

# MEDIÁLNÍ STUDIA

---

# MEDIA STUDIES

JOURNAL FOR CRITICAL MEDIA INQUIRY

## Valentine's Day and Post-feminism in Vogue Spain's Coverage

María Martínez-Sánchez

To cite this article:

Martínez-Sánchez, M. (2023). Valentine's Day and post-feminism in Vogue Spain's coverage. *Mediální studia*, 17(2), 146–160.

ISSN 2464-4846

Journal website: <https://www.medialnistudia.fsv.cuni.cz/>

2/2023

# VALENTINE'S DAY AND POST-FEMINISM IN VOGUE SPAIN'S COVERAGE

MARÍA MARTÍNEZ-SÁNCHEZ

King Juan Carlos University

## ABSTRACT

*This paper explores the relationship between romantic love, consumerism and post-feminist sensibility in the discourse of Vogue in the Spanish context. This study examines the characteristics of post-feminist sensibility in media discourses using the method of thematic analysis and shows that both femininity and female identity are deeply linked to the body. Vogue presents self-care consumption as a solution to individual problems and portrays romantic love as necessary for women but not men. This work reveals a reinforcement of hegemonic gender norms, with an emphasis on normative bodies, heteronormativity and the association of female empowerment with product consumption.*

Keywords: gender studies ▪ media studies ▪ post-feminism ▪ women's magazines ▪ stereotypes.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Media industries construct the symbolic paradigm from which other social forces emerge (Bernárdez Rodal, 2018). Therefore, this discourse plays an essential role in shaping individual identities, and it is crucial to research its articulation from an academic perspective. In this mediatised universe, women are under tremendous pressure to meet the demands and requirements linked to gender, arising from the social structures portrayed in media discourses (Gallagher, 2014). In recent decades, traditional female roles have been mixed with expectations emerging from neoliberalism (Rottenberg, 2014) and consumerism (McRobbie, 2020). For instance, the act of shopping is associated with happiness and the fulfilment of certain expectations that capitalism and patriarchy impose on women.

In this context, where neoliberalism appropriates cultural movements and claims (McRobbie, 2020), Valentine's Day has commodified romantic love. The neoliberal paradigm links purchasing with empowerment and liberation from patriarchy (Banet-Weiser, 2018; Rottenberg, 2014). Love is tied to consumption through the purchase of products as the key to successful couple relationships. These discourses

incite women to buy to succeed in love, as the media depicts romantic relationships as necessary within the patriarchal system (de Miguel, 2015). Media loads public discourses in the interest of capitalism and relates happiness to products, and these messages are even more prominent when targeting women.

In recent years, post-feminism has emerged as a pivotal term in the lexicon of Feminist Studies (Litosseliti et al., 2019), and the concept has been widely debated as well (Gill, 2016; Litosseliti et al., 2019; Riley et al., 2017). This paper addresses post-feminism as a sensibility (Gill, 2007; 2016), a cultural phenomenon that is both an object of study and a lens (Riley et al., 2017). The post-feminist media culture is characterised by contradictory messages that entangle feminist and anti-feminist discourses. This paper approaches the intersection between post-feminist media culture and Valentine's Day in women's magazines as an object of study contributing to gender media studies with an analysis of how the commodification of love penetrates the post-feminist culture, appropriates its concepts and generates social pressure on women. Earlier work on post-feminist sensibilities has focused on Anglo-American media (Riley et al., 2017). In contrast, the paper will contribute to filling the gap in other language contexts, focusing on Spanish content. This analysis focuses on *Vogue*, one of Spain's most widely read women's magazines (AIMC, 2023). The analytical method of analysis is the thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Clarke & Braun, 2013) from a post-feminist sensibility (Gill, 2007; 2017). This research aims to understand how post-feminist sensibilities intersect with media representation of messages that encourage women to consume on Valentine's Day to fulfil expectations of love. The paper demonstrates how *Vogue* frames capitalist messages about romantic love within a post-feminist sensibility and generates new social pressure on women.

## 2. POST-FEMINIST MEDIA CULTURE

Post-feminism (Gill, 2007) is essential to Feminist Media Studies (Díaz Fernández, 2021; Riley et al., 2017). The term has been widely discussed among scholars (Riley et al., 2017), and there is still a lack of consensus on its meaning. In this research, I approach post-feminism as a sensibility that characterises a wide range of discourses in popular culture and is also profoundly connected to neoliberalism (Gill, 2007, 2016; Rottenberg, 2014). As Gill argues (Banet-Weiser et al., 2020), in the post-feminist media culture, we can find celebrations of 'girl power' and female success intertwined with the scrutiny of women in the public eye. These are, therefore, opposing discourses on issues that can affect gender constructs. The construct of post-feminist sensibility offers new ways of understanding ideal femininity within conflicting messages in different media (Riley et al., 2017).

The researchers use the notion of post-feminism in several ways. According to Lia Litosseliti, Ros Gill and Laura Favaro (2019) there are four main perspectives: (1) as an epistemological break within feminist movements; (2) as an evolution from the perspectives related to the second wave of feminist; (3) to denote a backlash against

feminism; (4) as a cultural sensibility linked to feminism and neoliberalism. In this research we approach post-feminism as: “a cultural phenomenon (a set of ideas/representations of women circulating in media) that has itself become an object of study, as well as a lens (a sense-making framework or an analytic tool) for recognising and analysing that object of study” (Riley et al., 2017, p. 2)

Following Gill (2007), post-feminist media culture places a great emphasis on the body, portraying a ‘sexy body’ as the key to success and the ultimate expression of femininity. The body is presented as a source of power that requires constant scrutiny, discipline and monitoring, which can be reinforced by the messages conveyed by media culture. The property of the female body is closely linked to the sexualisation of culture, which involves the spread of discourses about sex across media platforms where all women’s bodies are a potential subject to sexual coding. Women are also responsible for making their sexual and emotional heterosexual relationships desirable and pleasing to men. In post-feminist media culture, women are legitimised to play with their sexuality, and this represents a shift in the way power is perceived in relation to the female body. Rather than being sexualised by an assumed male gaze, women are now able to look at themselves from a self-critical perspective. In addition, the ‘girlification’ of adult women promotes youth as desirable. If female success is associated with desire and youth is perceived as sexier, age will be an impediment for women to avoid.

In the neoliberal subjectivity in which post-feminism is embedded, sexual objectification and body surveillance can be represented as freely chosen by women rather than a patriarchal imposition (de Miguel, 2015). According to this assumption, women are pleasing themselves by removing hair or undergoing cosmetic surgery instead of pleasing society. This notion of ‘free choice’ is central to post-feminist discourses. Building upon the ideas of Gill (2007), every aspect of life is presented as an individual will and self-determination. According to Catherine Rottenberg (Banet-Weiser et al., 2020), well-being and self-care are key to building the work-family balance every woman should have. This means that self-care is almost a must for women, who must attend to every aspect of their lives and take care of themselves. The debate on intersectionality has always revolved around post-feminist contexts (Riley et al., 2017), arguing that the female subject on which post-feminist media culture has focused its attention is a white, middle class and heterosexual woman (Banet-Weiser et al., 2020; Litosseliti et al., 2019). The research on intersectionality concludes that the women described are less likely to be excluded from the discourses (Evans et al., 2010).

In the current post-feminist media culture, intense self-surveillance leads to the requirement to “transform oneself and remodel one’s interior life” (Gill, 2007, p. 155). All of the aforementioned is meant to follow the advice presented in media discourses as if every aspect of a woman’s life is an individual choice. In addition, Gill (2007) refers to the content related to the nature of gender differences based on the “battle of the sexes”. These discourses emphasise sexual differences and eroticise power relations between men and women. Feminism is now part of the media

agenda, but it offers contradictory constructions of feminism mixing feminist and anti-feminist ideas (Banet-Weiser, 2018), such as equality and the ‘battle of sexes’. As Banet-Weiser (2020) stated, personal choice and individual entrepreneurship are key to the success of neoliberal culture, in which companies use women’s individual problems as a key selling point for products. Women’s identities are embedded in a neoliberal paradigm based on consumerism associated with empowerment, freedom and power.

Post-feminist media culture is integrated into neoliberal society and shares common characteristics discussed in this section. In summary, these features include the surveillance and self-surveillance of women’s bodies, individualism as a means of success, a heterosexual, white and middle-class perspective, consumerism combined with self-care, and youth as a valuable quality in women’s lives.

### 3. COMMODIFICATION OF ROMANTIC LOVE AND WOMEN MAGAZINES

The purchase of products in this paradigm presupposes the triumph of love (Blanco Ruiz, 2018), and happy relationships are represented in symbolic spaces as desirable and needed for women (de Miguel, 2015). Therefore, it is interesting for a media analysis from a feminist perspective to study how the need to consume on Valentine’s Day is represented in media targeted at women.

The main media focused on a female audience are the ‘women’s magazines’. The reference to ‘women’s magazines’ implies a type of magazine that focuses on what is considered ‘feminine’ (Rodríguez Sánchez, 2018). Given that this naming is based on a gender construction, as women and men can be interested in the same topics, the term has been widely discussed among scholars. As Rodríguez Sánchez (2018) claims, there is a group of ‘women’s magazines’ but no group of ‘men’s magazines’, considering ‘masculine’ interests as universal and ‘feminine’ as ‘otherness’ (de Beauvoir, 1949). The feminine adjective refers to a type of interest based on gender construction in which women are associated with beauty and romantic relationships, while men are concerned with business and leadership (Bernárdez Rodal, 2015). The history of these journals is an example of how femininity has been constituted as a separate space for women (McRobbie, 2020). This type of magazine has always paid attention to issues related to fashion, beauty, society or celebrities (Martín García, 2017), with a strong interest in advising on how to achieve beauty, love or happiness through the purchase of products (Rodríguez Sánchez, 2018). And while some scholars (Gallego, 2013; Rodríguez Sánchez, 2018) argue that including this type of magazine under the “lifestyle” category would be more accurate without distinguishing between men’s and women’s interests, the change has not yet occurred in the Spanish media industry, and ‘women’s magazines’ are still considered a distinct category.

In neoliberal societies, romanticism and consumerism are closely linked through the media. Valentine’s Day is a trend that, according to the Google Trends tool in Spain, receives maximum attention during the month of February. The press recognises the

high volume of traffic that this event generates to drive visitors to their content. In this context, the concept of romantic love is portrayed as a social and cultural construction based on an exclusive and unique feeling to a significant one often associated with heterosexual couples, thus perpetuating gender stereotypes (Blanco Ruiz, 2018). The commodification of love has turned it into a powerful marketing insight that is used to sell products, mainly on special days such as Valentine's Day.

The purchase of products is associated with the triumph in love (Blanco Ruiz, 2018), and Valentine's Day incentivises many consumers to give away gifts to their loved ones (Close & Zinkhan, 2006). For example, in 2023, Spaniards spent four times more money on Valentine's Day than on the sales season in January (20 Minutos, 2023). Brands and media are aware of this power of consumption and fuel it with advertising campaigns around the display of romantic love. On the other hand, Valentine's Day could be a reminder of a 'single status' (Close & Zinkhan, 2006). Mass media are also aware of this situation by spreading messages with a new meaning for February 14 based on self-care or 'empower yourself' discourses. The media discourses find their way to relate products to Valentine's Day and commoditise love – be it couple-oriented or self-care.

#### 4. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH AND CORPUS OF ANALYSIS

The magazine analysed in this paper is *Vogue*, as it is the most widely read women's magazine in Spain with 1,259,000 readers (AIMC, 2023). This research focuses on the online edition as its information does not expire and is always accessible in the online space (Rodríguez Sánchez, 2018), unlike the print version, which is less available for consumption. This magazine, in its digital edition, is composed of 10 sections: fashion, beauty, living, shopping, fashion shows, celebrities, television, brides, *Vogue* 365 and business. The frequency of publication varies: the sections with a higher publication frequency are fashion and beauty, while *Vogue* 365, business, and celebrities are the least frequently published.

The corpus chosen for this paper consists of the issues published in the online version of *Vogue* Spain in the year 2023 under the topic of 'Valentine's Day'. The period between January and February 2023 was chosen because it contains the most recent articles on Valentine's Day. During this period *Vogue* published thirteen items in the following sections: fashion (2), shopping (10) and beauty (1). It is noteworthy that ten are published in 'shopping' section. These articles provide information on gifts, mainly perfumes and jewellery. Additionally, we have one article in 'beauty' regarding a list of 'treat-yourself' plans to spend Valentine's Day regarding beauty treatments, fitness or shopping, and two in 'fashion', which also focuses on jewellery and fashion. A detailed list of articles is included in the appendix in which each item is given a code to be referred to in the analysis.

This research aims to understand how post-feminist sensibilities intersect with media representations that encourage women to consume on Valentine's Day to

fulfil expectations of love. This research will explore the relationship and interaction within post-feminism, capitalism and the commodification of love. There are certain expectations and achievements that women are expected to achieve during this period, and the study illuminates how these are materialised in the *Vogue* discourses.

This paper approaches the corpus using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Clarke & Braun, 2013). This qualitative method allows this research to explore a corpus of data (Escudero, 2020) and provides the tool to identify and analyse media patterns (Scharp & Sanders, 2019). The approach consists of six phases: (1) familiarisation with the corpus; (2) generation of initial codes; (3) search for themes; (4) review of themes; (5) definition and naming of themes; (6) producing the report (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Each of the phases consists of the following:

(1) Familiarisation with the corpus and (2) generation of initial codes: The first phases involve an initial exploration of the corpus in order to establish the approach.

(3) Search and (4) review of the themes: This work also approaches the research from the post-feminist sensibility (Gill, 2007): “Post-feminism has proved an enduring and productive term for feminist scholars in media and cultural studies, among other disciplines, helping to furnish analytic tools and critical insights for the interrogation of gender in neoliberal societies.” (Litosseliti et al., 2019, p. 10). These stages deal with the in-depth analysis to which the postfeminist sensibility is applied. This allows to explore the interrelation between postfeminism and the topic being analyzed. For this purpose, these phases will focus on patterns under the features that Gill (2007) defines as the main elements of this sensibility:

- Femininity as a bodily property: a sexy body is depicted in post-feminist media culture as crucial for women in order to construct an identity;
- Self-care, self-surveillance and empowerment: The self-care market and the “love yourself” messages encourage women to please themselves using beauty or going shopping;
- Makeover paradigm: Women seem to be in an eternal need to evolve by following the advice of lifestyle experts or with new consumer habits;
- Sexual differences: Sexual differences continue to be present in the media, associating certain characteristics, ways of socialising or spending leisure time and preferences according to gender constructs.

(5) Defining and naming the themes; and (6) writing the report: This final stage involves naming the themes and conducting the analysis presented in the following section.

Given the underdevelopment of intersectionality that some scholars argue about post-feminist analysis (Riley et al., 2017), this paper unravels which model of woman is portrayed in the visuals. Following the post-feminist model of woman that is usually portrayed in the media (Banet-Weiser et al., 2020; Litosseliti et al., 2019), which

is heterosexual, white, with a normative body and middle class, this research will focus on these features.

## 5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### 5.1. Consumerism as the queen

Women are put under the pressure of having to meet the expectations of Valentine's Day: "it's just around the corner, and that means starting to look for the perfect gift and the perfect look" (V7). From messages like: "Still no gift?" (V1) to the commitment to buy some products: "12 jewellery brands you should have under your radar for Valentine's Day" (V2), women are encouraged to consume in order to celebrate the day, and to meet certain standards (McRobbie, 2020). Ten of the thirteen articles in the corpus are published in the 'shopping' section, which allows me to analyse the close relationship between Valentine's Day and consumption. In addition, articles in other sections ('fashion' and 'beauty') also feature consumable objects.

As previously noted (Blanco Ruiz, 2018), consumerism is closely linked to demonstrations of affection and love. It may seem impossible to show affection without spending money on it: "nothing says 'I love you' like a perfume that smells (really) good" (V1). All the items analysed in this research associate the triumph in love with consumerism, mainly through material gifts: "accessories loaded with love" (V9). This consumption is associated with success in love, either with one's partner or with oneself. This urge to consume is cloaked in a narrative that places love at the centre: "Although the most important thing on February 14 is to celebrate love, we all like to receive a little something" (V1). All the messages lead to the acquisition of products in order to succeed in love. In the neoliberal agenda, a set of discourses that supplement identity with capitalist actions is emerging (McRobbie, 2020). This is closely linked to the idea of consumption to achieve an identity (Banet-Weiser, 2018), which is only possible if the products that media presents as necessary are acquired.

The gifts presented in *Vogue* for success in love are luxuries that not everyone can afford, so the target audience is middle/upper class. Thus, as presented in the analysed discourse, love would be reserved for a few who have two very valuable qualities in the neoliberal era: time and money. The role model in Spanish *Vogue* is the same as in previous research -- middle/high class, young, successful at work, happy family balance (McRobbie, 2020), and aware of the latest trends. Consumerism is essential to a constant makeover paradigm seen as a success requirement for women.

### 5.2. Being single on Valentine's Day: self-care as the guardian angel

While gift buying is planned from the beginning of January onwards, the articles focusing on self-care are published in the final stretch of Valentine's season. As the day approaches, we find two issues (V12, V13) about plans for 'treating yourself' on



the 13th and 14th. This way, plans that are exclusively advertised for self-care require less planning than the effort to please others. Although self-care may seem to be the first choice, it only takes place when women have not found a person to spend the day with. These discursive strategies develop women's fear of not having a partner, a subordination mechanism that places men in a situation of power (de Miguel, 2015). The self-care need in case of being single on Valentine's Day only occurs in the case of women since instructions and guidelines on how to take care of themselves, in case they do not find a partner, are exclusively aimed at them. Love is presented as something necessary for women.

Self-care is also presented as an attempt to spend Valentine's Day in a way that does not lead to "despair" (V13). In the days leading up to February 14, the countdown begins to receive a postcard of love or, in the worst case, to find a remedy: "There are only a few hours left to celebrate Valentine's Day. Most of you will not have received a card (I've never received one on this day, and I don't expect that to change). If this is your case, don't despair: we know how to take control of the situation" (V13). The way to take control of the situation is to acquire beauty and fashion products and thus become a self-monitoring subject (Banet-Weiser et al., 2020). Self-care is linked to monitoring the physical self, and the body becomes a window into the individual's inner life (Gill, 2007). Following these assumptions, the suggestion from the magazine implies that the only way for single women to get through Valentine's Day's unwanted loneliness is to take care of their bodies.

These plans are mandatory if you are single and optional if you have a partner: "you must practice self-care every day, because you know that too (the logistics of putting it into practice is another story). If you feel up to celebrating the day of love alone this year, you can, and you must" (V12). It is underlined that it is okay to be single, however, the discourse still points out that if this is the case, it is very likely that the woman will come to this day in a low mood: "especially if you are in a very stressful time or have arrived at February 14 a little low in spirits" (V12). Being single on Valentine's Day presents a double perspective in which you can enjoy the day with 'treat-yourself' plans, but you would enjoy it much more if you were in a happy couple.

Single women are included in the gift items for couples through the assumption of 'self-care'. The items are first presented as a gift for others, and the second option is to 'treat-yourself': "to succeed or to treat-yourself on this special day" (V1). For example, the products of a Valentine's fashion collection are posted (V3) as clothing for couples; however, during the text, the prefix 'self' is also included several times in front of 'gift' in order to integrate single women. This occurs in most articles presenting products for women, but there is no allusion to 'self-gifts' in the issues targeted to men (V10), thus reinforcing the notion of gender differences, addressing gendered products and presenting 'self-gift' as an option only available for women (buying 'women's products'). Women can 'please themselves' using beauty treatments to make themselves feel good (Gill, 2007), but this is not the case with 'male

products' such as technology or sport items as these are presented exclusively to the gift to other's category.

### 5.3. She is a fashion lover, and he is a technological fan

*Vogue* distinguishes between gifts for women and gifts for men. Women are supposed to be interested in beauty, and men like comfortable clothes, technology, and sports. Items for women follow the maxim: "Diamonds Are a Girl's Best Friend" (V8), according to an article on February 4. Gifts for women include perfumes, jewellery, elegant clothes, bags, and decorative or beauty items. For men, there are also perfumes, but there are also technological, entertainment, and leisure items, comfortable clothing, and sportswear. In this way, differences are based on the characteristics of hegemonic femininity and masculinity constructed around gender.

Sport is masculinised, and beauty treatments are feminised in the items analysed, although it may be something that both men and women like equally. This establishes a difference in which men like sport and not the self-care that is imposed on women. The only time a sports plan is recommended for women is when it is presented as something unappetising: "Doing a workout may not exactly fit into your idea of a Valentine's Day wishful thinking project at first, but don't rule it out just yet" (V12). In addition, the purchase of an outfit is portrayed as the primary motivation: "which is the perfect excuse to buy yourself a nice sporty look - can there be any greater motivation?". However, when it comes to spending an afternoon at a spa, there is no doubt that a woman may not feel like 'focusing on herself' in that setting. The plan is presented as universally appealing to every woman, unlike sports.

The products targeted at women are related to the body, shouting the preoccupation of the media culture with the female body (Gill, 2007). The messages convey rigid gender models (Vega Saldaña et al., 2019) and reinforce gender stereotypes based on the hegemonic ideas of masculinity and femininity.

### 5.4 Women as heterosexual, young, white, and empowered

The only representation of non-heterosexual couples is placed in the article about the new *Lefties* collection (V3, Figure 1), which features photos from the promotional campaign.



Figure 1: *Lefties*, Source: (V3)

The remaining pictures depict heterosexual couples (V4, V5, V10, Figure 2). The article on men's fragrances is focused on women, so it is depicted from a normative gaze: “it all depends on your partner's personality and even yours, because more and more women are using masculine scents and vice versa” (V5).



Figure 2: *Heterosexual couples in Vogue*. Source: Edward Berthelot via Getty Images (V4 & V10)

Most women and men in the images are white, Caucasian, and have normative body types. The only case in which racialised people appear is the article about *Lefties*, whose images come from a photo shoot by the brand. In the general discourse of the

magazine, women who do not respond to a normative body and youthful appearance are not represented. Product consumption is associated with empowerment and sexiness: "Several studies show that the colour red makes us more attractive to others and is also capable of making us feel more powerful" (V7). This confirms the previous discussions, showing that the female empowerment is a motif that allows capitalism to make some moves and profits (Dimulescu, 2015; McRobbie, 2020).

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

This paper has considered the interplay in media discourses of Valentine's Day, consumerism, and the post-feminist sensibility. The analysis has shown that the expectations of achieving romantic love are aligned with the post-feminist sensibility in media culture. Romantic love is portrayed as a female need to be fulfilled through consumerism. This discourse reinforces hegemonic gender frameworks that entrench sexual difference and heteronormativity. Products are presented according to gender, and messages are primarily directed at heterosexual couples.

Even though self-care is presented as the perfect plan for single women who do not need a partner, discursive strategies turn it into an alternative and consolation plan if they do not have a couple. Therefore, in post-feminist society, women are expected to have a significant other. Through self-care treatments and the purchase of certain products, women are encouraged to change certain habits to join the makeover paradigm that will make them more empowered and successful in all aspects of life. In the discourse analysed, special attention is given to the body, since most of the products and plans advertised are clothes, accessories, or beauty treatments. The purchase of these products is presented as necessary to 'please oneself', and it is therefore obligatory for women to spend a large amount of money on their self-care.

The women portrayed are white, heterosexual, upper-middle-class women who can afford the products advertised to achieve the values associated with them. These women are also portrayed as young and successful in their careers. Heterosexuality is the protagonist, with most images showing normative male-female couples. Intersectionality is, therefore, not a part of the discourse. Gifts are differentiated between men and women based on gender stereotypes, according to which women are fashion and beauty lovers, and men are sporty and techie. It stands out that when sport is considered valuable for women, it is presented as something that is probably unappetising but becomes more appetising because it is associated with the purchase of a new outfit for the workout.

Valentine's Day discourses in *Vogue* merge the post-feminist media culture, romantic love, and consumerism. These are framed within the consumerist environment that characterises neoliberalism, in which every personal triumph is associated with the purchase of certain products. Valentine's Day *Vogue* constructs and reinforces gender frames, claiming romantic love as a necessity for women in the post-feminist media culture associated with consumerism. The messages disseminated in women's

magazines present love as a need and consumption as a way to achieve the fulfilment of such needs.

**María Martínez-Sánchez** is a PhD Student in Interdisciplinary Gender Studies at the King Juan Carlos University in the research line of Gender, History and Cultural Production. Her research focuses on analysing media discourses from a gender perspective.

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1091-7245>

E-mail: [martinezsanch@gmail.com](mailto:martinezsanch@gmail.com)

## REFERENCES

- 20 Minutos. (2023). *Los españoles se gastaron cuatro veces más en San Valentín en comparación con las rebajas de enero*. <https://www.20minutos.es/noticia/5105204/0/los-espanoles-se-gastaron-cuatro-veces-mas-en-san-valentin-en-comparacion-con-las-rebajas-de-enero/>
- Asociación para la Investigación de Medios de Comunicación. Marco general de los medios en España (2023). [https://www.aimc.es/aimc-c0nt3nt/uploads/2023/02/Marco\\_General\\_Medios\\_2023.pdf](https://www.aimc.es/aimc-c0nt3nt/uploads/2023/02/Marco_General_Medios_2023.pdf)
- Banet-Weiser, S. (2018). *Empowered: Popular Feminism and Popular Misogyny* (1.a ed.). Duke University Press.
- Banet-Weiser, S., Gill, R., & Rottenberg, C. (2020). Postfeminism, popular feminism and neoliberal feminism? Sarah Banet-Weiser, Rosalind Gill and Catherine Rottenberg in conversation. *Feminist Theory*, 21(1), 3-24. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464700119842555>
- Bernárdez Rodal, A. (2015). *Mujeres en medios. Propuestas para analizar la comunicación masiva con perspectiva de género*. Fundamentos.
- Bernárdez Rodal, A. (2018). *Soft Power: Heroínas y muñecas en la cultura mediática* (1.a ed.). Fundamentos.
- Blanco Ruiz, M. Á. (2018). *Percepción del amor romántico en adolescentes y papel de los medios de comunicación*. Universidad Carlos III de Madrid.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3, 77-101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>
- Clarke, V., & Braun, V. (2013). Teaching thematic analysis: Overcoming challenges and developing strategies for effective learning. *The Psychologist*, 26, 120-123.
- Close, A., & Zinkhan, G. (2006). A Holiday Loved and Loathed: A Consumer Perspective of Valentine's Day. *ACR North American Advances*, NA-33. <https://www.acrwebsite.org/volumes/12416/volumes/v33/NA-33>
- de Beauvoir, S. (1949). *The second sex* (17.a ed.). Cátedra.
- de Miguel, A. (2015). *Neoliberalismo sexual: El mito de la libre elección* (17.a ed.). Cátedra.

- Díaz Fernández, S. (2021). Subversion, post-feminism and masculinity in Bad Bunny's music. *Investigaciones Feministas*, 12(2), 663-675.  
<https://dx.doi.org/10.5209/infe.74211>
- Dimulescu, V. (2015). Contemporary Representations of the Female Body: Consumerism and the Normative Discourse of Beauty: *Symposion*, 2(4), 505-514.  
<https://doi.org/10.5840/symposion20152433>
- Escudero, C. (2020). *Thematic analysis as a research tool in the area of Social Communication: Contributions and limitations*. 24(2), 89-100.
- Evans, A., Riley, S., & Shankar, A. (2010). Technologies of Sexiness: Theorizing Women's Engagement in the Sexualization of Culture. *Feminism & Psychology*, 20(1), 114-131. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353509351854>
- Gallagher, M. (2014). Media and the representation of gender. En C. Carter, L. Steiner, & L. McLaughlin (Eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Media and Gender*. Routledge.
- Gallego, J. (2013). *De reinas a ciudadanas: Medios de comunicación, ¿motor o rémora para la igualdad?* Aresta Mujeres.
- Gallego, J. (2016). El imperio del amor (o cómo socavar el patricarcado desde la raíz). *Paradigma. Revista Universitaria de Cultura*. p, 19.
- Gill, R. (2007). Post-feminist media culture. Elements of a sensibility. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 10(2), 147-166. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13675494070758>
- Gill, R. (2016). Post-feminism? New feminist visibilities in post-feminist times. *Feminist Media Studies*, 16(4), 610-630.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2016.1193293>
- Litosseliti, E., Gill, R., & Favaro, L. (2019). Post-feminism as a critical tool for gender and language study. *Gender and Language*. *Gender and Language*, 13(1), 1-22.
- Martín García, T. (2017). *Los blogs de moda: Nuevos preservadores de los estereotipos de género de las revistas femeninas*. Universidad Complutense.
- McRobbie, A. (2020). *Feminism and the politics of resilience. Essays on gender, media and the end of welfare*. Polity Press.
- Plaza, J. F. (2005). *Modelos de varón y mujer en las revistas femeninas para adolescentes: La representación de los famosos*. Fundamentos.
- Puleo, A. H. (2007). Introducción al concepto de género. En J. F. Plaza & C. Delgado (Eds.), *Género y comunicación* (1.a ed., pp. 13-29). Fundamentos.
- Riley, S., Evans, A., Elliott, S., Rice, C., & Marecek, J. (2017). A critical review of post-feminist sensibility. *Soc Personal Psychol Compass*, 11, 1-12.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12367>
- Rodríguez Sánchez, A. (2018). *Evolución conceptual y adaptación digital de las denominadas revistas femeninas: Estudio analítico de Elle, Telva, Vogue, Mujer Hoy S Moda y Yo Dona*. Universidad Complutense.
- Rottenberg, C. (2014). The Rise of Neoliberal Feminism. *Cultural Studies*, 28(3), 418-437.

Scharp, K. M., & Sanders, M. L. (2019). What is a theme? Teaching thematic analysis in qualitative communication research methods. *Communication Teacher*, 33. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epdf/10.1080/17404622.2018.1536794?needAccess=true>

## APPENDIX – THE CORPUS

Code	Headline	Section	Topic	Date	Url
V1	Still no gift? Here you have the best perfumes to surprise on Valentine's Day.	Shopping	Gifts	24.01.23	<a href="https://www.vogue.es/compras/galerias/mejores-perfumes-regalar-mujer-san-valentin">https://www.vogue.es/compras/galerias/mejores-perfumes-regalar-mujer-san-valentin</a>
V2	12 jewelry brands to keep in mind for Valentine's Day	Shopping	Gifts	25.01.23	<a href="https://www.vogue.es/compras/articulos/marcas-de-joyas">https://www.vogue.es/compras/articulos/marcas-de-joyas</a>
V3	'SWEET TALK', the Valentine's Day collection you will fall in love with	Fashion	Clothes	26.01.23	<a href="https://www.vogue.es/moda/articulos/lefties-sweet-talk-coleccion-san-valentin">https://www.vogue.es/moda/articulos/lefties-sweet-talk-coleccion-san-valentin</a>
V4	Valentines Day 2023: the ultimate gift guide	Shopping	Gifts	26.01.23	<a href="https://www.vogue.es/compras/galerias/ideas-regalos-san-valentin-mujer-2023">https://www.vogue.es/compras/galerias/ideas-regalos-san-valentin-mujer-2023</a>
V5	We compile the best men's perfumes to give away in Valentinesday	Shopping	Gifts	30.01.23	<a href="https://www.vogue.es/compras/galerias/mejores-perfumes-hombre-san-valentin">https://www.vogue.es/compras/galerias/mejores-perfumes-hombre-san-valentin</a>
V6	9 heart shape necklaces (not cheesy at all) to give away (yourself) as a gift	Fashion	Gifts	02.02.23	<a href="https://www.vogue.es/moda/articulos/colares-corazon-colgantes-regalo-san-valentin">https://www.vogue.es/moda/articulos/colares-corazon-colgantes-regalo-san-valentin</a>
V7	10 perfect red dresses for Valentine's Day	Shopping	Clothes	03.02.23	<a href="https://www.vogue.es/compras/galerias/tendencias-vestidos-rojos-san-valentin">https://www.vogue.es/compras/galerias/tendencias-vestidos-rojos-san-valentin</a>
V8	Valentines Day 2023: the best jewelery to surprise this year	Shopping	Jewelery	04.02.23	<a href="https://www.vogue.es/compras/articulos/san-valentin-regalar-joyas">https://www.vogue.es/compras/articulos/san-valentin-regalar-joyas</a>
V9	Valentines gifts that match with a fashion lover	Shopping	Gifts	04.02.23	<a href="https://www.vogue.es/compras-regalos-san-valentin-mujer-moda">https://www.vogue.es/compras-regalos-san-valentin-mujer-moda</a>
V10	29 Valentines gifts so original that even he doesn't expect them	Shopping	Gifts	06.02.23	<a href="https://www.vogue.es/compras/articulos/mejores-regalos-san-valentin-hombre">https://www.vogue.es/compras/articulos/mejores-regalos-san-valentin-hombre</a>
V11	The most trendy bag is also the most appropriate to give (yourself) as a Valentine's gift	Shopping	Gifts	11.02.23	<a href="https://www.vogue.es/moda/articulos/bolso-corazon-san-valentin-alaia">https://www.vogue.es/moda/articulos/bolso-corazon-san-valentin-alaia</a>

---

V12	You are not alone, you are with yourself: 4 treat-yourself plans that you will be truly into it at Valentine's Day	Beauty	Plans	13.02.23	<a href="https://www.vogue.es/belleza/articulos/san-valentin-planes-sola-madrid">https://www.vogue.es/belleza/articulos/san-valentin-planes-sola-madrid</a>
V13	I can buy myself flowers: 10 gifts to celebrate self-love (and love yourself better than anybody else)	Shopping	Gifts	14.02.23	<a href="https://www.vogue.es/compras/galerias/regalos-amor-propio-san-valentin">https://www.vogue.es/compras/galerias/regalos-amor-propio-san-valentin</a>