, se ha interesado también en sus estudios por autores de la Edad de Plata, tales como Cipriano Rivas Cherif, Valle-Inclán, Benavente o Lorca y escritoras como María Lejárraga o María Teresa León. Destacan, también, sus trabajos sobre el asociacionismo femenino en España, el feminismo y el VIII Congreso de la Alianza Internacional para el Sufragio de la Mujer de 1920, objeto de los desvelos y esperanzas de Clara Campoamor.

Ambos investigadores han trabajado juntos en varias ocasiones y, ahora, recopilan en dos libros por primera vez los artículos y reportajes que la autora escribió en diversos diarios españoles antes de su marcha al exilio en septiembre de 1936.

En el primero de ellos, *La forja de una feminista* (2019), se recogen los publicados entre los años 1920 y 1921, en los periódicos *Hoy, El Socialista, La Libertad* y *El Tiempo*, que constituyen un total de 63. El segundo, *Del foro al parlamento* (2021), lo conforman otros 70, aparecidos en un período de tiempo más prolongado, entre 1925 y 1934, en el *Boletín del Colegio de*

Abogados de Madrid, *La Libertad*, *Diario Universal*, *El Defensor de Albacete*, *Revista de Política Social*, *Estampa*, *Mundo Femenino*, *Nosotros*, *Informaciones*, *Luz*, *Nuevo Mundo*, *El Radical* de Zaragoza, *Revista Política y Parlamentaria de España y del Extranjero* y *Heraldo de Madrid*. En total, son 133 los textos reunidos, a caballo entre el artículo de opinión, la crónica, el reportaje y las noticias de actualidad, siempre contadas por Campoamor en tono reflexivo, crítico y como acicate para la proclama activista y la denuncia de las injusticias y las míseras condiciones en que viven los más débiles.

Con estos dos volúmenes de carácter antológico, los autores ofrecen una necesaria y sólida contribución a la nómina de estudios que en los últimos años se han ocupado de la biografía de Campoamor y de su variado perfil profesional como política, abogada, activista, sufragista, miembro y líder de asociaciones femeninas, conferenciante y escritora, oficios y tareas que sucedieron a otras labores desempeñadas en muy diferentes terrenos. Como recuerdan Lizarraga y Aguilera, trabajó «como modista, dependienta de comercio, telefonista y, tras sendas oposiciones, funcionaria de segunda clase del cuerpo de Correos y Telégrafos y profesora especial de Taquigrafía y Mecanografía en las Escuelas Adultas de Madrid. Trabajos estos últimos que simultaneó a partir de 1917 con el de secretaria del director del diario conservador *La Tribuna*, Salvador Cánovas Cervantes, con el de auxiliar mecanógrafa en el Servicio de Construcciones Civiles y con el de traductora de alguna obra del francés» (2019, pp. 313-314).

Con ambos libros se resalta otro hito fundamental del infatigable recorrido de Campoamor, que hasta ahora no había sido recopilado ni analizado y que evidencia, una vez más, la personalidad curiosa y esforzada de la autora. Ambos rasgos, su constante deseo de conocimiento de nuevas ideas y de su entorno y su impulso renovador, así como su examen crítico y certero de la realidad que le tocó vivir, aparecen destilados en todo el conjunto de su producción periodística. En todos estos textos late el mismo pulso de exaltación de las conciencias sobre la injusticia, en especial, la que sufren las mujeres y los niños, y de reclamo a las autoridades para que desde sus posiciones de poder y desde la reforma de la legislación en torno a diferentes materias, den justo reparo a sus infortunios. El hambre, la falta de condiciones higiénicas, la enfermedad, la situación de los mendigos, la educación de los niños o las dificultades de la maternidad son algunos de los temas que más preocupan a la periodista, que recurrentemente toma a la mujer como protagonista de sus crónicas o reportajes. Unas veces, en relación a estas cuestiones y, otras, reseñando ejemplos individuales de avance en el acceso al trabajo y el desempeño de diferentes profesiones en las que esta va ganando terreno, con mucha dificultad y obstáculos provenientes, tanto de la sociedad como de las propias leyes e instituciones.

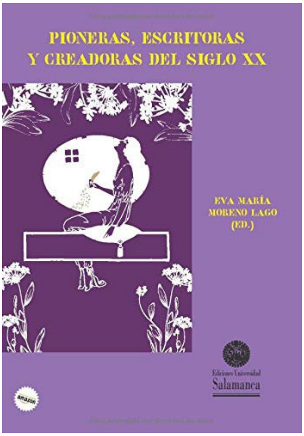
Para dar cuenta de todo ello, Campoamor se lanza a la calle y va al encuentro de las protagonistas, se presenta en sus lugares de trabajo y entrevista a doctoras, enfermeras, profesoras, mujeres de diferentes asociaciones e incluso a artistas e intelectuales como las actrices Margarita Xirgu, María Palou, Adela Carbone o las doctoras Paulina Luisi o Elisa Soriano. Quiere conocer cualquier realidad de primera mano, como profesional comprometida con sus lectores y con las causas que defiende. Busca, por tanto, cambios de verdad a través de un periodismo vivo, activo y activista, enmarcado en un militante feminismo.

La primera recopilación se abre con una breve presentación y se cierra con un estudio dividido en dos partes, «La forja de una feminista» y «Mujer y sociedad en España. Análisis de los textos periodísticos de Clara Campoamor (1920-1921)». En la primera se traza la trayectoria intelectual de la escritora y, en la segunda, se efectúa un comentario sobre el contenido de los artículos organizada, igual que la primera, en sucesivos apartados pero, en esta ocasión agrupados en torno a la temática de las crónicas y reportajes recogidos. Por su parte, el segundo libro, que completa al primero, incluye una introducción en la que también se da cuenta del análisis de los artículos que conforman la producción periodística de Campoamor en la segunda etapa comentada. Además de ambos estudios, que forman un conjunto armónico, el lector encontrará diversas notas aclaratorias a lo largo de los textos, entre las que destacan especialmente aquellas dedicadas a la explicación sobre las imágenes y pies de foto que acompañaban a los artículos en sus publicaciones originales. Los investigadores no saturan sus ediciones con una prolijidad de notas, sino que dejan hablar a la periodista, suficientemente elocuente, clara y directa en todas sus opiniones e informaciones, pues ofrece siempre todos los datos que el lector necesita para situarse en la realidad mostrada.

Lizarraga y Aguilera exponen en ambas recopilaciones la posibilidad de que pueda todavía encontrarse una mayor cantidad de artículos de

Campoamor, pues las dificultades e imposibilidad muchas veces de acceder a la totalidad de las fuentes hemerográficas en las que publicó la escritora, dado el carácter incompleto de las colecciones de prensa de la Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid, la Hemeroteca de la Biblioteca Nacional y la Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica, no permiten saber a ciencia cierta cuántos textos escribió. Además, como afirman los investigadores, es posible que publicara algunos sin firmar.

Sin embargo, el corpus presentado en los libros que reseñamos resulta amplio y representativo de las preocupaciones e intereses de su autora, tan actuales todavía en muchos sentidos. Por esta razón, también, por la vigencia de su pensamiento y su lucha, Clara Campoamor es un personaje de vibrante actualidad, igual que lo es el espíritu de sus artículos, objeto de estos dos volúmenes que nos permiten comprender un poco mejor la cultura feminista del primer tercio del siglo XX en España, a través de los ojos de una de sus más insignes valedoras.



Review of / Reseña de: Moreno Lago, Eva María (Ed.). *Pioneras, escritoras y creadoras del siglo XX*. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2019. 531 pp. ISBN: 978-84-1311-216-9

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El papel de la literatura, las artes y el panorama socio-político es clave en la configuración del siglo XX como gran motor de la modernidad. Sin embargo, la sinergia de los cánones establecidos ha dejado fuera históricamente a voces sin las cuales la modernidad de la que hablamos está incompleta, desarraigada. *Pioneras, escritoras y creadoras del siglo XX* ofrece una ventana a estas voces, mujeres literarias, artistas e intelectuales cuyas aportaciones son imprescindibles para tener una mayor comprensión sobre la multifacética realidad que sirve de puente entre la tradición y la modernidad. Este es precisamente el eje central de la colección, la relación generacional entre precursoras y herederas, en el espacio en el que deben ser restauradas, dando cabida a un futuro lleno de posibilidad. El volumen incluye cinco secciones: las precursoras de las escritoras del siglo XX, las intelectuales en España, escritoras italianas, europeas del siglo XX e intelectuales en otros continentes. Como apunta Eva María Moreno Lago en la introducción, «la mujer siempre ha escrito y siempre ha sido silenciada por motivos que más tienen que ver con juicios morales que con su calidad como escritora» (p.26). De esta manera, *Pioneras* recoge las obras y las vidas de intelectuales y escritoras que, separadas por continentes y culturas diferentes, cuestionan el *statu quo* de los sistemas patriarcales que las intentan limitar a la vez que aportan contribuciones revolucionarias.

Este cuestionamiento sirve como hilo conductor entre pioneras, las cuales empiezan sus andaduras en el sigo XVII, como apunta Juan Aguilar González. Siguiendo este planteamiento, María Luisa Pérez Bernardo introduce a Faustina Sáez de Melgar, quien fue pionera en el mundo de las letras, particularmente en la escritura y la traducción en el siglo XIX. Precisamente este siglo fue influenciado enormemente por el movimiento romántico del siglo anterior, en el cual las mujeres escritoras empezaron a disputar «la exclusividad de sexo del yo romántico paradigmático, creando una tradición romántica femenina, y exponían la falsedad y la naturaleza opresiva del modelo de la subjetividad femenina como ángel doméstico» (Kirkpatrick, 1991, p.33). Sin embargo, estos debates estuvieron plagados de contradicciones, ya que muchas pioneras seguían adscritas a ciertos roles de género más convencionales a la vez que se adentraban en la esfera pública. Una de las primeras oportunidades para llevar a cabo esta incorporación en el horizonte español del siglo XX surgió a través de la creación y difusión de cuentos infantiles con el fin de desmantelar mecanismos de consolidación del patriarcado.

En el camino hacia la modernidad, merecen rescatarse los nombres de Pilar Moltó y Concha Lagos. Esta última encarna la contradicción intrínseca de la mujer moderna, a la vez pionera y conservadora, como apunta Juana Murillo Rubio. En el panorama político-social de principios del siglo XX destacan también las voces de las maestras españolas republicanas en el norte de África, las cuales fueron represaliadas por el franquismo por jugar un papel fundamental en los círculos republicanos de la época, en su organización sindical y en la lucha contra el fascismo. Sorprende la desinformación general sobre las mujeres que fueron clave en la industria cinematográfica española en los albores de la modernidad fílmica, las cuales parecen haber sido completamente borradas de la historia. Así mismo, los discursos antibélicos de Elena Fortún, la poesía elogiadora de la robustez emocional de Concha Méndez, la mujer ventanera en la escritura de Carmen Martín Gaite, el uso de la intertextualidad de María Rosal, la ironía presente en la escritura de Ángela Figurea y el erotismo de la poesía de Ana Rossetti ponen de manifiesto la herencia transgresora de las escritoras modernas, cuyos discursos en torno a la mujer, su cuerpo y su identidad se construyen desde un lenguaje simbólico y liberador.

De manera similar a otras escritoras de su época, las italianas Gina Sobrero y Maria Messina debaten las contradicciones que el matrimonio y la maternidad presentan para la mujer. La primera refleja en su obra la lucha interna de las mujeres que parecen estar relegadas exclusivamente a ser esposas y madres, explorando sus sentimientos de inadecuación. Milagro Martín Calvo subraya cómo Maria Messina exhibe un especial interés en las madres culturales, cuya solidaridad puede salvarlas del «destino de vacío total al que se las condena» (p. 284). La condición de la mujer también ocupa la escritura de Anna Franchi, especialmente preocupada por la educación y la emancipación femenina. Cabe destacar el trabajo de Luisa Adorno, cuya escritura con tintes autobiográficos usaba la ironía con el fin de cuestionar y denunciar la realidad social de su época. Salvatore Bartolotta y M.ª Angélica Giordano Paredes presentan a una Virginia Tedeschi Treves que publicó su primera obra desde una visión totalmente conservadora hasta llegar a una madurez filosófica e intelectual sin precedentes. Por su parte, Clarice Gouzy Tartufari, reproduce en sus obras la situación de las mujeres italianas a finales del siglo XIX y principios del XX, en especial de aquellas que se apropian de su destino profesional como maestras y así consiguen cierto grado de emancipación económica.

Completando el panorama europeo, la británica Mina Loy se adentra en la esclavitud inherente en el matrimonio convencional y en los roles de género en su poesía satírica. Paula Camacho Roldán sitúa a Virginia Woolf y al «otro Bloosmbury», mujeres conocidas como las «Bohemian girls» (p. 368), en los círculos de crítica cinematográfica de la época, los cuales parecen haber escondido sus contribuciones. *Return to Wuthering Heights*, de Anna L'Estrange, establece un diálogo con *Cumbres Borrascosas*, de Emily Brontë, a la vez que presenta un tipo de escritura que permite al lector explorar aspectos de la experiencia femenina, la maternidad y la sexualidad desde un enfoque revisionista. El erotismo y la apropiación del deseo femenino ocupan precisamente el centro de la obra de Dominique Aury, intelectual francesa del siglo XX tachada de escandalosa. Françoise Gilot, Rachilde y Louise Bourgeois aparecen también como ejemplos de mujeres artistas e intelectuales cuyo conflicto con la modernidad y los nuevos espacios que presentaba en relación con la emancipación femenina fueron claves en el desarrollo de su obra. En último lugar figura la austriaca Elise Ritcher, víctima del holocausto que investigó sobre el papel de las emociones en el aprendizaje, estudios que están en auge hoy en día.

La parte final de la colección recoge los debates en torno a la mistificación de la maternidad que preocupan en la obra de la autora japonesa Fumiko Enchi, quien muestra la opresión que sufre el cuerpo femenino. Enrique Mora Roás se adentra también en las representaciones de género en la literatura japonesa moderna, dando a conocer a la autora Miyamoto Yuriko, quien mediante su literatura ayuda a conseguir una cohesión de experiencias que darían lugar a la coordinación del movimiento feminista en su país. Lejos también del territorio europeo, Sonja Sevo introduce a la colombiana Marvel Luz Moreno Abello, quien defiende el valor de la palabra en la lucha contra el patriarcado y expresa cómo «única y exclusivamente alcanzando la liberación sexual, a la mujer se le va a poder abrir camino hacia la libertad, que en este caso será la expresión máxima de su creatividad y de su aceptación de su cuerpo de mujer» (p. 511). Por último, el volumen cuenta con la contribución de Yorleny Espinoza, quien se adentra en la música guanacasteca con tintes feministas y decoloniales creada y transmitida por mujeres que generan sus propias historias e intentan desmontar constructos patriarcales a través del autodescubrimiento.

El redescubrimiento de su agencia creativa y transformadora pone en común a estas mujeres alrededor del mundo sin cuyas producciones artísticas y literarias el siglo XX no pueden entenderse. Mercedes Arriaga Flórez, quien participa en la colección con su ensayo sobre María Rosal, apunta que «interesan las variantes, las visiones descentradas, menos oficiales y encorsetadas que algunas escritoras inéditas ofrecen» (Arriaga, 2018, p. 23) ya que, al haber sido mayoritariamente rechazadas por los círculos canónicos, su recuperación supone una oportunidad para juzgarlas desde una perspectiva más alejada de los estereotipos y prejuicios de género. Igualmente, es necesario reevaluar la vida de mujeres que, pese a tener todo en su contra, jugaron papeles claves en el ámbito educativo y socio-político de su época, abriendo el camino para generaciones futuras. En este espíritu, *Pioneras* resalta el valor de las escritoras e intelectuales «exocanónicas»[1] desde una perspectiva amplia que permite el acercamiento a un panorama lleno de mujeres pioneras que pone en relevancia la existencia de una rica tradición intelectual y necesaria para nuestros días.

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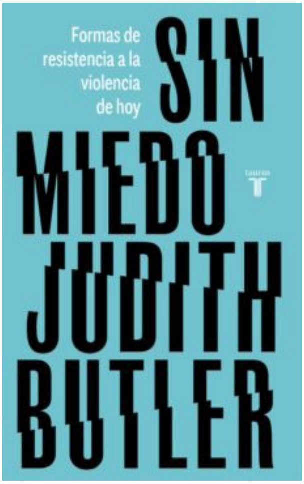
1. Daniel Escandell (2017) usa este término para referirse a aquellas autoras que han sido tradicionalmente excluidas del panorama literario y cultural.



Review of / Reseña de: Butler, Judith. *Sin miedo*. Barcelona: Taurus, 2020. 142 pp. ISBN: 978-84-306-2349-5

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Butler, autora de *El género en disputa*, *Cuerpos que importan*, *Vida precaria* y otros muchos libros, es una filósofa política estadounidense reconocida hoy en todo el mundo por su visión crítica de nuestra sociedad. Ha sido tan alabada desde ciertos ámbitos por sus contribuciones al feminismo y al análisis de la precariedad como denostada en otros por los mismos motivos. Su libro *Sin miedo*, publicado en abril de 2020, reúne cinco conferencias en las que, con lenguaje claro, recoge algunas de sus anteriores tesis y nos da pistas acerca de cómo resistir al miedo en la búsqueda de una justicia que, a su juicio, exige la valentía necesaria para rechazar todas las formas de violencia.

Bajo el título de «Discurso valiente y resistencia» nos explica, en la primera charla, que el mismo tiene dos características, el peligro que implica y el compromiso con la verdad. Ambas se ejemplifican en el discurso de los migrantes que se arriesgan a la deportación en su lucha por lograr el «derecho a tener derechos» y reconoce, en el mismo, la importancia de la valentía colectiva. Observa que ésta se nos muestra en aquellas asambleas y manifestaciones que no solo ponen de manifiesto nuestra interdependencia, sino que tienen también un potencial democrático contrario a la violencia. Butler llama la atención sobre lo que denomina «solidaridades de derechas» que están a favor del racismo o contra los migrantes y que afirman ser valientes por plantar cara a formas políticas progresistas. Insiste, consecuentemente, en la necesidad de estar alerta porque cree que, frente a los racistas, no solo debemos definir la valentía en relación a los poderes a los que se opone, sino que también debemos juzgar dichos poderes.

En la segunda conferencia, «Una crítica de la violencia de nuestro tiempo», nos muestra que la violencia de hoy es resultado de una desigualdad social (derivada de la clase, la raza o el género) ante la que es posible reaccionar de dos modos. Por un lado, con un «bueno, así son las cosas» o un «esto es lo que hay», que implican reproducir diferentes formas de poder. Esto sucede en los casos de asesinato de las mujeres en general y de las trans en particular, que son resultado, por una parte, de los progresos que hemos hecho como mujeres, y, por otra, de la reproducción de una estructura social de dominación masculina que debemos evitar. Frente a esta postura, también es posible reaccionar con un dolor y una rabia que necesitan transformarse en una ética política de la no violencia. Es significativo que, a su juicio, la no violencia no implica calma ni pasividad, sino que nos exige a todas las personas, aunque a cada una de modos diferentes, ser activas y apasionadas en la defensa de todas las vidas.

Pero rechazar la violencia no implica dejar de reconocer que nuestra vida social se da siempre también en constante conflicto y en una interdependencia que puede vincularnos a las demás personas sin subordinarnos a ellas. Constata que esos conflictos y esa interdependencia nos exigen, a veces, poner en cuestión determinados privilegios y ello hace que algunos se sientan atacados cuando solo se está reclamando la igualdad de derechos de todos. Por ello, según su criterio, deberíamos desconfiar de quienes ven la diferencia como una amenaza y sospechar de las comunidades que, para defender la comunidad nacional, elevan el muro de la identidad que deja morir a las minorías no-llorables.

Con el encabezamiento de «Sin aliento: la risa y el llanto al límite del cuerpo», analiza, en tercer lugar, las formas de «ruido» (el escrache podría ser un ejemplo) que reclaman, incomprensiblemente para quienes aceptan el *statu quo* vigente, una apertura de las instituciones para mujeres, minorías, migrantes… todavía no reconocidos. Es preciso destacar la observación que Butler realiza sobre el ruido que puede servir tanto para desafiar a un régimen vigente como para reafirmarlo anulando a quienes se le oponen.

Piensa, por ello, que las distinciones entre ruido, música y discurso dependen siempre de un régimen de poder en el que subyacen diferentes concepciones de la democracia y la igualdad.

Es relevante, en este sentido, su constatación de los diferentes significados de la democracia. Están, por un lado, quienes la identifican con el libre mercado o el neofascismo y, por otro, quienes la entienden como una aspiración plagada de conflictos que no equivale a su forma parlamentaria, aunque ésta «constituye sin duda un valor, un conjunto de instituciones por las que merece la pena luchar» (p. 72). Llama la atención, asimismo, su concepto de igualdad que se opone al de una cuantificación de nuestro valor natural como personas. Afirma, sin embargo, que nuestras vidas están ligadas unas a otras, por lo que nuestra igualdad proviene de que la vida de cada persona no es tal sin la de las otras. En este marco, entiende la risa y el llanto como formas de ruido relativamente involuntario y somático que nos arrolla, y cita ejemplos en los que se muestra que ambos constituyen (como los chistes a partir de la tragedia) una forma de salvación.

A continuación, la cuarta charla, «Crítica, discrepancia y futuro de las humanidades», se inicia mostrando la relación entre humanidades y futuro. Observa que éstas son consideradas como lujo inútil o patrimonio de élites, pero afirma que, sin ellas, no nos es posible ni entender nuestro mundo ni forjar uno nuevo.

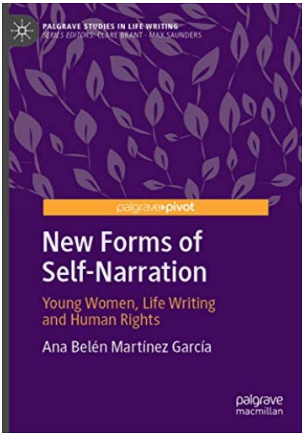
Muestra, en segundo lugar, la actitud crítica de las humanidades y la relaciona con la teoría crítica que explica nuestro saber como dependiente de unas condiciones históricas y que también se niega a reproducir las formas de poder ilegítimas. Esa reflexión no suele ser del agrado de los poderes criticados que reaccionan, a veces, vetando ciertas formas de investigación a fin de controlar los límites de lo concebible. Afirma que esto se pone de manifiesto en la campaña pública que, respaldada por el Estado y las autoridades eclesiásticas, rechaza los estudios de género. En este punto, Butler defiende argumentos ya expuestos en otros lugares y afirma que «las teorías del género… no prescriben sobre la conducta sexual ni encarnación de género» (p. 119) y que «el género… permite imaginar… modos de libertad encarnada que difieren de las normas imperantes y tradicionales, sin por ello querer destruirlas» (p. 120). Se echa en falta, sin embargo, que no desarrolle más este punto a fin de mostrar que lo que pretende no es sustituir un dominio por otro, sino evitarlos todos.

Acaba esta exposición reafirmando que las humanidades y las artes constituyen un ejercicio de traducción que nos permite superar déficits tales como la arrogancia cultural, que nos hace creer que los límites de nuestra lengua lo son también del sentido común, de la racionalidad y de la cultura.

Para terminar, aparece en el libro su disertación sobre «Justicia y memoria», que se inicia criticando a los grupos revisionistas que pretenden que los museos de la memoria histórica son un relato injusto de la historia. Para explicar este fenómeno, Butler se fija en tres puntos. El primero muestra que hay hoy un deseo más fuerte de autoridad debido a la intensificación de la pobreza en algunos grupos sociales. El segundo defiende que pretender borrar la violencia institucional constituye otra forma de criminalidad. En el tercer punto afirma que la negación de la violencia del Estado (cuando éste afirma que solo protegió a la población frente al terrorismo) genera la legitimación de una nueva violencia (migrantes calificados como terroristas, violadores, sangría económica, amenaza para la nación). Constata que ahora no nos enfrentamos a dictadores manifiestos, sino a un autoritarismo neoliberal y un fascismo securitario. Para revivir los recuerdos, necesitamos hoy no solo de los datos precisos, sino del cine, los medios, las imágenes o los relatos, ya que estos pueden comunicar los sentimientos necesarios para la transición a un futuro distinto. Observa, sin embargo, que, en los últimos años, la derecha reaccionaria «pretende apropiarse de nuestros métodos para sus propósitos» (pp. 140-141) y nos invita a destapar su artimaña.

Esta última conferencia está escrita pensando tanto en los Estados Unidos como en diversos países de América Latina. Sin embargo, las polémicas que surgen en España acerca de la memoria histórica ponen de manifiesto que la situación en este país no es mejor que la de aquellos.

Las cinco charlas pretenden, a mi juicio, ayudarnos a recuperar la esperanza, al mostrarnos no tanto qué hacer para vivir hoy sin miedo, sino cómo afrontarlo sin dejar que se nos apodere. Butler desgrana algunos de los problemas que nos atañen y los afronta utilizando varias ideas clave de su pensamiento. Se refiere, por supuesto, a los problemas de las mujeres, pero no se queda allí. En su afán por reconocer que toda vida es digna de ser vivida y, consecuentemente, de ser llorada, se refiere también a otras múltiples situaciones injustas que también nos atañen.



Review of / Reseña de: Martínez García, Ana Belén. *New Forms of Self-Narration. Young Women, Life Writing and Human Rights.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020. 151 pp. ISBN 978-3-030-46419-6

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Una serie de mujeres feministas han destacado en la última década por su activismo a través de las redes sociales, los medios de comunicación y sus propias narrativas, que han difundido ellas mismas por medio de la escritura testimonial sobre sus vidas. Lo verdaderamente relevante es que estas narrativas han servido para conformar el imaginario cultural contemporáneo y para promover causas de justicia social tanto a nivel nacional como transnacional.

En *New Forms of Self-Narration*, se plantea la cuestión del porqué algunas historias han recibido más eco que otras y también el porqué de que algunas activistas se conviertan en iconos y otras no. Este libro compone un estudio extremadamente oportuno en el contexto actual sobre la escritura testimonial de mujeres como forma de activismo por los derechos humanos. Particularmente, el libro se centra en seis mujeres jóvenes que han marcado un hito en los últimos diez años, todas ellas han difundido su mensaje a través de la escritura testimonial y, aunque provienen de ámbitos muy distintos, guardan similitudes entre ellas. En primer lugar, son mujeres que han sufrido la violación de sus derechos cuando eran niñas, reclaman una voz colectiva, desarrollan un discurso sobre los derechos humanos, ponen el énfasis en la empatía como emoción humanitaria, vinculan su difícil situación a contextos de injustica social y todas ellas utilizan el inglés como lengua para expresar su mensaje.

El libro se centra en explicar los siguientes seis casos de escritura testimonial: el caso de Malala Yousafzai, que recibió el Premio Nobel de la Paz en 2014 y cuyo ejemplo simboliza la lucha por el derecho a la educación de las niñas, así como la situación humanitaria de los desplazados; el caso de Hyeonseo Lee y Yeonmi Park, dos activistas norcoreanas que escaparon de su país y reclaman las injusticias cometidas en el régimen de Kim Jong-un, así como el trauma vivido en China y en otros países; Bana Alabed y Nujeen Mustafa, el caso de dos refugiadas sirias que representan el conflicto sirio desde dos ángulos opuestos, el fenómeno de la «Anna Frank moderna» a través de Twitter y el activismo de una adolescente con discapacidad que se convirtió en portavoz de los refugiados sirios, y por último el caso de Nadia Murad, que estuvo secuestrada por ISIS en Iraq y que alza su voz en contra de la trata así como en favor de los derechos étnicos.

New Forms of Self-Narration se divide en un total de ocho capítulos que incluyen introducción y conclusión. En el segundo capítulo, que comienza tras la introducción, se trata el primero de los casos, el de Malala Yousafzai. El capítulo presenta cada uno de los textos de Malala como ejemplo de narrativa testimonial colaborativa. Martínez García destaca aquí el tono emocional de la escritura de Malala, así como el papel de las redes sociales en su discurso. Particularmente este capítulo desarrolla la construcción y la reconstrucción de la identidad de Malala a partir de la viralización de su discurso por medio de Twitter con el *hashtag* «#IamMalala». De algún modo, la identidad de Malala se configura en ese discurso tornándose una voz testimonial colaborativa con el objetivo de promover el derecho a la educación.

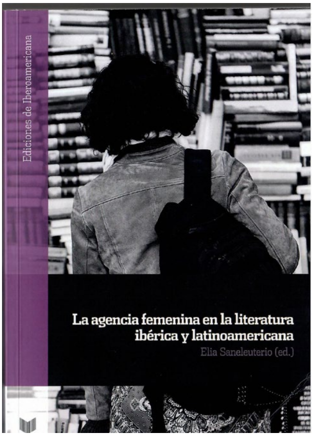
El capítulo tres presenta el caso particular de Hyeonseo Lee, activista norcoreana que desarrolla su discurso de forma multimodal como una narrativa que mezcla su experiencia personal con injusticias sociales colectivas. Lee se ha convertido en una de las portavoces del pueblo norcoreano. Su voz se hizo viral en 2013 con una charla de TED.com, difundida en un momento en el que las relaciones entre Estados Unidos y Corea del Norte eran especialmente tensas. El capítulo desarrolla la cuestión de la interacción de la construcción de la identidad en el mundo *offline* y en el mundo *online*, y en cómo se produce así una única narrativa. Las memorias escritas de Lee destacaron gracias a la charla TED que se viralizó y viceversa. En el siguiente capítulo se desarrolla el caso de Yeonmi Park como complementario al anterior, ya que tanto Lee como Park comparten muchas características y el discurso que narra la historia de una niña que huye de Corea del Norte. Sin embargo, la escritura testimonial de Park destaca por redefinirse como superviviente en lugar de víctima.

El quinto capítulo habla sobre Bana Alabed, la refugiada siria que pasó a ser conocida en redes sociales como la «Anna Frank moderna». El capítulo reflexiona sobre cómo una niña de siete años logró convertirse en una voz informadora en medio de un conflicto armado. La narrativa de Alabed ha evolucionado del discurso típico del niño que sufre en una situación de injusticia a convertirse en un icono de paz y fraternidad. Tanto en el caso de Malala como en este, de Bana, destaca la importancia de la utilización de su primer nombre de pila como figura principal de representación de la identidad. Podría decir que el siguiente capítulo es el que complementa a este último. En este caso para hablar de Nujeen Mustafa, una adolescente siria con parálisis cerebral que viajó de Siria a Alemania en su silla de ruedas y se ha convertido en la portavoz de los refugiados sirios. El discurso de Nujeen se popularizó gracias a sus charlas públicas y defendiendo una narrativa que dice que los refugiados son mucho más que números.

Finalmente, en el séptimo capítulo se expone el caso de Nadia Murad, activista iraquí que recibió el Premio Nobel de la Paz en 2018. Este capítulo presenta, al igual que el primero, todos y cada uno de los textos de Murad y analiza la construcción y representación de la identidad tanto a través de la escritura como de los medios de comunicación. Pese a que son muchas las mujeres que han escapado del horror del secuestro y violencia sexual por parte de ISIS, el discurso de Murad logró un mayor eco quizás gracias a la multimodalidad de su discurso.

En conjunto Martínez García muestra la recopilación de seis valiosos testimonios y de sus narraciones en primera persona con el fin de describir cómo estas jóvenes mujeres han llegado a convertirse en iconos culturales y en representantes de grandes colectivos. Uno de los puntos en los que se profundiza es en la capacidad de conseguir que un mensaje se vuelva viral y en las características que lo hacen posible, deteniéndose en la importancia de la sinergia entre el discurso *offline* y *online*, así como en la multimodalidad. Además, por medio de estos ejemplos se acentúa la importancia del uso de nombres y etiquetas para la reconstrucción y reapropiación de la propia identidad a través de la escritura testimonial. Por último, destaca en todos sus ejemplos la importancia de la empatía como estrategia narrativa para fortalecer el discurso y lograr que el mensaje se vuelva global.

En definitiva, este libro constituye una acertadísima exposición de seis casos de mujeres jóvenes cuyas historias y discursos representan una realidad mediática actual del surgimiento de un feminismo activista a través de los medios de comunicación, las nuevas tecnologías y la difusión de sus propias palabras escritas.



Saneleuterio, E. (Ed.). *La agencia femenina en la literatura ibérica y latinoamericana*. Madrid/Frankfurt: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2020. 382 pp. ISBN: 978-84-9192-187-5

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Elia Saneleuterio, profesora de la Universitat de València, coordina el interesante volumen titulado *La agencia femenina en la literatura ibérica y latinoamericana* en el que se incluyen veinte capítulos escritos por especialistas nacionales e internacionales que parten de la aplicación de los estudios de género al análisis de los personajes y los contenidos literarios en obras de autoría femenina o masculina procedentes de contextos socioculturales distintos y pertenecientes a géneros como el poemario, la novela, el cuento, el ensayo o la obra dramática, desde diversas perspectivas y enfoques.

Se pueden distinguir tres grandes bloques temáticos: el de trabajos que analizan obras escritas por autoras y autores españoles, el que se centra en creadoras hispanoamericanas y el que estudia libros destinados al público lector infantil o juvenil.

Abre el primero Begoña Souviron López, con «El estudio de la *responsividad* en las voces femeninas de la literatura clásica», en el que partiendo de la lectura que hace Iris M.ª Zavala de los conceptos «discurso referido» y «responsividad» de Bajtin, según la cual el emisor del texto al seleccionar lo que expresan sus personajes, de alguna manera, influye en la recepción, analiza en qué forma se materializa esto en textos hispánicos clásicos como la *Arboleda de los enfermos* de Teresa de Cartagena, el *Triunfo de las donas y Cadira del honor* de Rodríguez del Padrón y *Los siete libros de la Diana* de Jorge de Montemayor. Los dos siguientes textos tienen como objeto de sus análisis a varios personajes femeninos de Galdós: el primero, «Heroínas literarias de Galdós: una propuesta didáctica paseando por Madrid», escrito por Pilar Úcar Ventura, estudia de qué manera un grupo de protagonistas femeninas –Fortunata y Jacinta en la novela lleva como título sus nombres; doña Pura, Abelarda y la tía Milagros en *Miau*; y la señá Benina y doña Paca en *Misericordia*– muestran el convulso contexto histórico y social del Madrid de finales del siglo XIX; el segundo, «Matrimonio, sexualidad y lujuria en la España decimonónica según la perspectiva burguesa: Tristana y Rosalía, el declive del ángel del hogar» de Mariacarmela Ucciardello, incide en el carácter transgresor de estas dos mujeres que cuestionan el modelo impuesto por la sociedad decimonónica al no ajustarse al papel de ángel del hogar descorporeizado que, como burguesas, se esperaba que desempeñaran. Isabel Cuñado firma el capítulo titulado, «El olivo es sagrado: ecofeminismo y nuevo ruralismo en *El olivo* y «El árbol azul»», en el que pone en relación la película de Icíar Bollaín y el cuento de Julio Baquero Cruz, partiendo del hecho de que ambas historias se podrían entender como manifestaciones de *ecoartivismo* y que para ello se sirven de un mismo símbolo: el de un viejo olivo que es arrancado de su lugar de origen por intereses comerciales. El siguiente capítulo de este bloque es «Maternidad y acción en *Historia de una maestra*, de Josefina Aldecoa» de Aranzazu Sumalla; en él, la autora enfatiza la relevancia de Josefina Aldecoa como precursora en el tratamiento literario de la maternidad como un fenómeno que condiciona el desempeño profesional de la mujer. A continuación, Belén Hernández Marzal en «Retrato de la mujer creadora en *La loca de la casa*, de Rosa Montero» explica que el hecho de que la autora madrileña rechace, en este ensayo autobiográfico y autoficcional sobre el oficio de escribir, las etiquetas de «mujer escritora» y «literatura escrita por mujeres», no tiene que ver con una falta de compromiso con la situación de sus congéneres, sino con su convicción de que la literatura creada por una mujer es tan universal como la que ha compuesto el hombre. Por último, cierra esta sección Francisca González Arias con «*Música de ópera*, de Soledad Puértolas: contrapunto de voces de mujer» en el que la investigadora subraya la importancia de esta novela en la que, a través de tres generaciones de mujeres, Soledad Puértolas delinea una intrahistoria femenina que tiene en la construcción de la identidad y en la importancia de los círculos matriarcales de solidaridad su fundamento.

El segundo bloque está formado por cinco capítulos: el primero, «Baste ya de rigores: Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz desde el género», lo escriben Emilio Ruiz Serrano, Carolina Serrano Barquín y Rocío Serrano Barquín y en él reivindican la figura de la gran poeta mexicana, que por su independencia de criterio, su valentía a la hora de abordar temas que, en su época, se entendían como territorio casi exclusivamente masculino, su labor pedagógica y la lectura en clave de género que se puede hacer de su producción, sigue siendo una referencia literaria indiscutible. El segundo, de María José Jorquera Hervás, tiene como título «María Eugenia contra sí misma: el intento frustrado de empoderamiento en *Ifigenia*, de Teresa de la Parra» y en él la investigadora establece una conexión entre la identidad fragmentada de la protagonista de la novela de Teresa de la Parra, María Eugenia Alonso, que ha pasado de ser una mujer moderna y vanguardista a asumir el rol que la sociedad tradicional le ha asignado en cuanto a mujer, y la del país al que representa: Venezuela. «Reclamos de una libertaria: naturalismo y proyecto educativo en *El libro humilde y doliente*, de Salvadora Medina Onrubia» es el tercero, escrito por Alejandra Karina Carballo, en el que se analiza el cuestionamiento del entorno que lleva a cabo la escritora argentina en este libro de cuentos de corte naturalista y se relaciona con su experiencia como maestra rural y su ideología anarquista. El siguiente, «La ecoliteratura de Ida Vitale: un espacio para la intimidad y la sabiduría» de Sally Abdalla Wahdan, incide en el compromiso ecológico de la poeta uruguaya, que es también estético e ideológico en la medida en que favorece una reflexión sobre los valores imperantes respecto al medio ambiente. El quinto y último capítulo del bloque es «La mujer judía en dos novelas latinoamericanas: *La piel del alma*, de Teresa Porzecansky, y *Tela de sevoya*, de Miriam Moscona» en el que Laura Margarita Febres de Ayala compara dos obras que tienen como asunto común la diáspora judía y la manera en la que este fenómeno histórico condiciona las vivencias de las mujeres latinoamericanas que las pueblan.

Por último, el tercer bloque trata obras literarias españolas e hispanoamericanas destinadas a un público infantil o juvenil. Dentro de este, Rocío Arana y María Caballero Wangüemert son las autoras del primer capítulo:

«Literatura infantil en Puerto Rico: la transgresión femenina/feminista en Rosario Ferré», en el que señalan el potencial feminista de los cuentos de hadas de la creadora puertorriqueña, tradicionalmente menospreciados en el conjunto de su producción. A este le sigue, «Personajes femeninos en la narrativa de Graciela Montes: modelos de una sociedad sin miedo» de Sara Vicente Mendo, que centra su análisis en el modo mediante el cual los conflictos de género se materializan en seis personajes femeninos que tienen en común el objetivo de vencer sus miedos. El tercero de los textos lleva como título «El polizón del Ulises, de Ana María Matute. Trayectoria de un cuento infantil en el franquismo» y ha sido escrito por Anja Rothenburg, la cual analiza este cuento realista, que, sorteando la férrea censura franquista, cuestiona la sociedad circundante. María del Mar Ramos Cambero es la autora del cuarto capítulo: «La identidad femenina en la novela juvenil de fantasía a través de dos sagas españolas» en el que se relacionan dos colecciones fantásticas: *Porta Coeli* de Susana Vallejo y *Alas de fuego* y *Alas negras* de Laura Gallego, con la intención de analizarlas desde un enfoque feminista. El quinto, de Moisés Selfa Sastre, «La narrativa juvenil de Maite Carranza en el siglo XXI: tipología de mujeres protagonistas», indaga en las diversos rasgos con los que describe la escritora catalana a las protagonistas de de sus obras juveniles, unidas por su común destino de luchadoras. El sexto, «El reciclaje de los cuentos tradicionales y populares en los *Cuentos clásicos feministas*, de Ángela Vallvey. Una mirada posfeminista y posdigital a la tradición» de Begoña Regueiro, explica de qué manera los cuentos tradicionales son revisitados y reescritos en clave posmoderna introduciendo preocupaciones del siglo XXI como el posfeminismo, lo posdigital, la ecología, los nuevos modelos de familia, el *bullying* o lo *trans*.

Finalmente, a modo de broche y de unión entre los diferentes capítulos que componen esta necesaria reflexión, Elia Saneleuterio cierra el volumen con «La influencia de la tía soltera en las novelas de protagonización femenina», un recorrido estructurado en varias calas en la novela de formación española e hispanoamericana en la que aparece el personaje de la tía soltera, de la que son muestras *La tía Tula* de Unamuno, *Ifigenia* de Teresa de la Parra, *Nada* de Carmen Laforet, *Entre visillos* de Martín Gaite, *La casa de los espíritus* de Allende, *Como agua para chocolate* de Esquivel y *Las chicas de alambre* de Sierra i Fabra.

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- After the conclusions, the article should end with a section containing a **Reference List** including all the works cited in the article, following alphabetical and chronological criteria (in case there are several works by the same author). Each bibliographic reference should end with a full stop and a they should include blank line between references. See Citation and Referencing Guidelines.
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- At the beginning of each article, and regardless of the language in which it is written, the title of the work (Spanish or English) and an abstract of a maximum of 150 words (in Spanish and in English) should be added, describing the justification of the study, the objectives, the methodology, the main results and the most relevant conclusions. Also, the article must include between 4 and 8 keywords (in Spanish and English), separated by a semicolon.
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- The author of the review will provide his/her name and surname, institutional affiliation, e-mail address and ORCID identifier.
- A complementary file, an image of the main cover of the reviewed publication is advisable.
- Authors must follow the instructions of the section Citation and Referencing Guidelines.

Checklist for preparing submissions

As part of the submission process, authors are required to check that their submission meets all the elements shown below. Submissions that do not comply with these guidelines will be returned to the authors.

1. The submission has neither been previously published, nor is under consideration for another journal (or an explanation has been provided in Comments to the Editor)
2. The submission file is in OpenOffice, Microsoft Word, or RTF document file format of submissions is Microsoft Word (.DOCX) or Open Document Format (.ODT) format.
3. Whenever possible, Digital Object Identifiers (DOIs) should be provided for reference purposes.
4. The text is 1.5 line spacing; uses a 12-point font; employs italics, rather than underlining (except for URL addresses); and all illustrations, figures, and tables should be placed in the corresponding place within the text, rather than at the end of the article
5. The text adheres to the stylistic and bibliographic requirements outlined in the Authors Guidelines, which appear in About the Journal.
6. If submitted to a peer-reviewed section of the journal, the instructions are in Ensuring Anonymous Review.
7. The text complies with the standards outlined in Citation and Referencing Guidelines.

CITATION AND REFERENCING GUIDELINES

Journal articles must follow the APA citation and referencing system (7th edition). Submitted articles that fail to follow this system will not be subject to evaluation.

You can check the APA rules in https://apastyle.apa.org/

HOW TO PROPOSE A MONOGRAPHIC SERIES

The proposal for a monographic series for *Feminismo/s* journal should be submitted to the editor of the journal (Helena.Establier@ua.es) with the following information:

1. Provisional title of the monographic series.

2. A comprehensive CV of its coordinator/s.

3. A description of the objectives and justification of the relevance of the dossier topic (300 words).

4. A provisional list of participants in the volume, along with a short biography and bibliographical review of each of them, with the titles of the planned works and a brief summary of each one where the intended objectives are included (150 words).

5. Proposals will be considered by the Editorial Board of *Feminismo/s* within a maximum period of one month from the date of receipt.

PEER REVIEW PROCESS

1) Original papers are firstly assessed by the Editorial Board of the journal on their suitability to the fields of knowledge and the requirements established for authors by the journal.

2) The Editorial Board sends out the original documents (without the name of the author) to two external reviewers. On these views, the Editorial Board decides on rejecting or accepting the article or to apply for modifications by the author. Authors are given a detailed and reasoned notification where the content of original reports (edited) is exposed with specific indications for modifications if appropriate. *Feminismo/s* can send authors the original reports submitted, either complete or in part and always anonymously.

3) The report submitted by reviewers includes:

h) a global assessment of both the article and abstracts.

i) a quantitative evaluation of quality (good | acceptable | insufficient) according to these five criteria: originality and interest of the topic; relevance in relation to current research in the area; methodological rigour; significant and updated bibliography; clear expository style.
j) a final recommendation: publish | ask for modifications | reject.

COVERAGE DISSEMINATION AND PRESENCE IN DATABASES

The journal is indexed in ESCI (WOS), DOAJ, REDIB, Gender Watch (Proquest), InDICEs-CSIC, ERIH PLUS, MLA, CIRC, MIAR, Latindex, Dialnet, Ulrich's, Dulcinea, Google Scholar, SHERPA/RoMEO, RUA, DICE, REBIUN, RESH, OCLC WorldCat, Copac, SUDOC and ZDB/EZB.

GENDER EQUALITY POLICIES

Feminismo/s offers a platform for expression and critical debate in the fields of gender studies and feminist theory. Therefore, the journal is steadfastly committed to implementing gender policies and promoting equality between women and men in society at all levels:

- The composition of the Editorial Team and the Advisory Board, made up mostly of women, as well as gender representation among manuscript reviewers, are proof of the journal's efforts to encourage women's participation and visibility in academia.
- The journal's contents, objectives and methodologies promote a critical analysis of gender relations in a heteropatriarchal society and seek to shed light on how the power relations underlying gender-based discrimination are organised and manifested in the sociocultural and scientific spheres.
- The Editorial Team of *Feminismo/s* makes sure that all research works avoid gender stereotypes and biases whereby men are regarded as the

universal point of reference, biological differences are exacerbated or socially constructed differences are seen as natural.

- The journal ensures that the sex variable is considered in published research of any kind concerning persons, animals, tissues or cells, which involves:
  - Reflecting and making well-founded decisions on sample composition by sex and providing information about the sex of the subjects analysed.
  - Analysing existing differences within each sex and presenting results disaggregated by sex.

  Researchers interested in publishing in this journal should consult the practical guide for the inclusion of the gender perspective in research contents.

- Likewise, the editorial policies of *Feminismo/s* include the requirement to use inclusive language in all articles, in order to take into account the presence and situation of women in society and in accordance with the principle of gender equality. The Editorial Team requires authors to use gender-neutral terms or explanatory phrases rather than masculine terms to refer to classes or groups of individuals, whether male or female, to omit references to the subject or, if none of the above is possible, to make reference to both women and men in the text. For further details and recommendations, researchers interested in publishing in this journal should consult the University of Alicante's inclusive language guide.

PUBLICATION ETHICS AND MALPRACTICE STATEMENT

The publication of articles in a peer-review journal is a direct reflection of the quality of the work of their authors, and the commitment and qualifications of the researchers who act as reviewers. Therefore *Feminismo/s* is a publication committed to the ethical principles of scientific activity on the following terms:

1. Publication and authorship

All manuscripts must include a list of references, and indicate whether they have received financial support. Works must be free of plagiarism or scientific fraud. Illustrative cases* of plagiarism and scientific fraud can be consulted in a non-exhaustive list below:

- Plagiarism: literal copy without quoting and referencing the source; substantial copying (research materials, processes, tables...); paraphrasing or reproducing ideas without citing the source and/or changing the original meaning; text-recycling (reusing a published own text) without indicating the source, and abusive paraphrasing even quoting the source.
- Scientific fraud: no recognition of all the participating researchers in the study, simultaneous submission to several publications, the division of a work in different parts ('slices') that share the same hypotheses, population and methods, as well as the use of false or unproven data. Finally, the authors should disclose potential conflicts of interest to the journal when a manuscript is sent.

* Source: http://www.ethics.elsevier.com/

2. Authors' Responsibility

- The manuscripts submission to *Feminismo/s* involves reading and acceptance of the journal publishing guidelines, including participation in an anonymous peer-review process.
- All authors signing a work must have contributed significantly to its development and must agree both with the end result and with the manuscript submission for evaluation.
- Manuscripts must acknowledge all authors who have participated in their elaboration.
- Data used in the article must be real and authentic
- The authors assume the obligation to retract/correct when possible errors are later detected.
- Articles must be original and cannot be sent simultaneously to any other publication.

3. Review Process

All articles submitted to the journal are subjected to a peer review process with the following characteristics:

- The selection of reviewers is done according to rules and principles based on both their qualification and the quality of their scientific production.
- The review process will be totally anonymous both for authors and for reviewers. Manuscripts and reviews will be treated confidentially.
- Reviewers will take into account for their evaluation criteria the respect for the ethical principles that are essential in scientific research.
- The judgments expressed in the reviews should be objective.
- Authors and reviewers should disclose all relationships and funding sources that could generate potential conflicts of interest.

4. Editors' Responsibilities

- The editorial board has the responsibility and authority to accept or reject a manuscript based on the peer reviews.
- The editorial board will reveal any relationships or funding sources that could potentially be considered conflicts of interest regarding the rejection or the acceptance of manuscripts.
- The journal only accepts manuscripts when reasonably certain of compliance with editorial standards.
- The editorial team is committed to preserve the anonymity of the reviewers so that they can never be associated with the reviewed manuscripts.

5. Publishing ethical Issues

The editorial board is committed to:

- Monitoring and maintaining the publishing ethics.
- Maintaining the integrity of the academic record.
- Avoid publishing plagiarized or fraudulently prepared material.
- Be willing to publish corrections, clarifications, retractions and apologies when needed.

- Provide support in the process of retracting articles.
- Perform all actions required to meet the standards of intellectual and ethical commitment.

6. Plagiarism policy

Feminismo/s Editorial Board is responsible for checking that the works submitted are original and do not incur plagiarism. The University of Alicante uses a software programme called Turnitin for this purpose. It is a tool that prevents and avoids academic and professional plagiarism by proving the similarities of a document with multiple sources of information (Internet, scientific articles and its internal database) and identifying non-original content translated from English. Additionally, the Editorial Board has a number of free plagiarism detection programs available on the UA website, such as *Copyscape, Plagium, PlagScan, Dupli Checker, Plagiarisma, Article Checker, Viper* and *Antiplagiarist* (https://biblioteca.ua.es/en/investiga-y-publica/pi/plagiarism.html)

The Editorial Board reserves the right to withdraw any work received, accepted or already published if plagiarism, falsification or duplicate publication is detected, as well as the various cases of scientific misconduct listed above. Likewise, it promotes the publication of corrections or retractions in the face of detected errors.

DISCLAIMER

Regarding the provisions in articles 138-143 of the Spanish Law on Intellectual Property, the publication of a work prejudicial to those rights shall be the responsibility of the author. The editorial board of *Feminismo/s* is not responsible, in any case, for the credibility and authenticity of the works. In the same way, the opinions and facts expressed in each article are the sole responsibility of the authors and *Feminismo/s* does not necessarily agree with them.

COPYRIGHT WARNING

POLÍTICA DE ACCESO ABIERTO

Feminismo/s se ofrece a la comunidad investigadora en acceso abierto inmediato a su contenido, sin ningún tipo de periodo de embargo, basado en el principio de que ofrecer al público un acceso libre a las investigaciones ayuda a un mayor intercambio global de conocimiento. En este sentido, *Feminismo/s* sigue la política de acceso abierto definida por la Declaración de Budapest (BOAI, 2002): «disponibilidad gratuita en la Internet pública, para que cualquier usuario la pueda leer, descargar, copiar, distribuir, imprimir, con la posibilidad de buscar o enlazar todos los textos de estos artículos, recorrerlos para indexación exhaustiva, usarlos como datos para software, o utilizarlos para cualquier otro propósito legal, sin barreras financieras, legales o técnicas, distintas de la fundamental de ganar acceso a la propia Internet».

Feminismo/s es una revista científica sin ánimo de lucro y por tanto no contempla el abono de ninguna tasa por presentación/envío de manuscritos ni tampoco ninguna cuota por la publicación de artículos.

CÓMO PRESENTAR UN ORIGINAL

1. Los trabajos serán el resultado de una investigación original y deberán contener conclusiones novedosas apoyadas en una metodología debidamente planteada y justificada. Sólo se admitirán trabajos inéditos que no estén en proceso de evaluación por otras revistas.

2. La extensión de los trabajos presentados no excederá de 9000 palabras, incluidas notas y bibliografía.

3. El número y extensión de las notas al pie se reducirá a lo indispensable.

4. Los autores someterán sus artículos en Word a través del correo electrónico de la revista (revistafeminismos@ua.es) y deberán aportar **imprescindiblemente**:

- En hoja aparte: nombre del autor o de la autora, institución a la que pertenece, código ORCID, dirección profesional completa y dirección electrónica.
- Archivo del texto en formato Word, **ANONIMADO**, con:
  - El título en español y en inglés.
  - Un resumen de unas 150 palabras en español, y su correcta versión inglesa. Este resumen deberá atenerse al siguiente esquema: objetivos del trabajo, metodología y conclusiones o tesis.
  - Cinco palabras-clave en español, y su correcta versión inglesa.
  - El texto del original.

5. Los trabajos se someterán a un proceso de selección y evaluación anónimo y por pares, según el procedimiento y los criterios hechos públicos por la revista.

NORMAS EDITORIALES Y DE ESTILO

Directrices para autoras/es

La revista *Feminismo/s* publica dos tipos de trabajos: artículos de investigación y reseñas de libros. El Consejo de Redacción establece las normas generales que se describen a continuación.

La revista no cobra tasas por envío de trabajos, ni tampoco cuotas por la publicación de sus artículos.

Se aceptan trabajos en inglés o español.

Para poder enviar un artículo las/los autoras/es deben Iniciar sesión o Registrarse si no lo han hecho con anterioridad.

ARTÍCULOS DE INVESTIGACIÓN

- Los artículos de investigación, que deberán ser inéditos, tendrán una extensión máxima de 9.000 palabras con las notas y cuadros inclusive (salvo excepciones justificadas, previa autorización del Consejo de Redacción).
- Deberán estar escritos con letra Times New Roman 12. El texto se presentará debidamente justificado y con un interlineado de 1’5. La primera línea de cada párrafo irá sangrada.
- Los diferentes **apartados del texto** se ordenarán siguiendo la numeración arábiga (1, 2, 3,…) y el título de cada uno de ellos irá en letra mayúscula y en negrita. Los subapartados se enumerarán de la siguiente manera: 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, etc. y sus títulos irán en minúscula y en negrita.
- Las **notas al pie**, escritas con letra Times New Roman 10, se reducirán a lo indispensable, se utilizarán solo para información suplementaria y en ningún caso serán bibliográficas. La llamada en el texto irá antes del signo de puntuación.
- Después de las conclusiones, el artículo finalizará con un apartado de **Referencias bibliográficas** en el que se coloquen, siguiendo un criterio alfabético y cronológico (en caso de haber varias obras de una misma autora/ un mismo autor), todos los trabajos que se citan a lo largo del artículo. Es importante que cada referencia bibliográfica acabe con un punto y que se deje un salto de línea en blanco entre las referencias. Ver Normas de citación y referencias.
- **Las fotografías e imágenes** se entregarán en formato digital, separadas del texto, en formato tif, con una calidad de 300 puntos por pulgada. Deben ir identificadas convenientemente según sean citadas en el texto.
- En su primera versión los artículos deberán presentarse de forma anónima (sin autorreferencias que desvelen la autoría, sin menciones a proyectos de investigación en los que se inscriba el artículo y

sin información personal en las propiedades del documento), garantizando de este modo el doble ciego en el proceso de evaluación externa.

- Si el artículo fuera aceptado para su publicación, el texto definitivo deberá ir firmado en la primera página, después del título (alineado a la derecha) y los datos sobre la autoría y la afiliación institucional tendrán que aparecer en este orden:
  - El nombre de la autora/ del autor.
  - La institución a la que pertenece (de forma desarrollada y sin siglas) y la ciudad en la que se encuentra la institución.
  - El correo electrónico de la autora/ del autor.
  - El identificador científico ORCID. Ejemplo: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1825-0097.

- Al inicio de cada artículo, e independientemente del idioma en el que esté redactado, siempre se añadirá el título del trabajo (en español y en inglés) y un resumen con una extensión máxima de 150 palabras (en español y en inglés), en el que se describa la justificación del objeto de estudio, los objetivos, la metodología, los principales resultados y las conclusiones más relevantes. Se deberá incluir también entre 4 y 8 palabras clave (en español y en inglés), separadas por punto y coma.

- Además, en archivo aparte, que se adjuntará en la plataforma OJS («Cargar los archivos complementarios»), se incluirá una breve nota curricular, de una extensión aproximada de unas 10 líneas, sobre la formación académica, situación profesional y labor investigadora de la autora/ del autor.

- El incumplimiento de estos criterios básicos podrá ser motivo de exclusión del proceso de evaluación por pares.

- La corrección de las primeras pruebas correrá a cargo de las/los autoras/es, para lo que dispondrán de un plazo máximo de 10 días.

RESEÑAS DE LIBROS

- Las reseñas de libros de reciente publicación (de los dos últimos años) tendrán una extensión máxima de 1.500 palabras, especificándose el autor o la autora o editor/a, título, lugar de publicación, editorial, fecha de publicación, ISBN y número de páginas.
- El autor/la autora de la reseña, facilitará su nombre y apellidos, afiliación institucional, dirección de correo electrónico e identificador ORCID.
- Es aconsejable el envío, como un archivo complementario, de una imagen de la cubierta principal de la publicación reseñada.
- El autor/la autora seguirá las instrucciones del apartado Normas de citación y referencias.

Lista de comprobación para la preparación de envíos

Como parte del proceso de envío, las autoras/los autores están obligadas/os a comprobar que su envío cumpla todos los elementos que se muestran a continuación. Se devolverán a las autoras/ los autores aquellos envíos que no cumplan estas directrices.

1. El envío no ha sido publicado previamente ni se ha sometido a consideración por ninguna otra revista (o se ha proporcionado una explicación al respecto en los Comentarios al editor/a).
2. El archivo de envío está en formato Microsoft Word (.DOCX) u Open Document Format (.ODT).
3. Siempre que sea posible, se proporcionan los identificadores DOI para las referencias.
4. El texto tiene interlineado de 1,5; 12 puntos de tamaño de fuente Times New Roman; se utiliza cursiva en lugar de subrayado (excepto en las direcciones URL); y todas las ilustraciones, figuras y tablas se encuentran colocadas en los lugares del texto apropiados, en vez de al final.
5. El texto se adhiere a los requisitos estilísticos y bibliográficos resumidos en las Directrices del autor/a, que aparecen en Acerca de la revista.

6. Si se envía a una sección evaluada por pares de la revista, deben seguirse las instrucciones en Asegurar una evaluación anónima.
7. Cumple con las normas recogidas en Normas de citación y referencias.

NORMAS DE CITACIÓN Y REFERENCIAS

La revista se acoge al sistema APA para la citación y referenciación en el texto, así como para la elaboración de la lista final de referencias bibliograficas. No se someterá a evaluación ningún artículo no adaptado a APA.

Las normas están disponibles en https://apastyle.apa.org/

CÓMO PROPONER UN DOSIER MONOGRÁFICO

La propuesta de un dosier monográfico para la revista *Feminismo/s* se hará llegar a la directora de la revista (Helena.Establier@ua.es) y contendrá la siguiente información:

1. Título provisional del dosier monográfico.

2. Un C.V. completo de la coordinadora/del coordinador (o de las coordinadoras/los coordinadores) del mismo.

3. Una descripción de sus objetivos y una justificación de la oportunidad del tema del dosier (300 palabras).

4. Un listado provisional de participantes en el volumen, acompañado de una breve reseña bio-bibliográfica de cada una/uno de ellas/os, de los títulos de los trabajos previstos y de un breve resumen de cada uno donde se incluyan los objetivos previstos (150 palabras).

5. Las propuestas serán consideradas por el Consejo de Redacción de *Feminismo/s* en el plazo máximo de un mes a partir de la fecha de recepción de las mismas.

PROCESO DE EVALUACIÓN POR PARES

1) Los originales recibidos son valorados, en primera instancia, por el Consejo de Redacción de la revista para decidir sobre su adecuación a las áreas de conocimiento y a los requisitos que la revista ha publicado para los/las autores/as.

2) El Consejo de Redacción envía los originales, sin el nombre del autor o de la autora, a dos revisores/as externos/as al Consejo Editorial. Sobre esos dictámenes, el Consejo de Redacción decide rechazar o aceptar el artículo o solicitar modificaciones al autor o a la autora del trabajo. Los/las autores/as reciben una notificación detallada y motivada donde se expone, retocado, el contenido de los informes originales, con indicaciones concretas para la modificación si es el caso. *Feminismo/s* puede enviar a los/las autores/as los informes originales recibidos, íntegros o en parte, siempre de forma anónima.

3) El informe emitido por los/las revisores/as incluye:

a) una valoración global del artículo y de los resúmenes.
b) una valoración cuantitativa de la calidad (buena | aceptable | insuficiente) según estos cinco criterios: originalidad e interés del tema; pertinencia en relación con las investigaciones actuales en el área; rigor metodológico; bibliografía significativa y actualizada; pulcritud formal y articulación expositiva.
c) una recomendación final: publicar | solicitar modificaciones | rechazar.

COBERTURA, DIFUSIÓN Y PRESENCIA EN BASES DE DATOS

La revista está indizada en ESCI (WOS), DOAJ, REDIB, GenderWatch (ProQuest), InDICEs-CSIC, ERIH PLUS, MLA, CIRC, MlAR, Latindex, Dialnet, Ulrich's, Dulcinea, Google Scholar, SHERPA/RoMEO, RUA, DICE, REBIUN, RESH, OCLC WorldCat, Copac, SUDOC y ZDB/EZB.

POLÍTICAS DE IGUALDAD DE GÉNERO

La revista *Feminismo/s* constituye un espacio de expresión y debate crítico en el ámbito de los Estudios de Género y de la Teoría Feminista, y por tanto, su compromiso con las políticas de género y con la igualdad entre mujeres y hombres en nuestra sociedad es incontrovertible a todos los niveles:

- La composición del Equipo Editorial y del Consejo Asesor, integrados en su mayoría por mujeres, así como la nómina de personas evaluadoras, responde al principio de la revista de incentivar la participación y la visibilidad de las mujeres en el ámbito académico.
- Los contenidos, los objetivos y las metodologías de la revista promueven el análisis crítico de las relaciones de género en la sociedad heteropatriarcal, y tratan de revelar cómo las relaciones de poder que subyacen a la discriminación por razones de género se configuran y materializan en el ámbito sociocultural y científico.
- El Equipo Editorial de *Feminismo/s* vela por que todos los trabajos de investigación eviten los estereotipos y los sesgos de género que adoptan lo masculino como referente universal, exacerban las diferencias biológicas o naturalizan las diferencias socialmente construidas.
- La revista garantiza que cualquier tipo de investigación publicada sobre personas, animales, tejidos o células contempla la variable sexo, es decir:
    - Reflexiona y decide fundamentadamente sobre la composición por sexos de las muestras e informe del sexo de los sujetos investigados.
    - Analiza las diferencias existentes dentro de cada uno de los sexos y presenta los resultados desagregados por sexo.

  A este respecto, se recomienda al personal investigador interesado en publicar en la revista la consulta de la Guía práctica para la inclusión de la perspectiva de género en los contenidos de la investigación.

- De la misma manera, entre las políticas editoriales de *Feminismo/s* se encuentra el uso imperativo de un lenguaje inclusivo en todos sus artículos, que tenga en cuenta la presencia y situación de las mujeres en la sociedad y que sea acorde con el principio de igualdad entre los sexos. A este respecto, el Equipo Editorial vela por la sustitución del masculino genérico para designar a todos los individuos de la clase o el grupo, sean hombres o mujeres, por términos de valor genérico o sintagmas explicativos, por la omisión de referencias al sujeto y, cuando nada de lo anterior es posible, por el uso de fórmulas desdobladas. Para un desarrollo más concreto de alternativas y propuestas de uso, se recomienda al personal investigador interesado en publicar en la revista la consulta de la Guía para un discurso igualitario en la Universidad de Alicante.

PRINCIPIOS ÉTICOS DE PUBLICACIÓN

La publicación de artículos en una revista con revisión por pares es un reflejo directo de la calidad del trabajo de sus autoras/es, y del compromiso y cualificación de los investigadoras/es que actúan como revisoras/es. Por ello *Feminismo/s* es una publicación comprometida con los principios éticos de la actividad científica en los siguientes términos:

1. Publicación y autoría

Todos los artículos deben incluir un listado de referencias, así como indicar si han recibido apoyo económico. Los trabajos deben estar libres de plagio o fraude científico, cuyos supuestos* se enumeran de manera no exhaustiva a continuación:

- Plagio: copia literal sin entrecomillar y citar la fuente; copia sustancial (materiales de investigación, procesos, tablas...); parafrasear o reproducir ideas sin citar la fuente y/o cambiando el significado original; reutilizar y enviar textos propios ya publicados sin indicar la fuente y el parafraseo abusivo incluso citando la fuente.
- Fraude científico: no reconocimiento de todas/os las/los investigadoras/es participantes en la elaboración del trabajo, el envío simultáneo a varias publicaciones, la división de un trabajo en partes diferentes que comparten las mismas hipótesis, población y métodos, así como

la utilización de datos falsos o no probados. Finalmente, las/los autoras/es deben declarar a la revista los potenciales conflictos de interés cuando envían un trabajo.

* Fuente: http://www.ethics.elsevier.com/

2. Responsabilidad de las/los autoras/es

- El envío de trabajos a *Feminismos/s* supone la lectura y aceptación de las normas editoriales y de publicación de la revista, incluida la participación en un proceso anónimo de evaluación por pares.
- Todas/os las/los autoras/es que firman un trabajo deben haber contribuido de manera significativa a su elaboración y deben estar de acuerdo con el resultado final y con el envío del trabajo para su evaluación.
- Los trabajos deben reconocer a todas/os las/los autoras/ que han participado en su elaboración.
- Los datos utilizados en el artículo deben ser reales y auténticos.
- Las/los autoras/es asumen la obligación de corregir y/o retractarse ante posibles errores detectados posteriormente.
- Los artículos han de ser inéditos y no pueden ser enviados simultáneamente a ninguna otra publicación.

3. Proceso de revisión

Todos los artículos enviados a la revista se someten a un proceso de revisión por pares con las siguientes características:

- La selección de los revisores se realiza en función de normas y principios previos basados tanto en su cualificación como en la calidad de su producción científica.
- El proceso de revisión será totalmente anónimo tanto para las/ los autoras/es como para las/los revisoras/es. Los artículos y sus revisiones serán tratados confidencialmente.
- Las/los revisoras/es consideran, entre sus criterios de evaluación, el respeto a los principios éticos esenciales en la investigación científica.
- Los juicios expresados en las revisiones deben ser objetivos.

- Tanto autoras/es como revisoras/es deben revelar las relaciones y fuentes de financiación que puedan generar potenciales conflictos de intereses.

4. Responsabilidades de las editoras/editores

- El equipo editorial tiene la responsabilidad y la autoridad para aceptar o rechazar un artículo basándose en las revisiones.
- El equipo editorial revelará en su caso las relaciones o fuentes de financiación que puedan ser potencialmente consideradas como conflictos de intereses respecto a los artículos que rechaza o acepta.
- Sólo se aceptarán los artículos en los que existe una evidencia cierta sobre el cumplimiento de las normas editoriales.
- El equipo editorial se compromete a preservar el anonimato de las/los revisoras/revisores de manera que nunca puedan asociarse con los artículos revisados.

5. Cuestiones éticas de publicación

El equipo editorial se compromete a:

- Vigilar y preservar los principios éticos de publicación.
- Mantener la integridad del expediente académico.
- Evitar la publicación de material plagiado o elaborado de manera fraudulenta.
- Estar abierto a la publicación de correcciones, clarificaciones, retractaciones y disculpas siempre que sea necesario.
- Ofrecer apoyo en el proceso de retractación de artículos.
- Realizar todas las acciones necesarias para cumplir los estándares de compromiso intelectual y ético.

6. Política anti-plagio

El Consejo de Redacción de *Feminismo/s* es responsable de comprobar que los trabajos presentados sean originales y no incurran en plagio. La Universidad de Alicante cuenta con software específico a tal efecto, como *Turnitin*, una herramienta para prevenir y evitar el plagio académico y profesional que comprueba las similitudes de un documento con múltiples fuentes de información (Internet, artículos científicos y con su base de datos interna) e identifica el contenido no original traducido del inglés. Adicionalmente, el Consejo de Redacción tiene a su disposición, a través de la página web de la U.A. una serie de programas gratuitos de detección del plagio, tales como *Copyscape, Plagium, PlagScan, Dupli Checker, Plagiarisma, Article Checker, Viper o Antiplagiarist* (https://biblioteca.ua.es/es/investiga-y-publica/pi/plagio.html)

El Consejo de Redacción se reserva el derecho de retirar cualquier trabajo recibido, aceptado o ya publicado en caso de constatarse plagio, falsificación o publicación duplicada, así como los diversos supuestos de fraude científico anteriormente enumerados. Del mismo modo, promueve la publicación de correcciones o retractaciones frente a errores detectados.

AVISO LEGAL

A efectos de lo estipulado en los artículos 138-143 de la Ley de Propiedad Intelectual, la publicación de un trabajo que atente contra dichos derechos será responsabilidad de la autora o del autor. El equipo editorial de *Feminismo/s* no se hace responsable, en ningún caso, de la credibilidad y autenticidad de los trabajos. Del mismo modo, las opiniones y hechos expresados en cada artículo son de exclusiva responsabilidad de sus autoras/es y *Feminismo/s* no se identifica necesariamente con ellas/os.

AVISO DE DERECHOS DE AUTOR/A

Las/los autoras/es que publican en *Feminismo/s* están de acuerdo en los siguientes términos:

1. Las/Los autoras/es conservan los derechos sobre sus trabajos, aunque ceden de forma no exclusiva los derechos de explotación (reproducción, edición, distribución, comunicación pública y exhibición) a la revista. Las/los autoras/es son, por tanto, libres de hacer acuerdos contractuales adicionales

independientes para la distribución no exclusiva de la versión de la obra publicada en la revista (por ejemplo, alojarlo en un repositorio institucional o publicarlo en un libro), siempre que medie un reconocimiento de su publicación inicial en esta revista.

2. Las/los autoras/es aseguran que *Feminismo/s* es el primer medio que publica su obra y garantizan que mientras se encuentra en fase de valoración y posible publicación en nuestra revista no se ha enviado ni enviará a otros medios.

3. Los trabajos se publican bajo una licencia de Creative Commons Reconocimiento 4.0 (CC BY 4.0), salvo que se indique lo contrario, lo cual significa que se puede compartir y adaptar el material siempre que medie atribución del autor/a, del primer medio que publica y se proporcione un enlace a la licencia. Igualmente hay que indicar si se han realizado cambios.

4. Se permite y alienta a los/las autores/as a publicar su obra electrónicamente tras su publicación en *Feminismo/s* (como en repositorios institucionales, en su página web…) con el fin de lograr intercambios productivos y conseguir que la obra logre mayor citación (véase The Effect of Open Access, en inglés).

POLÍTICA D'ACCÉS OBERT

Feminismo/s s'ofereix a la comunitat investigadora en accés obert immediat al seu contingut, sense cap tipus de període d'embargament, basat en el principi que oferir al públic un accés lliure a les investigacions ajuda a un major intercanvi global de coneixement. En aquest sentit, *Feminismo/s* segueix la política d'accés obert definida per la Declaració de Budapest (BOAI, 2002): «disponibilitat gratuïta en la Internet pública, perquè qualsevol usuari la puga llegir, descarregar, copiar, distribuir, imprimir, amb la possibilitat de cercar o enllaçar tots els textos d'aquests articles, recórrer-los per a indexació exhaustiva, usar-los com a dades per a programari, o utilitzar-los per a qualsevol altre propòsit legal, sense barreres financeres, legals o tècniques, diferents de la fonamental de guanyar accés a la pròpia Internet»

Feminismo/s és una revista científica sense ànim de lucre i per tant no contempla l'abonament de cap taxa per presentació/enviament de manuscrits ni tampoc cap quota per la publicació d'articles.

COM PRESENTAR UN ORIGINAL

1. Els treballs seran el resultat d'una investigació original i hauran de contenir conclusions noves que tinguen el suport d'una metodologia degudament plantejada i justificada. Només s'admetran treballs inèdits que no estiguen en procés d'avaluació per altres revistes.

2. L'extensió dels treballs presentats no excedirà les 9.000 paraules, incloent-hi notes i bibliografia.

3. El nombre i l'extensió de les notes a peu es reduirà a allò que siga indispensable.

4. Les autores o autors sotmetran els seus articles en Word a través del correu electrònic de la revista (revistafeminismos@ua.es) i hauran d'aportar **imprescindiblement**:

- En full a part: nom de l'autor o de l'autora, institució a la qual pertany, codi ORCID, adreça professional completa i adreça electrònica.
- Arxiu del text en format Word, **ANONIMAT**, amb:
  - El títol en espanyol i en anglès.
  - Un resum d'unes 150 paraules en espanyol, i la correcta versió anglesa. Aquest resum haurà d'atenir-se a l'esquema següent: objectius del treball, metodologia i conclusions o tesis.
  - Cinc paraules-clau en espanyol, i la correcta versió anglesa.
  - El text de l'original.

5. Els treballs seran sotmesos a un procés de selecció i avaluació anònim i d'experts, segons el procediment i els criteris fets públics per la revista.

NORMES EDITORIALS I D'ESTILS

Directrius per a autores/autors

La revista *Feminismo/s* publica dos tipus de treballs: articles d'investigació i ressenyes de llibres. El Consell de Redacció estableix les normes generals que es descriuen a continuació.

La revista no cobra taxes per enviament de treballs, ni tampoc quotes per la publicació dels articles.

S'accepten treballs en anglès o espanyol.

Per a poder enviar un article les autores o els autors han d'iniciar sessió o registrar-s'hi si no ho han fet amb anterioritat.

ARTICLES D'INVESTIGACIÓ

- Els articles d'investigació, que hauran de ser inèdits, tindran una extensió màxima de 9.000 paraules amb les notes i quadres inclusivament (excepte excepcions justificades, amb l'autorització del Consell de Redacció).

- Hauran d'estar escrits amb lletra Times New Roman 12. El text es presentarà degudament justificat i amb un interlineat d'1'5. La primera línia de cada paràgraf estarà sagnada.
- Els diferents **apartats del text** s'ordenaran seguint la numeració aràbiga (1, 2, 3,...) i el títol de cadascun estarà en lletra majúscula i en negreta. Els subapartats s'enumeraran de la manera següent: 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, etc. i els títols estaran en minúscula i en negreta.
- Les **notes al peu**, escrites amb lletra Times New Roman 10, es reduiran a allò indispensable, s'utilitzaran només per a informació suplementària i en cap cas seran bibliogràfiques. La crida en el text anirà abans del signe de puntuació.
- Després de les conclusions, l'article acabarà amb un apartat de Referències **bibliogràfiques** en el qual es col·loquen, seguint un criteri alfabètic i cronològic (en cas d'haver-hi diverses obres d'un/a mateix/a autor/a), tots els treballs que se citen al llarg de l'article. És important que cada referència bibliogràfica acabe amb un punt i que es deixe un salt de línia en blanc entre les referències. Vegeu Normes de citació i referències.
- **Les fotografies i imatges** es lliuraran en format digital, separades del text, en format Tif, amb una qualitat de 300 punts per polzada. Han d'estar identificades convenientment segons siguen citades en el text.
- En la primera versió els articles hauran de ser presentats de manera anònima (sense autoreferències que revelen l'autoria, sense esments a projectes d'investigació en els quals s'inscriga l'article i sense informació personal en les propietats del document), fet que garanteix el doble cec en el procés d'avaluació externa.
- Si l'article fóra acceptat per a la publicació, el text definitiu haurà d'estar signat en la primera pàgina, després del títol (alineat a la dreta) i les dades sobre l'autoria i l'afiliació institucional hauran d'aparèixer en aquest ordre:

  - El nom de l'autora/autor.
  - La institució a la qual pertany (de forma desenvolupada i sense sigles) i la ciutat en la qual es troba la institució.
  - El correu electrònic de l'autora/autor.
  - El número d'identificació científica ORCID. Exemple: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1825-0097.

- A l'inici de cada article, i independentment de l'idioma en què estiga redactat, sempre s'afegirà el títol del treball (en espanyol i en anglès) i un resum amb una extensió màxima de 150 paraules (en espanyol i en anglès), en el qual es descriga la justificació de l'objecte d'estudi, els objectius, la metodologia, els principals resultats i les conclusions més rellevants. S'haurà d'incloure també entre 4 i 8 paraules clau (en espanyol i en anglès), separades per punt i coma.

- A més, en un arxiu a part, que s'adjuntarà en la plataforma OJS («Carregueu els arxius complementaris»), s'inclourà una breu nota curricular, d'una extensió aproximada d'unes 10 línies, sobre la formació acadèmica, la situació professional i la tasca investigadora de l'autora/autor.

- L'incompliment d'aquests criteris bàsics podrà ser motiu d'exclusió del procés d'avaluació per experts.

- La correcció de les primeres proves serà a càrrec de les/dels autores/autors, per a la qual cosa disposaran d'un termini màxim de 10 dies.

RESSENYES DE LLIBRES

- Les ressenyes de llibres de recent publicació (dels dos últims anys) tindran una extensió màxima de 1.500 paraules, i s'hi especificarà l'autor/a o l'editor/a, el títol, el lloc de publicació, l'editorial, la data de publicació, l'ISBN i el nombre de pàgines.

- L'autora o l'autor de la ressenya, facilitarà el seu nom i cognoms, l'afiliació institucional, l'adreça de correu electrònic i l'identificador ORCID.

— És aconsellable l'enviament, com un arxiu complementari, d'una imatge de la coberta principal de la publicació ressenyada.
— L'autora o l'autor seguirà les instruccions de l'apartat Normes de citació i referències.

Llista de comprovació per a la preparació de trameses

Com a part del procés de la tramesa, els/les autor/autores estan obligats/des a comprovar que la tramesa complisca tots els elements que es mostren a continuació. Se'ls retomaran aquells enviaments que no complisquen aquestes directrius.

1. L'enviament no ha sigut publicat prèviament ni s'ha sotmès a consideració per cap altra revista (o s'ha proporcionat una explicació sobre aquest tema en els Comentaris a l'editor/a).
2. L'arxiu d'enviament està en format Microsoft Word (.DOCX) o Open Document Format (.ODT).
3. Sempre que siga possible, es proporcionen els identificadors DOI per a les referències.
4. El text té interlineat d'1,5; 12 punts de grandària de font Times New Roman; s'utilitza cursiva en comptes de subratllat (excepte en les direccions URL); i totes les il·lustracions, figures i taules es troben col·locades en els llocs del text apropiats, i no al final.
5. El text s'adhereix als requisits estilístics i bibliogràfics resumits en les Directrius de l'autor/a, que apareixen en l'apartat Sobre la revista.
6. Si s'envia a una secció avaluada per experts de la revista, cal seguir les instruccions de l'apartat Assegurar una avaluació anònima.
7. Compleix amb les normes arreplegades en Normes de citació i referències.

NORMES DE CITACIÓ I REFERÈNCIES

La revista s'acull al sistema APA per a la citació i referenciació en el text (7a edició), així com per a l'elaboració de la llista final de referències bibliogràfiques. No se sotmetrà a avaluació cap article no adaptat a APA.

Les normes estan disponibles en https://apastyle.apa.org/

COM PROPOSAR UN DOSSIER MONOGRÀFIC

La proposta d'un dossier monogràfic per a la revista *Feminismo/s* es farà arribar a la directora de la revista (Helena.establier@ua.es) i contindrà la informació següent:

1. Títol provisional del dossier monogràfic.

2. Un CV complet de la coordinadora o del coordinador (o de les coordinadores o coordinadors) del monogràfic.

3. Una descripció dels objectius i una justificació de l'oportunitat del tema del dossier (tres-centes paraules).

4. Una llista provisional de participants en el volum, acompanyada d'una breu ressenya biobibliogràfica de cadascun o cadascuna dels o les participants, dels títols dels treballs previstos i d'un breu resum de cadascun en el qual s'incloguen els objectius previstos (cent cinquanta paraules).

5. Les propostes seran considerades pel Consell de Redacció de *Feminismo/s* en el termini màxim d'un mes a partir de la data de recepció.

PROCÉS D'AVALUACIÓ PER EXPERTES/EXPERTS

1) Els originals rebuts són valorats, en primera instància, pel Consell de Redacció de la revista per a decidir sobre l'adequació a les àrees de coneixement i als requisits que la revista ha publicat per als autors o les autores.

2) El Consell de Redacció envia els originals, sense el nom de l'autor o de l'autora, a dos revisors/es externs/es al Consell Editorial. Sobre eixos dictàmens, el Consell de Redacció decideix rebutjar o acceptar l'article o sol·licitar modificacions a l'autor o a l'autora del treball. Els/les autors/as reben una notificació detallada i motivada en què s'exposa, retocat, el contingut dels informes originals, amb indicacions concretes per a la modificació, si escau. *Feminismo/s* pot enviar als/a les autors/es els informes originals rebuts, íntegres o en part, sempre de forma anònima.

3) L'informe emès pels/per les revisors/es inclou:

a) una valoració global de l'article i dels resums.
b) una valoració quantitativa de la qualitat (bona | acceptable | insuficient) segons aquests cinc criteris: originalitat i interès del tema; pertinència pel que fa a les investigacions actuals en l'àrea; rigor metodològic; bibliografia significativa i actualitzada; netedat formal i articulació expositiva.
c) una recomanació final: publicar | sol·licitar modificacions | rebutjar.

COBERTURA, DIFUSIÓ I PRESÈNCIA EN BASES DE DADES

La revista està indexada en ESCI (WOS), DOAJ, REDIB, Gender Watch (Proquest), InDICEs-CSIC, ERIH PLUS, MLA, CIRC, MIAR, Latindex, Dialnet, Ulrich's, Dulcinea, Google Scholar, SHERPA/RoMEO, RUA, DICE, REBIUN, RESH, OCLC WorldCat, Copac, SUDOC i ZDB/EZB.

POLÍTIQUES D'IGUALTAT DE GÈNERE

La revista *Feminismo/s* constitueix un espai d'expressió i debat crític en l'àmbit dels estudis de gènere i de la teoria feminista i, per tant, el seu compromís amb les polítiques de gènere i amb la igualtat entre dones i homes en la nostra societat és incontrovertible a tots els nivells:

- La composició de l'Equip Editorial i del Consell Assessor, integrats majoritàriament per dones, així com la nòmina de persones avaluadores, respon al principi de la revista d'incentivar la participació i la visibilitat de les dones en l'àmbit acadèmic.
- Els continguts, els objectius i les metodologies de la revista promouen l'anàlisi crítica de les relacions de gènere en la societat heteropatriarcal, i intenten revelar com les relacions de poder que són a la base de la discriminació per raons de gènere es configuren i es materialitzen en l'àmbit sociocultural i científic.

- L'Equip Editorial de Feminismo/s vetla perquè tots els treballs de recerca eviten els estereotips i els biaixos de gènere que adopten el masculí com a referent universal, exacerben les diferències biològiques o naturalitzen les diferències construïdes socialment.
- La revista garanteix que qualsevol tipus d'investigació publicada sobre persones, animals, teixits o cèl·lules té en compte la variable sexe, és a dir:
  - Reflexiona i decideix fonamentalment sobre la composició per sexes de les mostres i informa del sexe dels subjectes investigats.
  - Analitza les diferències existents dins de cadascun dels sexes i presenta els resultats desagregats per sexe.

  En relació amb tot això recomanem al personal investigador interessat a publicar en la revista la consulta de la Guía práctica para la inclusión de la perspectiva de género en los contenidos de la investigación.

- De la mateixa manera, entre les polítiques editorials de *Feminismo/s* hi ha l'ús imperatiu d'un llenguatge inclusiu en tots els articles, que tinga en compte la presència i situació de les dones en la societat i que estiga d'acord amb el principi d'igualtat entre els sexes. En aquest sentit, l'Equip Editorial vetla per la substitució del masculí genèric per a designar tots els individus de la classe o el grup, siguen homes o dones, per termes de valor genèric o sintagmes explicatius, per l'omissió de referències al subjecte i, quan això no és possible, per l'ús de fórmules desdoblades. Per a un desenvolupament més concret d'alternatives i propostes d'ús, recomanem al personal investigador interessat a publicar en la revista la consulta de la Guia per a un discurs igualitari en la Universitat d'Alacant.

PRINCIPIS ÈTICS DE PUBLICACIÓ

La publicació d'articles en una revista amb avaluació d'experts és un reflex directe de la qualitat del treball dels/de les autors/es i del compromís i la qualificació dels/de les investigadors/es que actuen com a revisors/es. Per això *Feminismo/s* és una publicació compromesa amb els principis ètics de l'activitat científica en els termes següents:

1. Publicació i autoria

Tots els articles han d'incloure una llista de referències, com també indicar si han rebut suport econòmic. Els treballs han d'estar lliures de plagi o frau científic. Els supòsits* de plagi i frau científic són els esmentats a continuació:

- Plagi: còpia literal sense usar les cometes i citar la font; còpia substancial (materials d'investigació, processos, taules...); parafrasejar o reproduir idees sense citar la font o canviant el significat original; reutilitzar i enviar textos propis ja publicats sense indicar la font i parafrasejar de manera abusiva fins i tot citant la font.
- Frau científic: no reconeixement de tots/es els/les investigadors/es que participen en l'elaboració del treball; l'enviament simultani a diverses publicacions; la divisió d'un treball en parts diferents que comparteixen les mateixes hipòtesis, població i mètodes, com també la utilització de dades falses o no provades. Finalment, els/les autors/es han de declarar a la revista els potencials conflictes d'interès quan envien un treball.

* Font: http://www.ethics.elsevier.com/

2. Responsabilitat dels/de les autors/es

- L'enviament de treballs a *Feminismo/s* implica la lectura i l'acceptació de les normes editorials i de publicació de la revista, incloent-hi la participació en un procés anònim d'avaluació d'experts.
- Tots/es els/les autors/es que signen un treball han d'haver contribuït de manera significativa en l'elaboració i han d'estar d'acord amb el resultat final i amb l'enviament del treball perquè siga avaluat.
- Els treballs han de reconèixer a tots/es els/les autors/es que hi han participat.
- Les dades utilitzades en l'article han de ser reals i autèntiques.
- Els/les autors/es assumeixen l'obligació de corregir o retractar-se davant possibles errors detectats posteriorment.

- Els articles han de ser inèdits i no poden ser enviats simultàniament a cap altra publicació.

3. Procés de revisió

Tots els articles enviats a la revista se sotmeten a un procés d'avaluació d'experts amb les característiques següents:

- La selecció dels/de les revisors/es es fa d'acord amb les normes i els principis previs basats tant en la seua qualificació com en la qualitat de la seua producció científica.
- El procés de revisió serà totalment anònim tant pels/per els autors/es com pels/per les revisors/es. Els articles i les revisions seran tractats confidencialment.
- Els/les revisors/es consideren, entre els criteris d'avaluació, el respecte als principis ètics essencials en la investigació científica.
- Els judicis expressats en les revisions han de ser objectius.
- Tant autors/es com revisors/es han de revelar les relacions i les fonts de finançament que puguen generar potencials conflictes d'interessos.

4. Responsabilitats dels/de les editors/es

- L'equip editorial té la responsabilitat i autoritat per a acceptar o rebutjar un article basant-se en les revisions.
- L'equip editorial revelarà, si escau, les relacions o les fonts de finançament que puguen ser potencialment considerades com a conflictes d'interessos pel que fa a l'acceptació o el rebuig dels treballs.
- Només s'acceptaran els articles en els quals hi ha una evidència certa sobre el compliment de les normes editorials.
- L'equip editorial es compromet a preservar l'anonimat dels/de les revisors/es de manera que mai puguen ser associats/des amb els articles revisats.

5. Qüestions ètiques de publicació

L'equip editorial es compromet a:

- Vigilar i preservar els principis ètics de publicació.

- Mantenir la integritat de l'expedient acadèmic.
- Evitar la publicació de material plagiat o elaborat de manera fraudulenta.
- Estar obert a la publicació de correccions, aclariments, retractacions i disculpes sempre que siga necessari.
- Oferir suport en el procés de retractació d'articles.
- Fer totes les accions necessàries per a complir els estàndards de compromís intel·lectual i ètic.

6. Política antiplagi

El Consell de Redacció de *Feminismo/s* és responsable de comprovar que els treballs presentats siguen originals i no incórreguen en plagi. La Universitat d'Alacant compta amb programari específic a l'efecte, com Turnitin, una eina per a prevenir i evitar el plagi acadèmic i professional que comprova les similituds d'un document amb múltiples fonts d'informació (Internet, articles científics i la seua base de dades interna) i n'identifica el contingut no original traduït de l'anglès. Addicionalment, el Consell de Redacció té a la seua disposició, a través de la pàgina web de la UA, una sèrie de programes gratuïts de detecció del plagi, tals com Copyscape, Plagium, PlagScan, Dupli Checker, Plagiarisma, Article Checker, Viper o Antiplagiarist (https://biblioteca.ua.es/va/investiga-i-publica/pi/plagi.html).

El Consell de Redacció es reserva el dret de retirar qualsevol treball rebut, acceptat o ja publicat en cas de constatar-s'hi plagi, falsificació o publicació duplicada, així com els diversos supòsits de frau científic enumerats anteriorment. De la mateixa manera, promou la publicació de correccions o retractacions dels errors detectats.

AVÍS LEGAL

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