



## EXPRESSIONS OF GIRL POWER IN THE GAME OF THRONES SERIES: AN ANALYSIS BASED ON OF INTERSECTIONAL FEMINISM

EXPRESSÕES DO GIRL POWER NA SÉRIE GAME OF THRONES: UMA ANÁLISE À LUZ DO FEMINISMO INTERSECCIONAL

EXPRESIONES DE GIRL POWER EN LA SERIE GAME OF THRONES: UN ANÁLISIS BASADO EN EL FEMINISMO INTERSECCIONAL

### ABSTRACT

**Objective:** This study investigates subjective and objective interaction processes expressed in the series that can foster the construction of representations of girl power today.

**Methodological design:** To do so, I conducted in-depth interviews with individuals who call themselves fans of the series and analyzed journalistic materials published in digital media vehicles that link the concept of girl power to the series' imaginary.

**Results:** The results were interpreted in the light of intersectional feminism and critical marketing. I observed that the act of placing women at the center of narratives represents a shift in contemporary dramaturgy.

**Research limitations / implications:** It is not possible to conclude that this series is feminist, as highlighted by some interviewees. This divergence arises due to conceptual mismatches between female empowerment; post-feminism; neoliberal appeals; the attitude of the characters; and those responsible for the construction of the series observed during the analysis of the study.

**Originality:** The study unites theories from different theoretical heritages, thus stimulating different perspectives and interdisciplinary openings to understand contexts that connect marketing, consumer behavior, and consumption to feminist studies. Furthermore, it stimulates the development of critical thinking capable of impacting societies, organizations, institutions, and consumption focused on the debate.

**Keywords:** Marketing. Girl power. Feminism. Series. Game of Thrones.

### RESUMO

**Objetivo:** este estudo se propõe a investigar processos de interações subjetivos e objetivos expressos na série *Game of Thrones* cujos entendimentos fomentam a construção de representações do *Girl Power* na atualidade.

**Design / metodologia / abordagem:** foram realizadas entrevistas em profundidade com indivíduos que se

Fernanda de Aguiar Zanola

PhD. student

Universidade Federal de Lavras - Brazil

fernanda18az@gmail.com

Fernanda Cavaleiro Ruffino Rauber

PhD. student

Universidade Federal de Lavras - Brazil

fernanda.rauber2@estudante.ufla.br

Mônica Carvalho Alves Cappelle

PhD.

Universidade Federal de Lavras - Brazil

edmo@ufla.br

Daniel Carvalho de Rezende

PhD.

Universidade Federal de Lavras - Brazil

danielderezende@ufla.br

---

Submitted in: 08/19/2022

Approved in: 11/16/2023

**How to cite:** Zanola, F. A., Rauber, F. C. R., Cappelle, M. C. A., & Rezende, D. C. (2023). Expressions of girl power in the game of thrones series: an analysis based on of intersectional feminism. *Revista Alcance (online)*, 30(3), 16-30. Doi: [https://doi.org/10.14210/alcance.v30n3\(set/dez\).16-30](https://doi.org/10.14210/alcance.v30n3(set/dez).16-30)





autointitulam fãs da série, e analisados materiais jornalísticos publicados em veículos de mídia digitais que interligam o conceito do *Girl Power* ao imaginário da série.

**Resultados:** os resultados foram interpretados à luz do feminismo interseccional e do *marketing* crítico. Notou-se, portanto, que o ato de posicionar mulheres no centro das narrativas representa uma mudança na dramaturgia contemporânea.

**Limitações / implicações da pesquisa:** não é possível concluir que esta série seja feminista, como singularizado por alguns entrevistados. Essa divergência surge devido aos desencontros conceituais entre o empoderamento feminino; pós-feminismo; apelos neoliberais; a atitude dos personagens; e dos responsáveis pela construção da série observados durante as análises do estudo.

**Originalidade / valor:** o artigo une teorias de diferentes heranças teóricas, favorecendo, assim, diferentes perspectivas e aberturas interdisciplinares para compreender contextos que unem o *marketing*, comportamento do consumidor e o consumo aos estudos feministas. Ademais, estimula o desenvolvimento do pensamento crítico capaz de impactar sociedades, organizações, instituições e o consumo focado no debate.

**Palavras-chave:** *Marketing. Girl Power. Feminismo. Série. Game of Thrones.*

## RESUMEN

**Objetivo:** Este estudio se propone investigar procesos de interacción subjetivos y objetivos expresados en la serie que pueden propiciar la construcción de representaciones del *girl power* en la actualidad.

**Procedimientos Metodológicos:** se realizaron entrevistas en profundidad con personas que se autodenominan fanáticas de la serie y se analizaron materiales periodísticos publicados en medios digitales que vinculan el concepto de *girl power* con el imaginario de la serie.

**Resultados:** Los resultados se interpretaron a la luz del feminismo interseccional y el *marketing* crítico. Se notó, por tanto, que el hecho de colocar a la mujer en el centro de las narraciones representa un cambio en la dramaturgia contemporánea.

**Limitaciones / implicaciones de la investigación:** Sin embargo, no es posible concluir que esta serie sea feminista, como destacan algunos entrevistados. Esta divergencia surge debido a los desajustes conceptuales entre el empoderamiento femenino; posfeminismo; llamamientos neoliberales; la actitud de los personajes; y los responsables de la construcción de la serie observada durante el análisis del estudio.

**Originalidad:** El artículo reúne teorías de diferentes acervos teóricos, fomentando así diferentes perspectivas y aberturas interdisciplinares para comprender contextos que unen el *marketing*, el comportamiento del consumidor y el consumo a los estudios feministas. Además, estimula el desarrollo de un pensamiento crítico capaz de impactar en las sociedades, organizaciones, instituciones y consumos centrados en el debate.

**Palabras clave:** *Marketing. Girl power. Feminism. Serie. Game of Thrones.*

## INTRODUCTION

The view that sex and gender are distinct concepts serves as a guiding paradigm in this study. The former indicates biological, essentially organic characteristics that reiterate reductionist aspects of society and the fixed identity of social actors. In contrast, gender encompasses the overlap of social, symbolic, and material conditions that produce experiences and construct definitions (Acker, 1990, 2006).

This position assists in raising questions about other oppressions to gender relations, exposing or concealing them. Therefore, it is not a unilateral view; instead, contemporary relationships are analyzed from fluid social categories, not relying on isolated identity constructions, with essential attention to diverse contexts (Oyèwúmi, 2004). From this perspective, intersectional feminist theory emerges in this study as an important means to understand symbolic representations as well as the social structures individuals live within (Winker & Degele, 2011).

Feminisms, in general, connect theory to political practice, bringing about changes in different scenarios. However, some positions have heterogeneously impacted multiple realities. These inequalities stem from the colonial movement of paradigm dissemination, as well as essentially white feminist currents that reinforced class, imperialist, and sexist interests in their findings (Hooks, 2000a; Oyèwúmi, 2004). Part of these relationships, which prioritize white women, their theories, and habits, is observed in marketing research. Thus, they influence the marginalization of the topic, the neutrality of the theme in research, and the construction of a singular feminist perspective (Bristor & Fischer,



1993; Dobscha, 2019; Hearn & Hein, 2015).

In order to overcome this barrier, critical marketing perspectives are associated with intersectional feminism. This position stems from cross-fertilization of intellectual efforts, founded on critical and interdisciplinary efforts to offer theoretical, conceptual, and practical development in relation to the investigated theme (Tadajewski, 2010). Thus, systematic criticism stimulates the search for a practice that builds a better society (Firat & Tadajewski, 2009). Therefore, tensions or inconsistencies between subject and object were studied, considering the history of totality, reiterating the political nature of science and society. The knowledge generated by this intellectual communion is oriented towards an imaginative, critical, unmasking, and practical future (Murray & Ozanne, 1991).

Critical marketing allows the understanding of the current historical formation while striving to reveal possible imminent changes to the preconceived order (Murray & Ozanne, 1991). Linked to the investigation of these nuances in the contemporary scenario, different theoretical and practical expressions are noted, aiming to disseminate feminism through consumer relations. The term "Girl Power" is one of the narratives produced to evoke the notion of women's independence and individual capability. The term refers to the obligation to modify identity patterns through individual biographies (Koffman, Orgad, & Gill, 2015). Similarly, it acts as a marketing tool in various market segments (Gonick, 2006).

This concept was popularized and began to be used as a slogan in the 1990s, largely fueled by popular culture. It gained strength through the American underground punk scene and the rise of the British pop group Spice Girls. Both promoted narratives related to Girl Power in their music with the goal of boosting the popularity of young stars emerging to compete with male dominance in the music scene (Currie, 2015; Driscoll, 1999; Gonick, 2006).

In summary, the concept encourages young women to become empowered to (re) shape their lives through ideal archetypes. With the rise of these narratives, new symbolic spaces emerged to legitimize these representations (Gill,

2007, 2016). Just like the music and film industries, television series began to provide means to foster this visibility, forming a new social mirror that reproduces lifestyles and ways of thinking (Ulusoy, 2016).

In this universe, being a fan of something or someone changes life narratives, forms new consumption experiences, reinforces affective social bonds, intensifies the pursuit of status, and defines limits of shared interpretations of social reality (Kozinets, 1997). Embedded in this context, the series *Game of Thrones* (GoT), launched in 2011 and concluded in 2019, features various characters with storylines that facilitate this relationship. Furthermore, since its debut, it has become one of the most-watched series with high earning rates. Its success is evidenced by statistics demonstrating the vast number of fans who followed it, awards, and high profits (Egner, 2018).

In light of the above, this study aimed to investigate subjective and objective interaction processes expressed in the series that may motivate the construction of representations of Girl Power in the present. To achieve this, in-depth interviews were conducted with individuals who identify themselves as fans of the series, and an analysis was performed on journalistic materials published in digital media outlets that connect the Girl Power concept to the series' imaginary. The results were interpreted based on intersectional feminism and critical marketing, topics that will be clarified in the subsequent section.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: CONCEPTUAL INTEGRATION OF CRITICAL MARKETING AND INTERSECTIONAL FEMINISM**

In order to understand the proposed objectives, the principles of intersectional feminism were connected to the views of critical marketing. According to Hearn and Hein (2015), intersectionality linked to research agendas in marketing and consumer behavior is on the rise due to the explored connections to interpret gender and other social divisions.

This theory is concerned with decentralizing the normative subject through the interpretation of social markers of difference, such as sexuality,



gender, generation, class, religion, and race/ethnicity (Brah & Phoenix, 2004; Pelúcio, 2011). Therefore, it requires academics to avoid generalizing experiences of different groups (Samuels & Ross-Sheriff, 2008). According to Collins (1998), it is not limited to a fundamental type and aims to reconnect convergences in simultaneous processes of identity, institutional, and social practices. Additionally, it helps organizations build practical applications and enable political changes (Holvino, 2010).

It becomes a powerful thought to expose, modify, and challenge the images which control the condition of subjects. For this context, it enables the understanding of new reactions and oppressions (Collins, 2019) based on the investigated scenario, which interconnects consumption and culture. Therefore, it will be used as a form of critical investigation and praxis that exposes the formation of domination matrices in structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal dimensions. It also fosters ways to overcome unequal relationships (Akotirene, 2019; Mello; Luiz; & Eliane, 2010).

However, in marketing research, intersectional feminism has not been disseminated as a fundamental epistemology, and other feminist agendas distinct from liberal positions have become neutral, implicit, and marginalized (Bristor & Fischer, 1993; Dobscha, 2019; Fraser, 2007; Hearn & Hein, 2015). It is also worth noting that feminism attached to marketing has undergone changes, often becoming a generic and diluted agenda, reiterating concepts and practices that focus only on male interests rather than reflecting on different subjects, influencing the choice of researched topics and the way they are studied (Parsons et al., 2017; Saren, 2007).

Despite that, consumer behavior studies and the intersectional perspective are capable of: expanding understanding of different manifestations of interconnected inequalities in culture-mediated interactions (Kang, Chai, & McLean, 2015; Piscitelli, 2008); assisting in overcoming deficiencies and elevating strategies for the advancement of different socially marginalized groups (Maclaran, 2015; Maclaran, Miller, Parsons, & Surman, 2009; Maclaran & Ravets, 2018); highlighting the role of the

market in the formation of identity mechanisms; emphasizing the formation of unequal relationships; producing more complex, rich, and robust understandings of consumption (Kang et al., 2015; Maclaran et al., 2009; Ruiz Castro & Holvino, 2016).

In this study, this standpoint aligns with critical marketing, an interdisciplinary approach that deepens the understanding of consumers and their behaviors. Therefore, it investigates the interactions between subjective (meanings) and objective (social structures) processes. Consequently, tensions between subject and object are explored, aiming to clarify empirical and historical processes that reinforce potentially restrictive social conditions, exposing actions that challenge the disciplinary discourse present in specific contexts (Firat & Tadajewski, 2009).

Therefore, marketing and consumer relations are interpreted from symbolic aspects, distancing themselves from their primary functional value, becoming means to articulate transgressions in different realms, whether practical or theoretical (Chatzidakis & Maclaran, 2020). In this way, they are considered part of actions that reshape societies (Firat & Tadajewski, 2009; Saren, 2007). However, the opposite also occurs, with the relationships between marketing, consumption, actors, and institutions being fundamental to the dissemination and maintenance of patterns that serve the interests of restricted groups such as political parties, communities, corporations, and influential actors, ignoring the demands of other subjects present in contemporary social dynamics (Tadajewski, 2012).

Thus, changes will be possible by revealing contradictions in the historical-empirical conditions surrounding the research object. In addition, it identifies who benefits from social constructions of conflicting interests (Hietanen et al., 2020; Murray & Ozanne, 1991). In summary, critical perception aims to explore the nature of modern relationships, primarily investigating how consumption is intrinsically linked to the development of the capitalist system, reinforcing practices that benefit only a few subjects in capital exchanges (Firat & Tadajewski, 2009).

Studies with this focus aim to question the



limits of unrestrained power, whether economic, cultural, sexual, racial, among others. Furthermore, they examine the role of the researcher in knowledge production, demanding recognition in perpetuating the status quo and responsibility in changing deficient aspects in societies, even if in a preliminary, fragmented, and diffuse manner (Firat & Tadajewski, 2009). The figure 1, adapted from the study by Murray & Ozanne (1991), provides a summary of the assumptions and objectives of critical theory in marketing.

**Figure 1**

*Summary of Critical Marketing Assumptions*

Ontological Assumptions (Nature of Reality)	"Field of force" between subject and object; dynamic; historical totality; suspension of judgment; emphasizes human potential.
Axiological Assumptions (Nature of Values)	"Emancipation" through social organization that facilitates reason, justice, and freedom.
Epistemological Assumptions (Generated Knowledge)	Forward-looking; Imaginative; Critical/unmasked; Practical; Reflection, exposure of oppressions through dialogue, reconstruction, reflection, among others.
Research Relationship Metaphor	Liberating Continuous Dialogue.

Source: Adapted from Murray & Ozanne (1991).

With the theoretical integration of feminism and the critical marketing approach, the fundamental term for conducting the analyses of this study was revealed: Girl Power. This discourse evokes the rise of women's power; the valorization of altered social conditions; the transformation of some collective norms of conduct; and the existing unequal relationship between men and women (Yan, 2006). Thus, young women in various contexts have linked their identities to the term, becoming expressions of how rational actors have the capacity to reinvent themselves, adapting to the multiple pressures existing in the contemporary scenario (Currie, 2015; Gonick,

2006).

Furthermore, it acts as an advertising tool in various market niches (Gonick, 2006), stimulating individual power and signaling the yearning for an empowering agency that enables the transformation of one's own reality (D. Currie et al., 2009; D. H. Currie, 2015). An example is the use of this term to boost the popularity of musical groups that reinforce the strength of young women to the present day, for example, with the representation of Malala Yousafzai and her liberation speeches (Gill, 2007).

Linked to the perspectives outlined so far, concepts such as agency, especially those stimulated by consumption, will be used with caution. It constantly questions which interests are served through specific market practices (Tadajewski, 2010), thus exploring "cross-fertilization" (Tadajewski, 2010, p. 807) based on professional, academic, and activist lenses of the debate.

Moreover, for the scope of the research, it is not interesting to construct a fictitious study that reinforces a typologically clean approach. Above all, the intention is to expose commodified identities—fueled by marketing professionals, the media, popular culture, large corporations, among others (Maclaran, 2015; Maclaran et al., 2009; Maclaran & Kravets, 2018). In addition to breaking with the pretense of explaining or maintaining order, we aim to stimulate criticism and changes based on the empirical observations outlined in the following topics (Collins, 2019; Guimarães & Acciari, 2021).

## METHODOLOGY

The Game of Thrones series premiered on April 17, 2011, in the United States and was produced by the HBO channel. Upon concluding its eighth season, the production earned the title of one of the most-watched series globally, reaching over 30 million viewers per week (Egner, 2018). To investigate subjective and objective interaction processes that may promote the construction of Girl Power representations, 15 in-depth interviews and internet search investigations were conducted. An overview of the methodological approach can be observed in Figure 2.

**Figure 2***Summary of the Methodological Approach*

<b>Description of Stages and Respective Methodological Procedures</b>	
<b>Research Type</b>	<b>Qualitative and Descriptive.</b>
Profile of Interviewees	Fans of the Game of Thrones series, aged between 20 and 37 years, residing in various regions of the country.
Data Collection	In-depth interviews.
Number of Participants	Defined by "snowball" saturation criterion.
Data Analysis and Interpretation	Narrative analysis.

Source: Developed by the authors (2021).

Therefore, this study has a qualitative and descriptive nature, which values the researcher's direct and prolonged contact with the situation under study, while considering the participants' perspectives in the achieved results (Godoi et al., 2007). It also employs interpretative resources to understand "symbolic meanings, being the locus where issues such as identity, belonging, hierarchy, status, and power are reaffirmed" (Rocha & Rocha, 2007).

The corpus of this research consists of in-depth interviews conducted with individuals who self-identified as fans of Game of Thrones (GoT). Participants were selected through the snowball criterion, reached through three major reference chains: the researcher's social circle, online groups, and events that bring together fans of pop culture (Vinuto, 2014). With the conducted interviews and targeted questions to the participants, intersubjective understandings were analyzed, the historical development of relevant social structures or processes mentioned by the interviewees was examined, contradictions between intersubjective understanding and objective social conditions were sought, and discussions about interpreting situations among

potentially marginalized groups were formulated (Murray & Ozanne, 1991). Data were considered saturated when they did not bring different or new information to the research, in other words, when empirical or knowledge saturation occurred (Gil, 2008; Godoi & Mattos, 2006; Pires, 2012).

The interviews lasted an average of 40 minutes, conducted virtually through the Skype platform. All materials were recorded and subsequently transcribed. Participants authorized the analysis of the materials through a consent form. It is worth noting that during the interviews, the participants were around 20 and 27 years old. Among them, ten identified as female, and the other five as male. Additionally, the income range designated by the participants was around two to seven minimum wages. Moreover, all were graduates, and four were enrolled in postgraduate programs.

Subsequently, additional information was added to the research corpus. To do so, investigations were built from internet search mechanisms to understand the meanings associated with Girl Power disseminated in digital media during and after the eighth season of the series (April 2019 and subsequent periods). This information was researched on the Google news platform in three different languages: Portuguese, English, and Spanish. Thus, 26 news articles were compiled, with many of them being published in widely circulated online newspapers and magazines such as The Washington Post, The Guardian, Uol, O Globo, El Español, BBC News, among others. To assist in the analysis, the download of all materials was performed. After coding, they shaped the main results addressed in the following topics.

The investigation of the entire framework described above was carried out through narrative analysis, aiming to assist in the in-depth exploration of distinct relationships in a comprehensive manner (Kaufmann, 2013). The writings of authors Bauer & Gaskell (2015) guided the conduct of this stage. Through the application, social phenomena were observed, and subjectivities were manifested (Moutinho & Conti, 2016).

In summary, through the articulation between interviews, news disseminated in the



virtual environment, and the context of the series, the aim is to shed light on perceptions about the group of fans involved in the analysis and envision actions that may be potentially restrictive. Thus, the outlined contradictions and limitations can provide stimuli for change. With the described research process and the results achieved, the study will attempt to imagine social or organizational alternatives to facilitate the formulation of actions free from restrictions (Fitchett, Patsiaouras, & Davies, 2014; Lambert, 2019). In the following topics, this proposal will be presented, firstly, in introductory insights, revealing objective and subjective aspects addressed by the interviewees, and then in analyses of the landscape in which the series was constructed, raising debates on consumption, feminism, gender, and intersectionality.

## ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

In this section, the main results obtained from the research will be presented and discussed. For a better understanding and achievement of the study's objectives, they will be analyzed from the perspective of critical marketing and intersectional feminism. Thus, the following topic describes the relationships perceived in the narratives of the interview participants, and the second reflects on the oppressions related to the series context.

### The expressions of Girl Power in Game of Thrones

Throughout the interviews, many narratives were constructed linking Girl Power to the series. For the participants, this concept singularizes archetypes that encourage women to achieve power and pursue the future they desire (D. Currie et al., 2009). The following excerpt from a participant introduces this relationship: "Arya is almost everything I wanted to be!" (E10).

However, narratives resembling post-feminist logics were not mentioned in the interviews. According to Gonick (2006) and McRobbie (2008), this relationship builds largely invisible equalities, obscures issues, and creates barriers to overcoming limiting gender and sexuality relations. Conversely, the participants

perceive the series as a mechanism for disseminating feminist logics in contemporary society.

It is worth noting that the study participants identify themselves as both male and female. They have a high level of education and belong to a high-income bracket, placing them in a privileged class position. It is also observed that only one participant identifies as black. Therefore, care is taken to avoid generalizations, recognizing that the highlighted dimensions reflect the reality of some individuals culturally identifying with the Game of Thrones series.

From this perspective, the rise of Girl Power was noted in the statements expressed by the interviewees, who associated certain characters in the plot with this movement. According to them, the concept emerges in the plot from the representation of "women's determination, they can achieve everything they desire!" (E11). Thus, they capture in fiction the notion of independence, agency, and the valorization of individual biographies as means to shape active and empowered individuals (D. Currie et al., 2009; Koffman et al., 2015).

Arya Stark is one of the characters cited for representing these assumptions. She is often described as a girl with typically masculine characteristics. Moreover, she became known for being determined and independent, capable of breaking patterns of "ladylike" behavior. Participants admire her for her strength and determination, seeing her as a focal point for constructing narratives and an ideal pattern of conduct.

The description of Arya given by the participants aligns with Koffman et al.'s (2015) understanding of activist Malala. Both represent girls victimized by patriarchal culture; however, they act as potential agents capable of stimulating changes in the context they inhabit (Koffman et al., 2015). As mentioned by (E14): "She is seen as a girl who doesn't conform to what is expected, and I identified with her... she has a stereotype that is often devalued by society, but she fights and doesn't limit herself to being a 'princess.'"

Another character encompassing these symbols is Daenerys. During the interviews, she was described as a strong and fearless leader who



knows her worth and has well-defined purposes. They also mentioned that throughout the series, the character became strong, confident, and courageous. Her experiences contributed to transforming her into a conqueror. However, at times, she can be harsh and ruthless with her enemies.

In addition to this observation, the mentioned character became a "(...) symbol of resistance and the feminist movement, who, even being a woman in a completely male chauvinistic society, Daenerys is up there, doing everything she wants to achieve her goals!" (E02). Thus, she can "(...) represent too much the strength of women in the current context. Despite being set in a fictional story, she represents the feminist movement!" (E10).

In the mentioned speech fragments, a strong relationship is identified between the series symbols and the act of empowering women's social participation. Through media and consumption, roles are attributed that embody the understanding of feminism for this segment of contemporary society. For example, there is a constant encouragement from the series to create active characters with greater independence and empowerment, a distinct construction from the protagonists of popular culture in the 1970s and 1980s. However, in the studied context, it still reinforces normative patterns of femininity, such as being maternal and altruistic (Gill, 2007).

The villain Cersei Lannister, described by the author George R. R. Martin as "someone with a high level of narcissism, with an almost sociopathic view of the world and civilization," was also mentioned as a symbol capable of representing the strength of women. The character was consistently praised by critics as one of the most complex and multifaceted in the saga (Mcquade; Sander, 2019). Interviewee 14 mentions that she "has always been ready to do everything for her children, has a giant maternal instinct. She never gives up on what she wants and is always ready to continue" (E14). Furthermore, "she is strong, she knows her power, she fights for what she wants... I think she represents the strength of women in commanding relationships" (E03).

Based on the observations made so far, it is noted, from the epistemology of critical

marketing, the possibility of revealing nuances, divergences, and intersubjectivities present in the investigated scenario (Fitchett et al., 2014). Therefore, it can be perceived that the Girl Power narratives in the series transformed media representations, identities, and ideologies into marketable artifacts. Thus, according to the participants, there are feminist agendas linked to the series; however, they were used and founded on capitalist precepts, stimulating the construction of heroines that generate significant financial movements, advertisements, and fandoms (Currie et al., 2009).

Additionally, symbols associated with the neoliberal agenda are observed due to the constant appeal to the independence of characters to become entrepreneurs, rational, autonomous, calculating, and take responsibility for their trajectory (Gill, 2007, 2016). Likewise, they incorporate the ability to act subtly into the portrayed identities, to reinforce and attract the admiration of fans and, from this observation, to build characters with skills to "(...) not let themselves be beaten, they showed themselves to be strong, determined, empowered, and brave women amid the chaos they were going through" (E15). Therefore, they link Girl Power to feminism, undermining the goals of forming a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression (Hooks, 2000a, 2000b).

Thus, critical marketing allowed the exploration of factions that challenge the disciplinary discourse that arises in the series observed by fans (Firat & Tadajewski, 2009). Illustrating how agency, stereotypes, and narrative appropriation are subtly put into practice to create a market and increase profitability. Thus, they reflect the possible constraints that consumption can reveal or conceal (Tadajewski, 2010), considering which interests are served by this practice and aspects that seem beneficial to society but should be analyzed with caution, in the investigated case, due to strong neoliberal and, in the case of the series, post-feminist tendencies.

In this sense, Firat & Tadajewski (2009) indicate that intellectual cross-fertilization is seen by critical marketing scholars as the path to intellectual, conceptual, and practical development. In this way, changes will be possible





by revealing contradictions in the historical-empirical conditions surrounding the object. In addition to identifying who benefits from social constructions of contradictory interests (Murray & Ozanne, 1991). This path will be addressed in the next topic.

### The Dark Side of Game of Thrones

From the analysis of the study *corpus*, it was observed that characters such as Daenerys, Arya, and Cersei were consolidated as “the game changers” as they modified, to some extent, the system exposed in the plot. The actress portraying Daenerys emphasized that Game of Thrones placed women in positions of power, making them a source of inspiration for female viewers. Another actress participating in the series characterized the plot as feminist due to the prominence given to women (Amendola, 2019).

However, as observed in the previous section, there were deviations between the goals of feminism (Hooks, 2000a) and the narratives that, according to research participants, reinforce Girl Power in the plot. A conceptual divergence was noted, turning the series into an artifact that reflects empowerment assumptions aligned with market strategies, aiming to increase the series’ engagement with a diverse consumer base (Gill, 2007, 2016; Koffman et al., 2015).

It is worth noting that this implicit message identified in magazines, films, media articles, and the Game of Thrones series did not emerge suddenly with the dominance of contemporary television. This trend originated from the private sphere and externalized into clothing, work, personal relationships, surgical interventions, child rearing, among others (Gill, 2007). Koffman et al. (2015) demonstrate that the celebration of female power is profound and problematic. Through celebration and consumption, women, especially those subalternized, continuously suffer the impacts of neoliberal and post-feminist narratives, which tend to mask existing radical differences and inequalities, weakening the very foundation—feminism (Koffman et al., 2015).

The narratives present in the series, reinforced by newspapers and participants’

statements, speak to women’s experiences and their potential to destabilize norms in the context they operate. However, the ideals restructured in post-feminist freedoms only privilege the power of individual agency, focusing on a single segment of “women,” ignoring the demands of other subjects, especially those facing intersecting oppressions of race, class, and gender, among others (Currie et al., 2009; Currie, 2015; Gill, 2007; Gonick, 2006). Thus, the excessive use of Girl Power reaches a problematic level, as if young women can do, be, and have everything they want without barriers, where can feminism act? (Pomerantz & Raby, 2011).

Linked to these circumstances, the series reinforced sexist representations due to the excessive exposure of naked female bodies and the replication of scenes of sexual violence against women. The vast majority of female characters were either exposed naked, raped, or victims of male violence. Male characters, on the other hand, were rarely shown completely nude (Salvatierra, 2019). According to Gill (2007), the post-feminist logic encourages the construction of subjects similar to the heterosexual male fantasy found in pornography. They are represented as active, young, and sexually autonomous, internalizing the male gaze to form a new disciplinary regime that constructs subjectivities (Gill, 2007, 2016). According to Maclaran (2015), these practices foster a new subtle sexism permeated by consumption practices. In this sense, the author highlights the need to understand the role of marketing, aiming to dissociate these processes at an individual and institutional level.

The constant exposure of female bodies in the series also reinforces another type of exclusion: only a few characters were characterized as representatives of Girl Power. Those who deviated from the young, beautiful, slim, white, independent, sexually active standard did not receive the same attention and were not associated with this movement by research participants and analyzed news. In the context analyzed, in line with Gill’s perceptions (2007), those who contradicted these “ideal” standards were often characterized in offensive and cruel ways.

Alongside this stigma, the almost non-



existent representation of black individuals in the plot was identified. This exclusion reinforces the notion of the innate superiority of certain social groups (Lorde, 2019). Therefore, the series stimulated the formation of intersectional sub-representations, reiterating oppressions in two or more identity categories. These manifestations hinder the recognition of interactions and encourage the distortion of individual characteristics to fit prototypes of generic groups. Thus, it intensifies marginalization and social invisibility (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). Moreover, it normalizes discourses, making them part of common sense (Cooky et al., 2010).

Behind the scenes, another deviation between potential feminist assumptions and the construction of the series was noticed, as throughout the eight seasons, only three women received credits for their involvement in writing or directing some episodes (Amendola, 2019; Chandler, 2019; Onieva, 2019). In other words, female representatives were not enlisted in the production of the series, which, for many, is classified as a cultural consumption that encourages a movement against sexism – reinforcing, thus, a practical misalignment between feminisms, empowerment, individual liberation, as well as a constant and sexualized exposure of women (Prieto, 2019).

Another standout piece of information from the analyzed news was the substantial transformation of characters during the eighth season of the series. Many of them incorporated problems that are generically attributed to female representations. In summary, the plot associated some of the protagonists with harmful implications for the portrayed society. Therefore, characters who were strong, warriors, determined, and “masters of their own destiny” became unable to rule or were affected by an obsession with power, merely due to possessing reductionist characteristics of femininity (Gill, 2007; Kawasak, 2019).

For instance, Daenerys, in the final season, was linked to a stereotype of a mad and impulsive woman who rules by instilling fear and terror after being rejected by her romantic partner. Similarly, Cersei did not embody the fearless villain she had become over the years of

the series but, oppositely, had a poetic ending alongside her brother (Amendola, 2019; Chandler, 2019; Salvatierra, 2019). In a news report from “El Español,” Maldonado (2019) relates this conceptual change to Beard’s theory (2018) presented in the book “Women and Power.” The author states that Western culture tends to portray female rulers as hysterical or mad. Therefore, the series exposes what men historically did when faced with women capable of power—they felt fear, panic, and terror. As a strategy, they killed them or conspired against them to return power to where it always belonged (Beard, 2018).

The critical analysis of subjective and objective interaction processes expressed in the series witnessed the formation of inequalities through sexist and patriarchal principles, ensuring, even in an obscure and subtle way, that all spaces and institutions are dominated by men (Maclaran & Kravets, 2018). Furthermore, this intention was not clearly expressed; on the contrary, it became internalized, acting in deep layers that stimulated the appropriation of discourses in favor of the capitalist and patriarchal system, echoing its demands through consumption (Gill, 2007).

Moreover, it fostered the construction of standards related to race, age, sexuality, among others. This intersection of oppressions stimulates heteronormative constructions, limits perceptions, obscures information, harms many women, non-white people, queers, and other individuals outside hegemonic discourses (Baines, 2010). Therefore, by isolating multiple social identities, the series ignores the experience of individuals and, consequently, subordinates characteristics, reinforcing stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination (Cooky et al., 2010; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008).

In summary, the representation of Girl Power in the series acted to shape the understanding of “strong, warrior, determined” women. This narrative turned into a market strategy (D. Currie et al., 2009). However, a significant part of this narrative was produced, written, and performed by men who dedicated themselves to discussing women’s roles in society. Thus, the Girl Power promoted in Game of Thrones expresses only the view of those who do not experience the same battles as those identifying with the female



gender (Currie et al., 2009; Currie, 2015; Gill, 2007; Gonick, 2006).

As a result, it tends not to favor the debates promoted by the feminist movement; it inflames sexism; heteronormative standards; neoliberal tendencies; reinforces sexism and constructs subtle mechanisms for the perpetuation of this practice; normalizes violence; creates stereotypes; heightens intersections that generate oppressions; enables the limited representation of women in male-dominated scenarios; and acknowledges little recognition of individuals outside standard narratives (Amendola, 2019; Chandler, 2019; Salvatierra, 2019). Ultimately, it reinforces a logic built through the media, tied to consumption that limits the impact of the feminist movement today (Gill, 2007).

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This study investigated interaction processes that may foster the construction of Girl Power representations in contemporary times. Despite the storyline being considered a fantastic creation by the interviewees, it conveys characteristics that are part of human relationships. One of these connections between the real and the fantastic occurred through the assimilation of symbols expressed in the plot that externalize attributes stemming from the Girl Power movement.

Arya, Daenerys, and Cersei were the characters representing the archetype of independent women who alter their journeys through carefully designed identities (Koffman et al., 2015). It is noticeable that placing women at the center of narratives represents a shift in contemporary dramaturgy. This change moves the discussion to the forefront of popular debates, suggesting that women can govern, showcase their individualities, and be respected regardless of the spaces they occupy. Linked to this notion, the interviewees expressed in their narratives the desire to develop characteristics related to this movement.

However, it cannot be concluded that this series is feminist, as singularized by some interviewees. This divergence arises due to conceptual mismatches between female

empowerment, post-feminism, neoliberal appeals, the characters' attitudes, and those responsible for the series' construction observed during the study's analysis. Although it is a valid discourse in the interviewees' perception, an intersectional feminist reading, linked to critical marketing, allowed us to understand that the exposure of hegemonic stories, with strong post-feminist roots, limits a critical view of the context (D. Currie et al., 2009).

From this perspective, Girl Power narratives incorporated depoliticized discourses that diminish the impact of the fight against sexism in modern society. Thus, it reinforces a simplistic feminism, with few possibilities of impacting different social segments. This dilemma is related to the fact that the series is a cultural artifact created by men, in which women have minimal representation in creative roles, and the characters are articulated by (and for) this gender. Consequently, it reaffirms a patriarchal view of body, sexual, and aesthetic standards; reinforces the objectification of bodies; normalizes sexual violence; and the idea that some women are incapable of governing. These are disparate precepts from contemporary feminist aspirations.

As a result, different questions arose: should the series be judged as a whole by the norms exposed in fiction or by the endorsed struggles in the modern scenario? Through which means should sexist relationships present in the audiovisual industry be fought? What would be a feminist ending for the series? What is the impact of this logic on the reality of other low-income and low-educated women, designated to other social difference markers that reinforce subalternities in the current scenario?

However, part of these questions was not answered in this work. This impasse arose due to the limitations of scope, paradigmatic, methodological, and epistemological precepts that outlined the construction of the study. Therefore, for future agendas, it is suggested to enable greater understandings and reveal broad practices that can generate limitations in this scenario when social difference markers (such as race, class, sexuality, ethnicity, age, among others) overlap. These characteristics are essential to reveal how distinctions occur and are



(re)produced, identifying differences between analytical dimensions.

However, this study overcomes the barrier of the generic construction of the gender term, commonly used in organizational and consumer behavior studies as synonymous with sex; fixed category; or considered as an individual choice. However, simplistic observations based on assumptions of biological differences between men and women, such as heteronormative assumptions commonly used in marketing and consumer behavior studies (Hearn & Hein, 2015), were avoided. In addition, in-depth explorations were carried out on historically grounded intersubjective understandings through the fans' perception of the series, exposing invisibility and marginalization. Thus, pointed social processes and structures reveal relationships experienced in contemporary social conditions (Murray & Ozanne, 1991).

For future research, it is suggested to construct research agendas that interconnect marketing and feminism, as well as explore the nuances that connect female empowerment to an ideology to foster consumption, as well as the obstacles imposed by the divergent economic system, in many cases, from feminist agendas. Furthermore, the results found here can be compared to the new perceptions of fans about feminism conceived after the broadcast of other series that link female power to their themes. Similarly, research construction is suggested that uses critical marketing to understand interpretations of the consumption's ability to act as a transformative perspective, both in social relationships and in identity characteristics in other fields of consumption.

## REFERENCES

- Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations. *Gender & Society*, 4(2), 139-158. <https://doi.org/10.1177/089124390004002002>
- Acker, J. (2006). Inequality regimes: Gender, class, and race in organizations. *Gender and Society*, 20(4), 441-464. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243206289499>
- Akotirene, C. (2019). *Interseccionalidade*. São Paulo: Pólen Produção Editorial LTDA.
- Amendola, B. (2019). *Game of Thrones teve mulheres poderosas, mas esbarrou no machismo*. Uol Entretenimento. <https://entretenimento.uol.com.br/reportagens-especiais/as-mulheres-poderosas-de-game-of-thrones/>
- Baines, D. (2010). Gender Mainstreaming in a Development Project: Intersectionality in a Post-Colonial Un-doing? *Gender, Work & Organization*, 17(2), 119-149. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0432.2009.00454.x>
- Bauer, M. W., & Gaskell, G. (2015). *Pesquisa qualitativa com texto, imagem e som: um manual prático*. Petrópolis: Vozes.
- Beard, M. (2018). *Women & Power: A Manifesto*. Profile Books.
- Brah, A., & Phoenix, A. (2004). *Ain't IA woman? Revisiting intersectionality*. *Journal of international women's studies*, 5(3), 75-86.
- Bristor, J. M., & Fischer, E. (1993). Feminist Thought: Implications for Consumer Research. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 19(4), 518-536. <https://doi.org/10.1086/209320>
- Chandler, A. (2019). *Game of Thrones has betrayed the women who made it great*. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2019/may/08/game-of-thrones-has-betrayed-the-women-who-made-it-great>
- Chatzidakis, A., & Maclaran, P. (2020). Gendering consumer ethics. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 44(4), 316-327.
- Collins, P. H. (1998). It's all in the family: Intersections of gender, race, and nation. *Hypatia*, 13(3), 62-82.
- Collins, P. H. (2019). *Pensamento feminista negro: Conhecimento, consciência e política do empoderamento*. Boitempo.
- Cooky, C., Wachs, F. L., Messner, M., & Dworkin, S. L. (2010). It's Not About the Game: Don Imus, Race, Class, Gender and Sexuality in Contemporary Media. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 27(2), 139-159. <https://doi.org/10.1123/SSJ.27.2.139>
- Currie, D. H. (2015). *From Girlhood, Girls to Girls' Studies*. Girls, Texts, Cultures.
- Currie, D., Kelly, D. M., & Pomerantz, S. (2009).



- Girl Power: Girls Reinventing Girlhood*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Dobscha, S. (2019). *Handbook of Research on Gender and Marketing*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Driscoll, C. (1999). Girl Culture, Revenge and Global Capitalism: Cybergirls, Riot Grrls, Spice Girls. *Australian Feminist Studies*, 14(29), 173-193. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08164649993425>
- Egner, J. (2018). *Game of Thrones: Won't Return Until 2019*. The New York Times.
- Fitchett, J. A., Patsiaouras, G., & Davies, A. (2014). Myth and ideology in consumer culture theory. *Marketing Theory*, 14(4), 495-506.
- Firat, A. F.; & Tadajewski, M. (2009). Critical marketing–marketing in critical condition. In P. Maclaran, M. Saren, B. Stern & M. Tadajewski, *The sage handbook of marketing theory* (pp. 127–150). Sage Publications.
- Fraser, N. (2007). Mapping the Feminist Imagination: From Redistribution to Recognition to Representation. In Degener, U., & Rosenzweig, B. *Die Neuverhandlung Sozialer Gerechtigkeit*, (37-51). [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-90382-8\\_2](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-90382-8_2)
- Gil, A. C. (2008). *Métodos e técnicas de pesquisa social* (6<sup>th</sup>). Editora Atlas.
- Gill, R. (2007). Postfeminist media culture: Elements of a sensibility. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 10(2), 147-166. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549407075898>
- Gill, R. (2016). Post-postfeminism?: New feminist visibilities in postfeminist times. *Feminist Media Studies*, 16(4), 610-630. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2016.1193293>
- Godoi, C. K., & Mattos, P. L. C. L. de. (2006). Entrevista qualitativa: instrumento de pesquisa e evento dialógico. In: C. K. Godoi, R. Bandeira-de-Mello, & A. B. da Silva (Orgs.), *Pesquisa qualitativa em estudos organizacionais: paradigmas, estratégias e métodos* (301-324). Saraiva.
- Godoi, C. K., Mello, R. B., & Silva, A. B. (2007). Pesquisa qualitativa em estudos organizacionais. *Revista Contemporânea de Contabilidade*. <https://doi.org/10.5007/%25x>
- Gonick, M. (2006). Between Girl Power and Reviving Ophelia: Constituting the Neoliberal Girl Subject. *NWSA Journal*, 18(2), 1-23.
- Guimarães, N. A., & Acciari, L. (2021). Interview with Patricia Hill Collins. *Tempo Social*, 33(1). <https://doi.org/10.11606/0103-2070.ts.2021.174340>
- Hearn, J., & Hein, W. (2015). Reframing gender and feminist knowledge construction in marketing and consumer research: missing feminisms and the case of men and masculinities. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 31(15-16), 1626-1651. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0267257X.2015.1068835>
- Hietanen, J., Murray, J. B., Sihvonen, A., & Tikkanen, H. (2020). Seduced by “fakes”: Producing the excessive interplay of authentic/counterfeit from a Baudrillardian perspective. *Marketing Theory*, 20(1), 23-43. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1470593119870214>
- Holvino, E. (2010). Intersections: The simultaneity of race, gender and class in Organization Studies. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 17(3), 248-277. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0432.2008.00400.x>
- Hooks, B. (2000a). *Feminist theory: From margin to center*. Pluto Press.
- Hooks, B. (2000b). *Feminism is for Everybody*. Pluto Press.
- Kang, H. J., Chai, D. S., & McLean, G. N. (2015). *An intersectionality and hope-based career development model for female international marriage immigrants in Korea*. Human Resource Development International, 18(5), 538-555.
- Kaufmann, J. C. (2013). *A entrevista compreensiva - Um guia para pesquisa de campo*. Vozes Limitada.
- Kawasak, R. T. (2019). *As implicações preocupantes da representação feminina em Game of Thrones*. Não Me Kahlo. <https://naomekahlo.com/as-implicacoes-preocupantes-da-representacao-feminina-em-game-of-thrones/>
- Koffman, O., Orgad, S., & Gill, R. (2015). Girl power and “selfie humanitarianism”. *Continuum*, 29(2), 157-168. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10304312.2015.1022948>
- Kozinets, R. V. (1997). “I Want To Believe”: A Netnography of The X-Philes’ Subculture of Consumption. *Advances in Consumer Research*, 24(1), 470–475.
- Lambert, A. (2019). Psychotic, acritical and



- precarious? A Lacanian exploration of the neoliberal consumer subject. *Marketing Theory*, 19(3), 329-346. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1470593118796704>
- Lorde, A. (2019). Idade, raça, classe e gênero: mulheres redefinindo a diferença. In: *Pensamento feminista: conceitos fundamentais*. Rio de Janeiro: Bazar do Tempo. (238-249).
- Maclaran, P. (2015). Feminism's fourth wave: a research agenda for marketing and consumer research. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 31(15-16), 1732-1738. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0267257X.2015.1076497>
- Maclaran, P., & Kravets, O. (2018). Feminist perspectives in marketing: Past, present, and future. In: *The Routledge Companion to Critical Marketing*, 64-82. Routledge.
- Maclaran, P., Miller, C., Parsons, E., & Surman, E. (2009). Praxis or performance: does critical marketing have a gender blind-spot?. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 25(7-8), 713-728.
- Maldonado, L. G. (2019). *Las feministas, contra "Juego de Tronos": "Han vuelto loca a Daenerys para deslegitimarla*. El Español. [https://www.elespanol.com/cultura/series/20190519/feministas-juego-tronos-vuelto-loca-daenerys-deslegitimarla/399460447\\_0.html](https://www.elespanol.com/cultura/series/20190519/feministas-juego-tronos-vuelto-loca-daenerys-deslegitimarla/399460447_0.html)
- Mcquade; S. (2019). *Game of Thrones' is full of heroines. But is the series actually feminist?* TheLily. <https://www.thelily.com/game-of-thrones-is-full-of-heroines-but-is-the-series-actually-feminist>
- McRobbie, A. (2008). Young women and consumer culture. *Cultural Studies*, 22(5), 531-550. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502380802245803>
- Mello, L., & Eliane, G. (2010). Diferença e interseccionalidade: notas para pensar práticas em saúde. *Revista Cronos*, 11(2).
- Moutinho, K., & Conti, L. D. (2016). *Análise Narrativa, Construção de Sentidos e Identidade. Psicologia: Teoria e Pesquisa*, 32(2), 1-8. <https://doi.org/10.1590/0102-3772E322213>
- Murray, J. B., & Ozanne, J. L. (1991). The Critical Imagination: Emancipatory Interests in Consumer Research. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 18(2), 129. <https://doi.org/10.1086/209247>
- Onieva, A. (2019). *Polémicas de 'Juego de tronos': feminismo delante y machismo detrás*. Fuerade Series. <https://fueradeseries.com/juego-de-tronos-polemica-feminismo-mujeres-equipo-d10745b7783>
- Oyěwùmí, O. (2004). Conceituando o gênero: os fundamentos eurocêtricos dos conceitos feministas e o desafio das epistemologias africanas. *CODESRIA Gender Series*, 1, 1-8.
- Parsons, E., Maclaran, P., & Chatzidakis, A. (2017). *Contemporary issues in marketing and consumer behaviour*. Routledge.
- Pelúcio, L. (2011). *Marcadores sociais da diferença nas experiências travestis de enfrentamento à aids*. Saúde e sociedade, 20, 76-85.
- Pires, Á. P. (2012). Amostragem e pesquisa qualitativa: ensaio teórico e metodológico. In: J. Poupart, J.-P. Deslauriers, L.-H. Groulx, A. Laperrère, R. Mayer, & Á. Pires (Orgs.), *A pesquisa qualitativa: enfoques epistemológicos e metodológicos*, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 154-211. Editora Vozes.
- Piscitelli, A. (2002). Re-criando a (categoria) mulher. *Textos Didáticos*, 48, 7-42.
- Pomerantz, S., & Raby, R. (2011). 'Oh, she's so smart': girls' complex engagements with post/feminist narratives of academic success. *Gender and Education*, 23(5), 549-564. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2010.538014>
- Prieto, P. V. (2019). *La polémica de Game of Thrones: ¿es una serie feminista o machista?* La Nación. <https://www.lanacion.com.ar/espectaculos/series-de-tv/la-polemica-game-of-thrones-es-serie-nid2246082>
- Purdie-Vaughns, V., & Eibach, R. P. (2008). Intersectional Invisibility: The Distinctive Advantages and Disadvantages of Multiple Subordinate-Group Identities. *Sex Roles*, 59(5), 377-391. <https://doi.org/10.1007/S11199-008-9424-4>
- Rocha, A., & Rocha, E. (2007). Paradigma interpretativo nos estudos de consumo: retrospectiva, reflexões e uma agenda de pesquisas para o Brasil. *Revista de Administração de Empresas*, 47(1), 71-80. <https://doi.org/10.1590/s0034-75902007000100007>
- Ruiz Castro, M., & Holvino, E. (2016). Applying intersectionality in organizations: Inequality markers, cultural scripts and advancement



practices in a professional service firm. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 23(3), 328-347.

Salvatierra, L. (2019). La rompedora de cadenas y el feminismo de Juego de Tronos. *Mujeres En Lucha*. <https://mujeresenlucha.es/2019/05/14/la-rompedora-de-cadenas-y-el-feminismo-de-juego-de-tronos>

Samuels, G. M., & Ross-Sheriff, F. (2008). Identity, oppression, and power: Feminisms and intersectionality theory. *Affilia - Journal of Women and Social Work*, 23(1), 5-9. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109907310475>

Saren, M. (2007). Marketing is everything: the view from the street. *Marketing Intelligence & Planning*.

Tadajewski, M. (2010). Towards a history of critical marketing studies. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 26(9-10), 773-824. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02672571003668954>

Tadajewski, M. (2012). History and critical marketing studies. *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, 4(3), 440-452. <https://doi.org/10.1108/17557501211252970>

Ulusoy, E. (2016). Subcultural escapades via music consumption: Identity transformations and extraordinary experiences in Dionysian music subcultures. *Journal of Business Research*, 69(1), 244-254. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2015.07.037>

Vinuto, J. (2014). A amostragem em bola de neve na pesquisa qualitativa. *Tematicas*, 22(44), 203-220. <https://doi.org/10.20396/tematicas.v22i44.10977>

Winker, G., & Degele, N. (2011). Intersectionality as multi-level analysis: Dealing with social inequality. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 18(1), 51-66. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506810386084>

Yan, Y. (2006). Girl power: Young women and the waning of patriarchy in rural North China. *Ethnology*, 45(2), 105-123. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4617569>