Gender roles, romantic and sexual relationships in fictional series. The case of Sin tetas no hay paraíso

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Abstract

This article collates the main findings of the analysis of the portrayals of sexual and affective relationships in the first season of the TV series Sin tetas no hay paraíso. This research is framed within a broader project funded by the Catalan Audiovisual Council, which has the aim of studying gender relationship models proposed by Sin tetas no hay paraíso, as well as its reception by Catalan teenagers. This media product offers a traditional model of relationships that establishes a link between passion and violence.

Keywords

Adolescence, TV Series, Gender Relationships, Sexuality, Discourse Analysis.

1. Introduction

Sin tetas no hay paraíso is the title of the début novel by Gustavo Bolívar Moreno, published in 2005 (Bogota: Quintero Editores) and presented with the advantage of being based on real events. One year later, in 2006, Caracol Televisión produced a TV series in Colombia based on the novel. The series' success ensured that it was sold to other countries, including European ones such as Greece and Finland, and was also directly responsible for the creation of adaptations, such as the one produced for the Spanish TV market, which is the one that we will be analysing in this paper.

Sin tetas no hay paraíso was first broadcast on Telecinco in early 2008 (the first season of 12 episodes was scheduled for January to April). The production company which adapted it was Grundy Producciones, SA. The Spanish adaptation and promotion strategy for Sin tetas no hay paraíso sought an adolescent target audience that could access it not only via the TV screen but also other platforms, such as the Internet. The series' launch was reinforced with an official website (www.telecinco.es/sintetasnohayparaiso), nothing new for

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Resum

Aquest article recull els principals resultats de l'anàlisi de les representacions de les relacions sexuals i afectives que estan presents a la primera temporada de la sèrie televisiva Sin tetas no hay paraíso. Aquest treball forma part d'un projecte més ampli, finançat pel Consell de l'Audiovisual de Catalunya, que té com a objecte estudiar els models de relacions entre gèneres proposats per Sin tetas no hay paraíso així com la seva recepció per part de les i dels adolescents catalans. Aquest producte mediàtic proposa un model tradicional de relacions que estableix un vincle entre la passió i la violència.

Paraules clau

Adolescència, sèries televisives, relacions de gènere, sexualitat, anàlisi del discurs.

Spanish TV in 2008, but which was aimed at a specific type of viewer, technically competent young people.

2. Theoretical framework: attraction, loving and sexual relationships in fiction. The teenage perspective

The aim of this study is to analyse the representations of sexual and loving relationships in TV series, specifically in *Sin* tetas no hay paraíso.

We start with the theories that sustain that love is a social construct (Gómez 2004; Duque 2006) and that state that what attracts us is what we have assimilated socially and transformed into the desirable. In learning about love and relationships, the media plays an important role, together with other socialisation agents that intervene in the constant flow of interactions into which our lives are organised (Oliver and Valls 2004). Similarly, we also understand that the media help create an idea of love as irrational and inevitable, in addition to predestined and linked to suffering, as well as other superstitions.

To channel the representations of relationships and love that we find in the media, we have taken as our basis the models of loving and sexual attraction-choice defined by Gómez (2004), whereby the emotions, desires and interactions that are created from socialisation in loving relationships can be classified into two models: a traditional and an alternative model

The first model is characterised by loving and sexual values associated with a hierarchical (patriarchy), authoritarian, discriminatory and individualistic society. In terms of attraction, "the family and school, the media and peer groups transmit desire, attraction and arousal towards the hero who stands head and shoulders above the rest and who can overcome any difficulty, including the use of violence, and towards the beauty who dazzles with her looks and surrenders to the seductive power of the hero" (Gómez 2004: 67). Although the model also proposes affection, friendship and even the establishment of stable relationships towards people with positive and cooperative values, these individuals are not considered attractive and are disassociated from passion. Therefore, the idea is created that we have to choose between passionate, blind and unavoidable love - which tends to mean suffering - and practical and adequate love, which means renouncing passion (De Botton and Oliver 2009). Attraction is based on what is difficult to achieve and, in short, we accept that what is exciting is not to be treated tenderly or equally but the search for "someone inaccessible, someone with cachet and, more than likely, a good dose of violence" (Gómez 2004: 73). The traditional model is based on three broad patterns, namely womanisers, women who imitate the male model and stable, passionless couples.

The alternative model, however, is linked to the radicalisation of democracy and proposes relationships based on dialogue, respect and the fusion of passion and stability. In this vein, Giddens (1995) states that the demands of women during the twentieth century have taken relationships towards a new model, one of confluent love, which requires dialogue and agreement to build a relationship that equally satisfies both parties in an equal relationship. For both Gómez and Giddens, this new model shifts the focus from the projection of romantic love onto the idealised other to the co-construction of a relationship, to the communicative process of establishing and maintaining voluntary links between people with equal rights, duties and loving capacities. This involves a democratisation of personal relationships and is encapsulated in the Critical Theory of the Radical Love (by Botton and Oliver 2009), which favours the possibility of establishing relationships that are passionate, equal and emotional.

Jesús Gómez (2004) feels that the pre-eminence of the traditional model in cultural products may be one of the reasons behind the persistence of gender violence, since this model links desire to violence. Authors who have worked in this field state that "there are teenagers who establish a link between attraction and violence. This link encourages relationships

where gender violence may arise" (Valls, Puigvert and Duque 2008). Adolescents have a fundamental role to play in terms of the continuity and changes regarding how love is perceived and understood. Adolescence has been studied as a key stage in the construction of personal and social identity which, according to Hallin (1983), quoted by Chapin (2000), is formalised in a series of life tasks that include intimacy and sexuality. The important biological, psychological and social changes during this stage of life are the key moment in the development of intimacy. When adolescents are asked about attraction models, the imitation of traditional male roles remains firmly in place (Padrós 2007). When discussing attraction, from what adolescent boys say, explicit issues emerge relating to the beauty and sexual attributes of girls, and girls, for their part, attraction towards boys who underrate or deceive them. Girls find sexiness in bad boys, which is a socially valued model, and boys assume that if they want to be successful they have to behave in this way. In addition, there is still a deeply rooted attraction for a trophy woman and for girls considered "impossible" (because the whole school fancies them or they are in the year above, for example). "Attraction is perceived as less reflective and more instinctive, more fleeting and more associated with domination, control, power and even aggressiveness" (Padrós 2007: 64). In fact, it is during adolescence when, for our society, school and the family cease to be the main socialising elements and relinquish influence to peer groups and the media. It is therefore right to question the role of the media in promoting regressive or, on the contrary, progressive affective models which help eradicate gender inequalities and violence; and even more so when products with significant social impact need studying.

Genres such as TV series present models with which we identify and which tend to create stereotypical representations (Galán 2007). Authors who have dealt with this issue and have observed its effects suggest that television content is in harmony with conventional gender stereotypes and that it probably activates and reinforces existing stereotype roles rather than questioning them (Ward, Hansbrough and Walker 2005). Media images condition the beliefs of adolescents in terms of gender roles and relationships between men and women (Rivadeneyra and Ward 2005; Ward, Hansbrough and Walker 2005) and research points to a direct relationship between media portrayal and the beliefs of young adults regarding sexual relationships (Ward 2002). Adolescents with more exposure to sexual contents and those who are more motivated by the media to have sexual relationships display a greater desire to have sex with penetration than other young people. In addition, the media acts as a super peer for teenagers seeking information about sexuality because sexual content is omnipresent in the media and because other socialising contexts do not meet their needs in the search for references (L'Engle, Brown and Kenneavy 2006).

Research focusing on the way in which people give meaning to audiovisual narratives –rather than research which is restrict-

ed to observing the effects – suggests that identification with TV series is more closely related to the plots than the characters. Also, when we talk of media consumption we need to go beyond the moment when a specific series or audiovisual product is received and focus on those moments when audiences talk about the audiovisuals and give them meaning. Series are also a form of contact with friends and "provide information about aesthetic codes and prevailing aesthetics without setting foot outside the home and without fear of ridicule" (Figueras 2005: 8).

Our ideas about intimate relationships are increasingly media-based through films, TV, magazines, the internet and popular fiction. Mediated intimacy refers, therefore, to the way in which the media construct our intimate relationships (Gill 2009). From childhood, most of us learn a great deal about what constitutes a couple by watching the media, which very seldom present healthy loving relationship models (Galician 2004). This author has spent time itemising what she terms myths about love used by the media to intoxicate the public. Some of these myths which the author itemises and for which she gives examples are as widespread as the belief in love at first sight, the eternal overemphasis of this affective bond and the need to suffer for love in the hope that, if they do suffer, the loved one will be redeemed and return all this love. Galician (2004) attributes to these myths a remarkable role in establishing relationships that are likely to include violence. We will see how these narratives are present in Sin tetas no hay paraíso.

3. Analysis methodology

To extract the different sexual attraction and relationship models present in the series analysed, a type of discourse analysis was applied that links analytical categories from three different methodologies. These are the theory of argumentation, of semiotic narrative and of enunciation. The reason for using contributions from different theories is to try and analytically cover the different parts of the discourse with the most relevant categories in each case. This way, as a number of authors state (Albaladejo 1993; Ruiz Collantes 2002; Greimas 1971), the text can be viewed as a structure divided into different levels of meaning that are coherent with each other and which affect the discourse in its entirety, from the more abstract level of meaning – which we call the in-depth level of meaning - to sensitive manifestation through characters and narrative plots - which we call the level of manifestation - without forgetting the audiovisual expressive devices that convey the message to us - which we call the enunciative device. All three levels cooperate coherently in transmitting the final meaning conveyed by the TV series to the audience.

Consequently, three textual levels have been analysed in order to configure the sexual attraction and relationship models in *Sin tetas no hay paraíso*: the in-depth level, the level of

manifestation and the enunciative level, although this article only refers to the in-depth level of the discourse. This level can be defined as the portion of the (represented) world selected by each discourse and transmitted as meaning. Put another way, each message listens to certain traits, elements, characteristics, aspects and values of reality and therefore constructs a specific view of the things it is dealing with. It therefore conveys a specific view of the world within which whatever appears will have a certain coherence. This symbolic and abstract construction is known as the possible world by authors such as Umberto Eco (1993). In other words, Sin tetas no hay paraíso provides a specific view of the aspects dealt with in the series: the world of drugs and delinquency and adolescence in a deprived area, relationships between parents and children, relationships between friends and also a specific view of how men and women relate to one another: who do they find attractive and why? How and who initiates a relationship and how does it develop, etc? This paper has focused specifically on the latter aspects and therefore concentrates on ascertaining which possible world is constructed in relation to attraction and the sexual relationships in which adolescents are involved. The remaining aspects presented by the series will be taken into account collaterally insofar as they help to understand the question being studied in this paper. In other words, we note the profession of El Duque only insofar as the fact that he's the head of a group of hit men makes him more desirable or not in the eyes of women.

Therefore, considering the very core of the discourse as a possible world allows us to establish the discourse's limits of coherence and, from here on, determine what is possible or not in the discourse or, likewise, what is coherent or not within the established parameters. It is for this reason that, in the world constructed by Sin tetas no hay paraiso, the actions carried out by the characters are coherent. Consequently, a possible world is a cultural construct which reflects part of reality; in the case we're discussing, these are certain attraction, sexual relationship and affective models which, in the section above, are defined as the traditional model and the alternative model. Both these possible worlds are composed of a series of elements that characterise them at this abstract level. To establish the categories that define the traditional and alternative model at this level, we have used the argumentation theory proposed by Chaïm Perelman, a mainstay of rhetorical studies. This theory provides fundamental elements for studying the referential universe present in the discourse. Perelman and Olbrecht-Tyteca (1994) classify the reference into values and facts. Funes (2006: 10) concentrates on the analogical level and defines it as "the deepest level. It comprises a limited number of values which form the structure of the adolescent identity. This level contains basic values which form the representation of this identity in TV fiction, giving it meaning and durability.".

From this point of view, each affective/sexual model constitutes a different possible world. In other words, the sexual and affective relationships of adolescents in *Sin tetas no hay paraí*-

so could constitute a possible world of traditional relationships or a possible world of alternative relationships (with the relevant definitions and the implications set out in the definition above for the theoretical framework). This is a translation, to narrative strategies, of the fact that sexual and affective relationships may be traditional or alternative.

Both the possible world of traditional relationships and the possible world of alternative relationships are created using specific values and facts. The values form part of the meaning conveyed and are strategic. In other words, the broadcaster of *Sin tetas no hay paraíso* creates specific possible worlds which reflect a portion of reality and a position regarding this reality. In addition, the reason for defining a specific view of reality is to construct a model of reality that may be subsequently imitated by adolescents, as it shows a perception of relationships between men and women, adolescents and/or adults.

Taking as our basis the definition of traditional and alternative models that we have seen in the theoretical framework, different values have been linked to each model, used to construct analytical grids. We have associated the traditional model with submission, dependency, violence, mistreatment, infidelity, instability, abuse, jealousy, fear, rejection, love linked to suffering, and the desire for redemption of a lover towards the other person, among other values. These are all connected to a way of conducting a loving and sexual relationship based on suffering, submission and, in short, the irrational and inevitable nature of what happens within a couple. However, via the alternative model we have associated the analytical grids with friendship, equality, love, the independence of the two partners, cooperation, respect, loyalty, passion linked to stability, tenderness, transparency, non-violence and dialogue between equals.

4. Findings

The sexual and loving relationships established between the three main characters during season one of Sin tetas no hay paraíso are based on a traditional relationship model, in line with Gómez (2004). According to this author, and if we look at the discourse analysis results, we can see that the series is linked to desire and attraction with violent behaviour. One clear example is El Duque, the most desired and attractive character in the series who, in the very first scene of the programme, cruelly kills his partner. However, El Duque hurts his partners even in less painful relationships. In the case of his relationship with Jessi, it's particularly problematic that the woman falls in love with the man while he underrates and mistreats her. This traditional model also associates attraction with power, in the case of the men, and with beauty, in the case of the women, and this is precisely what we have in the series: the availability of El Duque's power and influences is what makes him attractive to both Cata and Jessi. The way in which both women show their surrendering to male power is different, yet similar: Jessi wants to escape a poor area, while Cata is happy with the status that being El Duque's girlfriend gives her. The female attraction in the series would lie in beauty, a fact that is evident both in the opinions of the men (the characters say that Cata is very pretty, and she is the female character most fancied by the men) and in the girls' desires, who work to "make themselves" beautiful. This drive towards beauty is encapsulated in the physical changes Cata makes to please El Duque and also in her obsession to have larger breasts. In the series' narrative, this is established in the first scene where the two characters have a sexual relationship. El Duque then guesses her problem and leaves some money on the table and suggests that she undergo breast enlargement surgery. The male character – for love – says that he likes Cata just the way she is ("to me you're perfect, you're enchanting, but the important thing is that you feel good"), but helps her go ahead with the operation. This, in fact, will be one of the series' dilemmas, as the reason for the breast enlargement operation is represented as the protagonist's (and therefore a female) obsession, but set against a background that considers big/huge breasts are more beautiful (from a male point of view). This is heightened by the continuous comments made by the girls (especially Jessi) and the men, such as the gangster Morón regarding the smallness of Cata's breasts. Therefore, the deep-seated reason for Cata's transformation indulges this male opinion that reigns supreme in the diegetic world of this series and which, above all, is shared by its love interest (El Duque). In this sense, and in reference to her own body, Cata identifies submission with love in statements such as "I want to be perfect for you", and evaluates herself using these parameters. El Duque's response is ambiguous and, when he leaves the money, he says: "It really doesn't mean a thing to me. And for you it could mean a lot".

The mise-en-scene also enjoys displaying the female body even when this not required or justified by the narrative context. The girls are exaggeratedly sexualised, even when they have no contact with the male characters. The sexualisation of the female body is an integral part of the identity of the women who dress provocatively and often look at themselves in the mirror or drop their gaze to check their appearance.

The female characters' obsession with beauty takes place under the assumption that this beauty will afford them recognition and opportunities in life – even if this involves going into prostitution – and also stresses a commercial view of female beauty and identity: this is particularly highlighted in the luxury products bought by *men*. Therefore, the economic and social power of men is largely important to the women in the series because it allows them to become more believable characters within the traditional parameters: be more beautiful, more fancied, more sexually attractive to men and more powerful. This idea can be seen when the girls from the poor area appear to find happiness in going shopping in luxury stores accompanied by the gangsters. Also, in the case of Cata, El Duque is the one who should allow her to have larger breasts (even though, in the end, it will be Jessi who pays for the operation, always

assuming that, if one day El Duque returns, he will like them), and the other prized male character, Cortés, is exaggeratedly rich, powerful, elegant and generous (with the women), despite also being manipulative, a drug trafficker and a cynic.

With regard to Jessi, although she follows traditional femininity parameters in terms of her fascination with beauty, she would be "the woman who imitates the male relationship model" in Gómez's model (2004), as she supposedly establishes relationships without commitment in which she does not get involved and that simply maintain the inequalities between the two partners in the relationship. We later see that things are not as clear-cut as this and that Jessi develops feelings for El Duque, even though, at the start of the series, they establish a purely instrumental bond. He is attracted by Jessi's persistence and ability to operate in his world of drug traffickers and generally improve the environment through her activities as a prostitute: "you've got some loaded and very bored friends and I've got some really stunning, great fun girlfriends", she says. El Duque and Jessi are attracted to each other because they are similar, and it could also be added that the supposed stability this similarity affords may be one of reasons for the breakdown in the attraction between the two characters (especially El Duque towards her). There are no more opportunities to see whether Jessi would act differently as there does not appear to be any other man interested in her beyond anything sexual, precisely because, in certain aspects, she breaks the traditional rol of women in relationships.

As a whole, the series presents an affective model that associates passion and attraction with relationships that lack stability and with choosing unattainable people. El Duque is presented precisely as a paradigm of this unattainability and instability to the point where it could be said that proposing him as the impossible partner is the factor that generates the most attraction among the female characters in the series. Consequently, the love between El Duque and Cata (represented as the "true love story" of the series) is inevitable, unique, love-at-first-sight and everlasting. The series' plot is that the two characters have been friends since they were young when, as El Duque recalls, "you had two plaits" and he made her promise "that you'd marry me". This way, their getting together is represented as the resumption or conclusion of a predestined love story based on a children's game. Continuity with childhood gives the relationship a touch of innocence which radically distances it from the relationship that El Duque has with Jessi and also allows a pact with the idea of inevitability and the cliché of eternal love. In fact, El Duque tells Cata in this scene that "you never forget your first love".

The series does not consolidate this idealised love, season one ending with a relationship between Jessi and El Duque riddled with doubts about its fragility. The love or tenderness that El Duque seems to finally show Jessi are based on the gratitude he owes her and on the desperate situation of the male character, but they are far removed from romantic motivation which, contrary to this, is still linked to Cata (although she

appears to have definitively abandoned emotional reciprocity with El Duque). Instead of this, Cata agrees to marry a man whom she does not love because he offers her material comfort and peace of mind and, above all, the possibility of getting her revenge on El Duque. Therefore, at the end of season one of *Sin tetas no hay paraíso* we are presented with a traditional model that disassociates romantic passion (between El Duque and Cata, who have moved from love to profound hatred) from stability (with Jessi having lost all passion, which is accessible to El Duque, they establish a stable relationship which does not satisfy the man; and, for her part, Cata also starts a stable relationship out of spite).

It's hard enough to find a transformational relationship in the series, where those involved in the loving-sexual bond acquire a rational, dialogue-based, shared approach and renegotiate the course of the relationship. Possibly the relationship between Cata's mother and the tailor was more in keeping with this template, but it was still a relationship where the male character presents himself as the woman's "knight in shining armour", who helps her even when she does not want helping. In addition, the relationship is not always presented as passionate and attractive, so it cannot always be said that it unites the values of passion and stability. Finally, the relationship between Cata's brother, Jesús, and Paula is also rather more positive than the rest, despite being very brief, and begins and develops based on a moment of unfaithfulness and, when it starts, Jesús's only motivation is his protective obsession for his younger sister and the continuous persecution of El Duque.

We should also consider that all the sexual and affective relationships established in the series are based on a hetero-normative model, which takes for granted that erotic tension can only be created between people of the opposite sex. While the gender stereotype is exaggerated to the point that it cannot go unnoticed, heterosexuality is taken as read. There is only one lesbian relationship represented in season one and it is an instrumental sexual relationship that Jessi establishes with a famous actress in order to blackmail her. Therefore, this relationship, which is seen as being outside the hetero-normative boundaries, is represented as "shameful" and stigmatised by the diegetic social context presented by the series, as well as being cold and instrumental; established by two cold, calculating women. In addition, the purpose of the blackmail is to prostitute the actress so that she has a heterosexual relationship with one of Jessi's clients, which is why even this character, noted for an alternative sexuality to the norm, is punished by being forced to have a heterosexual relationship. Given all this, we can state that Sin tetas no hay paraiso feeds the dominant paradigm ("thinking straight") in terms of sexual and affective relationships and makes alternative possibilities invisible (Inagraham 2006: 308).

In the series, the men are drug traffickers or policemen/paternalistic and protective brothers, and the women are ambitious prostitutes or good girls who allow themselves to be led into this underworld. The men covet social prestige in comparison with the other men to help them take advantage of or control the women. When, in episode eight, the two female characters go to the house of a friend of Jessi's, this friend even ends up attacking them. Therefore, the directionality of the male characters is clearly aimed at sex and business, or, in the case of Torres and Cata's brother, at an exaggerated paternalism towards women. As Inagraham stresses (2006:312), "we have not adequately determined if what we consider gender or gendered behavior would even exist if not for its relationship to the institution of heterosexuality" as an organising force. We can therefore state that the narrative of Sin tetas no hay paraíso proposes a world governed by a heterosexual system which, as Wittig would say, is based on the belief that women are sexual and sexed beings incapable of living outside the male norm and therefore have to be subjected to a "heterosexual economy" (Wittig 1992:7).

5. Conclusions

It should be said, especially during the initial episodes, that Sin tetas no hay paraíso appears, to a certain degree, to criticise the model of femininity and establishment of relationships the series itself proposes. By way of a moral, but also in reference to the original novel, the series appears to be a brief catalogue of exemplary punishments where, for example, Cata's vanity is punished with an attempted rape, Vane's stupidity with an overdose and subsequent drug addiction, Cris's ambition with the failure of her desire to become an actress and Jessi's cruelty with being looked down on by El Duque. However, especially after the second half of the season, when Cata runs away with Jessi and has the operation on her breasts, every possible tool the series has to offer for a critical interpretation is diluted through the visual portrayal of the women's bodies and their pleasure in making themselves pretty, working in the porn industry, meeting other men on whom they are dependent and "getting pregnant" as a transformation (in the case of Paula, from prostitute to mother). In terms of the women, the series creates a skewed comparison between sexual emancipation and control over one's body – and the fact of selling it – when the story exalts the male fantasy of sex with minors – it is they who, in the series, want relationships with the adult men. This link between the sexual use of a woman's body as a form of empowerment is particularly true in the case of Jessi, who uses her sex as a way of achieving power and resources and even prostitutes her friends for her own ends.

Many components from traditional models are used in the characterisation of the protagonists and their interactions, primarily the link between desire and attraction with violence. After El Duque kills his partner at the very start of the series, all the relationships in which he will become involved will end violently and, one way or another, will involve his partners. El Duque is presented as dual-sided character; according to the publicity for season two: "Defiant, daring and dangerous. Per-

sistent, vengeful and seductive. Sweet, cruel and fun. And bad. Very, very bad. The most desired character is back". This sense of danger is what makes El Duque attractive; to Jessi, because "he's so hot" there is no need to censure the illegal methods he has used to carve out his position in society, and according to Cata because love will allow her to redeem this "other Duque" and, therefore, she is attracted by the uncertainty and the power of changing the monster into a prince.

In *Sin tetas no hay paraíso* love is linked to destiny, suffering and dependency. Destiny also involves suffering on the part of El Duque's potential partners because a relationship with this man places the characters in situations of physical and emotional risk. The two women who fall in love with the protagonist suffer and both interpret this pain as a sign of true love. In addition, the relationship creates dependency as it becomes the main vehicle for these women's every action. Cata abandons her family, her studies and her friends to try and establish a relationship with El Duque, and Jessi needs him as a springboard from which to launch herself socially and to escape poverty.

This analysis of how sexual and affective relationships are represented in *Sin tetas no hay paraíso* shows how far the traditional model continues to be rooted in successful fiction. It would therefore be necessary to construct stories that, from the point of view of complexity, could develop alternative sexual and affective relationships which move away from the traditional archetypes. New, varied and wide-ranging relationship models which help transform our own relationships, which foster equality, respect and the possibility of defining oneself freely and which overcome stereotypes and inequalities that slot into our imagination and therefore affect our everyday lives.

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