



Translating Gender Stereotypes: An Overview on Global Telefiction

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On 11 September 2001, the new millennium was launched with the attack on the twin towers in New York. The whole world stood by and watched the live retransmission of the fall of civilisation as we had known it until then. The event would not only change the world, but it would also come to show us how much we ourselves had changed. An attack comparable to a historical rewriting of the Sack of Rome (1527) had struck directly and with precision into the heart of the global metropolis, and revisited the past by demonstrating once again the consequences (over and above the causes) of the decline of civilisation. With the attacks, a historical, cultural, and ideological cycle had come to an end.

At the same time, and probably by no coincidence, television also entered into a new phase, arguably the most successful that it had ever experienced. Along with the known as third golden age of television (Cascajosa Virino 2009), new spaces for the distribution and emission of television were created, which revolutionised its existence and that of its viewers across the world. For better or for worse, by 2001 globalisation had spread to every corner of the world, becoming an important mechanism of protection against the threat posed by the Other to the survival of Western cultural ideology. Television, of course, becomes a reflection of this process.

Among other important issues, the newly-formed globalised fiction led to the phasing out of the monolithic and static white patriarchal discourse (González-Iglesias and Toda, 2013). As a mirror of the events that were taking place in society, television narrative in the new millennium started to incorporate an increasingly varied number



of cultural, sexual, as well as linguistic combinations that contributed to the modification of the image of women on television. The changes that took place in relation to the gender paradigm within the audiovisual field were so noticeable that the very concept of *gender*, clearly limited in the light of the new geopolitical and cultural reality, should be reconsidered. The focus of attention needs to be broadened beyond the concept of *woman* to embrace the representation of subjects that find themselves in a minoritised position due to their sexual, racial or religious circumstances. Thus, the notion of *intersectionality*, as put forward by Brufau (2010: 216, my translation), is of great methodological value, understood as:

a framework based on an understanding that identities are not monolithic or simple, but instead are points of crossover for a number of different activities that become more or less noticeable depending on the context in which they are displayed.

The proposed framework recognises the strong ideological component that exists in Translation Studies and rejects the idea that the act of translating simply functions to create a neutral bridge-like paradigm or metaphor between the original author and the target audience. While not forgetting the linguistic aspect of translation, it is also important to pay attention to its extralinguistic dimension, as it contributes to the reconstruction of the cultural and ideological differences that come into play when translating. This paper gives an overview of how new (?) gender stereotypes (and prejudices) are produced in certain US television series and then spread across the world by the grace and travail of translation.

A descriptive and transcultural perspective has been adopted in order to analyse the (para)textual and textual information that appears in television series where intersectional subjects appear as protagonists, incorporating and displaying a range of values, attitudes and behaviours. These subjects and the models that they represent reach other countries via translation and in this transfer are subject to certain gender rewritings, whereby some elements representing old gender stereotypes are erased while at the same time others appear to be perpetuated. As a result, the key position of the *new woman*, as an intersectional subject, in many US series contributes to a process of global stereotyping of a type of gender politics that the series in question aim to promote.

Within our research we try to go beyond this conflict by focusing on the translating act, which allows us to go deeper into the subject matter and to map out the translated product in its entirety. Our aim is to offer an inclusive and balanced point of view, adopting a fine or microscopic linguistic analysis as well as a telescopic cultural one (Tymoczko 2002). The compilation of a list or catalogue of audiovisual programmes, which then becomes a corpus, enables us to portray and reconstruct the nature of the television products with women protagonists. Will the new intersectionality of TV fiction become the ultimate challenge to male, white, and protestant mainstream culture so predominant on television screens in the Western world?



1. PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

To start, it is necessary to contextualise our subject matter by giving a brief overview of the history of television and culture in the US, amply based in Cascajosa Virino (2009). Soon after the birth of television, the US audiovisual industry experienced its first golden age, from the end of the 1940s until the middle of the following decade. The audience at that point was very small, confined to an elite, especially in economic terms. Narrative fiction was mainly based on television rewritings of plays, some of which were adaptations of classic or contemporary literary pieces. Frequently, it drew its material from dramatic and moralising texts that focused on social issues such as violence, racism, divorce, and suicide, which, presented from a male and white point of view, conveniently helped to shape the audience's ideas about morality. Authors, producers, and even actors who had a lot of experience in Hollywood, jumped on the bandwagon of the new industry, whose development ran parallel with that of the most influential film studios. Since the early 1950s, three large and powerful networks—ABC, CBS and NBC—have controlled the television industry, and it was precisely these broadcasters that soon stopped using previous models and replaced it with rewritings of second grade films 'made in Hollywood', taking advantage of the technical and creative apparatus available at the time. Thus the first television fiction series were born, linked to strongly standardized genres with a highly conservative ideological base: westerns, crime series and also medical and courtroom series exploded onto the television screen with great success, to the satisfaction of those who, with their advertising messages, acted as the sustaining economic force behind television: audience ratings had come to stay.

During most of the 1960s and a large part of the 1970s, television fiction continued to be characterised by a *costumbrist* profile that promoted a number of highly stereotypical social, cultural and ideological notions. But slowly things started to change. The growing anti-war sentiment started to appear on the screen with *MASH*, broadcasted by CBS from 1972 to 1983. Another important title was *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* (CBS, 1970-1977) as it marked a milestone in the movement for equality between men and women, putting forward some highly innovative ideas for its time. The protagonist, a 30 year-old single woman, moves to a new town after breaking up with her partner, and she successfully rebuilds her personal and professional life alone. Themes such as sex outside of marriage, the lack of equal pay, and even homosexuality managed to find their way to the television screen and into puritan US homes.

This was also a time when other influential series such as *Dallas* (CBS, 1978-1991), *Dynasty* (ABC, 1981-1989) and *Falcon Crest* (CBS, 1981-1990) monopolised the television screen, projecting an efficiently stereotype-induced discourse. New and heterogeneous narrative formulas also started to appear on television at the beginning of the 1980s, led by *Hill Street Blues* (NBC, 1981-1987). The social critique and realism of this series broke away from the gender clichés typically present in many other crime series, giving rise to the second golden age of television. In what followed, professionals in the field started to try and capture a more challenging audience,



embodied by the urbanised and professional middle class that was able to enjoy the more innovative formal and ideological proposals of the new series. Even though this audience may have been insignificant in quantitative terms, the quality of the new product was strongly praised and held in high esteem by critics. The status of television fiction had begun to change.

A further event took place, one that was more of an entrepreneurial than cultural or ideological nature, and which changed the course of free television for ever: in 1986 Fox channel appeared on the scene, breaking the monopoly that 'the big three' (i.e. ABC, CBS and NBC) had held since the 1950s. UPN and WB were launched in 1995 and later merged with The CW in 2006. Even today, all of these channels continue to air series for the general public, conditioned by the advertising industry and the audience's preferences. These series are often of high quality and they share an assumed moral correctness based, at least in principle, on an almost complete lack of explicit sex or violence. In this conventional environment, women have traditionally played secondary parts characterised by their stereotypical nature. When playing the main role, they have normally propagated highly traditional gender clichés strongly conditioned by conservative values. Nonetheless, some series shown on free television have contributed to changing the perception of women in television programmes and have been successful in bringing out the *new woman* model: *Ally McBeal* (Fox, 1997-2002), *Desperate Housewives* (ABC, 2004-2012), *Grey's Anatomy* (ABC, 2005-present), *Ugly Betty* (ABC, 2006-2010), *Gossip Girl* (The CW, 2007-2012), *Revenge* (ABC, 2011-present), *Scandal* (ABC, 2012-present), *The Good Wife* (CBS, 2012-present), *Devious Maids* (ABC, 2013-present) or the very recent *How to Get Away with Murder* (ABC, 2014-present) and *Jane the Virgin* (The CW, 2014-present), to name but a few of the most representative ones.

Not many years ago, television series were completely dominated by *whites* (white men, that is), after which *blacks* slowly started to make an appearance in endearing, *costumbrist* and family-centered comedies that since the eighties have occupied an important slot in television programming. In this category, we find titles such as *The Cosby Show* (NBC, 1984-1992), *Family Matters* (CBS, 1989-1998) and *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* (NBC, 1990-1996), which until the late 1990s presented a highly differentiated but also monolithic society, with the characters living in a kind of apartheid. The analysis of two key issues, namely the representation of women and race on television shows, helps to shed light on the dynamic relationship that exists between the audiovisual industry and the society that supports it. In this respect, Brufau's (2010: 535) conceptualisation of intersectionality is most productive, as an "efficient materialization of a number of discriminatory elements that intersect with one and other, focusing on actions beyond (and starting from) the liberating deconstruction of the monolithic concept of 'identity'".

With the turn of the millennium, things began to change and women started to play roles of greater importance, and gender roles started to be transformed. Furthermore, the racial and sexual hybridisation that had taken place in society begun to be reflected on the television screen. This was largely a consequence of the increased influence of cable channels and pay television, less dependent on viewers



and advertising. Premium channels such as HBO, Showtime or Starz launched series that were much more innovative, not only in terms of their thematic content but also (and especially) in relation to their ideological components. More recently, a new type of internet TV has been introduced and has rapidly become an enriching force across the world. Whilst co-existing with more conventional formats, Amazon, Sony, and mainly Netflix, have taken the lead in offering new ways of consuming television products.

With the benefit of historical hindsight, HBO can be considered one of the most transformative and daring pay channels. A little over fifteen years ago, they introduced the powerful narrative of four white women, who would go on to challenge the female stereotypes that had appeared on television until then. The premiere of *Sex and the City* (HBO, 1998-2004) marked a turning point when it came to the role of women on screen. Despite some criticism, the series offered much more than what the well-known, and of course trivial, image of four female friends walking around Manhattan in their high heels might indicate. Arguably well written, sharp, coherent, and consciously trivial, it persisted in portraying a mono-cultural and mono-colour society, where racial stereotypes continued to be present, where no black men or women, nor Latinos, seemed to inhabit New York; or maybe they existed but they were not good enough to mix with the exquisite, glamorous and snow-white protagonists. Despite these shortcomings, the series did signal the change of mentality in the new millennium.

The new female characters were now, on and off the small screen, directors, screenwriters, almighty showrunners (like Jenji Kohan or Shonda Rhimes) and, above all, highly nuanced personalities. Slowly, television series began to focus on new types of protagonists and as well as white women, black, Latino and transgender women also started to appear on screen; women of dubious morality, fallen angels, and very rich in nuances. Most of them were powerful professionals, several steps ahead of their male counterparts: prestigious doctors in *Grey's Anatomy* (ABC, 2005-present); aggressive lawyers in *Scandal* (ABC, 2012-present) or *The Good Wife* (CBS, 2012-present); communist spies that put their homeland before their families, like the main character in *The Americans* (FX, 2013-present); efficient researchers of Asian origin like Doctor Watson in *Elementary* (CBS, 2012-present); and even multiracial, transnational prisoners of varying sexual orientations, as in Kohan's comedy *Orange is the New Black* (Netflix, 2012-present). All these series have contributed to the formation of a heterogeneous model within which a new intersectional television product has been put forward, one with the potential to overturn old stereotypes, and in which the few starring men appear as seemingly minoritised subjects, whose presence is almost reduced to the point of reification.

2015 was described as "a wonderful time for women on television" by actress Julianna Margulis (<http://time.com/3181773/emmys-2014-women-on-television>), as she received an Emmy for her role as Alicia Florrick in *The Good Wife*, one of the bravest and most powerful female roles, at over 35 years old, in the history of television. And she may have a point, particularly if we take a look at the current female icons that star in some of the most transgressive series on television. These new roles are no longer a



novelty and it can be argued that the breaking down of gender stereotypes and the changing of roles is an accomplished fact.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the implications of the dubbing and subtitling of TV series that would pass Bechdel's intersectional and inclusive test (<http://bechdeltest.com>) with flying colours. The focus is on TV series that break down old stereotypes and incorporate a new gender image. Nonetheless, could it be that, despite everything, these series only contribute to the (re)production of new stereotypes that, at this moment in time, strongly ride on the concepts of 'globalisation', 'homogenization', 'politics' or 'feminism'? Is the dissemination, perpetuation and multiplication of these stereotypes aided by translation? To address these questions, a detailed and intersectional corpus of original dialogue exchanges and their translations has been built, in an attempt to gauge to what extent the act of translating involves a political, ideological, and cultural commitment, and can act as a powerful tool for the (re)construction of an historical and cultural reality.

2. CREATION OF A CATALOGUE AND SELECTION OF CORPUS 1

In order to explore the object of our research a computerised catalogue, or corpus 0, has been created, which aims to include all the US television series that have made it to Spain between 2001 and 2015. The methodology underpinning this paper is based on the research project TRACE (*TRAducciones CEnsuradas*, Censored TRAnslations), a collective and interuniversity project (<http://www.ehu.eus/trace/inicio.php>). Starting from a base of individual research projects, though always interlinked with each other, we have been working together since 1998 to create a database of collective authorship, focusing on translations of original texts that were published between 1939 and 1985. The material has been organised into five broad groups: film, essay, narrative, poetry and theatre. This databank has been used to compile detailed information that has allowed us to analyse and draw conclusions about the regularities and norms that determine translation behaviour, as well as to examine the role of translation against the backdrop of Franco's Spain.

In these pages, the idea behind cataloguing the data was to adopt a detailed and inclusive approach when collecting the information needed to be able to identify all the appropriate original texts and their corresponding meta-texts. In order to do so, we decided on the data that was relevant and created a file grounded on databases from earlier research projects (<http://www.ehu.eus/tralima/catalogos.php>), thus connecting older work with the present project. The textual, linguistic, cultural, and temporal frames of the catalogue that was compiled for this research project were established by gathering TV fiction series in English, originally products of the US culture, that had been translated into Spanish for their transmission in Spain, between 2001 and 2015, a period that can be considered homogeneous in cultural, ideological and technological terms, as will be discussed later.

At this point, we consider it necessary to redefine and broaden the traditional concept of 'catalogue', as rooted in the foundational program of Descriptive



Translation Studies. The aim is to produce descriptive research that would be more intersectional and dense, and would allow to map out the translating act as a transcultural product. According to Cheung (2007), the notion of 'dense translation' is linked to Geertz's (1973) 'thick description', which is in turn based on Ryle's (1971) terminological ideas, and that he uses for describing the methodology of his anthropological research, and more specifically to emphasise the need for knowing the context of things in order to be able to understand their full meaning. Later, Appiah (1993/2000) used the notion of 'thick translation' when putting forward the idea of the importance of facilitating a complete understanding of the meaning of translated discourses that appear obscure or inaccessible due to cultural distance. A few years later, Hermans (2007) re-introduced this concept through his (meta-)reflections on transcultural translation studies, and, consequently, it became more solidly incorporated into the discipline.

Rather than trying to make visible the translated product, we aim to gain a comprehensive knowledge of the texts in their entirety. In practice, it means contemplating the idea that it is in fact the metatexts themselves that incorporate paratextual information, which allow researchers to reconstruct the act of translation in its whole complexity. The best way to organise this type of study is to conduct a detailed analysis of a broad and representative database of interrelated individual files, which makes it possible to produce a descriptive analysis with a quantitative as well as qualitative dimension. The catalogue (and later corpus) needs to integrate a balanced combination of information obtained through microscopic linguistic methods and macroscopic cultural enquiry. Such methodology has the potential of facilitating a complete translation analysis of the audiovisual texts that integrates the transcultural and intersectional perspective.

The initial general catalogue contains close to 400 entries, i.e. US television series, which have been translated and released in Spain between 2001 and 2015. Given the boom experienced by US TV fiction, it is important to acknowledge that production is often greater than demand, as many television programmes do not pass the pilot episode threshold. On other occasions, they do not last for more than a few episodes on television, unless they manage to gain the viewers' interest. Therefore, for the product to be representative enough to be incorporated in the catalogue, we have only selected series that have lasted on screen for at least one season, both in the US as original versions as well as in Spain as translated versions.

The database (<http://www.ehu.eus/tralima/catalogos.php>) registers the following information of general interest for the translation researcher:

- Original title
- Target title
- Genre
- Screenwriters
- Production
- Source background



- Date of original premiere
- Date of target premiere
- Number of seasons
- Number of chapters
- Length of chapters
- Original TV channel
- Target TV channel
- Type of translation (dubbed and/or subtitled)
- Translator(s)
- Lip-sync and dubbing director
- Dubbing studio
- American Film Institute (AFI) awards
- Other remarks

We embarked on the field work with the primary intention of establishing a broad and representative corpus, which would also be comprehensive enough. The first filtering mechanism was to select only the series that had been chosen as the most important ones of the year by the AFI, an organisation of recognised prestige. Traditionally, the Institute has honoured the best ten films of the year, and in 2001 it broadened its horizon to honour “the 10 films and 10 television programs deemed culturally and artistically representative of the year's most significant achievements in the art of the moving image” (<http://www.afi.com/afiawards>).

3.1. Selection of Corpus 1

After using the above-mentioned filtering mechanism we are left with 140 titles, of which some have been selected by the AFI as top series on more than one occasion, the most prominent being *Mad Men* (7), *Breaking Bad* (5) and *The Sopranos* (5). The final number of suitable productions is 89. Within this first catalogue, the most relevant information has been grouped under the following sections:

- PRODUCTION: Title, promotional trailer, poster, inserts, and other information.
- CAST: Total number of characters, male and female characters, role and occupation, intersectional characters, role, occupation, sexual and ethnic identity, and other information.
- LANGUAGE: Main original language, secondary original language(s), main target language, secondary target language(s), and other information.
- RECEPTION: Reviews and comments, prizes, and other information.
- OTHER REMARKS



This catalogue of 89 potential texts is thus made up of TV series commercialised during a time frame (2001-2015), showing a given language combination (English-Spanish), and part of a geocultural frame (USA-Spain). The corpus is large enough to be representative and comprehensive for a detailed analysis to be carried out, which in these pages focuses on the translation of the new woman who appears in the leading role of numerous TV series in order to ascertain the extent to which the stereotyping of the new intersectional subject, with the US culture as its starting point, becomes spread across the world. This corpus 1 has been used to conduct a qualitative study of the seasons 2000/01 and 2013/14, the first and the last in the catalogue, though others have not been excluded from the study. The information has been analysed through a microscopic linguistic lens and a magnified cultural one, in an attempt to reconstruct the act of translating.

3. AN OVERVIEW OF CORPUS 1

To start, we will focus on analysing the information from the TV series that received an award from the AFI in either 2001 or 2014, the two years that mark the beginning and the end of the period under analysis. A full list can also be found at <http://www.afi.com/afiawards/whatis.aspx>:

2001	2014
<i>Anne Frank</i>	<i>The Americans</i>
<i>Band of Brothers</i>	<i>Fargo</i>
<i>Buffy the Vampire Slayer</i>	<i>Game of Thrones</i>
<i>Curb Your Enthusiasm</i>	<i>How to Get Away With Murder</i>
<i>Everybody Loves Raymond</i>	<i>Jane the Virgin</i>
<i>Malcolm In The Middle</i>	<i>The Knick</i>
<i>Sex And the City</i>	<i>Mad Men</i>
<i>Six Feet Under</i>	<i>Orange is the New Black</i>
<i>The Sopranos</i>	<i>Silicon Valley</i>
<i>The West Wing</i>	<i>Transparent</i>

Table 1

All the series have been dubbed and broadcast on Spanish television. In the following pages we will proceed to analyse the most significant sections of the catalogue, with the aim of establishing homogenous groups that will enable us to look for and reflect upon the stereotyping process of the new intersectional subject that takes place through translation. Special attention will be paid to (1) the strategies adopted to translate the title, (2) the broadcasting channels, (3) the profile of the intersectional subjects and (4) the original language(s).



3.1. Translation of the Titles

2001		2014	
<i>Anne Frank</i>	<i>La historia de Ana Frank</i>	<i>The Americans</i>	<i>The Americans</i>
<i>Band of Brothers</i>	<i>Hermanos de sangre</i>	<i>Fargo</i>	<i>Fargo</i>
<i>Buffy the Vampire Slayer</i>	<i>Buffy cazavampiros</i>	<i>Game of Thrones</i>	<i>Juego de tronos</i>
<i>Curb Your Enthusiasm</i>	<i>El show de Larry King</i>	<i>How to Get Away With Murder</i>	<i>Cómo defender a un asesino</i>
<i>Everybody Loves Raymond</i>	<i>Todos quieren a Raymond</i>	<i>Jane the Virgin</i>	<i>Jane the Virgin</i>
<i>Malcolm In The Middle</i>	<i>Malcolm el del medio</i>	<i>The Knick</i>	<i>The Knick</i>
<i>Sex and the City</i>	<i>Sexo en Nueva York</i>	<i>Mad Men</i>	<i>Mad Men</i>
<i>Six Feet Under</i>	<i>A dos metros bajo tierra</i>	<i>Orange is the New Black</i>	<i>Orange is the New Black</i>
<i>The Sopranos</i>	<i>Los Soprano</i>	<i>Silicon Valley</i>	<i>Silicon Valley</i>
<i>The West Wing</i>	<i>El ala oeste de la Casa Blanca</i>	<i>Transparent</i>	<i>Transparent</i>

Table 2

While in 2001 all of the original titles were translated in Spanish, in 2014 the translation norm seems to have changed, as 80 per cent of the series keep now their original English title. The non-translation strategy has become an important element in the marketing and globalisation of TV fiction, which can now be identified as belonging to the category of ‘American series’, a sign of quality and status for many. It is noticeable how, in recent years, a type of snobbery linked to US cultural products has increased, despite the ideological and cultural decline that occurred after the terrorist attacks of 2001. English has reinforced its prominence as lingua franca, as the language of cultural prestige, and many TV programmes are frequently distributed (fan)subtitled first and only later on are they dubbed into Spanish.

Newly released series often become viral phenomena across the globe thanks to the power of internet, which allows many viewers to watch any new series at virtually the same time as the original broadcast. The dedication of fansubbers cannot be ignored, as they become (dis)interested protagonists in this new world where the internet has become a global auditorium.



3.2. Broadcasting Channels

2001	USA	Spain	2014	USA	Spain
<i>Anne Frank</i>	ABC	Regional TVs	<i>Americans</i>	FX	Canal+ & Cuatro
<i>Brothers</i>	HBO	Telecinco & Regional TVs	<i>Fargo</i>	FX	Canal+
<i>Buffy</i>	The WB	Cuatro	<i>Thrones</i>	HBO	Canal+ & La Sexta
<i>Curb</i>	HBO	TNT & Regional TVs	<i>How to Get</i>	ABC	Canal+
<i>Raymond</i>	CBS	La Sexta	<i>Jane Virgin</i>	The CW	Canal+
<i>Malcolm</i>	Fox	Antena 3	<i>The Knick</i>	Cinemax	Canal+
<i>Sex City</i>	HBO	Cosmopolitan & Divinity	<i>Mad Men</i>	AMC	Canal+ & Cuatro
<i>Six Feet</i>	HBO	La 2	<i>Orange</i>	Netflix	Canal+
<i>Sopranos</i>	HBO	Canal+ & La Sexta	<i>Silicon</i>	HBO	Canal+
<i>West Wing</i>	NBC	La 2	<i>Transparent</i>	Amazon TV	Movistar TV

Table 3

Broadcasting channels have also changed considerably in the last 14 years, particularly when it comes to technological and TV industry developments both in the US and at a global level. The Spanish cultural scene has also gone through changes recently and, in contrast with the situation in the US, in Spain there only existed one television station—Radio Televisión Española (RTVE)—since its creation in 1956 until the beginning of the 1980s, when a number of national and regional television stations were established. This translates into some 25 years of public television programming, often determined and conditioned by Francoist censorship, which did not completely disappear until 1985. After the enactment of the Private Televisions Act in 1988, an increasing number of private general-interest channels (currently Antena 3, Telecinco, Cuatro and La Sexta) have joined the public state-owned and regional ones. Since then, the development of new technologies has been reflected in the emergence of cable channels, giving rise to a genuine corporate revolution. Traditional TV stations coexist nowadays with digital terrestrial television (DTT) and pay-TV channels, which grant considerable prominence to the diffusion of US fiction series, mostly Canal+ (rebranded as Movistar TV in July 2015). Several steps behind television culture on the other side of the Ocean, internet television has increasingly started to take root in the audiovisual scene, accompanied by the constant rumour of the forthcoming arrival of Amazon TV and Netflix, the latter being finally launched in Spain in October 2015.

In their competition to attract viewers, the programming of pay-TV channels tends to be more innovative than that of freeview television. The decline of conventional channels, lost in a battle for viewers, has in many cases led them to give in to junk television, though some still include a considerable number of nationally produced fiction series within their programming, and although in many cases they are Spanish versions of the tried and tested ‘US formula’, some of them show dignified displays of quality. Their survival on screen depends on high viewing figures, which in



turn has the potential of boosting their advertising revenues. This is the way in which freeview TV operates, contrary to pay-TV that, thanks to its subscribers' fees, can afford to cater for the recreational needs of a section of society willing to know more about what is going on beyond the national borders.

It is interesting to see in Table 3 how the data reflects the evolution of the broadcasting channels, both in the US and Spain. In terms of production and broadcast of original programmes, HBO clearly stood out in 2001 over both freeview and pay channels. At the time, new fiction appeared to be in the hands of this innovative and enterprising channel, which marked a before and after in TV production. By 2014, its position had been somewhat weakened by the emergence of new channels that had followed the route to success initiated by HBO. The advent of internet television, non-existent in 2001, has recently galvanised the industry with the likes of Amazon TV and Netflix.

Meanwhile Spain's reality, like its television, was different. In 2001 foreign fiction was broadcast mainly on national—and, above all, regional—state-owned stations and private free-to-air channels. At the time, three privately owned minority channels stood out, namely Cosmopolitan, Divinity and TNT. Divinity, a franchise of the powerful Mediaset group broadcasting on DTT, aims its programming at the female audience, using the same aesthetic and ideological style as its big brother, Telecinco. Cosmopolitan is broadcast through pay channels such as Canal+, and although they share the same target audience, the programming that they offer is very different. Cosmopolitan offers a wide range of quality series and programmes from abroad, usually the US, which are often broadcast using voiceovers. TNT, on the other hand, is a theme-based channel which broadcasts exclusively the most recent television fiction from abroad, including through pay channels. As seen in Table 3, an important change has taken place by 2014 when general-interest channels have disappeared off the map and Canal+ has become a leader in so-called quality television in Spain, holding the hegemony when it comes to foreign fiction broadcasting. The channel continues to provide the national viewer with an alternative not only to the domestic product but also to the imported, homogenous product 'made in Hollywood' that is so strongly entrenched in the past. As a marginal note, it is also worth mentioning the timid appearance of Movistar TV, the first TV channel to broadcast via the internet in Spain.

3.3. Profile of Intersectional Subjects

2001	Sex	Race	2014	Sex	Race
<i>Anne Frank</i>	Woman	White	<i>Americans</i>	Woman	White
<i>Brothers</i>	Man	White	<i>Fargo</i>	Man	White
<i>Buffy</i>	Woman	White	<i>Thrones</i>	Man	White
<i>Curb</i>	Man	White	<i>How to Get</i>	Woman	Black
<i>Raymond</i>	Man	White	<i>Jane Virgin</i>	Woman	Latino
<i>Malcolm</i>	Man	White	<i>The Knick</i>	Man	White
<i>Sex City</i>	Woman	White	<i>Mad Men</i>	Man	White



<i>Six Feet</i>	Man	White	<i>Orange</i>	Woman	White
<i>Sopranos</i>	Man	White	<i>Silicon</i>	Man	White
<i>West Wing</i>	Man	White	<i>Transparent</i>	Transgender	White

Table 4

As already mentioned, women's role in TV series has traditionally been a secondary one, conditioned by stereotypes that promote gender clichés based on conservative and traditional values. As illustrated in Table 4, white men have traditionally played the leading role and while in 2001 the number of women playing leading roles was only three out of ten and they were all white, in 2014 the number had increased to four/five, including various intersectional subjects—one black (*How to Get Away with Murder*), one Latino (*Jane the Virgin*) and one transgender (*Transparent*)—who play the main roles in some of the most highly awarded series in recent times.

A more qualitative analysis of the data shows that the new woman, the new intersectional subject, has become more prominent in many TV series, challenging the traditionally white, protestant male protagonist, who has acted as a colonising element in Western culture for a long time. Innovative programmes such as *How to Get Away with Murder*, *Jane the Virgin* or *Orange is the New Black* revolve around female protagonists that are varied, be it racially (white, black and Latin) or sexually (hetero-, homo-, bi- or transsexual), and are also full of contrasting nuances with their previous roles on screen (flawed, rude, independent).

For example, *How to Get Away with Murder*, produced for ABC by Shonda Rhimes, revolves around a true anti-heroine: a black woman who is the main character in the storyline. True to Rhimes's style, the screen is filled with strong but humane women immersed in a complex plot that displays abundant amounts of sex and ambition. *Jane the Virgin*, a dramatic comedy produced by CW, is a remake of the Venezuelan soap opera *Juana la virgen*, and it manages to challenge the trite stereotypes that, based on the sublimation of gender clichés in terms of sex and race, have contributed to the dissemination on television of a certain image of Latinos. On the other hand, *Orange is the New Black*, a 'dramedy' created by Jenji Kohan and distributed by Netflix, exaggerates the experiences lived and recorded by Piper Kerman in her autobiography of the same title (Kerman, 2011). Through a kind of 'deviational translation' (Díaz-Cintas 2012: 276), Kohan produced a divergent rewriting that transformed a complacent written text into an archetype of new intersectional telefiction, populated by multiracial and transnational female prisoners of heterogeneous sexual orientation (Pérez L. Heredia, 2015). The new woman, here to stay, will certainly have an impact on the female roles portrayed on TV and the breaking down of gender stereotypes.



3.4. Original Language(s)

2001		2014	
<i>Anne Frank</i>	English	<i>Americans</i>	English, Russian
<i>Brothers</i>	English	<i>Fargo</i>	English
<i>Buffy</i>	English	<i>Thrones</i>	English, Dothraki & Valyrio
<i>Curb</i>	English	<i>How to Get</i>	English
<i>Raymond</i>	English	<i>Jane Virgin</i>	English, Spanish, embedded
<i>Malcolm</i>	English	<i>The Knick</i>	English
<i>Sex City</i>	English	<i>Mad Men</i>	English
<i>Six Feet</i>	English	<i>Orange</i>	English, Spanish
<i>Sopranos</i>	English	<i>Silicon</i>	English
<i>West Wing</i>	English	<i>Transparent</i>	English

Table 5

In 2001, US television fiction was fully monolingual, still reflecting its mainstream culture, as shown in Table 5. However, the situation had changed considerably in 2014 and now different languages coexist with English in the audiovisual product. The presence of authentic third languages or L3s, such as Russian or Spanish, or invented ones, such as Dothraki and Valyrio, breaks the legendary hegemony that English has held on screen, transforming the TV into a heterolingual mirror that finally reflects the cultural and ethnic diversity that characterises US culture.

The Latino boom being experienced in the United States seems to have found its way onto TV and, in at least two of the series analysed, Spanish coexists with English in such a way that one could speak of two original languages in the series. As a result of reforms carried out by the Obama's office, it is estimated that around five million undocumented immigrants have formalised their situation in the US, which has meant a strong boost for the Latino community and made this sector of the population very attractive to the television industry.

From a translation perspective, the existence of a L3 in the original version always involves a challenge (Corrius and Zabalbeascoa 2011; de Higes-Andino *et al.* 2013), especially if the L3 coincides with the target language, as is the case with the linguistic combination that our research is concerned with. Other translation challenges come to the fore when an audiovisual programme embeds language on screen through dynamic textual inserts that fulfil not only a communicative but also an aesthetic and creative function. This development challenges old dichotomies that confront subtitling versus dubbing, as they both now tend to coexist, sometimes also with voiceovers, to translate dialogue and onscreen inserts.



4. TO BE CONTINUED

The aim of this paper has been to conduct a study of the act of translating in an attempt to map out how new TV fiction, with intersectional main characters, incorporates and promotes a series of values, attitudes and models that can then travel via translation from the US metropolis to the new global colony into which the rest of the world seems to have been transformed. Gender and race asymmetries have been inverted in some of these programmes, giving birth to a new product which is the object of an interesting intertextual, rather than interlingual, transfer process. The translation of these marked intersectional, multicultural and multilingual series calls into question the metaphorical conceptualisation of the translator as a neutral, invisible agent that acts as a bridge between the original author and the target audience. Given the easiness with which old and new gender stereotypes can travel in the 21st century via audiovisual programmes, it would be highly interesting to determine whether the new intersectional elements showcased in these TV series manage to challenge the image of the white, protestant male that has traditionally monopolised the screens and, if so, to what extent.

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