

A quem recorreremos quando falamos sobre gênero na Comunicação? Aspectos de colonialidade e decolonialidade a partir da bibliografia utilizada nas pesquisas da área

To whom do we call upon when we talk about gender and Communication? Aspects of coloniality and decoloniality from the bibliography used in research on the field

*Camilla Quesada Tavares*¹

*Michele Goulart Massuchin*²

*Leila Lima de Sousa*³

Resumo: *O objetivo deste artigo é discutir, a partir das referências bibliográficas utilizadas em artigos que apresentam uma intersecção entre Comunicação e Gênero, como aspectos de colonialidade e decolonialidade aparecem na produção científica da área. Para isso, analisamos 155 artigos publicados nos periódicos Qualis A1 e A2, da área da Comunicação e Informação, entre 2000 e 2019, a partir da abordagem bibliométrica, com base em análise textual e de redes. Com essas estratégias, procuramos identificar as temáticas dos trabalhos e os autores mais utilizados nessas pesquisas. Nosso argumento é de que os fenômenos carecem de novas perspectivas epistemológicas, mas isso esbarra em diversos problemas, tais como o foco das referências advindas de países da Europa Ocidental e Estados Unidos.*

- 1 Universidade Federal do Maranhão (UFMA). São Luís, MA, Brasil.
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5490-6850>. E-mail: camilla.tavares8@gmail.com
- 2 Universidade Federal do Paraná (UFPR). Curitiba, PR, Brasil.
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7918-4487>. E-mail: mimassuchin@gmail.com
- 3 Universidade Federal do Maranhão (UFMA). São Luís, MA, Brasil.
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2335-0858>. E-mail: leilasousa.pi@gmail.com

Palavras-chave: *Comunicação e gênero; bibliografia; periódicos científicos; Sul Global; estudos decoloniais.*

Abstract: *The main purpose of this article is to discuss how aspects of coloniality and decoloniality appear in the scientific production of the area, based in the bibliographic references used in articles that present an intersection between Communication and Gender. To support this debate, we analyze 155 articles published in Qualis A1 and A2, in the area of Communication and Information, between 2000 and 2019, using the bibliometric method, combined with textual and network analysis. With these strategies, we seek to identify the themes of the works and the authors most used in this research. Our argument is that the phenomena lack new epistemological perspectives, but this comes up against several problems, such as the focus of references from Western European countries and the United States.*

Keywords: *Communication and gender; bibliography; scientific journals; Global South; decolonial studies.*

Introduction

The area of Communication and Gender, in Brazil, has been growing since the 1970's (SOARES, 1994), with the growth of the number of graduate programs and studies published in scientific journals in the last few years (TOMAZZETI, 2019; ESCOSTEGUY, 2019; MASSUCHIN; TAVARES; SILVA, 2020). Despite already having an indication about these networks of authorship and the main objects of study and the most used methods and techniques in these research, the field still needs investigations dedicated to observing, in a systematized form, where these phenomena are anchored theoretically and epistemologically. Thus, we come from the presupposition that a network of references mobilized by authors help us understand tendencies, theoretical and methodological choices and the advance of the field itself. Therefore, this text has the goal of mapping the most used themes and bibliographies in research on Communication and Gender published in Brazil.

In the traditional literature about gender – strongly influenced by researchers of Western Europe and United States – there is the recognition that the main currents of thought present limitations to understand the phenomenon in a wider sense, anchored in different realities. That is because most of the production is based in a quite different reality from the one faced by poor, black, lesbian, country women living in countries considered peripheral, such as in the Global South.

In Brazil, research developed by Gonzales (2011), Carneiro (2011) and Bairros (2014) put in evidence the necessity of dislocating gender studies to incorporate the intersections between gender, race, class and sexuality, in the composition of power and inequality hierarchy. This is an asymmetry identified not only when we talk about gender studies, but in all levels of social life, according to those who defend the bias of decolonial and post-colonial studies, arriving in Latin America in the 1990's (BALLESTRIN, 2013). Thus, they defend the use of this analytical lens to also understand the gender issues and inequalities present in these societies (LUGONES, 2014; MENDES; FONSECA, 2020).

But we wonder whether Brazilian research recur to decolonial perspectives to understand the phenomena involving communication and gender? With the intent to answer this question, this study analyzed the themes and references used in 155 articles published in national publications with Qualis A1 and A2, in the area of Communication and Information in Capes⁴ through the bibliometric method, between the years 2000 to 2019. In total, 10 publications within this scope published articles about this theme in this period: *Cadernos Pagu*, *Comunicação, Mídia e Consumo*, *Dados*, *E-Compós*, *Estudos Feministas*, *Famecos*, *Galáxia*, *Intercom*, *Matrizes* and *Opinião Pública*.

The articles were mapped by members of the research group Communication, Politics and Society (COPS), at Universidade Federal do Maranhão (UFMA), campus Imperatriz, and the indexation content (title, author, university, abstract and keywords), as well as bibliographic references employed in each article, were collected manually and put in an Excel spreadsheet. After the collection, a complementary research was performed to include the country of origin and the university of the most cited authors in these studies. For this text, we will use data referring to the keywords and bibliographic references.

In turn, the data analysis was performed in two steps, through two different software. The first one consisted in the analysis of keywords, with the aid of the software Iramuteq, which allowed the creation of the similitude analysis (SALVIATI, 2017), showing which were the most present themes in the studies and to what they were associated. In turn, the second part is a result from the extraction of bibliographic references used in research, through network analysis, enabled by the software Gephi.

The bibliometric analysis (NARIN; OLIVASTRO; STEVENS, 1994; MACHADO JUNIOR *et al.*, 2016; GUIMARÃES; BEZERRA, 2020) allow us to understand the production of a country on a certain theme, through a micro or macro scenario (MACIAS-CHAPULA, 1998; OLIVEIRA, 2019). From this systematized mapping, we can have

4 The mapping was carried out considering the officially valid Qualis (2013-2016), since there was still a division by large areas and the "As" strata were composed only by two categories - A1 and A2.

a panorama on how Communication and Gender studies are framed in Brazil, considering the debate on coloniality and decoloniality of theoretical and methodological perspectives. The agenda of decolonization and de-westernization of research has been getting attention for at least two decades, but its impact in international production in the area of Communication has been fairly limited (ALBUQUERQUE, 2020; ALBUQUERQUE et al., 2020), as we will see next.

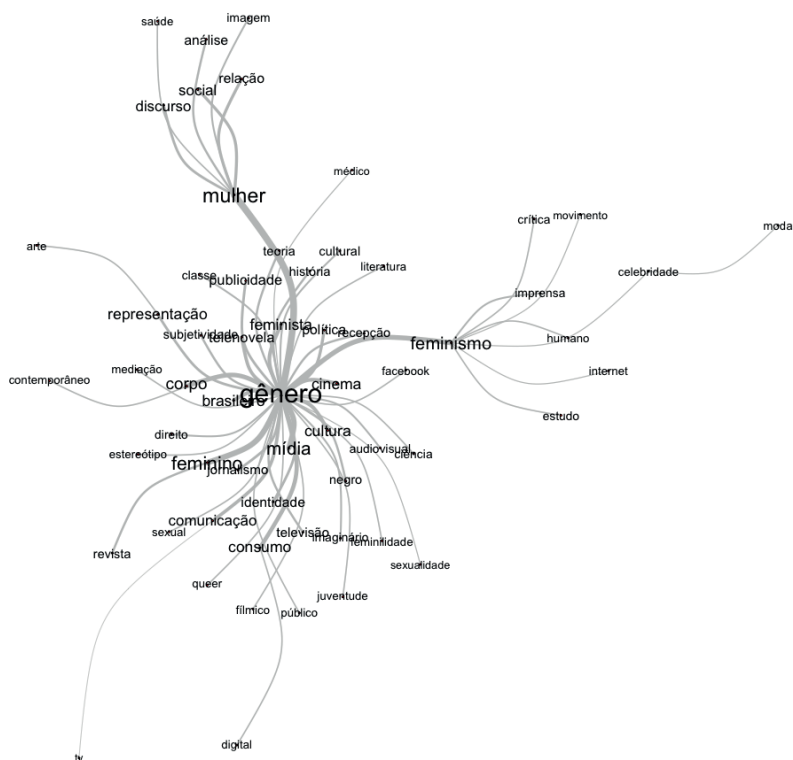
The text is divided in the following manner: in the next topic we present the empirical results of bibliographic mapping, indicating analytical patterns and research gaps verified through the main references, networks of citation and themes. Next, we will talk about the decolonial studies that could be more well-mobilized by Brazilian research considering the sub-area of Communication and Gender. Finally, we will present conclusions, where we discuss on the difficulties crossing the visibility of publications in the Global South, especially regarding the insertion in the list of relevant international publications, because they are considered coming from peripheral, third world countries, effects of what the studies identify as “coloniality of knowledge”.

The optics of gender studies in Communication through a bibliographic analysis

In order to understand the references mobilized in the works integrating this article, we believe it is interesting to know what this research are about. To do so, we present the similitude analysis from a write generated considering the keywords of 155 publications. This type of analysis allows us to infer “the structure of text construction and the themes of relative importance, from the co-occurrence between words (SALVIATI, 2017, p. 69). From it, we perceive that the gender category that predominates the analysis is female, approached by the theoretical cutout of feminism, however, a good part of the studies does not discuss intersectional aspects or through the bias of consubstantiality (HIRATA, 2010). In our corpus, only 11 articles present intersectional discussions.

And notably, despite the expansion of studies that contemplate other gender categories and the arrival of new approaches in the studies of the area in the last decades as the focus on sexuality and masculinities (GROSSI, 2004), they still do not have prominence comparing to the female category (and its derivations, as feminine, feminism, femininity, etc.).

Image 1 - Write of similitude of the keywords of the published articles.



Source: File of the authors (2020)

In turn, the type of study talks about, in its majority, representations built by the media discourse, which is a quite frequent methodological cutout in Communication, both in a national perspective (ESCOSTE-GUY, 2019, 2008; SARMENTO, 2013) and international (DOW;

CONDIT, 2005). Since we are talking about Brazilian publications, in addition, most articles are written in Portuguese and refer to the Brazilian context, hence the importance of the word. If on one hand, that represents a growth in the studies of Communication and Gender about the scenario of Brazil, on the other it indicates the centrality in specific cases and the low presence of comparative research, which is not a characteristic of only this field, being a challenge for the research in Communication in general (WIRTH; KOLB, 2004).

We also highlight the terms cinema and film, appearing as a subarea and object, respectively, in a fairly relevant manner. In this sense, the studies on audiovisual have been offering fairly central considerations in research about gender crossing different issues, such as intersectionality, representation and the critique to sexualized bodies (VEIGA, 2017), just as the analysis from a political perspective, with studies about coverage and representation of female politicians (MIGUEL; BIROLI, 2014), which will be clearer with the observation of the used references.

In relation to the references that were catalogued in the 155 articles, in total were 3.464 citations, which generates an average of 22 references per work. From this data, we consider in this article that the references can give relevant indication on how aspects of coloniality and decoloniality appear in the scientific production of the area. Moreover, they show traces and paths which published research dislocate, from choices made on literature used as theoretical, epistemological and methodological basis. As the authors referenced can be the same or even from different works, we had the total of 2,007 unique authorships. Thus, the network of authors is related to all the authors cited, being catalogued here only once; while the network of citations is referring to all the time in which the authors were cited, including different works from the same author. The first is related to the number of authors, while the second one is related to the amount of times this author appeared in the references. Table 1 systematizes the result considering the total of authorships and citations.

Table 1: General data on authors and citations

Quantidade de citações	Quantidade de autores/as	Total de citações
1	1.512	1.512
2	266	532
Entre 3 e 9	198	862
10 ou mais	31	558
Total	2.007	3.464

Source: File of authors (2020)

From the results, we see that there is not, in fact, an elevated centralization in certain authors of the area, even if in some cases they are highlighted as we will see next. In general, there is a fairly evident pulverization of references, even if they are considered both those inherent to gender studies and the ones treating other subjects. However, as all the work, even within the subareas of communication, dialogue with a central issue – in this case, gender studies –, it is expected that this authors have a bigger prominence because they would be the ones to circulate through all the texts. Out of the 2007 authors that received at least one reference, only 31 had 10 or more citations. Considering that more than one work of the same article can be cited in each article – as it is the case of Pierre Bourdieu, for instance, who appears 46 times, but only in 26 articles – this pulverization becomes even more evident. Although the studies on Communication and Gender are seen as a consolidated intersection, with internal approaches already possible of being defined (ESCOSTEGUY, 2019; 2008; DOW; CONDIT, 2005; MENDES; CARTER, 2008), that does not seem to happen with the basis of research.

This pulverization – despite showing a growing expansion of the area – can also indicate a certain difficulty of having a theoretical background, either mobilizing more authors of gender studies to strengthen the intersection or evidencing those that, within this subarea, already built their paths and proposed theories and approaches for studies in Communication and Gender. This hypothesis is anchored in the fact

that 1,512 authors were cited only once in these studies, which represent 43.6% of the total of citations.

From this initial data, we seek to understand now some key points on the axis coloniality and decoloniality. For that, the Table 1 shows who are the authors that were referenced the most, remembering that it cannot be necessarily the same study, although in many cases we have observed the permanence of citation of certain books or articles. It is the case, for example, of Michel Foucault, which appears, mostly, due to his book *The History of Sexuality*. That is repeated in the case of Joan Scott, with the text *Gender: a useful category of Historical Analysis* and Judith Butler with *Gender Trouble*.

Generally, about half of the authors (16) that appear the most as reference have some type of production – even if in different moments of the academic journey – on gender studies. A good part are reflections in related areas – philosophy, political science, etc. That bring the gender perspective to the discussion. Other references, however, are already consolidated in subareas of communication, as it is the case of the area of Cinema with Laura Mulvey and Teresa de Lauretis, which was already identified by Veiga (2017).

Other citations that stand out are Michel Foucault (60 made in 33 articles, since there are different studies referenced) and Pierre Bourdieu (46 in 26 articles, also with over one study per article, on average), in the top of the ranking of references, and the books referenced are more punctual on the theme in comparison to other authors that have a story more centered and long within the gender studies, as it is the case of Judith Butler, Ana Carolina Escosteguy and Joan Scott. Butler, for instance, has a vast recent production in comparison with the referred authors.

Table 1 - Distribution of citation of the most referenced authors.

Autores citados	Freq. da citação	Origem	Instituição
*FOUCAULT, Michel.	60	França	Collège du France
*BOURDIEU, Pierre.	46	França	Collège du France
*BUTLER, Judith.	31	Estados Unidos	Universidade da Califórnia
HALL, Stuart.	30	Jamaica	Universidade de Birmingham
MARTIN-BARBERO, Jesús.	27	Espanha	Universidade Valle de Calli
*ESCOSTEGUY, Ana Carolina.	25	Brasil	PUC-RS
*SCOTT, Joan.	23	Estados Unidos	Estudos Avançados de Princeton
LÉVINAS, Emmanuel.	23	França	Universidade de Paris
*MIGUEL, Luis Felipe.	18	Brasil	UnB
FREIRE FILHO, João.	17	Brasil	UFRJ
GIDDENS, Anthony.	16	Inglaterra	Escola de Economia de Londres
BARTHES, Roland.	16	Normandia	CNRS
BAUDRILLARD, Jean.	16	França	Sorbonne
ROCHA, Everardo.	14	Brasil	PUC-Rio
*PERROT, Michelle.	14	França	Universidade de Paris VII
*DE LAURETIS, Teresa.	14	Itália	Universidade da Califórnia
*MULVEY, Laura.	13	Inglaterra	Universidade de Londres
LIPOVETSKY, Gilles.	13	França	Universidade de Grenoble
FISCHER, Rosa Maria Bueno.	13	Brasil	UFRGS
*RONSINI, Veneza Mayora.	12	Brasil	UFSM
MAFFESOLI, Michel.	12	França	Universidade de Paris
*McROBBIE, Angela.	12	Inglaterra	Universidade de Londres
*MODLESKI, Tania.	11	Estados Unidos	Universidade da Califórnia
HABERMAS, Jürgen.	11	Alemanha	Universidade Heidelberg
COSTA, Jurandir Freire.	11	Brasil	UFRJ
MORLEY, David.	10	Inglaterra	Universidade de Goldsmiths
*PRECIADO, Paul Beatriz.	10	Espanhol	Universidade de Paris III
*HAMBURGUER, Esther.	10	Brasil	USP
CANCLINI, Nestor García.	10	Argentina	Universidade Autônoma do México
*ANG, Ien.	10	Indonésia	Universidade de Sidney
*ALMEIDA, Heloisa Buarque de.	10	Brasil	USP

Fonte: autoras (2020)

Source: File of the authors (2020)

Another issue that calls our attention on the research is that a significant part of the referenced work are the ones translated to Portuguese,

becoming more accessible. From that, it is important to reinforce that the exercise of translation – in the case of these central authors – say a lot about the position they fill. Costa (2003) reinforces, for instance, the role of feminist magazines – we can also include publishers here – making translations and contributing to the transnational circulation of theories or concepts. However, if on one hand this process is positive so that these studies circulate beyond the barriers of an interdisciplinary field between North and South (COSTA, 2003), one can argue that that can generate – in another form – a guiding of the approach that almost does not have an opposite path (from South to North). It is important to highlight that the politics of citations ends up directing towards this insight, reinforcing what Costa (2003) calls “network of transnational influences”.

If on one hand the studies of Communication and Gender already count with a history of at least 20 years of publications in a more evident manner in Brazil, being possible to build even a meta research (ESCOSTEGUY, 2019) that does not mean – necessarily – that this subarea builds its own discussions from the appropriation of foreign literature, since they are the majority among the most frequently referenced. From 16 authors on gender that are on top of the ranking, only five are Brazilian, however, they tend to be referenced in their respective subareas in a stricter manner: Ana Carolina Escosteguy, Veneza Ronsini, Esther Hamburguer, Heloisa Almeida a Luis Felipe Miguel⁵.

Another central information to which these data cast a light, approaching more from the decolonial aspect to be debated, is that the studies of Latin American authors – or even from the Global South, looking towards other regions, such as Asia or Africa – despite appearing among the references, they are not causally related to the gender discussion. It is the case of Stuart Hall, a Jamaican, although he has always worked in England; Néstor Canclini, Argentinian author that works in Mexico; and Jesús Martín-Barbero, born Spanish, but raised in

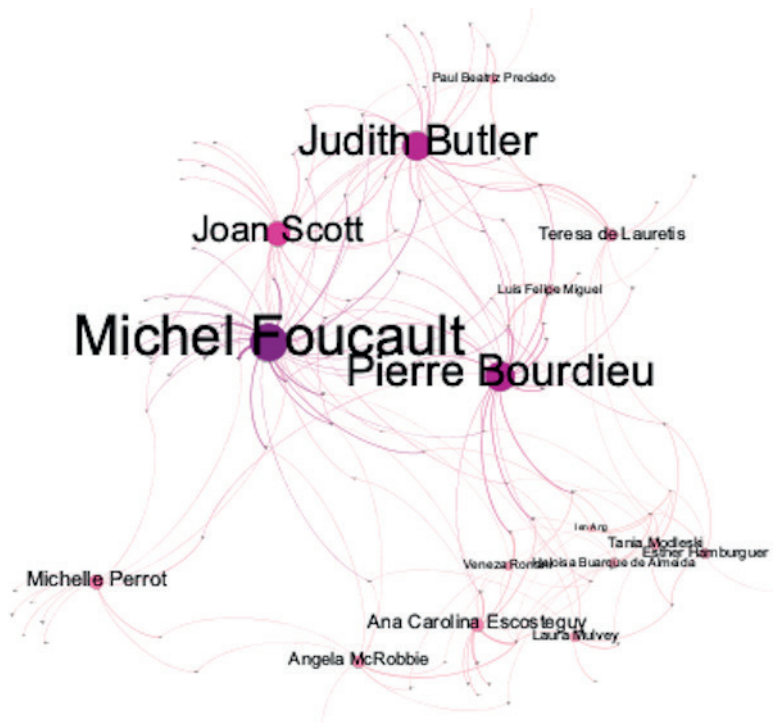
5 In this last case, part of the references is not necessarily on the Gender discussions that the author face directly over the last two 10 years.

Colombia. All of them represent some aspect of decoloniality – either in their original countries or in the one they work at, but they cannot be considered completely out of the axis, in addition to the fact that they do not belong, originally, to the subarea in question. Among the most cited authors, the only exception among international researchers is Ien Ang, an intellectual of gender studies, born in Indonesia and a researcher at University of Sidney, in Australia.

Data also show, on the other hand, the entering of new perspectives and approaches of gender, as it is the case of studies on sexuality, brought by Paulo Beatriz Preciado. However, it is important to highlight he is a Spanish author working in France, with work also translated to Portuguese, such as the *Countersexual Manifesto*. In Judith Butler's case, although the author is a representative of queer studies and the discussion on other gender categories, she ends up being referenced and brought to the discussion almost mostly in works about women. To show the centrality of authors that dialogue with the most cited gender studies in research, we present the network in Image 2. It was built considering 16 authors from the subarea of gender that have at least 10 citations.

The write was built through the algorithm ForceAtlas, which spatially represents the bonds between knots. The statistics used was the degree of entry, or, the amount of linking – or, in this case, citation – that each knot has received. As already identified in Table 1, Foucault and Bourdieu were the most cited authors, and are the most centrals in the write, indicating they established strong bonds among themselves and other authors in the list of references. Judith Butler, despite appearing in third place in the list of the most cited authors, presents the biggest degree of betweenness of the network. That means she is a hub that connects different references and theoretical perspectives – the point in common in different works. She is the only reference of gender that directly dialogues with Paulo Preciado, for example, who is dedicated to the studies on sexuality, as previously said. At the same time, she is present in different works that also reference Michel Foucault.

Image 2 – Network of the most cited gender authors in articles.



Source: File of the authors (2020)

Bourdieu, on the other hand, is the author that dialogues the most with Brazilian authors in the research analyzed, since he is the main knot linked to Ana Carolina Escosteguy, Heloisa Buarque de Almeida, Esther Hamburger and, also, Luis Felipe Miguel, who works with the intersection between the fields of politics and media. In general, the authors that appear creating networks and positioning themselves as the most central ones in them are not Brazilian nor they are from other countries of the Global South.

In addition, data show that research on gender are mostly centered in the discussion about feminism, from a heteronormative perspective. Out of the 155 articles that compose the corpus of this research, 121 refer to women as an analytical category. Studies on masculinity, gays,

lesbians, transvestites, transexuals, transgenders, drag queens, sexuality and bisexuality are not as contemplated on our cutout, since all of these categories, together, were present in only 34 articles published in A1 and A2 publications in the area of Communication and Information, between 2000 and 2019, in Brazil. The expansion of the category gender as a historic and social construction that comprises other analytical elements still appears not as problematized and centered in authors with Euro American epistemic basis.

Studies on gays, lesbians and transgenders – the so-called non-normative genders (COLLING et al., 2012) – are performed in Brazil since the 1990's. In the area of Communication, research developed by Denilson Lopes (2001, 2004), for instance, tension important aesthetic redefinitions performed in the audiovisual field by gays authors and producers, as it is the case of melodrama. They are studies that, for decades, have been proposing a reading among the categories communication, gender and sexuality beyond heteronormativity. In this sense, the “transgender” category emerges as an analytical horizon and an epistemological proposal in an attempt to blur the borders imposed to sexuality, when proposing necessary ruptures between the binary male/female, heterosexual/homosexual (LOPES, 2004), despite still having few studies of this nature published in the publications analyzed in this article.

Finally, from another demonstration of aspects of the process of colonization of the discussion on gender, it is necessary to reinforce the invisibility of the many debates already consolidated in decolonial studies such as those made by Lugones (2020), Curiel (2014; 2020) Miñoso (2014), Gonzalez (2011), Carneiro (2011) and Bairros (2014). If we think from the idea that references are clues on the theoretical and methodological approaches, through “transnational networks” (COSTA, 2003), we can say that this network is almost nonexistent in the point of view of the South, when we talk about Communication and Gender. The authors that are self-proclaimed as decolonial from the perspective of gender appear in an insignificant form if compared to

the others that were cited and that appear in a more systematic form in research. The few ones cited are Sueli Carneiro, with four references, and Lélia Gonzalez, with only one reference. In both cases, they are Brazilian, and one would at least expect a dialogue between them when talking about references to intersectional studies, in the axis of race of social status, for instance, that grew in the last decade.

These data show, therefore, a cut out signaling a portrait about coloniality in studies on gender published in qualified publications in Communication, with a debate centered in the United States and Europe when it is about the main and significant part of all literature cited, considering over two thousand authors. That is, possibly, also related to another discussion, that we will do next, which is about the centrality of authors in universities and big centers of both regions cited and the absence of authors of the Global South occupying spaces of reference in English publications, which, after translation, end up being the bridge to other studies and researches.

The (non) mobilized theories and the invisibility of studies made in the Global South

The process of analysis of references and theories mobilized to problematize the intersections between gender and communication allowed us to identify that the concept “gender” is mobilized as category in the studies analyzed, even if we didn’t have measured the intensity of the debate about this aspect. However, authors of the Euro American axis compose mostly the theoretical-methodological reference that sustain Brazilian research. Although some of the cited authors present a relevant contribution for gender studies, the non-action of theoretical perspectives coming from, mainly, Latin American and African contexts, in which the category female and gender are expanded, confronted and problematized from other bases, can indicate that the studies in gender and communication in Brazil carry many aspects of “coloniality of knowledge” (CURIEL, 2020).

Gender seems to be used as an analytical category acted to explain the world situation of subordination of women, without taking into consideration that, in colonized societies, the gender system was imposed as technology to give humanity or not to the subjects (LUGONES, 2014). In addition, one must question whether the model of gender is constituted as a valid system of division in other societies beyond the imposition by the coloniality of Western Europe (OYEUMÍ, 2004; BAKARE-YUSUF, 2003).

Oyewumi (2004) and Bakare-Yusuf (2003), African intellectuals, expose that a good part of research on gender are developed from an Euro American experience. Oyewumí (2004) criticizes feminist studies that come from the discussion on gender as a category used to explain the subordination of women because the concept, beyond being not universal, is also understood by such studies within the “nuclear” family, model of family organization that do not represent many other societies. Gender works, in this division, as the main model of family organization and role division. Within this logic, race and class are not taken as analytical criteria in many Brazilian research, even if this axis certainly crosses this reality.

And, unlike the analytical model thought by White feminism, for instance, putting in evidence gender as the main criterion of difference, African intellectuals problematize the family structure. In addition to African societies, pre-colonial indigenous communities were not based in gender as a system of family and social division (CURIEL, 2020; LUGONES, 2020). The understanding that the system of gender was imposed in colonized societies as a binary category of hierarchization and racial differentiation allow us to observe that the colonized subjects were denied of their humanity, and, in turn, their gender. These issues, however, were not problematized or considered in the analyzed research, even because intersectionality still was not a central theme in research. Although there were a few efforts in this sense in the last decade, they are still small comparing to the total of publications.

Bringing this discussion to the scenario of references, the decolonial feminism, when understanding gender as construction of coloniality, identifies it is intimately related to the hierarchization of knowledge (MIÑOSO, 2014). When problematizing such perspective, Miñoso (2014) clarifies how the colonial power works in different subordinate groups, observing that oppression is also developed through domination through knowledge – the “power of knowledge” that legitimates and hierarchizes certain voices (MIÑOSO, 2014, p. 8). In this case, although many authors were women, we reinforce the presence of two main authors in the ranking of citation and that, since they do not have a space for knowledge of South and a dependence of the European axis, mainly, there is a process of hierarchization that disregards important contexts.

Curiel (2020) identifies the epistemological disengagement as a strategy to counterpose the impact of coloniality in processes of subordination of women in Third World countries. According to her, the *coloniality of knowledge* base *epistemic privileges* and creates the narrative that the knowledge produced in the axis Europe and United States are the only valid knowledge. That is clear when we observe gender references used in the main articles of the area, analyzed in this study.

Despite having Brazilian authors coming from a Latin American discussion, such as Ana Carolina Escosteguy, the predominant theoretical perspective is the Euro American, with authors that work with concepts considered normative or not as tensioned with approaches of the Global South. Judith Butler is the most preponderant example. The author discusses the concept of gender and is mobilized in different works, but apparently the discussion works only as a theoretical-methodological background, since it is not identified as an advance in the understanding of the proper concept. Another point that is important to point out is the lack of authors of the decolonial or post-colonial perspective, reinforced in this topic to show that there are other approaches, however, not as mobilized in the analyzed production, as the data have shown. The boundaries and consequences of the normative bibliography employed in the Brazilian studies of gender are debated next.

Conclusion

The critique to the western perspective of intellectual production is not new, nor focused on only one field of knowledge, but it is still incipient the amount of publications of research and perspectives coming from countries of the Global South in international publications considered as prestigious (ANG et al., 2019). The main reason found to explain this asymmetry is the colonial legacy left by European countries, but Albuquerque et al. (2020) offer an alternative and complementary path of interpretation, related to the process of neoliberal globalization that promotes a homogenization of the research agenda around the United States. In the case of Latin America, the authors argue that its status was relegated when the system of classification centered in the United States was established (ALBUQUERQUE et al., 2020).

If on one hand there is the difficulty in publishing in international magazines, predominantly in English and with editorial councils dominated by researchers from a few countries such as the United States, Canada and England (ALBUQUERQUE et al., 2020), on the other we see the construction of a network around western educational institutions, who receive researchers from all around the globe. The insertion in universities considered “advanced” contributes, to a certain extent, to the reinforcement of the adoption of certain theories that are, most of the time, strange to their cultural origins and hardly help them understand the reality of their societies. Thus, the centrality in the West is also promoted by non-western researchers (ALBUQUERQUE, 2020), either when they migrate to these centers, or when they reproduce certain references. Decolonizing the thought is a process of rupture with western bonds proposing an *epistemic counterposition* (MIGNOLO, 2008).

The maintenance of centrality of western universities and institutions results in what Curiel (2020) calls *coloniality of knowledge*, and some aspects of that were identified in the intellectual production of Gender and Communication in Brazil through this study. The few or no mention, in the analyzed studies, to black and indigenous, Latin American, Caribbean and/or African authors can signal that some concepts and

theories are still reproduced without the problematization of the reality of other contexts and that the knowledge gets located through the experience of women that suffer the impacts of the notion of gender in another perspective. Mostly, the authors who propose this discussion are not in the most central universities, the publications do not gain visibility in international publications and some of them still haven't been translated, which makes the process of incorporation even more complex.

Given this context, the intellectual production mobilized to discuss gender still activates, in its majority, studies produced in the Euro American axis, in detriment to the intellectual production of references developed in the Global South. The hierarchization of knowledge and the legitimation of the Europe-United States axis as detaining valid and only models of construction of knowledge resulted in a process of systematic erasure, silencing and subordination of ancestral knowledge, a product of cultures that were subjugated by the dominant and hegemonic cultures.

In Brazil, the search for fleeing an “epistemological ghettoization made so that studies on gays, lesbians and transgenders seek approximation to cultural studies in a strategy of visibility (LOPES, 2001, p. 6); The analysis performed indicate the need to surpass borders that manufacture binary dichotomies centered in the male-female, heterosexual-homosexual categories, even if they are reflecting about decolonial processes in the knowledge construction. These studies analyzed seem to not be supported in authors that have confronted the heterosexual norm as a starting point for understanding sexuality, nor they use Brazilian researchers to make this type of discussion, despite having national intellectuals studying these issues (COLLING et al., 2012).

Within the analyzed cutout, the most referenced authors were white and male. By the identification of keywords composing the productions, we can infer that still prevails a white sense, proposed as universal, under the category woman – main axis of approach in the studies on Communication and Gender in Brazil. Lélia Gonzalez, Sueli Carneiro

and Luiza Bairros are Brazilian authors that contributed a lot to problematize the supposed universality of the category woman, proposing analytical intersections of race, class and ethnicity. But even so, their productions were not as retrieved, in the analyzed cutout, to comprise the dimension and particularities of the context of Global South, since intersectional studies are still not as present in the area of Communication and Gender.

The fight against the impacts of colonialism, according to what Escobar (2011) believes, which also goes through the academic production of South itself, crosses the action of subordinate people in the retrieval of elements of reference that constitute them as and while autonomous, political, economic and cultural historic subjects. To do so, it is necessary to mobilize theories that still weren't mobilized, in an attempt to provoke ruptures in the academic intellectual hegemony.

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On the authors

Camilla Quesada Tavares – Professor at the Graduate Program in Communication and the Course of Social Communication - Journalism at Universidade Federal do Maranhão (UFMA/Imperatriz). PhD in Communication at Universidade Federal Fluminense (UFF). In the current article, the author participated in the conception and outline of study; acquisition, analysis and interpretation of data; typing the manuscript; critical review of the content.

Michele Goulart Massuchin – Professor at the Communication Department (DECOM) at the Graduate Program in Communication (PPGCOM) and the Graduate Program in Political Science (PPGCP) at Universidade Federal do Paraná (UFPR). PhD in Political Science at Universidade Federal de São Carlos (UFSCar). In the current article, the author participated in the study outline; data analysis and interpretation; typing of the manuscript and critical review of the content.

Leila Lima de Souza - Professor of the course of Social Communication – Journalism at Universidade Federal do Maranhão (UFMA/Imperatriz). PhD student in Communication Sciences at Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos (Unisinos). In the current article, the author participated in the interpretation of data; typing of the manuscript; critical review of the content.

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