

Genre and television fiction: New femininities and masculinities in the Mexican series *Club de Cuervos*?

Género y ficción televisiva: ¿Nuevas feminidades y masculinidades en la serie mexicana *Club de Cuervos*?

Gênero e ficção televisiva: ¿Novas feminilidades e masculinidades na série mexicana Club de Cuervos?

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ABSTRACT | This study aimed to analyze the identity characteristics, roles, fields of action, and gender stereotypes in a television fiction series broadcasted on a streaming service. Two judges independently performed a content analysis based on a thematic representational model from the first season of the Mexican series *Club de Cuervos*. The results show that the male characters are presented as advisers, accomplished, purposeful, self-sacrificing, and hypersexualized. In addition, they have a higher presence in public space and establish more homosociality. On the other hand, women are presented as loving, tenders, hypersexualized, appear more in private sites and have more heterosocial relationships. We discuss the implications of gender differences in the various categories and new masculinities in the representation of Mexican men. It stands out, in the conclusions, that the series tries to set itself apart from hegemonic masculinities and femininities in identity characteristics, presenting new models of masculinity in different characters. It also reproduces roles and figures of a gender identity constituted by being for others and subordinate to men.

KEYWORDS: gender identity; roles; fictional television; content analysis; streaming services.

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RESUMEN | El objetivo de este estudio es analizar las características identitarias, roles, ámbitos de actuación y estereotipos de género en la serie de ficción televisiva mexicana *Club de Cuervos* (2015), proyectada en un servicio de streaming. De manera independiente, dos jueces realizaron un análisis de su contenido, basado en un modelo representacional temático de la primera temporada. En los resultados destaca que los personajes hombres se presentan como consejeros, exitosos, propositivos, abnegados e hipersexualizados. Asimismo, tienen mayor presencia en el espacio público y establecen más homosocialidad. Las mujeres, en cambio, se presentan como amorosas, tiernas, hipersexualizadas, aparecen más en el espacio privado y tienen más relaciones heterosociales. Se discuten las implicancias de las diferencias entre género en las varias categorías y de las nuevas masculinidades en la representación de los hombres mexicanos. Se concluye que la serie intenta romper con las masculinidades y feminidades hegemónicas en características identitarias, presentando nuevos modelos de masculinidad en distintos personajes. También reproduce roles y figuras de una identidad de género constituida por el ser para otros y subordinada a los hombres.

PALABRAS CLAVE: identidad de género; roles; ficción televisiva; análisis de contenido; servicios de streaming.

RESUMO | O intuito deste estudo é analisar as características de identidade, papéis, âmbitos de atuação e estereótipos de gênero na série de ficção televisiva mexicana *Club de Cuervos* (2015), exibida em um serviço de streaming. De maneira independente, dois juízes conduziram uma análise de conteúdo, baseada em um modelo de representação temática da primeira temporada. Os resultados mostram que as personagens masculinas são apresentadas como conselheiros, bem-sucedidos, proativos, abnegados e hipersexualizados. Eles também têm uma presença maior no espaço público e estabelecem mais homosocialidade. As mulheres, por outro lado, são apresentadas como amorosas, ternas, hipersexualizadas, aparecem mais no espaço privado e têm relações mais heterossexuais. As implicações das diferenças de gênero nas diversas categorias e das novas masculinidades na representação dos homens mexicanos são discutidas. Conclui-se que a série tenta romper com as masculinidades e feminilidades hegemônicas em características de identidade, apresentando novos modelos de masculinidade em diferentes personagens. Além disso, reproduz papéis e figuras de uma identidade de gênero constituída por ser para os outros e subordinada aos homens.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: identidade de gênero; papéis; ficção televisiva; análise de conteúdo; serviços de streaming.

INTRODUCTION

A gender social order operates in the world that establishes a symbolic organizing framework of hierarchies, norms, roles, attributions, characteristics, and possibilities of experience differentiated for subjects according to their gender. This social order of gender intervenes in a given space and time, is based on sexual difference, is not natural –although it is often naturalized (Palomar, 2007)– and is problematic because it legitimizes and reproduces inequalities and differences between men and women, as well as being sustained by power relations (Scott, 1999, 2008). In turn, it is closely linked to the production of gender identities. Certain characteristics and qualities have been socially constructed and imposed around being a woman, such as the taste and ability to care for others, maternal capacity, desire and instinct, sensitivity and expressiveness of emotions, and relegation to private space (Castañeda, 2016; Ortega-Lorenzo & Simelio, 2012). In contrast, men have been linked to the public space and have been attributed qualities such as strength, rationality, competitive capacity, being for oneself, economic provision, and the difficulty to show emotions, among others (Ramírez, 2019).

These gender identity characteristics have resulted in specific roles expected and associated with women and men. It should be noted that by social roles we mean the tasks, obligations, responsibilities or activities performed by members of a group, which may have been formally assigned, imposed, or acquired (Baron & Byrne, 2005). In cases where roles have been imposed, there may be conflict or nonconformity because people do not feel identified or satisfied with the assigned role or because they do not like it. Sometimes, such roles generate hierarchies or stratifications and offer prestige; at other times, they carry social stigmas. People who have been assigned a role that is not compatible with their interests, abilities, or tastes may experience discomfort and dissatisfaction (Baron & Byrne, 2005). Closely related to gender roles are gender stereotypes, which ascribe distinctive characteristics, qualities, or traits to people solely because of their participation in a social group (Park et al., 1991). Stereotypes are problematic because they offer a homogeneous and simplistic image of a group (e.g., men). It is even common that if people show traits non-consistent with the stereotypes that society has ascribed to them, they are rejected or subtly modified so that their behavior conforms to the stereotype. Likewise, stereotypes influence judgments, evaluations, and expectations about others (Baron & Byrne, 2005).

The presence and existence of gender stereotypes that offer positive and negative traits for both sexes is frequent. Stereotypes are also linked to prejudices (subtle and explicit) and violent behaviors. For example, hostile

sexism, through which negative characteristics are attributed to women (and they are considered less valuable than men), or benevolent sexism, which consists of thinking that women deserve protection, are superior to men in various aspects (moral superiority, purity, modesty, better taste, among others), and are important and necessary for men to achieve happiness (Baron & Byrne, 2005).

Television series and genre

For years, face-to-face relationships were considered fundamental to construct social reality (Berger & Luckman, 1968; Goffman, 2001); it was thought that, through these interactions, subjects constructed their identity, received and granted others a social position, were ascribed to a social category, assumed roles, transmitted (and reproduced) norms and desirable ways of life. Now, many of the interactions occur mediated by the media (television, movies, advertising, music, etc.), and digital social networks (Caballero-Gálvez & Herrero-Jiménez, 2017).

Since the last decades of the 20th century, specifically, the media burst into life in a massive and marked way, which generated the modification of interpersonal communication modes, sex-affective relationships (Caballero-Gálvez & Herrero-Jiménez, 2017), and subjectivity, through the production of desires, models, resources, aspirations, ways of life, clothing, and relationship styles (Bueno-Fischer, 2006; Richard, 2006). By accessing the media (radio, television, streaming services, etc.), people integrate ideas, stereotypes, and roles into their cognitive schemas that become models to construct their identity and guide their social interactions (Galán, 2006; Guarinos et al., 2019; Menéndez & Zurian, 2014; Simelio, 2010).

Several authors (Galán, 2006; Bueno-Fischer, 2007; Pacheco, cited in Hidalgo-Marí, 2017) argue that media products are also the result and reflection of society, since scriptwriters and writers draw their stories, plots, and themes from everyday life. Therefore, it is said that the relationship of influence between society and the media is bidirectional and mutually constructed and updated, which shows the dual role and relevance of the media today. Even when audiovisual contents are based on real arguments close to everyday life, they often resort to exaggeration and stereotypes to tell stories and show desirable profiles of being a professional or an athlete, for example (Galán, 2006).

For Guarinos and colleagues (2019), the media affect the way in which individuals construct their gender identity, since through them they discover, recognize, appropriate, and reproduce what is feminine and what is masculine.

Several studies (Ortega-Lorenzo & Simelio, 2012; Mateos Pérez & Ochoa, 2021) have shown that these gender roles and stereotypes are reproduced in television series. Since the 1980s, scientific studies analyzing the issue of gender construction and presentation in the media have proliferated (Hidalgo-Marí, 2017). However, for Fonseca (2017) this interest comes from the 1970s, with what is known as feminist film theory. The pioneer of this group of studies was Claire Johnston, who conducted a semiotic critique on the role of classic cinema in the ideological construction of women.

The first works on gender roles and stereotypes in television fiction were concentrated in Anglo-Saxon countries so, according to Galán (2007), interest in Spanish-speaking countries is relatively recent (since the 1990s). Even in Spanish-speaking countries, it was not until the end of the 1990s that professional series appeared, in which women began to be shown in professional positions of responsibility traditionally occupied by men, for example, policewomen, detectives, doctors, lawyers, etc. (Galán, 2007).

Currently, studies on the social representation of women and men in media are frequent (e.g., Bonavitta & de Garay, 2019; Caballero-Gálvez & Herrero-Jiménez, 2017; Hidalgo-Marí, 2017; Galán, 2006; Fonseca, 2017; Menéndez & Zurian, 2014; Pérez, 2017; Mateos-Pérez & Ochoa, 2016, 2021; Ortega-Lorenzo & Simelio, 2012; Simelio, 2010). Most of these works argue that androcentric and patriarchal contents are shown and reproduced in the media.

Likewise, from a deep and exhaustive review of works about television fiction, Menéndez and Zurian (2014) point out that it is common to find that women appear a smaller number of times than men, as well as the presentation of gender stereotypes without a critical perspective. For example, women are represented from passive figures and roles and as objects of desire or attention of others, while men are presented as powerful and active (Bonavitta & de Garay, 2019; Fonseca, 2017). It is also common to see women occupying roles with subordinate positions or archetypes and stereotypes that draw them from negative aspects (Pérez, 2017), scenes, and plots that objectify them, sexualize them, and exalt beauty or self-sacrifice values (Menéndez & Zurian, 2014).

In turn, studies on gender representations argue several things: first, that it is not usual for women's role as wives to be highlighted or remarked, but the role of mothers is (Sánchez et al., cited in Hidalgo-Marí, 2017). Second, that the plots involving mature women are related to the traditional family and romantic love (Hidalgo-Marí, 2017). Third, that in fictions featuring working women, they develop and perform their domestic role primarily, they are masculinized, or else they are superwomen who combine both work and family activities and

obligations (Hidalgo-Marí, 2017). It is common for them to occupy roles and tasks subordinate to men, with roles as directors and company managers (Ortega-Lorenzo & Simelio, 2012). A recurring topic is that of technical women, who perform their work effectively and efficiently but are under the command of a powerful or unskilled man (Hidalgo-Marí, 2017). Fourth, women are shown as emotional, passive, maternal, in private spaces, with a sexuality for others, while men are presented surrounded by attributes of reasoning, leadership, and action in public spaces (Bonavitta & de Garay, 2019; Galán, 2007; Hidalgo-Marí, 2017; Menéndez & Zurian, 2014). In the cases in which strong women are presented, it is usually from their category of mothers where they find courage or strength to face family problems. However, they are shown frustrated and tired by the care of the children; they are even presented as emotionally dependent on men (Bonavitta & de Garay, 2019; Hidalgo-Marí, 2017).

Regarding the roles played by men in television series, they have been male characters with certain nuances to the hegemonic axes with which men are recognized (Mateos-Pérez & Ochoa, 2021). They are *obedient* and *tolerant* with their wives. However, they end up taking back control of the relationship, finding the strength that every man should have and placing women in their place, i.e., the house (Menéndez & Zurian, 2014).

For the above reasons, according to Galán (2006), it is still necessary to analyze the influence of the media on issues such as sex role differences and gender stereotypes in the representations of men and women on television.

For Menéndez and Zurian (2014), the fact that women are placed as protagonists in television series and programs is in itself an expression of transgression to their invisibilization in the media. The authors argue that contemporary television fiction, even though it has not completely broken gender stereotypes, has included new fictional discourses and is showing new roles and types of being a man and a woman. Lotz (2006, cited in Menéndez and Zurian) argues that, since the 1990s, there have been changes and transitions in the common and usual images of women in movies and TV series, presenting a wider variety of life possibilities, more independent roles and, in general, making women's positive characteristics more visible.

Furthermore, although the gender differences shown and broadcast in television series and movies have been widely documented, Internet use is currently more common than television consumption, especially in the younger population (Suárez-Cousillas et al., 2019). In Mexico, while the daily time spent watching television decreased in the last 10 years, the consumption of content through the Internet has gradually increased (Ortiz, 2020). Finally, we consider

it appropriate to review in the framework of gender identity characteristics the relations of homo-sociability and hetero-sociability of men and women in television fiction, since we consider them as an indicator of asymmetrical relations between genders. Thus, they can help to understand the hegemonic constructions of masculinity and femininity. Homo-sociability refers to non-sexual attractions or interactions between men or women for members of the same sex, while hetero-sociability is oriented to non-sexual attractions with members of the opposite sex (Bird, 1996). Additionally, an indicator of homo-sociability for women is the Bechdel-Wallace Test, which consists of identifying: 1) that there are at least two female characters; 2) that both establish a conversation with each other and without a man present, and 3) that the topic of conversation is not about a man (Freitas et al., 2016).

Streaming services and study contextualization

The Internet has changed consumers' access to and relationship with TV series or streaming platforms, as audiences participate in blogs, forums, chats, social networks –both on official and unofficial pages. Fans have even written alternative scripts based on the story, characters and themes of a series, and post them on platforms such as YouTube. The success and revolution of this type of audiovisual products created specifically for the Internet has generated the increase and diversity of services and platforms that offer them (Netflix, HBO, Blim, among others). These offer the possibility of connecting on mobile devices, they do not store or occupy computer space, there is almost unlimited access to content, without being subject to programming schedules (Siri, 2016; Suárez-Cousillas et al., 2019). Likewise, they are platforms whose target audience is mainly youth or young adults (Simelio, 2010).

Netflix is the leading paid audiovisual entertainment service accessible via the Internet, with a presence in 190 countries and approximately 130 million subscribers. Some of the reasons for its popularity are that it is a relatively inexpensive service and that it uses algorithms and strategies for suggesting series, movies, or documentaries of interest to users, in addition to the possibility of binge-watching (Siri, 2016; Suárez-Cousillas et al., 2019).

The first Spanish-language series produced by the SVOD platform Netflix was *Club de Cuervos* (Chiver et al., 2015-2019; Nájjar, 2015). It began screening in August 2015 and has four seasons that chronicle the tensions and disputes between siblings Isabel and Chava over the presidency of a soccer team. Chava is a young man who likes to party, consumes addictive substances, is a dreamer and, until before the death of his father, had been little involved in what concerns managing the team. On the other hand, Isabel, the eldest

daughter, has had an active and involved participation in everything related to the management of the team. In addition, she enjoys her father's trust because she is dependable. The story begins when the father dies of a heart attack caused by a disagreement with Chava. Despite this, both family members and other members of the team's management assume without question that Chava will be the team's president. Throughout the series, Isabel tries to prove that she is the one who truly deserves the presidency. While the description Netflix offers for the series on its website focuses on the power struggle and sibling rivalry (Netflix, n.d.), it is clear that presenting a female co-star in the series whose premise implies that she is the best prepared for a position in a primarily male context gives rise to the analysis of the implications of gender and its characteristics and interrelationships. We analyze this series because it is one of the first Mexican series starring a woman, and it shows a woman struggling to occupy a managerial position in a company.

METHODOLOGY

The aim of this paper was to analyze the differences in identity characteristics, roles, spheres of action, and gender stereotypes, as well as homo-sociability and hetero-sociability relations in men and women in the fictional television program *Club de Cuervos*.

In this research, we quantitatively posed the differences by sex in the different categories of analysis, a novel approach considering the review of the existing literature on gender representations, which have been mostly from a qualitative approach (Bonavitta & de Garay, 2019), or incorporating only frequencies (Galán, 2007).

We analyzed the first season of the series, consisting of 13 episodes, conducting a content analysis based on a thematic representational model, which consists of quantitatively surveying the lexical content of the discourse, and to see the quantity and meaning of the words in terms of a core of meaning. For this purpose, we made a frequency count of the units of meaning, with which the greater or lesser presence of certain themes is observed and evaluated, which shows the relevance and reference value given to certain discourses and images of meaning (Souza, 2009).

Following Souza (2009), the analysis followed three stages:

1. Pre-analysis: the recording units (words, observable behaviors, phrases), contexts, and places of action were determined. In addition, we established

the forms of categorization and coding, and the most general theoretical concepts guiding the analyses were defined.

2. Material exploration stage: we searched for expressions and significant words in the episodes and codified them in the observation matrices.
3. Results' processing and interpretation: simple operations (percentages, frequencies) and correlational statistics were used as a basis for the interpretations.

A matrix of observables was developed, consisting of six axes: 1) sociodemographic data, 2) gender identity characteristics, 3) roles, 4) hypersexualization of the character, 5) relationship between characters, and 6) reproduction of clichés. The categories of each axis were multiple choice. We also prepared a list of operationalization of each category and a document describing the axes (table 1).

Each episode was observed by two reviewers independently. The filling out of the matrix was done simultaneously with the review of the episode, so in each scene the episode was paused and the information was captured.

Subsequently, the data were captured in Excel and in SPSS v.21. Once the material was obtained, several descriptive statistical tests, frequency analysis, and mean differences by sex were conducted. In the case of the category of topic reproduction, we made a description of each of the characters that we identified as embodying a stereotype, since we noted that, on the one hand, a difference in means would not allow us to portray the complexity of the topic represented and, on the other, we were interested in specifying the qualities and characteristics with which this stereotype was presented. The inter-rater reliability for the categories was tested with Krippendorff's alpha statistic (2004), obtaining a level of agreement greater than the minimum acceptable by the authors ($\leq .81$) using the KALPHA macro for SPSS (Hayes & Krippendorff, 2007). Additionally, the Bechdel-Wallance test was applied to each chapter.

Category	Code and operationalization (OP)		
Sociodemographic data	Gender (1= Male; 2= Female; 3= Non-binary) Age group (1= Child 0 to 12 years; 2= Adolescent 13 to 17 years; 3= Young adult 18 to 35 years; 4= Adult 36 to 65 years; 5= Elder 66 to 99 years). Skin color (1= Dark 2= White; 3= Afro-descendant) Occupation (1= Services; 2= Professional; 3= Businessman; 4= Household worker; 5= Sports; 6= Journalism/communication; 7= Government; 8= Director; 9= Sex worker; 10= Coach/technical director) Sexual Orientation (1= Heterosexual; 2= Undefined; 3= Lesbian; 4= Bisexual; 5= Homosexual; 6= Transgender; 7= Transsexual; 8= Pansexual)		
OP: 0= Does not appear; 1= Appears			
Gender identity characteristics	<table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; vertical-align: top;"> Successful Hardworking Loving Tender Extroverted Helpful Selfless Aggressive Patient </td> <td style="width: 50%; vertical-align: top;"> Strong Intelligent Detail-oriented Generous Proactive Introverted Supportive Resolute Dreamer </td> </tr> </table>	Successful Hardworking Loving Tender Extroverted Helpful Selfless Aggressive Patient	Strong Intelligent Detail-oriented Generous Proactive Introverted Supportive Resolute Dreamer
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OP: 0= Does not appear; 1= Appears			
Roles	Decision-making Supplier Advisor Caregiver Parasite		
OP: 0= Does not appear; 1= Appears Appearance of nudity or semi-nudity in the scenes			
Relationship between characters	OP: 0= Does not appear; 1= once or twice in the episode; 2= three or more times in the episode Homo-sociality Hetero-sociality		
Scope of action	OP: 0= Does not appear; 1= once or twice in the episode; 2= three or more times in the episode Private Public Domestic		
Clichés' reproduction	OP: 0= Does not appear; 1= Appears Good boy/girl: topic characterized by naivety, suffering, and a romantic vision of the world. Bad boy/girl: arrogant, rebellious, nonconformist, and aggressive attitude, egocentric, disloyal and self-serving behavior. Angel: good guy appearance, but with self-serving motives. Deceived person: shows hostility, suffering and projects victim image. Masculinized woman: shows strength, aggressiveness and a strong tone of voice to insert herself into masculine spaces. <i>Femme fatale</i> : uses sexuality and seduction as a weapon or for personal benefit.		

Table 1. List of codes to categorize the variables

Source: Own elaboration.

RESULTS

A total of 74 characters were recorded in the series, of which 53 (71.6%) were men and 21 (28.4%), women. Characters were counted as long as, in addition to appearing in the scene, they maintained a dialogue. This inclusion criterion was useful to classify the characters; however, it is relevant to mention that background characters were left out of the analysis. It is striking that these characters without dialogue are mostly women: in some cases, they are household assistants who carry out domestic tasks and, in many others, they present characteristics of hypersexualization and appear accompanying the athletes at parties, laughing, naked, or semi-naked. Soccer team players were also identified as not having conversations with other characters, specifically young men.

Table 2 shows information about age category: 32 characters (43.2%) were adults and 25 (33.8%), young adults, representing three quarters of the total. Regarding skin color category, we found that 50 characters (67.6%) were white skin color, 23 (31%) were brown, and one character (1.4%) was Afro-descendant.

Table 3 shows the category of occupations identified. The highest frequency was in services ($n=20$), followed by journalism/communications ($n=8$), and businessmen, sportsmen, and housewives ($n=7$) with the same frequency. In 12 cases it was not possible to identify the occupation, since the characters appeared only once (supporting characters), but they maintained a dialogue and could be analyzed.

Table 4 presents information regarding sexual orientation. In the categories of gender identity characteristics, roles, character hypersexualization, relationship between characters, and scope of action, tests of differences in means were performed for independent samples using the sex of the characters as a factor. To perform the analysis, we first created an index for each subcategory, using the mean presence of the category in the episodes in which the character appeared.

Regarding gender identity characteristics, the subcategories with significant differences are reported in table 5. The rest of the subcategories analyzed had no significant differences by gender. It can be observed that men showed more characteristics related to being successful, hardworking, purposeful, and self-sacrificing, while women display more loving and tender characteristics.

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Child	1	1.4	1.4	1.4
Adolescent	3	4.1	4.1	5.4
Young adult	25	33.8	33.8	39.2
Adult	32	43.2	43.2	82.4
Elder	13	17.6	17.6	100
Total	74	100	100	

Table 2. Age groups of the characters in season 1 of Club de Cuervos (N=74)

Source: Own elaboration.

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Services	20	27	27	43.2
Journalism - communication	8	10.8	10.8	81.1
Businessman	7	9.5	9.5	59.5
Sports	7	9.5	9.5	70.3
Housewife	7	9.5	9.5	91.9
Professional	5	6.8	6.8	50
Coach/technical director	4	5.4	5.4	100
Sex worker	2	2.7	2.7	94.6
Household worker	1	1.4	1.4	60.8
Government	1	1.4	1.4	82.4
Not specified	12	16.2	16.2	16.2
Total	74	100	100	

Table 3. Occupation of the characters in season 1 of Club de Cuervos (N=74)

Source: Own elaboration.

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative percentage
Heterosexual	28	37.8	37.8	37.8
Homosexual	1	1.4	1.4	39.2
Pansexual	1	1.4	1.4	40.6
Transgender	1	1.4	1.4	42
Undefined	43	58	58	100
Total	74	100	6.8	

Table 4. Sexual orientation of the characters in season 1 of Club de Cuervos (4) N=7

Source: Own elaboration.

	Man (n=53)		Woman (n=21)		Levene's test	T-test for equality of means	
	Media	SD	Media	SD	Sig.	t	Sig.
Successful	0.10	0.28	0.01	0.03	0.002***	2.38	0.021**
Hardworking	0.23	0.37	0.06	0.16	0.000***	2.67	0.009***
Loving	0.02	0.07	0.06	0.16	0.000***	-2.07	0.05*
Selfless	0.19	0.34	0.04	0.12	0.000***	2.66	0.01**
Purposeful	0.17	0.30	0.05	0.13	0.001***	2.37	0.02**
Tender	0.05	0.13	0.17	0.27	0.000***	-1.99	0.06*

***p<.01; **p<.05; *p<.10

Table 5. Mean difference between men and women in the expression of gender identity characteristics (N=74).

Source: Own elaboration.

In the role category, there were no gender differences in decision making, provider, caregiver, and parasite, but there were differences in the role of counselor ($t=-2.63$, $p=.010$): men ($x=0.18$ $SD=0.31$) reported a higher mean than women ($x=0.05$ $SD=0.13$).

Regarding characters' hypersexualization, no significant differences were found ($t=-1.63$, $p=.117$), so that men and women who were included in the analysis were hypersexualized to the same extent. In this regard, we must consider what was mentioned about the inclusion and exclusion criteria, since a significant number of women who did not have dialogues and who, therefore, were not considered for the analysis, were presented in a hypersexualized manner.

In the relationship between characters, significant differences were obtained between groups, both in homo-sociality ($t=4.38$; $p=.000$) and hetero-sociality ($t=-2.66$; $p=.013$); women had a higher mean ($x=0.70$; $SD=0.58$) than men ($x=0.33$; $SD=0.43$) in hetero-sociality and men, a higher mean ($x=0.99$; $D.T.=0.43$) in homo-sociality ($x=0.45$; $SD=0.51$).

In the areas of action, there were no significant differences in the public or domestic spheres, but there were significant differences in the private sphere ($t=-2.17$; $p=.033$), where the average appearance of women ($x=0.46$; $SD=0.47$) in areas such as the household was higher than that of men ($x=0.23$; $SD=0.38$). We must report that, although characters appeared performing domestic activities (exclusively women), they were mostly excluded because they did not meet the inclusion criterion of maintaining a dialogue.

Regarding the reproduction of clichés, we identified that the characters Hugo Sánchez (personal assistant of Chava Iglesias, the series' protagonist), Tony (rookie soccer player of the *Cuervos* team), Juan Pablo (cousin of the protagonists, dedicated to social work), and Rafael (goalkeeper of the *Cuervos* team and husband of Isabel Iglesias, the series' protagonist) are presented with the cliché of the good guy/girl and, in some episodes, Isabel Iglesias (protagonist of the series) and Moisés (player and captain of the *Cuervos* team) also reproduce them.

The bad boy/girl role is reproduced by Chava Iglesias (team president and protagonist of the series), Aitor Cardoné (international player who joins the *Cuervos* team under pressure from Chava Iglesias), Eliseo Canales (player agent and antagonist of Chava and Isabel), and Potro (international player of the *Cuervos* team) as regular characters, and other non-recurring characters such as Señor Rubio (sponsor of the *Cuervos* team, who harasses Isabel), and Fernando (manager and occasional partner of Aitor Cardoné). The series' protagonist, Isabel Iglesias, is sometimes presented as a bad girl and as a masculinized woman in most episodes of the season, and is the only character who reproduces this cliché, showing ways of speaking with a hostile or aggressive tone, and also ways of dressing and behaving that allow her to immerse herself in a primarily masculine context.

The *femme fatale* cliché is mainly reproduced by Mary Luz (housewife and girlfriend of the protagonists' father at the time of his death) and Paty Villa (sports journalist who becomes sexually involved with Chava Iglesias), as well as two women whose names were not mentioned, although they had dialogue (one in the first episode and the other in episode 7).

The deceived person was reproduced to a greater extent by female characters, such as Gloria Iglesias (housewife and mother of Isabel Iglesias, who was deceived by Salvador Iglesias, father, with the mother of Chava Iglesias), and Ximena (housewife and wife of Moisés, who found out about the deception through the media). It was also played by Isabel Iglesias, who is deceived by her brother when he steals a speech that wins him the presidency. The only male character represented as deceived is Chava Iglesias when he is betrayed by his sister and Mary Luz.

Finally, 11 of the 13 episodes (84.62%) did not meet the criteria of the Bechdel-Wallace test; the two in which they were met (15.38%) were in one scene each: in episode 3, where in a conversation the topic of money (corruption) is addressed, and in episode 6, where the topic was pregnancy. In the rest, when two women talk, it is about men, so the criterion is not met or is partially met.

DISCUSSION

The series has an underrepresentation of women and members of sexual minorities, which is consistent with what has been found in previous studies (Menéndez & Zurian, 2014). On the other hand, the overrepresentation of male characters in the area of sports (specifically soccer) contributes to the reproduction of stereotypes and socially constructed roles linked to the masculine that have been shown in other Latin American series that place men as central and leading figures, as shown in the study by Mateos-Pérez and Ochoa (2021). In addition, it was striking that the only transgender woman with dialogue who appears (and other transgender women who do not speak) is shown as working in the sex market, which could be supported in and reinforce by a prejudice towards transsexual and transgender collectives. Likewise, there is a constant social sanction towards the pansexual character, which manifests through mockery, criticism, or prejudice, and even constitutes discrimination. Regarding hypersexualization, there are no significant differences by sex; however, it is interesting that the hypersexualized characters of both genders are very close to Western beauty models (thinness, whiteness, athletic body, blondes). On the other hand, although it was not an objective foreseen in the study, it was evident that there is an underrepresentation of children and older adults; i.e., the series is focused on a young or young adult ideal subject. There is also a minority of brown characters.

Thus, it is possible to identify a type of masculine identity constantly presented in season 1 of the series *Club de Cuervos* that is characterized by being male, heterosexual, white, young adult, and upper class. This makes visible the subject models that prevail in cultures such as the Mexican, in which idealizations and aspirations associated with the Eurocentric still permeate.

Regarding gender identity characteristics, it was found that stereotypical figures and roles are reproduced, as women were presented as loving and tender a greater number of times, while men were shown as successful, hardworking, and purposeful, which coincides with various studies (Galán, 2007; Hidalgo-Marí, 2017; Fonseca, 2017; Menéndez & Zurian, 2017). It should be noted that, in the identity characteristics of loving and tender, the difference –although significant– was small, which may be due to the breakdown of hegemonic masculinities and the intention to present new models of masculinity.

Thus, the series presents some new models of masculinity represented by protagonist, secondary protagonist and non-protagonist characters, such as Chava Iglesias (president of the soccer team and one of the protagonists of the series), Rafael (goalkeeper, coach, and husband of the protagonist), Hugo Sánchez (young personal assistant of the president of the soccer team), and Tony (the youngest and

rookie of the soccer players). This intention to show new models of masculinity has been documented in other studies about television fiction (Menéndez & Zurian, 2014; Mateos-Pérez & Ochoa, 2021). In the case of Mateos-Pérez and Ochoa (2021), in their study focused on paternities, although they refer that the identification as fathers is part of the narrative of the series they analyzed (breaking with the hegemonic masculinities of absence), it highlights that they identified a patriarchal paternity, distant from affectivities and accompaniment, which does not coincide with what was observed in the series of our study.

Some qualities attributed to these new masculinities are the representation of men who are sensitive, understanding, counselors, caregivers, affectionate, patient, and who do domestic work (as can be seen in the character of Rafael), as well as men who are detail-oriented, meticulous, careful with their clothing and physical image, sensitive, and helpful (as represented by Hugo Sánchez). There are even figures of men who are submissive to the indications of their female partners (as embodied in the character of Moisés, who is a soccer player and leader of the sports team but who prays when his wife tells him to or avoids comments so that she does not get upset).

It was also striking that men were presented as more self-sacrificing than women. These findings are contrary to what has been documented by Menéndez and Zurian (2014), who argue that in television series and movies women are more frequently portrayed as self-sacrificing. A possible explanation is that most of the characters have services as a labor occupation (secretary, chauffeur, etc.). These are offered to the main characters, who are presented as businessmen and upper class, which evidences the intersection of categories such as gender and class. Another possibility is that some of the characters belong to a sports team, where there are hierarchies and rules to follow in order to play. It should be noted that the characters who are presented as self-sacrificing are usually the youngest ones, for example, players recently incorporated to the sports team. In future studies about television fiction, intersectional analyses could be conducted to identify the interconnection of variables such as age, sexual orientations, gender, social class, and race, since we identified that stereotypes and roles are clearly differentiated among subjects according to their social position and circumstances.

As for the roles, there were no significant differences between men and women in most of the roles reviewed. Significant differences were only found in the role of counselor, highlighting that men are more frequently presented with this characteristic. Although it was not a central objective of the study, it was identified that men who occupy the role of counselor are the most adult, which could be analyzed in a more punctual and focused way in future studies on television fiction.

In the reproduction of topics, it was found that one of the protagonist characters (Isabel) is shown as a masculinized woman, who stands out for her strength, capacity for conflict resolution, aggression, competitiveness, business skills, reasoning, and intelligence, which coincides with what Hidalgo-Marí (2017) and Bonavitta and de Garay (2019) found as a distinctive axis of the series in which women are shown occupying new professional profiles.

In categories of roles, identities, and reproduction of clichés, it was notable that many women who did have dialogues in the series lacked a name or a description about their profession, interests or activities, so they could only be characterized as wives, mothers, or housewives, which implies a reproduction of a hegemonic female gender identity constituted by being for others (Lagarde, 1990) and subordinated to men (Bonavitta & de Garay; 2019). In contrast, men mostly had a name and at least one occupation.

In the category of relationship between characters (homo-sociability and hetero-sociability), it was significant that women socialized more with men than with other women. Moreover, on the occasions when they conversed with other women, they often ended up talking about men. As a result, they failed the Bechdel-Wallace test in 11 of the 13 episodes of the season. In contrast, men had more dialogues with other men. Also, these topics were not female-centered, but were about work and personal projects. When men interacted with women, an objectification of women could generally be observed, which is consistent with other studies (Bird, 1996). It is noteworthy that the differences in socialization could be caused by the number of male and female characters, considerably higher in the case of the former, which in itself was a significant data to see the underrepresentation of the latter in the series.

Finally, it was relevant to note that women are shown more often than men in the private space. However, the characters shown in this space are not doing domestic chores; i.e., the private space is constructed as a space for leisure, rest, sports, work continuity, or the display of sexuality, which could be due to the fact that the series portrays and focuses on the lives of upper-class people who usually have chauffeurs, housekeepers and staff who perform domestic work. Only two characters who had dialogue in the series were presented in the private space performing domestic activities, i.e., in what in this work was called domestic space. These characters were a maid and Rafael. It should be noted that Rafael is a character that throughout the series is presented with a deconstructed masculinity, showing traits and characteristics traditionally associated with the feminine.

One aspect to highlight made visible in the series was the issue of race and socioeconomic level which, although it exceeded the limits of the objective of this study, was evident, since there is an overrepresentation of white characters compared to results of the National Survey on Discrimination (Consejo Nacional para Prevenir la Discriminación [CONAPRED], 2017)¹, and these occupy positions of power or leadership, in addition to a focus on the lifestyles of the upper classes. Therefore, it is considered that it will be important to recover and analyze in detail these issues in future research on television fiction in Mexico.

A limitation to consider in our study was that we eliminated several female characters that could give rise to analysis in terms of hypersexualization and housework, which we considered as categories of analysis. However, this is a relevant fact that exhibits the objectification of women in this television fiction series.

The above shows that, even in a modern series, where many taboos around the presentation of sexual orientations or in hypersexualization are broken, the same standards, roles, and stereotypes are still reproduced at the character level as in most series, which coincides with what has been reported by other authors (Bonavitta & de Garay, 2019). However, it is relevant to note that transitions were also identified, since contrary to what some authors propose (Bonavitta & de Garay, 2019; Galán, 2007; Sánchez et al. cited in Hidalgo-Marí, 2017; Hidalgo-Marí, 2017; Menéndez & Zurian, 2014), in this series it was not identified that in women the role of mother is highlighted, nor the notions of romantic love or the ideal of traditional couple, although women are still more frequently presented as deceived. Finally, it is relevant to highlight that, although the platforms and ways of producing cinema and television fiction have changed, the contents continue to reflect and reproduce gender inequalities.

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1. While the 2017 National Discrimination Survey refers that 29.4% of people consider themselves white, in our study we found 67.6%.

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