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A Critique of Latina Stereotypes in *Jane the Virgin*“

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1. Introduction

Latino culture and indeed Latino people have been part of the U.S. entertainment industry for more than a century but not always have they enjoyed a prominent position (Faubion 11-17). Not only was the number of employed Hispanic actors or actresses in film and television low, Latina/os also frequently portrayed stereotypical roles such as the *bandido*, the spitfire or the virgin (Ramírez Berg 68-77). The stereotypical representation of Hispanics in U.S. television is strongly tied to the historical relationship between Latin America and North America. Following imperialist ideas, Latin Americans were considered inferior to Caucasian people (Faubion 11-17). However, the increasing number of Hispanics in the U.S. enhanced the economic interest in Latino culture which led to the establishing of a Hispanic market (Dávila 23-55). Along with these developments, the representation of Latinas in entertainment media has changed. Actresses such as Jennifer Lopez or Salma Hayek are said to have transformed Latino culture into the trendiest ethnicity in U.S. mass culture (Molina-Guzmán and Valdivia 206).

A shift in U.S. demographics, caused by the continuously increasing Hispanic population, and changes in viewing behaviors provoked by the introduction of internet-based television encouraged the U.S. entertainment industry to orientate their market towards the U.S. Latina/os audience (Bielby and Harrington 384; Strangelove 4-10). As one of the first U.S. television shows, *Jane the Virgin* (2014-18) represents a third generation U.S. Latina born and raised in North America. This thesis investigates how Latinas are represented in this contemporary television show and how the concept of *Latinidad* is used to engage a large audience. Cultural and generic hybridization play an essential role in this. Modeled after a Venezuelan telenovela, *Jane the Virgin* is highly influenced by the Latin American genre format of the telenovela.

Latinidad is complex and has been defined differently by various scholars (Aparicio 91-105; Báez 109-28; Molina-Guzmán and Valdivia 205-21). From a cultural studies perspective, it is understood as the way in which the U.S. entertainment media has homogenized Latin American cultures into one group for marketing purposes. At the

same time it is reconstructed by members of these groups, so-called Latino/as, who use it as a marker of identity (Aparicio 92-93; Báez 110; Molina-Guzmán 3). Importantly, considering that the terms *Latinas/os* are rooted in a categorization by the U.S. government they are used here primarily to describe Hispanic people in North America (Báez 110). Like *Latinidad*, television is a dynamic concept which has experienced significant changes since the digitalization of the media. Whereas previously television referred to a big box which emitted a fixed scheduled program, it has nowadays turned into an ubiquitous medium through which programs can be accessed anywhere and anytime (Strangelove 3-20).

As Hall (*Encoding/Decoding* 44) observed, the television sign is complex and allows for various interpretations which all contribute to the meaning of the sign. Based on Hall's encoding/decoding model, this thesis investigates how the images on screen correspond to dominant-hegemonic ideas about Latinas but also how they can be read differently and how the discourse about the show contributes to the way Latinas are represented in *Jane the Virgin*. A full analysis of discourses related to the show goes beyond the scope of this thesis. However, it appears useful to take into consideration a selection of interviews with the cast on Youtube and viewers' comments in order to understand better how Latina representation works in *Jane the Virgin*. Although the virgin/whore dichotomy is highly present, the representation of Latinas in the show goes beyond the depiction of simple stereotypes. A main trait through which *Latinidad* is defined is cultural hybridity. By representing a third generation Latina who was raised in between different cultures, the show opens up a space for identification not only for Hispanics but also for other ethnicities living in the U.S. and therefore becomes marketable to a large audience of ethnic and non-ethnic viewers.

The first part of this thesis provides some theoretical background about *Latinidad*, television and its relation to society. Chapter one discusses how the concept of *Latinidad* emerged and how it is understood in cultural studies. This includes a short review of how Latina representations on screen have developed from simple stereotypes to complex "*Latinidad[es] feminista[s]*" (Aparicio 103). Chapter two focuses on television, how it is used as a medium for cultural representation, and how it impacts social structures. New technological developments have provoked

changes in viewing behaviors which led to more complex narrative structures, hybrid characters and genre fusions. This new form of television is referred to as “transgressive television” (Däwes 23). Having set a base for the analysis, the second part of the thesis investigates how Latinas are represented in *Jane the Virgin*. This includes a discussion on the symbolism of the virgin, and especially the Virgin of Guadalupe. In Latin America, virginity is strongly related to the concept of machismo (Stevens 90). This analysis looks at how Jane, Xiomara and Alba, on the one hand, represent the virgin/whore dichotomy and therefore reinforces common Latina stereotypes while, on the other hand, they contrast the same. Moreover, it explores how second and third texts such as interviews with the actresses or comments by the audience on social networks contribute to the concept of Latinidad in *Jane the Virgin*.

2. Latinidad

Before examining the ways in which Latina stereotypes in entertainment have changed and in what form they exist in contemporary television, it is essential to critically discuss the term “Latina/o”. “Latina/o” is a shortened version of “Latinoamericana/o” which translates to “Latin American” (English Oxford Living Dictionaries). It describes a person “belonging to those countries in Central and South America in which Spanish or Portuguese is the dominant language (and which are often referred to collectively as *Latin America*)” (The Oxford English Dictionary). Although Spanish and Portuguese both root back to Latin, “Latino” does not refer to the language, but rather to the culture lived by inhabitants of Latin America, as Manuel Lucena (14) argues. Latin America received its name from Napoleon’s third adviser Michael Chevalier, who intended to convert the country into a counterpart of the United States (14). The notion of opposition or resistance against the Anglo-American neighbor became a crucial element in the construction of a Latin American identity, as Lucena explains:

[L]o <<latinoamericano>> no es un término clasificatorio, sino un sentimiento solidario que poseen quienes viven en América y se consideran excluidos, con o sin razón, de la cultura dominante anglosajona. Se trata de un Americano connotado por la marginación de grandes bienes y recursos impuesta por los norteamericanos. Vive en un país nuclear del capitalismo internacional, como los Estados Unidos, pero ajeno a su gran centro de poder economic y politico. (15)

Latinoamericano is primarily understood here as a concept of solidarity shared by residents of America who feel to be excluded from the Anglo-American culture. According to Lucena, it refers to those Americans who are economically and politically discriminated by North America (15). This definition alludes to two aspects which are essential for the discussion on *Latinidad*: first, for a long time Latin Americans have been marginalized by the U.S., and second, this marginalization has provoked a new sense of solidarity among people from different Latin American countries which led to the establishment of a common Latino identity.

Whereas in Lucena, the term “Latinoamericana/o” is not geographically restricted to Latin America, Ramírez Berg (5) clearly distinguishes between Latinas/os, people living in the U.S. with roots in Latin America, and Latin Americans, residents of Central and South America. This distinction has long been neglected by Hollywood,

where both groups were represented through the same Latina/o stereotypes. Given the “contemporary situation of globalization and hybridity” (Molina-Guzmán and Valdivia 208) it has become difficult to differentiate between the two, especially as representatives from both groups have referred to themselves as Latina/os. Moreover, a term frequently misinterpreted as a synonym for Latina/os is “Chicana/os”. Derived from a dialectal pronunciation of “Mexicano”, the term refers to people with Mexican descent who were born in the U.S (The Oxford English Dictionary).

The term *Latinidad* has been employed differently in various fields of studies (Aparicio 91; Báez 110) by major Latina/o scholars. Demographically, it describes

any person currently living in the United States of Spanish-speaking heritage from more than 30 Caribbean and Latin American countries. It is an imagined community of recent, established and multigenerational immigrants from diverse cultural, linguistic, racial and economic backgrounds. (Molina Guzmán and Valdivia 207)

Interestingly, although the majority of the inhabitants of Latin America’s biggest country Brazil speak Portuguese, *Latinidad* is mostly used to refer to a Spanish-speaking population (Bush 1151; Davila 1; Molina-Guzmán and Valdivia 207). According to Mato (434), the inclusion of Spain and the exclusion of Brazil to the concept of *Latinidad* is economically motivated. As he observed, the linguistic factor plays an essential role in the establishing of markets. In other words, a common language facilitates the construction of a common Latina/o market.

The strong association of *Latinidad* with the Spanish language is frequently expressed through the synonymic use of “Hispanic” for Latina/os. Originally, the term Hispanic referred to someone or something pertaining to ancient Spain. Nowadays, it also describes a “Spanish-speaking person, esp. one of Latin-American descent, living in the U.S.” (The Oxford English Dictionary). Given the predominant position of the Spanish language in Latina/o studies, Hispanic will be used interchangeably to Latina/o in this study. Apart from the fact that Mexicans represent the biggest nationality among the U.S. Latina/o population (United States Census 2014), the strong association of Latina/os with the Spanish language is linked to Latin America’s colonial past and its historical relationship to the United States (Espinosa 7).

2.1. The Formation of a Latina/o Identity

The creation of a Latina/o identity is related to two historical moments: the exploration of the New World by the Spanish Empire in the late 15th century and the Anglo-American revolution starting in the 18th century (Espinosa 3). The basis for a collective Latina/o identity is related to the imposition of the policy of *mestizaje*, the Spanish language, a common religion, and Spanish cultural traditions by Spanish emperors. However, it was only during the North American conquest that individual Latin American nations were founded and national identities were developed (3).

When the Spanish under the rule of King Ferdinand II of Aragon and Queen Isabella I of Castile began to colonize the Americas, they introduced a new policy called *mestizaje* (Espinosa 3) which promoted the mixing of races and cultures. It was this new form of multiculturalism which set the foundation for a Latina/o identity (3). Part of the *mestizaje* policy was the religious conversion of the indigenous population to a “flexible and syncretic Catholicism based on local cults and devotions” (4). Through the introduction of concepts such as the Trinity sin or monotheism, the Spanish sought to control the influence of Mesoamerican religions. Among the most enduring catholic traditions and beliefs in Latina/o culture are “the devotion of the Virgin Mary, the cult of the saints, home altars, the sacraments, and their associated festivals and celebrations” (5). In combination with elements of local indigenous religions, such as the use of intense colors, these devotions have transformed into a rich Latino spirituality over time. During conquest, Christianity became the main religion of the Americas. Nevertheless, even today, Native American traditions play a significant role in the spiritual culture of Latin America and Latina/o communities in the U.S. (5).

In the early sixteenth century, several Spaniards started to move their explorations northwards. This also marked the beginning of Hispanic immigration and a Latina/o identity in North America (Espinosa 6-7). After their occupation of the Philippines, Spanish colonizers established a trading route from Acapulco to Manila, which set the sails for global trade and the integration of Asians into the *mestizaje* policy. Cities located in the coastal areas of California became centers for trade and Spanish colonization. Soon several more Latino settlements were established in New Mexico and Texas. Most of their inhabitants came from Spanish-Mexico (6-7).

The Spanish influence on Latina/o identity remained high until the decline of the Spanish Empire in the 19th century, which also marked the beginning of the Anglo-American conquest (Espinosa 8-9). During the transition from the 18th to the 19th century, Spain and its colonial territories experienced a period of warfare which led to the dissociation of Hispanic America from the Spanish Crown and the formation of nation-states such as Mexico, Colombia or Venezuela. As Spain was losing control over the new nations, Spanish America turned into Latin America (8-9). Furthermore, liberal revolutionaries encouraged the creation of national consciousness for recently established nationalities. Consequently, instead of thinking of themselves as Spanish Americans, people started to identify as Mexicans, Colombians, etc (6-7). Approximately at the same time, U.S imperialists began to enforce the settlement of Anglo-American groups in Texas and California. Through propaganda campaigns against Mexicans, U.S. senators promoted a growing intolerance towards the Hispanic population, which was seen as an inferior and cruel “mixed breed” (7). This led to several revolutions that peaked in a Mexican-American War in 1846. As a result, Texas, New Mexico and California were acquired by the U.S. Cuba and Puerto Rico remained Spanish until the Spanish-American War in 1898, during which the U.S. obtained control over the islands. The idea of having liberated Latin America from a “despotic and corrupt” (10) Spain, served Anglo-Americans to whitewash their aggressive behavior in war.

The immigration of Latin Americans to the U.S. during the 20th century was reinforced by mainly two different forces: on the one hand, turmoil in Latin American countries encouraged many Hispanics to flee to the Anglo-Northern neighbor, on the other hand, as the demand for cheap labor increased after war, the U.S. government decided to import workers from Mexico to help re-establish the economy (Faubion 12-14). In an agreement called the *Bracero* program, Mexico consented to send guest workers as labor to the U.S. in order to help sustain the agricultural production. Nevertheless, most of the times Latina/o immigration was contested. From an Anglo-American perspective, Hispanics were viewed as “lazy, ignorant, and unclean”. These stereotypes served as an excuse “to deny them jobs, rights and basic human respect” (Faubion 11).

As the Hispanic population reached a considerable number in the U.S. during the second half of the 20th century, Latina/os began to fight for more social liberties (Faubion 16-17). The struggle for more equality and opportunities was long and not always successful, however, it led to some changes in the social system, such as to a revision of the immigration law, the termination of the *Bracero* program. With the growing desire for more civil rights Latina/os started to become more conscious about themselves, though they continued to be discriminated by the dominant White society (Faubion 16-17).

All these historical developments contributed significantly to the construction of a common Latina/o identity. Some of the main characteristics of Latina/o culture root back to Spanish traditions which were imposed on the indigenous population during colonial times. However, it is in the U.S. where the concept of *Latinidad* has been established and gained popularity (Báez 110).

2.2. *Latinidad* as a Process

Throughout the years, *Latinidad* has been explored in various disciplines and contexts and thus it has received multiple meanings (Aparicio 91). Báez (110) focuses on three theoretical approaches to explain this concept: *political*, *commodified* and *lived Latinidad*. The first is strongly connected to a study by the sociologist Padilla in which he examined the intergroup dynamics between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago. He described the way in which Latina/os form “a strategic political alliance” or a shared ethnic consciousness as “Latinismo” (Padilla in Báez 110). The second, *commodified Latinidad*, is mainly associated with media studies and relates to the way in which mass media contributes to the homogenization of *Latinidad*. As the term *commodified* already implies, the incorporation of Latina/o groups in entertainment media is to a great extent motivated by commercial ideas. Under the pretext of racial and gender equality in representation, the media explores *Latinidad* as a marketing strategy. Thirdly, *lived Latinidad* refers to the creation of a Latina/o identity through interaction among Mexicans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, etc. within certain local spaces (Báez 110). Although the three groups emphasize different aspects of *Latinidad*, they are all interrelated and refer to the same concept.

Latinidad is a process which roots back to the Nixon era, when the U.S. government decided to introduce *Hispanic* as a social category to classify people of Latin American descent into one group for census purposes (Báez 110). Although the Spanish ending *-dad* might suggest differently, Báez (110) claims that *Latinidad* was not originally invented by Hispanic speakers, but it was imposed on them by the U.S. government. Later, this term was adopted by the media and entertainment industry for commercial purposes.

In cultural studies, *Latinidad* has been viewed as “the ways in which the entertainment industry, mainstream journalism and Hollywood have homogenized all Latinos into one undifferentiated group” (Aparicio 91). This definition corresponds to Báez’ idea of *commodified Latinidad*. Instead of differentiating between Mexicans, Cubans, or Puerto Ricans, mass media depicts people of Hispanic descent as one homogenized Latina/o group, regardless to cultural specifications. According to Aparicio (91), the homogenization of Latina/os, and the fear of cultural, national, historical and racial loss provoked by this process, has led to resistance towards the conceptual framework of *Latinidad* on the part of several Latina/o scholars. Especially with regard to women, it has been criticized that female actresses are generalized as Latinas instead of being defined by their national origin as, for example, Puerto Ricans or Cuban Americans (91).

Although the media has certainly played a significant role in the homogenization of *Latinidad*, the construction of a Latina/o community has also been reinforced by Latina/os themselves as a means of differentiating from the dominant White group and identifying with other Hispanic groups (Aparicio 91-105; Báez 110). Thus, it can be said that *Latinidad* is “lived” (Báez 110) by the Latina/o community. Aparicio understands *Latinidad* as a site of exploring “interlatino” (92) affinities, desires and subjectivity. Social and cultural tensions between Puerto Ricans and other Hispanic immigrant groups in New York have led to “cultural wars” (92) among different Latino groups (not to be confused with the 1980s/90s’ cultural wars between conservatives and liberals). Other than viewing the social interaction between Latina/o groups as a constant struggle and competition for cultural hegemony, Aparicio (93) interprets *Latinidad* as a form of cultural hybridity shared by Latina/o groups based on their

colonial history. The difference between these two ideas is illustrated in reference to an example provided in a *New York Times* article (Kugel in Aparicio 93). In the article, the performance of a Puerto Rican hymn by a Guatemalan girl is presented as an example of Puerto Rican oppressive power over other Latino groups in New York. However, as Aparicio claims,

[t]he fact that a Guatemalan immigrant sings 'Preciosa' is a testament to the ways in which cultural texts, such as this patriotic Puerto Rican song, are multiply layered semantically within the context of their local performances. Gabriele does not stop being Guatemalan at that moment, nor does she become a Boricua¹. (93)

In other words, the adaptation of a typical Puerto Rican song by the Guatemalan girl does not implicate that Guatemalan identity is threatened by another Latin American identity, but rather it expresses an approximation of two national groups involving the production of knowledge about a "Latino other" (94). As Pérez argues, a comprehensive understanding of a cultural system requires a look outside the "accredited realm of historiography" (xiii). Based on Pérez' idea of the "decolonial imaginary" (xvi), Aparicio (94) thinks of *Latinidad* as a site for exploring interlatino relations. Not only does the knowledge about the Latino other help Latina/os to better comprehend other Hispanic groups, by focusing on the "analogous (post)colonial conditions" (94) of various Latina/o groups, the discourse about *Latinidad* also receives a more liberated and decolonizing focus.

Within Latina/o scholarship, the question of whether Latin American immigrants identify more with the broad concept of *Latinidad* or with the country of origin remains unsolved. Flores (183-87) argues that the Latina/o identity is only partially complete, in the sense that representatives of the group tend to identify first with their national background as "Chicanos, Mexican-Americans, Raza, [and] Hispanics" (183) and only then they consider their relation to other Hispanic groups. This argument is contrasted by the observation that the number of people identifying as Latina/o as a transnational identity has significantly grown during the last two decades (Obejas). The increased mixing of cultures, as for example through intercultural marriages, has had the effect that many second or third generation Latina/os find it difficult to identify with only one nationality. Nevertheless, there is one aspect in which most of the Latina/o scholars agree: rather than identifying with national or cultural specifications,

¹ Boricua = native from Puerto Rico

U.S. Latina/os define themselves through their experiences as members of an ethnic and cultural minority living in the U.S. It is these shared historical experiences which create a notion of belonging together (Aparicio 94; Báez 110).

Latinidad can be understood in many different ways which is why Molina-Guzmán and Valdivia define it as “a complex and contradictory post-colonial panethnic construction” (207). It is imposed onto the Latina/o community in the U.S. by the media which uses tropical themes, rhythmic music and the color red as signifiers for hot-tempered Hispanics in advertising and television. At the same time, *Latinidad* is constructed from within the Latina/o community through the interaction and cultural negotiation between various ethnic groups (Aparicio 92-93; Báez 110; Molina-Guzmán 3). The more interlatino negotiations take place, the more hybrid the concept becomes. *Latinidad* provides a hybrid identity space for those who do not fit the traditional white/black dichotomy but who encounter themselves somewhere in between (Molina-Guzmán and Valdivia 214). Based on the findings above, this study works with a definition of *Latinidad* as a hybrid form of Báez’ *commodified* and *lived Latinidad*. As such it describes the process of homogenization of ethnic Hispanic subjects into one undifferentiated group reinforced by the media and entertainment industry. At the same time, it represents a site for resistance against dominant hegemonic constructions, but also for the differentiation within various Latino groups. It is the growing hybridity of *Latinidad* that challenges hegemonic Latina/o representations.

2.3. Hegemonic Latina/o Representations

In Anglo texts, Latina/os have been traditionally portrayed as the “Other” (Hall, *Representation* 223-79; Ramírez Berg 38; 66-86). While the White population have frequently been generalized to “light-skinned, upper-class individuals with European features” (Vargas 47), Hispanics have been depicted as “denizens, racialized subaltern subjects” (47). Despite the fact that White people have taken a socially privileged position in the media, they have also been represented in more diverse ways than Latina/os. If Latina/os were included in news and entertainment media, they were frequently depicted in stereotypical ways (47).

Among the six most common Hollywood Latina/o stereotypes are the *bandido*, the male Buffon, the Latin Lover, the harlot, the female clown, and the Dark Lady (Ramírez Berg 66). The *bandido* is a main character of Westerns, representing the male Mexican criminal with dirty clothes, greasy, unkempt hair missing teeth and a scarred face. Variations of the *bandido* in Hollywood films are “the Latin American gangster/drug runner” (68), as impersonated by Andy Garcia in *Eight Million Ways to Die* (1986) or the Puerto Rican “inner-city gang member” (68) in New York, as for example in *The Young Savages* (1961). The female counterpart of the *bandido* in Westerns is the harlot, or spitfire, sometimes compared to a female “sex machine innately lusting for a white male” (Ramírez Berg 70-71). Two of the most prominent Latina spitfires of the 1940s/50s were Lupe Vélez and Rita Moreno. Frequently portrayed as the “‘exotic’ object[s] of desire”, they were among the first Latinas to gain recognition in Hollywood (Vargas 47).

A comic version of these two stereotypes are the male Buffon and the female clown (Ramírez Berg 71-75). The male Buffon is frequently represented as a simpleminded gangster with a strong accent, as it is the case with Pancho, epitomized by Leo Carillo in the television series *The Cisco Kid* (1950-56). The female clown serves as a character to “neutralize the screen Latina’s sexuality” (Ramírez Berg 73). In order to justify the hero’s decision in favor of the Anglo woman instead of the Latina, the female clown is usually portrayed as being criminal, not very intelligent and sexually “easy” (73).

Interestingly, the stereotype of the Latin Lover is based on the acting of the Italian star actor Rudolph Valentino (Ramírez Berg 76). His representation of the erotic, exotic yet dangerous young Argentinean who dances seductively with a woman in *In The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (1921) has become a role model for several other screen lovers. Other than the hot-tempered Latin Lover, the upper-class Dark Lady appeals to men because of her cool distance, her virginity and inscrutability. Her cautious, reserved, and opaque behavior constitute a contrast to the direct, clamorous and transparent Anglo female. Probably the best known Dark Lady actress Hollywood’s is Dolores del Río. In films such as *Flying Down to Río* (1933) or *In Caliente* (1935) she impersonates a Latina who turns the Anglo leading men’s heads in her wake (Ramírez Berg 76).

All of these six cinematic images of Latina/os are related to race and class (Vargas 47). Thereby, skin color serves as an indicator for social status. As it has been observed, the upper-class Dark Lady is more frequently impersonated by light-skinned Latina women, whereas brown Latinas are more likely to be shown in roles of lower-class, and hypersexualized women. The darker the Latina's skin color is, and the more feminine her body, the more exotic she appears. From this observation it can be derived that the physical representation, more specifically the sexualization of the ethnic body plays an essential role in the racialization of Latina/os (47).

The sexualization of Latina/os is not a new phenomena but it has its roots in colonial history (Ramírez Berg 4). In order to maintain their supremacy, U.S. imperialists aimed to display Latin Americans as "lesser beings" (4). From a Eurocentric perspective, the body and the mind constitute a binary opposition. The mind and higher intellectual thinking are equated to culture and whiteness. The body and its basic biological functions such as the ingestion of food, the excretion of waste and sexual reproduction, are associated with nature and non-whiteness (Molina-Guzmán and Valdivia 211). Voluptuous bodies with full breasts and buttocks have become characteristic representations of Latin American and African American women. The emphasis on female body parts inherit ambivalent meanings. On the one hand they express "sexual desire and fertility", on the other hand, they indicate "bodily waste and racial contamination" (211-12).

Thus, sexualization and racialization have frequently been related to each other. Thomas (239-40) even goes as far as to consider them the same process:

Critically, if we define 'racialization' as the cultural-historical process by which 'race' is conferred, at both individual and collective levels, then we must define 'sexualization' as the cultural-historical process by which 'sex' or 'sexuality' is conferred, both individually and collectively, *as if* this social identification is 'natural' and not in fact normative; *as if* social processes of 'racialization' and 'sexualization' are not in fact one and the same. (Thomas 239-40)

This idea is further developed by Vargas (160) who interprets the sexualization of the Latina body as a means to racialize "in particular dark-skinned, working-class Latina womanhood". While Thomas and Vargas primarily focus on how sexuality is used in

the media to differentiate between ethnic groups and the White society, Molina-Guzmán and Valdivia (206) add to this a gendered dimension. Usually, female characters are portrayed as being less powerful than their male counterparts. The Othering of ethnic subjects is based on the inversion of these dominant gender representations. Consequently, “Latinos are generally devalued and feminized” (206) while “Latinas fall beyond the margins of socially acceptable femininity and beauty” (206).

Probably the most common trope of *Latinidad* in which racialization and sexualization are united is tropicalism (Aparicio and Chavez-Silvermann 1997; Molina-Guzmán and Valdivia 211-12). Tropicalism summarizes the essential characteristics associated with *Latinidad*. Common attributes are bright colors, rhythm, music and a darker skin. Moreover, another element which is related to racialization and sexualization is dance. Through the rhythmic movements in dancing, the body parts are additionally emphasized. Dark and voluminous hair plays another central role in tropicalism. Frequently, actresses are shown with wavy dark hair when impersonating an ethnic character, while they appear with straightened hair when performing a Caucasian identity. Among the most frequent gender-related tropes are “the male Latin lover, macho, dark-haired, mustachioed” (Molina-Guzmán and Valdivia 211) or “the spitfire female Latina” (211) with red lips, a curvaceous body and long, dark hair.

2.4. The Latin Boom and the Transformation of Latina Representations

The achievement of Hispanic civil rights activists in the 1960/70s and the rise of mass media communication set the base for Latino-based film productions which initiated a transformation of Latina/o representation in the entertainment industry (Alvar de Baca 23; Faubion 16-17). While originally, Hispanics had appeared on screen in exaggerated and stereotypical forms, Chicano film makers such as Luis Valdez or Jesús Salvador Treviño, among several others, started to produce Hispanic documentaries and narrative films which broke with these Latina/o stereotypes and which questioned the social situation of Latina/os in the U.S. (Ramírez Berg 185-86). Moctezuma Esparza’s *The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez* (1982), a film about a Mexican-American mistakenly accused for a murder, gained popularity for reversing the Mexican *bandido* stereotype (Alvar de Baca 23). Moreover, Gregory Nava,

introduced Latina/o immigration as a central topic in his films. *El Norte* (1984) tells the story of Guatemalan siblings who come to the U.S. to escape political oppression in their native town (23).

Immigration has also been linked to Latina/os by the Hollywood film industry, although mostly in a more pessimistic way, as it appears. From an Anglo-American perspective, the increase in Latina/o immigration is frequently perceived as a threat to the predominantly White U.S. society. In film, Hispanics have frequently been represented as aliens, animals and carriers of diseases, as it is the case in *Men in Black* (1997) (Ramírez Berg 156; Vargas 49). In the film, an alien creature crosses the U.S. border by travelling in the body of a Mexican immigrant. The Latina/o body is depicted as being contagious and undisciplined. Moreover, Vargas (49) relates the shooting of the Mexican immigrant by one of the protagonists to the Anglo-American idea that *Latinidad* needs to be controlled. The desire to control Latina/os most probably results from a fear of losing political and economic power due to the fast growing Latina/o population (49). Meanwhile, the illegally immigrated Latina/o can be considered a common stereotype on its own which is reified through the repetition of immigrant narratives in the media (Sowards and Pineda 73). The belief that Latina/os constitute a threat to the U.S. society is further reinforced by right-wing politicians in powerful positions, foremost by U.S. President Donald Trump who publically describes Mexicans as “enemies”, drug dealers and criminals (Reilly).

Thus, early representations of Latina/os in Hollywood films were dominated by sexualized and racialized stereotypes (Ramírez Berg 66-67; C. Rodríguez 13). Likewise, first Hispanic actors on television frequently embodied comedic characters, such as Ricky Ricardo alias Desi Arnaz (Reyes and Rubie 312). During the 1980s/90s Latina/os started to appear in dramatic forms, however mostly in supporting roles. Although the percentage of Hispanics working in the television industry has been surprisingly high, the number of shows featuring Latina/os in star roles were very limited, and mostly short-lived (312).

The first Hispanic with a considerable impact on U.S. American television was the Cuban musician, actor and producer Desi Arnaz (Reyes and Rubie 312). As an actor he gained popularity in the show *I Love Lucy* (1951-57), where he portrayed Ricky

Ricardo, Lucy's husband with the "funny [Hispanic] accent" (312). The show was originally designed as a television adaptation of the CBS radio series *My Favorite Husband*, starring Lucille Ball. However, when Ball proposed to integrate her real-life husband Desi Arnaz as a second star character, CBS turned down the show. Consequently, Arnaz and Ball decided to take over the production of the show by themselves, and with great success. Until today, Arnaz's three-camera technique is frequently used in sitcom production. Moreover, being both producer and owner of the show, Arnaz contributed significantly to the standardization of "syndicated reruns" (312). In 1960, Arnaz' second show ceased production, shortly after Fidel Castro rose to power in Cuba. Pictures of Hispanic rebels against Northamerica in the U.S. American news media contributed to the transformation of the Latino image of the "funny, friendly, romantic Cuban" into the "fierce, bearded, cigar-chomping Communist revolutionary" (312). In television, this shift can be traced in shows such as *The Twilight Zone* (1959-65) or *Hart to Hart* (1979-84) (313).

While Hollywood and television both represented Latina/os in stereotypical ways during the 1950s/60s, the latter provided a slightly wider range of roles for Hispanics to perform (Reyes and Rubie 313). Hence, performers such as Ricardo Montalban, Fernando Lamas or Rita Moreno regularly used television as an escape from their rigid roles imposed on them by Hollywood. It was through his roles in television, that Montalban liberated himself from the Latin Lover image. The first female Hispanic characters who broke with common stereotypes, such as the "sexy spitfire" (313), were Victoria Cannon alias Linda Cristal in *The High Chaparral* and Nurse Consuelo alias Elena Verdugo in *Marcus Welby, M.D.* Both Latina characters were still portrayed as being subservient to white men, however, this had primarily to do with the representation of females on screen in general at that time. Nevertheless, Reyes and Rubie (314) argue that the way in which the two Hispanic women appeared on screen and developed throughout the show still implied a change towards gendered and racial equality, and thus they are said to reflect the achievements made by social movements during the 1960s/70s (314). However, it would be mistaken to assume that from this moment onwards Latina/os were always depicted in a positive way in television. Another Latina/o image emerging in the 1970s was the "lower class, poverty-stricken ghetto dwellers" (314) with poor English skills. Shows such as

Baretta (1975-78) or *Hill Street Blues* (1981-87) represented Hispanics whose life was dominated by violence, drugs and family crises (Reyes and Rubie 314).

As a result of the rising social struggles and liberation movements, Hispanic actors began to fight unfair and biased Latina/o portrayals in entertainment media (Reyes and Rubie 314). In 1969, the organization *Nosotros* was established, aiming at improving the Latina/o image in film and television. It was the public outcry against discriminating and stereotypical Latina/o depictions which initiated a slow but significant change. Although some Latina actresses continued to be cast for roles not perceived as Hispanic, such as Lynda Carter as *Wonder Woman* (1976-79) or Rita Moreno as a poolish hooker in *The Rockford Files* (1974-80), Hispanic culture slowly gained more attention in U.S. television. Several well-known Hispanic actors received guest roles in shows such as *The Cosby Show* (1984-92). Dolores del Rio and Cesar Romero co-hosted a special about Mexico in *The Dinah Shore Chevy Show* in 1960 (316). Interestingly, it was the shift from portraying secondary to main characters, which indicated a change in Hispanic representation in television, as Reyes and Rubie observe:

By the 1980s and into the 1990s, while the number of Hispanic characters seemed to diminish (with a few notable exceptions), Hispanic actors are paradoxically being seen in more mainstream and positive leading roles. Ironically, at the same time the number of Latino actors and actresses in supporting roles has diminished. (317)

Although the total number of Latina/os working in television might have decreased, the fact that Hispanics were shown more frequently in leading roles had a positive effect on Latina/o representation on screen.

The transformation of Latina/o representations is informed by mainly three aspects: the establishment of a Hispanic market, which was reinforced by the introduction of U.S. Hispanic television channels and the growing number of Hispanics in the media and mainstream culture industry (Vargas 52). The growth in Latina/o population has caused a demographic shift sometimes referred to as the “browning of America” (Molina-Guzmán and Valdivia 208). In response to this development the U.S. government had to reconsider hegemonic ideas about citizenship. Apart from the fact that Latina/os working in the media industry demanded a “fairer representation” and a “larger inclusion of Latina/o talent in these industries” (Vargas 53), businesses

recognized the great economic potential of the booming Latina/o culture and thus started to address their advertisement towards Hispanics. This re-orientation in marketing, the appearance of Latina/o restaurants, food markets and television channels set the basis for a new Hispanic market (Dávila 1-2).

Dávila (1; 25) explores the ways in which Hispanic advertising has transformed the Latina/o market into “the hottest new market”, and how it has shaped the representation of Latina/os. During the 1950s Hispanic marketing centered on small businesses or radio stations that aimed at local residents. Through the introduction of network television in 1961 advertising became a national endeavor. By distributing programs that explicitly addressed the Spanish-speaking population, these networks provided a steady base for advertisement directed at the Hispanic population (25). Based on the capitalist idea of “Latinos can spend, therefore they exist” (Cepeda and Casillas 348), Hispanics started to be conceptualized as a nationwide consumer group.

Among the first Hispanic television distributors were the Spanish International Network and Spanish International Communication Corporations (SIN/SICC) (Dávila 25). Almost 90% of its programs consisted of TV series and media content directly imported from Mexico. Through twenty owned stations and twenty-seven partner organizations SIC/SINN distributed media content to Latina households all over the U.S. Not only did the channel’s presence signify a groundbreaking success with regard to the Latina/o market, it also helped other ethnicities to step out of the shade, as Dávila explains:

[M]ore than any previous medium, the networks helped forge and maintain an ethnic niche for the Hispanic market, with regard not only to the general market, but also to other minority markets, such as the African American and Asian markets, both of which lacked a national television network through which to constitute and renew a nationwide market. As one agency owner put it, ‘The networks meant that we existed and were here to stay’. (26)

However, the fact that SIC/SINN imported most of their programs from Latin American channels was highly criticized and subsequently led to a court-ordered sale of the channel. Nevertheless, the Latin American media industry maintained its high influence on U.S. Hispanic television. The Hispanic channels *Telemundo* and

Univision soon started to produce their own programs in Spanish, and with great success (Dávila 25).

Although *Univision* is currently considered the fifth most watched channel in the U.S., it is uncertain if the channel can maintain its popularity (Moore). While the Latina/o population in the U.S. is still growing, the number of those watching Spanish Television is said to be declining. Many second and third generation Latina/os do not consider Spanish their primary language and hence they prefer English-speaking media over Hispanic television (Moore). Frequently, Latina/o children are not taught Spanish by their parents, in order to prevent racism against their kids. In an interview, Gina Rodriguez, the leading actress of *Jane the Virgin*, mentioned that her parents decided to raise their children in English instead of Spanish, to avoid that their kids were discriminated due to their Hispanic background (HuffPost Live, *Gina Rodriguez To Those*). Drawing from this example, it becomes clear that although Spanish has long been a primary indicator for *Latinidad*, U.S. Latina/os might soon be conceptualized as bilingual speakers of English and Spanish.

Over the last decades, Latina/os have become more successful in English-speaking mainstream media (Molina-Guzmán and Valdivia 206). Nevertheless, it needs to be highlighted that the number of Hispanic actors and actresses is still low in comparison to the U.S. Latina/o audience. It has even been claimed that there are “fewer Latino lead actors in the entertainment industry, than there were seventy years ago” (Negrón-Muntaner, *Latino Media Gap* 1). In fact, the wording appears slightly misleading. Between 2000 and 2010, the U.S. Hispanic population edged up 43%. However, Latina/os’ participation in the media, in front of and behind the camera, did not increase equally fast. This caused the so-called “Latino Media Gap” (1), which manifests itself in the fact that “as Latino consumer power grows, relative Latino media presence shrinks” (1). The decline in Latino actors and Latina actresses is in fact a proportional decline. Although Latinos/as are gradually more present in the media, they are still underrepresented in comparison to the rapid increase in Latina/o population in the U.S. (Molina Guzmán and Valdivia 208; Negrón-Muntaner, *Latino Media Gap* 1).

The increase of Latina/os in film and television, the commodification of Latina/o culture and the subsequent transformation of Latina representations was partly reinforced by coincidentally occurring social movements, such as the gay liberation, women's rights and anti-war struggles (Colin 28). Hence, the transformation of Latina representations in television has frequently been intertwined with feminist and queer ideas. Starting in the 1980s, mass media began to adapt feminism to appeal to the female audience as a potential consumer group. In entertainment media, genres such as the soap opera, were originally introduced as a medium to advertise products to the predominantly female audience (Porto 14205; Gledhill 365). As Kim observed, female characters on television have long served as "points of identification" (323) for female viewers in the living room. Following the second wave feminist movement, television and film commonly featured independent female protagonists (Kim 319). However, as feminist activism was believed to be no longer required, the focus in mainstream culture shifted towards post-feminist ideas (Báez 111).

Báez, describes post-feminism as a *commodified* and de-politicized form of feminism (111). Kim identifies three ways in which post-feminism has been defined: firstly, as the era following second wave feminism, secondly, as a "backlash against feminism" (Kim 321), and thirdly, in a more positive sense as the intersection of feminism with other countering movements, as for example post-modernism or post-colonialism. In television, the turn to post-feminism manifested itself through programs featuring independent single women who are granted education and a career, and who also live their sexuality. A telling example for shows which Kim describes as "prowoman but antifeminist" (319) is *Ally McBeal* (1997-2002). While independent women are characteristic for feminism as well as post-feminism, it is the way the female protagonists are affected by their independence, which marks the transition from the former to the latter, as Kim explains:

The portrayal and concept of independent women who are challenged by their independence (like Murphy Brown) has been replaced by the depiction of independent women who are shown as unhappy because of this independence (like Ally McBeal). (320)

By declaring what they want and by using their female charm to pursue their goals and satisfy their (sexual) desires, post-feminist characters shift from being objects that are being gazed upon to gazing subjects or both (Kim 323).

Early feminist theories addressed women's oppression without taking into consideration the differences between women "in terms of class, age, sexuality, religion, race and nation" (Gallagher 21). However, it has been observed that women experience sexism differently depending on their social context (21). The sexism experienced by ethnic women is strongly tied to racism. Consequently, feminist who felt excluded from the predominantly heterosexual, white feminism developed differentiated approaches, as for instance Asian feminism, Black feminism, Latina feminism or Lesbian feminism (21).

Queer feminism resembles Latina feminism in several aspects. Firstly, in a similar way as *Latinidad* has been used to establish a Hispanic market, queerness has been commodified into "lesbian chic" (Moritz 127), a trend which opened the gate for a gay niche market (Clark 184; Moritz 127-44). *Latinidad* and Queerness resemble each other in their notion of resisting and not conforming the norm which is frequently expressed through the body and exaggerated gestures as J. M. Rodríguez observed:

As Latin@s and as queers, we are often represented, if not identified, by our seemingly over-the-top gestures, our bodies betraying-or gleefully luxuriating in-our intentions to exceed the norms of proper corporeal containment. [...] We swish too much and speak too loudly. The scent we exude disturb the numbing monotony of straight middle-class whiteness. We point with our lips, flirt with our eyes, and shimmy our shoulders to mark our delight. Our racialized excess is already read as queer, outside norms of what is useful or productive. (2)

The intersection of sexuality, ethnicity, race and gender had a significant influence on Latina representation, as feminist scholars observed (Báez 111). Feminist ideas contributed to an increasing hybridization. Hegemonic representations of Latina/os have been challenged by the commodification of Latino culture which is reinforced by "crossover artists" (Vargas 53) such as Ricky Martin or Shakira, who encounter themselves in between two cultures and address both, an ethnic and a non-ethnic audience.

A pivotal role in the transformation of the Latina/o image can be attributed to the Mexican-American singer Selena Quintanilla (Alvar de Baca 26). Although terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in 1993 and 2001 had complicated the political situation of people with ethnic heritage in the U.S., culturally, the Anglo-American and

Hispanic world began to converge, as the example of Selena shows. Not only was Selena the first female performer in a male dominated music genre, she also appealed to both a Latino and a Caucasian audience by dedicating herself to a hybrid form of Anglo-American Western, Pop and the Hispanic “ranchero” style, called Tejano music. The hype around Selena, as she was fondly called by fans, the media and Latina/o scholars, received a regained momentum with the release of her filmic autobiography *Selena* (1997) two years after her death (Alvar de Baca 26).

Some scholars devote a great part of the film’s success to another Latina, namely the leading actress Jennifer Lopez (Báez 114). Although Selena enjoyed popularity during her lifetime, her fan community increased significantly after the film’s release. However, as a study by Beltrán revealed, many viewers responded to “Jennifer Lopez-as-Selena” (156) rather than to the Tejano singer. In other words, Lopez’ performance was confused with the real Selena, through which the boundaries between the two Latinas began to blur (158).

Regardless of the film’s great success, the fact that Jennifer Lopez, a Nuyorican² actress, was elected to epitomize the Tex-Mex singer, provoked turmoil among the Latina/o community and made several people question the film’s authenticity (Báez 114). Nevertheless, it has been argued that Lopez is more similar to Selena than any Mexican actress, despite her different national descent. Not only are they said to resemble each other in their “personality, charisma and style” (Aparicio 100), as Latinas having been raised in the U.S., they also share similar “experiences as colonized subjects” (94). Their connection as U.S. Latinas received additional emphasis through Lopez’ performance of a Selena song in Puerto Rico. Aparicio (103) interprets this act as a way of unveiling forms of colonialism which still impact a great number of U.S. Latina/os. Furthermore, it indicates that U.S. Latinas continue to explore their “commonalities as colonized subjects, as historical minorities that continue to engage of discourse and power with dominant institutions” (103). It is the coinciding compliance with and resistance towards dominant hegemonic ideas which constitutes a main characteristic of what Aparicio describes as *Latinidad feminista*.

² Nuyorican = person of Puerto Rican descent raised in New York

2.5. *Latinidades Feministas* and Latina Iconicity

Aparicio identifies Lopez and her transformation into Selena as a *Latinidad feminista* “that is enacted through their resistance to dominant social constructions of both Latina bodies and vis-à-vis the dominant objectifying gaze” (103). The construction of the body has played a significant role in the portrayal of the colonial subject. It is “always simultaneously (if conflictually) inscribed in both the economy of pleasure and desire and the economy of discourse, domination and power” (Bhabha 67). The ethnic female body has been used as a medium for racialization and sexualization, representing both a sexual object of desire and a product of racial contamination (Molina-Guzmán and Valdivia 212). This dichotomous relation becomes once again visible in Lopez, whose round buttocks have been ridiculed by news journalists for being slightly oversized, while at the same time being admired and contributing to the actresses success, as Molina-Guzmán and Valdivia observe:

Like other Latinas, Lopez is simultaneously celebrated and denigrated for her physical, bodily, and financial excess. Whenever she appears in the popular press, whether it is a newspaper, a news magazine, or *People*, Lopez’ gorgeous stereotypical Latina butt is glamorized and sexually fetishized. Indeed, she is often photographed in profile or from the back looking over the shoulders- her buttocks becoming the focus of the image, the part of her body that marks Lopez as sexy but different from Anglo female bodies. (212)

Hegemonic Latina constructions are challenged through the ambiguous meaning of Lopez’ butt which adheres to the traditional Latina stereotype and deviates from the Anglo-American ideal when at the same time it was seen as an object of desire which helped the actress to gain popularity (Molina Guzmán and Valdivia 212).

While Aparicio (103) focuses on how Lopez contributed to the *Latinidad feminista* presented in *Selena*, Báez (115-16) analyzes in what way the protagonist of the film challenges hegemonic constructions. Apart from breaking gender conventions of the Tejano music industry, Selena’s sexual liberation becomes evident through her revealing clothing on stage, competing with her image as a behaved girl at home (115). However, her sexual freedom is only a “performed part of *Latinidad*” (116), since it only exists on stage, while at home, Selena turns into the virginal daughter. Thus, Selena ultimately embodies the whore/virgin dichotomy (116).

Another aspect used in *Latinidades feministas* to express resistance against hegemonic Latina representations is language (Báez 116-20). In *Selena*, the Latina stereotype is challenged by the fact that Selena does not speak Spanish fluently, despite her Mexican heritage. The resisting function of language is more obvious in the film *Real Women Have Curves* (*RWHC* 2002), in which English becomes a tool for protagonist Ana to express intellectual superiority over the Mexican family, as Báez observes:

Ana assumes she knows more because she was born in the U.S., speaks standard American English, and is educated. Furthermore, Ana uses the English language to assert her superiority when communicating with her mostly Spanish-speaking mother. In doing this, Ana places liberal American feminism at odds with the gendered and racialized ways of life of these women. (120)

Ana's use of English pinpoints to her hybrid identity as a U.S. Latina and her superior level of education. Moreover, it displays generational tensions within the Latina/o community and practices resistance against traditional social hierarchies (120).

Despite their resistance towards "dominant social constructions" (Aparicio 103), the protagonists of the aforementioned films still show features of traditional stereotypes. The peculiarity of *Latinidades feministas* consist in the fact that they oppose traditional stereotypes while corresponding to tropes of *Latinidad*, especially tropicalism (Báez 123). In *Latinidades feministas*, ethnicity, race, sexuality, gender and class are intersected, when at the same time, "gendered and racialized notions of authenticity" (109) are challenged. *Selena* and *RWHC* both feature "complex and transgressive portrayals of Latinas" (113) which challenge traditional stereotypes. As bilingual and multicultural second or third generation Latinas in the U.S., both protagonists struggle to find their place between U.S. American and Latin American culture. They are hybrid identities which encounter themselves in "inbetween spaces" (Bhabha 1), transgressing socially constructed boundaries (Báez 113).

The hybridity of *Latinidades feministas*, reinforces a re-conceptualization of *Latinidad*. Actresses such as Lopez contribute to the "resignification" of the Latina image in U.S. popular culture which is why some of them are ascribed an iconic status (Molina-Guzmán and Valdivia 209). Iconicity is a form of representation based on the interactive relation between a sign, its reproduction and the social context in which it

appears. The important factor here lies not so much in the way of communicating but rather how the semantics around a person, event or object are “resignified” through their representation in mainstream culture. Within U.S. culture, the tendency towards hybridity creates new identities which question the traditional concepts of place and nation. Moreover, these hybrid characters mirror the “contemporary situation of globalization and hybridity” (Molina-Guzmán and Valdivia 208). Apart from Jennifer Lopez, Salma Hayek and Frida Kahlo have been identified as representatives with iconic function of contemporary feminine *Latinidad*, meaning that “popular representations of each woman communicate more than the visuals, instead the images are invited to sign-in for mainstream narratives about Latina identity and sexuality” (Molina-Guzmán and Valdivia 209). Latina women such as Lopez or Hayek show features of both Whiteness and Blackness and thus they do not fall into any of the two categories but they occupy a “racialized space in between the dominant U.S. binary of Black or White identities” (214). Their hybrid nature makes them representatives for a large group of women of different origins and frequently Lopez and Hayek embody characters whose ethnicities are absent from the text. In contrast to that, Frida Kahlo’s otherness is informed on ethnicity, expressed through her thick eyebrows, intellectuality and her injured body, as a result of a road accident. However, what all three Latinas have in common is that they differ from the dominant woman image, and thus they become desirable and easily marketable. In other words, the depiction of Hayek, Lopez and Kahlo are all based on “the racializing discourse of ethnic female bodies as simultaneously physically aberrant, sexually desirable, and consumable by the mainstream” (213).

In fact, the interplay of Latina beauty, desirability, self-determination and commercial potential has become a key element with regard to Latina actresses in the 21st century. Apart from the previously mentioned influencing factors, Negrón-Muntaner (*What To Do* 287-305) relates the shift in Latina representation to the actresses’ ability to take advantage of their beauty capital and stereotyped tropicalization to achieve a higher status within the entertainment industry. As he claims, the depiction of Latina beauty does not only reinforce stereotypes, it functions as a “contradictory technology for power and negation” (*What To Do* 288). Thus, instead of viewing stereotypes in terms of dichotomies it is suggested to focus on how they can be used to generate an increased cultural engagement and economic potential.

Fernández L’Hoeste (223-40) explores this new Latina womanhood by examining the way in which Sofia Vergara consciously employs her looks and her strong accent to achieve popularity. As Gloria Delgado-Pritchett on the show *Modern Family* (2009-18) Vergara is known for her sex appeal and her strong accent. The public’s tendency to conflate the real person with the role in *Modern Family* is reinforced by the fact that Vergara also emphasizes her accent outside the show. In reference to the 2011 Emmy Awards ceremony, Fernández L’Hoeste (223) analyzes how Vergara “question[s] the relativity of cultural constructs associated with language and gender” (223) by complaining about her English native co-hosting partner Rob Lowe’s “weird” (223) accent. It is the way she plays with and mocks about her accent which helps her to increase her popularity. Vergara epitomizes *Latinidad* in a way as the U.S. market would like to see it. However, at the same time, it is the actress herself who profits most of her own marketability, as Fernández L’Hoeste explains:

Audiences may laugh at Gloria Pritchett, but Sofía Vergara is bringing in millions of dollars as the best-paid cast member of the show, an anomaly in the world of U.S. entertainment. It is precisely by embracing her difference and exploiting it to its full extent that she has managed to accomplish so much. (226)

Moreover, Gloria and Jay’s relationship inverts the customary image of the Latino/Anglo-American couple, as it was established by Lucille Ball and Desi Arnaz, and indicates a shift towards an increasing influence of Latinas in television as opposed to the previous dominance of male over female Hispanics on screen (223).

Historical and socio-economic developments such as the increase in the U.S. Latina/o population and the establishment of a Hispanic niche market have certainly played a pivotal role in the transformation of Latina representation in television. However, they have not been the only contributing factors. Along with the development of new technologies, the medium television itself has undergone a significant change which also has had an impact on the television content. In order to identify trends of how Latinas are contemporarily represented on screen, it is necessary to have a look at how television, society and culture correlate with each other and how television has transformed over the last decades.

3. Transgressive Television and its Relation to Society

3.1. Television, Culture and Society

According to Stuart Hall, representation plays a major role in the construction of culture, constituting one of five entities of the so-called “circuit of culture” (du Gay et al. 3; Hall, *Representation* 1). It is through the interrelation of representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation, that cultural meaning is created. Culture is informed by “shared meanings” (du Gay et al. 12; Hall, *Representation* 18), which are transmitted via language, so it is through linguistic signs, such as words, sounds, or images that feelings, or mental conceptualizations can be expressed to others.

Culture is a complex concept which has been defined in different ways. In a traditional sense, culture is understood as the “best that has been thought or said” (Hall, *Representation* 2), and thus it is also referred to as “high culture” (2). It unites the most prominent ideas as portrayed in philosophical, literary and artistic works of a particular age. A more modern definition describes culture as the music, art and everyday activities practiced by the “ordinary” (2): the popular or mass culture of a certain period of time. More recently, culture has been analyzed from an anthropological standpoint, according to which it consists of the traditions and daily practices of a people, and how these differ from other cultural groups. It is this last approach which emphasizes most the significance of meaning-making in the construction of culture. Anthropologically, culture refers not so much to actual artifacts, but instead to meaning negotiating practices. As Hall argues,

[t]o say that two people belong to the same culture is to say that they interpret the world in roughly the same ways and can express themselves, their thoughts and feelings about the world, in ways which will be understood by each other. (2)

Hence, belonging to a culture suggests that one views the world in a similar way as other members of the same culture. This is not to say that every sign is always interpreted in the same way. Each sign can have various meanings depending on the context in which it appears. Thus, as Hall (*Representation* 2) observes, the notion of shared meanings does not imply an identical understanding of the surrounding events, but a tendency to interpret the world similarly.

While Hall provides a broad definition of culture, Fiske relates the concept specifically to the context of television. As he suggests, culture refers to the production and circulation of meanings within a society which are transmitted or spread, not only but also through television (1). Television is understood here as a cultural process, and as such it holds a central position in the maintenance of social structure, as Fiske explains:

Television-as-culture is a crucial part of the social dynamics by which the social structure maintains itself in a constant process of production and reproduction: meanings, popular pleasures, and their circulation are therefore part of this social structure. (1)

While television is not the only cultural medium, it is certainly widely engaging. Fiske defines television as a “potential of meanings” (13) rather than as a fixed commodity, arguing that even though programs are fixed commodities, they can be read differently. Therefore, a central role plays discourse. According to Fiske, “[d]iscourse is a language or system of representation that has developed socially in order to make and circulate a coherent set of meanings about an important topic area” (14). The meanings are produced and used by a certain part of society in order to naturalize their beliefs and ideological ideas into common sense. Thus, discourse needs to be understood in terms of power relations, representing social practices which either promote or oppose the ideas of a dominant ideology (14-15).

What is important here is that discourses are not produced by a single speaker, but rather result from social interaction (Fiske 15). Within a culture, every member has at their disposal a large “repertoire of discourses” (15) which they require in order to comprehend the “texts and social experiences” (15) underlying their culture. These discourses serve not only to make sense of a topic, but also shape the speaker’s identity. Every television program discourse intends to exert control over the potential texts viewers produce, though not always successfully. As Fiske argues:

[t]elevision does not “cause” identifiable effects in individuals; it does, however, work ideologically to promote and prefer certain meanings of the world, to circulate some meanings rather than others, and to serve some social interests better than others. (Fiske 20)

The audience's discourse may either conform to or resist this attempted control. Therefore, television programs do not impose meaning on the audience per se but foster an interactive relation between television programs and their audiences (19).

Fiske also identifies three levels of meaning construction in television. The first level refers to the primary text, meaning the images on screen, the second to "extra-generic television meanings" (85) produced by writings about television, such as newspaper articles, magazines, or advertisement; and the third to the audience's readings and discourse about a show. Secondary and tertiary texts can be "read back into the primary text" (85), and thereby, the images on screen receive additional meanings. A telling example is Sean Connery's influence on the character James Bond. As Fiske observed, some of the actor's personal traits and biographical details were later attributed to the fictive character (120).

One reason for television's effectiveness in promoting cultural interests is to be found in its realism. Fiske (21-47) explores realism in television with regard to narrative and production techniques as well as its significance for promoting the cultural interests of the dominant ideology. On a narrative level, a story's realism becomes visible mainly in three aspects: a contemporary setting, its concern with secular actions and that it features "ordinary people" (22) instead of individuals in privileged positions. While film displays events which have already happened, television presents ongoing actions. As Fiske observed, "the time taken to perform an action on television coincides precisely with the time taken to perform an action in 'real life'" (23). Therefore, the pictures in television are often incorrectly interpreted as an unmediated reflection of reality, although if following a constructionist approach, there is not merely one reality which can be observed, but rather multiple realities which viewers construct individually while watching television programs (21).

Furthermore, realism is said to play a significant role in the legitimization of the dominant ideology. According to Fiske,

popular culture inevitably serves the interest of the dominant ideology, for it is this that provides the common ground between producers and audience-seen-as-consumers, and between different audience groups whose differences are thus minimized. (39)

Television attempts to attract a great number of different sub-cultural audience groups with different discourses by, on the one hand, focusing on those aspects which all of them have in common, while on the other hand, intending to provide enough space for differences to become effective in audience-specific readings (37). In fact, the controlled integration of critical, progressive voices has been used as a strategy to counter resistance against the dominant ideology. By incorporating radical views in a dosed form, television provides a space for these voices to speak, while at the same time attempting to take control of potential readings (39). Under the guise of realism, the ideas of the dominant ideology appear to be natural and independent from any cultural group. By making discursive power invisible, realism disguises “the political origin of discourse, and thus masks class, gender, racial, and other differences in society” (Fiske 43). Historically, common sense mainly has originated from the position of white, middle-class, conservative males. The logic behind this concept is based on the idea that only discourses which are known or visible can be opposed, and it is nameless or hidden discourses which are likely to be perceived as natural (44).

At this point it bears remembering that Fiske’s ideas about television discourse originate from a time when television still constituted a norm, as the program schedule and content was fixed and consumers frequently organized their daily routines around their favorite show. However, recently television has lost its norm-setting function as a result of new technological developments which have provided viewers with more autonomy with regards to choosing the content, device, place and time of watching television (Strangelove 4). This entailed fundamental changes in “social patterns” (4) which were established at the time of analog television broadcast. Thus, the power of dominant ideologies in television has declined due to the innovations resulting from the transition from analogy to digitality. Nevertheless, it would be naïve to believe that contemporary television is completely free from ideological influences, and thus it is useful to keep Fiske’s ideas in mind in regard to the following.

3.2. Streaming is the New Television

Television has previously been defined as a realistic medium, with immediacy being one of its main characteristics (Fiske 146). In order to maintain its popularity, television is required to respond to audience's interests and as such it is required to constantly adapt to social and political changes which also leads to a continuous transformation of the medium itself. *Jane the Virgin's* Rogelio de la Vega, for example, is frequently shown tweeting on the social networking platform Twitter. New technological developments –and digitalization above all- have opened up new ways of accessing media content which have had a significant impact on social life. The invention of mobile phones, for example, facilitated communication but also changed conventions about communication in public and time management (Strangelove 4-5). While opponents of new media predict an approaching end of television, others contend that television will continue to exist, although in a modified form (Lotz 21-57; Strangelove 4). Regardless of television's ultimate fate, it is clear that digitalization has engendered a new era of audiovisual communication.

Strangelove further explores audiences' changing relationship with television as a result of digitalization (3-20). Part of the restructuring of life has been reinforced by the increasing number of television programs available online. As a result of digitalization the internet has become an "alternative vehicle for watching television and movies" (4) through which smartphones, tablets and other portable electronic devices provide fast and easy access to entertainment media, at any place and any time. As shows can be watched on various portable devices via the internet, and screens have become practically omnipresent, television is said to have entered the era of "post-television" (6). "Post" (6) does not indicate an end to television, but rather a change in its structure, such as the tendency away from live-broadcast television and towards on-demand television shows.

Digitalization and its resulting innovations, such as "[i]nternet-facilitated social viewing" (Strangelove 6) or "amateur and semi-professional videography" (6), have challenged the traditional concept of television. Through internet-based television, the boundaries between video and television broadcast have begun to blur (de Valck and Teurings 8), thereby, raising the question as to what television is in the

digitalized era. To this point, Strangelove categorizes internet television into two different groups: “Internet Protocol Television (IPTV)” (9), referring to digital cable television, which is distributed via a private online network; and “over-the-top (OTT) streaming video” (9), including on-demand services and Youtube, which are delivered over the public internet. In fact, many of the characteristics of traditional television, like its technological, social and cultural form, also apply to Youtube (Dijck 147-48). Nevertheless, the social media platform still differs from television in several aspects, above all its production format. Thus, while being aware of Youtube’s influence on contemporary television, constituting the “biggest user-generated content platform” (Dijck 147) and attracting more than twice as many viewers than the main U.S. broadcasting networks together during prime-time, television will be primarily understood in this study as an internet-based broadcasting system, produced by networking or on-demand companies.

Strangelove believes that the roots for post-television-culture lie mainly in two aspects: the development of consumer video technologies and the rapid expansion of the Internet (7). The introduction of internet-based television has provoked a conceptual shift of the medium from a singular to a ubiquitous one. What used to be a box in the living room around which the family gathered to watch their favorite show has turned into an ever-present accompaniment in private and public life (7). This traditional perception of television was first challenged through the invention of videos which made it possible for the audience to re-watch certain films or programs at any time. Especially with regard to television series, the audience’s independence from broadcast television increased through the introduction of DVD-box sets. This provoked that television was not longer primarily associated “with housebound women” but became “young, smart and on the move” (Brunsdon 65). With the introduction of online streaming platforms, the audience’s autonomy has reached a new high. As opposed to broadcast analog television, on-demand services such as Netflix or Hulu allow viewers to choose what, when and in what language they want to watch television (Strangelove 7).

Yet, despite its many advantages, online television distribution treads among pitfalls. Piracy practices are said to pose a long-term threat to the television production (Strangelove 10). The fact that shows can be accessed via the internet for free,

although illegally, encourages people to cancel satellite or cable television, a phenomenon frequently referred to as “cord-cutting” (14). Awareness of the online television alternative has led many people to decide to cancel broadcast television and instead rely on the internet as their only source of television. Especially people with irregular working schedules - nurses for example - benefit from the possibility of watching their favorite shows when and where they want. In some cases, cord-cutting has become necessary as a response to an increasingly harsh economy (10- 14).

All of these developments have had a significant impact on the audiences’ viewing behaviors and on-demand services like Netflix and Hulu have played a crucial role. Mareike Jenner examines the relationship between television and on-demand services, and Netflix in particular. She ascribes Netflix a pivotal role in the transition to a new era of television, TVIV, supplementing Pearson’s categorization of U.S. television into periods (Pearson 105-31; Jenner, *TVIV* 258-60). Although the organization of television into clear-cut periods seems problematic regarding the complexity of media industry discourses, Pearson’s categorization is still useful here, as it foregrounds some of the crucial moments in television’s history. The first period in U.S. television, dubbed TVI and dating from 1950-80s, was characterized by the three-network hegemony of ABC, CBS and NBC and their attempt to attract a mass audience. The 1980s saw the rise of the TVII era, dominated by network expansion and the rise of so-called “quality television”. Moreover, due to growing competition among networks, it became necessary for channels to develop branding strategies. The period from 1990s to the present is described as TVIII, and it is marked by the proliferation of digital channels and a fragmentation of the audience. While this third period already indicates a move away from a singular towards multi-platform forms, the disassociation of television from the television set received additional emphasis through the on-demand distributor Netflix (Jenner, *TVIV* 259).

What distinguishes Netflix from previous multi-platform television is its independence from broadcasting television (261). While many other streaming services are closely linked to television channels and their branding infrastructure, Netflix is disconnected from typical television branding. This is not to say that Netflix forgoes branding strategies, but that instead of being bound to a television channel and relying on advertisers, it promotes itself directly to subscribers (Jenner, *TVIV* 262). The

economic potential of Netflix's brand is well reflected in the fact that meanwhile the name Netflix has led to new expressions in contemporary colloquial English such as "netflixing" or "Netflix and chill" (COCA).

Cheap and immediate access to seemingly endless numbers of television programs, as provided by on-demand services, has provoked a change in viewing behavior referred to as "binge-watching". A binge refers to an "excessive behavior that deviates from the norm" (Jenner, *Binge-Watching* 306) and thus, it implies a lack of control and self-harmful behavior, especially in regard to alcohol or eating. But relating television viewing behavior to binge behavior is said to have a denigrating effect on the medium itself (Jenner, *Binge-Watching* 306). The definition of binge-watching ranges from watching two episodes in a row to bingeing a whole season. The reason for why binge-watching is negatively connoted is based in feelings of guilt that are frequently connected to the sentiment of wasting time, being socially isolated and not being able to digest the content properly. Since every viewer has a different idea of when watching series becomes excessive and obsessive, it is difficult to find a universal definition for this contemporary viewing behavior (307).

Meanwhile, binge-watching has become an essential business strategy for on-demand services such as Netflix or Hulu. In order to prevent customers from canceling their memberships, streaming services embrace methods that reinforce binge-watching (Jenner, *Binge-Watching* 308). One of them is offering series with a highly complex narrative structure with a large number of interweaving storylines. A telling example is *Arrested Development* which was cancelled after three seasons on broadcast television and which later experienced a revival on Netflix. As Jenner observed,

[w]hile season 1-3 of *Arrested Development* already rejected the familiar sitcom formula, relying on complex jokes and storylines that easily extend beyond one episode or even season, season 4 complicates the matter further by developing an even more complex narrative structure. (TVIV 266)

The more complex the story, the more attention viewers need to pay to the screen which again increases their engagement with the show and their willingness to continue to watch it (Jenner, TVIV 263-66). Moreover, Netflix provides personalized recommendations for shows based on the customer's previously watched shows, in

addition to a continuation mechanism which automatically starts the following episode fifteen seconds after another has ended (Jenner, *TV/IV* 264).

However, binge-watching is not always a result of tricks played by networking companies to the audience, but sometimes viewers intentionally exploit binge-watching as a technique to stay connected with their peer groups. Shows are frequently watched due to their popularity or acceptance within society (Däwes 27), and in some cases the motivation for watching a show emerges out of the desire to be able to participate in the social discourse around it (Jenner, *Binge-Watching* 316). For those who started to watch a show at a later point, binge-watching can help to quickly catch up with peers. Thus, in a broad sense, it also contributes to the construction of cultural discourse, as Jenner explains:

Binge-watching enables viewers to participate explicitly and implicitly in social phenomena by allowing viewers to catch up with much-discussed dramas like *Breaking Bad* and participate in textual analysis. Binge-watching and the technology that supports it thus need to be viewed as an important aspect of how fan practices, participation and textual production are moved into 'mainstream' culture. (316)

Meanwhile, viewing pace has turned into a new status symbol. A recent Netflix Press Release accounts for a new dimension of bingeing, referred to as "binge-racing", that is streaming new shows as fast as possible, in order to be the first to finish them. So far, more than 8 million people have already participated in "binge-racing", many of them bingeing whole seasons within a day. In fact, "[b]etween 2013 and 2016 the amount of launch day finishers increased more than 20 times over" (Netflix Media Center). In order to feed the audience's appetite for new television content networking companies are required to accelerate their television production and create shows which appeal to a large audience. A considerably important role in this play genre, their transgression and their fusion in television.

3.3. Transgressive Television

Since the 1950s television has developed from simple, repetitive lower-class entertainment into complex storytelling, transcending "political, social, ethical, generic, structural, and representational boundaries" (Däwes 18). Not only do these new forms of television demand an intensified engagement on part of the audience,

but they also redefine the boundaries between genre and format, particularly in regard to serial forms. Series have been a vital part of television since the 1940s, however, these early forms differed significantly from more recent shows with regard to their generic and formal conventions. As Däwes observes, television as a mass medium was introduced at a time when serial production served as a dominant principle in art movements such as Pop Art or Minimalism (19). Seriality is based on repetition, normative order and efficiency, and as such it became an indicator for modernity. In literature too, serial narration was explored and celebrated by authors such as Friedrich Schiller or Charles Dickens during the 18-19th century. It was these early forms which introduced some of the most significant standards such as the cliffhanger, the frame tale or the frequent presence of temporal markers (Däwes 19-20).

Television seriality can be distinguished into two forms, series and serials. The former refers to an episodic form of narration which usually includes a limited number of main characters and frequently these characters are opposed by antagonists (Däwes 20). While there is an overall frame established through a fixed cast, each episode achieves closure at its end and can, thus, be easily independently watched from other episodes. Serials, on the other hand, have more complex, continuous storylines, which develop over the course of several episodes. Normally, the cast is larger than in series, and characters can be both protagonists and antagonists (20).

Interestingly, the serial form also seems to be connected to the national and cultural identity. As Bielby and Harrington (384) argue, North American, British and Australian production companies usually opt for open-ended serials, while closed-ended shows are more common in Latin American, Indian, Chinese and Japanese productions. However, it would be wrong to assume that these genres are restricted to either of the two serial forms, or vice versa, especially since the distinction between series and serials has been blurred in recent American television. As Däwes observes, the introduction of internet-based television and the resulting transformation in viewing behavior has made immediate closure of the storyline obsolete (20). Thus, contemporary television forms frequently include elements of both serials and series (20).

The transgression of generic boundaries and formal conventions has become particularly significant for so-called “quality TV” (Däwes 21; Thompson 14-15). Whereas in the 1960s the costs for advertising slots in U.S. television were based on the total viewership, in the 1970s demographic details and the type of audiences started to become an additional factor for the calculation of prices for advertising on television (Johnson 57-58). A new form of television emerged, aiming specifically at an urban, liberal, educated audience between 18-49 years. Drawing on “traditional criteria of aesthetic value” (58), such as complex characters, artistic freedom, narrative experiments, or creativity, it attempted to separate itself from the previous, lower-prestige television image and attract a more educated audience. Under the guise of this new televisual form’s literary and stylistic status, the audience of “quality TV” could watch television without feeling as guilty as with “ordinary TV” (Feuer 56 in Johnson 58). By allowing multiple readings, these programmes managed to simultaneously respond to viewers’ individual tastes as well as to the broad and common appeal. While being considered more literate and complex, “quality TV” still provided the same pleasure as ordinary television (Johnson 58). Whereas previously the quality of a programme was measured primarily on the content level, by the 1980s the emphasis was laid on visual styles. Facing an increasing competition by new networking stations, the main networks NBC, ABC, and CBS began to rely on viewer taste rather than socio-economic criteria for their targeting of the programs, and consequently the U.S. television market began to fragment into various “niche markets” (60).

A genre which emerged during the transition to quality television is dramedy. It constitutes a hybrid genre form, including characteristics from both drama and situational comedy (Sewell 236). Early dramedies typically were shot with a single camera, lasted for 30 minutes, and perhaps most importantly, they lacked a laugh track, as is the case in *The Days and Nights of Molly Dodd* (NBC 1987-91), *Frank’s Place* (CBS 1987-88) and *Hooperman* (ABC 1987-89) (Sewell 235). Dramedies were originally praised for being more realistic and sophisticated, and thus for engaging a more highly educated audience that was well-versed in literary subjects (246). Without a laugh track, audiences were finally given the freedom to choose when to laugh and what to consider funny. As Sewell explains, “dramedies were portrayed as smart shows addressing smart viewers” (246). This opened the debate about what

“quality TV” was and who was allowed to claim institutional and cultural authority connected with it. While some scholars focused on the establishing of criteria to distinguish “quality TV” from previous broadcast forms, others critically examined it as a tool of cultural domination, serving one particular group of society and particular taste to reinforce their interests (236-38). The fact that dramedies were originally considered to be part of “quality TV”, but expelled afterwards, not only pinpointed the discursive formation of this television form but also indicated the need for a more precise definition of the same (238).

Probably the most obvious trait by which “quality TV” can be defined is complexity. With the rise of DVD box sets, the audience received more autonomy with regard to viewing schedule and medium which caused that viewers began to plan their watching (Brunsdon 65). Consequently, watching television turned from something that viewers passively exposed themselves into something that they actively paid attention to. This again required television texts to become more complex in order to maintain the audience’s attention (65). Even though, as Jenner observes, every text can be binge-watched it is mainly quality texts which encourage this viewing behavior (312). These texts “have escaped the low-culture association of television, in part, [...] through their ‘binge-worthiness’” (Jenner, *Binge-Watching* 312). A text is “binge-worthy” (312) if the watching of several episodes in a row facilitates the understanding of the narrative. The more complex the narrative structure of a text is, the harder it is to follow, especially if pauses are made in-between the episodes. Apart from their complex narrative structure and their “endlessly deferred narrative” (313), the texts are characterized by an omniscient author and hyperdiegesis, meaning that the narrative space of the text constitutes only a small part of an even bigger space. Interestingly, these texts are usually constructed in alignment with the interests of a middle class audience. Thus, serials frequently show parallels to well-known literature (Jenner, *Binge-Watching* 312). In the third season of *Jane the Virgin*, for example, a whole episode is dedicated to the work of Alfred Hitchcock. The relation between quality texts and middle class has its roots partly in economic reasons: a subscription to cable television or on-demand services is frequently only affordable for middle or higher class audiences which also makes them the target audience group that producers aim to reach (312-13).

Thompson identifies twelve criteria to define quality television (14). Following these criteria, quality television (1) breaks with generic and format conventions; (2) has a “quality pedigree” which is partly due to the actors’ reputations; (3) aims at a “well-educated, urban-dwelling, young viewer[ship]”; (4) opposes “profit-mongering networks”; (5) has a larger cast than traditional television shows; (6) has a “memory”, meaning that regardless of the serial form, frequently references are made to previous plotlines; (7) mixes old genres and thereby creates new ones; (8) includes programs that are “literary and writer-based”; (9) is self-conscious and self-reflexive; (10) is politically liberal; (11) is dominated by realist ideas, and (12) they are “showered with awards and critical acclaim” (Thompson 14-15). Although not all of these criteria apply to every show equally, they provide an idea of what distinguishes recent television shows from previous forms. While acknowledging the usefulness of the criteria to define the genre, Däwes criticizes the term “quality TV” for being “too vague, too hierarchical, and too ideologically burdened a term to aptly describe the recent developments of contemporary American television series” (23). Based on the observation that contemporary television series tend to transgress political, moral and social conventions, she proposes to refer to it as “transgressive television” (23).

In American television, transgression has frequently been understood as the violation of taboos, visually and linguistically (Däwes 23). Apart from transgressions of genre boundaries and body politics, transgressive television is characterized by an increased hybridization, self-reflexivity and the “tendency of multiplying spaces and time levels” (26). Frequently, series are based on political or historical subjects, as for example, *The Good Wife* (2009-16) or *House of Cards* (2013-17). Through references to real world objects, people or events, the boundaries between fiction and reality become blurred. Recently, television series, above all *Game of Thrones* (2011-18), have served as referential points for politics and power relations. A telling example is the comparison of President Donald Trump to Joffrey Baratheon, “a particularly contemptible and sadistic royal who ascends to the throne and promptly displays his lack of experience and poor temperament” (Tharoor).

Another aspect through which the hybridization of real and fictional world becomes visible is the tendency towards “highly self-reflexive formats” (Däwes 26). By commenting on the making of films or other television series, transgressive television

reflects on its own medium. A prominent example is given in the first episode of *The Sopranos*, during which Carmela mentions that Tony Soprano likes watching the film *Godfather II* because of its splendid camera work (26). Moreover, the hybridization is enhanced by the multiplication of time and space. Frequently, episodes are introduced by images whose meanings will only reveal at a later point. In serial narration, flashbacks, fast forwards or parallel occurring actions serve as tools to get the audience engaged. Multiplied spaces, time levels and characters are used to increase “the viewers’ trans-episodic attention” (27). Complex narrative patterns require the audience to stay focused throughout the show in order to be able to follow the story which consequently increases their engagement with the narrative world (27).

Moreover, Däwes ascribes transgressive television a strong political dimension, and as such an essential role in the generation and circulation of cultural meanings:

[T]he multiple dimensions of transgression in American television thus function as an operational principle of border-crossing and intersection, in which space, time, social norms, genre, form, and ethical standards become fluid and negotiable, and in which concepts of individual or national identity, of sameness and difference, are understood as profoundly processual. (28)

The transgression and re-negotiation of political, social, generic and narrative conventions results in a hybridization of American television and as such it corresponds to the contemporary situation of globalization. A recent trend of transgression which is particularly relevant to the study on Latina representations in *Jane the Virgin* is the adaptation of American soap operas to Latin American telenovelas, called “telenovela-ization” (Bielby and Harrington 383).

3.4. Genre Fusions: The “Telenovela-ization” in Contemporary U.S. Television

While the U.S. has long dominated the export market of television programs, recent demographic shifts in the population as well as changes in viewing habits have provoked a decline in viewer numbers. In order to increase their viewership, the U.S. entertainment industry began to adapt to the social change. By assimilating to Latin American genre forms, U.S. television producers hope to make their programs more

attractive to the rapidly growing Hispanic population. Bielby and Harrington (383-99) describe “telenovela-ization” as an adaptation process of U.S. American soap operas to Latin American telenovelas. Considering that features typical for the genre of the telenovela have become increasingly visible in other generic forms – for example in the dramedy *Ugly Betty* (2006-10) and also in my own case study- this research project explores “telenovela-ization” in a broader sense of the Latin American genre’s influence on the U.S. television landscape.

In television, genre has been defined as “the way the individual fictions which belong to it can be grouped together in terms of similar plots, stereotypes, settings, themes, style, emotional affects” (Gledhill 351). Genre creates certain expectations in the viewer, which are based on a body of codes and rules associated with this genre. For example, a crime story is expected to include tense moments, thrilling music, and at least one criminal event, such as a murder. Hence, generic categorizations fulfill a guiding function for viewers in choosing a show of their interest (351). Fiske defines genre as a “cultural practice” (110) that seeks to organize the great amount of texts that circulate within a cultural group and ascribes it a principal role in the construction of intertextual relations. Intertextuality is two-dimensional: on a vertical axis the primary text is connected to secondary and tertiary texts, and on a horizontal axis, links are established between primary texts mainly through characters, content and genre (109-10).

Just as with cultural practices, genre conventions are never entirely fixed, but transform as social and ideological beliefs change. Fiske goes so far as to claim that every new text modifies the definition of a particular genre (112-13). Moreover, depending on the social and historical context, genres experience more or less popularity. While for many years soap operas have been the most celebrated genre in U.S. television, recently they have lost their privileged position to other generic forms. Through the introduction of internet-based television, broadcasting networks were challenged by a decreasing number of daytime television viewers (Traister). As a consequence, daytime shows began to adapt to prime-time TV and vice versa. At the same time, telenovelas have experienced a regained momentum, in and outside the Americas (Traister). This development is interesting considering that occasionally the two genres are conflated with each other due to the high degree of coinciding

features. In order to identify reasons for why the telenovela seems to be more popular than the soap operas nowadays, it is necessary to look at what distinguishes the former from the latter.

Due to their low prestige, soap operas have long been neglected by academic scholars (Porto 14206). It was feminist scholars who introduced soap operas to the academic field as a topic of investigation particularly with regard to the genre's association with women. Whereas early feminist studies focused on the differences between "real" women and their stereotypical representation in soap operas, later investigations explored the pleasures which the genre evokes in their primarily female audiences (Porto 14206). According to Gledhill, gendering is connected to the evaluative categorization of cultural products. As she claims, "the privileging of certain cultural forms or characteristics must also be seen as part of a struggle within patriarchal culture to 'define' reality" (349). The struggle over hegemony is based on a set of binary oppositions that are in constant tension. Thus, popular culture, emotions, talking, pleasure and the genre of soap opera in particular tend to be associated with femininity, while high culture, thinking, taciturnity, severe problems and the genre of the western are frequently related to masculinity (Gledhill 349). However, melodramas have not always been considered to be feminine. It was only through the introduction of "weepies" (350) or "women's picture" (350) in the 20th century that melodrama developed the "stigma" of femininity. Earlier, in the 19th century, the production of drama and fiction was dominated by different melodramatic forms such as cape, nautical, or frontier melodramas, addressing a wider and more diverse audience. In fact, changes in gender roles provoked that contemporary soap operas are no longer exclusive to women but equally address a male and female audience (379). This again pinpoints to the fact that genre is flexible and its gendering is never entirely fixed (350).

Soap operas and telenovelas are both forms of storytelling with melodramatic character which originally sandwiched soap powder commercials. They have their roots in daytime serials broadcasted on the radio which were invented by the U.S. entertainment industry in the 1930s (Beckenham and Slade 338; Porto 14205). As the term *soap* indicates, these shows were sponsored by toiletry companies who explicitly advertised their products to "homebound housewives" (Gledhill 365). The

target group of soap operas was mainly women at home between 18-49 years, who listened to the radio while doing housework (Porto 14205). In contrast to advice programs which addressed their potential customers from an authorial position by giving them the impression that they were lacking information, soap operas spoke to the consumer indirectly, by featuring female characters with whom the target audience could easily identify. Showing a woman using a product in the household proved to be a more effective marketing strategy than telling the audience to use the same product. Moreover, soap operas invite the viewers to flee their own daily routine and escape into a fictional world (365-70). The format of the continuous serial further contributed to the audience's engagement with the show. The first soap opera on the radio, *Painted Dreams*, aired in 1930 and told the story of an Irish housewife and her daughter. By 1937, the genre had obtained a central position in radio programming. Nevertheless, with the rise of television, the genre was adapted to audiovisual formats. The first television soap opera broadcasted on television was *The First Hundred Years* (1950-52) (Porto 14205-06).

The debate about whether telenovelas are modeled after U.S. soap operas or whether their roots are to be found in historical and authentic local fiction remains unsolved (Biltereyst and Meers 396). Regardless of its origin, the genre is undoubtedly related to U.S. soaps: similarly to soap operas, telenovelas started out as radio daytime programs, so-called *radionovelas* (Porto 14207). During the 1930s, Cuba developed a consolidated radio broadcasting system with Havana proportionally hosting more radio broadcasters than New York. A central figure in Cuba's production and distribution of radio daytime serials was Felix Caignet. One of his most popular radionovelas, *El Derecho De Nacer*, was on the radio for several years before it was adopted for television. With the introduction of television stations in Brazil and Mexico in the 1950s, telenovelas started to consolidate in the Latin American television landscape. In the 1960s, telenovelas became the dominant prime-time form and commanded "the highest advertising rates" (14207).

On the content level, telenovelas and soap operas resemble each other, as both genres address topics relatable to a broad audience, such as family, relationships and community life (Gledhill 366; Medina and Barron 78; Medina 177). Nevertheless, they constitute two different genres which becomes evident in the following aspects:

Telenovelas are typically dominated by passion, moral conflicts and tragic suffering, which sometimes creates the notion that they are exaggeratingly emotional. In contrast, U.S. soap operas are usually more realistic and humorous. The stories of Latin American telenovelas are weaved around one protagonist - typically stereotypical characters that are driven by passion - and several minor characters which can all strictly be considered as either good or bad; on the other hand U.S. soaps represent a multitude of characters which all contribute to the story equally (Medina and Barron 78; Medina 177).

Furthermore, the two genres differ from each other in their mode of production. In contrast to weekly produced U.S. soap operas, telenovelas are created at a considerably higher pace, each episode being shot within less than one day. Due to the lack of time, the lines are not learned by actors and actresses anymore, but they are prompted to them through an earplug (Beckenham and Slade 339). Thus, being broadcast on a daily basis, telenovelas appear more frequently in television. However, it is usually soap operas which last for a longer period of time. The absence of ultimate closure in soap operas - that is, the fact that plots never come to a definite ending - allows the shows to stay on air for several years. Telenovelas, on the contrary, have a definite resolution and usually only last for one season, ending in summer (339). Hence, telenovelas are marked by closure, as opposed to soap operas' open endedness. Another crucial difference exists in the time of broadcasting: while telenovelas are reserved prime-time slots in television, soap operas are normally broadcasted during the day, although some shows, such as *Dallas* (1978-91), have become present in prime-time television as well (Porto 14206).

Modleski (371-72) examines the way in which soap operas recreate conditions traditionally associated with women and their role in familial life. Soap operas depict families which are constantly at risk of falling apart, but nevertheless always remain together. As Modleski claims, "[t]he family is, for many women, their only support, and soap operas offer the assurance of its immortality" (371). The spectator takes on the role of an "ideal mother" (372), who possesses superior knowledge and wisdom, feels sympathy for all of her children and forgives every mistake. Consequently, soap operas mainly deal with issues that can be accepted more easily, like alcohol abuse,

physical and mental cruelty or adultery, while topics which could cause a long-standing destruction of the family structure are neglected (Modleski 372).

In contrast to soap operas, which are strongly associated with a female audience, telenovelas appeal to a broader viewership. Being broadcast at prime-time, telenovelas fulfill an important function in bringing the whole family together, since watching the show is frequently the only time when all members gather (Gonzalez 90). As a study by Gonzales (84-93) reveals, the cultural experience of the genre is not limited to the duration of an episode, but continues afterwards. Plots are discussed with families and friends, and assumptions made about the continuation of the story and possible solutions to problems. Gonzalez even ascribes telenovelas the “most important symbolic function used in everyday social life” (89).

While soap operas are considered a feminine genre and thus are related to gender (Gledhill 349), telenovelas are linked to lower social class due to being a form of popular culture (Lopez 260). However, as Gonzalez argues, telenovelas are a “transclass cultural phenomenon” (90). Based on the results of his ethnographic study on the relation between telenovelas and society, he challenges common myths about this melodramatic genre and its viewership. Against popular belief, telenovela viewership is not restricted to provincial areas and an unemployed or retired, lower-status, and primarily female audience, but the genre has “an intense urban vitality” with more than 40% of the interviewed men admitting to be regular viewers. Moreover, 63% of telenovela viewers came from a higher-class background. Although lower-class viewers indeed constitute a greater part of the telenovela audience, a considerable percentage of high-class and well-educated people also considered themselves regular viewers (Gonzalez 90). According to Gonzalez, the audience’s social diversity once more highlights the genre’s cultural dimension:

We call them a *cultural front*, a space in which different social agents struggle to define and redefine specific commonalities: ideas about the meaning of love, good living, honour [sic], fidelity, cruelty, betrayal, hate, fate, beauty and sexual relationships, all of them linked to different elaborations of basic elementary human drives and necessities. They provide the very core of any constructed identity. (90-91)

Watching telenovelas hardly ever remains without discussion afterwards. Usually the events are evaluated and judged by the viewers and frequently this opens up further

discussions about what behavior is considered appropriate. Thus, telenovelas provide a space of moral negotiation in which different social meanings are articulated and redefined. As such, they mark symbolic borders between different cultural and social groups, and classes (92).

Whereas it is clear that both soap operas and telenovelas fulfill a social function, the question remains why telenovelas have become more popular than other melodramatic forms in recent years. Telenovela creator Delia Fiallo attributes the telenovela genre's great international success to its emotionality. As she explains,

I believe that the success, the force of penetration of the telenovela consists of nothing more than emotions. Emotion is the common denominator of the human species, throughout time and in all countries around the world. [...] Because we are not beings from the planet Mars, we are all human beings who respond to the same emotions. That is the whole secret. (Fiallo in Mato 441)

While Fiallo believes emotional appeal to be the only reason for telenovela's success, it is important to remember that the popularity of a genre partly depends on the socio-cultural circumstances and that in order to maintain its popularity, a genre adapts to the development of society. In U.S. American television the adaptation to the Latin American television tradition is certainly also related to demographic shifts in the U.S. population and a booming Latino culture.

Although the "telenovela-ization" is a recent development, a correlation between U.S. and Latin American entertainment industries has existed since before the boom of the telenovela genre. For a long time, the U.S. has been the primary exporter of television worldwide. Early investigations of "cultural imperialism" (Bielby and Harrington 384) in television have centered on the "one-way-flow" from the U.S. to different parts of the world. The U.S. television system served as a model for several international telecommunication companies. Likewise, Latin American broadcasters based their production on North-American television systems. During the 1970s the Latin American television broadcasters decided to distance themselves from U.S. networks and establish their own systems. Telenovelas constituted a key element in this process of "*latinoamericanización*" (395) and Latin America's economic growth. The increase of national and regional productions led to a reduction in U.S. television imports. Simultaneously, U.S. broadcasters began to adapt their shows to Latin

American television in order to attract the rapidly increasing Hispanic population. Soap operas received Spanish closed-captioning, musical themes, and frequently the cast included Latina/o characters, all features which are characteristic of Latin American telenovelas (385-88). The Latin American influence on U.S. television is frequently perceived as a contra-flow going from the South to the North, as opposed to the previously dominant cultural flow from the North to the South. Some scholars interpret these recent developments as the reversal of U.S. cultural imperialism, an idea which has been criticized for focusing too much on the relation between North and South America, while neglecting the global context (Biltereyst and Meers 398; Sinclair 51-62).

Indeed, “telenovela-ization“ is a global phenomenon which not only had a significant impact on the international television world, but also on the Latin American genre itself and the U.S. city Miami plays an essential role in this process. Due to its geographic proximity to Latin America, the high concentration of Hispanic population and the existence of attractive settings, Miami has become the center of international telenovela production (Mato 431-34). Although telenovelas have been treated here as one homogenous genre it needs to be highlighted that in fact within Latin America there are several telenovela forms, which all have their own cultural markers of their producing country: Mexican telenovelas are known for their weepiness, while Brazilian shows frequently include references to political events (Medina and Barron 86). Regional peculiarities, such as certain landscapes, accents or historical events, increased the viewers’ identification with telenovelas. The audience’s identification is said to have diminished with recent telenovelas that are characterized by neutralization and hybridization (Biltereyst and Meers 397; Mazziotti 113). By developing stories around ubiquitous topics and erasing regional peculiarities, broadcasters intend to reach a broader audience and adapt their telenovelas for the world market.

Although at first glance these developments appear to have a homogenizing effect on the genre, the opposite seems to be the case. Frequently, telenovelas undergo changes when travelling from one to another country. With regard to the discussion on U.S. cultural imperialism, Sinclair et al. (*Peripheral Vision* 13) observed that U.S.

genre models seldom maintained their form as they were imported by another country. Rather, Sinclair et al. describe the process as it follows:

[T]he substitute products become adapted to the local culture in the process [of indigenization], whether for market reasons, for the sake of diversity, or to diminish foreign influence, and new 'hybrid' genres are created. The resulting situation is not the passive homogenization of world television which cultural imperialism theorists feared, but rather its heterogenization. (*Peripheral Vision* 13)

U.S. genre conventions have been adopted by other English speaking countries, but each imposed on them their own cultural specifications. Likewise, the process of "telenovela-ization" needs to be understood as both a process of homogenization and heterogenization. On the one hand, the content of Latin American telenovelas is neutralized and hybridized, in the sense that national peculiarities are excluded in order to attract a broad international audience (Sinclair et al., *Peripheral Vision* 13). On the other hand, the genre has been adopted by foreign countries and assimilated into their own television system by producing shows that are based on telenovela conventions but which still relate to the national television character of the country of production (Bielby and Harrington 384; Piñón 392). The adaptation of global products or ideas for regional markets is referred to as "glocalization" (Robertson 26).

Glocalization combines globalization with localism, and as such it has gained popularity especially in the field of economic and cross-cultural marketing since the 1990s to refer to the customization of global products or services for a local market (Robertson 26; Roudometof 1; 14-15). Through the export of telenovelas the genre has been globalized, and by gearing this generic form toward a certain region, it can be said that telenovelas have become glocal. U.S. Hispanic telenovelas frequently center around immigration, adaptation processes to new environments and culture shocks (Medina and Barron 80) and an example in which this is evident is *Ugly Betty*. Based on the Colombian telenovela *Yo soy Betty, la fea* (1999) (Piñón 392), this U.S. dramedy also illustrates that in fact "telenovela-ization" is not restricted to soap operas, but it affects and hybridizes various kinds of genres. Therefore, "telenovela-ization" is understood in this study as a part of the hybridization and glocalization of television genres, involving the export of complete Latin American telenovelas, but also the "know-how" (Medina and Barron 78) and ideas for shows from Latin America to foreign countries.

4. Latina Representation in *Jane the Virgin*

4.1. Methodology

Much has been said already about how Latina representation and television in general have changed during the last decades. Having this in mind, the following part will focus on how Latinas are represented in the contemporary television serial *Jane the Virgin*. The method used here to interpret Latina images in the show is mainly based on Hall's encoding/decoding representational model (Encoding/Decoding 41-49). Considering the fact that almost half a century has passed since the model's first publication, the question arises whether this model is still relevant for an analysis of contemporary television. The key argument of Hall's encoding/decoding model centers around the idea that communication is a circular process which is sustained through different moments that are articulated (*Encoding/Decoding* 41). The production of television content is seen as a discursive process in which the consumption of the communicated message becomes itself "a 'moment' of the production process" (43). Thus, the production process achieves completion through the consumption of the televisual message. According to Bødker (414-15), the articulation between consumption and production has even increased through the introduction of social media. As viewers are able to comment on and share media content online, consumption has become part of the circulation of the product, as Bødker contends:

On social media, however, the news commodity is augmented by the interpretive work of participation and this turns consumption into circulation and commodity in a way that Hall could not have foreseen. (414)

Whereas Hall considered audience activity a part of the production process, the feedbacks seemed intangible, meaning that the "circuit was largely conceived as a sequential process of articulated moments" (Bødker 419). Recently, this sequentiality has shifted to simultaneity. Bødker illustrates this on the example of news journalism: Through social media the amount of news content by non-professionals has increased significantly. Thereby, the news commodity produced by amateurs is conflated with the actual event. Consequently, professional journalists are pressured to "(re)-confirm the value of the professional system of representation" (419).

A similar situation can be observed with regard to the production of second and third texts of television series. The number of Youtube videos produced by the *Jane the Virgin* fan community, as for example a clip which shows some of the best moments of the character Rogelio (Perfezione Decadente), seem endless. Videos, comments and other contributions on social media about the show certainly influence the way viewers perceive the show. At the same time the viewers' feedback provided online might serve television producers to find out about and react to the audience's expectations about the show. Hence, although television has transformed significantly since the introduction of the internet and social media, Hall's model can still be adapted to contemporary television. As a basis for the investigation of Latina representations in *Jane the Virgin*, an introduction to the encoding/decoding model and its three reading positions appears useful.

Contrary to the traditional sender/message/receiver model, Hall describes the process of communication as "a structure produced and sustained through the articulation of linked but distinctive moments – production, circulation, distribution/consumption, reproduction" (*Encoding/Decoding* 41). In other words, communication is not a linear, circular process, but a "complex structure in dominance", meaning that the individual moments interact with, and thereby, sustain each other. Meanings and messages are transported through signs which are organized by certain codes. It is in discourse that the "object" is circulated, which is why Hall ascribes the discursive form of a message a privileged position and considers the two moments of "encoding" and "decoding" to be "determinate" moments (*Encoding/Decoding* 42). As he illustrates, the historical event cannot be communicated in its "raw" form through television, but rather it needs to be translated into audio-visual signs in terms of the "televisual discourse" (*Encoding/Decoding* 42). In the moment when the event is signified, it is subject to the formal rules of discourse. Put differently, "the event must become a 'story' before it can become a communicative event" (Hall, *Encoding/Decoding* 42). This moment of translation is dominated by the formal rules of discourse though the historical event, the social relations and the socio-political consequences are not neglected nor subordinated. The "message form" plays a pivotal role as it enables the transfer of meaning between the sender and the receiver, as Hall contents:

[T]he transposition into and out of the 'message form' (or the mode of symbolic exchange) is not a random 'moment', which we can take up or ignore at our convenience. The 'message form' is a determinate moment; though, at another level, it comprises the surface movements of the communications system only and requires, at another stage, to be integrated into the social relations of the communication process as a whole, of which it forms only a part. (*Encoding/Decoding* 42)

With regard to television, the communication process can then be summarized as it follows: broadcasters produce messages, which are transmitted via television programs; these messages then need to be decoded in order to become meaningful (*Encoding/Decoding* 42-43). The production of television programs is not closed, meaning that it constitutes a discursive practice itself, in that it draws on assumptions of the audiences, events, topics, etc. from a variety of external sources within the broader political and socio-cultural environment. Hence, according to Hall, the reception of audio-visual messages constitutes a "moment" (*Encoding/Decoding* 43) of television production. Importantly, while the two practices are connected to each other, they need not to be confused as the same.

During this encoding process, the meanings and messages are transported via sign-vehicles. As Hall observes, the televisual sign is complex combining visual and aural discourse (*Encoding/Decoding* 44). Moreover, it is iconic, meaning that it has some inherent properties of the object it represents. Hall explains iconicity with regard to television through the example of a dog on screen which resembles the real animal in that it can bark, but differs from it since it can't bite. However, it needs to be remembered that, as any other sign, iconic signs are coded, even those which have been learned at a very young age and, thus, appear to be natural. On the encoding level, the coded signs correlate with "deep semantic codes of a culture and take on additional, more active ideological dimensions" (*Encoding/Decoding* 45). While the level of denotation is fixed by codes of television, the level of connotation appears more open, leaving room for different interpretations. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to assume that all connotative codes are given equal importance. Any society or culture imposes, intentionally or subconsciously, its social, cultural and political values onto the communicated object and thereby the meanings are organized according to "dominant or preferred meanings" (*Encoding/Decoding* 46):

We say dominant, not 'determined', because it is always possible to order, classify, assign and decode an event within more than one 'mapping'. But we

say 'dominant because there exists a pattern of 'preferred readings'; and these both have the institutional/political/ideological order imprinted in them and have themselves become institutionalized. (*Encoding/Decoding* 46)

These dominant readings are partly reinforced through generic conventions. As Hall observes, in Western, the violent actions are so conventionalized and "stylised" that the viewers recognized them as generic rules. It is through these "rules of encoding" shared by producers and audience, that the images on screen are "decoded" in the same way as they were "encoded" (Hall, *The Television Discourse* 304). This does not mean that within a certain genre, messages are always interpreted as they were intended to be.

Therefore, Hall suggests three reading positions to construct meaning in a television discourse (*Encoding/Decoding* 47). The first position from which a message can be decoded is called "dominant-hegemonic position". If the audience reads the messages in the same way as encoded by producers, they are said to operate within "*the dominant code*" (*Encoding/Decoding* 47). This represents the idealized form of communication. Within this exists a position determined by the so-called *professional code*, which broadcasters adopt when encoding a message which has previously hegemonically signified. The professional code has its own criteria which make it independent from the dominant code. Nevertheless, it still works in favor of hegemonic ideas. In fact, as Hall observes, it is the less obvious bias towards the dominant-hegemonic position, which reinforces the same. In other words, "ideological reproduction therefore takes place here inadvertently, unconsciously, 'behind men's backs' (*Encoding/Decoding* 48).

However, messages are not always decoded in the same manner as they were encoded by the producers which leads to the second reading position, the negotiated position (Hall, *Encoding/Decoding* 48). Dominant-hegemonic definitions relate events to the national interest, which frequently constitutes the norm. Decoding within a negotiated position involves the adaptation to dominant views as well as their opposition. In other words,

it acknowledges the legitimacy of the hegemonic definitions to make the grand significations (abstract), while, at a more restricted, situational (situated) level, it makes its own ground rules- it operates with exceptions to the rule. (Hall *Encoding/Decoding* 48)

This again feeds back to Hall's understanding of the communication process as a discursive practice (*Encoding/Decoding* 41-46), and to Fiske's idea of the television text as a "site of a struggle for meaning" (93). Depending on the socio-economic background, age, gender and race, the viewers produce different meanings, which are sometimes oppositional to the dominant ideology (93). Hence, the negotiated position has been related to those moments when a television text's meaning is transformed through paratexts, such as viewer's comments, journalistic articles etc., which negotiate the text in unexpected ways (Castleberry 91).

The third reading position of Hall's encoding/decoding model suggests to encode the message in an alternative framework, contrary to the globally dominant understanding. A telling example presented by Hall is an audience who watches a debate concerning the limitation of wages but confused the "national interest" as "class interest" (*Encoding/Decoding* 49). More recently, Woodstock has identified a new form of oppositional reading, referring to so-called "media resisters" (400), people who refuse the use of new technology. As Castleberry observes correctly, due to television's strong social and cultural character, it is difficult to decode television shows separately from the dominant ideology. Therefore, the analysis of Latina representation in *Jane the Virgin* will be primarily based on a dominant-hegemonic and negotiated reading position.

4.2. "Telenovela-ization" in *Jane the Virgin*

NARRATOR. Jane's life was now the stuff of telenovelas. (Ch1)

ROGELIO. Telenovelas are all about drama. You know, yelling, crying, scheming [...]. (Ch11)

In chapter three, transgression and hybridization have been identified as main characteristics of contemporary television. In the U.S. American serial *Jane the Virgin* produced by the network company CW transgression occurs on various levels, genre being one of them. By containing elements of drama, comedy, mystery, crime and telenovela, *Jane the Virgin* represents a complex generic fusion which attracts a broad audience with distinct viewing tastes. Thereby, the genre of the telenovela plays a pivotal role. Based on the Venezuelan telenovela *Juana la Virgen* (2002), the

U.S.-American serial constitutes an example of “telenovela-ization” (Bielby and Harrington 383). One of the many ways through which the telenovela genre manifests itself in *Jane the Virgin* is the continuous numbering of episodes throughout the seasons, so-called chapters. In line with the generic conventions of telenovelas, the discussed episodes will be referred to by their chapter number in this analysis.³

Jane the Virgin centers around Jane Gloriana Villanueva, a young Mexican-American woman who encounters herself accidentally artificially inseminated after an appointment at the gynecologist. Having promised to herself and to her grandmother Alba to save her virginity for marriage, Jane does not want to believe the fact that she is pregnant, and even less so when she finds out that the father is her former crush and current boss at the Marbella Hotel, Rafael Solano. Despite these circumstances, she decides to keep the baby. However, things become complicated when Jane starts to have feelings for Rafael again, and suddenly, she finds herself torn between the future father of her child and her long-time boyfriend and recent fiancé officer Michael Cordero. The tension between the two men is intensified when Michael takes over the investigation of murders at the Marbella hotel related to the mysterious drug dealer Sin Rostro. Meanwhile, Rafael’s ex-wife Petra Solano decides to inseminate herself with the last sample of his sperm, as she is longing for reconciliation with Rafael. At the same time, Jane’s father, the international telenovela star Rogelio de la Vega appears. Sixteen months ago, after Xiomara had seen him on television in a restaurant, she decided that it was about time to tell him about his daughter. When Rogelio learns about Jane, he moves closer to the Villanuevas. Soon, Rogelio and Xiomara develop feelings for each other but their different visions of the future pose a challenge for a common life.

Following a period of troublesome events, Jane and Michael are finally getting married. However, Jane’s life experiences a tragic twist when Michael dies as a result from undetected side effects caused by a gun-shot. After three years of mourning and grief, Jane decides to start a new life. Being aware of the shortness of life, the “new Jane” explores her sexuality and follows her dream of becoming a romance

³ The appendix includes a list of seasons and episodes with their corresponding chapter name.

novel writer. In the meantime, Xiomara is getting married to Rogelio and Alba decides to leave behind the grief for her dead husband and starts dating other men.

This short synopsis already reveals the serial's complexity with regard to narrative storyline and generic influences. On the one hand, the events related to drug dealer Sin Rostro allude to the genre of crime story; on the other, the narrative about Jane and her unusual family situation resembles a telenovela. Apart from the similar plotline, the Latin American genre is referred to throughout the serial through comments by the omniscient narrator, such as "Jane's life was now the stuff of telenovelas" (Ch1) or "That [...] is the classic stock-in-the-elevator telenovela scenario" (Ch10). Meta-textual comments like these make explicit that the show is intended to be decoded as a telenovela and not as a soap opera. Self-referentiality has been identified as a main characteristic of "quality" or "transgressive" television (Thompson 14-15; Däwes 23). In *Jane the Virgin*, self-referential comments are also used to produce comedic effects, which distinguishes the U.S. serial from a typical Latin American telenovela. This has the effect that the show is made available to telenovela fans as well as to audiences that are less acquainted with this Latin American melodramatic format. Due to the comedic tone, the show can also be placed into the genre of comedy drama or dramedy. Therefore, *Jane the Virgin* will be treated here as a dramedy with telenovela and crime story elements.

Despite the comedic meta-textual comments about telenovelas, the show maintains an overall realistic tone. A lot of this has to do with the way the actors treat their own characters. According to Jaime Camil, the actor of Rogelio de la Vega, the show is prevented from becoming ridiculous through its "well-balanced, real characters" (Hollywood Today Live). As he explains, despite the unusual and bizarre events presented in the show, the actors never intend to make fun of their characters but play them in a sincere and honest way. In other words, while the circumstances around which the actions occur might be ridiculous, the characters appear realistic. Moreover, as unlikely the events in the show appear, they usually have logical explanations, which once more increases their credibility. The fact that electricity does not work well and the bathtub breaks down shortly after Alba's former lover Pablo Alonso Segura arrives at the Villanueva's house seems to confirm Alba's claim that Pablo is cursed (Ch37). However, a chapter later, this belief is relativized by a

more scientific explanation, clarified by an inserted animated illustration, according to which long before Pablo's arrival a water pipe broke which caused an inundation affecting the electricity supply (Ch38). Through such explanations, superstition is ridiculed. It is these satirical elements which differentiates *Jane the Virgin* from the serious tone of traditional telenovelas.

In fact, Rogelio plays an essential role in making the genre of the telenovela accessible to the audience. Not only is he an international telenovela actor, as is Jaime Camil, the character's nature also reflects some of the main features of the Latin American melodrama genre. When Rogelio offers to give Jane feedback on a scene she wrote for the telenovela *Passions of Santos*, he explains to her that "telenovelas are all about drama, yelling, crying, [and] screaming" (Ch11), all of which he misses in her text. All of these characteristics are reflected in the character Rogelio himself. His bend for drama and emotionality becomes visible in outbursts of temper, for example when he is making a scene about an unsatisfying dish he is served at the Marbella (Ch7) or when he angrily confronts Britney Spears (Ch27). Moreover, in the show Rogelio moves the production of i.e. *Passions of Santos* to Miami in order to live closer to Jane (Ch6). Indeed, Miami has become the center of Latin American telenovela production (Mato 431-34). The adaptation of the Latin American genre to U.S. American television genres is further emphasized through Rogelio's attempts to improve his American English accent, since he considers the U.S. as his new home (Ch46). Moreover, Rogelio's shows are advertised on public transport which indicates that the telenovela genre has already begun to manifest itself in the U.S. entertainment industry. The fact that these commercials appear on a travelling bus can be interpreted as a metaphor for the genre's journey from Latin America to other parts of the world and thereby puts once more emphasis on the process of "telenovela-ization".

Telenovelas form part of Latino/a culture, not only in real life but also in *Jane the Virgin*. In the show, as in many Latina/o families, telenovelas have a unifying function, as usually they are watched by the whole family together. Therefore, almost every chapter of *Jane the Virgin* includes a scene in which the Villanueva family is shown watching their favorite telenovela in the living room. On her first Mother's Day, Xiomara convinced Alba to celebrate their motherhood by spending the whole day

watching the telenovela *Lgrimas de tu corazon* and eating icecream. This then turned into a habit that the Villanueva women would repeat every following Mother's Day (Ch42). As Alba explains to her boyfriend Jorge during the telenovela blessing, a ritual celebrated at the beginning of a new telenovela production, what she enjoyed most about watching telenovelas was not the story told on screen but the fact that she felt closer to her daughter Xiomara while watching them (Ch62).

The telenovela blessing scene can also be read as a critique of hypocritical Catholicism that dominates Latino culture. On the one hand, Latina/os appear to be strictly religious people, on the other hand, they watch telenovelas in which passion and love-making constitute main elements. Hence, telenovelas provide an opportunity to live oppressed sexual feelings and phantasies. This tension between sexuality and religiousness is emphasized through the poster behind the altar at the telenovela blessing for *Los Viajes de Guillermo*. Right above the priest's head, the poster shows a female cleavage with full breasts. The left and the right side are occupied by the two male protagonists whose eyes are directed not only at each other but also at the female breasts (Ch62). The priest first speaks a blessing over the producers and the actors before he turns to the poster to sprinkle holy water on the breasts while saying, "Yo os los bendiga a todos a ustedes, grandes y pequeños!" ("I bless you all, big ones and small ones!"). By blessing the telenovela production set, the telenovela is acquitted by the Catholic church. Therefore, the contradiction between telenovela's eroticism and Catholic chastity is overcome and the watching of telenovelas is justified.

Within the Villanueva family, telenovelas provide advice and help resolving problems. When Jane and Xiomara are in a fight about Xiomara kissing Lina's boyfriend, Rogelio takes the initiative and invites them to the *Tiago* telenovela set. The episode which shows two fighting women in a house which resembles the Villanuevas' living room. The solution of the conflict in the telenovela episode makes Jane realize how much she misses being with her mother and finally makes her forgive her (Ch40). Similarly, Alba tries to reassure Jane by telling her that her husband will be alright because in a telenovela the couple always ends up happy together: "Que no tengas miedo, esto es la mayor parte de la telenovela, que sepas que siempre van a estar

felices” (“Don’t be afraid, the best part of the telenovela is that you know that they will always be happy”) (Ch23).

Indeed, the happy ending constitutes a main characteristics of the telenovela. However, as mentioned earlier, contemporary television is marked by transgression. In *Jane the Virgin* boundaries are transgressed through the conflation of different genres and the interruption of genre conventions. Unlike Alba predicted, Jane and Michael’s story does not end well. Michael’s death caused a lot of indignation and dissatisfaction within the fan-community, as comments on the official *Jane The Virgin*-Facebook page reveal. Even a year after the release of chapter 54, in which the character dies, fans keep expressing their regrets in comments such as “I haven’t been able to watch this show properly since Michael got killed off” by Melanie Snell or “I’m still hoping he’s pretending to die so the outcome to the Sin Rose murders come out, so he like faked his death” by Georgia Olivia O’Conor. As it appears, many viewers do not accept this transgression of genre and still hope for a happy ending.

In fact, in *Jane the Virgin*, drama is treated as a marker of *Latinidad*. It contributes to the representation of Latinas in the serial. Jane is a romance novel writer who tends to romanticize not only in fiction but also in her own life (Ch62). Frequently, Jane’s imaginations and inner feelings are expressed through telenovela-like shots with rousing music, superficial lights and camera effects which create an atmosphere of romance and passion (Ch15). Moreover, when Petra’s sister Agnieszka plays a trick on Jane and posts a fake advertismment for ghostwriting papers using Jane’s name on the college’s website, the Latina woman sees herself required to prove to the headmaster Mr. Blake that drama is not following her. The narrator replies to this thought, “In Jane’s defense: drama is in her blood” (Ch42). The link between Jane and drama already alludes to the fact that the way Latinas are depicted in the show resembles some of the traditional Latina stereotypes. As the title of the show *Jane the Virgin* indicates, the virgin and the whore constitute the most prominent stereotypical dichotomy in the show.

4.3. Latina Stereotypes: The Virgin and the Whore

DOCTOR. Nausea and fainting spell solved. You're pregnant.

JANE. But I've never had sex! (Ch1)

XIOMARA. The best way to get over a man is to get under a new man. (Ch1)

The first chapter of *Jane the Virgin's* begins with a slightly structured, bright image which, as the camera zooms out, reveals to be a white rose. In the background sounds the gentle melody of a flute. A girl with wavy, long, brown hair, an olive colored skin, big, dark eyes, and a pink flowered dress appears. She is standing in a bright room holding a white flower in her right hand as a male voice in off starts to narrate, "Her story begins, thirteen and a half years ago, when Jane Gloriana Villanueva was a mere ten years old. It should be noted that at a mere ten years, Jane's passions include, in no particular order, her family, god and grilled cheese sandwiches". An elderly woman with short, brunette hair appears and says, "Mira la flor que tienes en tu mano, Jane" ("Look at the flower in your hand, Jane"). The narrator interrupts, "This is Jane's grandmother, Alba Gloriana Villanueva. Her passions include god and Jane, in that particular order". Alba continues her speech, "Mira qué tan perfecta es. Qué tan pura. Ahora hija, estrújela en tu mano" ("Notice how perfect it is. How pure. Now my child, crumple it up"). Xiomara, sitting on the bed and polishing her nails, jumps in, "Really mom? But this is so lame!" Again, Alba tells Jane to crumple up the flower, which her granddaughter does. Then she asks Jane to recreate its original form. "I can't", Jane answers desperately. "Asi es. Nunca puedes volver atrás. Y eso es lo que sucede cuando pierdes tu VIRGINIDAD. Nunca puedes volver atrás. Nunca olvides eso, Jane" ("That's right. You can never go back. And that's what happens when you lose your VIRGINITY. You can never go back. Never forget that, Jane"), Alba warns her granddaughter before the scene is concluded by the narrators words, "and Jane never did" (Ch1).



Fig. 1: La Virgen de Guadalupe, Basílica de Santa María de Guadalupe, Mexico

This flashback at the beginning of *Jane the Virgin*'s pilot episode is pivotal as it introduces some symbols that will reappear throughout the show and provides information about the characters' roles and their relationship to each other. Jane's pink-flowered dress and the turquoise-colored walls of her room already relate her to one of the most important figures in Latino culture, the Virgin of Guadalupe, an "*indigenous reinvention of the Virgin Mary*" (Westerfelhaus and Singhal 95). The Virgin of Guadalupe differs from the Virgin Mary not only in the story built around her, but also in her appearance. Contrary to the Virgin that the European emperors had brought to the New World, the Aztec version of the Blessed Virgin is depicted

as a woman with darker skin, Mesoamerican features, wearing a rose and turquoise-colored robe. As such, she shows more resemblance to the Aztec people as to their Spanish oppressors, which makes it easier for Mexican people to identify with her (Westerfelhaus and Singhal 103-04). The relation between the Virgin of Guadalupe, also called the "Mother of Mexico" (Favrot Peterson 39), and the Aztec people is emphasized through floral and astronomical symbols, which root back to Indian religions before the Christianization of the Americas. The quincunx flower over the woman's womb indicates that the child she is bearing is strongly connected to Mesoamerican culture. Moreover, the crescent moon under the figure's feet symbolizes the Valley of Mexico and indicates her roots in geographic, spiritual and cultural Aztec traditions (104-05). The association of Jane with Guadalupe already alludes to Jane's unexpected pregnancy and the Latina stereotype of the virgin. Moreover, the two central elements represented by Guadalupe, religiousness and Latinness are also reflected in the melodic soundtrack which includes elements of sacred music and Latin guitar music.

A symbol through which Jane's virginity is emphasized, is the white flower she is holding in her hand. The roots of this symbolism lie in Nahua culture, referring to a Centro American group of indigenous people, where flowers represent sexuality

(Sigal 3). Through its white color, the flower is connoted with purity. By comparing the loss of virginity to a destroyed flower, premarital sex is depicted as being harmful, a sin from which Alba wants to protect her granddaughter, especially since her own daughter Xiomara became pregnant with Jane at the early age of sixteen. It is the flower metaphor which encourages Jane to follow her grandmother's advice to save her virginity for marriage and which will haunt her throughout her young adulthood. Whenever Jane is about to sleep with a man - first with Michael (Ch1) and later with her supervisor Professor Chavez (Ch34) - all of a sudden, she detects petals of nearby flowers falling to the ground, which makes her stop kissing immediately.

Moreover, the characters' relationship to each other becomes visible in their positioning in the room and the different camera shots. Jane's upwards looking eyes and the following low-angle shot of her grandmother depict Alba as being powerful. In combination with her turquoise cardigan which once more reminds of the Blessed Virgin, Alba appears almost divine. In fact, for Jane Alba constitutes a role model, to whom she looks up to and from whom she seeks advice. While Jane and Alba are standing on the ground facing each other, Xiomara is sitting in the back on the bed. However, from a bird's-eye view, the three Villanueva women constitute a triangle which can be read as a metaphor for trinity which once more reinforces the importance of religion, and the Virgin of Guadalupe in particular, for Latina representation in *Jane the Virgin*.

The myth of the Virgin of Guadalupe has its roots in the sixteenth century and it was first documented in the Nican Mopohua in the Aztec language Nahuatl (Westerfelhaus and Singhal 101). According to the story, on December 8, 1531, the recently baptized Roman Catholic Juan Diego is on his way home when, suddenly, he hears a female voice atop Tepeyac hill close to Tenochtitlán, what is now Mexico City. As he climbs up the hill, he sees a brightly shining woman who introduces herself as the mother of god. In Nahuatl she orders the young man to go to the bishop and request to build a church in her honor. However, when Juan Diego goes to the bishop, he is dismissed. Since the young Roman Catholic does not stop prodding, the bishop asks for proof of the story. Thus, the woman reappears and tells Juan Diego to pick some nearby flowers that are blooming out of season and take them to the bishop. As Juan Diego opens his coat in front of the clergyman, the

flowers fall out and an image of the woman appears imprinted on the fabric (Favrot Peterson 39; Westerfelhaus and Singhal 101).

Regardless of whether Juan Diego actually saw the Blessed Virgin or whether it was a mere hallucination, the story had a significant impact on the Aztec people. Within ten years after the apparition claims, more than 10 million Aztecs had converted to Catholicism (Westerfelhaus and Singhal 102). This, however was a specific kind of Catholic faith, particularly related to the woman in Juan Diego's story. As it was the case with women, the Aztec people has long been denied clerical power. Through his visions, Juan Diego was able to by-pass the strict hierarchy of Church and claim "unimpeded access to the Mother of God" (102). The story enabled the Aztec to create their own religious experience, against their European oppressors. Instead of adopting the Blessed Virgin Mary, they recreated their own Virgin of Guadalupe, who reflected their historical experience and socio-cultural needs (102).

From her first documentation in the sixteenth century onwards, the Virgin of Guadalupe has been used as a symbol for liberation (Favrot Peterson 39). Juan Diego's story made Aztec people claim direct contact with the Blessed Virgin which allowed them to transform Catholicism according to their needs (Wolf 37-38). The Virgin of Guadalupe has served as a symbol for liberation against political, social and religious oppression in Mexico and other Latin American countries. During the 17th century, skin color was considered a marker of social class. Creoles played a significant role in the popularization of Guadalupe, as a means to form a Mexico that was independent from New Spain. The apparition on the hill Tepeyac was interpreted as a sign for Mexico to have been chosen as the "elect" (Favrot Peterson 42), and frequently it was described as a "New Jerusalem" (43). Therefore, during the War of Independence, Guadalupe's became the emblem of the insurgent movement. Later, in the Great Revolution of 1910, it accompanied agrarian rebels in the battle (Wolf 34; Stevens 94). Thus, the symbolism of the Virgin of Guadalupe goes far beyond its religious meaning. As Wolf succinctly summarizes, it

links together family, politics and religion; colonial past and independent present; Indian and Mexican. It reflects the salient social relationships of Mexican life, and embodies the emotions which they generate. It provides a cultural idiom through which the tenor and emotions of these relationships can be expressed. (Wolf 38)

Nowadays, the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe appears as a dominant symbol in Mexican popular culture on T-Shirts, painted on different objects.

Thus, it is not surprising that the representation of the virginal Latina has been a long-living stereotype in U.S. American film and television. A telling example is the film *Maria Full of Grace* (2004), in which protagonist Maria, a young Colombian woman who finds herself in desperate need for money in order to provide for herself and her unborn child, starts to work as a drug mule between her home country and the U.S. In *Jane the Virgin*, this stereotype becomes most visible in Jane. Not only is she a virgin, but the fact that she becomes pregnant without having had sex makes her resemble a saint. This notion is increased by close-ups of Jane's face and light effects which occasionally depict the protagonist with a halo. Even Xiomara, who does not seem to care much about religion, in contrast to her mother Alba, believes her daughter to be a saint. When learning about Jane's pregnancy Xiomara shouts out in hospital, "Inmaculada, you are Inmaculada" (Ch1), kneels down in front of her daughter and starts to pray. Before taking into consideration a medical mistake, Jane's situation is compared to the miracle of the Blessed Virgin. This already indicates that - regardless to whether the characters consider themselves religious or not - the Catholic faith plays a determining role in the show's depiction of *Latinidad*.

The comparison of Jane to the Blessed Virgin is reinforced by the nuns of Jane's high school, who try to take advantage of the miraculous pregnancy in order to bring more people to church. When Jane's stepsisters Victoria and Valerie learn about the unusual circumstances under which Jane became pregnant, they decide to play a trick on her and install a fake website which shows an image of Jane as the Blessed Virgin (Ch6). Although at first, the school nuns of the Catholic high school at which Jane teaches seem outraged by the fact that one of their teachers is unmarried but pregnant, they soon become aware of the commercial potential of the story. Hence, they start to distribute coins with Jane's head printed on them as lucky charm, in order to advertise their church (Ch7). Moreover, they invite childless couples to come to school and hug Jane for money,



**Fig. 1: Our Lady of sorrows
(*Jane the Virgin*, Ch7)**

and in exchange promise them increased fertility (Ch7). Jane's association with the Virgin of Guadalupe is reflected in the turquoise background of the coins, the white and turquoise-colored dresses she wears when meeting the hopeful couples and the background music. Jane's images on screen are accompanied by Latin Tango guitar music which emphasizes her Latin American heritage and strengthens her association with Guadalupe. What started as a seemingly harmless prank turns into a lucrative business for the nuns.

The situation is threatened to escalate when Jane's house is besieged by strangers, who all want to see the "holy" baby Mateo. The same Sister Margaret who had threatened to fire the Latina some days before is praising Jane in an interview with the news and claims that she has always believed in the young woman's extraordinary abilities (Ch23). The fact that Sister Margaret takes advantage of Jane's unusual situation and tries to put herself and her church in a good light by representing herself as one of Jane's main supporters portrays the nun as being phony. This scene questions the credibility of the Catholicism, depicting the church as an institution that exploits people's desperation for its own good. At the same time, the fact that Jane as a Latina Blessed Virgin emphasizes the marketability of *Latinidad*. Once more, *Latinidad* is exploited as a marketing technique, this time to attract more people to join church.

Indignant and angry about being exploited by others, Jane steps outside the house to face the crowd. As she appears from a low-angle shot with a spotlight enlightening her face from the lower left corner, which makes her once more resemble the Blessed Virgin, the narrator's speaks, "and that's when it hit her, a beam of divine inspiration" (Ch23). However, the beam which made Jane appear to have had a divine apparition turns out to have been produced by the reflection of a pocket mirror. A following shot shows Slutty Chrystal, Xiomara's arch-enemy who is known for her vivid sex life, putting make-up on her face. By providing reasonable explanations to seemingly miraculous incidents, the show produces comedic effects which make it differ from traditional telenovelas. Nevertheless, the beam provides Jane with an idea about how to make the nuns stop exploiting her. When seeing Slutty Chrystal, Xiomara's arch-enemy who is known for her vivid sex life, Jane decides to lie to the nuns by telling them that she actually became pregnant because she had sex. By

comparing herself to Slutty Chrystal, who has had a lot of sex in different places, Jane tries to liberate herself from the virgin stereotype. Thereby, Jane becomes a representative of one of the most prominent dichotomies in Latina representation, the virgin/whore dichotomy.

The virgin/whore dichotomy is strongly related to two dominant cultural phenomenon in Latin America which are machismo and marianismo. Machismo is understood as a “cult of virility” (Stevens 90) characterized by exaggerated aggressive arrogant male behavior, especially with regard to sexual relationships. The counterpart to machismo constitutes marianismo, describing a “cult of feminine spiritual superiority” (91) according to which women are seen as “semi-divine” (91), morally and spiritually superior to men. Their spiritual strength consists in enduring male aggressions and in maintaining a strict moral attitude towards family and sexuality, as it is reflected in the Virgin of Guadalupe. The roots of this cult can be found in Mesopotamian culture, where the goddess is frequently depicted as a searching and grieving mother of a suffering or dying Christ (92). For a long time, the image of the “black-clad, mantilla-draped figure, kneeling before the altar, rosary in hand, praying for the soul of her sinful menfolk” (96) has dominated film and television. However, apart from its connection to religion, marianismo needs to be understood as a practice which positions Latin American women within society (91-92).

The intersection of machismo with marianismo results in a dichotomy that categorizes women either as virgins or whores, both of which are required by the macho (Potthast 397-98). Machismo is based on the subordination of women, who reinforce their husband’s social status by enduring his aggressions and adhering to strict morals. Moreover, this cult of virility is based on the constant conquest of the female sex. The number of women a man is able to seduce serves as an indication for his manhood. The fact that a man has several children from different women is still perceived, by other men, as an expression of manly power (397-99).

In order to make the relation between virgin and whore more transparent, Melhuus contrasts the Virgin of Guadalupe to La Malinche, Cortes’s mistress and informer, who betrayed her own folk to the Spaniards (238). Both figures stand for an Indian heritage, although in different ways: the former is connoted with divinity and grace,

the latter with humility and shame. Both served as mediators, Guadalupe helping her people to more power, Malinche delivering the Indian people to the Spanish enemy. While Guadalupe is associated with self-sacrifice and suffering on behalf of others, Malinche embodies the traitor who lacks virtue (238-39).

The virtue of a woman is informed by virginity and motherhood at the same time. Thus, sexuality constitutes an ambivalent source of virtue. On the one hand, the virgin stresses the “ideal of moral rectitude” (Melhuus 244), on the other hand, motherhood constitutes one of the main characteristics of womanhood. The ambivalence created through the tension between virginity and motherhood requires mothers to suffer and sacrifice their life to their children. It is through self-sacrifice that the mother enhances her virtue and displays it to others (244-47). Moreover, similarly to the Virgin of Guadalupe, the mother takes over a mediating function within the family. Latin American men are frequently described by their spouses as children who are not able to take over responsibility for the family (Potthast 397). While for machos aggressiveness and sexual achievement indicate strength, women frequently interpret it as a lack of self-control and immaturity. From a marianists point of view, moral strength is reflected in self-abasement and subordination (399-402). In other words, according to marianism, a morally strong woman is able to bear her husband’s macho behavior and subordinate herself to him.

The virgin/whore dichotomy is well reflected in Jane’s grandmother Alba and her mother Xiomara. Both women raised their children without a partner, however, the circumstances under which they did so are different. In the aforementioned very first scene of the serial, Alba is introduced as a traditional Latin American woman who devotes her life to god and her family. After she and her husband Mateo had left Venezuela for the U.S., they lived a harmonious life until one day, Mateo died and Alba was left alone with her daughter Xiomara. In contrast to Alba, Xiomara became pregnant at the age of sixteen and since then has never been in a serious relationship with a man. At the beginning of the serial both women live their life without a man, however, in the case of Alba this is motivated by loyalty to her dead husband while Xiomara has never managed to settle down into a life of stability. Their opposing attitude about womanhood is well reflected in chapter three. As a response to little Jane’s question of how to know that she has met the right boy Alba tells her,

“solo confía en esa vocecita dentro de tu cabeza” (“just follow the little voice in your head”) (Ch3) before Xiomara adds to this “and that little tingly feeling between your legs” (Ch3). Similarly to the flower scene in the pilot episode, the Villanueva’s attitude is reflected in their clothes. While Jane is dressed in a pink shirt with a flower, and Alba in a turquoise blouse, which relates them to the Virgin of Guadalupe, Xiomara wears a sexy jeans dress. Moreover, the positioning of the Villanueva women reminds of a frequent device in comedy, the shoulder angels. Alba sitting on Jane’s right side, constitutes the good angel, while Xiomara, place on the protagonist’s left side, takes over the role of the devil. This perfectly fits with Xiomara’s role of the spitfire or whore figure, while Alba embodies the Dark Lady or the virgin figure.

Forgiveness, devotion to god and loyalty to her family make Alba epitomize the Latin American ideal of the religious virgin and suffering mother. Throughout the serial, she is shown as an understanding and forgiving person, as for example, when little Jane takes her grandmother’s favorite earrings without asking her and loses them (Ch12), or when Jane gets into touch with her Venezuelan relatives, although Alba explicitly told her not to (Ch49). As a practicing catholic, she regularly attends church service and is keen on educating her descendants according to the catholic faith. Her religious belief becomes also visible in the mini altar with statues of the Blessed Virgin and her son in the Villanueva house (Ch3; Ch37), and the cross she is wearing as a necklace throughout the show. In order to prevent her teenageing granddaughter from losing her virginity, she crosses out sex scenes from Jane’s romantic novel (Ch36). Although Alba accuses Xiomara for having sex without being married, she still sacrifices herself for her daughter. When Alba’s application for a green card is complicated by Xiomara’s felony conviction, she takes the guilt for it, claiming that her daughter would not have gotten into trouble if Alba had been there for her. She accuses herself for not having agreed to Xiomara’s suggestion to go out for dinner that day, which was the anniversary of husband Mateo’s death, but instead having spent the whole day mourning in her room (Ch26). Alba’s association with the virgin mother maintains through her clothing even when she starts dating again. On both of her dates, first with Pablo (Ch37) and then with Jorge (Ch57), she wears a blue dress, which resembles the color of Mother Mary’s blue cape.

Despite Alba's religious parenting, or maybe because of it, Xiomara decided for a vivid sexual life instead, following the idea that "The best way to get over a man is to get under a new man" (Ch1). In contrast to Alba and Jane, Xiomara frequently appears as the immature teenage party girl, who lustfully dances to sexually connoted songs such as *Milkshake* (Kelis) on Jane's Quinceañera (Ch2), falls asleep on the porch after being too drunk on Jane's birthday party (Ch39), and makes out with Lina's boyfriend on Jane's bachelorette party (Ch39). Her too short and leopard-printed clothes make her appear a cheap woman. It is Xiomara whom Jane takes as a model for Lucy, a character of her written short story, which she describes as a sexy spitfire who "put the 'loose' in 'Lucy'" (Ch9). Thereby, a connection is established to Lucille Ball, the protagonist of *I Love Lucy*. Similarly to Lucy, Xiomara is constantly trying to establish herself in show business as a singer. The association with the show *I Love Lucy* is reinforced by Rogelio who is compared to "a young Desi Arnaz" (Ch28) by his employer Telemasivo.

In fact, Rogelio plays a significant role for the discussion on *Latinidad* in *Jane the Virgin* for two further reasons. Firstly, due to his exaggerated emotions he constitutes a perfect example of how *Latinidad* is frequently related to queerness, and secondly, by showing features of a macho Latin lover he adds up to the virgin/whore dichotomy represented by the Villanueva women. While all Latina/o characters of the serial are shown to have temperament, it is Rogelio in whom it becomes most vivacious. His appearance on screen is frequently anticipated by dramatic guitar chords. When Rogelio finds out that his enemy Esteban is featured in a U.S. magazine, he gets angry and starts to dramatically complain to the injured Michael in hospital about how this would mean the end of his career, "I know you can't understand this but this feels like a shot to my heart" (Ch46). The way Rogelio acts as if his life was at risk while Michael is only slowly recovering from a gunshot ridicules Rogelio's dramatic attitude. The irony is increased by the appearance of a fake patient prescription on screen which says as a diagnosis "not famous enough in America" and therefore recommends as a treatment "Yell at agents! Yell at publicists! Yell at everyone!" (Ch46)

Similarly, when Rogelio finds out that Britney Spears, whom he used to consider a close friend until she allegedly embarrassed him at the 2009 Latin Pop Music awards,

is staying at the Marbella hotel, he decides to face her and make her apologize (Ch27). The dramatic hand movements which accompany his speech remind of the ones of a real drama queen. Moreover, the way Britney's and Rogelio's former friendship is depicted, the two of them going out shopping together in Mexico City and borrowing make-up from each other, reminds of a friendship between a girl and her best male gay friend. The sensation of queerness in Rogelio is reinforced through his "love" to Michael and his preference for the color lavender. Not only does Rogelio wear lavender-colored clothes throughout the show, but lavender is also the dominant color of the Rogelio brand, which he frequently distributes in the form of apology baskets.

Despite its feminine character, the color lavender, which belongs to the color family of purple, represents Rogelio as a powerful and vivacious man and once more emphasizes the importance of religion in the show. Originally, the costly and rare color was only available to monarchs and bishops which is why it became associated with powerfulness, but also faith and religiousness (Hammer 197). Nowadays, purple is also frequently related to vanity and unfaithfulness, both of which is reflected in Rogelio. Not only does he like to give away gift baskets with Rogelio merchandising products to other people, he also is known for having various women at the same time (Ch3).

Machismo in Rogelio confesses itself through his need for sexual accomplishment and his childlike behavior. He is depicted as having a vivid sexual life not only in telenovelas as Santos who saves women crying for help and makes love to them, but also in the character's real life, and thus, he does not rule out to have more than one child as he mentions, "Xiomara, eres la madre de mi hija única that I know of" ("Xiomara, you are the mother of my only child, that I know of") (Ch4). While playing the "nation's first male feminist" on *Tiago*, Rogelio actually holds on to traditional macho ideas. After their engagement, Rogelio introduces Xiomara as the future Mrs. De la Vega to the telenovela crew. When Xiomara injects that she might also want to keep her own name, Rogelio dismisses her idea by saying that it would be ridiculous (Ch34). However, despite his endeavors to appear strong and powerful, Rogelio shows sensitiveness and childlike behavior. In order to better identify with his new role as a detective in a telenovela, Rogelio decides to shadow Michael at work. While

waiting in the car in front of the house of a suspect's family member Rogelio demonstrates his dissatisfaction, like a child, "I am so bored. And hungry. I'm hungry and bored. Not a good cocktail for Rogelio" (Ch16).

It is through Rogelio that marianismo becomes visible in Xiomara. As the unmarried mother of Rogelio's daughter Jane, Xiomara epitomizes the counterpart to the virginal spouse. Nevertheless, throughout the serial Xiomara keeps acting in favor of Rogelio's reputation, not only as a man but also as a telenovela star, which indicates that she is influenced by marianismo. When the two are supposed to perform on a lifting platform, but Rogelio is too proud of admitting that he is afraid of heights, Xiomara pretends to suffer from fear of heights herself and asks the producers to change the choreography. In contrast to Rogelio, Xiomara knows that she can bear the shame of being afraid of heights and thus decides to lie for her partner.

A crucial element of the virgin/whore dichotomy in *Jane the Virgin* is Jane's association with the Virgin of Guadalupe. Two aspects that contribute to the relation between the religious figure and the serial's protagonist are fertility and morality. When Jane believes to be pregnant because her period is late, the narrator comments, "Damn, these Villanueva women are fertile" (Ch54). Comments like these contribute to the racialization of the Villanueva women and reinforce a stereotypical representation of Latinas in the serial. Although Petra is pregnant with twins - as opposed to Jane who has only one son - it is the Latina who is defined by fertility. Petra also serves well as a reference point for the second feature, morality. In contrast to cold-hearted Petra, Jane's life is determined by morality which she has been taught by her family. The value morality plays for the Latina family is best summarized in Petra Solano's invented expression to be "Villanuevad" which is defined as "[s]uddenly hit by a morality crisis" (Ch69). On Easter Jane accompanies Rafael to a business lunch with the commissioner Mr. Falco and his wife which should help him to regain the liquor license for the Marbella (Ch18). When Jane overhears a fight between the Mrs. Falco and her husband, the commissioner offers Jane to help with the license if the incident does not go public. Although Mrs. Falco has given Jane a hard time at the hotel, the Latina shows character by explaining to the commissioner that regardless to the license she would not tell anybody about what she had heard. The white flowers behind Jane in the background, the rose-

colored dress she wears emphasize her association with the Virgin of Guadalupe. Furthermore, the smooth guitar music that accompanies her voice when talking to Mrs. Falco creates a feeling of warmth and empathy.

As a pregnant virgin with mestiza features, such as an olive-colored skin, dark hair and Mesoamerican facial features, Jane's physical appearance perfectly corresponds to the "Mother of Mexico". Moreover, Jane represents well the ambivalent relation between sexuality and virtue. The fact that Jane experiences some difficult moments after having had sex emphasizes the fact that virginity was sacred to her. However, through the suffering caused by tragedies that occurred after Mateo's birth Jane is finally able to overcome the tension between virginity and motherhood. Right after her son is born, the child is being kidnapped by a accomplice of drug boss Sin Rostro (Ch22). Against Rafael and Michael's advice, Jane insists on going to look for her lost son herself. Thus, she takes over the role of the suffering and searching mother. Later, Jane is worried about her ability of being a good mother since nursing seems not to be working for her (Ch23). Her suffering peaks in Michael's death, which causes her to put off her career dreams as a writer for more than three years and focus on being a mother. As a widow left behind with a child, Jane resembles her grandmother. Nevertheless, her situation differs from Alba's in that Jane has lost her husband, but not the father of her child. Due to the fact that Jane has a child with a man other than her husband makes her break with the traditional stereotype of the virgin mother.

By representing the stereotype of the virgin mother while at the same time challenging it, Jane transgresses the stereotypical representation of Latinas. Similarly to the Virgin of Guadalupe who has served as a symbol for the liberation of Mexico, Jane can be read as a symbol for the liberation from traditional Latina stereotypes in U.S. television. As an English native, third generation U.S. Latina who aims at a career as a romance novel writer, Jane opposes the idea of the illegally immigrated Latina with a strong foreign accent who is subordinated and objectified by the U.S. entertainment industry. This opens up the way to the discussion of how the Villanueva women can be understood as *Latinidades feministas*.

4.4. Spicing up the Virgin: *Latinidades Feministas* in *Jane the Virgin*

JANE. *I wanna be in touch with my relatives.*

ALBA. *Y yo no quiero que lo hagas. (And I don't want you to.)*

JANE. *I know. But I'm still gonna do it. [...] This is important to me too. And I'm not always gonna agree with you. (Ch49)*

JANE. *You may have to be married to have sex, Abuela, but I do not. And trust, I'm gonna hit this. (Ch60)*

Although the virgin/whore dichotomy is undoubtedly present in the Villanueva family, the representation of *Latinidad* in *Jane the Virgin* goes beyond dominant stereotypes. Apart from the complicated and interweaved narrative structure, the show includes hybrid and complex characters. By epitomizing traditional stereotypes while simultaneously opposing them, Jane, Xiomara, and Alba represent *Latinidades feministas*. As such they constitute a hybrid *Latinidad* which is marked by generational and cultural diversity as well as by the conflation of real life actresses with fictional characters.

A defining feature of *Latinidades feministas*, as described by Aparicio (103), is their ambiguous relationship to stereotypes. As a third generation Latina who is fluent in English and has an aspiring career as a romance novel writer, Jane challenges the idea of the Spanish speaking unemployed Latina immigrant. In *Jane the Virgin*, the tension between adhesion and resistance to stereotyping is reflected in the characters' development. Interestingly, the fact that Jane slowly develops from an obeying virgin mother to an emancipated single mom who enjoys her sexuality, dissociate her from the Virgin of Guadalupe, while at the same time strengthens her relation to the religious figure. Similarly to Guadalupe, who has been used as a symbol for liberation from oppressive forces, Jane's development can be interpreted as a liberation from traditional and restrictive Latina stereotypes. While Jane originally planned on saving herself for marriage, she starts to reconsider this decision when she becomes pregnant. Thus, one day she surprises Rafael by wanting to have sex with him in the hotel's pool. The romantic Latin guitar music that starts to sound when Jane undresses herself creates an erotic atmosphere that reminds of a typical telenovela scene. However, as soon as they start kissing they are interrupted by a member of hotel security (Ch19). Later, after her break-up with Rafael, Jane

becomes fond of her advisor at university, Professor Chavez. Not only is she having sex dreams about him, she also wears a lipstick called “Lusty Virgin” (Ch34) to his office hour, as indicated by a post-edited arrow. Her desire for him is expressed through close-ups of his eyes, his mouth and the accompanying smooth tunes of a jazz saxophone. Her imagination makes her see him naked. Romantic scenes are common in the genre of the telenovela, however, what is special in *Jane the Virgin* are the inserted shots that reflect Jane’s inner thoughts. These shots that constitute elements of surprise which make the audience become more engaged with the show, have the effect that the protagonist’s reality is blurred with her imagination. Despite Jane’s desire for her professor, her emancipation from the virgin stereotype is challenged by the inner conflict between holding on to traditions which have dominated the protagonist’s life and distancing herself from them in order to create a new identity. Thus, when Jane is finally about to sleep with her professor, all of a sudden she is reminded of the flower myth and decides to tell Professor Chavez that she is still a virgin (Ch34). Afraid of losing her virginity, Jane remains a virgin until she gets married to Michael.

Jane’s fear of losing her virginity is strongly connected to her relationship with Alba. From early childhood, Jane needed her decisions to be approved by her grandmother. When Jane wanted to go to Disneyland, she asks Alba to let her go, although Xiomara had already given her permission to go there (Ch49). Therefore, Jane feels the need to tell Alba that she is going to have sex with Professor Chavez, even though she assumes that her grandmother would not approve of it. However, surprisingly, Alba does not judge her granddaughter for her decision but instead admits that she herself had premarital sex (Ch34). On Jane’s wedding day, Alba reveals more surprising details about her past, namely that her wedding veil was not a family heirloom but she had bought it on a flea market and that moving to the U.S. was motivated by the wish to flee the shame Alba felt for having had premarital sex and having dishonored her family (Ch44). The surprising twist in Alba’s story is highlighted through the tense and mysterious music that reminds of the genre of thriller. The new details about Alba’s past not only engage the audience, they also make it easier for Jane to forget about the flower myth and to separate her sexuality from her relationship with Alba. In other words, the fact that Alba lost her virginity to a different man than her husband Mateo helps Jane to let go of her own virginity.

Alba's revelation about her past is significant here for two further reasons: firstly, it indicates that much of Alba's religiousness and traditionality is mere pretence, and secondly, it initiates her emancipation from her role as a suffering widow. Alba's unchaste past presents the catholic church as a phony institution which ascribes moral rules onto its people while breaking with them itself. The critique of catholic church is reinforced by priest Edward who, despite celibacy, flirts with Alba and even takes her out on a date (Ch13; Ch20). At the same time, her confession enables Alba to leave behind her feelings of guilt and grief and to start a new life. After hesitating a little bit, Alba follows her daughter's and granddaughter's suggestion to meet her former lover Pablo Alonso Segura and immediately falls in love with him. The details about Alba's past and the passion which unfolds during the Tango with Pablo (Ch37) challenge the grandmother's image of a religious traditional woman.

Moreover, the fact that Alba had pretended to be a religious person in front of Xiomara and Jane while having had premarital sex herself leads to a big conflict within the Villanueva family. When Xiomara learns about her mother's secret, she accuses Alba for having made her feel guilty throughout her whole youth (Ch36). At the same time it can be argued that Alba's confession had a liberating effect on Xiomara and the role she played in her family. Throughout her whole youth Xiomara opposed her mother's traditional and religious attitude by having had a vivid sexual life with different men. Her liberal attitude is reflected in her too short and cheap looking clothing. It can also be argued that her role as a spitfire is ascribed to Xiomara by the way Alba treats her, namely as a lusty and unchaste girl. Through Alba's confession, Xiomara's role as the spitfire is relativized which manifests itself in her clothing that appears more classy and chic. Instead of hot jeans or leopard-printed dresses (Ch1; Ch3; ch39), she is shown in more elegant and sometimes even high-necked dresses (Ch55). Consequently, Xiomara finally manages to settle down, as she gets married to Rogelio, moves into a different house and opens up her own dance studio. In other words, Alba's revelation about her past allowed Xiomara to distance herself from her role as a spitfire.

A turning point which also plays a crucial role in the Villanueva women's development is Michael's death (Ch54). Jane's transformation becomes visible in her shorter hair

cut which makes her appear a more emancipated and self-confident woman, and in the challenges she faces as a mother and career woman (Ch55). By being an independent woman who struggles, however, with her independency, Jane represents a post-feminist woman. The ideal of the virgin mother is characterized by her dedication to motherhood and her sacrifice to her children. In *Jane the Virgin*, motherhood constitutes a central element in challenging the stereotype. While previously, Jane has dominated motherhood, after Michael's death, she struggles with it. Whereas before, Jane is shown as an organized mother with a greater maternal instinct than Petra, who has a hard time connecting with her twin daughters, later it is Petra who epitomizes the perfect mother whose twin girls appear well-behaved, educated and adorable. In contrast to them Mateo starts to show bad and aggressive behavior which leads Jane and Rafael to hire an aid (Ch58).

The change is also reflected in the title of Chapter 58 "Jane the Hot Mess Mama". In the U.S., "hot mess" is used as an informal expression for a "person or thing that is spectacularly unsuccessful or disordered" (English Oxford Living Dictionaries). In *Jane the Virgin*, the term fulfills two functions: on the one hand it refers to Jane's loss of control over Mateo as a result of being overwhelmed by her jobs as a single mother and career woman, on the other hand, the word "hot" also alludes to Jane's recently liberated sexuality. Whereas the "former Jane" was often shown wearing rose, blue or turquoise-colored dresses with flower prints, which associated her with the Blessed Virgin, the "new Jane" is frequently shown in more chic and sexy clothes of any color, frequently with cleavage. Her new style of clothing already indicates that she has become more confident about her own sexuality.

Her new attitude towards sex is best reflected in the subsequent chapters "Jane the Flirt" (Ch59) in which Jane is going on a date with Michael's former colleague Dennis, and "Jane the Horn dog" (Ch60) in which Jane wants to have a fling with telenovela actor Fabian. When Jane sees Fabian getting ready for a shooting at the telenovela set, she starts fantasizing about him. The images on screen that show Fabian sexily showering and the smooth, erotic jazz tunes in the background mirror Jane's physical attraction to the young telenovela star. Jane's encounter with Fabian is interesting as it illustrates well the Latina's emancipation from the virgin stereotype and the change in the signification of flowers in the show. Through Fabian, Jane is confronted with a

former version of herself, as Fabian has decided to no longer have casual sex but save himself for marriage instead. When the two Latinos kiss intensively, the flowers on Jane's dress start to bloom. However, as soon as Fabian tells Jane about his promise, the flowers wilt and turn white as if they were frozen. Whereas previously, blooming flowers signified virginity, they now stand for lust and sexual desire. This chapter highlights the contrast between the "former Jane" who remained a virgin until marriage and the "later Jane" who wants to have casual sex, which is why consequently she ends things with Fabian (Ch61). Jane no longer wants her sexual feelings to be suppressed but feels confident about her womanhood.

Jane's emancipation from the virgin stereotype also invites Alba to rediscover her own sexuality. Her transformation is most visible in her peppy hairstyle and the sexy blue dress she wears to attract Jorge's attention when going to see him at the Marbella gift shop (Ch58). The romantic guitar tunes in the background and the images running in slow motion create an erotic atmosphere which is interrupted, however, when Alba slips and falls to the ground. The accompanying record rewind sound adds a comedic tone to the telenovela-like scene. Moreover, comedic devices, such as the post-edited arrow pinpointing to Alba's unbuttoned blouse, highlight the grandmother's change in perspective (Ch59). These comedic effects depict Alba's transformation as a struggle between her stereotypical role as the suffering mother and her new, more liberal identity. Although previously, Alba judged Xiomara for her too sexy clothes, it is now her who encourages her granddaughter to make use of her feminine vibes and recommends Jane not to wear a jacket over her shoulder-free dress (Ch59).

As previously mentioned, sexuality is frequently expressed through tropicalism. In *Jane the Virgin*, tropicalism constitutes another aspect of *Latinidades feministas*. Following the traditional body mind binary, feminine bodies and darker skin complexion express exoticism, sexuality and "racial contamination" (Molina-Guzmán and Valdivia 211-12). In colonial times, these attributes were associated with social inferiority. In *Jane the Virgin*, this organization is twisted around. Although Jane grew up in the U.S., her appearance is marked by more tropical features than the one of her grandmother who was born in Venezuela. Not only are Jane's skin and hair darker than Alba's, but also her facial complex corresponds more to the tropical

Latina with indigenous roots. Frequently, the tropicalism in Jane is highlighted by exotic rhythms or Latin guitar music. By having the most tropical appearance while presumably being the most intellectual Villanueva woman, drawing from her educational degree, Jane deconstructs the traditional body mind binary. However, the different skin colors can also be related to the stereotypes embodied by the Villanueva women. Alba's bright skin alludes to the "virginal, inscrutable" (Ramírez Berg 76) Dark Lady, while Xiomara's darker complexion corresponds to the erotic spitfire. Once more, this categorization is challenged by olive skin colored Jane whose looks respond to the spitfire stereotype while throughout the first season she remained a virgin.

By opposing common stereotypes, the Villanueva women add up to the meaning of the same and contribute to their transformation. As previously mentioned, the figure of the illegal Latina/o immigrant has long been part of U.S. television. However, the way in which it is depicted in *Jane the Virgin* differs significantly from previous shows. Alba's morality, cleanliness and ambition to work opposes the dominant idea of the contagious Latina/o that brings disease or works in the drug business, as represented in films such as *Men in Black* or *Maria, Full of Grace*. Alba's story challenges the stereotype of the poor and dangerous, illegal Latina/o immigrant in two ways: firstly, Alba and Mateo's move to the U.S. was not motivated by turmoil or an economically difficult situation in Venezuela but by their wish to escape their uncomfortable family situation, and secondly, by having come to the U.S. with nothing but having managed to build a new life and finally receiving a green card in the U.S., Alba lives the American Dream. The realization of this dream peaks in Jane's graduation from school, as Alba tells her granddaughter, "Este es un día con qué soñé. Y tú eres la nieta con qué soñé" ("This is a day I dreamed about. And you are the granddaughter I dreamed about") (Ch13). Hence, Alba complies with the Latina immigrant stereotype by having come to the U.S. illegally while at the same time she embodies the American ideal of the woman who lives the American dream.

Immigration, crime and drug businesses has frequently been linked to Otherness in film and television (Vargas 49). In contrast to films such as *Men in Black* or *Maria Full of Grace*, in *Jane the Virgin*, the delinquents are usually non-ethnic characters. Nevertheless, the association of drug dealing with *Latinidad* is kept alive through the

mafia boss's name. Under the Spanish pseudonym Sin Rostro, which means "faceless", Rafael's stepmother Rose coordinates a big drug dealing business. The fact that behind the Spanish name Sin Rostro hides a Caucasian woman indicates critique against the commonly unreflecting representation of Latina/os as drug dealers in television, film and real life, as for example by President Donald Trump according to whom Mexican immigrants are "rapists" (Reilly).

4.5. Negotiating Contemporary *Latinidad*: Is Gina Latina Enough?

JANE. *Oh I don't even know how to say this in Spanish. (Ch1)*

CUSTOMER (at the Marbella Gift Shop). *This is America, you should learn how to speak English. (Ch61)*

Similarly to the Latinas presented in *Selena*, *Desperate Housewives* or *Modern Family*, Jane, Xiomara and Alba represent *Latinidades feministas* that challenge traditional Latina stereotypes. In order to identify new trends in contemporary Latina representations it is necessary to contrast the Villanueva women to previous Latinas on screen. As Lie (186) observed, when researchers investigate the transformation of stereotypes they frequently focus on repetitive patterns while falling short in highlighting where these representations differ from each other. A detailed comparison of the Latinas in *Jane the Virgin* with all the other Latinas in U.S. television would be beyond the scope of this study. However, there are some aspects which attract attention with regard to how *Latinidad* is represented in *Jane the Virgin*: firstly, the depiction of a Latina family instead of a Hispanic individual, secondly, the simultaneous representation of various Latina types as they exist in U.S. entertainment media, and thirdly, the reflection of a contemporary multigenerational U.S. Hispanic population. Moreover, following Hall's negotiated reading position, it needs to be identified in what way the decoding of the images on screen might differ from their encoding by the producers and what role new media plays in this.

In contrast to shows such as *Desperate Housewives* or *Modern Family* that usually include no more than one Latina character, *Jane the Virgin* features a Hispanic family with three Latinas as starring characters. In fact, family constitutes a core element in *Jane the Virgin*. According to Navedo, "family is very important to Jane and to

Latinos" (MUSE TV), as it is the base, which one needs to become successful in life. The importance of family receives emphasis when Jane, Xiomara and Alba are shown watching telenovelas, having dinner and celebrating important events together, such as Jane's graduation (Ch13) or Mother's Day (Ch42). In *Jane the Virgin*, the meaning of family goes beyond the traditional concept of two adults and their descendants. Family functions as a symbol for the whole Latino community inside and outside the U.S. Actress Navedo confirms this observation by expressing her wish to be recognized by Latina/os as being part of them and by emphasizing that they "are all in this fight together" (MUSE TV), referring to the efforts for a fairer and more diverse Latina/o representation in the U.S. television landscape. This idea of unifying the Latina/o community on screen is reinforced through guest appearances of early Latina stars in the show such as Rita Moreno as Liliana de La Vega and Charo as one of Rogelio's girlfriends. The wish to connect to all Latina/os in the U.S. is further emphasized by Rita Moreno when she says, "I am there, she [Andrea Navedo] is there, we are there for our people" (MUSE TV). The fact that the Puerto Rican actress Moreno considers Navedo, who was born and raised in the U.S., a Latina, builds a bridge between first and second generation Hispanics. By representing themselves as proud Latinas, the actresses prevent the show from being understood as a satire about Latina/os and address the Latino audience on an emotional level which helps to increase the viewers' engagement with *Jane the Virgin*.

Indeed, it is not so much the characters' Latin descent but rather the unusual situations in which they encounter themselves which is ridiculed. The markers of Latinidad which are represented in the show, such as the Latin music or the romantic scenes, are frequently based on generic conventions of the telenovela. Jane is funny not because she is Latina but because she is an artificially inseminated pregnant virgin. The effectiveness of this strategy is confirmed by Maria Morales from the *People-en-Español* magazine who praises *Jane the Virgin* for representing Latinidad in a way that makes Hispanics feel like they are "not being made fun of, but [they are] part of the joke" (Morales in Itzkoff).

Moreover, the show represents three generations of Latinas, Alba, an illegal immigrant from Venezuela, Xiomara, the U.S. born daughter of illegally immigrated

Hispanic parents, and Jane, a third generation U.S. Latina with Venezuelan and Mexican roots, which reflects well the contemporary situation of the U.S. Hispanic population and provides a space for identification for various age groups at the same time. Meanwhile, second and third generation Latinas constitute the majority of the U.S. Latina/o population. In 2015, 19.4 million Latina/os were born in a foreign country while 37.1 million were already born in the U.S (Pew Research Center). The ratio between U.S. born and immigrated Latina/os is reflected in the Villanueva family in which only Alba is an immigrant while Jane and Xiomara were already born in North America.

As one of the first North-American television shows, *Jane the Virgin* features a third generation U.S. Latina and thus it speaks directly to those who have been raised in between two or more cultures. As actress Rodriguez observes in an interview with the HuffPost Live, within the Latino community exist various cultural and physical differences which is why it is almost impossible to encompass Latino culture in only one television show. However, according to the actress, the objective of *Jane the Virgin* is to present at least a glimpse of it, namely the Latina/o “that is born here in America; that has ancestors that speak Spanish; that eat rice and beans in the house and hotdogs and hamburgers outside of it” (HuffPost Live, *Gina Rodriguez on Diversity*). As it becomes clear here, the unifying marker of *Latinidad* consist in the shared experience as a member of a minority living in the U.S., instead of a same nation of origin or language. This opens up a space for identification not only for Hispanics but also for other ethnic groups with similar experiences. The cultural experience of second or third generation Hispanics differs not only from the one of the Caucasian population in the U.S. but also from the one of their ancestors in Latina America. Many of the U.S. Latina/os do not speak Spanish fluently, nor have they been to their ancestor’s country of origin.

Therefore, it can be said that the *Latinidad* represented in *Jane the Virgin* constitutes a glocalized *Latinidad*, which particularly applies to Hispanics living in the U.S. By representing a glocalized Latino family that adheres to some Latino traditions while having adapted a U.S. life style, the show tries to reach a broad audience including non-ethnic viewers as well as ethnic viewers who can relate to the situation of being brought up in between different cultures. On the one hand, the Venezuelan

characters are represented by actresses with American and Puerto Rican roots, which indicates a homogenization of Latino people into one big group. On the other hand, by representing a third generation Latina protagonist, the Latinidad in *Jane the Virgin* constitutes a site for resistance and negotiation.

The hybrid and multicultural setting of the show is emphasized by the use of both the English and the Spanish language. Throughout the show, Alba primarily uses Spanish while the rest of the family speaks English. As Andrea Navedo explains, in the original script of the show, Alba and Jane were switching back and forth between English and Spanish (Google Play). However, based on Navedo's observation that in an authentic Hispanic family, the grandmother always talks in Spanish and the kids respond to her in English, director Jenny Snyder Urman later decided for a bilingual option with subtitles for the Spanish parts. With the growing number of U.S. population with migratory background, bilingual families are no longer an exception but have become an essential part of U.S. society. Therefore, the co-existence of two languages is not restricted to Hispanics but also reflects the linguistic situation of other ethnic groups which has certainly contributed to the show's success.

The hybridization in *Jane the Virgin* is increased through similarities between the actresses or actresses and their characters. Born in the U.S. to Puerto Rican parents, Gina Rodriguez herself constitutes a perfect example of Latinas who find themselves torn between two or more cultures. Moreover, similarly to the international telenovela star Rogelio, Jaime Camil has played in several Latin American telenovelas, as for example in *Por Ella Soy Eva* (2012). As Andrea Navedo reveals in an interview, like Xiomara, her own mother happened to be a single mother and a lot of her acting was based on experiences she had made observing her mother raising a child as a single mother in the Bronx in New York (American Latino). The confusion of fictional characters and real persons is also encouraged by the actors and actresses themselves who frequently refer to themselves by their characters, as for instance when Rodriguez who calls Jane's son "little Mateo, my four-year old" (CBS This Morning). As this example illustrates well, the artists' identification with their roles is high which contributes to a realistic and authentic representation of the characters. The hybridization increases the character's association with traits that define the actress and vice versa.

As it reveals through a great number of interviews on Youtube, actresses Rodriguez and Navedo identify very much with Latino culture. However, this does not mean that they are perceived as Latinas by all of the *Jane the Virgin* audiences. While for many viewers Rodriguez has become a Hispanic role model, others criticize her for not being a real Latina and for exploiting her ethnic origin for marketing purposes. Twitter user @piavestyle voices his criticism through the following comment, “trying to understand how a person ‘proud’ of her Hispanic Heritage like @HerelsGina can’t even speak spanish...#latinIssuesinUS #lame”. What seems important to consider here is how Latinidad is defined and by whom. Under the guise of a fairer Latino/a representation, the U.S. entertainment industry has recently started to promote *Latinidad* as a hybrid and multicultural concept. The broader the concept of Latinidad is, the more people can identify with it, and the more marketable it apparently is. Considering that Rodriguez puts emphasis on her Latino descent, as for example through her salsa dancing, it reveals that Latinidad is certainly also employed for marketing purposes.

The connection between Latina/o culture and Spanish is undeniable. Nevertheless, is also a problematic indicator for *Latinidad*, especially since every Latin American country has its own variety of Spanish. In a Youtube video by Clevver News the *Jane the Virgin* cast is asked to define a number of Spanish terms. While Jaime Camil knows the correct translation to almost all the words, the other cast members, including Puerto Rican born Ivon Coll, struggle to find suitable explanations. A possible reason for this is provided by Ani 0227 who observes that “most of these are mexican slang which is why only jaime (rogelio) knows them. Gina(jane), Andrea (Xo) and ivonne (alma) [sic] are puerto rican and justin is italian”. In other words, considering that all three Latina actresses are of Puerto Rican descent they might not be acquainted with Mexican slang words. Hence, the problem here seems to be rooted in dialectal differences of Spanish rather than a lack of language knowledge. However, unless the viewers know about the linguistic diversity of Spanish, the video might mislead them to believe that Rodriguez does not speak Spanish very well.

A similar example of how the media shapes the perception of actresses is provided by a Youtube video which shows Rodriguez dancing salsa onto the stage of *The*

Ellen Show (Gina Rodriguez Salsas). Although the overall reactions by the audiences were positive, there are some critical comments about the actress's dance performance. As Iamoskgr Moskow writes, "Gina is so gorgeous but she is a horrible salsa dancer. Love her though". However, what is actually criticized is not Rodriguez' dancing moves but the choice of music, as a following comment by yulieth acevedo reveals, "Quien dijo que eso es salsa? No tienen ni idea que es un ritmo de salsa" ("Who said this is salsa? They don't have any idea about a salsa rhythm"). Due to the Reggaeton rhythm, Rodriguez' performance might deviate from the traditional idea of salsa dancing. This leads to the assumption that the actress does not know how to dance salsa, which contrasts with the fact that Rodriguez had been a professional salsa dancer before having become an actress, as she explains (*The Late Late Show with James Corden*).

Rodriguez has certainly become a role model for many young (Latina) women, especially those who were raised in an multicultural environment. The accusation that the actress was not Latina enough has caused a heated discussion in the U.S. media. In the talk show *The Real*, a Latina journalist praises Rodriguez for wanting to present Latinas in a "classy way and actually go against the stereotypes" (*The Real Daytime*). According to the guests of the talk show, Rodriguez is not simply a Latina actress but a great actress who happens to be Latina. This argument is supported by Rodriguez' own reaction to the discussion about her Latina identity. In an interview with the Huffpost Live she states that she refuses to be put into a box and tries to resolve the discussion by transforming the question of "what makes a Latino" into "what makes a human being" (HuffPost Live, *Gina Rodriguez To Those*). What is interesting here is that, on the one hand, Rodriguez argues in favor of a representation of no differences between ethnicities, gender and classes while, on the other hand, she promotes Latinidad and Latina stereotypes, as for example through her salsa dancing on television shows. Nevertheless, by representing Jane, a third generation Latina who is fluent in English and has an aspiring career, Rodriguez contributes to a "resignification" of Latinas that is perceived positively by most U.S. Caucasians, Latinos and viewers of other ethnicities.

5. Conclusion

Recent changes in television and the demography of the U.S. have caused a change in Latina representation on screen. The aim of this research project was to identify how Latinas are represented in the contemporary television show *Jane the Virgin* and how *Latinidad* serves as a marketing tool to attract a broad and diverse audience. In accordance with Hall's encoding/decoding model this study focused on Jane, Xiomara and Alba strengthen but also oppose and transform the Latina stereotypes of the virgin and the whore, and how the characters and their actresses contribute to the discussion on the concept of *Latinidad* in the media.

Due to its comedic and dramatic elements *Jane the Virgin* is frequently associated with dramedy. Furthermore, the telenovela genre has a significant impact on the show. Self-referential comments about genre by the narrator present the show as a telenovela to the audience and establish a relation to Latin American and Latino culture which attracts a Hispanic viewership. However, due to the mixed genre form the show is not restricted to lovers of telenovelas but also addresses those who are less acquainted with the Latin American genre format. In other words, by mixing comedy, mystery and telenovela, *Jane the Virgin* aims at a broad ethnic and non-ethnic viewership. Moreover, the telenovela genre plays a crucial role in the depiction of Latina/o characters. Not only is Rogelio de la Vega an international telenovela star, he is also a very dramatic figure, occasionally shown yelling, crying or screaming, all of which are characteristics of the telenovela genre. Protagonist Jane is characterized by her romanticizing and dramatic attitude.

Although *Jane the Virgin* has been praised by journalists for presenting Latinas in a different light than previous examples (*The Real Daytime*), the show strongly relates to stereotypical representations of Latinas. As a pregnant virgin, Jane is associated with the Blessed Virgin. Her resemblance to the Mexican Virgin of Guadalupe reveals mainly through her turquoise- or rose-colored and flowered dresses, her tropical body features and the accompanying Latin guitar music. The fact that the nuns at Jane's high school take advantage of the unusual circumstances under which the Latina became pregnant implies criticism of the Catholic Church which is depicted as a phony and greedy institution. At the same time it alludes to the marketability of

Latinidad which is exploited by the U.S. entertainment industry to increase sales numbers. On the one hand the marketing of *Latinidad* is criticized, on the other hand, the show itself makes use of this broad concept to reach a large and diverse audience.

Moreover, the virgin/whore dichotomy becomes visible in the religious grandmother Alba and the liberal mother Xiomara. Their roles are reflected in their contrary styles of clothing and their positioning in the room. As a widow and the mother of a rebellious daughter Alba dresses discreetly and represents the ideal of the virgin mother. As a single mother with an illegitimate child, Xiomara complies with the whore stereotype, frequently wearing too short and sexy outfits. Xiomara's role is reinforced through Rogelio, Jane's father, a Latin American macho, who measures his manliness through sexual activity and who left the pregnant Xiomara in favor for his own career.

Although the virgin/whore dichotomy is highly present in the show, the Latina representation in *Jane the Virgin* is not restricted to some simple stereotypes. Similarly to the Virgin of Guadalupe, who is a Mexican symbol for liberation from oppressive forces, Jane can be interpreted as a symbol for liberation from rigid stereotypical representations. Jane, Xiomara and Alba not only comply with common stereotypes, they also oppose them, and thereby add meaning to them, which makes them *Latinidades feministas*. Throughout the show, Jane develops from an obedient virgin who needs her grandmother's approval for her decisions to an independent, self-confident widow mother and careering romance novel writer who enjoys her sexuality. The fact that Jane is sometimes challenged by her independency makes her a post-feminist character. Moreover, after having revealed the truth about her past, Alba leaves behind her grief for the dead husband and starts dating men again. Through Alba's revelation, Xiomara's role as a spitfire is relativized as is reflected in the fact that she finally manages to settle down. Smooth jazzy saxophone or guitar tunes highlight the women's sexual desires and relate the show to the genre of the telenovela.

The representation of a Hispanic family fulfills two main functions in the serial: on the one hand, family has a privileged role within Latino culture and therefore it serves as

a cultural marker of *Latinidad*, on the other hand, it reinforces the idea that all Latina/o inside and outside the U.S. belong together. Guest appearances of former Latina stars such as Rita Moreno and Charo, as well as interviews with the cast in which the Latina/o community is referred to as a big family, reinforce the notion of equality between all Latina/os and make the portrayal of second and third generation U.S. Hispanic actresses such as Andrea Navedo and Gina Rodriguez as Latinas legitimate. By relating to the Latina/o community as a family, *Jane the Virgin* addresses the viewers' emotional level which increases the audience's engagement with the show.

The hybridity of *Latinidad* in *Jane the Virgin* is not only based in the existence of various Latina generations in the show, but also in the Villanueva women's different appearances. Alba's Hispanic origin becomes obvious through her use of Spanish and her accent in English, not however, through her looks. In contrast, Xiomara's and Jane's appearance is marked by tropical features such as a darker skin complex and hair, and indigenous facial features. The different appearances indicate the cultural and physical diversity that exists within the U.S. Hispanic population. Nevertheless, the fact that the Venezuelan characters are portrayed by Puerto Rican and American actresses reinforces the idea of *Latinidad* as a the homogenization of different Latina/os into one big group. At the same time, by featuring a third generation U.S. Hispanic, the show represents *Latinidad* as a site for resistance towards common ideas about Latina/os. Thereby, a space of identification is created for a large audience of multicultural Hispanics but also other ethnic groups who have made similar experiences as members of a minority in the U.S.

Nevertheless, the fact that Gina Rodriguez, like Jane, was already born in the U.S. and considers English her native language has caused discontentment with some viewers who blame the actress for not representing a real Latina and for exploiting her Hispanic background for marketing purposes. The popularity of Latina/o culture has certainly affected the career of Gina Rodriguez in a positive way. However, as it revealed, some of the accusations against the actress are reinforced through misleading representation of her on the media and unreflecting comments by the viewers. Gina in the role of Jane constitutes a *Latinidad feminista* in that her representation on modern media contributes to the "resignification" of Latinas in the

U.S. While the conflation of Hispanic and North American culture is criticized by some Latina/os, the way in which the show represents and simultaneously challenges Latina stereotypes opens up a space for negotiation of *Latinidad* which contributes to an emancipated and more positive image of Latinas.

While this research project has mainly focused on *Jane the Virgin*, it did not take into consideration Latina representation in other recent U.S. television shows. In order to find out whether the findings are unique to the investigated serial or whether they constitute a general trend in Latina representation, it would be necessary to have a look at how *Latinidad* is represented in further contemporary U.S. television shows.

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Abstract (Deutsch)

Seit dem sogenannte “Latin Boom” in der U.S. Unterhaltungsindustrie in den 1990er Jahren haben sich Latinas und deren Darstellung in Film und Fernsehen zu einem beständigen und vielfach untersuchten wissenschaftlichen Thema etabliert. Infolge der Digitalisierung der Medien entwickelte sich Fernsehen zu einem allgegenwärtigen Unterhaltungsmedium was wiederum Veränderungen im Sehverhalten, in der narrativen Struktur und der Darstellung von Figuren hervorrief. Als Antwort auf die sinkenden Einschaltquoten und den stetig wachsenden Anteil hispanischer Bevölkerung im Land begannen U.S. Fernsehproduzenten ihre Produktion an das lateinamerikanische Genre der Telenovela anzupassen. Bielby und Harrington (383-99) bezeichnen die Adaptierung der Telenovela ins U.S. Amerikanische Fernsehen als “telenovela-ization”. Anhand der preisgekrönten Fernsehserie *Jane the Virgin* analysiert diese Arbeit wie Latinas und deren Kultur in zeitgenössischem Fernsehen dargestellt ist und wie das Konzept von *Latinidad* verwendet wird um eine möglichst breite Zielgruppe zu erreichen.

Die Basis dafür bilden eine kurze Erläuterung des Konzepts von *Latinidad* und eine kurze Skizzierung bisheriger Darstellungen von Latinas in der audiovisuellen Unterhaltungsindustrie. In weiterer Folge wird behandelt wie sich Fernsehen durch die Digitalisierung veränderte und wie sich dies auf die narrative Struktur kontemporärer Serien auswirkte. Basierend auf Stuart Hall’s Encoding/Decoding Modell, welchem zufolge das Konsumieren von Bildern Teil der Produktion derselben ist, analysiert dieses Forschungsprojekt wie Latinas in *Jane the Virgin*, unter Einbeziehung audiovisueller Aspekte, dargestellt werden und inwiefern Reaktionen der Zuseher in Sozialen Netzwerken diese Darstellungen beeinträchtigen können.

Als schwangere Jungfrau mit indigenem Aussehen und oftmals türkiser oder rosa-geblümter Kleidung erinnert Protagonistin Jane an eine moderne Version der Mexikanischen Jungfrau von Guadalupe. Damit spielt sie auf die in Latina Darstellungen dominante Dichotomie der Jungfrau und der Hure an. Diese spiegelt sich auch in der Gegenüberstellung von Alba und Xiomara wieder. Jane, Xiomara und Alba verkörpern einerseits und brechen andererseits mit gängigen Latina Stereotypen, was sie zu *Latinidades feministas* macht. Trotz des komödiantischen

Stils, sind es meist nicht Latinas die parodiert werden, sondern vielmehr die Situation in denen sie sich befinden. Als Latina, die in Nordamerika geboren und aufgewachsen ist, befindet sich Jane zwischen zwei Kulturen, und bietet somit ein Rollenbild nicht nur für U.S. Latina/os, sondern auch für Zugehörige anderer ethnischen Gruppen. Wenngleich Schauspielerin Gina Rodriguez dafür kritisiert wurde als U.S. Amerikanische Latina ihren Hispanischen Hintergrund für Marketingzwecke zu benutzen, bietet die Show *Jane the Virgin* Raum für Diskussion über das Konzept von *Latinidad* und trägt durch ihre Protagonistin, eine gebildete, erfolgreiche U.S. Latina dritter Generation, positiv zum Bild von Latinas bei.

Abstract (English)

Since the “Latin Boom” in U.S. entertainment media in the 1990s, Latinas and their representation in broadcast television have been highly investigated. However, through the introduction of digital media, viewing behaviors and representations on screen have changed. As a result of the declining viewer numbers and the demographic shift in the U.S. population, television producers have started to adapt to Latin American telenovelas, a process called “telenovela-ization” (Bielby and Harrington 383-99), in order to attract a Hispanic television audience. By examining the U.S. television show *Jane the Virgin*, this research project investigates how Latinas and Latino culture are represented in contemporary internet-based television and in what way *Latinidad* is used to attract a broad audience.

In order to set a base for the investigation on how Latina representations in *Jane the Virgin*, this study looks at the concept of *Latinidad* and how Latino culture has earlier been portrayed on screen before considering changes in television since the digitalization of the media. Based on Stuart Hall’s encoding/decoding model, according to which the consumption of images contributes to their production, this study project analyses how the Latinas in *Jane the Virgin* can be read differently and how their representation on screen is influenced by audiovisual devices, such as clothing, music or illumination, as well as by the external discourses about cast members and *Latinidad*.

As a pregnant virgin with Mesoamerican features and frequently turquoise- and rose-colored clothes with floral designs, protagonist Jane is associated with a main figure in Mexican culture, the Virgin of Guadalupe. As such, she alludes to the virgin/whore dichotomy which has long dominated Latina representations and which is also reflected in the two characters Alba and Xiomara. In fact, the Latina characters not only comply with these stereotypes, they also challenge them which makes them so-called *Latinidades feministas*. Although *Jane the Virgin* contains satirical elements, it is not necessarily the Latina characters but their unusual situations that are ridiculed. By representing three generations of Latinas living in the U.S. the show alludes to the cultural hybridity of *Latinidad* and creates a space of identification for a large group of Hispanics and members of other ethnic groups that were raised in a multicultural

environment. Although actress Gina Rodriguez has been accused for using her Hispanic background for marketing purposes, the show certainly contributes positively to the Latina image by representing characters that challenge common stereotypes and open up a space for cultural negotiation.

Appendix

Season 1 (2014-15)

Episode	Chapter	Director
S1E1	Ch1	Brad Silberling
S1E2	Ch2	Uta Briesewitz
S1E3	Ch3	Brad Silberling
S1E4	Ch4	Debbie Allen
S1E5	Ch5	Edward Ornelas
S1E6	Ch6	Jann Turner
S1E7	Ch7	Janice Cooke
S1E8	Ch8	Norman Buckley
S1E9	Ch9	Zenta Fuentes
S1E0	Ch10	Elodie Keene
S1E11	Ch11	Joanna Kerns
S1E12	Ch12	Gina Lamar
S1E13	Ch13	Howard Deutch
S1E14	Ch14	Brad Silberling
S1E15	Ch15	Melanie Mayron
S1E16	Ch16	Joanna Kerns
S1E17	Ch17	Uta Briesewitz
S1E18	Ch18	Edward Ornelas
S1E19	Ch19	Robert Luketic
S1E20	Ch20	Debbie Allen
S1E21	Ch21	Stuart Gillard
S1E22	Ch22	Zetna Fuentes

Season 2 (2015-16)

Episode	Chapter	Director
S2E1	Ch23	Brad Silberling
S2E2	Ch24	Edward Ornelas
S2E3	Ch25	Robert Luketic
S2E4	Ch26	Zetna Fuentes
S2E5	Ch27	Jann Turner
S2E6	Ch28	Melanie Mayron
S2E7	Ch29	Edward Ornelas
S2E8	Ch30	Uta Briesewitz
S2E9	Ch31	Joanna Kerns
S2E10	Ch32	Jason Reilly
S2E11	Ch33	Uta Briesewitz
S2E12	Ch34	Howard Deutch
S2E13	Ch35	Melanie Mayron
S2E14	Ch36	Uta Briesewitz
S2E15	Ch37	Melanie Mayron
S2E16	Ch38	Georgina Garcia R.
S2E17	Ch39	Matthew Diamond
S2E18	Ch40	Anna Mastro
S2E19	Ch41	Gina Lamar
S2E20	Ch42	Zetna Fuentes
S2E21	Ch43	Melanie Mayron
S2E22	Ch44	Jann Turner

Season 3 (2016-17)

Episode	Chapter	Director
S3E1	Ch45	Gina Lamar
S3E2	Ch46	Brad Silberling
S3E3	Ch47	Eva Longoria Baston
S3E4	Ch48	Melanie Mayron
S3E5	Ch49	Anna Mastro
S3E6	Ch50	Melanie Mayron
S3E7	Ch51	Gina Lamar
S3E8	Ch52	Anna Mastro
S3E9	Ch53	Gina Lamar
S3E10	Ch54	Melanie Mayron
S3E11	Ch55	Brad Silberling
S3E12	Ch56	Matthew Diamond
S3E13	Ch57	Zetna Fuentes
S3E14	Ch58	Melanie Mayron
S3E15	Ch59	Anna Mastro
S3E16	Ch60	Micah Schraft
S3E17	Ch61	Melanie Mayron
S3E18	Ch62	Fernando Sariñana
S3E19	Ch63	Gina Lamar
S3E20	Ch64	Melanie Mayron

Season 4 (2017-18)

Episode	Chapter	Director
S4E1	Ch65	Brad Silberling
S4E2	Ch66	Gina Lamar
S4E3	Ch67	Fernando Sariñana
S4E4	Ch68	Gina Lamar
S4E5	Ch69	Stuart Gillard
S4E6	Ch70	Melanie Mayron
S4E7	Ch71	Micah Schraft
S4E8	Ch72	Melanie Mayron