

Universitatea din București
Școala Doctorală de Sociologie

**Feminitatea și televiziunea pentru publicul larg:
O analiză intersecțională privind genul, vârsta și clișeele în
filmele Hallmark Channel**

**Femininity and Popular Television:
An Intersectional Analysis of Gender, Age, and Tropes in
Hallmark Channel Movies**

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Studiile recente continuă să confirme existența unei inegalități de gen în industria media, în ciuda eforturilor depuse anual pentru inclusivitate și paritate în zona de entertainment. Indiferent că ne raportăm la actorii și actrițele din fața camerelor de filmare, unde există diferențe în salariile încasate, ori că ne uităm în spatele camerelor de filmare, și anume în echipa de producție, unde pot fi identificate inegalități de gen, generație, etnie/rasă sau orientare sexuală, printre altele. Realizând un dialog cu numeroasele studii tematice ce au ca obiect principal de studiu filmele cinematografice, televiziunea americană în toate formele sale (broadcast, cable, streaming online), animații ori reality show-uri, în această teză am urmărit explorarea reprezentărilor de gen și reacția publicului la schimbările sociale identificate la nivelul unei organizații media importante pentru socializarea de gen, având ca univers de analiză filmele Hallmark.

Prin cercetarea desfășurată am urmărit să răspund unor întrebări de cercetare ce gravitează în zona inegalității de gen. M-am centrat pe egalitatea de gen în echipele de producție a acestor titluri, egalitatea de gen și vârstă în fața camerelor de filmare și corelarea genului din echipa de producție cu ratingul înregistrat de film. Am urmărit și compararea afișărilor de gen expuse de Hallmark Media în raport cu studiul *Gender Advertisements* (1976) realizat de Erving Goffman cu mai bine de 40 de ani în urmă, studiind evoluția acestor afișări o dată cu trecere timpului: s-au schimbat, oare, semnificativ? Sau, mai degrabă, clișeele vizuale au fost perpetuate și continuă să existe în media de azi? La un nivel de ansamblu, s-au modificat raporturile de gen prezentate în media?

În capitolul 1 am prezentat cadrul teoretic, structurat pe patru secțiuni, care redă o incursiune în literatura de specialitate din zona studiilor de gen, cu analize clasice precum cea a lui Erving Goffman (1976), lucrările Ceciliei Ridgeway (2001, 2009), analiza intersecționalității gen/vârstă realizată de Susan Sontag (1972) și studiul clasic al performativității genului autorat de Candace West și Don H. Zimmerman (1987). Am discutat și studii recente, ce pun în discuție reprezentările de gen alături de alte forme de organizare socială stabilă, precum comunitatea și proprietatea (Nisbet, 1953), religia și mariajul (Waite & Lehrer, 2003) sau diferite activități sociale organizate, precum sporturile (Andersen & Taylor, 2000). Din această incursiune în literatura de specialitate nu puteau lipsi studiile cantitative care monitorizează inegalitățile de gen în media și,

mai ales, în filme. Am inclus aici raportările anuale derulate de Martha M. Lauzen (2016-2021) în zona media, studiile sale *Boxed In* și *Celluloid Ceiling* având o tradiție de peste 20 ani de apariție periodică. Lauzen analizează, an de an, reprezentările de gen din spatele și din fața camerelor de filmare în filme cinematografice și televiziunea americană.

Specificul Hallmark este de a oferi publicului său titluri romantice, previzibile și repetitive, astfel că această secțiune a literaturii de specialitate a fost continuată cu o analiză a clișeele de gen și vârstă în mediile comunicaționale, dar și a romantismului și iubirii romantice în televiziune, aprofundând diferențele de gen și tipologiile prezente în media, pattern-urile create și perpetuate. Accentul pus pe comunitate în filmele Hallmark și prezentarea metropolelor ca un *lup rău* care conduce, treptat, la dezindividualizarea și izolarea individului, la deșrădăcinarea sa de ceea ce îl definește și diferențiază, m-a determinat să continui această incursiune a literaturii printr-o analiză a conceptelor de *hygge* (concept danez fără o traducere oficială, însumând ideea de confort, frumos și plăcut) și *hominess* (versiunea canadiană a lui *hygge*, cu accent puternic pe comunitate).

Capitolul 2, intitulat *Hallmark Channel – sufletul televiziunii* (en. Hallmark Channel – The Heart of TV), prezintă universul cercetării, de la originile televiziunii care datează din 2001, și până în prezent, când trustul media numără trei posturi de televiziune și o platformă de streaming, devenind un competitor serios și în zona de *lifestyle*. Asemeni felicitărilor produse de Hallmark, și filmele sale originale au ajutat la crearea unui brand, promovând filmul de televiziune, tematic și confortabil. În acest capitol surprind evoluția postului și tensiunile socio-politice ce au dus la creșterea cifrelor de rating (alegerile prezidențiale din 2016) și la vizibilitatea sa (controversa spotului publicitar Zola ce surprinde la altar un cuplu de același sex, 2019), dar și nostalgia pe care este construit corpusul de actori distribuiți în filmele Hallmark. Dincolo de succesul înregistrat de Hallmark Media în ultimii ani, acest capitol subliniez și predictibilitatea și repetitivitatea narativă, aspecte analizate empiric ulterior pentru a găsi răspuns asupra patternurilor din preferințele de vizionare ale publicului.

Capitolul 3 prezintă în detaliu metodologia cercetării derulate și structurarea sa în jurul analizei de conținut, tipul analizei și/ sau unitățile principale de analiză diferind de la un capitol la altul, în funcție de specificul temei, fiecare capitol de rezultate luând forma unui studiu de caz (Figura 1). Combinând analiza calitativă cu cea cantitativă și cu o serie variată de surse și tipuri de

date, această cercetare a identificat rezultate prin analiza a **359 de filme lansate în perioada 2015 – 2020 de către Hallmark Channel și Hallmark Movies & Mysteries**, alături de **peste 1,000 credite behind-the-scenes** și **3,700 de personaje**, dar și **74 de articole de presă** publicate online în aceeași perioadă, anume ianuarie 2015 – decembrie 2020. Astfel, capitolele 4 și 5 au ca unitate principală de analiză filmul sau elementele sale componente, iar capitolul 6 urmărește punctual reacția publicului la schimbările sociale.

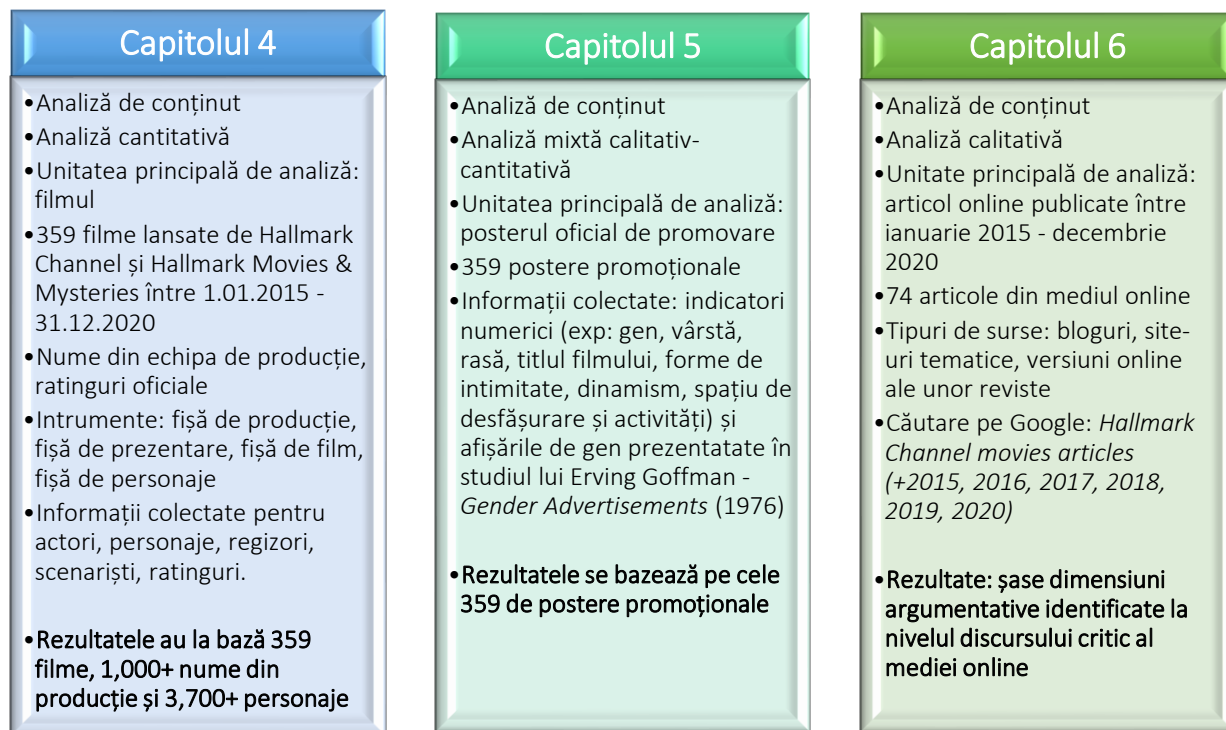


Figura 1 – Metodologia cercetării: tip de analiză empirică, unități de analiză, număr de unități, criteriile de selecție, instrumente, rezultate.

Ca produse media, aceste proiecte se află la intersecția dintre televiziunea americană și cinematografie. Filmele Hallmark sunt filme tematice predominant romantice, ce au costuri de producție reduse (financiare, temporale, umane) și sunt destinate unui public nișat, bine cunoscut de trust. Atenția acordată trustului Hallmark vine în urma ratingurilor înregistrate odată cu 2016, respectiv pe fondul tensiunilor sociale din timpul campaniei prezidențiale a Statelor Unite ale Americii. În acea perioadă Hallmark Channel, canal de televiziune plătit (prin cablu), a ajuns să fie în topul celor mai urmărite posturi de televiziune în perioada octombrie – decembrie, situație care

a continuat să se repete an de an. Trustul Hallmark Media cuprinde trei posturi de televiziune, Hallmark Channel, Hallmark Movies & Mysteries și Hallmark Drama și o platformă de streaming, Hallmark Movies NOW. Evoluția sa se datorează, în bună parte, unei comunități loiale de fani ce împărtășesc aceeași viziune și valori de bază regăsite în filmele lansate. În ultimii ani, Hallmark a ajuns să fie sinonimul Crăciunului și să fie un model de business pentru alte televiziuni și chiar platforme de streaming online cum este Netflix. Filmele tematice dedicate acestei sărbători de iarnă aduc cele mai mari încasări și asigură un public constant care revine an de an, apreciind repetitivitatea și predictibilitatea narativă.

Hallmark Channel se prezintă ca o televiziune ce dorește să fie alături de publicul său și să îl ajute să se bucure, să sărbătorească fiecare moment și eveniment important al vieții, creând o comunitate și un lifestyle dedicat lucrurilor care ne pot înfrumuseța viața, dincolo de consumerism. Astfel, la baza scenariului se regăsesc elemente orientate către DIY (Do It Yourself) și „hygge”. Poveștile sunt, de cele mai multe ori, plasate într-un oraș de provincie, care reușește să ofere protagoniștilor sentimentul de apartenență la o comunitate. Plecând de la aceste aspecte, la care s-au adăugat specificul romantic al filmelor, atenția acordată veteranilor și adopției animalelor, precum și a micilor antreprenori, respectiv a afacerilor de familie, am întreprins o analiză a literaturii de specialitate din zona studiilor teoretice de gen și a unor studii intersecționale aplicate pe zona studiilor media. Am realizat și un studiu privind narațiunile tipice, utilizând informații despre clișeele (en. *tropes*) de gen identificate la nivelul televiziunii și a cinematografului contemporane, accentuând-o cu o analiză a expunerii iubirii romantice în acest mediu comunicațional. Nu în cele din urmă, ideea de comunitate și de confort (en. *coziness*) au fost explorate cu ajutorul conceptelor de „hygge” și a sentimentului de acasă (en. „hominess”).

Intitulat *În spatele camerei: audiențele și succesul filmelor despre femei, realizate de bărbați* (eng. *Behind the camera: ratings and films' success with stories for women made by men*), **capitolul 4** prezintă o analiză a peste 1,000 de nume din echipa de producție a filmelor analizate, urmărind patru ipoteze de lucru. Datele au fost corelate cu ratingurile oficiale înregistrate de filmele aferente la premiera pe post, dar și cu numărul de colaborări al actorilor protagoniști, indicator identificat prin natura postului și a principalelor aspecte ce definesc Hallmark. Prin raportare și încadrarea aferentă în studiile asemănătoare derulate pe industria americană de film

și/ sau televiziune, rezultatele obținute au confirmat faptul că și *Hallmark prezintă diferențe de gen în spatele camerelor de filmare (regie și scenariu), femeile fiind subreprezentate comparativ cu bărbații, per total*. Această diferență de gen este foarte bine subliniată pe zona de regie a acestor filme, din cele 359 de proiecte analizate doar 62 având regia semnată de o femeie (anume 17%). Dincolo de studiul acestei reprezentări de gen la nivel cantitativ, care a confirmat ipoteza subreprezentării femeilor, am identificat faptul că *aceste diferențe de gen sunt mai mici comparativ cu cele identificate de alte studii cantitative asemănătoare* (și cu metodologii asemănătoare) derulate pe filmele și seriile americane produse de alte studiouri. Un alt aspect rezultat în baza analizei constă în faptul că *numărul și vârsta personajelor feminine nu sunt influențate de genul regizorului și/ sau al scenaristului, respectiv al echipei de scenariu* – spre deosebire de concluziile altor studii privind relevanța echipei din spatele scenei. Mai mult, prin raportare la populația americană, *filmele Hallmark au o reprezentare relativ echilibrată în termeni de vârstă*, concluzionând astfel că Hallmark prezintă o construcție de gen și vârstă diferită de cea dominantă în industria cinematografică americană. Analizând reprezentarea de gen în raport cu ratingurile oficiale înregistrate de premiera fiecărui film pe post și audiența țintită pe publicul feminin, testele statistice derulate au infirmat ipoteza unei relații între acești indicatori, susținând mai degrabă ideea că *publicul Hallmark nu ține cont de genul regizorului ori al scenaristului în aprecierea filmelor, ci, mai degrabă, de familiaritatea actriței protagoniste*. Am detaliat, pe parcursul acestei cercetări, faptul că Hallmark lucrează cu un număr redus de actori și actrițe în proiectele sale, familiaritatea acestora regăsindu-se în cifrele ridicate de rating ca expresie a preferințelor audienței, precum și ca un garant al calității filmelor pentru telespectatori.

Capitolul 5, Posterele Hallmark ca instrument de comunicare vizuală: structura analizei de conținut a clișeelor de gen și televiziune (en. Hallmark posters as visual communication: structuring a content analysis of gender and TV tropes), redă o analiză comprehensivă ce îmbină genului cu reprezentarea numerică a tipului de afișări redade, completând analiza de conținut printr-un studiu mixt calitativ-cantitativ al afișărilor de gen în materialele promoționale (postere) aferente celor 359 de filme Hallmark. Abordând numeric o serie de indicatori sociologici, precum omogenitatea și diversitatea socială, poziționarea relativă a femeilor și bărbaților, dinamismul sau pasivitatea în raport cu genul, redarea romantismului și prezența recuzitei la construcția cadrului social surprins,

precum și situațiile sociale indicate publicului de titlurile alese, această analiză a continuat cu o perspectivă goffmaniană a afișărilor de gen. Cele 359 de unități selectate au fost studiate prin perspectiva analitică a celor șase dimensiuni identificate de Erving Goffman în studiul său *Gender Advertisements* (1976). Posterele analizate afișează preponderent cuplul protagonist, astfel că *rezultatele surprind o omogenitate socială ridicată în termeni de vârstă și etnie, precum și o simetrie a rolurilor de gen în raport cu situația socială redată, anume cea a intimității, respectiv a apropierei afișate între personaje, precum și a activităților derulate de acestea.* Am remarcat, de asemenea, o serie de schimbări apărute la nivelul distribuțiilor o dată cu anul 2018, respectiv 2020, în materie de diversitate etnică și inclusivitate sexuală. Totuși, în ciuda celor 40 de ani dintre raportul lui Goffman și această cercetare, am observat că temele principale publicate în *Gender Advertisements* privind emoțiile și gesturile afișate continuă să fie susținute și de această analiză, având în vedere dimensiunile „ritualizarea subordonării” (en. *ritualization of subordination*) și „retragerea legitimă” (en. *licensed withdrawal*). Caracteristicile definitorii ale filmelor Hallmark precum „călătoria ei” (en. *her journey*) și orientarea spre familie (en. *family-friendly*) au diminuat numărul și tipologia afișărilor aferente dimensiunilor „familia” (en. *the family*) și „atingerea feminină” (en. *the feminine touch*). Dimensiunea „ierarhizarea funcțională” (en. *function ranking*) a subliniat prezența feminină ca protagonistă și a punctat o asimetrie de gen care evidențiază ecranizarea unei povești din punctul de vedere al femeii (en. *from her point of view*), personajele feminine fiind mai des redată ca deținând controlul situației sociale expuse.

Posturile de televiziune ale trustului Hallmark, prin produsele originale difuzate, contribuie la reproducerea și schimbarea stereotipurilor de gen, a tipurilor de feminități și a clișeelelor aferente. Ca organizație socializatoare de gen, Hallmark, prin proiectele sale, produce externalități pentru întreaga societate, nu doar pentru audiența sa fidelă. Plecând de la rezultatele identificate în prima parte a tezei, anume schimbările survenite începând 2018 și 2020 la nivelul distribuției și al poveștilor ecranizate în termeni de diversitate și inclusivitate socială, **capitolul 6** prezintă o analiză a recepției publicului în raport cu aceste tendințe. Intitulat *Recepția criticilor: analiza sistematică a produselor Hallmark* (en. *Critical reception: a systematic analysis for Hallmark products*), acest ultim set de rezultate analizează discursul jurnaliștilor de profil și stilul oarecum ambivalent al filmelor Hallmark. Acestea surprind, simultan, *un discurs emancipator, ce pune*

femeile pe primul plan ca personaje, dar și limitator, prin stereotipuri și reprezentări idealiste ale unui compromis familie/carieră care este, în viața reală, mai dificil de îndeplinit. Mai mult, în cadrul discursului analizat, în cele 74 de unități selectate, am identificat *șase dimensiuni sau perspective* privind abordarea subiectului Hallmark. Acestea punctează elemente privind *stabilitatea* continuă a unor clișee (en. *tropes*) specifice de gen, a modalității în care este abordată *diversitatea* de gen, respectiv traseul experimental al unei *creșteri a vizibilității* unor minorități care nu întârzie a stârni o reacție polarizată. Am discutat și *aliniera politică* a canalului și a recepției publice, arătând astfel relația dintre produsele Hallmark și anumite nevoi ale unor segmente de public. Nu a fost omis nici faptul că, în cadrul acestui discurs, este punctat felul în care aceste tipuri de produse, prin *stabilitatea* de care dau dovadă, sunt profitabile și monetizabile, reușind să structureze un model de afaceri durabil și puternic, promovând un lifestyle dezirabil de telespectatorii săi loiali. Același discurs identificat l-am poziționat pe *două axe* de analiză, anume cea *ideologică* (conservator/ progresist) și cea *estetică* (apărare/ acuzare a simplismului tip), cu mențiunea că acestea nu sunt întrutotul ortogonale. Așadar, poate fi identificată o intersecție a celor două clasificări, esteticul fiind perceput de unii comentatori ca un vehicul pentru ideologia politică și valorilor aferente.

Am dus mai departe ideea că *Hallmark produce externalități sociale*, prin faptul că este un trust media care formează opinii, idei, actuali și viitori votanți, opțiunile ideologice din interiorul comunității de spectatori (en. *in-group*) având consecințe în societatea largă (en. *out-grup*). Având la dispoziție perioada anilor 2021 și 2022, pentru a vedea consecințele schimbărilor punctate în capitolele anterioare, în **capitolul 7**, intitulat *Filmele Hallmark la începutul unei noi decade – modernitate și diversitate* (en. *Hallmark movies at the beginning of a new decade – modernity and diversity*), analizez cele 110 filme lansate din ianuarie 2021 până în iulie 2022 de către cele două posturi de televiziune Hallmark Channel și Hallmark Movies & Mysteries. Rezultatele acestui capitol, în termeni de inclusivitate și diversitate socială, susțin faptul că *anul 2020 a reprezentat un punct de cotitură pentru Hallmark*. Acest an a devenit un reper semnificativ în parcursul postului, dovedindu-se astfel că includerea unor minorități în narațiunile lansate nu au fost simple gesturi simbolice (en. *tokenism*) pentru a gestiona controversa Zola.

Mass-media continuă să fie un puternic agent de socializare, iar poveștile spuse prin intermediul filmelor, serialelor, desenelor animate și a altor astfel de produse media influențează

publicul telespectator, atât la nivel conștient, cât și subconștient. Afișările de gen și generație, precum și reprezentările diversității, atât cele de factură cantitativă, cât și calitative, influențează percepția individului în plan personal și structurează, la nivel colectiv, interacțiunile cu ceilalți. Cercetarea mea contribuie la studiile de gen și media cu un studiu de caz și o cercetare aplicată unei zone relativ neexplorate din media americană, care are, prin difuziunea sa internațională, o relevanță globală. Prin metodologia cercetării, care a îmbinat abordări calitative și cantitative, am analizat deopotrivă reprezentările și afișările de gen, menite să permită o comparație și o actualizare a altor studii anterioare, dar și discursul identificat în cadrul unei schimbări de paradigmă pentru o instituție socializatoare de gen.

Un demers științific viitor ar putea extinde analiza și la principalii competitori ai Hallmark (Lifetime, UpTV și Great American Family), sau ar putea include o analiză a discursului publicului telespectator larg. Acesta este disponibil online și poate fi identificat la nivelul comunităților online de fani sau prin postările pe paginile de social media ale Hallmark Channel. Ar putea fi realizată și o analiză aprofundată a principalelor narațiuni ale protagoniștilor titlurilor analizate în perioada 2015-2022, urmărind astfel primele elemente de noutate și schimbare la nivel narativ, dar și comparativ, pentru a surprinde această evoluție a trustului Hallmark.

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