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**La
comunicación Intercultural
intercultural Communication**



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Presentación

El volumen 4 de la revista *Cultura, Lenguaje y Representación / Culture, Language and Representation* aborda de forma monográfica un tema destacado, tanto por sus implicaciones en la sociedad actual como por su desarrollo en la bibliografía científica más reciente, el de la *comunicación intercultural*, una vertiente de los estudios socio-lingüísticos y culturales encargada de investigar el modo en que los aspectos verbales y no verbales de la comunicación pueden variar entre unas culturas y otras. Y más importante aún, cómo la comprensión de tales diferencias puede ayudarnos a entender las relaciones de poder y las dificultades para el entendimiento entre miembros de diversas comunidades lingüísticas.

El alcance de estas diferencias se advierte en los más variados contenidos del análisis discursivo: desde la expresión de actos de habla mínimos, hasta la representación de los más complejos eventos comunicativos, pasando por las manifestaciones de la relación interpersonal y los principios que a ella se asocian, como la cortesía o las relaciones de poder. Por no hablar de otros temas no menos interesantes, como la configuración de las inferencias que se derivan tanto de lo dicho como de lo no dicho –pero implicado– en cada sociedad; o la formación de estereotipos culturales con que, casi automáticamente, tendemos a identificar al «otro».

Por otro lado, las manifestaciones de estas diferencias pueden localizarse en las ámbitos discursivos más variados, desde la conversación ordinaria hasta los géneros especializados, como la prensa, el discurso pedagógico, la literatura, el lenguaje fílmico y televisivo, el discurso institucional, entre otros.

Una parte significativa de estos temas y géneros asociados al estudio de la comunicación intercultural aparecen en las páginas de este volumen. Al mismo tiempo, los artículos abordan situaciones de interculturalidad en diferentes regiones del mundo, lo que contribuye a reforzar la ambicionada diversidad temática y epistemológica con que iniciamos este proyecto editorial.

Desde la dirección de la revista queremos agradecer sinceramente el interés mostrado por este nuevo número, tanto por parte de los autores de los artículos como por la de aquellos especialistas que han colaborado con el comité científico en la selección de los trabajos que aquí se incluyen.

Editorial

Volume 4 of *Culture, Language and Representation* is devoted to the topic of Intercultural Communication, whose importance in contemporary society is paramount in exploring the issues of diversity, cultural difference, power relations, the difficulties in crosscultural communication, and the building of bridges to overcome them.

The volume engages in the study of intercultural communication in a variety of discursive situations: socio-economic, linguistic, education, representations in literature and the Arts, the media, institutional discourse, etc. The articles cover a wide range of geographical and cultural contexts where instances of intercultural communication surface as problematic, or are otherwise problematized, tackling both the thematic and epistemological aspects arising from this phenomenon.

Engaging with and promoting intercultural dialogue becomes critical if we are to understand the formation of cultural identity in a globalized world as a multidimensional process where self and «other» interact in complex often contradictory ways, at a time when migration and the exchange of cultural values between countries, ethnicities, religions constitute major challenges to be addressed.

Artículos / *Articles*

Communication in Silence? Relational Interstices in Edward S. Curtis's Portrait Photographs (The North American Indian, 1907-1930)

MATHILDE ARRIVÉ

UNIVERSITÉ MICHEL DE MONTAIGNE BORDEAUX 3

ABSTRACT: E. S. Curtis's portrait photographs are problematic visual interfaces between the self and the other where the ambiguities of the American imperial psyche at the beginning of the 20th century are crystallised and refracted. Though the visual paradigm may function as an instrument of symbolic and imaginary appropriation, allowing the imperial psyche to satisfy its hegemonic impulses and to confirm its essentialist beliefs, it may also work as a dynamic *locus* of cultural articulation where the ethnographic gaze may be reversed – not to say reciprocated – and where the otherness of the Other may ultimately emerge.

Keywords: Edward Sheriff Curtis, Indians of North America, photography, ethnography, ethnic identity, intercultural gaze, intracultural processes.

RESUMEN: Los retratos fotográficos de E. S. Curtis constituyen una interfaz visual problemática entre el individuo y su «otro», en donde aparecen cristalizadas y refractadas las ambigüedades de la psiqué imperial estadounidense a comienzos del siglo XX. Aunque el paradigma visual puede funcionar como un instrumento de apropiación simbólica del imaginario, permitiendo a la psiqué imperial satisfacer sus impulsos hegemónicos, así como confirmar sus convicciones esencialistas, también puede operar como un *locus* dinámico de articulación cultural donde la mirada etnográfica se puede invertir o incluso reciprocarse, permitiendo a la misma alteridad del Otro emerger en última instancia.

Palabras clave: Edward Sheriff Curtis, Indios norteamericanos, fotografía, etnografía, identidad étnica, mirada intercultural, procesos intraculturales.

As etymology suggests, communication is a relational commerce between two or more parties – individual or collective – involved in a more or less

successful exchange of signs. The prerequisite for communication is that these signs be commonly encoded to allow the transmission and reception of a message. Within the same cultural environment, communication is a conventional process, resting on pre-determined, transitive codes. The message may well be unclear, ambiguous or controversial, but the process of communication *as such* is not problematic. It is taken for granted.

But when the inter-*subjective* dimension (difference between persons) is further dialectized by the inter-*cultural* one (difference between cultures) it is the communicational process itself which is at stake: the intercultural ingredient literally *de-familiarizes*¹ communication by injecting discontinuity and surprise, leading to a constant and dynamic readjustment of the communicational pact. Communication is *de-naturalized* as it reveals itself as a contingent, relative, fragile interface between agents at a loss for common signs, codes and cultural referents. While *intracultural* communication rests on the instrumental transparency of a message (the signified) *intercultural* communication inevitably places its focus on the signs themselves (the signifiers), on their conventional nature, their functions and effects as well as their degree of validity in their relation to both the enunciator and the addressee. For all these reasons, intercultural communication is a cultural challenge that destabilizes frames of reference and puts to the test the overall cultural matrix in which they originate.

In the intercultural context, the binary system of *transmission / reception* on which communication traditionally rests is disrupted, or rather energised, with the introduction of a third agency in the communicational chain, that of *mediation*, which operates precisely «between» transmission and reception. The point of this essay will be to identify whether photography, in E. S. Curtis's *The North American Indian* (1907-1930),² can function as a workable mediation, a productive interstice, a collaborative site of cultural articulation of the self and the other, of distance and proximity, that could

[...] provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood – singular or communal – that initiate new signs of identity and innovative signs of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself. [...] It is in the

-
1. The term «defamiliarisation» was coined by the Russian Formalist Viktor Shklovsky when he discussed the *modus operandi* of poetic language and how it relied on some unfamiliar rendering of the world. I use this literary term purposefully to point at the possible homology between the defamiliarizing effects of «the technique of art» – as he called it – on language, and that of the intercultural negotiation on communication.
 2. In relation to the topic of «intercultural communication», we chose to limit the scope of our analysis of *The North American Indian* to portrait photography, where the question of the intercultural encounter is explicit, being both staged in the photograph, and experienced upstream in the act of production, and downstream in the act of reception of the photograph.

emergence of the interstices – the overlap and displacement of domains of difference – that the intersubjective and collective experiences of nationness, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated. (Bhabha, 1994: 1-2)

What is «inter» – be it *interaction*, *intercession*, *interpretation* – is fundamentally fluid and dynamic. This lability may well be highly productive but can also be very easily disrupted, and degenerate into various anti-relational postures. The shaky grounds on which intercultural communication stands point at what we may call «the *predicament* of communication». ³ It is this hesitancy of intercultural communication in E. S. Curtis's *The North American Indian*, and the way it resonates both at the level of the representation and at the level of the represented, that will be of interest for the cultural critic. Is the symbolic and plastic space of the photograph a confirmation of the racial hierarchy and a mere continuation of power struggles taking place in the social arena, or does it provide an alternative, dissident scenario for intercultural relationships? Is the photographic distance a disjunctive distance that alienates or a conjunctive distance that relates?

The second set of questions has to do with the visual modality of the photographic medium which, more than any other, seems to reinforce the «predicament» of communication. We may wonder indeed if there is such a thing as communicators without a voice: is the speechless agent *above* cultural complexity or immersed *in* it? Is silence an escapist strategy to bypass the intercultural encounter or a means to experience it otherwise?

For the cultural critic, «the medium is the message» (McLuhan, 1967). And indeed photography, as a site for cultural enunciation, discloses its own strategies and mechanisms, thus *communicating* a lot about *itself* and about the underlying ethnographic project resting on it, for «if transparency signifies discursive closure – intention, image, author – it does so through a disclosure of its *rules of recognition* – those social texts of epistemic, ethnocentric, nationalist intelligibility [...]» (Bhabha, 1994: 110). Our analysis will therefore consist in decoding, not the codes, but the process of encoding itself.

3. This title is an echo of James Clifford's (1988) *The Predicament of Culture, Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art*, which discusses the ambiguities and inconsistencies of the ethnographic gaze on the Other, and the difficulty today to redefine the grounds on which to found the ethnographic method.

1. Cultural Essentialism and the Conspicuous Absence of Intercultural Communication

1.1. Inventing «Pre-contact» Indians

When it comes to «intercultural communication», an effort of contextualization⁴ and re-historicization is required. Although today post-colonial studies have put forward the idea of intercultural negotiation as a positive and dynamic agency in the process of identity-making, the intercultural encounter was regarded in turn-of-the-century America as potentially dangerous, jeopardizing cultural integrity at a time when the notions of unity and stability of forms, meaning and references were exalted. In the first years of the 20th century, the notion of interculturality was foreign to the American «either-or» cultural logic to the extent that «Indian» and «American» had become exclusive cognitive categories. The Other was more an enemy to be subdued than a cultural ally.

In accordance with this geopolitical and epistemological context, E. S. Curtis viewed interactions between cultures and its corollaries – acculturation, syncretism, hybridity – as fundamentally corrupt and degenerative. Therefore, what he tried to recapture (or rather to reconstruct) was «the pre-contact Indian», in a word, the way Native Americans were *prior* to intercultural communication. The caption that accompanies «Mosa» (fig. 1) makes this very clear:

It would be difficult to conceive of a more thorough aboriginal than this Mohave girl. Her eyes are those of the fawn of the forest, questioning the strange things of civilization upon which it gazes for the first time. She is such a type as Father Garces may have viewed on his journey through the Mohave country in 1776. (Portfolio 2, List of Plates Supplementing Volume II, n. p.)

This essentialist view of culture only nurtured the unrealistic fantasy of a world of fixed cultural essences, resulting in a blind denial of the event of intercultural communication. More generally, this search for «pre-contact» Indians says a lot about the early days of American anthropology, at a transitional time when the method of «observant participation» had just started to be worked out but was not yet fully accepted by amateur ethnologists. Symptomatically, everything that

4. We may draw a rough outline of the major historical landmarks: in 1830, President Andrew Jackson voted the Indian Removal Act, which initiated the westward displacement (especially in Oklahoma) of Indian tribes. This law was at the root of many conflicts, some of which continued till 1838. Up to 1850, 100,000 Indians were deported; the Trail of Tears (1838-1839) remains the most notorious. In June 25, 1873, Lakota, Cheyenne and Arapaho warriors defeated the US Army at Little Bighorn. The Wounded Knee Massacre (Lakota, December 29, 1890) was the last major armed conflict between the Lakota Sioux and the United States.

could betray interaction with Native Americans in *The North American Indian* was concealed, erased, muted as a shameful sign of ethnologic incompleteness.

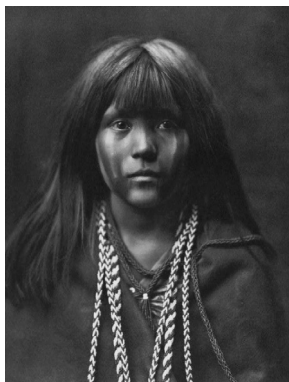


fig. 1. Mosa-Mohave

To that extent, photography may have represented the ideal outlet for E. S. Curtis since it enabled the photographer to *extract* himself from the predicament of intercultural communication, sublimating this aborted experience into a scene which he thought he registered from the outside, without participating in it. As Susan Sontag (1973: 12) points out, this power of abstraction from actual experience is inherent to the photographic activity: «the person who intervenes cannot record; the person who is recording cannot intervene». But E. S. Curtis carries the photographic logic of incommunicability to its extreme by staging it in the very content of the photographic artefacts. Indeed, the rejection of intercultural communication is dramatized through the devising of a sort of visual apartheid where Indian figures stand on their own, as if impervious to white presence, isolated in the cell-like photographic frame. (fig. 2)



fig. 2. Apsaroke woman

It is as if the Indian world was relegated to some photographic «reservation», an extension and confirmation within the space of representation of the ongoing «tribal» politics of the time. Among the 4,000 photographs E. S. Curtis took never is the white presence made visible – an invisibility which should not be mistaken for a vacuum, but rather construed as an oblique presence which refuses to mix with that of the Other. Therefore, one should not be tricked by the overt stance of invisibility, which, though it is a statement of incommunicability, also coexists with assimilationist impulses.

After having expounded the ideological matrix of Curtis's anti-communicational stance, we will now analyse how his essentialist assumptions find some consolidating foundations in the visual paradigm itself (the signifying structure of representation) and how they are then literalised in the photographic diegesis (the signified content of the photograph).

1.2. The Anti-Dialogic Mode: the Visual Paradigm and its Hypertrophy

One may start stating the obvious for, indeed, it is almost tautological to observe that the visual is the anti-dialogic mode at its utmost. In its structural stasis, completion, and autonomy, the photographic artefact appears right away as the monolithic – one should say «the monocular»⁵ – made tangible. It is all the more true as regards Curtis's pseudo-ethnographic photographs since they are allegorised and de-contextualized from the *hic et nunc* of the photographic act and therefore lack the «situatedness» that Bakhtin (1981) defines as the prerequisite for actual communication. In linguistic terms, decontextualization abstracts enunciators and receptors from the very *pragmatics* of visual communication, which, alone, can turn communicational items into proper intelligible messages.

In addition, the precedence of the visual paradigm over the discursive one entails a statically *descriptive* approach to the Other through the production of a one-dimensional, stabilized, hence static «picture» far from the elusive complexity of linguistic transactions between cultures. Hence the substitution of communication for its lesser version, visibility, which Bhabha (1994: 127) identifies as «the priority of “knowledge of” over “knowledge that”», «the

5. *The monolithic and the monocular* are paralleled in *The North American Indian*, for the same authoritative treatment is applied to both Indian words and Indian faces. Indeed, the descriptive quality of the visual finds its textual corollary in the form of glossaries, catalogues and lists, which anthologize Indian dialects just as the photographic *eye/I* anatomises the visibility of their bodies and faces. In the wake of Bakhtin, we may see in this process of dictionary-making the transformation of speech into «language», i.e. its systematic reduction. «Language» is to speech what the (anthropometric) portrait is to the human face, what the image is to the word: its static, quaint, inert duplication.

priority of the visual relation between persons and objects over the justificatory, textual relationship between propositions». The precedence of the scrutiny of the *eye* over the elusiveness of the *voice*, or to put it differently, of the visible over the dialogic, betrays Curtis's desire not to *understand* – via communication –, but his need to *explain* the Other and therefore to rationalize, classify, standardize and chart North American Indians, contemplated as objects on which he may exert his explicative rationality as he would on a zoological or geologic curiosity. In that regard, Indians could be said to be «communicated *upon*»⁶ as underlined by the photo of a man looking upwards in awe as if dwarfed by the burden of Curtis's gaze upon him. (fig. 3)

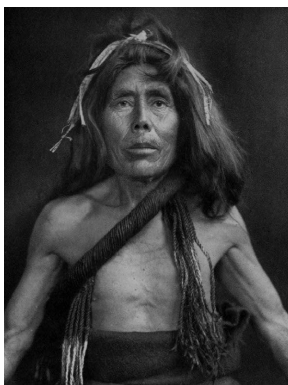


fig. 3. Kekuhtlala (Koeksotenok)

Photography so far appears as both a separate space and a space that separates – a space that generates distance, a locus for alienation rather than communication or expression.

1.3. Staging / Stating Incommunicability

In Curtis's *The North American Indian*, there are two anti-communicational paradigms of relationship: the *agonistic* model (fig. 4), where the warlike protagonists seem to confront the observer in a posture that leads to equating the photographic relationship with a visual duel, as if the century-long conflicts between Native Americans and the United States surfaced in the photograph in a subliminal way.

6. The phrase «communicated upon» is a variation on Bhabha's (1994: 16) own commentary on «victims of projected fears, anxieties and dominations» who are «signified upon».

The second anti-communicational paradigm is the *judiciary* one (fig. 5). In this instance the Indian figure is assimilated to the convict awaiting its trial and dreading the sentence of its unsympathetic American judge. In both cases, the photographic scenario is in keeping with the underlying essentialist ideology – both converge towards a statement of incommunicability. A statement that is both a statement *of* culture and *on* culture.

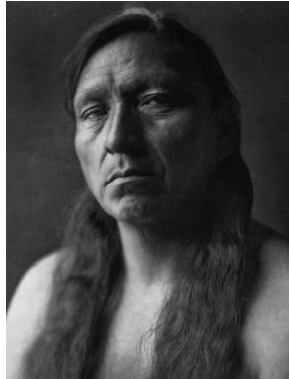


fig. 4. Four Horns (Arikara)

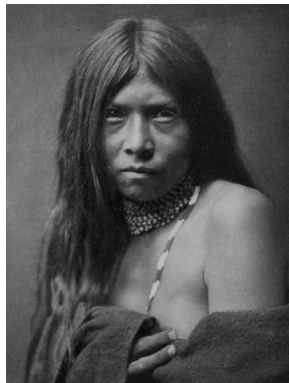


fig. 5. Apache girl

An easy way to bypass the acknowledgement of one's own deafness to Indians' longing for words is to put it down to their own refusal to speak. The speechless world of photography is meant to put forward what was believed as Indian inarticulateness. In accordance with long-standing racial prejudices, Indians were regarded as *infans*, pre-linguistic or illiterate beings. From this, the responsibility of the White man to speak «for» them, or *in their place*, (notice the renewed relevance and productivity of the spatial metaphor) to re-present them, be it political or visual representation, logically ensues. Curtis's flawed

representation of Indians is a symptom of his fear of the Other. Hence his need to mobilize a whole symbolic apparatus to make up for it.

1.4. The Hegemonic Panoptic Apparatus. The Question of Censorship

Communication can only happen between agents enjoying the inalienable status of person, or that of subject, depending on whether we adopt an ethic or a philosophical approach. In Curtis's anthropometrical portraits the subject is normalised and depersonalised,⁷ in other words, he is turned into a *persona* – a generic mask. Differences are levelled down via the reduction to one single homogenised visual proposition. Interestingly, Bhabha (1994: 127) comments on the function and effect of this «epistemological visibility»: «[the colonial] narrative of ambivalent, hybrid, cultural knowledges – neither “one” nor “other” – is ethnocentrically elided in the search for cultural commensurability». In the photograph below (fig. 6), the reduction of the face to its invariants is literalized in the form of the tribal mask, as if it materialised the photographic transformation of the face into an archetypal facies.



fig. 6. Tobadzischini (Navaho)

Photography betrays a difficulty to master *the voice* of the Indian and makes up for the failure to communicate by making possible a mapping of Indian *bodies*. The shift in focus from voice to bodies is corroborated by a shift in focus from time to space. As Indians are not recognised as historical subjects inscribed in temporality, they are captured physically in space through the symbolic annexing of bodies, which is signified mimetically by the structural sense of closure of

7. Depersonalisation is even further reinforced through the reification process which arises from the fact that the photographic object is *functionalised*: it is either instrumentalized as an ethnographic object and informational resource, sold as an aesthetic object, or consumed as a piece of «conspicuous consumption».

the photographs. The communicational dead-end is rendered in the following photograph (fig. 7) through a complex network of imbedded frames that tend to demultiply and therefore to reinforce the actual frame of the picture.

E. S. Curtis fails to dialectize the scopic hierarchy between the observer and the observed and seems instead to polarise it further still, creating an asymmetric relational binarism in which the photographed subject is exposed to a hegemonic, voyeuristic all-seeing *I / eye*. This relational configuration echoes the racial hierarchy of the time. The figure in the photograph is silenced, immobilised and therefore loses his or her capacity to speak in the first person, be it verbally or visually. In the photograph of the chief's daughter (fig. 7), the echo between the immobility of the human figure and that of the inanimate artefact points at a homology in Curtis's treatment of subjects and objects. The strictly knit visual structure is such that it does not allow the photograph to become a site for communication – a site where ingredients of resistance and subversion could potentially emerge – since no «counter-word» (Bakhtin, 1981), one should rather say no «counter-gaze», is possible.

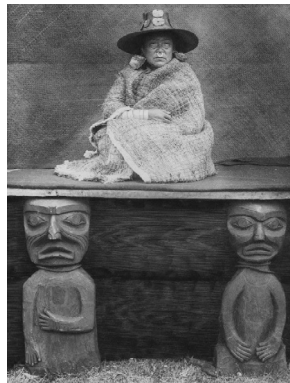


fig. 7. Nakoaktok (chief's daughter)



fig. 8. Wisham girl (profile)

The view in profile (fig. 8), precluding any eye contact, is the anti-communicational view *par excellence* since it explicitly dramatises and exacerbates the absence of reciprocity inherent to the medium. Such (mis)uses of the photographic medium turn it into a tool of censorship, as if Curtis could check the otherness *of/in* Indians by simply silencing them. It may well be a *subliminal* act of denial rather than a positive act of repression, a way of escaping the intricacies of linguistic exchange by freezing it in the apparently definite form of the image. Photography was probably meant as a way to exorcise the *fin-de-siècle* fear of the elusive and the passing, a means to maintain the illusion of cultural stability in the face of the fast-changing American world. Curtis's yearning for a world of fixed cultural essences can be illustrated by the photograph entitled «Crying to the spirits» (fig. 9). This is an example of how Curtis could suggest ethereal, timeless, immutable «indianness» through the use of geometrical parallel and intersecting lines, anchoring the figure deeply in its cultural ground.



fig. 9. Crying to the spirits

The soft-focus effect blurs the vision as much as photography stands in the way of intercultural communication, as if perceptive uncertainty was an objective correlative of the incommunicability between cultures. Here, photography functions both as a symbolic wall that solidifies the institutionalized partition between cultures and as a protective screen that reveals mechanisms and strategies of defence, and conceals the object on which it is supposed to focus.

1.5. Communication Degree Zero: Intracultural Consensus

Who chooses the codes? When it comes to intercultural communication we may wonder where «the common ground» of communication lies. In a colonial context, the necessary effort towards reciprocal adjustment between cultures is usually evacuated by the dominant party. In *The North American Indian* indeed

the American eye is also an *Americanizing* eye that uses photographs of Indian subjects as a symbolic surface for national inscription and intracultural enunciation. Indians are absorbed symbolically by being «incorporated» visually (Trachtenberg, 1982) into Western aesthetic or narrative programs.



fig. 10. Hopi maiden

«The Hopi maiden» (fig. 10), which could be paralleled with photographs by Julia Margaret Cameron, is an example of how Indian figures are romanticized (not to say gothicized) in the pictorialist manner, and haloed with the glamour that usually radiated from the faces of Hollywood stars on 1920s posters. The Indian portrait is always anglomorphic, falling into either the category of the «Beautiful» or the «Picturesque» according to Western standards of taste inherited from 18th-century Europe, on which are sometimes superimposed contemporary canons of beauty deriving from the new emergent mass society.

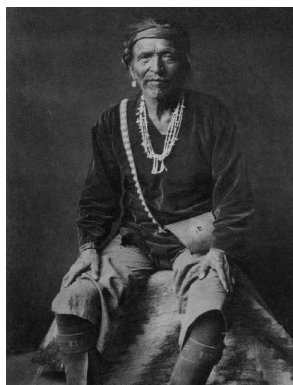


fig. 11. Hastin Yazhe (Navaho)

In full-length portraits, Indian figures (chiefs or women) are viewed in full dress (fig. 11), with an explicit emphasis on the garment as in the traditional

bourgeois visual apparatus. Indians are stylised and spectacularized in photographs informed by narratives, whether it be scientific, mythological, historical or biblical fictions. They are caught up in alien scenarios – epic, pastoral or Christian – that they are bound to enact in the space of the photography. North American Indians become the symbolic, hyper-rhetorical sites, saturated with white codes, where the signs of «americanity» rather than those of «indianity» are exhibited. In this process of symbolic acculturation, which parallels assimilationist politics in real life, the Other serves as (re)assurance for one's own assumptions, standards and categories. The Other is only registered – as a folkloric figure, a photogenic, aesthetic or informational «resource» – as long as he or she allows self-referentiality. Indians are not *communicated* with, but *converted into* signs to serve as cognitive and rhetorical tools for some *intracultural* communication in which they cannot take part.

Therefore, if communication happens at all, it certainly occurs between E. S. Curtis and his contemporaries. *The North American Indian* was indeed expressly designed for a specifically American readership, as testifies the status of Curtis's patrons and sponsors.⁸ It was meant as a book *on* Indians *for* Americans. As such, the imperative of intracultural transparency was a structural and determining factor in the making of *The North American Indian*, and led Curtis to conform to the reading expectations prevailing in that period.

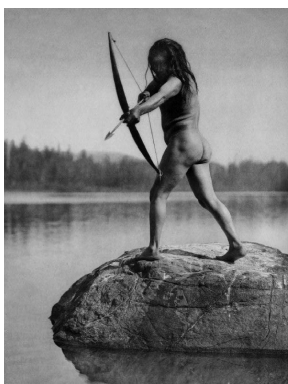


fig. 12. Bowman

The photograph «Bowman» (fig. 12) is, like the prototypical portrait of the feathered Indian chief (fig. 13), an instance of how communication can degenerate

8. E. S. Curtis enjoyed the patronage of two major American figures: a political leader and an economic tycoon. *The North American Indian* was indeed promoted by the former president, Theodore Roosevelt, who wrote the «Preface» and supported the project till he died in 1909. The other sponsor was the railway magnate, J. Pierpont Morgan, who helped Curtis finance this monumental project.

into hackneyed rhetoric when the photographer relies exclusively on hyper-coded figures and empty clichés. In the wake of his predecessors, E. S. Curtis was inscribed in a filiation of expeditionist photographers, painters, poets, and frontier-men (Berkhoffer, 1979; Pearce, 1965 [1953]) whose work he had to confirm rather than to contradict. As an inheritor and a guardian, Curtis was therefore involved in an enterprise of continuation and consolidation of pre-existing stereotyped representations, rather than their dynamic re-positioning according to his actual ethnographic fieldwork. As a result, there is no fresh rejuvenation of the reading / communicational contract, but its consensual perpetuation.



fig. 13. Iron Plume (Ogalala)

Shall we conclude that *intracultural* communication can only be established at the expense of the *intercultural* one, as if cohesion *within* the same culture necessarily meant alienation and estrangement *between* cultures?

2. Communicability: the Liminality of Communication

2.1. Intracultural Rhetoric at a Loss for Words

Fractures undermine this well-wrought intracultural edifice since it soon appears that Curtis's emphasis on intracultural consensus is a fallback position destined to conceal an inability to speak *about* and *to* Indians. What the excess of intracultural references hides therefore is that «white» men are at a loss for words when faced with cultural difference. In that regard, what is interesting is to identify

[...] the hesitancy afflicting the colonialist discourse when it contemplates its discriminated subjects: the *inscrutability* of the Chinese, the *unspeakable* rites of the Indians, the *indescribable* habits of the Hottentots. [...] An undecidability that

turns the discursive conditions of dominance into the grounds of intervention. (Bhabha, 1994: 112)

«Inscrutable, unspeakable, indescribable» elements necessarily escape the control and regulation of intracultural rhetorical strategies aimed at channelling the otherness of Indians by framing the suggestive power of the image. And what this «unsaid» craves to say is the otherness of the Other, which cannot be communicated through traditional logocentric channels.

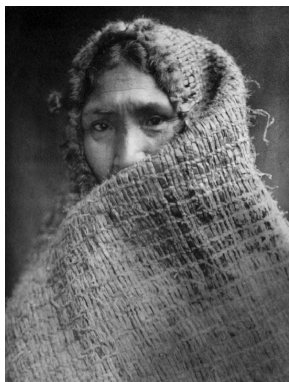


fig. 14. Hesquiat woman

In this veiled figure (fig. 14), the mouth is covered in a gesture of decency and an attitude of secrecy. This half-visible face could be interpreted as an incarnation of all the gaps and blanks of communication, reminding what we often tend to overlook, i.e., that silence is part and parcel of communication.

2.2. Communication Represented, Communication Experienced?

Among the countless photographs making up the 20 volumes of the *North American Indian*, some of them contradict the statement of incommunicability and seem to offer some draft preamble to a way out of ethnocentric solipsism. In the portraits, figures in full-face, represented frontally, at eye-level, seem to be staged in a situation of communication, as if *about* to speak (fig. 15). Looking straight into the eyes of their imaginary observer, they are face to face with him, as if they had been frozen right before the moment of interlocution.

Such photographs mimic a situation of mutuality and reciprocity, and in so doing, resort to the illusionist resources of photography, relying on the confusion between what is represented and what is actually experienced – a confusion which was common occurrence in the early days of photography, when its newfound mimetic verisimilitude stimulated the esoteric belief in the reactivity of the figure.

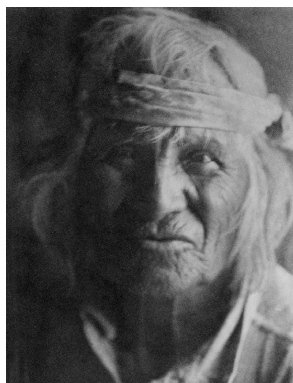


fig. 15. A Sia man

2.3. The Threshold of Communication

What is staged therefore is not communication as such, but *the threshold* of communication, its imminent advent. In these particular instances, photography recovers its status as a symbolic liminal space, an *inter-site*, an interstice where a *desire* for communication is signified – a desire that emerges in the plastic space of the photographs, but which may also be paralleled with some new desire for communication in the social space. «[...] Liminal spaces, in-between the designations of identity, become the process of symbolic interaction, [...] connective tissue» (Bhabha, 1994: 4).



fig. 16. Red Star (Arikara)

By staging the incompleteness of a process *about to happen*, on *the brink of* actualization, Curtis renounces his deleterious, nostalgic recreation of fixed essence, allowing the image to recover some of its inherent dynamics. Forms evolve into *forces* when the statement of incommunicability evolves into the nascent

recognition of communicability, that is, a *potential* for communication which is not *de facto* actualized yet. What is staged in these photographs is therefore an *eagerness for dialogue*, a *promise for communication*. (fig. 16)

The pact of a would-be communication is sealed through eye contact (fig. 17). Eye contact is an activation of communication; it is the visual equivalent of phatic strategies, i.e., an elementary contact paving the way for more elaborate and sophisticated forms of communication.

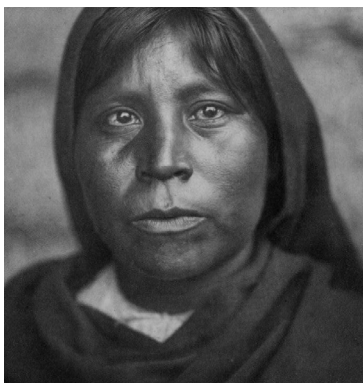


fig. 17. Qahatika matron

There is also another phatic ingredient in photographic close-ups, where the figure in the photograph appeals all the more to the observer since it seems to be within the reach of his hand (fig. 18). This symbolic proximity, signified by the haptic modality of vision (some critics called it «the visual sense of touch») also works as the activation of a fictive communicational contract.

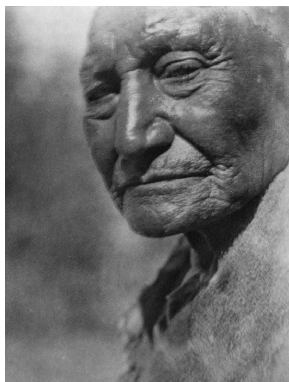


fig. 18. Aged Paviotso of Pyramid Lake

Eye contact as well as visual proximity are both a form of silent hailing or mute interpellation – a *punctum* (Barthes, 1988: 10) – which seizes, moves or

appeals to the observer, attracting him *towards* the gaze. What Curtis therefore stages is the preamble of communication, which is both a stimulation and an invitation to interact.

2.4. Silence as Common Ground

In that instance, silence is no longer a form of regressive and passive rejection of expression, but rather the exacerbation of the desire for communication, the intensification of the longing to approach the Other. As Susan Sontag (1973: 24) points out, silence is provocative: «the very muteness of what is, hypothetically, comprehensible in photographs is what constitutes their attraction and provocativeness».

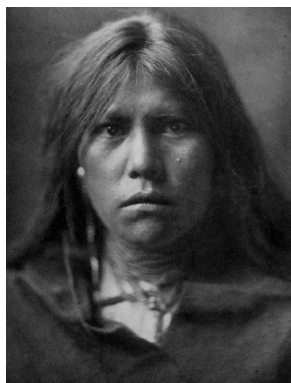


fig. 19. Tenokai (Apache)

The French photographer Henri Cartier Bresson (in Baudrillard, 1968: 16) said once that «you've got to capture people in the midst of their relationship to their own self, that is, in their silence». To that extent, silence is also a common ground insofar as it is shared by the silent observer of the photograph and the figure in it – a kind of silence which sets into motion an intimate, understated form of communication. This is where communication turns into suggestion.

2.5. The *Differance* of Communication

This stammering communication can only happen at the level of reception, so that the communicational diad *photographer-model* is completed by a third agency, that of receptors who may, in their own time and place, experience the

punctum of otherness in E. S. Curtis's photographs. That third interpretive agency is called the «third place» by Bhabha (1994: 36):

The pact of interpretation is never simply an act of communication between the I and the You designated in the statement. The production of meaning requires that these two places be mobilized in the passage through a Third Space, which represents both the general conditions of language and the specific implication of the utterance in a performative and institutional strategy of which it cannot «in itself» be conscious. What this unconscious relation introduces is an ambivalence in the act of interpretation.

This third place is displaced from the original context of production. That is why one could speak of the «différance» (Derrida, 1976) of communication, both postponed and reiterated, ever different to what it was meant to be in the first place. It is indeed only through an act of imagination that gazes may be reciprocated: this exchange of gaze, this phatic eye-contact, is both *differed* (it happens in some specific context of reception, both displaced in place and time), and it also *differs* (from the prescriptions devised in the first place by the author). From such an interplay, some sort of discontinuous circulation of gazes, as multi-directional and multi-valent as the interpretative process itself, ensues.

One could underline the very «patience» of the photograph, which, in its very material durability, allows the event of difference and the advent of *differance*. This idea of *differance* is close to what Bhabha (1994: 191) calls the «time-lag», which is an interruptive but also interpretive locus:

the process of reinscription and negotiation – the insertion or intervention of something that takes on new meaning – happens in the temporal break in-between the sign [...] Through this time-lag – the temporal break in representation – emerges the process of agency both as a historical development and the narrative agency of historical discourse.

Thanks to this time-lag, there is a displacement from symbol (statements *of* and *on* culture) to signs, which recover their suggestive and interpretative potential, as if visual idioms were born anew.

It is that Third Space, though unrepresentable in itself, which constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew. (Bhabha, 1994: 37)

It is in this differed and different act of interpretation, which is also an act of imagination, that photography fully deploys its evocative resources *a posteriori*.

2.6. «The Third Place» of Communication

It is significant that Homi Bhabha should choose the phrase «the third place», resorting as we did throughout this article to the heuristic resources of the spatial metaphor. To contemplate communication in terms of spatiality is in keeping with our idea of photography as a dynamic locus of collaboration and articulation where a third agency is able to intervene. In the differed and differing process of interpretation, photography becomes a crossroads, the meeting point of various agencies – a border which is no longer to be construed as a wall that separates but as a bridge that relates and connects, in accordance with Martin Heidegger's (1971: 152-153) definition: «always and ever differently the bridge escorts the lingering and hastening ways of men to and fro, so that they may get to other banks [...] The bridge gathers as a passage that crosses».

Curtis unwittingly becomes a ferryman, passing on symbols that will in turn be re-appropriated as signs and invested differently. We could therefore define interpretation as «the unconscious of communication», which provides a way out of the implacable statement of intercultural incommunicability.



fig. 20. Hwalya-Yuma

3. Conclusions: The Poetics and Politics of Communication

3.1. The *Aporia* of Communication

What E. S. Curtis presents us with in his photographic portraits is not so much a statement of incommunicability as the suspension of communication in the form of photographic *aporias*. There is no such thing indeed as absolutely transparent communication, since there is always something incommensurable in and about the Other, especially in the intercultural context. Communication becomes a relational trial where ingredients of uncertainty and antagonism

necessarily persist. It is as if the impenetrability *of* the photograph (at the level of the representation) and that of the individual face *in* the photograph (at the level of the represented) materialized all the unsaid, the blanks, the lacunae, the understatements which are bound to occur in the communicational process and which constitute major – and dynamic – components of it. And if, confronted to the photo, we are at a loss for words, it means that explication ends where comprehension starts, when the Other can externalize his or her «inwardness» – an expressivity which does not necessarily rely on actual, overt communication. Like the amputated tongue of Philomela in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,⁹ the words of the Other may well have been maimed, but they resist and persist in some oblique form of expression.

3.2. From Communication to Expression

I would like thus to end on the evocation of smiles. Photographs of smiling individuals are the suggestion of communication, the refraction in the photograph of some conversation that was started prior to the taking of the photograph. Smiles are expressive and eloquent: the smile on the face of the photographed figure is a sort of communication without a meaning, silent eloquence, that of the irreducible individuality of the Other, testified by the incommensurability of his or her smiling face. (fig. 21)



fig. 21. Okuwa-tsire (Cloud Bird)

The smile is visually performative (more than pedagogic). It is a «*face-act*» – to paraphrase and translate J. L. Austin's concept of «*speech-act*» into the

9. Philomela's tongue was chopped off after she was raped by her brother in law. As she could no longer speak but still wanted to warn her sister against the villainy of her husband, she started to weave her words in the form of a tapestry and succeeded in sending it to her sister Procne (Book IV).

realm of the visual – which is both ideologically *effective* and psychologically *affective*. Intercultural communication is not reducible to a mere epistemic investigation of the Other (*to know*) and cannot even be limited to the hermeneutic approach (*to understand*), nor to the mystique quest (*to confuse*), of the Other. Thanks to the mediation of the image, we are made aware of the irreducibility of otherness, while at the same time being made alive – or «sensitized» to resort to a photographic metaphor – to the expression of the anonymous Other.

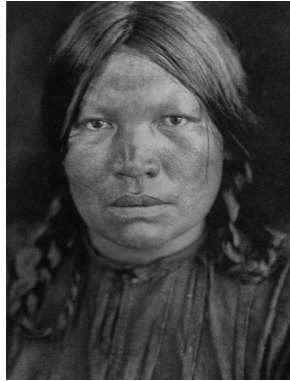


fig. 22. A Chipewyan woman

In the late 1890s, when the frontier was closed (Turner, 1993: 88), the West ceased to be a ground for conquest and it became a contact zone. Photography, as an art of contact – and of ambiguity – exemplifies the cultural moment when this *passage* from conflict to communication between cultures was initiated.

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Inmigración e ilegalidad: la representación mediática del «otro» como problema

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RESUMEN: Partiendo de un marco teórico que combina el enfoque construccionista con las técnicas del análisis crítico del discurso (CDA), en este artículo se analiza cualitativamente el discurso que los medios de comunicación generan alrededor de la denominada inmigración irregular o ilegal. Para ello, se estudia una muestra sobre el tema integrada por todas las informaciones publicadas a lo largo del año 2002 por el diario *El País*. Los resultados sugieren que el discurso mediático, a través de la utilización estratégica del eje legal-ilegal, desempeña una función institucional que legitima una visión policial-judicial de la inmigración, focalizada en la exclusión como única solución y en la construcción del «otro» como no-ciudadano.

Palabras clave: inmigración, alteridad, identidades mediáticas, análisis crítico del discurso (CDA), noticias.

ABSTRACT: This paper, adopting a theoretical frame that combines the constructionist approach with the techniques of critical discourse analysis (CDA), explores, qualitatively, the discourse that the media generate about irregular or illegal immigration. To do so, a representative sample of articles published in newspaper *El País* throughout 2002 is studied. The results suggest that media discourse, through the strategic use of the legal-illegal axis, serves an institutional function that legitimizes a policing and judiciary vision of immigration focused on the idea of exclusion and the construction of the «other» as non-citizen, as the only possible interpretations for this phenomenon.

Keywords: immigration, otherness, media identities, critical discourse analysis (CDA), news.

1. Introducción

El discurso y las representaciones simbólicas, principalmente las abastecidas por los medios de comunicación, asumen una importancia capital en la configuración de nuestra visión del mundo. Como consecuencia de ello, las instituciones mediáticas se convierten en gestoras de las identidades públicas determinando, en gran medida, quiénes son mostrados y bajo qué marcas e imágenes. La trascendencia política de esta función es enorme por dos motivos. En primer lugar, el papel central que juegan los medios de comunicación en la mediación simbólica de la realidad en las sociedades post-industriales y el incremento de la dependencia cognitiva respecto a ellos por parte de la ciudadanía, redobra su importancia en tanto que principal plataforma pública de expresión e interacción identitaria (González, 1997: 79). Además, en segundo término, sólo aquellas identidades colectivas reconocidas públicamente, es decir previamente legitimadas mediáticamente, están en condiciones de presentar demandas ante el poder político (Sampedro, 2004: 136).

En este contexto, este artículo plantea la aproximación al estudio de la representación mediática de la identidad de los inmigrantes, una de las que con mayor fuerza han emergido en la esfera pública española en los últimos años. Para ello, parte de un marco teórico que propugna la colaboración activa entre la sociología fenomenológica, a través del enfoque de la construcción social de la realidad (Berger y Luckmann, 1968; Schütz, 1995; Berger y Luckmann, 1997; Schütz y Luckmann, 2003) adoptado por la sociología de la comunicación (Grossi, 1985; Wolf, 1987; Saperas, 1987; Rodrigo, 1989; Grossi, 2004; Thompson, 2005; Boni, 2005), y las técnicas del análisis crítico del discurso (CDA), centradas en cómo se reproducen las relaciones de poder, dominación y desigualdad a través de instrumentos discursivos (Van Dijk, 1993; Fairclough, 1995 *a*; Fairclough, 1995 *b*; Van Dijk, 1997; Martín Rojo, Pardo y Whittaker, 1998; Van Dijk, 1999; Fairclough y Wodak, 2000; Wodak y Meyer, 2003; Weiss y Wodak, 2003). Las bases del método aplicado (Casero, 2005 *b*) inciden en la observación, desde una perspectiva cualitativa, de las inclusiones y exclusiones operadas por el discurso mediático sobre la inmigración y en las estrategias discursivas que las gobiernan, con el objetivo de explicar la forma bajo la cual se moldea la identidad de este colectivo en las noticias.

En anteriores aproximaciones empíricas a esta cuestión (Casero, 2003; Casero, 2004; Casero 2005 *a*) sosteníamos la tesis de que la identidad de los inmigrantes en la información periodística se articula a partir de tres grandes ejes discursivos que enmarcan y condicionan su representación simbólica: el vinculado al conflicto, el laboral y el legal. Demostrada su presencia, nos centraremos, aquí, en el análisis pormenorizado del último de ellos. La hipótesis de partida afirma que la polarización legal-ilegal determina la construcción de una identi-

dad mediática de la inmigración asociada a la delincuencia, fuertemente marcada por una visión policial y judicial, que legitima las desigualdades sociales y confluye en la exclusión del «otro», que es concebido como un no-ciudadano sin derechos en base a su condición, englobada bajo la ilegalidad.

El análisis se centra en el discurso de los medios, en su contenido, dejando de lado los efectos de su recepción por parte del público. Se somete a examen la identidad mediática de los inmigrantes, configurada por las noticias, en su vertiente textual. Por ello, se emplean las técnicas específicas del análisis de contenido cualitativo en una muestra compuesta por las informaciones sobre inmigración publicadas por el diario español *El País* a lo largo del año 2002.

2. La representación mediática de la inmigración a través del eje legal-ilegal

En este apartado se analizan, desde una óptica cualitativa, las estrategias que utiliza el discurso mediático para configurar la identidad de los inmigrantes a partir del eje legal-ilegal. En este sentido, se aborda, en primer lugar, la conceptualización del fenómeno migratorio como un problema legal en la información periodística y las implicaciones que de ello se derivan. Posteriormente, se examina cómo los medios recurren a una representación basada en la fórmula de un trayecto, compuesto por tres grandes momentos (llegada, estancia y expulsión), para articular la construcción simbólica de los inmigrantes.

2.1. La «problematización» de la inmigración irregular

El discurso informativo en los medios españoles tiende a definir la inmigración como «problema» (Casero, 2005 a). *El País* no es ajeno a esta tendencia ya que recurre frecuentemente a metáforas amenazantes y a términos negativos para calificar este fenómeno. Además, en las noticias analizadas, este rotativo emplea sistemáticamente un antetítulo común con la fórmula «los problemas de los inmigrantes».

Cuando sobre esta conceptualización actúa el eje legal-ilegal, la inmigración pasa a concebirse como un «problema» legal. El discurso mediático deja de lado otros posibles «problemas» (laborales, económicos, sanitarios,...) que entraña, para centrarse exclusivamente en su vertiente jurídica. La inmigración se transforma así, a través de las noticias, en una cuestión de orden público.

Esta estrategia discursiva comporta dos efectos. En primer lugar, como pone de manifiesto el fragmento (1), la inmigración pasa a ser competencia de las instituciones policiales y judiciales («*Las Fuerzas y Cuerpos de Seguridad del Estado*»), puesto que son las encargadas de mantener el orden público y velar

por el cumplimiento de la ley. Por lo tanto, la solución al «problema» comporta, necesariamente, su actuación, que se concreta en «*detenciones*» por «*permanecer en territorio español de manera irregular*» o por «*entrada ilegal*».

- (1) Las Fuerzas y Cuerpos de Seguridad del Estado detuvieron en los cuatro primeros meses del año a 10.984 extranjeros por estancia irregular y a otros 8.600 por entrada ilegal. [...] De cada diez detenciones de extranjeros realizadas en los cuatro primeros meses de este año, cuatro fueron hechas por permanecer en territorio español de manera irregular (*El País*, 12/07/02).

En segundo lugar, se asocia a la figura del inmigrante con la esfera de la ilegalidad, en tanto quebranta la normativa vigente. Su situación jurídica se convierte en el elemento que lo define y lo sitúa fuera de la ley al carecer del requisito normativo (la documentación) como demuestra el ejemplo (2), al aludir a los «*inmigrantes indocumentados marroquíes*». Dando un paso más, el sistema político vincula la «*inmigración ilegal*» con «*el control de la delincuencia*», equiparando, de manera automática, a los «*inmigrantes irregulares*» con «*delinquentes reincidentes*» (3). El eje legal-ilegal es utilizado para relacionar migración y criminalidad bajo la fórmula causa-efecto. Para desplegar esta estrategia discursiva, los actores políticos cuentan con la colaboración activa de las organizaciones periodísticas, como *El País* en nuestro caso, que mediante la reproducción de su discurso en la información contribuyen a reproducirlo y reforzarlo (Teo, 2000).

- (2) La Guardia Civil y el Servicio de Vigilancia Aduanera (SVA) detuvieron en la madrugada de ayer a 62 inmigrantes indocumentados marroquíes que intentaban llegar a las costas españolas en una embarcación neumática (*El País*, 01/08/02).
- (3) La reforma de la Ley de Extranjería es una de las medidas más importantes que el presidente José María Aznar anunciará en el debate de hoy, según fuentes de su entorno. El Ministerio del Interior ha trasladado al presidente como recomendación prioritaria una reforma de esa ley limitada al control de la delincuencia en la inmigración ilegal. Se trataría concretamente de modificar la ley para facilitar la expulsión inmediata del país de los inmigrantes irregulares que son delinquentes reincidentes (*El País*, 15/07/02).

La convergencia de ambos efectos (la concepción policial-judicial del fenómeno y su conexión con la ilegalidad e, incluso, con la delincuencia) tiene una consecuencia contundente. El discurso mediático aparece como vía de legitimación de las restricciones y las expulsiones del colectivo inmigrante como soluciones válidas e incuestionables para atajar los «problemas» que comporta el desafío migratorio. La aplicación del eje legal-ilegal en una estrategia basada en la problematización deriva, por tanto, en la aceptación y legitimación discursi-

vas de políticas cada vez más restrictivas (Van Leeuwen y Wodak, 1999; Wodak y Van Dijk, 2000) y de la exclusión social de este colectivo en las noticias, circunstancia que justifica la necesidad de «*modificar la ley para facilitar la expulsión inmediata del país de los inmigrantes irregulares*» (3).

2.2. La trayectoria migratoria en el discurso mediático: tres momentos

La presencia del eje legal-ilegal en el discurso mediático sobre inmigración provoca que las noticias se articulen a partir de tres momentos básicos de la trayectoria migratoria. El primero de ellos tiene que ver con la llegada, con el momento de acceso del inmigrante al país de acogida. El segundo se refiere a la estancia y, finalmente, el tercero aparece relacionado con el final del periplo migratorio, ejemplificado a través de la expulsión y el retorno al lugar de origen.

Tabla 1. Los tres momentos del trayecto migratorio en el discurso mediático



2.2.1. PRIMER MOMENTO: LA LLEGADA

La llegada es el momento que acapara un mayor volumen de cobertura informativa, generando un elevado número de noticias (CAC, 2001; Aierbe, 2003; Fundación Cipie, 2003). La alta atención periodística que suscita se debe a su vinculación con, como mínimo, dos de los valores básicos que guían la selección informativa: el interés humano y el conflicto. El primero alude a la preocupación, desde una visión compasiva, por la suerte de las personas que intentan acceder al territorio español, mientras que el segundo enfoca la entrada de inmigrantes como un peligro o una amenaza para la sociedad receptora. Miedo y compasión (Rizo, 2001) aparecen como dos elementos fundamentales que determinan el peso de la llegada en el discurso mediático sobre la inmigración irregular.

En la muestra analizada, las noticias sobre la llegada de inmigrantes se centran en los siguientes argumentos discursivos:

- a) Las fórmulas empleadas por los inmigrantes para intentar entrar en España.
En este tipo de informaciones adquiere un notable protagonismo el sustanti-

vo «*patera*» (4), hasta el punto de convertirse en un elemento asociado intrínsecamente a la imagen de la inmigración. El discurso periodístico asocia insistentemente, y de manera casi exclusiva, el acceso de los inmigrantes a la llegada de pateras, embarcaciones de casco pequeño y endeble, fenómeno que, incluso, se compara con la «*temporada alta*» propia del turismo. Pese a su hegemonía discursiva, las informaciones periodísticas también prestan una atención especial a cualquier novedad en las modalidades de entrada al país. Más todavía si son insólitas o peculiares, como demuestra el fragmento (5), que alude a «*dos inmigrantes magrebíes*» que intentaron alcanzar la costa española «*remando con los brazos*» en una «*tabla de surf de 2,5 metros de longitud*». El predominio discursivo de la «*patera*» y sus derivados contribuye a orientar la mirada de los receptores de las noticias hacia una dirección concreta (la inmigración africana) y hacia dos puntos geográficos típicos (el Estrecho de Gibraltar y Canarias). Y ello pese que, tanto los aeropuertos, en el caso de la inmigración procedente de Latinoamérica, como las fronteras terrestres, en la proveniente de los antiguos países soviéticos de la Europa del este, constituyen vías fundamentales de entrada. Su exclusión del discurso mediático provoca que la llegada de inmigrantes se vincule, directa y únicamente, con el continente africano.

(4) Continúa la *temporada alta* para la inmigración irregular en Canarias. La Guardia Civil detuvo la noche del miércoles a 36 subsaharianos que acababan de desembarcar en playa Jablillo, al sur de Fuerteventura. Una patrullera interceptó las dos pateras que los habían trasladado cuando regresaban a la costa de Marruecos (*El País*, 02/08/02).

(5) Agentes de la Guardia Civil interceptaron a mediodía de ayer a dos inmigrantes magrebíes cuando intentaban alcanzar la costa española a bordo de una tabla de surf de 2,5 metros de longitud. Los dos hombres, de entre 30 y 35 años, habían cruzado 18,5 kilómetros del Estrecho remando con los brazos. En el momento de ser rescatados se hallaban extenuados y a la deriva (*El País*, 20/08/02).

b) La detención de los inmigrantes en el momento de su llegada a España. Esta clase de argumento discursivo es complementario del anterior y, por lo tanto, se sitúa en los mismos parámetros geográficos (la inmigración africana). El uso del verbo «*interceptar*», vinculado a la esfera de la criminalidad y la delincuencia, es una constante en estos casos, como ponen de manifiesto los ejemplos (4), (5) y (6). El número de inmigrantes apresados (4) y (6) y la precariedad de su estado de salud (5), como consecuencia de su intento irregular de acceder al país, son criterios de noticiabilidad preferentes. Estas informaciones contribuyen a afirmar, implícitamente, la efectividad, capacidad y firmeza de las instituciones policiales encargadas del control y la vigilancia

de las fronteras, que se limitan a cumplir su cometido de manera neutra y eficaz. Además, vincula el fenómeno migratorio al discurso de la seguridad, en tanto la llegada de inmigrantes se concibe como una amenaza incesante que es necesario atajar. Paralelamente, se omiten las informaciones que dan cuenta de la entrada de inmigrantes cuya detención haya sido imposible. Se ilustran, así, las dificultades de acceder al país de manera irregular, propósito que es presentando como un objetivo imposible.

- (6) La Guardia Civil interceptó entre las ocho de la tarde del domingo y la madrugada de ayer a 28 inmigrantes indocumentados en Tarifa y Algeciras. Se trata de 20 magrebíes, entre ellos dos menores, que viajaban ocultos en tres camiones que habían llegado al puerto algecireño desde Tánger y ocho subsaharianos que transitaban por la N-340 en Tarifa (*El País*, 06/08/02).
- c) La muerte de inmigrantes que intentan acceder de manera irregular a España. Se establece, así, en las noticias una conexión directa entre la llegada y la muerte de los inmigrantes (7). La segunda es presentada como una consecuencia natural de la primera, como uno de los riesgos que entraña la vulneración de la ley. La posibilidad de perder la vida es recordada constantemente en el discurso mediático, incluso a través de fórmulas metafóricas («*El estrecho de Gibraltar se tragó [...] la vida de 13 inmigrantes*»), actuando como advertencia para futuros candidatos a inmigrantes.
- (7) La masiva llegada de inmigrantes continuó ayer en las costas de Cádiz, donde en los últimos cinco días han perdido la vida de 16 personas, once ahogadas (ayer se recuperó otro cadáver) y cinco asfixiadas en un camión (*El País*, 14/10/02).
- (8) El estrecho de Gibraltar se tragó ayer por la mañana la vida de 13 inmigrantes (ocho subsaharianos y cinco magrebíes). La Cruz Roja sospecha que fueron obligados a tirarse al agua por el patrón de la embarcación en la que viajaban al llegar a una zona rocosa situada a 150 metros de la costa de Tarifa (Cádiz), una de las principales localidades turísticas de Andalucía. Cuatro de los subsaharianos eran mujeres, y dos de ellas estaban embarazadas (*El País*, 02/08/02).

En todos estos argumentos, propios del discurso mediático sobre la llegada de inmigrantes, destaca el recurso a la dramatización. Las noticias subrayan las pésimas condiciones de la travesía (5), los perfiles trágicos que comporta la presencia de menores (6) y mujeres embarazadas (8) y las consecuencias fatales que comporta el quebrantamiento de la normativa vigente, concretadas en la detención (4) o, incluso, en la muerte (8). El recurso a la emotividad aparece como un elemento característico de la información periodística en este punto.

2.2.2. SEGUNDO MOMENTO: LA ESTANCIA

La estancia constituye el segundo momento asociado al trayecto del inmigrante irregular en el discurso mediático. Bajo los parámetros del eje legal-ilegal se concibe ya, a priori, como «irregular» en sí misma, puesto que es fruto de la trasgresión del orden legal establecido. Pese a haber superado las dificultades vinculadas a la entrada al país, que acabamos de analizar, el «otro» continúa caracterizándose en las noticias a partir de su asociación con la esfera de la ilegalidad y la delincuencia. En este sentido, es frecuente la utilización de formas lingüísticas relacionadas con el verbo «detener» (9), circunstancia que fomenta la criminalización de los inmigrantes, que son considerados como delincuentes a los que hay que capturar.

- (9) La policía detuvo ayer a 12 de los 300 inmigrantes que se concentraron en Almería para protestar por el rechazo a sus solicitudes de permiso de residencia en el último proceso de regularización por motivos de arraigo (*El País*, 22/01/02).

Por lo que se refiere a la estancia, tres son los principales argumentos a partir de los cuáles se articula el discurso mediático:

- a) El paso de un extremo a otro del eje legal-ilegal. Esta cuestión, que tiene en los «procesos de regularización» (9-10) y el permiso de residencia sus máximos exponentes, se articula como uno de los argumentos centrales de las noticias sobre la estancia de inmigrantes irregulares en España. El acceso a la condición de residente legal asume tal importancia que incluso es equiparada, metafóricamente, con el nacimiento a través de la expresión «salir a la luz» (10).
- (10) Unos 20.000 inmigrantes residentes en Murcia, casi un tercio de los 64.000 que salieron a la luz en los procesos de regularización puestos en marcha por el Gobierno entre 2000 y 2001, continúan 'sin papeles'. Los pequeños agricultores admiten que, un año después del trágico accidente de Lorca -que puso de manifiesto la explotación de los trabajadores indocumentados- siguen empleando a *irregulares* y culpan de esa situación al Gobierno por su lentitud en la tramitación de las solicitudes de regularización presentadas (*El País*, 08/01/02)
- b) La concepción del inmigrante irregular como una carga social. El discurso mediático presenta a los integrantes de este colectivo como sujetos necesitados de múltiples atenciones («colchones, ropa, calzado, paquetes de aseo y medicamentos») que generan un prejuicio económico para la sociedad de

acogida (11). Consecuentemente, se resaltan, así, los perfiles conflictivos del fenómeno, en tanto que constituyen un problema para el sostenimiento del Estado del Bienestar.

(11) Cruz Roja dejará de suministrar ayuda dentro de 10 días a los más de 700 inmigrantes retenidos en la antigua terminal del aeropuerto de Fuerteventura si para entonces el Gobierno no le ha abonado el dinero necesario para realizar su labor, según declaró a EL PAÍS la presidenta de la ONG en Canarias, Carmen Marrero. Cruz Roja es la única organización que se ocupa de los africanos que se hacinan en el edificio, a los que proporciona colchones, ropa, calzado, paquetes de aseo y medicamentos (*El País*, 22/10/02).

c) La marginalidad a la que les condena su condición irregular. Las noticias sobre la estancia exponen también las dificultades que entraña para los inmigrantes su presencia en territorio español sin la conveniente autorización legal. Así, se alude a que la carencia de «*permiso de residencia [...] complica enormemente lograr un empleo con el que sobrevivir*» (12). Se incide en la falta de alternativas y en «*las escasas esperanzas de encontrar trabajo*» que padecen las personas que se encuentran de manera irregular en el país.

(12) Las dificultades para devolver a extranjeros sin permiso de residencia a sus países de origen fueron enormes en 2001 a juzgar por los resultados: de 22.000 inmigrantes con órdenes de expulsión, Interior sólo pudo repatriar a 3.000. El resto, 19.000, se quedó en las calles de las ciudades españolas con escasas esperanzas de encontrar trabajo debido a su situación irregular: sin permiso de residencia y con una orden de expulsión en el bolsillo, lo que les complica enormemente lograr un empleo con el que sobrevivir (*El País*, 05/09/02).

2.2.3. TERCER MOMENTO: LA EXPULSIÓN

Finalmente, el tercer momento asociado al eje legal/ilegal que caracteriza la figura del inmigrante en el discurso mediático tiene que ver con el fin del trayecto migratorio. Éste se ejemplifica a través de la expulsión, como concepto paradigmático. El retorno al país de origen se presenta como el efecto práctico del quebrantamiento de la legislación establecida y, por lo tanto, como la consecuencia lógica de la entrada irregular a la sociedad de acogida. El ejercicio de esta medida aparece en las noticias como un trámite que se «ejecuta» con naturalidad y de manera automatizada al responder a la ley. Queda, así, plenamente legitimada en el discurso periodístico sobre inmigración y, en ningún, caso es vista como una injusticia o como un acto reprochable.

Al contrario, ya que se configura como un mecanismo necesario de defensa ante la llegada de inmigrantes, que, como hemos visto, se entiende desde la óptica de la «amenaza». En este sentido, las informaciones llegan a criticar implícitamente la no repatriación de extranjeros sin permiso de residencia y las dificultades «enormes» que comporta este proceso (12). El discurso informativo recurre, frecuentemente, en estos casos, a la estrategia de la culpabilización de la víctima (Van Dijk, 2003 a: 256). Así, en el tratamiento mediático de las expulsiones se invierten los términos y se acusa al «otro» de provocar desajustes y perjuicios. El discurso informativo pone de manifiesto, por ejemplo, los elevados costes económicos que entraña la aplicación de esta medida, cifrados en «11.000 euros» para «devolver a un chino desde Madrid a Pekín», circunstancia que supondría, para el Ministerio del Interior, «aumentar sustancialmente su presupuesto» (13).

- (13) Si el Ministerio del Interior decidiera comenzar a repatriar inmigrantes asiáticos debería aumentar sustancialmente su presupuesto. Devolver a un chino desde Madrid a Pekín cuesta 10.950 euros (1.821.927 pesetas), más tasas, según las tarifas de Iberia. Está reglamentado que cada repatriado debe ir escoltado por dos policías, cuyos billetes de ida y vuelta en clase turista cuestan 4.132 euros (687.507 pesetas). El billete de ida del inmigrante sale por 2.686 euros (446.913 pesetas), más tasas. El total ronda, pues, los 11.000 euros (1.830.246 pesetas) (*El País*, 06/04/02).

2.2.4. LA ESTRATEGIA DE LA DISUASIÓN

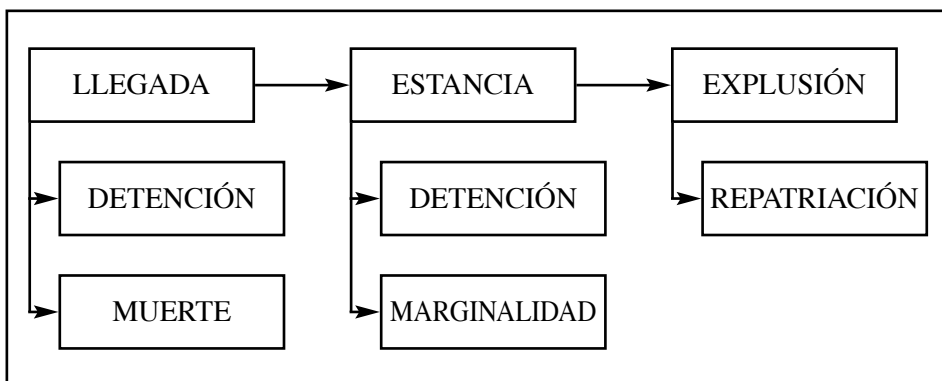
La construcción que el discurso mediático hace del inmigrante irregular a partir de los tres momentos de su trayectoria migratoria se caracteriza por poner en práctica la estrategia de la disuasión. A través de las noticias, se reafirman las escasas o nulas posibilidades que estas personas tienen de acceder e integrarse en la sociedad de acogida.

Así, en la llegada se incide en la detención o en la muerte como las dos posibles consecuencias de la entrada al país al margen de la normativa vigente. La disuasión también actúa en la etapa de la estancia, donde los inmigrantes irregulares se ven abocados, nuevamente, a la detención o, en caso contrario, a la marginalidad. Finalmente, se encuentran rastros de esta estrategia discursiva en el último período, correspondiente al final del periplo migratorio, donde sólo cabe la expulsión o repatriación, que aparece como otra manifestación palpable de la disuasión.

La consecuencia última de todo el trayecto remite a la inutilidad del esfuerzo, atendiendo al hecho de que se vuelve al punto de partida. La información periodística dirige, así, su atención hacia los efectos negativos de la inmigración

irregular, configurando un panorama desalentador, a modo de advertencia implícita para los futuros candidatos.

Tabla 2. La estrategia discursiva de la disuasión en los tres momentos del trayecto migratorio



3. Conclusiones

El análisis de la muestra sometida a estudio permite afirmar el fuerte peso que asume el eje legal-ilegal en la configuración de la identidad mediática de los inmigrantes en el contexto español. Esta dicotomía discursiva se decanta hacia el lado de la ilegalidad, sirviendo de base para la elaboración de una determinada imagen del fenómeno migratorio y de sus sujetos, que se asocia, mayoritariamente, a la esfera de la delincuencia y la criminalidad. Fruto de ello, el «sin papeles» se convierte en el paradigma del «otro» en la información periodística. Este hecho fomenta una fuerte deshumanización y cosificación de la figura del inmigrante, ya que su identidad se define a partir de una cosa, de objeto físico determinado: los papeles.

A partir de la primacía de la ilegalidad, las noticias aparecen como un elemento esencial en el establecimiento y la conservación de las desigualdades sociales (Van Dijk, 1997; Bañón, 2002). Los medios de comunicación asumen, como consecuencia de ello, un rol de agentes de legitimación institucional que difunden, ratifican y sancionan públicamente como válido el discurso de dominación étnica elaborado por las elites políticas españolas (Van Dijk, 2003 *b*). Contribuyen decisivamente a entender la inmigración como un «problema» que debe ser abordado desde la visión policial y judicial, aplicando instrumentos y medidas represoras centradas en la lucha contra la inmigración ilegal (De Lucas, 2003: 54). Bajo estos parámetros, la seguridad se alza como valor primordial y,

por ende, la inmigración se concibe como una de sus principales amenazas. Desde esta óptica, las organizaciones periodísticas se erigen como canales de mediación entre el racismo institucional y el racismo social (Zapata-Barrero, 2004: 172).

Asimismo, el discurso mediático sobre la inmigración irregular se articula a partir de la polarización ellos-nosotros, que actúa como verdadero motor de la representación del fenómeno migratorio. Consecuentemente, condiciona de manera determinante la identidad de los inmigrantes proyectada por los medios de comunicación. Su puesta en práctica en las noticias se estructura a partir del predominio del cuadro ideológico: una enfatización de las informaciones «positivas» sobre «nosotros», una acentuación de noticias «negativas» sobre «ellos», una supresión de las informaciones «negativas» sobre «nosotros» y, finalmente, una omisión de las noticias «positivas» sobre «ellos» (Van Dijk, 1999; Oktar, 2001).

La aplicación del eje legal-ilegal a la polarización ellos-nosotros produce la aparición de diversas divisiones antagónicas en las noticias sobre inmigración que hacen posible la diferenciación identitaria. Así, mientras que «nosotros» ocupamos implícitamente el papel de sujetos legales, «ellos» son calificados explícitamente de ilegales. Igualmente, «ellos» son concebidos en tanto que amenaza para «nosotros», que, automáticamente, nos vemos impelidos a desarrollar medidas defensivas de corte policial para hacer frente al «peligro» migratorio.

Complementariamente, a través de una auto-presentación positiva, «nosotros» nos definimos a partir de la suma de dos ingredientes básicos. Por un lado, las noticias resaltan nuestra eficacia en el cumplimiento de la legislación vigente. Así, las detenciones y expulsiones de inmigrantes son tratadas desde la más absoluta neutralidad discursiva, como actividades naturales y normalizadas. En segundo lugar, la información periodística resalta la vertiente solidaria del «nosotros», a través de su asociación con la figura del buen samaritano, que ayuda sin recibir nada a cambio.

Finalmente, la polarización ellos-nosotros determina la construcción de la identidad mediática del «otro» bajo la figura del no-ciudadano. El discurso informativo instaura la primacía del principio de nacimiento para lograr la ciudadanía y, por ende, acceder a los derechos que lleva aparejada. Al presentar al inmigrante como «sin papeles» lo concibe como un «sin derechos», como una persona «invisible» que no goza de ninguna protección, ni siquiera las relacionadas con los derechos humanos, y que se ve abocada al mercado como única forma de vida desde una situación de extrema vulnerabilidad que, fácilmente, degenera en abusos de todo tipo. Los inmigrantes irregulares se convierten, así, en los nuevos miserables dentro de una estructuración social de tipo medieval, sin precedentes en nuestra historia contemporánea (Zapata-Barrero, 2004: 141-144).

Tabla 3. Consecuencias de la introducción del eje legal-ilegal a la polarización ellos-nosotros en el discurso mediáticos sobre inmigración

NOSOTROS	ELLOS
LEGALES	ILEGALES – DELINCUENTES
CIUDADANOS	NO CIUDADANOS – SIN DERECHOS

El peso del eje legal-ilegal provoca el surgimiento de una identidad excluida en las noticias que discrimina de forma contundente a los protagonistas del fenómeno migratorio. En este escenario en el cual los binomios ciudadanía y democracia, por un lado, y marginación y origen nacional, por otro, se implican mutuamente, la exclusión se alza como marco discursivo y consecuencia última de la información periodística sobre inmigración.

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«Exploring the Gap»: Intercultural Learning in Literature and the Arts in Lifelong Learning

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ABSTRACT: Lev Manovich (2001) suggests that the heart of the new media relationship is language, programmes and people in collaboration producing and interpreting new representations of the world through «cultural interfaces – Web pages, CD-ROM titles, computer games». In this paper, I explore the gap in-between the artist, the programme and the cultural interface. Gaps are something into which we either fall – or we fill. We may rush to fill an awkward gap in a conversation; or alternatively, we may use that gap – relish the silence – and take the opportunity to explore it creatively. This paper provides a contribution towards filling the digital gap in new media learning via analysis of student questionnaires, recorded interviews and exemplar material, and concludes with reflections on the pedagogical and intercultural theoretical issues involved.

Keywords: intercultural learning, digital media, cultural interface, reconceptualization, knowledge transfer, creativity.

RESUMEN: Manovich (2001) sugiere que en la base de las relaciones entre los nuevos medios de masas se encuentran el lenguaje, los programas informáticos y los individuos que producen e interpretan de manera colaborativa nuevas representaciones del mundo mediante «interfaces culturales – páginas web, carátulas de CD-rom, juegos de ordenador». En este artículo se exploran los espacios existentes entre el artista, el programa y la interfaz cultural. El ser humano puede apresurarse a rellenar un vacío conversacional o disfrutar del silencio y explorarlo de manera creativa. Este artículo contribuye a rellenar el espacio digital producido en la enseñanza realizada con nuevos recursos multimedia, a través del análisis de cuestionarios, entrevistas grabadas y materiales ilustrativos realizados por los estudiantes, concluyendo con una reflexión sobre los aspectos pedagógicos e interculturales de naturaleza teórica derivados de tales cuestiones.

Palabras clave: aprendizaje intercultural, multimedia digital, interfaz cultural, reconceptualización cultural, transferencia del conocimiento, creatividad.

I will use the term *cultural interface* to describe a *human-computer-culture interface* – the ways in which computers present and allow us to interact with cultural data. Cultural interfaces include the interfaces used by designers of Web Sites, CD-ROM and DVD titles, multimedia encyclopaedias, on-line museums and magazines, computer games and other new media cultural objects. (Manovich, 2001: 70)

In Humanities and in Education university departments in the UK there used to be a reluctance to engage with digital technology at the level of research, preferring instead to see the new system of communication as a useful tool for education or for storage of cultural and historical artefacts in digital format, for example, the play texts of Shakespeare, which could then be transmitted and accessed in their transcoded form to researchers and students world-wide. However, there seems to be something about the driving digital impulse of the new media that presents a cheeky challenge to the traditions of logo-centric print-based culture and associated rights of entry to the Academy, which is more radical even than that launched by the analog media of cinema, television and video in the 1970s and 1980s. Perhaps belatedly, the relentless advance of digital media has provoked a plethora of new theoretical interpretations from the Higher Education Academy, which range from social and political, psychological, phenomenological, gendered and cultural explanations, to the conceptual ideas of «borderless», «inter», «trans», and «hyper» – all of which indicate now an intense interest in the global communication phenomenon that is digital technology.

In terms of inter-cultural communication, this digital upstart is not only modular, fragmented and infinitely repeatable, but it also presents hyper-texts and inter-active elements that appear to offer endlessly deferred interpretations and indeed the real possibility of «no-ending» at all somewhere out there in «cyberspace». Not surprisingly, the Academy is divided as to the proper way to interpret a multi-media form that defies categorization, and yet the phenomenon now is all encompassing and trans-global so it can no longer be ignored: it must be addressed. This is perhaps particularly pertinent for students of education in the Arts and Humanities where the very nature of their study and future teaching format is challenged by the constantly changing systems that deliver new cultural artefacts, which appear to reduce the live interaction with creative impulses to a string of 0/1 digital codes, algorithms, programmes and a navigation structure. Given that Literature and Theatre and Education all explore how we as human beings respond to and conceptualise our essential «liveness» (Auslander, 1999) and our experience of living in the «real» world, there are «real» problems when that experience is apparently transcoded into a series of noughts and zeroes with gaps in-between, and viewed and experienced via computer screens. This is essentially a cultural communication process and as other articles in this journal will doubtless explore, it is an inter-cultural communication process that is also a conceptual divide between «emerging» and «established» cultures.

In *The Language of New Media* Lev Manovich (2001: 67) describes how the «content of an artwork is the result of a collaboration between the artist/programmer and the computer programme, or, if the work is inter-active, between the artist, the computer programme and the user» and so he takes us into a three-way relationship, which is digital coding, programmes and people in collaboration producing and interpreting new representations of the world through «cultural interfaces – Web pages, CD-ROM titles, computer games» (Manovich, 2001: 71). While I like this approach because it emphasises the activity of the user in the human-computer interface, Manovich does make the assumption of digital language competence (as reader or writer) and artistic creativity (as reader or writer) in the cultural interface triangle that I am not certain is a common competence for all students of the new media. As we shall see, there are gaps in-between the human-computer-cultural interface, which this paper explores. The concept of the gap is an interesting one for digital media in particular because it works at the level of the technology itself – there is an actual gap in-between the 0-1 – even if that gap is not perceptual to the human eye; and there are gaps in our perception of our own ability to meet the challenge of the new technologies, particularly perhaps if one is a mature student who has not grown up surrounded by and familiar with digital communication systems. Gaps are something into which we either fall – or we fill. We may rush to fill an awkward gap in a conversation; or alternatively, we may use that gap – relish the silence – and take the opportunity to explore it creatively. This article provides a small contribution towards filling the digital gap through an assessment of the student learning experience of a module called *Literature and the Arts in the new media*, where mature part-time students in Higher Education engaged creatively and critically with digital media as part of their English and Performing Arts degree programme, and it explores some of the pedagogical and theoretical issues raised.

1. Context

The BA (Hons) English Studies and Performing Arts degree is offered by The Institute for Lifelong Learning at the University of Sheffield. Designed in 1998, the central exploration of the degree as a whole is the relationship between English Literature to Theatre, Cinema, Music and the New Media. The module *Literature and the Arts in the new media* is one of two core modules that form the spine of the degree, which runs in tandem with *Criticism and Critical Theory in Literature and the Arts*. I designated the module *Literature and the Arts in the new media* as core to the degree because it seemed to me essential that a new arts degree should engage critically, creatively and theoretically with the structures of the new media. My argument for this was that if critical theory was the *enfant*

terrible of the 1970s, then digitization and the prolific growth of the new technologies in the 1990s were destined to be the next phenomenon that would require the attention of the Academy, as indeed it has proved. At that time in English Higher Education, digital technology was conceived of largely as a technical skill confined to university libraries, data bases and word processing, and this seemed to me inappropriate as graduates not only need to be able to use new media in employment after university, but also to apply their conceptual thinking skills to the wider framework of new media. Therefore, the inclusion of *Literature and the Arts in the new media* as a core module at level two, plus its successor module at level three, *Policy and Practice in Contemporary Culture* was certainly more than a nod to the skills-based directions of Government education aspirations (White Paper, January 2003). Rather, it was recognition that because digital technology includes science, technology and culture within its structure so students studying an interdisciplinary arts degree needed to think about the implications of the new international and trans-global phenomenon that was clearly going to have an impact on all areas of our lives and was more than just a new intermedial cultural «games machine»:

New media in general can be thought of as consisting of two distinct layers – the «cultural layer» and the «computer layer.» Examples of categories belonging to the cultural layer are the encyclopaedia and the short story; story and plot; composition and point of view; mimesis and catharsis; comedy and tragedy. Examples of categories in the computer layer are process and packet (as in data packets transmitted through the network); sorting and matching; function and variable; computer language and data structure. Because new media is created on computers, distributed via computers and stored and archived on computers, the logic of a computer may be expected to considerably influence the traditional cultural logic of media; that is, we may expect that the computer layer will affect the cultural layer. (Manovich, 2001: 46)

2. Module Aims and Learning Outcomes

The module aims to:

- Explore the uses of the new technology in literature and the arts;
- Examine changes in the processes involved in reading and writing texts arising from the use of ICT (Information, Communication and Technology);
- Assess the new technologies within the critical and theoretical framework of the degree.

By the end of the course it was expected that the students would be able to:

- Apply knowledge of the new technology to more than one artistic area;
- Demonstrate their understanding of reading and writing in an interactive format;
- Discuss critically the new technology within the theoretical framework of the degree.

The module has three central areas for investigation and assessment:¹

- Analysis of literature and the arts on the www;
- Working creatively with the media: student multimedia project;
- Critical discussion of theoretical issues.

The module is positioned at level two in the degree structure, so the students had completed the level one course on semiotic analysis of literature, theatre and cinema before the start of the module and had basic skills in computer literacy, file transfer and sequencing and sampling. For the first six weeks of the new module, students were given guided explorations of the Arts of the World Wide Web as a comparative study to the arts of the theatre and cinema. Assessing a selection of poems and hyperfiction available on «Eastgate.com» (<<http://www.eastgate.com/ReadingRoom.html>>) raised the question for the students as to how digital coding created web stories and poems and how they differed and yet were similar to print based literature, which raised the issues of the canon, authorship and power. The students learned very quickly to transfer their skills in semiotic analysis of literature, theatre and cinema to the computer screen and added to their critical vocabulary the language of the web. They learned that a very notable difference in the narrative construction of hyperfiction is the addition of sounds and images to the written text and that hyperfiction reveals itself a screen at a time – with hidden texts behind – and without any necessary linear connections or directions. Thus, they learned to make choices as to which way to go and, through the click of the mouse, which pathway of the story to explore. Typically, a hyperfiction text offers many routes and many stories and the choice initially appeared to be at the command of the user. Their investigation appeared to reveal that the author was indeed «dead» (Barthes, 1968) and that they had control over the interpretation of the narrative. However, more detailed analysis revealed that they were often confined by the technical construction of the site, and that the hyperfiction author had constructed the interface in such a way that semiotic indicators tended to trigger specific cultural

1. Assessment criteria used are given at appendix A.

responses from the reader and thus their pathway was actually determined by a mixture of cultural and digital structures. While learning that their control over the text was less free than it initially appeared, they discovered that many of the texts are open ended and resisted closure; and that hyperfiction tended towards the poetic through the inclusion of image and music / sounds to the words, so that logos became one element in the larger visual narrative.

All of the students were very capable of reading and analyzing the new media at this level and had no problem at making connections between their web sites analysis and the other core module of their degree, critical theory. Indeed, applying a cultural materialist theoretical perspective to web sites such as <www.sheffield.ac.uk> and <www.bbc.co.uk> revealed the economic underpinning of the world wide web, and how the UK Government educational remit was present in both web sites – one could say almost as a co-presence.

3. The Multimedia Project

The atmosphere of the course changed radically once the workshops for the multimedia project began. The multimedia project (assessment criteria 50%: Project 30%; evaluation of project 20%) was included to give the students, many of whom came on to the degree from a certificate in creative writing, the opportunity to use the medium in a creative way through the use of the software *Dreamweaver* and *Photoshop*. The task set was to write an off-line story, play or poem; use appropriate illustrations and sounds and record the whole on to a compact disc. In tandem with creating their own multimedia project they were asked to keep a diary of what they did and this formed part of their evaluation of the project. Students were asked to reflect on the process of creating a multimedia project; on their perceived strengths and weaknesses; the creative and editorial decisions they made and the reasons for those decisions. Given that the student body were all mature part-time students it was not surprising that almost all the multimedia projects drew on their own life experiences, and some of the group were enthusiastic about the opportunity to use the technology to interpret their lives as a new narrative.

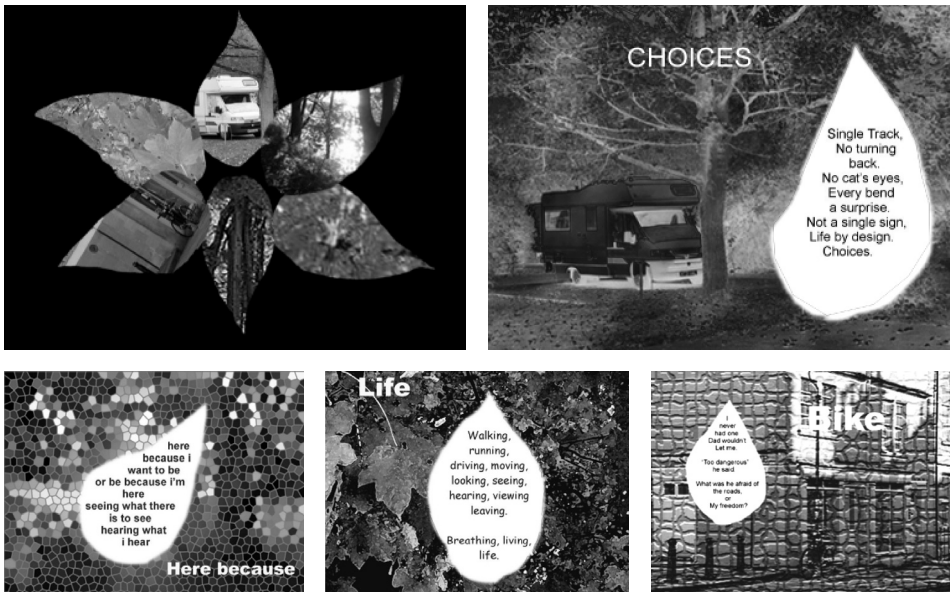
I enjoyed planning, actually on paper, I thought – yes – this will be good and I'd love to do this, and I really enjoyed that – it was the frustration of not being able to do what I wanted to do – that was difficult.

Some students however, were not inspired, but rather more pragmatic:

I think that because you left it as open as you did it allowed people to be as creative as they wanted to be. Certainly, the week that you asked people what their ideas

were – at that point I had no ideas whatsoever – so I just came out with something and then worried about it afterwards – and I had to be creative from that point and had to come up with something. So it forced me into creativity if you like, rather than me having all these ideas and needing some way of getting them out – but it turned out to be the ideal route.

One student created a multimedia project where they drew on a recent touring holiday during which they had taken some digital photographs, and using the image and travel as inspiration the student wrote some short poems that encapsulated thoughts on the journey. From there the student designed a web site that drew on the literary concept of «the journey through life» and the different pathways that each individual makes in life. To each page the student added appropriate music to enhance and express the words and images, and so created a simple but very effective multimedia project, which included hotlinks as a narrative technique.



(Extracted from creative project with permission of the student)

4. Theoretical Issues

The final section of the course discussed the theoretical issues that the course raised and included a formal examination (assessment criteria 30%) in two sections: prepared questions that related to the theoretical issues discussed on the course; and an unseen extract from a theoretical piece of writing, which was analysed by the student in the light of the work done on the course. Despite

the looming formal examination process, for many of the students the theoretical section turned out to be the most enjoyable part of the course:

- J1 I think it was good to actually have some time to think about it – I mean that was the thing I liked best.
 A1 The course work was handed in so we could actually sit and talk and think [...]

5. Student Interpretation of the Learning Experience

After the end of the course 7 from a class of 11 students came to record their experiences of the module as a feed-back and research session. As programme director I had been aware of their struggles and discontent with the workshop section, so it was an opportunity for me to see what needed to be changed, and for the students to air their opinions. All the students were informed about the context of the meeting and those who attended gave agreement for the conversation to be taped, transcribed and used for academic research and future publications. A short questionnaire² completed before the general discussion began revealed that the software package *Dreamweaver* was unfamiliar to the majority of the students before the course, and most of them found it very difficult to use. However, interestingly, 4 of the 7 would, in varying degrees, recommend a friend to use it to design a project. *Photoshop*, the second software package, was seen as more user friendly. The questionnaire revealed that the multimedia project did lead to changes in student interpretation of their perspectives about reading on the web, and to how they thought about the relationship of words to images and sounds. When the discussion began, however, students immediately focused on the problems that they had experienced in the workshops:

- J2 I feel almost as though I was a technophobe. It became problematic in that barriers were built up, and I think that was because it wasn't «hands-on» enough in the early stages. That created a big problem later on when we were actually doing the project, and I hadn't the confidence, if I am honest, to come in extra during the day. With the other course at level one I had the confidence to come in during my own time and practice, but there was no way that I could have done that here because I wouldn't have known what to do without a member of staff there. So I couldn't come in and practice.
 L Even the basics were hard to grasp, and that was just finding the web site that you had already started, and things like that – it was just – we got so far behind.
 Int Didn't you get any practical input at all in the second half of that first semester?

2. See appendix B.

LONG PAUSE

J1 Not that I can remember, so that's how memorable it was.

Int Right... But Tutor B did do practical sessions with you on *Dreamweaver*?

J1 If he did then I can't remember them.

J2 They were more like lectures, if we are really, really blunt. It was like a lecture, and you can't learn a practical subject in that way, frantically taking notes and barely any time left to have a go yourself. You can take notes but you can't see the screen.

A2 So you needed printouts for everything you have gone through. He'll say to you «Go away and practice what we've just done», and you can't because you've just forgotten it. He didn't give us a printout each session, but I think that we needed that.

The pedagogic issue is that tutor B was using inappropriate teaching methods, particularly for mature part-time students who are less familiar with technology than their younger full-time counterparts and who tend to be unsure anyway about their abilities to cope with new material. Of key importance is that the students' perception of their lack of expertise with the software led to frustration, as a gap appeared in-between what they wanted to do creatively and the actuality of working with the new media. What we can see here is the underlying panic of students who felt out of their depth and at odds with the learning environment. As the discussion continued it transpired that the problem was not just their inexperience with the software, but the experience of the human mind meeting hard technology (the *human-computer interface* identified by Manovich), and a gap opened up between the human beings and the digital media interface. In addition, the students did not realize fully that the written evaluation of the project was their opportunity to reflect on the problems of working creatively with digital technology, and that reflection on the process was just as important as technical expertise. They continued to feel justified in thinking that they had been let down by tutor B and they worried that if they were critical of tutor B in their written evaluation, this might lead to a negative impact on their grades.

Int Did you feel that the written evaluation of the problems was useful?

A Well, it became an imperative within the context – you know we all had other things – other assignments and it was like – you felt – I know that there's an evaluation and I know that, but I've just reached the point where I have got to move on because there's other essays to do, so yes I had a copy of the software at home, but I'd still have the same problems when I got home because I felt that I didn't have the knowledge to use the tools to get the thing out of the way. And it was – for me – it was such a barrier.

J2 It was quite difficult. I tried to be very frank and honest in my evaluation of the work that I had done, how successful I thought bits were – what I wanted to do – that I didn't really achieve as much as I wanted and had planned to do – but

the problem was how to do that and not moan and groan? How to say I didn't think it worked out as well as it could have perhaps – without being a «moaning minny» in a piece of my work that was going to be marked – so I tried very hard to steer clear of that and focus on what I had done – these are the facts and that worked and that didn't – Rather than say what I really thought...

Int And you felt that you couldn't say what you really thought in your evaluation?

J2 I didn't want that person that I was slating to read it. You know... this was a task that I had been given to do. So, I thought, just get on with it and don't say anything.

It seems that lack of skills – «tools» – led to frustration and the students felt that they could not express their frustration openly because of the system of education in which their creative experiment was taking place: formal assessment of a degree core module that was impacting on their ability to get on with other tasks set for assessment in other modules.

The second point that emerged was that working with the technology became a very solitary experience, which to a greater or lesser degree all the students experienced. Some students found the solitary nature of the experience liberating because they had the technical competence and so they enjoyed the direct contact with the medium, which gave them creative satisfaction and liberation from the need to express themselves verbally as part of the small group seminar sessions, which form the major teaching style of The Institute for Lifelong Learning. To the less technically proficient students, the solitary nature of working one-to-one with the screen was frightening because of the loss of the shared communicative learning of small seminar sessions. The teaching of the technology within a creative workshop group thus becomes a cultural as well as an educational issue.

A1 It's been an unusual course for me because I went off and did my own thing. When you are doing something like building a web site, unless you are doing it as a team effort, it is always going to be a solo thing – it's your creativity, your ideas, your implementation, your coding – from start to finish – you have 100% control over that – and that is what we all had. It's interesting because a lot of the technology-based modules do have that solo impetus. The music technology module was the same – the creative writing on the web was the same – you are on your own – you do your own thing.

Int So, are we saying that the technology is, in some way, re-enforcing the idea of the solo artist – the artist in the garret writing his own novel – driven by what he wants to say – in his or her own way? At the end of the day you took your decisions about your art work.

A1 mmm, yes, that was nice.

Int Is this quite revolutionary in terms of teaching in our department?

- A3 It can be quite disempowering as well. I think that many people learn in a collective experience through exchanging ideas, and I think that it was quite disempowering to think that you may have total power / autonomy, but it's just you.
- L It's a lonely experience isn't it?
- A3 It is yes.
- L We never got a chance to talk to one another.
- J1 It was a very selfish course.
- A2 When we have had troubles before we have always managed to talk stuff through, on other courses we have always gone for a drink, or whatever, and sorted things out there. But with this one we didn't...
- S The fact that you were all going on to another class – that was a bit isolating – I am used to going off for a drink and talking over different problems with people.
- A3 That's the potential that the web has to do that – it's just you and the screen. The world might be out there, but it's just you and the screen – and somehow it becomes very difficult to stop working with the computer and talk to someone.
- Int So for something that's designed as the great communicator to bring things and people together
- L It's the opposite.

6. Philosophical Reflections of Working with the New Media

In the student's discussion of the final section of the course – the theoretical issues that the course raised for them, and their reading of key thinkers and writers on new media – a common strand that emerged was their dual feeling of alienation and fascination with the medium. Their experiences of working creatively with the medium had made them very alert to the McLuhan (1967) thesis that the new media might be / had become «an extension of the mind». Working with the medium had also raised their consciousness about how the new media was impacting on their behaviour in their classroom setting and on how it had filtered through to their social lives outside the university:

- S1 I think that the three elements actually dovetailed quite well towards the end for me. The final reading – although I am sure it wasn't shown in the exam – was very enjoyable because I could look back at both knowing a bit about how a web site is built and about some of the literature we have read and it sort of put it all together somewhere. I think that it has got a lot of practical applications in real life and has made me think more about what I am doing when I am using the various media: texting, email, whatever. I was thinking today about how much I have used, just this morning, things that we have been learning about this year – just in the domestic sense of sending a few emails, setting a few things off, texting a few people, it's kind of melded with real life as well for me.

A1 I found that it's entered into my personal life because having worked on creating a web site, then my daughter has created one for her business and so I had a look at that and I think that I saw it in a more analytical light. I was pointing out that her photographs were taking a long time to load – and things like that – and which bits of text were more easily accessible and which weren't giving enough information. I do think that it makes you see things on the internet in a different way. I probably only realised it when I came to look at my daughter's web site. I began to realise what had gone into building it – so I think that those things had been going into my mind gradually. It only really came to light at that point. I had gained something from the course that I hadn't realised!

The student experience does point to their awareness that working with the new technology had impacted on the structure of their social arrangements within the classroom, and gives indications of an awareness of the fluidity of boundaries between their university learning and their social lives which could be significant. However, the question raised is whether their experiences are part of a wider trend. Has the rapid increase of digitization meant a real shift in the structure of our social arrangements and our ways of perceiving the world? I am not prepared to argue a case for this on such a small study, but what we can say is that for some of the students the digital gap between the *human-computer-culture interface* was filled by the students engaging with digital technology at the level of creativity and at the level of critical and theoretical interpretation, which led to an exploration of cultural identity:

J2 I don't think that the work that I have done will make me want to be creative in that way again. Certainly since then, when I've been on the Internet I've been looking for sites and reading more literature, reading more poetry – mostly prompted by xxx who tells me where s/he's published this week – but it's opened it up for me. Looking at things like gender identity expressed on the web and actually reading some of their work and thinking well – yeah, their identity is hidden – and I'd never thought about it before. Now, because it's sort of a hidden thing – you are not sure about authorship – yeah, it's an interesting subject. That is the thing I have learned.

So, for all of its ability to incorporate images, sounds and multiple narratives, and the technical challenges of digital technology, it seems that they are not the abiding issue that remained in the minds of the students. What remained were the critical and theoretical discussions that took place about the hidden nature of web authorship, webs of identity, the web economy, globalization, digital democracy and power, and the sexual / textual politics of Cybercultures. For some students, the positive power of the medium is the provision of a space for authorship where human cultural and sexual identity is expressed in poetry and literature. That is their contribution to using the media technology creatively –

in their own creative writing. However, the way in which reading and writing is changing through web technology, and the students' doubts about the nature of this new reading and writing was expressed in the theoretical discussions the group had about the unlicensed, unauthorized nature of cyberspace, where the hidden structure of the web – the unseen digital gap between 0/1 provided a space (a gap) that is filled by inter-cultural writing, reading and learning about identity that is all pervasive, and ultimately, uncontrollable. If we now combine these thoughts with the reflections about the fluidity of boundaries between academic study and everyday activities that take place in the social spaces of the home, then we can see how this small research project contributes a little to filling in some of the gaps in the discourse on media technology, inter-cultural identity and learning.

However, perhaps the most significant impact of the new media on this and subsequent cohorts of students who have now taken this module is the inter-cultural connection to their own personal education. Initially this is triggered by simple comparative analysis of a variety of university web sites in the UK, which reveals the different kinds of higher education offered by the educational establishments and how they are advertised. Once the students have thought about how their images, and the images of younger students, are used to promote a culture of university learning, they become very interested by two factors in particular: the first is that they are now customers buying their higher education who can shop around rather than waiting to be selected; and two, there is a written discourse on the web sites that tells them about «the student learning experience» and what they can expect from their university courses.

My aim anyway is to challenge myself to meet deadlines and to study something that couldn't have been studied when I was last at university in the 1960s and that has been totally achieved for me this year. I have been delighted by the course – I have had a lot to think about – in the way in my outside world I feel that I dominate the conversation about the web because I feel that other people don't really know very much about it – well they have strong feelings but they are not really based on anything – and I have got this kind of smug «well you know so and so said this that and the other». I think I was disappointed that we started with the 1960s author rather than – I was expecting to encounter more people like Bell and Levinson who wrote in the late 1990s, and I think they were more relevant but I kind of see the point. It was a cheap course as well; from the university's point of view – they should carry on with it – it had very much to do compared to some of the other courses I have been on recently.

What our mature student has done is to join up the dots through linked web pages and it has opened their eyes. Being students of semiotic analysis and web design, they can now follow the links to look at university sponsorship and

finances and think through the consequences for their courses. Students today are active in investigating the sources of learning by using search machines or the BBC web site to find out how the Government and Education work in the UK. It is small wonder then that the university now has mature students who are able to take control of their own learning and, crucially, their own education, and this has to be a good thing. It is indeed the *raison d'être* of education, as opposed to training, which is directly a function of new media. As Manovich (2001: 47) points out:

In new media lingo, to transcode something is to translate it into another format. The computerization of culture gradually accomplishes similar transcoding in relation to all cultural categories and concepts. This is, cultural categories and concepts are substituted on the level of meaning and/or language, by new ones that derive from the computer's ontology, epistemology and pragmatics. New media thus acts as a forerunner of this more general process of cultural reconceptualization.

It is mature students in particular who need and deserve the opportunity to reconceptualise themselves as part of the larger process of cultural reconceptualization – to change their perception of their position as subject in the global discourse skills-based learning and to fill-in the gaps in their own cultural structures creatively through education. What we have seen here is that it is the hyperlinked structure of the web that enables them to begin to do this.

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Appendix A

Criteria for Assessment for 2092 [Multimedia Project - 30%]

Work of a standard appropriate to Class 1 70% - 100%	2:1 60-69%	2:2 50-59%	3 rd 45-49%	Pass 40-44%	Work in respect of which the candidate fails 1-39%
Creativity of the ideas is extremely well implemented in the new technology	Creativity of the ideas is very well implemented in the new technology	Creativity of the ideas is quite well implemented in the new technology	Creativity of the ideas is implemented in the new technology	Limited creativity of ideas is implemented in the new technology	No creativity of ideas appears to be present in the project
Extremely good use of the written word in relation to the sound/image text	Very good use of the written word in relation to the sound/image text	Quite good use of the written word in relation to the sound/image text	Use of the written word in relation to the sound/image text is appropriate	Awareness of the potential of the written word in relation to the sound/image text is limited	Use of the written word in relation to the sound/image text is not considered

Excellent awareness of the narrative to multiple readings by the user	Very good awareness of the narrative to multiple readings by the user	Quite good awareness of the narrative to multiple readings by the user	An awareness of the narrative to multiple readings by the user	Little awareness of the narrative to multiple readings by the user	No awareness of the narrative to multiple readings by the user
Excellent clarity in concept	Very good clarity in concept	Quite good conceptual clarity	An attempt has been made to achieve conceptual clarity	Little attempt has been made to achieve conceptual clarity	No attempt has been made to achieve conceptual clarity
Excellent artistic creativity in the use of a new art form to tell a narrative	Very good artistic creativity in the use of a new art form to tell a narrative	Quite good artistic creativity in the use of a new art form to tell a narrative	Artistic creativity in the use of a new art form to tell a narrative is present	Artistic creativity in the use of a new art form to tell a narrative is present but very limited in scope	No artistic creativity in the use of a new art form to tell a narrative is present

Criteria for Assessment for 2092 [Evaluation of Multimedia Project - 20%]

Work of a standard appropriate to Class 1 70% - 100%	2:1 60-69%	2:2 50-59%	3 rd 45-49%	Pass 40-44%	Work in respect of which the candidate fails 1-39%
Excellent critical reflection and analysis of the process of the multimedia project	Very good critical reflection & analysis of the process of the multimedia project	Quite good critical reflection & analysis of the process of the multimedia project	A reasonable critical reflection & analysis of the process of the multimedia project	Limited critical reflection & analysis of the process of the multimedia project	No critical reflection or analysis of the process of the multimedia project
Excellent analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of their own artistic work	Very good analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of their own artistic work	Quite good analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of their own artistic work	A reasonable analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of their own artistic work	A limited analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of their own artistic work	No analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of their own artistic work

Excellent awareness of the critical relationship of the editorial decisions made in the project, to the analysis of work on the www, as evidenced in assignment one	Very good awareness of the critical relationship of the editorial decisions made in the project, to the analysis of work on the www, as evidenced in assignment one	Quite good awareness of the critical relationship of the editorial decisions made in the project, to the analysis of work on the www, as evidenced in assignment one	A reasonable awareness of the critical relationship of the editorial decisions made in the project, to the analysis of work on the www, as evidenced in assignment one	A limited awareness of the critical relationship of the editorial decisions made in the project, to the analysis of work on the www, as evidenced in assignment one	No awareness of the critical relationship of the editorial decisions made in the project, to the analysis of work on the www, as evidenced in assignment one
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Appendix B

Questionnaire for Reading Digital Technologies: The Arts and the Lifelong Learner

Number of students who completed the course: 11
 Number of students who participated in the research project: 7

	Yes, a great deal	Yes, a reasonable amount	A small amount	Not at all
Did you use IT packages, such as word-processing before the course began?	5	1	1	
Had you used the www before the course began?	2	4	1	
Can you now surf the web and find what you are looking for?	4	3		
Do you use the web more now than when the course began?		2		5
Were you familiar with <i>Dreamweaver</i> ?		1		6
Did you find using the <i>Dreamweaver</i> software difficult?	6			1
Would you recommend a friend to use <i>Dreamweaver</i> to design a project?		1	3	3
Were you familiar with <i>Photoshop</i> ?	2		2	3
Did you find using the <i>Photoshop</i> software difficult?	2	2	1	2

Would you recommend a friend to use <i>Photoshop</i> in a project?	2	2	3	
Did doing the project change your perspective on reading on the www?	1	2	3	1
Did doing the project change how you thought about the relationship of words to images to sounds?		4	2	1

Podcasting and Intercultural Imagination: Othering and Self-solidifying Around *Tapas* and *Siesta*

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ABSTRACT: In this paper I examine the type of discourse developed on Selves and Otherness in a Podcast dedicated to intercultural communication. Based on the first episode of the Podcast, I try to determine the podcasters' approach to self and otherness in the program. The analysis reveals that the phenomena of Othering and Self-solidifying tend to emerge in the show.

Keywords: liquid times, intercultural imagination, podcasting, discourse analysis.

RESUMEN: En este artículo se abordan los tipos de discurso desarrollados en torno al yo y la *alteridad* en un *Podcast* dedicado a la comunicación intercultural. Basándose en el primer episodio del *Podcast*, se intenta determinar el concepto de yo y de otredad adoptados por los participantes en el programa. El análisis revela la aparición de los fenómenos de *solidificación del yo* y de *estereotipación del Otro* a lo largo de la emisión.

Palabras clave: tiempos líquidos, imaginación intercultural, *podcasting*, análisis del discurso.

1. Introduction

Over the last two decades, the world has become more pluralistic than ever (Augé, 1994: 127). Links with people from other countries have increased tremendously and virtual or physical hypermobilities (Adams, 1999) have become daily realities (for better or worse) for most people. All these elements are encouraging people to become more and more interested in intercultural communication (Suomela-Salmi and Dervin, 2006: vi). Intercultural communication, intercultural awareness and interculturality are some of the omnipresent buzz-words

prevalent in the media, in the educational sphere, in advertising and also in scientific circles. Often understood and theorized in different ways – or not defined at all – intercultural communication has turned into a large «culture-shock prevention industry» (Hannerz, 1992: 251) which strives to ensure the smooth functioning of intercultural encounters. Many people and groups (scholars, NGOs, politicians, etc.) endeavor to help people to meet the Other by sharing reflections, recipes and sometimes what Abdallah-Preteuille (2003: 13) calls «grammars of difference».

In this paper, I will examine how culturalists and interculturalists respond to this challenge, by examining a Podcast dedicated to intercultural communication: *Absolutely intercultural*.¹ A podcast is a recent addition to the new breed of technological devices that allow people to regularly post their own shows on the internet for subscribers to download and listen to (Dervin, 2006 b). *Absolutely Intercultural* was created in March 2006 by two European scholars. The official objective of the podcast is spelled out on the show's web notes: «It won't be so much about passing on information but about starting an intercultural dialogue between the makers and you the contributors and the listeners». In the first show, the host also offers to «make [the listener] absolutely intercultural».

My paper tries to answer the following two questions with the analysis based on the first episode of the podcast and one comment stemming from the editors' website:

1. How do the podcasters (producers as well as interviewees) talk about Self and the Other in the podcast?
2. What approach to Self and Otherness seems to emerge in the programme?

The structure of my article progresses along the following lines. To justify the analysis of my corpus, the first section explores the current *zeitgeist* of our times by referring to the paradigm of liquidity. This theory was introduced by the British sociologist Bauman (2000) and is central to my investigation. This section elaborates on the various definitions of the concepts of culturality, identification (2.1.) and intercultural imagination (2.2.). Section 2.3. presents an overview of the two main strands in dealing with intercultural communication in societal and educational terms: *culturalism* and *interculturalism*. In this section, I offer arguments for opting for an interculturalist approach to otherness and self. The remainder of the paper dwells on what a pragmatic analysis of a corpus, such as *Absolutely Intercultural*, can tell us regarding the concepts of *Othering*, *Self-solidifying* and *certainty / uncertainty* in dealing with Otherness.

1. <www.absolutely-intercultural.com>, [accessed 1/7/2006].

2. Selves and Otherness

2.1. Culturality and Identification in Liquid Times

The key-terms of *culture* and *identity* often emerge when people talk about or are involved in intercultural communication – whether it be on a day-to-day basis, in the media or «scientifically». In intercultural encounters, most people understand *culture* as «shared habits, beliefs and values of a national group» (Kotter, 1996: 188). To many observers (Dervin, 2006 *a*; Abdallah-Preteille, 2003), this brings about a rather too imaginary, homogeneous, limited and *solid* picture of national groups. What is more, it lays down psychological «boundaries» between interlocutors as individuals are perceived to be simple «cultural dopes» (Garfinkel, 1967: 67), who only act in such or such manners because they belong to a national group (e.g. in their use of time and space). People are often instructed that they should learn these (pseudo-)national characteristics to be able to communicate with the Other and facilitate encounters. In the early 1980s, Anderson coined the phrase «imagined cultures» to refer to national cultures and stated:

All communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact are imagined [...] imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion. (Anderson, 1991: 4)

The nation-state is in itself a «sociopolitical and legal category» which has neither an ethnic (Inokuchi and Nozaki, 2005: 66) nor a homogeneous basis. Thus, it cannot serve as a reference in intercultural communication.

Furthermore, the concepts of *culture* and *identity* should be considered as multidimensional and unfixed, in agreement with Bauman's (2000) image of liquidity as a description of the current *zeitgeist*. Bauman explains his liquid image in these words (Bauman and Yakimova, 2002: 3):

One attribute that liquids possess and solids don't, an attribute that makes liquids an apt metaphor for our times, is the fluids' intrinsic inability to hold their shape for long on their own. The «flow», the defining characteristic of all liquids, means a continuous and irreversible change of mutual position of parts that due to the faintness of inter-molecular bonds can be triggered by even the weakest of stresses.

In liquid times, individuals «navigate» between countless different and sometimes contradictory cultures, (sexual, generational, professional, educational, the media), groups (*tribes* in Maffesoli (1997)) and witness an excess of complex identities entangled in «connections» (*branchements*) (Amselle, 2001). As such,

one could say that everyone's culture turns into *culturality* – an incessant creation of culture – and everyone's identity into *identification* (Hall and du Gay, 1996). What I call solidification (of the Self and the Other) represents the opposite trend.

2.2. Narrating Otherness and the Self: On Intercultural Imagination

As we live in a world in which we constantly meet people in either physical or virtual forms, we need to «identify» (i.e. have the ability to recognize and differentiate), to generate a solid *identity* and enact what I call *intercultural imagination* every time an encounter occurs. In this «complex pastiche of relationships, choices and acts enacted in a variety of parallel and overlapping contexts» (Barney, 2004: 151), positive and/or negative impressions based on *sclerosed* (fixed) and *heuristic* (changeable) stereotypes² of the Other (Guernier, 2001; Legros, Monneyron, Renard and Tacussel, 2006: 107) are multiplied, as it is not possible for us to grasp the complexity and multi-memberships of all the people we meet (Abdallah-Preteuille, 2003). We tend to reduce the Other to mere stereotypes when we talk about them, due to a variety of influential factors: the media, our educational background (e.g. history and foreign language learning lessons), what we have heard from family and friends and from foreigners themselves. In this sense, national identity, which often pops up in intercultural communication, has a «discursive *deus ex-machina* flavour».³ These reactions are the flip side of the coin of liquid times and will be referred to as «Otherizing».

On the other hand, individuals tend to «narrate themselves» in different (personal, social, societal, international) contexts and with different interlocutors. This is due to the fact that identity and representations of the Self and the Other are obligatorily created through interaction with others and cannot always be predicted (Taylor, 1998). In the remainder of my paper I refer to this phenomenon as «Self-solidification». As a consequence, the idea that an individual has an authentic, homogeneous and unified self is pure fantasy (Taylor, 1998) because

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2. Cherrington (2002: 574) defines stereotypes as «a view of an individual or a group of people held by others based on commonly held assumptions that may not be the result of direct, personal knowledge of those people». I emphasize here the fact that stereotypes are not fixed and that they change according to the contexts of communication and the interlocutors.
 3. A good example is to be found in two different interviews (the first one was in French and the other in English) given by the French psychoanalyst of Bulgarian origin Julia Kristeva, who changed her discourse about what country she felt she belonged to (France and the USA) from one interview to another (given nearly at the same time: June 2003 on French Television, *Double Je*, France 2; and December 2004, when she received the *Holberg Prize* in Norway). Hence she «identified».

our identification (who we are) is shaped through the superpersonal (i.e. other people) (Ledrut, 1979: 56). In short, intercultural communication leads to solidification of the Other and the Self, as well as to the creation of intercultural imagination through discourse.⁴ The next section explores how one tries to overcome these phenomena.

2.3. Approaches to Otherness: Epistemologising Intercultural Communication

Over the past two decades varied trends have rapidly developed (Infante, Rancer, Andrew and Womack, 1997: 435) with regard to dealing with intercultural communication in the societal, educational and scientific spheres. Basically two trends will be advanced in this section, which will be labelled culturalist and interculturalist.⁵ My understanding of these two concepts corresponds to what Gudykunst and Nishida (1989: 10) define as the *objectivist / subjectivist* approaches and what Ogay (2000: 11) refers to as the *English-speaking vs. French-speaking* approaches. Whilst utilizing Ogay's categorization, it is important to assert that many English-speaking researchers use the interculturalist approach that I am going to describe and vice-versa (Doherty and Singh, 2005; Kubota, 1999). The reader should bear in mind, therefore, that there is not such a clear-cut division between both these trends.

In order to give an idea of the different epistemologies covered by the two approaches, it is constructive to refer to Abdallah-Pretceille (2001: 138), who tells us that approaching Otherness is often based on the following question: «what do we need to know about the Other or about her/his culture in order to communicate effectively with them?». This corresponds to what I call the culturalist approach to intercultural communication: culturalists put forward strategies that can help people to communicate better in intercultural terms by providing knowledge (*savoirs*) about interlocutors' cultures (usually national) (Dervin, 2006 *a*; Ogay, 2000). Culturalists concentrate solely on inter-individual interaction, which tends to lead to *intercultural imagination* – a determinist and essentialist approach to Otherness which ignores the fact that people belong to different social groups (Dervin, 2006 *a*). Even though many culturalists refer to

4. In the subsequent passages, discourse is understood as «[...] a language or system of representation that makes and circulates a set of meanings about a particular topic/subject» (Inokuchi and Nozaki, 2005: 62).

5. The terminology in the field is quite confusing since scholars seem to attach different meanings to these terms (Taylor, 1994: 390).

their work as being intercultural (Salo-Lee, Malmberg and Halinoja, 2006),⁶ the image that they give of intercultural communication is that of an encounter between two «static» cultures encountering, rather than that of complex and liquid individuals. In their use of the adjective *intercultural*, the first part of the word appears to mean anything but the creation and co-construction of an interculture (inter-culturality) between interlocutors. Besides, they are sometimes akin to what Keesing (1989) calls «dealers in exotica», or in other words, they try to sell Otherness Dahlén (1997) about the culturalist industry, and Rosen (2000) on how Japan is otherized by this industry). In their approach, (national) culture tends to leave individuality and liquidity behind (Winkin, 1994).

Returning to Abdallah-Preteille's above-cited question, a second attitude to intercultural encounters can be summed up with another question posed by the French scholar: «How do individuals use culture – theirs and that of their interlocutors – or, more precisely, how do they use fragments of these cultures in order to communicate?» (Abdallah-Preteille, 2001: 138). This is what interculturalists try to do by considering the complex nature of individuals and by not imposing onto them fixed identities or cultural features. They attempt to explain and justify the fact that these elements can be used in interaction in order to construct persons and identities (Lorreyte, 1989: 263; Maffesoli,⁷ 1990: 142) within a certain socio-cultural context and over a certain period of time. Interculturalists study how people construct their identity (i.e. how they identify) in different contexts.

Having explained our understanding of contemporary worlds and intercultural communication, the following section examines how the specific Podcast in question deals with the issues of identities, Otherness and Self, and how it determines its approach to intercultural communication.

3. Analysis: Solid Intercultural Imagination

3.1. Contextualising the Corpus

The corpus used for the following analysis is taken from the Podcast *Absolutely Intercultural* <<http://www.absolutely-intercultural.com/>>, which is hosted by two European scholars. The show was created in March 2006 and has been put online every second Friday ever since. For this paper, I am using data

6. Their textbook on intercultural communication has been used in Finland for over a decade.

7. Maffesoli (1990) argues that because people constantly identify, rather than keep the same identity, contemporary individuals should be referred to as being *persons*. He explains that the Latin origin of the word (*persona*) means masks and symbolizes what individuals experience in their daily liquid lives.

from two sources: a transcription of the first show and a comment left by a listener on the website. The first show was predominantly about Spain and its «tapas culture». It took place partly in a studio in Germany and in the Spanish city of León. My corpus is composed of two parts. Firstly, I use a transcription of the first half of the show⁸ (the total duration of the show is 16.09 minutes, with the times under scrutiny taking place between 5.56 minutes and 11.41 minutes), which is comprised of an interview⁹ between one of the podcast hosts (referred to as «L» hereafter) and a visitor from Sweden (who is originally from Britain, referred to as «D» hereafter). The interview revolves around the *tapas* experience¹⁰ and D's impressions of Spain and Spaniards.

Interviews are a very special type of interaction, especially when they are recorded (and people know that they are being recorded). According to Guernier (2001: 3), interviews are a «social game of positioning and symbolic negotiations»¹¹ and therefore cannot be considered as «innocent windows into the participants' interiors» (Bamberg, 2004: 365). Boutet (1994: 67) adds that consequently the context of interviews allows a researcher to observe «the social construction of meaning».

The second part of my corpus is a written comment posted on the podcast website on April 4th 2006 by a person (Su¹² from Denmark) interviewed in the show. In her comments, she recounts several events that happened to her while she was in Spain (see appendix 2).

My method of analysis is based on theories of interaction and enunciation (Vion, 1992) which will help to shed light on the questions set at the beginning of my paper.

3.1. Othering and Self-solidifying Discourses

The first features that arise from an analysis of both texts are the markers that allow the speaker and writer to take a broad view about whom and what they

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8. Generally speaking, a transcription of interaction cannot be absolutely faithful to what is said in oral interaction since it is a semantic interpretation of utterances and ignores what surrounded the act of communication (gestures, mimics, looks, etc.). I am using an orthographic transcription of the podcast which provides indications neither on pronunciation (rhythm, tone, etc.) nor on phonology.
 9. The transcription of the 16 turns is in the appendix.
 10. Foods are often referred to in intercultural communication because they «commonly serve as ethnic / cultural indexes» (Inokuchi and Nozaki, 2005: 66) and they can be easily used for comparative purposes. They have homogenizing and imaginative functions.
 11. My translation.
 12. Even though not all the speech analysed in this paper is spoken, I will refer to L, D and Su with the word *speakers*.

are basing their thoughts. The first generality marker is the generic «you» present in several parts of D's interview (Da¹³ and Db) and once in Su's comments. This gives an impressionistic and imprecise air to their subject matter. The *you*s that D and Su use stand for:

1. **Spaniards, tourists in León, themselves** (*I* in disguise) or **listeners** who might visit Spain. D makes use of this feature in her first round of answers (Da). It is actually hard to pin down who she is talking about/to.

D5: For every bar *you* go to, *you* buy a very small drink and *you* get food

2. **Swedes and Danes** or D's and Su's «imagined communities». D uses this in the section following the one cited above (when L9 asked her if tapas bars could be «imported» to Sweden). Su utilizes this feature at the end of her narrative.

D10-12: [...] I doubt it somehow because in the winter it would be impossible because *you* would have to put on so many clothes to go out and in again and out again that *you* would hardly have time to have a drink or eat any tapas [...]

Su: In Denmark, *you* would expect breakfast to be served from 6.30 am on weekdays!

In a way, these utterances are premised on the assumption that the individuals in question are representatives of a whole nation, or a whole group, of imaginary people, and they have narrow normative functions (the binary opposition of *us* vs. *them* in many utterances below). Hence, the meanings of these utterances are solid.

A second feature that plays the same role is the use of indefinite pronouns or nouns, which reinforce the vague idea of the people they are talking about. This feature can be found in both D's and Su's discourses:

1. People

D44-45: *people* leave work at about 2 o'clock they have started work at 8ish or 9ish coz the streets are full of people at that time of the day

D58: *people* are rushing about until about 12 o'clock or 1

13. The codes used in the study are as follows: the first capital letter is the initial of the speaker (L, D or Su). L and D's turns are indicated by a letter (Da to Df and La to Di) and the lines in the transcription by a number (e.g. L25, D3). Su's comments are referred to as *Su* only.

2. Everybody / everyone

D45: 2 o'clock the shops close down and *everybody* disappears (= Spaniards)

Su: I was totally immersed into the church community and suddenly heard myself sing and pray with *everyone* in [...] (= Spaniards in a church)

Finally, one interesting use of *everybody* by D31 reveals the voice of the *doxa* (common beliefs or popular opinions (Amossy, 2005: 72)) regarding what D believes to be a characteristic of the Spanish way of life: the *siesta*. These pre-fabricated words tend to construct an intercultural imagination (representations, self-solidification, stereotypes, etc.) and serve as arguments to manipulate and/or convince. The person who utters «doxic comments» tries to hide her/his own subjectivity (Kerbrat-Orrechioni, 2002).

D31: This is what everybody has heard about *the Spaniard: (they) close shop in the middle of the day and go to sleep basically and then they can be up late in the evenings and go to tapas bars*. Hum, I had decided that I would cope with this although coming from Sweden

The italicized part of the above utterance is most probably reported discourse (Marnette, 2005: 8) – the voice of the *doxa*, or, in this case, a stereotype. The prosody of the sentence (the quoted speech is followed by a *hum* and a pause before the next utterance) confirms this hypothesis.

The use of articles is also indicative of generalization, «singularisation» and homogenization. The first episode of the podcast promises to explain how *tapas* was «introduced into *the* Spanish culture» (singular form). On the other hand, D5 talks about «*the* tapas experience» (one can think that an experience is subjective and is therefore plural) and «*the* Spanish siesta» (D30). Finally, if we take a closer look at the verb tenses, we can note the frequent use of the continuous present (e.g. D58: people *are rushing*) and the simple present (D5: every bar you *go* to) in D's utterances. In a way, this is normal if one considers that L's questions lead to these usages (L is not asking about specific experiences or events, but about impressions: L7 and L25).

By using the simple present, D gives some sort of *a-temporality* to her narratives and discourse, which leads to generality. D uses this tense in the first part of her discourse (Da – basics on tapas), as well as the fourth part (Dd – Spanish lunch) and the fifth part (Df – Spaniards' activities after work). She uses the continuous present for two purposes. Firstly, when she is giving general vivid descriptions based on what she may have witnessed (or have «imagined»). Thus, she states that «people are rushing about until about 12 o'clock or 1» and «they are so busy eating» (which is also an exaggeration). Secondly, when she applies

the action to the people and suggests that it is their natural or normal reaction.

The use of the continuous present is also found in L's eighth turn («they are running around until late at night») and serves the same purpose. All in all, the continuous present allows for a vivid and easily imaginable picture of the scenes. Finally, D also uses the hypothetic conditional, which has a generalizing value (combined with *you*): «you *would have to put* on so many clothes to go out and in again and out again that *you would hardly* have time to have a drink or eat any tapas so it wouldn't work, no». As for Su, she uses mostly past tenses in the following comment: «I *arrived* at the hostel gate where you *had* to ring a bell, and it *took* an eternity before a woman I *had never seen* before [...]». Unlike D, she is telling stories and does not answer questions, which leads to generalizations.

3.2. Exaggerations – Playfulness and Irony?

Exaggerations can be linguistically marked in different ways. When one reads the transcript of D's interview and Su's comments, there is a noticeable air of irony and playfulness in their use of different tropes and speech figures (such as sarcasm, jocularity, rhetorical questions, hyperbole (Colston and Keller, 1998)). The use of hyperbole (exaggeration) «has two main goals: to express emotions and to reach a desired self-presentation» (Gibbs and Colston, 2002: 184). In other words, in the context of «Otherization» and «identification», the locutor presents a polished picture of herself and her «imagined in-groups» by differentiating and presenting the other as being exotic and bizarre.

These features are found in all the speakers' discourse. Firstly, they give imaginary descriptions of scenes and people's activities through the use of linguistic features, such as quantifiers and modals, which allow playfulness and irony. In the following abstract, D explains the basics of the «tapas experience»:

D5-8: the amazing thing about the tapas experience in Leon is that for every bar you go to, you buy a *very small drink* and you get food to go along with so in fact you *don't need* to go to restaurants to eat *at all* and by the time you move on to the next bar you have walked *a full 2 or 3 meters* so you're *terribly* hungry again

In this example, *very small*, *at all*, *a full* and *terribly* are signs of exaggeration which emphasize or alter what is being uttered. The use of *so*, *always*, *on and on* and *briefly* in the following passages serves the same purpose when D talks about what Spaniards do (De):

D51: They are *so* busy eating

D44: It seems to me that lunch is *always* eaten at home

D50: *It goes on and on*

D48: Everybody disappears *briefly well... briefly* they go home apparently and they have a sort of three-course meal with wine and water which takes hours.

Interestingly, in this last sentence, *well* and the repetition of *briefly* indicates that what follows is a comment on what has just been said (*everybody disappears briefly*) and could be interpreted as ironical. This is also visible in the descriptions of the events and the people in Su's narratives.

(about a woman):

Su: Looking *extremely* uninviting

Su: With a *very* disapproving face

In her case, it is also linked to the choice of words and phrases as in:

It took an eternity before a woman I had never seen before [...]

This is a hyperbole *par excellence*.

Finally, I found two examples of exaggeration in D's utterances that pass as self-irony, or what I call *cultural deus ex-machina* or Self-orientalising (Inokuchi and Nozaki, 2005). The first example is found in her answer to L's question about introducing *tapas* in Sweden¹⁴ (Db):

D10-13: very difficult question, I doubt it somehow because in the winter *it would be impossible* because you would have to put on *so many clothes* to go out and in again and out again that you would hardly have time to have a drink or eat any *tapas* so it wouldn't work no

The same phenomenon also appears in two of D's utterances about the sleeping habits of Swedes:

D34: coming from Sweden where *we get up early and go to bed early* [...]

D60: as I said coming from Sweden where we need *so much sleep* [...]

Again, the use of the simple present here gives both sentences a sense of definition. The quantifier *so much* in the second utterance also contributes to the contradiction between *getting up early and going to bed early* and *needing so much sleep*. This confirms that D is exaggerating. In addition, it is a sign of

14. In any case, in our globalised world, *tapas* has probably become as common as a Chinese take-away or Indian food in most countries, including Sweden.

instability in her discourse, as her representations with L as she progresses in her speech are not fixed but changeable, «constructed» and «co-constructed».

3.3. Word Choice and Sentence Formulation

The manner in which words are used or the way a sentence is formulated or structured can also help to detect Othering and Self-solidifying. The problematic nature of the word *culture* and its derived forms is the first element of analysis found in all the subjects' discourse, allowing us to grasp the subjects' understanding of the concept of culture:

D20 (talking about her children): married to a Swede have two *bicultural*... three *bicultural* children

L25-26: Any *cultural* impression of Spain that you would take home sort of like a *souvenir* that you take home in your suitcase?

Su (signature at the end of her comment): *interculturally* yours

The first two uses of the term culture as an adjective (D20 and L25-26) reveal that it is not only seen as something static but also as impressionistic (L says *cultural impression*). D tells us that her children are *bicultural* (Swedish and British). In this case one would expect the adjective *binational* to be adopted, revealing her notion of culture as essentially national in basis. Finally, after having shown signs of ethnocentrism and the use of stereotypes (and therefore identification), Su's use of *interculturally yours* (at the end of her comments) shows that her conception of intercultural communication is differential and exotic (or culturalist as I defined it in 2.3.), since that is how she dealt with her experiences in Spain.

The fact that nations and nationalities are mentioned every now and then also reveals much about the subjects' attitudes to Otherness, Self and intercultural communication. By specifically referring to one's nation or nationality, one is constructing a discourse, whereby one can hide behind these concepts of togetherness (Miller, 1946).

Su: My *Danish* meal habits are very different

Su: In *Denmark*, you would expect breakfast to be served from 6.30 am on weekdays!

D33-34: hum I had decided that I would cope with this although coming from *Sweden*

For Su, her eating habits are Danish (it is hard to believe that over five million Danes share the same habits). Her comparative approach is made clear when she talks about breakfast. Indeed, the use of an exclamation mark at the end of the

utterance strikes a strong chord and could be interpreted as a reproach or a negative comment. Finally, D uses the fact that she is from Sweden as an argument in her self-defence (introduced by the conjunction *although*). In other words, she is telling us that she thought the fact that she lives in Sweden would prevent her from «adapting» to the Spanish way of life.

The use of other epithets also signals a determinist and stereotyping approach to the Other:

Su (about attending a Catholic mass): it was a quite *exotic* experience

Su (about the lady at the hostel): Looking extremely *uninviting* / With a very *disapproving* face

Su (on tourists – self-irony?): I acted as a stupid foreigner who did not understand one word of Spanish

(at the mass) As an *intruding* tourist

In these cases the italicized *subjectemes* (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 2002: 94-98) are affective: a person is *uninviting* and has a *disapproving* face and tourists are *intruding* and *stupid* if they do not speak a foreign language. One subjecteme is non-axiologic and gives an idea of pseudo-objectivity: a mass is *exotic*. Finally, D reveals extreme stereotyping (and ethnocentrism?) when trying to explain why people no longer seem to take siestas:

D62: is it the climate? or is it just the fact that people have to work harder – *even in Spain*

The italicized part of the utterance shows D's surprise in comparison with what she might have heard or thought about Spaniards (that Spaniards are not hard-working, see lazy?). The fact that she also refers to the climate reveals another stereotype, which is doxic: people in the South are not as active as people in the North because it is so hot in the former region.

Finally, since any act of communication is a co-construction/co-enunciation¹⁵ (Maingueneau, 1996: 14), it is interesting to take a closer look at L's questions. L25 compares «cultural impressions» to «souvenirs», while L54-55 queries why «people» in general (i.e. Spaniards) eat and spend time with their «families» instead of «go[ing] to bed». The use of the plural form of the word «families» once again probably hints at stereotypical attitudes towards Spaniards. The *vox populi* informs us that families are important to them.

15. Maingueneau (1996) tells us that co-enunciators may be people present during the act of communication or entities which find their way into the co-constructed discourse and which may not be part of the communicational context (e.g. the *doxa* and circulated discourses).

3.4. Uncertainty in Certainty

Our analysis has already demonstrated that most utterances in our corpus are based on subjective generalizations, solidification and imagination rather than on experiences and decentration (i.e. moving away from one's impressions and/or stereotypes).¹⁶ It is also interesting to note that, in linguistic terms, they contain many signs of certainty and uncertainty, which reinforces an impressionistic sensation or even a feeling of manipulation. As for certainty, one can note the following remarks in relation to D's impressions about Spaniards:

D30: I was *thoroughly* expecting to experience the Spanish siesta for example

D46: I know *for a fact* that they eat early

These give a very categorical dimension to the utterances. However, the following utterances use linguistic features that «loosen» the tone of the utterances and give them an imprecise feeling, even though they have the same touch of certainty:

D56: *I know that they sort of* stop at *about* 7 o'clock or so

D49: They have *a sort of* three-course meal with wine and water which take hours
I didn't know that

D46-47: They eat what *they call* a second breakfast at *about* 11.30

Regarding the tone of marked uncertainty, one can cite the following utterance:

D48 (about lunch in Spain): they go home *apparently*

D48 and D46-47 refer to the voice of Otherness (polyphony) by using *apparently*, *for a fact* and *what they call* (they = Spaniards). In other words, D is saying that she has heard (from a «witness», a specialist or a Spaniard?) or read about these elements (these are «testimonial devices»¹⁷ (Miller, 1946)). Using someone else's voice guarantees a certain degree of authenticity and authority. Both utterances may also hint at the fact that she has observed some of these facts. The use of *they* (Spaniards) is also noteworthy in these utterances, and is dialectical in nature, as it comments on the in-groups discussed earlier in this paper (D3 and Su: in Denmark, you would expect [...]). All in all, D and Su pass themselves off as specialists on Spain (their tone is rather categorical), which would have probably had an impact on some of the listeners to the podcast.

16. It is quite interesting that, at no point in the corpus, the word *stereotype* is actually used.

17. On D21-22, D tells us that «at the moment I am involved in some European projects so I get out in about quite a lot around Europe», which gives her «authority» over questions related to intercultural communication.

However, applying discourse analysis to their speeches shows that the ideas and arguments that they put forward are very uncertain and therefore would probably lead to the creation of a sense of intercultural imagination.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, I have attempted to answer two questions involving the processes of Otherising and Self-solidifying. The discourse on intercultural communication in the podcast that I have discussed is comparable to Maingueneau's (1979: xiii) description of textbooks devoted to foreign language learning, which he argues are «a discourse on the world». However, these books do not correspond to reality and therefore provide hints of the respective writers' conceptions of cultures and identities. Each part of my analysis has been conducted to confirm that the *culturalist* approach to Otherness and Self gives an essentialist and homogenizing view on these respective concepts, and turns the Other into a *mystery* (L64). Ultimately, the podcast's prologue on not passing on information regarding the Other turns out to be untrue.

The representations of the Other and Self found in the corpus appear to be relatively unstable as we read through the documents. For example, D tries to show how her preconceived ideas about *siestas* have changed after being in Spain, for example, which can be considered as decentration or intercultural awareness. Yet, the analysis of the features of interaction and enunciation contained in the corpus displays that her speech remains filled with stereotypes and that a shift occurs in its contents (from beliefs about *siestas* to long lunch breaks). Her own utterances may, of course, become doxic themselves, since she acts as an «expert» or witness in the show, and therefore has authority.

The obvious benefits of pragmatic interaction and an enunciative analysis of data concerning intercultural communication, as applied to *Absolutely Intercultural*, revolve around the way in which one can observe manipulations and the process of solidification produced by intercultural representations. This approach allows a researcher to move away from basic content analysis (which tends to take what people say for granted without taking into account the context of interviews, etc.), and to concentrate on the potential manipulations, instabilities and contradictions of utterances which form the basis of spoken interactions (de Fina, Shiffrin and Bamberg, 2006). In other words, it allows people interested in intercultural communication to veer away from a unilateral vision of Self and Other and, consequently, opens up the possibility of «multipolarised» worlds (Fall, 1998).

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Appendix 1

Absolutely intercultural – transcription of show 1

La:

1. OK we are in the last bar now and as you can hear it's getting louder and louder
2. in the evening
3. I am standing here with somebody from Sweden so I am talking to Dot
4. Dot tell us something about your experience with the tapas

Da:

5. the amazing thing about the tapas experience in Leon is that for every bar you go to
6. you buy a very small drink and you get food to go along with so in fact you don't
7. need to go to restaurants to eat at all and by the time you've moved on to the next
8. bar you have walked a full 2 or 3 meters so you're terribly hungry again

Lb:

9. L: Do you think that this would be a concept which could also work in Sweden?

Db:

10. hum very difficult question, I doubt it somehow because in the winter it would be
11. impossible because you'd have to put on so many clothes to go out and in again
12. and out again that you would hardly have time to have a drink or eat any tapas so
13. it wouldn't work no

Lc:

14. OK thank you

Ld (in studio):

15. well I am sure you're getting hungry right now but we've got more to come but
16. you'll have to wait I am afraid I asked Dot some more questions about her general

17. impressions about Spain for Dot who is British but who lives in Sweden
Spain is
18. quite a change from her home as you will hear

Dc:

19. I am ... I was born in Britain I moved to Sweden at the age of 24 and have lived
20. there for more than half my life now married to a Swede have two bicultural...
21. three bicultural children (laughs) sorry about that hum and at the moment I am
22. involved in some European projects so I get out in about quite a lot around Europe

Le:

23. Waow that sounds interesting now is this your first stay to Spain? You say you're
24. traveling on these European projects do you have any cultural impressions of
25. Spain that you will take home sort of like a souvenir that you take home in your
26. suitcase?

Dd:

27. well I would say the souvenir would have to be the tapas bars in the city of León
28. it's been a wonderful experience in the evenings going around having a glass of
29. wine and tasting the specialties from the region hum but there are some things that
30. I wondered about I was thoroughly expecting to experience the Spanish siesta for
31. example hum this is what everybody has heard about... the Spaniards close shop
32. in the middle of the day and go to sleep basically and then they can be up late in
33. the evenings and go to tapas bars hum I had decided that I would cope with this
34. although coming from Sweden where we get up early and go to bed early I wasn't
35. sure how I'd cope but I was going to make a good try at it

Lf:

36. so what was the experience when u were here in the town? I know I had one
37. experience which I want to share with you I went out I wanted to collect my
38. washing but this was at 2 o'clock in the afternoon and I realize I couldn't
get my
39. washing at that time because everything was closed so I thought well to kill
the
40. time I go to a restaurant I went to a tapas bar which also had a restaurant at
the
41. back and I was told by the person I could have tapas but of course I couldn't
have
42. anything to eat because of course it was lunchtime so of course I couldn't
eat
43. anything so what was your experience?

De:

44. Yes I agree, it seems to me that lunch is always eaten at home people leave
work
45. at about 2 o'clock they have started work at 8ish or 9ish coz the streets are
full of
46. people at that time of the day then I know for a fact that they eat what they
call a
47. second breakfast at about 11.30 2 o'clock yes the shops close down and
48. everybody disappears briefly well... briefly they go home apparently and
they have
49. a sort of three-course meal with wine and water which takes hours I didn't
know
50. that it goes on and on and on this is when I thought they took the siesta but
no
51. they are so busy eating there isn't time for a siesta there is time to get back
to
52. work again

Lg:

53. so do you think in fact this is something that doesn't happen any longer?
That
54. people actually go to bed so people just take time off work to relax to eat
well
55. maybe also to be with their families?

Df:

56. I suspect that this is true now I know that they sort of stop at about 7 o'clock
or so
57. and gives the kids a snack if they have children at home and then it's on with the
58. evening and the tapas rounds again and people are rushing about until 12
o'clock
59. or 1 at night so it seems to me that they sleep on average 5 or 6 hours a night
and I
60. really don't know why this is specially as I said coming from Sweden where we
61. need so much sleep I don't know what it is got to do with? Is it the climate?
Or is
62. it just the fact that people have to work harder - even in Spain

Lh:

63. Ok so you've been here for a week so apparently it's not enough to find out
about
64. this mystery when the Spanish actually get their sleep I have the same
impression
65. actually, I have the impression that they are always on their feet, they are
very
66. busy, they are always running around until late at night I have a feeling that
67. maybe we are seeing different people in the morning from the people in the
68. evening so maybe it is not the same group of people but we'll carry on trying
to
69. find out

Li (in studio):

70. So now it's over to you the listeners maybe you have made your own experiences
71. with the Spanish siesta and can help us solve the mystery: how do the
Spanish
72. people actually survive with so little sleep we ask ourselves? [...]

Appendix 2

Comment by Su (website)

Such fun to hear these recordings after a while back home. I'm part of this course and was indeed a bit hungry now and then when in Spain – especially on those days I had on my own. My Danish meal habits are very different, regarding the hours as well as the food. Tapas was fun, but also surprising and for an everyday

meal, it would not do for me. And I had a very fun and puzzling experience on a very rainy Sunday afternoon when I came back from the Musac museum of modern art (where they close between 3 and 4 in the afternoon). I arrived at the hostel gate where you had to ring a bell, and it took an eternity before a woman I had never seen at the reception before, turned up, looking extremely uninviting, only opening the door a little bit letting me know that I could not get in! I acted as a stupid foreigner who did not understand one word of Spanish (which is not absolutely true although you should not ask me to say anything with more than just three words in a sentence, and I might not get the answer anyway). At the moment I did not dig what was her problem, and I forced my way through the door, and then she approached the counter, trying to convince me at least I could not get my room key no. 28. Indeed the glass cupboard was locked. I insisted, and finally she gave up and handed me the key with a very disapproving face. Perhaps she was just recovering from the late midnight mass in the church that I had attended as an intruding tourist with two friends the night before, none of us being completely sober after a very successful tapas bar visit with more solid food than usual. As an absolutely non catholic brought up as an atheist and only occasionally attending a protestant service for a wedding or a funeral, it was a quite exotic experience. I was totally immersed into the church community and suddenly heard myself sing and pray with everyone in a Spanish language that I do not otherwise speak. And, at the breakfast room on Monday morning at 8am, nobody was present to serve me as usual, and my travel mates had left – so at last I had to help myself directly from the kitchen regions! Probably the kitchen staff does not start very early. In Denmark, you would expect breakfast to be served from 6.30 am on weekdays!

interculturally yours, Sus

PS The spiced and grilled wild mushroom tapas were the most delicious of all of them!

Disney Films: Reflections of the Other and the Self

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ABSTRACT: In the last decade of the 20th century most Disney animated features focused on the depiction of cultural otherness. Despite an apparent interest in spreading the knowledge of distant cultures, these films rely almost exclusively on conventional cultural metonymies to build the representations of the Other. More significantly, references to otherness are overwhelmed by the countless visual and verbal elements which belong to the narrating culture. If the «biased» nature of the cultural encounters which take place in these Disney films can be easily evinced from an analysis of the original screenplays, it is only by taking into account their Italian translations that it becomes fully evident. Thus, by comparing excerpts from the original and the Italian versions of the films, this paper sets out to explore the threefold cultural encounter which takes place in them, ultimately highlighting the complexity which lies in the transfer of all-specific American references rather than the generalized, universally-known visual and verbal clichés which are used to evoke the Other.

Keywords: animated films, otherness, translation, cultural metonymies, hegemonic perception.

RESUMEN: En la última década del siglo XX, la mayoría de las películas de dibujos animados de Disney se centraron en la descripción de la alteridad cultural. A pesar del aparente interés por difundir el conocimiento de culturas distantes, estas películas se apoyan exclusivamente en metonimias culturales convencionales en su construcción del Otro, mientras que las referencias a la alteridad se ven desbordadas por los innumerables elementos visuales y verbales pertenecientes a la cultura narradora. Si la naturaleza sesgada de los encuentros culturales presentes en estas películas es fácilmente reconocible tras un mero análisis de los guiones originales, tal hecho se hace totalmente evidente a través de las traducciones al italiano. Mediante la comparación de fragmentos originales y su traducción italiana, este artículo explora el encuentro cultural a tres niveles que se produce, subrayando la complejidad inherente en la transferencia de las referencias específicamente estadounidenses, en contraste con los clichés visuales y verbales universalmente conocidos y de carácter generalizante utilizados para evocar al Otro.

Palabras clave: películas de dibujos animados, alteridad, traducción, metonimia cultural, percepción hegemónica.

In the opening scenes of *Hercules*, viewers are flooded with images of classical statues and vases which immediately call to mind the ancient Greek culture portrayed in the film. In one of the next scenes Hades, king of the Underworld, refers to the newborn son of Zeus and Hera by saying, «is this kid gonna mess up my hostile takeover bid or what?»

In *Mulan*, the Chinese emperor who appears at the very beginning uses typical words of wisdom to describe the unstable fate of his reign: «a single grain of rice can tip the scale». Instants later the dragon Mushu, who is appointed by Mulan's ancestors to protect her in battle, complains about this task saying: «I'm doomed! And all 'cause miss man decides to take her little drag show on the road». He eventually accepts his duty and offers Mulan, a Chinese soldier of the XVIIIth century, bacon and eggs for breakfast.

The description of these short sequences, from two of the nine Disney mainstream films released in the last decade of the 20th century (see Table 1), points to the two different sets of cultural references which appear in all of them and, more significantly, hints at the peculiar nature of the cultural representations which these audiovisual texts contain.

Table 1: Disney mainstream films produced between 1991 and 2000

<i>BEAUTY AND THE BEAST</i> (1991)	France (XVII th century)
<i>ALADDIN</i> (1992)	Middle East
<i>THE LION KING</i> (1994)	South Africa
<i>POCAHONTAS</i> (1995)	Hispaniola
<i>THE HUNCHBACK OF NOTRE DAME</i> (1996)	France (Middle Ages)
<i>HERCULES</i> (1997)	Ancient Greece
<i>MULAN</i> (1998)	China
<i>TARZAN</i> (1999)	Africa
<i>ATLANTIS</i> (2000)	The Lost Continent

As a matter of fact, all the major animated features released by Disney between 1991 and 2000 are similarly centred upon the depiction of cultures

which are distant in terms of space and/or time from the American culture, the narrating self whose presence always appears behind the representations of the Other.

If a first observation of this set of films might lead one into believing that Disney's decision to represent otherness in a sequence of mainstream productions is due to some interest in spreading the knowledge of remote cultures, viewing the films is enough to realize that there is nothing spontaneous in the cultural portraits which they offer to their viewers. Relying only on a few, fixed traits which belong to a long-standing repertoire drawn up *in* the West and *for* the West, these representations seem to deny any sort of dynamism and evolution to the cultures portrayed. By contrast, references to the narrating culture are the real conveyors of meaning and humour, become essential to the narration and totally outnumber the references made to the narrated Other.

Drawing examples from some of the films in Table 1, this paper aims to define the nature and role of the visual and verbal stereotypes which are employed to narrate otherness, as well as to measure their value in relation to the more numerous references to the narrating American culture. Moreover, taking into account the translations of these films for the Italian audience, the hegemonic role played by the American culture shall appear all the more clearly, clarifying the real nature and purpose of the cultural encounters which take place in these apparently «neutral» films.

1. Films and the Representation of Otherness

In historical terms, the tradition of representing otherness through a filtered gaze has its roots in Western colonialism, in the efforts which were made by the colonizers to impose their own cultural, linguistic parameters to the subjugated populations of the so-called East. Moreover, mediated representations served the purpose of the West since moulding the image of the Other according to their own needs was a means to reinforce their own identity and supremacy. The dissemination of biased representations of non-Western cultures flourished even beyond the decades of colonial expansion, strongly influencing the post-colonial redefinition of international relationships.

One of the first scholars to give a sharp, although perhaps overdetermined account of these biased cultural encounters was Edward Said in *Orientalism* (1978). Even though primarily concerned with tracing the history of the Orientalist attitude by the West in literature, it is interesting to observe that Said does not fail to consider the importance of new technologies and the media in the spreading of this unjust tradition: «One aspect of the electronic, post-modern world is that there has been a reinforcement of the stereotypes by which the

Orient is viewed. Television, films, and all the media's resources have forced information into more and more standardized moulds» (Said, 1978: 26).

More recently, the Saudi Arabian-born scholar Ziauddin Sardar (1999) has written an interesting book which, as a sort of tribute to Said's groundbreaking work, shares with it the title, *Orientalism*. The main interest of Sardar's book, whose approach is even harsher than Said's, lies in his detailed reflections upon the new, modern ways by which the Orientalist attitude manifests itself and is still spreading nowadays. By way of introduction to his work, Sardar (1999: vii) declares that «even though the project of Orientalism has way passed its “sell by date”, it is colonizing new territories», such «new territories» being related to the new geographies which are shaped – and controlled – by contemporary means of mass communication like the cinema. A whole chapter of Sardar's work is devoted to Orientalism in films, where the author sets out to explore the treatment and manipulation of other cultures within filmic narrations across different genres, including cartoons, and where he makes ample reference to the American hegemonic control of the cinematic medium. Sardar (1999: 53) states that otherness is generally treated as «a pattern book from which strands can be taken» to draw up cultural representations which serve the purpose of entertaining audiences while reinforcing, by contrast, the superiority of the narrating culture. Thus, the «commodification of culture» (Bell and Garrett, 1998), a process whereby visual and verbal elements belonging to a distant world are taken and made suitable for smooth reception within more powerful socio-cultural settings, has been reinforced rather than rejected by contemporary media, with the American culture somehow inevitably leading the way in this process.

1.1. Otherness in Disney Films

Bearing in mind what has been said so far, let us now embark on the analysis of the cultural representations which are to be found in Disney mainstream productions of the last decade of the 20th century. Before exploring the visual and verbal stereotypes employed in these films, however, it may be worth making a preliminary reflection, considering the reasons for the selection of certain cultures rather than others in these representations. As a matter of fact, what might appear to be a random choice – in Disney films as well as other cinematic products – is often to be ascribed to precise cultural and ideological strategies. All the cultures which are selected to be portrayed in the nine films under scrutiny, for instance, are either traditionally considered somehow «inferior» if compared to modern Western civilizations and to the narrating American culture in particular (Sardar, 1999: 50-53), or they refer to prior stages of social and cultural development in comparison to the contemporary American standards. On the

whole, what never fails to occur is an asymmetrical relationship, whereby the distance between the narrated and narrating cultures is to be felt either on the geographical or on the temporal axis.

A first, practical example can be found in the depiction of the Medieval French culture which comes up in *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*. As Sardar (1999: 77) points out in his analysis of the filmic representations of otherness, «in modern times it is conventional to see the Medieval era as far removed from the world of contemporary secular and scientific thought». Therefore, the representation of a Medieval setting perfectly serves the purpose of reinforcing the supremacy of the narrating, ultramodern and «more civilized» culture.

The same can be said regarding *Hercules*: even though it is commonly considered one of the pillars in the development of modern civilizations, the ancient Greek culture portrayed in the film still belongs to a «barbaric age»,¹ where chaos reigned and eccentric Gods played with the destiny of humans. A reflection of this attitude can be found in the words which are sung by the muses who introduce the story at the very beginning of the film:

MUSES: Back when the world was new
 The planet Earth was down on its luck
 And everywhere gigantic brutes called Titans ran amok
 It was a nasty place
 There was a mess wherever you stepped
 Where chaos reigned and the earthquakes
 and volcanos never slept.

Another very interesting example appears in the opening sequence of *Aladdin* (1992), where the Arabic culture which is at the centre of narration is explicitly defined «barbaric» from the very first lines which make up the opening song:

PEDDLER: Oh I come from a land
 From a faraway place
 Where the caravan camels roam
 Where they cut off your ear
 If they don't like your face
 It's barbaric, but hey, it's home.

1. The concept of *barbarism* comes up often in the works of scholars who, like Said (1978: 49-110) and Sardar (1999: 2-53), have extensively discussed the position taken by modern Western cultures with regard to otherness. As they have both observed, it is typical of the Western Orientalist attitude to promote images of distant cultures as backwards and barbaric. Sardar in particular points out that the level of civilization of these «barbaric communities» can only be compared to the obscure ages which Western societies went through, especially before or during the Middle Ages.

The blatantly offensive final line had to be eliminated from the home video version of the film as a consequence of the numerous protests the Disney Company received after international release. However, all the other subtle and indirect hints at the American culture's position of supremacy over the narrated Other, which is deliberately kept unspecified in historical-geographical terms, remain untouched, and insidiously shape the viewers' perception.

2. Cultural Stereotypes as Distorted Metonymies

The very nature of animated films, as well as motion pictures in general, allows the viewer comparatively limited time to identify and understand what is represented on screen. Therefore, the viewer often uncritically accepts the selection of images, words and sounds which are made to stand for concepts, actions, even whole cultures, and is brought «to acquiesce to a hegemonic form of perception» (Marks, 2000: 24). For the creators of films, the most effective way to ensure such a hegemonic perception lies in depicting other peoples and cultures through worldwide-known stereotypes, which require no effort and no time to be understood, as well as counterbalancing these stereotypes with stronger references to a more powerful and «impressive» narrating culture. Thus, seemingly justified by their being easily identified and interpreted by viewers, cultural stereotypes abound in mainstream cinema as well as, of course, in animated features.

In the case of Disney films, the portraits of the Other which are offered to the audience rely on a limited set of long-established, visual and verbal stereotypes, with no hint at other aspects of the cultures which are represented, nor to their evolution.²

If cultural stereotypes which are used to portray otherness in films and other media have an intrinsic metonymic value of their own, in the nine Disney films under scrutiny, the very nature of the limited set of stereotypes which are used, their being flanked by virtually no other reference to the cultures portrayed and, last but not least, their being continuously measured against elements which belong to the «overwhelming» American culture, allow for a definition not only as cultural metonymies but as *distorted* cultural metonymies. Their function is to

2. If the use of such conventional, easily identifiable elements could be partly justified by Disney films' association with children as privileged viewers, it might be worth mentioning that it was just from the end of the 1980s that Disney geared its attention towards adult viewers (Maltin, 2000; De Fornari, 1995). One of the main proofs of this new attitude was the decision to give up fairy tales as their main source of narrative material and opt for international stories and settings. Besides, the very fact of promoting the knowledge of otherness exclusively through clichéd images and expressions, especially for younger viewers, has contributed to the shaping of a rather unrealistic knowledge of other cultures since the earliest days of its interest towards – and reflections upon – the outside world.

provide an exotic, suggestive and self-contained backdrop to the narration while emphasizing, by contrast, the lively and powerful role of the narrating culture.

Such distorted metonymies operate on the visual and verbal levels alike. Animated images can be carefully constructed so that only a few selected elements, colours and traits are employed, ensuring that the acquiescent viewers are drawn towards one and the same perception. By the same token, words and expressions which are conventionally attached to cultures and have assumed, in time, an international value can be said to have somehow lost their primary meaning in order to function mainly as auditory reminders of a distant, exotic world.

In the nine Disney films of the corpus here presented, the nature and function of visual and verbal cultural metonymies is clearly manifested. A few examples will be provided in the following paragraphs, and their very essence will be perceived all the more clearly when compared with a selection of elements from the narrating culture which abound in the films. Regrettably, no permission has been granted by Disney to reproduce images from the films, therefore it will be necessary to rely solely on descriptions of relevant excerpts.

3. Cultural Metonymies for the Narrated Other and References to the Narrating Self

3.1. The Narrated Other

When observing the use of cultural metonymies in Disney films, a number of regularities can be identified. First of all, there is a remarkable concentration of such long-established, worldwide-known stereotypes – on the visual as well as verbal levels – in the opening scenes, where the portraits of the Other are outlined. The contrast with the narrating culture is, at this stage, not particularly emphasized and the Other may still seem to play a major role in the films. Secondly, cultural metonymies are very often related to specific domains such as food, which provides universally identifiable socio-cultural references and ensures easy, if strongly stereotyped identification of different nations and peoples. Finally, in the case of verbal metonymies, references to other cultures' clichéd words and expressions tend to draw from common categories such as greetings, exclamations and titles.³

3. Greetings and exclamations, though not necessarily connected to the stereotyping of cultures, can nonetheless be frequently used to support cultural representations as they ensure simple and immediate identification. In many cases, as it clearly emerges in the two films from the corpus where the French culture is portrayed (*Beauty and the Beast* and *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*), these words and expressions are merely used as «auditory reminders» of the Other, deprived of their true meaning. For further reference, see Di Giovanni, Bollettieri Bosinelli, Torresi (in Cortese, 2005).

In *Aladdin*, the 1992 film where a non-specified Arabic culture is portrayed, the peddler who plays the role of narrator in the film makes his first appearance as a distant figure on a camel which moves slowly through a large desert. He has a hot sun at his back and a large turban on his head. The sequence of drawings is dominated by nuances of red, ochre and light brown and a typical Arabic music underscores the slow, sinuous movements of the characters, as well as does the camera. On the verbal level, the first words which are uttered by the peddler contain an unmistakable, conventional reference to the culture portrayed: «PEDDLER: Ah, Salaam and good evening to you worthy friends». The worldwide-known Arabic greeting is, however, immediately followed by «good evening», as if to compensate even for the faintest sense of estrangement the viewer might feel upon hearing «salaam».

The following line uttered by the peddler contains one more conventional and even somewhat derogatory reference to the other culture. While introducing his land to the «foreign» viewers, the peddler seizes the opportunity to try and sell his merchandise, conforming to the stereotyped view by which people from this part of the world are all more or less improvised merchants.

PEDDLER: Welcome to Agrabah. City of mystery,
of enchantment, and the finest merchandise this
side of the river Jordan. On sale today, come on down!

In the opening sequence of *Mulan*, the 1998 film which portrays the Chinese culture at the time of the invasions by the Huns, the visual and verbal cultural metonymies employed do not contain any derogatory reference, but they are equally highly conventional. By way of example, let us first of all refer to the words used by the emperor of China – who, incidentally, is always shown with the image of a golden dragon at his back – to address his army generals in a situation of emergency. As shown below, he exhibits a typical trait which is often associated with the Chinese culture, using words of wisdom to describe the fate of his country: «EMPEROR: A single grain of rice can tip the scale». Besides, it shall be noted that the reference to the most popular element of the Chinese culinary tradition does not appear by coincidence in the emperor's line. The shot which immediately follows features a large bowl of rice in the foreground with a pair of chopsticks lazily picking at the rice. This image is used in the film to introduce the protagonist herself, who will be very slowly revealed to the audience starting from her hand holding the chopsticks.

3.2. The Narrating Self

Alongside the cultural metonymies employed to visually and verbally define the stereotypical image of the distant Other, Disney films are replete with all kinds of references to the narrating American culture. In contrast with the limited set of cultural metonymies which, as stated earlier, are mainly employed to provide an exotic backdrop for the narration, the references to the American culture are taken from contemporary life and speech and, on the verbal level, they are conveyors of humour, puns and gags. On the whole, they utterly outnumber even the faint and artificial presence of the Other which is evoked by means of the cultural metonymies. Once again making reference to the visual as well as verbal spheres, the following examples aim at providing evidence of the overwhelming role played by the narrating culture in Disney films.

In *Mulan*, after the introductory sequence described above, a reversal of focus from the narrated to the narrating culture becomes evident as soon as the young Chinese heroine decides to become a soldier and serve her country in the war. If, at the very beginning of the film, she is introduced to the audience while eating rice, a few shots later her «Chineseness» is somehow distorted by what happens on her first day in battle. The images which show Mulan getting up in a military tent are immediately followed by a cut to a close shot of a bowl of porridge with rashers of bacon and fried eggs, which make up Mulan's breakfast. The bowl which contained rice in the opening scene has been deprived of its typical, if also highly conventional, Chinese content to be replaced by what looks more familiar to the American viewers, although totally remote from the eating habits of Chinese soldiers.

Another interesting example of what can be defined as «cultural cannibalization» (Basnett and Trivedi, 1999 *a*) appears in *Hercules* (1997). While Hades, whose main goal is to prevent Hercules from becoming a hero by destroying him, is unveiling his evil plan to finally defeat Hercules to his two assistants Pain and Panic, he is suddenly struck by the realization of their total lack of concern. In a rather hilarious sequence, Pain and Panic are portrayed as if they had just left a Disney theme park, having fallen prey to some undoubtedly modern, American-style merchandise with Hercules' logo. Pain is drinking from a huge paper cup with plastic cover and straw, while Panic is wearing some big, colourful shoes whose brand name – Air Herc – is clearly visible and recalls the famous Air Max cushioned trainers by Nike, first launched on the market in 1997, just when *Hercules* was released in the USA.

Notwithstanding the strong and clear evidence provided by the examples above, it is in the use of language that the presence of the narrating American culture in the films is perhaps made more explicit. First of all, it is worth pointing

out that all the main characters in the films, although belonging to distant and exotic worlds, speak with perfect American accents. Moreover, they are very often characterized by the use of non-standard, colloquial or regional varieties of American English.

This is the case of the dragon Mushu in *Mulan*, whose lines are filled with contemporary, informal American expressions, and marked by the use of so-called jive talk.⁴ Similarly, in *Aladdin*, the most striking, informal and modern use of American English is to be found in the lines uttered by the genie of the lamp, whose main feature is the ability to change shape and linguistic register continuously, appearing in different guises and often mimicking famous American personalities. His lines are filled with colloquial expressions as well as references to the contemporary American world. For example, when he first comes out of the lamp and meets Aladdin, the genie greets him pretending to be the host of a TV show, and when Aladdin later asks for help, the genie-turned-Jack Nicholson replies «All right sparky, here's the deal. You wanna court the little lady, you gotta be a straight shooter, do ya follow me?».

The presence of these and similar lines in the film contributes to expanding the gap between the *narrating* and the *narrated* cultures – or, in Goddard's terms, the *narrator* and the *narratees* – increasingly relegating the latter to a suggestive but lifeless background. However, the roles played by the two cultures in the nine Disney films are best perceived by comparing the original versions and the Italian translations: the need to accommodate for a third culture reveals that the stillness of cultural representations is far easier to transfer than the lively presence of the American culture in the films.

4. Translation as the Site for Secondary Cultural Encounters

Even though the concept of translation can be applied to a corpus of stratified, multifarious products like animated films in a number of different ways,⁵ we will here refer to the act of translating mainly in linguistic terms and, inevitably, in cultural terms. As a matter of fact, beyond the mere act of linguistic transfer, translation always implies contact between at least two cultures, with the aim to negotiate difference and – at least ideally – to make it visible.

4. The expression is mainly used in black American slang and usually employed as a synonym of trash talk.
 5. «Verbal language is only one of the many codes at work within films, its role is defined by its co-occurrence with signs from other codes in shaping cultural images and, consequently, audience reception» Di Giovanni (2003: 209).

As has been pointed out with reference to the cultural representations drawn up in mainstream films distributed by Disney at the turn of the century, giving visibility to difference is not often a priority for contemporary media. Conversely, the logic of mass distribution and, less overtly, the will to shape mass perception while ensuring «easy entertainment» are the major factors at play in the creation of most audiovisual products, especially when it comes to the American film industry.

In an age of increasing awareness of media communication and power, where translation plays a major role in the international distribution and appreciation of audiovisual texts, its role in relaying cultural representations becomes ever so meaningful. This is what happens, for instance, in the Italian adaptations of the Disney films here under analysis, as their being translated into a different language from the original American version entails transferring the cultural representations drawn up in each film. In our specific case, looking at Italian translations as the sites for secondary cultural encounters will lead us to observe that mediated representations of otherness, built through distorted cultural metonymies, are rather easy to transfer into a second, Western language, due to their being drawn from a codified repertoire which is shared by the Western world, in this particular case English and Italian contexts. On the contrary, it is when they have to adapt the all-American references and expressions that Italian translators are faced with a difficult task. The secondary cultural encounter which comes up in the adaptation into Italian and involves two worlds which are seemingly closer – they both belong to the West or «Occident» in Said's terms – is much harder to resolve than the mediated, stereotyped encounter with the Other.

4.1. Adapting the Narrated Other and the Narrating Self Into Italian

After a few, broad reflections, let us now comment on some examples drawn from the translated versions of the nine Disney films from the last decade of the 20th century. Besides providing evidence for what has been stated above, the following choice of excerpts and their discussion aim at outlining a continuum between the two extremes of the cultural references which are employed in these films.

As the transfer of verbal cultural metonymies which appear in the nine Disney films generally poses no problem for the translators, due to their long-standing and transnational value, we will here only focus on one excerpt from *Beauty and the Beast* (1991). It was the first Disney film to be released in the last decade of the 20th century, built around the representation of a culture which is distant in terms of time, rather than space, from the narrating American culture.

As both Said (1978) and Sardar (1999) pointed out, the «remoteness» between the narrated Other and the narrating self can take up different guises, provided that the stage of development of the two cannot be matched and the superiority of the narrator remains unquestioned. In *Beauty and the Beast*, the portrait of France appears to be hazy and marginal, but the settings and habits which are evoked as a background to the narration clearly belong to a remote age, no later than the XVIIth century. Besides laying the emphasis on time references, the «flavour of France» is unoriginally conveyed through some of the most commonly exploited cultural metonymies, in particular those connected with the popular French cuisine. The main song and dance number in *Beauty and the Beast* is, not by chance, called the «Culinary Cabaret», where delicious dishes are offered to the protagonist Belle by the butler-chandelier Lumière. Some of these specialties are mentioned in the lines below, sung by Lumière, followed by the Italian translation. As can be clearly seen, there are minimum changes in the spelling of French words which are used in the two versions and only a few, simple cases of compensation in the Italian translation:

LUMIERE: Beef ragout, cheese soufflé,
pie and pudding en flambé,
we'll prepare and serve with flair
a culinary cabaret!

LUMIERE: Che ragù, che soufflé,
torte e caramel flambé,
preparati e serviti
con un grande cabaret!

Similar instances of smooth transfer for clichéd words and references are to be found in all the Italian versions of the films.

Sometimes, elements which refer to the distant worlds evoked in the films are used to generate puns. In these cases, the «exotic» references become mere pretexts to give life to contemporary, American-style gags. This is clearly visible in the following excerpt from *The Lion King*, where the two hyenas Shenzi and Banzai are making fun of the young and naïve cub Simba. The Italian translators strived to maintain the two puns of the original version and undoubtedly managed to produce a good Italian version of the second, adapting it to the receiving culture's habits. However, the objective difficulty of adapting these plays on words has led to a partially neutralized effectiveness, accompanied by the loss of the typical American accent, as well as the use of very colloquial sentences and exclamations, which characterize the two hyenas.

- ZAZU: My, my, my. Look at the sun. It's time to go.
 SHENZI: What's the hurry? We'd love to have you stick around for dinner.
 BANZAI: Yeeeah! We could have whatever's «lion» around!
 SHENZI: Oh, wait, wait, wait. I got one. Make mine a «cub» sandwich.
 Whatcha think?
- ZAZU: Oddio, oddio. Il sole sta calando. E' ora di andare.
 SHENZI: Che fretta c'è? Saremmo molto felici di avervi per cena.
 BANZAI: Già! E poi vi assicuriamo che sarà un pranzo da re!
 SHENZI: Aspetta, senti questa. Potremmo mangiarci un «felino» di pasta. Che ne dici, eh?

On the whole, good solutions as the one which has been created for «cub sandwich» are rather difficult to find, although the film scripts are replete with instances of linguistic and cultural overlaps which are evoked by the narrating American culture to somehow verbally subjugate – domesticate – the Other.

In the following lines from *Hercules*, the muses who act as narrators to the story are celebrating the glory and popularity acquired by the young hero. The first line bears an example of extremely colloquial language and, most significantly, the second contains a twofold cultural reference. While somehow hinting at the democratic principles who governed the society of ancient Greece, the muses explicitly refer to the all-American custom of using opinion polls to evaluate the popularity of public figures.

The linguistic and cultural specificity of these two lines made them hard to adapt for Italian viewers, therefore the Italian version of the two lines appears to be neutralized and rephrased as follows:

- MUSES: Bless my soul, Herc was on a roll, person of the week in every Greek opinion poll.
 MUSE: Non ce n'è per nessuno ormai, di tutta la Grecia è il più esaltante degli eroi.

To conclude our brief overview of the increasing difficulties to resolve the secondary cultural encounters which come up in the translation of these culturally-centred Disney films, let us comment on a few excerpts which reveal the overwhelming presence and hegemonic role of the American culture. As can be seen all through the films, references to the narrating self take up a number of different guises and their specificity makes their transfer into a second language / culture almost impossible.

By way of example, let us refer once again to *Hercules*, quoting an excerpt from the opening sequence of the film. The muses who play the role of narrators

are far from being inspired by the features, language and mannerism of characters from classical Greek literature or mythology: they are black and cheerful ladies who always sing gospel-style. This very special musical genre, whose origins are deeply rooted in the American society and which is explicitly referred to by the muses in their songs, is totally made to disappear from the Italian version of the film. Even though gospel singing is undoubtedly known to Italian viewers, it would have been impossible, for instance, to keep the all-American expression «that's the gospel truth» which gives life to a constantly repeated play on words between what is being said by the muses and their singing style. Similarly, the metaphor based on «vermouth» which occurs in line four below is suppressed in the Italian translation with the overall result of a different, shorter and necessarily neutralized version.

MUSES: Zeus tamed the globe while still in his youth
Tough, honey, it may seem impossible
That's the gospel truth
On Mount Olympus life was neat
And smooth as sweet vermouth
Although honey, it may seem impossible
That's the gospel truth.

MUSE: Zeus fece tutto in tenera età
E anche se sembra impossibile
C'è anche di più
Sul monte Olimpo ritornò la pace grazie a lui
Sebbene può sembrarvi strano
Questa è la realtà.

A similar example of inevitable neutralization is to be found in the lines uttered by Philocetes, Hercules' trainer. The satyr, colloquially named «Phil» throughout the film, makes constant use of colloquialisms and drops in countless references to the narrating American culture. For instance, when taking Hercules to Thebes for the first time, Philocetes introduces the town to his trainee hero by means of the following lines:

PHILOCETES: One town, a million troubles. The one and only Thebes.
The big olive itself.
If you can make it there, you can make it anywhere.

FILOCETE: Una città, un milione di guai. La sola e unica Tebe.
La grande oliva.
Sai come chiamano i tebani? Gli ebetani.

The Italian audience is deemed capable of appreciating the play on words based on the nickname given to New York City as «the big apple», which is here metaphorically turned into the «big olive». As a matter of fact, this nickname constitutes an internationally valid stereotype in itself and needs no adaptation. On the contrary, the subtler reference contained in the final line uttered by Philoctetes, which clearly refers to the famous American song *New York, New York*, is not deemed appropriate for the Italian viewers and is awkwardly replaced by a rather weak and inadequate pun on the inhabitants of Thebes supposedly being half-wits («tebani-ebetani»).

Finally, the following lines are taken from *Atlantis* and pronounced by Joshua Reed, a doctor of Afro-American origin who is introducing himself to the rest of the crew taking part in the expedition to the lost continent.

JOSHUA: I got a sheepskin from Howard U and a bearskin from Iron Cloud.
One day I'm studying gross anatomy in the classroom, the next, I'm
sewin' up Rough Riders on San Juan Hill.

JOSHUA: Ho avuto una mezza laurea dalla Howard University e l'altra mezza
da Nuvola di Ferro.
Un giorno studiavo anatomia generale in aula, il giorno dopo ricucivo
i volontari della cavalleria.

In the Italian translation there are several instances of adaptation and neutralization. First of all, the pun based on the word «sheepskin» – which in American English can refer both to the skin of the sheep and to a diploma – is lost. Moreover, the reference to the Afro-American Howard University of Washington is certainly not perceived by the Italian viewers and, finally, in the last sentence of the Italian version no mention is made to Rough Riders and San Juan Hill.

5. Conclusion

By way of conclusion, it should be first of all pointed out that, even though the examples shown seem to imply that the Italian versions of these films are poor and inadequate adaptations of the original scripts, this is certainly not the case. The Italian translators have put considerable effort in trying to recreate the flavour and meaning of the references and expressions used in the films, trying to adapt them to the needs of the receiving culture. However, the extremely large amount of all-American references which appear in the films unavoidably leads to producing neutralized, simpler versions in different languages / cultures. It is not the seemingly distant Other, narrated through long-standing and distorted

cultural metonymies, which evokes a sense of distance for the culture receiving its representation through translation. It is the hegemonic role of the narrating self which gives rise to an indirect, more difficult-to-resolve cultural encounter.

One final example of different, more overtly cannibalizing translation appears in the following lines from *Pocahontas*. When the female and male protagonists meet for the first time, the young Native-American called Pocahontas and the «civilized» man from the West called John Smith speak different languages and cannot understand each other. Only when Pocahontas yields to English can she be understood by John Smith, who smiles smugly as the young girl utters the final line:

JOHN: Don't run off.
 It's all right, I'm not gonna hurt you.
 [offers her a hand] Here, let me help you out of there.

POCAHONTAS: *Me-da-que, natoorath.*

JOHN: You don't understand a word I'm saying, do you?

JOHN: Who are you?

POCAHONTAS: [hesitating] Pocahontas.

JOHN: What? What did you say?

POCAHONTAS: My name is Pocahontas.

The implications which arise from the sequence above somehow bring this paper to its natural conclusion: speaking English, hence being willing to give up one's own language and culture, is the key to being understood, considered, cared for. As it happened in colonial times, when the British conquered new territories and imposed their language and social order, English still appears to be a powerful tool in the management of cultural difference through contemporary media.

As for a possible interest in spreading the knowledge of otherness through these films, the short presentation of the two sets of references to the narrated Other and the narrating self which has been here provided clearly reveals that distant cultures are not the *subject* of narration, but rather *objects* which are used to ensure the success of these all-American audiovisual products.

Even if the use of cultural metonymies to represent distant worlds could be partly justified by the age group these films are primarily associated with – i.e. children – otherness in Disney mainstream movies is mainly used as a narrative

pretext to support, by contrast, the cultural and economic supremacy of a post-colonial superpower whose influence worldwide is strongly promoted by the media.

The aim of this paper, however, is not to stigmatize such an attitude, but only to shed light on what can be obtained through the production and worldwide distribution of seemingly neutral cinematic products. On the whole, the effect produced by carefully constructed narrations of distant cultures, by the juxtaposition of images and expressions which deny cultural dynamism, is what Jack Zipes (1994: 94) calls the «domestication of imagination», a process which, perhaps not surprisingly, extends its influence also through translation.

The term «domestication» brings us back to one of the main tenets of this work: the close connection between translation, cultural representation and the power relations which are reflected in every form of cross-cultural communication. The readers, as well as the author of this paper, can only be left to wonder whether it will ever be possible to establish the limits when domestication may become worthwhile and positive.

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Globalización, cultura del Otro y traducción

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RESUMEN: El proceso de globalización parece basarse inicialmente en criterios económicos para garantizar una fluidez de productos del Norte al Sur, y de materias primas y energéticas del Sur al Norte. Una vez garantizado el transnacionalismo económico y financiero, la globalización empezaba a preocuparse por la universalización del sistema de valores. Sin embargo, esta globalización de valores se ha visto contrariada por movimientos adversos: la antiglobalización, el traslado de mano de obra del Sur al Norte y el conservadurismo identitario, tanto étnico como cultural. La fluidez económica transnacional no va compaginada, por tanto, con una fluidez en el intercambio de valores y en el movimiento de las personas necesitadas de trabajo. Esta crisis se ve reflejada sobre todo en lo que saben unos de otros, en lo que se traduce en ambas direcciones y en los elementos que configuran el sistema representativo. La traducción, aquí, se entiende como *estilo directo*, y la represtación –cuando se pone voz al Otro– como *estilo indirecto*. El objetivo de este artículo es, por ello, describir el lugar que ocupa tanto la traducción en tanto que conocimiento real y objetivo del Otro, como la representación de éste en tanto que conocimiento mediatizado y selectivo.

Palabras clave: globalización, antiglobalización, cultura, traducción, identidad, Otro, lenguas árabe y española.

ABSTRACT: In its early stages, the globalization process relied on economic criteria so as to guarantee the flux of manufactured goods from North to South, and of energetic resources and raw materials from South to North. From economic and financial transnationalism, globalization moves on towards the universalization of value systems. However, the latter process has been challenged relatively successfully by anti-globalization movements, migratory fluxes of workers from South to North, and identity conservatism at the ethnic and cultural levels. Thus, transnational economic fluidity has not an equivalent in the exchange of cultural values, reflecting the state of crisis that affects the recognition of the Other and the elements configuring the systems of representation. In this context, translation would be understood as

direct style, while representation (giving voice to the Other) would constitute *indirect style*. From such premises, this article explores the place of translation in relation to actual and objective knowledge of the Other, as well as to its representation as mediatized and selective knowledge.

Keywords: globalization, anti-globalization, culture, translation, identity, Other, Arabic and Spanish languages.

1. Introducción

En la semiótica de la reivindicación de los movimientos culturales y sociales de la *antiglobalización*, el problema de la identidad se plantea como el acicate de la movilización. Se trata, pues, de la reclamación de la individualización; esto es, de la conservación de lo particular, de lo idiosincrásico, de lo propio... En suma, de la identidad. Todo ello dentro del marco ecológico. En este aspecto, la ecología de lo particular es lo opuesto a la globalización. Es muy reveladora en este caso esta sentencia de Jean Daniel, director de *Le Nouvel Observateur*:

[...] Tras la catástrofe del martes pasado (11-S) nos vamos a sentir huérfanos. Los debates sobre el antiamericanismo se van a convertir en algo frívolo. Una gran parte de los manifestantes de Génova contra la mundialización van a acabar echando de menos las instituciones internacionales [...] (*El Caos*, EL PAÍS, 14.11.2001).

Ahora bien, desde el punto de vista de la relación entre globalización, ecología e identidad existe una crisis de traducción. La globalización obliga a la adopción, a la apertura, a la eliminación de las fronteras culturales particulares y al aprendizaje; la ecología, por su lado, reivindica la crítica, la conservación, la identidad y por ende, el individualismo, que sólo puede comunicarse mediante la traducción. No obstante, el aprendizaje no es tarea del «globalizador», sino del globalizado; son los otros los que tienen que aprender. Es, en definitiva, una cuestión de poder:

Tener poder quiere decir no tener que ceder, y obligar al ambiente o a la otra persona a que lo hagan. Poder en este sentido, es la prioridad de la salida sobre la entrada, la posibilidad de hablar en vez de escuchar. En cierto modo, es la capacidad de permitirse no aprender (Gomis, 1979: 48).

Las culturas particulares, tradicionalmente traducibles, se relegan con la globalización al rincón de lo extremadamente privado, desapareciendo con ello de la esfera pública propia. Con ello se pretende garantizar el «pensar siempre la pluralidad desde la unidad y en función de ella» (Mate, 1993: 66). Una de las estrategias retóricas de este fenómeno es la redefinición de algunos conceptos claves. La palabra *Civilización* ha cambiado de sentido para poder designar una civilización concreta. Las otras, hasta hace muy poco también civilizaciones, se han convertido desde el punto de vista de la semiótica en culturas. Por ello, en varios tipos de discurso, los términos *civilización* y *cultura* son antónimos, entendiéndose la primera como universal y universalizable y la segunda como una fase pre-civilizacional.

Cultura como su nombre indica tiene que ver con el cultivo, con la agricultura, mientras que civilización viene de *civitas* y corresponde al estilo de vida de la ciudad. En el ámbito del mediterráneo, se ha pasado de culturas a civilizaciones. Dos grandes componentes han permanecido como soporte de la mediterraneidad: la civilización grecorromana y la cultura semita. (Racionero, 1991: 24)

La cultura, según este punto de vista, se relaciona con el pastoreo y la labranza, implícitamente circunscritos a una tierra, mientras que la civilización se realiza en el ambiente móvil, interhumano y sujeto a continuos cambios que es la ciudad. La cultura, por tanto, cae dentro del ámbito de especialidad de la geografía física descriptiva de lo inmóvil, mientras que la civilización, al ser urbana, compete a la geografía humana descriptiva de todo lo relacionado con el hombre y con su espacio. Al ser así, es más «lógico» que la civilización, por crecimiento urbano, englobe a la cultura, y no al revés.

Llevando este análisis a sus máximas implicaciones semióticas, uno de los pocos movimientos, aunque quizá el más grave, que pueden darse en sentido contrario es el de la emigración del campo a la ciudad y de la «cultura» a la «civilización». De ahí la inquietud poco disimulada en el discurso político-mediático ante el fenómeno de la inmigración. Ésta, siguiendo la hipótesis anterior, «ruraliza» la ciudad; «acultura» la civilización. Y esto es «malo» por ser regresivo, si empujamos hasta sus últimas consecuencias el análisis de las repercusiones que oponen cultura a civilización, circunscribiendo la primera al sur y la segunda al norte: «El que vivan ya cuatro o cinco millones de musulmanes en el lado norte del Mediterráneo complica aún más las cosas» (Racionero, 1991: 28).

Esta crisis es consecuencia de que la Globalización, como construcción retórica, no posee un significado lingüístico claro y transparente. La Globalización, como proyecto geopolítico y económico unidireccional, pretende suprimir unas fronteras consolidando, con sus escombros, otras. Si las fronteras del mundo moderno son arbitrarias porque han sido «inventées par les hommes

d'État et par les militaires pour opprimer les peuples» (Bruñes y Vallaux, citados por Foucher, 1991: 15), las que pretende instaurar la Globalización son aún más absurdas, si intentamos entenderlas según los cánones tradicionales del concepto de frontera. Si bien es verdad que las fronteras siguen haciendo referencia al espacio, sus líneas son difícilmente trazables sobre un espacio físico concreto. Ahora el espacio no es físico; la noción de espacio ha introducido en su configuración otros rasgos distintivos que entran en conflicto con los tradicionales. Antes el espacio era exclusivamente geográfico, ahora es una especie de dimensión medible en términos económicos y de influencia política. De ahí la crisis. En este momento sería algo difícil entender el espacio sin el tiempo: el «dónde estás» llamando a una persona por teléfono, inimaginable hace unos cuantos años, es prueba de esta confluencia entre el tiempo y el espacio. Antes las personas estaban en un sitio determinado para el hablante, ahora las cosas no están muy claras. El espacio empieza a ser fluctuante y movedizo, y lo es, en parte, como consecuencia de la globalización y de las nuevas tecnologías. Una globalización que, por un lado, pretende liberar el comercio de las fronteras, y por otro, impide que las personas (pobres) se trasladen de un sitio a otro. Es decir, que se proyecta globalizar la exportación de los promotores de la globalización y regionalizar las importaciones procedentes de los globalizados. Convencer de ello es una cuestión de retórica.

2. Globalización y religión

Con la publicación del trabajo de Huntington sobre el choque de civilizaciones se abre un paréntesis en esta concepción. La de los otros recupera también la denominación de civilización, pero se la asocia con todo un campo léxico-semántico relativo a la metáfora de la guerra. «[...] *A partir de ahora, [...] el campo de batalla está en las civilizaciones; la cultura y la religión pesarán más en los pueblos que las ideologías* [...]» dice ABC literario en su presentación del ensayo del autor americano, y añade:

[...] Qué queremos decir cuando hablamos de 'una civilización' Una civilización es una entidad cultural. Los pueblos, las regiones, los grupos étnicos, las nacionalidades, los grupos religiosos, todos ellos tienen culturas distintas a diferentes niveles de la heterogeneidad cultural [...] (ABC Literario, 18).

Civilización es, por tanto, una macrocultura donde caben manifestaciones concretas y circunscritas a grupos o a regiones determinadas.

El término *cultura* tampoco escapa a la redefinición. La cultura no es sólo el «resultado o efecto de cultivar los conocimientos humanos y de afinarse por

medio del ejercicio las facultades intelectuales del hombre», ni el «conjunto de modos de vida y costumbres, conocimientos y grado de desarrollo artístico, científico, industrial, en una época o grupo social, etc.», sino que viene en muchas ocasiones a solapar el sentido de la palabra «religión». En algunas manifestaciones del discurso periodístico o, incluso, político español, la cultura es un eufemismo para designar la religión. Esta asociación entre cultura y religión no es ajena a las obligaciones y compromisos semióticos con la globalización:

El lenguaje de la hipocresía es, hoy por hoy, el lenguaje común y banal de políticos e ideólogos de ese 'frente' occidental. Se creen portaestandartes del 'progreso' y de la 'razón', enfrentándose en cruzada contra el fanatismo y el fundamentalismo» (Trias, 1991: 32).

No obstante, más allá de las metáforas y de la crítica moral del lenguaje está el interés. El lenguaje usado por los políticos y por los ideólogos aludidos es un medio formado por un conjunto de estrategias retóricas para fraguar o consolidar identidades. Téngase en cuenta que la globalización es, ante todo, una construcción lingüística formada *ex profeso*. El lenguaje es el único que puede objetivar o relativizar cualquier fenómeno de naturaleza humana, incluido cambiar su sentido. Ahora bien, este poder de cambio está relacionado con otros poderes más allá de la retórica: «Porque el que puede cambiar el lenguaje está claro que tiene el poder» (Muñoz-Alonso, 2000: 17).

Las civilizaciones y culturas, sin menoscabo de lo afirmado por algún autor citado, son mutables, cambiables y traducibles; las religiones son reacias al cambio y a la traducción. Las culturas y civilizaciones, además, pueden tener un sentido universal por sí mismas; las religiones sólo tienen sentido para los que las profesan. De ahí el problema que la globalización tiene con la religión. «La religión supone para muchos pueblos, incluidos algunos europeos, un elemento de identificación de primer orden», dice un catedrático español de Derecho Constitucional. Para sortear dicho problema se precisa relativizarla, y así lo hace la globalización, redefiniéndola en términos culturales. En noviembre de 1994, por ejemplo, la ministra española de Asuntos Sociales, Cristina Alberdi, firmó con representantes de 17 comunidades autónomas un acuerdo «sobre protección de la cultura y la imagen de las minorías étnicas en los medios de comunicación social»:

La declaración firmada deja constancia del problema que supone 'la existencia de prejuicios y estereotipos hacia personas o grupos en razón de su pertenencia a una etnia o cultura diferenciada', al tiempo que manifiesta la convicción de la 'influencia que los medios de comunicación social tienen sobre la sociedad así como sobre el propio potencial educativo' de dichos medios (Bañón, *El País*, 5.11.1994).

La «incompatibilidad cultural», primero internacional y luego asociada a los inmigrantes procedentes de países de religión musulmana, es la metáfora de esta crisis que supone la religión para la globalización.

[...] Y ahora el resto de pueblos que lo componen (el mundo) también adopta cada uno su propia política unilateralista, no necesariamente militar, económica o científica, sino muchas veces religiosa, cultural o ideológica, y desde luego siempre depredatoria, agresiva y revanchista. Es la política de la venganza, que enciende y realimenta el odio cultural. Pues como sostuvo Huntington con su Choque de las Civilizaciones, el siglo XXI, desgarrado por la lucha entre culturas coexistentes pero quizás incompatibles, tampoco conocerá la paz [...]. (Enrique Calvo Gil, *Hacia el choque de culturas*, *El País*, 12.9.2002).

Téngase en cuenta que en este caso, como en el de la globalización general, el proceso globalizador pasa por la asimilación sintetizadora y no por la integración ecológica. Aquellos aspectos no asimilables son sencillamente eliminados o, cuando son reacios, condenados. Se trata, en suma, de un fenómeno de culturofagia:

[...] Parsons distingue en la sociedad cuatro subsistemas, a cada uno de los cuales corresponde una función principal. La función de consecución de metas colectivas la atiende principalmente el subsistema político, la función adaptativa es propia de la economía; la de mantenimiento de pautas corresponde a la familia; la función integrativa la llevan a cabo fundamentalmente los subsistemas de la cultura: la educación, la religión y los medios de comunicación[...] (Gomis, 1979: 45).

No obstante, cuando se trata de la proyección de estos cuatro subsistemas sobre el Diferente, se accionan de otro modo que si el destinatario fuéramos Nosotros, como veremos más tarde.

3. Globalización y traducción cultural

La traducción del árabe al español y su presentación y representación se las tiene que ver con el último, pero no menos importante, subsistema de la escala de Parsons. El subsistema de cultura engloba en realidad a todos los demás. La educación, la religión y los medios de comunicación determinan la política e influyen en gran medida en la economía y en la familia.

La compatibilidad y la integrabilidad son condiciones necesarias para la presentación de los rasgos literarios del Otro:

[...] Los orientales no deberán extrañarse de nuestra elección, que puede ser errónea, pero que no es caprichosa, tiene sus leyes y no afecta en modo alguno a la cate-

goría estética de algunas obras que de momento pueden quedar excluidas. Y el público de habla española debe asimismo pensar que lo que va a ofrecérsele viene pasado por muchas y diferentes cribas y que la calidad literaria, -que siempre se ha tenido, naturalmente, en cuenta- ha de ir hermanada, aparte otros factores, con el porcentaje de ‘comunicabilidad’ de la obra que se traduzca [...] (García Gómez, citado y comentado por Carbonell i Cortés, 1997: 78).

Pero también existe otro factor determinante de la «reproducción» del Otro: la presentación de la incompatibilidad. Esta última está muy presente, por ejemplo, en la traducción intratextual de los medios de comunicación. Unos medios de comunicación que configuran y dirigen la opinión pública, y por tanto crean o, en su caso, consolidan la imagen que se pueda tener del otro:

[...] en el actual estado de la educación, una opinión pública es una versión moralizada y codificada de los hechos. El patrón de los estereotipos en el centro de nuestros códigos determina en gran parte qué hechos veremos y bajo qué luz los veremos. Por ello, y con la mejor voluntad del mundo, la orientación de las noticias en un periódico, tiende a concordar con la de los artículos de fondo [...] (Gomis, 1979: 106).

En este caso el estereotipo es un argumento retórico. «Cuando un sistema de estereotipos está bien asentado, nuestra atención es atraída por aquellos hechos que lo sostienen y rechaza aquellos que lo contradicen» (Gomis, 1979: 106). Muchos de los casos presentados de la cultura árabe no necesitan argumentación porque coinciden con estereotipos bien asentados en la sociedad. Los casos atípicos son reconducidos para que puedan encajar con los anteriores; es decir, que son manipulados:

[...] Etimológicamente, señala Enserberger, el término ‘manipulación’ viene a significar una consciente intervención técnica en un material dado. Si esta intervención es de importancia social inmediata, la manipulación constituye un acto político, ‘es el caso de la industria de la conciencia’[...] (Gomis, 1976: 102).

Según este punto de vista, la manipulación puede ser un procedimiento legítimo basado en cierto control técnico del material. No obstante, lo que la metáfora de la intervención técnica del material no despeja son los límites, procedimientos y legitimidad de dicha intervención. El interés real o figurado, o incluso el tópico, puede justificar o legitimar la metáfora de la industria de la conciencia a sabiendas de que «la comunicación es el cemento que forma las organizaciones. Sólo la comunicación permite a un grupo que piense unido, que vea unido y que actúe unido», como dice Norbert Weiner (Gomis, 1979: 41).

4. Literalismo y exostismo del otro

La traducción es generalmente literal, se traduce a la letra la expresión lingüística árabe, con lo cual queda desencajada y poco acorde con el texto donde va inserta. Es decir, que lo se traduce son las palabras y no el contenido global semántico y pragmático de las expresiones lingüísticas. Este mismo fenómeno es más sencillo y elemental que algunas soluciones en las cuales la estilística es determinante. Veamos un ejemplo. El dictador iraquí Saddam Husayn (...) pronuncia un discurso ante su pueblo tras unos bombardeos americanos especialmente duros. Inicia su discurso de este modo:

Ayyuh? al-`iraqiyy?n al-baw?sil:

- 1) Traducido por el Servicio de información del Ministerio del Interior iraquí, esta apelación se traduce así:
«*Valientes iraquíes*»
- 2) Traducido por el corresponsal de la cadena de televisión norteamericana CNN, la traducción queda así.
«*¡Oh, iraquíes valerosos!*»

Desde el punto de vista lingüístico formal, ambas traducciones son perfectamente legítimas. Cumplen, en este caso, todas las reglas de la gramática española. No obstante, la segunda es extraña:

- 1) Evoca un estilo de la lengua española más propio del siglo XVII que de la actualidad, en el puro estilo anacrónico.
- 2) Nos representa un «personaje» quijotesco que maneja un lenguaje poco acorde con el tiempo y con la situación.

Este procedimiento libera cierta extrañeza en el lector español. El pensamiento implícito en «la expresión lingüística» resulta peregrino y, en el mejor de los casos, extraño. El concepto transferido no corresponde al que se tiene en la cultura original, árabe, de una determinada palabra, sino que parece que el significado ya está configurado arbitrariamente en la lengua meta (español). Tal es el caso, por ejemplo, de la aposición de la expresión «guerra santa» a Yihad. La mayoría de los conceptos culturales son traducidos y reproducidos en el nivel de la *lengua* árabe y no en el de su *habla*. Los rasgos culturales de origen son reproducidos mediante la traducción formal de la lengua y no de su concepción en los discursos culturales originales.

La traducción literaria se basa también en la cultura y en la visión del Yo sobre el Otro. Los criterios de selección corresponden a una serie de variables: el editor, el traductor, o incluso el patrocinador, pero, sobre todo, al marco cul-

tural general. A este propósito es interesante la siguiente afirmación de De Bunes Ibarra (1989: 249) sobre la realidad de la visión intercultural en los siglos XVI y XVII:

Todas las obras analizadas están descritas desde una posición claramente etnocéntrica. Todo lo que no sea semejante a lo que ellos tienen, lo distinto, es abominable y despreciable, brutal y bestial, simplemente porque ellos no lo llevan a la práctica ni lo ejercen. En sus esquemas mentales está perfectamente definido, de una manera muy nítida, lo permisible, lo lógico, lo racional y lo loable, que coincide exactamente por lo propuesto por la religión cristiana y, más concretamente, con lo que ellos practican.

No es que la religión sea en la actualidad el único prisma para la percepción y la representación de la literatura ajena, sino que el laicismo, junto con toda la moral social que ha generado a lo largo del siglo XX, ha desplazado al exclusivo criterio religioso, pero no ha podido acabar con los tópicos. Este es el motivo por el cual tanto el pensamiento conservador como el de izquierdas coinciden en su apreciación general de cierta literatura árabe.

La cultura opera por encima de la ideología, como bien demostrara Eduard Said en *Orientalismo*. La percepción de la cultura árabe depende de las circunstancias políticas y de algunos imperativos ideológicos, ahora caídos, que han actuado en ocasiones como acicate para el acercamiento al Otro. El antiguo Instituto de Cooperación con el Mundo Árabe, creado en 1954, pretendía conservar las 'tradicionales buenas relaciones con el mundo árabe' y, de paso, romper cierto aislamiento en el cual se veía sumido el régimen franquista. La traducción del árabe se ha visto igualmente dificultada por la existencia de un Otro doméstico, Al-Andalus. ¿Para qué se va a traducir lo que viene de fuera, si dentro hay suficiente material? «El arabismo oficial de la época en efecto no se ocupaba de esta zona del mundo árabe y centraba sus intereses en Al-Andalus, nuestro 'Oriente doméstico'» (Fernández Parilla, 1998: 8).

En cualquier caso, sería difícil analizar por qué no se ha traducido literatura magrebí, si exceptuamos la escrita en francés (Montoro 1998). Una de las explicaciones podría ser, además del mencionado orientalismo doméstico, el hecho de que «en el canon establecido por traductores y por traductores nacidos de la universidad, en que late y respira la idea de que la 'auténtica y singular' literatura árabe es, ante todo, la que se produce en Líbano, Egipto, Siria o Palestina» (Pérez Cañada, 1998: 18). Ahora, con la caída filosófica de las ideológicas y de las luchas sociales, la cultura propia se ha centrado como filtro para todo lo ajeno. Parece que la única internacional del futuro será la globalización del sur por el norte.

Las trabas puestas a la globalización por los movimientos de las personas, por la inmigración, y por la religión complican su instauración como sistema de valores. La cara socializante y comunitaria, retórica, implícita en este signo esconde otra, pragmática, que se presenta como una reorganización post colonialista de los mercados y de las riquezas del mundo. La cultura se ha arrinconado y la traducción se ha convertido en un medio más de comunicación con todas las ventajas y desventajas de los *mass media*. Es decir, que frente a la traducción analítica, pensante y estética de antaño, se ha impuesto en la actualidad una traducción utilitaria, cuya finalidad es inmediata.

Visto desde el otro lado, los árabes siempre han utilizado la traducción. Su contacto con otros mundos sería inconcebible sin la traducción. De hecho, pensando en presente, la Nahda árabe no se entendería sin el contacto, desde el siglo XVII, con Europa y su traducción. Y de hecho, la literatura árabe contemporánea, en cuanto a formas, es una versión, incluida la poesía. Las formas y moldes literarios occidentales se han universalizado en el mundo árabe desde el siglo XIX. Pero, ¿qué diferencia existe entre esa universalización y la actual globalización? Los sujetos, los pacientes y el alcance de sus consecuencias. Los árabes tradujeron para amueblar y reorganizar su patio interior. Es la necesidad de los propios sujetos de adoptar o adaptar lo foráneo. Los criterios de adaptación y de adopción son propios de los mismos árabes, que son los que deciden qué aspectos dejar intactos de su propia cultura y qué otros deben reformarse o, incluso, desecharse. La traducción, en muchos aspectos, ha resultado ser un fertilizante cultural desde la época del egipcio Mamad Ali. La globalización actual, en cambio, impone sus criterios desde fuera. Los árabes, actualmente, no pertenecen a los sujetos de la Historia, sino a sus objetos. Los criterios de la globalización no les pertenecen ni han sido consultados en su confección. Se trata, pues, de una liberación consumista a ultranza y una pérdida de control absoluta sobre sus riquezas materiales e inherencias culturales. No se trata entonces de traducir, sino de aprender y aplicar.

5. Conclusión

Los análisis anteriores revelan que estamos ante un problema de traslación de los significados. Éstos no son, en las traducciones analizadas, ni textual ni pragmáticos, sino exclusivamente onomásticos. Todo lo contrario de lo que estipulan Reiss y Vermeer (1996: 24) para una buena traducción funcional de los textos: «nos referimos al significado del texto y no a las palabras, puesto que la unidad traslativa elemental es el texto y las palabras sólo interesan al traductor como elementos textuales».

Las traducciones analizadas revelan dos aspectos distintos:

1. Son limitadas y presentan a grandes rasgos cierto desconocimiento de la lengua de la cual se traduce. No se trata ya de traducir el querer decir de lo traducido, sino sencillamente lo que dice. Es decir, hasta en el nivel mínimo de la denotación la traducción es limitada.
2. Que el material ofrecido al lector español de la prensa analizada presenta, a grandes rasgos, un fuerte componente ideológico. Se trata aquí de una cultura que piensa y presenta a otra. En todos los casos la traducción se limita a fragmentos y a frases estereotipadas «Alá Akbar», Jihad,... todas ellas pertenecen al ámbito de la religión musulmana.

Estas limitaciones de los agentes de la prensa se hacen evidentes cuando, en algunos reportajes, en el mundo árabe se requiere el conocimiento de algo más que el inglés o el francés. En este caso, la limitación no es del informador, que no ha podido entrar en contacto con la población, sino de esta población que no sabe otras lenguas. Un ejemplo de ello es esta tajante afirmación, extraída de un artículo de Rafael Méndez, enviado especial del diario *El País*, con el título de *El clan Elmuseui lo pierde todo*, subtítulo: *Una familia se resigna ante la muerte de dos de sus miembros y el derrumbe de su casa*:

Asih ha venido a Ait Kamara, al municipio dónde se situó el epicentro, a recoger a su padre, que ha perdido la casita de campo en la que vivía. Ante el edificio del Ayuntamiento han sido depositados 50 kilos de azúcar y otros tantos de harina enviados por el Gobierno.

La escasez ha originado una airada discusión entre un centenar de marroquíes, todos hombres. Algunos barbudos llevan chilaba; otros visten al estilo occidental. Pocos hablan francés o español (*El País*, 26 de febrero de 2004).

Pocos hablan francés o español, no todos. Es decir, como si esos beréberes de una aldea perdida en los confines del Rif, tuvieran TODOS que hablar francés o español. ¿Y el periodista enviado por el país habla alguna de las lenguas que ellos hablan naturalmente? Paradójicamente, la limitación se les atribuye a ellos, pero cuando se trata de hablar de ellos, traducirlos y representarlos, ya no existe limitación alguna.

Son, por lo tanto, dos los principios que condicionan la traducción del árabe al español: o es una aceptación a ultranza (principio de compatibilidad) o es un rechazo categórico (principio de incompatibilidad). El principio de compatibilidad viene generalmente motivado por circunstancias políticas favorables a un autor, siempre presentado como rebelde contra una cultura opresora. Es la retórica del argumento la que motiva este tipo de traducción. No obstante, existe otra labor llevada a cabo desde la inquietud e interés de muchos docentes de árabe, pero que sólo puede tener salida en pequeñas editoriales o mediante subvencio-

nes oficiales, sin ninguna garantía de distribución. Los dos principios anteriores entran en conflicto en la mente de no pocos traductores y encuentran su reflejo en el texto traducido.

Del breve análisis anterior se observa que la traducción del árabe al español, desde un punto de vista semiótico, corresponde a criterios del Yo sobre el Otro. Estos criterios corresponden más bien a factores ideológicos que a factores estéticos. Es decir, que lo que se juzga como mejor para traducir no es lo que los lectores árabes aprecian estadísticamente como bueno en su literatura. De hecho, por citar solo un ejemplo: «Los estudios dedicados a manifestaciones populares de la literatura y la cultura marroquíes son, por lo general, de clara raigambre colonial, exceptuando las contribuciones de Rodolfo Gil Grimau e Ibn Azuz Hakim» (Fernández Parilla, 1998: 9). La finalidad de la traducción varía según la variedad de los criterios anteriores y van desde circunstancias político-ideológicas y comerciales (Naguib Mahfuz) hasta estéticas, las mínimas. Ahora bien, cuando existe conflicto ideológico o religioso entre el Yo y el Otro en traducción, es decir intratextual, la nota a pie de página se hace imprescindible para prevenir o aclarar la incompatibilidad (El-Madkouri, 2001).

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Telenovelas in Chicano Writing: A Multidimensional Perspective

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ABSTRACT: This article examines the different ways in which the Latin American soap opera – the *telenovela* – is represented in Chicano/a literature. The writers Sandra Cisneros, John Rechy and María Amparo Escandón portray diverse types of female viewers, refusing to present them as gullible stereotypes. By rejecting a one-dimensional perspective which views the *telenovela* as simply degrading and manipulative, the writers discussed herein draw attention to its many layers of meaning and to its role in the creation of a transnational Mexican / Chicano identity.

Keywords: *telenovelas*, Chicano/a literature, Mexican popular culture, transnationalism, Sandra Cisneros, John Rechy, María Amparo Escandón.

RESUMEN: Este artículo analiza distintos modos de ver el género de la telenovela en la literatura chicana. Los escritores Sandra Cisneros, John Rechy y María Amparo Escandón muestran los diferentes tipos de televidentes femeninas y rechazan como único enfoque la idea extendida de que tales espectadoras son sujetos fácilmente manipulables. Al introducir nuevas formas de analizar esta problemática, estos autores tratan de resaltar la complejidad de esta realidad aparentemente superficial. Asimismo, ponen de manifiesto la contribución de la telenovela en la creación de una identidad transnacional chicana / mexicana.

Palabras clave: telenovelas, literatura chicana, cultura popular mexicana, transnacionalismo, Sandra Cisneros, John Rechy, María Amparo Escandón.

Mexican immigrants maintain their main connection with that marvellous,
imaginary country called Mexico via soap operas.
(Gómez-Peña, 1998: 133)

1. Introduction

The representation of Mexican popular culture is currently the focus of much Chicano/a writing. In the work of Gloria Anzaldúa or Sandra Cisneros art forms, such as folk stories, are articulated as counter-narratives to official versions of history and culture, as well as expressions that assert a Chicano / Mexican culture. Another popular culture art form that regularly appears in Chicano/a writing is the *telenovela* – the Latin American soap opera. *Telenovelas* play an important role in the lives of some Latino characters and often help form their cultural identity. This article analyses the diverse ways in which this genre is represented and its engagement with socio-cultural aspects. Possibly because of its mass culture status, *telenovela* is not generally regarded as an art form that takes on questions of history or gender consciousness. However, in the work of some Chicano writers, *telenovelas* are posited as a vital part of Chicanos' transnational identity, suggesting that this popular genre should be perceived as something more significant than a television serial.

The diverse writings of Sandra Cisneros, John Rechy, and María Amparo Escandón offer different perspectives on this art form. Whilst occasionally portraying it as degrading, they also highlight its linguistic and cultural dimensions and demonstrate its capacity to empower the viewer.

2. *Telenovelas'* Background

To describe a *telenovela* as simply the Latin American equivalent of the soap opera does not reflect the socio-political and cultural significance of this melodramatic art form. According to Ana M. López (1995: 256), *telenovelas* «[...] are the basic staple of all Latin American TV programming (day- and prime-time), of Spanish-language programming in the US [...]». Rowe and Schelling (1991) and Martín-Barbero (1995) trace the origins of the *telenovela* to the 19th century melodramatic forms of the theatre and the newspaper serial. The *folletín*, or newspaper serial, consisted of a «[...] story written in episodes and series. The “open structure” of a tale written day-to-day, carried out according to a plan but open to the influence of its readers' reaction, propitiated the (con)fusion of fiction and life» (Martín-Barbero, 1995: 277). According to Rowe and Schelling (1991: 109), «folktales, Brazilian *cordel* literature, and the chronicle of events in *corrido* and Colombian *vallenato* songs» are also related to the birth of the *telenovela*. Latin American, and especially Mexican, melodramatic cinema also played an important role in its formation. Carlos Monsiváis (1994: 16) states: «Lo que el cine inicia la televisión lo finiquita. El melodrama clásico conoce su metamorfosis terminal en telenovelas, radionovelas y fotonovelas».

Monsiváis (1994: 18) argues that «Exceso y *grand-guignol*» are the two components of this genre. In contrast to the soap operas in Britain and the US, *telenovelas* usually run for a few months only and have a definite ending. Although there exist stylistic differences between, for instance, a Mexican and a Venezuelan *telenovela*, they all tend to contain unrealistic plots and excessive drama. Expanding on Mexican *telenovelas*, Monsiváis (1994: 13) discusses the type of plots that they usually deal with:

De variantes de la Cenicienta y de Blanca Nieves, [...] de la joven que llegó a la ciudad pobre y descalza y se vuelve rica y famosa, del joven a quien le insinúan que su madre podría ser negra o podría no haberlo concebido, de la hechicera que regresa cuatro siglos después de vengarse y se enamora de un descendiente de sus inquisidores [...].

An interesting aspect of *telenovelas* is the capacity for export, not only within Latin America but also to countries like the United States, Spain, Italy, France, Russia or China (see Balwin (1995) on the success of the 1970s Mexican *telenovela* *Los ricos también lloran* in Russia during the 1990s). This ensures that *telenovelas* nowadays represent not only Latin American television but a Latin American identity around the world. This is also Martín-Barbero's (1995: 281) argument, who states that *telenovelas* play an important role «[...] in the production and reproduction of the images Latin American peoples make of themselves [...]». Jorge González (1992: 60) states the significance of *telenovela* worldwide in no uncertain terms: «[*telenovelas*] are together with the Boom writers, the most current and vital cultural product that Latin American countries export to the world and share among themselves. [...] [It] is particularly important for studying those "cultural matrices" which make up much of Latin America collective identity [...]».

The fact that a Mexican *telenovela* can be watched across the whole of Latin America contributes to the creation of a pan-Latin American identity. But as noted by Martín-Barbero (1995), this also means that specific national qualities have to be softened in favour of a more exportable product:

Soap opera production has meant, in turn, a certain appropriation of the genre by each country, that is, its nationalization. On the other hand, [it] implies rigid stereotypes in its dramatic outline and strong conditioning elements in its visual grammar, as required and reinforced by the logic of a market with increasingly transnational tendencies.¹ (Martín-Barbero, 1995: 282)

1. According to López (1985, 1995), the main countries that create *telenovelas* are Brazil, Argentina, Mexico and Venezuela, being TV-Globo (Brazil) and Televisa (Mexico) two of the main producers.

The exportability of *telenovelas* becomes obvious in the US market, where there exists a substantial Latino audience. Elizabeth Fox (1997: 38) claims that as early as the 1960s «Televisa's owners bought TV stations in Texas, California and New York [...]». This market has not only exported Latin American soap operas but it has also, according to López (1995: 265), led to the production of US – made *telenovelas* that dealt with the experiences of Latinos as «[...] a hodgepodge of exiles and immigrants in various stages of assimilation».

Mirroring the debates surrounding the soap opera in Britain and in the US, some critics defend the *telenovela* as an art form that incorporates feminist and resistant subtexts. One of the critics who perceives subversion in *telenovelas* is Linda Craft (1990: 197), who argues that «The *telenovela*, like the testimonial novel, forms part of a literature of resistance especially if one considers those texts that are, for the most part, written by and directed by women». Even though the texts discussed herein do not provide such an optimistic interpretation, they articulate *telenovelas* as complex popular cultural expressions that can be interpreted from different perspectives. Writing about the impact of *telenovelas* in Brazil Tufte broadly maintains that «Commercial exploitation [and] ideological “guidance”» take place to some extent in *telenovelas*, although they also «reflect the cultural characteristics of, and concerns arising from the disruptions present in the complex societies of today» (Tufte, 2000: 4). This multi-faceted dimension of *telenovelas* is revealed in the writings of Cisneros, Rechy and Escandón, as, depending on the viewer, *telenovelas* can be both manipulative and empowering.

3. Cisneros' *Woman Hollering Creek and Other Stories and Telenovelas*

Mexican popular culture and, in particular, *telenovelas* are an important part of the female protagonists' lives in Cisneros's *Woman Hollering Creek and Other Stories* (1991). In the story «Woman Hollering Creek», Cleófilas moves from Mexico to Texas to marry Juan Pedro and start a new, supposedly economically better life. This new life unwittingly includes a wife-battering husband and a solitary existence, which ultimately leads her back to Mexico with her six «good-for-nothing brothers» (*Woman Hollering Creek and Other Stories*: 43) and father. The text shows that Cleófilas' expectations regarding marriage and life have been defined by the narratives taking place in popular art forms such as *telenovelas*, romance novels or songs:

But what Cleófilas has been waiting for, has been whispering and sighing and giggling for, has been anticipating since she was old enough to lean against the window displays of gauze and butterflies and lace, is passion. [...] passion in its purest crystalline essence. The kind the books and songs and *telenovelas* describe when

one finds, finally, the great love of one's life, and does whatever one can, must do, at whatever the cost.

Tú o Nadie. «You or No One.» The title of the current favorite telenovela. The beautiful Lucía Méndez having to put up with all kinds of hardships of the heart, separation and betrayal, and loving, always loving no matter what, because *that* is the most important thing, and did you see Lucía Méndez on the Bayer aspirin commercials – wasn't she lovely? Does she dye her hair do you think? Cleófilas is going to go to the *farmacia* [sic] and buy a hair rinse; her girlfriend Chela will apply it – it's not that difficult at all. (*Woman Hollering Creek and Other Stories*: 44)

This passage does not only express that the media presents reductive role models for Mexican working-class women like Cleófilas, but that it also attempts to turn them into consumers.² Thus, when her husband hits her for the first time, «[...] she didn't fight back, she didn't break into tears, she didn't run away as she imagined when she saw such things in the *telenovelas*» (*Woman Hollering Creek and Other Stories*: 47).

Despite having seen the *telenovelas'* female characters «fight back» when faced with a similar situation, Cleófilas does not follow their example. The events related in this passage stand out against Craft's (1990: 204) idea that «[...] soap opera engages in some consciousness-raising which some would regard as subversive and destructive of hearth and home should the woman decide she no longer wants to tolerate the chaos or abuse there». Instead, this case exemplifies Modleski's (1984: 112) argument regarding the contradictory nature of mass art: «while appearing to be merely escapist, [it] simultaneously challenges and reaffirms traditional values, behaviours, and attitudes». Although Cleófilas may have seen the women retaliate against patriarchal oppression in the *telenovelas*, she has also been instructed «to suffer for love [...]. The pain all sweet somehow» (*Woman Hollering Creek and Other Stories*: 45).

Though a fan of *telenovelas*, Cleófilas is deprived of this entertainment in the US as she cannot afford a television set. When her husband is away, she watches some episodes at her neighbour Soledad's, who «[...] was often kind enough to retell what had happened on what episode of *María de Nadie* [...]» (*Woman Hollering Creek and Other Stories*: 52). Without *telenovelas*, the protagonist turns towards the romance novels written by Corín Tellado. Tellado is a popular Spanish writer, renowned for writing romances with Cinderella-style plots resembling *telenovelas'* screenplays. The conservative themes in Tellado's novels suggest, according to Méndez (1986: 31), that «woman can only realize

2. Lucía Méndez is a famous Mexican singer and actress of *telenovelas*, and according to López (1995: 267), «a favorite of Televisa's novelas». She has worked in *telenovelas* such as *Tú o nadie* (1985), *Marielena* (1992) and *Amor de nadie* (1990). See <<http://www.luciamendez.com>>.

her true self through marriage». This critic also maintains that the luxurious settings are reminiscent of fairy stories and thus «[...] abstracted from history and from class struggle» (Méndez, 1986: 32); furthermore, «the United States is presented as a land of promise in which the individual may get ahead with relative ease» (Méndez, 1986: 33). Considering this, we can assume that the Tellado romances have not only *lured* Cleófilas into the US but also persuaded her to accept the role of submissive wife. Cisneros narrates the protagonist's affection for Tellado romances: «He had thrown a book. Hers. From across the room. A hot welt across the cheek. She could forgive that. But what stung more was the fact it was her book, a love story by Corin Tellado, what she loved most now that she lived in the US, without a television set, without the *telenovelas*» (*Woman Hollering Creek and Other Stories*: 52).

As Sonia Saldívar-Hull (1999) notes in her enlightening discussion of this short story, Cleófilas is attacked with the same object that instructs her «to loving no matter what» (*Woman Hollering Creek and Other Stories*: 44). Thus, Cisneros suggests that her husband's violence and oppression is tolerated, at least in part, because of the unrealistic and romantic ideals sustained in mass cultural texts.

In «*Woman Hollering Creek*», *telenovelas* are posited as one of many narratives that comply with the dominant ideology. However, Cisneros offers a more constructive message in another short story from the same volume: soap operas are also present in the life of the female protagonist in «*Bien Pretty*», who, on this occasion, portrays a rather responsive viewer. The protagonist Lupe begins to watch *telenovelas* to counteract her sadness when abandoned by her lover, who has to return to Mexico to his two wives and kids. Her life is reduced to work, rushing back home and stocking up on Mexican food so «[she] could be seated in front of the screen in time to watch *Rosa Salvaje* with Verónica Castro [...] Or Daniela Romo in *Balada por un Amor*. Or Adela Noriega in *Dulce Desafío*. I watched them all (*Woman Hollering Creek and Other Stories*: 161). But instead of embracing the *telenovela* female protagonists as role models who suffer in the name of love as Cleófilas did, Lupe realises that they are not «real women»:

I started dreaming of these Rosas and Briandas and Luceros. And in my dreams I'm slapping the heroine to her senses, because I want them to be women who make things happen, not women who things happen to. Not loves that are *tormentosos*. Not men powerful and passionate versus women either volatile and evil, or sweet and resigned. But women. Real women. The ones I've loved all my life. *If you don't like it* lárgate, honey. Those women. The ones I've known everywhere except on TV, in books and magazines. Las girlfriends. *Las comadres* [female friends]. Our mamas and *tías*. Passionate and powerful, tender and volatile, brave. And, above all, fierce. (*Woman Hollering Creek and Other Stories*: 161)

Although Lupe enjoys watching the dramatic plots of *telenovelas*, she is also capable of questioning the patriarchal message within them. In this way, Cisneros presents an alternative spectator to Cleófilas, and suggests that women are not always passive, easily manipulated viewers. Fiske (1995: 45-46) makes a similar point when he maintains that, whilst the dominant popular art forms can manipulate consumers, they can also be resisted: «[...] the dominant cannot control totally the meanings that the people may construct, the social allegiances they may form. The people are not the helpless subjects of an irresistible ideological system, but neither are they free-willed, biologically determined individuals».

Instead of perceiving the *telenovelas* characters as potential role models, Lupe sees them as anti-role models, as examples not to follow. Thus, Lupe's perception of the characters is utterly counter to that which the *telenovela*'s producers intended to communicate. Tufte (2000: 19) argues a similar case when he states that ideological dominance is not always obtained, since «any type of culture product is always interpreted and reinterpreted on a personal level, in ways dependent on a series of socio-cultural, psychological, economical, political and historical factors». In «*Bien Pretty*», rejecting the reductive message of *telenovelas* also involves disallowing the message arising from some Mexican popular music. Lupe refuses to listen to «[...] Lola Beltrán sobbing “*Soy infeliz*” into her four cervezas» in favour of a more empowering song by Daniela Romo: «“*Ya no. Es verdad que te adoro, pero más me adoro yo.*” I love you, honey, but I love me more».³ (*Woman Hollering Creek and Other Stories*: 163). Her empowering subjectivity is replicated in the theme of the songs she chooses to listen to.

In her short stories, Cisneros presents two types of mass culture female consumer: one is easily distracted by *telenovelas* and romances and is apathetic towards the patriarchal oppression she experiences; whilst the other is able to enjoy popular art forms, but is also capable of responding to its ideology. In this way, the Chicana author rejects a one-dimensional view in favour of a more comprehensive understanding of these entertaining popular culture art forms.

4. Rechy's Vision in *The Miraculous Day of Amalia Gómez*

Another Chicano writer who explores the phenomenon of the *telenovela* is John Rechy in his novel *The Miraculous Day of Amalia Gómez* (1991).⁴

3. Lola Beltrán (1932-1996) was a popular Mexican singer of *rancheras*. In her famous song «*Soy infeliz*», the heart-broken female protagonist drowns her sorrows in alcohol.

4. John Rechy is a Chicano writer best known for his novels of homosexual subject matter, such as *City of Night* (1963), the novel with which he became recognized. Due to a lack of ethnic focus in his work,

Described by the author as a novel that «[...] extends into surrealism, and then into fable» (Castillo, 1995: 119), the text depicts a day in the life of a Mexican-American woman, Amalia Gómez, in Los Angeles. The novel begins by showing Amalia's bewilderment when she sees a «[...] large silver cross in the otherwise clear sky» (*The Miraculous Day of Amalia Gómez*: 3) one May morning, and she wonders whether it is a miraculous sign. The text shows Amalia's pilgrimage through Los Angeles and the distressing news she receives that day: she successively discovers that her son is a male hustler, that her daughter has become an aggressive woman, and that Amalia's new partner has made sexual advancements to her daughter. The upsetting events of the day awaken Amalia's memories of the death of her son Manny, as well as other painful episodes from her life, retold in a series of flashbacks.

Disheartened and angered by the sequence of tragic events that comprise her life, Amalia visits different individuals and places looking for support and solace. Frustrated and angered by the miserable life she has had, Amalia demands a miracle from the Virgin Mary. At the end of the novel her wish is granted as she believes that she has witnessed a miracle. Thus, the novel ends by revealing a confident Amalia who, after finally obtaining the redemption she had sought so desperately, finds the strength to face new challenges and problems.

In this text, the mass media is portrayed as an important part of Latinas' lives: the mass cultural art form of the *telenovela* constitutes a vehicle that enables women to escape from the hardships of reality. Rechy presents a very critical approach towards the *telenovela* as he depicts it as degrading and manipulative. His critique is manifested through the detailed description of the plot of Amalia's «cherished Saturday serial» (*The Miraculous Day of Amalia Gómez*: 100), *Camino al sueño*. The *telenovela* protagonists, Antonio Montenegro and his wife Lucinda, belong to the «prominent» Soto-Mayor and Montenegro dynasties and «[...] have a perfect home, all chrome and glass and staircases» (*The Miraculous Day of Amalia Gómez*: 101). Antonio Montenegro learns from the «oldest retainer» that his wife has been previously married to an evil man, and that she must go back to him so that he will not destroy the dynasty of the Montenegros. Rechy is obviously parodying the exaggerated and overdramatic story lines found in *telenovelas*, where romantic love is presented as the ultimate fulfilment in a woman's life. The character of Antonio says about his wife: «“She had no past except that which belongs to us both. Our lives began when we found each other”» (*The Miraculous Day of Amalia Gómez*: 102). The main characters have a «most noble heritage» and are devoted Catholics:

critics have debated whether he should be considered a Chicano writer or not. *The Miraculous Day of Amalia Gómez* signals a thematic shift in his work as racial and gender issues become central in the novel.

«[Antonio] was once honoured with a private audience with the Holy Pope» (*The Miraculous Day of Amalia Gómez*: 101). Equally, the servants are described as «adoring» and Tita, the Indian servant who confesses Lucinda's shameful past to Antonio, is portrayed as submissive and honoured to be working for such a noble family: «I have been privileged to serve the Montenegros from before your birth, [...] I would have given my life for them, and then for you – and now for our Lucinda» (*The Miraculous Day of Amalia Gómez*: 102). Such a representation of the Indian servant is indicative of the class and racial dynamics embedded in the genre.

Amalia compares the lifestyle and the events appearing in the *telenovela* with those in her own life, as if the serial was the pattern to follow:

Antonio and his wife, Lucinda, of the prominent Soto-Mayor dynasty, have a perfect home, all chrome and glass and staircases.

Amalia touched the armrests of the sofa bed. The covers she had sewn slipped off every night. She felt the matted cotton underneath. (*The Miraculous Day of Amalia Gómez*: 101)

«Lucinda and I were married at the altar,» Antonio reminds her. «God heard our vows. My beloved Lucinda wore the purest white.»

And I did not, Amalia thought. (*The Miraculous Day of Amalia Gómez*: 103)

When comparing her material possessions and the events of her life to those of the unrealistic televised characters, Amalia is left with a feeling of not being ethically or financially good enough. This passage exemplifies Riegel's (1996: 205) statement: «Through soap operas, viewers see other families on television to which to compare their own».

Amalia is not the only Latina woman fascinated with *telenovelas*. In the sweatshop where she works women regularly engage in a discussion of their favourite *telenovelas*. During their lunch break the female workers participate in a conversation in which they exchange views on the latest developments in their favourite *telenovelas* as if they were real events:

«Well, the wife [...] has just confronted Concha, his mistress, [...]». «Blanca told Concha she knows she's having an affair with Aurelio, although it's clearly not Aurelio's fault, he's a good man seduced. Yes, says the brazen Concha, and right under your nose. You mean while I was pregnant with my little Anuncio? Blanca demands, although she's so overwhelmed by the terrible affront that she has to sit down with her rosary in order to keep from fainting. Precisely, that vile Concha says.»

«She's an evil woman, that Concha,» another woman offered. (*The Miraculous Day of Amalia Gómez*: 49-50)

Despite portraying *telenovelas* in a negative light, the novel reveals that they also enable women to socialize and engage in discussions initiated by the themes touched upon in the serial. This passage epitomizes Tufte's (2000: 228) argument that «[*telenovelas*] are of course a source of entertainment, but the recognition and relevance that the audience accords to the narratives reveal the meaningful social, cultural and even political functions that can be attributed to *telenovelas*». It also becomes apparent throughout the work that these Latina women watch a Spanish-speaking programme, thus allowing them to assert the linguistic aspect of their identity.

The idea that *telenovelas* function as an escape mechanism that permits Latinas to avoid facing reality is again manifested in a passage where the Immigration and Naturalization Service arrives in the sweatshop looking for illegal immigrants. The officers ill-treat the workers, especially one of the male workers, Jorge, whom they attack. Even though, during the break, the women return to their *telenovela* discussions, ignoring the recent disturbing events, one of the female workers, Rosario, offended by their indifference, shouts at them: «“Estúpidas! Don't you care about what happened to Jorge just now? Don't you care about the women who work next to you? – arrested and sent back without even their wages! For God's sake, don't you see your own sons shoved around by cops only because they're Mexicans?”» (*The Miraculous Day of Amalia Gómez*: 54).

Despite this outburst, the women remain silent for some minutes until Milagros, another worker, replies: «“What are you babbling about, mujer? Do you know?”» (*The Miraculous Day of Amalia Gómez*: 54), only to return to her chat about the serial. Later on in the novel, we learn of the problems that Milagros faces outside the fantasy world of the *telenovela*. Milagros confesses to Amalia that she is an illegal immigrant and that her sons have drug and alcohol abuse related problems. Amalia is astounded when she realises that «this was the same woman who at the sewing sweatshops kept everyone entertained with her gossip» (*The Miraculous Day of Amalia Gómez*: 19).

Rechy articulates the *telenovela* as a genre that supports the dominant ideology and pressurizes women into accepting a passive role. It is not merely entertaining but also an escape mechanism from the harsh realities of Latina women. Thus, *The Miraculous Day of Amalia Gómez* shows the *telenovela* as a highly popular televised programme among the Latina population, although it also raises questions about the reasons for such popularity. *Telenovelas* have Latino characters and do not project a negative image of the Latino population, effectively counteracting the negative stereotypes of Latinos in US television, and allowing the Latino viewer to identify with the characters.

According to the National Council of La Raza (1997: 21), «Hispanics are virtually absent as characters in the entertainment media and as correspondents and anchors in news media». Furthermore,

[...] Hispanics in television entertainment are both more likely to be portrayed negatively and less likely to be portrayed positively than any other group. In addition, TV portrayals tend to reinforce derogatory stereotypes of Latinos as people who are poor, of low status, lazy, deceptive, and criminals. (National Council of La Raza, 1997: 29)

Similarly, Amundson and Lichter (1997: 71) argue that Latinos are underrepresented and negatively portrayed, although their analysis includes some positive developments. After studying the 1994-95 television season, they «[...] found some welcome progress in television's portrayal of Hispanics [...]». Also, «The proportion of Hispanics characters was up but still far below the proportion of Hispanics Americans in the real world. Latinos were “ghettoized” in a handful of series [...], and few portrayed prosperous, well-educated, authoritative characters». The data provided by these media studies sheds new light on the popularity of the *telenovela* and other Spanish-speaking television programmes in the US, allowing a greater understanding of their transnational success.

5. Escandón's *Esperanza's Box of Saints*

Like Cisneros and Rechy, the Mexican writer María Amparo Escandón presents a multidimensional view of the *telenovela*. Even though she may not refer to herself as a «Chicana», her transcultural experience and her residence in the US equate her to writers such as Sandra Cisneros. Escandón's first novel, *Esperanza's Box of Saints* (1999), narrates the journey undertaken by a mother who searches for her daughter. After having been told that her daughter Blanca died from an infection, Esperanza witnesses the apparition of San Judas Tadeo, the patron of lost causes, who informs her that Blanca is not dead. Convinced that Blanca has been kidnapped and sold into prostitution, she embarks on a journey from Mexico to the United States which takes her to different brothels where she ends up working as a prostitute or a peep show girl.

In this novel, the entertaining aspect of *telenovelas* is emphasized, as Mexican characters regularly watch them and are even hooked on their melodramatic plots. This is the case of Father Salvador, the priest from Esperanza's hometown, with whom she has been sharing confidences over the telephone. In one such

telephone conversation, Esperanza tells him of a customer who has bought her «exclusivity»:

«He wants me just for himself. I am lucky. I don't have to worry about other clients.»

«I see. He bought your exclusivity.»

«That's one way to put it. I don't know if that's common in this business.»

«It happened in *The Truth About Giovanna*.»

«Well, I never watched that soap opera, Father, so I wouldn't know». (*Esperanza's Box of Saints*: 122)

Father Salvador shows that his knowledge regarding prostitution matters is derived from watching *telenovelas*, exposing the extent to which the serials play a significant role in his life. His interest in this genre is revealed in another passage, where Father Salvador hurriedly ends a conversation with God because the *telenovela* is about to begin: «So please, dear God, help me. And now, I have to go. It's almost eight o'clock and I don't want to miss my soap opera. Tonight, Elizabeth Constanza finds out she has a blind twin sister. Amen.» (*Esperanza's Box of Saints*: 23). With great irony, Escandón pokes fun not only at the priest's addiction to *telenovelas*, but also at the unrealistic and overdramatic plots for which this genre is renowned.

This is not the only character in the novel to demonstrate the importance of *telenovelas*, since they are also the vehicle that allows Soledad, Esperanza's friend, to reveal her emotions, despite her detached personality:

Esperanza knew Soledad cried inconsolably at certain moments during her beloved soap operas, yet when it came to her own tragedies, she would always act as if she could take anything. At her husband's funeral, she was the only one who did not cry, at least in public. Because of that, many people believed that Soledad had never really loved Alfredo, that she had married him just because he resembled the late Mexican movie idol Pedro Infante. (*Esperanza's Box of Saints*: 122)

Apart from their capacity to entertain viewers and permit escapism, the writer reveals a more significant aspect of the *telenovelas* once Esperanza crosses the border into the United States and becomes an immigrant. Whilst she is waiting for someone in Los Angeles, Esperanza looks at the television and «[...] watched the last segment of a soap opera and wondered if Soledad was back home, watching it at the same time» (*Esperanza's Box of Saints*: 122). This event shows how the transnational dimension of *telenovelas* enables Mexican immigrants to feel somehow connected to their country. López (1995: 266) shares this line of thought when discussing the popularity of a particular *telenovela*: «Hispanics in New York, Florida, California, and the south-west watched *Simplemente*

María together with Mexico City». The *telenovela*'s ability to keep Mexican immigrants linked to their homeland is also remarked upon by Guillermo Gómez-Peña (1998: 133), who states: «Mexican immigrants maintain their main connection with that marvellous, imaginary country called Mexico via soap operas». Despite being objects of ridicule for their sensational story lines, Escandón bestows *telenovelas* with the potential to keep Mexicans in both countries connected through a common contemporary cultural thread.

6. Conclusion

The four texts analysed herein provide diverse observations on the popular genre of the *telenovela*. In some cases, this art form is articulated as manipulative and in connivance with the dominant ideology, whilst in others, resistance to its oppressive message becomes evident. Even when a writer represents the *telenovela* as an art form that manipulates women, a positive aspect is also disclosed: this mass-cultural expression allows women to socialize and to assert their cultural identity. Considering that the US media presents the Latino population quite negatively, *telenovelas* counteract these images and provide characters to which viewers can relate. Additionally, *telenovelas* enable the viewer in the US to assert the linguistic aspect of his/her identity and to obtain a sense of connection with his/her country of origin. When the *telenovela* is described as a form that maintains the female spectator trapped in her oppressed situation, it is also made clear that it is only one in a host of other discursive practices that encourage women to remain passive and silent.

Cisnero's, Rechy's and Escandón's texts invite the reader to appreciate the many layers of significance hidden in a seemingly shallow entertaining art form such as the soap opera. Whilst the three writers avoid an idealistic view on the genre, their work suggests that *telenovelas* play a significant role in the creation of a Chicano / Mexican transnational identity.

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Arab Shakespeare: Sulayman Al-Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet Summit*

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ABSTRACT: This paper offers an analysis of Anglo-Kuwaiti dramatist Sulayman Al-Bassam's celebrated adaptation *The Al-Hamlet Summit*, and situates the play into the history of Arabic appropriations of Shakespeare. Despite the uneven development of theatre as a medium in Arab cultures, Shakespeare has been a familiar point of reference for Arab dramatists since the late 19th century. Received in the Middle East as a great icon of classical theatre, Shakespeare is there for writers to admire, emulate, imitate or challenge. Arab productions of *Hamlet* have taken different forms over the years: early productions produced a romantic Arab national hero, while later works from the 1970s onwards cast Hamlet as an impotent intellectual. Al-Bassam's play fuses these traditions to bring Hamlet right up to date, as both a freedom fighter and a suicidal martyr. Al-Bassam's adaptation modernises Shakespeare, demonstrating the capacity of his plays to speak about urgent issues of the present as well as indispensable meanings from the past.

Keywords: Hamlet, Arab Shakespeare, adaptation, globalization, crosscultural dialogue.

RESUMEN: El presente artículo propone un análisis de la popular adaptación, *The Al-Hamlet Summit*, realizada por el dramaturgo anglo-kuwaití Sulayman Al-Bassam, en el contexto histórico de las apropiaciones árabigas de la obra de Shakespeare. A pesar del desarrollo desigual del teatro como medio entre las culturas árabes, Shakespeare ha constituido un punto de referencia habitual para sus dramaturgos desde finales del siglo XIX, cuyo status como un icono del teatro clásico lo ha convertido en modelo a seguir, imitar o subvertir. Diferentes representaciones árabes de *Hamlet* se han sucedido a lo largo de los años: las obras iniciales reflejaban un héroe nacional romántico, mientras que a partir de los años 1970 se muestra a Hamlet como un intelectual impotente. La obra de Al-Bassam amalgama ambas tradiciones para actualizar el personaje de Hamlet: luchador revolucionario y mártir árabe. La adaptación de Al-Bassam pone de manifiesto la capacidad de sus obras

para abordar temas candentes de actualidad en conexión con las temáticas significativas del pasado.

Palabras clave: Hamlet, Shakespeare árabe, adaptación, globalización, diálogo cultural.

1

Although Shakespeare touched the Arab world astonishingly early (the famous 1608 performance of *Hamlet* by the crew of the East India Company's ship *Red Dragon* took place at the entry to the Gulf of Aden, off the island of Socotra, now part of the Arab Republic of Yemen) it was not until the 19th century that Arab culture began to open up to Shakespearean penetration (see Holderness and Loughrey, 2006: 24-26). It was then that Shakespeare re-entered the Arab world as theatre, with the plays translated and adapted specifically to form the repertoire of dramatic companies in Egypt and other Arab countries.

Hamlet was first performed in Egypt around 1893. The Egyptian theatre was, as Nadia Al-Bahar (1976: 13) puts it, «void of indigenous plays», so would naturally have turned to a writer who represented, in Thomas Cartelli's (1999: 1) words, a «privileged site of authority» within a number of «national formations». The main Arabic translation of *Hamlet* was that of Tanius Abduh, who is thought to have taken his text from the French version of Jean-Francois Ducis, premiered in 1769 (Abduh's translation, long thought lost, has recently been published in Egypt, see Hanna, 2005 *b*). Ducis spoke not a word of English, and worked from a French synopsis, leaving very little of Shakespeare's play intact. He even apologised to Edward Garrick for the result.

So when *Hamlet* first appeared in Egypt it was in an 18th century version, with whole scenes and characters deleted, and with a happy ending (see Hanna, 2005 *a*). Hamlet is not wounded in the duel, but remains unharmed to receive a blessing from his father's ghost: «Hamlet, may you live a joyful life on earth, pardoned in heaven. Ascend the throne formerly occupied by your uncle. This throne was most appropriately made for you to accede» (quoted in Al-Bahar, 1976: 16).

Other adaptations were made to suit local cultural conditions. Audiences expected a play to be more like a revue, with plenty of music and song, so Hamlet courted Ophelia in the language of Arab love poetry. Thus in Egypt in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, *Hamlet* flourished as a stage show in radically revised, rewritten, and reconstructed adaptations. Mahmoud Al-Shetawi (1999: 46) writes: «Overall, the early stage productions of *Hamlet* were crude, vulgarizing

Shakespeare's masterpiece in order to please the illiterate audience». Many have made the same criticism of Restoration Shakespeare; and indeed Alexander Pope said much the same of the Lord Chamberlain's Men.

Shakespeare's absorption into Middle Eastern culture was not therefore by any means a simple process of imperialist transmission and passive colonial reception. *Hamlet* was «assimilated», said Al-Shetawi (1999: 60), thoroughly woven into the «fabric of Arab creative processes». «Shakespeare» wrote Nadia Al-Bahar (1976: 13) «was transplanted into Arab soil». «Transplanted» indicates not a simple exporting but a cross-cultural migration across borders, in which the artefact becomes rooted in different soil, and there adapts itself to the local climate and conditions.

Free adaptation from French models continued to be the norm in Arab cultures: Abduh's translation, in which Hamlet kills Claudius and ascends the throne, remained popular in Egypt for many years. But this performance tradition did not on the other hand produce a consistent «Arab» interpretation of *Hamlet*. Appropriations were sharply divided between heroic and anti-heroic Hamlets:

With the exception of early productions [...] Hamlet has always been viewed as a romantic hero who sets out to fight corruption and dies for the cause of justice [...] Other Arabic productions of *Hamlet* present Hamlet as an Arab intellectual, impotent to cope with the realities of his society. (Al-Shetawi, 1999: 49)

Margaret Litvin (2005) addresses this contradiction in Arab Shakespeare between Hamlet the hero and Hamlet the intellectual, and posits a chronological break in the tradition of Arabic appropriations of *Hamlet* some time in the late 1970s. Hamlet the romantic freedom fighter of the postcolonial tradition gave way to a series of Hamlets disarmed, impotent and emotionally crippled by the weight of their destiny. Litvin cites productions and adaptations from Egypt, Syria and Tunisia to demonstrate this reorientation. All these plays deploy technical devices to challenge the norms of conventional theatrical representation; all are sceptical about the power of words to achieve change. Claudius is invariably the powerful Arab despot, while Hamlet is the «Arab intellectual, a figure who is commonly portrayed as impotent when it comes to responding positively to the miserable conditions of his country» (Al-Shetawi, 1999: 48).

2

This complex tradition was one of the starting-points for Sulayman Al-Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet Summit*, first performed in English as part of the Edinburgh International Fringe Festival, in August 2002, where it was awarded

the Fringe First Award for excellence and innovation in writing and directing. It was subsequently presented at the 14th Cairo International Festival of Experimental Theatre, in September 2002, where it won Best Performance and Best Director Awards. Subsequently it moved into Arabic and played at the Riverside Studios in London (March 2004), the Singapore Arts Festival (June 2005), Elsinore Castle in Denmark (August 2005), and other festival venues around the globe (Seoul, Tokyo, Warsaw, Tehran).

Al-Bassam's play maps a Middle Eastern political tragedy onto the template of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Hamlet's father, the old ruler, has been poisoned, and his position usurped by Claudius his brother, a dictator with more than a passing resemblance to the late Saddam Hussein. Gertrude and Ophelia, Polonius and Laertes all play roles comparable to those of their Shakespearean namesakes, but redomesticated into an Islamic Arab context. The regime is threatened, as Denmark is threatened at the beginning of *Hamlet*, by Fortinbras's troops lining the borders, and internally by the «People's Liberation Brigade», which has been distributing leaflets claiming Old Hamlet was assassinated.

The play was staged as a high-level political summit meeting, with desks and nameplates. The conference-hall housing this «summit» meeting became the locus of the closet drama. At the same time large video screens carried images of current events in the world beyond, such as burning oil-wells and scenes of fighting. The microcosm of the play was thus linked to the macrocosm of the Gulf region, a site scarified by the impact of global geopolitics.

In the light of those burning oil-wells, and in a scene which is the equivalent of *Hamlet* 3.3, instead of displaying remorse and praying for forgiveness, Claudius voices what is virtually a religion of oil and dollars:

Oh God: Petro dollars. Teach me the meaning of petro dollars. I have no other God than you, I am created in your image, I seek guidance from you the All Seeing, the All Knowing Master of Worlds, Prosperity and Order [...]. (*The Al-Hamlet Summit*: 70)

The actor undressed to his underwear as he delivered this speech, the powerful despot revealing himself naked in his vulnerable dependency.

The god he prays to, the covert power of the West, appears in the play in the shadowy persona of the Arms Dealer, who spoke English in the Arabic version, and was played by a woman in the English version («The Arms Dealer» says Al-Bassam (2006: 25) «is a ghost, companion, grave-digger, man, woman or child»). The Arms Dealer converses with Hamlet, Ophelia, Claudius and finally Fortinbras, and provides weapons to anyone prepared to pay, even if arming opponents. He/she remains very much in place, walking downstage, at the end of the play.

Just as in *Hamlet* Claudius recognises that the real enemy of his regime lies within, so Claudius and Polonius in *The Al-Hamlet Summit* are vigilant against signs of domestic subversion. Opposition and dissent are read as fundamentalist terrorism. In practice both Hamlet and Ophelia conform to this stereotype and become Islamicised, adopting traditional Muslim costume; and both become, from the perspective of the ruling regime, «terrorists». Ophelia is associated, as Yvette K. Khoury (2005) has observed, with the Palestinian cause, and dies as a suicide bomber; Hamlet (who adopts a «*short white thowb, with a long beard*» (*The Al-Hamlet Summit*: 81)) shoots Polonius, and at the end of the play is seen leading the liberation army. The equation between Islamic fundamentalist and terrorist militant is one that Hamlet also internalises. This is the equivalent of both Hamlet's revenge and his madness, a vindictive fantasy bloodbath that deliberately echoes (or even parodies) the language of the Holy Koran:

I bear witness that there is no God but Allah and that Mohammad is his messenger
[...]

I will clean this land, I will make it pure, I understand, I do understand, but I will cleanse it for you, I will prepare it for your return, even if it costs me my life, I will clean it, I will purge it, blood will flow, I will make blood flow in torrents, I swear in my father's name, I swear in the name of Allah. (*The Al-Hamlet Summit*: 82, 61)

3

Where does this adaptation sit vis-à-vis both Arab Shakespeare and dominant theatrical interpretations of the play in the West? Margaret Litvin argues that Al-Bassam has discarded the impotent intellectual Hamlets of the late 20th century and re-established a link with the romantic figure that dominated performances of *Hamlet* in the Arab theatre from the late 19th century. Al-Bassam's Hamlet is «not the fractured non-protagonist of recent Arab plays but rather recalls [...] the hero Hamlets of the 1960s and 1970s» (Litvin, 2005). In this analysis Al-Bassam has by-passed the previous two decades, and reconnected with an older Arabic tradition. *The Al-Hamlet Summit* is divided into sections corresponding to the Islamic times of prayer («the names of the Acts [...] are the names of the five daily prayers in Islam (Al-Bassam, 2006: 25)), which seems to echo Riyadh Ismat's 1973 Damascus production, where the play was divided into three parts – *huzn* (sorrow), *al-thawra* (rebellion), *al-shahadah* (martyrdom) (see Al-Shetawi, 1999: 48), and where Hamlet appeared as a rebel against corruption and tyranny.

Compared with other recent Arab adaptations such as Iraqi dramatist Jawad Al-Asadi's *Forget Hamlet*, Al-Bassam's version of Shakespeare's tragic hero is certainly much stronger, more assertive, more positively defined (see Al-Asadi, 2006). On the other hand the figure of the Islamic militant which Al-Bassam's Hamlet grows to resemble, cannot be so easily identified with the heroes of a previous century. Though he is certainly an active crusader against corruption and a militant for justice, Hamlet becomes wholly a man of action, rejecting language and the intellect, committing himself unequivocally to material violence:

HAMLET: [...] the time for the pen has passed and we enter the era of the sword [...] No more words [...] words are dead, they died on our tongues [...] council is the weakest form of faith, now we must mouth meaning with our flesh. (*The Al-Hamlet Summit*: 82)

Nothing could distance the character from the author more decisively than this uncompromising rejection of language and letters in favour of physicality, materialism and violence. Nor does *The Al-Hamlet Summit* end with anything approximating the heroic conclusions of the earlier Arabic adaptations. Al-Bassam's Hamlet does not like his romantic predecessors *succeed*. Although his death is a significant gesture of martyrdom («I hurry to the dignity of life and the eternity of death» (*The Al-Hamlet Summit*: 83)), it is only one detail in the final scene of universal carnage, where a failed coup d'état, the converging of Western power and Fortinbras's assumption of authority are all presented with the excited objectivity of a media event. Hamlet does not «clean this land»: he only creates an empty space into which Fortinbras can move his troops. «Religious dogma», writes Al-Bassam (2006: 24), «invades the piece from all sides. It is the mask of the ruler, the battle cry of the oppressed and the strategy of the revolutionary. Doubt and debate are hounded out of existence». Islamic militancy has not provided a solution, only a dramatic denouement: «FORTINBRAS: I have biblical claims upon this land, it is empty and barren and my presence here is a fact that has not been invented» (*The Al-Hamlet Summit*: 85).

4

Insofar as there was a separate, local Arab tradition of adapting and appropriating Shakespeare, Al-Bassam's work is obviously part of it. But by writing in English, Al-Bassam has also chosen to work partially inside an Anglophone culture (or set of cultures), which is, as Michael Neill (1998: 184) phrases it, «saturated with Shakespeare». Al-Bassam has explicitly confirmed that the work is «cross-cultural», speaking from an Arab perspective but also to an English-speaking audience.

The script was written from a contemporary Arab perspective. It carries many concerns and issues of today's Arab world and its relationship to the West. At the same time, it addresses these concerns to an English-speaking audience. The cross-cultural construction of the piece creates a sense of implication in the affairs of the other. (Dent, 2003: n.p.)

This sounds like the cultural «hybridity» that occurs when an imperial discourse penetrates a post-colonial culture and merges with local and native materials to produce a synthetic fusion. But *The Al-Hamlet Summit* does not fit so easily into this or any of the available models provided by post-colonial criticism. Any writer who so deliberately places his work on a cultural or national margin, or seeks to work across territorial and historical borders, is seeking a difficult and precarious balance, and is likely to find himself challenged from all sides, as Al-Bassam (2003: 86) himself confirms:

For some *The Al-Hamlet Summit* was the work of a Westernised traitor that falsely approximated between Islam and the propagation of violence. For others, and I'm happy to say the majority and particularly the young, *The Al-Hamlet Summit* gave vital and much-needed expression to today's Arab concerns and presented them to the West in a sophisticated and human form.

These critical responses are all however testimony to *The Al-Hamlet Summit's* capacity to generate dialogue across borders, dialogue that challenges and questions and enters reservations, but remains fundamentally an international conversation. As such it offers an alternative, an urgently imperative alternative, to mutual misunderstanding and reciprocal violence. What Al-Bassam called the «cultural symbiosis» manifest in the play was clearly designed to form a ground of dialogue between East and West.

5

The writing of *The Al-Hamlet Summit* began with the experience of globalisation:

I was in Cairo with an exiled Iraqi theatre director and a Palestinian theatre troupe from Ramallah drinking coffee in the bazaar when a boy came running past us, chanting: «Al-Kull murtabit / Am-reeca qarabit» («Everything is linked / America just got closer...»). It was September the 11th and news from New York was just beginning to stream across the television screens. In all the confusion of that night, I remember the words of one of the Palestinian actors: «The hell in New York today will bring hell to Ramallah tomorrow». (Al-Bassam, 2003: 85)

9/11 is the supreme instance of globalisation, a single event affecting all differentially. The boy celebrates with a certain triumphalism the shrinking globe and the ease with which Islamic terrorism can reach to the very heart of America's political and economic institutions. The Palestinian actor thinks ruefully of the consequences, immediate reprisal not from America but from Israel, and against the Palestinians. Global events know no barriers of time and space.

In an article on 9/11 British Prime Minister Tony Blair echoed these sentiments exactly. 9/11 «brought home the true meaning of globalisation»:

In this globalised world, once chaos and strife have got a grip on a region or a country, trouble is soon exported. [...] It was, after all, a dismal camp in the foothills of Afghanistan that gave birth to the murderous assault on the sparkling heart of New York's financial centre. (Blair, 2002: 119)

From Blair's perspective globalisation also provides the potential solution to such problems. Blair (2002: 121) reflects that the West can «use the power of community to bring the benefits of globalisation to all» in the form of truly universal values: «values of liberty, the rule of law, human rights and a pluralist society [...] Values that are “universal and worthy of respect in every culture”». The vehicle for disseminating these values globally is economic penetration: increased trade flows, and greater involvement of the private sector in public finance (Blair, 2002: 122).

Al-Bassam clearly intended *The Al-Hamlet Summit* as an intervention into this fraught conversation, but from a very different perspective:

The globalisation of politics is deceptive. Every Arab knows that George Bush said «either you are with us or you are against us» and everyone in the West now knows that Saddam is bad. This is globalisation of politics, but it does very little to increase dialogue between cultures. All it does is promote vacuous «world views». This is where culture and theatre become vital. They permit complexity and difference and they permit the weak to be other than pitied and the cruel to be other than hated. Theatre challenges the accepted world views and breaks the mirrors of authority. Shakespeare understood that power very well. (Dent, 2003: n.p.)

Globalisation is not only inevitable but desirable, since it is the only route to mutual understanding and a stable world. Everything really is linked, as the Arab boy recognised. The problem is how to develop those links without conflict and violence; without the supremacy of the West; without the suppression of alternative cultures and consequent global homogenisation. In this process theatre has a critical role to play:

The events of 9-11 and the political fallout since have drawn to light the inextricable intertwining of the fates of Arab peoples and those of the West. Everything is linked and the much-touted «clash of civilizations» simplifies and tries to obscure what is a complex series of overlapping and interpenetrating cultural realities that are tied together in fatal symbiosis. (Al-Bassam, 2003: 85)

6

Between 1608, when Shakespeare's lines echoed emptily from the deck of the *Red Dragon* around the Arab world, and 2002, when Al-Bassam's adaptation found a common acceptance across both East and West, empires rose and fell. But one thing changed. In 1608 Shakespeare was virtually talking to himself. In 2002 Shakespeare was the substance of a global conversation. «Everything is linked» in the globalised world, either through violence or through an acceptance of reciprocal «implication». *The Al-Hamlet Summit* opens a conversation over the ground of our reconciliation.

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Discipline, Learning and Interaction in US Bilingual Classroom Contexts

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ABSTRACT: This article presents the results derived from the implementation of a new discipline program at Fischer Middle School, San Jose, California, a bilingual school (English / Spanish) located in an area of predominantly low income Hispanic student population. In order to tackle the interference with academic achievement arising from discipline problems, new strategies in the treatment of behavior and discipline issues were adopted: development of responsibility, meaningful rules and consequences, preventive strategies and alternatives to punishment for minor and more severe problems. The findings were both contradictory and encouraging: the survey showed a bigger interest in learning and academic achievement in most children; on the other hand, GPAs did not get better in the year of the intervention and the overall number of referrals increased slightly, although there was a significant month to month reduction pattern in the second year.

Keywords: discipline, learning achievements, self-esteem, teacher training, dialogue.

RESUMEN: Este artículo presenta los resultados obtenidos tras la implementación y evaluación de un nuevo programa de disciplina en la *Middle School* Fischer, San Jose, California, una escuela bilingüe (inglés / español), en un área con una población estudiantil de origen hispano y renta baja. Para afrontar la incidencia de los problemas disciplinarios en los rendimientos académicos, se adoptaron de forma experimental una serie de medidas: desarrollo de la responsabilidad personal, normas y consecuencias de su ruptura coherentes entre sí, estrategias preventivas de la violencia y alternativas al castigo en respuesta a los problemas de diversa naturaleza. Los resultados pueden considerarse alentadores y contradictorios: los alumnos mostraron un mayor interés por el aprendizaje, aunque su rendimiento académico no mejoró sustancialmente y el número de partes de incidencia por mala conducta aumentó moderadamente. Sin embargo, la tendencia fue a la baja en el segundo año de implementación.

Palabras clave: disciplina, rendimiento académico, autoestima, formación del profesorado, diálogo.

1. Contextual Background for Fischer Middle School

This study presents the findings of a research action carried out in Fischer Middle School, San Jose, California, where, after detecting that violence and discipline related issues interfered with academic achievement, it was considered necessary to address the situation by adopting measures that could provide effective alternatives to the traditional approaches which had been the standard procedure up to the time of the implementation of this experimental program.

Alum Rock School District is situated on the East Side of San Jose. It serves a total of 16,154 students from Kindergarten to eighth grade, most of which are of Latino origin. It is composed of a total of 25 schools. Nineteen of these are Elementary Schools, grades K-5 and the other six are Middle Schools for grades 6-8. For the academic year 2002/03, the largest ethnicity group in this district was the Latino. Seventy two per cent of students belonged to this group. For the remaining thirty per cent, there was 12% Asian, 7% Filipino, 5% White, 2% African American, 1% Native American, 1% Pacific Islander and less than 1% mixed race or no response.

Clyde L. Fischer Middle School is one of the six middle schools in the district. For the year of this study, it served a total of 883 students from the southernmost part of the district. Its ethnical composition clearly resembled the district's distribution. However, the percentage of Latino students was even larger in this particular school. There was 82% of Latino students, compared to 6% Asian, 4% Filipino, 4% Pacific Islander, 2% African American and 2% White. There was a total of 37 teachers: 60 of them were fully credentialed, 20 were pre-intern or intern and the remaining 20 had emergency credentials or waivers. The Special Education Department was formed by three SDC (Special Day Class) teachers and two RSP (Resource Service Specialist) teachers.

Parent education level was extremely low in this school, with 44 parents who never graduated from High School and only a total of 13 College Graduates. A total of 79 students received free or reduced lunch, which can be seen as a reflection of the low socio-economic background of most of the students attending this site.

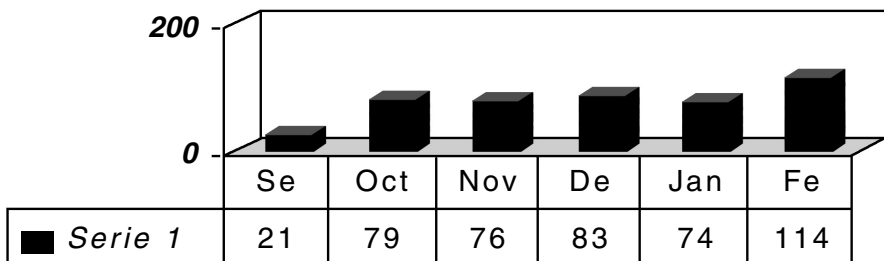
Whereas API (Academic Performance Index) scores had consistently gone up during the last three years across the district, that consistency did not show in Fischer School's scores. Actually, API score went down from 507 in 1999, to 479 in 2000. It recovered slightly the following year, going to 507 again for 2001. Growth target for 2002/03 was 15 points. The API score for Latino children followed a similar pattern, going from 486 points in 1999, to 455 in 2000, and to 484 in 2001.

The number of sixth grade students scoring above 50 in Reading in SAT (Stanford Achievement Test) testing was only 11 in 2001 (compared to 27 in the

district and 47 in the State). Seventh graders did a little better, with 24 scoring above 50 (27 in the district and 48 in the State). For the academic year 2002/03, the school stood at level 1 (in a scale of 1 to 10, being 1 the lowest and 10 the highest) according to statewide rank, and at level 3 when compared to similar schools in California.

According to official data from October CBEDS (California Basic Education Demographic Source) data collection, there was only 24 English Language Learners at Fischer in 2001. However, with the arrival of the new CELDT (California English Language Development Test), a big effort was made in 2001/02 throughout the school in order to get the real number of ELLs (English Language Learners), since anybody could easily notice that this 24 did not accurately reflect the school reality. After this long research, a total of 601 students were tested for CELDT and considered as ELLs. This number represented, roughly, 2/3 of the total enrolment at Fischer.

Serious discipline problems had been part of Fischer Middle School for many years. The school is considered as one of the most difficult in Alum Rock for teachers and administrators. But it was never one of the main focuses of the school or district to address this problem in a consistent way. Traditional disciplinary strategies continued to be used throughout the school, although these did not seem to be too effective. Besides, discipline data was never used in a systematic way to study and address the situation. There was a first attempt to do so the year before this study, but due to time and personnel limitations, there was no consistency in the data collection process and only part of the referrals and offences were registered. According to different administrators and employees at the school, at least 25 of the referrals were not registered (although some of the people interviewed raise this number to 50). However, the analysis of this data between the months of September and February shows a clear tendency towards an increase in the number of discipline problems throughout the year.



Discipline trouble recorded for academic year 2001/2002

This was the main cause for a number of teacher and parent complaints and a general sense of insecurity (at least four attacks against teachers' and administrators' cars were registered) in the school community. There was general agreement that this was one of the most important reasons why test scores did not go up in 2002/03, even though the new administrative team had made an important effort to give the school a new focus on academic achievement and academic results.

2. Approaches to Discipline in Classroom Situations

Walker and Golly (1999) provide an exhaustive list of the factors that may be the cause for antisocial behavior in school children: family, neighborhood, school and larger society. Factors at home include weak supervision of children's activities, lack of discipline or use of harsh or punitive discipline, unemployment, alcohol and drug abuse, domestic violence and child abuse. Neighborhood factors include high rate of crime, unsafe neighborhoods, lack of social cohesion and few after school recreation-leisure activities. Among school-based risks, they mention bullying and sexual harassment, failure to learn to read well, and inability to achieve the social rewards and recognition offered to some children. Finally, some of the social factors are media violence, growing incivility and social fragmentation and alienation. For these authors, really effective interventions can only take place during the first years of school life. While a number of these factors cannot be dealt with appropriately or at all in the educational context of the classroom, they should be taken into consideration as the possible scenarios whose outcomes surface in the form of violence in the school. Realistically, interventions must be implemented at the level of school factors in the hope that such strategies may permeate to the other contexts of the students' lives.

Similarly, Lopez (2002) identifies the three variables that make a high-risk student different from any other: anger, lack of academic success and family conditions. The solutions advanced include the establishment of a common language, encouraging students to take responsibility for their behavior and creating logical consequences, like time out in another classroom or Saturday School. A rewards program for good behavior is to be established, including a more specific program for the students with the most severe behavior problems. However, there is always a «satiation» element in rewards and punishments systems that make them lose effectiveness with time. The causes the author notices for high risk are comparable and mostly transferable to the context in Fischer Middle School, so that the diagnosis of the situation appears to coincide. In fact, it was a very interesting process to realise that many schools around the country are facing challenges similar to Fischer's, when very often there is a tendency to

believe that each site's situation is exceptional. The idea that the whole staff needs to be involved in the decision making process regarding discipline problems is essential for this study, although proposed solutions, on the other hand, will be different from those in Lopez (2002).

Traynor (2002) established the model for this study with the claim that any disciplinary action adopted should encourage student responsibility as well as preventive disciplinary actions. In order to confirm the pedagogical soundness of classroom order strategies, he identifies five different ones: (1) coercive, (2) laissez-faire, (3) task oriented, (4) authoritative and (5) intrinsic. Only two of them are pedagogically appropriate for Traynor, the authoritative and the intrinsic, since they will allow the teacher to provide the necessary educational challenge for the students while not being harmful for the students' physical or emotional well-being. Traynor's approach conditioned the choice of aspects from traditional and non-traditional discipline approaches that would be useful for the specific intervention here proposed.

Pastor (2002) calls for meaningful rules and disciplinary methods in the implementation of discipline programs, which should include students in the decision making process for consequences, and should be settled using the principles of respect, responsibility, caring, honesty, fairness and citizenship. Individualized attention to discipline problems must be considered seriously on the grounds that, if we believe in individualizing in terms of academic achievement, we should also believe in it when dealing with discipline problems (see also Curwin and Mendler, 1999).

Despite a dramatic increase in the use of *zero tolerance* procedures and policies, there is little evidence demonstrating that these procedures have improved school safety or student behavior. Thus, Skiba (2000) states the importance of conflict resolution strategies, preventive discipline and engaging instruction as basic factors for the improvement of the school climate. Adopting Skiba's framework of analysis, the following variables to address school violence were systematically explored in this piece of research: conflict resolution programs; positive reinforcement strategies; parent involvement; early warning signs screening; effective school data systems; crisis and security planning; school wide discipline and behavior planning; functional assessment and individual behavior plans.

The work by Curwin and Mendler (1999) constituted the core component in providing staff development and teacher training for Fischer Middle School staff. These authors conclude that Zero Tolerance policies provide simple solutions to complex problems, and are basically ineffective: any intervention that treats dissimilar problems with similar behavioral outcomes is unfair and destined to fail. Their proposed alternative, called «As Tough as Necessary», tries to find a balance between being strong and being fair, based on setting clear and firm limits

known by staff and students alike. The need for a personalized and consistent discipline program that promotes responsibility instead of obedience was explored thoroughly in this research action.

Mendler and Curwin's contention that one-size-fits-all policies are not only unfair, but also unpractical, developed in the books *As Tough as Necessary* (1997) and *Discipline with Dignity for Challenging Youth* (1999), influenced decisively the school's approaches to disciplinary and behavior issues, so that a number of actions were deployed experimentally: in the sphere of students, to promote responsibility, to provide students with viable choices to help them solve their discipline and personal problems; in the area of teachers, to make them aware of the importance of keeping control of themselves at all times, to have positive attitudes towards students, to use an engaging, stimulating curriculum and no humiliation techniques in the case discipline problems occurred. See also Metger (2000) for what she calls simple principles of survival in the classroom, which include: defusing of conflicts, letting students save face, trying to keep sanity, getting help and letting students do more independent work, following the same strategic lines as Mendler and Curwin (1997, 1999). Additionally, Nelson, Crabtree, Marchand-Martella and Martella (1998) propose the implementation of socializing strategies, founded on a lively and engaging curriculum: ecological arrangements, behavioral guidelines and supervision, allowing students time to reflect on their behavior and thus eliminating power struggles.

For its part, *As Tough as Necessary* advances alternative, non-traditional solutions to reduce discipline problems. These include the creation of nurturing community networks, the use of core values as a guide for the teachers' practice, sharing decisions and principles with students, focusing on academics and on positive elements. Democratic systems are encouraged, as well as anger management techniques and an individualized approach to discipline that promotes reflection and students' responsibility. Similarly, Lepstein (2002) proposes a gradual democratization of ideas that acknowledges the notion of power relations in the classroom.

Kuck (2000) became the source for the administrators' patterns of action. Kuch stresses the fact that principals need to teach students that being a part of a school family means living by an agreement, the spirit of which is that each member of the school family is expected to act responsibly. He also points out the contradictions arising from adopting affective discipline, which may sometimes be in conflict with fairness or consistency. Pelton (2003), in the same line, focuses on the involvement of the school community as a key component that is often forgotten or is not addressed conveniently, as well as on teaching the staff the basics of violence prevention, and instituting a prosocial violence prevention curriculum.

The program devised by Wise (1998), «Meaningful Work», catered for the fact that some students may need to develop a sense of responsibility and

purposefulness that, for a variety of reasons, they have not acquired in their lives, thus helping create a culture that promotes responsibility and citizenship. Walker (1999), in turn, addresses the issue of student non-compliance, since it is one of the most frustrating, intractable and time-consuming behavior problems with which teachers must struggle daily, which may lead eventually to social rejection. He recommends several strategies to reduce this problem, including a responsive, cooperative classroom environment, and focusing on initiation commands rather than on termination commands. Porch (2002), similarly, suggests that the lack of compliance with established rules should be dealt with in the framework of non-threatening resolution strategies and special strategies for crisis interventions.

3. Methodology

For this discipline program, it was decided that, as well as using ideas from Fischer staff, a professional staff-development training would be launched to serve as the guideline and unifying factor for this effort. After a selection process, the leadership team chose the «Discipline with Dignity» program, developed more than ten years ago by Mandler and Curwin and, since then, successfully implemented all over the world in hundreds of Elementary, Middle and High Schools. Curwin conducted a series of six workshops for our school staff.

In the first workshop some of the basic principles of our discipline program for the year were set:

- Promoting responsibility instead of promoting obedience.
- Students should be given options (choices) instead of threats.
- Rules must make sense, should be negotiated with and explained to students, be based on values and be specific, avoiding the use of «big words» open to different interpretations.
- Students should be encouraged to reflect upon their bad choices and explain why they did not do the right thing.
- Dialogue should be the base of any discipline approach.
- Rewards and punishments are never the ideal solution.

Following this first workshop, a group of teachers, approximately half of the staff, voluntarily designed a system of rules and values to be used in their classrooms. The administrative team agreed to implementing or encouraging as many of these principles as possible in their relationship with teachers and students.

The second workshop was used as a test of how many teachers really felt involved with the «Discipline with Dignity» idea. More than twenty teachers attended that second presentation, and they reviewed specific strategies to solve

or avoid discipline problems at the classroom level, thereby reducing the number of children that were sent to the main office regularly. Teachers were trained to «work their own deals» with students, and understand that students may respond positively to an administrator, which does not necessarily mean that the problem will be solved in the classroom. Moreover, the students may think that teachers are not capable of handling their problems, and lose some respect for the teachers. Teachers were also asked to express their concerns with this new discipline approach before the meeting, and these were discussed, including the ineffectiveness of past practices like harsh punishment and zero tolerance. Specific situations were role played during this meeting. An important agreement was to try and reduce the number of suspensions while increasing opportunities for student cooperation in different school tasks. *As Tough as Necessary* and *Discipline with Dignity for Challenging Youth* were adopted as the reference books for the implementation of the program.

In order to reinforce some of the ideas from these meetings, three different after-school programs for students with discipline or absenteeism problems were started. In addition, a cross age tutoring program, the Coca-Cola Valued Youth, was implemented, sending twenty of the most challenging eighth grades to Hubbard Elementary (one of the feeder schools) from Fischer to tutor K-3 students. The last addition to this strategy was a lunchtime sports program, providing students with an opportunity to participate in teacher-monitored games of basketball, soccer, football and volleyball during their lunch break. It was clear that many fights and disciplinary problems originated during that time and that some suspensions and conflictive situations could be avoided by having these activities.

The third workshop was almost entirely dedicated to student motivation techniques to be used in the classroom as a way to prevent disruptive behavior. Finally, the last workshops were used for classroom observations and revision of specific discipline problems with small groups of teachers during their preparation periods.

For the assessment of this program, three sets of data were used: samples of discipline referrals and discipline data; GPA data; and the School Climate Survey (see appendix). First, parents and students were surveyed on their perceptions of school discipline and safety and their relationship with teachers and administrators. For this purpose, the parents attending the February School Site Council meeting and about two hundred randomly selected students (fifty per grade level, plus thirty six from Special Day Classes) were asked to answer some questions on these topics. The second form of assessment was discipline data entered in our computer system, which was compared with the previous year's data. Finally, it

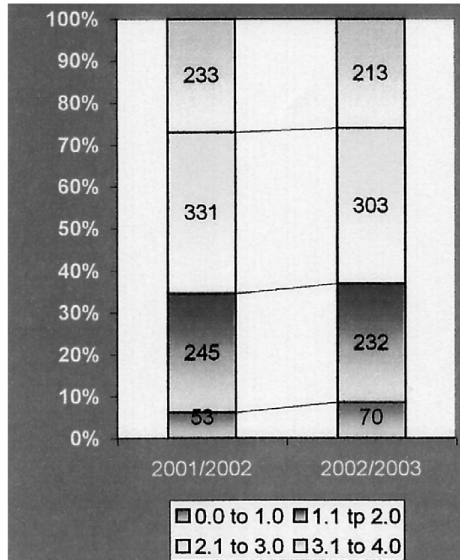
was explored how this attempt to reform Fischer's discipline system had in any way affected academic achievement.

The present study covers the period from August 2002 to March 2003, so the researcher used 2nd quarter's report cards, distributed at the beginning of February, and Grade Point Averages (GPAs) from them.

Although it was the researcher's intention to continue this study for at least the following two years, as it is generally acknowledged that it takes at least that time to create real change in school climate, the results for the 2002/03 school year should be able to provide guidelines about the directions to follow in the immediate future; and could also be used as baseline data for future research.

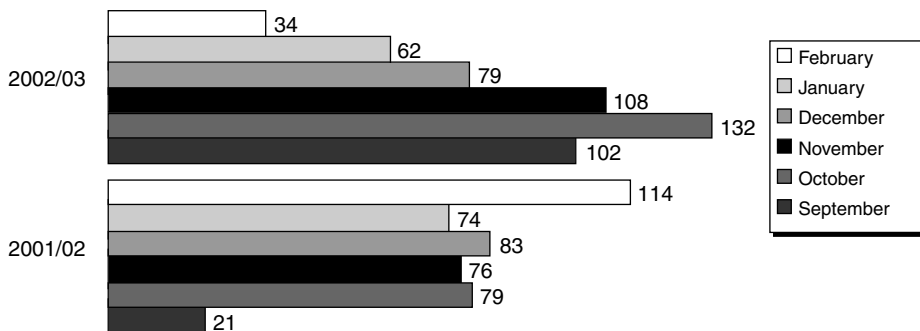
4. Findings

There was general agreement among teachers, administrators, parents and students that discipline problems had historically been an obstacle for academic achievement at Fischer. In order to analyze the reality of that perception, and see if the change in our discipline model resulted in an improvement in academic aspects, we compared academic achievement in the 2001/02 school year with that of 2002/03, when this intervention took place. The original plan was to use standardized test scores for measurement purposes; but, due to the timing of this study (State test results were not available until September), it was decided to use GPA (Grade Point Average) instead. From the four grading periods in the school year at this school, it was the GPAs for the second quarter, corresponding to the month of February, that were considered in this study. According to the initial hypothesis, a reduction in the number of discipline problems should result in a raise in academic results. GPAs over 2.000 were considered acceptable, whereas GPAs under 2.000 were considered unsatisfactory. The following graphs show GPA results for the second quarter in school years 2001/02 and 2002/03. This comparison does not show a significant difference in student achievement between the two school years. Moreover, GPAs were slightly higher in 2001/02 than in 2002/03. For a total enrolment of 868 in 2001/02, 564 students had a GPA of 2.0 or higher, while in 2002/03, with a total enrolment of 818, only 516 students achieved over that 2.0 point. Percentages also seem to be consistent throughout grade levels.



Total GPA 2nd quarter (Feb) for Fischer Middle School

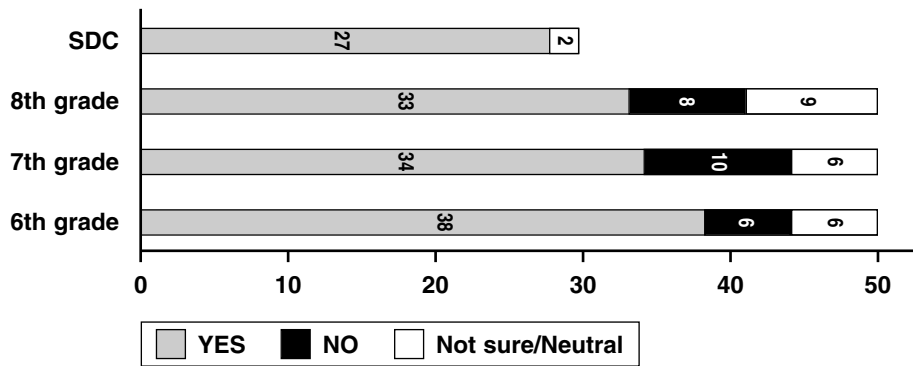
The other instrument used to relate the link of our new discipline approach with academic achievement was a student and parent survey. Fifty randomly selected students per grade level, plus all the students (34) in Special Day Classes, and a group of 20 parents were questioned for the survey. The question asked to students was «Are you more interested in your grades than in previous years?». For the parents, this question was rephrased as «Is your child more interested in his grades than in previous years?». The responses were very consistent and encouraging throughout all grade levels. 38 students in 6th grade, 34 in 7th and 33 in 8th confirmed that they were more interested than in the past. Twenty-seven SDC students gave that same answer. The following chart shows the results of the students’ responses.



Comparison of discipline trouble for academic years 2001/2002 and 2002/2003

Figures for 2001/02 did not show a consistent pattern in the number of referrals. They went from 21 in September to more or less regular figures for October (79), November (76), December (83) and January (74). However, there was a significant increase in February (114).

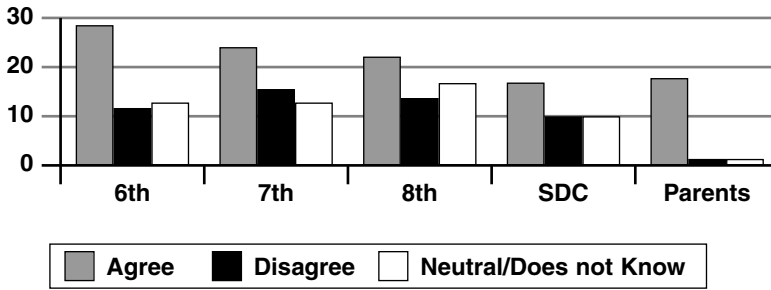
For 2002/03, on the other hand, the pattern showed a quite consistent reduction in the number of discipline problems during the year. Even though there was an increase from the first to the second month, 102 for September and 132 for October, then the numbers went down regularly until February: 108 for November, 79 for December, 62 for January and 34 for February. February figures were especially relevant in this comparison, 114 for 2001/02 to 34 for 2002/03, although the total number of registered referrals was altogether higher in the intervention year.



Responses to discipline survey «I am more interested in my grades than in previous years»

Parents’ answers went in the same direction: 17 of them said that their children were more interested, and only 3 said that they were not sure. None of them gave a negative answer. The last of the research questions was related to the success of our program in terms of discipline problems. Although, as it has been explained before, 2001/2002 could not be considered accurate data, as a high percentage of referrals were not registered in SASIxp, the main data source for our study, it is still valuable to compare the tendencies in terms of increase or decrease of disciplinary problems throughout the school year. The total number of referrals for each month from September to February (both included) was compared and the results were particularly relevant.

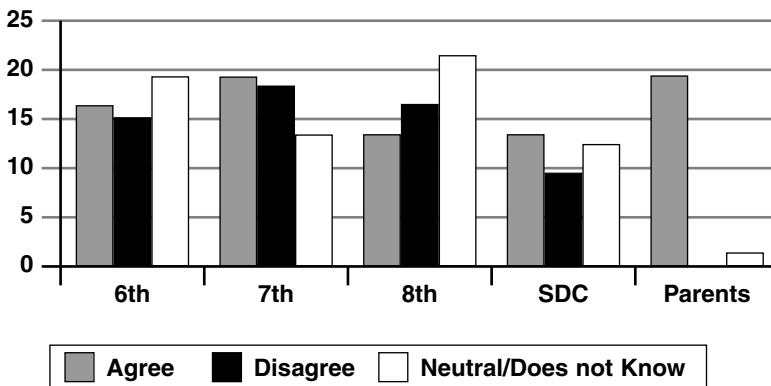
In order to complete the research, other questions in the survey on students’ and parents’ perceptions of school climate regarding discipline and school safety were used. These were the answers to some of the questions:



«At Fischer, discipline is administered with justice»

Most of the students agreed that the discipline system at Fischer was just. Out of fifty students per grade level, 27 sixth graders, 23 seventh graders and 21 eighth graders said so, as opposed to 11 sixth graders, 15 seventh graders and 13 eighth graders that disagreed. A total of 54 students chose the Neutral / Do not know answer. For SDC students, results were similar, 16, 9 and 9. Among parents, 18 agreed, only 1 disagreed and 1 chose the neutral option.

The other question analyzed had to do with the perception of change. This time, they were asked if they had seen any improvement in discipline in year 2002/03. The students seemed to be deeply divided in their answers. Sixteen for sixth grade, 19 for seventh, 13 for eighth and 13 for SDC did notice improvement, whereas 15, 18, 16 and 9 for the same groups did not. On the other hand, parents seemed to be much more enthusiastic. Nineteen out of 20 thought discipline had improved and only 1 was not sure.



Students' perception about improvement in discipline conditions «Discipline is better this year»

5. Conclusions

It will be extremely difficult for a school like Fischer to develop a new conscience and attitude in the treatment of discipline issues, but the results in this first year gave some reasons for optimism. Even though it was clear that a program like this would take at least two to three years to show significant results, there has been some spectacular progress in certain fields. During the time of this intervention, there was a progressive reduction in the number of referrals. The total number of referrals was still slightly higher for the first year of this new program, but there was general agreement that the previous year's data was incomplete and inconsistent. The drop from 114 referrals in February 2002 to 34 in February 2003, together with the perceptions shown, especially by parents and, to some extent, students, in their answers, resulted in an obvious improvement of the school climate, the extent of which will only be proved after the following year, when data for future times is analyzed and compared.

The relationship with academic achievement was the part that was more difficult to prove and, to some point, the results were contradictory. The analysis of GPAS was quite discouraging; but after conducting interviews with different teachers and administrators, they all agreed that academic expectations and standards for the 2002/03 school year were much higher than the year before. Students were asked to produce a better quality of work than in the past in order to obtain good GPAS. And that is reflected in the GPA comparison. The perception among students and parents is similar and consistent with these interviews. The results from the student and parent survey showed that there was a greater interest in academic achievement at all grade levels. The only possible explanation for this contradiction was the improvement in the quality of instruction and more rigorous instructional practices. The inclusion in this project of State test scores at the end of the school year will allow for a much better perspective of this project's accomplishments.

The link to academic achievement was also difficult to prove, as teacher standards and academic expectations were much higher in the year of the intervention, and the new administrative team clearly emphasized the need for more rigorous student assessment and grade level adequate instruction. At least, one of the main goals was achieved, that is, to obtain clear and consistent information to be used as baseline data for a more scientific analysis of discipline problems.

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Appendix

School Climate Student Survey for Fischer Middle School

1- Discipline at Fischer is fair

Strongly agree
Agree
Neutral/Not sure
Disagree
Strongly disagree

2- Discipline is better this year than in previous years

Strongly agree
Agree
Neutral/Not sure
Disagree
Strongly disagree

3- I feel safe at school

Strongly agree
Agree
Neutral/Not sure
Disagree
Strongly disagree

4- I feel safer at school this year than in previous years

Strongly agree
Agree
Neutral/Not sure
Disagree
Strongly disagree

5- My teachers are too strict

Strongly agree
Agree
Neutral/Not sure
Disagree
Strongly disagree

6- At Fischer, discipline is administered with justice. There is no discrimination for racial, sexual or religious reasons

Strongly agree
Agree
Neutral/Not sure
Disagree
Strongly disagree

7- I am more interested in my grades than in previous years

Strongly agree
Agree
Neutral/Not sure
Disagree
Strongly disagree

8- I feel I am respected in the classroom at Fischer

Strongly agree
Agree
Neutral/Not sure
Disagree
Strongly disagree

9- I feel I am respected when I go to the school office

Strongly agree
Agree

Neutral/Not sure
Disagree
Strongly disagree

10- I know the way my teachers expect me to behave

Strongly agree
Agree
Neutral/Not sure
Disagree
Strongly disagree

11- My suggestions to improve school climate are...

Acculturation and Hispanic Adolescents: Language and Identity

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ABSTRACT: The aim of this paper is to integrate two topics of research, identity and language use, within the field of socio-psycholinguistics, thereby increasing our understanding and knowledge of the acculturation process involved in promoting Hispanic identity and Spanish language use by second-generation Hispanic Adolescents in Australia. A specific aim is to examine the four acculturation groups identified by Berry (1970, 1980, 1990, 2001) and their impact on group identity and language use through the use of qualitative data. The analysis uses portions of transcripts from tape-recorded interviews obtained through the participation of fifty male and female Hispanic adolescents. Taken together, the results provide evidence that language does not determine identity, but does provide a way to express it; and that culture is a salient predictor of ethnic identity.

Keywords: acculturation, adolescents, identity, Australia, Spanish language.

RESUMEN: el propósito de este artículo es la integración de dos temas de investigación, la identidad y el uso de la lengua, dentro del campo de la socio-psicolingüística, para ahondar en la comprensión y conocimiento del proceso de aculturación resultante de fomentar la identidad hispana y el uso del idioma español entre los adolescentes hispanos de segunda generación en Australia. Se aplica el modelo de cuatro tipos de aculturación propuesto por Berry (1970, 1980, 1990, 2001) a la formación de una identidad de grupo y el uso de la lengua y se examina su impacto por medio de un análisis cualitativo compuesto por fragmentos de transcripciones de entrevistas grabadas, en las que participaban 50 adolescentes varones y mujeres hispanos. Los resultados sugieren que el idioma no condiciona la identidad, pero proporciona un canal para expresarla, mientras que la cultura constituye un factor saliente de la identidad étnica.

Palabras clave: aculturación, adolescentes, identidad, Australia, idioma español.

The children of immigrants, by necessity, have to negotiate a range of issues including questions of identity and concerns regarding the conservation of their mother tongue and culture. According to Erickson (1968), every adolescent tends to face or experience a series of changes and crises whilst constructing his or her identity / identities.¹ Studies of adolescent ethnic identity² (Phinney, Lochner and Murphy, 1990; Vasta, 1994; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind and Vedder, 2001) have indicated that young immigrants experience very strong cultural conflict(s) as a result of their perceiving a need to choose between two cultures: that is, they tend to oppose their parents' culture with the culture in which they find themselves interacting daily and in which they develop as individuals and as members of (an) ethnic group(s).

Each individual who emigrates traverses, one way or another, the process of acculturation. This process consists of the changes that a person experiences as an individual or as a member of an ethnic group because of influences or contact with the host culture. In order to categorise the range of «acculturative strategies» employed by young people (viz., migrants from different backgrounds, social statuses, level of education, age and also indigenous people like the Aborigines), Berry (1970, 1980, 1990, 2001) developed a typology describing four main groups: assimilation, integration, marginalisation and separation.³

It is said that age plays an important role in the process of acculturation (Berry, 1992). If acculturation starts during childhood (0-12 yrs.), the process is generally passive. The reasons for this are still not clear, but it is believed that enculturation into one's parents' culture is not sufficiently developed to create serious concerns about cultural conflicts, or simply that childhood is the stage in which a person easily adapts to new environments or cultures (Berry, 1997). On the other hand, during adolescence (13-20 yrs.), the process of acculturation is different because young people experience a type of conflict and crisis between their family values and peer pressure from the society in which they interact. It is during this stage of life – adolescence – where individuals start to develop their identity as well as their personal values and beliefs (Erickson, 1968).

Phinney, Lochner and Murphy (1990) stated that minority adolescents, because of their experience in school and the community, confront complex

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1. Social identity theory (SIT) was originally developed by Henri Tajfel (1978, 1981, 1982). Tajfel's theory maintains that an individual's self image has two elements, a self-identity and a social identity, constructed through a series of processes by belonging to certain groups. The former refers to the subjective identity of an individual, compound by characteristics that distinguish an individual from others of the same social group. The latter refers to an objective or collective identity which consists of various social groups.
 2. There are two types of ethnic identity: behavioural ethnic identity and symbolic ethnic identity. The former refers to cultural expressions such as language and its use, the practice of endogamy and the choice of a best friend from one's own ethnic group. The latter refers to the knowledge and pride that one reflects about one's own ethnic group (Berry and Laponce, 1994). Aspects of both identities are related to acculturation, therefore, both are considered for the analysis of this study.
 3. Each group will be discussed in further detail at a later stage in this paper.

psychological issues related to ethnicity. They also pointed out that for this group of adolescents, ethnicity was an important component of their identity-forming process. Therefore, adolescents who did not develop a secure ethnic identity could be at risk of developing a poor self-concept. This was one reason why the present study considered this age group worth studying and examined aspects of identity (language and ethnicity) in a group of Hispanic adolescents.

In the course of these acculturation changes and the search for an identity, linguistic changes also emerge. These changes, resulting from daily contact with the second language – in this case English – lead to the acquisition of the second language at some level of fluency. This very often creates a language shift on the first language, in this case Spanish. However, sometimes, the individual feels the necessity to maintain the first language in order to avoid losing it for various reasons that include personal choice, parents' imposition and separation from the host culture, as it was found in this study. Therefore, echoing the growing recognition of the relationship between language and identity, it can be stated that these two fields will be positively related to acculturation. As a result, this study, by applying the acculturation theory put forward by Berry (1970, 1980, 1990, 2001), aimed to analyse, explore and describe the relationships that potentially exist between the development of the Hispanic identity and the use of the Spanish language among the second generation⁴ of Hispanic youth in Brisbane.

1. History of Hispanic⁵ People in Australia

Australia has a history of immigration dating back to 1788. Among the first Spanish-speaking immigrants to arrive in Australia during the early 19th century were the Spaniards from Spain. In 1963, Franco's government interrupted this

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4. Vasta (1994: 22) defines the second generation in two distinct ways. The first refers to a statistical term, such as the population census. The second is a socio-political definition that pertains to «those people born in Australia whose parents were born overseas, as well as those who arrived in Australia during infancy or early childhood». The present study employed the latter definition.
 5. In the majority of multicultural societies there is controversy about which term to use to denote the ethnic identity of a person. The majority of ethnic labels are commonly designated according to the cultural attributes used to differentiate one group from another, for instance, gender, race, social statuses or language. Mostly this causes a homogenization which classifies different people under the same term. The perception that all Latinos are mestizos and Catholics is an example of this homogenization, ignoring the different personal, social or political experiences of each person. The same occurs with the term «Hispanic»: in the USA the majority of people, including those from Spanish background, believe that this term refers only to those who speak Spanish descended from Spain, and «Latino» to those who speak Spanish descended from Latin America (Oboler, 1995). In Australia, the majority of people with a Spanish background identify themselves as members of their own country, while others consider themselves as «Latinos» or «Hispanics» no matter which country they are from. However, Australian society identifies them as «Spanish-speaking people». This study employs the term «Hispanic», which includes Latin America's population as well as Spain's population.

wave of immigration, which then declined even more after his death in 1975. After World War II, Australia as a whole, and the Australian sugar industry in particular, experienced a labour crisis. The need to overcome this crisis permitted Spanish migration of Spaniards (García and Palomo, 1986). The Spaniards were not the only people of Spanish speaking background who emigrated to Australia; one may also include people from Latin America who had immigrated under different Government initiatives such as the Refugee Program, the Humanitarian Program, the Family Reunion program, as well as those who arrived independently. Even though these people came from the same continent, they came from different socio-economic, educational, professional and political backgrounds.

Essentially, there were two waves of arrivals of Latin American immigrants. The first one was in the middle of the 1970s including people mainly from Chile, Uruguay and Argentina, but also from other South American countries. This wave of immigration was the consequence of the financial and political problems those countries were facing at the time. Argentinian and Uruguayan migration has increased steadily since 1969, with migration being a result of deteriorating economic conditions in those countries (Amezquita, Amezquita and Vittorino, 1995). In the case of the Chileans, there was an early wave of migration during the 19th century gold rush in Australia, with Chilean gold-diggers who came from California (Schneider, 1988). The next wave of Chilean migration occurred in Australia two years after the death of Salvador Allende in the 1970s, mainly comprised of left-wing supporters, who had fled the country to ensure the safety of their lives from retribution by the incoming president, Augusto Pinochet (Schneider, 1988).

The second phase of Latin American immigration occurred during the 1980s, comprising mostly people from El Salvador, where a civil war was taking place, and from other Central American countries that were also experiencing political instability and protracted conflicts. The end of the civil war in El Salvador saw a reduction of Salvadorian immigrants and allowed others to return to their home country. The majority of these people entered Australia under the Refugee Program or the Humanitarian Program (Amezquita, Amezquita and Vittorino, 1995). The number of other Spanish-speaking migrants started to increase in the mid-late 1980s, but the biggest Latin American groups in Australia still came from Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and El Salvador. In recent years, many Colombians have started to immigrate as a result of the deteriorating political situation in their country.

Although there is a plethora of studies focusing on Hispanics in the United States, as it is the most important and fastest growing linguistic minority, and thus an excellent group to study (Grenier, 1984), the present study seeks to investigate this group because the political, economic and immigration policy context in the United States is quite different from the one in Australia.

Hispanics in Australia are a new group of immigrants in comparison to others (e.g., Italians), and therefore are a group that have not been widely studied. A great number of Hispanics in Australia have immigrated as refugees making the acculturation process of such an individual differ from one who immigrates by his or her own choice as it is frequently the case in the United States.

2. Language Shift and Language Maintenance

There is a difficulty in inferring the degree of maintenance or shift to the new language during acculturation. These difficulties have led to a few generalizations in the literature from the United States and Australia (Berry, 1980). The first generalization states that there is a slow change from the mother tongue, but that this change increases rapidly from the second generation on. The second generalization links the changes undergone by the mother tongue when it is confronted with the more prevalent language of the dominant group. The latter generalization implies that an inverse change occurs where the mother tongue is consciously relearned or retained with the objective of reaffirming the traditional identity (Berry, 1980). Of course, the degree of change depends on the individual's attitudes and his or her contact with his or her ethnic origin and the mother tongue. Fasold (1984: 213) states that «language shift and, on the other side of the coin, language maintenance are really the long-term, collective results of language choice». Fasold also indicates that it is quite impossible to predict the shift or maintenance of a language when there are groups that maintain their language under the same conditions that influence other groups to language shift.

There have been numerous studies about language shift and language maintenance in a variety of ethnic cultural groups. However, only a few have been carried out in Australia on the Spanish speaking minority. Language shift from Spanish to English among Hispanic Americans has been studied by several researchers, among them Portes and Hao (1998), Veltman (1981), and Wherritt and González (1989). They have found a high tendency towards home language shift. Nevertheless, in comparison to other immigrant groups language maintenance is slightly higher in the Hispanic group (Dolson, 1985). In Australia,⁶ the use of Spanish is not as pronounced as it is in the United States. However, there are media resources such as radio, television and three different newspapers which

6. Callan and Gallois (1987: 64) indicate that «the future of community languages other than English in Australia does not look bright. Australia almost certainly will remain strongly monolingual, and Anglo-Australians will maintain a narrow perception of the relationship between language and culture». Until now, 2006, Australia continues to be monolingual with a few languages to be taught in some schools (mainly Asian languages – Chinese and Japanese – as well as French and German).

play a part in the maintenance of the Spanish language. In Brisbane there are also social, recreational, cultural (music), educational (Spanish Saturday school), sporting (soccer clubs) and religious groups which encourage participation in the Spanish culture.

3. Acculturation

Those immigrants living in the host country are usually confronted with two main issues regarding their acculturation. One is related to the ways in which an individual of a minority group wishes to remain culturally within his or her own ethnic group or to give up her or his culture in order to become part of the dominant group. The second is the extent to which an individual wishes to interact with members of the dominant group or with members of her or his own culture group on a day-to-day basis (Berry, 1990, 2001).

Among the several studies that have been carried out in the Hispanic communities in the United States we can highlight: Miranda, Andujo, Caballero, Guerrero and Ramos (1976), dealing with Mexican American dropouts in psychotherapy as related to their level of acculturation; Torres-Matrullo (1980), who studied acculturation, sex-role values and mental health among mainland Puerto Ricans; and Szapocznick and Kurtines (1980) on acculturation, biculturalism and adjustment among Cuban-Americans. Stevenson ([1973] in Carranza, 1982) attempted to study the impact of assimilation on Cubans in Miami, while Phinney, DuPont, Espinosa, Revill and Sanders (1994) studied ethnic identity and American identification among ethnic minority youth, including a great number of Latino participants. Alternatively, Schmitz (1994) studied the acculturation and adaptation processes among immigrants from Central and South America in Germany. In the area of acculturation, no literature relating to the acculturation of Hispanics in Australia has been found, however, the cultural group of the Australian Aborigines has been studied by Berry (1970).

3.1. Acculturation Changes and Intercultural Contact

During the process of acculturation the individual may experience certain types of positive or negative changes, such as physical changes (e.g., urbanization), biological changes (e.g., a new diet), economic changes (e.g., a new labour status), social changes (e.g., new friends) and cultural changes, in which he or she may experience a superficial change (e.g., the type of clothing) or a deep change (e.g., use of a new language; Berry, 1997). The process of acculturation varies for each individual and is likely to vary according to the contact situation

of each individual. For example, people have immigrated to a new country either voluntarily or against their will. When immigration is voluntary, such as immigrating for a job opportunity, the attitude to acculturation tends to be more positive towards the host culture because the individual has made a free choice (Berry, 1997). On the other hand, when immigration is involuntary, as in the case of refugees, that attitude to acculturation is more negative towards the host culture. This is because individuals have been forced to leave their country and suddenly need to adapt to a new country, values and way of life which may clash with their own (Berry, 1997).

3.2. Berry's Acculturation Attitudes Framework

In a multicultural or plural society, diversity is likely to exist and remain. As a result, as mentioned previously, Berry (1970, 1980, 1990, 2001) has proposed four different acculturation strategies: assimilation, integration, marginalisation and separation. When an acculturating person rejects his or her ethnic values or ethnic identity, or avoids any contact with members of his or her own group for the purpose of adopting rapidly the culture of the host country and being accepted by it, then the *assimilation* strategy is being followed. The *integration* strategy is also known as biculturalism, and is theorised as the most balanced of all the strategies. An integrated person reflects the desire to retain important characteristics associated with his or her cultural group, while at the same time being willing to adopt aspects of the dominant culture. When a person rejects both cultures, his or her own and the dominant one, and avoids any contact with members of either group, a *marginalisation* strategy is being followed. When the *separation* strategy is followed, the individual is characterised by his or her rejection of the dominant group culture, with the objective of preserving only his or her own culture and being most of the time in contact with other members of his or her ethnic group. In this study, *assimilation* refers to adolescents who tend to adopt the Anglo-Saxon culture and reject the Hispanic culture; those who tend to keep their Hispanic culture without accepting the Anglo-Saxon culture are called the *separation* group; still there remain others who exclude themselves from both cultures (*marginalisation*), or alternatively try to adapt to and accept both cultures simultaneously (*integration*).

4. Method

The present analysis examines qualitative interviews in the relationship between acculturation experiences of second generation of Hispanic adolescents

in Brisbane and their use of the Spanish language, based on Berry's acculturation theory (1970, 1980, 1990, 2001).⁷ Sixteen questions were developed for the interview; each interview was placed in one of the five domains used in the analysis of this data. Domains were grouped under the following headings: identity, culture, Spanish language, relationship, and general attitudes towards language and identity.⁸ These domains were developed from the content of the verbatim transcripts, and based primarily upon the antecedent and consequent variables used in the quantitative⁹ analysis of this study.

The questions in the interview consisted of both open-ended questions and semi-closed questions. The questions were designed to balance the research efficiency of structured questions with the spontaneity and deep insight derived from less structured questioning. During the interview, frequent probes were used to increase the precision of each participant's responses, and to facilitate their recall of memories related to the topic being asked about. At the conclusion of each interview, a debriefing question was asked, thus allowing the interviewees to express additional feelings and opinions about this study.

4.1. Sampling

The above mentioned domains are examined based on portions of the data collected in one-on-one interviews with 50 male and female Hispanic adolescents during June and November 1998. Of these 50, the responses of two participants could not be categorised because of ambiguous responses, thus making them difficult to place in any category, which led to their exclusion from the study. The final sample comprised 14 males and 34 females (average age of 17 years). Participation was voluntary and the participants' confidentiality was ensured. Participants were selected by way of cluster sampling with the objective of obtaining a representative sample of the population of interest, in this case all Hispanic adolescents residing in the city of Brisbane. The estimate of the total sampling population of Hispanics in Brisbane is 10,591, based on the 1996 Census.¹⁰ Participants were recruited from educational institutions from different

7. Data used in this paper is drawn from a larger study that employed both quantitative and qualitative methods. However, only the qualitative data is considered here. See Mejía (2001) for the complete study.

8. A brief explanation of the domains employed in this study is presented in the appendix.

9. The antecedent variables that were considered in the quantitative analysis were: gender, age, age at arrival, country of birth, parents' country of origin, friendships and participation in the Spanish community. These antecedents led to identity (Hispanic, Australian, neither, or both). The combination of the antecedent variables and identity led to the following consequences variables: language at home and language preference.

10. The current percentage of Hispanic people is 4.1% based on the 2001 Census.

suburbs in Brisbane such as secondary schools, and The University of Queensland, churches, youth organisations (e.g., sports clubs), personal contacts, the Spanish Club and, as a last resort, the Spanish program on the radio.

4.2. Interviews

As agreed upon by both researcher and participants, the majority of the interviews took place in the participants' home without the presence of parents, whilst other interviews occurred in the Spanish Club or in a designated room at The University of Queensland. The interviews were conducted in Spanish, however, more than once, the use of English was vital to clarify a specific question. The duration of each interview was between 40 and 90 minutes. The initial contact between the researcher and the participants consisted of informing the participants of the aim of the study, after which the participants were asked to sign the Consent Form. At the interview, participants were also asked to provide demographic data, such as age, birthplace, age at arrival, level of education and the country of birth of their parents. With the participants' written consent, each interview was tape-recorded to facilitate the accuracy of the recall of the responses and the transcription.

Initial coding involved classifying the response by identity (e.g., Hispanic, Australian). The responses were then categorised into one of the acculturation groups (assimilation, integration, marginalisation, separation). The responses to each of the questions were repeatedly read by the researcher until several themes were identified. At this stage, topics were selected and responses were coded according to the description of categories. Although the researcher conducted all the coding, inter-rater reliability tests on the coding procedures and techniques were conducted by using an independent coder who had not been involved in the data collection phase. The coder independently rated 25% of the transcripts, with a final inter-rater agreement of 88%. Disagreements were discussed by both coders and resolved.

Several additional topics emerged during the data collection phase: (a) how comfortable or uncomfortable some participants feel when using Spanish; (b) the importance of Hispanic cultural elements such as traditions, food and music; (c) description of the first experience at school; and (d) description of experience of discrimination at school or in public places. These themes were incorporated into the pre-determined coding strategy. For instance, how (un)comfortable participants feel when using Spanish was included in the language domain, while cultural-based themes were included in the culture domain.

5. Results

After analysing all 50 interviewees' responses, 26 of the interviews were grouped under the integration strategy; a total of 17 interviews were placed in the separation strategy; while 3 were identified in the assimilation group, and 2 in the marginalisation group. These findings suggest that Hispanic adolescents largely shared the integration and separation orientations. Consistent with these findings, cultural background as a core value¹¹ was found to be high, which indicated that most of the participants in this study identified themselves as Hispanic because of cultural heritage and not because of language use, as research on other cultural groups has demonstrated (Smolicz, 1981). Smolicz (1981: 77) has indicated that, «whenever people feel that there is a direct link between their identity as a group and what they regard as the most crucial and distinguishing element of their culture, the element concerned becomes a core value for the group». Even though a language shift from Spanish to English appeared in this study, the present findings point to a more favourable attitude towards the maintenance of Spanish than to a shift away from it. Therefore, the findings suggest that language does not determine identity; it provides a way to express it.

Culture was a salient predictor of the participants' ethnic identity. The participants indicated respect for and a desire to transmit their culture to future generations. This was the case even in the assimilation group, who, while identifying themselves as Australian, indicated a tendency to sometimes identify themselves as Latino, and showed an interest in their culture. As expected, those individuals in the integrated groups identified themselves as bicultural and were very proud to be brought up within two cultures. Those in the marginalisation group reported feelings of confusion and experiencing an identity conflict. The separated group felt a great deal of pride to be Hispanic.

The use of Spanish among the assimilated participants suggested that it was not a choice; instead it was used to satisfy their parents. In contrast, the integrated group demonstrated a satisfaction with being able to use both languages: Spanish was commonly used with their parents, and English or Spanglish with their siblings and their friends. This finding was similar to that found for the separated and for the marginalised groups. Mixed marriages were not a problem for the participants across the four acculturation groups. However, participants from the four groups regarded culture as essential for the preservation of the Spanish culture and, therefore, there was some concern at losing part of their culture if they were to marry someone from a different culture.

11. The term *core values* is defined as «values that are regarded as forming the most fundamental components or heartland of a group's culture, and act as identifying values which are symbolic of the group and its membership» (Smolicz and Secombe, 1985: 11).

In summary, these results reflect that studies of language and identity are complex and dynamic because situations, people and events change as a reaction to the social context in which ethnic groups live. Therefore, it is not easy to specifically determine the identity of an individual. However, based on the results of this study, it can be concluded that the determinant factor of identity for Hispanic adolescents in Brisbane is culture rather than language.

6. Discussion

The findings from the current study have demonstrated that those who are highly acculturated tend to favour assimilation, while those not so acculturated tend to favour separation or integration. The data presented in this paper also suggested that the majority of participants had a strong tendency towards integration and separation. The results of the analysis pertaining to the two highest orientations found in this study, integration and separation, were notable for what was revealed about their attitudes towards their cultural heritage. Still, some of these participants, even if they did not speak the Spanish language and lived away from their parents' country of origin, considered the Spanish language as part of their identity and held a more favourable attitude towards the maintenance of the Spanish language than to a shift away from it.¹² It seems that both separated and integrated groups feel more strongly about maintaining their mother tongue than their actual language proficiency or use of it would suggest. This supports Berry's (1992) assertion that an individual's positive attitude towards language maintenance does not always indicate that he or she knows or uses that language.

Overall, immigrants can adopt one of the four acculturation strategies depending on their desire to maintain their own ethnic culture and the desire to adopt the host culture (Bourhis, 1997). Shifting or maintaining a language depends on the advantages or disadvantages of doing so. According to the findings in this study, these include economic opportunities for a better job or social level; the opportunities to practice the language that the person is exposed to in his or her environment; and finally the belief that shifting to another language also means a loss of cultural identity. However, some interviewees from the assimilation groups thought that Spanish was not useful at all, and therefore it was not of any importance for them to transmit the language to their children.

12. An example of this attitude was given by a 16 year old Argentinian-born girl who was just six months old when she arrived in Australia: <<My father wouldn't allow us to speak Spanish, he thought that English was more important, that's why we, my sisters and I, cannot speak Spanish. But if I could, I definitely would transmit it to my children>>.

Based on the analysis and findings of this study, a series of implications can now be discussed. First, this study has shown that Hispanic adolescents in Australia tend to fall mostly within the integration orientation, and to a lesser extent within the separation orientation. These findings are supported by Phinney, DuPont, Espinosa, Revill and Sanders (1994), who found in their study of 505 Latinos in the United States that the participants tended to be integrated or bicultural. Schmitz's (1994) study partly supports these findings by indicating that a group of 65 Central and South Americans in Germany tended to be integrated, although some of those participants tended to be assimilated. These findings are in contrast to what has been found for other ethnic groups in other societies (e.g., Indigenous Australians in Queensland, Canadians in Quebec, and Chinese in Sydney), but are applicable to American Indians in Oklahoma (Kim, 1998). The observation that the acculturation process varies between ethnic groups further suggests that culture rather than language is a salient factor of identity. Secondly, contrary to previous research (Smolicz, 1981) in this study language was not found to be a determining factor of identity. However, present findings confirm previous research (Padilla, 1984; Wherritt and González, 1989) that language is a cultural symbol of the individual's identity, of which he or she feels proud, and is committed to transmitting to future generations. Carranza's (1982) study about language attitudes towards the Spanish language in the United States amongst Mexicans, Cubans and Puerto Ricans demonstrated that language plays an important role in how people from these groups define their group social identity; and concomitantly how this role is somewhat less significant when defining their individual identity. The results from the present study echo Carranza's conclusion as regards the second generation of Hispanic adolescents in Brisbane, who do not consider the Spanish language as a factor in determining their personal identity. Arguably, the tendency to favour the maintenance of the Spanish language would be explained more satisfactorily by ascribing it to language loyalty associated with positive values rather than to identification.

The present findings give further support to Berry's (1970, 1980, 1990, 2001) model of acculturation. Berry's model has been used by many researchers in different contexts with different groups, finding a consistent relation between acculturation and features such as identity, language, psychological adjustment, coping styles and health behaviours (Berry, Kim and Boski, 1987; Berry, Kim, Minde and Monk, 1987; Kim, 1988; Liebkind and Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Phinney, Lochner and Murphy, 1990; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind and Vedder, 2001; Schmitz, 1992, 1994; Szapocznick and Kurtines, 1980; Torres-Matrullo, 1980). The analysis of the network of relationships knitted between such factors and each acculturation group has confirmed the relationship between identity and language in this study.

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Appendix

Identity. One of the purposes of this study was to find out how participants identify themselves, think, and what they consider themselves to be. The questions addressed on this topic were: 1. «How do you think of yourself, as an Australian or as a Hispanic?» «Why?»; 2. «How do you identify yourself?» «Why?»; 4. «How Hispanic (Australian) do you consider yourself to be?».

Culture. These questions are aimed at finding out which are the important aspects of culture which influence how participants feel (or think they feel). They included: 5. «Do you think that for a Hispanic person to be accepted into Australian society they need to give up their culture?» «Why?»; 6. «Do you think it is important for Hispanics in Australia to preserve their culture?» «Why?»; 7. «How do you think this culture should be preserved?».

Spanish language. An examination of language maintenance and language shift was carried out. This was done by asking the following questions: 9. «How much Spanish do you use in everyday life and with whom?»; 10. «On which occasions do you prefer to speak Spanish?» «Why?»; 11. «In which language do you think / talk to yourself / express your feelings?»; 12. «Do you think the Spanish language should be preserved?» «Why?»; 13. «How important is the survival of the Spanish language to you?».

Relationships. Questions on participants' relationships included: 16. «What is your boyfriend's / girlfriend's nationality?» and «What is your parents' opinion about this relationship?».

General attitudes. Some of the questions asked were: 15. «Why do you think some people pass on their language to their kids and why others do not?»; 8. «What would you like to preserve and pass on to your children or to the future generation?».

Intercultural Communication in the Global Workplace: The Case of Multicultural Teams in Spain¹

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ABSTRACT: The aim of this article is to explore the role and characteristics of communicative interaction in an intercultural context and, more specifically, within multicultural teams. To this end, after defining the concept of intercultural communication, highlighting its importance, and examining the main elements affecting it, this study concludes by stressing the importance of certain variables of verbal and non-verbal communication, production strategies and skills or attitudes necessary to perform a successful intercultural exchange in the working place. The article is part of a more exhaustive research action dealing with multicultural teams recently carried out in Spain and inserted within the 2003-2006 ICOPROMO Project (a Leonardo da Vinci programme sponsored by the European Commission).

Keywords: intercultural communication, communicative interaction, multicultural teams, verbal and nonverbal communication, strategic competence, communication skills.

RESUMEN: El objetivo de este artículo consiste en explorar el papel y las características de la interacción comunicativa en el contexto intercultural de los equipos de trabajo multiculturales. Para ello, tras definir el concepto de comunicación intercultural, exponer su relevancia y examinar los elementos principales que la condi-

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cionan, este artículo concluye indicando la importancia crucial de ciertas variables de la comunicación verbal y no verbal, estrategias de producción lingüística, y habilidades o actitudes, totalmente necesarias para conseguir un intercambio cultural exitoso en el lugar de trabajo. Este artículo forma parte de una investigación más extensa realizada en España y centrada en grupos de trabajo multiculturales, dentro del Proyecto ICOPROMO 2003-2006 (Programa Leonardo da Vinci, Comisión Europea).

Palabras clave: comunicación intercultural, interacción comunicativa, grupos multiculturales, comunicación verbal / no verbal, competencia estratégica, habilidades comunicativas.

1. Introduction

Like no time before in history, we are finding ourselves in contact with culturally diverse people thanks to interlinked world economy, advances in telecommunication and technology, increased travel, and worldwide movement of immigrant workers. In Ting-Toomey's (1999: 7) words, «As we enter the 21st century, direct contacts with dissimilar others in our neighborhoods, schools, and workplace are an inescapable part of our life». Thus, it becomes essential in the global workplace to learn to interact with international co-workers and to acquire the necessary knowledge and skills to be competent in intercultural communication. Indeed, communicative interaction and the aspects it involves are particularly important in the multicultural workplace, since they are at its very core. As Ting-Toomey (1999: 5) points out, «Acquiring the knowledge and skills of mindful intercultural communication is a necessary first step in becoming a global citizen of the 21st century».

The aim of the present paper is precisely to examine, from both a theoretical and a practical perspective, the factors involved in successful intercultural communication. To this end, it begins by providing a theoretical framework, which is then applied practically to the case of multicultural teams in Spain, by reporting on the results yielded by a study recently carried out in this country within a large-scale investigation in the framework of the European Commission Leonardo da Vinci programmes. It is interesting to ascertain that practically all the variables considered in the theoretical section as affecting intercultural communication are also acknowledged as essential in the Spanish sample, a result which caters for the provision of a clear-cut categorization of the elements which need to be considered in order to guarantee successful intercultural communication in the multicultural workplace.

2. Intercultural Communication in the Global Workplace: Some Theoretical Considerations

2.1. Definition and Importance

Communication is a complex process which requires the successful implementation of numerous skills and devices. In simple terms, it can be defined as the mode or method by which we exchange ideas or information. In order for communication to be effective, there needs to be interaction between the participants in the exchange; we cannot say that communication has occurred unless one person speaks and the other person understands what has been said. As Revell and Norman (1999: 128) put it, «The meaning of my communication is the response I get». If we speak and someone listens, but that person does not understand what we mean, we are not getting our message across to him/her and, thus, miscommunication occurs. As Gudykunst (1998: 206) points out, «If we consistently misinterpret strangers' messages, our communication is not adequate or sufficient, that is, effective (i.e., misunderstandings are minimized)». The solution is to respond flexibly and to work with the numerous factors which come into play in communication, trying different approaches until the desired response is obtained from the interlocutor and s/he captures the message we are seeking to convey. Appropriate communication, according to Wiseman (2002: 209), «entails the use of messages that are expected in a given context and actions that meet the expectations and demands of the situation».

The complexity involved in communication is greatly increased if the latter is intercultural, that is, if it takes place «between people from different national cultures» (Gudykunst, 2002: 179). As Andersen, Hetch, Hoobler and Smallwood (2002: 90) signal, «Intercultural interactions are always problematic. Linguistic barriers in many intercultural interactions are compounded by differences in nonverbal behavior». However, despite the difficulties inherent in intercultural communication, its study becomes essential at the outset of the 21st century, as a notable number of authors (Ting-Toomey, 1999; Andersen, Hetch, Hoobler and Smallwood, 2002; Wiseman, 2002; or Gudykunst, Lee, Nishida and Ogawa, 2005) highlight.

It is not surprising that, given its increased significance, there have been great advances in the conceptualization of intercultural communicative competence, particularly over the course of the past two decades (Wiseman, 2002; Gudykunst, Lee, Nishida and Ogawa, 2005). But what exactly does intercultural competence involve? To begin with, an adequate conceptualization of this construct requires a broader formulation of the traditional concept of communicative competence, as Alptekin (2002: 63) strongly upholds: «The conventional model of communicative competence [...] would appear to be invalid in accounting for learning and using

an international language in cross-cultural settings. A new pedagogic model is urgently needed to accommodate the case of English as a means of international and intercultural communication». In fact, Peterson (2004) goes as far as to propose substituting the term «competence» for the more encompassing «intelligence», which, in his view, «suggests more highly developed abilities» (Peterson, 2004: 87).

According to Ting-Toomey (1999: 16) intercultural communication can be defined as «the symbolic exchange process whereby individuals from two (or more) different cultural communities negotiate shared meanings in an interactive situation». Thus, the transactional, give-and-take nature of the intercultural exchange is here emphasized, together with its use of both verbal and nonverbal symbols.

2.2. Intercultural Verbal Communication

What seems incontrovertible after examining the different ways in which intercultural communicative interaction can be conceptualized is that numerous variables need to come into play in order to guarantee its success.

Naturally, verbal aspects become all-important elements in intercultural interaction, particularly language mastery of the type that Canale and Swain (1980) term *grammatical competence*, and which is regarded by these authors as comprising knowledge of lexis, morphology, syntax, phonology, and graphology (spelling). As Gudykunst (1998: 215) stresses, «the greater our cultural and linguistic knowledge, and the more our beliefs overlap with those of the strangers with whom we communicate, the less the likelihood there will be misunderstandings».

However, in addition to linguistic aspects, an important number of verbal communication styles also need to be taken into consideration to guarantee successful intercultural communication (Hall, 1976; Gudykunst, 1998; Ting-Toomey, 1999; Andersen, Hetch, Hooble and Smallwood, 2002; Gudykunst and Lee, 2002; Lim, 2002; Peterson, 2004). These can be articulated in terms of a series of binary distinctions, including *talk vs. silence* (silence can fulfil different functions depending on cultural beliefs); *topic management and turn-taking* (the length of the turns taken, their distribution, the organization of the topic, and the use of repetition, feedback devices, or backchannelling all vary depending on the culture); *elaboration / animation* (which refers to the degree of expressiveness, assertion, or exaggeration used); *direct vs. indirect verbal styles* (the essence of this dichotomy lies in «the extent to which communicators reveal their intentions through their tone of voice and the straightforwardness of their content message» (Ting-Toomey, 1999: 103)); *individualism vs. collectivism* and *person-oriented vs. status-oriented verbal styles* (which differ according to whether the verbal

style is more individual-centered or role-centered); *self-enhancement vs. self-effacement* (which deals with the extent to which a verbal style emphasizes or de-emphasizes one's achievements and skills); and *low- vs. high-context communication* (whereas low-context communication is characterized by being direct, explicit and open, high-context communication is indirect, subtle and understated).

2.3. Intercultural Nonverbal Communication

Culture does not only influence language, but is also believed to have an impact on nonverbal aspects of communication: «If language is the key to the core of a culture, nonverbal communication is indeed the *heart* of each culture. Nonverbal communication is omnipresent throughout a culture – it is everywhere» (Ting-Toomey, 1999: 120). Indeed, as both Ting-Toomey (1999) and Andersen, Hetch, Hooble and Smallwood (2002) stress, although nonverbal interaction has innate or cultural-universal elements, it is also affected by cultural-specific ones.

As Revell and Norman (1999: 91) point out, «Communication is *more* non-verbal than verbal [emphasis in the original]». Indeed, current NLP beliefs maintain that only 7% of what is communicated is done by means of the actual words we use, whilst as much as 55% is communicated bodily, and 38% through our tone of voice. Ting-Toomey (1999: 115) is no less emphatic: «Many nonverbal experts (e.g., Birdwhistell, 1955; Mehrabian, 1981) estimated that in every social encounter, nearly two-thirds of the interaction meaning is derived through nonverbal messages». Such nonverbal aspects become even more crucial in intercultural contexts, as Andersen, Hetch, Hooble and Smallwood (2002: 90) point out: «[...] beyond language, multichannelled problems exist in interpreting nonverbal behavior of people from other cultures».

Ting-Toomey (1999: 115) defines nonverbal communication as «the nonlinguistic behaviors (or attributes) that are consciously or unconsciously encoded or decoded via multiple communication channels». And all these channels or media need to be considered to render a complete account of intercultural nonverbal communication (Ekman, 1972; Hall, 1976, 1984; Gudykunst, 1998; Ting-Toomey, 1999). In this sense, Andersen, Hetch, Hoobler and Smallwood's (2002) research reveals that the differences in intercultural nonverbal communication lie along the nonverbal codes of *kinesics* (or facial, bodily, and gestural movement), *oculesics* (eye contact), *vocalics* (related to speech, including accent, pitch range and intensity, volume, articulation, resonance, or tempo), *paralinguistics* (associated to tone), *haptics* (connected to touch), *olfactics* (having to do with smell), *proxemics* (the conception of space in interpersonal spatial boundary regulation), and *chronemics* (or the interpretation and understanding of time).

2.4. Strategic Competence

The previous heading has evinced that nonverbal interaction is a powerful resource (and not merely linguistic aspects) to convey messages. It is part of *strategic competence*, yet another element to be borne in mind within communicative interaction. Initially, its definition is narrow in scope, as Canale and Swain (1980: 30) characterize this component as comprising the verbal and non-verbal communication strategies which are activated in order to compensate for breakdowns in communication caused by either performance variables or insufficient competence. However, Canale (1983: 10-11) subsequently expands this definition by adding that strategic competence can also be called into action in order to «enhance the effectiveness of communication (e.g. deliberately slow and soft speech for rhetorical effect)». This broader conception is upheld by Tarone and Yule (1989) and by Brown (1994: 228), who defines strategic competence in a comprehensive manner as «the way we manipulate language in order to meet communicative goals». *Communication strategies* (Brown, 1994; Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1993; Oxford, 1990) or *production strategies* (Skehan, 1998) can, in turn, be subdivided into *achievement strategies*, which range from code-switching or literal translation to paraphrasing and appeal for repair and confirmation; and *reduction strategies*, which involve topic avoidance and nonverbal communication (Johnstone, 1989; Bygate, 2000).

2.5. Skills

Finally, as Ting-Toomey (1999: 141) indicates, «Mindful verbal and nonverbal communication requires the application of flexible, adaptive interaction skills». These skills are well summarized by Gudykunst (1998) as directly related to managing uncertainty and anxiety. They involve six main abilities which are in line with important attitudes that are necessary to communicate effectively in intercultural contexts.

The first of them is the *ability to be mindful*, which involves being able to put oneself in the interlocutor's position and to display sensitivity to other frames of reference. The second ability mentioned by Gudykunst (1998) – *tolerance of ambiguity* – is directly related to the third one – *management of anxiety* –, since the greater the tolerance of ambiguity, the less anxiety experienced in intercultural communication. The attitudes of sensitivity, understanding, and learning to truly listen all come into play in the *ability to empathize*, while adaptability and flexibility are at the core of the *ability to adapt our communication*. All the afore-mentioned skills

and attitudes – empathy, adaptability, mindfulness – need to come together in order to master the *ability to make accurate predictions and explanations*.

3. The ICOPROMO Project: the Study, and the Sample of Subjects²

The study reported on here – still ongoing – is framed within the large-scale investigation of the 2003-2006 ICOPROMO Project, a European Commission Leonardo da Vinci programme. ICOPROMO, Intercultural Competence for Professional Mobility, aims at facilitating the development of intercultural competence in students and professionals within the social sciences, working or willing to work in multicultural teams. At the time this study was conducted, the ICOPROMO team was made up of four academic partners in Portugal (Universidade de Coimbra, coordinator), Germany (Universität Göttingen), Austria (Universität Linz), and Spain (Universidad de Jaén); and three business partners in Finland (International Management Education), Austria (Voes-Alpinen Industrieanlagenbau), and Portugal (Centro de Estudos e Formação Autárquica). The German partner was replaced in 2005 by a partner from the United Kingdom (Anglia Ruskin University, Cambridge).

The first phase of the project, which was roughly developed in the first year of the whole three year period, consisted in the analysis of current multicultural teamwork in Portugal, Germany, Austria and Spain in terms of intercultural competence. With this purpose, two rounds of interviews were conducted from February to July, 2004 in each country, among members of multicultural teams in the following three fields: intergovernmental organisations, NGOs, and business. On average, the duration of the interviews ranged between 25 and 40 minutes.

In Spain, the sample amounts to sixteen men and women, both Spanish and non-Spanish individuals working in multicultural teams in Spain, and Spanish interviewees working or having worked in multicultural teams abroad. The sample comprises both men and women in their 20s, 30s and 40s, from different nationalities: French, Colombian, Dutch and Icelandic, although the number of Spaniards interviewed is clearly superior. The first round of interviews includes the whole sample and is based on seven questions approved by the whole ICOPROMO team. On average, the duration of the first round of interviews ranged from 25 to 40 minutes. The table below presents such a sample in greater detail:

2. We would like to thank all the informants for their time, patience, and the valuable data with which they provided us. We would likewise like to thank the institutions they work or have worked for: Valeo (Jaén), Cruz Roja Jaén (Red Interlabora), Sun Microsystem (Madrid), Granada Acoge, European Commission (Brussels), European Space Agency (Frankfurt), CEAR (Madrid), ONU (Mexico), UNICEF (Madrid), Linares Acoge, ACNUR (Madrid), and Braun Medical (Barcelona).

FIRST ROUND				
Nº	NATIONALITY	SEX	AGE	AREA
1	Spanish	Female	34	Business (VALEO)
2*	Spanish	Female	35	NGO (RED CROSS)
3*	French	Male	32	Business (SUN MICROSYSTEMS)
4	Spanish	Female	41	NGO (GRANADA ACOGE)
5*	Spanish	Male	35	Intergovernmental Relations (EUROPEAN COMMISSION)
6	Spanish	Male	28	Business (SUN MICROSYSTEMS)
7*	Spanish	Male	37	NGO (CEAR)
8	Spanish	Male	31	Business (EUROPEAN SPACE AGENCY)
9	Colombian	Male	32	NGO (CEAR)
10	Spanish	Male	34	Intergovernmental Relations (EUROPEAN COMMISSION)
11*	Spanish	Female	36	Intergovernmental Relations (UNITED NATIONS)
12	Spanish	Female	31	NGO (UNICEF)
13	Spanish	Female	49	NGO (LINARES ACOGE)
14	Spanish	Female	29	Intergovernmental Relations (ACNUR)
15*	Dutch	Male	24	Business (BRAUN MEDICAL)
16	Icelandic	Male	29	Business (BRAUN MEDICAL)
*have been interviewed twice				

The questionnaire comprised the seven questions below:

1. Can you briefly characterize the multicultural teams you have been involved in? Which cultures were represented in the team/s? How long were the teams working together?
2. How do/did you communicate and coordinate your work?
3. Which multicultural teams were the most efficient and why? In case you have only worked in a multicultural team, did you find it efficient and why?

4. If conflict arises in your multicultural team, which do you think are the main reasons, according to your experience?
5. What did you do as an individual / as a group to solve these problems or conflicts?
6. Have there been any members in your multicultural team/s who have been more influential than others? If so, why?
7. How could team members be prepared to improve teamwork?

The second round of interviews, with three general questions and two to three individual country questions, was conducted among six of the sixteen interviewees (two in each of the fields expressed above), with a view to confirming some of the most outstanding findings in the first round. Due to this fact, the interviews conducted in this second round were much shorter, with an average duration of 20 minutes.

The interviewees were questioned on the six aspects portrayed below:

1. Question specific to the interviewee and derived from his/her first interview.

Two national questions. The Spanish ones were:

2. Here, in our immediate context, it was found that some of the interviewees detected national or cultural differences in multicultural teams. They considered them «easily perceivable», while others did not consider they existed. What is your point of view in this respect?
3. Most interviewees in the first round mentioned that their experience in working in a multicultural team had been extremely enriching. Has this been your case? How has working in a multicultural team helped you to acquire knowledge, change attitudes and develop specific skills or abilities?

Three transnational questions (again agreed upon by the ICOPROMO team):

4. If you had the chance to choose the participants in your multicultural team, what qualities or features would you prioritize in selecting them?
5. Do you consider that effective participation in a multicultural team requires a democratic attitude? Can this raise issues regarding human rights, women's rights, and the like? How do you think that we can deal with them in a work context?
6. In your experience, do native or native-level speakers of the language used for communication in the multicultural team have a privileged position in debates and discussions? How could non-native speakers help solve these problems?

4. Intercultural Communication in Multicultural Teams: The Case of Spain

4.1. Introduction

Although the interviewees provided valuable insights into the role and features of intercultural communication within multicultural teams throughout the course of the interviews conducted, their answers were particularly eloquent in response to questions 2, 4, 6, and 7 of the first round, and 2, 3, 4, and 6 of the second round, which are thus the ones on which we have laid greater stress in obtaining our outcomes.

The interviewees' response to these queries shows the paramount importance of intercultural communication in multicultural teamwork and accords with the previous theoretical framework in terms of the factors or variables it involves.

4.2. Verbal Communication

In line with what is theoretically propounded on this score, the results of our study reveal that *language mastery* is indeed deemed essential for successful communicative interaction to take place. The inadequate mastery of the team's language of communication can result in a «communicative haze» (1.3), which requires more time to arrive at a clear interpretation. Misunderstandings and confusion can accrue from the incorrect use of certain expressions (1.2, 1.3, 1.14, 1.15). This clearly corroborates Marquardt and Horvath's (2001) view of language as a barrier for intercultural communication, and Goodall and Roberts' (2003) research on language as a source of intercultural misunderstanding. In addition, once a *lingua franca* (normally English) has been established within the team, its mastery becomes both a source of power (Méndez García and Pérez Cañado, 2005) and the key to success (Méndez García and Pérez Cañado, forthcoming).

In multicultural teams there are also differences between *verbal communication styles*, of which the Spanish sample is acutely aware: the interviewees point to the existence of *low- vs. high-context communication* (Hall, 1976; Ting-Toomey, 1999; Andersen, Hetch, Hoobler and Smallwood, 2002). Whereas some cultures (e.g. the Spanish one) tend to adopt communication patterns of direct verbal mode, with more assertive greetings and linear logic (low-context), others (e.g. Mauritania) expected communicants to read between the lines, following a more spiral logic, and contemplating non-verbal subtleties. Our sample thus confirms DiStefano and Maznevski's (2000) view that the divergence in values and beliefs is generally hidden and can have strong effects on individuals' interaction.

You can have a number of initial misunderstandings simply because of the way that messages are communicated or even, indeed, because of lack of communication of certain messages, which would be perceived as inappropriate or even insulting by some cultures while some other cultures would expect those messages to be indeed thrashed out in detail. (1.5)

Differences between *direct and indirect verbal interaction styles* (Ting-Toomey, 1999) are also detected (1.2 and 2.1). What is acceptable and appropriate in a particular community (for example, speaking quickly to save time or starting a conversation by getting to the point in Spain), may be rude, inappropriate, and unacceptable in another (for example, in Mauritania there is a protocol to be followed before introducing the main topic). Hence, as Henderson (2005) points out, the ability to recognize routines and rituals in the speech of co-workers becomes paramount.

Ellos tienen un protocolo antes de empezar a hablar un tema [...] Y yo un día le pregunté, «¿qué estáis hablando que no habláis de nada?» Y él me dijo «Es que sois muy maleducados, porque yo antes de hablar con una persona, sea de lo que sea, le pregunto, “¿cómo está tu padre?”, “¿cómo está tu madre?”, “¿cómo está tu hermana?”, “¿y tu finca?”, “¿y tu coche...?”». Es un protocolo que yo me río [...] Y X opina que yo soy muy agresiva [...] ¿cómo llegas a una persona y la miras así a los ojos? (1.2)

Finally, awareness of when, how, and whom to *interrupt*, and knowledge of the conventions governing *turn-taking* across cultures are also necessary to guarantee successful functioning of global teams. The sample's perceptions point to a greater tolerance of interruptions on the part of Spanish or French team members *vs.* a more notable respect for turn-taking in the case of the English and German ones:

[...] no levanta la mano; el español va a estar ahí, se va a quedar un poco aparte, un poco al fondo, pero corta la palabra y dice «¿Y esto?, ¿Y esto?» (1.3)

4.3. Nonverbal Communication

As we saw in the theoretical section, communication does not exclusively depend on language, indeed, the interviewees highlight the importance of such *nonverbal factors* as paralinguistics (tone), oculesics (eye contact), haptics (touch or contact), or proxemics (space).

The tone in which we express ourselves has importance with members of different languages: the Spanish and French are held to speak much more loudly

or passionately than the English or Dutch (1.3, 1.7, 1.14). However, even for native speakers of the same language, the tone used in its different varieties (such as the Spanish of Spain, Mexico or Argentina) differs greatly, being more conciliatory and lower in some, and more assertive and higher in others:

No es agresivo el español, sino que lo parece [...] te das cuenta que, con respecto a otros miembros del grupo que también forman parte de otra cultura distinta, las personas que tienen esa aproximación menos agresiva, más tranquila, menos chillona, con unas maneras de decirlo más rebuscadas pero intentando pedir más permiso y ser más conciliador. (2.3)

Otra cosa importante es las diferentes costumbres, la manera de expresar tus opiniones: una vez que todo el mundo habla el idioma, lo domina más o menos con el mismo nivel [...] porque yo tenía grupos de trabajo formados puramente por hispano-parlantes, o sea, chileno, mejicano, cubano y española. Todos hablábamos español, pero a la hora de expresar tu criterio, dicen que los españoles somos muy vehementes. (1.11)

In terms of eye-contact, whereas in Spain looking people in the eye is a sign that you are interested in the interlocutor and his/her message, in other countries, such as Mauritania, you would not do so unless you were given permission:

Comunicación no verbal [...] X opina que yo miro a las personas a los ojos sin que me den permiso. (1.2)

In turn, as regards haptics, touching the interlocutor may be possible and frequently done in certain cultures (for instance, touching or tapping people on the shoulder in Spain), whereas it constitutes an inappropriate act in others (for example, Germany). As to proxemics, the space allowed between speakers is worth being given consideration, since the «space bubble» is bigger in certain cultures (for example, Germany) than in others (like Spain), and this causes speakers of the former to feel their space encroached on and to move constantly backwards. That is to say, the sample shows the difference between «high contact» and «low contact» cultures (Gudykunst, 1998: 187).

Los españoles se tocan mucho más [...] se miran mucho más. El límite del espacio físico es distinto [...] Los españoles tampoco se saludan con la mano, pero nosotros los franceses lo hacemos mucho. (1.3)

A los alemanes no te puedes poner a darles en el hombro [...] porque es su espacio físico. (1.6)

4.4. Strategic Competence

Strategic competence (Canale and Swain, 1980; Canale, 1983) also seems to come into play in the intercultural communication of global teams. Indeed, given the heterogeneous command which team members have of the *lingua franca*, it is sometimes necessary to resort to such strategies as drawing, writing, rewording, or asking for clarification in order to make oneself understood. Thus, it seems that both reduction and achievement strategies are highlighted as helpful in the sample:

El idioma era el inglés en estos tres casos y había muchos momentos en los que había que hacer las cosas por escrito porque la comunicación oral no era suficiente. Vamos, había muchas veces en las que había que dibujar las cosas porque había malinterpretaciones. (1.6)

Eso generaba problemas y muchas veces había que escribir las cosas y repetirlas o intentar decirlas de otra manera porque tu veías que la gente no te había entendido o veías que no estabas entendiendo lo que estaba diciendo la otra persona. (1.6)

4.5. Skills

The skills cited by Ting-Toomey (1999) and Gudykunst (1998) as necessary for mindful verbal and nonverbal communication are again explicitly mentioned in the Spanish sample, indicating that an important number of skills, attitudes need to be fostered in multicultural teams to guarantee their success. This circumstance corroborates the findings of Chevrier (2003: 147) in her comparative study of European project groups: «More generally, almost all interviewees have stated that cross-cultural teams could not be effective without special personal qualities of their members, namely “*openness*”, “*patience*”, “*self-control*”». These attitudes include zero tolerance of racism – there is no place for it particularly in NGOs – and elimination of prejudice:

[...] hay que establecer unas normas básicas de comportamiento, de actitud, de trato y, sobre todo, no tolerar en ningún caso, tolerancia cero con el racismo y la xenofobia. (1.7)

[...] sería absurdo, si trabajamos con estos colectivos, que haya problemas entre nosotros, entre los mismos compañeros. No le encontraría lógica. [...] imagínate: yo trabajo en una organización para inmigrantes y tengo problemas con mi compañero porque es árabe o latinoamericano; es decir, estoy donde no debo estar. (1.9)

Such indications of racism or prejudice can be overcome by fostering another important attitude, namely, by getting to know the other members of the global team (1.11) and by delving deeper into their reality (1.12, 1.13) and way of working (1.16):

Intenta conocerlo [...]. (1.11)

Profundizar más en lo que es el conocimiento de las realidades de cada uno, de cada ámbito de trabajo. (1.12)

[...] es un poco saber la manera de trabajar de cada uno y ya que la manera de trabajar de una persona extranjera es diferente de la manera de trabajar de una persona de aquí, [...] simplemente adaptarse las dos partes y ya está. (1.16)

Alternatively, overcoming prejudices can be attained by observing others and being sensitive towards their mood (1.9); and by not taking anything for granted, striving always to see a specific problem or situation from the other person's perspective, and to put yourself in his/her position by showing empathy (1.2, 1.6, 1.7, 1.9):

Yo observo mucho, estoy muy pendiente de estas cosas. (1.9)

Y eso es muy importante, la comunicación, que no se den cosas por hecho porque las damos y no son. (1.6)

Yo pienso que uno tiene que ponerse siempre en el lugar del otro. Yo creo que, de verdad, hay una cosa importantísima que te he comentado, que es la empatía. Si no nos ponemos en el lugar del otro, nunca le vamos a llegar a entender. (1.7)

Establishing a fluid two-way communication is equally essential to deal with conflict and to attain its resolution. This involves, on the one hand, learning to truly listen, a capacity which, in the interviewees' opinion, is increasingly being lost:

[...] el encontrar simplemente a alguien que te escuche, por absurdo que pueda sonar, [...] simplemente tocar en la puerta y que alguien te escuche, yo creo que eso es [...] con eso ya hay una manera [...] de paliarlo, porque yo creo que estamos perdiendo cada vez más la actividad de escuchar. (1.9)

Secondly, it implies being open to dialogue and conversation (1.2, 1.4, 1.5, 1.7, 1.9, 1.13, 1.14, 1.15, 1.16):

Las soluciones son [...] el diálogo hasta el extremo, hasta el agotamiento [...]. (1.4)

Well, the main tool to solve these problems is communication [...]. Communication to understand what each other's point of view is [...] is absolutely the key to everything. (1.5)

This willingness to listen and to talk things through, coupled with the attitude of tolerance and openmindedness (Chevrier, 2003: 145), flexibility (Lagerström and Andersson, 2003: 91; Marschan-Piekkari, Welch and Welch, 1999: 422), and adaptability on both sides (1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.6, 1.7, 1.14, 1.15, 1.16, 2.5), leads to the desired compromising (especially in the business sector: 1.4, 1.7, 1.14) or conciliating (particularly in NGOs: 1.9) spirit:

Entonces, tienes que ser una persona flexible y adaptarte a lo que te va viniendo, [...]. (1.1)

Hay que tratar de encontrar un camino medio. A los ingleses les cuesta muchísimo adaptarse. Ésa es una característica del inglés que hay que tomar con cuidado [...]. (1.3)

This negotiation, compromise, or conciliation should be carried out with goodwill on the part of the participants involved (1.5) and lots of respect (1.5, 1.7, 1.11, 1.13), perhaps one of the most outstanding attitudes for cross-cultural communication and understanding, as Byram, Gribkova and Starkey (2002: 9) stress in their proposal of a model of intercultural competence:

And, finally, always trying to make the team members understand that solutions are there to make the system more efficient and in full respect of their tasks and also in respect of their opinions, [...]. (1.5)

O sea, que el trabajar con grupos multiculturales te enseña mucho a respetar las diferentes culturas, a convivir con ellos y a tener un respeto. (1.11)

[...] tú como asociación tienes unos objetivos muy claros, que son el respeto a todo [...] el respeto a otras culturas y a otros valores, nos parezcan bien o nos parezcan mal. (1.13)

Thus, the sample clearly corroborates the significance of the abilities cited by Gudykunst (1998), particularly the *ability to be mindful*, the *ability to empathize*, and the *ability to adapt our communication*.

5. Conclusion

The present article has allowed us to explore the factors involved in successful intercultural communication in global teams from both a theoretical and a practical viewpoint. Practically all of the theoretical aspects examined in the introductory section have been corroborated by the outcomes of the study carried out in Spain within the scope of the international research project ICOPROMO, perhaps more so than on any other specific aspect which has thus far been analyzed in relation to this general study.

Indeed, both the theory and practice on this issue confirm that there is a clear-cut set of elements which need to be considered in order to guarantee successful intercultural communication in the multicultural workplace. These include variables of verbal communication (involving especially *language mastery, talk vs. silence, turn-taking and topic management, direct and indirect verbal interaction styles*, and *low- vs. high-context communication*), factors affecting nonverbal communication (particularly *paralinguistics, oculesics, haptics*, and *proxemics*), communication or production strategies (of both *reduction* and *achievement* types), and certain skills or attitudes (involving above all the *ability to be mindful*, the *ability to empathize*, and the *ability to adapt our communication*).

Although being aware of all these elements may seem a tall order indeed, given the considerable number of variables involved, it is well worth rising to the challenge of mastering them: first of all, because successful communicative interaction in global teams depends on these factors, and learning to adequately work in multicultural teams is fast becoming «the sine qua non for global success» (Marquardt and Horvath, 2001: 4); secondly, because the ability to communicate effectively with other cultures will have positive repercussions on a personal level. As Ting-Toomey (1999: 8) puts it, it will «help us to uncover our own diversity and “worthiness”» and will «ultimately enrich the depth of our own life experiences».

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Barreras interaccionales en aulas multilingües: una aproximación crítica a la comunicación intercultural

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RESUMEN: En este artículo analizamos la gestión de la comunicación intercultural en una interacción entre alumnos de un aula lingüística y culturalmente diversa de 2º de Educación Primaria. Para ello, y tratando de superar un reduccionismo culturalista, exploramos cómo se vinculan en la interacción tres dimensiones: una dimensión lingüística, una dimensión psicosocial y una social. Con el fin de observar cómo podía alterarse el presente orden socioeducativo, decidimos realizar una experiencia de aula con la que introducir cambios que atenuaran las asimetrías y las diferencias de valor en la dinámica conversacional. El análisis de estas prácticas comunicativas en el aula nos indica que, al igual que ocurre en las situaciones interculturales entre adultos, ya en edades tempranas las diferencias comunicativas se (re)construyen y pueden utilizarse, en situaciones donde existen profundas diferencias sociales, como instrumento para reforzar las asimetrías y el *statu quo*, relegando a los trabajadores extranjeros y a sus descendientes a las posiciones sociales más desfavorecidas.

Palabras clave: comunicación intercultural, análisis de la interacción, análisis crítico del discurso, asimetría y cooperación, inmigración, educación.

ABSTRACT: In this article we analyse intercultural communication management in student interaction in a culturally and linguistically diverse second year primary school classroom. In order to do so, and trying to overcome culturalist reductionism, we explore how three dimensions of interaction, linguistic, psychosocial and social, are linked. So as to observe how this current socio-educational order might be altered, we decided to conduct research in the classroom by introducing changes to attenuate the asymmetries and differences in values in conversational dynamics. The analysis of communicative practices in the classroom, similarly to that of intercultural situations among adults, indicates that from an early age, in situations where there are large social differences, communicative differences can be (re)constructed and

used as a tool to reinforce asymmetries as well as the status quo, thereby relegating foreign workers and their descendants to an underprivileged social position.

Keywords: intercultural communication, interaction analysis, critical discourse analysis, asymmetry and cooperation, immigration, education.

1. Introducción

Son muchos los trabajos que, en diferentes contextos socio-políticos e históricos, han mostrado la manera en que la institución escolar contribuye a (re)producir y legitimar un orden social dominante (Foucault, 1975; Bourdieu y Passeron, 1977; Willis, 1981; Jacob y Jordan, 1993; Heller, 1999; Heller y Martin-Jones, 2001; Martín Rojo (ed.), en preparación). La actividad en el ámbito educativo, un espacio en el que se producen, circulan y se atribuye valor a particulares formas de capital simbólico, se construye sobre interacciones ritualizadas, que constituyen y representan prácticas sociales, las cuales a su vez son parte de un orden institucional y una estructura social que son constantemente actualizados. De estas interacciones y prácticas lingüísticas cotidianas que tienen lugar en las escuelas emanan muchos conocimientos implícitos y no neutrales que, a su vez, son reproducidos en ellas: conocimientos sobre qué se considera un buen alumno, un saber legítimo, un buen comportamiento o una lengua legítima de intercambio (Martín Rojo, en prensa). De hecho, son sobre estos conocimientos implícitos sobre los que gira toda la actividad evaluadora en el aula, de manera que ésta los hace explícitos y hace efectiva la selección social (Alcalá Recuerda, 2006).

En un contexto de transformación como el de la sociedad española, cada vez más diversa lingüística y culturalmente, la forma en que dichos conocimientos implícitos se (re)construyan puede tener consecuencias en un orden social en el que los nuevos inmigrados extranjeros ocupan las posiciones sociales más desfavorecidas. Sin embargo, y como ha quedado manifiesto en el conjunto de las investigaciones que hemos venido desarrollando,¹ parece que la forma en que se representa a los alumnos que se incorporan al sistema educativo les excluye de

1. Si bien los datos utilizados para este artículo fueron recogidos en una investigación específica paralela, los instrumentos teóricos y metodológicos provienen del desarrollo de dos proyectos de investigación subvencionados con fondos públicos y dirigidos por la profesora Luisa Martín Rojo: «Diversidad cultural y lingüística: estrategias y recursos para la educación», subvencionado por la Consejería de Educación de la Comunidad de Madrid, Proyectos de Humanidades (2000/2001); «Análisis socio-pragmático de la comunicación intercultural en las prácticas educativas: hacia la integración en el aula» (BFF2003-04830), subvencionado por el Ministerio de Ciencia y Tecnología dentro del Plan Nacional I+D+I (2000-2003).

la categoría de buen alumno (porque son deficitarios), de poseer un saber legítimo (porque sus bagajes no son valorados), de comportarse adecuadamente (porque sus formas de *estar en el aula* son deslegitimadas) y de poseer la lengua legítima de intercambio (porque sus lenguas de origen están prohibidas). La consecuencia de todo ello parece redundar en la construcción de un orden socioeducativo en el que estos alumnos recién incorporados, que hablan lenguas y variedades distintas al español estándar propio de la institución educativa, encuentran dificultades para su integración e incluso para superar los objetivos de cada una de las etapas educativas.

El estudio de las interacciones que tienen lugar dentro de este contexto educativo es el objeto de análisis de este artículo, tratando de ver cómo se imbrican la diversidad cultural y la desigualdad social. Podremos, así, estudiar cómo se gestiona la comunicación intercultural en estas aulas a las que se han incorporado alumnos provenientes de distintos países y con distintas lenguas de origen, y cómo ello repercute sobre el grado de integración educativa y, en último extremo, sobre su situación social. La localidad donde se llevó a cabo este trabajo, Valmojado, en la provincia de Toledo (Castilla-La Mancha), es un ejemplo de esta nueva realidad social.²

En trabajos anteriores (Martín Rojo *et al.*, 2003; Martín Rojo y Mijares, en prensa) hemos puesto de manifiesto cómo, para que la diversidad resulte un enriquecimiento mutuo, es preciso que en los centros de enseñanza se abran espacios que permitan que ésta se manifieste en condiciones de igualdad. Entendemos la integración como un proceso mutuo que demanda la adaptación de todas las partes implicadas; sólo así se distingue de los procesos de dominación y sumisión – como es, por ejemplo, la asimilación cultural y lingüística. Por ello, las actuaciones y políticas han de dirigirse a toda la comunidad escolar por igual y no sólo a los grupos minoritarios. No se trata de que cambien «ellos», sino también de hacer posible que encuentren un lugar en condiciones de igualdad dentro de la organización y la vida de la escuela. Ello obliga a una remodelación de la realidad educativa, que precisa como telón de fondo una transformación social. No resulta fácil para los centros, sin embargo, responder a las nuevas demandas, muchas veces debido a la falta de liderazgo por parte de la Administración y a la ausencia de políticas claras. Sin embargo, independientemente de cuál sea el papel de la Administración y si interviene, apoya, asesora o no, los profesores no pueden inhibirse y en el aula tendrán que atender al desafío que supone enseñar a alumnos con valores, lenguas y supuestos culturales dis-

2. Según datos del M.E.C.D., de los 556 alumnos extranjeros matriculados en educación no universitaria durante el curso 1993-94, en Castilla-La Mancha, se llegó a la cifra de 9.587 en el curso 2002-03 (con una tasa de incremento interanual superior a la de la Comunidad de Madrid). El 39,1% de éstos pertenecía a la provincia de Toledo, novena provincia española en número de alumnado extranjero.

tintos; alumnos con expectativas distintas acerca de lo que puede esperarse en la escuela como, por ejemplo, los contenidos o los niveles de conocimiento en cada uno de los cursos que conforman el currículo académico.

Partiendo de la concepción de integración señalada, y de la complejidad de las relaciones entre diversidad social y cultural, y desigualdad social, la primera premisa de este estudio es que el único medio de conseguir la igualdad de oportunidades en el ámbito escolar es modificando las relaciones de poder entre mayoría y minorías, legitimando las diferencias, de forma que se logre la equidad. Ello supone, de hecho, intervenir en el orden socioeconómico, puesto que la integración plena de los hijos de trabajadores extranjeros en el sistema escolar entraña el que se les garantice el acceso a todos los niveles de enseñanza, lo que supondría garantizarles el acceso a trabajos cualificados, abriéndose para ellos las mismas opciones de vida y de movilidad social a las que tienen acceso otros sectores sociales.

Hoy sabemos que la consecución de dicha igualdad no puede alcanzarse suprimiendo o invisibilizando la diversidad lingüística y cultural, puesto que tal supresión supone de hecho el que se impongan los valores, usos y cánones de la mayoría. Tampoco es suficiente el mero reconocimiento – señalamiento de la diferencia –, ya que ello puede entrañar una separación que sustente una mayor marginación. El reconocimiento debe ir acompañado de valoración y legitimación de estas diferencias. Sin embargo, el conocimiento que en estos años hemos acumulado sobre la realidad escolar y las dinámicas interaccionales que se registran en el aula indican que estamos aún lejos de tal valoración. Al contrario, con frecuencia se observa que las diferencias se marcan y se enfatizan, y revierten sobre el mantenimiento de posiciones de predominio del grupo mayoritario y de subordinación de los recién llegados.

En este sentido, el análisis de las prácticas comunicativas que presentamos en este artículo permitirá corroborar la segunda premisa planteada: que, al igual que ocurre en las prácticas comunicativas interculturales entre adultos o entre adolescentes, las diferencias comunicativas pueden ser también (re)construidas y utilizadas en edades muy tempranas (en situaciones donde existen profundas diferencias sociales: de clase, de estatus) como capital simbólico e instrumentos que refuerzan las asimetrías. Es decir, el uso de la lengua en edades tempranas ya se dirige a establecer las identidades de cada uno de los participantes del evento y a construir las relaciones entre ellos.

De manera que este artículo se inicia con una breve presentación de los estudios de comunicación intercultural (2), para pasar después a la descripción del trabajo de campo desarrollado y al análisis detallado de la interacción que se ha estudiado (3). En este último punto, dicho análisis mostrará cómo en la interacción se imbrican aspectos lingüísticos, psicosociales y sociales, y cómo unos

revierten sobre otros. Por último, el artículo finaliza con una conclusión a los datos obtenidos, al tiempo que se pretende señalar las implicaciones futuras que son necesarias en aras de un verdadero modelo de educación intercultural (4).

2. El estudio de la comunicación intercultural

Al igual que otras prácticas sociales, las comunicativas se regulan socialmente, pudiendo diferir tal regulación de una comunidad a otra, por lo que no resulta difícil encontrar usos y formas diferenciadas (Gumperz, 1982; Gumperz y Roberts, 1979). La existencia de estos usos diferentes explica que la comunicación puede verse comprometida cuando interaccionan personas que no pertenecen a la misma comunidad de habla o que hablan distintas lenguas. A un mismo uso, los hablantes pertenecientes a diferentes comunidades pueden atribuirle distinto valor, guiándose por sus conocimientos comunicativos (por ejemplo, el uso de un imperativo, el tono de voz, la distancia interpersonal, las confianzas, etc.). Incluso estas diferencias pueden llevar a estos hablantes a hacer inferencias con respecto a la situación comunicativa que no se correspondan con la intención de su interlocutor.

La investigación en comunicación intercultural es deudora de la tradición sociolingüística interaccional y de los desarrollos pragmáticos también interaccionales, y aparece hoy como un campo muy activo de investigación (Wierzbicka, 1991, Scollon y Scollon, 2000; véase, además, Kasper y Blum-Kulka (eds.), 1993, Singy y Trudgill, 1997, Holliday, Hyde y Kullman, 2004). La mayoría de los trabajos en este campo han mostrado la incidencia que sobre los malentendidos tiene el que se subestimen las diferencias en la forma de conversar de las comunidades y el que, al mismo tiempo, se asuma con frecuencia que los comportamientos propios son los «normales» y «lógicos». En ocasiones los hablantes tampoco son conscientes de que estas diferencias en la forma de comunicarse reflejan valores culturales diferentes o, al menos, jerarquías de valores distintas (por ejemplo, individualismo frente a colectivismo), de manera que la falta de entendimiento o incluso los malentendidos no se conciben como el resultado de «modos de hacer» diferentes, sino de «formas de ser». Así, frecuentemente, los malentendidos interculturales son interpretados como fallos de la competencia comunicativa del otro (por lo general, de la minoría cultural), por lo que a menudo se utilizan como «evidencias» por las que se refuerzan estereotipos negativos o se justifica la exclusión social.

Aun así, este enfoque de la comunicación intercultural centrado exclusivamente en los aspectos lingüísticos – como muestra de variación cultural –, ha sido criticado por entrañar, de hecho, un cierto reduccionismo, ya que estas

situaciones de comunicación transcultural se dan siempre dentro de un marco social y político. De hecho, en nuestra sociedad se observa que las diferencias parecen plantear algún tipo de obstáculo sólo – y precisamente – en ámbitos donde existen profundas diferencias sociales. Resulta de vital importancia conocer qué sucede en umbrales tales como la escuela, la sanidad u otros servicios sociales, donde con frecuencia el orden social asignando a los miembros de la comunidad de acogida una posición de superioridad y a los trabajadores inmigrantes una posición social de nueva fuerza laboral con derechos restringidos (que no pueden exigir, sino que, en todo caso, se les concede). La expectativa social dominante es que vienen y valen para trabajar. Es preciso observar si en estos umbrales los miembros de la comunidad de acogida ejercen el control de la situación y qué consecuencias tiene esto para la reproducción del *statu quo* (un orden social que distingue entre autóctonos e inmigrantes y asegura a los primeros todos los derechos y los limita a los segundos).

Como correlato de esta situación social, diversidad y desigualdad social se imbrican en las dinámicas conversacionales (Ogbu, 1987). La falta de respeto de las diferencias sería, por tanto, una estrategia más de imposición, razón por la que se observa en la actualidad una tendencia general a aplicar una perspectiva comunicativa, atenta a las diferencias culturales, en los estudios sobre educación (Aikman, 1999, Aitken, 2000, Ventola y Mauranan, 1996).

Situado en este punto y tratando de superar un reduccionismo culturalista, este artículo explora cómo se vinculan en la interacción tres dimensiones: una dimensión lingüística, una dimensión psicosocial y una social (Martín Rojo, 2003 *a*). De acuerdo con este planteamiento, el estudio de la comunicación intercultural supone no sólo prestar atención a las posibles diferencias lingüísticas que se registran cuando existen diferencias sociales y culturales, sino también analizar cómo los hablantes las actualizan dentro del proceso comunicativo: bien remitiéndose a ellas, valorando, cuestionando o reforzando sus efectos sobre las percepciones mutuas y sobre los procesos de construcción de las identidades de los interlocutores (por ejemplo, mediante la alteridad o el refuerzo de estereotipos) y, en último término, sobre la negociación de las relaciones sociales y sobre los procesos de marginación social y su legitimación (frenando el acceso a determinados ámbitos sociales). Análisis como el que presentamos son un ejemplo más de reflexividad social,³ ya que los hablantes no sólo perciben diferencias,

3. Esta reflexividad se entiende como una capacidad conceptual y lingüística que sólo es posible debido a la continuidad de las prácticas, que les permite aparecer como las «mismas» a través del espacio y el tiempo y que nos permite monitorizar el flujo de la vida social (Giddens, 1984: 3; Giddens y Turner, 1987: 77). En palabras de Giddens: «settings of action and interaction, distributed across time-space and reproduced in the 'reversible time' of day-to-day activities, are integral to the structured form which both social life and language possess» (Giddens y Turner, 1987: 215).

sino que son conscientes de sus implicaciones sociales y cognitivas, y por lo tanto, pueden sacar partido de ello o bien cuestionarlo.⁴

De ahí el interés de emprender este estudio dentro del ámbito de la educación. Son muchos los ejemplos estudiados en todo el mundo acerca de cómo la lengua y los usos lingüísticos pueden actuar como «cierre social». Si la distancia social es la causa de las diferencias en la manera de usar la lengua, es también su resultado, pues la falta de comprensión o los malentendidos – pero sobre todo la imposición de lenguas, normas y usos –, contribuye a reforzar posiciones sociales de desigualdad. Esta situación se complica en aquellos Estados y en aquellas Comunidades Autónomas en las que la composición de las aulas ha sido social y culturalmente más homogénea, y a las que recientemente se han incorporado alumnos de orígenes sociales y culturales más diversos, ya que se registran más resistencias a modificar en profundidad las dinámicas de enseñanza y aprendizaje con el objeto de adaptarse a la nueva situación multicultural y multilingüe.

Para explorar ambas cuestiones – la dimensión lingüística de las interacciones interculturales y la vinculación de estos aspectos lingüísticos con aspectos psicosociales y sociales –, este artículo se centra en el estudio de la interacción en el aula en un contexto multicultural.

Tomemos como punto de partida algunos aspectos que se habían puesto de manifiesto en un acercamiento previo a los centros de enseñanza de la Comunidad de Madrid (Martín Rojo *et al.*, 2003). Uno de estos aspectos es la existencia de fuertes demandas asimiladoras en los centros educativos, de modo que en lugar de considerarse, valorarse e incorporarse las diferencias, se exige que estos estudiantes las eliminen por completo y sólo entonces se les considera «integrados». De hecho, los análisis previos de interacciones en las aulas habían puesto de manifiesto que la asimetría que normalmente se observa en estas interacciones (por ser muchas veces evaluativas, disciplinarias o expositivas) se incrementa cuando participan en ellas alumnos de origen extranjero. Entre las razones destaca el tratamiento que se da de las diferencias, como, por ejemplo, que no se permita el uso instrumental de las lenguas de origen, que se exija el uso de los dialectos mayoritarios o que se impongan las normas de comportamiento y de cortesía dominantes en las aulas españolas. Esta falta de sensibilidad ante la diversidad provoca, además, que muchas veces los contenidos del currículo resulten extraños para los alumnos de origen extranjero, así como algunas de las estrategias de enseñanza y aprendizaje utilizadas (el tipo de ejercicios que se les pide, por ejemplo). (Para un análisis detallado de las políticas lingüísticas y educativas, véase Martín Rojo, 2003 *b*).

4. De hecho, un análisis en profundidad de algunas de las interacciones presentadas por Gumperz y Roberts en *Crosstalk* (Gumperz y Roberts, 1979), como la entrevista laboral a un bibliotecario originario de Punjab, mostraría cómo los hablantes son conscientes de que los prejuicios étnicos inciden tanto en los procesos de inferencia como en los de exclusión social (en la misma dirección, véase Sarangui, 1994).

Por ello, y con el fin de observar si podía alterarse este orden, que incrementaba las asimetrías y tenía un efecto negativo sobre el conjunto de los alumnos, decidimos realizar una experiencia con la que introducir cambios niveladores en la dinámica conversacional. Para ello, diseñamos una actividad que fomentara la participación e integración de todos los estudiantes, mediante una técnica de trabajo cooperativo. Sin embargo, como veremos a continuación, el desarrollo de esta interacción, en principio participativa, no fue siempre el esperado. A lo largo del análisis valoraremos en qué medida las diferencias en los usos comunicativos incidieron en este desarrollo des-nivelador, y en qué medida se debió no tanto a ellas mismas, sino al tratamiento que los compañeros hicieron de éstas (por ejemplo, mediante la imposición de determinados usos y la corrección o amonestación a todo aquel que no haga uso de ellos).

3. La interacción en el aula

La investigación se llevó a cabo en el aula de 2º de Educación Primaria de un Colegio Público de la localidad de Valmojado (Toledo). En la actividad realizada participaron doce alumnos de entre 7 y 8 años de edad, entre los cuales había seis estudiantes de origen español (Víctor, Jorge, Pablo, Miriam, Sergio y Ana), cuatro de origen marroquí (Mohamed, Hasna, Fátima y Cauta) y dos recién llegados de Ecuador (Alicia y Romario).⁵

La actividad, diseñada para lograr un desarrollo inclusivo de la interacción, consistía en la elaboración compartida de un cuento en el que la protagonista es una cigüeña que viaja por España, Marruecos y Ecuador en busca de calor. Los propios alumnos tenían que proporcionar información relativa al clima, la geografía y las lenguas de dichos países. De esta manera, los conocimientos de los alumnos originarios de esos países enriquecería al conjunto y revertiría sobre el éxito de éste. Esperábamos por ello que los alumnos de origen extranjero ocuparan un papel protagonista gracias a la incorporación de sus conocimientos.

Para propiciar aún más el desarrollo cooperativo de la actividad se dispuso a los chicos en torno a una mesa redonda. El observador – en este caso participante, dado que proponía y dirigía la actividad –, grabó audiovisualmente la sesión, moviéndose para ello libremente en este espacio.⁶

5. Los nombres de los participantes son pseudónimos utilizados para proteger su anonimato.

6. El corpus sobre el que se realiza el análisis se compone de la grabación de la actividad de clase, de 45 minutos de duración aproximadamente, la cual ha sido transcrita para facilitar un tratamiento más cómodo, efectivo y exhaustivo.

3.1. La dimensión lingüística

Para el estudio de esta dimensión nos remitiremos a cómo se regula la interacción en el aula (lo que cabe esperar, lo que puede suceder, lo que se permite decir y hacer, etc.) y a cómo ésta no es idéntica en todos los lugares del mundo. Sin embargo, dado el poder y el objetivo homogeneizador de la escuela, tantas veces señalado, en los centros de enseñanza con mucha frecuencia se imponen los usos tradicionalmente dominantes, incluso cuando éstos son extraños para la mayoría de los alumnos reunidos en el aula.

En este sentido, sí pudimos observar algunas diferencias en los comportamientos comunicativos de los alumnos participantes. En concreto, éstas emergieron en torno a: cómo tomar o ceder el turno de palabra (la dinámica conversacional); el grado de participación; el tono de voz, el ritmo, las palabras y las construcciones que se eligen; el tipo de actos de habla; y el uso de la aserción propia (expresión de emociones, pensamientos, voluntades y conocimientos propios).⁷ Aunque algunas de ellas podrían haber sido el resultado de bagajes previos distintos, debido a escolarizaciones en contextos educativos de ámbitos culturales diferentes, la entidad de dichas diferencias fue siempre menor y en ningún caso obstaculizó la comunicación, si bien en la dinámica conversacional terminaron siendo, como veremos, claves e instrumentos de desigualdad.

Algunas de esas diferencias registradas son difíciles de explicar desde el punto de vista de la diversidad cultural, como, por ejemplo, la acusada diferencia en el grado de participación entre los hablantes españoles y los que eran de un origen distinto (Marruecos y Ecuador). La participación de estos últimos, que fue mucho menor durante toda la interacción, sólo se concentró en aquellos momentos en los que se hablaba de sus respectivos países de origen, un fenómeno que nosotros consideramos relacionado con el tipo de co-construcción interaccional y situacional de la actividad que tuvo lugar, y no tanto con explicaciones estáticas y esencialistas de las diferencias culturales, que a veces se imponen desde fuera para explicar los datos.

En los apartados siguientes nos detendremos en el análisis de estas diferencias, con el fin de profundizar en las causas de su aparición y de su uso. Nuestro objetivo es problematizar las explicaciones culturalistas y valorar si bastan para explicar lo que sucedió.

7. Ver en detalle las cuestiones relacionadas con la aserción propia en Wierzbicka (1991).

3.1.1. El desarrollo de la interacción

La interacción se abrió con el establecimiento de las reglas de participación por parte del observador, que buscaban establecer un principio de simetría y de equidad en la participación:

Ejemplo 1⁸

32. Observador: oye / escuchadme // es un país entonces pues se lo preguntáis a ella que os cuente algo sobre Marruecos y lo vais escribiendo
33. Pablo: o a Cauta
34. Observador: luego pues también pregunta por el la temperatura de Marruecos dee en Octubre dee Marruecos y tal / lo que habla la gente en Marruecos
35. Pablo: [(())]
36. Mohamed: [muy fácil / ¿a que sí?] (hace gestos a Fátima)
37. Observador: y luego pasa de / pasa de cuando llega el invierno a Marruecos / pues pasa de Marruecos / a / Ecuador
38. (Sorpresa general y risas. Mohamed señala a Alicia. Pablo señala a Alicia)
39. Sergio: ¡Ah! / [¡él vive en Ecuador!] (señala a Romario)
40. Pablo: [¡ella es de Ecuador!] (señala a Alicia)
41. Mohamed: ¡pues claro en Ecuador!
42. Observador: aquí hay una chica / a ver ¿quién es de Ecuador?
43. Pablo: aquí (señala a Alicia)
44. Miriam: ¡allí / allí (())! (señala a Alicia)
45. Observador: ¡Ah!
46. Pablo: y Romario también es de Ecuador

El objetivo inicial de la interacción, como puede observarse en la participación de Mohamed (turnos 36 y 41) y en las reacciones y sorpresas de los participantes autóctonos (turnos 38, 39 y 40), era promover que todos los alumnos tuvieran un lugar que asegurara su participación y contribuyera al desarrollo conjunto de la narración. Sin embargo, apenas tomaron las riendas los alumnos, la participación y la contribución empezaron a desequilibrarse.

3.1.2. Las diferencias en la participación

Los alumnos de origen ecuatoriano y marroquí fueron quienes menos participaron, a lo que pudieron contribuir algunas diferencias culturales en la gestión de la conversación (como, por ejemplo, los lapsos de tiempo necesarios en la

8. Véase anexo para un detalle de las convenciones de transcripción utilizadas.

regulación de los turnos de palabra). Sin embargo, lo más relevante fue la forma en que dicha gestión se construyó interactivamente por todos los participantes, estableciéndose un marco de participación en el que sólo los estudiantes de origen español regulaban la toma y cesión de los turnos conversacionales.

Ejemplo 2

305. Pablo: Gilda se quedó allí unas semanas, y después bajó al Sur, a Andalucía, donde se quedó el resto del verano. Andalucía era ↑
[calurosa]
306. Sergio: [calurosa]
307. Miriam: [¿tú la has] visto? (se dirige a Ana)
308. Ana: yo no
309. Pablo: ¿tú la has visto? (se dirige a Cauta)
310. **(Cauta niega con la cabeza)**
311. Pablo: ¿tú? (se dirige a Alicia)
312. **(Alicia niega con la cabeza)**
313. Pablo: yo sí / yo he estado en Almería

La mayor parte de las intervenciones de los escolares de origen ecuatoriano se reducían a respuestas escuetas cuando sus compañeros de origen español les hacían preguntas, si bien en muchas ocasiones respondían haciendo uso de gestos sin ningún tipo de acompañamiento verbal: negando o afirmando con la cabeza o con el dedo (véanse los turnos 311-312-313, como una muestra del tipo de interacción y de papeles que adoptaban unos y otros). De hecho, la alumna ecuatoriana, Alicia, no intervino de forma oral en toda la actividad. Esto mismo también sucedió con una de las estudiantes llegada recientemente de Marruecos, Cauta, que, aunque ya había mejorado su nivel de español, no encontraba lugar para intervenir en una dinámica demasiado agitada y monopolizada por los alumnos españoles, como se refleja en la distribución de participación de Pablo en los turnos 309-310-311.

Las diferencias relativas al tono de voz también debieron jugar un papel. En primer lugar, debido a cómo suele percibirse el tono y el volumen característico de los usos peninsulares, que suelen resultar impositivos y avasalladores para muchos latinoamericanos. En segundo lugar, y en mayor medida, por cómo se recibían y valoraban estos usos diferentes. Así, y como suele suceder en las aulas donde hay presencia de estudiantes de países latinoamericanos, las peculiaridades entonativas y rítmicas de éstos hacían «gracia» a los alumnos españoles.

Ejemplo 3

812. Romario: ¿a Ecuador? / ¿tú ha estao a Ecuador?
813. **(Risas de Víctor y Miriam)**
813. Pablo: mi abuelo no estuvo en Ecuador / estuvo cerca
814. Romario: (())
815. **(Risas de Víctor)**

Esta actitud, que en el fragmento anterior se refleja en las reiteradas risas de Víctor (turnos 813 y 815) tras las intervenciones de Romario (turnos 812 y 814), provocó dos reacciones contrarias en cada uno de los dos alumnos ecuatorianos del aula: por una parte, las risas contribuyeron al establecimiento de un «feedback» positivo en la interacción entre Romario y el resto, lo que facilitó la construcción de vínculos más estrechos; por otra parte, dicha reacción también redundó en un rechazo a la participación de la otra estudiante de Ecuador, Alicia.

En lo que concierne al uso del léxico y al de expresiones gramaticales, las diferencias fueron también claras entre los participantes en el evento. De esta manera, mientras que el discurso de los estudiantes de origen marroquí solía incluir frecuentes agramaticalidades, debidas a las interferencias del español con la(s) lengua(s) primera(s) de éstos (el dialecto marroquí, entre ellas), los escolares ecuatorianos hacían uso de un léxico en ocasiones diferente del de la variedad que se enseña en las escuelas españolas. De nuevo en este caso, lo relevante no parece ser tanto la existencia de diferencias (por ejemplo, si éstas provocaran malentendidos), sino la actitud de rechazo dominante hacia ellas. Los alumnos de origen español reaccionaron corrigiendo y sancionando, aludiendo constantemente a la necesidad de utilizar las formas propias de la variedad estándar. Estas permanentes correcciones tuvieron, sin duda, un efecto sobre el desarrollo de la interacción:

Ejemplo 4

413. Pablo: **pero en español / que se entienda ¿eh?** (se dirige a Hasna, quien se dispone a escribir)

(...)

670. (Hasna comienza a leer en voz muy baja y con dificultades de lectura)

671. Pablo: **¡HABLA MEJOR! / NO** (se dirige a Hasna)

Ejemplo 5

829. Miriam: [¿qué es?] // ¿cómo es el país? (se dirige a Romario)

830. Romario: eeh grandoote

831. Pablo: [**grande**]

832. Miriam: [grandote]

833. Pablo: **grande**

Estos participantes de 7 años de edad eran conscientes de cuál es la lengua y cuáles son los usos que se demandan en la escuela; así lo demuestran las intervenciones de Pablo en los dos ejemplos anteriores, que siempre se producían tras la participación de sus compañeros de origen extranjero. De hecho, este alumno denominaba a esta variedad como «español» (turno 413) y la consideraba como necesaria para la intercomprensión (turno 671). Esta variedad legítima, además, excluye a otras diferentes del español peninsular, como se observa en el énfasis

que este mismo participante pone al corregir una variante ecuatoriana del adjetivo «grande» (turnos 831 y 833), a pesar de los esfuerzos de Miriam por restaurar la variedad utilizada por Romario (turno 832).

Las diferencias que se observan en relación con otros elementos, como son los tipos de actos de habla que utilizaban los alumnos españoles frente a los utilizados por el resto, pueden vincularse igualmente a esta actitud de dominio de quien sabe que ocupa un lugar preponderante desde el punto de vista social («nosotros somos de aquí»; «nosotros hablamos bien y como se requiere»). Así, y como muestran todos los ejemplos de este artículo, mientras que en las intervenciones de los primeros abundaban actos directivos del tipo conminatorio (órdenes, requerimientos) y los asertivos del tipo aseverativo (afirmaciones, indicaciones), concesivo (admitir, reconocer), confirmativo (certificar, corroborar), retractivo (corregir, negar), disentido (disentir, rechazar) o descriptivo (clasificar, caracterizar); en las intervenciones de los segundos aparecían predominantemente actos de habla asertivos del tipo asentivo (aceptar), disputativo (disputar, objetar, protestar) y responsivo (contestar, replicar), entre otros.⁹ Tales diferencias recuerdan a la distinción entre estilos llenos y vacíos de poder (O'Barr, 1982; y O'Barr y Conley, 1988), que se pondría de manifiesto en la mayor aserción del hablante y de sus ideas y puntos de vista, en el caso de los primeros, frente a la inseguridad y la falta de aserción, en el caso de los segundos. Mientras que los estudiantes de origen español demandaban, preguntaban y ordenaban, sus compañeros sólo reaccionaban a las demandas, como se ha ilustrado en los ejemplos anteriores.

En esta misma dirección, que remite a una diferente posición en la interacción – de dominio frente a subordinación – antes que a diferencias culturales, parecen orientarse las diferencias que también se observaron en la expresión de la aserción propia, como se desprende del siguiente fragmento:

Ejemplo 6

486. Observador: en Octubre en Marruecos / a ver / ¿quién sabe? &
 487. Pablo: & **hace frío [un poco]**
 488. Ana: [ella ella y ella] (señala a Hasna, Fátima y Cauta)
 489. Pablo: **en Octubre hace un poquito de frío**

Los alumnos autóctonos, a diferencia de los de origen ecuatoriano y marroquí, ponían de manifiesto en todo momento lo que querían, lo que les gustaba o

9. Si bien hemos usado la tipología de actos de habla de Moreno Cabrera (2000) con fines descriptivos e ilustrativos, nuestra mirada a esta dimensión es siempre interaccional, lo que significa atender a los actos de habla desde una consideración dialógica, compleja y negociada. Por ello, esta tipología no corresponde a etiquetas atribuidas por nosotros según la forma de los enunciados, sino por su valor para los participantes en el curso de la interacción.

no les gustaba; lo que sabían. La falta de expresión de la aserción propia espontánea entre los interlocutores de origen no español (que en el ejemplo 6 se evidencia es el silencio de Hasna, Fátima y Cauta tras la cesión de turno que Ana les brinda señalándoles) era muchas veces interpretada por los hablantes españoles como indicio de falta de conocimientos, lo que llevó a estos últimos a la centralización de toda la actividad, incluso anteponiendo sus opiniones a los saberes de los primeros cuando se hablaba de sus países de origen (turnos 486 y 489).

Dicha centralización condicionó la secuencia del acto, de forma que los actos de habla destinados a la dirección de la propia actividad («ahora lees tú», «ahora le toca a ella») sólo cayeron del lado de los estudiantes autóctonos, como se muestra en las formas de participación de Miriam en el siguiente fragmento:

Ejemplo 7

299. Mohamed: ¡eh no he leído!
 300. Miriam: **que le toca a otro**
 301. Pablo: [(())]
 302. Mohamed: [pero no he leído]
 303. Miriam: **pues luego lees**

3.1.3. Diferencias en el uso de la cortesía

Entendemos por cortesía el conjunto de recursos lingüísticos y estrategias que nos permiten colaborar y cooperar en la conversación. Se describen fundamentalmente dos tipos: estrategias de la cortesía negativa, que tratan de paliar todos aquellos actos que podrían resultar amenazantes para la autonomía personal del interlocutor, es decir, tratan de evitar la imposición; y estrategias de la cortesía positiva, que tienen como objetivo mostrar al interlocutor que está siendo aceptado socialmente y que se le considera y valora (Brown y Levinson, 1987).

En la actividad llevada a cabo en el aula se observaron también diferencias en el uso de la cortesía, según la dirección de las intervenciones. En lo que concierne a las estrategias de la cortesía positiva, y como se aprecia en los ejemplos vistos anteriormente, éstas fueron empleadas principalmente por los alumnos de origen español para dirigirse a los de origen extranjero: consideración de su postura, reconocimiento de su papel en la actividad, manifestaciones de acuerdo, asegurar la reciprocidad, manifestaciones de ayuda y auxilio o invitaciones para leer o escribir (éstas eran dirigidas por los participantes españoles tanto a los compañeros de origen marroquí o ecuatoriano como entre ellos mismos). Sin embargo, los alumnos de origen inmigrante no hicieron uso de la cortesía posi-

tiva como estrategia con los estudiantes de origen español, de modo que no les invitaban a leer, no les prestaban ayuda o auxilio, no les dirigían manifestaciones de acuerdo, no les reconocían su papel en la actividad ni tampoco consideraban su postura.

En cambio, las pocas muestras de recursos de la cortesía negativa encontradas fueron utilizadas por los alumnos de origen no español para dirigirse a los autóctonos, como es el caso de la formulación indirecta de actos de habla directivos (imperativos).

Para valorar estas diferencias en el uso de las estrategias de cortesía es preciso considerar que también se registraron en esta interacción algunos ejemplos inequívocos de rudeza: correcciones, recriminaciones, descalificaciones. Resulta significativo que eran los niños autóctonos quienes dirigían a sus compañeros de origen inmigrante estas intervenciones amenazantes para su «imagen (*face*) positiva y que ponen en cuestión su competencia, su conocimiento de lo que es preciso «saber» (español normativo, escribir, por ejemplo) o su capacidad:

Ejemplo 8¹⁰

636. Miriam: ahora la q (ayuda verbalmente a Cauta mientras ésta escribe la palabra Marruecos)
637. Pablo: **no / si no sabe [ella]**
638. Miriam: [de queso] // la q de queso
639. Pablo: **no sabe // noo // no**
640. **(Pablo le coge el lápiz a Cauta)**

Estos ejemplos de rudeza serían en realidad taxemas, tomando un término de Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1993), es decir, recursos lingüísticos empleados por los participantes para señalar, construir y modificar las relaciones de poder que establecen entre sí. En este caso concreto, servirían para «poner a los hablantes en su sitio», un sitio que no es el de protagonistas. Esto nos indica cuál es la localización que los hablantes autóctonos confieren a sus compañeros, una posición inferior a la que corresponde un menor grado de participación, ya que «no saben», «no lo hacen bien» (turnos 637 y 639, en el fragmento anterior); en realidad, no se considera que tengan nada que aportar y no se les ve como iguales. Por lo tanto, lo que en principio se había concebido como una actividad dirigida a lograr una participación equitativa y unas relaciones simétricas, acabó transformándose en una actividad cada vez más asimétrica, en la que incluso los participantes españoles acabaron oponiéndose a las formas de participación de los compañeros recién incorporados (turno 640).

10. Con el fin de evitar la confusión del lector en el análisis de este ejemplo, se ha de tener presente que los alumnos confunden la letra «c» con la «q» en el desarrollo del mismo.

En este marco, el hecho de que alumnos de distinto origen emplearan distintas estrategias de cortesía, más que una consecuencia de una diferencia cultural, parece relacionado con las constelaciones de relaciones de poder asimétricas y jerárquicas que se crearon durante la interacción. Estas relaciones están detrás de que fuera el grupo mayoritario el que pudiera emplear las estrategias positivas con el grupo de alumnos de origen inmigrante, no dándose la necesaria reciprocidad, propia de la simetría; el tipo de actividad y la dinámica creada en el desarrollo de la misma (nivel de participación, direccionalidad de las acciones, regulación de la interacción) impidieron y dificultaron el uso de dichas estrategias por parte de los segundos hacia los primeros (y viceversa con la cortesía negativa).

3.1.4. Procesos inferenciales

Siguiendo el modelo teórico desarrollado por Gumperz y Roberts (1979) en torno a los procesos inferenciales en la comunicación intercultural, todo hablante lleva a cabo interpretaciones de las intenciones de sus interlocutores a partir de lo que se dice en la conversación y de su conocimiento del mundo, siempre en función del contexto situacional e interaccional en que se encuentran. Las inferencias se producen en tres niveles distintos: percepción,¹¹ actos de habla¹² y acontecimiento comunicativo,¹³ que interrelacionan para dar lugar a interpretaciones reales y manifiestas que en ocasiones provocan conflictos por faltas de correspondencia entre lo que se interpreta y lo que se quiere decir.

En la interacción estudiada, a pesar de que existen diferencias lingüísticas y comunicativas, no parecen producirse malentendidos. De hecho, el análisis de la dinámica conversacional muestra cómo todas las intervenciones que constituyen correcciones, valoraciones, o aserciones acerca de cuál es la lengua o el lugar de origen de los interlocutores de origen extranjero, no dieron lugar a interpretaciones erróneas, aunque sí a roces y tensiones en lo que se refiere a la negociación de las relaciones sociales. Los hablantes que no eran de origen español detectaron el papel que desempeñaban algunos de los actos de habla utilizados por sus compañeros a la hora de colocarlos en una posición subordinada y

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11. El nivel de la percepción tiene que ver con la organización de la información (¿qué me dice?), y las inferencias aquí parten de la gestión de la comunicación (tono y tempo, turnos de palabra) y en la gestión de la información (repeticiones léxicas, énfasis...).
 12. Las inferencias en el nivel de los actos de habla se sitúan en la interpretación de las intenciones comunicativas a partir de los actos de habla (¿qué me intenta decir?).
 13. Las inferencias en el nivel del acontecimiento comunicativo se centran en el tipo de situación (¿dónde estoy?), gracias al cual generamos expectativas de lo que cabe esperar de la interacción (y ahora, ¿qué viene a continuación?).

excluirlos de la interacción. Por ello, lo relevante no fueron los malentendidos en los procesos inferenciales, sino al contrario, la competencia pragmática de unos y otros.

Lo que sucedió, entonces, tanto en la producción como en la interpretación, terminó reforzando las relaciones asimétricas entre los estudiantes. La participación de los interlocutores de origen marroquí y ecuatoriano se limitó a los espacios del cuento que tratan específicamente de Marruecos y Ecuador, respectivamente. En el resto de la interacción, en cambio, sus intervenciones no pasaron de respuestas monosilábicas, o incluso no verbales, a preguntas que se les dirigían de forma directa (si no era así, no participaban):

Ejemplo 9

333. Observador: a ver Alicia / tienes que participar eh también (se dirige a Alicia)
 334. Víctor: **cuando llegue a Ecuador**
 335. Observador: ¿cuándo?
 336. Víctor: cuando llegue a Ecuador
 337. Observador: pero bueno / tenéis que participar todos en todo momento
 338. Víctor: **¡ahh!**

Como se aprecia en este fragmento, la propia Alicia no participaba de ninguna forma, a pesar de que el observador trataba de abrir espacios para ello, lo que fue inmediatamente justificado por Víctor a través de la remisión a una regla implícita que se fue construyendo a lo largo de la interacción («cuando llegue a Ecuador»), de manera que se legitimaba un marco de participación en el que unos intervenían siempre y otros sólo en ocasiones.

La conjunción de todos estos factores incidió en la asunción de diferentes identidades o papeles en cada uno de los participantes, que en ocasiones se hacían evidentes a través de los fenómenos de resistencia y contestación al orden social que estos mismos papeles (re)construían. Así quedaba patente en la reacción de Mohamed ante los intentos de Pablo por monopolizar la gestión de la conversación, cuando hubo que negociar la transición del participante legítimo para continuar la actividad escrita:

Ejemplo 10

1209. Miriam: ¿quién lo pone?
 1210. Pablo: ¡yo!
 1211. Mohamed: [¡yo yo yo!]
 1213. Observador: [en ecua]
 1214. Mohamed: [no no no]
 1215. Observador: [en ecu]
 1216. Mohamed: Miriam Miriam que (())
 1217. (Mohamed le pasa las hojas y el lápiz a Miriam)

1218. Pablo: ¡claro! / pues / si tú pones eso a mí no a mí no me toca (())

1219. Mohamed: **¡si es que todos los días mandas tú!** (()) (se dirige a Pablo)

Ejemplos como éste (véase también el ejemplo 7) cuestionan las conclusiones de Gumperz y Roberts en casos equivalentes, ya que muestran cómo los hablantes son conscientes de que la imposición de normas que infravaloran y rechazan las diferencias son utilizadas como procedimientos de exclusión y dominación.

Como conclusión a la dimensión comunicativa, podemos decir que, si bien algunas de las diferencias registradas podrían responder a una diferente regulación cultural de la comunicación (la expresión de la aserción propia, distintos lapsos de tiempo entre los turnos de habla, recursos de la cortesía, etc.), en este caso concreto parecen ser ante todo consecuencia de las relaciones que se crearon entre los participantes en función del orden social y de la asimetría establecidos en las aulas.

3.2. La dimensión psicosocial

El hecho de que una interacción planificada y estructurada con el objetivo de asegurar la participación equitativa de todos terminase derivando en una dinámica asimétrica, como la que hemos observado, resulta difícil de entender si atendemos exclusivamente a la dimensión comunicativa. Nuestro análisis nos ha ido mostrando cómo lo que sucede en este nivel se explica y a su vez tiene consecuencias sobre las relaciones sociales, sobre la imagen de los participantes y sobre cómo se acapara o comparte el saber en el contexto escolar.

Cuando nos comunicamos no sólo intercambiamos información, también negociamos nuestras relaciones con los otros. En este proceso construimos nuestra identidad y una imagen propia que contrastamos con las de nuestros interlocutores. El estudio de los procesos inferenciales nos ha mostrado cómo la gestión que se hizo del saber (a partir de las calificaciones y descalificaciones y la afirmación de los otros como no ajenos o diferentes), llevó a presentar a unos interlocutores como «competentes» y «conocedores», y a otros como «carentes» de tal competencia y saber.

En cualquier interacción, los hablantes recurren a los valores compartidos, a las normas, a las ideologías dominantes para negociar su posición en la interacción. Lo que resulta relevante en este caso es el tipo de conocimientos y valores que manejan estos alumnos de 7 años de edad para negociar sus posiciones. Estos conocimientos y valores remiten a lo que saben es la valoración común de las diferencias lingüísticas y culturales y, sobre todo, a su conocimiento de cuál es la estructura social y de qué lugar se asigna a la población inmigrante.

A lo largo de la interacción se vinculaba la supuesta falta de competencia lingüística y cognitiva con la pertenencia a un determinado colectivo, con el hecho de «no ser español» de origen. Un elemento que desempeña un papel capital en esta clase de conexiones son los estereotipos, que condicionan y ayudan en la forma de interpretar o ver a los interlocutores. No obstante, es significativo observar la voluntad de diferenciación y distanciamiento por parte de los escolares autóctonos de edades tan tempranas, utilizando para ello las diferencias en las formas de habla, que son constantemente señaladas y puestas en relación, en último término, con diferentes formas de ser y de comportarse.

Como resultado de ello, emanan diferentes imágenes de cada una de los grupos que «cooperaron» en la tarea realizada. Así, destaca el papel de las risas continuas ante las intervenciones del alumno ecuatoriano, en las que se descubre una imagen «simpática» provocada por una entonación diferente de la que es propia de la variedad estándar en la Comunidad de Castilla-La Mancha. Ante la falta de participación de la alumna ecuatoriana, por el contrario, la categorización de los estudiantes españoles enfatiza el carácter tímido:

Ejemplo 11

Observador: y Andreína no habla casi nada / no hablas
Sergio: **es que la da vergüenza** / como estás tú // cuando la pregunta la seño algo tampoco

Con los estudiantes de origen marroquí, en cambio, las actitudes son diferentes, puesto que la existencia de mayores problemas en el uso gramatical del español se relaciona con un retraso general y con una incapacidad para realizar otras tareas (véase el ejemplo 8).

3.3. La dimensión social

La actividad planificada se desarrolló en un colegio público presidido por la heterogeneidad. A las diferencias de clase social se unían el diferente origen étnico de los estudiantes. Ambas circunstancias parecieron incidir sobre la falta de igualdad de oportunidades. A ello vinieron a sumarse diferencias culturales y lingüísticas (diferentes lenguas y variedades de español), primándose como usos hegemónicos en la institución educativa, pese a tal diversidad, algunos usos lingüísticos y culturales, como es el caso de la variedad estándar propia de la región.

Por tanto, los cambios sociales, culturales y lingüísticos que se registran en la conformación de la comunidad escolar no han entrañado modificaciones profundas en su funcionamiento. Los usos de la mayoría siguen siendo la norma, a

la que en este caso evocan con frecuencia los propios niños, lo que contribuye a dificultar más la igualdad de oportunidades. Además de las dificultades para adquirir el idioma y para familiarizarse con nuevos contenidos y estilos de enseñanza y aprendizaje, los alumnos de origen extranjero han de enfrentarse con que las diferencias son tratadas como deficiencias. Se les presenta como incompetentes, por lo que su participación tiende a no ser valorada.

De ahí el interés de proponer una actividad que abriera un espacio para su incorporación y que hiciera sus conocimientos necesarios para la buena marcha de la actividad y, por lo tanto, revirtiera positivamente sobre el grupo. Sin embargo, la dinámica conversacional que hemos analizado muestra que esta apertura no es bien recibida por parte de los alumnos autóctonos, que sienten amenazada su posición predominante. Reaccionaron, así, marcando las diferencias lingüísticas y culturales del alumnado, y convirtiéndolas en un obstáculo.

Los participantes muestran en esta interacción que saben que colocar a sus compañeros de origen extranjero en pie de igualdad es una ficción. Su participación reproduce y refuerza un orden social, en el que la llegada de trabajadores extranjeros no ha supuesto la modificación de la estructura social, sino la asignación a éstos y a sus descendientes de una posición subordinada que les reserva el papel de fuerza laboral, en muchos casos ilegal, situación que restringe aún más sus derechos. Mientras las reglas del juego no se modifiquen en la escuela, el orden social que se establece en las aulas como consecuencia de este tipo de interacciones deja a los alumnos de origen inmigrante, en muchas ocasiones, ante dos opciones: la acatación o la autoexclusión, fruto de la inseguridad (manifiesta en este trabajo), mediante la renuncia a la participación y el mantenimiento de un silencio sepulcral; o la contestación, reaccionando ante la norma y exacerbando todas aquellas formas de hablar y de comportarse no valoradas en las aulas.¹⁴ De esta manera, dicha posición de fuerza laboral, de niños que no llegan, queda asegurada.

4. Conclusión

La presentación de cada una de las dimensiones que entran en juego en la comunicación – lingüística, psicosocial y social –, y sus efectos en nuestra interacción particular, evidencian claramente las interrelaciones y conexiones que entre ellas se producen en contextos institucionales. Así, el que la realidad multicultural en el entorno educativo no se afronte mediante un cambio decidido en

14. En el primer caso, estos alumnos son frecuentemente etiquetados como «tímidos»; en el segundo, como «rebeldes».

el sistema y en el orden social condiciona las prácticas educativas y la actuación de los alumnos. La no modificación de los usos y contenidos hegemónicos inhibe y restringe la participación de los jóvenes provenientes de la inmigración, mientras que, al menos en este caso, los estudiantes autóctonos se aferran al orden preexistente: las prácticas comunicativas diferenciadas son utilizadas para anteponer los usos mayoritarios y reforzar la asimetría y las relaciones de poder entre los alumnos. Las diferencias refuerzan la asimetría, de manera que se polariza la interacción y se movilizan las tres dimensiones señaladas en una dirección determinada: aquella que favorece a los alumnos españoles frente a aquellos de origen diferente.

Trabajos como éste nos orientan acerca de cómo han de ser las políticas educativas. El que se ignoren las diferencias socioculturales y lingüísticas en las declaraciones institucionales y en las prácticas educativas no significa que desaparezcan de la sociedad los prejuicios y los estereotipos. Tales prejuicios señalan a aquellos que se distinguen por sus formas de hablar o de actuar, por su religión o sus valores, como «extraños», como no integrantes del «nosotros», e, incluso, como «atrasados», «menos cultos y formados». Al contrario, como hemos visto en el análisis, la certeza de la existencia de cualquier diferencia puede utilizarse como argumento que incrementa aún más la desigualdad («no hablan bien», «no sabe escribir»), incluso tratándose de participantes de 7 años de edad.

Ante tal situación tampoco basta con hacer visible o señalar la diversidad mediante políticas multiculturales o prácticas como la que propusimos en este estudio. Ello atenuará, sin duda, el etnocentrismo, y facilitará la incorporación a los centros de los estudiantes pertenecientes a la minoría, quienes verán reforzada su autoestima al sentirse representados. Sin embargo, si no se modifican, paralelamente, las relaciones de poder, si no se refuerza la posición social de los «diferentes», si no se cuestionan los estereotipos y los prejuicios que les colocan en una posición de inferioridad y fomentan el rechazo, esta incorporación de la diversidad resulta ser superficial y se tiñe con frecuencia de folclorismo y paternalismo, o conduce a la segregación.

Para que sea posible el conocimiento mutuo, la representación y participación equitativa, es necesaria una modificación profunda de los centros, de las enseñanzas, de las actitudes. En último término, se precisa una transformación de la sociedad, tanto del orden social (un orden social más democrático y menos asimétrico), como de lo que nos define como integrantes de ella (antes vivir y trabajar en comunidad que hablar una lengua o haber nacido en un determinado lugar), como de las ideologías dominantes (abiertas a incorporar otros modos, otras lenguas, otras culturas, sin sentirse amenazadas).

Desde la enseñanza puede realizarse una profunda labor de sensibilización encaminada a normalizar y legitimar las diferencias, y a desterrar los prejuicios

que inferiorizan y fomentan el rechazo. De hecho, este trabajo puede y debe extenderse a todos los ámbitos de formación de todos aquellos profesionales que, como en el caso de traductores e intérpretes en cualquiera de los ámbitos institucionales o servicios públicos, deben trabajar en situaciones presididas por la asimetría social y la diversidad cultural y lingüística.

Sin duda, investigaciones como la que presentamos aquí, centradas en los procesos interactivos y comunicativos de la construcción de la diferencia y la desigualdad social, contribuyen a la reflexión crítica y aportan datos útiles para el desarrollo de tales actividades de formación y sensibilización.

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Anexo

Convenciones de transcripción

Las convenciones de transcripción utilizadas en este artículo se definen a continuación:

- AA (mayúsculas) voz elevada
- / pausa corta (0'5 segundos)
- // pausa larga (0'5 – 1'5 segundos)
- [] superposición de turnos
- (()) fragmento incomprensible
- ()^o voz baja (susurro)
- { } comentarios del investigador
- ↑ entonación ascendente
- ↓ entonación descendente
- & turno inmediatamente seguido del anterior
- aa voz pasiva
- reinicio
- (...) segmento omitido (salto de tiempo)

Alteridad e interculturalidad en los viajeros del s. XIX. El caso de Eugène Delacroix

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RESUMEN: En este artículo se estudia el contexto de la época de Delacroix para entender su orientalismo, por medio del que se justifica su pertenencia al movimiento romántico. Por otro lado, se muestra cómo el viaje a Oriente marcó su forma de concebir la alteridad oriental a través de sus representaciones, identificándose tres momentos claves: su Oriente anterior al viaje, el del durante, y el del después. Estas etapas se han tratado en nueve obras que tienen que ver con dos de los prototipos más representados dentro del imaginario de la alteridad oriental: la mujer y el hombre orientales.

Palabras clave: Delacroix, orientalismo, romanticismo, viaje, literatura, pintura, representación cultural.

ABSTRACT: This article explores the historical and philosophical context of Delacroix's oeuvre so as to shed some light on his orientalism and his adscription to the Romantic movement. His voyage to the «Orient» shaped his conception of oriental alterity, presenting three main stages: his representations of the Orient before, during and after the voyage. These have been illustrated in this article by analysing two of the most popular images of oriental alterity: oriental woman and oriental man as they were represented under the European gaze.

Keywords: Delacroix, orientalism, Romanticism, travel, literature, painting, cultural representation.

En 1832 Delacroix emprende el gran viaje de su vida, que lo llevará a tierras españolas, marroquíes y argelinas, en suma, a Oriente. Numerosos y valiosos han sido los estudios realizados hasta el momento actual sobre la problemática, las causas y las consecuencias de tal viaje para el propio artista y en la época,

tanto desde el punto de vista de la historia del arte como desde el biográfico, tratando problemáticas generales o estudiando obras concretas sobre el Oriente en este autor (Arama, 1987; Escholier, 1926-1929; Guégan, 1998; Jamet, 1995; Jobert, 1997; Lambert, 1937; Mras, 1966; Pomarède, 1998; Rautmann, 1997; Sérullaz, 1989). Este artículo se centra, en primer lugar, en varios de los aspectos que, habiendo sido tratados con detalle por toda la tradición de estudiosos sobre Delacroix, todavía no han sido analizados de manera conjunta. En segundo lugar, pretende encuadrar ese viaje a Oriente de Delacroix en un contexto histórico, filosófico y literario en relación con la cuestión del viaje y del orientalismo.

1. Delacroix y el viaje

Cuando nos acercamos a los cuadernos de viaje realizados por Delacroix en los seis primeros meses de 1832, entre Marruecos, España y Argelia,¹ la primera pregunta que se nos plantea es la de por qué están configurados de la manera en la que lo están, es decir, por qué Delacroix combina la escritura en la forma de diario con los trazos de tinta, acuarela, que componen los esbozos, a veces más complejos, a veces menos, de lo que podrían ser fragmentos para futuras obras de arte. Nosotros, como espectadores de los diarios de viaje de Delacroix, nos hacemos tal pregunta como asistentes futuros de una obra pasada, y es así, siguiendo los esquemas interpretativos de Pierre Bourdieu (2000), como podemos llegar a preguntarnos el por qué de tal punto de inflexión en la obra de Delacroix, ya que con la inauguración de un diario de viaje, a caballo entre la literatura y la escritura, se sitúa en una situación personal y contextual límite.

En el momento en el que Delacroix decide elaborar un diario de viaje que camina de la literatura a la pintura y viceversa, su concepción personal del arte, interpretada por él mismo años después en las páginas de su *Journal* (1822-1863), se encuentra, a su vez, entre la pintura y la literatura. Como señala Michele Hannoosh (1995), Delacroix fue tan escritor como pintor para una época en la que la escritura y la literatura no solían ser dos ámbitos desarrollados por una misma persona. Delacroix es el autor de una *Correspondance* (1804-1863) indiscutiblemente amplia y reflexiva, así como de artículos sobre arte hoy reunidos en sus *Œuvres littéraires* (1923), y de su *Journal*, en el que presenta intensas reflexiones sobre la estética desde el punto de vista filosófico. Para él la temporalidad, la distensión del tiempo en la literatura, y lo instantáneo de la pintura o del dibujo debían ser ámbitos complementarios de la vida, entre los que el mismo Delacroix se debatía constantemente. Para él, lector de la tradición filo-

1. Los cuadernos del viaje de Delacroix pueden consultarse en Delacroix (1909) y en el reciente libro publicado de los últimos cuadernos encontrados (Delacroix, 1999).

sófica dieciochesca, la pintura produce la sensación más inmediata que está en la base experiencial del conocimiento de la realidad según Locke y Hume:

Vous voyez votre tableau d'un coup d'œil; dans votre manuscrit, vous ne voyez pas même la page entière, c'est-à-dire, vous ne pouvez pas l'embrasser tout entière par l'esprit. (Delacroix, 1996: 253-254 [21 juillet 1850])

[Usted ve su cuadro de un vistazo; en su manuscrito, usted no ve ni siquiera la página entera, es decir, no puede abarcarla totalmente con el intelecto. (esta traducción y siguientes realizadas por la autora)]

Dentro de esta estética anglosajona de principios del siglo XVIII, cultivada por Addison, Shaftesbury y Hutcheson, existe una subjetivización de las cuestiones del gusto, que se basan en la sensación de lo bello experimentada ante la obra de arte por cada sujeto particular. Tal concepción conduciría, con el común acuerdo de los sujetos que cumplieren los requisitos para ser juez de gusto, a la norma del gusto de la que habla Hume y que abordará a finales de siglo el propio Kant. Sin embargo, la poesía tiene el calificativo de excelso en el binomio de las artes cultivadas por Delacroix:

Ce mot [poésie] étant employé à signifier la qualité par excellence de tous les arts et désignant en même temps l'art de peindre avec la parole, semblerait indiquer que ce dernier art est l'art par excellence puisque la qualité dominante dans les autres arts n'est en quelque sorte qu'un emprunt qui lui est fait. Delacroix (1996: 683 [29 octobre 1857])

[Esa palabra [poesía], siendo utilizada para significar la cualidad por excelencia de todas las artes, y designando a su vez el arte de pintar con la palabra, parecería indicar que este último arte es el arte por excelencia, ya que la cualidad dominante en las otras artes no es en cierta medida más que un préstamo que se le hace.]

Sin embargo, no sólo a nivel personal la decisión de la escritura de un cuaderno de viajes mixto adquiere un ámbito revolucionario, sino también a nivel contextual, pues se encuadra en una época en la que el propio escrito de viajes constituía un género que, a nivel literario, y teniendo en cuenta los cánones de la retórica clásica que se utilizaban en el período, estaba indefinido (Bajtín, 1991; Butor, 1972; Chupeau, 1977; Huenen, 1987, 1990). El mismo Flaubert (1973: 928) en una carta a Taine («Lettre à Taine», Novembre 1866, vol. III) exclama: «le genre de Voyage est par soi-même une chose presque impossible».

Delacroix, como viajero, decide producir unos cuadernos de viaje y unos dibujos y acuarelas anexos que se configuran en el contexto histórico de la tradición romántica de la literatura de viajes. Así, en sus cuadernos del viaje a

Marruecos, a través de esa mezcla de literatura y pintura en ese momento concreto de su vida, será considerado como uno de los representantes del romanticismo en la literatura de viaje, lo que permitirá comprender el porqué de la configuración de los cuadernos de viaje de Delacroix en la forma en que fueron producidos. Es necesario tener en cuenta que todo viajero, para que su propio viaje exista, debe dejar algún tipo de producción cultural que llegue a ojos del observador, ya sea lector o espectador, y que, en ese legado cultural que aporta, traza una visión que tiene que ver directamente con la alteridad, con la concepción que de la misma se tiene según la época histórica. Esta problemática entronca directamente con la problemática del orientalismo planteada por Edward Said (2003 [1978]), y de la que se hablará más adelante.

A lo largo del siglo XVIII dos tendencias de pensamiento fueron conviviendo en los diferentes pensadores, e incluso a veces en uno mismo de ellos: la Razón, característica de la época de pensamiento de la Ilustración, y definida por Kant (2004) en su *¿Qué es la Ilustración?*; y la Sensibilidad, albergada en el seno de los filósofos anglosajones de principios del siglo XVIII. Con la Razón, siguiendo los términos de Michel Foucault (2005), se abría al sujeto el ámbito de la instrumentalización del lenguaje y del mundo para el conocimiento riguroso de la realidad; mientras que con la Sensibilidad se daba cabida al pensamiento materialista de ese mismo siglo (Moscoso, 2000) en el seno de muchos de los Enciclopedistas, así como al desarrollo progresivo de la cuestión del Gusto estético, que daría lugar al nacimiento de *les Salons*, *la Presse*, etc.

Estas dos tendencias de pensamiento que modelaban el siglo XVIII tenían su origen anterior, desde el ámbito de la historia del arte, en las posiciones que surgieron en el siglo XVII alrededor del arte de Poussin, sustentado por la filosofía cartesiana, y el de Rubens (véase Friedlaender, 1989), conformando dos maneras de concebir la producción cultural posterior a la realización de un viaje, con sus implicaciones sobre el concepto de alteridad: en primer lugar, la concepción que llegó a dominar todo el siglo XVIII, cuyos máximos representantes serían Volney (1959) y la *Description de l'Égypte* (1988) posterior a la campaña de Napoleón, en donde, partiendo de la base de una objetividad, la producción cultural traída por el viaje, ya fuese literaria o pictórica, implicaba un carácter de verdad en el reflejo de la alteridad; en segundo lugar, estaría la concepción inaugurada en el seno mismo del Romanticismo, en la que la proclama realizada por Chateaubriand (1968: 56) resume la inquietud provocada por un punto de inflexión en el pensamiento:

Au reste c'est l'homme, beaucoup plus que l'auteur, que l'on verra partout; je parle éternellement de moi, et j'en parlais en sûreté, puisque je ne comptais point publier ces Mémoires. Mais comme je n'ai rien dans le cœur que je craigne de montrer au dehors, je n'ai rien retranché de mes notes originales.

[Por lo demás es al hombre, mucho más que al autor, al que se verá por todos sitios; hablo eternamente de mí, y hablaba con seguridad, ya que no tenía nada presente la publicación de estas Memorias. Pero como no tengo nada en el corazón que me moleste mostrar al exterior, no he censurado nada de mis notas originales.]

Esta ruptura con el pensamiento ilustrado, con la puesta en duda de la existencia de la objetividad y la verdad por el mismo hecho histórico de la Revolución Francesa, así como el conocimiento bastante detallado de la cartografía y del mundo, lleva a que los nuevos viajeros se centren en su propia subjetividad, vivencia, sensación del viaje como experiencia, hasta convertirlo en algo estético que se define como contrario al aburrimiento producido por la vida burguesa en la ciudad de origen:

Paris m'ennuie profondément: les hommes et les choses m'apparaissent sous un jour tout particulier depuis mon voyage: très peu d'hommes me semblent avoir du bon sens: les pièces de Vaudeville ne me semblent pas amusantes ni trop morales, et l'opéra, le ballet surtout, ne me fait pas l'effet de reproduire exactement la nature. Si ce n'était les pirouettes, je préférerais la danse des juives de Tanger. (Delacroix, 1936: 357 [«Lettre à Villot», 30 août 1832, vol. I])

[Paris me aburre profundamente: los hombres y las cosas se me aparecen de una forma muy particular después de mi viaje: muy pocos hombres me parecen tener un buen sentido: las piezas de Vaudeville no me parecen ni divertidas ni demasiado morales, y la ópera, el ballet sobre todo, no crea en mí el efecto de reproducir exactamente la naturaleza. Si no son las piruetas, preferiría la danza de las judías de Tánger.]

Es en este contexto en el que Delacroix, como viajero hacia la alteridad, puede considerarse como Romántico, tanto en su elección de la mezcla de los géneros pintura y literatura, lo que hace evocar el escrito romántico de Schiller (1990), como en su propia proclama interna desde Oriente en una de sus cartas a Pierret delante de las costas españolas:

J'ai vu les graves espagnoles en costume à la figaro nous entourer à la portée de pistolet de peur de la contagion et nous jeter des navets de salades, des poules, et prendre du reste sans le passer dans le vinaigre l'argent que nous déposions sur le sable de la rive. C'a été une des sensations de plaisir les plus vives que celle de me trouver sortant de France, transporté, sans avoir touché terre ailleurs dans ce pays pittoresque; de voir leurs maisons, leurs manteaux que portent les plus grands jeux et jusqu'aux enfants des mendiants. Tout Goya palpitait autour de moi. (Delacroix, 1936: 322 [«Lettre à Pierret», 24 janvier 1832, vol. I])

[He visto los españoles reconocidos vestidos con traje de figaro rodearnos con pistolas por miedo al contagio, lanzarnos los nabos, las lechugas, los pollos, y tomar

por lo demás, sin pasarlo por el vinagre, el dinero que depositábamos sobre la arena de la orilla. Fue una de las sensaciones de placer más vivas la de encontrarme, habiendo salido de Francia, transportado, sin haber tocado tierra a otra parte, en este país pintoresco; ver sus casas, sus abrigos que llevan desde los más grandes mendigos hasta los niños de los mismos. Toda la obra de Goya palpitaba en torno a mí.]

2. Delacroix y Oriente

El viaje realizado por Delacroix a Oriente se concreta, como ya se ha señalado, en la zona de Marruecos, Argelia y España. De todos modos, el propio concepto «Oriente» implica, tanto en el caso de Delacroix como en el de los viajeros del siglo XIX, un *lugar geográfico inestable por su propia naturaleza* (Berchet, 2003). El Oriente de Delacroix, sea llamado «Oriente», «el lugar de los bárbaros», etc., se configura en torno al concepto de la alteridad y del exotismo propio de los viajeros románticos:

Si l'école de peinture persiste à proposer toujours pour sujets aux jeunes nourrissons des muses la famille de Priam et d'Atrée, je sus convaincu, et vous serez de mon avis, qu'il vaudrait pour eux infiniment davantage être envoyés comme mousses en Barbarie par le premier vaisseau, que de fatiguer plus longtemps la terre classique de Rome. Rome n'est plus dans Rome. (Delacroix, 1936: 335 [«Lettre à Auguste Jal», 4 juin 1832, vol. I])

[Si la escuela de pintura insiste en proponer siempre como temas a los jóvenes lactantes, como musas, la familia de Príamo y Atrea, estoy convencido, y opinaré como yo, de que infinitamente mejor sería para ellos ser enviados como espumas a la Barbarie en la primera nave, que fatigar por más tiempo la tierra clásica de Roma. Roma no está ya en Roma.]

En el viajero romántico «Oriente» no se define ni se concreta en un espacio ni en un tiempo determinado y, mucho menos, en el espacio y el tiempo presentes, debido a que se acerca al horizonte de lo mítico (Segalen, 1978). Esto es, todo lo que es identificado como «oriental» pertenece a una construcción que implica todos aquellos aspectos reales e irreales que pertenecen al imaginario del viajero en general antes y después de realizar su viaje. Este hecho es el que ha sido identificado y trabajado por Edward Said (2003 [1978]) bajo el término «orientalismo», según el cual toda producción cultural posterior al viaje posee en sí una ideología de visión de la alteridad: la del dominio o superioridad de Occidente sobre Oriente, justificando los discursos de los viajeros, en muchos casos, el discurso colonialista e imperialista del programa político occidental.

Desde mi punto de vista, no es de esta forma como habría que interpretar a los viajeros románticos que visitan el Oriente, y en particular a Delacroix, pues, como ya se dijo anteriormente, el propio viaje romántico se configura en ese espacio de rebeldía contra el viaje «objetivo» y «verdadero» derivado de la Razón Ilustrada, abriéndose el camino a la sensación y el recuerdo del sujeto. No es tan importante ya considerar la ideología que presupone Said en el viajero a la hora de elaborar la escritura o la pintura de su viaje, sino, como señala Guy Barthèlemey (2003), el uso que la sociedad posterior hace, en el caso de los románticos, de ese escrito o pintura que el viajero aportó de su viaje. Delacroix, como viajero romántico a Oriente, presenta tanto una distancia como una fascinación hacia lo oriental (Rodinson, 1988), hacia la alteridad, que configuran su exotismo romántico.

En la medida en que pertenecía a la época definida por Victor Hugo (1964: 578) como la de la fascinación por lo oriental,

On s'occupe beaucoup plus de l'Orient qu'on ne l'a jamais fait. Les études orientales n'ont jamais été poussées si avant. Au siècle de Louis XIV on était helléniste, maintenant on est orientaliste.

[Nos ocupamos mucho más de Oriente de lo que nunca lo habíamos hecho. Los estudios orientales no han estado nunca tan a la delantera. En el siglo de Luis XIV éramos helenistas, ahora somos orientalistas.]

Antes de realizar su viaje a Oriente, Delacroix nada, abunda, se instaura en un imaginario colectivo sobre la alteridad oriental que se va construyendo cada vez con más fuerza conforme nuevos escritos o pinturas de viajeros van llegando a Europa:

Chez M. Auguste. Vu d'admirables peintures d'après les maîtres: costumes, chevaux surtout, admirables, comme Géricault était loin d'en faire. Il serait très avantageux d'avoir de ces chevaux et de les copier, ainsi que les costumes grecs et persans, indiens, etc. (Delacroix, 1996: 89 [30 juin 1824])

[En casa del Sr. Auguste. Vistas admirables pinturas siguiendo los maestros: trajes, caballos sobre todo, admirables, como Géricault distaba mucho de realizar. Sería muy ventajoso tener esos caballos y copiarlos, así como los trajes griegos y persas, indios, etc.]

El viaje en esta época es una forma de experiencia que alumbra el camino de la burguesía europea, la que, tras la adquisición de un poder económico ya consolidado en el siglo XIX, y tras debatirse entre la lucha y el fracaso por conseguir a su vez un poder político, veía en muchas ocasiones vacío el horizonte.

Ante la a veces desesperada situación para el burgués de la época que había fracasado tras la Revolución Francesa, el viaje se propone como horizonte mítico en el que se configuran las posibilidades que en el país de origen no pueden llegar a ser reales:

J'ai grand besoin de compensation à l'ennui qui me ronge. Tout le monde, la peinture, les hommes et moi-même, tout cela m'ennuie. Donnez-moi un désert et faites-moi l'amputation de ce qui me reste d'amour-propre, je serais trop heureux dans ce monde. (Delacroix, 1936: 283 [«Lettre à G. Planche», 28 mai 1831, vol. I])

[Necesito una compensación para el aburrimiento que me corroe. Todo el mundo, la pintura, los hombres y yo mismo me aburren. Deme un desierto y ampúteme lo que me queda de amor propio, sería muy feliz en este mundo.]

Oriente para los románticos se construye como una forma de huida del hastío que la Europa «fracasada» después de la Revolución Francesa había producido en estas clases burguesas de las que se habla:

J'étais né pour être empereur de Conchinchine, pour fumer dans des pipes de 36 toises, pour avoir six mille femmes et 1400 bardaches, des cimenterres pour faire sauter les têtes des gens dont la figure me déplaît, des cauales numides, des bassins de marbre; et je n'ai rien que des désirs immenses, et insatiables, un ennui atroce et des bâillements continus. (Flaubert, 1973: 76 [«Lettre à Ernest Chevalier», 14 novembre 1840, vol. I])

[Nací para ser emperador de Conchinchina, para fumar en pipas de 36 toises, para tener seis mil mujeres y 1400 bardaches, sables para hacer saltar las cabezas de la gente cuyo rostro me disgustaba, caballos numidios, fuentes de mármol; y no tengo más que inmensos e insaciables deseos, un aburrimiento atroz y bostezos continuos.]

Igualmente, la reflexión filosófica de Rousseau sobre la igualdad de los seres humanos dio un soporte de pensamiento, de reflexión, que permitió el tipo de viaje romántico a Oriente al cual Delacroix pertenece:

[il faut] secouer le joug des préjugés nationaux, apprendre à connaître les hommes par leurs conformités et leurs différences, et acquérir ces connaissances universelles qui ne sont point celles d'un siècle ou d'un pays exclusivement, mais qui, étant de tous les temps et de tous les lieux, sont pour ainsi dire la science commune des sages. (Rousseau, 1964: 213)

[[es necesario] perturbar el jugo de los prejuicios nacionales, aprender a conocer a los hombres por sus igualdades y diferencias, y adquirir esos conocimientos uni-

versales que no son para nada exclusivamente los de un siglo o un país, sino que, siendo de todos los tiempos y todos los lugares, son por así decir la ciencia común de los sabios.]

Delacroix, encuadrado en el contexto descrito, lector de la filosofía dieciochesca y de los escritos de viajes, observador de todos los cuadros pintados desde Oriente, lector de los poemas de Byron desde Grecia, amante de los escritos del primer romanticismo alemán, de Hegel, de Goethe, de Schiller, etc., configura su relación con Oriente de una forma muy especial a lo largo de su experiencia y de su vida. Desde los primeros lienzos y dibujos de motivos orientales, que pinta antes de viajar a Oriente, hasta los posteriores al viaje, pasando por aquellos realizados durante el mismo, existe un proceso dialéctico de fascinación y de extrañamiento del que son partícipes los viajeros románticos a Oriente.

3. Visión de Oriente a través de la obra de Delacroix

El viaje a Oriente de Delacroix se convierte en el centro sobre el cual girará toda su obra, pues es a través de él que cambia su mirada hacia el mundo y las formas de arte. Para Delacroix, el viaje se convierte en ese punto de inflexión desde el que lanzar una mirada hacia lo oriental, cosa que, como precepto de la nueva ética romántica, resulta de especial importancia en la época.

Las fases que sigue Delacroix en la transformación de su visión del Oriente son tres principalmente. En primer lugar, antes de realizar el viaje a Oriente su mirada hacia el mismo coincide con el imaginario europeo del momento histórico. Así, como se verá a lo largo de las sucesivas líneas, reproduce la mayor parte de los tópicos asociados a la alteridad oriental dentro de ese imaginario: mujer oriental sensualmente exótica; violencia masculina; uso de las armas; pasar las horas tumbado sin hacer nada; etc.

En segundo lugar, durante el viaje, a través de los dibujos y acuarelas realizados en su diario y en los folios sueltos, Delacroix da una imagen de lo oriental que cambia con respecto a lo anterior. Él, como todo viajero que se desplaza hacia un lugar muy diferente de aquél de su origen, se llena de sensaciones ante todas las cosas nuevas que va viendo y sintiendo. Nuevas son las formas de vestir, de comportarse, los horarios, etc. Y una de sus máximas obsesiones, así lo expresa en su cuaderno de viajes, es la de dejar constancia de todas aquellas sensaciones, ya sea a través de la pintura, como a través de la escritura, para no perder los recuerdos de Oriente, para utilizarlo como un anexo para su memoria. En este punto, la visión que presenta sobre Oriente es lo más parecido a lo real posible, en la medida en que la ausencia de distancia no permite que exista ni una fascinación ni una ideología negativa sobre lo que ve. Así ocurre también con los

óleos pintados inmediatamente después de su viaje, inspirados en algunos de sus esbozos, dibujos o acuarelas. Todavía no existe esa distancia temporal que permita saber qué significó Oriente para él en una mirada que no sea más que «real» de lo que recuerda.

En tercer lugar, después de que la distancia temporal con respecto a Oriente se hace mayor, Delacroix presenta un Oriente que tiene un carácter a caballo entre el ámbito de lo literario y el ámbito de lo «real», y que nosotros llamaremos el Oriente «literaturizado». Este Oriente comparativo puede verse, sobre todo, a través de las variaciones que en torno al mismo tema realizó Delacroix a lo largo de su vida. Este Oriente, tanto en el trazo como en las pinceladas, expresa esa distancia en la que se encuentra el mismo Delacroix, y desde la que se vuelve de cierta forma a hacer una forma de Oriente del imaginario, ahora pasado por el tamiz de la realidad.

La tesis que defendemos aquí podría seguirse a través de múltiples temáticas orientales tratadas por Delacroix a lo largo de su vida. Aquí, por la brevedad de este artículo, vamos a tomar dos casos paradigmáticos que pertenecen a la concepción de los géneros que de Oriente él tenía.

En primer lugar, la cuestión de la mujer, que ha sido de especial relevancia para todos los viajeros a Oriente, ya que en ella se iban proyectando los deseos y fantasías que los viajeros no podían proyectar en su propia sociedad: bien porque la mujer había roto con los cánones clásicos de su concepción (madona, musa o prostituta), existiendo mujeres en los límites, mujeres que salían y luchaban en las barricadas, mujeres que trabajaban en la nueva industria; o bien por el hecho de que todos los deseos sexuales proyectables no resultaba posible realizarlos a través de un ámbito real en la sociedad de origen, por lo que se les daba un ámbito externo. En todo caso, la mujer oriental dentro del imaginario de los viajeros a Oriente se encontraba dentro del ámbito de la proyección del deseo sexual a través de la figura del harén. Así también lo reprodujo Delacroix en su visión de la mujer oriental antes de su viaje a Oriente, como en el caso de la *Odalisque* de Cambridge (óleo sobre lienzo, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, hacia 1826-1827), en la que, mediante una postura gestual de carácter sexual, Delacroix pinta en el diván a una dama, que, a través de las sedas rojas, de su desnudo y del *narguile* que la acompaña, llama a un deseo que transforma a la Venus clásica occidental en la odalisca oriental.

Posteriormente, durante su viaje a Oriente, Delacroix va dedicando su tiempo, entre otras cosas, a realizar dibujos, esbozos, acuarelas y estudios de la fisiología, las ropas y los complementos de la mujer oriental. En el estudio de *Mouni Bensoltane* (acuarela sobre croquis a la mina de plomo, Paris, Musée du Louvre, RF 4185), que es uno de los estudios que posteriormente inspirarán *Les Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement* (óleo sobre lienzo, Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1834), Delacroix presenta una visión de la mujer oriental representativa de su

visión de Oriente a lo largo del viaje realizado, en la que se presenta el horizonte del naturalismo, de lo «real». Se pretende plasmar, en un trazo rápido, a través de unos golpes de acuarela instantáneos, cómo eran las mujeres orientales observadas. Incluso se complementa el estudio con algunas palabras que indican colores y formas, y que dan cuenta de la necesidad conjunta de ambas artes: literatura y pintura.

A su regreso, Delacroix pinta *Les Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement*, inspirado, según su relato, en una escena de interior en un harén en Argelia al que supuestamente tuvo acceso. Sin entrar en esta compleja discusión, defendemos aquí la tesis de que, por la ausencia de pruebas que lo confirmen, y por el hecho de que ese lienzo está inspirado en el conjunto de estudios que Delacroix había venido haciendo de mujeres y de interiores a lo largo del viaje, la historia de su entrada a un harén parece pertenecer a la fantasía propia de los viajeros románticos a Oriente. En este lienzo, pintado inmediatamente después de su viaje, Delacroix todavía posee, a la hora de pintar los interiores y las figuras, independientemente de que la historia sea ficticia, una visión que, comparada con las anteriores al viaje, y tamizada por la del mismo viaje, pertenece a una visión más «real» de lo que él vio. Esto puede percibirse a través de dos motivos: la forma de pintar el color de la piel de las mujeres del harén, que es más parecido al color de una piel sin vistas sexuales; y por la forma con la que las viste y las sitúa, pues ya no aparecen ni el gesto sexual de la *Odalisque* de Cambridge, ni la necesidad del desnudo.

Sobre el motivo de *Les Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement* realizó posteriormente Delacroix una de las variaciones que reflejan la forma en la que Oriente se va «literaturizando» a través de la distancia temporal con respecto al viaje. *Les Femmes d'Alger dans leur intérieur* (óleo sobre lienzo, Montpellier, Musée Fabré, 1849) presenta de nuevo a las tres mujeres y a la esclava negra, aunque en esta ocasión se percibe, a través de la luz que Delacroix ha dado al cuadro, una distancia entre el espectador-pintor y el tema de la obra. Esa luz «rembrandtiana» hace a las mujeres más distantes. Igualmente, el foco de la mirada ya no está en un primer plano, sino que pasan a estar más alejadas. Oriente, en esta tercera fase de Delacroix, vuelve a inscribirse en la fantasía del imaginario, aunque con una diferencia fundamental: la *Odalisque* de Cambridge se transforma en la *Odalisque* (óleo sobre lienzo, colección particular, 1857) de 1857, en la que de nuevo el cuerpo de la mujer aparece con cierta gestualidad sexual procedente del imaginario occidental sobre Oriente, pero viste los mismos pantalones que las mujeres de Argel y el mismo adorno en su cabeza. Así, Oriente vuelve de nuevo a la fantasía que pasa por la realidad de la vivencia del viaje.

De igual forma, a través de la representación del hombre oriental podría verse el cambio de la concepción de Oriente en Delacroix, así como la impor-

tancia que el viaje tuvo en ello. La visión que del hombre oriental se tenía en el imaginario occidental hablaba fundamentalmente de tres tipos de representaciones canónicas: las armas que llaman a la violencia; el estar acompañados del caballo árabe (que fascinaba a los occidentales, y en especial a Delacroix); y la pose sin hacer nada productivo más que estar tumbados fumando un *narguile*.

Delacroix, antes de realizar su viaje a Oriente representa desde estos arquetipos del imaginario europeo la figura del hombre oriental. Así, *Turc assis fumant* (óleo sobre lienzo, París, Musée du Louvre, 1825) nos muestra un personaje prototípico que, con su arma de filo enfundada al lado, fumando una pipa, que podría ser de opio, vestido con unos ropajes que denotan dignidad, pasa su tiempo sentado pensando de forma melancólica (forma con la que se representaba desde el imaginario occidental la alteridad oriental).

Durante el viaje, sin embargo, Delacroix realiza múltiples estudios sobre el hombre oriental, de los cuales hemos elegido aquí *Maure assis* (crayón negro, sangrina y toques de acuarela, Stockholm). En él podemos observar, como lo hacíamos con *Mouni Bensultan*, que, dejado llevar por el ímpetu de reflejar de una forma lo más explícita posible lo que veía, Delacroix dibuja un personaje que nada tiene que ver con el anterior citado. Ciertamente sigue presente la cuestión de la melancolía meditativa, cierto que el hombre oriental está sentado sin hacer nada, pero, sin embargo, en esta ocasión la mirada no atisba una forma ideológica negativa o fascinadora de ver Oriente. Delacroix lo mira desde la inmediatez de las sensaciones, y ése es el Oriente que refleja a lo largo de su viaje.

Inmediatamente después de su regreso, como ocurría con *Les Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement*, Delacroix pinta el lienzo *Chef arabe près d'une tombe* (óleo sobre lienzo, Hiroshima, Hiroshima Museum of Art, 1838). En él podemos ver que, aunque de forma más compleja que en *Maure assis*, debido a que el lienzo implica la utilización de técnicas más complejas que la de la acuarela, el esbozo o el estudio, la forma de representar al hombre oriental que da Delacroix se hace de forma más natural, más «real» que anteriormente al viaje a Oriente. El personaje tiene su arma en mano, está dibujado al lado de su caballo, vuelve a reflejar la misma melancolía oriental, pero representa, a través de una luz y unos colores de la piel que aluden a lo visto por Delacroix, una de las escenas que tanto vivió a lo largo de su viaje, cuando se trasladaban de un lugar a otro en caballo haciendo altos en el camino.

Este Oriente de lo vivido, de nuevo, conforme Delacroix va adquiriendo una distancia temporal con respecto al viaje, adquiere una forma de «literaturización» que puede observarse en el último lienzo aquí presentado, *Arabe accroupi* (óleo sobre lienzo, colección privada, 1850). En él se observa un hombre oriental sentado, preso por la mirada melancólica. La forma de pintar de Delacroix aquí indica que existe esa distancia entre el espectador-pintor y el personaje, a la que el trazo deshecho, poco preciso, quebrado, fragmentado del últi-

mo Delacroix alude. La representación pictórica se realiza en este momento artístico desde un imaginario personal: el creado por Delacroix al conjugar la percepción que poseía antes del viaje a Oriente, con el punto de vista de lo vivido a través del propio viaje.

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French Influence on English Culture in the Second Part of the Seventeenth Century. Aphra Behn as a Creative Translator and a Mediator Between the Two Cultures

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ABSTRACT: This article applies the concept of horizontal and vertical cultural transfers to the process of cultural exchange between France and England in the Restoration period (1660-1688). It focuses on Aphra Behn as a mediator between French and English cultures by analysing how she negotiated the «cultural», gender and creative elements in her translations from the French.

Keywords: English Restoration period, Aphra Behn, cultural transfer, translation, cultural mediation.

RESUMEN: En este artículo se aplica el concepto de las transferencias horizontales y verticales al proceso de intercambio cultural entre Francia e Inglaterra durante el período de la Restauración inglesa, centrándose específicamente en la figura de la escritora Aphra Behn como mediadora entre ambas culturas a través del tratamiento de los elementos creativos, culturales y de género que la misma realizaba en sus traducciones del francés.

Palabras clave: Aphra Behn, transferencia cultural, traducción, período de la Restauración inglesa, mediación cultural.

Analyzing the process of cultural exchange, it is reasonable to distinguish between horizontal and vertical cultural transfers. Horizontal cultural transfer implies spatial diffusion and occurs among people of the same social group. Vertical cultural transfer transgresses social borders (Roeck, 2007). In the present article I shall discuss the problem of cultural transfer, which is inseparable from the problem of cultural translation.

In the second half of the seventeenth century we can find an obvious example of horizontal cultural transfer between France and England at the time of the Restoration (1660-1688). It is generally acknowledged that there was a profound influence of the French culture on the English Restoration culture due to the fact that the English king Charles II and his court had been refugees in France for nearly 20 years, having adopted French tastes and French manners. Moreover, «the ascendancy of France was to be the dominant characteristic of late seventeenth-century Europe; [...] it can be said that up to the 1680's France was the sole great power in Europe» (Jones, 1978: 95). So, there are at least two reasons for the «francophilizing» of the Restoration culture: the personal acquaintance of English aristocracy with French culture during the Revolution and the Republic (the 1650s), and the political influence of France on English affairs in the Restoration period.

Such clear-cut explanation, however, operates only on the surface. A closer examination of the historical and artistic circumstances in that period shows that there was a time difference (a lag) between the outcomes of the French influence on English art and literature, and the outcomes of the French political influence. My concern is primarily with literature, but I will start by examining architecture and decorative art in the first place.

French trends in English architecture did not reveal themselves before 1675. Italian High Renaissance models (epitomized, to a large extent, in the works of the famous Inigo Jones) gave way to French (and also Dutch) motives. Whinney and Millar (1957: 204) consider that «it is not possible to trace this evolution in a neat progression of buildings, nor to find precise historical reasons for changes of style. [...] Strong baroque elements appear in architecture and decoration about 1680. In the latter they are, no doubt, due to the arrival of Antonio Verrio».¹ However, it is impossible to believe that this painter could modify Christopher Wren's concept of exterior design, even though at least three great French pieces of architecture left their mark on English architecture: Versailles (1661-1674), the Invalides (the 1670s), and the east front of the Louvre (begun in 1668). While both French and Dutch, as well as Roman styles, are used during the same years and often in the same buildings, «the result is an architecture which is neither Italian, French nor Dutch baroque, but a [...] mixture of the three combined with elements borrowed from none, which are peculiarly English» (Whinney and Millar, 1957: 204).

French elements in the period between 1675 and 1690 are present in the works of Robert Hooke: the façade of Bedlam Hospital in Moorfields (1676), Lord Conway's house at Ragby, and Montagu House in Bloomsbury (the first

1. Italian by origin, enrolled in the Royal Academy in Paris.

and the last did not survive). In 1683 Christopher Wren started the construction of Winchester palace, which was never finished. Its plan is linked with Le Vau's Versailles showing Charles' II dependence on France in the late period of his reign.

An excellent example of cultural transfer is Windsor castle (particularly its reconstruction in the 1680s when a number of new elements were introduced), revealing that Charles II occasionally showed an interest in the Arts. Architecturally, as Whinney and Millar (1957: 209) point out, «the most novel feature of the castle was perhaps the entrance to the new royal apartments». There were two vestibules, the ceiling of the first one supported by two rows of Ionic columns, the walls behind them being decorated by niches which contained «ancient busts»; the second one adorned with casts of antiques, behind which rose the grand staircase. This was a stone staircase in three flights with an ironwork balustrade, which stood within a painted hall and was surmounted by a painted dome. Whinney and Millar (1957: 210) calls it «the first grand painted staircase, executed in England, and its impact on the visitor, emerging from the relatively low, columned vestibule, must have been tremendous». The King's staircase, different in form, was probably modeled on the new Escalier des Ambassadeurs at Versailles, finished in 1679. To the beauty of this palace much was added by the ornament of Grinling Gibbons, one of the best decorators of that time. I will return to Windsor later.

If the appearance of French elements in English architecture is connected with the building of Versailles and the eastern façade of the Louvre, the French influence in the applied arts, for instance, in furniture, grew after 1685 (the cancellation of the Edict of Nantes), when French masters came as refugees to England. As for painting, it was much more touched with the Dutch influence (exemplified by the works of Sir Peter Lely, Dutch by origin, and Kneller): in fact, there was a strong opposition to French elements in painting in England, as well as to the French masters, who were invited by pro-French royal mistresses.

To sum up, there is a disparity between the political and historical aspects of the French influence on English art and the process of cultural transfer linked with the construction of Versailles and, to some degree, with the cancellation of the Edict of Nantes, during the Restoration period. In literature the picture is somewhat other.

The strong influence of French literature on the English one is explicit from the second quarter of the century and is revealed in the numerous translations of pseudo-heroic romances: *L'Astrée* by Honore d'Urfe; the works of Gomberville; *Grand Cyrus* and *Clelie* by Madeleine de Scudery. These long fantastical romances, which epitomized French aristocratic culture, influenced English prose fiction widely. Even the most original English romances, like *Partenissa* and *Aretina* by Sir George Mackenzie, were written using French romances as a pattern.

As Germaine de Stael (in Lefevere, 1992: 18) said, «if translations of poetry enrich literature, translations of plays could exert an even greater influence, for the theater is truly literature's executive power». Several important French plays had been translated into English before the Restoration: Corneille's *Cid* was presented before Charles I as early as 1637; and *Andromede* by the same author was translated in 1650. The Restoration gave a new impulse to French drama in English. Four pieces by Corneille were translated in the first decade of the Restoration (the 1660s): *Horace* and *Pompée* (1663), *Heraclius* (1664) and *Nicomede* (1671), the first two «made English» by the important woman writer of the seventeenth century, Katherine Philips. In the 1670s Racine's plays were translated into English, *Andromaque* by John Crowne in 1675, and *Berenice* (in the English version *Titus and Berenice*) by the famous playwright Thomas Otway in 1677. There were also many adaptations of Molière's comedies, and their influence is revealed even in such specifically English plays as *The Country Wife* (1675) and *The Plain Dealer* (1677) by William Wycherly.

French philosophical works were also translated into English in the second part of the seventeenth century, like Pascal's *Provinciales* (1657) and Montaigne's *Essais*, the latter translated by the poet Charles Cotton in 1685. In prose, the most prominent piece of translation is Rabelais's *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, carried out by Thomas Urquhart in 1653. Thomas Urquhart also proposed in his *Logopandecteiison* (1653) a universal language, already showing the cosmopolitan approach – a characteristic feature of the future Restoration period.

If the popularity of the long prose romances before the Restoration gave impulse to the Baroque in English literature, the widespread circulation of Corneille's and Racine's plays led to a formation of English Classicism (or Neoclassicism). However, English Classicism in literature differed significantly from the French one. For one thing, English writers did not limit themselves so strictly to the unities (of time, place and action), and defended tragicomedy as a genre specifically English, on the whole not being so rigid as its French equivalent.

English Classicism in literature, thus, is the result of cultural transfer and the reception of the French culture in England. After 1675, though, the opposition to French literary models and the growth of the national spirit occurred (Van Hoof, 1991: 135-136), and English writers tried to make their works better than French (or even ancient) models. It is interesting to notice, on the other hand, that in architecture the French trends became more and more influential in the same period. The process of «francophilizing» English culture was not at all synchronic in literature and in the rest of the Arts.

When discussing the problem of cultural transfer, it is impossible to ignore its agents, the mediators between cultures. Aphra Behn (1640-1689), the most important woman writer in seventeenth-century England, who as a translator did

a great deal to introduce new French books into the English realm, constituted a prominent example of such mediation. As such, she had a marginal position in the English male-dominated literary world of her time as a woman, a woman writer, an English spy in Flanders and Holland, and a woman who visited Surinam in the early 1660s. But this very subordinate position made Behn an excellent mediator between cultures: English and South American Indian (see her novel *Oroonoko*), English and Dutch (revealed in her plays and the novel *Love-Letters between a Nobleman and His Sister*), and also English and French. There is no reliable evidence that Behn visited France at all, but she might be personally acquainted with another mediator between English and French cultures, Saint-Evremond, a friend of the famous Ninon de Lenclos and the admirer of Hortense Mancini, cardinal Mazarini's niece, Charles' II mistress. Behn dedicated the story «History of the Nun» to her (Todd, 2000: 393-394).

Aphra Behn both accepted and rejected the idea of the central culture, which is generally considered the native culture (English culture in Behn's case). In her «Essay on Translated Prose» (1688), being a translator's preface to *A Discovery of New Worlds* (Fontenelle's *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes*, 1686), she makes an important statement: «And I do not say this so much, to condemn the French, as to praise our own Mother-tongue, for what we think a Deformity, they may think a Perfection, as the Negroes of Guinney think us as ugly, as we think them» (Behn, 1688: n.p.). Here, Behn acknowledges the relativity of one's own conceptions about different cultures, the importance of every culture, whether English or French or African. This ability to view another culture from its own perspective makes Behn almost a modern figure in translation.

When discussing Behn's activity as a translator from a cultural point of view, I will draw my attention to three aspects: the «cultural», gender and creativity. As a basis for this discussion I will focus on the following Behn's translations from the French: *A Discovery of New Worlds* and *The History of Oracles* (both 1688) from Fontenelle, *La Montre, or the Lover's Watch* (1686) from Bonnacorse, and *Reflections on Morality, or Seneca Unmask'd* (1685), an adaptation of La Rochefoucauld's *Maximes*. As Trofimova (2004) established, the source of Behn's *History of Oracles* was the first French edition published without the name of the author. As it is stated on the last page of the book, it was registered in the «Communauté des Libraire & Imprimeurs» of Paris on the 31st August 1686 and the contract between Fontenelle and his publisher was concluded on the 10th December 1686. The proof that Behn did use this edition may be found in page 50: «Car il souffrit non seulement que les Filles d'Asie luy en elevassent & luy celebrassent des Jeux sacrez»² (Fontenelle, 1686 b: 50). Aphra Behn was

2. Not «Filles d'Asie», but «Villes d'Asie», as appeared in the Errata: «p.50. 1.11 filles,/Villes».

not aware of the apparent absurdity of the phrase and translated it literally: «For he suffered not only Asian Maids to raise Altars to him, and celebrate holy games in his honour» (Behn, 1993: 192). Nor did the critics and editors of her works recognize it. As for Aphra Behn's *A Discovery of New Worlds*, Trofimova (2004) found out that she used the 1686 edition of *Entretiens sur la pluralité des Mondes* published in Amsterdam. It appeared without the name of the author, but on the title page it was stated that it was «Par l'Autheur des Dialogues des morts» – another famous work by Fontenelle. At the very beginning of the «Translator's Preface» Behn mentions that the author «is the same that writ, The Dialogues of the Dead» (Behn, 1688: n.p.). On the other hand, in the Parisian edition of the same year there is a map of the solar system which would have been reproduced in the English translation, had that edition been used. In the 1687 edition there are other variations in the body of the text and the sixth night is added. As for Bonnicorse's *La Montre*, Behn used the 1671 edition, whereas in the case of La Rochefoucauld's *Maxims*, as Bernard Dhuicq (1994: 175-176) established, she translated from the 1675 fourth edition.

Regarding the «cultural» aspect in Behn's translations, I draw attention to the inclusion of English realities instead of French ones in some of these works. Here Behn tries to fulfil the translator's task of providing a balance between the «universe of discourse» (the whole complex of concepts, ideologies, persons and objects belonging to a particular culture) acceptable to the author of the original, and that other «universe of discourse» which is acceptable and familiar to the translator and her audience (Lefevre, 1992: 35). In *The History of Oracles* Behn (1993: 243) substitutes «Contes de la Fontaine» with Chaucer's «Tales». The fact is that at that very time the new edition of Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* (1687) had just appeared, and Behn most probably knew about this publication and included it in her translation of *Histoire des Oracles* to make the latter up-to-date. In her translation of *Entretiens* Behn (1993: 147) introduces the English journal *Philosophical Transactions* in replacement for the French *Journal des Sçavants*. This substitution also shows Behn's awareness of the science of her time.

The gender aspect – belonging not to the horizontal, but to the vertical cultural transfer – is probably one of the least studied, though very important in Behn's translations. The early translatoresses understood that the transmission of significant literary texts was an essential, not an accessory, cultural task. Translation as an activity inferior to «creative» literary work was considered «female», so women translators were not considered such a threat to literature as women writers were. As such, there were several women translators in Renaissance England, among them Queen Elizabeth I and Mary Sidney, countess of Pembroke. In the seventeenth century women such as the aforementioned Katherine Philips and Aphra Behn translated a greater variety of texts than had

been done previously, though predominantly from contemporary European languages (Simon, 1996: 52; Baker, 1998: 340).

Behn shows her awareness of gender in her «Essay on Translated Prose», where she declared that *Entretiens* drew her attention because of the figure of the marquise, a woman who discussed philosophical and scientific matters: «The Author's introducing a Woman as one of the Speakers in these five Discourses were further Motives for me to undertake this little work: for I thought an English Woman might adventure to translate everything a French Woman may be supposed to have spoken» (Behn, 1993: 72). In the translation text of *Entretiens* we can find an important insertion which proves the fact that Behn, as well as Fontenelle himself, addressed the work to women with a didactic purpose (she wanted them to study sciences): «To encourage the fair Sex (*who lose so much time at their Toylets in a less charming Study*) [my emphasis on Behn's addition] by an Example of a Lady who had no supernatural Characters, and who never goes beyond the Bounds of a Person, who has no Tincture of Learning» (Behn, 1993: 88). In this passage, Behn criticizes women for their love of dressing (remarks bordering on misogyny appear in many of Behn's works), and at the same time she stresses the importance of studying for women.

There is another important hint in the body of Behn's translation which shows that Behn was deeply concerned with women's position in the English society of her time. Twice is the phrase «Men and Women» included in the text: the first one to replace «des Hommes» in the French original (Behn, 1993: 121, 137). By doing this, Aphra Behn stresses the point that a woman is as much a human being as a man, posing herself as a real predecessor of feminism.

The creative aspect in Behn's translations is linked both to the «cultural» and gender aspects. An interesting account of creativity in translation can be found in the introduction to the translation of *The Iliad*, carried out by Anne Dacier and published in 1699:

[Certain people] think translation is not creative. That is surely an immense mistake. [...] A good translator is like a sculptor who tries to recreate the work of a painter, or like a painter, who tries to recreate the work of a sculptor [...] Good translations keep the spirit without moving away from the letter. They are free and noble imitations, that turn the familiar into something new. (in Lefevre, 1992: 13)

This is exactly what Behn does in her free translation of Bonnacorse's *La Montre*, a fact admitted by the authors of the commendatory verses, Charles Cotton and Nahum Tate. Aphra Behn translates *La Montre* rather freely using both prose and verse, especially in the first part of the work, where she makes extensive additions of her own, thus transforming a nice, but rather dry Bonnacorse piece, into a much more interesting work. Not only does the text

contain many fine examples of Behn's poetry, but it also presents a rather interesting female character (Iris); while a number of important insertions reveal Behn's position on diverse matters (Dhuicq, 1990: 84). For instance, she changes the tone of «Twelve O'Clock», when the heroine Iris advises her lover Damon to go to the temple. The original extract is very rigid, proposing the lover to prefer Iris to all things, but to prefer God to Iris. In Behn's version, though, it finishes with the ambiguous words «and only heaven must rival me» (Behn, 1905: 219). Behn also refers less to God's power and His presence in people's souls, and more to the beauties in the church and other earthly things. This substitution confirms her rather skeptical attitude to religion.

Behn radically changes the meaning of the passage on love and glory in «One O'Clock. Impossibility to Sleep». While in Bonnacorse's original love is not an enemy to glory, Behn disagrees with the French author and insists that «love will still interrupt your glory, however you may think to divert him either by writing or fighting» (Behn, 1905: 252); though she finishes the passage in accordance with Bonnacorse: «when one has a worthy object of one's flame, glory accompanies love too» (Behn, 1905: 254). Nevertheless, Behn insists on the superiority of peaceful life to military activities. Yet, what has passed unnoticed to scholars, even to the editor of the *Complete Works*, Janet Todd, is Behn's insertion in Bonnacorse's text of several of La Rochefoucauld's maxims. These are maxims on love which Behn had translated earlier in her *Reflections on Morality* (Trofimova, 2004: 105-106).

Both gender and creative aspects of Behn's translation can be found in the transformation of the main heroine, Iris. Her character differs from that in Bonnacorse's work, showing traits that could have belonged to Behn herself, as for instance, the following portrait not appearing in Bonnacorse:

You will find me sitting alone in my cabinet (for I am one that do not love to go to bed early) and will find me very uneasy and pensive, pleased with none of those things that so well entertain others. I shun all conversation, as far as civility will allow, and find no satisfaction like being alone, where my soul may, without interruption, converse with Damon. I sigh, and sometimes you will see my cheeks wet with tears, that insensibly glide down at a thousand thoughts that present themselves soft and afflicting. (Behn, 1905: 252)

Iris meditates on writing, on the meaning of the words (Behn, 1905: 214-215). She criticizes hypocrisy and *coquettes*, and this sharp criticism adds a lot to Behn's translation (Behn, 1905: 220-221, 226-227). At the end of the «Looking-Glass» it is said that Iris does not like to spend her time dressing, and prefers doing other things. She knows «how to gain conquest with [her] pen, more absolutely, than all the industrious Fair, who trust to Dress and Equipage» (Behn, 1697: 23). Undoubtedly, these words may be applied to Behn herself, the

first professional woman writer in England, and they also coincide with the criticism of women's habits of dressing that she had expressed in *A Discovery of New Worlds*.

«Cultural» and creative aspects in Behn's translation of *La Montre* appear in the last pages of the first part of the work. In *The Lover's Watch*, we can find one of Behn's finest examples regarding the insertion of English realities into the French text: a reflection upon Windsor, incidentally one of the finest results of cultural transfer in the 1680s.

I am satisfied you pass your time well now at Windsor, for you adore that place; and it is not, indeed, without great Reason; for it is most certainly now rendered the most glorious palace in the Christian world. And had our late gracious sovereign, of blessed memory, had no other miracles and wonders of his life and reign to have immortalised his Fame (of which there shall remain a thousand to posterity) this noble structure alone, this building (almost divine) would have eternised the great name of glorious Charles II till the world moulder again to its old confusion, its first chaos. And the paintings of the famous Vario [Verrio], and noble carvings of the inimitable Gibon [Gibbons], shall never die, but remain to tell succeeding ages, that all arts and learning were not confined to ancient Rome and Greece, but that England, too, could boast its mightiest Share. Nor is the inside of this magnificent Structure, immortalised with so many eternal images of the illustrious Charles and Catharine, more to be admired than the wondrous Prospects without. The stupendous height, on which the famous pile is built, renders the fields, and flowery meads below, the woods, the thickets, and the winding streams, the most delightful object that ever nature produced. Beyond all these, and far below, in an inviting vale, the venerable college, an old, but noble building, raises itself, in the midst of all the beauties of nature, high-grown trees, fruitful plains, purling rivulets, and spacious gardens, adorned with all variety of sweets, that can delight the senses. (Behn, 1905: 265)

Behn shows a very good understanding of the artistic value of Windsor, both intuitively and intellectually; especially the latter when she mentions Verrio and Gibbons, two very important agents in the process of cultural transfer in the Arts.

Another example of «cultural» and creative translation can be found in Behn's *Reflections on Morality*. There, Behn rearranges maxims, changing some and adding her own ones. She inserts her own examples taken from the English realities of her time in the last maxim «Of Death»:

Cato and Brutus chose an Illustrious Death, and dy'd bravely. So did El. [Lord Essex] – nay, I have seen a Lackey dance upon the Scaffold, which he ascended to be broken on a Wheel, and Vratz dy'd as well as L. – R. [Lord Russell] herein you may see tho the quality and motives be different, yet that they may produce the same effects. (Behn, 1993: 68-69)

Behn's allusions are to contemporary criminals who were executed just before the publication of her translation, doing what she had done in *The History of Oracles* – she tries to write *Reflections* into the modern English realities.

All the three aspects of Behn's translations – «cultural», gender and creative – are very important in studying the process of cultural transfer between France and England in the Restoration period. Aphra Behn had a balanced vision of this process: she admitted the value of the other culture, but defended her own from too strong a foreign influence. To prove it, I will present the last quotation from Behn's «Essay on Translated Prose»:

It is Modish to Ape the French in every thing: Therefore, we not only naturalize their Words, but Words they steal from other Languages. I wish in this and several other things, we had a little more of the Italian and Spanish Humour, and did not chop and change our Language, as we do our Cloths, at the Pleasure of every French Taylor. (Behn, 1688: n.p.)

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Globalization and Intercultural Communication

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ABSTRACT: *Intercultural contact* and *communication* have allegedly increased in the context of *globalization*. Both terms are, however, little transparent, evoke a host of associations and carry ideological baggage. The present article proposes a framework to understand current socio-economic processes by recourse to a particular heterodox economic view (*Regulationism*). I will argue from this point of view that although there is no such thing as *globalization* there are some changes – dominated by neoliberal policies – that increase the gap between rich and poor inter- and intranationally. Since these changing structural conditions of distribution (*class*) impact fundamentally on issues of recognition (*identity*), i.e. the core of approaches to intercultural communication, I conclude that any theory of the latter has to take economic and political structures into consideration.

Keywords: globalization, Regulationism, class, intercultural communication, identity, power.

RESUMEN: El contacto y la comunicación interculturales se han extendido en el contexto de la globalización. Ambos términos, sin embargo, son poco transparentes, evocan un sinnúmero de asociaciones y contienen implicaciones ideológicas. Este artículo propone un marco para comprender los procesos socio-económicos actuales basado en una teoría económica heterodoxa (el regulacionismo), por medio del cual se argumenta que, a pesar de no existir la globalización como tal, sí existen ciertos cambios dominados por las políticas neoliberales que acrecientan la división entre ricos y pobres, tanto internacional como intranacionalmente. Puesto que las cambiantes condiciones estructurales de distribución (clase social) repercuten en las cuestiones de reconocimiento (identidad), es decir, el fundamento de los estudios sobre la comunicación intercultural, se concluye que cualquier teoría que la aborde debe incluir el papel de las estructuras económicas y políticas.

Palabras clave: globalización, Regulacionismo, clase social, comunicación intercultural, identidad, poder.

1. Introduction

All vogue words tend to share a similar fate: The more experiences they pretend to make transparent, the more they themselves become opaque. (Bauman, 1998: 1)

In the most general sense, globalization discourses refer to changes beyond the confines of the nation state:

Globalization, simply put, denotes the expanding scale, growing magnitude, speeding up and deepening impact of transcontinental flows and patterns of social interaction. It refers to a shift or transformation in the scale of human organizations that links distant communities and expands the reach of power relations across the world's regions and continents. (Held and McGrew, 2002: 1)

But that is as far as commonality reaches. The academic literature on globalization is vast, highly controversial and displays a multitude of different, often contradictory perspectives reflecting an actually rather heterogeneous group of topics in the domains of business and/or politics, society, culture, technology, media, the environment and others. Often, neither the respective focus nor the alleged interrelationship between these different spheres is made sufficiently explicit. Moreover, the causality for alleged changes towards the global scale are attributed to a range of factors or their combination, for instance, an increase in international trade, portfolio and foreign direct investment, the intensification of border crossings and migration, the emergence of new information and communication technologies and their impact upon the structures and processes in financial and other trading, the nature or transformation of capitalism, changes in the function and form of nation states, an increased reach and power of supra-national institutions, other non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and/or social movements, the spread of consumerism and/or democracy, and many more. These different topics are inexorably linked to specific evaluations and political perspectives of the situation, and concomitant orientations towards or recommendations of particular courses of action.

In addition to this, the globalization debate has permeated all kinds of social strata and spheres. Lay people draw on globalization discourses as a resource in order to make sense of an increasingly complex and interrelated national and international environment. Business executives and managers do not only seem to have partly shifted corporate strategies and priorities to the international plane but to have likewise adopted references to globalization in order to legitimate forms of restructuring and reorganization, for instance through flexible specialization, diversification, downsizing, and outsourcing. The term has become especially popular with politicians, who often refer, sometimes in fairly unspecific ways, to

globalization as a non-negotiable, external (economic) pressure or logic that forces governments to take specific decisions and actions. For some, this invocation of globalization is strategic and rhetorical in nature seeking to displace responsibility for otherwise unpalatable reforms.

In general, it is fair to argue that the term *globalization* has become a weasel word carrying a load of associations and ideological baggage. As a rhetorical device it can be employed in a variety of vague and obfuscating ways to bring about the same socio-material changes that it is meant to denote in the first place. By gaining alliances and identifications through specific representations of social change and desirable outcomes, people's perspectives, dispositions and, ultimately, their actions are shaped in particular ways. As such it is important to subject the use of the term *globalization* in specific contexts to close scrutiny and careful analysis in order to reveal the stance the particular author takes in the realm of diverse perspectives and definitions.

2. Globalization. Emphasizing Complexities

The position I have adopted here could be characterized as *transformationalist* or *moderate*, strongly emphasizing the agency of political actors and the contingency of potential structural outcomes. I contend with Hirst and Thompson's (1996: 4) critical-normative message that the reference to globalization as a coherent and almost naturally occurring process or even end-state is a rhetorical means employed in order to «build up a community of usage when there needs to be strict differentiation of meaning». For them, globalization «[...] is a myth for a world without illusions, but it is also one that robs us of hope. Global markets are dominant, and they face no threat from any viable contrary political project, for it is held that Western social democracy and socialism of the Soviet bloc are both finished» (Hirst and Thompson, 1996: 6). Although I agree in dismissing the strategic use of globalization in the context of neoliberal discourse (*globalism*), I will nevertheless hold that there are *some* changes underway that would warrant a new terminology. I will mainly draw on work by Jessop (1997, 1999 *a*, 1999 *b*, 2000, 2002, 2003), who views current socio-economic processes in their historical context, thus catering for contingencies and the complexity of current international changes in the economic, political and cultural spheres and their interrelationship. Globalization is, as Jessop (1999 *b*: 1) has pointed out, not a single, coherent causal process but a «complex, chaotic and overdetermined outcome of a multi-scalar, multi-temporal, and multi-centric series of processes operating in specific structural contexts». In less abstract terms this means that there is, first of all, no primary *scale* (global, triadic, national, regional or urban) of current economic reorganization. Changes occur on all these levels and mutually influence

each other. This entails, secondly, that there are different *centres* of globalization, both on a national (the US, Great Britain, South East Asia) as well as a geographical level. These constitute, however, not a «[...] pre-given set of places, spaces, or scales that are merely being re-ordered. Instead, new places are emerging, new spaces are being created, new scales of organization are being developed and new horizons of action are being imagined – all in the light of new forms of (understanding) competition» (Jessop, 1999 *b*: 5; see also Dicken, 1998: 426). The author refers specifically to the emerging network of global cities, the restructuring of urban spaces and the growth of cross-border regions in order to enhance their international competitiveness, processes that might suggest the term «“glurbanization”» (Jessop, 1999 *b*: 4) instead of «globalization» (or the more sophisticated notion of «glocalization»).

Thirdly, different spheres such as culture, media, migration, technology, business, finance, education, etc. are characterized by their own modes, rhythms, developments, intensities and resistances. In sum, it is therefore

[...] misleading to explain specific events and phenomena in terms of *the* process of «globalization», pointless to subsume anything or everything under the umbrella of «globalization», and unhelpful to seek to link anything and everything to «globalization» as if this somehow conveys more insight than alternative rubrics [for instance, *liberalization* or *internationalization*] could [...] (Jessop, 2000: 339)

Instead of attributing causal force to *globalization* itself, Jessop contextualizes contemporary processes historically from a Regulationist position.

After the crisis of the Keynesian National Welfare State (KNWS),¹ the historical arrangement or *spatio-temporal fix*² between national economies and the respective states, and its predominant mode of production, *fordism*,³ a restructuring and renewal of the mode of accumulation⁴ is currently underway. The KNWS has at least partially been replaced in many Western countries by another spatio-temporal «fix», the so-called Schumpeterian Workfare Post-National Regime (SWPN), a

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1. The term goes back to the British economist John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946) who had advocated that only a relatively equitable distribution of resources would strengthen the demand side and hence the capacity to consume which in turn would stimulate economic growth. Main responsibilities of national governments therefore included to ensure full employment and to regulate collective bargaining between employers and unions.
 2. The term refers to the basic orientation of a state in a given period consisting of a specific accumulation strategy (for instance *fordism*) and a national political project (for instance the *welfare state*).
 3. The fordist mode of regulation derives its name from the production paradigm first introduced by Henry Ford. It is based on economies of scale, standardisation, mass production and consumption and thus the need for a continuous expansion of the market, i.e. increasing demand. It is accompanied by a minute division of labour based on the time-and-motion studies of Frederick Charles Taylor (*taylorism*).
 4. Buzzwords like the «information economy», «the knowledge society», «globalization», «the learning economy», «turbo capitalism» and others try to capture this development.

term that designates the shifting of state activities – albeit to different degrees in different national contexts – towards the promotion of greater flexibility, innovation (a *post-fordist* mode of accumulation) and the opening of national economies to international trade. The economic and political spheres have been re-articulated and transformed, a process that is still underway and, as a matter of fact, highly contested. The nation state still plays an important, albeit altered role, though the national is not the primary scale of economic policy or orientation anymore. As Jessop (2000) argues, state power has been transferred upwards (e.g. to supranational institutions such as the EU, the IMF or the WTO), downwards (through, for instance, decentralization and regionalization) and sideways (through the rise of international relations, cross-border and inter-local regions, etc.). Thus, 80% of international commerce is conducted between industrial nation states and regions, only 15% of world trade between continents, with the overall participation of Africa amounting to only 3% (Deutscher Bundestag, 2002: 50; Koopmann and Franzmeyer, 2003: 17). This development suggests the term «triadization» as the regional concentration in the three clusters, EU, USA and Asian Pacific, rather than «globalisation» (Dicken 1998: 116). Important to note here are the *continuities* in these processes based on the inherent conflictual relations in capitalism:

Capital accumulation depends essentially on the market-mediated exploitation of wage-labour. For, while markets mediate the search for added value, they cannot themselves produce it. Moreover, the very process of commodification rooted in the spread of the market mechanism generates contradictions which cannot be resolved by that mechanism itself. For example, the commodity is both an exchange-value and a use-value; the worker is both an abstract unit of labour power substitutable by other such units (or, indeed, other factors of production) and a concrete individual with specific skills, knowledge, and creativity; the wage is both a cost of production and a source of demand; money functions both as an international currency and as national money; productive capital is both abstract value in motion (notably in the form of profits available for reinvestment) and a concrete stock of time – and place-specific assets in the course of being valorized; and so forth. These structural contradictions are always present in the capital relation but they can assume different forms in different contexts. They can also prove more or less manageable depending on the specific «spatio-temporal fixes» and the nature of the institutionalized class compromises with which they are from time to time associated. (Jessop, 1999 b: 6)

In both capitalist regimes or modes of accumulation – KWNS and the SWPN – these contradictions are present (continuity). The way they are dealt with, however, differs greatly (change). Neo-liberalism as the current predominant policy increases the first side of the contradictions, reinforcing «the abstract-formal

moment of exchange value» «at the expense of the substantive-material moment of use value» (1999 *b*: 7). The deepening and aggravating fundamental contradictions (including market failures, the uninhibited movement and accumulation of capital and the concomitant rising gaps between rich and poor and environmental degradation) might, in fact, prevent the full realization of something worth to be called globalization: «It is in disrupting past fixes and compromises without providing a new structured coherence for continued capital accumulation that neo-liberal forms of globalization appear to be so threatening to many capitalists – let alone other – interests» (Jessop, 1999 *b*: 8). Contrary to Hirst and Thompson (1996) then, who claim that current processes of internationalization are not qualitatively different from those before World War I and, thus, do not deserve a new terminology, Jessop (1999 *b*: 2) argues that there are crucial differences between these historical phases (as outlined above) including for instance a much wider asymmetry between largely immobile labour power and mobile capital today, whereas the last century saw an enormous movement of people crossing national boundaries looking for new opportunities:⁵ «[...] the main forms of internationalization in trade, finance, indirect and direct investment, services, and R&D have been changing as has the relative weight of these different domains in overall global flows [...]» (Jessop, 1999 *b*: 2). Turning back the wheel of social progress is prone to either cause social conflict or intense efforts to make these changes more or less acceptable. The role of discourse in these processes of persuading citizens and workers of the beneficial effects of a neoliberal restructuring has therefore greatly increased.

Having outlined the general implications of the neoliberal project of restructuring, I will now tie these considerations more specifically to political-ethical questions any theory of intercultural communication should address as central issues in the field. The focus will be on questions of socio-economic distribution as a necessary precondition for the full participation and recognition of others in society and thus in communication.

3. Social Inequality and Misrecognition

A large part of the debate about the relation between processes of globalization and culture has centered on the effects of the spread of specific goods, services and patterns of consumption on different cultures. It is feared that a global consumer

5. See also Singh (1998: 6), who argues that in the 19th century citizenship was granted far more easily: «Since then, however, international migration has been reduced to a trickle because of draconian immigration laws and restrictive consular practices».

culture and its products might be invading, marginalizing, substituting or even eradicating local patterns of consumption, production and cultural practices.⁶

Coca-Cola is not just an additional option for all the people around the globe that drink it, but an option that tends to force other options out of existence. And what counts as competition often ends up as a meaningless struggle between massive corporations selling identical products in different packaging. No one's quality of life is significantly improved by the ability to drink Coke rather than Pepsi. [...] Thus, finally, it is an open question whether removing barriers to trade will provide people with new options that they prefer, or rather remove pre-existing options that they would have preferred to the best that is now available to them. (Dupré, 2001: 111-112)

While there surely is an increasing convergence of patterns of consumption, commodities, entertainment and even systems of cultural beliefs and practices, differences in socio-economic positioning and hence «lifestyles» are widening. As has been argued in the preceding sections, current neoliberal policies work as a polarizing force generating and worsening economic, ecological and social distortions such as poverty, inequality and inequity in terms of opportunities and distribution of resources, both on a national and international plane:

There is no doubt that globalization as currently proposed excludes a large part of the world and bestows on only a few countries significant purchasing power and a high level of productivity. Globalization is really a rich-country phenomenon and, to be more exact, something for the richest sectors within those rich countries. In other words, inside the North there is now North and a South, just as both exist within the South. (Ugarteche, 2000: 5)

The dissemination of a sophisticated global life style or culture is indeed very limited in scale while not in scope: national «elites» are becoming internationally increasingly similar in their forms of consumption and entertainment (ways of dressing, driving, eating, working, traveling, and so on), their mobility and access to technologies. At the same time, they become ever more disconnected⁷ from other classes of the same nationality:

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6. The argumentation focuses on the influx of more or less standardized goods and services which lead to creating «particular types of demand and the shaping of consumer tastes and preferences» (Dicken 1998: 249). These tend to dominate regional markets rapidly and thus marginalize local products. This is not to be confused with the view that global practices and goods automatically lead to homogenization and elimination of difference. Global products do have to be appropriated and adjusted locally, a process that involves «localization» and finally generates a hybrid «glocalization».
 7. In fact, many of these exclusive goods derive their value from being inaccessible to others. Consumption and possession of these goods and services become a status and class issue.

Los habitantes de Beverly Hills y de los barrios opulentos de México, Lima, Johannesburgo o Bombay, a pesar de las distancias continentales que los separan, viven en condiciones de vida muy cercanas entre ellos, pero muy lejanas de los habitantes de los barrios pobres vecinos que los rodean. De Los Ángeles hasta Vladivostock y desde Río hasta Manila, más personas que no ven crecer sus ingresos, desempleadas y pobres, conviven con pequeñas élites que residen rodeadas de muros con su propia policía y consumiendo toda clase de preciosidades globales. (de Rivera, 1998: 113)

[The inhabitants of Beverly Hills and the opulent quarters of Mexico, Lima, Johannesburg or Bombay live, despite the continental distances that separate them, in very similar living conditions albeit very different from the inhabitants of those quarters that surround them. From Los Angeles to Vladivostock and from Rio to Manila, more people who either do not see their income rise or are unemployed and poor, live close to small elites whose residencies are surrounded by walls guarded by their own police and who consume all kinds of global luxuries.]

The argument put forth here is therefore that cultures are not assimilated into one global dominant culture through coercion, consent or a mix of the two, nor is it argued that the spread of modernizing elements automatically leads to a loss of traditional cultures.⁸ Increasing inequality, however, is adverse to *any* form of communicative meaning making processes since it distorts systematically the interpersonal relationships at play.⁹ Even though people can of course react to inequality in different ways (for example in a compliant or resistant fashion) depending on a variety of circumstantial and other factors,¹⁰ unequal conditions are generally not favourable. Notwithstanding suffering caused by physical hardship and insecurity, individuals need «freedom from the arbitrary exercise of power, a measure of privacy and control of their lives, and opportunities for self-expression» (Parekh, 2000: 132). On a macro level, such scenarios are partly

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8. As Sayer (2000: 7) argues, this perspective is often associated with the destruction and loss of somewhat idealized, traditional, small and intact communities and their systems of customs, values and beliefs. He points out that cultural values can also be oppressive: «At the same time as capitalism de-values some practices, its continued erosion of traditional relationships frees them up to be determined by actors through deliberation and choice rather than convention, thereby allowing the possibility of a re-moralization in some cases».
 9. Intercultural miscommunication is of course not exclusively based on socio-economic differences. Increasing inequality, though, makes non- or miscommunication more likely. The politics of redistribution and recognition should thus not be treated separately.
 10. When the gap between rich and poor widens and political and economic power is taken away from some groups, these might, as Castells (1998, 2000, 2003) and others have repeatedly argued, start to reemphasize local and ethnic identities which might in turn give rise to resistance, localism, fragmentation and, in its worst case, fundamentalism. This is often combined with the perception of powerful homogenizing forces, foreign values and practices generated by markets which endanger particular societies: «Unable to arrest the disintegration of their traditional cultures which have hitherto given meaning to their lives and held them together as communities, they experience a veritable moral panic and become vulnerable to pedlars of a fundamentalist return to an allegedly pristine past» (Parekh, 2000: 164).

created by the loss of equal democratic participation in political processes – decisions about how to organize society and the social good – through an ever greater political power of unelected entities, the concomitant exclusion of more and more stakeholders in debates and decisions, and a general reduction of citizenship to consumer choices.¹¹ On a different level, the increasing interrelatedness of some («elite») social circles at the expense of others undermines social cohesion, dissects solidarity and trust and, thus, the very structure and processes of democratic societies.

Apart from the structural preconditions for communication and participation, though, inequality impacts also on the micro-level of situated communication. As Sayer (2000, 2005) argues succinctly, recognition is based on evaluative judgments. With little control over the conditions of their lives and work, lack of knowledge and resources recognized as valuable by society, individuals, their practices, values and experiences may become devalued in the eyes of the others:¹²

Identities are valued or devalued because of the place of their bearers in the prevailing structure of power, and their revaluation entails corresponding changes in the latter. Women, gays, cultural minorities and others cannot express and realize their identities without the necessary freedom of self-determination, a climate conducive to diversity, material resources and opportunities, suitable legal arrangements, and so on, and all these call for profound changes in all areas of life. (Parekh, 2000: 2)¹³

At the same time, social misrecognition tends to impact upon people's identity and sense of worth. Given the fact that reciprocal recognition is institutionally embedded and interactions often occur under grossly unequal conditions, Sayer (2005: 219) argues that only «in a relatively equal and free society can all develop their capacities, achieve something and thereby gain recognition». Subjects have to be «[...] in a strong sense equal and free to exercise autonomy, not merely formally in terms of their rights but in terms of their capabilities for living in ways they have reason to value» (Sayer, 2005: 219). Any form of market fundamentalism is thus prone to contribute to the diminishing of cultural diversity either through exclusion, marginalization or intervention: «The fear is that the

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11. García Canclini (1995: 208) for instance argues that today nation states are less characterized by solidarity between citizens, but have increasingly become communities of consumers differentiated by income (but unified, inside their socio-economic class by similar tastes and «lifestyles»). Consumerism, however, is devoid of any moral or civic substance.
 12. I am arguing here in terms of conditional recognition (based on achievement), albeit unconditional recognition is even more distorted by relations of domination (Sayer, 2005: 225).
 13. See also Sayer (2005: 222): «Differences in the distribution of respect, contempt, envy, resentment or condescension and deference are partly a product of inequalities in economic distribution, not merely because wealth is often taken as an index of worth, but because economic inequalities make objective differences to people in terms of their chances of achieving things that are likely to win conditional recognition».

different cultural standards could lead to an international “race to the bottom”, down to conformity to the more “cost-effective” norms and values of other cultures. All those who are too inflexible to adapt to these cost-effective standards would be wiped out in competition» (Löhr and Steinmann, 1998: 11).

Surely, capitalism itself is difference blind, meaning that as long as differences do not disturb the smooth running of business they can potentially be integrated.¹⁴ Although the functioning of capitalism is not dependent on gender, ethnic or other differences «its concrete practices are usually gendered» (Ray and Sayer, 1999: 14). Social stratification and «order» often build upon and follow ethnic, cultural, gender and/or age markers of difference.¹⁵ A further increase in economic inequality thus deepens unequal conditions for cultures, societies and regions entailing a «progressive spatial segregation, separation and exclusion» (Bauman, 1998: 3; see also Castells, 2000: 67).¹⁶ Bearing in mind that there is hardly a «full structural integration and strategic coordination across the globe», Jessop (1999 *b*: 4-5) argues that «[...] the various processes involved in globalization actually re-order – across economic space on different spatial scales – place-based differences and complementarities as the basis for dynamic competitive advantages [...]».¹⁷ Regional cultures are thus not only exposed to the embedding effects of the market, but are often seen as not useful, problematic or even at cross-purposes with capital accumulation, and not being compatible with consumer or enterprise culture:¹⁸

Nicht mit ökonomischer, finanzieller und politischer Macht ausgestattete regionale Kulturen sehen sich z.T. einem *Abwertungsdruck* ihrer humanen und ökologischen Ressourcen, ihres Sozialkapitals und ihrer Institutionen ausgesetzt, der einer Kapitulation vor dem politisch-ökonomischen Expansionszwang der Stärkeren gleichkommt [...] (Elsner, 2000: 8)

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14. In fact, markets need, address and construe different target groups and their concomitant tastes.
 15. As Dicken (1998: 268) points out, different groups are differently hit by economic crises: women more than men, black and Hispanics more than whites, and blue-collar more than white-collar workers.
 16. De Rivera (1998: 18) even speaks of an «apartheid socio-económico mundial».
 17. In Mexico, for instance, the marginalization of indigenous communities has severely increased during the ten years the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) has been established and so have, consequently, multicultural conflicts: «Estos conflictos se intensifican en tanto la política económica neoliberal, al acentuar en la última década la pobreza y la marginación de los indígenas y mestizos, agrava la migración y el desarraigo, los enfrentamientos por tierras y por el poder político». (García Canclini, 1995: 169) [These conflicts have intensified in the last decade since the neoliberal economic politics accentuated poverty, the marginalization of indigenous people and mestizos, and aggravated migration and uprooting, the conflicts about land and political power.]
 18. As Lo Bianco (2000: 94) observes, some differences become more accentuated through an increasing socio-economic inequality whereas others diminish: «Paradoxically, in the same moment of cultural, civic and personal diversity brought about by globalisation, with its hybrid language and cultural forms emerging from new population mixes, there is also a massive contraction of diversity».

[Those regional cultures which lack economic, financial or political resources are faced with a devaluation of their human and ecological resources, their social capital and institutions, which equals a capitulation in the face of the political-economic force to expansion of the stronger [...]]

Elsner speaks here of a double tendency to uniformation / homogenization and hierarchization / structural heterogenization. The first refers to the reduction of diversity through the orientation and subjugation to a single value or standard, namely success or «use-value» in the global market.¹⁹ In turn, the term structural heterogenization describes the increased social stratification and disintegration often enmeshed with ethnicity and the marginalization of specific cultural groups:

Mit diesem Begriff wird eine Gesellschafts – und Wirtschaftsstruktur gekennzeichnet, in der sich unterschiedliche Produktionsniveaus und Produktionsweisen abgeschichtet gelagert, miteinander verschränken – gewissermaßen im Spektrum von den hoch produktiven Tochterfirmen multinationaler Konzerne einerseits und einer kärglichen Selbstversorgungswirtschaft andererseits. Die bekannte Folge dieser Struktur besteht in einer Akzentuierung der Kluft zwischen Reich und Arm, zwischen Privilegierung und Marginalität in ein und derselben Gesellschaft. (Senghaas, 2002: 6-7)

[This term designates a social and economic structure in which different levels and ways of producing are hierarchically interrelated and layered – ranging for instance from highly productive subsidiaries of multinational companies on the one hand to a miserable self-reliant economy on the other. The well-known consequence of this structure is the accentuation of rich and poor, of privileges and marginalization in one and the same society.]

4. The Concept of Tolerance

Hardly any author writing in the area of intercultural communication would disagree with the view that ethical questions are fundamental to the field and lie at the heart of every theoretical and practical approach. Very little attention, though, is given to the complexities of those questions in relation to *globalization*. Instead, many authors refer vaguely to some «ethical imperatives», such as social

19. «Während Diversität echte Verschiedenheit auf vielen kulturellen Dimensionen meint, bedeutet hierarchische Uniformierung die *Vergleichbarmachung* der Kulturen nach dem *einen Maßstab*, dem des “Erfolges” auf dem “Weltmarkt”». (Elsner, 2000: 8) [While diversity means authentic diversity on a number of cultural dimensions, hierarchical uniformity means the comparability of cultures along one measure, «success» in the «global market»].

justice, that require «addressing white privilege, racism, and other forms of prejudices» (Bennett, 2000: 20), showing their good-will without, however, addressing the intricacies these claims entail.

The concept of tolerance is one of the most commonly used terms to describe the ethics behind intercultural approaches, but it is far from being unproblematic. Tolerance might actually imply asymmetrical power relations:

It is the knowledge of the possession of power on one's side and of powerlessness on the other side, which makes communication difficult. In such a context, the possibility of an «equal exchange», or «establishing co-membership», of «empathy and rapport» – all of which are seen as essential to a good communication's environment – are remote, for reasons which have little to do with language or accent, little to do with culture or with culturally derived speech conventions, but a great deal to do with **structure**. (Murray and Sondhi, 1987: 30, in Chang and Holt, 1997: 208)

The plea for tolerance thus «implies conceding the validity of society's disapproval and relying on its self-restraint» (Parekh, 2000: 1). The structural advantage of one group over another or of one individual over another might lie at the root of misunderstandings, misconstruals, divergent interests or values and resulting conflicts. In fact, unequal power relations are a necessary even if not sufficient precondition for the idea of tolerance to arise as a solution. Tolerance implies that the tolerator has the power to interfere with, «[...] influence, or remove the offending practice, but refrain from using that power» (Mendus, 1989: 8). The appeal to tolerance is thus generally made towards majorities with the resources to exert influence on minorities in the hope that they will refrain from doing so. The problematic nature of «tolerance» is particularly salient in the case of foreign and second language learners and speakers who have not yet fully «mastered» the language and discourses of the target speech community. They might be subjected to stereotyping processes (Giles and Coupland, 1991: 118) and, ultimately, dismissed as incompetent communication partners on the basis of their lower social status as immigrants.²⁰ A quest for tolerance in this situation is an appeal to the goodwill of the native speaker diverting attention from the asymmetrical social structure of majority-minority relations that systematically distort the process of communication.

Apart from the difficulties with this concept, the hope that is connected with the promotion of tolerance is in danger of failing in exactly those situations which are problematic, that is, in circumstances where diversity is «coupled with

20. This phenomenon has been investigated under the heading of «host-gatekeeper» interaction.

dislike, disapproval or disgust» (Mendus, 1989: 18-19) and, I would like to add, conflicts of interests. If not combined with a deeper *understanding*, the «other» is in these situations usually regarded as simply being wrong, with the result of tolerance ending quickly and sharply. The suspension of good will can entail further exclusionary practices and transport us into a sphere of indifference (Wuthnow, Hunter, Bergesen and Kurzweil, 1984: 239). The concept of tolerance can potentially mislead us into harmonious thinking, fictitious neutrality and false ideas about real-world conflicts intertwined with issues of power and structure. It remains on the individual plane with no political message.

5. Conclusion

Following from the above, I contend that a theory of intercultural communication is only of interest and relevance if deeper seated conflicts are addressed that arise out of different values, worldviews, interests *and* structural inequalities. If conflicts between members of different social and linguistic groups were simple misunderstandings about issues nobody has a stake in, these could easily be resolved. It is therefore «long overdue» (Paige and Martin, 1996: 37; see also Blommaert and Verschueren, 1991: 10) to recognise that «power and power differentials inherent in the social and political context play a critical part in intercultural education». The analysis of ethnicity (and by implication culture, gender and other markers of difference) should be set «squarely within the context of economic and political structure and process» (Fenton, 1999: 236). As Parekh argues succinctly, misrecognition cannot be abolished by rationally persuading the dominant by intellectual argument and moral appeal:

This is to misunderstand the dynamics of the process of recognition. Misrecognition has both a cultural and a material basis. White Americans, for example, take a demeaning view of African Americans partly under the influence of the racist culture, partly because this legitimizes the prevailing system of domination, and partly because the deeply disadvantaged blacks do sometimes exhibit some of the features that confirm such stereotypes. Misrecognition, therefore, can only be countered by both undertaking a rigorous critique of the dominant culture and radically restructuring the prevailing inequalities of economic and political power. Since the dominant group welcomes neither the radical critique nor the corresponding political praxis, the struggle for recognition involves cultural and political contestation and sometimes even violence, as Hegel (1960) highlighted in his analysis of the dialectic of recognition and which Taylor's (1994) sanitized version of it ignores. As we have seen, the politics of culture is integrally tied up with the politics of power because culture is itself institutionalized power and deeply imbricate with other systems of power. Cultural self-esteem cannot be developed and sustained in

a vacuum and requires appropriate changes in all the major areas of life. No multicultural society can be stable and vibrant unless it ensures that its constituent communities receive both just recognition and a just share of economic and political power. It requires a robust form of social, economic and political democracy to underpin its commitment to multiculturalism. (Parekh, 2000: 342-343)

Any theory of intercultural communication requires a discussion of the nature of well-being and an explicit commitment to values such as social equality, fair distribution of resources, and social welfare. It should take into consideration the diverse modes of disaggregating people and generating inequality and relations of domination. Only by raising «[...] the question of the social costs of economic violence; and thus try[ing] to lay foundations for an economics of well-being» (Bourdieu, 1998: 29) can processes of misrecognition and misunderstanding be understood.

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Normas de publicación CLR

0. Consideraciones generales. Política editorial

CULTURA, LENGUAJE Y REPRESENTACIÓN. CLR es una publicación de carácter científico-académico, de periodicidad anual, dedicada a la investigación en el área de los Estudios Culturales. Cada número aborda de manera monográfica alguno de los espectros relevantes de las representaciones de la cultura en sus diferentes manifestaciones (social, política, educativa, artística, histórica, lingüística, etc.), poniendo un especial énfasis en los acercamientos interdisciplinares e innovadores en el análisis de las mismas.

Su objetivo consiste en la divulgación de propuestas relevantes para la comunidad científica internacional dentro de la disciplina de los Estudios Culturales, para lo cual expresa su compromiso con la publicación de contribuciones originales y de alto contenido científico, siguiendo los parámetros internacionales de la investigación humanística.

La aceptación de artículos para su publicación estará condicionada al dictamen positivo de dos evaluadores externos. La presentación de un trabajo para su evaluación implica que se trata de material no publicado previamente y que no se encuentra en fase de evaluación para otra publicación.

En el caso de que un artículo previamente publicado en *Cultura, Lenguaje y Representación* quisiese ser publicado por su autor en otro medio, el mismo deberá mencionar a esta revista como lugar de publicación original. Para cualquier duda al respecto se recomienda consultar con la Dirección de la Revista.

1. Presentación de originales

- Los originales podrán presentarse en español o inglés.
- La extensión de los artículos no sobrepasará las 20 páginas (6000 palabras aprox.) a doble espacio.
- Las reseñas de publicaciones relevantes tendrán 3-5 páginas (900-1500 palabras aprox.).
 - La reseña deberá incluir: título completo del libro; los nombres completos de los autores en el orden en que aparecen citados en el libro; lugar de publicación; editorial; año de publicación; número total de páginas (eg. xii + 234); ISBN; precio (si se conoce).
 - El autor de la reseña debe enviar 2 copias de la misma a la editorial del libro reseñado.
- Se adjuntarán 2 copias en papel de las contribuciones, así como un diskette de 3.5" para PC y documento de WORD o RTF.

2. Información personal

La información personal y de contacto del autor aparecerá en una hoja aparte. Se incluirá la siguiente información: *a)* Título del artículo; *b)* Nombre y apellidos del autor; *c)* Institución de trabajo; *d)* Dirección postal de contacto; teléfono; fax.; dirección de correo electrónico.

3. Formato

- Los originales deberán estar mecanografiados a doble espacio, justificados, con letra Times New Roman, 12.
- Para las notas se utilizará la letra Times New Roman, 10 e interlineado sencillo. En ningún caso se utilizarán las notas al pie para acomodar las citas bibliográficas.

4. Citas

- Se utilizarán comillas españolas en la siguiente gradación (« ‘ ’ ») cuando el texto citado no supere las cuatro líneas.
- Para las citas de cuatro líneas o superiores se deberá indentar el texto y separarlo del resto del texto mediante un retorno.
- Se utilizará el sistema de citas abreviadas, incorporadas en el cuerpo del texto, utilizando el siguiente formato: Said (1993: 35); (Bhabha, 1990: 123).
- Cuando existan referencias a más de un autor dentro de un paréntesis, las mismas deberán ir separadas por un punto y coma y ordenadas cronológicamente.
- Las omisiones textuales se indicarán por puntos suspensivos entre corchetes [...]; igualmente, los comentarios del autor dentro de una cita irán entre corchetes.

5. Referencias bibliográficas

- En el apartado de “Referencias bibliográficas” deberán aparecer obligatoriamente todas las obras citadas en el texto.
- Los apellidos e inicial del autor/es irán en negrita y letra versal.

a) Libros

SAID, E. W. (1978): *Orientalism*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

b) Dos o más autores

DU GAY, P.; S. HALL; L. JANES; H. MACKAY; K. NEGUS (1997): *Doing Cultural Studies: the Story of the Sony Walkman*, London, Sage / The Open University.

c) Libros con editor

HALL, S.; D. HOBSON; A. LOWE; P. WILLIS (eds.) (1980): *Culture, Media, Language*, London, Hutchinson.

d) Artículos en publicación periódica

NADIN, M. (1984): «On the Meaning of the Visual», *Semiotica*, 52: 45-56.

BURGESS, A. (1990): «La hoguera de la novela», *El País*, 25 de febrero, 1-2.

e) Capítulo de libro colectivo

HALL, S. (1980): «Encoding/Decoding» en HALL, S.; D. HOBSON; A. LOWE; P. WILLIS (eds.) (1980): *Culture, Media, Language*, London, Hutchinson. 128-138. Cuando el libro colectivo aparece citado en la bibliografía es suficiente con hacer la referencia abreviada:

HALL, S. (1992): «The West and the Rest» en HALL, S.; B. GIEBEN (eds.) (1992: 25-37).

f) Año

Cuando exista más de una publicación del mismo autor y del mismo año, se indicará por medio de una letra minúscula en cursiva, separada del año por un espacio.

Lukács, G. (1966 a): *Problemas del realismo*, México, FCE.

— (1966 b): *Sociología de la literatura*, Barcelona, Península.

Guidelines for publication CLR

0) Notes to contributors. Editorial Policy

CULTURE, LANGUAGE AND REPRESENTATION. CLR is an annual scholarly publication devoted to the discipline of Cultural Studies, whose scope is aimed at the international academic community. Each issue deals monographically with a relevant aspect of the representation of culture in its various manifestations (social, political, educational, artistic, historical, linguistic, etc.), encouraging interdisciplinary and innovative approaches in the field of cultural research. The Journal is committed to academic and research excellence by publishing relevant and original material that meets high scientific standards.

Submission of a paper will be taken to imply that it is unpublished and is not being considered for publication elsewhere. Articles will undergo an independent evaluation by two external referees, who will advise the Editors on the suitability of their publication.

Publication elsewhere of an article included in *Culture, Language and Representation* requires that the author acknowledge that it has first appeared in the Journal. If in doubt, authors are advised to contact The Editors.

1) Manuscript submissions

- Contributions may be written in English or Spanish.
- The length of the articles should not exceed 20 pages, 6000 words approximately.
- Book reviews will be 3-5 pages (900 to 1500 words approx.).
 - Reviews should include: full title of book; full name of author(s) in the same order as they appear in the book; place of publication; publisher; year of publication; number of pages (e.g. xii + 234); ISBN; price (if known).
 - Reviewers are encouraged to send two copies of their review to the Publishers of the book reviewed.
- Submissions should be made in a 3.5" diskette (WORD or RTF document for PC), accompanied by 2 double-spaced printouts.

2) Personal information

Personal and contact information of the contributor must appear on a separate sheet, including the following: *a)* Article title; *b)* Full name of contributor; *c)* Institutional affiliation; *d)* Contact address; telephone number; fax.; e-mail address.

3) Layout

- Manuscripts should be double-spaced and justified throughout, using Times New Roman, 12 points fonts.
- Footnotes will be single-spaced, using Times New Roman, 10 points fonts. Avoid the use of footnotes to accommodate bibliographical references.

4) Quotations

- Use Spanish quotation marks in the following sequence (« ‘ ’ ») for quotes not exceeding 4 lines.
- Quotations longer than 4 lines should be indented in a new paragraph.
- References must be incorporated in the body of the text, using the following model: Said (1993: 35); (Bhabha, 1990: 123).
- When reference is made to more than one author in a parenthesis, these should be separated by a semicolon and arranged chronologically.
- Textual omissions will be indicated by suspension points in square brackets [...]; authorial commentary in a quoted text will also appear in square brackets.

5) Bibliographical references

- All works cited in the text must appear in the “Works Cited” section.
- Surname and initial of the author(s) should appear in SMALL CAPS and BOLD type.

a) Books

SAID, E. W. (1978): *Orientalism*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

b) Two or more authors

DU GAY, P.; S. HALL; L. JANES; H. MACKAY; K. NEGUS (1997): *Doing Cultural Studies: the Story of the Sony Walkman*, London, Sage / The Open University.

c) Book by an editor

HALL, S.; D. HOBSON; A. LOWE; P. WILLIS (eds.) (1980): *Culture, Media, Language*, London, Hutchinson.

d) Article in a Journal or Periodical

NADIN, M. (1984): «On the Meaning of the Visual», *Semiotica*, 52: 45-56.

BATE, J. (1999): «A genius, but so ordinary», *The Independent*, 23 January, 5.

e) Chapter or section in a collective book

HALL, S. (1980): «Encoding/Decoding» in HALL, S.; D. HOBSON; A. LOWE; P. WILLIS (eds.) (1980): *Culture, Media, Language*, London, Hutchinson. 128-138.

When the collective book already appears in the “Works Cited”, a short reference might be used:

HALL, S. (1992): «The West and the Rest» in HALL, S.; B. GIEBEN (eds.) (1992: 25-37).

f) Year

When there are two or more works by the same author with the same publishing year, they should be listed adding a correlative letter in italics, separated by a space from the year.

Eagleton, Terry (1976 *a*): *Criticism and Ideology*, London, New Left Books.

— (1976 *b*): *Marxism and Literary Criticism*, London, Methuen.

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Contribuciones para CLR

Volumen 5

El volumen 5 de la Revista *Cultura, Lenguaje y Representación*, con fecha de publicación mayo 2008, estará dedicado al tema monográfico de «La intermedialidad en la cultura contemporánea».

La intermedialidad se asocia con la difuminación de las tradicionales fronteras formales y de géneros propiciada por la incorporación de los medios digitales a las prácticas culturales. Esto ha llevado a la aparición de espacios intermediales entre modelos de representación y creación de significados, así como a la proliferación de textos, intertextos, hipertextos, hiperficciones. La intermedialidad constituye la forma moderna de aprehender la experiencia vital a modo de interfaz o interrelación entre el ser humano y el mundo digital o virtual, de tal manera que se hace difícil distinguir entre aquellos actos «en vivo o en directo» y los que están «mediados» digital o tecnológicamente.

Entre los posibles temas a abordar estarían: reflexiones teóricas sobre la intermedialidad y sus procesos asociados; análisis críticos de ejemplos específicos de intermedialidad en la literatura, arte, cine, televisión, medios digitales, artes escénicas, danza, música; representaciones intermediales de género e identidad en la cultura contemporánea; educación e intermedialidad; espacios intermedios entre lo real y las realidades imaginadas del discurso intermedial; comunidades y culturas intermediales; performatividad e intermedialidad.

Los artículos deberán ajustarse a las Normas de Publicación de la Revista, disponibles en www.clr.uji.es

Para cualquier consulta puede contactar con los directores de la revista:

José Ramón Prado (prado@ang.uji.es)

José Luis Blas (blas@fil.uji.es)

Fecha límite de presentación de originales: 15 de septiembre 2008

Call for contributions CLR

Volume 5

Volume 5 to appear in May 2008 will be devoted to «Intermediality in Contemporary Culture».

Intermediality is associated with the blurring of traditionally ascribed generic and formal boundaries through the incorporation of digital media into all forms of cultural practice, and the presence of one or more media in the space and form of another medium. This has led to the creation of intermedial spaces in-between media and a proliferation of texts, inter-texts, hyper-texts, hyper-fictions, and acts of remediation, transmediality, multimediality, hypermediality and a bewildering blur of associated realities. In this screen-saving world we are not sure what is «live» and what is «mediatized» and if we can differentiate between them anymore.

Suggestions for investigation are given below: theoretical reflections on intermediality and intermedial processes; critical analysis of specific examples of intermediality in literature, cinema, television, the digital media or the performing arts of theatre, dance and music; intermedial representations of gender and identity in contemporary culture; education and intermediality; in-between the real and the imagined realities of intermedial discourse; intermedial communities and cultures; performativity and intermediality.

Articles and book reviews must follow the Journal's Guidelines for Publication available from www.clr.uji.es.

Enquiries concerning this Call for Papers may be addressed to:

Freda Chapple (f.m.chapple@sheffield.ac.uk)

Any other enquiry should be addressed to the Editors:

José Ramón Prado (prado@ang.uji.es)

José Luis Blas (blas@fil.uji.es)

Deadline for Submissions: 15 September 2008

