

Female directors of Argentine and Spanish cinema. A decade *re-creating* imaginary

Directoras de cine argentinas y españolas. Una década *re-creando* imaginarios

Directoras de cinema argentinas e espanholas. Uma década recriando imaginários

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ABSTRACT | Even though Latin American cinema is well consolidated now, there are not many comparative studies besides generalist approaches. This article presents an inventory of female Argentine and Spanish directors, as well as their films, from 2000 to 2010, a period marked by the generational change in film industry of both countries and determined by a sociopolitical context democratically consolidated and hampered by economic fluctuations. The objective is twofold: to make women filmmakers visible and to assess their meeting points and divergences. As a method, we chose a descriptive design, applying both a quantitative and qualitative comparative analysis. We conducted a compilation, synthesis, and correlation of works and themes, reaching a corpus of 72 female directors and 138 productions. The results show that there are common issues that reveal the report of unsolved situations for women: motherhood, female homosociality or ideas about love and sex, the experience or the memory of repression, the structural violence of the authoritarian state and the transformations of the ways of life. There are also differences in terms of times and opportunities, styles and genders, which are typical of the coexistence of diverse but creative film trajectories, all of which are stories that break with limited social models and open up to social commitment.

KEYWORDS: Female Argentine film directors; Female Spanish film directors; film; families; political engagement.

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RESUMEN | Aunque el cine latinoamericano está muy afianzado, existen insuficientes estudios comparados. Este artículo presenta un inventario de directoras y películas argentinas y españolas, desde 2000 a 2010, un período marcado por el relevo generacional en la industria cinematográfica de ambos países y determinado por un contexto sociopolítico consolidado democráticamente y lastrado por los vaivenes económicos. El objetivo es doble: dar visibilidad a las realizadoras y a las temáticas que abordan, y valorar puntos de encuentro y divergencias entre temáticas y representaciones de la realidad. Como método se opta por un diseño descriptivo y la aplicación de un análisis comparativo, tanto cuantitativo como cualitativo. Se efectúa una recopilación, síntesis y correlación de obras y temáticas que alcanza un corpus de 72 directoras y 138 producciones. Los resultados muestran que existen hilos comunes que delatan la denuncia de situaciones no resueltas para las mujeres: la maternidad, la homosociabilidad femenina o las ideas sobre el amor y el sexo, la vivencia o el recuerdo de la represión, la violencia estructural del estado autoritario y las transformaciones de los modos de vida. Acusan diferencias en cuanto a los tiempos y oportunidades, los estilos y los géneros, propias de la coexistencia de trayectorias filmicas diversas, pero creadoras todas de unos relatos que rompen con modelos sociales limitados y que se abren al compromiso social.

PALABRAS CLAVE: directoras argentinas; directoras españolas; cine; familias; compromiso político.

RESUMO | Embora o cinema latino-americano esteja bem estabelecido, os estudos comparativos são insuficientes. Esse artigo apresenta um inventário de diretoras e filmes argentinos e espanhóis, desde o ano de 2000 até 2010, um período marcado pela mudança geracional na indústria cinematográfica de ambos países e determinado por um contexto sócio-político consolidado de forma democrática e afetado pelos vaivéns econômicos. O objetivo é duplo: dar visibilidade as realizadoras e aos temas tratados, e valorizar os pontos de encontro e as divergências entre temas e representações da realidade. O método escolhido é um desenho descritivo e a aplicação de uma análise comparativa tanto quantitativa como qualitativa. É realizada uma compilação, síntese e correlação de obras e temas atingindo um corpus de 72 diretores e 138 produções. Os resultados mostram que existem fios comuns que denunciam situações não resolvidas para as mulheres: a maternidade, a homosociabilidade feminina ou as ideias sobre o amor e o sexo, a experiência ou lembrança da repressão, a violência estrutural do estado autoritário e as transformações nos estilos de vida. Denunciam diferenças em termos de tempos e oportunidades, os estilos e os gêneros, próprias da coexistência de diversas trajetórias cinematográficas, mas todas elas são criadoras de histórias que rompem com modelos sociais limitados e estão abertas ao compromisso social.

PALAVRAS CHAVE: diretoras argentinas; diretoras espanholas; cinema; famílias; compromisso político.

INTRODUCTION

In September 2013, the director of the Venice Film Festival recognized that the future of cinema was not in China but in Latin America, where powerful stories take place, an idea shared by those who organized the San Sebastian Film Festival that same year. Latin American cinema is not only increasingly internationally recognized, but its social interest is already manifested in scientific studies (Parada Poblete, 2011), with specific reference to the female directors (Trelles Plazaola, 1991; Martínez Tejedor, 2008; Castro Ricalde, 2009), although there still a lack of sufficient comparative analysis.

Given the above, this work focuses on the women who direct movies in Argentina and in the Spanish territory, focusing on the coincidences and differences between them during a certain period, the 2000s. Other works, such as that of Feenstra, Gimeno Ugalde and Saringen (2014) have conducted this same work for longer periods and for Latin American cinematography in general, and Smith (2019) makes a comparison between contemporary filmmakers. We have chosen the comparative general perspective, carrying out a compilation, synthesis and correlation of female directors, works and themes, which has required a quantitative and qualitative analysis to assess links and discrepancies and test the involvement of the directors in the way of re-creating the imaginary regarding family, interpersonal and social relationship dynamics.

The historical links between Argentina and Spain and between their respective cinematography are relatively described; their relationships are anchored in a political-social proximity and bear fruit in convergent filmic policies (Mestman, 2005; Caminos & Ruiz Muñoz, 2008) and settings, such as the Ibermedia co-production program. In addition to the territorial proximity, the period analyzed shows a generational change that has made coincide the professional careers of female filmmakers in both countries in this 21st century.

Thus, the new generations of Argentines who –after the legacy of Bemberg, María V. De Celestini, Emilia Saleny, María Herminia de Avellaneda and Eva Landeck, among others– access the film direction in the late nineties of the 20th century are women who were born at a specific historical moment (between dictatorship and democracy) and whose sociopolitical experiences surely shaped the way of understanding and managing their work. On them (and with them) the concept of a new Argentine cinema is created (López Snaider, 2015), characterized by defending values that put into question the structure they know, raising a manifest interest in giving new meanings to the place that daughters, wives, mothers... women must occupy (Miranda, 2006).

This *new* (new) –proposed as a double– Argentine cinema occurs in a context of the emergence of film schools, economic expansion, the ease introduced by new cinematographic techniques linked to digital convergence, the resurgence of some important film festivals (Mar del Plata or the International Independent Film Festival of Buenos Aires), and the promotion of State aid, in a general panorama studied by various specialists (Getino, 2005; Aguilar, 2006; Peña Martín, 2012), but where also specific circumstances concur. In fact, in 2001, of the 47 films released, 11 were directed by women (23%); in 2005, of the 60 films released, 13 have female directors, 21% of the total. The report on gender representations in Argentine cinema (Duhau & Wenceslau, 2016) provides the following data: between 2001 and 2014, 104 Argentine films reached more than 100,000 viewers (considered a good number for national production); of these, only eight were made by female directors (7.8%).

In Spain, the works of Arranz (2010), Zecchi (2014), Feenstra et al. (2014), Núñez Domínguez, Vera Balanza and Díaz (2015), show that female directors continue to be underrepresented in the sector. In 2006, 4.6% of the feature films exhibited were made by women; in 2007, 5%; one year later, 6.2%; in 2009, 7%; the following year, 8.9%; in 2011, 9.8%; in 2012, 8.5%; 8.2% the following year, to go up to 13.43% in 2014 and reach 13.88% in 2015; i.e., an average of 9.6% during the decade. Some meager data that different investigations explain given the serious difficulties that the female directors encounter in accessing funding (Acosta, 2011; Bernárdez-Rodal & Padilla-Castillo, 2018). This is a variable of the glass ceiling, sustained in the prejudiced perceptions about the leadership capacity of women, which make perceive a greater subjective risk to those who have in their hands the ability to decide whether to financially support their projects or not (Núñez Domínguez et al., 2012). However, this scarcity is inversely proportional to the assessment of the critics and the audience, who appreciate some interesting approaches related to the issues addressed and a commitment to uncover social inequalities.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The contributions of Kuhn (1991) and Kaplan (1998) show the invisibility, marginalization, or peripheral position of women in the cinema, both in their production and representation, although, paradoxically, they addressed these same women as majority audiences. As Isabel Menéndez (2013) synthesizes, the imbalance in cinematographic stories is situated on several levels: in the differential distribution of roles, in the leading role of the story, and in the representation of the body, privileging the masculine and heterosexual look that Laura Mulvey (1988)

had analyzed; with her begins a feminist critique that imputes classical cinema as a builder of limited social models, established to perpetuate and reinforce misogynistic visions of sexual difference.

In the 80s, Teresa de Lauretis (1987) establishes the foundations of a feminist film theory based on the diversity of the feminine look mediated not only by gender –as a social construction of sex– but also by race, social class, identity or sexual preferences. Instrumentally, the concept of gender technologies has been the conceptual tool that has allowed us to investigate, in this study, the film stories as a field of gender exclusion, discrimination and segregation, and as the setting for hegemonic masculinity and a system of meaning in which the values and characteristics of the sexed world are defined, as a symbolic system where bodies are produced through disciplinary practices that enhance and exacerbate distinctive and differential features. For De Lauretis, the cultural conceptions of the masculine and the feminine in cinema are complementary and mutually exclusive categories within the “gender system” that, by means of the scale of values and social hierarchies, bases social inequality both in production contexts as in those of reception (De Lauretis, 1987, p. 38). Now in the 21st century, gender technologies intersect with identities to open the debate in which gender is presented both as a product and process of its own presentation and self-representation (Escudero Rava, 2008).

Therefore, the incorporation of female film directors as agents of the creation of diverse narratives could make possible the subversion of these guidelines or the use of these devices in their emancipatory dimension, contributing to social transformation. Whether these actions are the result of gender or the position of marginality is a debated question (Martínez Tejedor, 2008), but what is substantial is that this point of view adds political or social approaches from the position occupied in the world, and it ends, as De Lucas (2008) proposes, going beyond the peripheral to become central for future generations or significant for a new majority. In fact, these female filmmakers, who often begin in film creation with autobiographical, introspective or intimate stories in which they recreate domestic spaces or family or neighborhood nuclei, exert a change of point of view that makes them tell other stories, more diverse and, perhaps, more conscious; following Binimelis’ (2015) chronology, this stage –which coincides with the turn of the century– is that of analysis of complex identities.

In the 21st century, it is the body that constitutes the axis of the story and a space of dominance or transgression. At the same time, the regulatory frameworks are transformed: in Spain, Law 13/2005, which modifies the Civil Code on the right to marry, and Law 3/2007, regulating the registry rectification of the mention

regarding people's gender; in Argentina, Law 26.618/2010 on equal marriage and Law 26.743/2012 on gender identity endorse these issues. But even before the normative materialization, the film production –especially the Argentine one– was already challenging the public opinion with the presentation/reflection on these issues. Thus, the stories became irreverent (Rich, 2016), challenging (Aron, 2004) or abject (Kristeva, 1980, p. 11), understood as “what disturbs an identity, system, order. What does not respect borders, positions, rules”.

For all these reasons, this inventory of a cultural production exceeds the mere collection to become an exercise in the visibility and monitoring of production, where flows or trends are noted. On many other occasions, the legacy of these predecessors and emerging knowledge has been investigated, always considering the scope of production of the subjects to be of special relevance, in this case of female filmmakers, whose work is impregnated with epistemological and political conditions of the production contexts and of the agent subjects. Haraway (1995) establishes the relevance of the cognoscente subject –creator, in this case–, which stating that a general theory of knowledge that ignores the social context of the cognoscente subject, conditioned by the subject and its specific (spatial, temporal, historical, cultural, and social) situation, is not possible. It is precisely this aspect that characterizes most of the film productions analyzed. The works created by female film directors –particularly Argentine ones– emphasize their individuality, but have been produced in response to significant personal, professional and historical imperatives.

METHODOLOGY

The methodological design is descriptive, applying content analysis as a technique (Neuendorf, 2017) to decode the manifest messages captured in the analyzed audiovisual stories. The procedure is sequenced in four phases: a) pre-analysis, b) formation of the categorical system, c) coding, and d) treatment and interpretation of the results.

In the first phase (pre-analysis), we made explicit the objectives and selected the sample. This article's general objective is to collect and analyze the productions of those Argentine and Spanish female directors who exhibited feature films between 2000 and 2010, a historic moment permeated by significant legislative changes regarding equality of opportunities but also of professional consolidation of some female filmmakers, and the appearance of novels that manage to take the pulse of a complex industry such as the cinematographic industry, with recognized and awarded films. This becomes the backbone of the general objective, which derives into two specific objectives: to give visibility to their work and the topics

they address, and to value meeting points and divergences between themes and representations of reality. To formalize the corpus of analysis of Argentine films, we used the database offered by the website <http://www.cinenacional.com/>, which contains 9,325 technical sheets and 46,822 filmographies. Regarding Spanish films, we used the database of the Spanish Film Yearbook offered by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports (<https://www.mecd.gob.es/cultura-mecd/areas-cultura/cine/mc/anuario-cine/portada.html>). Once the selection of films was done, we applied a content analysis that led to the preparation of the tables in this article. These provide enough information about who the Argentine and Spanish female directors are, the titles exhibited and the topics discussed, as well as the historical political context in which they are located, and the relationship between characters, that in some cases constitutes models of coexistence –hegemonic or no– and in other relationships of any kind, particularly family and intergenerational. These tables include the awards obtained and determine, among other issues, whether the scripts have been created by women or by men, as well as the gender of the leading role.

In the second phase, we configured the categorial system as a conceptual tool for the analysis process that allows classifying audiovisual fragments and checking their reliability and validity. The initial literature review allowed establishing a first proposal of thematic categories, sent to two external reviewers whose specialty is audiovisual analysis, gender studies, and qualitative methodologies¹. The reviewers proposed modifications to the initial proposal, making extensions or restructuring the primitive system of categories. According to Tesch (1990, p. 91) “in the process of coding the researcher usually discovers that the originally developed categories do not always fit. They might need to be renamed, modified in content, subdivided, discarded, or supplemented by new ones”. Finally, we established a codebook with eight major categories and 26 subcategories, as can be seen in Table 1.

Thirdly, we assigned the themes to the films, which allowed quantifying and comparing the data to reach the fourth phase, which involves the extraction of useful data for the material exploitation process and enables verification of the previously stated objectives. Thus, “Simple statistical operations (percentages) or more complex ones (factorial analysis) allow to establish tables of results, diagrams, figures and models, which condense and highlight the information provided by the analysis” (Bardin, 1986, p. 76). Each of the authors applied the same table of categories and we evaluated the coincidence. Although it was very high, the interobserver comparison allowed some discrepancies to be refined until consensus was obtained after a second viewing.

1. Professors Dr. L. Sell Trujillo (Universidad de Sevilla) and Dr. I. Postigo Gómez (Universidad de Málaga).

Thematic categories	Subcategories
A. Family relationships	Family memory (reunions, intra-history) Toxic families (rapes, etc.) Maternity
B. Couple relationships	Macho violence Power relations Forced marriages Divorces Infidelity Loves Lack of communication
C. Sexuality	Desires Homosexuality Intersexuality
D. Life cycle	Childhood and youth Old age
E. Labor relations	Precarious work Workplace harassment
F. Interpersonal and social relations	Political ideology (exile, etc.) Prostitution Immigration Racism
G. Intrapersonal relations	Personal autonomy Empowerment Mental illness Self-improvement/challenges
H. Others	Rural life Marginal society

Table 1. List of thematic categories

Source: Own elaboration

RESULTS

Argentine female film directors (2000-2010)

The cinema made by women in this decade in Argentina is highly appreciated, although not profuse: 15 filmmakers have created 35 internationally recognized productions. Albertina Carri and María Teresa Constantini are the most prolific, followed by Lucrecia Martel and Lucía Puenzo. It is not trivial considering the difficulties for production and, above all, that most of the scripts are original. Of all of them, the most prolific is Albertina Carri who, in addition, combines this task with television production and direction.

Thematic axes in Argentine cinema

Argentine cinema made by women shows total unanimity regarding the preferred genre, since it is almost entirely drama: individual or collective, social or political, but dramas, after all. Particularly, the stories revolve around formal nuclei, generally familiar, in occlusive spaces, whether rural or urban, and derive from a fact that comes to decompose the apparent and superficial harmony.

The family theme is especially present in Argentine cinema. It can be said that it is the core of half of the films listed and some raise the subject in a particular way, perhaps as a corrupt or toxic institution, like in Martel's perspective, or also that of Paula de Luque or María Teresa Constantini. In some cases, they deny *motherhood as a mandate*, like Berneri and Fogwill. In others, they present violent family contexts, as Carri does, which particularly impregnates her entire filmography with the reminiscence of her own family history: the past as the daughter of disappeared detainees and the present as an exponent of a new family model (Plotkin, 2010).

The case of Albertina Carri (Soriano, 2016) is paradigmatic, because she is the daughter of disappeared detainees. Carri was born in 1973 in Buenos Aires, and in 1977 her parents, Roberto Carri and Ana María Caruso, Montoneros commanders, were kidnapped by the military government. She spent her entire childhood thinking that her parents would appear; all those memories and the search process were portrayed in *Los Rubios* (2003), an essential film to dismantle the sole discourse around the children of the 70s. After the kidnapping, Albertina and her sisters went to live with their grandparents; throughout that year they exchanged correspondence with their parents in captivity, until they lost contact. In the summer of 1979, the sisters moved to the countryside with some uncles; *La Rabia* (2008) could come from those rural years and from the certainty of loss. Since then and until her penultimate production, *Cuatreros* (2017), the search is present, the memory and the eagerness to repair a story that was built skewed; based on her father's account of a popular hero, her story is half documentary and half fictional.

Despite these family absences, or because of them, the stories they build are based on the family institution that hides, in all cases, secrets and miseries, more or less harsh, but always disturbing, stories of cruelty: violence, cruelty, incest, rapes. And also the absences, generally of the father, and the intergenerational coexistence, as in *Las Mantenidas sin Sueños* (2005) by Vera Fogwill, or *Cordero de Dios* (2008), by Lucía Cedrón. Therefore, the role of the grandmothers in Argentine society, undeniable in the memory of the dictatorship, is not accidental. This is also established with the creation of the National Bank of Genetic Data (1987) that incorporated the work of the National Team of Legal Anthropology on second-generation filiation rates (index of grandparents), since they could not count on the

Directors	Films	Themes
Anahí Berneri	<i>Un año sin amor (2005)</i>	Homosexuality
	<i>Encarnación (2007)</i>	Prostitution
	<i>Por tu culpa (2009)</i>	Maternity
Albertina Carri	<i>No quiero volver a casa (2000)</i>	Family relationships
	<i>Los Rubios (2003)</i>	Toxic family
	<i>Géminis (2005)</i>	Abortion/rape
	<i>La rabia (2008)</i>	Sexual violence, childhood, family
Lucía Cedrón	<i>El azul del cielo (2007)</i>	Family/exile
	<i>Cordero de Dios (2008)</i>	Family memory
Verónica Chem	<i>Vagón fumador (2001)</i>	Desires, homosexuality
	<i>Agua (2006)</i>	Challenge, improvement
M. Teresa Constantini	<i>Acrobacias del corazón (2000)</i>	Families-divorce
	<i>Sin intervalo (2002)</i>	Family
	<i>El amor y la ciudad (2006)</i>	Forced marriage, historical romance
	<i>Felicitas (2009)</i>	Toxic family relationships, toxic love
Gabriela David	<i>La mosca en la ceniza (2008)</i>	Macho violence, prostitution
Vera Fogwill	<i>Las mantenidas sin sueños (2007)</i>	Mother-to-child relationships: intergenerational. Desire
Tamae Garateguy	<i>Pompeya (2010)</i>	Love and power relationships
Sandra Gugliotta	<i>Un día de suerte (2002)</i>	Desire
	<i>Las vidas posibles (2007)</i>	Partner relationships, toxic interpersonal relationships
Ana Katz	<i>El juego de la silla (2002)</i>	Family reunion
	<i>Una novia errante (2006)</i>	Desires/disinhibitions
Paula de Luque	<i>Cielo azul, cielo negro (2003)</i>	Chance, encounter, relationships, destiny
	<i>Todas esas cosas (2006)</i>	Homosexuality
	<i>El vestido (2008)</i>	Relationships/infidelity
Lucrecia Martel	<i>La ciénaga (2001)</i>	Desire, family relationships
	<i>La niña santa (2004)</i>	Interpersonal relationships, sin-guilt
	<i>La mujer sin cabeza (2007)</i>	Couple relationships, family relationships
Celina Murga	<i>Ana y los otros (2003)</i>	Couple relationships, family relationships
	<i>Una semana solos (2007)</i>	Love and desire, teenage group and loss of innocence

Directors	Films	Themes
Lucía Puenzo	<i>XXY</i> (2007)	Intersexuality
	<i>El niño pez</i> (2009)	Homosexuality
Julia Solomonoff	<i>Hermanas</i> (2005)	Reunion between sisters/dictatorship/memory
	<i>El último verano de la Boyita</i> (2009)	Intersexuality, initiatory journey

Table 2. List of female Argentine directors, directed films and thematic areas of their proposals

Source: Own elaboration.

parents to verify people's identity. In August 2005, Carri met journalist and activist Marta Dillon, whom she married and with whom she had a son named Furio, whose biological father is graphic designer Alejandro Ros, a friend of the couple. Furio was registered in the Civil Registry with triple affiliation; after all, Carri said in an interview, it was not strange for a child who does not have grandparents.

In addition to these extensive families, but with significant absences, the binary model of a heterosexual couple is also frequent: in *Las vidas posibles* (2007), *Una novia errante* (2006), *El vestido* (2008), *La mujer sin cabeza* (2007), although in all of them the grounds of the relationship are questioned: double lives, infidelities, disappearances, their core is drama and how they face adversity. With such weak bases, doom lies in wait.

Same-sex couples who live together are not very frequent in the Argentine or Spanish production, except in the comedy *A mi madre le gustan las mujeres* (2002); same-sex relationships do occur, but in sporadic encounters (*Vagón fumador*, 2001) or in dramatic approaches: *Un año sin amor* (2005), *Seigné* (2005), *Madre amadísima* (2009). The avoidance of the family institution is logical to a certain extent if it is criticized; if the patriarchal model does not work, why keep it in other cases? The issues are more far-reaching: the construction of gender identities (Mullaly, 2016), particularly during childhood and adolescence, as in *XXY* (2007), *El último verano de la boyita* (2009) and *El niño pez* (2009) (Torrás, 2014).

Subsequently, sexuality, sexual orientation or sexual identity become another of the topics most dealt with in the Argentine cinema of this decade. So much so that the fundamental bias of these discourses turns towards adolescence. We insist on the significance of the role that childhood and youth and, particularly, adolescence plays in the *new new* Argentine cinema (Mullaly & Soriano, 2014), perhaps as representative of the need to explain the construction of identities or as a narrative resource to link the past with the future, from the present. However, the look is not idyllic, on the contrary, there is the drama of someone who begins to

know and denounces the vulnerability of this group, particularly in rural areas²; the environment, as Lucrecia Martel portrayed in *La Ciénaga* among others, is extremely unsettling.

In this stage of learning stands out the realistic portrait of relationships, which happen almost always in rural territories, become unleashed: sex between young people of the same or different gender as a discovery of pleasure, but also with adults and without consent, is shown uninhibitedly. Perhaps over stimulated by the setting and natural scenery and the suffocating heat, sex and violence are combined with extreme sordidness; it seems that these scenes were nothing more than warnings, examples that alert about structural violence. This is the case of *La Rabia*, but also *La Ciénaga* (2001), or the vandalism of *Una semana solos* (2007), which is reminiscent of Haneke's *Funny Games* (1997). Like the latter, its reflections on violence and evil are always uncomfortable, because they do not eliminate self-responsibility and usually originate from the same subjects who learn, resist and reproduce these same behaviors in themselves and with others.

Friendship between people of the same sex, the so-called homosociability, has been practically reserved for men. Foster (2001) highlighted it as a principle of patriarchy aimed at fostering solidarity between men in defense of a masculine society in which women serve, above all, to confirm the relationship between them. Fátima Arranz stated (2010) that, in literature, in the arts in general, female homosociability and the scarce relationship between women among themselves is not projected, and it is reflected in and reduced to the family sphere: mothers-daughters or sisters. On the other hand, the relationship based on rivalry is presented abundantly. Obviously, this has consequences in maintaining perverse ways of group relationship, because they maintain a certain way of understanding relationships that end up affecting professional and personal life: that malicious idea that successful and pleasant work between women is impossible.

Beyond the construction of homosociability, Argentine cinema runs outside the heteronormative framework. Smiraglia (2015, 2017) substantiates it by using the term bromance. This dissolution of categories is already advanced in the

2. Adolescents constitute 20% of the Argentine population, particularly in regions such as Misiones, Formosa, Santiago del Estero, Salta, Chaco and Jujuy. Teenage pregnancies constitute 15%, with 5% in early groups, between 10 and 14 years old. This situation involves girls dropping out of school, prior to or coinciding with pregnancy. The data released by UNICEF and the increase in suicide rates among adolescent girls led Carri to produce *Urgente* (2007), territorially located in the Misiones region. The national health system warns that a large number of pregnancies come from non-consensual parent-child sex (Escobar & Zingman, 2018).

representation of heteronormative masculinity, for example, in the construction of the characters of Kraken and Ramiro, parents of Alex and Álvaro respectively, in *XXY*, who represent two different types of masculinity: the first, diluted (heterodox) and the second, persistent (orthodox). The first is a zoologist, the other, a surgeon; one lets Alex make the decision, the second is in favor of the intervention –surgical, hormonal–; one seems to be the voice of nature, the other, of medical science. Beyond what they embody, both are representative of the social debate on the reassignment of sex and of the discourses articulated around this issue, where the medical approach continues to prevail over the social one.

Argentine cinema made by women is nationally and internationally recognized, and the percentage of films awarded is very high. However, this evident competence is not accompanied by the increase in exhibited projects. If 2007 was the most productive year, in 2010 only one film was released. However, the percentage of female screenwriters is very high (practically 90%). It is true that the data refers to the films directed by the women themselves, and not to the total of those broadcast. In the Spanish territory, if we analyze the general percentage that exists in that area within the sector, it is men who predominate. In 2009, the Audiovisual Foundation of Andalusia (Instituto Andaluz de la Mujer & Fundación Audiovisual de Andalucía, 2009) published disaggregated data on screenwriters, stressing that 77.2% of those who sign scripts are men. Almost a decade later, little seems to have changed. The production director Manuela Ocón's doctoral thesis (Ocón Aburto, 2017) offers updated data on screenwriters: 80.94% of the screenplays for films shown in Spain are written by men. Correlatively, it can also be seen from the tables that female directors are more willing than their male colleagues to offer the leading role of their films to women.

As can be seen in the Spanish case, there are 57 female filmmakers and 103 films. In comparison, production is smaller than that of Argentina, understanding that the difficulties lie not only in releasing a film, but in maintaining a professional career. Consequently, we can observe that 31 of the total of the filmmakers have directed a single film in the decade studied; although there is a recognition of the initial work, the lack of continuity makes a full professional career impossible.

Spanish female directors move between different film genres (from thriller to animation, to comedy or musical). It is true that drama is the most used, 44.5% of the total. However, the documentary also has an essential role, with a percentage of 24.5%. Regarding the scripts, 49.5% are written by women. Of the rest, a high percentage is mixed; i.e., both women and men participate. Only 8% of the scripts are exclusively written by men. Data like the previous ones, along with the number of leading actresses (35%) compared to the number of actors (13.6%), could underline

Directors	Films	Leading role	Script
Anahí Berneri	<i>Un año sin amor</i> / Drama	Varón	Anahí Berneri
	<i>Encarnación</i> / Drama	Women	Anahí Berneri, Mariana D. Espeja, Gustavo and Malajovich, Sergio Wolf
	<i>Por tu culpa</i> / Drama	Woman	Anahí Berneri and Sergio Wolf
Albertina Carri	<i>Los Rubios</i> / Documentary	Women	Albertina Carri and Santiago Giralt
	<i>Géminis</i> / Drama	Choral	Albertina Carri
	<i>La rabia</i> / Drama	Choral	Albertina Carri
Lucía Cedrón	<i>Cordero de dios</i> / Drama	Choral	Lucía Cerón, Santiago Giralt and Thomas Philippon
	<i>El azul del cielo</i> / Documentary	Co-stars	Lucía Cedrón
Verónica Chem	<i>Vagón fumador</i> / Drama	Co-stars	Verónica Chem
	<i>Agua</i> / Drama	Co-stars	Verónica Chem and Pablo Lago
M. Teresa Constantini	<i>Acrobacias del corazón</i> / Drama	Choral	M.Teresa Constantini
	<i>Sin intervalo</i> / Drama	Choral	Teresa Correa Ávila
	<i>El amor y la ciudad</i> / Drama	Choral	M.Teresa Constantini and Walter Jakob
	<i>Felicitas</i> / Drama	Co-stars	Graciela Maglie, Sabrina Farji, Félix Quadros and Teresa Constantini
Gabriela David	<i>La mosca en la ceniza</i> / Drama	Women	Gabriela David
Vera Fogwill	<i>Las mantenidas sin sueños</i> / Drama	Women	Vera Fogwill
Tamae Garateguy	<i>Pompeya</i> / Comedy	Men	Tamae Garateguy and Diego Fleischer
Sandra Gugliotta	<i>Un día de suerte</i> / Drama	Woman	Sandra Gugliotta, Julio Cardoso and Marcelo Schapces
Ana Katz	<i>El juego de la silla</i> / Comedy	Women	Ana Katz
	<i>Una novia errante</i> / Drama	Co-stars	Ana Katz and Inés Bortagaray
Paula de Luque	<i>Cielo azul, cielo negro³</i> / Drama	Co-stars	Paula de Luque and Sabrina Farji
	<i>Todas esas cosas</i> / Documentary	Co-stars	Paula de Luque
	<i>El vestido</i> / Drama	Co-stars	Paula de Luque and Pablo Fidalgo

3. Codirected with Sabrina Farji.

Directors	Films	Leading role	Script
Lucrecia Martel	<i>La ciénaga</i> / Drama	Women	Lucrecia Martel
	<i>La niña santa</i> / Drama	Women	Lucrecia Martel
	<i>La Woman sin cabeza</i> / Drama	Women	Lucrecia Martel
Celina Murga	<i>Ana y los otros</i> / Drama	Women	Celina Murga
	<i>Una semana solos</i> / Comedia dramática	Choral / a woman appears on the poster	Celina Murga and Juan Villegas
Lucía Puenzo	<i>XXY</i> / Drama	Choral	Lucía Puenzo
	<i>El niño pez</i> / Drama	Women	Lucía Puenzo
Julia Solomonoff	<i>Hermanas</i> / Drama	Women	Julia Solomonoff
	<i>El último verano de la Boyita</i> / Drama	Women	Julia Solomonoff

Table 3. Disaggregated data on the film's protagonists and scriptwriters (Argentina)

Source: Own elaboration.

mutual support as a strategy to break the glass ceiling. In the case of the Argentine cinema studied, the percentage of female protagonists is 45.2% compared to 3.2% of males. Different research shows that a female leader is more likely to have other women working in her team (Núñez Domínguez et al., 2012). An idea that Lagarde y de los Ríos already highlighted when describing sorority (1989, p. 461). Italian feminists use the term *affidamento* (Colectivo Librería de Mujeres de Milán, 1991), which can be understood as a practice of loyalty or mutual care between women to save situations that, from the outset, are not favorable. It should be added that for Lagarde y de los Ríos sorority goes beyond what the concept of solidarity proposes. The difference is that solidarity implies sharing ideas, ways of seeing life, while sorority includes the idea of modifying the relationships between women: support, recognition, even from divergence, in the way of seeing life.

Thematic axes in Spanish cinema

The themes of Spanish cinema made by women in the analyzed decade are more heterogeneous; so are the genres, with a preference for comedy and drama, but with the presence also of animation and science fiction. This, along with the greater number of productions and the broader number of female filmmakers, presents a more diverse panorama.

If in Argentine cinema, the family(ies) have a strong presence, in Spanish films their existence is merely testimonial: to show their crisis, to contextualize the economic difficulties, to demonstrate loneliness, paradoxically, in company. It is also true that the age cohorts that appear are higher, since there is a prevalence

Directors	Films	Themes
Oliva Acosta and Elena Ortega	<i>Reyita</i> (2008)	Biographical and ideological
Mercedes Afonso Padrón	<i>El amor se mueve</i> (2008)	Couple relationship
Roser Aguilar	<i>Lo mejor de mí</i> (2008)	Love, illness, couple relationships
Arantxa Aguirre (with José Luis López-Linares)	<i>Hécuba, un sueño de pasión</i> (2006)	Labor Relations
	<i>El esfuerzo y el ánimo</i> (2008)	Desires, fears, learning
Mercedes Álvarez	<i>El cielo gira</i> (2004)	Rural life and old age
Marta Arribas (with Ana Pérez de la Fuente)	<i>El tren de la memoria</i> (2005)	Immigration, social complaint
	<i>Cómicos</i> (2009)	Precarious work
	<i>Héroes sin armas</i> (2010)	Sociopolitical work and denunciation
Dunia Ayaso (with Félix Sabroso)	<i>Descongélate</i> (2003)	Social complaint, family
	<i>Los años desnudos. Clasificada S</i> (2006)	Toxic interpersonal relationships in a political-social moment
	<i>La isla interior</i> (2009)	Family relationships, siblings
Marta Balletbó-Coll	<i>Seigné</i> (2005)	Homosexuality
Icíar Bolláin	<i>Te doy mis ojos</i> (2003)	Macho violence, family
	<i>Mataharis</i> (2007)	Social complaint, work
	<i>También la lluvia</i> (2010)	Personal commitment, social complaint
Irene Cardona	<i>Un novio para Yasmina</i> (2008)	Immigration/couple life
Isabel Coixet	<i>Mi vida sin mí</i> (2002)	Family relationships
	<i>La vida secreta de las palabras</i> (2005)	Toxic personal relationships
	<i>Mapa de los sentidos de Tokio</i> (2009)	Toxic couple relationships, perverse family relationships
Judith Colell	<i>Nosotras</i> (2000)	Toxic families and relationships
	<i>53 días de invierno</i> (2007)	Toxic families and relationships
	<i>Elisa K</i> (2010)	Sexual abuse
Mar Coll	<i>Tres días con la familia</i> (2009)	Family relationships
Ana Rosa Diego	<i>Siempre hay tiempo (Héctor y Bruno)</i> (2010)	Family relationships

Directors	Films	Themes
Ana Díez	<i>La mafia en la Habana</i> (2000)	Political-ideological
	<i>Algunas chicas doblan las piernas cuando hablan</i> (2001)	Family relationships
	<i>Galíndez</i> (2002)	Political-ideological
	<i>Paisito</i> (2009)	Uruguayan dictatorship
Daniela Fejerman	<i>A mi madre le gustan las mujeres</i> (2002)	Family/homosexuality
	<i>Semen, una historia de amor</i> (2005)	Sex, desires
	<i>7 minutos</i> (2009)	Personal relations / lack of communication
Patricia Ferreira	<i>Sé quién eres</i> (2000)	Personal relationships
	<i>El alquimista impaciente</i> (2002)	Macho society experienced by women
	<i>Para que no me olvides</i> (2005)	Toxic family relationships
	<i>Señora de...</i> (2010)	Toxic couple relationships, emotional dependency, desires
Mireia Gabilondo (with Fernando Bernués)	<i>Enséñame el camino, Isabel</i> (2006)	Rural life, 1970s
Yolanda García Serrano	<i>Km 0</i> (2001) ⁴	Couple relationships
	<i>Hasta aquí hemos llegado</i> (2002)	Couple relationships
Isabel Gardela	<i>Tomándote</i> (2000)	Couples relationships, prejudices
	<i>Collage</i> (2008)	Self portrait
Ángeles González-Sinde	<i>La suerte dormida</i> (2003)	Personal autonomy, difficulties in establishing interpersonal relationships
	<i>Una palabra tuya</i> (2008)	Interpersonal relationships, sorority, family relationships
Chus Gutiérrez	<i>Poniente</i> (2002)	Racism, immigration
	<i>El calentito</i> (2004)	Transit to maturity, sexuality, independence
	<i>Retorno a Hansala</i> (2008)	Immigration
Ione Hernández Sánchez	<i>Uno por ciento esquizofrenia</i> (2006)	Mental illness

4. Codirected with Juan Luis Iborra.

Directors	Films	Themes
Mónica (Agulló) Laguna	<i>Juego de Luna</i> (2001)	Moral autonomy, women in a masculine environment
Eva Lesmes	<i>El palo</i> (2001)	Desires, female empowerment through humor with a bank robbery as background
María Lidón (Luna)	<i>Stranded (Naúfragos)</i> (2002)	Physical and moral survival
	<i>Yo, puta</i> (2003)	Prostitution
	<i>Moscow zero</i> (2007)	Marginal society
Mabel Lozano	<i>Voces contra la trata de mujeres</i> (2007)	Prostitution
	<i>La teoría del espiralismo</i> (2009)	Personal growth, breaking prejudices
	<i>Las sabias de la tribu</i> (2010)	Moral autonomy, emotional independence
Belén Macías	<i>El patio de mi cárcel</i> (2008)	Social complaint through experiences in prison, friendship
Juana Macías	<i>Planes para mañana</i> (2010)	Macho violence, workplace harassment
Laia Manresa (with Sergi Dies)	<i>Morir de día</i> (2010)	Going through the Spanish political transition
Laura Mañá	<i>Sexo por compasión</i> (2000)	Elderly and personal autonomy, friendship, and sex
	<i>Palabras encadenadas</i> (2002)	Toxic couple relationships, insanity
	<i>Morir en San Hilario</i> (2005)	Community relations
	<i>Ni dios, ni patrón, ni marido</i> (2007)	Labor relations and social complaint
	<i>La vida empieza hoy</i> (2009)	Moral autonomy, sexuality, breaking prejudices
Alexia Muiños	<i>Noche transfigurada</i> (2009)	Couple relationships
Silvia Munt	<i>Elena Dimitrieva (Gala)</i> (2003)	Personal autonomy/ couple relationships
	<i>Pretextos</i> (2008)	Couple relationships
Maitena Muruzabal (with Candela Figueira)	<i>Nevando voy</i> (2008)	Social complaint about working conditions
Carlota Nelson	<i>Anclados</i> (2010)	Labor relations / interpersonal relations
Inés París	<i>A mi madre le gustan las mujeres</i> (2002)	Homosexuality/family
	<i>Semen, una historia de amor</i> (2005)	Couple relationships
	<i>Miguel y Willians</i> (2007)	Couple relationships

Directors	Films	Themes
Dolores Payás	<i>Mejor que nunca</i> (2009)	Menopause
Teresa de Pelegrí (with Dominic Harari)	<i>Seres queridos</i> (2004)	Couple relationships, family relationships, prejudices
Ana Pérez de la Fuente	<i>El tren de la memoria</i> (2005)	Historical and personal memory, migrations
	<i>Cómicos</i> (2009)	Couple relationships, labor relations
Dácil Pérez de Guzmán	<i>Triana, paraíso perdido</i> (2008)	Social document
Silvia Quer	<i>Febrer</i> (2004)	Couple relationships
Gracia Querejeta	<i>Héctor</i> (2004)	Adolescence
	<i>Siete mesas de billar francés</i> (2007)	Parent-child relationship / Empowerment
María Ripoll	<i>Utopía</i> (2003)	Friendship
	<i>Tu vida en 65'</i> (2006)	Friendship, interpersonal relationships
Azucena Rodríguez Pomedá	<i>Atlas de geografía humana</i> (2007)	Alliance between women, labor world
Manane Rodríguez	<i>Los pasos perdidos</i> (2001)	Identity Argentine dictatorship, families
	<i>Un cuento para Olivia</i> (2007)	Adoption/maternity/ interpersonal relations
	<i>Memorias rotas</i> (2010)	Civil war
Mireia Ros	<i>El triunfo</i> (2006)	Street gangs/migrants
Lilian Rosado González	<i>La mala</i> (2006) ⁵	Couple relationships, toxic relationships
	<i>Donde el olor de mar no llega</i> (2010)	Sexist prejudices, desires
Maite Ruiz de Austri	<i>La leyenda del unicornio</i> (2001)	Parent-child relationships.
	<i>Animal Channel</i> (2008)	Moral autonomy
	<i>El tesoro del rey Midas</i> (2010)	Friendship
Pilar Ruiz Gutiérrez	<i>Los nombres de Alicia</i> (2006)	Family relationships
Antonia San Juan	<i>Tú eliges</i> (2009)	Social classes, dreams, desire
Carla Subirana	<i>Nedar</i> (2008)	Family, Alzheimer

5. Codirected with Pedro Pérez Rosado.

Directors	Films	Themes
Helena Taberna	<i>Yoyes</i> (2000)	Terrorism
	<i>Extranjeras</i> (2003)	Migrant women
	<i>La buena nueva</i> (2008)	Civil war, religion
	<i>Nagore</i> (2010)	Sexist violence
Pilar Távora	<i>Brujas</i> (2008)	Personal autonomy
	<i>Madre amadísima</i> (2009)	Homosexuality
Elena Trapé	<i>Blog</i> (2010)	Adolescence
Rosa Vergés	<i>Iris</i> (2004)	Civil war/personal autonomy
Nuria Villazán	<i>Antonio Machín, toda una vida</i> (2001)	Civil war/family memory
Lydia Zimmerman (codirected with Agustí Villaronga Isaac Racine)	<i>Aro Tolbukhin: en la mente del asesino</i> (2002)	The human condition

Table 4. List of Spanish female directors, directed films and thematic areas of their proposals (2000-2010)

Source: Own elaboration.

of a retrospective look and recognition of life trajectories, as in *Reyita* (2008), *Gala* (2003), *Hécuba* (2006), *El cielo gira* (2004), *Para que no me olvides* (2005) or *La vida empieza hoy* (2009). Also of women who, once they have reached maturity, undertake a new stage in their lives that affects their relationships, their feelings, their work and life expectations in a mosaic where women of all kinds and social conditions come together in a choral way: *Planes para mañana* (2010), *Señora de...* (2010), *Nosotras* (2000), *Blog* (2010), *Tú eliges* (2009), shaping the metaphorical sense of the human geography atlas seen in *Atlas de geografía humana* (2007).

Precisely the geographies, in this case physical, are also diverse. Faced with the urban and metropolitan cinema of the 80s and 90s, Spanish female filmmakers not only turn their look to the rural, but also insist on locating themselves on the suburbs: different places in the Mediterranean, from Gerona to Triana, the Canary Islands, Aldeaseñor in Soria, the subsoil of Moscow, Bolivia or Guatemala; *Km 0* (2001) as the axis, not of confluence but of departure, if not of flight. In this regard, it is the cinematography of Isabel Coixet in this decade that insists on putting some distance: a caravan in Vancouver in *Mi vida sin mí* (2002), the oil platform located in no one knows where of *La vida secreta de las palabras* (2005), or the Tokyo of the *Mapa de los sentidos de Tokio* (2009). Isolated or crowded, they are the spaces

that Augé (2009) defined as *not places*, contemporary but anonymous spaces of confluence, where people in transit must settle during some time of waiting, in a kind of ethnology of the solitude of the contemporary human condition.

In this prolonged, globalized space, where relationships are established and in Spain, the place of residence or passage of people, it seems obvious that the filmmakers pay attention to the phenomenon of migrations, both from the cultural point of view and regarding the particularities that gender imposes. In this regard, the samples are not scarce: *Un novio para Yasmina* (2008), *Tomándote* (2000), *Poniente* (2002), *Retorno a Hansala* (2008), *Seres queridos* (2004), which pose the interpersonal relationships between women and men of different origins, but representative of the settled and more numerous communities: Moroccans in general and Hindus, mostly in Barcelona. In *Extranjeras* (2003) Helena Taberna shows in a mosaic the most significant groups of these immigrant women: African (Senegalese, North African, Sudanese...), Ibero-American (Colombian, Peruvian, Ecuadorian, Dominican...), European (Polish, Ukrainian and Romanian) and Asian (Chinese, Bengali ...), with the particularity that they speak for themselves. Maintaining the micro focus, but also in domestic terms, migrations are represented, as in the case of *El Triunfo* (2006) regarding the Andalusians who migrated to Catalonia, or in *Triana, paraíso perdido* (2008), referring to the gypsy. All this framed by *El tren de la memoria* (2005), which emphasizes that the desire of people to seek a future and improve their living conditions is a universal desire. There is an inclusive view that encompasses other communities and that does so initially in the perspective of conflict, but where the gender perspective contributes other significant dimensions such as cultural, relational, of group support and even sorority.

Without having the dimension of Argentine cinema, violence against women is another very important subject. They are not numerous, but they are representative of the multiple forms of sexist violence, from child abuse to human trafficking: *Te doy mis ojos* (2003), *Elisa K* (2010), *Yo, puta* (2003), *Voces contra la trata de mujeres* (2007), *Palabras encadenadas* (2002), and *Nagore* (2010). Each and every one of them not only recreates, fictionalizing or not, a reality, but they also have a critical dimension, go to the sources, organizations and institutions that allow the construction of a comprehensive discourse and a desire to appeal to audiences, involving and engaging them. They are not films that talk about violence, but films where people are questioned to try to understand and express the situations represented in order, logically, to compromise them in their denunciation and eradication.

From the citizen commitment, the recognition of a genealogy and the use of cinema as a counter-hegemonic discourse, a production is born that is determined to narrate the memory of those who preceded us. It is the common thread of the

entire filmography of Marta Arribas, is the case of *Galíndez* (2002), *Ni dios, ni patrón, ni marido* (2007), *Morir de día* (2010), *Nedar* (2008), and *Yoyes* (2000) –once again– by Helena Taberna. Closing the cycle from the portrait of an unequal reality to the assumption of their own destinies as the key to empowerment, are the films *Brujas* (2008), *Siete mesas de billar francés* (2007), *El patio de mi cárcel* (2008), *Las sabias de la tribu* (2010), *La teoría del espiralismo* (2009), *Juego de luna* (2001), *Mataharis* (2007), and *El palo* (2001).

In addition to the axes described, the filmography that best represents the hybridization and the meeting of the two lines of analysis is that of Manane Rodríguez, a Uruguayan who left her country in 1975 and is based in Galicia. Her three productions from this decade –*Los pasos perdidos* (2001), *Un cuento para Olivia* (2007) and *Memorias rotas* (2010)– and the also more recent *Migas de pan* (2016), are paradigmatic.

If the first three address diaspora, adoption and historical memory in a sequence vital for the generation to which it belongs, there is also an evolution from the coordinates of the local to the global (exile and international adoptions) and reflection regarding the past, the lived and the historical. Not in vain in her filmography, as in the others analyzed, the lived and the silenced, the private and the public, the present and the past merge, and, almost always, transcending personal denunciation to the defense of collective rights. Thus, she brings the Spanish and Latin American realities closer, bringing to the Spanish context two girls, Monica in *Los pasos perdidos* and Olivia in *Un cuento para Olivia*. They appeal to and represent two social issues, the disappearances of children in the Argentine dictatorship and international adoptions, fundamental issues on the feminist agenda of the 21st century as they are confronted with the political ambivalence of postmodernity. In these films, the dominant representation of motherhood is questioned, and they reveal the sociopolitical and economic circumstances of their context.

CONCLUSIONS

Cinema as a significant practice produces effects and, far from being a mimesis of reality, it is a powerful means of mobilizing and expressing the socio-sexual imaginary. It has the power to (de)legitimize stories, subjects, values and, like institutional discourses, it functions as a social technology that, by naming, representing or defining femininity or masculinity, is also creating them. However, even in the face of the social technologies that operate on the construction of gender, the terms of a different construction remain on the margins of hegemonic discourses. Those spaces are the blind spots of the apparatuses of power-knowledge, here and now.

Directors	Films	Leading role	Script
Oliva Acosta and Elena Ortega	<i>Reyita</i> / Documentary	Women	Rocío Santillana, Elena Ortega and Oliva Acosta
Mercedes Afonso Padrón	<i>El amor se mueve</i> / Drama	Choral	Mercedes Afonso
Roser Aguilar	<i>Lo mejor de mí</i> / Drama	Woman	Roser Aguilar and Oriol Capel
Arantxa Aguirre (with José Luis López-Linares)	<i>Hécuba, un sueño de pasión</i> / Documentary	Choral	Arantxa Aguirre
	<i>El esfuerzo y el ánimo</i> / Documentary	Man	Arantxa Aguirre
Mercedes Álvarez	<i>El cielo gira</i> / Documentary	Choral	Mercedes Álvarez and Arturo Redín
Marta Arribas (with Ana Pérez de la Fuente)	<i>El tren de la memoria</i> / Documentary	Choral	Marta Arribas and Ana Pérez
	<i>Cómicos</i> / Documentary	Choral	Ana Pérez and Marta Arribas
Dunia Ayaso (with Félix Sabroso)	<i>Descongélate</i> / Comedy	Choral	Félix Sabroso and Dunia Aandaso
	<i>Los años desnudos. Clasificada S</i> / Dramatic comedy	Women	Félix Sabroso and Dunia Ayaso
	<i>La isla interior</i> / Drama	Choral	Félix Sabroso and Dunia Ayaso
Marta Balletbó-Coll	<i>Seigné</i> / Drama	Women	Marta Balletbó-Coll
	<i>Te doy mis ojos</i> / Drama	Co-stars	Icía Bollaín and Alicia Luna
Icía Bollaín	<i>Mataharis</i> / Drama	Women	Icía Bollaín and Tatiana Rodríguez
	<i>También la lluvia</i> / Drama	Men	Paul Laverty
Irene Cardona	<i>Un novio para Yasmina</i> / Dramatic comedy	Co-stars	Irene Cardona and Nuria Villazán
	<i>Mi vida sin mí</i> / Drama	Woman	Isabel Coixet
Isabel Coixet	<i>La vida secreta de las palabras</i> / Drama	Choral	Isabel Coixet
	<i>Mapa de los sentidos de Tokio</i> / Thriller	Men	Isabel Coixet
Judith Colell	<i>Nosotras</i> / Comedy	Women	Jordi Cadena
	<i>53 días de invierno</i> / Drama	Co-stars	Gemma Ventura
	<i>Elisa K</i> / Drama	Women	Jordi Cadena
Mar Coll	<i>Tres días con la familia</i> / Drama	Woman	Mar Coll and Valentina Viso

Directors	Films	Leading role	Script
Ana Rosa Diego	<i>Siempre hay tiempo (Héctor y Bruno)</i> / Drama	Men	Ana Rosa Diego, Encarnación Iglesias, Jesús Ponce, Teresa Vilardell and Miguel Casamayor
Ana Díez	<i>La mafia en la Habana</i> / Documentary	Men	Ana Díez, Ángel Amigo and Manuel Pérez Paredes.
	<i>Algunas chicas doblan las piernas cuando hablan</i> / Dramatic comedy	Women	Ana Díez and Daniel Castro
	<i>Galíndez</i> / Documentary	Man	Ángel Amigo, Ana Díez, Bernardo Belzunegui and Begoña Minaur
	<i>Paisito</i> / Drama	Co-stars	Ricardo Fernández Blanco
Daniela Fejerman	<i>7 minutos</i> / Comedy	Choral	Daniela Féjerman and Ángeles González-Sinde
Patricia Ferreira	<i>Sé quién eres</i> / Thriller	Co-stars	Inés París and Daniela Fejerman
	<i>El alquimista impaciente</i> ⁶ / Thriller	Co-stars	Patricia Ferreira and Enrique Jiménez
	<i>Para que no me olvides</i> / Drama	Co-stars	Patricia Ferreira and Virginia Yagüe
	<i>Señora de</i> / Documentary	Women	Patricia Ferreira, María Salgueiro and Carmen Iglesias Rábade
Mireia Gabilondo (with Fernando Bernués)	<i>Enséñame el camino, Isabel</i> / Comedy	Co-stars	Carlos Zabala, Fernando Bernués and Mireia Gabilondo
Yolanda García Serrano	<i>Km 0</i> / Dramatic comedy ⁷	Co-stars	Yolanda García Serrano and Juan Luis Iborra
	<i>Hasta aquí hemos llegado</i> / Comedy	Co-stars	Yolanda García Serrano and Carlos Molinero
Isabel Gardela	<i>Tomándote</i> / Drama	Woman	Isabel Gardela
	<i>Collage</i> / Documentary	Woman	Isabel Gardela
Ángeles González-Sinde	<i>La suerte dormida</i> / Drama	Women	Belén Gopegui and Ángeles González-Sinde
	<i>Una palabra tuya</i> / Drama	Women	Ángeles González-Sinde
Chus Gutiérrez	<i>Poniente</i> / Drama	Co-stars	Chus Gutiérrez e Iciar Bollain
	<i>El calentito</i> / Musical comedy	Women	Chus Gutiérrez and Juan Carlos Rubio
	<i>Retorno a Hansala</i> / Drama	Co-stars	Chus Gutiérrez and Juan Carlos Rubio

6. Coproduction Spain-Argentina.

7. Codirected with Juan Luis Iborra.

Directors	Films	Leading role	Script
Ione Hernández Sánchez	<i>Uno por ciento esquizofrenia</i> / Documentary	Choral	Ione Hernández Sánchez
Mónica (Agulló) Laguna	<i>Juego de Luna</i> / Drama	Woman	Mónica Laguna
Eva Lesmes	<i>El palo</i> / Comedy	Women	Luis Marías
María Lidón (Luna)	<i>Stranded (Naúfragos)</i> / Science fiction	Choral	Juan Miguel Aguilera
	<i>Yo, puta</i> / Drama	Woman	Adela Ibáñez
	<i>Moscow zero</i> / Terror	Men	Isabel Pisano and Adela Ibáñez
Mabel Lozano	<i>Voces contra la trata de mujeres</i> / Documentary	Choral	Mabel Lozano and Carmen de Cos
	<i>La teoría del espiralismo</i> / Documentary	Women	Mabel Lozano
	<i>Las sabias de la tribu</i> / Documentary	Women	Mabel Lozano
Belén Macías	<i>El patio de mi cárcel</i> / Drama	Women	Belén Macías, Arancha Cuesta and Elena Cánovas
Juana Macías	<i>Planes para mañana</i> / Drama	Women	Juan Moreno, Alberto Bermejo and Juana Macías
Laia Manresa (with Sergi Dies)	<i>Morir de día</i> / Documentary	Men	Laia Manresa and Sergi Dies
Laura Mañá	<i>Sexo por compasión</i> / Dramatic comedy	Co-stars	Laura Mañá
	<i>Palabras encadenadas</i> / Thriller	Co-stars	Fernando de Felipe
	<i>Morir en San Hilario</i> / Comedy	Co-stars	Laura Mañá
	<i>Ni dios, ni patrón ni marido</i> ⁸ / Drama	Women	Esther Goris and Graciela Maglie
	<i>La vida empieza hoy</i> / Drama	Women	Alicia Luna and Laura Mañá
Alexia Muiños	<i>Noche transfigurada</i> / Comedy	Co-stars	Alexia Muiños
Silvia Munt	<i>Gala</i> / Documentary	Woman	Silvia Munt
	<i>Pretextos</i> / Drama	Co-stars	Silvia Munt and Eva Baeza
Maitena Muruzabal (with Candela Figueira)	<i>Nevando voy</i> / Drama	Choral	Maitena Muruzabal and Candela Figueira
Carlota Nelson	<i>Anclados</i> / Documentary	Men	Carlota Nelson

8. Argentine production.

Directors	Films	Leading role	Script
Inés París	<i>A mi madre le gustan las mujeres</i> / Comedy ⁹	Women	Inés París and Daniela Féjerman
	<i>Semen, una historia de amor</i> / Comedy ¹⁰	Co-stars	Inés París and Daniela Féjerman
	<i>Miguel y Willians</i> / Drama	Co-stars	Inés París
Dolores Payás	<i>Mejor que nunca</i> / Comedy	Woman	Dolores Payás
Teresa de Pelegrí (with Dominic Harari)	<i>Seres queridos</i> / Comedy	Co-stars	Teresa de Pelegrí and Dominic Harari
Dácil Pérez de Guzmán	<i>Triana, paraíso perdido</i> / Documentary	Choral	Pive Amador
Silvia Quer	<i>Febrer</i> / Drama	Man	Lluïsa Cunillé
Gracia Querejeta	<i>Héctor</i> / Drama	Co-stars	Gracia Querejeta and David Planell
	<i>Siete mesas de billar francés</i> / Drama	Woman	Gracia Querejeta and David Planell
María Ripoll	<i>Utopía</i> / Thriller	Co-stars	Curro Royo and Juan Vicente
	<i>Tu vida en 65'</i> / Comedy	Co-stars	Albert Espinosa
Azucena Rodríguez Pomedá	<i>Atlas de geografía humana</i> / Drama	Women	Azucena Rodríguez Pomedá and Nicolás Saad
Manane Rodríguez	<i>Los pasos perdidos</i>	Choral	Manane Rodríguez and Xavier Bermúdez
	<i>Un cuento para Olivia</i> / Drama	Women	Xavier Bermúdez (Historia: Manane Rodríguez)
	<i>Memorias rotas</i> / Documentary	Men	Manane Rodríguez
Mireia Ros	<i>El triunfo</i> / Drama	Men	Mireia Ros
Lilian Rosado González	<i>La mala</i> ¹¹ / Drama	Woman	Lilian Rosado
	<i>Donde el olor de mar no llega</i> / Drama	Co-stars	Lilian Rosado

9. Codirected with Daniela Fejerman.

10. Codirected with Daniela Fejerman.

11. Codirected with Pedro Pérez Rosado.

Directors	Films	Leading role	Script
Maite Ruiz de Austri	<i>La leyenda del unicornio / Animación</i>	Women/Choral	Maite Ruiz de Austri
	<i>Animal Channel / Animación</i>	Choral	Juan Velarde
	<i>El tesoro del rey Midas / Animación</i>	Choral	Juan Velarde
Pilar Ruiz Gutiérrez	<i>Los nombres de Alicia / Drama</i>	Women	Pilar Ruiz Gutiérrez, Jorge Goldenberg and Gabriel Olivares
Antonia San Juan	<i>Tú eliges / Comedy</i>	Co-stars	Antonia San Juan and Luis Miguel Seguí
Carla Subirana	<i>Nedar / Documentary</i>	Women	Carla Subirana
Helena Taberna	<i>Yoyes / Drama</i>	Woman	Helena Taberna and Andrés Martorell
	<i>Extranjeras / Documentary</i>	Women	Helena Taberna
	<i>La buena nueva / Drama</i>	Man	Helena Taberna and Andrés Martorell
	<i>Nagore / Documentary</i>	Co-stars	Helena Taberna
Pilar Távora	<i>Brujas / Fake Documentary</i>	Women	Pilar Távora
	<i>Madre amadísima / Drama</i>	Man	Santiago Escalante
Elena Trapé	<i>Blog / Drama</i>	Women	Tomàs Aragay, Elena Trapé, Jaume Cuspinera, Aintza Serra, Cristina Clemente, Arantza Cuesta, Valentina Viso and Lluís Segura
Rosa Vergés	<i>Iris / Drama</i>	Woman	Rosa Vergés and Jordi Barrachina
Nuria Villazán	<i>Machín, toda una vida / Documentary</i>	Man	Nuria Villazán and Franklin J. Díaz
Lydia Zimmerman (codirected with Agustí Villaronga Isaac Racine)	<i>Aro Tolbukhin: en la mente del asesino / Thriller</i>	Co-stars	Agustí Villaronga, Lydia Zimmermann e Isaac P. Racine

Table 5. Disaggregated data on the film's protagonists and scriptwriters (2000-2010) (Spain)

Source: Own elaboration.

Indeed, on the borders or on the margins is where the Spanish and Argentine filmmakers create during this decade. There is a motivating –interesting– dissonance between what implies that the films of these directors are exhibited in commercial

theaters (looking for the center, the majority, in the mainstream sense) and what their stories contain (divergent, critical, peripheral). As De Lauretis (1987) says, the view is more diverse, they understand that the imaginary to be constructed or the narrated stories must be more plural regarding the general variables: identities, sexual orientations, age, habitat, provenance and social commitment, which is no longer just political-ideological. As the focus widens, so do the subjects and their actions, and even the timelines of the stories, in a kind of diffuse time where past and present merge and confuse.

Understanding that *what is not seen, is not desired*, it is considered that making the quasi-silenced visible becomes an adequate strategy to strengthen models. Thus, getting to know 72 female film directors with the topics they deal with and their professional networks can act as a mirror in which young people and students in the film sector can look, and help to rethink women's leadership in that sector.

If we place the focus on the themes, although they diverge on specific issues such as immigration or toxic labor relations, which Spanish women face in a conjunctural way, they generally coincide. They refer, from different film genres and technical and symbolic procedures, the historical course, the intra and interpersonal experiences and their consequences, with a predominance of the relational axis, either in formal or informal contexts. They also converge in maintaining a (bio)political look with exploration of otherness, the body (with a strong voice against prostitution), history or History, explicit (visible and invisible) or implicit violence. They do it particularly from a micro perspective, from the very base of the social structure; i.e., the family in all its forms and meanings. If the regulatory framework in both countries, and during the decade studied, has been modified in favor of social rights linked to the dignity and equality of human beings, the film representation built by the female filmmakers studied has precluded and accompanied these changes in search for a more inclusive society. It is possible to notice a common response that is far from being a depersonalized complaint and full of euphemisms where no one or anyone is responsible.

Along with the themes exposed, the production contexts show the ability and skills to break the thick glass ceiling, allowing them to become role models. Therefore, their very existence, the vindication of their authorship, the task of liaison between the oldest generations and the youngest female filmmakers, constitute a fundamental fact, because they give continuity and meaning, institute reference models and generate their own genealogy that draws of the exceptional not only their own professional careers, but the participation of women in the history of national and universal cinematography.

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