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Shame, Platforms, and the Spectacular Girl: Performing Italian Girlhood in *Skam Italia*, *Baby*, and *Nudes**

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This article examines how three recent Italian teen dramas — *Baby* (Netflix, 2018–2020), *Skam Italia* (TIMvision/Netflix, 2018–2020), and *Nudes* (RaiPlay, 2021–2024) — construct girlhood as a mediated performance shaped by shame and conflicting modes of agency. Drawing on feminist shame theory, postfeminist media critique, affect theory, and platform studies, the article argues that shame functions less as a private emotion than as a structuring cultural force: it is through shame that girlhood becomes legible, narratable, and spectacular within a media ecosystem governed by platform logics, algorithmic visibility, and participatory culture. Reconstructing the series' production histories and ce ultimately argues that the adolescent girl's affective precarity is not incidental to platform culture's commercial logic but constitutive of it.

Keywords: girlhood; shame; platform culture; Italian teen drama; postfeminism; streaming media

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Introduction: Shame as Infrastructure for Girlhood

Across contemporary teen drama, girlhood is increasingly staged as a performance conducted under conditions of mediated exposure. In Italy, this is especially visible in *Skam Italia* (TIMvision/Netflix 2018), *Baby* (Netflix 2018), and *Nudes* (RaiPlay/Rai Fiction 2021), three series that place adolescent femininity at the center of narrative attention while repeatedly tying that attention to shame: shame as a social force, a gendered disciplinary mechanism, and an affective engine that drives plot, identification, and controversy. The shared premise is not simply that girls feel shame, but that shame is the condition through which girlhood becomes readable, narratable, and saleable within contemporary screen culture.

This article argues that shame operates as a structuring cultural force that organises what counts as girlhood and how girl protagonists can appear. Rather than treating shame as the opposite of empowerment, the series position it as the medium of a specifically postfeminist form of protagonism: girls become protagonists through visibility, confession, and judgment, even as visibility remains dangerous and unevenly distributed. In this sense, the “girl” emerges as an unstable cultural figure: simultaneously hyper-visible and overdetermined, yet narratively precarious.

The argument is developed through two intertwined analyses. First, the article reconstructs the production histories of the three series as media products shaped by platform competition. A “production history,” here, is a map of the forces that make some stories producible, fundable, and governable. Second, it offers a theoretical account of shame within postfeminist and platform-mediated culture, drawing on the concept of the spectacular girl (Projansky 2014) and Italian genealogies of gendered morality and girlhood (Hipkins 2015), alongside affect theory and platform critiques (Van Dijck, Poell, & de Waal 2018).

This integrated approach matters because representations of shame in teen drama cannot be separated from platform capitalism’s reorganization of production and engagement. Streaming services do not merely distribute content; they restructure cultural circulation through algorithmic recommendation, data-driven segmentation, interface design, and metrics that reward retention and shareability (Lobato 2019). Shame is unusually functional within this economy: it intensifies attention, provokes moral judgment, generates debate, and sustains serialised momentum. It is, at once, a cultural script and an industrial resource.

Finally, these series assume and mobilise participation. In participatory culture (Jenkins 2006; Jenkins, Ford, & Green 2013), viewers circulate clips, debate storylines, and stabilise meaning through paratexts. *Skam Italia* foregrounds this through transmedia adaptation and real-time fragments; *Baby* through the appeal of being based on scandalous events involving teen prostitution in the Roman upper-class; and *Nudes* as a series designed specifically and primarily for digital distribution on public Italian television and aimed at young digital audiences.

Three questions guide the analysis. First: how do the specific ownership positions and commissioning contexts of the three platforms shape the kinds of shame narrative each series can stage? Second: how does feminist shame theory — in particular the distinctions between ubiquitous and unbounded shame, and between shame as disciplining device and shame as political resource — allow us to read the girlhood these series construct more precisely than either platform studies or postfeminist media critique alone? Third: what does the comparison across three series reveal about the relationship between platform infrastructure and the affective condition of Italian adolescent femininity in the streaming era?

The three series are selected not as a representative sample of Italian teen drama — the corpus is too small and heterogeneous for that — but as a comparative set. Together they span the three principal ownership positions that characterise the Italian streaming landscape in the period under examination: a pure-play transnational platform (Netflix/*Baby*), a telecommunications-owned service (TIMvision/*Skam Italia*), and a public broadcaster's on-demand offer (RaiPlay/*Nudes*). Each places adolescent female shame at the structural centre of its narrative argument. This combination of industrial diversity and thematic convergence makes the set analytically productive: it holds constant the narrative object, namely, girlhood under shame, while varying the industrial conditions of its production, making visible how platform ownership shapes the shame economy each series can stage.

Methodology

This article combines three methodological registers — production history reconstruction, theoretical framework integration, and close textual analysis — which it treats as mutually constitutive.

The production history work draws on the methods of critical media industry studies (Mayer, Banks, and Caldwell 2009), understood here as the reconstruction of commissioning contexts, ownership structures, distribution architectures, and format trade arrangements that shape what content can be produced, on what terms, and for which platform infrastructures. This reconstruction is based on analysis of industry trade press, platform announcements, published interviews with producers and showrunners, and secondary scholarship on the Italian television industry (Barra and Rossi 2026; Barra et al. 2026; Antonioni, Barra, and Checcaglini 2021).

The theoretical framework is built from an explicit combination of feminist shame theory, postfeminist media critique, affect theory, and platform studies, in a deliberate departure from mono-disciplinary approaches in any of these fields. Feminist shame theory — particularly the work of Ahmed (2004), Mann (2018), Fischer (2018), and Shefer and Munt (2019) — provides the conceptual vocabulary for analysing shame as a relational, politically distributed affect rather than a psychological state. Postfeminist media critique (Projansky 2014; Banet-Weiser 2018; Hipkins 2015) supplies the specifically gendered and culturally

situated account of how girlhood is constituted within visual media economies. Platform studies (Van Dijck, Poell, and de Waal 2018; Gillespie 2014; Lobato 2019; Lotz and Eklund 2023) ground the analysis in the industrial and infrastructural conditions under which these representations circulate.

The textual analysis proceeds through what might be described as theoretically informed close reading: it attends to the formal and narrative properties of selected episodes and sequences — cinematography, editing, diegetic digital interfaces, dialogue, serial structure, distribution timing — as the means by which shame is produced, allocated, and contested at the level of text. This reading practice does not aspire to comprehensiveness across the full episode runs of three multi-season series. Rather, it is organised around analytically motivated selection: sequences and episodes are chosen because they stage with particular clarity the shame dynamics the theoretical framework makes visible, or because they mark turning points in the series' handling of the shame economy at issue.

This article also draws, selectively, on published audience reception research, primarily Andò and Hipkins's (2022) qualitative study of Italian teen girl viewers of *Baby* and Antonioni, Barra, and Checcaglini's (2021) fan discourse analysis around the SKAMverse. These studies serve as secondary evidence that enriches the textual and industrial analysis. The article does not conduct original audience research; it uses existing, peer-reviewed reception scholarship to corroborate and complicate claims made on the basis of textual and industrial evidence.

Finally, the selection of the three series as a comparative set requires brief justification. *Baby*, *Skam Italia*, and *Nudes* cannot be considered as a representative sample of Italian teen drama; the corpus of Italian streaming-era teen fiction is too small and too heterogeneous or sampling in any statistically meaningful sense. They are selected as a purposive comparative set because together they span the three principal ownership positions that characterise the Italian streaming landscape during the period in question — a pure-play transnational platform (Netflix), a telecommunications-owned service (TIMvision), and a public broadcaster's on-demand offer (RaiPlay) — and because all three, or significant part of them, place adolescent female shame at the structural centre of their narrative argument. This combination of industrial diversity and thematic convergence makes the set analytically productive: it allows the article to hold constant the narrative object (girlhood under shame) while varying the industrial conditions under which it is produced and distributed, thereby making visible the extent to which platform ownership shapes the kind of shame economy each series can stage.

Production Histories

Platformization describes the reorganization of production, circulation, and valuation around platform logics, metrics, and interfaces (Van Dijck, Poell, & de Waal 2018, p. 7). Platforms do not merely host content; they change what content is, how it is released, and what counts as success. In a platform society, streaming companies compete for attention in a media-

saturated landscape, and the competitive imperative shifts from “selling programs” to engineering retention through commissioning strategies, interface design, and promotional circulation calibrated to keep users watching and returning. Moreover, the algorithms that govern the process of selection and recommendation have emerged as the primary mediating mechanism that extend beyond mere automation to actively predict, nudge, and constrain human behavior and choices (Schuilenburg and Peeters 2021, pp. 2-3). However, this evaluative infrastructure is structurally and strategically obscured. As Gillespie argues in his account of “public relevance algorithms” (2014, p. 3), providers cannot make their evaluative criteria explicit without simultaneously handing competitors a roadmap for imitation and audiences a method of manipulation, so what circulates publicly is instead a carefully managed “performed backstage” that legitimates outputs—renewal, recommendation, promotion—without exposing the calculations that produce them. Success is thus asserted, rather than demonstrated, through platform-controlled analytics, namely: completion, “bingeability,” retention value, and churn reduction, that function less as shared public measures of cultural value than as proprietary instruments whose authority depends on remaining unavailable to outside scrutiny, producing a feedback loop in which discoverability and renewal are continuously recalibrated by prediction systems built to resist exactly this kind of outside audit (Gillespie 2014, p. 14).

This structural opacity should not be mistaken for a single, undifferentiated “platform logic” operating uniformly across the sector, an assumption to which platform-society accounts, generalised from the most visible transnational players, are themselves prone. Lotz and Eklund’s (2023) comparative analysis of ownership among streaming services outside the United States cautions against exactly this kind of flattening. Distinguishing pure-play, streaming-endemic services built around no prior audiovisual business (Netflix) from “corporate extensions” of existing broadcasters and content owners and from “corporate complements” launched by companies—frequently telecommunications and mobile providers—whose core revenue lies elsewhere and for whom a streaming offer chiefly serves subscriber differentiation and retention (Lotz and Eklund 2023: 121, 123, 126), Lotz and Eklund specify what platform-society theory tends to leave at the level of abstraction: that platformization names not one industrial logic but a set of structurally distinct ownership positions, each with different metrics of success and different tolerances for the kind of culturally risky, format-licensed content this article examines.

Although Lotz and Eklund’s sixteen-service sample does not include the Italian case, their typology clarifies the production histories reconstructed below. TIMvision, the platform on which Skam Italia originated, was the on-demand service of TIM, Telecom Italia’s principal telecommunications brand, and so occupies a position structurally analogous to the “corporate complement” services Lotz and Eklund identify among mobile and telecommunications providers elsewhere (Lotz and Eklund 2023: 126). For such companies, a youth-oriented original commission serves less to build a durable intellectual-property catalog than to differentiate a telecommunications subscription and retain data and broadband customers. RaiPlay occupies a different position again. As the on-demand platform of Italy’s legacy multichannel public broadcaster RAI, it sits closer to what Lotz and Eklund describe, in the British case, as a broadcaster’s domestic catch-up offering—

exemplified by BBC's ad- and publicly funded service BBC iPlayer' (Lotz and Eklund 2023: 137). RaiPlay's commissioning logic is accordingly oriented less toward subscriber-fee maximisation than toward demographic repositioning and the public-value justification of licence-fee-funded production for a youth audience RAI has historically struggled to retain (Barra and Rossi 2026: 83-85). Netflix, finally, approximates the multi-territory streaming-endemic position in Lotz and Eklund's scheme, yet its commissioning strategy in Italy—productions rooted in local settings and built toward global exportability, as the discussion of *Baby* suggests (Barra 2026: 123)—instantiates a more general pattern in their account: streaming's transnational infrastructure does not erase national specificity, since adoption and experience remain strongly conditioned by pre-existing national contexts (Lotz and Eklund 2023: 120). Read together, these three ownership positions indicate that platformization, in the Italian teen-drama sector, names not a single industrial pressure but a set of distinct commercial logics—telecommunications subscriber retention, public-service demographic renewal, transnational catalog scale—whose specific configuration conditions what kind of shame narrative each platform is willing, or able, to commission, and on what terms it can be withdrawn.

If platformization reorganises media around visibility, retention, and data extraction, teen seriality translates these logics into intimate, gendered terms. In *Baby*, *Skam Italia*, and *Nudes*, girls' shame becomes a key affect through which platform culture is narratively rendered. Shame is structurally serial: it unfolds through anticipation, exposure, concealment, and repetition, implementing dynamics that sustain bingeability and social media circulation. Drawing on Ahmed's account of shame as "sticky" affect, that accumulates force through repetition and circulation (Ahmed 2004, pp. 1-16), in a platformized society it also "sticks" (as this article explains in the section on Postfeminism) to reputations in ways that intensify spectatorship and enable its rapid circulation across peer networks and digital traces. These series repeatedly stage humiliation, leaked images, reputational collapse, and confessional close-ups, producing suspense while aligning with what Gillespie (2014) describes as an evaluative regime in which the criteria for relevance, recommendation, and renewal are held inside the platform's "performed backstage," privileging completion and retention as proxies for value precisely because they are measurable without being made public. At the same time, the texts dramatise digital surveillance within the story world, mirroring the platform infrastructures that distribute them. In Banet-Weiser's terms, this gendered visibility is managed through a "confidence" mandate that responsabilizes girls for curating their desirability, safety, and self-brand under conditions of persistent scrutiny (Banet-Weiser 2018, pp. 65-91). Girls' bodies become sites of hyper-visibility and moral judgment, where value is constantly recalibrated through networked exposure. Shame thus functions as both narrative motor and platform-compatible affect: it personalises structural gender inequalities while producing emotionally adhesive content that invites continued viewing.

Baby

Baby is an Italian teen drama produced by Fabula Pictures for Netflix and released globally between 2018 and 2020 (three seasons). Created by GRAMS, a collective of young writers (Antonio Le Fosse, Giacomo Mazzariol, Re Salvador, Marco Raspanti, Eleonora Trucchi) in collaboration with Isabella Aguilar and Giacomo Durzi, the series was loosely inspired by the real-life “Parioli scandal” case, that emerged in Rome in 2013, involving underage girls from affluent backgrounds, who were prostituted to a number of men, including politicians and lawyers (Andò & Hipkins 2022). Netflix positioned the show as part of its strategy to expand European-language originals following the success of Spanish and German productions. Directed across seasons by Andrea De Sica, Anna Negri and Letizia Lamartire, *Baby* pairs the glossy surface of teen drama with darker social concerns—sexual exploitation, class hypocrisy, and familial breakdown—crafting a series designed to resonate with both domestic viewers and transnational audiences. Filmed on location in Rome, it exemplifies Netflix’s approach in a growing national market: commissioning originals that are firmly rooted in local settings and social hierarchies (Rome, elite Italian milieu, a scandal-driven premise) while remaining globally exportable through premium aesthetics, familiar melodramatic structures, and a high-concept hook (Barra 2026).

The production history of *Baby* is, in this sense, inseparable from a broader transmedial ecosystem that preceded and shaped it. Beatrice Borromeo’s journalistic investigations into adolescent sexuality—first published in *Il Fatto Quotidiano* in 2014, then repackaged as the Sky TG24 documentary series *Sex and the Teens* (2015)—circulated and amplified the scandal of the “baby squillo” case across print, television, and social media, generating a sustained moral panic around adolescent female sexuality that rendered the subject commercially legible as fictional material. Bloggers and critics noted at the time that Borromeo’s inquiry was itself a recycling operation: interviews conducted before the Parioli story broke were rebroadcast in its wake, the journalistic framing retroactively charged by the scandal it appeared to diagnose. This recursive logic of recycling and recontextualization is continuous with the production of *Baby* itself: the GRAMS writers (all aged between 20 and 29) drew on a pre-existing intertextual field that includes American teen drama (most notably *13 Reasons Why*) alongside the journalistic and documentary discourse that had already established “baby squillo” as a cultural object. Each text in this chain does not merely refer to the scandal but reworks and recirculates the affects attached to it: shame, fascination, moral concern, and the spectacular visibility of the adolescent girl. The accusations levelled at *Baby* of glamorizing sex trafficking, and at Borromeo’s inquiry of slut-shaming and lacking a valid sociological sample, share the same underlying concern: that media representations of transgressive girlhood produce the spectacle they claim merely to document.

Skam Italia

SKAM Italia is the Italian adaptation of the Norwegian teen drama *SKAM* (the title means shame in Norwegian), a series built around the everyday lives of a group of high-school students, told through an intimate realist style and an original release model that combines episodic storytelling with transmedia extensions (such as clips released in “real time” and character social profiles). The Italian version originates from the NRK format, with rights acquired through Beta Film and the adaptation led by Cross Productions. From the outset, NRK attached strict conditions to the deal: the Italian team had to respect the format’s core structure, preserve the real-time storytelling logic that underpins its sense of immediacy, and conduct preliminary research with Italian teenagers to support cultural authenticity. In this framework, *SKAM Italia* was designed not as a straightforward remake, but as a carefully localised translation intended to retain the format’s distinctive mechanics while re-rooting it in Italian youth culture (Antonioni et al. 2021). During the TIMvision era, *Skam Italia* maintained the original’s distinctive release strategy: clips and social posts uploaded in “real time,” with weekly episodes functioning as compilations of fragments already circulating.

This architecture produces intimacy through habitual checking and feed-based sociality—an affective proximity that feels like “living with” the characters. When Netflix later became involved, release moved toward a more legible, catalog-oriented model of full episodes. The shift is not cosmetic: it changes attention (micro-attentions vs completion sessions), paratext (social media eventness vs metadata legibility), and value metrics (local differentiation for a tecno-streamer vs global catalog performance). The show’s cancellation by TIMvision (announced 7 August 2019) and pickup by Netflix (announced 19 December 2019), followed by Netflix acquiring seasons 1–3 (available 1 January 2020) and releasing season 4 (15 May 2020), reads as a platform-era revaluation: a property becomes “worth saving” when its audience value can be recaptured under a different infrastructural regime.

Nudes

Nudes is an original series developed for RaiPlay and designed from the start for on-demand viewing. Adapted from the Norwegian format (*Jenter / Nudes*, NRK 2017) and produced by Bim Produzione for RaiPlay, the series was conceived from the outset as a digital-first production for young audiences, a choice whose formal and ideological dimensions intersect with its subject matter in ways that demand analytical attention (Barra et al. 2026: 22). It also reflects public Italian television Rai’s attempt to shift its typically older age profile. Only after this digital-first launch did the first season (2021) move to a second distribution window on Rai 2 in summer 2022. Rai followed the same strategy for the second season, released on RaiPlay in October 2024. The series not only built a strong reputation, but also performed well on RaiPlay in both audience terms and critical reception; its later linear broadcast further expanded reach and helped offset costs (Barra and Rossi 2026). An adaptation of a

Norwegian series centred on non-consensual image sharing and digital abuse, *Nudes* was conceived from the outset as a digital-first production for RaiPlay. Structured in short 20-minute episodes and produced on a significantly lower budget than traditional linear dramas, the series focuses explicitly on urgent social issues such as revenge porn, consent, sextortion, and the emotional consequences of online exposure. Despite its modest funding, *Nudes* achieved strong streaming performance, attracted substantial press attention, and secured international sales, including distribution deals with Disney. The series combines youth-oriented aesthetics with a clear dimension of social activism, mobilising what can be described as an emotional engagement model aligned with the idea of “affective publics” (Papacharissi 2015), in which viewers connect through shared feelings and socially resonant experiences.

Postfeminism, Shame, and the Platformed Spectacle

Postfeminist media culture is often described as a terrain in which feminist language and themes are partially incorporated while structural critique is minimised. Within this environment, visibility is frequently coded as agency: to be seen, to speak, to self-present is framed as empowerment. Yet visibility also intensifies surveillance and judgment, particularly for girls. What these series dramatise is not a simple opposition between victimhood and agency, but a condition of ambivalence: girls can act, choose, desire, and narrate themselves, while simultaneously being disciplined by peer cultures, institutions, and networked publics.

Sarah Projansky’s concept of the “spectacular girl” offers a productive framework for reading this dynamic. In Projansky’s account, the girl is not merely a demographic or narrative subject but a site through which broader cultural anxieties about sexuality, risk, morality, and social control are projected and managed (Projansky 2014). The spectacular girl is made hyper-visible precisely in order to be regulated: her visibility is not liberatory but disciplinary, organised around the public adjudication of her desirability, virtue, and comportment. To become spectacular is to be constituted as an object of address, concern, fascination, and judgment, while the terms of one’s own self-narration remain constrained by the same norms that produce the spectacle. This is not a coincidence of form and content but a structural condition: the girl can only appear as protagonist within a cultural field that simultaneously overdetermines what her appearance can mean.

Danielle Hipkins’ work on Italian screen cultures and gendered morality sharpens this argument considerably. As Hipkins has shown, Italian visual media has historically operated through a distinctively punitive moral economy of femininity in which female visibility has functioned not to authorise female speech or agency but to invite scrutiny, blame, and pedagogical framing (Hipkins 2015, pp. 21-33). Whether in the figure of the starlet, the showgirl, the television presenter, or the “veline,” the visible woman in Italian public culture has typically been positioned as an object of moral assessment: desirable and dangerous, admirable and compromised. Female appearance carries with it the burden of representing

something beyond itself: national propriety, familial honor, class distinction, or erotic transgression. For this analysis, these patterns persist as cultural sediment that newer media forms must negotiate, adapt, or partially disavow. The streaming era does not dissolve the moral economies through which Italian femininity has been regulated; it recodes them through platform interfaces, data-driven recommendation, and the affective dynamics of participatory fandom. *Skam Italia*, *Baby*, and *Nudes* rework these moral economies under streaming-era conditions.

Affect theory, and Sara Ahmed's work in particular, offers the most productive conceptual vocabulary for analyzing how shame operates in these series. Ahmed's central argument in her seminal work *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (2004) is that emotions are not internal states that individuals possess and then express outward, but rather relational processes that circulate between bodies, surfaces, and signs, leaving affective residues as they move (Ahmed 2004, pp. 8-16). Affects become "sticky" through repetition: each time a body is associated with a given evaluation—danger, shame, desire, disgust—that association accumulates force, making the figure increasingly over-determined by the affects that have adhered to it. For the girl in postfeminist media culture, this stickiness is constitutive: adolescent femininity is already saturated with evaluative charge before any individual girl appears on screen. Shame, for Ahmed, is a particularly condensed instance of this relational structure. To feel shame is not simply to experience a private discomfort but to have been constituted as visible-from-outside: shame requires an audience, whether real or imagined, and it instantiates the subject as one who has been seen to fail (Ahmed 2004, pp. 101-113). It is in this sense both disciplinary and identificatory insofar as it binds subjects to the norms whose violation it registers, reinforcing the standards against which the transgression is measured. Ahmed distinguishes shame from guilt in this regard: while guilt concerns an act that can potentially be remedied, shame touches the whole person, making the self the object of negative evaluation (Ahmed 2004, pp. 105-106). This distinction is narratively decisive in the three series under examination. What *Skam Italia*, *Baby*, and *Nudes* repeatedly stage is not guilt that can be worked off through restitution but shame that adheres to girls' identities and bodies, reshaping how they move through social space, manage their relationships, and narrate themselves. Moreover, and crucially, the shows treat shame less as an interior psychological state than as an event produced through material and digital infrastructures of looking—smartphones, social media feeds, screenshots, gossip networks, school corridors, family dinner tables, and institutional framings of acceptable girlhood. Shame is always produced somewhere, by someone, in relation to a norm whose social investment it makes visible. Ahmed's framework thus allows us to analyze shame not merely as a theme but as an organizing logic that structures the affective economy of these texts and their platform circulation alike.

As television shifts from mass scheduling toward personalised selection and data-driven feedback, platforms solicit an empowered viewer while also expanding surveillance and metric governance (Tryon 2013; Evens, Henderickx, and Conradie 2023). Shame thrives in this environment because it is inherently visibility-linked: it generates cliffhangers, moral debate, and compulsive continuation—precisely the affects that support retention and circulation.

Case Studies: Shame as the Condition of Girlhood

Before proceeding to the case studies, one terminological clarification is necessary. *Skam Italia* is not, as a whole, a series about girlhood. Its four seasons are organised around a rotating protagonist structure that includes male characters whose experiences—above all Martino's coming-out narrative in season 2 of the Italian adaptation—have attracted significant critical and audience attention. This article does not claim that *Skam Italia* is reducible to the question of girlhood. Rather, it focuses on one of the seasons whose protagonist is female and whose central narrative concern is the gendered dynamics of shame: season 3, which centres on Eleonora and dramatises a sustained arc of sexual violence, victim-blaming, and the question of who bears the shame of public exposure. It is within this season that the series' distinctive formal architecture—its real-time distribution, its transmedia extensions, its construction of a participatory fan community—intersects most directly with the feminist politics of shame that this article analyses across all three series.

The three case studies that follow are organised around a set of analytical claims that the preceding theoretical discussion makes possible. The first claim is that Bonnie Mann's (2018) distinction between "ubiquitous shame" and "unbounded shame", as introduced and glossed by Clara Fischer in her framing of the Hypatia special issue on shame, provides a structural typology that differentiates the three series in ways that neither postfeminist media theory nor platform studies alone can capture. For Mann, ubiquitous shame is the chronic, low-level shame that attaches to femininity as such in patriarchal culture: the persistent sense that a girl's body, desires, and self-presentation are always potentially wrong, always subject to judgment, always in need of management. It is "ubiquitous" not because it is experienced as a single overwhelming event but because it is structural and ongoing. More broadly, it is the ambient condition of feminine existence. Ubiquitous shame is organised around a promise: the culture that induces this shame also offers girls a path toward redemption through the "right" performance of femininity, which is to say through forms of sexual self-display that are culturally prescribed and therefore temporarily valorised (Fischer 2018: 374, summarising Mann 2018: 403, 415). Unbounded shame names what happens when that promise fails, or is weaponised. When a girl's sexual self-display, undertaken as a bid for social value and recognition, is appropriated, redistributed, and turned against her—through image-based abuse, public shaming, or viral exposure—the redemptive logic of ubiquitous shame collapses entirely. There is no longer any performance available that could restore value or repair the self: shame becomes total, without exit, "unbounded" in the precise sense that it no longer holds out any horizon of repair (Fischer 2018: 374, summarising Mann 2018: 407). The distinction between a shame that functions by offering a promise and a shame that destroys it, is what allows the three series to be differentiated structurally: *Baby* and *Skam Italia* season 3 both operate within the economy of ubiquitous shame, where the promise of redemption, or eventual recognition, remains in play however painfully; *Nudes*, by contrast, stages its collapse into unbounded shame, a form of image-

based value-extraction so structurally violent that it forecloses the future temporality through which ubiquitous shame maintains, however tortuously, its hold on the subject.

The second claim concerns "affective dissonances," a concept developed by Amy Shields Dobson and Akane Kanai (2019) to describe the contradictory emotional registers that recent Anglophone teen media produce in young women navigating postfeminist culture. In Dobson and Kanai's formulation, the "articulation of young women's anger, insecurity, anxiety, and misplaced confidence" (2019: 771) in such media functions as a means of questioning ideals of perfect girlhood performance within neoliberal culture: the dissonances are aesthetic and affective signals that something in the postfeminist script is under pressure. Romana Andò and Danielle Hipkins (2022) apply this concept to the Italian context, arguing that *Baby's* female teen viewers experience precisely such a dissonance when the series' conventional pleasures—female friendship, aspirational location and lifestyle, the "kinaesthetic" pleasures Colling identifies in girl-teen film (2017, 34-39, 65-66)—are "contaminated with the 'realism' of secret and illegal sex," producing what they call "a maelstrom of affective dissonance" (Andò and Hipkins 2022: 220-221).

The dissonance reaches its sharpest point in viewers' inability to resolve whether the series' protagonists "sold themselves or were sold" (2022: 228): an ambiguity about agency and coercion that the series deliberately refuses to settle.

This article argues that feminist shame theory allows us to identify what Dobson and Kanai's aesthetic account leaves implicit, namely: the structural ground of that dissonance. The contradictory affective registers that *Baby* produces in its viewers are not an incidental formal feature but the precise experiential texture of ubiquitous shame under postfeminist conditions. Mann's analysis makes this visible: ubiquitous shame is constitutively organised around a future horizon of redemption through self-display—girls are perpetually interpellated as desiring subjects and simultaneously disciplined for any expression of that desire—and this double-bind is, by design, irresolvable within the terms the culture provides. Andò and Hipkins document empirically the affective evidence of that irresolvability: the dissonance their viewers cannot name or settle is the affective signature of what Fischer calls shame's function as "a disciplining device operating through structures of oppression" (Fischer 2018: 371), working by foreclosing the resolution it promises.

The third claim concerns the "SKAMverse" (Antonioni et al. 2021: 442): the transnational fan community that formed around *Skam Italia's* various national adaptations. Shame theory allows us to theorise the SKAMverse not merely as a community of affective investment in characters and storylines, but as what Ahmed (2004: 13) would call a community constituted by the collective work of "sticking" and "unsticking" shame from bodies. In the specific case of season 3, the SKAMverse becomes a trans-platform site of shame redistribution: a community that refuses the cultural logic which assigns shame to the victim and performs, through its participatory engagement with the text, a significant reallocation of moral accountability.

Baby: Aestheticised Secrecy and Commodified Spectacle

Baby constructs a very specific girlhood, and naming it matters. Chiara (Benedetta Porcaroli) and Ludovica (Alice Pagani) are figures of a particular Italian femininity: upper-middle-class, Roman, educated at elite schools, embedded in a peer culture organised around visibility, social performance, and the management of appearance. Their girlhood is, from the outset, one in which the self is produced for and through the gaze of others. Andò and Hipkins (2022: 216) describe, drawing on Renold and Ringrose's (2011) concept of "becoming," an identity always "in-movement, where transitions are experienced as multiple, liminal and reversible, rather than one progressive state to another" (Renold and Ringrose 2011: 393). Chiara and Ludovica do not have fixed identities that the narrative corrupts; they are constituted through the serial accumulation of experiences, including the experience of prostitution, and the narrative is careful to refuse the stable moral categories — good girl, bad girl, victim, agent — that would arrest this becoming. As Andò and Hipkins's audience research shows, it is precisely this openness that Italian female teen viewers find compelling: "Chiara doesn't know her identity, she doesn't understand who she is... so she sort of tries out every experience" (P11, cited in Andò and Hipkins 2022: 216). The specific girlhood that *Baby* constructs is one in which the condition of becoming is inseparable from the condition of being-watched — and it is this inseparability that shame theory can illuminate.

Of the three series under examination, *Baby* most explicitly stages shame as a function of spectacle and commodification, and it does so through a formal register that is itself entangled in the shame economy it depicts. The series follows Chiara and Ludovica, two girls from Rome's affluent Parioli district who enter a clandestine economy of paid encounters with adult men. The premium aesthetic through which this premise is rendered—the upscale apartments, the designer environments of upper-class Rome, the glossy cinematography that edges toward complicity with the milieu it nominally critiques—is not incidental to the series' shame logic but constitutive of it. Mann's argument that "gendered shame is a central mechanism of the apparatus that secures the continued subordination of women across a number of class and race contexts in the mediatised, late-capitalist West" (Mann 2018: 402) helps name what is happening here: the glamorised setting does not mitigate the shame economy of the diegesis but reproduces it at the level of form, implicating the viewer in a structure of fascinated spectatorship that mirrors the asymmetric gaze the protagonists navigate within the narrative.

The shame that structures *Baby*'s narrative is, in Ahmed's terms, systematically misallocated. Ahmed's account of shame's phenomenology is significant: "in shame, more than my action is at stake: *the badness of an action is transferred to me*, such that I feel myself to be bad and to have been 'found' or 'found out' as bad by others. Shame in this way is bound up with self-recognition: 'It is not an isolated act that can be detached from the self'" (Ahmed 2004: 105). This phenomenological structure is crucial for reading *Baby*, because the series never stages guilt—Chiara and Ludovica do not spend significant screen time reckoning morally with their choices—but shame, specifically the anticipatory shame of exposure. What the protagonists fear and manage is not the ethical weight of their acts but

their visibility to the wrong audience. The narrative engine is accordingly not moral reckoning but the constant labour of secrecy: the management of parallel social identities, the careful curation of what different audiences (parents, peers, school, the men) are permitted to see. This is what Ahmed means when she argues that shame “involves an impulse to take cover and to cover oneself” because “one desires cover precisely because one has already been exposed to others” (Ahmed 2004: 104). The entire dramaturgy of *Baby*’s first two seasons is organised around this dialectic of concealment and anticipated exposure.

What is structurally distinctive about *Baby*’s shame economy is its grounding in the specifically Italian inflection of ubiquitous shame. Projansky’s (2014) “spectacular girl” is the cultural figure within which this ubiquitous shame circulates: the girl is made hyper-visible precisely so that her visibility can be regulated, and any act she performs becomes legible primarily through the lens of sexuality and moral risk. In the Italian context, as Hipkins’s work has established and as Andò and Hipkins (2022: 209) document, this moral economy of feminine visibility has deep roots in the history of Italian visual culture, surfacing in the “velinismo” of the Berlusconi era as a particularly acute intensification of the “showgirl effect.” *Baby* inherits and reworks this economy: its protagonists are constituted as always-already at risk of shame simply by virtue of being sexually active girls who inhabit a particular class milieu, making their transgression, in the cultural logic the series simultaneously reproduces and exposes, feel not exceptional but overdetermined.

The audience research conducted by Andò and Hipkins (2022) illuminates how this ubiquitous shame circulates from text to viewer, generating the “affective dissonances” they identify as a central feature of the series’ reception. Read through Mann’s and Fischer’s feminist shame theory, these dissonances are not merely aesthetic effects but symptoms of an impossible double bind that patriarchal shame culture imposes on girls: the requirement to be simultaneously desirable and modest, visible and contained. As one respondent puts it, “Girls can get together with a boy for fun, but in the end the consequences are always different” (P4, cited in Andò and Hipkins 2022: 226). This is not simply an empirical observation about double standards; it is a description of the asymmetric distribution of shame that Fischer identifies as shame’s function as a patriarchal “disciplining device” (Fischer 2018: 371). Boys accumulate social value through sexual activity; girls accumulate shame. Ringrose, Harvey, Gill and Livingstone’s (2013) landmark study of teen girls and digital image exchange maps precisely this structure: in their analysis of sexting among UK adolescents, “some boys accumulated ‘ratings’ by possessing and exchanging images of girls’ bodies, which operated as a form of currency and value. Girls, in contrast, largely discussed the taking, sharing or posting of such images as risky, potentially inciting blame and shame around sexual reputation” (Ringrose et al. 2013: 305). *Baby* dramatises this economy: the men who purchase sexual encounters with underage girls accrue no shame within the diegesis until the final season’s belated reckoning, while the girls carry the entire weight of social risk from the outset. The “affective dissonances” Andò and Hipkins find in the audience are thus the experiential residue of a shame economy that the series replicates in its formal ambivalence rather than simply representing at a critical distance.

The deliberately ambiguous narrative structure of *Baby*’s early seasons—withholding moral closure, keeping the question of the girls’ agency unresolved—keeps the possibility

of redemption in play while ensuring it never materialises cleanly. The “affective dissonances” Andò and Hipkins document in their audience research are the experiential residue of this irresolvability: viewers simultaneously experience shame on behalf of the protagonists, fascination with their transgression, anger at the adults who exploit them, and a structural inability to assign clear moral weight to any of these responses. As one respondent names this impasse: “there is a gaping abyss between how they feel and how they think they should be” (P21, cited in Andò and Hipkins 2022: 227). That abyss is the phenomenological signature of ubiquitous shame under postfeminist conditions. Netflix’s commissioning of *Baby* is, in this sense, a platform-era recognition that ubiquitous shame is itself a retention asset: it generates the emotionally adhesive, morally unresolved content that sustains bingeability, because it replicates the affective condition that Italian adolescent girls inhabit in their daily lives without offering any resolution of it (Andò and Hipkins 2022: 228-229).

In Ahmed’s terms, the shame that circulates in *Baby* is the shame of the wrong audience: it would attach not to the acts but to their recognition by those whose gaze matters—parents, school, peers. The series thus dramatises an architecture of shame that is platform-legible: visibility is the danger, secrecy is the strategy, and exposure is the catastrophe. When the girls are finally discovered, the shame that follows is less a moral reckoning than a reputational collapse: their social identities dissolve not because they have internalised guilt but because the wrong eyes have seen. This logic aligns with what Projansky identifies as the structural condition of the spectacular girl: the girl is already constituted as a site of moral investment, so that any act she performs is legible first through the lens of sexuality and risk. Netflix’s decision to invest in this premise, and to render it through premium aesthetics, is thus itself a platform-era iteration of spectacular girlhood: the adolescent female body becomes a high-concept hook, a retention asset, and a site of international controversy—as evidenced by the considerable backlash the series received in Italy on its release (Andò & Hipkins 2022).

Skam Italia, Season 3: From Ubiquitous Shame to Shame Redistribution

Season 3 of *Skam Italia* constructs a model of girlhood that is deliberately more opaque and more socially embedded than *Baby*’s. Eleonora Sava (Benedetta Gargari) is not spectacular in Projansky’s sense: she is not glamorised, not a cultural object of fascination and moral panic, but a girl among girls, whose identity is primarily constituted through the horizontal network of peer relationships—her radio show, her group of friends, her relationship with Edoardo—rather than through a vertical economy of adult surveillance and desire. This is a girlhood constructed through what Antonioni, Barra and Checcaglini (2021: 443) identify as the series’ characteristic formal logic of “intimacy”: the close-ups, the real-time fragments, the WhatsApp exchanges, the Instagram profiles all constitute Eleonora as a subject whose inner life the audience is invited to inhabit rather than observe. The season’s central event—her non-consensual filming during a sexual encounter at a party—threatens to destroy

exactly this: it repositions her, against her will, within the vertical economy of spectacular girlhood that the series had refused, turning the girl who was a subject for her peers into an object for an anonymous audience.

If *Baby* frames shame through aestheticised secrecy and leaves its affective dissonances constitutively unresolved, season 3 of *Skam Italia* represents a formally and politically distinct intervention: a narrative that begins within the logic of ubiquitous shame and moves, through the series' distinctive formal architecture, toward something approaching shame redistribution. Her arc is organised around the questions that feminist shame theory has identified as central to the gendered politics of shame: who carries the shame of sexual exposure, who witnesses it, and whether the institutional and peer frameworks available to girls enable or obstruct the redistribution of accountability.

The season's initial movement traces the dynamics that Shefer and Munt (2019: 146) call shame's function as "a mechanism of surveillance" that is deployed to police "idealised, 'respectable' femininity." Eleonora's experience in the early episodes is organised around Ahmed's phenomenology of concealment: the same impulse that Ahmed traces in the word "shame" itself—derived from the Indo-European verb for to cover—governs her immediate response to the threatened exposure (Ahmed 2004: 104). She attempts to contain the circulation of the footage, to manage who knows what, to maintain cover. This concealment imperative is, in Mann's terms, characteristic of ubiquitous shame: it is the response available to a girl who already knows, through the sedimented cultural knowledge that inhabits her, namely, her shame *habitus*, that the footage will be read as evidence of her transgression rather than of her victimization. Ringrose, Harvey, Gill, and Livingstone's (2013: 309–310) analysis of how images of girls' bodies circulate in digital economies as masculine currency, generating shame for the girls depicted while conferring status on the boys who possess and share them, describes the social logic within which Eleonora is caught. Her instinct to conceal is not irrational but structurally induced: she knows that the shame will be sticky on her body, regardless of who filmed her.

What distinguishes *Skam Italia*'s formal contribution is the way its real-time distribution architecture transforms the witnessing of this shame into a collective act. For Ahmed, shame is never purely private: it always requires someone who sees, and that seeing shapes how the shamed subject understands herself (Ahmed 2004: 105). The other's gaze matters enormously: a hostile crowd intensifies shame, while a sympathetic peer can begin to dissolve it. The series' distinctive release model—clips uploaded in synchrony with the diegetic present during the TIMvision era, producing what Antonioni, Barra and Checcaglini (2021: 441) describe as a "reality effect" characterised by "a sense of belief, a closeness to reality and a perception of authenticity"—organises its audience as a specific kind of witness to Eleonora's shame: not the hostile or indifferent witness of the social media pile-on that the season critiques, but the close, peer-like witness that Ahmed's account of reintegrative shame requires. The format creates, through the temporal and participatory structure of its distribution, the conditions for a different kind of witnessing. This is where the concept of the "SKAMverse" (Antonioni et al. 2021: 442–448) acquires a theoretically specific valence through shame analysis. Antonioni, Barra and Checcaglini describe the SKAMverse as a global fan community that developed around the various national adaptations of SKAM,

characterised by emotional engagement, collaborative production of fan-art and fan-fiction, and a self-understanding as a transnational community of viewers. Read through Ahmed's framework of affective economies, the SKAMverse around season 3 can be theorised more precisely as a community constituted by the collective work of shame redistribution: it does not simply respond to the season's narrative with sympathy or enthusiasm, but performs, through its participatory engagement, a politically significant refusal of the cultural logic that assigns shame to the victim. The Twitter discourse analysed by Antonioni, Barra and Checcaglini makes this redistribution explicit: "by changing the story, they're inevitably giving the power to victims of SA, saying that your story does matter and you should be the one telling it. They're validating the experiences of SA victims" (tweet, cited in Antonioni et al. 2021: 445). What circulates in this fan discourse is not simply affective investment in a character but a collective act of shame reallocation—an insistence, performed through participatory media, that the shame belongs to the perpetrator. The SKAMverse around season 3 is, in Fischer's terms, a site of "politics of shame" that is relevant to feminist theory and practice (Fischer 2018: 371): it demonstrates that shame's distribution is not natural or inevitable but contestable, and that the contestation can take place through the practices of fan culture as well as through legal or institutional channels.

The season's narrative arc confirms and extends this redistribution. Eleonora's decision to report her abuser—to go to the hospital with her friends and press charges—is the series' central political gesture, and it is significant that the series codes this decision not as an expression of individual courage but as an act enabled by peer solidarity. Ahmed's argument that shame can be reintegrative only when "*the shamed other can 'show' that its failure to measure up to a social ideal is temporary*" and when that temporary failure can "be seen as temporary, in order to allow us to re-enter the family or community" (Ahmed 2004: 113, emphasis in the text) is literalised in the season's resolution: Eleonora's re-entry into her friendship community is the precondition for her ability to pursue institutional accountability. This is the specific form of shame repair that *Skam Italia*'s format makes available, and it is enabled by the platform architecture that positions the viewer as a proximate peer rather than a distant spectator. The platform transition from TIMvision to Netflix, as Antonioni, Barra and Checcaglini (2021: 439–440) document, attenuated exactly this intimacy, converting real-time micro-attentions into binge sessions and disrupting the temporal mirroring between viewer and character that gave the shame economy of the format its distinctive political charge. This transition is not merely an industrial shift; it is, read through shame theory, a reconfiguration of the witnessing relationship that the season's feminist politics of shame requires.

Nudes: Unbounded Shame and the Digital Economy of Images

The girlhood that *Nudes* constructs is the most socially differentiated and the most fragile of the three series. Where Chiara and Ludovica inhabit the class privilege that makes their transgression legible as adventure (however dark), and Eleonora the dense social network

that makes peer repair possible, Ada (Anna Agio) is defined by isolation and precarity: fourteen years old, her mother a single parent, economically marginal within her school group, so anxious about growing up that she actively cultivates invisibility. Her girlhood is constituted by the desire not to be seen, not to attract, not to be made into a subject of attention. It is this desire for invisibility that makes her vulnerability to non-consensual exposure so structurally acute. Sofia (Fotini Peluso), by contrast, is all self-governance: the girl who climbs, who controls, who believes that careful curation of her own visibility could prevent spectacular exposure. Together they represent two poles of Italian adolescent female selfhood—the invisible and the self-governing—and the series demonstrates that neither protects against “unbounded shame.”

In fact, where *Baby* and *Skam Italia* both operate within the economy of ubiquitous shame—a shame painful and structuring but oriented toward some prospect of repair or reintegration—*Nudes* confronts the categorically different modality that Mann defined “unbounded shame.” If ubiquitous shame is “structured in relation to a futural temporality of redemption,” unbounded shame is defined by its destruction of all such futural aspirations; it is “a brute form of value-extraction that has found its ecological niche in social media” (Mann 2018: 403). The non-consensual circulation of intimate images that Mann analyses is the terrain of *Nudes*.

The anthological series centres in its first season on three protagonists across ten episodes: Vittorio (Nicolas Maupas), who has four episodes and whose shame runs in the opposite direction—it is his own actions in sharing a minor’s images that bring him under police investigation—and Sofia and Ada, each with three episodes, the girls whose intimate images have been circulated without their consent. Their experiences most directly engage the feminist shame dynamics this article maps.

Unbounded shame in *Nudes* is above all a shame of radical dispossession: the loss of narrative authority over one’s own image, which is also the loss of authority over how one is constituted as a subject in the eyes of others. Ahmed’s phenomenology of shame as visibility—“one is visible and not ready to be visible” (Ahmed 2004: 103, citing Erikson)—reaches its limit case in the non-consensual image: the subject is not merely visible to the wrong audience at the wrong moment but has been permanently, irretrievably exposed, in a form she did not consent to and cannot recall. The concealment/exposure dialectic that Ahmed maps as constitutive of shame—the movement between cover and uncover, between hiding and being found out (Ahmed 2004: 105)—is collapsed in *Nudes*: Ada and Sofia have no access to concealment because the exposure has already happened and is, in the digital economy of viral circulation, irreversible. This irreversibility is what distinguishes unbounded from ubiquitous shame: there is no futural temporality toward which the series can orient its protagonists’ recovery, because the image has already become something the world possesses independently of their will.

Ringrose, Harvey, Gill, and Livingstone’s (2013) analysis of “gendered value” in digital image exchange provides the economic framework within which *Nudes*’ shame economy can be located. Ringrose et al. demonstrate that the circulation of girls’ intimate images in peer networks operates as a form of masculine capital accumulation: “boys accumulated ‘ratings’ by possessing and exchanging images of girls’ breasts, which operated as a form

of currency and value” (Ringrose et al. 2013: 305), while girls face shame, “potentially inciting blame” around sexual reputation (305). Crucially, as Ringrose, Harvey, Gill, and Livingstone argue, this economy is not marginal to or disruptive of platform culture but continuous with it: the same logics of sharing, rating, and accumulating social currency that structure mainstream social media use are extended, in the case of non-consensual image sharing, to their most violent expression. *Nudes*’ formal intelligence lies in its insistence on making this continuity visible: the series is distributed on RaiPlay, consumed in short episodes designed for the same digital habits through which the violation it depicts occurs, and it addresses a youth audience already fluent in the platform logics it critiques. The viewing experience is structurally implicated in the attention economies the series maps.

The series’ political argument about shame is structural rather than therapeutic. Where ubiquitous shame holds out the possibility of individual repair through the right kind of witnessing—the possibility Ahmed identifies as reintegrative shame (Ahmed 2004 citing Braithwaite: 62)—unbounded shame requires a different political response: not individual resilience but the redistribution of institutional accountability. Ahmed’s insight that shame’s “stickiness” is a function of cultural repetition and social power rather than of natural necessity (Ahmed 2004: 13) is what RAI’s public-service mandate operationalises in *Nudes*: the fact that shame adheres to Ada rather than to Giancarlo, the man who extorts her, or to Mirko, who distributed her image, is the product of a cultural logic that the series explicitly names and contests. The series’ collaboration with the association *PermessoNegato* in its second season grounds this political argument in documented reality (Barra and Rossi 2026), insisting that the redistribution of shame is not a narrative gesture but an institutional and legal project that requires collective rather than individual action.

This argument connects *Nudes* to what Shefer and Munt (2019: 146) identify as a feminist politics of shame in the digital age: the recognition that in contexts of cyberbullying, revenge porn, and sexting shaming, shame is “ever present” as a structural condition of girls’ digital existence, and that its productive deployment in feminist social justice projects requires the exposure of shame as a mechanism of patriarchal power. The series’ insistence that unbounded shame requires legal and institutional recognition rather than affective proximity or peer solidarity is the most structurally honest argument of the three series — but it is an argument that circulates, and is consumed, through the same infrastructures that make the violation it documents possible. Whether this reflexive entanglement constitutes a form of critical force, as the series seems to claim for itself, or whether it reproduces — at the level of form — the very conditions it contests, is a question the text raises more clearly than it resolves. That unresolved tension may, in the end, be the most accurate thing *Nudes* has to say about the feminist politics of shame under platform capitalism: that there is no position outside the economy of visibility from which the exposure of shame’s mechanisms can be cleanly performed.

Conclusions: The Girl as Affective Infrastructure

Taken together, *Baby*, *Skam Italia*, and *Nudes* reveal that shame in streaming-era Italian teen drama is not a theme to be diagnosed but a structural condition that organises how girlhood can appear, circulate, and be valued within platform culture. Reading them through the integrated framework of feminist shame theory, postfeminist media critique, and platform studies allows us to map a typology of shame economies that neither textual analysis nor industrial history alone could generate. *Baby* stages ubiquitous shame as a retention asset, embedding the affective double bind of postfeminist girlhood — the impossibility of being simultaneously visible and protected — into a premium aesthetic that implicates the viewer in the same economy of fascination that it nominally critiques. *Skam Italia* season 3 mobilises its distinctive real-time distribution architecture to transform the witnessing of shame into a collective, politically charged act: the SKAMverse that formed around Eleonora's narrative becomes a trans-platform site of shame redistribution, enacting the feminist reallocation of moral accountability that the diegesis alone cannot guarantee. *Nudes*, finally, confronts the limit case: unbounded shame, the irreversible loss of narrative authority over one's own image, which platform culture simultaneously enables and exploits, and which demands not better witnessing but structural, institutional, and legal accountability. If these series are, as this article has argued, also industrial products shaped by platform competition, format trade, and the commissioning logics of transnational streaming and public-service broadcasting, then the shame they circulate is not incidental to their commercial existence but constitutive of it. The adolescent girl's affective precarity — her ubiquitous susceptibility to shame — is, in the platform economy, a resource. Recognising this is the precondition for any critical account of what Italian streaming-era teen drama is actually doing when it places the girl at the centre of its narrative attention: not liberating her, but making her spectacular once more, in conditions whose structural logics she can partially contest but never fully escape.

What emerges from this analysis is a layered argument in which the three questions posed at the outset are interdependent. Platforms shape which modality of shame each series can stage: ubiquitous or unbounded, aestheticised or politically charged, oriented toward peer repair or toward institutional accountability. Feminist shame theory reveals the structural logic beneath what postfeminist media critique and platform studies describe at the level of representation and production: the adolescent girl's affective precarity is the resource through which platform culture generates value, and the mechanism through which Italian screen culture continues, under new conditions, to render femininity spectacular. The three series differ in their industrial origins, their formal architectures, and their political ambitions; however, they share how they define the girl at the centre: constituted through shame, made legible through exposure, and available in each case as the affective infrastructure of a media system that profits from her precarity while narrating her protagonism.

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