

## 8.2. Nakedness, gender and print culture: bodies in the magazine “La Luna de Madrid”

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### Abstract

In this brief essay I intend to analyze the issue of the naked bodies in print culture, working with images and texts of the magazine “La Luna de Madrid”. Analyzing the Summer Special number of the magazine -through the pictures and narratives as well as the body debate developed in the conversation interview entitled “el triunfo del cuerpo”- I intend to reconstruct the discourses about men/women bodies, nakedness and health/illness discussion developed in the magazine. Doing a textual analysis study I intend to suggest plausible interpretations of texts offering a semiotic approach to address this issue and to demonstrate that, behind those images and texts, there are compelling discursive mechanisms that prefigure and constrain the meaning and the uses of bodies in a given society.

**Keywords:** nakedness, bodies, magazine, postmodern body, body beautiful.

*“The physical body is a microcosm of society, facing the centre of power, contracting and expanding its claims in direct accordance with the increase and relaxation of social pressures”*  
Mary Douglas

### Introduction

In the next pages I intend to analyze the body as the ground of the social structuration following some epistemological approaches from the sociology of the body that will help me to think about what is and which is the role displayed by the bodies in the contemporary western culture. Situated bodies, naked bodies in print culture, images and texts in the magazine “La Luna de Madrid”, the special number entitled “En Pelotas” (Nº 20 (1985)). Why this magazine? I have chosen La Luna de Madrid because it was one of the most popular magazines during the eighties. It was founded on December 1982 as an avant-gard project that opened its pages to different art expressions of the moment: painting, photograph, fashion, popular music, literature, comic, etc. Moreover, “La Luna de Madrid” gave voice to some issues developed by the cultural phenomenon of “la Movida”<sup>2</sup> as, for instance, the hedonism, the banalization of politics or the intense relations between night and drugs, sex and pleasure in the city of Madrid during those days (FOUCE, 2002) (VILARÓS, 1998) (GARCÍA NAHARRO, *Diálogo de discursos en el periodo de la Transición a la Democracia*, 2011)

For this paper I’ve selected the Summer Special number, July-August 1985 because it was focused on the body and therefore it should be a vivid and explicit review of issues as bodies and nakedness. So, working with this special number of the magazine -through the pictures and narratives as well as the body debate developed in the conversation interview entitled “el triunfo del cuerpo”- I intend to reconstruct the discourses about men/women bodies, nakedness and health/illness discussion developed in the magazine in order to understand the complex set of elements that contribute to create a specific textual image of bodies in a printed object.

### Bodies as textual ornaments

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<sup>2</sup> The headless “cultural phenomenon” that refers to an experiential culture full of symbols and values that shaped some of the Spanish youth and the popular culture of the post-Franco era in Spain.

Since the early days bodies were closely related to this magazine: for example, the Zero number of the magazine was celebrated with a striptease contest to get money to print and publish the first number of the magazine, finally published on November 1983. In this case, the title of this special number is revealing: "En Pelotas" a popular expression for being completely naked (both socially and physically). Naked bodies as the one that we can see in its front page<sup>3</sup>: a white, young and thin woman in topless, with make up on her face, acting as mime artist. Short hair, closed eyes and red lips, with her mouth and her hands on a provocative posture that turns the woman into a claim for recruiting readers.

A woman's naked body will also appear on the first page, the summary, customizing and decorating the distribution of pages and topics built on a naked woman's body in profile (arms, legs, tits and her pubic hair. Not her head). In two pages, two naked woman's bodies. On the next page, another woman, but now she's not made of flesh and bone: Ciuco Gutiérrez<sup>4</sup> took a picture of a frontwards puppet woman's silhouette –with her nipples and her pubic hair coloured in green- dressed up just with a collar. On her hand, this fake woman holds a picture of a flesh and bone woman on backward: the sublimation of the objectification, where the body is the referent and the real woman is subjected by the fake one. Yet, the woman's body will become a metaphor of the hegemonic discourse where real women disappear under their own representation; a representation of the body that becomes an autonomous object shaped by her sex attributes and the fashion elements. Sex attributes as the pubic hair regarded as an erotic element under who grow flowers in "Lirios 85"<sup>5</sup>; bra, panties and garters of Violeta Cela<sup>6</sup> or the portrait of Cyra<sup>7</sup>, the little girl that plays with the fruits of a tree as they were her own sex attributes: her breast.

Another type of objectification could be the fragmentation of the body displayed in "*caleidoscopio de piernas, una espalda maravillosa y un cuerpo en equilibrio*" of Alejandro Cabrera<sup>8</sup>: the woman, as a subject, becomes a broken object into pieces in a *body-object, object-fetish* practice (IMBERT, 1986) shaped by the masculine-heteronormative gaze. (GARCÍA NAHARRO, *La construcción de la imagen de la mujer en el discurso de la "movida"*. *Movida y cambio social (1975-1985)*, 2013) (GARCÍA NAHARRO, *Mujeres de papel. La imagen de la mujer en la revista "La Luna de Madrid"*, 2013). Curiously, women's bodies will be in shape contrast to men bodies: most of them will not appear naked or, as Julio Bullón, just covering the crotch in a sitting position, a western male practice (GOFFMAN, 1987, pág. 21) that gives us some clues for understanding the social routines and behavioral patterns displayed by men and women, choreographing their bodies and employing some postures –and no others– in the photographic frame.

To support this argument we should analyze these images in the material context of the scenes in terms of time, place or *dramatis personae*: as *public pictures*, arty pictured scenes printed in a magazine, the pictures portrayed scenic cues to provide the viewer some clues for understanding the message. In all these situations the models are presenting some standards (categories of persons) or recognizable situations that give the reader the possibility of arranging a scene, with a specific conception of what constitutes the appropriate pose for the "representation" of what they want to show. Nonetheless, we cannot take for granted that this magazine is a cultural product intended to a specific audience, for an ideal reader that fits with the values and lifestyles of middle class. Although, I argue that these pictures can illustrate behavioral practices and gender codes that, probably, go beyond the boundaries of the class: I'm not putting into question the crucial role of the *habitus* in the process of the conformation-perception of the body I'm just telling, as Mary Douglas said, that "all the cultural categories in which (the body) is perceived, must correlate closely with the categories in which society is seen in so far as these also draw upon the same culturally processed idea of the body" (DOUGLAS, pág. 72).

That's why images, gestures and silences can give us some clues in order to analyze what type of body is prohibited, tolerated or allowed in the magazine: what kind of body should be showed or not or how it should be showed. Images that would be shaped by power relations demarcating legitimated bodies and their *constitutive outside* despite –as we will see– the editors said, in their own words, that the power issue was not relevant for the body issue.

<sup>3</sup> Picture from Alejandro Cabrera. *La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985)

<sup>4</sup> *La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> YUSTE, J. R.: "Lirios. 1985", *La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) p. 93.

<sup>6</sup> BERLANGA, J.: "Violeta Cela, carne y seda", *La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) pp.22-23.

<sup>7</sup> BAYLON, L.: "Retrato de CYRA", *La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) p. 39.

<sup>8</sup> CABRERA, A.: "Caleidoscopio" *La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) p. 29-32

## A Dual Body

Through these pictures we can illustrate behavioral practices and cultural codes that the poses portrayed. Images and gestures that we are going to complete with the words inscribed in the magazine. For example, close to the paper-woman of Ciuco Gutiérrez we can find the article of Javier Utray entitled "En Pelotas"; here, the author will tell us what this expression means: "*En pelotas es locución castiza y sumamente ambigua y polisémica (...) ponerse/estar/dejar en pelotas puede ser cosa mental (diría Leonardo) o tema muy abstracto o financiero o pornográfico y poco fino*"<sup>9</sup>. This expression is about actions made by someone over someone's body, where the body is understood as a biological ground: "*superficie de equilibrio resultante entre la presión interna de carnosos fluidos y la tensión de las encantadoras membranas dérmicas que lo circundan, es descaradamente apeltada*."<sup>10</sup>.

So the author shapes this concept on the classical body/mind dualism that allows him to sell or "pornificate" the body without staining the mind, reducing the body to an object. Another body –once again a naked woman's body– holds in her hands the text of the interview "*El triunfo del cuerpo*"<sup>11</sup>, the transcription of a dialogue about the body. Hands, as well as her pubic hair and her breast, conforms the body that the reader can see while is reading the interview: the parts instead of the whole. Moreover the text is followed by the pictures of the participants in the dialogue (Leopoldo Panero (writer); Juanjo Rocafort (fashion designer); Julio Bullón (graphic designer), María Eugenia Fernández de Castro (publisher) Maraba Dominguez y Jorge Berlanga). The dialogue between them will guide our analysis. The editor of the magazine starts this dialogue interview talking about the nakedness as the ultimate refuge, the "last and inalienable property of each other":

"Hemos querido mostrar, en este número veraniego, tan placentera coyuntura en dos vertientes excepcionalmente reales y complementarias: por un lado, profundizar en la desnudez patética de nuestro empobrecido entorno y, por otro, celebrar gráficamente la victoria del cuerpo, última e inalienable propiedad de cada cual el suyo, con variados e interesantes resultados, como al correr de las páginas se podrá observar"<sup>12</sup>.

This metaphor is used in a polysemic way: for showing us the shames of the *social body* (the difficult reality of the unemployment in Spain during the last decade (1975-1985)) as well as the last and inalienable property of the human being, the body. This idea is closely related with the classical passive vision of the body that is, actually, the one that most of the participants in the conversation will support. Let's take a look: starting with the idea of the changing conception of the body –from the modernist cult of the hidden body, mysterious and desirable, to the hypothetical current situation: the final victory of the naked body and the emergence of specialized centers in bodybuilding– the editor of the magazine talks about the naked body as a sexual body on sell in the consumer society<sup>13</sup>. From this generative and reflective conversation we can analyze the image of the body managed by the participants.

In the first place, everyone believe in the existence of a specific kind of body – for example, as a landscape<sup>14</sup>–. Most of them agree in thinking the body as a dualism between mind and body –trying to put this idea far from the dominant catholic view of the body as a jail or a place of sin<sup>15</sup>– supporting some kind of "biological view of the soul" closely related with the body (just for a while, similar to the *Carnal self –awareness* of Merleau-Ponty (MERLEAU-PONTY, 1984) but, in the end, just understood as the power that turns on the body- machine)

<sup>9</sup> UTRAY, J.: "En Pelotas", La Luna de Madrid, 20 (1985) p. 5

<sup>10</sup> UTRAY, J.: "En Pelotas", La Luna de Madrid, 20 (1985) p. 5

<sup>11</sup> La Luna de Madrid, 20 (1985) pp. 7-13

<sup>12</sup> La Luna de Madrid, 20 (1985) p. 7

<sup>13</sup> " Redacción: Limitándonos un poco a la historia reciente observamos, que desde el final del siglo pasado, la época modernista, decadente y lánguida, donde existía un culto al cuerpo escondido o mínimamente mostrado, al cuerpo vestido, misterioso y deseable más por imaginado que por conocido, hasta la situación actual donde se produce la definitiva victoria del cuerpo desnudo y cultivado hasta con sus más mínimos detalles, con la aparición de centros especializados en su perfeccionamiento por medio de la gimnasia, la medicina, la psicología e incluso la cirugía; la forma de mostrar, cuidar o castigar el cuerpo ha sufrido una evolución tan radical que se puede decir que hoy día el cuerpo es ya en sí mismo una enfermedad" (La Luna de Madrid, 20 (1985) p. 8)

<sup>14</sup> Leopoldo: "Yo preguntaría ante todo si existe el cuerpo (...) quiero decir si lo que queda del cuerpo no es más que una noción de paisaje, la misma relación que tiene el paisaje con respecto a la naturaleza" (La Luna de Madrid, 20 (1985) p. 8)

<sup>15</sup> María Eugenia: "El gran error humano de que el cuerpo es la cárcel del alma nos ha matado, en realidad es el alma la cárcel del cuerpo" (La Luna de Madrid, 20 (1985) p. 8)

“Claro, habría que hablar de la dicotomía cuerpo-espíritu que funda esta dialéctica. Roberto Nava Santos habla de una noción biológica del alma, de la radical fusión de cuerpo y espíritu” (Leopoldo, p. 8)

“La única forma de acción del espíritu es a través del cuerpo (...) la acción está en el cuerpo y en la vida, la contemplación y la meditación están en el otro lado” (María Eugenia, p. 8)

“No hay que separarlo. Hay intensidades de conciencia que se manifiestan por ejemplo, con la droga, que son totalmente corporales. Todo es un mismo organismo. La comunicación humana se hace a través del cuerpo, lo que pasa que la palabra sirve para tapar un poco” (Leopoldo, p. 8)

“Es el medio mágico entre las dos partes” (María Eugenia, p. 8)

Keeping distance from the catholic tradition, they don't break with the dualism conception of the body defended by René Descartes, which states the importance of the mind to control the body arguing that the mental cannot exist outside of the body. Nevertheless, we can see some contradictions, gaps that prevent closing speech on itself: for example when Julito argues that he has more conscience of his body than his soul<sup>16</sup> or when Leopoldo<sup>17</sup> talks about the sensations that one can feel through pain, showing how through the wounds one can feel a brutal sensation of existence; in other words, that we are no more than bodies. The pain would be the highest form of knowing yourself, as Francisco Carpio says, a few pages later in the magazine, in his article "the body as one of the fine arts" where he borrows some words of Alberto Pomés taken from his book "Sebastian" to illustrate their position:

“Mi única certeza es el cuerpo, que esa especie de asno presuntuoso que dan en llamar espíritu sea consecuencia de una serie de reacciones químicas en el cerebro o no, me importa poco; sólo al contemplarme desnudo ante las aguas del espejo sé que soy algo más que el borrador de un Dios ocioso (...) el dolor –esa religión de los exquisitos- resulta la más elevada forma de conocerse y Sebastián sabe que su martirio tiene como fin un único altar: él mismo”<sup>18</sup>.

## Delirium Body Worship

Another topic that rises from this conversation is the “body worship”<sup>19</sup>. Through comments, articles and paratextual elements (captions, introductions) the magazine invite the reader to take note of the shift happened on the body conception during the last years: the postmodern body is old fashioned, the trendy is the body care. Nonetheless, a few years the body image promoted by the magazine was shaped by practices in relation with drugs and nightlife as well as the hedonism and all the identity/representational images of these youth who wanted to forget the past and to live the present exploring the dangerous relation between night and drugs, sex and pleasure in the city of Madrid (Spain).

Some elements can help us to understand the emergence of this “new values” in the post-dictatorship era in Spain: the emergence of the Welfare State, the crisis of the parental authority and the birth of the “*teenage market*” and the consumer society which message will circulate through the emergent mass media.(FEIXA, 1998, págs. 43-45).

But, curiously, during the interview we can see a shift in this corporal image: there is a break with the postmodern intensities displayed by “*la Movida*”, with *all those obsessions with the sexuality, the drugs and the nightlife* (MAINER & JULIÁ, 2000, pág. 94) transmitted as a collective imaginaries by the music and its sensorial experience of the body as “a fusion of the imaginative fantasy and the corporal practice” (FIRTH, 1996, pág. 212).

<sup>16</sup> Julito: “Se tiene mucha más conciencia del cuerpo que del alma. Lo primero que preocupa es cómo cuidar el cuerpo, no pasar frío ni calor, evitar el dolor...Cuando esto está resuelto es cuando puede aparecer el problema del alma” (*La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) p. 8)

<sup>17</sup> Leopoldo: “(...) Son unas vivencias las alucinaciones, incluso se da el caso de que las visiones se consiguen por medio de mutilaciones. Nunca está separada una vivencia de tipo alucinógeno de la de tipo corporal” (*La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) p. 8)

<sup>18</sup> CARPIO, F.: <<Del cuerpo como una de las bellas artes>> *La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) p. 75

<sup>19</sup> Maraba: “Ahora a la gente le aburre cada vez más la moral y le interesa más el cuerpo que es mucho más divertido” (*La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) p. 9)

Now that passion is fading away and the body image is changing: a requiem for the postmodern body<sup>20</sup> and the values and lifestyles associated with it.

"Me acuerdo que hace unos años todo el mundo tenía que ir hecho polvo y cuanto más polvo mejor. Todos pálidos, todos con el mismo corte de pelo, todos delgados y vestidos de negro...y resulta que llega un día un tío cachas que está muy macizo y se las lleva de calle" (Julito, p. 8)

"(...) Hasta para pasarte tienes que cuidarte, hay que hacer economías corporales" (María Eugenia, p. 8)

How to display, maintain or punish the body has been changing over the time. The different corporal economics have been shaping the legitimated body in a given society under a naturalized order that we should not take for granted (BOURDIEU, *La creencia y el cuerpo*, 1991). From an aesthetic point of view, the body becomes a passive container dominated by the market laws and the fashion. But, as Roland Barthes argues "the relations between vestimentary signifier and signified can never be determined in a simple and linear fashion" (BARTHES, 2013, pág. 6) As he argues, we should analyze how the fashion organizes itself into a formal and normative system that is recognized by society: if dressing should be described in terms of institution, the body could be understood in terms of which type of body is prohibited, tolerated or allowed; what kind of body should be showed or not:

"la vestimenta la eliges tú y el cuerpo no. Si una niña de dieciocho años está muy rica, pues lo que hace es enseñar; una señora fondona lo que hace es tapar, pero con el cuerpo no se puede hacer nada" (Julito, p. 10)

From this point of view, the body would be subjected by social norms that shape and limit the body; these norms restrict but enable the body: this is the paradox of the holding that Judith Butler says: "the subject that would object to such standards has been enabled, if not already produced, by the same rules" (BUTLER, 2002, pág. 38) These repeated regulatory schemes produce the relative stabilization of a framework for action as well as power relations that demarcate legitimated bodies and their constitutive outside:

"Lo que sí es verdad es que cuando alguien hace ejercicio y cuida su cuerpo se le nota (...) se le nota por la luz que tiene. Quizá por querer abolir la enfermedad de alguna forma y producir una mayor oxigenación" (Juanjo, p. 8)

"Tal vez haya empezado la historia porque la gente se han preocupado por estar saludable, estar menos hecho polvo, fumar menos" (Julito, p. 8)

"Purificar el cuerpo no es ni más ni menos que eso. Abolir la enfermedad" (Juanjo, p. 10)

Reading these words we can see clearly a shift from a neglected body to a system of body care punishing the illness as a stigma: in the conversation they focus on the *postmodern body* shaped by the enjoyment culture and the excesses, this lifestyle sang by Alaska: "*tengo el cuerpo muy mal, pero una gran vida social*"<sup>21</sup>. Excesses, the dangerous relation between night and drugs, sex and pleasure (VILARÓS, 1998, pág. 183), the addictions that were part of the song lyrics during the post-dictatorship years: heroin, blood and semen became the dark side of the moon from the last decade (FOUCE, 2002, págs. 237-243) the "heroin epidemy" during the eighties (COMAS ARNAU, 1994, pág. 33) where Madrid was the heroin white stripe threatening the youth of the suburbs.<sup>22</sup> So, we *have*, we *are* but we *make* body too, just living our lives: in the pages number 75 and 76 of the magazine, reading the article "*Usar el cuerpo*"<sup>23</sup> they give us some bibliography about practices *to make body*. references to body-building o physical culture readings will appear with other readings about eroticism and pornography. Here we got another conception: the *body-building* practice understood as a physical transformation of the body that can open the way for other corporal economies as the surgery practices with the same purpose: body modification to legitimize it to others as well as to ourselves:

<sup>20</sup> "La falta de pasión ha asesinado Madrid. Gestos torvos, miradas adustas, ademanes de ejecutivo sajón deforman actitudes hasta hace poco ávidas y móviles (...) La mirada de mi amigo J.B. denota ese aire de desamparo en que ha quedado Madrid. Como alguien después de una fiesta, que comienza a valorar sus excesos, o como a un niño a quien se robó el juguete favorito" (DE LA IGLESIA, J. C.: "Madrid: empelotado y alicaído" en *La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) p. 63)

<sup>21</sup> Alaska y los Pegamoides: *Bailando* (1982)

<sup>22</sup> CASANI, B.; DE LA IGLESIA, J.C.: Entrevista a Santiago Auserón en "*La Luna de Madrid*" N° 4 Madrid, 1984.

<sup>23</sup> "Usar el cuerpo" en *La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) pp. 75-76.

"(...) De ahí todo el "boom" de la cirugía plástica, de la gimnasia. Se ha descubierto que cambiando muy pocas cosas puedes transformarte mucho" (María Eugenia, p. 10).

Indeed, during the conversation, the body still appears as something to see: for example, in Jorge's words, these corporal transformations matter because they are visual transformations:

"De todas formas el objetivo de "body building" y todo eso es visual, no táctil. Porque para el tacto, al fin y al cabo, cualquier cosa vale, pero cuando lo que se busca es la imagen, es otro nivel de relación. Esto es estrictamente visual" (Jorge, p. 10)

As Appiah says in *"In My Father's House"*: "The problem of who I really am is raised by the facts of what I appear to be (...) what I appear to be is fundamentally how I appear to others and only derivatively how I appear to myself" (FIRTH, 1996, pág. 213). Body modification process that acquire sense in other's eyes: the body as its image, the subjective representation that would consist essentially in the representation of the body accepted by the other (BOURDIEU, *La creencia y el cuerpo*, 1991, pág. 123). From this point of view, the body becomes a visual and passive device, an object to be consumed, that finds its metaphor in the mannequin: the mannequins that share space in the magazine with boys and girls that use their bodies as statues ("*anónimos pedestales de estatuas famosas*") in "*Colectiva de verano*"<sup>24</sup> a photo exhibition of t-shirts designed by well known artists like Ceesepe, Ouka Lele, Txomin Salazar, José Luis Tirado, Rodrigo, Maldonado o Pablo Perez-Minguez.

## The Body Beautiful

"*Lo que vuelve es el cuerpo, y no el hombre o la mujer de verdad*" "*Lo de moda será lo de fuera, el body beautiful*"<sup>25</sup>. As Carlos García Calvo points out in his article, the image of the intellectual man (a man with long hair and stained fingers because of the cigarettes) or the feminine ideal of the "*esqueleto de un chic loco*", they are old fashioned. What is in fashion is the body care and the sexy body subjected to the canon of beauty and the market law: as Foucault said, "*Get undressed--but be slim, good-looking, tanned!*" (FOUCAULT, 1992, pág. 113). In Carlos García Calvo's words:

"Ahora se acabó, Como el porro, que abre los poros de la cara. El tabaco, que hace lo mismo y ensucia los pulmones. El alcohol, que envejece y engorda, te deja manchas en la piel y te explota los capilares del cutis. También las grasas animales que producen colesterol. Todo out! Lo IN serán los discos y los libros de cómo cuidarse, comer, respirar y hacer gimnasia, desde los antiguos de Jane Fonda y Raquel Welch, hasta los más recientes de Arnold Schwarzenegger, el doctor Prettykin y el que nos anuncia la propia Alaska. La gente estará mucho más al día sobre todo esto si desea triunfar, ya que el destape parcial y la ropa ceñida serán el último grito"<sup>26</sup>.

The body as the subjugation place, occupied by the power through the corporal economies that implicate each individual in their own oppression through their desire to gain a legitimated body. A body shaped by daily bodily practices, understanding the body as a thing to be shaped, a body to be seen by others, a passive container socially driven and constrained. From this point of view, as Pierre Bourdieu argues, "the social world constructs the body as a sexually defined reality and as the depository of sexually defining principles of vision and division" (BOURDIEU, *Masculine domination*, 2001, pág. 11) As a result of this *somatization of the social relations of domination* some bodies –specially the feminine body- appears as overwhelmed by its image, an object of the gaze of another and "physically inhibited, confined, positioned and objectified" (YOUNG, 1990, pág. 269) (little by little some masculine bodies are turning to work this way too<sup>27</sup>): the feminine bodily existence as an object of desire made for the joy and fascination of the heterosexual man and shaped by disciplinary technologies of the body: practices such as dieting, applying cosmetics or shaving to acquire the "female appropriate" style:

<sup>24</sup> MORALES, P.: "Colectiva de verano" en *La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) pp. 18-21.

<sup>25</sup> GARCÍA CALVO, C.: "Vuelve el cuerpo" en *La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) p. 40.

<sup>26</sup> GARCÍA CALVO, C.: "Vuelve el cuerpo" en *La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) p. 40.

<sup>27</sup> Julito: "(...) la obsesión que hay ahora mismo por la imagen del desnudo del hombre es increíble. Coges una revista ahora y ves más hombres en pelotas que tías, lo ves en los carteles de conciertos como el caso de Alaska abrazada a una espalda. Esta obsesión no creo que sea una cuestión de salud, sino que es una imagen que vende" (*La Luna de Madrid*, 20 (1985) p. 8)

"Lo malo no son los pelos en el pecho de los hombres, sino la obligación de carencia de pelo en la mujer que la obliga a depilarse a todas horas como una tortura" (María Eugenia)

"Si esa frase que decían nuestras abuelas: "Para presumir, hay que sufrir" (Maraba)

"Es un estigma que seguimos teniendo las mujeres a pesar de la modernidad" (María Eugenia)<sup>28</sup>

How is this *stigma* inculcated as a body standard in girls and women? As we have said, it is only possible after a collective labor of socialization, a process to embodied this way of perceiving the world (BUTLER, 2002, págs. 17-38); that's why Foucault said that we must understand that power is not only located in the State apparatus, the mechanisms of power are more daily (FOUCAULT, 1992, pág. 112). Nevertheless Jorge will focus his critics on the mass media:

"Por eso el esfuerzo y la influencia del poder y de la publicidad para mantener a la gente joven; los cigarrillos "light", las bebidas "sin". El poder obliga a los ciudadanos a mantenerse jóvenes por medio de la publicidad sobre las tendencias del consumo (Se produce una fuerte discusión sobre el poder, que obviamos ya que estamos con el cuerpo)" (Jorge)<sup>29</sup>

Curiously, the editor of the magazine avoids the power issue from the problem of the body, but, as we have seen, it is impossible to dissociate. Power operates in the "materialization" of the body, forming and regulating the "subject"; not only from the outside but from the inside too. All the claims about the body –as well as the patterns in which the images are used in the magazine– are fully sedimented with discourses on what a body is or should be that prefigure and constrain the meaning and the uses of this term. So, these are the elements that shape the body image inscribed in the magazine: just representations, but not only, because the body matters. As Margaret Carlisle Duncan argues, "The body is a particular useful instrument for concealing public motives as private ones because the body seems irreducibly private and individuated" (CARLISLE DUNCAN, 1994, pág. 62). Private individuals that are encouraged to conform to public standards and, as we have seen, the magazine features particular image of the body through images and texts that should be interpreted in cultural spaces, in other words, positioning the social and the cultural in the center of our analysis. Images and texts inscribed in cultural products that can give us light, helping us to tune in to that "collective sensibility" (BURKE, 2001, págs. 38-40) of a past period.

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<sup>28</sup> La Luna de Madrid, 20 (1985) p. 11.

<sup>29</sup> La Luna de Madrid, 20 (1985) p. 12

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