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# PRISONER IDENTITIES: REPRESENTATION, STEREOTYPE AND INTERSECTIONALITY IN THE TRANSLATION OF THE LATINA WOMAN IN *ORANGE IS THE NEW BLACK*<sup>1</sup>

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## Abstract

In this study we approach the translation of audiovisual products as a way to construct collective and individual identities. We start from the premise that, in the global era in which we live, (translated) audiovisual media contribute to the formation of intersectional identities characterized by features such as age, gender, race or sexuality. For this reason, it becomes necessary to understand translated discourse as an integral part of the social fabric. To support this statement, we study the group of Latina inmates in the series *Orange Is the New Black*, particularly with regard to their sexuality and use of Spanish, in order to delve into the asymmetries that emerge from the re-creation of this minority in the original and dubbed versions of the series.

## Resumen

El estudio que presentamos se aproxima a la traducción de productos audiovisuales como vía para construir identidades colectivas e individuales. Partimos de la premisa

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de que, en la época global que vivimos, los medios audiovisuales (traducidos) contribuyen a la formación de identidades interseccionales atravesadas por rasgos como la edad, el género, la raza o la sexualidad. Por ello, como mantendremos, resulta necesario entender el discurso traducido como parte constituyente del tejido social. Para dar prueba de ello estudiaremos el caso del grupo de presas latinas de la serie *Orange Is the New Black*, especialmente su sexualidad y uso del español, con el fin de comprobar qué asimetrías surgen en la recreación de esta minoría para los espectadores en versión original y doblada.

**Keywords:** Translation. Identity. Intersectionality. *Orange Is the New Black*. Latina women.

**Palabras clave:** Traducción. Identidad. Interseccionalidad. *Orange Is the New Black*. Mujeres latinas.

## 1. Introduction

In the essentially translated world where we live, with an extensive network of social connections and a constant movement of people through geopolitical and cultural borders, the global reach of media has overcome the mono-cultural limits that largely characterised fiction production from past decades. As part of the unstoppable transnational flow of goods and services, the images, frames and dialogues that are broadcast to millions of viewers in every corner of the planet have not only contributed to the decline of hegemonic and monolingual paradigms in fiction series for television but also to the promotion of a melting pot of races, genders, accents, sexualities, languages and other features that contribute to the definition of the different identities that are portrayed in them.

The representation of the characters on screen becomes a faithful reflection of the plural, heteroglossic, hybrid, multicultural and multilingual reality which is nowadays common in the societies where we live. Not by chance, Castells claims in his study on communication and power in mass media that what does not exist for the media does not exist for the general public, which means that the contents that are transmitted will inevitably be media messages (2008: s/p). In doing this, he says, “mass media are not the repositories of power, but they, as a whole, are the space where power is decided” (2008: s/p). This argument agrees with different voices from the field of Cultural Studies (Hall 1973; Lavery 2005; Chambers 2009) stating that television, like any other cultural medium, participates in the construction of our reality.

With these premises, and in line with the latest proposals from Audiovisual Translation studies that include the contributions from the Cultural Turn (*cf.* Díaz-Cintas 2012a, 2012b; de Marco 2012; Pérez López de Heredia 2015, 2016a, 2016b; Díaz-Cintas, Parini & Ranzato 2016), we initiate this study acknowledging that, in this era of global interconnection, the information transfer that takes place in translated cultural products is a media transfer, and that, at the same time, these products

are significantly mediated; they include elements through different translation procedures —which are often concealed: there are processes of transformation, modification, acclimatization and even manipulation (Martín Ruano 2016: 2)

In order to analyse the new models of televised fiction (González-Iglesias & Toda 2013) and the potential of translation in the (re)construction of hybrid identities, in the next pages we shall approach one of the television series which currently shows identity diversity in all its aspects with the greatest clarity: *Orange Is the New Black* (OITNB) (Lionsgate Television 2013). Directed by Jenji Kohan and produced by Tilted Productions in collaboration with Lionsgate Television, this American series premiered in July 2013 through the streaming service Netflix. Until now, five seasons have been released and it has been renewed for a sixth and seventh season. In the show, women from different origins, races, ethnic groups, social classes, sexualities, cultures and languages coexist in the television microcosmos of a fictional American prison in Litchfield, where most of the story arcs take place. Although the different plots that introduce the groups of inmates have been praised by the critics and the audience for the way in which they overcome many stereotypes that have affected for years different bodies that did not fit the upper-middle class, white, heterosexual and cisgender paradigm that used to star in fiction products until a relatively short time ago (Rosenberg 2015), we have observed that, to a certain extent, the creators of the series still portray the Latino community from a perspective that fails to capture diverging sexual profiles on screen.

The analysis we present adopts a descriptive and empirical methodology. After viewing the show and comparing the dubbing alternatives used in the Spanish version and the original version, we have selected different scenes with a particularly significant linguistic load or a specific representation of different identities which clearly illustrate aspects related to stereotypes and intersectionality. Due to evident spatial restrictions, this is not an exhaustive list of cases, but rather a sample that guides us through the study of the representation of a globalised environment. Since these are audiovisual texts, we are aware of the technical limitations underlying this type of constrained translation. However, we do not wish here to focus on the observation of the microtextual characteristics of the scenes that we present, but to observe the image that a Spanish viewer receives of the Latina community in OITNB and the repercussions that this may have. To do so, we base our analysis on the postulates of Cultural Studies (Hall 1996, 2000) which interpret the identity of each individual as a product created from a discourse. In our cases, we adopt said approach because, in line with different theorists in the field of Translation Studies (House, Martín Ruano & Baumgarten 2005; Cronin 2006; Vidal Claramonte 2007), we consider identity as a construction subject to rewriting, and we intend to prove it through the comparison between different examples of the original and translated versions of OITNB. More specifically, in

this study we will delve into the way in which the Spanish version represents the intersection between race and sexuality in the group of Latina inmates of *OITNB* through individual examples extracted from the different episodes. To do so, and considering the objectives of this analysis, we will study the use of Spanish as a sign of the Latino identity and the consequences that derive from its alternation with English with regard to represented identities. We will also observe whether this mark of Latinity has overcome the paradigm of fiction products from previous decades in which there was no room for minority sexualities. Therefore, it will also be necessary to turn to Gender and Sexuality studies in order to carry out a multidisciplinary study that allows us to understand the complexity of the task of audiovisual translators that (re) write intersectional identities in the sense this term has already been used in Translation Studies (Brufau 2009, 2010; von Flotow 2009). Consequently, we will conclude that, in spite of the clear advances that have taken place in the representation of identities through the translated audiovisual discourse, and particularly in the series that we will analyse, there are still some difficulties to represent and rewrite intersectional characters without lapsing into stereotypes or without creating an altered image for the target audience.

## 2. Media (and mediated) identities in globalised fiction products

In his book *Encoding / Decoding in the Television Discourse* (1973), Hall described the way in which information transmitted through mass media is encoded and decoded. In his seminal work, the author explains each step of the process to communicate through images, dialogues and the different scenes that are shown in every fiction product. As part of his argument, Hall emphasises the social context that surrounds the viewer and the power of audiences to decode messages based on their cultural and social contexts, which means that the active role of the audience becomes an open door for social change.

The time in which we live, where communication between different communities is a common occurrence, we understand that the translator is the first and most experienced viewer that faces the challenges and difficulties of the transfer from one language into another, particularly in the case of hybrid and heteroglossic productions, like the one that we discuss in this work. Not by chance, Gentzler (2012: s/p) remarks that “translation [...] becomes *the* fundamental process that allows the very existence of any signifying activity” when we deal with texts that contribute to the construction of the cultural identity of displaced communities, of groups of immigrants or refugees who share a race and a language which are different from those of the environment that receives them. In this regard, the globalisation process that we witness

every day implies living in this world through translation in any communication channel. The audiovisual media are a paradigmatic example of this, as can be seen in the growing number of studies and publications that approach audiovisual texts from perspectives that include the postulates of the Cultural Turn. Nevertheless, as Díaz-Cintas points out, there is still a lot to be done in the analysis of the consequences that derive from power, ideology, censorship or the manipulation in the rewriting of audiovisual products (2012a: 275), and this, in his own words, is a strong reason to “find synergies with other disciplines and apply the same rigorous interrogation that other areas of translation have recently undergone” (2012a:275).

In spite of the limited visibility of the rewriting processes that are inherent to most media and telecommunication systems, translation goes beyond the limits of the linguistic aspects to create a discourse that combines multiple origins in fragmented spaces of coexistence where the identity differences between the individuals determine the forms of representation of multiculturalism in current fiction. Therefore, based on the cosmopolitan view that is becoming firmly established in our societies, we agree with Cronin when he defends “the possibility of thinking about translation as a way not only of thinking but of being and acting in the world” (2006: 10). In fact, and together with different authors who stress that the subject is constantly *in translation* (cf. Niranjana 2001-2002: 57; Vidal Claramonte 2007: 41), Cronin claims that:

*translation* takes place in the physical sense of movement or displacement and in the symbolic sense of the shift from one way of speaking, writing about and interpreting the world to another. (2006: 45)

The case of the characters who appear in *OITNB* is a clear example of the multicultural scenario that we are describing. The narration of the series, which is first shown from the perspective of Piper Chapman, an upper-middle class, young white woman who goes to prison for smuggling drug money, pans out very soon to reveal the melting pot of different cultures, races, beliefs and, in sum, identities that live together in Litchfield Penitentiary. Therefore, we should consider, in line with the words of Shohat and Stam, that “it is perhaps time to think in terms of comparative and transnational multiculturalism, of relational studies that do not always pass through the putative center” (2003: 4) in an attempt to give a voice and visibility to intersectional identities that have been hidden in fiction until a relatively short time. In parallel, Hall mentions the structural shift that has been altering contemporary societies since the last years of the 20th century, and he highlights that this change

is fragmenting the cultural landscapes of class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race, and nationality which gave us firm locations as social individuals. These

transformations are also shifting our personal identities, undermining our sense of ourselves as integrated subjects. (2000: 596)

That is, this “dislocation” or “decentralisation” mentioned by Hall (2000: 597) provides a critical description that integrates the new identity models of plural societies that, in spite of being underrepresented in current fiction, are earning more minutes on the screen in the new (translated) productions. In this game of identity representations, there are different voices that demand more attention to the power of television as a powerful channel that shapes collective and multilingual identities thanks to its enormous ability to normalise minority paradigms and make them visible. Hall explains this when he says that:

In modern societies, the different media are especially important sites for the production, reproduction and transformation of ideologies. [...] Institutions like the media are peculiarly central to the matter since they are, by definition, part of the dominant means of *ideological* production. What they “produce” is, precisely, representations of the social world, images, descriptions, explanations and frames for understanding how the world is and why it works as it is said and shown to work. (1995: 90)

In the development of the argument and the approach that we adopt for the study, we are particularly interested in the performative nature of language, as conceived by Butler (1990, 1993), to build the individual and collective identities of fiction products. The author refers to the strength of the linguistic representation that shapes reality and defends that the representation of the subject can only take place in something that is already known as a subject (1990). The legitimising, exclusive discourse actions mentioned by Butler shape the subject, penetrate society and culture, and thus become naturalised. Therefore, power creates something that, seemingly, it merely represents (Butler 1990). According to that line of thought, here lies the danger of considering that the subject—and identity with it—precedes the language. The identity that Butler conceives from a poststructuralist approach appears as a result of language, rather than as a previous and external idea which is independent from it. If that is the case, the author insists, we need to pay attention to the unstable discourse construction that paves the way for the existence of meanings conditioned by the intersectionality of different cultural and historical contexts which, in turn, create new resignifications.

In the case of *OITNB*, the performative perspective that we adopt can be observed in the way that inmates establish their social organisation. Litchfield Penitentiary is divided into groups according to a common identity feature: black, white and Latina inmates live together in a perfectly delimited hierarchical structure that is the origin of many of the scenes shown in the series.

As Enck and Morrissey point out (2015: 309), many of the comic or tense situations that take place between the prisoners emerge when one of them crosses one of those borders and endangers the precarious social balance that governs their daily lives. The division of communities of inmates in *OITNB* is seen from the first episodes, and it is mainly shaped, as we have already mentioned, by race. Therefore, each group is based around the different sleeping areas inside the prison: white inmates are in “The Suburbs”, black inmates are in “The Ghetto”, and Hispanic inmates are in the “Spanish Harlem”. In the following examples we will observe how the prisoners themselves refer to the distribution of cells and the compartmentalisation into isolated groups when, in the first episodes, the main character, Chapman, is waiting to be assigned a cell together with two prison veterans, Nicky and Anita:

<p>CHAPMAN: Why didn't I get assigned?          NICKY: They're probably sending her to Spanish Harlem. They're gonna put you in The Suburbs with the other white people.          CHAPMAN: So how do they choose your roommate?          NICKY: Why? You afraid you're gonna end up with your rocka-lezzie girlfriend?</p>
<p>CHAPMAN: ¿A mí por qué no me dan?          NICKY: A esta la mandarán al Spanish Harlem y a ti a un barrio residencial con el resto de las blancas.          CHAPMAN: ¿Y cómo eligen a tu compañera?          NICKY ¿Por qué? ¿Te da miedo acabar con tu amiga la bollera?</p>

Scene 1. *OITNB* 01x03. TCR: 05:17<sup>2</sup>

<p>GUARDA: Chapman! Get your things together. You're moving down to B dorm. Cube 18!          ANITA: That's the ghetto.          CHAPMAN: What?          ANITA: They got you in the ghetto. Good luck, Chapman. You're gonna need it.</p>
<p>GUARDA: Chapman, recoge tus cosas. Te trasladas al dormitorio B. Cuarto 18.          ANITA: Es el gueto.          CHAPMAN: ¿Qué?          ANITA: Te han metido en el gueto. Buena suerte, Chapman, la necesitarás.</p>

Scene 2. *OITNB* 01x03. TCR: 51:23

2. The examples included in this article show, unless otherwise specified, the transcription of the dialogue in the original version, followed by the transcription of the Spanish dubbed version. The codes for the identification of seasons and episodes at the bottom of each of the scenes has an YYxZZ format, where “YY” represents the season number and “ZZ” represents the episode number.



Despite the fact that they are all organised into more or less compartmentalised groups, the novelty of this prison drama lies in the intersectional nature that can be observed in many of the main characters. Apart from the gender perspective, each of them is affected by circumstances such as their race, their sexual identity, their addiction to different substances, the use of different languages to communicate or their age. In fact, the latter is also one of the characteristics that determines the creation groups in the series. Together with the Hispanic, black and white women, we find the “Golden girls”, who are explicitly mentioned by one of the inmates during a conversation which Chapman, who has just arrived at the prison and tries to understand the group dynamics that exist in her new environment:

CHAPMAN: So, who are you running against besides Taystee?

MORELLO: She don't count. Black ladies just run against the other black ladies. My competition is Pennsatucky. But it don't matter, because Red's gonna make all the white girls vote for me.

CHAPMAN: So, you only run against white people.

NICKY: You can only vote within your race or your group. Look, just pretend it's the 1950s. It makes it easier to understand.

MORELLO: See, everyone elects a representative from their own tribe. **White, black, Hispanic, golden girls**, others. And those five gals, they meet with Healy, they tell him what we want, then he speaks to the higher-ups. It's like student council.

CHAPMAN: ¿Y a quién te enfrentas aparte de a Taystee?

MORELLO: Ella no cuenta. Las negras solo compiten con otras negras. Yo tengo que ganar a Pennsatucky, pero no me preocupa porque Red obligará a todas las blancas a votarme.

CHAPMAN: ¿Entonces solo te enfrentas a otras blancas?

NICKY: Solo puedes votar a alguien de tu raza o tu grupo. Piensa que estamos en 1950 y lo entenderás.

MORELLO: Verás, se elige a un representante de cada tribu: **blancas, negras, hispanas, chicas de oro** y otras. Luego las cinco chicas se reúnen con Haley y le dicen lo que queremos y así él habla con los jefazos. Como los delegados de clase.

Scene 3. OITNB 1x06. TCR: 18:02

In this prison fiction, produced under a feminist lens, bodies are subjected to different conditioning factors. Far are the days of the fictions in which the male gaze that Mulvey alluded to (1975) created female characters conditioned by a patriarchal perspective. In line with other recent big productions such as *Game of Thrones* (Television 360 2011), *Scandal* (ABC Studios 2012), *How to Get Away with Murder* (ShondaLand 2014), or *Transparent* (Topple 2014), OITNB portrays the “new woman” described by Pérez López de Heredia (2016b: 170) and takes female characters away from the stereotype that places them in the background, as defenceless entities with little to no relevance to the plot.

These new leading roles are marked by a strong intersectional character, which according to Brufau:

manages to create a balanced *ad hoc* combination of the dimensions of sex, race, religion, sexual behaviour, age, ability, economic status, social status, etc., so that when one of these axes is analyzed, the others are not ignored. Instead, they are all approached as a whole, with a special focus on the one that exerts the strongest influence on the life of the subject in each situation, on the one that may generate the most severe exclusion or the worst consequences in a given context. (2009: 19)

From this intersectional perspective, each of the groups inside the prison has inmates who are *atravesadas* (Vidal Claramonte 2015), shaped by various characteristics that establish differences among them within their similarities. We observe, for example, that the racial segmentation that takes place in prison is not necessarily equivalent to a uniform religious division. The arrival of a new group of prisoners increases the friction among the characters, as in the case of Cindy, from the group of black inmates, who converts from Catholicism to Judaism inside the prison and adopts the name of Tova. The character meets a new cellmate, Alison, who is also black but wears an Islamic veil. From a merely linguistic perspective, their first contact, which is very brief, is quite illuminating. It takes place when Alison arrives at the cell for the first time:

CINDY: Shalom. ALISON: Assalam-alaikum.
CINDY: Shalom. ALISON: Assalam-alaikum.

Scene 4. *OITNB* 4x01. TCR: 38:07

The lack of space in the cell aggravates the tension, and in the case of Cindy and Alison this tension is shown, among other things, in the reaffirmation of their own identity, namely their religious identity:

CINDY: Okay, okay, that's how you want it? You and Tova got beef now. ALISON: First of all, your name ain't Tova. CINDY: I'm sorry? ALISON: Black people been naming their kids some crazy shit, but Tova ain't on the list. Unless the "V" is, like, a five or somethin'. CINDY: It's Hebrew. ALISON: Please, you ain't no Jew. CINDY: You wanna say that again, bitch? Like you was born in Karachi.
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CINDY: Vale, vale. ¿Así quieres las cosas? Tienes con Tova una cuenta pendiente.  
 ALISON: Para empezar, no te llamas Tova.  
 CINDY: ¿Perdona?  
 ALISON: Los negros les ponen a sus críos nombres de locos, pero Tova no está en la lista, a no ser que signifique algo muy raro.  
 CINDY: Es hebreo.  
 ALISON: ¡Venga! Tú no eres judía.  
 CINDY: Repite eso, zorra. ¡Ni que tú hubieras nacido en Karachi!

Scene 5. *OITNB* 4x02. TCR: 06:31

The intersectional perspective, as we can see, acquires a specifically significant relevance in multilingual products due to its potential in the construction of complex characters. In the specific case that we discuss in the following pages, we can observe that, until relatively recently, fiction series used a limited range of archetypes to recreate the identity of Latino characters, built on preconceived and very negative stereotypes that underrepresented the community, similarly to the way in which Morello, one of the inmates in the series, refers to Latinos: “they live like 20 people in one apartment. They have more kids than even the Irish, the men like their women with big titties and big asses, they’re dirty, they’re greasy, their food smells nasty, and they’re taking a lot of jobs” (episode 1x06). As Vidal Claramonte argues:

the stereotype reduces and exaggerates the features, but it mainly immobilizes and fixes them; it naturalizes those traits. It turns what is different into something abnormal, exotic, fearsome and, often, unacceptable, and consequently establishes limits and procedures for exclusion. (2007: 29)

This situation, projected through the media and their translation, multiplies its reach exponentially across the globe. In the specific case of *OITNB*, stereotypes are often used as a starting point to present different collective identities and, ultimately, to overcome preconceived ideas and images about racial minorities and represented sexualities, as we will see below.

### 3. Representation, translation and (lack of) intersectionality of the Latina identity in *OITNB*

In view of the difficulties found in the practice of translation of globalised fictional products, and in line with the premises that we have outlined, we wonder, together with Pérez López de Heredia, whether

the new intersectionality that is represented in television fiction may be the ultimate and irreversible challenge that will finally end with the mainstream male, white and protestant culture that has colonized the screens and ideas

of the western world [and whether] it will be able to transform it into a polychrome story that is inclusive with regard to gender and race, in line with the new global reality. (2016a: 194)

This challenge is not a trivial matter if we remember the power of translation to (re)create the social and cultural fabric of a community (Gentzler 2012), particularly considering the plea from different voices in the field of Cultural Studies that claim that the issues of cultural production and political discourse creation seem to be decided now more than ever in the hybrid areas of friction, superimposition and contact. These border regions are not exempt from domination (be it colonial, male or heterosexual, for example) (Preciado in Carrillo 2007: 390), but are a fold in which, rather than the autochthonous and self-asserted features, we can find transversal, mixed, bilingual and even multilingual identities.

In *OITNB*, the audience and critics seem to agree that the representation of the group of prisoners shown in the show escapes essentialised images and overcomes the rigid classification systems of gender, sexuality and race in favour of mutable and fluid conceptions that change depending on social and cultural power forces (Rosenberg 2015). The creator of the series, Jenji Kohan, is aware of the potential of its main characters, who have a wealth of nuances, and she goes in depth into the interrelationships that take place among the different inmates while she explores the superimpositions of the different identity traits of each character. Not all the inmates are evil, not all of them are white, not all of them are included in the heterosexual/homosexual duality and, of course, not all of them are monolingual. For this reason, the type of representation shown for each character becomes relevant and demands an analysis from a framework that studies the narratives built around each group of prisoners.

For the specific analysis of the translation procedures that affect the group of Latina prisoners, we must consider the stereotypes that screenwriters have traditionally used in television to represent Hispanic characters. As Valdivia describes, the most common tropes have been, on the one hand, the self-sacrificing mother who devotes her time to her children and her marriage or the cleaning lady who works for a wealthy family. On the other hand, we find the sexualised, provocative woman with a very negative connotation in most cases (2014: 20). Contrasting those representations with the examples extracted from *OITNB* may allow to observe whether the old archetypes have been overcome in their representation and their translation or, on the contrary, whether they are still predominant in the new fiction.

We must also take into account that in this intersectional recognition of televised identities, multilingualism becomes a defining trait of the character and that, of course, it will not go unnoticed for the viewer. The finding and recognition of a specific race, language, sexuality and gender reflect the complexity of the new paradigms in current fiction. In the first episode of the series, we are made aware of the importance of all of these traits for each character. In fact, right after Piper Chapman enters the prison, we witness a revealing scene between the main character and two Latina inmates in which one of them, who has been there longer than the other, reprimands the other, who has just arrived, for not speaking Spanish. She reinforces her argument with the fact that even Chapman, a white woman who is also new, knows how to speak the language:

<p>MENDOZA: Espérate un minuto. Déjame terminar esto.  DÍAZ: Um, I don't speak Spanish.  MENDOZA: Great, another fucking coconut. What's the matter with your mother, she don't teach you Spanish?  [...]  MENDOZA (to Chapman): Hey, blanca, you speak Spanish?  CHAPMAN: Un poco. Entiendo más de lo que puedo hablar.  MENDOZA (to Díaz): You see? Fucking white girl speaks Spanish.</p>
<p>MENDOZA: Óyeme, no me sofoques. ¿Me copiaste, chava?  DÍAZ: No te he entendido bien.  MENDOZA: ¡Qué vaina! No seas quille. ¿Es que tu mamita no te enseñó modales?  [...]  MENDOZA (to Chapman): Oíme, blanquita: ¿copiaste todo?  CHAPMAN: Aún no. Todavía no sé lo que puedo copiar.  MENDOZA: (to Díaz) ¿Viste? La blanquita linda aprende rápido.</p>

Scene 6. *OITNB* 01x01. TCR: 31:47/34:16

This conversation and its content are particularly relevant to our work for different reasons: first of all, because in the original version the Latina identity is associated to the use of Spanish. From a sociolinguistic perspective, “language becomes a powerful tool in the display of the ethnic self, a tool that can either reinscribe or subvert the ethnic identities assigned by outsiders” (Bucholtz 1995: 357). Therefore, the activation of Spanish acts as a marker of the Latina identity, similarly to how Butler explains her theory of gender performativity through specific discursive acts. As Fina explains:

Participants in social activities ‘do’ identity work and align with or distance themselves from social categories of belonging depending on the local context of interaction and its insertion in the wider social world. [...] Identity claims

and displays are embedded in social practices and respond to a complex inter-play of local and global factors. (2007: 372)

One of the most common practices within the group of Latina inmates in the series is code-switching, that is, the alternation of English and Spanish by bilingual prisoners within the same discourse. Consequently, finding the instances in which this resource appears in the dialogues of the series can help us discover different aspects of the identity of the language users and better understand the characters.

In this regard, the inmates from the Hispanic community are not a homogeneous group, and the language they share for their usual interactions is English. However, we must point out that there are certain contexts in which there is a tendency to switch to Spanish. These moments tend to be dialogues with close friends or relatives about very personal subjects, as we can see in the following example, in which Gloria, a Puerto Rican woman who ends up in prison, speaks to her aunt Lourdes about the abuse she is subjected to at the hands of her partner:

<p>LOURDES: Llama a la policía. Que deporten al cabrón ese.          GLORIA: Olvidate de la policía. Lo único que van a traer son más problemas.          LOURDES: ¿Y esto qué es? ¿La felicidad eterna? Piensa en tus hijos.          GLORIA: Él nunca les ha puesto la mano encima. Arturo siempre los ha tratado bien.</p>
<p>LOURDES: Llama a la policía. Que deporten al cabrón ese.          GLORIA: Olvidate de la policía. Un día te van a traer problemas.          LOURDES: ¿Y esto qué es? ¿La felicidad eterna? Piensa en tus hijos.          GLORIA: Él nunca les ha puesto la mano encima. Arturo siempre les ha tratado bien.</p>

Scene 7. *OITNB* 2x05. TCR: 16:02

The original version uses Spanish, and this shift in the original version is particularly noticeable and contributes to shaping their identities. However, in the Spanish version the target audience is not aware of this change in the code. In this regard, we may wonder, together with Herrera (in Martínez-Sierra *et al.* 2010: 16) about the appropriateness of the dubbing strategies in multilingual audiovisual products that do not use other techniques, such as the ones suggested by Martínez-Sierra *et al.* (2010).

Each of the languages, therefore, is used to construct a fundamental part of the identities of Latina inmates, so that the alternation between languages is not casual or neutral, as we can see in the bilingual combination in the following dialogue between Gloria's aunt and her children:

<p>LOURDES: De seguro te salvará de la trampa del cazador y la mortífera pestilencia diaria. Te cubrirá con sus plumas y bajo sus alas encontrarás refugio. Su lealtad, su escudo y fortaleza...</p> <p>BENITO: Who are you praying for, tía?</p> <p>LOURDES: Tu mamá.</p>
<p>LOURDES: Seguro que te salvará de la trampa del cazador y de la mortífera pestilencia diaria. Te cubrirá con sus plumas y bajo sus alas encontrarás refugio. Su lealtad, su escudo y fortaleza...</p> <p>BENITO: ¿Por quién rezas, tía?</p> <p>LOURDES: Por tu mamá.</p>

Scene 8. *OITNB* 2x05. TCR: 17:27

In this case, Lourdes, a *santera* who offers her services in the back room of Gloria's bodega, prays in Spanish in the presence of her grandnephew, who addresses her in English. In the original version, Lourdes' Catholic beliefs and her relationship with magic and *santería* are only shown in Spanish, whereas in the dubbed version this relationship is blurred because the entire dialogue is translated into Spanish and no differences are made to mark the language shift between the two characters. Consequently, we assume that the perception of the Latina identity for the Spanish viewers will not be the same that is conveyed in the original version and that, in a way, the image portrayed by the character of Lourdes changes in the dubbed version.

In the original version, a change to Spanish is also common in moments of tension, when there are fights or clashes. Therefore, for example, we can hear a dialogue in which Spanish emerges in a scene where Marisol (Mexican) and María (Dominican) fight while preparing lunch for the prisoners. In this case, English becomes the starting point in which terms in Spanish can be inserted, or bilingual dialogues developed. The translation of these hybrid languages could work as a tool to question the power of dominant cultures and languages, and to make other communities that inhabit what Bhabha calls the *in-between* (1994:1-2) visible. These communities live in a dual situation that looks at the dominant culture but does not forget its Hispanic origins. For this reason, the Spanish dubbed version, which is monoglossic and does not contain any hybrid component, describes in our opinion a different scenario to that shown in the original version. As an example, we may see this scene in which Marisol and María, two Latina inmates, have a conversation in English about new working positions that are being offered to the prisoners. When the tone of the conversation becomes belligerent, they resort to Spanish:

MARISOL: They don't pay that much for dummy work. Nah, whatever it is, it's gonna take skills and smarts.

MARÍA: Yeah, what're you gonna wow them with? Your eyeliner skills, or your smarts about how many words rhyme with "bleak" in emo songs?

MARISOL: Fuck you and your stupid sad face. We didn't take your baby away, okay?

MARÍA: Yeah? You should shut up about shit you don't know about.

MARISOL: You should shut up, you know. Hey! At least I got ambition. Qué barbera.

MARÍA: ¿Ambición? Eso es lo que tú llamas a decir: ¡ay, mira allá, hay algo shiny!

MARISOL: ¿Quieres empezar tú? ¡Órale wey!

MARÍA: ¡Egoísta! ¡No me toques!

MARISOL: No pagan tanto por un trabajo tan tonto. Sea lo que sea, habrá que ser capaz y lista.

MARÍA: ¿Y con qué los quieres impresionar tú? ¿Con tu capacidad con el delineador o con las palabras que riman con "desolador" en las canciones emo?

MARISOL: Que te den a ti y a tu cara de triste. Nosotras no te hemos quitado a tu hija.

MARÍA: ¿Ah no? Cierra la boca sobre ciertas cosas.

MARISOL: Ciérrala tú. Yo tengo ambición. Bésame el culo.

MARÍA: ¿Ambición? ¿Esa palabra la acabas de aprender? Eh mira allí, algo que brilla.

MARISOL: ¡No me echas a mí tu mierda!

MARÍA: ¡Zorra egoísta! ¿Qué? ¿Qué?

Scene 9. OITNB 3x05. TCR: 06:16

We are aware of the specific problems that are inherent to audiovisual translation in these situations. However, we believe that the translation of the entire dialogue into Spanish without any signal that marks the shift that may be observed in the original version represents a loss of some of the nuances that define the different characters. In addition, throughout the entire series, and according to the classification by Martínez-Sierra *et al.*, a standard version of Castilian Spanish is used which does not match the original accent of any of the inmates, and which conveys a domesticating strategy (Martínez-Sierra *et al.* 2010: 21) that may even lead to an essentialisation of Hispanic identities in the American prison system.

In other cases, we can also observe how Latina inmates turn to Spanish when they confront other prisoners from different racial or ethnic groups who do not speak or understand Spanish. In the next example, the drainage system of the bathroom used by the Latina prisoners malfunctions and they have no other choice but to take their showers in the bathroom used by the black inmates. After a conversation between the leaders of both groups, Gloria and Vee, there is a minor skirmish which is triggered by the switch to Spanish by one of the Latina prisoners. This subversive element is omitted in the case of the dubbed version because it becomes completely blurred in Spanish, and the viewer cannot perceive the implicit rebellion and domination shift that can be



seen in the original. The power conveyed by this change of code during the argument is lost in the dubbed version with a neutral dialogue which does not bring up any sort of attempt to oppose the hegemonic order:

VEE: Excuse me! But my girls are not inclined to offer special privileges. Not in our bathroom.

GLORIA: Your girls? When did that happen?

VEE: Ladies? Get on line.

CINDY: Yeah. You violatin' an unspoken social contract, bitch.

MARISOL: Métetelo por la creta, puta.

CINDY: What the fuck you call me?

VEE: Perdona, pero a mis chicas no les apetece dar privilegios especiales. En nuestro baño no, señor.

GLORIA: ¿Tus chicas? ¿Desde cuándo?

VEE: Chicas, a la cola.

CINDY: Sí, estás violando un contrato social no escrito, zorra.

MARISOL: Métetelo por donde te quepa, puta.

CINDY: ¿Qué cojones me has llamado?

Scene 10. *OITNB* 2x05. TCR: 02:29

Therefore, we observe that in the original version there is a change of language based on the dialogue and its contents and on the participants, and this will define the identity of each of the Latina prisoners for the audience. However, that alternation between Spanish and English and the use of terms in Spanish that are characteristic of different dialects is never shown in the dubbed version for a Spanish audience, because both languages become unified in a version in Castilian Spanish. We can specifically observe that the most personal and delicate matters are generally dealt with in Spanish by the Latina inmates in the original version, or at least with shifts between Spanish and English. This code switch contributes to defining their identity very clearly because, depending on what they want to convey and the topic they are discussing, they use one language or the other. It is also remarkable that, given the importance of Spanish and the group of Latina inmates in the original version, no hybrid solutions for dubbing or subtitling have been used, such as the ones presented by Martínez Sierra *et al.* (2010) or Higes-Andino *et al.* (2013), which are closer to the intersectional paradigm the show presents. Instead, this is done with other languages that are much less common in the different episodes. In the following example, we can observe the role of other languages and their relevance in the construction of the (sexual) identity of the prisoners. In this case, the dubbed version for a Spanish audience has kept a dialogue in German with open captions in Spanish for a scene that portrays a sexual relation between two women: Poussey (American who lives in Germany) and Franzi (German).

POUSSEY: Dort?  
 FRANZI: Höher, vielleicht  
 POUSSEY: Warte, Bein Krampf!  
 FRANZI: Sorry. Okay... Das ist... Das ist gut...  
 POUSSEY: Ja?  
 FRANZI: Ja... Nein, es ist weg.  
 POUSSEY: Ich habe dir gesagt, Scheren geht es nicht.

POUSSEY: Und?  
 FRANZI: Höher.  
 POUSSEY: Warte, Bein Krampf!  
 FRANZI: Perdona. Vale... Das ... Das ist gut.  
 POUSSEY: Ja?  
 FRANZI: Ja... Nein, das ist weg.  
 POUSSEY: Ich habe dir gesagt, Scheren geht es nicht.

#### Open captions in Spanish

POUSSEY: ¿Algo?  
 FRANZI: Más alto quizás.  
 POUSSEY: Espera. // Calambre en la pierna.  
 FRANZI: Es agradable. // No. // Se ha ido.  
 POUSSEY: Te dije que lo de la tijera no servía.

Scene 11. *OITNB* 2x06. TCR: 18:30

The Spanish viewer who watches this scene is fully aware of the introduction of a second language in the plot. The translation solution that is offered is subtitling, which, according to Martínez-Sierra *et al.* 2010, is oriented towards the foreignisation end of the domestication-foreignisation axis. However, we must highlight that this remark would also be appropriate in the cases in which the Spanish elements used by the Hispanic characters appear, because they are from a variant which is different from Castilian Spanish and, more importantly, because they determine a radically different representation of their identities.

In contrast with this scene in German for the target audience, references in Spanish to sex and sexual minorities are virtually inexistent. As we have seen, English is the predominant language for almost all the dialogues among the group of Hispanic inmates, but the shift to Spanish is clear whenever they try to assert their authority in a confrontation and also, more specifically, when they deal with matters related to the personal and familiar spheres. For this reason, the following dialogue between two Latina prisoners is rather strange because it takes place in English, in spite of the fact that it shows an intimate moment between them. In this scene, Maritza and Marisol, who have been in prison for some time now, complain at the end of Valentine's day that they are wasting their youth without the possibility to maintain relationships with men:

MARITZA: You know what gets me? We're wasting the best years of our lives in here. Like, our tits are never gonna look better. Our asses are never gonna look better. You know, no one's touching my ass. No one's kissing my lips.

MARISOL: Shit. I'll kiss your dumb lips.

[They kiss. They laugh]

MARITZA: Do it again.

[They kiss. They split apart, laughing]

MARISOL Y MARITZA: No! No!

MARITZA: Come here. It's okay.

MARITZA: ¿Sabes lo que me fastidia? Que vamos a desperdiciar aquí los mejores años de nuestra vida. Nunca vamos a tener las tetas mejor que ahora. Nunca vamos a tener el culo mejor que ahora, ¿sabes? Y nadie me toca el culo. Nadie me besa los labios.

MARISOL: Mierda. Yo te doy un beso en los labios, boba.

[They kiss. They laugh]

MARITZA: Otro.

[They kiss. They split apart, laughing]

MARISOL Y MARITZA: ¡No! ¡No!

MARITZA: Ven aquí. Ya.

Scene 12. OITNB 2x06. TCR: 52:37

This fragment is revealing for different reasons. First of all, the viewers of the original version can obtain an image of the sexuality of the prisoners in English, which takes any hint of sexual divergence away from their Latina identity, built through and from Spanish. On the other hand, this conversation about minority sexual practices is the only one that takes place between Hispanic characters. In a series that deconstructs the stereotype and portrays intersectional characters, the fact that the group of Latinas does not include any bisexual or homosexual character may lead to a certain essentialisation of their identity, and even more so if we consider that in all other groups of prisoners, made up of black, white or old women, women addicted to drugs or even characters who do not belong to any of the groups like Soso Brooks, an American of Japanese and Scottish descent, there are indeed examples of sexual minorities. As Mira aptly points out, the narrative representation of lesbian characters in audiovisual products would facilitate the creation of recognisable paradigms that give visibility to this community, but if that representation is laden with prejudice, “then the prejudice will perpetuate itself among unwary viewers or among those who are not aware of the way in which fiction materials are generated” (2012: 42). In this same line, we can observe that there is a *salient identity* —a term that we take from the field of Psychology that has already been used in the study of the translation of minority sexualities (Martínez Pleguezuelos 2016)— which is particularly visible in the Hispanic characters and which largely reasserts the

stereotypes that have been traditionally prevalent in television. In this case, we can observe that the plots that focus on Latinas revolve around their families, to a greater extent than in the rest of characters, whereas sexuality virtually becomes a taboo subject among them.

On the other hand, among white lesbian inmates, sexual relationships with other prisoners are discussed openly, as the many examples in the series show. Let us consider, for instance, the competition between two prisoners, Boo and Nicky, who want to see which of them will have more sexual relationships with other women inside the prison:

BOO: What's this?  
 NICKY: Oh! Put that back, please. Would you give it back?  
 BOO: Who is Brook? Oh, yeah. That's the new girl, isn't it? Hot one of the Asian persuasion? Oh, my God! I found your fuck book?  
 NICKY: Right. So what if it is?  
 BOO: Oh, you fuckin' junkie.  
 NICKY: All right.  
 BOO: No, I get this. Better pussy than smack. Right?  
 NICKY: It's not an addiction. It's a collection, all right? Some people collect buttons or Taco Bell Chihuahuas, I collect orgasms. See, I'm all about giving. Look, I am like a bean-flicking Mother Teresa.  
 BOO: You know what? This here is my kind of competition. It's on. Ooh! Bitch, this is on!

BOO: ¿Qué es esto?  
 NICKY: Déjalo, por favor. ¿Me lo quieres dar?  
 BOO: ¿Quién es Brook? Ah, sí, es la nueva. ¿Esa asiática que está tan buena? ¡Oh, dios! ¡He encontrado tu libreta de polvos!  
 NICKY: ¿Y si es eso qué?  
 BOO: Oh, ¡puta yonqui!  
 NICKY: Déjame.  
 BOO: No, si te entiendo. Mejor coños que caballo, ¿no?  
 NICKY: No es una adicción, es una colección. Hay quien colecciona botones o llaveros de propaganda. Yo colecciono orgasmos. Solo doy felicidad. Soy como una puñetera Madre Teresa de hacer dedos.  
 BOO: ¿Sabes qué? A mí me molan estas competiciones. Empezamos. ¡Uh, tía, ha empezado!

Scene 13. *OITNB* 2x04. TCR: 12:14

As we can see in the dubbed version, the sexual content is transmitted to the audience in Spain without restrictions or censorship of any kind. The competition discussed in Scene 13 encompasses every woman in the prison, including the Corrections Officers as potential candidates, and it is refereed by Chang, and Asian inmate who is a member of the Golden Girls group. This is a token of the intersectional nature of the rest of the groups, and of the way

in which sexuality, together with race or age, shapes the identity of all the prisoners. The same thing happens in Scene 14. Chapman, the young white woman who has the leading role in the series, wants to know the details of the competition between Nicky and Boo (who are also white women) that is mediated by Chang:

<p>CHAPMAN: So, do they have to come for it to count?          NICKY: Excellent question.          BOO: Have to? Son, with me, they always come.          NICKY: Oh, only once? That's so sad. Hey, Chang, can we get extra points for multiples? I'm the queen of excess.          CHANG: No. No double points but different girls worth different points. [She takes out a piece of paper]          CHAPMAN: What is that?          CHANG: Score sheet. Trim, six. Chapman, three.          CHAPMAN: I don't wanna play the game. Don't put me in that. Three out of what?          NICKY: Ten. Ten's like a guard, right? And one's like that girl.          CHAPMAN: I am so more than a three. I am not easy.          NICKY: You're slutty, not easy. There's a difference, semantically.</p>
<p>CHAPMAN: ¿Y tienen que correrse para que cuente?          NICKY: Excelente pregunta.          BOO: ¿Correrse? Guapa, conmigo se corren siempre.          NICKY: Oh, ¿solo una vez? Qué pena. Oye, Chang, ¿hay puntos extra por los orgasmos múltiples?          CHANG: Nada de doble punto, pero cada chica da puntos distintos. [She takes out a piece of paper]          CHAPMAN: ¿Eso qué es?          CHANG: La tabla de puntos. Trim, seis. Chapman, tres.          CHAPMAN: Yo no quiero participar. No me incluyas. ¿Tres de cuántos?          NICKY: De diez. Diez es una funcionaria, ¿no? Y uno es... esa chica.          CHAPMAN: Yo soy mucho más que un tres. ¡No soy fácil!          NICKY: Eres zorrilla, no fácil. No es lo mismo.</p>

Scene 14. *OITNB* 2x05. TCR: 07:09

The characters who participate in this scene show two different aspects that are directly related to intersectionality. On the one hand, the participation of an Asian and elderly inmate as a referee destroys the race- and age-based distribution that would essentialise the dominant traits of both features. On the other hand, we cannot forget that Chang is a heterosexual woman, and her mediation in the competition also brings down the axis of sexuality, since it plays down the importance of sexuality, which used to be a determining factor in past audiovisual productions.

Among the community of black prisoners there are also lesbian women who live their sexuality openly, in spite of the prejudice and the rejection that

they find within their own community. In the following conversation, Vee, the leader of The Ghetto, talks to Taystee, another inmate, about her relationship with Poussey, a black and openly lesbian prisoner with which she maintains a purely platonic relationship that does not extend to the physical arena.

<p>VEE: Where's your little cuddle bunny?  TAYSTEE: What?  VEE: I saw what went down in here. You all cozied up with your little girlfriend.  TAYSTEE: I ain't gay.  VEE: Looked pretty gay to me.  TAYSTEE: We just friends.  VEE: Yeah? Just friends? And you're lonely. You wanna be touched. Need a hug. Maybe even more than a hug. Need all that drama of someone to call your own. Let me tell you something. Gay-for-the-stay is for punk-ass bitches who aren't strong enough to be true to themselves.  TAYSTEE: I told you, I ain't like that.  VEE: I know that. And I also know that when you get out of here, you don't want people on the block talking about how you went that way. That's why I'm telling you, do not let her drag you into that shit. She is not your real friend. She is only your friend in here. She doesn't know you like I do.</p>
<p>VEE: ¿Dónde tienes a tu osito de peluche?  TAYSTEE: ¿Qué?  VEE: Os he visto acurrucadas y muy juntas.  TAYSTEE: Yo no soy gay.  VEE: A mí me ha parecido muy gay.  TAYSTEE: Somos amigas.  VEE: ¿Ah, sí? ¿Solo amigas? Pero te sientes sola. Y quieres que te toquen. Un abrazo, ¿algo más quizá? Tienes esa necesidad de tener a alguien y que sea tuyo. Te voy a decir algo. Lo de "lesbiana solo aquí" es para las zorras que no tienen fuerza de voluntad para ser fieles a sí mismas.  TAYSTEE: Te lo he dicho. No soy así.  VEE: Ya lo sé. Y también sé que no quieres que la gente del barrio hable de cómo te volviste así cuando salgas. Te lo advierto. No dejes que te meta en esa puta mierda. En el fondo no es tu amiga. Solo es amiga tuya aquí. No te conoce como yo.</p>

Scene 15. *OITNB* 2x04. TCR: 52:21

There are even interracial relationships between some of the inmates, such as Soso and Poussey, who, in the following sequence, talk about the (fake) lesbian couple made up of Judy King (a white, older, Christian, wealthy television star who goes to prison for tax fraud) and Cindy (who is black and Jewish), who pretend to have a sexual relationship to sell their story to the sensationalist press:

<p>SOSO: I cannot believe that those posers just smoked us on the unspoken, interracial, prison couple power ranking.</p> <p>POUSSEY: Well, we ain't about competition, all right? We just doin' our thing. Our real thing.</p> <p>SOSO: I know. I'm not trying to sell us short or anything, but it's like they're Beyoncé and Jay Z and we're just Kim and Kanye.</p> <p>POUSSEY: Yo, that hurts. I ain't gonna lie.</p>
<p>SOSO: No me puedo creer que esas farsantes acaben de adelantarnos en el <i>ranking</i> de parejas interraciales de la cárcel.</p> <p>POUSSEY: A nosotras no nos interesa competir, ¿no? Nosotras a lo nuestro. Es auténtico.</p> <p>SOSO: Ya lo sé. Y no pretendo menospreciarnos, pero parece que ellas son Beyoncé y Jay Z y nosotras solo Kim y Kanye.</p> <p>POUSSEY: Eso duele. No te voy a mentir.</p>

Scene 16. *OITNB* 4x09. TCR: 45:09

In all these cases, the translation process in *OITNB* acts as the “divergent writing” proposed by Pérez López de Heredia (2016a: 199) based on the “deviational translation” by Díaz-Cintas (2012b: 285). Both in the original version and the version dubbed into Spanish, the series combines, for most of the groups that coexist in the Litchfield Penitentiary, different characteristics that erase the essentialising identity paradigms which were largely shown on the screen whenever the script included the participation of black, Asian, lesbian or older women. Therefore, we can observe in each episode how race, age, ethnic identity, language and sexuality are features that jointly shape the identity of most prisoners.

#### 4. Conclusions

As we have seen in the study carried out along these pages, “absolute, unified and monolithic definitions of identity are no longer defensible and/or tenable” (House, Martín Ruano & Baumgarten 2005: 4), and this is how we interpret it in the identity construction that takes place in *Orange Is the New Black*. Just as different voices from Translation Studies have already stated, intersectional studies that are shown on the screen are the result of a complex discursive negotiation that is no longer limited to stereotypes or independent notions and labels such as “woman”, “black”, “lesbian” or “Jewish”. However, in view of the examples included here, and unlike the rest of groups of prisoners in *OITNB*, finding the intersectional model proposed by the series becomes more difficult for Latina inmates. As we have observed, the mark of Latino identity that is largely constructed through the use of Spanish in the original version

and which becomes blurred in the shift to the Spanish dubbed version ascribes the Latina prisoners a specific character that affects their identity.

The loss represented by the neutralisation of a change of code between the dominant English and Spanish offers the Spanish viewers a different image, because from our point of view, the target text does not reflect as clearly as the source text the link between the Spanish language and the private and familiar spheres of the prisoners that use this language to refer to the more personal aspects of their lives. In this regard, we may wonder whether the disappearance of this code-switching among the group of Latina prisoners is somehow offset by the use of a variant of Hispanic accent for the Spanish market, which would to a certain extent contribute to the formation of their identities through the reinforcement and visibilisation of their Hispanic traits. Similarly, applying some of the less domesticating translation strategies proposed by Martínez-Sierra *et al.* (2010) or Higes-Andino *et al.* (2013) for the treatment of multilingual audiovisual products could have contributed to the representation of an image of the group of Latina prisoners that would have been closer to the original for the Spanish target audiences.

In this sense, it is evident that the challenges found in the translation of multilingual audiovisual products make the task of the translator significantly more difficult. However, and in line with the main objectives of the study presented along these pages, we may emphasise that, apart from the technical restrictions that constrain audiovisual translation, it is necessary to consider the representation of identity that is delivered to the target audience and the way in which it may be affected by the different translation choices used in the dubbed version.

At the same time, and in parallel to the original and the dubbed versions, the invisibility of the sexual identity of Latina women in the series is remarkable, as well as the heteronormativity that seems to govern, in general terms, their sexuality, compared to the variety of sexual and gender variants that can be seen in the rest of the groups. For this reason, and in the light of the comparison between the original version and the Spanish dubbed version of the series that we have presented, we consider that it would be beneficial to be aware of the risks posed by a monolingual rewriting that essentialises the discourses in which the polyphony of voices and the cultural and social (mis) understandings contribute to shaping televised identities that reflect the plurality and multiculturalism of our societies.



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